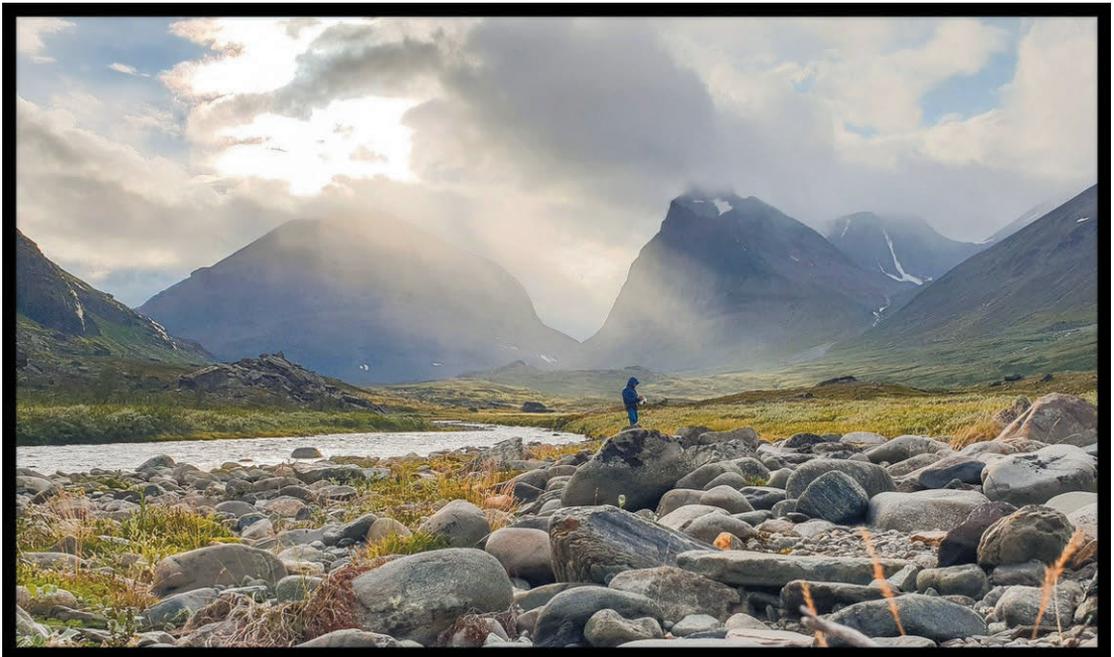




Stefan Green

Toward Apocalypticism

A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66





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TOWARD APOCALYPTICISM



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Stefan Green

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For Hanna Green, in memoriam

וראיתם ושיש לבכם
ועצמותיכם כדשא תפרחנה

“You will see and your heart will rejoice,
your bones will flourish like the grass.”

Isa 66:14a-b

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As I now finish this present thesis, I do so with a bouquet of mixed feelings – a combination of relief, expectation, satisfaction, but also with profound sorrow. My spouse's passing, after an extended period of illness, prevents us from sharing the taste of victory and the fact that we finally made it. The book is finished and ready for defence. I know she would have liked to follow it all the way, but I also know that she wanted life to continue for her family and me. I wish this thesis, therefore, to be not only a testimony to my achievement but also to what Hanna's support has meant to me and our family during long hours of writing and rewriting. There are of course many other people to whom I want to express my wholehearted thanks for arriving at this point in my doctoral studies, and some I shall now mention by name although the list could be longer.

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Stefan Green
Örebro
June 2020

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Abbreviations

Primary sources:

DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
1QIsa ^a	First Isaiah scroll from Qumran, cave 1
1QIsa ^b	Second Isaiah scroll from Qumran, cave 1
4QIsa ^b	Isaiah text from Qumran, cave 4
4QIsa ^c	Isaiah text from Qumran, cave 4
מ	Masoretic Text (MT)
MSS	Manuscripts
OG	Old Greek translation
ℓ	Old Latin
Ⲫ	Peshitta translation, in Syriac
Q	Qumran
Ⲙ	Septuagint translation (LXX)
Sym.	Symmachus
ת	Targum
א'	The Three: the Jewish recensions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion
Ⓔ	Vulgate

Modern Bible versions:

CSB	Christian Standard Bible
DSSB	Dead Sea Scrolls Bible
ESV	English Standard Version
NJPS	<i>Tanakh</i> : The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
REB	Revised English Bible
RSV	Revised Standard Version

Secondary sources:

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols.
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
ALCBH	<i>Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew</i> . Hayim ben Yosef Tawil
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by Robert H. Charles. 2 vols.
AUS	American University Studies
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed.

BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BibEnc	Biblical Encyclopedia
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
BMI	The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
BO	Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry
BRS	Biblical Resource Series
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CATSS	<i>Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CC	Continental Commentary
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COS	<i>Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo. 3 vols.
COT	Commentary on the Old Testament
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols.
EA	<i>Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism</i> . Edited by John J. Collins. Vol 1: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity
EBib	<i>Etudes bibliques</i>
ECB	<i>Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible</i> . Edited by James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EDEJ	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> . Edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow
EECMP	<i>Exegetical & Expository Commentary: The Minor Prophets</i> . Edited by Thomas Edward McComiskey. 3 vols.
ErIsr	<i>Eretz-Israel: Archeology, Historical and Geographical Studies</i>
Exp Tim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FAT II	Forschungen zum Alten Testament II
FCBS	Fortress Classics in Biblical Studies
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship: Old Testament Series
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols.
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HOTE	Handbooks for Old Testament Exegesis
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament

HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>IB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by George A. Buttrick et al. 12 vols.
IBC	Interpretation: A Biblical Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> . Edited by Keith Crim
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
IRGLS	International Rennert Guest Lecture Series
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
LCS	Landmarks in Christian Scholarship
LDSS	Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
<i>NIB</i>	<i>The New Interpreter's Bible</i> . Edited by Leander E. Klerk. 12 vols.
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> . Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. 5 vols.
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTM	New Testament Monographs
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i>OEANE</i>	<i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Archeology in the Near East</i> . Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols.
OS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols.
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scripture and its Contexts
POT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RM	Die Religionen der Menschheit
SAMD	Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SBT2	Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study

SCA	Studies on the Children of Abraham
SCL	Sather Classical Lectures
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SRB	Studies in Rewritten Bible
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang)
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StJ	Studies in Judaism
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
SymS	Symposium Series
TCT	Textual Criticism and the Translator
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 15 vols.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
USBH	UBS Handbooks Series
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
UT	<i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> . Cyrus H. Gordon. AnOr 38.
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Task

My doctoral work focuses on how Isa 65–66, as a prophetic post-exilic text in the Hebrew Bible, is a shift from post-exilic prophecy to apocalyptic thinking (apocalypticism). Using my translation and analysis of Isa 65–66, I aim to show that the Isaianic text differs thematically from the typical prophetic genre in the Hebrew Bible. I will also show this literary development by illustrating how its themes or concepts have left their mark in 1 Enoch, a Jewish apocalyptic text from second century BCE. While the main task in this work is to understand Isa 65–66, one important question, by extension, is also the thematic relationship between the post-exilic prophetic genre in Isa 65–66 and apocalypticism. In short, the topic of this work is *Toward Apocalypticism: A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66*.

In preparation for this doctoral work, three peer-reviewed articles containing a detailed analysis of Isa 65–66 with focus on the themes the Temple of God and the New Jerusalem have been published.¹ Two of the articles analyse the reception of those themes in 1 Enoch. A full discussion of reception in 1 Enoch is, however, too detailed for this monograph and exemplifies the next steps in my research and thus I only state the conclusions of these articles when appropriate in this thesis. The third article is a study of the eschatological Zion as a mother in Isa 66:7–14b, and is reused almost entirely in this work. With the permission of the publishers of these three articles, I shall use the exegetical analysis of Isa 65–66 in those works in this thesis, but merely summarise the parts about reception in 1 Enoch. My intention is to continue to publish work on the reception of Isa 65–66 in 1 Enoch based on the results of this doctoral work.

1.2 Relevance of the Study

In exegetical research, scholars have shown interest in the reception and rereading of the late Hebrew Bible prophetic tradition in ancient Judaism and early Chris-

1. Stefan Green, "The Temple of God and Crises in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 Enoch," in *Studies in Isaiah: History, Theology and Reception*, ed. Tommy Wasserman, Greger Andersson, and David Willgren, LHBOTS 654 (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 47–66; Stefan Green, "Jerusalem as the Centre of Blessing in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 Enoch 26:1–2," in *Understanding the Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Three Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Antti Laato, SCA 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 41–70; Stefan Green, "Zion as a Mother in the Restored Relationship between God and God's People: A Study of Isaiah 66:7–14a," in *God and Humans in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond: A Festschrift for Lennart Boström on his 67th Birthday*, ed. David Willgren, HBM 85 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2019), 266–297.

tianity.² Some researchers have paid particular attention to new interpretations and contextual applications of biblical prophetic texts in the Jewish apocalyptic pseudepigrapha.³ Modern exegetes, in particular, have tried to grasp, from a historical perspective, what motivated late Hebrew prophetism and early Jewish apocalypticism to launch criticism against contemporary religious and political societies.⁴ Scholarly works on the development of apocalyptic genre provide a necessary background to my examination of Isa 65–66 and the comparison of themes with parallel themes in the apocalyptic text of 1 Enoch.

2. E.g. recently published works on reception history, reinterpretation/rereading of the Book of Isaiah, and certain verses in Isa 65–66: Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006); Claire Mathews K. McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull, eds., *“As Those Who are Taught”: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, SymbS 27 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006); Michaël N. van der Meer et al., eds., *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, VTSup 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 199–428; Jacob Stromberg, “Isaiah’s Interpretive Revolution: How Isaiah’s Formation Influenced Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation,” in *The Book of Isaiah: Enduring Questions Answered Anew*, ed. Richard J. Bautch and J. Todd Hibbard (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 214–232. See also: George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011).

3. E.g. Michael A. Knibb, “Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Michael A. Knibb, Anthony Phillips, and R. J. Coggins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 155–180; Jacques van Ruiten, “The Influence and Development of Is 65,17 in 1 En 91,16,” in *The Book of Isaiah = Le livre d’Isaïe: les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l’ouvrage*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL LXXXI (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 161–166; Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); John J. Collins, “The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity*, ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner, vol. 4 of *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, HdO 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 119–139; Anthea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); Jacob Stromberg, “Deutero-Isaiah’s Restoration Reconfigured,” in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40–66*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer and Hans M. Barstad, FRLANT 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 195–218; Antti Laato, “Rewriting Israel’s History in the Apocalyptic Context: Animal Apocalypse in First Enoch,” *SEÅ* 82 (2017): 28–51.

4. E.g. Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); Philip R. Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological, and Political Perspectives*, ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 251–270; H. G. M. Williamson, “The Concept of Israel in Transition,” in *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological, and Political Perspectives*, ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 141–161; Susan Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree: Popular Religion in Sixth-Century Judah*, HSM 46 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Study of Apocalypticism from H. H. Rowley to the Society of Biblical Literature” (paper presented at SBL Annual Meeting, 2004); Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage: Post-Exilic Prophetic Critique of the Priesthood*, FAT 2 Reihe 19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); John J. Collins, “Apocalypse and Empire,” *SEÅ* 76 (2011): 1–18; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*.

A scholarly movement from the 1960s and 1970s started to explore a broader sociological milieu, within which they assumed that the Jewish apocalyptic tradition developed. Initially belonging to this movement were Otto Plöger, Odil Hannes Steck, Klaus Koch, Mark Smith, Paul D. Hanson, and others. It was Plöger's approach in *Theokratie und Eschatologie* (1959)⁵ that set an agenda for many scholars regarding the nature of what they defined as biblical proto-apocalyptic groups (and forebears of the *Hasidim*).⁶ He assigned sociologically "proto-apocalyptic texts" to these groups, who were described as marginalised in the post-exilic Jewish community because of their opposition to the official theocratic community. The latter group consisted of aristocratic priests who no longer needed eschatological expectations. In these "proto-apocalyptic" prophetic texts,⁷ Plöger thus found the origin of apocalypticism (and therefore rejected apocalypticism as an import from Persia).⁸ Earlier, scholars such as H. H. Rowley⁹ had pushed the idea that distress and persecution were behind Jewish apocalypticism. They lacked Plöger's precision, however, as he argued that the cause of the crisis was an internal conflict within the Jewish community between a pious eschatological group and an established theocratic party.

Hanson, in his famous book *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (first published in 1975), continues on Plöger's work¹⁰ and combines those ideas with theses developed by Frank Moore Cross.¹¹ Hanson's reconstruction presupposes that the post-exilic

5. Later translated into English: Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968).

6. The *החרדים* (those "who tremble," Isa 66:5). See Joseph Blenkinsopp, "A Jewish Sect of the Persian Period," *CBQ* 52/1 (1990): 5–20 and Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah: Profile of a Pietistic Group in the Persian Epoch," in *"The Place is too Small for Us": The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship*, ed. Robert P. Gordon, SBT 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 392–412.

7. Plöger examines the book of Daniel, Isa 24–27, Zech 12–14, and Joel 3–4, but explains that these are selected texts, and by that saying that suggests there are other prophetic texts that can be defined as "proto-apocalyptic." Isa 65–66 has even been considered by scholars such as Hanson to be early apocalyptic eschatology.

8. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 9, 26–52. The tension between the theocracy and eschatology during the post exilic period is further explained by Plöger on p. 106–112.

9. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic: A Study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation*, 3rd ed. (London: Lutterworth, 1963).

10. See Davies, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings," 256–258. For another review of Plöger's, Cross', Mannheim's, and Troeltsch's bearing upon Hanson's reconstruction, see Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*, 6–9.

11. Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei, The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Jr. Miller (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 441; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 23. Frank Moore Cross argues that the origin of the apocalyptic, a new post exilic syncretism with early Israelite and Canaanite roots, "must be searched for as early as the sixth century B.C." (Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], 343).

society was divided between a hierarchy party, represented by Haggai, Zech 1–8 and Ezek 40–48, and a visionary party, represented by Isa 56–66 and Zech 9–14. The hierarchy wanted to preserve the temple tradition as it was before the exile, while the visionaries prioritised social care and the covenantal relationship with God. In Hanson’s socio-historical reconstruction,¹² the visionaries are oppressed by the hierarchy, a situation which, according to Hanson, brought about the apocalyptic eschatology. This religious perspective arose from Isa 56–66 and thus becomes the most important source of Jewish apocalypse.¹³ Hanson’s attempt to reconstruct the historical and sociological matrix from which apocalyptic eschatology supposedly arose, however, is not without problems.

Hanson reconstructed the post-exilic religious community in Judah based on prophetic texts such as Isa 56–66 which contain neither clear allusion to historical situations nor any explicit reference to criticised religious groups. It is, therefore, no wonder that Hanson’s historical-sociological theory of Trito-Isaiah (henceforth TI) has been both questioned¹⁴ and also given rise to alternative theories regarding the setting.¹⁵ Hanson confirms that a living and continuing tradition of eschatology existed. However, his method of rearranging Isa 56–66, and adjusting the poetic meter, with the purpose of supporting a theory about the marginalised disciples of Second Isaiah, runs the risk of overly simplifying the situation in Isa 56–66 into an inner-community power conflict between two sharply predefined groups of people.¹⁶ My conclusion regarding this issue is that there was indeed a division within the post-exilic community of Isa 65–66,¹⁷ but that the division was not primarily about sociological positions and power-structures between temple aristocracy and marginalised religious groups. Instead, the issue was ideological and related to principles of religious life, the political situation, and deprivation.¹⁸

12. Hanson makes use of sociologists Karl Mannheim (*Ideology and Utopia, an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, 1929, 1936), Max Weber (*Sociology of Religion*, 1963), and Ernst Troeltsch (*The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 1911, 1960) to define the two rival groups (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 213–217).

13. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 21. See also Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 111.

14. Robert P. Carroll, “Twilight of Prophecy or Dawn of Apocalyptic?” *JSOT* 4/14 (1979): 3–35; Knibb, “Prophecy and the Emergence of the Jewish Apocalypses,” 155–180; Rex Mason, “The Prophets of the Restoration,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Michael A. Knibb, Anthony Phillips, and R. J. Coggins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 137–154; R. J. Coggins, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT press, 1987); Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 142; Brooks Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah: Reconstructing the Cultic History of the Restoration*, JSOTSup 193 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995).

15. H. G. M. Williamson, “Recent Issues in the Study of Isaiah,” in *Interpreting Isaiah: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David G. Firth and H. G. M. Williamson (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 38.

16. John J. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism,” *EA* 1:133.

17. See Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 152.

18. Christopher R. Seitz, “Isaiah, Book of (Third Isaiah),” *ABD* 3:502. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer makes an interesting and persuasive case here and concludes that it was about a “deep dichotomy in the way in which the priests and the prophets viewed themselves in their contemporary situation” (Tie-

For example, a comparison between the temple crisis in Isa 66:1–2b and the place of the temple in Animal Apocalypse (1 En. 85–90), shows that eschatological hope arises from and in combination with internal division regarding religious piety and faithfulness.¹⁹ Therefore, I understand the stark dualistic contrast in Isa 65–66 as a fervent exhortation to repentance rather than reflecting a clear cut internal division within the Jewish community in the early post-exilic period. While not ahistorical, the theological message of Isa 65–66 is also foremost characterised by a perspective that, in a progressive way, increasingly turns its attention and hope to another better world than the present defiled one.²⁰

This work consists of an extensive thematic analysis of Isa 65–66 and a comparison with 1 Enoch. My contribution to the issue of parallels between these two texts demonstrates that the thematic differences between Isa 65–66 and the Book of Isaiah, as a whole, is a development towards the apocalypse. For example, the description and metaphor of a new Zion in Isa 65–66 takes on new proportions compared to parallels in the rest of the book, and thus implies a pre-stage to the idea of a New Jerusalem in 1 Enoch. I shall not argue, however, that Isa 65–66 is an apocalyptic text, although diligent research has shown that there are direct textual parallels between the prophetic imagination in Isa 65–66 and the apocalyptic literature.²¹ Thus, the background I have briefly described above illustrates the need for a project that focuses on Isa 65–66 as a bridge between the prophetic and the apocalyptic in order to grasp both the thematic and conceptual relationship between the texts.

1.3 Survey of Research

In one sense, I have already presented above a survey of previous research regarding Isa 65–66 and apocalyptic thinking. I can, therefore, concentrate below on

meyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 86–112). See also Alan F. Segal, *Life After Death: A History of the Afterlife in The Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 311–320 about the term “deprivation.” For an opposite view, that power can belong to non-deprived millennial groups, see Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*, 85–165.

19. This is also Collins’ point, when he explains that such factors as divisions in the community “continue to play a part in generating eschatological expectations throughout Jewish history” (Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism,” 1:133).

20. Isa 65–66 is not the only prophetic text with apocalyptic characteristics, where present history fades into the background. The book of Ezekiel manifests the same phenomenon, where “concrete sociological components and the concrete politico-geographical aspects fade into the background in the face of the desire to give expression to theological content” (Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 565).

21. See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Eschatology,” *ABD* 2:582–584, B3d, C1a. I shall discuss the nature of genre and the difference between the apocalyptic genre and the prophetic genre in chapter 2 of this work.

other aspects regarding approaches that are relevant for a thematic study of Isa 65–66. I do not aim to be exhaustive in this survey, but rather focus on what I believe is enough to fulfil the task of this project. In my analysis of Isa 65–66 below, I shall also discuss issues regarding approaches that relate to specific themes in the text. My desire is that this work lays a foundation, and moreover that any possible gaps in this presentation will – hopefully – be filled in with future projects about Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch. The emphasis in this section of my study, therefore, is on more general aspects and the more text-related discussions are concentrated in chapters 3–9 of this work. Issues related to apocalyptic thinking receive a larger share of thought in chapter 2. I shall begin this survey, therefore, with a general compressed picture of the historical background of Isa 65–66 before regarding the text itself in more detail.

1.3.1 Early Post-Exilic Judean History and Isaiah 65–66

Isa 65–66 is normally set to the Judean province in the Achaemenid period (538–333 BCE),²² a very formative period for early Judaism and the object of much recent research.²³ There are many surveys of this historical period in Israel’s history, despite the fact that we do not know much about Yehud during the Persian period, and the surveys reflect a great span of interests from conservative to critical approaches including, for example, Edwin M. Yamauchi, Jon L. Berquist, G. W. Ahlström, Lester L. Grabbe, and Miller & Hayes.²⁴ This scholarly development is a

22. For a history of the Persian Empire during the Achaemenid period, an important stop is Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, trans. T. Daniels Peter (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002).

23. E.g. Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C* (Warminster and Jerusalem: Aris & Phillips and Israel Exploration Society, 1982); Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 141–161; Oded Lipschitz and Joseph Blenkinsopp, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003); Lester L. Grabbe, *Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah*, vol. 1 of *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, LSTS 47 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); H. G. M. Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, FAT 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); Oded Lipschitz and Manfred Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006); Oded Lipschitz, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007); Jon L. Berquist, ed., *Approaching Yehud: New Approaches to the Study of the Persian period*, SemeiaSt 50 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); Oded Lipschitz, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011); Erhard Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period: The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E*, BibEnc 8 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011).

24. Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1996); Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia’s Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2003); G. W. Ahlström, Gary Orin Rollefson, and Diana Vikander Edelman, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander’s Conquest*, JSOTSup 146 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); Lester

sign of a “renewal of interest,” because the post-exilic period of Israel’s history and its literature was rather neglected during the middle decades of the twentieth century.²⁵ However, despite an apparent abundance of biblical sources covering the early post-exilic Judah period, scholars have encountered difficulties when re-examining them.²⁶ H. G. M. Williamson is one of those scholars who has contributed to this field of study,²⁷ and he explains the difficulty as follows:²⁸

1. Despite the progress that recent years have seen in the study of the Achaemenid empire, there is still an almost total silence about Palestine in Persian and Greek sources.
2. For all their apparent fullness, the biblical sources suffer from certain defects from the point of view of the historian. Chief among these is the lack of any overall chronological framework.
3. These works were not written with historical interests primarily in view. The best-known example concerns [...] namely the constitutional status of Judah and the position of its leaders.

When trying to understand the post-exilic Judean history the attention is, for good reason and in no small degree, directed towards Esra and Nehemiah.²⁹ Several ar-

L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian: Persian and Greek Periods*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 498–540.

25. It is not necessary for this work to indulge in the factors involved in the renewal of interest in Israel’s history during the Persian period. Here I confine myself to H. G. M. Williamson’s survey of five major reasons: 1. There has been a marked reaction against the earlier view that the post-exilic period witnessed a sharp decline from the religious and ethical heights of the pre-exilic prophets into a priestly, ritually dominated legalism; 2. There has been a noteworthy tendency to take this period more seriously as the time when the Hebrew Scriptures were brought close to their definitive form; 3. The archaeological profile of this period, which had previously lain in the shadows, has achieved a sharper focus; 4. The Achaemenid period has come into greater prominence in the study of the history of the ancient Near East in general; 5. The impact of the social scientific approach to history in general has been brought to bear on this period with considerable vigor in recent years (H. G. M. Williamson, “Exile and After: Historical Study,” in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold [Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999], 236–238).

26. Among scholars the biblical sources are evaluated differently. When it comes to authenticity, Williamson, for example, stands for a more positive view (Williamson, “Exile and After,” 240–246), in contrast to Lester L. Grabbe who has less confidence in the sources (Grabbe, *Yehud*, 70–106. See also Miller, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 498).

27. E.g. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 16 (Waco, TX: Word, 1985); Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 141–161; Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*. For a list of publication by Williamson on Persian Period History and Historiography, see Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, xiii–xiv.

28. Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 3–7.

29. Against the background of the silence regarding Judah in Persian and Greek sources, Briant,

guments support the impression that these books are first-hand accounts of the events they describe.³⁰ However, there are also several other post-exilic biblical books which are worthy of interest, even if, as historical sources, they are more scanty than Ezra-Nehemiah. One of those sources is TI, which can serve as an indirect source of information regarding the historical and social situation in the post-exilic Judean community. Examples of scholars who have demonstrated this potentiality, especially concerning Isa 65–66, are Susan Ackerman, Jon L. Berquist, Joseph Blenkinsopp, Paul D. Hanson, Leszek Ruzskowski, Brooks Schramm, Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, and Jacob Stromberg.³¹ Despite earnest attempts to understand Isa 65–66 from a historical-sociological perspective, it is evident that this biblical text as a primary source is very much characterised by the same restrictions as explained by Williamson above (see point 3). Isa 65–66 does not seem to be a straightforward historical account, but rather a prophetic vision that closes the Book of Isaiah.³² Thus, the historical situation behind Isa 65–66 is, at best, hypothetical, although there are strong indications of internal conflicts and the presence of a newly rebuilt Second Temple.

The religious and theological questions raised in the early post-exilic Judean history are of particular interest for this study. Since Julius Wellhausen's historical reconstruction of the early post-exilic period and its religion,³³ the agenda among scholars has been to identify the causes for Yehud's specific character, whether internal or external.³⁴ Wellhausen had a very negative attitude towards Judaism. However, his conclusion regarding the degree of institutionalisation, its internal causes, and Persia's external pressure on the community are reflected in much of the later research on the religious situation in Israel's early post-exilic history. Different historical reconstructions have, therefore, emphasised either the external

when discussing the Achaemenid period between accession of Artaxerxes I to the death of Darius II (465–405/404), states: "Meanwhile, life in the [Persian] provinces went on, with no apparent connection with the events in Asia Minor. What we have to go by, primarily, are the biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. [...]" (Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 583) A recent work by Blenkinsopp also demonstrates the importance of Ezra and Nehemiah in understanding the early phase of ancient Judaism (Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism, the First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009]).

30. See a survey of these arguments in Williamson, "Exile and After," 242–245.

31. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*; Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*; Blenkinsopp, "A Jewish Sect of the Persian Period," 5–20; Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah," 392–412; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*; Leszek Ruzskowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel: Eine Untersuchung zu Jesaja 56–66*, FRLANT 191 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*; Jacob Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book*, OTM (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

32. For more on Isa 65–66 as a vision-account, see 2.3.1 *Definition of Prophecy*, p. 51.

33. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1957).

34. I am *inter alia* indebted to Jon L. Berquist's excellent survey of "Perspectives on the Postexilic period" (Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 3–10) for what follows in this paragraph.s

factors (Martin Noth, Geo Widengren, J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, Eric M. Meyer), internal factors (John Bright, Yehezkel Kaufmann, Paul D. Hanson), or sought a balance between the two causes (Peter Ackroyd, Jon L. Berquist). I intend to seek a similar balance when identifying and analysing themes in Isa 65–66.

1.3.2 Approaches in the Study of Isaiah 65–66

Scholars have read Isa 65–66 in different ways. Questions like redaction, form and function are issues connected to the text. In this section, therefore, I shall account for different approaches to Isa 65–66. I have, however, already discussed socio-historical theories³⁵ and thus refer to that aspect only briefly in my survey below. Instead, I shall concentrate on the authorship and dating, the unity of the text, and coherent readings. This survey of approaches will form the background to how I decide to read Isa 65–66 in relation to the whole Book of Isaiah with the aim of fulfilling the task of this project.

1.3.2.1 Authorship and Dating

There is no consensus regarding either the authorship or the dating of Isa 65–66, which is also the case with the Book of Isaiah as a whole. Through the history of modern interpretation, the question has been whether the entire Book of Isaiah is early and original,³⁶ built around a nucleus of authentic Isaianic material in Isa 1–39,³⁷ or late and anonymous.³⁸ This threefold way of categorising previous research on the formation and authorship of the Book of Isaiah is helpful.³⁹ A more exact mapping of the many different views and theories produced over the years, however, is much more complicated. Nonetheless, a broad understanding exists among scholars today that more than one author or redactor is behind the Book of Isaiah, and the mountain of research that supports such a conclusion reflects the complexity of the book. For some scholars, it is not obvious that chapters 1–39 (PI)

35. See 1.2 *Relevance of the Study*, p. 1.

36. E.g. Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965); J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary*, (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993); John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 1–2, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986–1998).

37. E.g. R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 2–8, 11, 15; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 83–92.

38. E.g. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1972); O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1974); Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1969).

39. This threefold view on Isaianic research is applied from Thomas L. Leclerc chapter, "Isaiah: The Prophet(s), the book, the Commentators" (Thomas L. Leclerc, *Yahweh is Exalted in Justice: Solidarity and Conflict in Isaiah* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 16–21).

describe the ministry of the prophet Isaiah in Jerusalem during the 8th century BCE. When it comes to chapters 40–66, the consensus is that it presupposes at least one author who lived towards the end of the exile (Isa 40–55, DI),⁴⁰ or/and another author or redactors who lived in Judea during the early post-exile period (Isa 56–66, TI).⁴¹ This work presupposes the prophet Isaiah in Jerusalem and his significant role in what became the Isaianic tradition in the form of a book. Thus, Isa 65–66 is part of that tradition, as a closure of a long chain of judgement and salvation oracles.

The designation TI is traceable back to Bernhard Duhm's commentary on Isaiah, who called these chapters "Trito" Isaiah.⁴² However, Duhm's arguments for the existence of a TI have been modified many times by other scholars since his original publication. There is, therefore, no real consensus on how to divide chapters 40–66 into DI and TI.⁴³ A majority of scholars, however, do prefer to separate Isa 56–66 from Isa 40–55 on historical critical grounds. When it comes to Isa 65–66, the redaction-critical approach has tended to fragmentise Isa 65–66 into various layers of material.⁴⁴ This group of scholars have the following in common:⁴⁵

1. The view that Isa 65–66 consists of a collection of diverse material from different authors and time periods.
2. An emphasis on the incoherence and diversity of the material, both in relation to the small units and to the whole collection.

40. For the question of the geographical location of DI, see Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion: The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40–55*, VTSup 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

41. Henceforth, this three-part literary division of the Book of Isaiah will be abbreviated as PI = Proto-Isaiah; DI = Deutero-Isaiah; TI = Trito-Isaiah.

42. Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 5th ed., (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968). The commentary was originally published in 1892.

43. See for example Ulrich Berges, "Where Does Trito-Isaiah Start in the Book of Isaiah?" in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40–66*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, FRLANT 255 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 63–76; cf. Ulrich Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, HBM 46, trans. Millard C. Lind (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 372 n. 374.

44. Claus Westermann identifies four separate layers on the basis of strands or themes (Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 307). Notably, Westermann identifies "apocalyptic additions to the oracles of salvation [...] found only in chs. 60–66 (60.19f., 65.17, 25; 66.20, 22ff.)." Vermeylen has divided the material into seven layers (J. Vermeylen, *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. 2, EBib [Paris: Gabalda, 1977], 492–503). Whybray thinks that each chapter is distinct from the others (R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, NCBC [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981], 266). See also Helen Genevieve Jefferson, "Notes on the Authorship of Isaiah 65 and 66," *JBL* 68/3 (1949): 225–230.

45. P. A. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Structure, Growth, and Authorship of Isaiah 56–66*, VTSup LXII (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 3.

Thus, as is the case with many parts of the Book of Isaiah, there is also a lack of consensus regarding the literary unit of Isa 65–66.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, recent studies have demonstrated the coherent structure and an extensive unit in Isa 65–66. The growing awareness of the unity of the text through form-critical and rhetorical studies has become a positive counterbalance to the splitting methods of redactional criticism.⁴⁷ Below, I shall discuss this more coherent way of reading in more detail, because in order to grasp the intent of the text better, assessing how themes in a text like Isa 65–66 work together toward an eschatological final is significant.

The historical situation in Isa 65–66 is difficult to define because of the lack of specific historical references. A post-exilic background can be presupposed, but this is too general when it comes to understanding what is going on in the community Isa 65–66 addresses. Plöger and Hanson's theories accounted for above are examples of hypotheses that have arisen as attempts to explain the historical and social background of Isa 65–66. However, the few references in Isa 65–66, such as the temple, can only be regarded as hints in the text. Such hints must be taken seriously by an interpreter, but also cautions us from drawing too obvious and clear cut conclusions pertaining to who the rebellious and the faithful are in Isa 65–66. Although Hanson constructed his far-reaching theories upon vague historical references, nevertheless he managed to demonstrate that the eschatology in Isa 65–66 has theological relevance for periods other than the original one. One approach, then, is not to limit the message of Isa 65–66 to the post-exilic period too much. The way 1 En. 1–5 reuses themes and the structure of Isa 65–66 proves that.

What can we then say about the reference to the Second Temple in Isa 65–66 that will help us to date the text? In Isa 63:18 and 64:11 the temple is in ruins, trodden down and burnt by fire, a situation that is not implied in 66:1–2b. That makes 63:7–64:11 an exilic text or a very early post-exilic text, earlier than Isa 65–66. Isa 60:7, 13 promise a temple, which is also implied in 62:7. These two texts are commonly dated earlier than 65–66, but are, nonetheless, still post-exilic because they express a hope for a new temple in Zion. The fact that Isa 60–62 come before 63:7–64:11 in TI but promise a temple which is declared destroyed in the latter text, is evidence that Isa 56–66 is not linear in structure and that 63:7–64:11 is exilic or at

46. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer summarises the problem well: "Similarly to the situation in Isa 56:9–59:21, a consensus is lacking regarding the literary unity of 65:1–66:14/16/17/24. While some scholars divide these two chapters into several independent oracles [e.g. Duhn, Marti], others distinguish between different textual layers, thus separating the oracles of salvation and oracles of judgement [Westermann, Vermeylen, Sekine, Koenen], the former uttered before any division of the Judahite society had taken place while the latter, stemming from a later date, address the apostates in the divided community" (Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 53).

47. Regarding redactional criticism and Isa 65–66, P. A. Smith says: "These rhetorical studies may be seen as a helpful counterbalance to the predominantly fissive approach of redaction criticism, whereby the text is first of all fragmented to a greater or lesser degree and then restructured in terms of a number of redactional layers" (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 3–4).

least earlier than chapters 60–62. Additionally, Isa 56:5–7 may refer to a standing temple that one day will be accessible to foreigners (בני־הנכר, v. 6). Isa 56:1–8 is connected to the universalistic and eschatological vision of a temple in 66:18–24 in a circular progressive structure (a rhetorical chiasmi). Altogether, this makes it likely that the critique of the view of the temple in 66:1–2b implies a sanctuary which is, at least, under construction, even though the motive for the construction did not correspond with how the author of Isa 65–66 regarded the presence of God.

There is certainly a dating problem with TI, and this has caused extensive debates. Nonetheless, the mention of a “house” (בית) and the critique against it in 66:1–2b, and the explicit mention of “the temple” (היכל) in 66:6b in combination with my discussion above regarding other references to the temple in TI, Isa 65–66 can not be dated earlier than 515 BCE.⁴⁸ In this work, I shall suggest that Isa 65–66 best reflects a situation after Ezra 9–10 but before Nehemiah.⁴⁹ In short, the position in this work regarding authorship is that the same author is responsible for Isa 56:1–59:21 and 65–66, and the author is also likely the redactor for TI in its final form.⁵⁰ In my analysis of Isa 65–66, I shall refer to this prophet as “the author,” as the person is unknown to us. However, the prophet is part of the Isaianic tradition and represents the faithful and oppressed in the text. A sustainable argument for single authorship of Isa 65–66 is the coherent reading approach presented below; before that, however, we need to take a look at the unity of the Book of Isaiah.

48. With the help of Isa 66:1–2 and 6, Hanson decides an absolute date of Isa 66 to circa 520 BCE (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 172), but he also claims in his later commentary that the temple was not reconstructed during the period of Isa 65–66, because the text was authored before Haggai and Zechariah (Paul D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, IBC [Louisville: John Knox, 1995], 186). Seitz maintains, contrary to Hanson, that it is difficult to know how to use vague references to a Second Temple for dating Isa 65–66 more specifically (Christopher R. Seitz, *The Book of Isaiah 40–66: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections*, vol. 6, NIB | Nashville: Abingdon, 2001], 318–319, 474). Westermann argues on the basis of 60:13 that the temple was not yet built (Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 296); but in Westermann’s model there is also room for the view that the temple existed, because of his theory that the texts developed at different stages. According to Westermann, Isa 57:14–20; 65:16b–25 and 66:6–16, together with chapters 60–62, belong to the literary core of Isa 56–66, which he dates to before the temple’s reconstruction. The other texts in TI he assigns to different periods of times i.e. before and after the prophet’s active time (Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 302). This kind of fragmentation of Isa 56–66 has however been criticized recently because of the growing awareness of the unity of the text (see 1.3.2.2 The Unity of the Book of Isaiah, 9). Others consider 56:1–8 as proof that the temple was already rebuilt and that society functioned. For a more extensive survey of historical clues and formation of Isa 56–66, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 51–60 and especially Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 11–39.

49. Isa 66:18–24 (in my translation) might have been added later to 65–66 together with 56:1–7, but by the same author and redactor. Regarding the dating of Isa 65–66, see also 6.5.1 *Trembling* (vv. 2e, 5a–b), p. 185.

50. See Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile* for a well-developed argument of this position regarding the authorship and redaction of TI. Because this work is not about the redaction of TI, although it is not unimportant in a thematic study of Isa 65–66, I shall take this position as a starting point in my analysis.

1.3.2.2 The Unity of the Book of Isaiah

A different understanding of Isaiah has emerged parallel to the discussion on how to divide the book. Instead of strictly dividing up the book into three different parts, and treating them historically separate from each other, the whole text is considered a literary and ideological unit.⁵¹ The idea is that the joining of different parts of the book did not happen. They were not merely pulled together by redactors to fill out a scroll. Modern scholars agree at large that the literary units of Isaiah have common themes, vocabulary, and language – bound together intertextually and with allusions – which is a testimony that the book has some intended meaning as a whole.⁵² Thus, the different historical backgrounds which had divided the book at earlier stages in the history of exegesis of Isaiah are much less of a problem now. Furthermore, the sparse historical references in Isa 56–66 might be a sign that this particular part of the book is not meant to exist separated from the other parts but must be read together with the rest of the parts. The unity of the Book of Isaiah is, however, not only about themes, and the struggle among scholars to agree upon a coherent structure of the book seems far from over.

There are many interesting works worth mentioning regarding the structural unity of the Book of Isaiah. This survey will limit itself to those that are of particular interest for Isa 65–66 and its genre. Robert H. O’Connell has done a very ambitious rhetorical-critical analysis of the Book of Isaiah. His main concern is the literary form of the book and how “recurrent literary patterns” (*rib*-patterns) relate to

51. See e.g. Peter R. Ackroyd, “Isaiah I–XII: Presentation of a Prophet,” in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 16–48; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 311–338; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition*, BZAW 171 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988); David M. Carr, “Reaching for Unity in Isaiah,” *JSOT* 18/57 (1993): 61–80; Anthony J. Tomasino, “Isaiah 1.1–2.4 and 63–66, and the Composition of the Isaianic Corpus,” *JSOT* 57 (1993): 81–98; David M. Carr, “Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66): Multiple Modern Possibilities,” in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, JSOTSup 214 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 188–218; Robert H. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah*, JSOTSup 188 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994); Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); R. E. Clements, “Isaiah: A Book without an Ending?,” *JSOT* 97 (2002): 109–126.

52. For studies of common themes in the Book of Isaiah, also identifiable in Isa 65–66, see e.g. Robert P. Carroll, “Blindsight and the Vision Thing: Blindness and Insight in the Book of Isaiah,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup LXX, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 79–93; Antti Laato, “About Zion I will not be silent”: *The Book of Isaiah as an Ideological Unity*, ConBOT 44 (Stockholm and Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998); H. G. M. Williamson, *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah*, The Didsbury Lectures 1997 (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998); Thomas L. Leclerc, *Yahweh is Exalted in Justice*; Hyun Chul Paul Kim, “Little Highs, Little Lows: Tracing Key Themes in Isaiah,” in *The Book of Isaiah: Enduring Questions Answered Anew*, ed. Richard J. Bautch and J. Todd Hibbard (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 133–158; Andrew T. Abernethy, *The Book of Isaiah and God’s Kingdom: A Thematic-Theological Approach*, ed. D. A. Carson, NSBT 40 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016).

each other giving the book its “unity, coherence and rhetorical emphasis.” However, it is also “what rhetorical function the present arrangement of materials may have been intended to serve in the political-historical world of its (implied) author(s).”⁵³ O’Connell proposes that the book was created by a sixth-century author/compiler who integrated the prophecies of the eighth-century Isaiah with the author’s/compiler’s material.⁵⁴ Of particular interest in O’Connell’s study is that genre criticism plays an important role – he wonders in what ways “genre conventions might account for the rhetoric implied by the form of Isaiah.” He argues that the rhetorical conventions in Isaiah are “the prophetic covenant disputation genre”⁵⁵ (*rîb*-genre). Whether O’Connell has fully succeeded in his aim to propose a model of the structure of Isaiah or not, he has succeeded in demonstrating that the whole book of Isaiah must be considered when interpreting a specific text and moreover that the genre of the book is key to understanding the intent of the text.⁵⁶

Brooks Schramm discusses in his book about TI the relationship between Isa 56–66 and 40–55. Contrary to O’Connell, Schramm argues against the view that a single prophetic figure was responsible for chapters 56–66, but nonetheless finds the designation “Third Isaiah” still helpful if it is “understood to refer to a section of the book of Isaiah and not to a particular historical personage.” When looking at TI as a literary section, Schramm states that those chapters never existed independently from Isa 40–55, that “issues and themes of Isa 56–66 demand to be read against the background of chs. 40–55 and be understood as continuations, extensions and reinterpretations thereof.” Schramm’s conclusion is that “Isaiah 56–66 is, therefore, dependent upon 40–55.”⁵⁷ With that starting point, Schramm sets out to identify the opponents in the polemic of TI. There are good reasons to get back to Schramm’s conclusion regarding the opponents, not only because of his critique of Hanson’s *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* but also because of his discussion of some themes in Isa 65–66.

Some scholars have recognised that Isa 1 functions as an introduction to the whole Book of Isaiah, because of its lexical and thematic agreement with Isa 65–66 (the abuse of the cult, the judgment of the rebellious, and salvation of the faithful). Studies by Marvin A. Sweeney analysed the role of 65–66 as a conclusion to the book.⁵⁸ The observation that the themes and vocabulary in Isa 1 correspond to the

53. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 29–30.

54. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 237.

55. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 19, 22.

56. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 235.

57. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 50.

58. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 21–24; Marvin A. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis in Isaiah 65–66,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup LXX, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 455–457; see also Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 39–51.

vocabulary and themes spread out in Isa 65–66 has resulted in the claim that these last two chapters of Isaiah form an inclusion for the entire book. In his study of Isa 1–4, Sweeney demonstrated in particular how closely associated Isa 1:29–31 is with Isa 65–66. He says:

These observations demonstrate that the imagery of Isa 1, 29 – 31 permeates all of Isa 65 – 66 and indicate that the writer of Isa 65 – 66 employed the imagery and language of this oracle in presenting their views on the coming punishment of the apostates and triumph of the elect.⁵⁹

The question here is what kind of function Isa 1 has in relation to the Book of Isaiah. Sweeney describes the chapter as a prologue that summarises the message of Isa 2–66,⁶⁰ i.e., “an exhortation which intends to provoke a change in the people’s behavior so that they will return to YHWH.”⁶¹ However, Sweeney continues to explain that Isa 2–66 actually goes beyond the summary in Isa 1 by elaborating and expanding the theme of Isa 1. He states: “In this sense, Isa 1, with its limited perspective on the fate of Jerusalem, serves as a fitting prologue for the rest of the book.”⁶² Because of the way Sweeney understands Isa 1, in his view the whole book is about “Exhortation to the People of Jerusalem/Judah to Return to YHWH as their God,”⁶³ a theme that he thinks served the needs of the late 5th century Jewish community in Jerusalem well.

There are other scholars on the same line as Sweeney regarding the opening and closing chapters of Isaiah, but who suggest a more complex solution regarding the function of Isa 65–66. One of them is O’Connell, whose rhetorical-critical analysis has already been presented above; his view is that the rhetorical conventions in Isaiah are “the prophetic covenant disputation genre.” In the light of that genre, O’Connell means that the rhetoric of 1:1–2:5 is decisive for understanding the major issues addressed throughout the book.⁶⁴ Thus, the book of Isaiah, from 1:2a to 66:24, condemns “the injustice of all who oppose YHWH,” and assembles “all who would be reconciled” to the future Zion.⁶⁵ O’Connell’s final “asymmetrically concentric” section, therefore, “is the rhetorical culmination of the whole.” In these chapters (55:1–66:24), the intended readers have to decide how to respond to the message of the book – the appeal to confess their sins of apostasy and injustice and be reconciled to God and in that way escape punishment and “enjoy

59. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 23–24.

60. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 31.

61. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 97–98.

62. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 98.

63. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*, 98, see also 99 and a detailed analysis in 101–133.

64. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 51.

65. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 31.

the covenant benefits promised to future citizens of Zion.”⁶⁶ In O’Connell’s suggested and complex framework, 65:2–7, 8–66:24 is the final “tier” of the Book of Isaiah, a closure and the concluding part of the whole discourse.⁶⁷ It is an inclusion, similar to how Sweeney describes the function of Isa 65–66 in the whole. Irrespective of the question as to whether all texts in Isaiah can be categorised under a single overriding genre (the “covenant disputation”),⁶⁸ a specific texts genre in Isaiah must be compared with the genre(s) in the rest of the book.

This single “macro-structural perspective” in the Book of Isaiah, advocated by Sweeney and O’Connell, where Isa 1 and 65–66 together form an inclusion, has been questioned by other scholars. David Carr’s first “critical review” of studying the Book of Isaiah as a whole was published in 1993.⁶⁹ In that article, among other things, he criticises Sweeney’s view on the function of Isa 65–66. In 1996, Carr published an extended version of the 1993-article,⁷⁰ after the publication of O’Connell’s book on the literary structure of Isaiah, although he includes no review of O’Connell’s work. This abstract of Carr’s critique, therefore, is limited to the proposals by Sweeney and Isa 65–66. Carr finds the parallels between chapter 1 and chapters 65–66 which suggest an introduction and a conclusion of the Book of Isaiah contradictory because they do not comprise much of the intervening material. He argues that the two texts are even in conflict with each other because of the exhortation to repent in Isa 1 and the pronouncement in Isa 65–66 that repentance is no longer possible. Carr says: “This is not just a thematic conflict, but a conflict in rhetorical aim, a conflict that makes it difficult for 1.2–3 and 65–66 to function cohesively as a paired introduction and conclusion to the book as a whole.”⁷¹ Williamson agrees with Carr on this point: “in ch 1 the reader is confronted with a real choice (e.g. vv. 18-20) [...] and it seeks to influence that choice, whereas chs 65-66 present the consequences of a choice which has already been made.”⁷²

Carr and Williamson’s observations regarding the literary relationship between Isa 1 and 65–66 raises the question to what degree the closing chapters of Isaiah qualify as an inclusion of the whole book. Some of the subunits in those two chapters could have been written to serve another purpose. Regarding the connection between Isa 1 and Isa 65–66 Williamson says “[...] that they [the connections] are not all of equal weight and significance; [...]”⁷³ W.A.M. Beuken also ar-

66. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 215.

67. O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 229.

68. However, see critic and questions regarding O’Connell’s conclusions in Roy F. Melugin, review of *Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah*, by Robert H. Connell, *RBL* 06/26 (2000) [<http://www.bookreviews.org>].

69. Carr, “Reaching for Unity in Isaiah,” 61–80.

70. Carr, “Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66),” 188–218.

71. Carr, “Reaching for Unity in Isaiah,” 71–80.

72. H. G. M. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, vol. 1, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 10.

73. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 11.

gues, that “the terminological agreement between these chapters [Isa 65–66 and Isa 1] does not reach the level of allusion, let alone of quotation, [...]”⁷⁴ Instead, the lexical correspondence, according to Beuken, is “due, for a large part, to the fact that both text complexes contain the same prophetic literary genres, namely accusation, admonition, announcement of judgement and salvation oracle. Within these genres the same themes occur, [...]”⁷⁵ Because of these objections, Williamson has suggested that Isa 65–66 functions as a literary “closure” which rounds off the book.⁷⁶

Returning to Beuken’s view on chapters 65 and 66 and the unity of the Book of Isaiah, he argues that there are as many as three closures (“epilogues”) in these chapters, that form a well-composed whole:⁷⁷

1. Isa 65:1–66:14 concludes TI’s main topic “the Servant of YHWH.”
2. The judgement “theophany of YHWH” in Isa 66:15–20a (20b–21) concludes TI and DI together.
3. Isa 66:22–23 (24) integrate the central themes of the servants and theophany of YHWH, and have a high density of terms in common with Isa 1 (see above). These final three verses function as the closure of the whole book.

According to Beuken, these three epilogues function together as a coherent text that embraces “the three Isaiah into one expectation of God’s final act with regard to Zion.”⁷⁸ Even if it is not possible to regard Isa 65–66 unqualifiedly as an inclusion, Sweeney, Beuken, and Williamson have detected what looks like a deliberate framing of the whole book by the author(s), or the redactor(s), when including Isa 1:29–31 and 1:2–4 in Isa 65–66, particularly in 66:22–24. In this framework, Isa 66:22–24 functions as an eschatological denouement of the future. How apocalyptic this closure is presented remains to be seen. Furthermore, the argument by Carr that repentance is no longer an option in Isa 65–66, in contrast to Isa 1, applies only to Isa 66. As I shall show in my analysis below (chapters 3–9), the offer of repentance is implicitly part of the rhetoric at least in Isa 65 and up to 66:2.

74. Willem A. M. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah,” in *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989*, ed. John Adney Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 219–220.

75. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 220.

76. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 11. However, both Beuken and Williamson have noted a couple of exceptions to this picture: 1. The number of common words is much less frequent between chapter 1 and 65:17–24; 66:15–21; and 2. The number of common words is intense in 66:22–24 (the last three verses of the book of Isaiah), especially regarding 1:29–31 and perhaps 1:2–4 (Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 220–221; Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 11).

77. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 205–221.

78. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 221.

If, in certain respects, the post-exilic prophetic genre of Isa 65–66 has a different function to the literary genre of Isa 1, then this must influence how we understand Isa 65–66. The genre in those latter chapters has developed in comparison with chapter 1 and with the rest of the Book of Isaiah. I suggest, that it is the result of a progression which took place when the *Sitz im Leben* of the people gradually changed in connection with the historical periods the Book of Isaiah covers. This also means that although the genre of Isa 65–66 is part of a framework that comprise the whole book and cannot be isolated from any literary genre in that book, it must also be analysed as a unique unit in the whole. For example, one intent in Isa 65–66 is to communicate a transformed creation with new heavens and a new earth, and thus a new covenant relationship with an elect people through a New Jerusalem. While Isa 1 alludes to Deuteronomy in the Torah, Isa 65–66 is a precursor of Jewish apocalyptic thinking.

1.3.2.3 The Coherency of Isa 65–66

My thematic analysis in chapters 3–9 is not only based upon the unity of the Book of Isaiah, but even more upon a coherent reading of Isa 65–66, which consists of a progressive account in 65:1–66:17 and a closure with 66:18–24. The latter passage, therefore, is both a closure for Isa 65–66, for TI, and for the Book of Isaiah as a whole.⁷⁹ Hanson is one of those scholars who has done a very close reading of Isa 65–66 and observed the alternation between judgement and salvation words in the text. Instead of interpreting this shifting as a sign of multiple redactional layers, Hanson finds that it supports the unity of Isa 65–66 and structures the text. Hence, what we have in Isa 65–66 is a unique form for the prophetic oracle during the post-exilic period, even in comparison with Isa 58 and 59. It leads Hanson to conclude, among other things, that “[...] this structure of the oracle grows out of a new situation within the community of post-exilic Israel, and those who disarticulate oracles such as chapter 65 on the basis of the contrast between judgement and salvation words fails to recognise a major characteristic of this material.”⁸⁰ Tiemeyer also finds a division of Isa 65–66 doubtful in the light of Hanson’s theory, and argues that it is “preferable to view the two different kinds of oracles [judgement and salvation] as contemporary with one another but addressing different sectors of the society: the oracles of salvation speak only the prophet’s followers while those of judgement target his opponents.”⁸¹

In the present study, I join this group of scholars who apply a coherent approach to Isa 65–66. My view, as indicated above, is that the author of the text

79. See also Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*.

80. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 135 (see also 79–81, 161–163).

81. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 53.

wants to depict God and the two groups of people as main actors in a situation that unites Isa 65–66 in one extended reading.⁸² This rapid shifting creates a consistent pattern in Isa 65–66, typical for post-exilic prophecy, which moves the text towards a sort of apocalyptic finale. The movement of text interweaves in Isa 65 with devastating words directly addressed to the wicked and words of comfort regarding the righteous. This movement continues in Isa 66, but with the same harsh words regarding the wicked, and words of hope addressed directly to the righteous elect. It is, therefore, important to grasp the function of this hybrid genre of judgement-salvation prophecy if we want to understand Isa 65–66 as the closing oracle in the Book of Isaiah. To place salvation parallel to an unavoidable judgement in an alternating fashion is a rhetorical grip meant to influence people into making a decision, namely, that repentance is acute and cannot be postponed in people's minds.

There are, however, other arguments for a coherent reading of Isa 65–66, which have been presented by different scholars in support for its unity. The following five reasons are a list of the different internal evidence, to which I will return in detail when discussing structural issues and analysing Isa 65–66 in chapters 3–9 of this work.

1. *There are direct speaking voices (in particular God's voice in the first person) throughout both chapters.*⁸³ Although, these voices (mainly God's but also a human voice in 65:15–16; 66:14–16, 20) do not function as dividing markers in Isa 65–66, the greatest value of God's direct speeches is that they encourage a coherent reading of Isa 65–66.⁸⁴
2. *The repetition of words and phrases binds chapter 65 into an integrated unit, and extends this unity into chapter 66.* For example, the call (קרא) in 65:1–2,⁸⁵ 12c–f, 24, and 66:4.⁸⁶ While chapter 65 clearly demonstrates a coherence in terminology, the case is more difficult to solve when it

82. To be more exact, the first extended reading reaches from 65:1 to 66:17. Isa 66:18–24 is an addition, probably by the same author, but is meant to be read together with 65:1–66:17.

83. Samuel A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible*, VTSup 46 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 256, 257; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 134–135, 142, and BHS critical apparatus. Cf. John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, vol. 2, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 643, nn. 38 and 39.

84. Something that both Hanson and James Muilenburg have observed (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 135; James Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40–66*, vol 5, IB [New York: Abingdon, 1956], 744).

85. Hanson means that 65:1–2 and v. 10 form an inclusion, bound together thematically by קרא (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 135). However, קרא in vv. 1–2, 12, 24, and 66:4 extends the prophetic call beyond 65:10.

86. Other examples of words and phrases that bind Isa 65 and 66 together: “My mountains” and “My mountain (v. 9, 11); “people” (v. 2, 3), “my people” (vv. 10, 18–19, 22), and “my servants” (vv. 8, 9, 13*3, 14, 15; 66:14). See also Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 134–135.

comes to chapter 66. Hardly any scholars agree upon this chapter, but as Muilenburg states, "Affinities between the two chapters are clearly present."⁸⁷

3. *Themes and poetic features in Isa 65–66 provide elements of unity and coherence.* The contrast between the wicked and the righteous, and the final destiny of these two groups of people, supplies the elements of unity and coherence in Isa 65–66.⁸⁸ Form critically, Sweeney believes he has also fixed the structure of the chapters.⁸⁹
4. *Isa 65–66 is a critical response to the lament in 63:7–64:11.* Some commentators question the existence of a connection here⁹⁰ and others think it is more probable that the connection is redactional because of the independent nature of the lament (63:7–64:11).⁹¹ Another question is how much of Isa 65–66 is the answer.⁹² My view is that Isa 65:1–66:17 should be read together with 66:18–24 as a negative response to 63:7–64:11.
5. *Isa 65–66 as a whole has structural similarities and repetition of words/phrases in common with many oracles in TI.*⁹³ The swift alternations between salvation and judgement words in Isa 65–66 support a coherent reading of both chapters. Even the last verses in Isa 66 vary between the faithful (vv. 18–23) and the wicked (v. 24), which is another

87. Muilenburg is basing this statement upon repetition of the same words (cf. 66:4; 65:22, 12), the eschatological world view present in both chapters, the division of the community into the faithful and rebellious, syncretistic practices, and verbal affinities. All this suggests "a similar provenance and authorship." Muilenburg admits there are unmistakable differences between the chapters, but they are not so marked to question the chapters' dependency on each other (Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah*, 758).

88. Edwin C. Webster, "A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66," *JSOT* 11/34 (1986): 93–108 and Edwin C. Webster, "The Rhetoric of Isaiah 63–65," *JSOT* 15/47 (1990): 89–102.

89. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis," 458–459. The article is republished in Marvin A. Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature*, FAT 45 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 46–62.

90. E.g. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 266.

91. Hanson argues that Isa 65 was initially an independent unit and consequently joined to 63:7–64:11 "into a liturgical composition" (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 134, see also 80–81). Tiemeyer thinks that "the originally independent lament of 63:7–64:11," was joined to the older material (Isa 60–62; 63:1–6) with the purpose of providing it with the negative response of 65:1–66:17 (Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 36).

92. See Odil Hannes Steck, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, BZAW 203 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 217–228; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 129, n. 9 and Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 36.

93. Hanson has observed this regarding chapter 65, in the way it is "alternating words of judgement against wicked (1–7, 11–12, half of 13–15) with words of promise to the faithful (8–10, half of 13–15, 16–25)." He argues further that the same principles also tie together 66:1–16. He concludes: "It is impossible to regard these alternations as the result of secondary redactionary activity, as proven by vv. like 65:13–15 and 66:14b" (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 162–163).

er reason why these concluding verses are to be read together with the rest of Isa 65–66.

Each of the reasons above, by itself, does not prove a coherent reading of Isa 65–66, but together they support such a reading. Specific issues in the text, however, are complex. I shall, therefore, discuss text-critical and redactional issues in the analysis of Isa 65–66 when it is relevant for the thematic study. At this point, it is sufficient to conclude that a redactional atomisation of Isa 65–66 is doubtful because it would undermine the natural progressive development and the eschatological answer to the problems in the community it addresses.

1.3.3 The Setting of Isa 65–66

In general, two primary social settings are evident in prophetic texts: the temple and the royal court.⁹⁴ Regarding Isa 65–66, the setting is the temple and thus Jerusalem. More specifically, the early post-exilic period and references to what must be the Second Temple in Jerusalem (Isa 66:1, 6; see also v. 20) form this setting. Furthermore, a struggle in the community between a group led by priests and the tremblers (66:2, 5) represented by the author/prophet of Isa 65–66 is also part of this setting. A situation had arisen which motivated a response against idolatry and complacency (65:1–7, 11; 66:2–4) but also against oppression (66:5). The response leads to a vision of an alternative age, with new heavens and a new earth, and the New Jerusalem in the centre (65:17–25; 66:7–14b, 18–24), and thus the issue can be described as ideological. This reading of Isa 65–66 is supported by the oracles in Isa 56–59.⁹⁵ However, a comparison is illustrative here between how the authors view the wicked in Isa 55:6–7 and the rebellious in Isa 65–66.

The attitude towards the wicked in 55:6–7 differs from the attitude in chapters 65–66. In Isa 55, “the wicked” (רשע) are exhorted to seek YHWH and they will be pardoned; in 65–66 “a rebellious people” (עם סורר) are condemned for not seeking YHWH and are threatened with fire and nonexistence.⁹⁶ To understand such a contrast, one has to take the failing expectation among the returnees after the prophetic exhortation and the vision in Isa 55 into consideration. In 55:6–7, the oracle gives “the wicked” the epithet “unrighteous” or “sinful” (אין), a noun which is reused in 58:9; 59:4, 6, 7 to describe the speech, works and thoughts of a self-righteous group of people in the post-exilic community.⁹⁷ In 66:3, אין is used to describe the deeds of the rebellious, with the explanation that “[...] they have chosen their ways

94. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 14–15, 17.

95. See for e.g. 3.4 *The Provocations of the Rebellious* (vv. 3–5), p. 72.

96. Isa 65:1–2, 6–7, 11–12, 13–16; 66:3–6, 14b–17.

97. Isa 57:12; 58:1–3; 65:5; 63:7–64:11 (see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 86–112).

(בדרכיהם) [...]” Isa 66:4 explains that God will judge them because they did not heed the divine call. In Isa 55:7, this unrighteous group was exhorted to “abandon his way” (דרכו) by seeking and calling upon YHWH. In 66:3–4, God’s voice says that they delightfully preferred their own ways, rather than choosing to listened to his call and thus avoid punishment by being forgiven. In sum, Isa 55:6–7 exhort a group of “wicked” to heed the prophetic call, while in Isa 56–66 a group described in a similar way were found to have not listened to the prophetic voice. This connection could explain why the voice in Isa 65–66, associated with the prophet of Isa 55, was stirred to action because the situation with “the wicked” was unresolved.⁹⁸

Two other words related to “the wicked” in Isa 55:6 and “the rebellious” in 65:1, 12; 66:4, are the expressions “seek” (דרש) and “call” (קרא). I have noted that the genre in Isa 55 can appropriately be described as an exhortation, a call from God which it is not too late to respond to, even for the wicked. Isa 58:2 uses דרש to describe fasting among a group that the author likely associates with the religious leadership (ואותי יום יום ידרשון).⁹⁹ They are doing what 55:6 exhorts them to do, albeit for the wrong purpose – seeking God and his ways must be in combination with acts of social justice. In Isa 58:9, we read that when done correctly, their calling will result in a divine answer (אז תקרא ויהיה יענה).¹⁰⁰ Thus, as in Isa 55:6–7, the words “call,” “seek,” and “way” reoccur in 58:1–9 to exhort those who are the target for prophetic critique because of their self-righteous behaviour. In 64:6, we meet another complaint, which reads: “And no one is calling on your name (ואין קורא בשמך) [...], because you have hidden your face from us.” In v. 11, God is beseeched to break his silence. These two verses belong to the lament¹⁰¹ inserted by the author of Isa 65–66 and coupled with the opponents criticised in Isa 57–59. The lament complains about the unfair absence of God, and its function in the present literary context is to prepare the reader for the negative answer in the next two chapters. However, in Isa 65–66 the author uses the words “call,” “seek” and “way”¹⁰² as a divine accusation against those who are now the “rebellious” ones,

98. Marwin A. Sweeney delimits the Book of Isaiah synchronically in such a way that 55:1–66:24 becomes a major subunit in chapters 34–66. He bases this upon the argument that prophetic exhortation is the dominant genre in the Book of Isaiah. Isa 55 thus functions as an introduction to 56–66 (Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 39–41; Marwin A. Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature*, IBT [Nashville: Abingdon, 2005], 78–79). Whether Isa 55 can function synchronically in such a way or not, is open for question because of the contrast between that particular text and Isa 65–66. Even if Isa 55 diachronically belongs to chapters 40–55, it is, nonetheless, still an important text for understanding the setting of 65–66 because of this contrast between exhortation and damnation regarding the wicked/rebellious. Similarly, divine exhortation as an unifying genre in the Book of Isaiah, depends how the message of Isa 65–66 should be understood in its context.

99. See Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 93–94, 96–97.

100. Cf. Isa 65:1–3.

101. Isa 63:7–64:11.

102. Isa 65:1, 2, 12; 66:3, 4.

in contrast to the faithful ones in 65:24, who God will answer even before they call. Thus, the open exhortation to call upon and to seek the Lord in Isa 55 is replaced with words of condemnation in Isa 65–66.

Connections like Isa 55 and Isa 65–66 help us see some of the differences between earlier visions and the eschatological vision of transformation in Isa 65–66, something that will be important for the thematic analysis in chapters 3–9 of this work. What can be deciphered so far is that a “rebellious” group in post-exilic Judah upset the author to such an extent that the critique in Isa 65–66 resulted in a declaration of total extinction. In contrast, a bright future awaited the faithful elect. I have already mentioned that the text identifies the former group with the religious leaders, and the faithful are those who fulfil God’s righteousness. However, I want to point out that the situation in the community, as reflected in Isa 56–66, does not need to be a sharp division between two well-defined groups of people, although they can be the *החרדים/הרר* in Ezra 9:4 and 10:3 (see Isa 66:2, 5) in a new and different setting.¹⁰³ In Isa 55:6–7, we cannot identify the “wicked” solely with the priests – and even if the focus is on the religious leadership in 56–66 it does not mean that the author automatically disqualified everyone in that role as the faithful ones in Isa 65–66. The issue in Isa 56–66 is not about position,¹⁰⁴ but rather about righteousness and true worship which can explain the sparse amount of historical connections in the text. The dualism in Isa 65–66, therefore, has a rhetorical purpose when differentiating between groups of people.

So far we have limited the discussion about setting to an inner-community conflict, an approach advocated by a rather large group of scholars. This conflict is part of the general setting in Isa 56–66 where a message of judgement targets a specific group within the community. In chapters 65–66, this targeting takes an extreme form with the dualistic division of the whole community into the rebellious and the faithful. A broader perspective has to be considered too in order to understand the cause behind the change of perception in Isa 65–66, not at least the way in which the prophet perceived the concept of Israel.¹⁰⁵ A differentiation between the faithful and the opponents of the prophet is detectable already in Isa 1–4, 26 and 49–55, and in texts that mention a remnant. Isa 49–55, with its servant theme, in particular, can reflect conflicts which culminate in Isa 65–66.¹⁰⁶ In 49:1–6 (4), a

103. Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 392–412.

104. See my discussion above in 1.2 *Relevance of the Study*, p. 1.

105. I became aware of a need of a broader perspective through Williamson’s article “The Concept of Israel in Transition,” where he points out that issues like those in Isa 65–66, which changed the perception of Israel as a people, is not “independent of wider political considerations.” Later, in connection with Hanson’s thesis, he asks “[...] whether antagonisms within the post-exilic community had become so polarised as to say that ‘Israel’ was no longer a unifying concept for a de-politicised but nonetheless cohesive people, and had become instead merely a slogan by which each faction sought to claim legitimacy for itself.” (Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 142, 150)

106. Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 410–412; Fredrik Häggglund, *Isaiah*

remnant is singled out as a servant with a mission to the nations;¹⁰⁷ and in Isa 55:7, a group described as wicked is singled out from the people and exhorted to return to God. Such texts are a genesis of a new perception of Israel which in Isa 66:18–24 excludes all rebellious persons, saves a faithful remnant, and which includes all nations that willingly gather to the New Jerusalem and become the new Israel. Although the perspective in 66:18–24 is a limited form of universalism which includes “all flesh” (כל־בֶּשֶׂר) who respond to God’s call, those who will come to the “holy mountain Jerusalem are promised terms of equal standing before God without being robbed of their identity as Jew or Gentile.

The setting of Isa 65–66 is also coloured by a wider political situation which had a dividing influence upon the Jerusalem community. On that level, the issue in the text in question is about a concessive versus non-concessive view on religion, the temple, and Zion caused by a syncretistic worldview among the leadership under the Persian hegemony.¹⁰⁸ In the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Malachi, reflecting a post-exilic setting, we see that the cult and synchronism remain an issue of frustration and controversy. Above that, the motivation to restore Jerusalem as a city worthy of its name and history is at a low ebb. I have noted above in connection with 1.3.1 *Early Post-Exilic Judean History and Isaiah 65–66* (p. 6) that it is difficult to reconstruct a setting of Ezra-Nehemiah and Malachi is difficult. However, my view aligns with those scholars who regard Ezra-Nehemiah and Malachi as contemporary with each other in the middle of the fifth century BCE. If Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 are included, we have a time frame for the setting of Isa 65–66 between 520–450 BCE.¹⁰⁹ Thus, enough evidence exists to conclude that the critique against the religious leadership, also found in other biblical post-exilic texts, reflects a problem of syncretism in Isa 65–66, lived out under the shadow of the Persian empire. This syncretism and foreign imperialistic ideology was resisted by the author of Isa 65–66, by visualising an immediate transformed epoch with new heavens and a new earth and Zion as the new capital of the world from which YHWH would reign as king over all creation. The future divine reign in Isa 65–66 is also preceded by God conquering all his enemies and annihilating them.¹¹⁰ In that way, the setting in Isa 65–66 generates an eschatological worldview that later also influenced the Jewish apocalyptic thinking during the Hellenistic era.

53 in the Light of Homecoming after Exile, FAT 31 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 156–172.

107. Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 146–147.

108. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 168–170.

109. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 73–84; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 169–170; Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 392–412. For a discussion of the biblical sources of this period, see Grabbe, *Yehud*, 70–106.

110. 65:17–25; 66:1–6; 12, 18–24 and 66:14d–17. See also a more detailed analysis of this issue in e.g. 6.3.2 *Crisis* (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b), p. 168, and 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* (v. 12b–c), p. 228.

In sum, Isa 65–66 shows signs of a concrete conflict in the post-exilic Jerusalem community. This conflict becomes visible in an account that delivers accusations by addressing two groups of people, but also visualising a transformed life in contrast to the present evil one. It has been observed that one group is portrayed as rebellious and the other as faithful; and based on the critique against the rebellious group, we can discern that the basic issue is about self-righteous idolatrous activities avoided by the faithful. Instead, the faithful minority keep the covenant.¹¹¹ What this discussion of the setting has also shown is that the eschatological hope is not only caused by an international context which in the case of Isa 65–66 is the Persian hegemony.¹¹² Hanson has shown that it can also have arisen from internal divisions and deprivation. Collins, therefore, states that “Both factors [...] continue to play a part in generating eschatological expectations throughout Jewish history.”¹¹³ In short, in order to understand the author’s resistance to his opponents, my thematic analysis of Isa 65–66 has to take into account both the inner-community conflict and the broader political and religious synchronistic atmosphere during the early post-exilic period.

1.4 Delimitation of Task

It is clear from the above that the historical and social background to Isa 65–66, and by extension the Jewish apocalyptic literature, are of interest to this work. The primary focus in this study, however, is the literary texts themselves, and the main aim is to analyse themes in Isa 65–66. I have concentrated the comparisons with themes in 1 Enoch at the end of chapters 3–9. Additionally, chapter 2 is a general comparison between the Jewish apocalyptic and prophetic genre, and chapter 10 concludes the whole work. Furthermore, because a study like this cannot be an in-depth research on everything regarding post-exilic prophecy, I have restricted this project to Isa 65–66. These last two chapters in the Book of Isaiah contain a number of themes or discourses that have made an impression in 1 Enoch. These themes are, for example, resistance, oppression and people’s eschatological hope for something new when conflicts and disagreements seem insurmountable. Isa 65–66 also suggests a dualistic and a deterministic world view concerning destinies. However, I shall also argue that this worldview is not as rigid as it first appears to be.

This project is, however, not an investigation as to whether or not there are themes in Isa 65–66 which subsequently became a source of influence in 1 Enoch. It is a fact among scholars that there are both allusions and implied references to

111. Isa 65:1–7, 8, 11–12; 66:1–6, 17.

112. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism,” 1:133.

113. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism,” 1:133.

Isa 65–66 in 1 Enoch.¹¹⁴ By extension, therefore, my interest also concerns how the authors of 1 Enoch have, among other prophetic texts, used Isa 65–66 conceptually for their visions and dreams. For the sake of methodology, a more precise question regarding Isa 65–66 and its relationship to 1 Enoch is: To what degree, as a prophetic text, does Isa 65–66 also show up thematically or conceptually as discourses in an apocalyptic text such as 1 Enoch? My answer to the question is not primarily meant as a contribution to the debate on how to define prophecy contra apocalypse,¹¹⁵ although I expect that the result of this study can bring the two genres closer to each other. Regarding the issue of definition, my basic position is that genre is fluid in nature. In research into the relationship between post-exilic prophetic texts in the Hebrew Bible and Jewish apocalyptic literature, it is, however, helpful in the art of interpretation to differentiate between genres.¹¹⁶ Therefore, in addition to an understanding of Isa 65–66, I hope to contribute to the discussion of the functional relationship between the prophetic and apocalyptic genre and their discourses.

1.5 Methodology

Chapter 2 in this work is a general comparison and discussion of the apocalyptic and the prophetic genre. The thematic analysis of Isa 65–66 in chapters 3–9, however, needs a more detailed methodological presentation. The seven chapters concur with the seven-fold literary structure of Isa 65–66. The analysis of the text-units in those chapters is, in many respects, a traditional exegesis where I follow a set pattern. After a short introduction, each chapter contains:

1. A new translation based upon the **M** text combined with a text-critical note apparatus that spurred certain choices in my translation.¹¹⁷

114. See e.g. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 29; Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, ConBNT 12 (Lund: Gleerup, 1979), 22–38.

115. E.g. whether the definition of apocalypse by the group of John J. Collins, who associate the genre with a corpus of writings between 250 B.C.E to 250 C.E, is sufficiently comprehensive or not (John J. Collins, “Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins, Semeia 14 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979], 4–5). See also a very recent discussion by Matthew Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage: Assessing the Contribution of John J. Collins to the Study of Apocalypticism,” in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins’ the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), and the response by Collins in the same volume (“The End is Not Yet: Concluding Reflections,” 208–210).

116. See also John J. Collins, “Introduction: The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” in *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015).

117. More than one form of the Hebrew text of Isa 65–66 could have existed at that point in time when the Hebrew Bible was canonised. To reconstruct a hypothetical Hebrew *Urtext*, or identify previous oral stages, will result in fragmentation of a text which is coherent in its present form. My aim

2. A discussion of structural issues that affect a unit and how to understand its themes.
3. An exegetical analysis of themes and their functional meaning in a rhetorical situation.
4. A summary of themes and comparisons with 1 Enoch.

After the exegetical sections, the study ends with a concluding tenth chapter where I summarise the results of the project as a whole. My analysis of Isa 65–66 in this work comes close to a regular biblical commentary, but the purpose is to identify themes in the text by careful exegesis in order to be able to compare them with apocalyptic thinking in a text such as 1 Enoch. Furthermore, when it comes to the comparison between Isa 65–66 and apocalyptic thinking in 1 Enoch, the obvious base is the agreement among scholars of the Bible and early Judaism that *inter alia* prophetic literature has had a major influence upon the Jewish apocalyptic genre.¹¹⁸

In the presentation above regarding the fourth step in my exegetical analysis of Isa 65–66, I speak about the “functional meaning,” referring to the implied intent of the text. When applied to the genre, function refers to what the genre does in the communication of the intent of the text. In that sense, the genre is what carries the meaning of themes in the text as messages of intent to its listeners or readers. To put it in an attendant question that clarifies the task and the methodology of this project: What are the literary features (themes and concepts) intended to do in Isa 65–66, that also become a source of influence for some of the apocalyptic discourses in 1 Enoch? That question presupposes a view that Isa 65–66 can be read as a whole, and moreover that the Book of Isaiah can be regarded as an ideological unit, a view discussed above (1.3 *Survey of Research*).¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the Hebrew text of the \mathfrak{M} is the starting point of this research project rather than redactional layers or socio-historical theories. I do not argue that a diachronic study of the text is unimportant, when the text allows it, which my text-critical analysis

is to establish a Hebrew text of Isa 65–66 for translation at a stage of transmission for which textual evidence exists. The result is a translation with textcritical notes based upon \mathfrak{M} for thematic and rhetorical studies (see also “Theory and praxis of Textual criticism” in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd rev. and exp. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 263–268, 163–169).

118. Paul D. Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup* 1:28–34; Michael E. Stone, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, CRINT 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 384–388; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 29; Greg Carey, *Ultimate Things: An Introduction to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Literature* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2005), 50–51; Stromberg, “Deutero-Isaiah’s Restoration Reconfigured,” 208–218. See also footnote 113 in this chapter, p. 26. However, the degree of this influence is debated and the origin of Jewish apocalypse is a complicated issue (see more in chapter 2 of this work).

119. See especially 1.3.2 *Approaches in the Study of Isaiah 65–66*, p. 9. I concur with scholars who regard the Book of Isaiah as an ideological whole and Isa 65–66 as the closure of the book’s sixty-six chapters.

of each unit of Isa 65–66 demonstrates. This study is, however, more of a synchronic study of themes in the text.

If I have been influenced by any modern exegetical method, it is by new thoughts among scholars regarding theories of form criticism and its affirmation of rhetorical and reader-response criticism. These, however, have not functioned in my analysis as strict methods but rather as theories useable when the text allows it.¹²⁰ For example, scholars have regarded form criticism as a historical and a diachronic discipline for most of the 20th century.¹²¹ With regard to its relevance for the prophetic literature, the method evolved during this period from Hermann Gunkel's analysis of prophetic oracular speeches,¹²² via Sigmund Mowinckel's observation of cultic matrix for prophetic texts,¹²³ and Claus Westermann's identification of typical forms of prophetic speech.¹²⁴ These stages were particularly influenced by diachronic considerations regarding the relationship between the text and its sociohistorical setting. However, from the mid-60s, the influence began to change to synchronic concerns as a result of the emergence of new critical methodologies.¹²⁵ James Muilenburg's presidential address to the Society for Biblical Literature 1968 was precisely such a significant call to go beyond form criticism by paying more attention to literary units and the interrelationship between texts.¹²⁶

120. See again John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, rev. and enl. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 6, 244.

121. Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method*, trans. S. M. Cupitt (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1969); Rolf Kniering, "Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker, BMI 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 124–165; Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 839; Odil Hannes Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology*, RBS 39, trans. James D. Nogalski, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), §7; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Form Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and their Applications*, ed. Stephen R. Haynes and Steven L. McKenzie (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 58–89.

122. Hermann Gunkel, *Das Märchen im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1917); Hermann Gunkel, "Israelite Prophecy from the Time of Amos," in *Twentieth Century Theology in the Making*, ed. J. Pelikan (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 48–75.

123. Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Spirit and the Word: Prophecy and Tradition in Ancient Israel*, FCBS (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002).

124. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*.

125. Antony F. Campbell describes in his article "Form Criticism's Future," the reasons why form criticism fell from favour as a diachronic discipline: it failed to satisfy, produces too little results or too much emphasis on festivals and liturgies, and takes focus away from the present text. However, "Central to the attraction of the original impulse was the focus on the whole. This focus on the whole remains at the core of form-critical insight" (Antony F. Campbell, "Form Criticism's Future," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 22–23).

126. A rhetorical study gains a lot from the form-critical analysis of the text, but with Muilenburg form criticism took further steps into the role of words, motifs and linguistic patterns (James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond," *JBL* 88/1 [March, 1969]: 7).

It is important to point out that Muilenburg's use of the phrase "[...] and Beyond" never meant that form criticism was history and was to be exchanged for rhetorical criticism. Rather he regarded rhetorical criticism as a supplement to form criticism. To survive as a discipline, form criticism, therefore, continued to evolve with some focus on prophetic literature: text linguistics and semiotics emerged in relation to both *Sitz im Leben* and *Sitz im der Literatur* (Wolfgang Richter and Klaus Koch¹²⁷), structural anthropology, which encouraged examination of a text from cultural and linguistic perspectives (Rolf Knierim¹²⁸), and new studies of oral poetry and its influence in textual formation (Michael Floyd¹²⁹), intertextual studies (Michael Fishbane, Patricia Tull Willey, Hyun Chul Paul Kim¹³⁰), and reader-response criticism (Roy Melugin¹³¹) have continued to cause a new direction for form criticism. The strong tendency is that the interaction between diachronic and synchronic considerations have taken a more central place in form critical research. Here, Marvin Sweeney is one of the scholars in the forefront of contemporary research regarding prophetic literature.¹³² Other scholars in this field with a focus on the Book of Isaiah are Roy Melugin, and David Petersen.¹³³

127. Wolfgang Richter, *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Entwurf einer alttestamentlichen Literaturtheorie und Methodologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*.

128. Rolf Kniering, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," *Int* 27 (1973): 435–468.

129. Michael H. Floyd, "Oral Tradition as a Problematic Factor in the Historical Interpretation of Poems in the Law and the Prophets" (PhD diss., The Claremont Graduate School, 1980).

130. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBLDS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Hyun Chul Paul Kim, "An Intertextual Reading of 'A Crushed Reed' and 'A Dim Wick' in Isaiah 42:3," *JSOT* 24/83 (1999): 113–124.

131. Roy F. Melugin, "The Book of Isaiah and the Construction of Meaning," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, vol. 11 of *Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature*, VTSup LXX 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 39–55.

132. Marvin A. Sweeney, "Formation and Form in Prophetic Literature," in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. J. L. Mays, David L. Petersen, and Kent Harold Richards (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 113–143; Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*; Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality*; Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature*; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, FOTL 19 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016). Sweeney, "Form Criticism," 69–82 presents a form-critical method, which reflects an interest in both the synchronical and diachronical aspects of a biblical text: 1. The assessment of the form of the text (a. Textual demarcation, b. An assessment of the literary structure of the text), 2. The assessment of the genre within the present form of the text (a. The comparative identification of typical language forms in the text that appear elsewhere in biblical and ancient Near Eastern literature, b. The discussion of the typical social and literary settings in which generic language functions as a basis for assessing its role within the present text), 3. The assessment of settings of the text (recognising the roles of literary settings and historical settings in the assessment of the social setting [*Sitz im Leben*] of a text, the latter from which different genres are derived). 4. Establishing the intent of the text (the meaning of the text on the basis of its forms, generic language and setting in which it functions). I have especially borne in mind the last point in this model.

133. Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55*, BZAW 141 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976); David L. Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002).

In short, the method in this work is, in many ways, a traditional exegetical analysis of themes in Isa 65–66, although the emphasis is more on function rather than description without creating tension between them. The functional aspect of the text is the implied intentions in the text from the perspective of the author. The perspective of the receiving community, or reaction, is more hidden. The author takes a stand for the faithful and the oppressed and develops this stand into a vision of a transformed new world for those who repent, to convey eschatological universalism. My methodology has been influenced by the new form criticism, as described above, which is not limited to original oral forms of expression or fixed classification of genre. The approach, therefore, is first synchronic and second diachronic when appropriate for the task of this study. Furthermore, the reader should not understand this work as a regular commentary on Isa 65–66. Instead, my ambition is to engage in the literary dimensions of the text to identify themes and make comparable observations in 1 Enoch. Thus, I address historical issues only when relevant.

Chapter 2: The Apocalyptic and Prophetic Genre

In this work, I frequently use the word *genre* in connection with the implied intent of the text. I, therefore, need to clarify what I mean with that term and how it applies to Isa 65–66 as a text that draws towards apocalyptic thinking. This chapter begins by establishing what genre and intent mean in the present study, and in particular what they mean when it comes to the apocalypse. After that, I shall continue with a general discussion about the apocalyptic genre and the prophetic genre, and conclude with summary remarks. My examination of the apocalyptic genre concludes with a presentation of 1 Enoch, as that book functions as a case study in my thematic analysis of Isa 65–66. In short, my primary purpose with this chapter is to discuss prophecy and apocalypse from a generic perspective, to see how it applies to Isa 65–66 and its leaning towards apocalyptic thinking.

2.1 The Theory of Genre and Intent

Genre in literary research is the object of study from different perspectives. Form criticism sometimes describes the literary genre as a matter of naming. According to this view, a genre is, among other things, “not a key to unlock the secrets of a text’s understanding.”¹ Instead, a genre is a tag on a text, a name that classifies it in a general and typical way so that the reader can understand its nature. A literary genre, however, is not synonymous with the term “form.” Genre is a literary type, while “form” is the shape or structure of something. While this study retains the meaning of “form,” it diverges from the view that genre is just a matter of classification. As already indicated above,² a genre is more than about naming. It is also about meaning.³ With what follows below, I intend to illustrate this view on the genre as an instrument of communication.

2.1.1 The Fluid Nature of Genre

First, *a genre is not a taxonomic class, a scheme that simply classifies texts based upon similarities*. If a literary genre is treated like an organism or a species, when it is in fact about communication and how a message in the text is carried forward to the receiver, important dimensions in the intent of the author will be lost. Jonathan D. Culler says, when discussing structuralism, that a theory of genres will not be

1. Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future,” 24.

2. See 1.5 *Methodology*, p. 26.

3. Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, repr. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 22.

more than taxonomy, if its functional features, which govern the reading and writing of literature, are not identified and explained.⁴ Although, talking about groups of literature is needed for practical reasons, a genre must be more than that. Similarities are basically not enough to define a group of literature as a genre. Other factors that influence a genre have to be considered too. These other factors, described by Culler as “conventional,” are shaped by certain cultural based rules. Thus, he explains the conventional function to be a norm of expectation that guides the reader in one’s encounter with the text.⁵ A genre, therefore, is a framework that creates order and complexity within it. For example, if a text is a tragedy or a comedy, in general the reader knows what to expect regarding both the story and plot, and this knowing is in accordance with how the reader’s culture defines such genres.

Second, *a literary genre can, in some cases, very well have autonomous functions*. In such cases, the intent of the genre can be to communicate a message that challenges prevailing values and accepted realities. My thesis in this work is that Isa 65–66 has this rhetorical function or intent with its message of judgement and salvation to the Jerusalem community. Such a function of genre also leads us to consider the effect it has on the reader, how an audience reacts when encountering the meaning of a text.

The third point regarding a theory of genre is therefore: *A literary style causes reader experiences*. The effect a genre has on the receiver, whether by hearing or reading, determines, at least to a degree, its intended function. Granting the receiver this role in the art of communication neither downgrades the authorial intent nor robs the text of any original meaning.⁶ Instead, we should speak of an in-

4. Culler means that it is the grouping of works together based upon similarities that “[...] have helped to bring the notion of genre into disrepute” (Jonathan D. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975], 136–137).

5. Culler, *Structuralist poetics*, 136.

6. Stanley Fish takes this extreme position when applying reader-response criticism: “[...] there is no single way of reading that is correct or natural, only ‘ways of reading’ that are extensions of community perspectives [...] I now believe that interpretation (text, reader, author) are now all seen to be the products of interpretation” (Stanley Eugene Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980], 15–16, 16–17). According to this view the text ceases to have any rights of its own, and even the text itself is a product of interpretation. Fish’s point regarding the influence of the interpretative community (identity) on the process of interpretation is worth listening to, but to regard that as the only determining factor for literary knowledge is simply not fair to the implied authorial intent of the text itself (cf. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 213; Edgar V. McKnight, “Reader-Response Criticism,” in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and their Applications*, ed. Stephen R. Haynes and Steven L. McKenzie [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999], 230–252; Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?: The Bible, The Reader and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*, LCS [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998], 24, 28, 56–57, 295–296).

teraction between the sender and receiver – what the author intends, and if there are receivers in mind the possible reactions the genre(s) causes.

A genre, therefore, is not only what a reader imposes upon the text, but also what emerges from an understanding of the text. Fourth, *a genre is a carrier of the message of the text*. It makes a genre somewhat fluid in nature, depending on what the author or redactor of a book has in mind. It is the genre of a text that helps to communicate the implied intention of a theme to its intended receiver. A genre should, therefore, also be defined based on what it does – in other words, a genre is functional and not only descriptive. When this principle regarding style is understood, we can assume that even though prophecy and apocalypse are two different genres when merely looking at what distinctly characterises them on a descriptive level, they float together when it comes to function. It is, therefore, possible that during the Hellenistic era the apocalyptic genre had functional characteristics in common with thematic discourses in a biblical prophetic text like Isa 65–66. Nonetheless, I would argue that both Isa 65–66 and a book like 1 Enoch also have ideological ideas in common that make them parallel genres without blurring their particular distinctive features too much.

These four points illustrate a more fluid view on genre than is the case in early form criticism, a view that has become increasingly more common in biblical scholarship. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, in their introduction to *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, explain the growing consciousness among form-critical scholars regarding the true nature of literary genre. Rhetorical criticism and communication theory are changing the discipline:

[...], in considering the rhetorical or communicative aspects [both the unique and typical] of texts, form-critical scholars will no longer presume that genres are static or ideal entities that never change. Rather, they will recognize the inherent fluidity of genres, the fact that they are historically, culturally, and discursively dependent, and they will study the means by which genres are transformed to meet the needs of the particular communicative situation of the text. Studies on genre will include more and more the study of defamiliarizations of genre.⁷

Stuart Weeks is one of those who considers the role of the genres from a more nonexclusive perspective. In his article “Wisdoms Psalms,” the literary style is described in a way which is helpful for this thesis. After having discussed what wisdom is and which psalms can be called wisdom psalms, the question is raised by

7. Marvin A. Sweeney, and Ehud Ben Zvi, “Introduction,” in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 9–10.

him regarding the implications. He concludes that a biblical text, even a psalm, can have a dual nature. He argues:

Psalm 37 illustrates the important point that genre need not be an exclusive classification, as generic characteristics are not always derived from the same features of a text. This psalm can be a sayings collection, just as sayings collection can be instructions: this is much the same as saying that a sonnet can be a love poem, even though it cannot be a limerick. This overlap of genre is not especially unusual in the biblical literature, and it is generally recognized that a piece can at once be, say, a prophetic oracle and lament.⁸

There is, similar to the wisdom psalms, an understanding that apocalyptic eschatology represents the meeting point of two different traditions: apocalypse comes from Jewish visionaries during the Hellenistic period and eschatology from the classical Hebrew prophets. Scholars, therefore, seek explanations for the existence of apocalyptic eschatology, as Weeks puts it, “in possible areas of physical intersection or historical coalescence between the two.”⁹ In the case of apocalyptic eschatology, it is common among scholars today that this junction is defined as the Hellenistic period. We find, without doubt, the main corpus of Jewish apocalypse in this time frame, but to limit apocalyptic thinking to that period conflicts with the nature of the genre and its function in general. Weeks also makes the point that there is no reason to believe that wisdom circles “owned the rights to certain words, ideas or literary genres.”¹⁰ This also applies to the apocalypse, even if I recognize that there were unique apocalyptic visionary circles among the Jews during periods of crises and inner-community struggles in the Hellenistic-Roman period.¹¹ In short, apocalyptic and prophetic thinking consist of analogue themes that authors use in different literary ways. These literary ways, or genres, cannot, however, be caged to a specific period or classified only in a linear fashion.

8. Stuart Weeks, “Wisdom Psalms,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 304.

9. Weeks, “Wisdom Psalms,” 304–305.

10. Weeks, “Wisdom Psalms,” 305.

11. Weeks doubts the existence of wisdom circles: “As it happens, however, I am not convinced that such wisdom circles existed at all, in any meaningful way. Wisdom is not something so diffuse as Whybray’s ‘intellectual tradition’, but nor is it something so precise as a profession, an ideology, or a compositional style. If a general sense is to be defined for the term, many of the same constraints apply that led to our definition for it as a literary classification” (Weeks, “Wisdom Psalms,” 305). Regarding apocalyptic visionary circles, Stephen Cook has strongly questioned the popular view among scholars (e.g. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*) that the apocalyptic world view is an exclusive product of marginalized and persecuted groups of people (Cook, *Prophecy & Apocalypticism*, cf. Segal, *Life After Death*, 315–317, 320).

2.1.2 Family-Resemblance and the Prototype Theory

Two other views on the theory of genre which have developed during the last decades are family-resemblance and the prototype theory. Carol A. Newsom, in her article: *Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology*, reviews these trends and their usefulness in biblical studies.¹² Her starting point is Semeia 14, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (1979) and its authors' approach and findings.¹³ As Newsom points out, despite the high value of the work in Semeia 14, "[...] the framework of genre studies has changed significantly, so that now one would probably approach the issues somewhat differently [from the SBL Apocalypse Group behind Semeia 14, who framed 'the task primarily as one of definition and classification']".¹⁴ In short, and as already implied above, Newsom explains that "Definitional and classificatory approaches are now seen as not representing well the functions of genre in human communication"; and adds "classificatory schemes are by their very nature static, whereas genres are dynamic."¹⁵ Thus, family-resemblance and the prototype theory are results of objections to an approach where genre is regarded merely as a classification of literary features.

Although some kind of grouping based on features is necessary for my analysis of Isa 65–66, the purpose of this chapter, among other things, is to move beyond a view that merely classifies genres as prophetic or apocalyptic. One such way might be "family-resemblance," developed by Wittgenstein and adapted to the study of genre by Alastair Fowler. In Fowler's words, "Literary genre seems to be just the sort of concept with blurred edges that is suited to such an approach [family resemblance]".¹⁶ As Newsom points out, however, this model "could produce a genre in which two exemplars in fact shared no traits in common!"¹⁷ When applied to Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch, it means that the Enochic text could have family resemblance with apocalypse without resembling anything in the Isaianic passage. Because advocates of this model can in this way draw it to an extreme, many critics have found the approach unsatisfactory. Collins, therefore, concludes: "'Family resemblance' is too vague to be satisfactory as a basis for genre recognition," but adds concerning the problem of classification that the model highlights "the difficulty of drawing a clean line between a genre and closely related

12. Carol A. Newsom, "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology," in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437–450.

13. I shall refer more to this particular study below when defining apocalypse in this work.

14. Newsom, "Spying out the Land," 438.

15. Newsom, "Spying out the Land," 439. See Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 22–23, 36.

16. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 41–42. See Newsom, "Spying out the Land," 438–439; Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered," 9–10.

17. Newsom, "Spying out the Land," 441.

works.”¹⁸ The latter conclusion is my point; a “clean line” should not be drawn between prophecy and apocalypse in terms of genre, especially when it comes to Isa 65–66.

Another alternative for a theory of genre that moves beyond the mere classification of features is the “prototype theory.” This model derives from “cognitive science” where “conceptual categories” are best defined “by recognition of prototypical examples that serve as templates against which other possible instances are viewed.”¹⁹ Collins cites John Frow, who explains “prototype theory” as a way to “understand categories (such as *bird*) through a very concrete logic of typicality. [...] Rather than having clear boundaries, essential components, and shared and uniform properties, classes defined by prototypes have a common core and then fade into fuzziness at the edges.”²⁰ Or as Newsom says, referring to Michael Sinding, “Indeed membership in a category may be a matter of degree.”²¹ The advantages of prototype theory are appealing:

One of the advantages of prototype theory is that it provides a way for bringing together what seems so commonsensical in classificatory approaches, while avoiding their rigidity. At the same time it gives more discipline to the family-resemblance approach, because not every resemblance or deviation is of equal significance. As applied to genre categories, prototype theory would require an identification of exemplars that are prototypical and an analysis of the privileged properties that establish the sense of typicality.²²

Thus, unlike a rigid definition of genre by features, the prototype theory does not establish a strict boundary between texts in different genres. The features alone are not what set the demarcation lines, but rather how those features relate to one another in the whole, which Newsom associates with a “*Gestalt* structure.”²³ Regarding Isa 65–66, that particular text contains features typical for prototypical examples in the prophetic literature. However, there are also features in that text which draw it towards apocalypticism as found for example in 1 Enoch. This does not make Isa 65–66 an apocalypse, but rather a prophetic account that 1 Enoch relates to in the way the prototype theory explains it.

18. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 11.

19. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 442.

20. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 12.

21. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 443.

22. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 443.

23. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 444.

2.1.3 The Implied Intent

A theory of genre with function is closely related to the implied intent of the text. I am aware of the debate regarding authorial intent in literary studies, but nonetheless I chose to use the term “intent” in this work because it is the purpose of rhetorical criticism to discover it.²⁴ According to Muilenburg, this purpose “equated meaning with authorial intentionality,”²⁵ and the claim is that it is possible to get at least a glimpse into the mind and heart of the speaker/writer by a close reading of the text’s composition. The problem one is facing here is well known. Is it possible to understand an author’s intent through literature, when we do not have direct access to the author’s mind at the moment the person penned the text? We know nothing about the author behind TI and Isa 65–66, but have good reason to assume an association with the Isaianic tradition. Nonetheless, the passage as a unit in a literary context sends out signals about its implied intent. The task of this study is not to solve the mystery of who the author was, nor do I claim to have access to the author’s mind, but nevertheless I shall try to understand the implied intent of Isa 65–66 through its themes, structure and genre in the form we have received these two chapters.

When studying the intention of the text, we enter into the rhetorical dimensions of a genre. When Muilenburg gave form criticism an important push forward with his rhetorical criticism, his first concern was not the authorial intention.²⁶ Scholars like Phyllis Trible, however, have included the question of intention or function in rhetorical criticism. In her informative and practical book *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method and the Book of Jonah*, she presents two distinct but nonetheless related understandings of rhetoric: The art of composition, and the art of persuasion. I am interested in both of these understandings when reading Isa 65–66 as these two art forms cannot be wholly separated from each other when understanding function.²⁷ I believe that when studying the implied intent in

24. Rhetorical criticism is another discipline originally associated with form-criticism. Muilenburg formulated a canon in the following way: “... a responsible and proper articulation of the words in their linguistic patterns and in their precise formulations will reveal to us the texture and fabric of the writer’s thought, not only what it is that he thinks, but as he thinks it.” (Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” 7). Phyllis Trible says, when commenting on this “canon”: “By ‘author’ he [Muilenburg] intended neither the implied nor the ideal but the flesh-and-blood individual(s) behind the words.” Trible also cites the classicist George Kennedy as having taken a similar stance (Phyllis Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*, GBS [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994], 95).

25. Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 95. See also Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” 9.

26. Muilenburg defines two concerns of the rhetorical critic: 1. To define the limits or scope of the literary unit, to recognize precisely where and how it begins and where and how it ends; 2. To recognize the structure of a composition and to discern the configuration of its component parts (Muilenburg, “Form Criticism and Beyond,” 9–10).

27. Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 58–60.

Isa 65–66 it is essential to know at least these two aspects of rhetoric in order to meet the overall aim of this work, i.e. to analyse the themes in Isaiah 65–66 and their leaning towards apocalypticism.

In sum, there is a clear development away from a rigid classification of genre. In biblical studies, this shift happened with a new kind of form criticism in combination with rhetorical criticism. As an instrument of communication, a literary style is fluid and functional, and it can help us understand a text's implied intent. The latter includes a close reading of themes, composition, and an analysis of how a passage relates to other passages outside its genre. Regarding Isa 65–66, its themes are enhanced by an analysis of how they compare with other similar texts in the Book of Isaiah and how some of these themes draw towards what we today define as apocalypticism. The best approach for such a study regarding genre seems to be the prototype theory, which affirms texts across boundaries without being vague regarding literary traits. Next, I shall reflect briefly upon the apocalyptic genre, account for apocalyptic features and themes, and present 1 Enoch.

2.2 The Apocalyptic Genre and 1 Enoch

Apocalypticism is an ideology of deep convictions, and it defines the morals, values and identity of certain groups and people. Can apocalypticism, therefore, simply be described as a unique ideological movement, or did its proponents stand in a theological continuity that goes back to the prophetic eschatology of the Hebrew Bible? The answer to that two-fold question is arguable “yes” in both cases. Hebrew prophecy was a fertile soil for the growth of Jewish apocalypticism, although the seeds were diverse.²⁸ However, pre-exilic and exilic prophecies are not the only sources of eschatology in Isa 65–66, which is illustrated by the combat scene in connection with the final judgement in 66:14c–17.²⁹ A brief exploration of the apocalyptic genre will help us understand better how a text like Isa 65–66 has influenced a particular world view during the Second Temple period communicated through the Jewish apocalyptic literature.

The term “Apocalypticism” is derived from “apocalypse,” which in turn is derived from ἀποκάλυψις (“revelation”). The former term stands for a complex Jewish ideology that developed during the Hellenistic period in times of crises, and its derived term represents a literary genre. Scholars continue to debate over the relationship between apocalypticism and apocalypse,³⁰ as it is a challenging

28. See an updated discussion on the origins of apocalypticism in Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 24–46.

29. See 8.4 *Divine Warrior* (vv. 14d–16), p. 254.

30. Because it is unclear what the term ἀποκάλυψις really stands for, scholars like Hanson and Collins use a combination of three terms to explain Jewish apocalypics: apocalypse, which is the literary genre the Jewish apocalyptic authors preferred to communicate their messages; apocalyptic

task to define the Jewish apocalypse because of complex ideological and sociological backgrounds. This debate has resulted in manifold definitions of the genre and apocalypticism that are not always congruent. The following compressed list of examples illustrates the situation:

- A historical movement characterised by eschatology about the end of earth, characterised by cosmic catastrophe, periodisation and determinism, angels and demons, new salvation and paradisiac life, manifestation of the kingdom of God, a mediator, and the catchword “glory.”³¹
- A symbolic universe, which gives hope for the future, characterized by a new order and God’s acting through a messianic figure.³²
- An investigation of the condition of human life and history, and an important provider of a dimension to our knowledge of the theology of the Bible.³³
- A distinction between historical apocalypse and otherworldly journeys.³⁴
- Direct revelation of heavenly mysteries with purpose to give meaning and significance in a world of change and confusion.³⁵

At one level there seems to be a common-sense agreement – we know what we refer to when speaking about the apocalyptic – but on a deeper level, it becomes much more complicated when trying to decide on the nature of this phenomenon. In short, it has been a difficult task for scholars to agree on a standard definition of Jewish apocalypse and how to explain apocalypticism.

The task of this work is not to define the apocalyptic genre and its ideology anew. However, because at the end of each chapter I compare apocalyptic thinking with themes in Isa 65–66, it is necessary to decide upon a definition of apocalypse for the same reason it is essential to have an idea of how a genre functions. I shall, therefore, first offer a robust definition before providing a general picture of apocalyptic themes.

eschatology, which is the world view characteristic for the apocalyptic authors; apocalypticism, which is the ideological system that establishes an identity and interprets reality. I use the terms throughout this work with these meanings (Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” 1:29–30; Paul D. Hanson, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism,” *ABD* 1:280–281; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 1–3, 15–17).

31. Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, trans. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM, 1972), 28–33.

32. Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” 1:30.

33. Paul D. Hanson, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, IBT (Nashville: Abingdon, 1987), 21.

34. John J. Collins, “The Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins, *Semeia* 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979), 22–24; John J. Collins, *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, FOTL 20 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 6–18; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 7–8.

35. Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 14, 21.

2.2.1 Definition of Apocalypse

In her review of the theory of genre and its development, Newsom clearly states at the outset that “My comments are in no sense a criticism of the work of the Apocalypse Group” behind *Semeia 14*. “To the contrary, [...], the quality of the analysis of this deservedly influential work remains impressive and its results valuable.”³⁶ Collins also concludes that even if the genre analysis in *Semeia 14* “has much in common with the prototype model,” an awareness of the prototype theory would have been “an improvement that might have saved us some agonizing about boundary cases.”³⁷ Although an approach to a definition of apocalypse would have been somewhat different today, in this work I nonetheless take as a point of departure the definition in *Semeia 14* when talking about the apocalyptic literature. The reason for doing this is that the definition works in its essence,³⁸ even though scholars have reconsidered it in recent publications on Jewish apocalyptic literature.³⁹

The definition of apocalypse by *Apocalypse Group of SBL* is based on a systematic analysis of all literature regarded as apocalyptic between 250 BCE–250 CE.⁴⁰ It is probably the most common definition of apocalypse in use today. I assess that the definition is still useful for biblical studies when comparing apocalypse with prophecy and beneficial for this study. It runs as follows:

“Apocalypse” is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁴¹

36. Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 438.

37. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 13.

38. See Matthew Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53. Matthew Goff states in this article, that the definition published in *Semeia 14* “is still important.” Goff has also said recently: “Collins’ views provide a context for the study of apocalypticism, both for scholarship today and in the future” (Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage,” 20).

39. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 1–20. See also Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage,” 8–22 and John J. Collins, “The End is Not Yet: Concluding Reflections,” in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins’ the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 207–214.

40. John J. Collins, “Preface,” in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, ed. John J. Collins, *Semeia 14* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979), v. In *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, Collins explains: “The purpose of *Semeia 14* was to give precision to the traditional category of ‘apocalyptic literature’ by showing the extent and limits of the conformity among the allegedly apocalyptic texts” (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5). For a more detailed background description, see also Newsom, “Spying out the Land,” 437–438; Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 1–2; Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage,” 9–11.

41. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 9.

Although valuable, this definition assumes a view on literary genre, that deviates from how I have explained it above. The definition attempts, among other things, to distinguish the apocalypses from the prophetic texts while I suggest that genre is more fluid and functional. As I have observed above, Collins has reconsidered the premise of the definition somewhat. Nonetheless, initially, the scholars behind *Semeia* 14 meant that a genre is “a group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing.” Further, the report explains that “A genre is identified by the recognizable similarity among a number of texts. Similarity does not necessarily imply historical relationships.” The guiding principle then is the “phenomenological similarity” when classifying a literary genre, not “historical derivation.”⁴² This understanding behind the definition in *Semeia* 14 does not deny that the study of literary styles “involves a diachronic, historical dimension,” but Collins says that such considerations do not identify a genre.⁴³ Another aspect, which the report brings up in connection with this definition and the issue of identification, is that “while a complete study of a genre must consider function and social setting, neither of these factors can determine the definition.”⁴⁴ The argument for this delimitation is that our lack of factual knowledge regarding function and setting “cannot provide a firm basis for generic classification.”⁴⁵ Thus, the only firm foundation for the definition of a genre is the elements found explicitly in the text.

As I have argued above, a close reading of Isa 65–66, despite limited historical references, can still provide signs of implied intent. The same applies to an apocalyptic text, which I think e.g. Portier-Young has shown when demonstrating that apocalyptic literature is resistance literature.⁴⁶ Although a general definition cannot specify functions, it is my view that without that aspect any description of genre is not complete. It is, therefore, very welcome that in the introduction to *Semeia* 36 Adela Yarbro Collins suggested the following addition to the definition presented initially in *Semeia* 14. John J. Collins, in his article on “Early Jewish Apocalypticism” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, describes it as a general ‘common function’⁴⁷ of apocalypse:

42. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 1.

43. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 1. Collins refers here to Alastair Fowler and his work in comparative literature. In the book *Apocalyptic Imagination*, Collins refers to Fowler in more detail regarding three phases of generic development, and applies it to Jewish writings that are composite (e.g. Dan 1–6 and 7–12) in character (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 4–5).

44. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 1.

45. Collins, “Towards the Morphology of a Genre,” 1–2.

46. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*. See also Collins, “Apocalypse and Empire,” 1–18 (re-published in John J. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015], 289–307).

47. John J. Collins, “Early Jewish Apocalypticism,” *ABD* 1:283.

intended to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority.⁴⁸

This addition by Adela Yarbro Collins is the result of a dialogue with especially David Hellholm and David Aune, who propose an expansion (Hellholm)⁴⁹ and a reformulation (Aune)⁵⁰ of the original definition. The emendation is more abstract than the one suggested by Hellholm, namely that apocalypse was intended to comfort and exhort a group in crises, but it is still interesting that discussions continue to develop the original definition in *Semeia* 14.

Despite complying to the critics and emending the definition by adding a function for the genre, Collins recently repeated the reservation against specifying a function. The reasons are that initially “the omission was intentional” and explaining apocalypse as crisis literature “did not necessarily hold true in all cases.”⁵¹ In that sense, I have to agree; a more abstract definition of function is well motivated. Nevertheless, the question of function regarding the literary genre is somewhat problematic for Collins. He puts it in this way: “But the real issue here is whether there is a simple correlation between form and function, and I would argue that there is not.”⁵² Although Collins does not deny that a genre can have both a setting and a function, he also means that those can change with individual texts. It is, therefore, safer to include those features that are explicitly present in the texts as starting points for genre recognition. In his concluding reflections to the contributors in the book *Apocalyptic Thinking in Judaism*, Collins also explains that “I have modified my understanding of the genre in various ways, most significantly in recognizing the ‘fuzzy edges’ of the genre, but the core of the project [*Semeia* 14] remains the same.”⁵³ Nonetheless, in my view, it is reasonable that a definition of genre must, in some way, indicate an answer to Hellholm’s question: “Why were apocalypses ever written?”⁵⁴

Based on the view that literary style is not merely about classification, and the acknowledgement that functional and social aspects are also part of the study of

48. Adela Yarbro Collins, “Introduction,” in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre Social Setting*, ed. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Semeia* 36 (Decatur: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986), 7.

49. David Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John,” in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre Social Setting*, ed. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Semeia* 36 (Decatur: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986), 27. The suggested expansion by Hellholm reads: “intended for a group in crisis with the purpose of exhortation and/or consolation by means of divine authority.”

50. David Aune, “The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre,” in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre Social Setting*, ed. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Semeia* 36 (Decatur, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1986), 86–87.

51. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 13.

52. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse Reconsidered,” 14.

53. Collins, “The End is Not Yet,” 207–208.

54. Hellholm, “The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre,” 26.

genres, it is possible to bring genres closer together to the point where they touch each other. Regarding Isa 65–66, the intention is to resist the spirit of the time, convey implicit exhortations of repentance and comfort a group in crisis; but also expand the view on God’s final salvation to include all flesh through transformation. With those implied intents, Isa 65–66 is comparable to apocalyptic thinking in several respects without necessarily making genres too fluid and without any edges. We can, therefore, look at the dynamics of apocalypse as organic, and talk about the style as not only apocalypse but also as visionary texts with relationships to pre-apocalyptic thinking that also contain features that belong to different prototype examples. Under the next heading, I shall, therefore, survey apocalyptic themes before discussing the prophetic genre and traits in common with the apocalypse.

2.2.2 Apocalyptic Features and Themes

The topic of this work is *Toward Apocalypticism: A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66*. It is, therefore, not out of place to survey central apocalyptic themes associated with apocalypticism. Although apocalyptic themes are determined to a large extent, i.e. apocalypticism, these themes, however, are not found in every single literature defined as apocalypses. The variety of apocalyptic texts and persuasions demand a specification, which first prompted the Apocalypse Group behind Se-meia 14 but also Collins in later studies, to divide the apocalypse into two basic categories before associating features with them:⁵⁵

1. *The historical apocalypse* – distinguished by its interest in the unfolding of history over several epochs (Daniel; Book of Dreams and Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch; Jubilees; 4 Ezra; 2 Baruch).
2. *Otherwordly journeys* – with primary focus on the mysteries of the heavenly world (Book of Watchers, Astronomical Book, Similitudes in 1 Enoch; 2 Enoch; 3 Baruch; Testament of Abraham; Apocalypse of Abraham; Apocalypse of Zephaniah; Testament of Levi 2–5).

Eschatological predictions are foremost associated with the “historical apocalypse.” Both categories of apocalyptic genres, however, do include eschatology and judgement, which is also reflected in a restatement of the definition from Se-meia 14 by Collins in his book *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*:

They [historical and otherwordly apocalypses] are presented as supernatural revelations, mediated by an angel or some heavenly being, and they invariably

55. Collins, *Daniel*, 6–19; John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, LDSS (London: Routledge, 1997), 3.

focus on the final end of life and history. This final end usually entails the transformation of this world (the new creation of the book of Revelation) but it also involves the judgment of the individual dead and their assignment to eternal bliss or damnation.⁵⁶

An earlier study, which also demonstrates that eschatology has a significant role in the apocalyptic literature, was presented by Michael Stone with this groundbreaking article "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature."⁵⁷ Christopher Rowland, on the contrary, wonders if apocalypses really can demonstrate a coherent eschatology.⁵⁸ Instead, he argues, the unifying factor of apocalypse is a conviction of direct divine revelation.⁵⁹ Rowland means that the eschatology of a future hope is still part of the apocalypses, but states that it is not the most distinctive feature of apocalyptic thinking.⁶⁰ To focus the attention primarily on eschatology hinders, therefore, the study of other secrets which apocalypses claim to reveal.⁶¹ He finds that both in apocalypses and other Jewish literature there are a variety of eschatological beliefs juxtaposed alongside each other. He concludes, therefore, that it is impossible to separate out a strand of coherent eschatology that distinguishes apocalyptic ideology.⁶²

Rowland makes an important point when he focuses on the revelatory dimension as an element of apocalypse.⁶³ However, neither Stone nor Collins argue that eschatology is the only apocalyptic feature. Furthermore, Collins disagrees with Rowland that there is no coherent eschatology in the apocalypse. There are indeed different kinds of apocalypses (the historical and the otherworldly), and thus different kinds of apocalyptic eschatologies that cannot merely be paired together. What they do have in common, according to Collins, is "a transcendent eschatology that looks for retribution beyond the bounds of history" (e.g. judgement after death, without reference to the end of history [3 Baruch, Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Daniel]).⁶⁴ I can also mention here that Koch has observed in his study of the apocalyptic as a historical movement, that almost all its features can be found out-

56. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3; see also Frederick James Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and its World: A Comprehensive Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 8.

57. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things," 414–452.

58. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 36–37.

59. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 13–14, 21.

60. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 71.

61. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 26, 29.

62. See again Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 36–37.

63. See also E. P. Sanders' suggestion that "Jewish apocalypses is the combination of revelation with the promise of restoration and reversal" (E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979*, ed. David Hellholm [Tübingen: Mohr, 1983], 455–458 [456]).

64. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 15.

side the late Israelite and early Christian apocalypticism. He concludes that it is the arrangement of these features which alone is characteristic of apocalyptic thinking.⁶⁵ Collins draws the same conclusion regarding apocalyptic eschatology: prophetic eschatology can contain themes peculiar for apocalyptic eschatology, and therefore they have many features in common. However, it is “the distinctive combination of elements” which makes apocalyptic eschatology unusual.⁶⁶ In sum, I maintain that there is apocalyptic eschatology which is influenced by prophetic eschatology, although eschatology is not the only core element in apocalypticism.

Whether we speak about these elements as part of the apocalyptic discourse⁶⁷ or as a way of defining apocalypticism,⁶⁸ they are recurring features and themes that scholars discuss in their attempt to bring together the literary, ideological, and social dimensions of apocalyptic.⁶⁹ Rhetorically, these elements aim at persuading the addressed about a particular world view and the need to repent. In that sense, Isa 65–66 is what Greg Carey describes as an “Emerging Apocalyptic Discourse in the Hebrew Bible.”⁷⁰ In any case, introductions to apocalyptic literature have created lists of general features and themes that are helpful for the interpretation of apocalyptic thinking. These lists, however, reflect only broad lines of Jewish apocalypticism and should not be confused with the apocalyptic genre, as not all are found in every apocalyptic writing. Thus, the first list below is a compressed presentation of features that are generally associated with apocalyptic literature.⁷¹

1. *Literary* – the medium is literature, usually with narrative framework that describes the circumstances for the revelation.
2. *Revelatory* – the claim is that its content is only accessible through revelation that appeals to the human imagination.
3. *Visionary* – dreams and visions by God are the source of apocalyptic revelation, often as an audition in the heavenly or touring with angels.

65. Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, 33.

66. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 15.

67. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 6–10.

68. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and its World*, 8–14.

69. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 5. The difficulty of interrelating these three dimensions of the apocalyptic – the social, the ideological, and the literary – is discussed in Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 252–253.

70. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 50–68.

71. For a more extensive presentation of apocalyptic features and themes, see Collins, *Daniel*, 6–19; Frances Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*, JSJSup 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 6–10; Richard A. Taylor, *Interpreting Apocalyptic Literature: An Exegetical Handbook*, HOTE (Kregel Academic: Grand Rapids, 2016), 65–73.

4. *Eschatological* – predictions to reveal by means of visions and dreams the end of the current world and the coming of a new one.
5. *Epiphanic* – visions of single supernatural figure, such as God or an angel. What may follow is a divine intervention or an angelic discourse.
6. *Pseudonymous* – attributing authorship to famous heroes of the past, who often had mystical traits and functioned as a literary convention.
7. *Secretive* – written to an exclusive audience who belongs to an eschatological community, and is hidden from those on the outside.
8. *Symbolic* – inspired by earlier traditions and myths that appealed to the imagination and demands interpretive keys to understand.
9. *Ex eventu prophecy* – survey of historical events as prophetic announcements before their fulfillment (prophecy after the fact).

It is possible to develop this rather extensive list of apocalyptic features because of the wide variety of elements in apocalyptic literature. Furthermore, some scholars treat all aspects as either topics or apocalyptic features. I prefer to divide between what are features and what are more akin to themes. Using a list of apocalyptic features, it is also possible to construct a list of essential themes in the apocalyptic literature, again in a compressed form:⁷²

1. *Alternative worlds* – the visible contra the invisible world, separated by time (the age to come) or space (the heavenly realm).
2. *Angels and demons* – emphasises the involvement of angels, often as intermediaries, while demons (fallen angels/giants) will be eternally punished.
3. *End-time crisis* – marked by an imminent conflict and tribulation, often presented as a cosmic catastrophe that precedes ultimate redemption.
4. *Dualism* – the common world view that sees everything in terms of polar opposites, whether ethical, temporal, spatial or ontological.
5. *Determinism* – reflects the expectation that history is divinely predetermined with periodisation, but allows for repentance and greater faithfulness.
6. *Divine judgement* – a key issue in many apocalyptic writings, the recompense and final solution to wickedness in the world.
7. *Faithful remnant* – reflects the belief that a remnant will experience a reversal of a situation by resisting evil and becoming servants of God.

72. In addition to the citations in the footnote above, see also Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and its World*, 8–14; Taylor, *Interpreting Apocalyptic Literature*, 73–85. Cf. Mladen Popovic, “Apocalyptic Determinism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 255–270; Jörg Frey, “Apocalyptic Dualism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 271–294.

8. *Transformation* – a central part of the eschatological hope that included the after life, and often the future renewal of the whole creation.
9. *Universalism* – when all converted people at the eschaton will gather to live forever in the new creation in the presence of God.

Cosmic speculation is another apocalyptic theme, but is less a general idea as it distinguishes a type of apocalyptic literature that has a keen interest in cosmology. In any case, similar to apocalyptic features, the list of apocalyptic themes can be longer and more developed. For example, the challenging of God's sovereignty and the throne visions in 1 Enoch involve more than one of the themes above. Similarly, the dissatisfaction with the present social, religious and political situation, which motivated the apocalyptic writers to resist current ideologies of syncretism in the Jewish community also includes more than one theme. As Carey points out, such lists as above can only function as "a starting place" for an understanding of the apocalyptic writings.⁷³ Many of the themes in Isa 65–66, which I shall compare with analogous themes in 1 Enoch, are more specific than above. A presentation of 1 Enoch, therefore, follows below before I move on to discuss the prophetic genre and what it has in common with the apocalypse.

2.2.3 Presentation of 1 Enoch

The reason for selecting 1 Enoch for comparison with Isa 65–66 is because of its apocalyptic eschatology and the importance of its themes for the development of the apocalyptic genre. I have limited this study on comparable themes, so discussion of text-critical issues in 1 Enoch is not always necessary. The primary translation I shall use to that end is *1 Enoch, A New translation: Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* by George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam.⁷⁴ In those instances when I am referring to primary sources of 1 Enoch, however, where possible I first consult Aramaic MSS from Qumran and after that the Greek MSS. Elsewhere, I presuppose the English translation of the Ethiopic text.⁷⁵

Scholars such as Collins, Nickelsburg, and Brand provide us with recent and updated introductions on 1 Enoch.⁷⁶ I shall, therefore, only give a brief introduc-

73. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 10.

74. Nickelsburg's and VanderKam's translation is based upon the Eth. version, but prefers the MSS in group α to the MSS in group β . It has also made use of available Greek and Aramaic MSS with the aim of getting as close to the original Aramaic original version as possible (George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004], 13–14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 19–20).

75. In general, the Aramaic fragments from DSS should be regarded as being closest to the original text, thereafter the Greek version and lastly the Ethiopic version as the youngest of the three sources.

76. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 53–106, 220–239; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 1–125; George W.

tion to the book. The text of 1 Enoch is a collection of pseudepigraphic apocalyptic writings of varying origins and dates from the last three centuries BCE;⁷⁷ it is centred on the patriarch Enoch from Gen 5:18–24 and what is revealed to him in heaven by angels. 1 Enoch presents the person Enoch as a dreamer with prophetic, priestly, and scribal functions.⁷⁸ The book is about the size of the Book of Isaiah.⁷⁹ It comprises of five major separate compositions: *The Book of the Watchers* (chapters 1–36, henceforth *BWatch*), *The Book of Parables* (chapters 37–71), *The Astronomical Book* (chapters 72–82), *The Book of Dreams* (chapters 83–90), and *The Epistle of Enoch* (chapters 91–105/106–107/108).⁸⁰ Each part functions as tradent of the Enochic traditions, where *BWatch* provides source material for the other texts in the book. Based on what scholars have written about 1 Enoch, it appears that a clear majority agree on the importance of the Enochic collection and its stimulant effect on the study of apocalyptic literature.⁸¹

1 Enoch has been preserved as a whole in the Ethiopic tradition, in at least forty-nine available manuscripts from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries CE.⁸² However, the collection of texts were composed originally in Aramaic, translated into Greek, and from Greek into ancient Ethiopic (*Ge'ez*).⁸³ The discovery of fragments from eleven Aramaic scrolls of 1 Enoch at Qumran settled a long discussion as to whether those behind the original composition composed it in Ara-

E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 43–53, 83–86, 110–115; Miryam T. Brand, “1 Enoch,” in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 1359–1364.

77. The earliest parts of 1 Enoch (The Astronomical Book, chapters 72–82, and The Book of Watchers, chapters 1–36) probably existed in some form in the third century BCE. The Parables of Enoch, chapters 37–71, probably come from the last century BCE (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7–8; John J. Collins, “Enoch,” *EDEJ* 585). For a discussion of the early dates, see also Michael E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978): 479–492.

78. Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 260, 264, 266. On the figure of Enoch, see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 23–51 or James C. VanderKam, *Enoch, A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 1–14.

79. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 1.

80. There is discussion as to whether The Epistle of Enoch ends with chapter 105 (Nickelsburg), chapter 107 (Brand) or chapter 108 (Collins). It is beyond the aim of this work to enter that debate.

81. For a summary of its significance, see Brand, “1 Enoch,” 1362–1363. For the importance of the Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch regarding ancient Judaism, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 2–3.

82. See Table 1, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 17. Knibb discusses the text of The Ethiopic Enoch and thirty-one of these MSS in his commentary (Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, vol. 1 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978], 1–6, 21–37).

83. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 13; Brand, “1 Enoch,” 1361.

maic or Hebrew.⁸⁴ All the books of 1 Enoch are represented in the Aramaic fragments, except for *The Parables of Enoch* and “A Final book by Enoch” (chapter 108). The Qumran version might, however, have contained the composition known as *The Book of Giants*, which was later replaced by *The Parables*.⁸⁵ Even if we cannot be sure of the precise form and content of the Qumran version, it is not an exaggeration to state that the fragments are invaluable for text-critical studies and for understanding the importance of 1 Enoch in the Qumran community. In addition, scholars have also identified a Greek scroll of 1 Enoch at Qumran.⁸⁶ Counting all available Greek fragments, Nickelsburg estimates that about 28 per cent of 1 Enoch is preserved in Greek translations of the Aramaic original, and evidence suggests that the Greek version is a product of a Jewish translator before the CE.⁸⁷

Because 1 Enoch is a collection of works composed in Judah between the third and first century BCE/CE, we can also expect a different history and focus regarding themes, depending on in which part of the book we find them. It is, therefore, helpful to formulate a basic idea of the world view in 1 Enoch before reflecting on how the book compares with Isa 65–66. The common biblical starting point in 1 Enoch is Gen 5:18–24, concerning how God took Enoch. Brand explains that this passage in Genesis was controversial during the Second Temple period. Its audience believed it was impossible for a human being to walk with God (5:24). Therefore, the two occurrences of האלהים with a definitive article in vv. 22 and 24 were interpreted as being angels and not God, who instead was the one (אלהים without an article) who took him (v. 24).⁸⁸ Thus, as Brand points out, “The combination of reference to angels, calendrical concepts [the solar calendar], and walking in heaven” led to speculation concerning what mysteries Enoch had witnessed in heaven. The works in 1 Enoch venture to answer that question, i.e. what the patriarch saw when walking with angels.⁸⁹ This interest in the heavenly “other world” contra

84. From Cave 4 (4QEn^{a–g} ar, and 4QEnastr^{a–d} ar). According to Knibb’s careful calculations, together these scrolls preserve “[...] just under one-fifth” of the verses in the Eth. (Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, vol. 2 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978], 12. Cf. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976], 5; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 9–11; James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002], 195–196).

85. See 1QEnGiants^{a–b} ar, 2QEnGiants ar, 4QEnGiants^{a–c} ar, 4QEnoch^e ar, 6QpapGiants. 4QEnGiants^a and 4QEn^c are written by the same scribe and could therefore belong to the same MSS. Nickelsburg, however, says that in his view “The precise codicological relationship of *the Book of Giants* to the MSS. of the Enochic corpus remains uncertain [...]” (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 11). Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 4–7.

86. The 1 Enoch scroll in Greek was found in Cave 7 (pap7QEn gr [7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11–14]). See also the discussion in VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 314–320.

87. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 12; cf. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:20.

88. For detail discussion of האלהים and אלהים in Gen 5:22, 24, see VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 31 or VanderKam, *Enoch*, 13.

89. Brand, “1 Enoch,” 1359.

the chaotic “this world”⁹⁰ creates the ethical prerequisite for a common apocalyptic world view in an otherwise diverse and complex text. Thus, a dualistic world view laid the foundation for how in 1 Enoch God will defeat wickedness in the world by judgement and creative redemption, which is basically how judgement and salvation function in Isa 65–66 as well.⁹¹

Nickelsburg’s statement of commonality in the Enochic text has inspired my last formulation above regarding 1 Enoch.⁹² He discusses the world view and religious thought in 1 Enoch from two perspectives. First, “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality,” which is related to dualism; and second, “God and Humanity,” which, among other things, refers to God as King and Lord who delivers judgement to the rebellious for disobedience and salvation from evil to the chosen.⁹³ The latter perspective is the religious response in 1 Enoch to the dualism perspective, with God as judge-saviour and the chosen as the recipient of blessing and wisdom. Nickelsburg points out that it is not recommendable to “isolate 1 Enoch’s religious thought from the broader horizon of its author’s world view,”⁹⁴ and the same must be true for Isa 65–66 as a vision. In that latter text, dualism is also what constructs reality when it presents God as the ultimate King. As judge and saviour, he will deliver the faithful chosen, bless them, and let them dwell in new heavens and a new earth.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the narrative form of the themes is significant, something which also caused both developments and tensions within the Book of Isaiah. Although there is more than one source behind the growth of the world view of 1 Enoch, the clear allusion to biblical material is significant, particularly when it comes to eschatology.⁹⁶

2.3 The Prophetic Genre and Isaiah 65–66

After having defined and discussed the apocalypse and apocalyptic features, I shall now begin the main task of this work, i.e. understanding Isa 65–66 and its leaning towards apocalypticism. The discussion below defines biblical prophecy

90. See Stefan Beyerle, “The Imagined World of the Apocalypses,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 373–387.

91. See 4.3 *Dualism (vv. 8–16)*, p. 92.

92. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 37.

93. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 37–56.

94. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 42.

95. However, a difference is that the law from God is wisdom in 1 Enoch which has no clear counterpart in Isa 65–66, although Isa 65:24 could imply something in that direction.

96. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 51, 69–75. See also Norman Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos, and the World to Come: The Ancient Roots of Apocalyptic Faith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 163–193; Klaus Koch, “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 185–199.

as a genre and employs its elements on Isa 65–66 as an introduction to the main study in this work. I shall then survey prophetic features; but unlike with the apocalypse above, I do this more from the perspective of a general comparison between prophecy and apocalypse. In this way, I shall provide a broad portrait of the literary context to which Isa 65–66 belongs as a gateway to my detailed analysis of the text in the following chapters.

2.3.1 Definition of Prophecy

Studies since Muilenburg's "Form Criticism and Beyond" have demonstrated that each prophetic text is a unique. Sweeney maintain that each prophetic composition has "its own structure, characteristics, and aims."⁹⁷ He continues to state in the same paragraph: "Instead, the author's intensions dictate the composition and formulation of a text, including the choice of generic elements and language." Thus, "Genres do not always define texts; they function within them as compositional tools." This general view on the prophetic genre to no small degree harmonises with how I have explained genre, whether apocalyptic or prophetic, so far in this work. In his commentary on Isaiah 1–39, and from where I have taken these reflections on genre, Sweeney sorts the literary styles of the Hebrew prophetic literature into three groups that together function as a reading guide. Based on these groups, he identifies the prophetic genres as follows:⁹⁸

1. *The prophetic book* – "[...] is the literary presentation of the sayings of a particular prophet."
2. *The prophetic narrative* – "Such narratives [by or about prophets] point to the literary setting of prophecy, in which later tradents preserve traditions about the prophets or attempt to reflect on the significance of the prophet's words or activities."
3. *The prophetic speech* – "[...], prophets appear to have functioned first and foremost as speakers."

According to Sweeney, when the prophetic literature is a *prophetic book*, each composition has a distinct structure with a specific intention. In general, the structural principle in a prophetic book is the judgement and salvation of Israel/Judah, with an emphasis on the latter.⁹⁹ In the case of Isaiah, as a book it has received a super-

97. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 14.

98. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 15–30.

99. Sweeney refers here to Ronald E. Clements, who also explains the special emphasis on restoration in the prophetic book: "This was because this restoration was still looked for in the future, while the destruction was believed to have already taken place" (R. E. Clements, "Patterns in the Prophetic Canon," in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats

scription (1:1) and the structural principle is presented generically as “prophetic exhortations”¹⁰⁰ of judgement and salvation. The liturgical character of some Isaianic texts (Isa 6, 12, 33) also indicate that at least parts of the book were read in conjunction with the temple.¹⁰¹ Regarding Isa 65–66, those chapters reflect the general prophetic message of punishment and restoration with the promise of salvation in the future. However, its message has become individualised as it is not merely about the restoration of the land but also about relationships.¹⁰² The author appears to deliver the oracles in connection with the Second Temple (66:1–2b, see also 65:3 and 66:17, 20),¹⁰³ although there are no signs that the text is liturgical. As we shall see, the prophetic saying as exhortation is somewhat true for Isa 65–66,¹⁰⁴ although the author merely implies his rhetoric intent; however, the text also presents itself as both a prophetic disputation and as instructions against the rebellious and to the advantage of the faithful.

The prophetic literature as *prophetic narrative*, on the other hand, suggests that the prophets are not only speakers but also writers of prophetic reflections that function as an interpretation of experiences. Sweeney associates a number of genres with this kind of prophetic literature, one of which is “vision report,”¹⁰⁵ which he labels “vision account” in his commentary on Isaiah 40–66.¹⁰⁶ Again, it is the superscription in Isa 1:1 that wants us to understand the Book of Isaiah as an account of visions, although the extensive reinterpretations of these visions within the book also offer its Jewish recipients a continuing and developed vision of the future. In the case of Isa 65–66, the vision-account applies to those units which are revelatory and presage the future.¹⁰⁷ Those units which are not eschatological fall into what we can describe as an *account of a prophetic word* because of their repetitive divine speech formulas.¹⁰⁸ The repetitive divine speech formulas, in connection with the accounts, authenticate the messages to the rebellious and to the faithful conveyed in Isa 65–66. Furthermore, the statements in Isa 65–66 belong to a broader narrative framework which covers the entire book.¹⁰⁹ An understanding

and Burke O. Long [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 45; cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 17).

100. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 17, 48–49, 50.

101. Although Isa 6 is a vision report, its setting is in the Jerusalem temple and contain a mix of prose and poetry. Williamson, therefore, prefer to speak about Isa 6 as an “elevated form of diction, [...]” (H. G. M. Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, vol. 2, ICC [London: T&T Clark, 2018], 38). Blenkinsopp, however, questions the liturgical character of Isa 33 (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 435–447).

102. See more below in 2.3.2 *Prophecy in Apocalypse*, p. 55.

103. See also 1.3.3 *The Setting of Isa 65–66*, p. 21.

104. See 65:8, 18; 66:5, 10. See also the call-motif in 65:1–2, 12c–f, 24; 66:4.

105. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 18–19.

106. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 23–24.

107. Isa 65:8–16, 17–25; 66:7–14b, 14c–16, 18–24.

108. Isa 65:1–7; 66:1–6, 17. For a more detail account of these formulas, see Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 376–378.

109. See 1.3.2.2 *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 13.

of this narrative structure guides the reader to identify the main themes in the text as being about the creative future redemption of Zion and her people and how that closes the whole story.¹¹⁰

The final kind of prophetic literature identified by Sweeney is *prophetic speech*. He associates many different styles to this group, including oracle, pronouncement, messenger speech, announcement/prophecy, trial genres (e.g. *rib*), disputation, woe oracle, instruction, exhortation and admonition (parenesis), and prophetic liturgies.¹¹¹ All these genres, particularly prophetic announcement, have subgenres. These subgenres, however, cannot always be determined, and the borderlines between them are sometimes unclear, indicating the fluidity of the genre. On the whole, all the types of prophetic speech in Sweeney's list are represented in the Book of Isaiah. When it comes to Isa 65–66, the genre "Messenger Speech" appears as a divine royal proclamation with the formulas "I said (אמרתִי), 'here I am, here I am,'" "says YHWH" (אמר יהוה), "Thus says YHWH" (כה אמר יהוה), "declares YHWH" (נאם־יהוה), and "says your God" (אמר אלהיך).¹¹² Samuel A. Meier's conclusion regarding these speech formulas in the Book of Isaiah shows that the poet's voice in most of the texts in Isa 40–66 has become the voice of God. Because the mechanism of these formulas remains undisclosed, they signal the genre of the text instead. As such, their function is far from undisclosed. Considering the frequency of these formulas in Isa 65–66, its author, therefore, announces YHWH's speeches to the community he belongs to, and to future readers of God's word but does not speak in his name.¹¹³

As a prophetic speech, the author of Isa 65–66 also employs what Sweeney labels "Prophetic Announcement." Two of its sub-genres are in use in the text, the "Prophetic Judgement Speech" and "Prophecy of Salvation," and then in combination with formulas associated with the genre "Messenger Speech" accounted for above.¹¹⁴ The purpose is to condemn the rebellious and comfort the faithful.

110. See also Robin Routledge, "Is There a Narrative Substructure Underlying the Book of Isaiah?" *TynBul* 55/2 (2004): 183–204.

111. Sweeney, *Isaiah* 1–39, 22–30.

112. See 65:1, 7, 8, 13, 25; 66:1, 2, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23. Perhaps we can also include the phrase "Hear the word of YHWH" (שמעו דבר־יהוה) in 66:5 in this list. Anyhow, it is likely that we have one divine voice throughout chapter 65, and in chapter 66 God's voice is heard from v. 1 up to and including v. 13, and again in vv. 17–19, 21–24. God's speech formulas in Isa 65–66 do not alone have the function of structuring the text, but they do encourage a coherent reading of the text as an account of YHWH's word (see also 1.3.2.3 *The Coherency of Isa 65–66*, p. 18). Below, I shall continue to discuss structural issues in connection with each unit of Isa 65–66. For more details regarding voices and sub-voices (65:5, 8; 66:5) in Isa 65–66, see also Meier, *Speaking of Speaking*, 256.

113. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking*, 256–258.

114. Sweeney, *Isaiah* 1–39, 23–24, 25–26. Sweeney notes also in the second volume of his commentary: "Perhaps the best represented genres in this text [Isa 65–66] are the various instances of the PROPHETIC JUDGEMENT SPEECH patten and the PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF SALVATION" (Sweeney, *Isaiah* 40–66, 376–378).

Other literary styles, which Sweeney discusses as prophetic speech, are the “Trial Genres” and the related “Disputation.”¹¹⁵ In Isa 65–66, they are expressed as a trial speech and arguments against the behaviour of the rebellious. In the text, the divine voice argues against the disobedient and accuses, convicts and promises them recompense (65:1–7; 66:1–6). They are God’s enemies, while the faithful will be vindicated in the future and called God’s servants (66:14c–d). However, before that the prophetic speech also uses exhortation by means of a direct address in order to give the rebellious reason to repent (65:18), so they too may rejoice over the New Jerusalem.

In sum, my understanding is that one of the most significant generic features of Isa 65–66 is that they contain vision-accounts. As part of a prophetic narrative and functionally as a prophetic speech, Isa 65–66 belongs to a book which presents itself in its present form as “The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem [...]” (1:1). In this vision, we have seen that Isa 65–66 plays a final role as the closure of the whole Book of Isaiah.¹¹⁶ Thus, in Sweeney’s words, I agree that “A PROPHETIC BOOK offers not only an archival vision of the past for the Jewish community but also a programmatic vision for the future.”¹¹⁷ As we shall see, Isa 65–66 is a unique vision-account of the future in the Isaianic tradition and a source of influence on the later apocalypse. The claim is that the sayings have come to the author through visions, communicated as a speech directly to its addressees, although they also show signs of a careful crafted writing. In connection with the discussion of the apocalyptic genre and 1 Enoch above, I observe that visions also function as a medium of revelation in the apocalypse. Prophetic exhortation plays a part in the vision-account of Isa 65–66, although the disputation ends with a revelatory vision of the shameful death of the rebellious (66:24).¹¹⁸ In short, Isa 65–66 is part of both a prophetic book and a prophetic narrative but fulfils many of the criteria of a prophetic speech even though written as an account for exhortation, instruction, and encouragement. The instructions are about the future consequences of behaviour and resistance in the current situation. I shall, therefore, continue to refer to Isa 65–66 as either a vision-speech or vision-account, or simply as an account.¹¹⁹

115. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 27–28.

116. See 1.3.2.2 *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 13.

117. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 49.

118. See also my discussion of O’Connell’s suggestion of a covenant disputation in 1.3.2.2 *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 13.

119. See also “a report of YHWH’s speeches” in Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 461.

2.3.2 Prophecy in Apocalypse

In spite of the many attempts to identify the origins of the apocalyptic, whether it be the Persian world view (Zoroastrianism), the wisdom tradition (biblical or Babylonian), the Hebrew prophecy, or Canaanite-Ugaritic mythology,¹²⁰ a link between the prophetic and the apocalyptic is still widely accepted, as evidenced by Lester L. Grabbe in his introduction to *Knowing the End from the Beginning* (2003): “A strong gut feeling still informs a great many biblical scholars that—whatever else might have gone into creating apocalypticism—prophecy was a key element.”¹²¹ When the ancient apocalyptic writers seek answers to the big questions about justice, fate, and otherworldly matters, they appeal to revelation about the *eschaton*. However, we also find those same themes in the prophetic literature, as visions of judgement and restoration of a holy community in the exalted Zion. Greg Carey, therefore, asks the question, “What makes apocalyptic literature distinctive from other [revelatory] discourses?” The short answer he offers is that it is due to two features: “its characteristic topics [or basic concerns] and ways in which it presents itself [with innovation and authoritative appeals] to its audiences.”¹²²

The key element of prophecy which Grabbe refers to in the citation above is a group of texts from the early post-exilic period, Isa 24–27; 56–66 and Zech 1–8. Historically, these texts belong to a period of transition and rupture in the history of Israel, after the fall of the Southern kingdom, the 6th-century Babylonian exile, and the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem. This critical transition, which radically changed the conditions for the Jewish religion, caused classic prophecy to cease – pre-exilic prophecy and kingship passed away altogether, and a new faith of Israel arose together with late exilic and early post-exilic biblical literature. At the onset of the post-exilic period, Jewish theologians reformulated the prophetic tradition and the royal ideology.¹²³ An assumption is that this radical change for Jews in the Persian period initiated a process which developed during the Hel-

120. All these attempts to pinpoint the origin or cause of apocalyptic have shown that the reality is more nuanced than scholarly hypotheses, even though they are valuable for an understanding of the Jewish apocalyptic (see also Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 24–26). To find the origin of the apocalyptic is complicated by its diversity, see for example the idea of resurrection in C. D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism: 200 BCE–CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 19–65.

121. Lester L. Grabbe, “Introduction and Overview,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: the Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 2.

122. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 2–3 (3).

123. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 343. I assume there is prophetic literature that are pre-exilic, even though they have been exposed for later redaction. See also Samuel A. Meier, *Themes and Transformations in Old Testament Prophecy* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009), who demonstrates the thematic divide between the earlier prophets before the exile and the later prophets during and after the exile.

lenistic period into a world view that modern scholars define as apocalypticism, and a genre labelled as apocalypse. This view among scholars, which regards apocalyptic as the child of prophecy, has a natural starting point in R. H. Charles' work because of his dominance during the major part of the 20th century in the study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.¹²⁴

It is a well-known fact that Charles has been very influential in the study of pseudepigraphical literature. This influence becomes evident, not least in H. H. Rowley and D. S. Russell's research on Jewish and Christian apocalypses.¹²⁵ Both Rowley and Russell have, however, presented independent works as they both criticize Charles on some of his conclusions.¹²⁶ It is more difficult to see differences between Rowley and Russell when comparing their findings with each other, as they seem to agree on essential issues at least regarding the relationship between the apocalyptic and prophecy. In short, both Rowley and Russell regard Jewish apocalyptic to be, in many respects, a continuation (or development) of prophecy, despite the diverse nature of the apocalyptic genre. The apocalyptic message is essentially a readaptation and development of the old prophetic word in a new situation, even if the apocalyptic language is sometimes alien to prophecy. Thus, the essential difference between them is that Rowley has written a more popular work, while Russell is more scholarly and detailed in his presentation. Hanson also belongs to the group which considers the apocalyptic to be the child of prophecy. He does not, however, explain the difference between prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic eschatology in terms of adaptation of prophecy to a new situation, as Rowley and Russell do.¹²⁷ Hanson thinks the world view of apocalyptic eschatology is an outgrowth from prophetic eschatology. Nonetheless, there the matter of divergent world views because of changes in the social and political

124. See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893); R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., APOT (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

125. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*; D. S. Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic: 200 BC – AD 100*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964).

126. Charles saw no significant differences in content between prophecy and the apocalyptic, they belonged together in a common moral and eschatological tradition (R. H. Charles, ed., *Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2 of APOT [Oxford: Clarendon, 1913], 2:viii). However, Russell says that "there is a sense in which apocalyptic can truly be described as the successor of prophecy," but "this is very different thing from saying [with reference to Charles, and perhaps to Rowley] that it is the only or even the chief successor to the moral teaching of the great prophets" (Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 27).

127. For Hanson, the prophetic is an outgrowth from the apocalyptic, "as two sides of a continuum" (Hanson, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," 1:281). However, Hanson also speaks of a continuation and development of prophecy, and states that changes in social and political conditions made it apocalyptic. It looks as if Hanson also thinks that the apocalyptic (at least in some respects) was a readaptation of the Hebrew Bible's prophetic message in new situations.

conditions remains.¹²⁸ Worth noting here is that Collins seems less critical of Hanson's stand on the apocalyptic than Charles, Rowley and Russell.¹²⁹

Another school regarding the origin of the apocalyptic is the idea that apocalypticism derived from the wisdom tradition. This view became popular with Gerhard von Rad in the 1960s.¹³⁰ In short, this theory tried to correct the view on prophetic eschatology as the source of the apocalyptic. Today, von Rad's idea about biblical wisdom as eschatologised in apocalyptic literature is often rejected by scholars,¹³¹ although it has inspired scholars to think about the origin of the apocalyptic.¹³² Wisdom and apocalypticism could nonetheless have influenced one another (see, e.g. 4QInstruction or 1 En. 42),¹³³ which shows how fluid the boundaries between genres are.¹³⁴ Apocalyptic literature which depicts Enoch and Daniel as visionaries also presents them more like wise men than prophets.¹³⁵

128. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 4–8, 281. See also Hanson, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," 1:281; Hanson, "Apocalypticism," 1:30–34. In Hanson's view, the prophetic eschatology concentrates on prophetic announcements to nations regarding the divine plans for Israel and the world as it is revealed to the prophet, who in turn translates it into real history, politics and human involvement. On the other hand, apocalyptic eschatology concentrates on revealing to the chosen ones the cosmic vision of Jahve's sovereignty, particularly when it relates to his saving power on behalf of his faithful ones. The visionary has ceased to translate what has been revealed into clear history, real politics and human involvement (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 11–12).

129. Among other things, Collins comments that "Hanson was well aware that the main corpus of apocalyptic literature comes from a much later time. His point was that the basic configuration of apocalyptic thought can already be found in the late prophetic texts" (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 28).

130. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, vol. 2, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (London: SCM, 1975), 301–308 (303, 306); Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, trans. James D. Martin (London: SCM, 1972), 268, 278.

131. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 52–75; John J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William Johnston Wiseman (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 165–185. See also Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things," 414–452. In short, Collins says that the wisdom in the apocalypses "is not the inductive kind that we find in Proverbs or Sirach, but is acquired through revelation" (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 25).

132. For an introduction how von Rad's ideas have inspired scholars to think about the origin of apocalypticism, see Goff, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 52–68.

133. See also e.g. James K. Aitken, "Apocalyptic, Revelation and Early Jewish Wisdom Literature," in *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston*, ed. A. Gelston, P. J. Harland, and Robert Hayward, VTSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 181–193, who compares the similarities in *Ben Sira* with wisdom literature from Q, especially *Sapiential Work A*. He positions the former in between biblical writings and apocalyptic Q writings. However, both texts show clear interest in prophetic revelation.

134. Goff, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism," 60–63, 65–67. For a challenge of the view that wisdom and apocalypticism is fundamentally different, see Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, SymbS 35 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

135. Nonetheless, the texts from DSS to Josephus ascribe prophetic status to Daniel (Hindy Najman, "The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*,

However, if mantic wisdom has exercised a significant influence upon Jewish apocalypticism, divination through dreams and vision in the late prophetic literature has also contributed to the rise of apocalypticism.¹³⁶ There is also a third school of thought which regards apocalypses as a new phenomenon in opposition to the theories of prophecy and wisdom.

The apocalyptic as a new phenomenon is a dominant view today. This view is not the total opposite of the apocalyptic as the child of prophecy or wisdom but argues against the position that the apocalyptic is a mere readaptation of prophecy in a new situation or comes out of wisdom. Collins, who is a leading representative of this school, questions in *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (1984, 1998, 2016) how scholars have applied the source-critical method in a reductionistic way on the Jewish apocalyptic literature. Collins sees, for example, much value in Charles, Rowley, and Russell's work, and argues that prophecy may be an essential source for the apocalyptists. However, he insists that "the tendency to assimilate apocalyptic literature to the more familiar world of the prophets risks losing sight of its stranger mythological and cosmological components."¹³⁷ Eschatology, which is characteristic for both the prophetic and apocalyptic tradition, is one of the core features in the definition of apocalypse in *Semeia* 14. Still, Collins means that it takes on a new character in the apocalyptic writings – as "apocalyptic eschatology" with the distinct feature of a belief in the judgement of the dead.¹³⁸

The judgement of the dead is one reason why Collins thinks the prophetic texts of Isa 24–27 are closer to the apocalypse than Isa 56–66, but he cannot view Isa 24–27 as apocalypses because the author presents them in the form of oracles. It is Zech 1–8 which Collins regards as "a transitional link between preexilic prophetic

ed. John J. Collins [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014], 40–41).

136. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 71–75. About dreams and visions-accounts in the Hebrew Bible, see also Elizabeth R. Hayes and Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, eds., *'I Lifted My Eyes and Saw': Reading Dream and Vision Reports in the Hebrew Bible*, LHBOTS 584 (London: T&T Clark, 2014).

137. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 19. In his article "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End," Collins makes an even clearer differentiation between the two world views when discussing the significance of political and social periods for the development of apocalypticism. The apocalyptic in the books of Enoch and Daniel in the Hellenistic period "is far more developed and complex phenomenon" than the "fragmentary prophetic texts." He, therefore, sees no social continuity between the two traditions. Collins concedes that the prophetic oracles became a part of the source material of the apocalyptists, yet the apocalypticism of the Hellenistic period is – in his view – a new phenomenon "in many crucial respects" (Collins, "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism," 1:134).

138. Collins, "Early Jewish Apocalypticism," 1:283; Collins, "The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature," 119–139. What Hanson claims is that the perspective "apocalyptic eschatology" was already present in the late 6th century B.C.E, especially in Isa 56–66 (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 21). This claim is questioned by Collins, because he cannot find any after-life features in the post-exilic prophetic oracles, instead these oracles have kept the "this-worldly emphasis," typical for prophetic eschatology (Collins, "Early Jewish Apocalypticism," 1:283–284).

visions and apocalyptic dream visions.” However, he does not view First Zechariah either as an actual apocalypse, for “It is not so readily apparent that the content of Zechariah shares the characteristic worldview of the apocalypses.”¹³⁹ In an article published in 2003, Collins’ view has not changed when he concludes “that the future expectations of Zechariah were eschatological, in the prophetic sense, and messianic, but not apocalyptic, in any plausible sense of the word.”¹⁴⁰ Antonios Finitis argues even more strongly in his published dissertation that a distinction is necessary between pre-exilic and post-exilic eschatology, and that apocalyptic eschatology is a third type different from the other two.¹⁴¹ While pre-exilic eschatology addresses the nation Israel as a whole against the other nations, and post-exilic eschatology differentiates people within Israel, apocalyptic eschatology extended hope to the individual after the resurrection of the dead.¹⁴² Based on those preconditions, Finitis nonetheless argues that Zechariah was not a typical post-exilic prophet as he promoted a realised “restoration eschatology.”¹⁴³ In contrast, I shall contend, in connection with Isa 65:8, 24 and 66:14c–d, that the vision-speech in Isa 65–66 promotes not only a restored community but also a renewal of the heavens and earth for the chosen, which implies individual salvation accessing the new transformed epoch.

Finitis’ work is an example of how the discussion about prophecy and apocalypse continues in the present day. Another example is the recent article by Matthew Goff, where he assesses the form-critical definition of apocalypse in *Semeia* 14 and Collins’ historical-critical work *The Apocalyptic Imagination* as a “set piece” but with two “different approaches to the material.”¹⁴⁴ What I would like to note

139. Collins, *Daniel*, 20.

140. John J. Collins, “The Eschatology of Zechariah,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: the Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 82.

141. Finitis, therefore, states in his introduction: “[...], even though eschatology is indeed apparent across prophetic and apocalyptic literature, it is not of the same type” (Antonios Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology: A Socio-Historical Analysis of Zechariah 1–6*, LSTS 79 [London: T&T Clark, 2013], 2). He develops this thesis extensively in his dissertation and applies it to First Zechariah. His conclusion is that the peculiar “restoration eschatology” in Zech 1–6 is not apocalyptic, as it is indicative of the early post-exilic period and focuses on the immediate future which the presence shall usher in if the people heed the prophet’s advice (Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 102–162). The last chapter in Finitis’ book is an extensive conclusion that summarises his whole thesis for the reader (Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 163–172).

142. Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 5–36. See also John J. Collins, “Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death,” *CBQ* 36/1 (January, 1974): 21–43.

143. Finitis mean that Zechariah’s “message employed eschatology to promote restoration. This particular type of eschatology addresses the immediate future [...] by promoting the rebuilding of the temple and by proposing a better type of political administration” (Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 161–162, see also 168–172).

144. Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage,” 8. Collins responds to that article in the same book by defending the basic approach in *Semeia* 14 (Collins, “The End is Not Yet,” 208–210), as explained

here is what Finitis points out in his conclusion when he reflects upon “what insights and perspectives are poorly discerned when genre is privileged in this way [with a form-critical approach at the center of the study of apocalypticism].”¹⁴⁵ What genre study is at risk of missing when overemphasised, particularly because genre is a relatively modern understanding and something the post-exilic readers were not likely to be aware of,¹⁴⁶ is what Goff points out by referring to Hindy Najman. In the closing of her article she argues:

Many of the features associated with apocalypse have a precedent within prophetic literature, albeit many of these generic features are changed in the hands of the apocalyptic writers.¹⁴⁷

Thus the prophetic and the apocalyptic classifications should be understood as internally related [...]. The apocalyptic deployment of figures and themes from prophetic literature was part of a deliberate strategy of inheritance, intended to sustain the relevance of prophecy.¹⁴⁸

Although Najman’s view is that “the prophetic project” continued in the apocalyptic literature by relying on “strategies of inheritance,”¹⁴⁹ she does not mean that the difference between prophecy and apocalypse are generically insignificant or that they overlap to such a degree that the distinction is blurred between them.¹⁵⁰ The legacy of prophecy did not stay unchanged with the apocalyptic writers. So, following Goff and Najman’s positions, and also Ronald Hendel’s view that apocalypticism arises “by an intensive, if selective, attention to the books of the classical prophets,”¹⁵¹ a study of apocalyptic literature should also involve an analysis of prophecy in the apocalypse. Or *vice versa*; studying prophecy can include an analysis of its images in the apocalypse. An intermediate aim with the present

above (2.2.1 *Definition of Apocalypse*, p. 40) in connection with my discussion how to define apocalypse.

145. Goff, “The Apocalypse and the Sage,” 20.

146. Ronald Hendel, “Isaiah and the Transition from Prophecy to Apocalyptic,” in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Chaim Cohen, Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, Avi M. Hurvitz, Yochanan Muffs, Baruch J. Schwartz, and Jeffrey H. Tigay (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 261–269.

147. Najman, “The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse,” 48.

148. Najman, “The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse,” 48.

149. Najman, “The Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse,” 40.

150. See the three positions or perspectives that question the distinction between prophecy and apocalypticism in John J. Collins, “Apocalypticism and the Transformation of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period,” in *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 56–57. Collins takes a fourth position, a “view that sees prophecy and apocalypticism as distinct though related phenomena” (Collins, “Apocalypticism and the Transformation of Prophecy,” 57).

151. Hendel, “Isaiah and the Transition from Prophecy to Apocalyptic,” 264.

study, therefore, is to make observations as to what ways Isa 65–66 draws towards apocalypticism. That said, it is still helpful to regard prophecy and apocalypse as separate and parallel genres, so that prophecy is not regarded as the only source of apocalypse.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first demonstrated the development away from a rigid classification of the genre, which has happened in biblical studies with the new form criticism and rhetorical criticism. Regarding a literary style and its intent as fluid and functional helps us to understand the biblical prophecy as part of the soil for apocalypticism in the Hellenistic era. Isa 65–66 was one of the texts Jewish theologians reinterpreted in that new context as a response to the Hellenistic empire and their ideology.¹⁵² From my discussion, therefore, it is clear that I regard the “prototype theory,” which affirms text boundaries without ignoring literary traits, as the right approach for the study of genre. Because I intend to compare the themes in Isa 65–66 with ideas in the apocalyptic literature in a preliminary and limited way, in this chapter I have also chosen to reflect upon the definition of the apocalyptic genre and its features. This has been done in order to understand both 1 Enoch, the book I am focusing on in this work, and what I am comparing it to. In the rest of this chapter, I have provided a broad literary context for my detailed thematic analysis of Isa 65–66 below.

Irrespective of views and definitions of the apocalyptic and prophetic genre, as discussed in this chapter, post-exilic prophecy still functions as significant soil for apocalyptic literature such as 1 Enoch and Daniel. This holds particularly true for themes like the expectation of a day of judgement and the salvation of a remnant. Furthermore, in addition to punishment and redemption, VanderKam lists other topics supplied by the biblical prophetic literature, including Messiah/messianism, a throne vision report (1 Kgs 22; Isa 6; see 1 En. 14), tour by an angel of a New Jerusalem (Zion) with temple and country (Ezek 40–48), and a discloser of symbolic visions in dreams by God or angel (Amos 7–9; Zech 1–8).¹⁵³ In Isa 65–66, we have the creative renewals of the heavens and earth for a New Jerusalem and her people, which takes place after judgement. All these themes or features in the prophetic literature are many times intensified or radicalised in the apocalyptic literature. Collins prefers to talk about the oracles in Isa 65–66 as late prophecy, or post-exilic prophecy rather than as an apocalypse. Nonetheless he does state that

152. See Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 44–65, who discusses the response or resistance in the Jewish world against “the new order” from the perspective of the diverse portrait of resurrection among early Jewish theologian in the Hellenistic social environment.

153. James C. VanderKam, “Messianism and Apocalypticism,” *EA* 1:197.

“The hope for a new heaven and a new earth (Isa 65:17) is certainly relevant to the history of apocalypticism,” but explains “it should not be labeled ‘apocalyptic’ without serious qualification.”¹⁵⁴ Even though the two last chapters in Isaiah are oracles like pre-exilic prophecy, this does not mean, however, that they share every aspect of the visualised conditions that a new creation brings. Instead, Isa 65–66 is, in some respects, closer to the expectations of the apocalyptic eschatology in 1 Enoch. As we shall see in the following chapters of this work, Isa 65–66 leans towards apocalypticism more than towards the older prophetic tradition in several ways.

154. Collins, “From Prophecy to Apocalypticism,” 1:133.

Chapter 3: Isaiah 65:1–7

The first unit in Isa 65–66 is 65:1–7 begins with a reminder of God’s grace but ends with words of judgement to those with an unrepented attitude. Based on my translation below and the delimitation of this unit, I have detected three main themes in the text: God’s accessibility (vv. 1–2), the rebellious’ provocations (vv. 3–5), and God’s judgement (vv. 6–7). After the analysis of these three themes and their sub-themes, I will summarise them and compare them with themes in 1 Enoch.

3.1 Text and Translation

נדרשתי ללוא שאלו נמצאתי ללא בקשני אמרתי הנני הנני אל-גוי לא-קרא בשמי: פרשתי ידי כל-היום אל-עם סורר ההלכים הדרך לא-טוב אחר מחשבתיהם: העם המכעיסים אותי על-פני תמיד זבחים בגנות ומקטרים על-הלבנים: הישבים בקברים ובנצורים ילינו האכלים בשר החזיר ופרק פגלים כליהם: האמרים קרב אליך אל-תגשבי כי קדשתך אלה עשן באפי אש יקדת כל-היום: הנה כתובה לפני לא אחשה כי אם-שלמתי ושלמתי על-חיקם: עונתיכם ועונת אבותיכם יחדו אמר יהוה אשר קטרו על-ההרים ועל-הנבעות חרפוני ומדתי פעלתם ראשנה אל-חיקם: ס	1a I allowed myself to be sought by those who did not ask [<i>for me</i>], I allowed myself to be found by those who did not seek me. c I said, “here I am, here I am,” to a nation that did not call ^a on my name. 2a I held out my hands all day to a rebellious people, ^b who walk in the way that is not good, c after their own thoughts. 3a The people who continually provoke me to my face, sacrificing in the gardens c and burning incense on the altars; ^c 4a who sit in tombs, and spend the night in secret places, c who eat the flesh of swine and broth of unclean meat in their vessels; 5a who say, “keep to yourself, do not come near me, for I am too holy for you.” ^d c These are smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all the day. 6a Behold, it is written before me, I will not be silent, c but I have repaid, and I will even repay ^e into their bosom, 7a your iniquities and the iniquities of your fathers ^f together, says YHWH. c Because they burned incense on the mountains, and insulted me on the hills, e I will measure their work first [and then repay] into their bosom. ^g
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a. In \mathfrak{M} v. 1d reads: “[...] was not called (קרא) *Pual* perfect) by my name.” However, \mathfrak{G} , \mathfrak{S} , \mathfrak{B} , and \mathfrak{T} agree in reading an active form here. 1QIsa^a reads קרא which could support \mathfrak{M} , but can also be a case of *qal* active perfect or *qal* active participle. We confront a similar problem with 4QIsa^b (קורא) – it can support \mathfrak{M} , but it can also be an active participle. The possible support from 1QIsa^a and 4QIsa^b and the agreement on the active voice in the Versions seem to favor a *qal* active reading of קרא in Jes

65:1d. The final verdict then has to be based on the context, for two reasons: 1. The two verbs in 65:1a and 1b that point to the rebellious are active perfect (שאלו and בקשני) and it is likely that קרא as the third verb in v. 1d should also express the negative attitude of the people in parallel with first two lines in the verse; 2. Isa 65:1 is a reaction to the complaint in 64:6. The verb קורא in 64:6 is an active participle, and קרא in 65:1 as a direct answer should also be an active participle. It is therefore my opinion that the context favours a qal active reading of קרא.

b. \mathfrak{G} adds καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα (“and gainsaying,” cf. Rom 10:21), which can be identified as an “doublet,” to create an effect.¹ Did the translator of \mathfrak{G} know about the two forms of the Hebrew text, and \mathfrak{M} has preserved only one of them but \mathfrak{G} has translated both; or alternatively, as Seeligmann explains, could the translator have been unsure of the exact meaning of the text and therefore given the readers two different Greek renderings of the same Hebrew word? Because the Greek translation of the book of Isaiah is a rather free one, and because of inconsistencies, Seeligmann suggest that in the case of Isa 65:2 (cf. the parallel Isa 50:5) the translator must be held responsible for the rendering, and thus the “double” cannot have originated from different sources.² Regarding the Q text, reflecting one possible source behind the \mathfrak{G} and \mathfrak{M} , it is unclear whether 1QIsa^a has כורה (“an obstinate”) or מורה (“a rebellious” or “a disobedient”), but a majority of scholars seems to think that it is probably מורה.³ Also, a Hebrew retroversion of \mathfrak{G} add on (καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα) is ומורה. Therefore, there are good reasons to believe that the \mathfrak{G} translator was familiar with two sources and choose to render both of them in his translation. A rendering of a reconstructed Hebrew text can therefore be: “a stubborn and rebellious people,” a solution that finds support in Deut 21:18, 20; Jer 5:23; Ps 78:8.⁴ However, such a rendering is still unsure because of 1QIsa^a. I therefore choose to follow the \mathfrak{M} -text in my translation of v. 2a, and because it fits the meter of the text better.

c. \mathfrak{G} adds τοῖς δαιμονίοις ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν (“to the demons which do not exist”), which probably is a digression and rendering of הישבים in the beginning of v. 4.⁵ 1QIsa^a reads in 65:3 וינקי המה זובחים בנגות וינקי ידים על-האבנים, which has several suggested translations, where וינקי is particularly confusing. If the root is נקה the Q version can be translated: “They are sacrificing in the gardens and they emptied⁶ incense tongs on the stones” (italics used by this author to highlight the difference from \mathfrak{M}). If so, the 1QIsa^a variant is condemning inappropriate rites, which is also the case in \mathfrak{M} .⁷ The last difficulty in v. 3 of \mathfrak{M} is על-הלבנים which is generally translated “on the bricks.” A comparable fifth-century inscription from Lachish, however, helps us to indentify לבנימ as “incense altars,”⁸ which suggests a bema sanctuary (cf. 57:7). In sum, the \mathfrak{M} version of 65:3 is preferable because: 1. Apart from the digression, \mathfrak{G} supports \mathfrak{M} which is parallel to “sacrificing in the gardens,” and fits the context well

1. See Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 31.

2. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 32.

3. See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 267; Jr, Martin Abegg, Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time Into English* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999).

4. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 267; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 140.

5. However, see Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 30–31; cf. Emanuel Tov and Frank Polak, eds., *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Accordance Bible Software, 2009), Isa 65:4.

6. There are different opinions among biblical scholars on how to understand the Hebrew word וינקי in 1QIsa^a 65:3 – DSSB, “waving” (Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 377); Blenkinsopp, “suck” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 271); Warmuth, “empty” (Kiel Warmuth, “נקי,” TDOT 9:553); Hanson and Cross, “they empty their incense spoons on stones” (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 141).

7. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 169–173; see also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 267.

8. Mitchell Joseph Dahood, “Textual Problems in Isaiah,” *CBQ* 22/4 (October, 1960): 406–408; Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 175–184.

as we read on, particular v. 5c: “These are smoke in my nostrils”; 2. The difficulty in understanding v. 3 in the Q text; 3. The variant reading על-האבנים (“on the stones”) in 1QIsa^a can also be explained as an incense altar.

d. The first part of 65:5b in 1QIsa^a is read as “do not touch me” (אל תגע ביא) instead of מ “do not come near me” (אל-הנש-בי). Y. E. Kutscher suggests that the root נגש (“to approach”) was changed by Qumran scribes to נע (“to touch”) because of the context and that נגש in combination with ב is rare, found only twice in the Bible.⁹ Because ἐγγίση mostly translates נגש in G, it is preferable to follow the מ in the translation but the context certainly connotes “do not touch me.” In the second part of this colon there seem to be enough support to follow the מ קדשתך (*qal* form) in my translation: G and S can be regarded as an abbreviation; Sym., B and Z present interpretations; קדשה in 1QIsa^a can either be *qal* or *piel*. Because there is sufficient text support for מ’s *qal* form, I stick to that in my reading, instead of following the BHS suggested *piel* form. מ’s verbal suffix 2 masc sing (ך-) is, however, peculiar, which is added to קדשתי (“I was sanctified”). It is likely that this suffix functions here as a dative rather than an accusative and therefore can be rewritten with ל plus suffix instead of את.¹⁰ Such usage also occurs in Isa 42:16; 44:21; Zech 7:5. Thus, the best translation of כי קדשתך is: “for I am too holy for you.”

e. G drops the second “repay” for structural and syntactical reasons, while 1QIsa^a retains it. Duhm and BHS recommend deleting this whole colon as an unnecessary gloss to the last phrase of v. 7, a seemingly logical decision but nonetheless a problematic one, because text support is lacking for such a decision.¹¹ Whether added later or not, the “gloss” has an emphatic function and should be translated on the grounds that it is difficult to say how it became part of the text.

f. The two plural nouns עונותיכם and אבותיכם (“your iniquities” and “your fathers”), with construct forms in מ and 1QIsa^a, have 2 masc. plural suffixes while G and S have 3 masc. plural. The verses prior to this seem to support the renderings in G/S (see especially the last line in v. 6 which ends: על-היכם), but at the same time the shifting of person in the Prophets is not uncommon (cf. Hos 2:18–21). It is, therefore, difficult to say how an error could have crept into the מ here at the beginning of v. 7.¹² The reading of מ is also supported by Z and B. I follow the מ in my translation, as the sudden change of person may be the author’s deliberate rhetorical choice.

g. The movement in v. 7 from the line “I will measure their work first” to the final line “into their bosom” assumes the so-called “gloss” in v. 6d, “I will even repay.” It is possible that this is the reason for the G translation (ἀποδώσω τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν), and if correct the last line in מ can thus be understood in the following way: “and then repay into their bosom.”

9. Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa^a)*, STDJ 6A (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 263.

10. Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SubBi, 2nd ed. (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), §125ba; Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, trans. A. E. Cowley, 2nd ed. (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 1910), §117x; H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm och Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952), §84f.

11. Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament: 2. Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations*, OBO 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 454; see, however, Hanson’s text-critical note which regards the last three words of v. 6 and 7a as a “clumsy gloss.” (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 141 h)

12. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament: 2*, 455–456.

3.2 Structural Issues (vv. 1–7)

Even though most scholars regard Isa 65:1–7 as a unit, there are some discussions as to how these verses are supposed to be divided. James Muilenburg treats Isa 65 as a whole, where God is speaking throughout, but structures it into ten strophes.¹³ The first three of these strophes are vv. 1–2, 3–5, 6–7, and part of a progression that begins with the first strophe where YHWH has made himself accessible to the people, to the last three where a new creation opens for life in an age of peace.¹⁴ Paul D. Hanson takes the eschatology in Isa 65:1–25 somewhat further than Muilenburg, but he too argues that the chapter is an original prophetic unit. However, instead of structuring the text as a progression of thought, Hanson treats it as a salvation-judgement oracle, where 65:1–7 begins the alternation with a judgement.¹⁵ In common with Muilenburg and Hanson, Edwin C. Webster understands Isa 65 as a single long poetic unit. Nevertheless, his approach is different. Webster’s rhetorical approach characterises Isa 65 as a poem with a triadic structure, which contrasts the righteous and the wicked. The first unit concerns the rebellious (vv. 1–7), and the last the chosen (vv. 17–25). In between are two contrasting pairs of clusters which compare the faithful and the rebellious (vv. 8–16). Regarding vv. 1–7, Webster structures those verses in the same way as Muilenburg, but from the perspective of recurring general themes, represented by the initials *q*, *s*, and *r*.¹⁶

65:1–7 The Rebellious

- a. *q*, vv 1–2 The Lord unheeded
- b. *s*, vv 3–5 Practices of iniquities
- c. *r*, vv 6–7 Retribution for former way

Unlike the thematic approaches of Muilenburg, Hanson, and Webster, Marvin A. Sweeney’s form critical analysis of Isa 65–66 leads him to divide Isa 65 (and 66) differently, despite the fact that all four understands the chapter as a single long poetic unit. Based on thematic structures and YHWH speech formulas, he divides Isa 65–66 into main units (speech pattern) and sub units (the way the rebellious

13. Isa 65:1–2, 3–5, 6–7, 8–10, 11–12, 13–14, 15–16, 17–19, [20?] 21–23, 24–25.

14. Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah*, 418.

15. Isa 65:1–7 (judgement), vv. 8–10 (salvation), vv. 11–12 (judgement), vv. 13–15 (salvation/judgement), vv. 16–25 (salvation). Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 144–145.

16. Webster outlines the three unit oracle in Isa 65 with three *q* (קרא) representing “call and response,” three *s* representing three series: “iniquities, contrasts, blessings,” and *r* (ראשונה) representing “former ways.” The final result is ten clusters in this triadic structure, identical to Muilenburg’s ten strophes except for vv 17–18 and vv 19–23. In this way Webster wants to demonstrate that themes (*q* and *r*) and literary devices (*s*) are repeated in a pattern throughout the oracle which illuminates the unity of the prophet’s thought (Webster, “The Rhetoric of Isaiah 63–65,” 96–101).

and the faithful are addressed).¹⁷ Thus, in Sweeney’s structure, the first main component is Isa 65:1–7 with the announcement that YHWH will requite evil, and he divides it into vv. 1–5 and vv. 6–7.¹⁸ The function of the vision speech in Isa 65–66 is, according to Sweeney, “to announce the creation of a new world order centred around Zion, to define the character of those who will be a part of the new world order, and to exhort the audience to join in the new creation.”¹⁹ In the structure of this account, 65:1–7 states the basic problem as why some do not seek YHWH. However, Sweeney understands the third person plural forms in those verses as all-inclusive.²⁰ The speech does not address a specific party: all the people are rebellious, and everyone will pay for their arrogance. Sweeney also argues that this all-inclusive message changes at 65:8, where God explains that he will save a faithful group called “my servants.” This assumed all-inclusiveness is discussed further in connection with 65:1–2 below.

Sweeney is correct when he shows that God’s speech formula in v. 7a (אמר יהוה), “says YHWH”) delimits 65:1–7 from 65:8. (which begins with כה אמר יהוה, “Thus says YHWH”).²¹ Throughout 65:1–7, the first person singular formulation of verb forms and pronouns are also used for the speaker. Furthermore, the contrast between vv. 1–7 and vv. 17–25, where the former addresses the rebellious in the third person plural and the latter addresses the faithful in the same way, creates two poles. The contrasts within these poles rapidly switch between the two groups.²² The signs in the text show that Isa 65:1–7 is a unit at the beginning of Isa 65–66, even though the repetitive accusations and expected judgement in vv. 7b–e come after the speech formula in v. 7a. In the present study, I follow the suggestion of Muilenburg and Webster on how to divide the section into subunits. Their proposed structure of vv. 1–2, vv. 3–5 and vv. 6–7 harmonises with my thematic analysis below.

3.3 God’s Accessibility (vv. 1–2)

God’s voice begins the speech in Isa 65–66 with a reminder, which in v. 1a reads: “I allowed myself to be sought” (נדרשתי); and in v. 1b: “I allowed myself to be found (נמצאתי).”²³ The reminder is extended to v. 2, and is part of the first of three

17. Isa 65:1–7 (vv. 1–5; vv. 6–7); 65:8–12 (vv. 8–12; vv. 13–25); 66:1–24 (vv. 1–4; vv. 5–24).

18. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 458–464.

19. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 463–464.

20. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 459.

21. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 459–460.

22. Webster’s first and last unit in Isa 65 confirm that God’s words about the rebellious in vv. 1–7 is balanced and contrasted with the words about the faithful in vv. 17–25. In respective units the “people” and “my people” are both addressed in the third person plural.

23. The two key verbs (נדרשתי and נמצאתי) in v. 1a–b are what grammars calls “niphil tolerative” –

responses in 65:1–7. The response is also a vindication of God’s accessibility, a topic that is developed into an eschatological vision of divine creative intervention in Isa 65–66. It emphasises God’s deep desire to be known and be present through his grace.²⁴ The two Hebrew verbs נִדְרַשְׁתִּי and נִמְצַאתִי, which remind the defendants in 65:1a–b of what God has done all the time, sets the tone. God has indeed answered, revealed himself, and invited people – in particular “those who did not ask (לְלוֹא שְׂאלוּ) for me,” and “those who did not seek me” (לְלוֹא בְקַשְׁנִי) (v. 1a–b). Those who are referred to in vv. 1–2 are represented by Isa 63:7–64:11, and the response to them is not joyful but sad. I shall discuss God’s accessibility in 65:1–2 from two thematic perspectives: as a reminder of its graciousness and the grief in the response.

3.3.1 Graciousness (vv. 1–2)

Isa 65:1–2 opens with an answer to the lamentation in Isa 63:7–64:11. There is a debate about who is praying in that latter unit, followed by Isa 65–66. Hanson, for example, regards 63:7–64:11 as a post-exilic communal lament by an oppressed Levitical group, who also, according to this view, stand behind the polemic in Isa 65–66.²⁵ I do not find such an approach likely.²⁶ The attitude in 63:7–64:11 differs from the one in 65:1–2. The latter voice is criticising a people for their arrogance towards God’s graciousness, while a group of people in 64:6, 11 asserts that God is absent and, therefore, holds him responsible for the wickedness in the community. At first sight, the prayer in 63:7–64:11 appeals to God’s lovingkindness (חֶסֶד, see 63:7), and confesses the sin of the community (64:4b–6, 8). However, 64:6 blames

a verb stem which allows the action to happen to oneself – which lies in parallel with each other for emphasis; in this case together they emphasise God’s desire and ability to reach out (Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, 51c; Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §51c; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 23.4f–g).

24. God’s accessibility is an important theme in Isa 65–66, see Isa 65:1–2, 12c–d, 24; 66:4c–d.

25. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 79–100.

26. Isa 63:7–64:11 is written in a form that can be associated with the tradition of DI, therefore I prefer to regard the lament as exilic or at latest very early post-exilic (see Vermeylen, *Du Prophète Isaïe à l’apocalyptique*, 503; Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 151; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 44; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 100–109; Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, “The Lament in Isaiah 63:7–64:11 and Its Literary and Theological Place in Isaiah 40–66,” in *The Book of Isaiah: Enduring Questions Answered Anew*, ed. Richard J. Bautch and J. Todd Hibbard [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014], 52–70). Tiemeyer’s arguments that the lament is used to represent the prophet’s opponents, by giving them a voice, makes the vindication speech in Isa 65–66 more understandable. See also Stromberg’s list of arguments that Isa 65–66 is a response to 63:7–64:11 “in a critical, yet attentive manner” (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 30–32). However, to describe the response in Isa 65–66 as “attentive” seems too modest considering the death sentences and holy war promised to those who are criticised.

the sin on an act of God's judgement: "For you have hidden your face from us and have delivered us into the hand of our iniquities." Thus, Mark J. Boda says: "[...], it is clear from the prophetic confrontation which follows in Isaiah 65–66 that Yahweh confronts this form of repentance. Isaiah 65:1–7 reminds the praying community that it was Yahweh who had been seeking after the people (65:1–2)."²⁷ Instead, God is looking for a repentance that characterises another faithful group in Isa 65–66, those who are called (among other things) "my servants."²⁸

Repentance, i.e., a return to a faithful relationship with God,²⁹ is a major theme in the Book of Isaiah.³⁰ Even though keywords that connote repentance are not used with that meaning in Isa 65–66,³¹ some of its concepts are present in the speech. I will discuss those expressions as my analysis of the themes progresses in the present study.³² Isa 65:1–2 is the first reminder in Isa 65–66 of God's grace "to a rebellious [unrepented] people" who in the post-exilic Jerusalem community are deaf to God's call because of their ways. I understand this reminder concerning God's accessibility, based on his grace and repeated in 65:12c–f, 24 and 66:4c–f, as a call-theme because of קרא ("to call") in those verses. Isa 65:1–2 also brings to mind Isa 42:18–19 and 43:8, where the homecoming community from the exile is described as deaf and blind, because of their sin and inability to listen to the prophet (42:23; 43:22–24). Despite that, God continued, as emphasised in 65:1–2, to offer his mercy and invited the people to repent (44:21–22). In other words, as Boda points out, it is God's graciousness that will motivate the community to repent.³³ God's mercy is the basis of repentance, which is also emphasised in Isa 55:6–7 combined with the renewal of the covenant (v. 3). The same desire is reflected in Isa 65–66, the revealing of God's accessibility and the gracious invitation to renew covenant relationships.

God's grace had, however, reached a limit in Isa 65:1–2, as is also implied in 55:6 with the words: "Seek YHWH while he may be found; call to him (קראוהו) while he is near."³⁴ Despite the call, not everyone in the post-exile community re-

27. Mark J. Boda, *'Return to Me': A Biblical Theology of Repentance*, NSBT 35 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 76.

28. Isa 65:8d, 9d, 13–14. See also 65:15c; 66:14c ("his servants").

29. Boda, *'Return to Me'*, 24–32, 77.

30. In contrast to David A. Lambert, who argues that repentance, as an inner subjective transformation of the individual, is absent from the Hebrew Bible, not least from the Book of Isaiah (David A. Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical: Judaism, Christianity, and the Interpretation of Scripture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016], 26–27, 29–30, 81–83, 110–113).

31. See, however, שׁוּב in Isa 66:15c, נָחַם in Isa 66:13 (cf. *niphal* in Job 42:6; Jer 8:6; 31:19), עָזַב in Isa 65:11 (cf. Isa 55:7), and זָכַר in Isa 65:17; 66:3 (cf. Ezek 36:31; Ps 78:35).

32. See also 6.4.3 *Repentance* (v. 4c–f), p. 181.

33. Boda, *'Return to Me'*, 71.

34. See also a longer analysis of Isa 55:6–7 in 1.3.3 *The Setting of Isa 65–66*, p. 21, and how the passage is related to Isa 65–66 with the words "call," "seek" and "way."

pented. The people's struggle with sin continues in 56:9–59:21, which is a statement of rebukes against idolatry and injustice, and is paused by the hope of Zion's salvation in 60–62 and God's vengeance against the nations in 63:1–6. As explained above, 63:7–64:11 resumes the conflict between the author and those who have not repented, and a breaking point is reached with the oracles against the current priestly leadership in 65:1–2.³⁵ Nevertheless, the implications in vv. 1–2, that God's grace to the people has reached an end, is not as all-inclusive as it first appears to be.³⁶ The word for "nation" in v. 1d is גוי, but already in v. 2a, and throughout Isa 65, the term עם ("people") is used. In the Hebrew Bible, גוי is often used for gentiles in contrast to עם of Israel, which is also the case in Isa 66.³⁷ Apart from 65:1–2, the term גוי appears again in Isa 66:8, 12 and 18, identifying foreign nations. In 65:1–2, the two terms are parallel expressions identifying a rebellious people, each adding information to the other. Reading on, the religious behavior of עם in vv. 3–5 is such that it does not separate them from idolatrous pagans. Additionally, the author distinguishes between the "rebellious people" (עם סורר) in 65:2a and v. 3a and "My people" (עמי) in vv. 10, 18, 19, 22. This differentiation in Isa 65 continues in Isa 66, when the righteous are addressed directly and the rebellious are merely described.

Although God's grace reached a limit in 65:1–2, it exclusively concerns גוי in 65:1d and עם in vv. 2–3, and not עמי in verses 10, 18, 19, and 22. The latter is an additional group in Isa 65, one which experiences God's grace because of their ongoing repentance.³⁸ We have a precursory to this division of people within the post-exilic community when the eighth century prophet Hosea distinguished between "not my people" (לא עמי) and "my people" (עמי) in Hos 1:9; 2:1, 3. However, in Hos 2:25 those who are לא עמי become עמי again which does not happen in Isa 65–66. Also, the lament in Isa 63:7–64:11 reinforces the impression of differentiation implied already at the beginning of Isa 65. "Those" in 65:1a–b must refer to the group who are represented by 64:6–11. They claim in 64:8 to be God's people (עמך), but they are not considered as such in 65:1–2. The grief and disappointment over such a finding, the indifference towards grace, is clearly heard in the text.

35. That the author of Isa 65–66 holds the religious leadership in Jerusalem ultimately responsible for disobedience against God, is clear in Isa 65:3–5, 11–12; 66:3, 5, 17.

36. See e.g. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis," 459.

37. In the lament that precedes Isa 65–66, we also see the same use of the two terms. For גוי see Isa 64:1, and for עם see 63:8, 11, 14, 18; 64:8.

38. Isa 65:8–10, 13–16; 66:2c–e, 14c. See also Boda, 'Return to Me', 76.

3.3.2 Disappointment and Grief (vv. 1c–2)

The response in Isa 65:1–2, after the vindicating reminder in v. 1a–b about how gracious God has been toward an indifferent people, is characterised by disappointment and grief. It is heard in vv. 1c–2:

I said, “here I am, here I am,”
to a nation (גוי) that did not call (קרא) on my name.
I held out (פרשתי) my hands all day (כל-היום) to a rebellious people (עם),
who walk (ההלכים) in the way that is not good,
after (אחר) their own thoughts.

Terence E. Fretheim has caught the meaning of 65:1c–2 well when he says: “God’s hand are extended all day long in invitation, even to a rebellious people; but they would have none of God. Judgement must fall, but again it is accompanied by a heart full of grief.”³⁹ The disappointment is repeated in 65:12c–f and 66:4c–f, which by then had also switched to anger, and stands in contrast to God’s joy over the New Jerusalem and her people in 65:19. The grief in 65:1c–2, however, is also intended as an attention catcher with the purpose of confronting those who are disobedient. The reminder, that God has always been accessible for those who respond to the call of repentance, implies consequences that are progressively spelled out for those who are rebellious. The *piel* פרשתי (“I held out”) in v. 2a is a simple resultative, which describes the end results of a movement or process, in contrast to the *qal* form which specifies the movement or process that occurs (to stretch out).⁴⁰ So again, what is explained is not merely what God has done, God stretching out his hands in an invitation, but also that such an initiative has reached its end with no results.

The sorrowful reminder in Isa 65:1c–2 claims that God’s extended hands were held out all day long (כל-היום), which suggest an ongoing invitation to an ongoing repentance, or renewal of relationships. The extended hands are held out “to a rebellious people,” henceforth called “the rebellious” in the present study, who continuously walk (ההלכים) in ways that directly provoke God. Those provocations are specified by the author in 65:3–5, 11–12; 66:1–2b, 3–5, 17. This behaviour is described as ongoing, in contrast to the ongoing repentance expected in Isa 65–66 from those who are a faithful people (henceforth called “the faithful” in my analysis of the account). The behaviour of the rebellious is also explained as following “after (אחר) their own thoughts.” Additionally, to exemplify these thoughts in vv. 3–5, the participle אחר is also used in 66:17 for following their leaders to “the gar-

39. Terence E. Fretheim, *The Suffering of God: An Old Testament Perspective*, OBT 14 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 119.

40. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §24.3.1b.

dens” to indulge in what grieves God and provokes him to acts of judgement.⁴¹ What is going on in “the gardens” is referred to both in 65:3–5 and 66:17, which implies that the difference between “after their own thoughts” and the following of idolatrous religious leaders is subtle in the mind of the author.

Even though the disappointment and grief in Isa 65:1c–2 imply that God will not always be accessible to those who walk away from a covenant relationship with him,⁴² the author still returns to the call-theme in 65:12c–f, 24 and 66:4c–f. Together, the theme communicates both a threat and a hope of a new faithful relationship with God.⁴³ There are even signs, in connection with the creation of a New Jerusalem in 65:18–25, that the rebellious can still return to YHWH. At least up to 66:4, it seems the author expects some positive response from the rebellious to his message. Before that, however, the provocations of the rebellious are spelled out and the faithful are promised salvation and an inheritance.

3.4 The Provocations of the Rebellious (vv. 3–5)

While the first response in Isa 65–66 is the disappointed voice of God reminding the rebellious of his gracious acts towards them, the second response, detectable in 65:1–7, is anger against the rebellious because of their provocation. Isa 65:1–2 is intended as a vindication speech that implies a withdrawal of God’s invitation, a threat motivated by the charges in vv. 3–5. Furthermore, the disappointment and anger in vv. 1–5 reflect the author’s own resistance against the spirit of the time (*Zeitgeist*). The accusations are struggles against the rebellious, that include at least some of the current religious leadership, and against perceived religious popularism. Below, I shall first analyse the second angry response and after that discuss three provocations, or causes of resistance in 65:3–5:

3.4.1 Anger (v. 3a)

In Isa 65–66, there are at least five words that relate to divine anger and threaten resultant acts of judgement.⁴⁴ The first one is **המכעיסים**, and found in Isa 65:3a. It

41. **אחר אחר בתוך** (“after one in the midst”) in Isa 66:17 is obscure. See text-critical note **f** in 8.1 *Text and Translation*, p. 241.

42. There are covenantal terms in Isa 65–66. In Isa 65 alone, we have e.g. **כתובה** (v. 6a), **שלם** (v. 6c–d), **ברכה** (v. 8c), **יירש** (v. 9b), **אמן** (v. 16). Isa 65–66 is a vision of a new covenant relationship with God. See also Fretheim, *The Suffering of God*, 118 for a comparison between the divine invitation and disjunction in Isa 65:1–2 and Ps 81:7, 11.

43. I think O’Connell has demonstrated in a satisfactory way that 65:2–7, 8–66:24 is both a threat and an invitation to the benefits of a renewed covenant (O’Connell, *Concentricity and Continuity*, 219–221).

44. Isa 65:3a, “who provoke” (**המכעיסים**); 65:6b, “I will not be silent” (**לא אדשה**); 66:6a, “uproar” (**שאון**); 14d, “but he will rage” (**וירעם**), 15c, “his anger with fury” (**בהמה אפיו**). These words form phrases

reads: “The people who continually provoke (המכעיסים) me to my face, [...]” The inflected verb המכעיסים comes from כעס and means “be discontent,” or “angry.” Here I have chosen to translate the term as “provoke” because of the list of provocations in vv. 3b–5. In the Book of Isaiah, the *hiphil* participle of כעס is used only in 63:3a, but when the *hiphil* form is used in other passages the idea is usually that people angers God to jealousy because of idolatry.⁴⁵ God is, therefore, provoked to jealousy in Isa 65:3a because of the idolatry and complacency of the rebellious (vv. 3b–5). Furthermore, המכעיסים belongs to a series of active participles in vv. 2–5a,⁴⁶ which describe the ongoing activity of the rebellious. Verse 3 alone contains three of these participles, and the following two after המכעיסים also have a predicate function. All three describe the state of affairs: God is constantly provoked (המכעיסים) because of ongoing sacrifices (זבחים) and the burning of incense (מקטרים) “in the gardens.” The following three participles in vv. 4–5 continue to exemplify the regular unclean activities within the Jerusalem community.

According to Isa 65:3–5, the rebellious are engaged in worship and religious behaviour. They are calling and seeking, but not after YHWH because of his presumed absence. When God’s voice intervenes in vv. 1–2, it is explained that the rebellious are indifferent to his grace, but according to v. 3a they also provoke that grace, so that God’s accessibility is replaced by divine jealousy and anger. The following verses in Isa 65 show that the accusation in vv. 1c–3 is basically the same as in Isa 58:1–9. The two discourses have the words קרא and הנני in common, and a faulty practice of formal religion. What “continually provoke” God in Isa 65:3a is, therefore, *inter alia*, traceable back to 58:1–9. The accusation that follows in 65:3b–c, after it is explained that God is provoked, confirms idolatry as one of the sins in the community, together with self-righteousness and hypocrisy. In Isa 58 the religious leaders are accused, and it is the same leadership with whom God is angry in 65:3a.

3.4.2 Idolatry (v. 3b–c)

In 65:3b we read that the provocation of the rebellious concerns sacrificing “in the gardens” (בגנות). The term “gardens” has a definite article, which means that the author has particular places, specific locations secluded for cultic activities, in

that relate to or refer to God’s anger in Isa 65–66. See also 8.4.1 *Wrath (vv. 14d–15)*, p. 259.

45. See 1 Kgs 14:9, 15; 2 Kgs 22:15, 17; Jer 32:30. That Isa 65:3 is a reference to God’s jealous anger because of the idolatry, is suggested by the use of the term in other contexts, such as Deut 32:16, 21.

46. There are nine active participles in vv. 2–5, all related to the rebellious people, seven of them describing their ongoing attitude and cultic activity: v. 2 – “who walk” (ההלכים); v. 3 – “who provoke” (המכעיסים), “sacrifices” (זבחים), “burning incense” (מקטרים); v. 4 – “who sit” (הישיבים), “who eat” (האכלים); v. 5 – “who say” (האמרים). These participles describe what provokes God to anger, and in vv. 4–5 they structure the text by introducing new lines.

mind.⁴⁷ One of these places could be the temple area in Jerusalem, the geographical place where the second Jewish temple had newly been rebuilt.⁴⁸ However, because these cultic “gardens” are set in the plural we have to include other places in the vicinity of Jerusalem, such as the valleys around Jerusalem, and the cultic high places of Topheth between the Hinnom and Kidron valleys. During the days of the monarchy in Israel and the Prophet Jeremiah, the Hinnom valley was a popular place for the worship of Baal and Molech (2 Kgs 23:10; 2 Chron 28:3; 33:6; Jer 7:31; 32:35). The abominable practices in this valley led Jeremiah to declare that the name of Hinnom would be changed to the Valley of Slaughter (Jer 7:32; 19:6). Jer 7 echoes more than once in Isa 65–66 (e.g. 66:1–4), and that the place name “Topheth” could mean a “hearth, fireplace” makes associating the valley of Hinnom to “the gardens” in 65:3b and 66:17a highly possible. The idolatry in that place was obviously something that had either continued there throughout the exile, or had been picked up again by some groups in the community after the return to Yehud and Jerusalem.⁴⁹ TI supports this suggestion by condemning those who sacrificed in the valleys⁵⁰ and by imagining the horrific final judgement outside the New Jerusalem in Isa 66:24.⁵¹

The people were also “burning incense on the altars” (Isa 65:3c), a cultic behaviour which could have been a legitimate form of Yahwistic worship if the Jewish temple had not yet been rebuilt.⁵² However, the previous parallel phrase “sacrifices in the gardens” indicates something quite different – a provocation against God and a violation of the Deuteronomistic law of centralised worship.⁵³ What is described is likely incense offered on *במות* to the fertility god Asherah alongside

47. The Hebrew word *גנה* (“trädgård”) derives from *גן* (“cover, surround, defend”). These “gardens” are also referred to in 66:17, where “detestable things” takes place. In the Ancient Near East, gardens associated with temples are attested. See Kathryn L. Gleason, “Gardens,” *OEANE* 2:382–387. Here in Isa 65–66 cultic activities take place in places described as gardens. In contrast, a paradise-like garden in Isa 65:17–25 is described in close association with the “new heavens and a new earth” (v. 17) and a New Jerusalem (v. 18).

48. Whether the temple is rebuilt or not in TI is a difficult question, and has been the subject of extensive debates among scholars. Even if no conclusion can be drawn from v. 3b–c that implies the existence of a rebuilt Jewish temple, a temple is mentioned in 66:6 and referred to in 66:1. I will return to this issue when discussing The Temple of God in Isa 66:1–4 and 6.

49. According to Roland de Vaux, “The situation in Judah, it seems, scarcely changed during the Exile” (Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, BRS, trans. John McHugh [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Dove, 1997], 337). See also Helmer Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, RM 26, 2 ed. (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1982), 272–273.

50. Isa 57:5–6, *בנותלים*, cf. Neh 2:15.

51. Lloyd R. Bailey, “Gehenna: The Topography of Hell,” *BA* 49/3 (1986): 187–191.

52. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 184–185.

53. Susan Ackerman argues that another sign that the “burning incense” (*מקטרים*) in v. 3c is offered in an illegitimate manner is the use of *piel* form instead of a *hiphil* form. The use of latter is much more common when describing the burning of incense to the Lord, while the *piel*-form usually refers to incense offered to other gods (Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 173–174, 184).

YHWH as his consort.⁵⁴ Because God's voice in Isa 65:3–7 and in 66:17 condemns everything going on in “the gardens,” the sacrificing and the burning of incense are signals of grave apostasy (cf. Jer 32:35). The conflict, outlined in Isa 65:3, regarding cultic activities in Jerusalem and places outside the city, continues until v. 7. It is something that is spreading outwards from its source, which is a contrasting parallel to the positive impact the New Jerusalem and its cultic activity will have on the land and its people in 65:17–25. In short, the response in 65:3–7 towards the abominations in the “gardens” is the resistance of the faithful against idolatry and syncretism in the early post-exilic Jewish community.⁵⁵ Those who were resisted, were not only those priests who had access to these gardens and high places, but also anyone who desired to participate in cultic fertility activities.

The rebellious are considered guilty of idolatry, as well as for not having followed the instructions in Deut 12:1–3, to completely destroy “[...] all the places where the nations (הַגּוֹיִם) [...] serve their gods, on the high mountains (עַל-הַהַרְרִים), on the hills (וְעַל-הַגְּבוּעוֹת), and under every green tree (וְתַחַת כָּל-עֵץ רֵעָנָן).” They belong to the Jewish community, but are nonetheless described as גּוֹי in Isa 65:1d, for not having done what Deut 12:1–3 prescribed. Their behaviour, therefore, is regarded as paganism. This is confirmed in Isa 65:7b–c with reference to v. 2 in Deut 12: “[...] they burned incense on the mountains (עַל-הַהַרְרִים), // and insulted me on the hills (וְעַל-הַגְּבוּעוֹת), [...]” The phrase “under every green tree” in Deut 12:2 is a parallel to “the gardens” in Isa 65:3b and 66:17, the former explicitly associated to Asherah in Deut 12:3 which is likely the case with “the gardens” in Isa 65–66. Thus, a group of people in Isa 65–66 is accused of idolatry and of breaking the covenant. In that way they have provoked God to anger because they did not take the instruction in Deut 12:13 very seriously: “be careful that you do not offer your burnt offerings in every cultic place you see, [...]”

There is also a parallel situation to Isa 65:3 in Isa 58:1–9, which describes fasting among a group of people which can be associated with the religious leadership (וְאוֹתֵי יוֹם יוֹם יִדְרָשׁוּן, v. 2a). They think they are doing the right thing (vv. 2–3), but the intention is wrong (v. 4); religion must be practiced in combination with acts of social justice.⁵⁶ Moreover, in 58:9 we read that when done correctly their

54. Such a conclusion is likely in the light of 65:7b–c, and explains the wrathful tone in Isa 65:3 and 66:17. Also, Ackerman's analysis of the context, both the biblical and extra-biblical, is rather persuasive regarding the nature of ritual practices in sacred groves and Asherah. In Isa 1:29 the word “desire (חַמַּד) reveals the ritual as sexual in nature, a description found in the earlier text of Hos 4:12–13 and confirmed in Isa 57:5 (Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 185–193). “The gardens” were sacred trees, associated with Asherah, from where people inquired when “YHWH” was silent. See also Richard S. Hess, *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 260.

55. De Vaux describes what is going on in Isa 65:3–5 (also Ezek 8:17–13; Isa 66:3, 17) as “syncretist or mystery-rites” (Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 438).

56. See Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 93–94, 96–97.

calling will result in a divine answer: “Then you will call and YHWH will answer (אז תקרא ויהוה יענה); / / you will cry out, and he will say, ‘Here I am’ (תשובע ויאמר הנני).” The group of people referred to in 58:1–9 is probably the same as in 65:3, and it is therefore likely that the accused people in 65:3 thought they were doing the right thing as in 58:2–3. In Isa 65 idolatry is added to the picture, and God’s call (הנני and קרא) in v. 1c–d shows that the exhortation in 58:9 did not produce the desired results – and it provokes him to anger.

3.4.3 Violations (v. 4)

The provocation in Isa 65:3–5 is also about a violation of the mosaic dietary law. Thus, in Isa 65:4, the resistance against the rebellious in the Jerusalem community continues because of their engagement in pagan worship which is in direct conflict with the mosaic regulations. In v. 4a, the rebellious are condemned for sitting “in tombs,” which is parallel to Isa 57:3–13, where the people are indicted twice for participating in cults of the dead. This behaviour suggests that a cult of necromancy was functioning in Jerusalem in combination with incubation rituals.⁵⁷ According to Num 19:16–22, physical contact with dead people makes a person unclean for seven days and needs to be purified by a ritual. In contrast, in Isa 65:4a–b, the ritual is to dwell in cemeteries, although the reasons for this is not mentioned. A likely reason, however, is that rebellious were calling up the spirits of the dead.⁵⁸ In that case, this is a violation of the command in Deut 18:11–12. The rebellious do not respond to the call of God (Isa 65:1–2), because they are too busy seeking out the spirit of the dead. In order to avoid too much attention this took place at night in sealed off graveyards (v. 4b).

In 65:4c, there is a violation of the dietary law against eating pork in Lev 11:7 and Deut 14:8. The use of swine for cultic purposes is, however, only mentioned three times in the Hebrew Bible, all of them concentrated to Isa 65–66.⁵⁹ The rebellious together with priests are offering and eating swine’s flesh in Isa 65:4c; 66:3, 17, and furthermore, the construct בשר החזיר (“the flesh of swine”) in 65:4c and 66:17c is unique in the Hebrew Bible. In 65:4d, the violation of the dietary law in a cultic setting also involves other unclean meat as ingredients of sacrificial meals. Susan Ackerman concludes that the cultic terminology in vv. 4–5, and in 66:3 and

57. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 194–195, 199–202.

58. Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III: Isaiah 56–66*, vol. 3, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 415–416. In support, Koole points out e.g. Isa 8:19; 19:3.

59. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 26. The case is different in the Jewish non-canonical works, where the law prohibiting the eating of pork is more widely discussed (Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 203–204).

17, “belong almost exclusively to the language of P.”⁶⁰ This means that a mix of conservative priestly faction and followers are behind the polemic in Isa 65–66, directed against more permissive colleagues and their followers. That a priestly leadership is the target for the critique against idolatry and syncretism in Isa 65–66 is also strongly implied in 65:11; 66:1, 3, 5, 17.⁶¹

3.4.4 Complacency (v. 5)

The last provocation in Isa 65:3–5 is the prideful attitude of the rebellious. It has been a topic since v. 1, but in v. 5, the last relative active participle in 65:1–7 introduces something special: “who say (הַאֲמִרִים), ‘keep to yourself / do not come near me, for I am too holy for you.’” In v. 5a–b the voice of the rebellious actually serves the purpose of the author, to differentiate between the faithful and the self-righteous rebellious people. The irony is noticeably present in v. 5a–b, even if the rebellious are given a voice. Those who have defiled themselves with idolatry, syncretistic worship and unclean meat, are actually warning people approaching them not to touch them for they are so holy (קִדְשׁ). Instead, according to the author, they are contaminating the community with their sin – they are, according to Lev 11, the unholy ones who should be avoided.⁶² Part of the main critique in vv. 4–5 is therefore a complacent attitude which stands in contrast to the attitude of the faithful, and all of it is explained in v. 5c–d as an abomination to God.

What then do vv. 3–5 imply about the resistance and struggle against the *Zeitgeist*? The cultic terminology, idolatrous activities in “the gardens,” defilement, complacency, and similar prophetic attacks in Isa 57:3–13 and 58:1–9 against idolatry and self-righteousness,⁶³ imply a key involvement of religious leaders in 65:1–7. That would mean priests, but the text also accuses their followers, i.e. anybody who breaks the divine covenant. The author in Isa 65–66, who belongs to a marginalised minority, tries to resist an unwanted development in the community, namely, influence by the dominant religious and, as we will also see in Isa 65–66, the political situation of the day. This resistance is expressed in the serious struggle between YHWH-religion and other competing religions of syncretic nature practiced by Jewish priests in the post-exilic Jerusalem community.

60. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 210–212.

61. See e.g. 6.3 *The presence of God* (vv. 1–4, 6a–b), p. 161, and in connection with that theme the discussion about the “Temple of God” (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b) on p. 161 and “Deeds” (vv. 2c–4) on p. 170.

62. See also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 268; Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 212.

63. The debate regarding the object of critique in Isa 56–66 is actually unsolved among scholars. Is the prophetic attack launched against the whole community (59:3), the leaders of the whole community (56:10–12), idolaters (57:3–13), or a combination of these groups (see e.g. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 200, 221)? I find Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer’s arguments that the opponents are the same in 56:9–59:21, 63:7–64:11, and 65:1–66:17 persuasive (Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 108–109).

Recent discussions relating to Jewish apocalyptic texts from the hellenistic era in the Ancient Near East focus on their relation to Empire.⁶⁴ The focus has naturally been on the Book of Daniel and the early Enoch literature which can be related to the rule of the Hellenistic empires, especially the Seleucids. I argue that the resistance theme in Isa 65:3–5, and Isa 65–66 overall, as a resistance text against the Persian empire, also belongs to that category of resistance literature against the empire and complacency regarding its ideology.

3.5 God’s Judgement (vv. 6–7)

The present unit begun with a reminder of God’s accessibility, a response intended as a vindication of his graciousness (65:1–2). However, behind this action to clear God of blame are charges against the unrepenting relational behaviour of the rebellious. The vindication, therefore, is followed by a second response that explains ongoing provocations of the rebellious (vv. 3–5), charges that resist the *Zeitgeist*. Thus, the implied threat in vv. 1–2, that God will not always be accessible, is stated explicitly in vv. 6–7 when God’s voice delivers a verdict. This third response to the rebellious in Isa 65:1–7 introduces God’s judgement as a theme in Isa 65–66 because of apostasy. As a rhetorical unit, the themes in vv. 1–7 are brought together in vv. 6–7, in a parallel relationship with the rest of the verses, moving the issue towards a verdict:

- a 65:1–2, God is not absent and silent because of his graciousness
- b 65:3a, God provoked to anger
- c 65:3b–5, God’s charges against the rebellious
- a’ 65:6a–b, God will not be *silent* because of what is written
- b’ 65:6c–7a, God promises to *repay* in anger
- c’ 65:7:b–e, God *measures* the charges / the rebellious’s works

The response in Isa 65:6–7 consists of three active verbs. These three aspects of God’s judgement are italicised in the verse-structure above. Below, I shall discuss each of these thematic keywords as they occur in each line:

3.5.1 Non-silent (v. 6a–b)

The first aspect of God’s judgement is that God will not stay silent because of what is written in front of him. It is the provocations in vv. 3–5 which are written before him and about which he cannot stay silent. The phrase, “Behold, it is writ-

64. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*; Collins, “Apocalypse and Empire,” 1–18.

ten before me” (הנה כתובה לפני), is only used here in the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁵ However, the keyword כתובה (“written”) occurs ten times in the Hebrew Bible and seven of these ten passive participles are related to covenant theology. In six of those seven cases, כתובה are included in declaration of curses or consequences of a broken covenant.⁶⁶ In Isa 65:6a–b what is written regarding the abominations in the Jerusalem community motivates God to act and not stay silent. Therefore, כתובה is followed by repayments in the form of punishment and curses as a consequence of the behaviour of the rebellious (65:6, 12–16 and 66:6, 14b–17). In parallel, this judgement is contrasted with how the faithful will be blessed by God. Furthermore, once God break the silence with acts of judgement because of what is written before him, his accessibility and time of grace has passed and punishment is unavoidable for those who have broken the covenant.⁶⁷

The writing in 65:6a is done in the presence of God in heaven, which explicitly speaks of a record or books of deeds. The mention of such books is comparable with the idea of “heavenly tablets” elsewhere in apocalyptic literature. Leslie Baynes, in her research of the heavenly book motif in Judeo-Christian apocalypses, has detected two more occurrences of the book of deeds in the Hebrew Bible, i.e. in Isa 43:25 and Dan 7:10. She explains that while references to heavenly books are rare in the Hebrew Bible, “examples of it [the book of deeds] multiply beginning with the apocalypses of 1 Enoch and Daniel, where it becomes an element in certain judgment scenarios.”⁶⁸ Her analysis further shows that there is a major difference between the implied books in Isa 43:25 and the more explicit reference in 65:6. In the former passage, no judgement scene follows, although such a role for the book of deeds is indicated by use of the terms “trials” and “setting forth a case.” In the latter passage, a book of deeds carries more negative connotations because the sins will not be blotted out as in 43:25, but will be repaid. This negative application continues in Second Temple texts such as Dan 7:10 and 1 Enoch where these kinds of records are books of bad works. Thus, we have a development within the Book of Isaiah regarding “heavenly tablets,” from where its records of bad deeds can be blotted out to where it can no longer be altered.

65. However, the positive idea that the righteous are registered in a heavenly book (“the book of life”) is implied in Exod 32:32; Ps 69:29; Isa 4:3; Dan 12:1 (see also Brand, “1 Enoch,” 1409, 1451 n.136).

66. In addition to Isa 65:6a, the seven are: Deut 29:19, 20, 26; 30:10; Dan 9:11; Jer 17:1; Ezek 2:10. The other two are: Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18. The six cases, which declare the curses and consequences of a broken covenant, are Deut 29:19, 20, 26; Dan 9:11; Jer 17:1 and Ezek 2:10.

67. See Jer 17:1; cf. Ps 40:7; 2 Chron 34:24; Ezek 9:11; Rev 21:5; 22:6.

68. Leslie Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses, 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.*, JSJSup 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 58. See also a summary of the development of the concept of the book of deeds from the Hebrew Bible to the apocalypses of the Second Temple period in Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses*, 104–105.

The implication of “Behold, it is written before me” and “I will not be silent,” allude to the disappointment and grief in 65:1–2. If the rebellious think that God is absent despite his graciousness towards them, they will wake up from their false ideas when God acts against them. The words *לֹא אֶחְשֶׁה* (“I will not be silent, [...]”) in v. 6b also connect with God’s anger in v. 3a, as it is the second word or phrase in Isa 65–66 that suggests wrath.⁶⁹ The root word for “silent” in 65:6b is *חָשָׂה*, and it communicates a strong idea of “ceasing to speak” or “not speaking,”⁷⁰ in other words, it connotes inactivity. In the Hebrew Bible, *חָשָׂה* is most commonly found in the Book of Isaiah (six occurrences) where the subject is God’s apparent inactivity.⁷¹ In 65:6b, because of the negation (*לֹא*), it points to God taking action instead. This judgement will soon become apparent to the rebellious, who until then had thought God had grown silent. Thus, the author’s irony comes out in full, when v. 6b points out that the rebellious have misjudged God’s apparent inactivity. That which provoked God to anger in v. 3a then results in a threat of repayment.

3.5.2 Repayment (vv. 6c–7a)

God’s judgement in Isa 65:6c is expressed with the repeated resultative *piel* *שְׁלַמְתִּי*: “[...] but I have repaid (*שְׁלַמְתִּי*), // and I will even repay (*וְשְׁלַמְתִּי*) [...]” It is the verb *שָׁלַם* that explains this repayment, a term especially evident in *The Covenant Code*.⁷² In other words, God’s judgement in vv. 6c–7a is the consequence of a broken covenant. The repeated *piel* words also intensify the divine anger expressed in v. 6a–b, conveying the impression that God’s judgement is not an empty threat, but rather a pay back in full. God has done it in the past (*שְׁלַמְתִּי*) and will do it again soon (*וְשְׁלַמְתִּי*).⁷³ Thus, according to Isa 65, God is far from idle. He will act against the re-

69. The first word for God’s anger (*הַמַּכְעִיסִים*) in Isa 65–66 is analysed in 3.4.1 *Anger (v. 3a)*, p. 72.

70. A. Baumann, “*חָשָׂה*,” *TDOT* 3:261–262.

71. See Isa 64:11, and God admits to it in 42:14; 57:11. However in 62:11 God promises not to be silent for the sake of Jerusalem.

72. Ex 20:19–23:33. See also Deut 7:10 where the *piel* form of *שָׁלַם* is used twice to convey the same idea as in Isa 65:6, that God will repay those who are not faithful to the covenant (cf. Deut 37:41; Jer 16:18; Isa 59:18).

73. Instead of regarding the repetition of *שְׁלַמְתִּי* in Isa 65:6c–d as an unnecessary gloss, it has a function. The *piel* here, as in v. 2 (*פְּרַשְׁתִּי*), is resultative and declares that God’s invitation has come to an end, and has now broken his long suffering silence because of the iniquities of the rebellious people. The repetition underscores the anger of God over the behavior of the wicked and emphasizes that their sins will truly be repaid, as has been done in the past. Considering the accusation in Isa 64:11, that God is silent (cf. Isa 42:14; 57:11; 62:1), the resultative meaning (plus repetition for emphasis) therefore fits the context well: God is very upset and will recompense the works of the rebellious. Benjamin D. Sommer argues that *וְשְׁלַמְתִּי רֵאשׁוֹנָה מִשְׁנָה* is a source for Isa 65:6c–d, and also points out an analogous idea in Lev 26:18, 21 (See note 84 and 85 in Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 232–233). I regard such a connection farfetched as the repetition of *שְׁלַמְתִּי* in Isa 65:6c–d refers to past retributions and the forthcoming retribution because of the rebellious behaviour in 65:3–5.

bellious, and his inactivity depends on long-suffering with wickedness. However, v. 3a explains that God is now provoked to jealousy, and שלמתי in v. 6c–d, therefore, implies that God is also full of revenge.⁷⁴ God’s anger and judgement in 65:6 is an expected intervention by God against the rebellious. When שלם reoccurs in Isa 66:6c as a *piel* participle (משלם), it alludes to the promised punishment in 65:6c–d. In contrast to 65:6c–d and 66:6c, the noun שלום (“peace”) from שלם is used in 66:12b with the New Jerusalem and the faithful in mind. Furthermore, it is more common that Israel’s enemies are the target for God’s שלם in the form of punishment than Israel itself.⁷⁵ Hence, the purpose must have been to shock the rebellious in Isa 65:6c–d, a blow reinforced by calling them God’s “enemies” in 66:6c after משלם and in 66:14d after the occurrence of שלום in 66:12b.

A crime has been committed against God’s covenant in the Jerusalem community. However, the rebellious are not called “his [YHWH] enemies” in connection with שלם until after 66:4, when God’s voice has stopped addressing them in the second person. This indicates that the author gives the rebellious the chance to repent, despite the tough rhetoric of judgement with the repeated use of שלמתי in 65:6c–d. As long they are being addressed directly, the threat is only a threat, but once the voice of YHWH announces a “repaying” (משלם) “his enemies” (לאיביו) with what they deserve in 66:6c, the time of grace and the chance to repent is over for the rebellious. They had become God’s enemies, while the repenting and converted foreigner will pilgrimage to the eschatological Jerusalem in 66:12b–c and 66:18–20 (56:3–7). Although after the visualised salvation of the faithful in 65:8–10 the tone against the rebellious continues to be seemingly merciless, exhortations to rejoice (גילו and שישו) are directed to the rebellious because of the creation of the New Jerusalem in v. 18a.⁷⁶ So, despite what looks like a verdict in v. 6c–d, “[...], and I will even repay into their bosom, [...],” the exhortations in v. 18b reflect the author’s hope of a different outcome.

The phrase “even [...] into their bosom” (על־חיקם, v. 6d) is a metaphorical expression of having something repaid in full measure into the centre of the lives of the rebellious.⁷⁷ The extent of this repayment in v. 6c–d, is further determined in the first line of v. 7:⁷⁸ “your iniquities (עונתיכם) and the iniquities of your fathers

74. Revenge is a divine trait also in Isa 59:18, and clarified in Isa 65:11–12 and 66:4, 14b–17.

75. See Deut 32:35, 41; Prov 20:22; 25:14; 51:56 and Isa 59:18.

76. See 5.6.1 *Exhortation to Joyful Appreciation (v. 18a–b)*, p. 134.

77. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 641.

78. The relationship between v. 7 and v. 6 is a subject of discussion. My view is as follows: The first four words in v. 7 are a nominal phrase, and syntactically connected to the last line in v. 6. Thus, there is a continuity from the end of v. 6 to the beginning of v. 7 (Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 455, 456), which ends with a discourse mark (אמר יהוה). The next line in v. 7 begins a new sentence with אשר, which introduces a causal clause (“Because [...]”) with two *piel* perfect stems, where the second one reconnects with the initial *piel* perfect in v. 2a – giving a full description of the experience and reaction of God. The “because” clause is followed by how God will act first of

(אבותיכם) together, [...].” The statement is a reference to Exod 20:5, 34:7 and Deut 5:9–10. In v. 7a, there is also a sudden rhetorical change from the third person plural (vv. 1–6) to a second person plural address of the rebellious, and back to the third person address in the very next line (v. 7b).⁷⁹ It is part of an intensification of the argument in the text: first there is a reference to “a nation” (גוי) in v. 1d, next to “a rebellious people” (אל־עם סורר) in v. 2a, and then to “The people” (העם) in v. 3a. The definitive article added to “people” in v. 3a keeps the focus on the rebellious until v. 7a where the author points at “the people” for a moment by means of a direct address. It resembles Nathan’s approach with king David after the Bathsheba affair in 2 Sam 12:1–15, where the purpose is to convince a person of their sin and the need for repentance – in the case of the rebellious people in Isa 65:1–7, their wickedness against God. In 65:11–15, the rebellious are again addressed in the second person, an approach which belongs to the rhetorical pattern of Isa 65.

3.5.3 Measures (v. 7b–e)

The activity of the rebellious and its provocation in 65:3–5 are summarised in v. 7b–c, with the words: “Because they burned incense on the mountains, / / and insulted me on the hills, [...].” According to the next line, God “will measure” (ומדתי) this “work first” (פעלתם ראשנה), and after that repay “into their bosom” (v. 7d–e). In the Hebrew Bible, the verb מִדַּד commonly means “to measure” what can and cannot be estimated by humans. The latter applies, among other things, to what God promises to do for his people, but also to illustrate that nothing is comparable to God.⁸⁰ It is also an assurance that God will never cast off the offspring of Israel.⁸¹ In Isa 65:7d, God, who himself cannot be estimated by humans, “will measure” out the works of the rebellious in a just way before he responds with judgement (repayment). I understand the function of ראשנה (“first”) as adverbial, modifying “I will measure,”⁸² which creates a time space between the measuring out and the act of judgement. This two-step procedure can be taken as a window

all. The last line in v. 7 ends with a parallel line to the last line in v. 6: “and then repay into their bosom.”

79. See text-critical note **f** in 3.1 *Text and Translation* on page 65. Those who have questioned the relationship between v. 7 and v. 6, as it reads in **MT**, are e.g. Westermann and Whybray (Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 402; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 271).

80. Isa 40:12; Jer 33:22; Hos 1:10.

81. Jer 31:37; cf. Hos 1:10.

82. F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, repr. ed., COT 7 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 480; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 271; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 634; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 268. However, for arguments for understanding ראשנה as an adjective and translating it as “former,” see Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 535–536 and RSV, NIV, NASB, ESV, and CBS.

of repentance for the rebellious, which is also implied from the context with the exhortation to rejoice over the New Jerusalem in 65:18a. When the rebellious are faced with the threat of being measured out by the one who cannot be measured, rhetorically it is an offer of repentance before God's judgement takes effect (cf. Isa 55:6–11).

In Isa 65:3–5, the abominations took place in “the gardens” and in v. 7b–c the idolatry is located “on the mountains” and on “on the hills.” These places were also centres for such worship in pre-exilic times and the author of Isa 65–66 echoes the accusations of its prophets.⁸³ Furthermore, the author returns to what he says in Isa 57:7 about idolatry on high and lofty mountains. What is described in Isa 65:1–7 is not new, therefore, and the practice had not become better in his eyes. The behaviour of the people continued to provoke and insult God. It was necessary, therefore, for it to be measured so that it could be rewarded for what it was worth. The author also implies a movement from the gardens in Jerusalem to the mountains in the countryside. In contrast, it is visualised that the creation of the New Jerusalem in v. 18 will have a very positive and renewing impact on the land. Another contrast is God's holy mountain in 65:9, 11, 25; 66:20, which is not a place for worship that insults YHWH. In short, the object of God's wrath in vv. 6–7 is a group consisting of priests and their followers, people who turned to cultic fertility religion thinking they are doing nothing wrong given the circumstances. Instead, however, they are charged and will, therefore, have their works measured and eventually judged.

3.6 Isaiah 65:1–7 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

I have identified three major themes in my analysis of Isa 65:1–7. The first one is *God's Accessibility* (vv. 1–2),⁸⁴ which shows how God's voice intervenes as a reminder of his grace. With this initial response to the rebellious in Isa 65–66 and the lamentation in 63:7–64:11, the author wants to vindicate God's accessibility by pointing out that God has revealed himself many times in the past and called upon his people. Thus, God's voice in 65:1–2 expresses a deep desire to renew the covenant relationship, although it is also about repentance because God's grace has a limit. The divine response in 65:1–2, therefore, is also characterised by disappointment and grief that the people have not been open to God's invitations. In 1 Enoch, in general, God's accessibility is presented as more remote than in Isa 65:1–2 and his direct intervention in worldly affairs is usually manifest as theophanies in the form of a divine warrior.⁸⁵ God's intervention in the eschatological age with

83. See references to “high places” in 2 Kgs (e.g. 16:4); Jer 3:6–25; Ezek 20:27–32.

84. See p. 67.

85. E.g. 1 En. 1:3c–9, 45:1–6; and 93:9–10; 93:11–17. Although Isa 65–66 has had a profound influ-

a heavenly army also happens in Isa 65–66, but in 65:1–2 the accessibility and intervention is first of all an expression of God’s graciousness. The visions of divine judgement in 1 Enoch, however, have the salvation of the future chosen in mind,⁸⁶ which is also how the call-theme in 65:1–2; 12c–f, 24 and 66:4c–f develops in Isa 65–66 to favour the faithful. Furthermore, as in Isa 65:1–2, the call-theme in 1 Enoch is a theme that concerns the whole of Israel, but because of disappointment and anger the call is redesigned for the chosen remnant in the Jewish community.⁸⁷ For example, in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (henceforth *ApocW*) the call to “the witnesses of righteousness” (93:10)⁸⁸ stands in contrast to all who will miss God’s graceful call because of the way they are spreading depravity through their deeds (vv. 8–9). Lastly, 1 Enoch only mentions a covenant once in 60:6. However, as in Isa 65–66, the idea of a divine covenant is presupposed and it is broken by an unrepented humankind. The eschatological renewal of a covenant relationship with God is only intended for the elect.

The second theme in Isa 65:1–7 is *The Provocations of the Rebellious* (vv. 3–5),⁸⁹ which are the reason for God’s implied grief in vv. 1c–2 but also for the divine anger in v. 3a. The latter is part of a second response to the rebellious. The charges are idolatry, violation of dietary law and complacency; and because the author obviously represents a minority who regard themselves as faithful, the reaction against the wicked behaviour in vv. 3–5 is a resistance against the *Zeitgeist* and the current religious leadership. It is not necessary to point out all the references in 1 Enoch which accuse sinners for provocation against God because of impurity,⁹⁰ however, a major difference between Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch is the fallen watchers. They belong to the angelical world and in the Enochic tradition are accused of rebellion and impurity (1 En. 6–11). Thus, in contrast to the biblical tradition, the original cause of evil in 1 Enoch comes from heaven.⁹¹ Although, Isa 65–66 does

ence on 1 En. 1–5 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 131), 1:2–3b also introduces Enoch as a diviner-seer. Thus, for a biblical parallel to 1 En. 1:2–3b, see also the oracle of Balaam in Num 23–24 (VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 115–119).

86. See again 1 En. 1:3c–5:9, and in particular 1:1 and 1:2–3b. For the description of God in 1 Enoch as a merciful God, see 50:3; 60:5, 25; 61:13. Otherwise, there is no explicit term for God’s graciousness in either Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch. However, in 1 En. 46:1 the physical appearance of a divine figure is described as “full of graciousness.”

87. The implied disappointment and grief in 1 En. 5:4 over how sinners fail to obey God’s will the way the creation does (2:1–5:3), result in the outpouring of divine wrath in 5:5, 6, 7. See also 1 En. 99:16; 101:3.

88. This phrase in 1 En. 93:10 is missing in the Eth. version, but appears in 4QEn^s ar.

89. See p. 72.

90. 1 Enoch also claims to address all generations, and thus aims to make it relevant for any current audience on earth, whether they are sinners or righteous (see e.g. 81:2–3; 82:1; 83:10).

91. Ida Fröhlich, “Origins of Evil in Genesis and the Apocalyptic Traditions,” in *Apocalyptic Thinking in Early Judaism: Engaging with John Collins’ the Apocalyptic Imagination*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassén, JSJSup 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 145–150, 156.

not say anything about the origin of evil, 65:3–5 (and also 66:3, 17) does explain evil as an impure behaviour that manifests itself in a life which contrasts starkly with the pure transformed life in 65:17–25. Furthermore, the digression in the ⚡ (τοῖς δαίμονιαις ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν, “to the demons which do not exist”) at the end of v. 3 shows that ancient interpreters played with the idea that evil spirits were involved and needed to be discharged. There is, therefore, a certain level of conceptual similarity between the texts; and in both Isa 65:3–5 and 1 Enoch, the divine reaction against impurity and sin on earth is divine anger.⁹² Furthermore, the authors behind these texts write to resist their *Zeitgeist*.⁹³ I will have reason to return to this latter issue below, especially in connection with the Temple of God in Isa 66:1–2b. In any case, this resistance culminates in Isa 65–66 and in many parts of 1 Enoch with a creative redemption of the cosmos and the establishing of an universalistic worship of the Lord of glory in the New Jerusalem.⁹⁴

The third theme analysed above in Isa 65:1–7 is *God's Judgement* (vv. 6–7),⁹⁵ which is what God's disappointment and anger in vv. 1–7 results in because of what is written before him. What is recorded before God are the provocations of the rebellious and he cannot stay silent about them. The promise is repayment, i.e. punishment, as in the past, because of apostasy. This third response is a verdict for crimes against the covenant, but God will first measure the work of the rebellious before full and just repayment is given. Thus, the temporal space between the measuring and repayment offers a window for the rebellious to repent before it is time for God's judgement. It is suffice to state here that God's judgement against wickedness and his punishment of wrongdoers is a significant and dominant theme in 1 Enoch.⁹⁶ There are also ample of examples in the Enochic text where God cannot stay silent or passive in the face of sin on earth. However, an interesting detail in Isa 65:6a suggests that the writing was done in the presence of God in

92. See 1 En. 1:4, 9; 5:5–7, 9; 39:2; 55:3; 62:12; 84:4; 89:33; 90:15, 18; 91:7, 9.

93. For discussion of resistance in 1 Enoch against current and dominant social, religious and political systems that were perceived as abominable or oppressive, see e.g. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96/3 (September, 1977): 389, 390–391, 392; Richard A. Horsley, *Revolt of the Scribes* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010); Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*; Collins, “Apocalypse and Empire,” 13–18; Martha Himmelfarb, “Temple and Priests in the *Book of the Watchers*, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 80–86; Martha Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the problem of Inter-marriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt,” in *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 27–47; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 62–63.

94. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 57, who refers to 1 En. 5:5–9; 10:16–22; 25:5–6; 72:1; 90:28–38; 91:13–16.

95. See p. 78.

96. I will reflect some more upon the concept of “repayment” in connection with 1 Enoch in 6.6 *Isaiah 66:1–6 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 197 and in 8.6 *Isaiah 66:14c–17 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 266.

heaven, which explicitly speaks about a record or books of deeds. The mention of such books is comparable to the idea of “heavenly tablets” in for example 1 En. 81:1–4. That particular Enochic passage begins a narrative section (81–82:4)⁹⁷ where Enoch is shown the heavenly tablets containing records of the future deeds of all humans. Thus, the theme of heavenly books becomes a significant central concept in 1 Enoch.⁹⁸ As in Isa 65–66, “The heavenly tablets” or “the book of all the actions of people” (the book of deeds) in 1 En. 81:1–4 are presumably located in the divine throne room in God’s presence.⁹⁹ Furthermore, in both texts the heavenly books are read as a source of reliable knowledge, a foundation for judgement, and speak about determinism or God’s foreknowledge.¹⁰⁰ An argument against a too close comparison is that angels are involved in 1 En. 81:1–4, and even more regarding the heavenly recording of how “the sheep” are taken care of in the *AnApoc*.¹⁰¹ The judgement theme in Isa 65:6–7 is, however, followed by the angelical voice interceding for the faithful in v. 8, which must presumably also be based upon heavenly records that convince God of the innocence of this remnant.

The similarities between Isa 65:1–7 and 1 Enoch are more about common concepts than about allusions. God’s accessibility, the provocations of the rebellious and God’s judgement set a tone that characterises both texts from the beginning to the end, even though their literary structure and provenance are different. There are, however, implied references in 1 Enoch to Isa 65:1–7, such as “heavenly tablets” that are “written before” God. Another case is the “cursed valley” (Hin-

97. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 337 and disagreeing view that 1 En. 81:1–3 (with v. 4) is “a remnant of a seventh vision [...] dropped from the journey account in chaps. 20–36, which presently records six visions [...]” (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 23), see James C. VanderKam, “The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 98–99, cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Remarks on Transmission and Tradition in the Parables of Enoch: A Response to James VanderKam,” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 101.

98. I use “heavenly tablets” and “heavenly books” interchangeably because in 1 Enoch they refer to the same source of information (see VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 151, cf. Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, SVTP 7 [Leiden: Brill, 1985], 313). The records of human deeds in “the heavenly tablets” also speaks about determinism, or God’s foreknowledge. As tablets, they can, therefore, function as the book of fate too (Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses*, 124–125).

99. See 1 En. 104:1, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 337, 338.

100. In addition to 81:1–2, see also 1 En. 93:1–2; 103:2; 106:19. In 93:2, which is part of the introduction of the *ApocW*, there are three heavenly sources that provide Enoch with reliable knowledge. One of them is “the heavenly tablets.” See VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 150–151. Cf. Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 107–108; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 183–184. As records of human deeds, the tablets or writings also function as the book of fate (Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses*, 124–125).

101. 1 En. 89:59–64, 68, 70–71, 76–77; 90:17, 20–22.

nom=Gehenna) in the environs of the antediluvian Jerusalem in 1 En. 27:1–4, which clearly alludes to Isa 66:24.¹⁰² 1 En. 27:1–4 would also be a reference to the abominable activities in “the gardens” that we read about in Isa 65:3–5 and 66:17. Those who “go to the gardens” will in the future also turn up there as cursed with death and fire. When I continue my analysis of Isa 65–66 below, the motif of judgement will be complemented from 65:8 with the salvation of the faithful because they are seeking and responding to God’s call.¹⁰³ As in 1 Enoch, it is about a remnant who will survive God’s judgement. Both texts state that not all people within Israel are God’s people (cf. Isa 64:8–9), and in Isa 65–66 this differentiation between groups becomes obvious in 65:8–16.

102. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 319.

103. A two-fold motif of judgement and salvation is also found in Isa 42:18, 23; 48:12, 18. Cf. Isa 50:2; Jer 7:25, 26; Mic 6:3.

Chapter 4: Isaiah 65:8–16

This second unit in Isa 65–66 deals with eschatological destinies because of the contemporary situation (vv. 1–7) and the perspective is characterised by stark contrasts. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, I have identified three more main themes in the text: Dualism (vv. 8–16), The Salvation and Judgment (vv. 8–12), and Destinies (vv. 13–16). At the end of this chapter the analysis of these three themes and their sub-themes are summarised and compared with observations in 1 Enoch.

4.1 Text and Translation

כה אמר יהוה	8a	Thus says YHWH:
כאשר ימצא התירוש באשכול		As the new wine is found in the cluster,
ואמר אל־תשחיתוהו כי ברכה בו	c	and one says, “do not destroy it, for there is a blessing in it.
כן אעשה למען עבדי		So I will act on behalf of my servants,
לבלתי השחית הכל:	e	in order not to destroy all.
והוצאתי מיעקב זרע	9a	I will bring forth offspring from Jacob,
ומיהודה יורש הרי		and from Judah an heir ^a of my mountain. ^b
וירשנה בחירי	c	My chosen ones shall inherit it,
ועבדי ישכנו־שמה:		and my servants shall settle there.
והיה השרון לנוה־צאן	10a	Sharon will be a pasture for sheep,
ועמק עכור לרביץ בקר		and the valley of Achor a resting place for cattle,
לעמי אשר דרשוני:	c	for my people who seek me.
ואתם עזבי יהוה	11a	But you who forsake YHWH,
השכחים את־הר קדשי		who forget my holy mountain,
הערכים לגד שלחן	c	who set a table for Gad, ^c
והממלאים למני ממסך:		and fill cups of mixed wine for Meni, ^d
ומניתי אתכם לחרב	12a	I will destine you for the sword,
וכלכם לטבח תכרעו		and all of you will bow down to the slaughter.
יען קראתי ולא עניתם	c	Because I called, but you did not answer,
דברתי ולא שמעתם		I spoke, but you did not hear.
ותעשו הרע בעיני	e	You did evil in my sight,
ובאשר לא־חפצתי בחרתם: פ		and you chose what I did not delight in.
לכן כה־אמר אדני יהוה	13a	Therefore, thus says Lord YHWH:
הנה עבדי יאכלו		Behold, my servants will eat,
ואתם תרעבו	c	but you will be hungry.
הנה עבדי ישתו		Behold, my servants will drink,
ואתם תצמאו	e	but you will be thirsty.
הנה עבדי ישמחו		Behold, my servants will rejoice,
ואתם תבשו:	g	but you will be put to shame.
הנה עבדי ירנו משוב לב	14a	Behold, my servants will shout for joy from a glad heart,
ואתם תצעקו מכאב לב		but you will lament from an anguished heart,
ומשבר רוח תילילו:	c	and wail out of a broken spirit.

<p>והנחתם שמכם לשבועה לבחירי והמיתך אדני יהוה ולעבדיו יקרא שם אחר: אשר המתברך בארץ יתברך באלהי אמן והנשבע בארץ ישבע באלהי אמן כי נשכחו הצרות הראשנות וכי נסתרו מעיני:</p>	<p>15a You will leave your name behind as an oath for my chosen ones, and the Lord YHWH will kill you;^e c but his servants he will call^f by another name,^g 16a so that^h he who blesses himself in the land will bless himself by the God of Amen, c and he who swears in the land will swear by the God of Amen. e For the former troubles are forgotten, and truly hidden from my sight.</p>
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a. Literally יורש reads, “one who will inherit,” but is rendered “heir” in my translation (for the sake of a smoother English language). The Hebrew יורש is best understood as a collective singular (as well as זרע, “offspring” in v. 9a), and even if it is unclear whether 1QIsa^a ירש is a participle like מ or an imperfect (“he will inherit”) that word can also be understood as collective.

b. G reads τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου (“my holy mountain”), where τὸ ἅγιόν (“holy”) has no corresponding counterpart in M. “Holy” in G can be a translation of קדש from a possible Hebrew source. But 1QIsa^a and Z do not have “holy,” and perhaps the G translator did not have access to a different Hebrew source but rather was influenced by 65:11 (הר קדשי) and added τὸ ἅγιόν in v. 9 for the purpose of harmonization between the verses. Because a reconstruction of M cannot be confirmed by other text witnesses here my translation does not add קדש to הר. However, M “mountains” is singular in G and in 1QIsa^a it is uncertain what number הרי should be. In my translation I chose singular for the following reasons: 1. When TI refers to God’s mountain in his salvation oracles (56:7; 57:13c; 65:9a, 11a, 26; 66:20) it is always in singular except in 65:9a; 2. The salvation oracle in v. 9 is followed up by a judgement word in v. 11 where “my holy mountain” (אתההר קדשי) is singular; 3. The singular agrees with the singular suffix on וירשוה in v. 9c, which refers back to 9a.¹

c. G reads τῷ δαίμονίῳ (“for the demon”), Z reads למטרתא (“for the idols”), S reads لآفة الكهنة (“for fortune tellers”), and B reads Fortuna (“fortune”), but both M and 1QIsa^a has לגד (“for Gad”). “Gad” is a proper name for an idol, mentioned only here and possibly in Gen 30:11. The Hebrew גר means “fortune” which explains some of the different ancient translations of the Hebrew word. Thus, an alternative translation of the Hebrew phrase could be: “for Fortune” or “for the god of Fortune.”

d. G reads ηὐτύχη (“for Fortune”), Z לדחלתהון (“for their gods”), S and B has the same for both “Gad” and “Meni” (see note above), but both M and 1QIsa^a has למני (“for Meni”). “Meni” is a proper name for an idol, and parallel to “Gad.” The Hebrew מני means “destiny,” and therefore does not explain the different ancient version’s rendering. Because M and 1QIsa^a agree with each other I follow the Hebrew text. An alternative translation of the Hebrew phrase could be: “for Destiny” or “for the god of Destiny.”

e. The connection between והמיתך אדני יהוה and the first line in v. 15 has raised questions. Based upon metre and sense, the phrase in v. 15b is regarded by scholars like Westermann, Hanson and R. N. Whybray as corrupt and should therefore be removed as a gloss.² M is supported by G, except for the suffix of והמיתך which is changed to a second plural form (ύμᾶς). If the M is to be retained, the change of number from v. 15a to 15b has to be explained. In the context God is speaking, therefore, I prefer Koole’s suggestion that the solution by Delitzsch and Schoors is correct: God is also speaking

1. See also Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 142.

2. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 403 n. b; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 142; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 274.

in v. 15b, warning the rebellious of their destruction by using the formula pronounced by people to each other.³

f. The \mathfrak{M} reading $\text{וְלַעֲבָדָיו יִקְרָא}$ (“[...] but his servants he will call [...]”) in v. 15c is supported e.g. by the Three (λ).⁴ However, those scholars who question v. 15b also have problems with the 3 person suffix in וְלַעֲבָדָיו (“but his servants”). Moreover, the oldest Greek MSS actually read $\delta\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \mu\omicron\iota$ instead of $\delta\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, perhaps inspired by a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from \mathfrak{M} , or an adjustment to all the first person suffixes of the context. Another problem is that \mathfrak{M} יִקְרָא (“he will call”) is active while in Ralphy’s and Ziegler’s versions the term is exchanged with the passive $\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, which makes the OG read: “[...] but his servants shall be called by a new name,” [...]” In my view, the best solution regarding v. 15c seems to be to keep the active 3 person verb יִקְרָא and not emend וְלַעֲבָדָיו to the 1 person suffix, for the following reasons: 1. It continues the formula in v. 15b;⁵ 2. The \mathfrak{M} rendering has support from Greek MSS; 3. An adjustment of the active form יִקְרָא to the passive does not change the meaning of the text in any critical way. I agree therefore with Waard that an alteration of \mathfrak{M} is unnecessary on textual grounds.⁶

g. 1QIsa^a has completely left out Isa 65:15c and the first four words in v. 16a. The Qumran scribe adds “continually” (תָּמִיד) at the end of “[...] and the Lord YHWH will kill you” in v. 15b, and after that leaves an empty space between the verses. When the scribe continues his transcription after the space in v. 16a he adds וַיְהִי and then proceeds initially with a different word order than in the \mathfrak{M} , with the most likely purpose of making a smooth transfer between v. 15 and 16. I agree with Kutscher that this part of the text is lacking or unreadable in the *Vorlage* of 1QIsa.⁷ Also, a chiasmic construction in \mathfrak{M} relates v. 15 to v. 16a–d.⁸ There is, therefore, no reason to amend the \mathfrak{M} in this case, since it is also supported by the Greek texts.

h. There is a problem with the way the vv. 15 and 16 are connected by אֲשֶׁר . *BHS* suggests deleting it probably because of its ambiguity as a relative particle. Some kind connection is necessary, however, so instead of removing it אֲשֶׁר introduces a result clause and therefore can be translated “so that,”⁹ as in Gen 11:7; 13:16; 22:14.¹⁰

4.2 Structural Issues (vv. 8–16)

That Isa 65:8 begins the second unit in Isa 65 with the speech formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה is uncontroversial. There are, however, different views concerning which verse ends the unit. The position in the present study, that 65:17 begins the third unit in Isa 65, is argued for in connection with structural issues in 65:17–25.¹¹ Here, I will describe the issues concerning vv. 8–16. Muilenburg’s strophes, after 65:1–7, are vv. 8–10, 11–12, 13–14, 15–16, where God’s voice continues to sound throughout

3. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 441.

4. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 456; Jan de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, TCT 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 222.

5. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 442.

6. de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 223.

7. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 289.

8. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 443.

9. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 38.3b.

10. Cf. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 643; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 444; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 280.

11. See 5.2 *Structural Issues (vv. 17–25)*, p. 121.

the verses.¹² On the other hand, Hanson's structure of the salvation-judgement oracle in Isa 65 ends with v. 15, in the following way: vv. 8–10 (salvation), vv. 11–12 (judgement), vv. 13–15 (salvation/judgement).¹³ In Webster's triadic structure, vv. 8–16 consist of two contrasting pairs of clusters which compare the faithful and the rebellious. Each pair is introduced with a speech formula (Webster calls it a "rubric").¹⁴

65:8–16 The chosen and the rebellious compared

- a. *q*, vv 8–12
 - (1) vv 8–10 [rubric] Inheritance of the chosen
 - (2) vv 11–12 Destiny of the unfaithful¹⁵
- b. *s*, vv 13–14 [rubric] Contrast between rewards and woes
- c. *r*, vv 15–16 Curse and blessing, former troubles forgotten

While Muilenburg, Hanson and Webster in large agree on Isa 65:8–16, even if their approaches are different, Sweeney departs from regarding vv. 8–15/16 as a unit. He argues that Isa 65:8–25, with an address to the wicked, is a unit and divides it into two halves: vv. 8–12 and vv. 13–25.¹⁶ In this construction, 65:8–25 begins with the formula *אמר יהוה כה* and ends with *אמר יהוה*, the same formula as in the verse which ends the first sub-unit (65:1–7). However, in v. 13 it reads *לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה* ("Therefore, thus says Lord YHWH"). Sweeney has made this formula in v. 13 a marker for his second main component (65:13–25) in the second sub-unit because of the word *לכן* ("Therefore"), which indicates that the practical consequences of vv. 8–12 now follow.¹⁷ As explained in connection with structural issues in 65:1–7, Sweeney also argues that the all-inclusive message in 65:1–7 changes with 65:8. From that point on, God is addressing two groups of people, the righteous and the wicked, in an alternating way. In 65:8–25, the Lord speaks about the righteous using third-person objective language (vv. 8–10, 13–15c, 16–25), but addresses the wicked in the second-person plural (vv. 11–12, 13–15b). From this Sweeney gets the impression that "the righteous are described to the wicked who are directly addressed."¹⁸

Sweeney gives the structure of Isa 65–66 what could be described as an apocalyptic meaning, with an emphasis on the fate of the loyal/righteous group. Such a precursor of apocalyptic thinking offers insights and possibilities for the task of

12. Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah*, 418.

13. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 144–145.

14. Webster, "The Rhetoric of Isaiah 63–65," 96–99.

15. This first pair is linked by the repetition "my mountain" and "my holy mountain (v. 9b, 11b).

16. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis," 458–464.

17. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis," 460–461.

18. Sweeney, "Prophetic Exegesis," 460.

this study, even if in my analysis I have questioned the view that 65:1–7 is all-inclusive and follows Webster by delimiting 65:8–25 into vv. 8–16 and vv. 17–25. My thematic discussion below of vv. 8–16 is an analysis based on the dualistic perspectives in those verses.

4.3 Dualism (vv. 8–16)

The relationship between judgement and salvation in Isa 65–66, and what God, in the end, shall reconcile with his presence, is governed by a worldview characterised by dualism. In short, dualism is expressed in terms of contrasts. It is something Isa 65–66 has in common with the apocalyptic dualism in 1 Enoch, although it is too complex to draw a simple equal sign between them.¹⁹ For example, Blenkinsopp thinks Isa 56–66 lacks a clear dualism compared to 1 Enoch.²⁰ My view is that the stark contrast in Isa 65–66, both when it comes to the destinies of the faithful and the rebellious (65:8–16) and the differentiation between the current situation in Jerusalem and the new age (65:1–7 and 17–25; 66:1–6/14c–17 and 7–14b/18–24), suggest a clear dualism in both chapters. I accept that differences in dualism between Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch remain, but in spite of that I still argue that it is possible to categorise, at least in a general way, the dualistic worldview in Isa 65–66 in a way that is comparable to 1 Enoch. The following dualistic aspects are relevant for this work:

1. Ethical dualism (the righteous vs. the wicked)
2. Temporal dualism (past-present and future/the old and the new age)
3. Spatial dualism (earth and heaven)
4. Ontological dualism (God and human kind/Creator and creation)

Based on John J. Collins' definition of apocalypse in the SBL Genre project,²¹ the dualism in 1 Enoch is temporal and spatial. Following John G. Gammie and Nickelsburg, I also add ethical dualism²² and ontological dualism²³ to the list. Internally, ethical dualism motivates and supplements temporal dualism and spatial

19. For different forms of apocalyptic dualism, see Frey, "Apocalyptic Dualism," 272.

20. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 89.

21. Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre," 9.

22. John G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 93/2 (June, 1974): 372–385.

23. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism," 358; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 40–41. For the view that there is no ontological dualism in 1 Enoch, see Henrik Tronier, "The Corinthian Correspondence between Philosophical Idealism and Apocalypticism," in *Paul beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 175–176, 180–182. My view is that there are aspects of incompatibility in both 1 Enoch and Isa 65–66 regarding what is creation/human and what is divine/God.

dualism, while the latter two structure the apocalyptic world view.²⁴ Regarding ontological dualism, Nickelsburg describes it as related to spatial dualism. It must not, however, be confused with it as the former makes an absolute distinction between the divine and human.²⁵ In Isa 65–66 we find the equivalences of these dualisms in the tension between the faithful versus the rebellious (ethical), the current world and the eschatological world (temporal), the old cosmos and the new cosmos (spatial), and God’s glory as the king/creator versus the people as the created (ontological). Based on this short introduction to dualism, I shall analyse Isa 65:8–16 below, first from a general perspective and subsequently from the various themes in the text.

We have already touched on the theme of dualism in Isa 65–66 with the implicit differentiation of the people in Isa 65:1–7. However, v. 8 with its speech formula *כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה* (“Thus says YHWH”), followed by the comparative clause *כַּאֲשֶׁר כֵּן* [...] (“As [...]. So [...]”), introduces dualism which explicitly characterises the text – first of all up to v. 16 but also the rest of Isa 65–66. It is the metaphor about the cluster of grapes in v. 8 that creates a visible contrast and tension between the rebellious in vv. 1–7 and the faithful and loyal remnant. This dichotomy makes the latter group the object of God’s grace, while the former is the object of God’s anger. In short, we have in v. 8 a combination of three dualism: the ethical, differentiating between the rebellious and wicked and the faithful as righteous; the temporal, which expects the faithful to survive the judgement of the present age to live in a new age (see also 66:19); and the spatial where an assumed dialogue in heaven determines who are saved on earth. Of course, the ontological aspect is ever present – a God who in his glory decides sovereignly on the destinies of humankind and creation (see also 65:17; 66:22–23). From there on, the differentiation continues: first in vv. 8–12 and subsequently in vv. 13–16. Both sections specify God’s actions towards the faithful and the rebellious in stark contrast to each other. Verses 8–12 are divided up into the salvation of the faithful (vv. 8–10) and the punishment of the rebellious (vv. 11–12). Verses 13–16, with a new speech formula, account for the eschatological destinies of the faithful and the rebellious, but in this study are divided up into vv. 13–14 and vv. 15–16 because of a change in the order of comparison.²⁶

Verses 13–16 are foremost characterised by a dichotomy that rapidly oscillates between the two groups and is powered by ethical dualism. It states the results (see *לִכֵּן*, “Therefore”) of God’s actions in vv. 8–12. Furthermore, the dualism of

24. E.g. in the case of *ApocW*, see Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 320.

25. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 40.

26. In 65:13–14 the order of comparison is “Behold, my servants will [...] but you will [...]”; in 65:15–16 the order is “You will [...] but his servants [...]”. Because of the change of order there is division between vv. 13–14 and 15–16. Furthermore, v. 16e–f is a promise of blessing to the faithful and a new beginning where “former troubles are forgotten,” and functions as a transition to v. 17.

faithfulness and wickedness in vv. 8–16 and its consequences, prepare for the vision-account of a paradisiac world in vv. 17–25. The latter is a temporal antithesis to the evil and rebellious world in vv. 1–7; and vv. 8–16 reflect the considerable tension in the community which conjures up a vision of cosmic transformation and a new epoch. In the Book of Isaiah, similar ideas about the differentiation of groups in the community are found in 1:27–28; 3:8–12; 33:14–16. In Isa 40–55 some passages focus on the returning exiles in contrast to the native inhabitants of Judea.²⁷ However, the rapid alternation in Isa 65:13–14 between two groups of people within the community causes a clear-cut distinction which is so specific and dualistic that it is not fully comparable to any other oracle in the Book of Isaiah.²⁸ This combination of the four dualistic forms presented above continues into Isa 66, where the contrasting destinies of the rebellious and faithful are supplemented with more eschatological accounts.

In Isa 65:13–16, therefore, it becomes clear that the prophetic genre has developed in a new direction, one which is marked by a dualistic eschatological world view which is ethical, temporal, and ontological. The spatial dualism is visible in v. 8, if we assume that the dialogue in that verse reflects a supplication in heaven with results in vv. 13–16. Bearing in mind the upcoming vision of new heavens and a new earth and the New Jerusalem, this new direction is towards apocalypticism. It seems best to understand the rapid alternations between salvation and judgement as being caused by the post-exilic situation rather than the preexilic and, moreover, that it is motivated by a resistance against *Zeitgeist* and persecution (see 66:5). However, I suggest that the charges and the threat of an irrevocable verdict is also a rhetorical strategy to induce people to repentance, although there are signs in Isa 66 that the author ceased to expect it to happen after v. 4. The offer, however, is still there by trying to convince those that might still hear God's call. In sum, Isa 65–66 reflects a historical situation, but the dualism of faithfulness and wickedness in 65:8–16 in the text is formulated to overcome other current religious convictions. The aim is to convince those who are following popular religious movements that God will ostracize them from the New Jerusalem, if they do not return to him.

27. See Isa 52:1–2, 7–10. Berquist suggests that the reference to “the uncircumcised and the unclean” in Isa 52:1, who shall never more be allowed to enter Jerusalem, can refer to the native inhabitants of Judea, “whom the exiles regarded as foreigners.” He concludes: “[...] the promised restoration of Jerusalem renders the city fit for the occupation only of the exiles. [...] The exiles form an elite to whom God gives the sole right to live in the new Jerusalem.” (Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 38) At the same time DI tries to combine traditions from the creation and exodus narratives in an attempt to unite groups of people within the exile Jewish community (Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 40).

28. See Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 162–163.

4.4 The Salvation and Judgement (vv. 8–12)

The judgement theme from Isa 65:6–7 is brought together with the introduction of the salvation theme in v. 8, when the last line in the latter verse explains: “So I will act on behalf of my servants, // in order not to destroy all.” The divine judgement is not something that needs to affect everyone. A faithful remnant in the community will be spared. The author makes this point about God’s judgement using a metaphor about a cluster of grapes (אשכול). This metaphor in v. 8 conveys the idea that God restrains himself from destroying all the people because of the faithful. The restraint is apparent in the negotiated and repeated שחה (“destroy”), a declaration of salvation that stands in contrast to the repetition of שלם (“repay”) in v. 6c–d and the “measure” in v. 7d. God’s voice promises to save those who, by implication, have not indulged in idolatry. However, the phrase לבלתי השחית הכל (“[...], in order not to destroy all”) in v. 8e also continues the message of judgement to the rebellious people. The dichotomy of salvation and judgement in v. 8 is apparent in what follows in the unit. The new wine, that will be saved, is designated with the collective participle “heir” in vv. 9–10, while those who are represented by the collective participle סורר (“rebellious”) in v. 2a and the implied bad wine in v. 8, are destined for the sword in vv. 11–12 and shall not be saved.

Isa 65:11–12, therefore, is a continuation of God’s action towards the implied cluster of bad grapes in v. 8, and the rebellious in vv. 1–7. The three participles in v. 11 reconnect to the participles in vv. 2–5,²⁹ which is also the case with the second person plural address. As already discussed, this differentiation, or dualism, draws a definite line between the faithful and the rebellious, so that *Zeitgeist* is resisted. However, I argue that the purpose is also to convince those who are willing to repent under the threat of the sword, to return to YHWH. The oracle of punishment in vv. 11–12 is not the final word addressed directly to the rebellious in Isa 65–66. The way God spoke to them for a moment in v. 7a is now consistent in vv. 11–16, marked by the contrasting ואתם (“But you [...]”) in v. 11, and the fate of the faithful is described for the rebellious in vv. 8–10 and vv. 13–25. The fact that God’s voice continues to address the rebellious in this way up to 66:2 implies a rhetoric that wants to say to the wicked, “see what you are about to miss out

29. In my analysis of vv. 2–5, I observed nine active participles in the Hebrew text – all related to the rebellious people. Seven of them specifically describe their behaviour. The time-aspect involved in the latter instances is an action of durative art, a description of an idolatrous activity that goes on continually. In v. 11 there are another group of three participles (and one adjective, השכחים, “who forget”), that describes the rebellious people: עיבי (“who forsake”), הערכים (“who set”), and הממלאים (“who fill”). All three of them, in continuity with vv. 2–5, are of durative art. The last participle (הממלאים) in v. 11d is a *piel*, which specifies the state that the rebellious behaviour has developed into – they offer sacrifices to the gods Gad (“Fortune”) and Meni (“Destiny”) instead of worshiping YHWH on God’s holy mountain.

on” but waits to execute the final sentence of death until there is no doubt that those who are convicted will not repent from their abominations.

The figurative language in Isa 65:8 is a powerful metaphor of salvation and judgement in the context of the Book of Isaiah. The theological backgrounds to v. 8 are the worthless vineyard (Israel and Judah) in 5:1–7 that God lays waste, the future fruitful vineyard of YHWH in 27:2–6, and God as a divine warrior in 63:1–6 treading down the people (עַמִּים) pressing their blood like juice. In Isa 65:8, God is both the redeemer and judge, and the portrayal of him as the divine warrior reappears in 66:14d–16 with a judgement of fire and sword (cf. 65:12a). The metaphor about the cluster of grapes in 65:8 does three things which have thematic consequences for both the unit it opens as well as for the rest of Isa 65–66. First, it creates two opposite groups of people in the community, a dichotomy that characterizes the whole genre of Isa 65–66.³⁰ Second, it pictures God as a saviour finding a remnant, the good wine among the bad, and redeems it. Third, it draws attention to a certain cluster of grapes, which is spared from destruction because it can still produce wine. Although, the image can refer to a remnant, Whybray says that “it goes far beyond” such a pre-exilic concept.³¹ The implied individual grapes suggest an expectation of a more individualised faith within Israel, characteristic of post-exilic Judaism. These observations prepare the ground for three sub-themes in my analysis of vv. 8–12: intercession (v. 8), inheritance (vv. 9–10), and punishment (vv. 11–12).

4.4.1 Intercession (v. 8)

After the judgement message in Isa 65:6–7, God becomes the saviour of “the new wine” in v. 8. A faithful people will be saved, and the metaphor about the cluster of grapes in v. 8 conveys this new twist in the text. An anonymous voice counsels God not to “destroy it” (v. 8e, שָׁחָה *hiphil*), and there are valid reasons that “it” refers syntactically to the “cluster” (the whole people) and not to the “new wine” in v. 8b (or “my servants,” v. 8d).³² The appeal is, therefore, on behalf of the cluster so that that which is a “blessing” (“the new wine”) will not be destroyed. God seems to listen to the interceding voice and decides “not to destroy (שָׁחָה *hiphil*) all.” The voice is best understood as belonging to the council of God, an angel who perhaps reacts on behalf of the cries from the faithful on earth (cf. 66:2). This

30. See also 4.3 *Dualism* (vv. 8–16), p. 92.

31. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 272.

32. Does the pronoun “it” in v. 8c refer to the “wine” or to the “cluster” in v. 8b? Syntactically I find it clear that it refers to the cluster, even if the last line, “[...], in order not to destroy all,” can confuse such a conclusion (see Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 644–645). However, parallelism in the verse and context makes the last line say that God will act to save “my servants” (the “blessing”), because of the appeal in v. 8c, otherwise “all” (“the cluster”) will be destroyed.

indicates parallel realities in Isa 65–66, which resemble the spatial dualism characteristic of apocalypse. The result of the dialogue in heaven supplements the impression from 65:1–7, that God will judge all the people on earth because of their idolatry and wicked behaviour. Instead of an avenging God, v. 8 portrays him as merciful because of his choice not to destroy all after finding new wine in the cluster of grapes. This turn in the rhetorics of Isa 65–66, from being only about judgement to being about the salvation of the righteous, is intended as an ultimatum to the rebellious who are once again addressed directly in v. 11–12. God is far from inactive or distant, but rather listens and finds those who repent (66:2c–e) and are his servants.

The voice appealing in v. 8c is also reminiscent of Abraham’s intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 18:28. Abraham negotiates with God not to destroy the cities. God’s final agreement with Abraham was a promise not to destroy (שחת *hiphil*) provided there were at least ten people worth saving. When God destroyed (שחת *piel*) the cities in 19:29, because of their non-repenting attitude, he nonetheless remembered Abraham’s appeal and saved Lot and his family. In a similar way, in Isa 65:8d–e God promises to “act on behalf of my servants, // in order not to destroy (שחת *hiphil*) all.” Because v. 8d–e is parallel to v. 8b–c, the word “destroy” refers to “the cluster” in both lines. Thus, the nature of the appeal, the words “destroy” and “blessing,” and the breaking of the covenant, together form a subtle reference to Abraham’s relationship to God.³³ By doing so, a message about a faithful remnant, whom God decides to save from an imminent judgement, is communicated to the rebellious. In Gen 18:16–33, Lot and his family are brought out as the only righteous people left in Sodom and Gomorrah. The two cities and their population were subsequently destroyed. In the same way, “the cluster” in 65:8 would not be spared once “the new wine” was siphoned off.

There are other passages in the Hebrew Bible that support an implicit reference to Abraham in Isa 65:8. Sodom and Gomorrah is a biblical metaphor about the wrath of God,³⁴ and the two cities are used in Deut 32:32–35 as a model of eschatological judgement.³⁵ Of particular interest are vv. 32–33 in the latter reference, where images from the vineyards of Sodom and Gomorrah describe the deeds of the enemies towards God’s people. It is declared in v. 32 that these enemies are corrupt like “grapes of poison” and bitter “clusters” (אשכלת). In Isa 65:8, the maturing of fruit in the cluster (באשכול) is unsatisfactory, and found to be bitter be-

33. The implicit reference to Abraham in v. 8 is strengthened by what follows in v. 9. In that latter verse, the offspring from Jacob and Judah, described also as “my chosen ones” and “my servants,” will inherit the mountain of God (Zion) and settle in the land belonging to that mountain. See 4.4.2 *Inheritance* (vv. 9–10), p. 99.

34. Deut 29:23; 32:32; Isa 1:9–10; 3:9; 13:19; Jer 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Lam 4:6; Ezek 16:46–56; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9).

35. See also the eschatological application of Sodom and Gomorrah in Jub 16:5–6.

fore a closer look discovered a remnant of “blessing” in it that secures the future of the people.³⁶ In 2 Kgs 13:23, the covenant with Abraham is the sole reason for God being gracious and not destroying (שחַת) Israel during a period of oppression. In Isa 65:8, a pruning of whole clusters (see שחַת) is avoided because of “a blessing in it.” The point, therefore, that the author of Isa 65 wants to make in v. 8, is similar to the one in Isa 1:9. If God is not faithful to his covenant with Abraham and does not save a remnant that will secure the blessing, and unless you are part of this new wine, you will all be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah.³⁷

The phrase “a blessing in it” (בְּרִכָּה בּוֹ) would, however, also remind the listener about God’s self-imposed divine commitment to Abraham and his offspring, as described in Gen 12 and 15. The term “blessing” is an implicit reference to what is promised through God’s covenant with Abraham. In Gen 12:1–3, YHWH exhorts Abraham to “be a blessing” (וְהָיָה בְרִכָּה, v. 2), after promising to bless him. Here, in Isa 65:8, God chooses to act on behalf of a remnant (“the new wine”) because of “a blessing in it [the cluster]” (כִּי בְרִכָּה בּוֹ). The Abrahamic covenant is unconditional, unlike how the Sinaitic and the Davidic covenants were understood when breached.³⁸ The relationship was in need of renewal, and only God’s commitment to Abraham to “bless” induced the author of Isa 65 to hope for salvation and the renewal of God’s promises, despite the situation in 65:1–7. Such a conviction stands in contrast to the mistrust regarding Abraham in Isa 63:16. In short, the intercession for “the new wine” in 65:8 is about a remnant, found because there is “a

36. See Jan L. Koole’s valuable analysis of allusions in Isa 65:8 regarding unripen fruit and “blessing” (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 429–430).

37. There are two references to Sodom and Gomorrah in Isa 1. In the current study, I discuss Isa 1–2 as an introduction to the Book of Isaiah, and Isa 65–66 as the closure of the whole book. Recent research has shown the connections between these two units (see e.g. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4*). The conclusion is that Isa 65:8 confirms Abraham’s covenantal role for God’s people, which the voice of the antagonist in Isa 63:16 says is broken. Here I disagree with scholars like Bautch, who consider Isa 63:7–64:11 a TI prayer that undercuts Abraham’s importance of covenant during the post-exilic period (Richard J. Bautch, “An Appraisal of Abraham’s Role in Postexilic Covenants,” *CBQ* 71/1 (January, 2009): 45–53). Bautch does not take into consideration Isa 65–66 which functions as an answer to antagonists represented by the lament in 63:7–64:11. The author of Isa 65 confirms the importance of the patriarchs for the covenant in contrast to Isa 63:16.

38. Regarding the Davidic covenant, see 2 Sam 7:11–16 and Ps 89:3–4, 21–38 versus 1 Kgs 8:25 and Ps 132:12, that has an “if” (אִם) in the latter passages (cf. David Noel Freedman, and David Miano, “People of the New Covenant,” in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline CR De Roo, *JSJSupps* 71 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 13). A question that David Noel Freedman and David Miano also ask is how these two covenant types (unconditional and conditional) could coexist and interrelate. There is an implication in the Abrahamic covenant, that God expects something from Abraham (see Gen 15:6; 17:1; 22) that “point ahead to the obligatory covenant that would be made later.” For example, the blessing associated with Sinai covenant (Exod 19:6; 23:22–23; 34:12) is connected to the Abrahamic covenant. So, the unconditional and eternal divine commitment to Abraham is “the basis for the belief in the renewability of the conditional, obligatory covenant(s)” (Freedman, “People of the New Covenant,” 7–12).

blessing in it.” The latter is about an election, also suggested by “my servants” in v. 8d, and to an inheritance promised to Abraham’s offspring, which is the next theme to analyse.

4.4.2 Inheritance (vv. 9–10)

The salvation of the faithful in Isa 65:8 continues in vv. 9–10 as an inheritance. In those verses the first sign of a vision of restoration also appears in Isa 65–66, a theme which is revealed as creative in 65:17–25, as a rebirth of life in 66:7–14b, and as a pilgrimage in 66:18–23. In Isa 65:9–10, the faithful, represented by the “new wine” in v. 8b, will not only be saved from destruction but restored to their inheritance, which is a geographical place. Taking into account what is coming in Isa 65–66, it will include the New Jerusalem, a paradisiac environment, and according to 66:8c “a land” (ארץ). The promise of inheritance in 65:9–10 is also about the privileged relationships of those who “seek” YHWH. Only those who are recognised as “offspring” (זרע), “heir” (יורש), “My chosen ones” (בְּחִירֵי), “my servants” (עֲבָדַי), and “my people” (עַמִּי) can take part in God’s mountain and the restored land (cf. 65:11a–b). In short, the inheritance is possible through God’s election and it is about Zion (“my mountain”) with land (“Sharon” and “the valley of Achor”).

First, we have the theme of election in Isa 65:9–10. As with the intercession in v. 8, this concept of election is also traceable to Gen 18 and 19 because of the reminiscence back to Abraham.³⁹ I have discussed above that the remnant in Isa 65:8b–c is described as the elect in vv. 8d–10. The epithets in those verses allude to Isa 41:8a, where Israel is described as “my servant” (יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבָדִי) and explained in the next line as “Jacob, whom I have chosen (בְּחַרְתִּיךְ), offspring (זרע) of Abraham my friend.” Isa 65:8–9 is also an echo of Ps 105:6, 42, where Abraham is God’s servant (עֲבָדִי), and his “offspring” (זרע, v. 6a) are the “sons of Jacob, his chosen ones” (בְּחִירָיו, v. 6b). Therefore, the epithets in Isa 65:8d–10, especially “my servant” (used twice), are a description of an elect associated with Abraham (see Ps 105:42), chosen for their faithfulness to the covenant with YHWH. Furthermore, the vision-speech in Isa 65:9 reflects what Bernard Gosse describes as a transfer from David to Abraham and his descendants, where the patriarch substitutes the former.⁴⁰

39. This is also the view of e.g. Oswalt (Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 645). However, the word שָׁחַת (“destroy”) also describes the judgement of God through the flood in Gen 6:13, 17, but before that a remnant (Noah and family) is secured for the continuation of the human race. Blenkinsopp points out that there may be an echo of Ezek 14:12–23 in Isa 65:8, but I partly disagree with him when he says that the solution in that reference and Isa 65:8 is “quite different from that of Gen 18:22–33, in which Abraham pleads with YHVH for the inhabitants of Sodom” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah* 56–66, 276). The appeal in Isa 65:8 is actually for the future of the whole people.

40. Bernard Gosse, “Abraham and David,” *JSOT* 34/1 (2009): 25–31. Gosse argues that Isa 65:9

The remnant which God will save from judgement and restore as an elect into a new covenant relationship is illustrated with Jacob and Judah in v. 9a–b. They are the patriarchal offspring of Abraham, a logical continuation of the implicit references to Abraham in v. 8. They are featured as founders of the chosen nation. The promise in Isa 65 regarding the faithful elect must, therefore, be understood as a saving act of God that restores them into a genealogical continuity that begins with Abraham. The “bring forth” (וְהוֹצֵאתִי) of offspring from Jacob in v. 9a is an extension of the metaphor in v. 8, i.e. there is not much juice in the cluster of grapes, but nonetheless God will act on behalf of those who are called “my servants,” because of “a blessing.” The “bring forth” (וְהוֹצֵאתִי) of offspring is also figuratively described in 66:7–8 as Mother Zion’s birth of a boy, the land, and a nation. In 65:9a–b, therefore, God will produce anew an “offspring” (זרע) from Jacob and “an heir” (יורש) from Judah. Israel’s survival depends wholly on this eschatological remnant.⁴¹ The covenant of Abraham is fulfilled with these blessed ones.⁴²

In my analysis of Isa 65:3–5, I concluded among other things that the cultic terminology in those verses indicates a priestly influence. In vv. 9–10, the linking of the patriarchs with the remnant-election theme supports that observation.⁴³ Under the influence of P, the speech in Isa 65–66 about the faithful is founded on the promise to the patriarchs that their seed would unconditionally be blessed by God. The author formulated an eschatological election-theme that condemns the rebellious and promise salvation to a righteous remnant.⁴⁴ Actually, Abraham and his covenant relationship is a theme that surfaces explicitly in all major parts of the Book of Isaiah,⁴⁵ and the patriarch becomes a more prominent figure than

conforms with the promise in Gen 15:4 (see יורש and יצא, also יורש and זרע in v. 3, and זרע in v. 5), but there are also thematic connections regarding the promise between Isa 65:9 and Ps 105:6, 42–43 (the exodus); 106:45 (the return from exile). As Gosse implies, the only covenant (ברית) mentioned in Ps 105–106 is the Abrahamic one (105:8, 10 and 106:45), which signals a transfer to Abraham (cf. Ps 89:4, 39–40). Moreover, Gen 15:18c, 20–21 enlarges the Abrahamic covenant to include the extent of the Davidic empire, the fragments of which eventually went under at the time of the Babylonian exile. So, at the time Gen 15 was edited, the Davidic tradition was anchored in the Abrahamic tradition, and Isa 65–66 reinterprets this inclusion by primarily associating the promise of the New Jerusalem with the patriarch (see R. E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis XV and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition*, SBT2 5 [London: SCM, 1967], 15–22).

41. See also Isa 4:3; 6:13; 43:5; 44:3; 48:19; 54:3.

42. Isa 61:9, 11 and 65:23 (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 431).

43. For a good discussion of the function of P’s Abrahamic covenant during the post-exilic period, see Freedman, “People of the New Covenant,” 7–26.

44. In addition to Isa 65:9, see also Isa 6:13b; 51:2; 58:14. For a discussion of how Isa 6:13 and Isa 65:9 might be related, see Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 466 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 160–165.

45. Isa 29:22; 41:8; 51:2; 63:16. See also Klaus Baltzer, “Abraham in the Patriarchal Texts of the Book of Genesis and the Reception of this Tradition in the Book of Isaiah,” in *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham*, ed. Pernille Carstens and Niels Peter Lemche, PHSC 13 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, August, 2011), 81–84.

David in those parts of the book which reflect the exilic and post-exilic times.⁴⁶ In Isa 1–39, King David is referred to nine times, but in Isa 40–66 he is only mentioned once in 55:3. In 55:3 the promise to David is transferred to the people, who are the chosen and God’s servants in 65–66. The reason for this change is likely to be the exile and the post-exilic situation;⁴⁷ and the promise of renewal meant a redefinition of the Davidic covenant, while the Abrahamic covenant remained unconditional.⁴⁸ Thus, the post-exilic prophets, like TI, returned to the Abrahamic tradition for religious hope.⁴⁹ In Isa 65–66, this development regarding the covenant tradition of Israel happens in connection with the hope of a new world.

Second, the inheritance in Isa 65:9–10 is about Zion with land. One of the epithets, that designate the remnant in the verses under discussion, is a participle and translated “an heir” (יורש, v. 9b) from Judah. They will be heirs or “inherit” the mountain of God. This announces a new situation for the faithful, in contrast to the rebellious who will be dispossessed like a idolatrous גוי (“nation”).⁵⁰ To be an heir of God’s mountain would mean a restoration of a covenant relationship with God. Its verb form ירש (“take possession of, inherit from”) is used four times in Deuteronomy as a covenant term, in combination with the noun נחלה (“inherit-

46. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 375. Regarding the Abrahamic covenant, Ronald Clements says: “[...], whereas in the pre-exilic prophets it [the Abrahamic covenant] plays no part at all. It is not until we come to the great prophets of the exile, Ezekiel and DI, that appeal is made to Abraham as the ancestor who received a divine promise of possession of the land of Canaan” (Clements, *Abraham and David*, 11) See also Ezek 33:23–24, where those who are left behind in the land of Israel invoke Abraham (not David) for their right to the land. However, Ezekiel rebukes the people’s claim in vv. 25–29, not because they use Abraham as their reference, but because of their arrogance and idolatry.

47. Clements says: “Since this promise [the possession of the land of Canaan] is central to the Abrahamic covenant, the reawakened interest in the promise of the land betokens a revived interest in the covenant of which it was a part” (Clements, *Abraham and David*, 11).

48. E.g. “only if” (רק אם) in 1 King 8:25 implies that the Davidic covenant was subordinant to or dependent on the Sinai covenant and the restoration of Zion (see Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai & Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* [San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1987], 209–217). The redemption from Egypt and the following Sinaitic covenant was in turn dependent on the unconditional promises in the Abrahamic covenant (Ex 2:24; 3:16–17; 6:2–8; Ps 105:8–12, 42–45; 106:45).

49. The pre-exilic prophets attained the election-theme primarily from the exodus-event, while the exilic and post-exilic prophets preferred the patriarchs as the beginning of YHWH’s plan for Israel (R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, SBT 43 [London: SCM, 1965], 66–67). See also the hard questions to God in the early post exilic Ps 89 regarding why the promises to David in 2 Sam 7 were broken (cf. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, Hermeneia, trans. Linda M. Maloney [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005], 405–406; Marko Marttila, “The Deuteronomistic Heritage in the Psalms,” *JSOT* 37/1 [2012]: 86–89). It would reflect an interest in the divine promises to Abraham and the subsequent patriarchs, as a basis for a renewal of both Sinaitic and Davidic covenants.

50. See גוי in Isa 65:1d. In Deut 18:14 will those nations (הגוים) that practice idolatry be dispossessed (ירש). Deut 18:14 continues: ואתה לא כן נתן לך יהוה אלהים (“The Lord God has not allowed you to do so”).

ance”) of the land.⁵¹ In Isa 57:13, *ירוש* is used in combination with *נהל* regarding both the land and the mountain of God. Isa 65:9b, therefore, promises the mountain of God as a covenantal possession,⁵² and the parallel “my servants” in v. 9d explains that they “shall settle there.” The vision, that the faithful will dwell on God’s holy mountain and never forget its significance (cf. 65:11a–b), is also implied in v. 25. In short, it will stand at the centre of the inheritance and connotes access to the presence of God.

The term “my mountain” (*הרי*) in Isa 65:9b must be a symbol for Zion, and thus a reference to the temple mount in Jerusalem.⁵³ This mountain represents the centre of true worship in contrast to the idolatry in the gardens in 65:3–5 and on the mountains and hills in v. 7b–c. Unlike the chaotic fertility cults and necromancy, are “my [holy] mountain” in vv. 9b–d and 25e the true presence of God and the source of order in the new world. In 66:20 “my holy mountain Jerusalem” is the centre of universal worship.⁵⁴ In sum, “my mountain” in v. 9b is a place of salvation and restoration, and an inheritance of the elect which involves access to the true temple – and to the throne in heaven from which God reigns over the universe.⁵⁵ In Isa 57:13 the same promise of inheritance, as in vv. 9b–10, is directed to

51. Deut 15:4; 19:14; 25:19; 26:1.

52. It is grammatically unclear in v. 9c what “My chosen ones” (the “offsprings” from Jacob, and “an heir” from Judah) shall inherit. In Hebrew the suffix added to *ירוש* is a 3 fem sing “it” (*ירשוה*), but if it refers to *הרי* “my mountains” the numbers do not correspond. However, it can be text-critically motivated to change the plural “mountains” to “mountain” (see text-critical note above) to make the numbers agree with each other. There is, however, the gender discrepancy: *הר* is a masculine word while the suffix is feminine. *BHS* suggests a masculine plural reading to adjust the suffix to “my mountains,” but Hanson has made a case for keeping the singular rendering of the suffix (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 142). Thus there are two alternatives: a. The *הרי* masculine “my mountains” should be understood as parallel to vv. 9c–d and 10, which refer to the land (the feminine *ארץ*) which the remnant shall inherit (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 276); or b. The phrase “my mountains” should be “my mountain” (see 56:7; 57:13c; 65:9, 11a, 26; 66:20) relying on Hanson’s complicated solution that the suffix is in fact masculine. The choice is difficult, but syntactically the suffix seems to refer back to the “mountain.”

53. The mountain site of God’s temple is a recurring theme among the prophets, especially in the Book of Isaiah (e.g. 2:2–4; 11:9; 25:6–8; 27:13; 56:7; 57:13). In Isa 65–66, the Temple of God is mentioned as “Mountain” (*הר*), Isa 65:9b, 11b, 25e; 66:20; “House” (*בית*), 66:1d, 20; “Temple” (*היכל*), 66:6b. The list can be supplemented by: “new heavens and a new earth” (65:17a; 66:22a) “Jerusalem” (65:18c, 19a; 66:10a, 13c, 20); “Zion” (66:8f).

54. The idea of Zion as a mountain at the centre of the earth is also found in Isa 2:2–4 (Mic 4:1–2) and Ps 48:2–4. This conception in the Hebrew Bible probably goes back in the J and P traditions to Mount Sinai and the reception of holy religious literature, and both in turn fit the Canaanite religious tradition of theophany (Richard J. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, HSM 4 [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010], 107–120, 131–160).

55. See Isa 65:24; 66:1–6. The concepts “my mountain” and “my holy mountain” in Isa 65–66 receive many of their connotations from the historical and religious background in the Ancient Near East. As we will see, in Isa 65–66 the concept also becomes eschatological. However, the associations between temple and mountain are more common in Ugaritic literature than in Egypt and Mesopotamia because of the plains. See further, regarding holy mountain in Ancient Near East e.g. R. E. Cle-

those who find their refuge in God. It demonstrates again the common authorship of Isa 65–66 and Isa 57:1–13.

The phrase “shall settle there” (ישכנו־שמה) in v. 9d is broadened in v. 10 to include not only Zion but also the pasture of “Sharon” and “the valley of Achor.” That “Sharon” will be “a pasture for sheep” speaks of peace,⁵⁶ which is also the vision in connection with God’s holy mountain in v. 25. “The valley of Achor,” however, is a place of “trouble” in Josh 7:24–26, but which is transformed into “a door of hope” (לפתח תקוה), an analogy to Rahab’s “thread” (תקוה) in Hos 2:17.⁵⁶ The reference to the valley in Isa 65:10b probably has the same symbolic meaning as in Hosea: “as a door of hope” or the expectancy of a new covenant life for the elect despite the troublesome situation in the current Jerusalem. The references in Hos 2:16–17, to a new Israel in the wilderness, the entrance into the land, the trouble with Achan, and the promise of “vineyards” as a typology of future blessings, are also applicable to Isa 65:10 and its context. The context of v. 10 suggests the need for a second exodus from Babylon, a wilderness wandering to Judah and Jerusalem, trouble with God’s commandments on return, and, therefore, a renewed promise to inherit peaceful pasture lands. The “vineyards,” or the inheritance, are threatened in Isa 65 because of disobedience,⁵⁷ but v. 10c gives hope for the future to those who seek God (דרשוני).

The pasture lands of peace and hope in v. 10, and “my mountain” in v. 9b, function as a symbolic reference to the land that Abraham and his descendants were promised to “possess” (ירש) by God in Gen 15:7–21.⁵⁸ Later, in the biblical history, Israel is also promised to “possess” (ירש, Deut 1:8; 9:5) the land because of Abraham. The mentioning in Josh 15:7 of “the valley of Achor” as a boundary reference, supports the notion that Isa 65:9–10 refers to this promised land. It is significant, therefore, to notice that those left behind in Ezek 33:24–26⁵⁹ are condemned for idolatry and for underestimating Abraham’s role in the inheritance of the land as a “possession” (למורשה, v 24). This attitude towards Abraham is also implied

ments, *God and Temple: The Idea of the Divine Presence in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 1–16; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 9–33; John M. Lundquist, “What is a Temple? A Preliminary Typology,” in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, ed. H. B. Huffmon, F. A. Spina, and A. R. W. Green (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 205–219.

56. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 270–271, 275–276; J. Andrew Dearman, *The Book of Hosea*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 122–123.

57. See Deut 28:30, 39.

58. See also Gen 22:2, 15–18 and 2 Chron 3:1.

59. Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 258–261. Ezek 33:24–26 and Isa 51:2 have Abraham in common as “one (אחד),” and are therefore important references when discussing the identification of the rebellious and the faithful in Isa 65–66. Ezek 33:24 represents the people left behind after the deportation 597 BCE and Isa 51:2 those returning people from Babylon in early post-exilic time who seek righteousness and YHWH.

also in Isa 63:16, while Isa 65:8–10 restores Abraham’s importance to the inheritance of the elect. The implicit reference to Abraham in v. 8, and the follow up in v. 9 that God will “bring forth offspring from Jacob” and “from Judah an heir of my mountain,” identify the true descendants of Abraham who will inherit the land in contrast to those that count Abraham as insignificant for the theology of Zion and the land. With the vision in vv. 9–10, the author of Isa 65–66 intended to remind the original audience of the faithful’s everlasting possession. When he returns to this vision in vv. 17–25, he does so with a creative perspective that is reminiscent, in many ways, of an apocalyptic world view.

Third, God is portrayed in both Isa 65:8d–e and v. 9a–b as intervening alone on behalf of the faithful and their inheritance. The expectation of divine intervention now also includes the faithful. In vv. 1–7 it is about the rebellious, in the form of judgement. In vv. 8–10, God will intervene with salvation and inheritance for the faithful. The two phrases in v 8d and v. 9a, which declare the sovereign act of God, are “So I will act [...]” (כִּן אֶעֱשֶׂה) and “I will bring forth [...]” (וְהוֹצֵאתִי). They emphasise the view, as already stated above in connection with vv. 1–2,⁶⁰ that God’s deep desire is to be known through his grace. Another observation, which we will have reason to return to in my analysis, is the fact that no messianic agent is mentioned in Isa 65–66.⁶¹ When it comes to judgement God acts alone and in 65:8d–9b with salvation for those who seek him (v. 10c). However, the participle יִירֶשׁ (“an heir”) in v. 9b designates the remnant as being active in the land they shall inherit.⁶² They will possess the inheritance, settle there, and cultivate it in a spirit of peace (vv. 9c–10).

The vision in 65:9–10 about the inheritance for the faithful who are saved as a remnant and elected as an heir, is expounded to the rebellious in vv. 17–25. The inheritance in both passages is the mountain of God, and the activities of the faithful in the land are described in similar ways, though much more briefly in vv. 9–10. God’s intervention, however, is creative in vv. 17–18 in comparison to vv. 8–9b. As we shall see, in conjunction with the “new heavens and a new earth” and the New Jerusalem, it is explicitly stated that God will transform the cosmos. In Isa 66:1–6, the presence of God is again eschatologized, where God alone passes judgement, saves and reigns from his transcendent throne. From 66:7 on, the vision of a restored Zion is about the inheritance first introduced in 65:9–10, although

60. See 3.3 *God’s Accessibility* (vv. 1–2), p. 67.

61. See especially 6.5.3 *Intervention* (v. 6), p. 192, and “Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate,” p. 164 in connection with the theme 6.3.1 *Temple of God* (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b).

62. The *qal* participle in the מ v. 9b, which is rendered “an heir” (יִירֶשׁ) in my translation, is one of three instances in Isa 65 where a participle is used in connection with what the Lord alone will do (65:9, 17 and 18). In Isa 66 the frequency is higher (vv. 6, 9, 12 [2x], 16, 18 [?], and 22), which indicates an escalating emphasis on God’s action and thus a development towards an apocalyptic genre. According to apocalypticism, the rule of God is something that shall irrupt into the world as a sovereign act of God.

visualised in more universalistic terms, and the final destiny of the rebellious. In short, 65:9–10 is part of a prophetic speech of contrasts which promises inheritance to the saved faithful and in vv. 11–12 punishment to the condemned rebellious.

4.4.3 Punishment (vv. 11–12)

The theme of salvation and judgement in Isa 65:8–12 continues in vv. 11–12 with a punishment oracle, stating that the rebellious will become empty-handed to the point of death in comparison to the faithful. It begins with the direct address (ואתם) that the rebellious have forsaken YHWH and forgotten his holy mountain (v. 11a–b), which is equal to their having forsaken and forgotten the divine covenant originally made with their patriarch fathers. In contrast, it is implied that the faithful are not guilty of such treachery. The Hebrew word for “forsake” in v. 11a (עזב) is a *qal* participle, and in the Book of Isaiah it only occurs once more in 1:28 and with the same connotation as in 65:11–12. Those “who forsake YHWH” are called rebels and sinners, and will perish. Reading on in 1:28–31, there are references to sacred trees (אילים)⁶³ and gardens (גנות) that are parallels to the “gardens” in 65:3 and 66:17. However, in the former passage, the accused ones will be ashamed of their idolatry when they fade away and burn up, while the latter passages in Isa 65–66 imply no embarrassment on the part of the rebellious because of pride. According to 1:27, those who repent (שוב) will be redeemed (תפדה) together with Zion by justice and righteousness,⁶⁴ which would apply to faithful in 65:8–10 even though שוב is not used in Isa 65–66. The Hebrew adjective for “forget” in 65:11b (שכח) is only found here in the Book of Isaiah and in Ps 9:18 where a “return to Sheol” is the result of the wicked/nations forgetting God. Death is also the destiny of the rebellious in Isa 65:11–12, as there is no indication in the text that they desire to return to YHWH.

The reason for the rebellious’ betrayal and their forgetfulness is idolatry. Isa 65:11c–d gives an example of this neglect of the temple mount in Jerusalem, and it complements the picture of provocations in vv. 3–5 and the burning of incense on the mountains and hills in v. 7b–c. What is described in v. 11c–d is the serving of meals to Gad, the god of Fortune, and Meni, the god of Destiny.⁶⁵ Because of covenantal terms in Isa 65–66, the sacrificial meal in v. 11c–d can be understood as a

63. G has εἰδωλοῖς, “idols.”

64. The reference to Zion in Isa 1:27 gives the redemption by justice and righteousness a political-religious meaning, which is also the intention in Isa 65–66 with the emphasis on a New Jerusalem, the questioning of attitudes and behaviour towards the temple, and all nations pilgrimage to Zion.

65. See text-critical note c and d in 4.1 *Text and Translation* for Isa 65:11c–d, p. 89, and Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah* 56–66, 278–279 about Gad and Meni.

covenant meal,⁶⁶ and thus an expression of the syncretistic religious practices in post-exilic Yehud. Blenkinsopp says: “Failure to solve the problem of theodicy, reflected in one way or another in all the biblical texts from the immediate post-disaster period, could easily have led people to turn to such cults.”⁶⁷ The problem continues in 66:1–4 and the solution of the author, as we shall see, is not a reformation but a transformation and a New Jerusalem for the faithful. The author of Isa 65–66 does not seem to expect the rebellious to repent, but he wants to make sure they are aware of the punishment awaiting them.

The rebellious are weighed up for judgement in 65:7d. When the author returns to the theme in vv. 11–12, it is with the assurance that the rebellious will be punished. In v. 12a–b, God’s voice promises: “I will destine you for the sword, // and all of you will bow down to the slaughter.”⁶⁸ These lines are parallel to v. 11, where the words עזבי (“who forsake”), השכחים (“who forget”), הערכים (“who set”), הממלאים (“who fill,”) describes the activity and the state of the rebellious. This behaviour is the reason for the verbs ומניתי (“I will destine”) and תכרעו (“bow down [over]”) in v. 12a–b, which declare God’s punishment by sword and slaughter.⁶⁹ All the rebellious will “bow down to slaughter,” a message repeated in 66:16 but with the difference that they are no longer addressed directly in the second person in that verse. As noted above, 65:11a has a parallel in 1:28 and, if rejected, the call to repentance in 1:2–20 offers the same destiny as in 65:12a–b. The two options in 1:19–20, obedience and “you will eat the good things of the land” or rebellion and “you will be devoured by the sword” are also the choices presented by the author of Isa 65–66 to his audience.⁷⁰

The particle יען (“because”) begins 65:12c–f, which reconnects those lines to the disappointment and anger in vv. 1c–3a over the unresponsiveness of the rebellious to the call of God. Furthermore, the rebellious’ behaviour is understood by the author to be a deliberate rejection of God’s invitation: “You did evil in my sight, // and you chose what I did not delight in” (v. 12e–f). Jan L. Koole captures the message in Isa 65:12 when he formulates the implied question of the text in v.

66. The meal as a sign of covenant, see 1 Mos 31:46, 54; 2 Mos 24:11; 2 Mos 32:6; Ps 23:5. See also the condemnation of “a covenant with death” (the deity Mot, Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 393–394) in Isa 28:14–22 (cf. Isa 65:4a). Both Isa 28:14–22 and 65:1–7, 11–12 are addressing leaders in Jerusalem.

67. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 278.

68. ומניתי אתכם להרוב וכלכם לשבח תכרעו

69. The first verb ומניתי (“I will destine”) in v. 12a has the same root (מנה) as “Meni,” the god Destiny in v. 11d, which signals an ironic play on words and ideas. Oswalt says regarding מנה: “[...] because these people have sought to control Destiny, they are destined for the sword” (Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 648–649). The irony is reinforced with another parallel statement in v. 12b: because the condemned people “set [by bending over to prepare, הערכים] a table for Gad,” the god Fortune in v. 11c, their destiny will be to “bow down [over, תכרעו] to the slaughter.”

70. Cf. Boda, ‘Return to Me’, 68.

12c–f: “Is this to be pardoned?”⁷¹ Or, to rephrase it considering the theme discussed here: “Can such a thing go unpunished?” Verse 12c–f is almost identical to 66:4, and scholars have, therefore, questioned its status. However, 65:1–2, 12c–f, 24 and 66:4c–f mark out a major topic in Isa 65–66, a divine call which the rebellious do not respond to, and in 66:4c–f the call is referred to in the third person unlike in 65:12c–f. When the same charges are repeated in 66:4, it is an inclusion where the voice no longer addresses the rebellious directly. In other words, if the message in 65:12c–f is an implied question, this is no longer the case in 66:4c–f. After 66:1–3, the author gives the impression that the window for repentance and pardon has closed – the only alternative left regarding the destiny of the rebellious is their death, a direction which the vision-account carves out for all God’s enemies.

4.5 The Destinies (vv. 13–16)

The dualistic character of Isa 65–66 is very clear in 65:13–16, because of the rapid alternation between the two different groups of people in those verses. After having explained the salvation of the faithful and the judgement of the rebellious in 65:8–12, vv. 13–16 pronounce the results (see לַכֵּן) in a quick presentation of contrasts that ends with an expansion of the theme destinies. As a matter of fact, there is an expansion of the message from vv. 1–7, and the vision in vv. 13–16 expands into a revelation of new heavens and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem for her people in vv. 17–25. As a reminder, the call-theme in 65:1–2, 12c–f, 24 could also very well mark this progressiveness. The theme in vv. 13–16 is the eschatological destinies of the faithful and the rebellious, where the conditions of life are reversed in contrast to the present situation.⁷² Structurally, vv. 13–16 consist firstly of an antithesis built up by three balanced bicola and one slower tricolon (vv. 13–14),⁷³ and secondly by a less balanced text (vv. 15–16) because it also functions as a transfer to vv. 17–25. The order of comparison also changes between the two parts. I have, therefore, divided vv. 13–16 into two themes even though both parts deal with destinies in the form of blessings and curses. The first theme is curses, because the rebellious are directly addressed in vv. 13–14 and they are told about the blessing of the faithful. The second theme is blessings, because vv. 15–16 shifts to an emphasis on what is expected for the faithful where “the former troubles are forgotten.”

71. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 438.

72. Blenkinsopp describes this “eschatological reversal” as a “familiar feature of revolutionary movements and sects [...] in which roles are reversed, power and authority (the power to coerce) radically redistributed, and the redemptive media redefined” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 281).

73. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 649; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 281. Blenkinsopp describes the tricolon in v. 14 as “a kind of rallentando.”

4.5.1 Curses (vv. 13–14)

The rapid alternation in vv. 13–14, between the faithful and the rebellious, need not simply reflect a dualistic black and white world view, but can also be a rhetorical attempt to convince the rebellious of the consequences of their wickedness. The reason for such a possibility is the fact that in vv. 13–14 God’s voice addresses the rebellious directly. Whatever the case, the author wants to hold the rebellious responsible for their actions, by describing the faithful as being blessed with a full life, while the latter are told that they will be cursed in all areas of their life. The purpose is to compare their destinies, and the rebellious are told that they will experience the very opposite of what is waiting for the faithful: they will *eat* (יאכלו) – you will be *hungry* (תרעבנו), they will *drink* (ישתו) – you will be *thirsty* (תצמאו), they will *rejoice* (ישמחו) – you will be *put to shame* (תבשו), and again, they will *rejoice* (ירנו) – you will *lament* (תצעקו) and *wail* (תילילו). These verbs in italics, with their prefixed conjugations (imperfect) in Hebrew, are meant to be understood as a real and specific future, and presented as a logical consequence of the current situation.⁷⁴ These new life conditions are dramatic changes for both parties, and dependent on whether those concerned return to YHWH or not. The dramatic change in vv. 13–16 is a cosmic transformation in vv. 17–18, and the implied call to repentance in the former passage is followed with the exhortation to rejoice in v. 18a.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the fact that the verb for “rejoice” (שמח) in v. 13f is also used in Isa 56:7 in connection with repentance (vv. 4, 6), and repeated in 66:10 as an exhortation, is another reason to regard the alteration in vv. 13–14 as the author’s way of explaining to the rebellious the consequences of their behaviour.

The dramatic change promised in vv. 13–14, for both the rebellious and faithful, is illustrated at the end of this passage (vv. 13f–14) by means of three different words for joy (טוב, רנו, שמח) and three opposite words for the destined experience of the rebellious (ליל, צעק, בוש). This change is visualised further in vv. 18–19b, where there are another two words for rejoicing (יש/שוש and גיל), repeated in 66:10 are שוש, גיל, שמח. Thus, in Isa 65–66, there are five different words for joy, the ultimate rewards of the blessings which stand in contrast to the woes of the rebellious – that will end with shame, laments and wailing, and in death (e.g. v. 12a–b, 15b). This latter result will come from “an anguished heart” and “out of a broken spirit” (vv. 14b–c). Again, such a statement stands in contrast to 66:2c–e, because of the outcome. Those who are “humble” and “contrite in spirit” in the current situation will rejoice again, while those who do not respond to the call of God and who do not listen, will experience harsh treatment and horrors because of their wickedness. Did the author of Isa 65–66, therefore, expect repentance from the re-

74. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 511, §31.6.2.

75. See 5.6.1 *Exhortation to Joyful Appreciation* (v. 18a–b), p. 134.

bellious? Perhaps not, but his language testifies to his concern that they should be aware of what awaits them if they do not return to YHWH.

Isa 65:13, with its initial “Therefore” (לכן), is thematically a continuation from v. 11c–d with its references to food and drink. Because the rebellious have served covenant meals to idols, they will not have meals together with the faithful in the new eschatological age. In the next stage of the text, v. 14b–c is a continuation of v. 12a–b, with its references to cries “from an anguished heart” (מכאב לב) and “from a broken spirit” (משבר רוח). Because of the idolatry and unrepenting spirit of the rebellious they are destined for the sword, and the anguish shall come from those who meet this horrifying end. That death is what the author is thinking about in v. 14b–c is clear from v. 15b, which reads: “[...], and the Lord YHWH will kill you; [...]” a destiny the rebellious are explicitly reminded of also in 66:14c–17, 24. In addition to the curse of death, there are also several allusions in 65:13–14 that commentaries often points out. The epithet “my servants,” is applied four times on the faithful as true descendants of Abraham.⁷⁶ The antitheses also brings to mind an eschatological banquet for the faithful after the victory in v. 12a–b.⁷⁷ Another allusion, briefly referred to above, is the blessings and curses in connection with covenants, especially the consequences of disobedience in Deut 28:47–48.⁷⁸ Therefore, as Blenkinsopp says, “Isaiah 65:13–14 represents, [...], an eschatological version of this anticipated outcome [hunger, thirst, shame, destruction] of the refusal to serve.”⁷⁹

In short, vv. 13–14 make a clear distinction between the “sheep” and “goats.”⁸⁰ This separation of two groups of people suggests a black and white world view, with the expectation of a radical change in contrast to the current situation. In the light of the call-theme in vv. 1–2 and v. 12c–f, one of the things the author might be saying with this radical vision-speech is that the rebellious should repent even if they think that God has not asked them to. However, God has reached out to them, and they have not responded. The rebellious, therefore, are simply the cursed “you,” while those who respond are the blessed “my servants.” That God is portrayed as present, despite implied contrary opinions in vv. 1–7, 11, 12c–d, is emphasised by the compound name “Lord YHWH” (אדני יהוה) in v. 13a and v. 15b. God is presented as being the central person in what is going to transpire regarding the destinies of the people, by acting sovereignly towards the different groups with curses and blessings.

76. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 650. See also 8.3.1 *His Servants* (v. 14c), p. 245.

77. See also Isa 66:15–6; cf. Isa 25:6–8. See Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 439; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 281.

78. John Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56–66*, ICC (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 462–463.

79. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 281.

80. Cf. Matt 25:31–46; Luk 6:20–26.

4.5.2 Blessings (vv. 15–16)

In vv. 15–16, the author once again concentrates on the curses and blessings, but moves over to the latter in vv. 15c–16 after having stated that the rebellious will be gone some day. Verse 15a says, that the only thing “you” (אתם) in vv. 13–14 will leave behind is “your name [...] as an oath” or “as a curse” (לשבועה) for the faithful (“my chosen ones”). Legacy lies in the name, and the name of the rebellious will be left behind to circulate as a counterpart in the new reality characterised by blessings (v. 16). Therefore, the oath in v. 15a is a curse⁸¹ and expected to linger on with the function of reminding the elect not to forsake YHWH.⁸² The reason that the memory of the rebellious will remain in a new epoch, is reinforced by what v. 15b states: “[...] the Lord YHWH will kill you; [...]” In other words, the author threatens the rebellious with a saying among the faithful, as the voice for an instance switches to an human voice in vv. 15b–16d.⁸³ Furthermore, with the repetition of divine names (אדני יהוה) it adds extra seriousness to the rhetorical implications of the oath-curse: “The Lord YHWH will *surely* kill you.” With the statements in v. 15a–b, a vision of a new era is almost completely introduced in Isa 65–66, an epoch which the rebellious will have no part in because of their unrepentance. However, as we will see in vv. 17–25, the author does not yet end communication with the rebellious despite the declaration concerning their destiny in v. 15.

The double divine name in v. 15b, as well as in v. 13a, also intends to ensure the outcome for the faithful “his servants.” Thus, the oath formula is exchanged in v. 15c for an assurance that the faithful will have a new life in contrast to the termination of the rebellious. The promise is that “Lord YHWH” will intervene on behalf of the faithful and thus guarantee that he will call those who answer and hear him “by another name.” In Isa 65:1, 12, the rebellious are accused of not answering and hearing God’s call to repentance. In v. 24, the situation is radically different concerning the elect, when God will answer even before the people call him. The transformation visualised in v. 24 is a re-emphasis of the destinies of the faithful in vv. 13–16, and the promised intervention by God in v. 15c on behalf of the faithful is key to understanding the difference. “Lord YHWH” will call “his servants [...] by another name,” something which stands for a new legacy, a fresh covenant relationship, and a new epoch.⁸⁴ According to Isa 65–66, a new dawn is approaching. Verse 16 also serves to confirm this new imminent epoch, before the vision-speech concentrates solely on what this re-created life is all about.

81. “Oath” (שבועה) and “curse” (אלה) is closely connected (see Num 5:21; Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30). See also Lars Hartman’s identification of a linkage between Isa 65:15–16 and the Aaronite Benediction in Num 6:24–26 (Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 33).

82. See the motivation for punishment in Isa 65:11a–b, and its results expanded in vv. 13–16.

83. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 440–441.

84. Cf. Isa 42:9, 10; 43:19; 48:6; 56:5; 62:2–4.

With v. 16, the author returns to the theme of blessing, the last verse in the unit that begins with v. 8 about salvation. This is appropriate from a structural perspective, as the faithful are characterised as “a blessing” in v. 8c and in v. 16a–b they shall regard themselves as blessed in the land “by the God of Amen.” Thus, the theme of blessings is introduced in v. 8, maintained in vv. 13–16 and, as we shall see, continued in Isa 66.⁸⁵ In 65:16, the first line is parallel to the second line: “[...] he who blesses himself in the land [...]” and “he who swears [והנשבע, or curses] in the land [...]” This is another referral to the two groups in vv. 13–16. Both are blessing themselves and giving oaths, and cursing each other, while the sayings in v. 15 are uttered. The difference, however, is that v. 16 marks out that only those who “[...] will bless himself by the God of Amen, [...]” and who “[...] will swear by the God of Amen” are legal heirs to the land. As Koole also points out, in v. 11 the rebellious put their trust in the gods of fate, while the faithful can expect blessings and curses from the “God of Amen,” the true and faithful God.⁸⁶ This complex parallelism also suggests that once again we have the covenant idea, and an implicit reference to Abraham’s story regarding the faithful ones, in the text. As in v. 15–16, God in Gen 12:1–3 promises to bless his servant and curse those who do not put their trust in God like Abraham did.⁸⁷

The particle כִּי (“For”) begins v. 16e and is repeated at the beginning of the next line (v. 16f) with the conjunction ו. The repetition of כִּי and in combination with ו the second time, in the last line of vv. 8–16, qualifies כִּי for a more important role than a simple conjunction for a causal clause. At least the second כִּי is more emphatic and is translated by me as “and truly” (וְכִי), with the connotation that a new epoch is indeed waiting for the faithful, where “[...] the former (ראשנות) troubles are forgotten (נשכחו), [...] and truly hidden from my sight.⁸⁸ This is also an allusion to a theme in DI: “Do not remember the former things (ראשנות), [...]”⁸⁹ The difference is that “Do not remember (אל-תזכרו) [...]” in Isa 43:18 is a command to the people because of a jussive verb, while 65:16e is a declaration or statement because of the *niphal* “forgotten” (נשכחו) and the repeated particle כִּי in v. 16f. With these qualifications, v. 16e–f function as a transition to the next and the final unit of Isa 65, vv. 17–25, where the “former things” are indeed forgotten. The perspective in v. 16e–f is that God is the one who will not remember past distress. In vv. 17–25,

85. Isa 65:8, 16 (2x), 23; 66:3, 12.

86. I think Koole has understood the complexity of vv. 15–16 well (see Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 443–444).

87. Blenkinsopp has noticed the same thing in v. 15–16: “This play upon curse and blessing has undertones of Abraham’s story. YHWH’s name is invoked in both curse and blessing, and the Name Amen signifies that he gives reliable warranty for both, as he did with Abraham (Gen 12:1–3).” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 283)

88. Ronald J. Williams, *Williams’ Hebrew Syntax*, 3rd ed. (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 158; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 444.

89. Isa 43:18a; cf. 41:22–24; 42:9.

people will still make choices but God is the one who alone delivers the faithful from their “former troubles” and restores them to a new life in his presence.

4.6 Isaiah 65:8–16 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

I have analysed three major themes in Isa 65:8–16. The first one is *Dualism* (vv. 8–16),⁹⁰ which resembles a case-study of stark contrasts, but is also about God’s expected role in that dualistic world view. I have shown how ethical, temporal, spatial, and ontological dualism govern the text and how they result in an eschatological age. Furthermore, these dualistic conceptions appear to be part of a rhetorical strategy in vv. 8–16 which addresses the rebellious directly. The alternation between destinies in those verses is intended to give repentance a chance, whether the author thinks it is possible or not. This rapid alternation is a clear example of how the prophetic theological message in Isa 65:8–16 has practised influence upon an apocalyptic text as 1 En. 2:1–5:9. The latter text has been styled after Isa 65:8–16,⁹¹ which occasions Nickelsburg to conclude in his commentary on 1 Enoch that: “The best biblical analogy to 1 Enoch 1–5 seems to be Isaiah 65–66, which is not surprising, given the similarities in wording.”⁹² However, the influence of dualism in Isa 65–66 upon 1 Enoch is not limited to the introduction of *The Book of Watchers* (henceforth *BWatch*),⁹³ but is also visible in visions that have a more apocalyptic character than 1 En. 1–5.

The ethical tension between righteousness and sin (or the righteous versus the wicked) is a motivating factor in the *ApocW*,⁹⁴ where “righteousness” (Aram. קשוט) is the key concept in the periodisation.⁹⁵ However, after the tenth week in the apocalypse, a new age will come which is not periodised⁹⁶ – “weeks without number

90. See p. 92.

91. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 128.

92. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 131.

93. According to Nickelsburg, 1 En. 1:1 functions as a superscription and chapter 1–5 as an introduction to *BWatch* (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 135 See also Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 138–145).

94. For the observation that ethical or moral dualism is widespread in the apocalyptic literature, and especially in 1 Enoch, see Stephen L. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature*, IBT (Nashville: Abingdon, 2003), 23–24 (the apocalyptic literature in general) and R. H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha*, vol. 1 of *APOT* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), ix; Gammie, “Spatial and Ethical Dualism,” 378 (1 Enoch).

95. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 441. In contrast to Gammie, Klaus Koch traces the use of קשוט in *ApocW* to Iranian sources (Koch, “History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers,” 186, 197–199). It is outside the frame of this work to discuss the origin of ethical dualism in *ApocW*, but an Iranian/Persian influence does not exclude a heritage from the Hebrew צדק about righteous behaviour, which is also Koch’s view.

96. Here is an example how temporal dualism gets interwoven with ethical dualism, as *ApocW* also explicitly describes the eschatological destinies of the righteous and the ungodly. In that case, as Portier Young points out, the difference between the ethical dualism in 1 Enoch and in the wisdom literature is the temporal dualism that characterises the former (Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against*

forever" (91:17), or as Stuckenbruck says, "an new age that will persist and be without change."⁹⁷ This new eternal epoch belongs to "all the humankind" who are willing convert so that all wickedness on earth will disappear (v. 14). They will thereafter practice only "piety and righteousness" and the former things of sin will not even come to mind ("will never again be mentioned," v. 17). This final promise in *ApocW*, that evilness will never happen again, is a strong indication that Isa 65–66 is involved in the text. Although its history is not periodised as in *ApocW*, Isa 65:16e–f and v. 17b–c declare that the former troubles/things are forgotten/not remembered. They are statements that come after the dualistic speech on ethical grounds that differentiate between the destiny of the rebellious and of the faithful in vv. 13–16; and the repeat in v. 17b–c also comes after the promise of new heavens and a new earth. In *ApocW*, the conditions in the age of "weeks without number" are preceded by the vision of destinies of the righteous and the wicked; and also by the renewed earth in the ninth week complemented with a new heaven in the tenth week.

The examples above show that *ApocW* and Isa 65–66 have a comprehensive ethical dualism in common, which is the foundation for a temporal dualism that separates the present evil age from an eschatological age of healing and peace. In both texts, a wicked generation is singled out in contrast to the preservation of the true, chosen and righteous offspring of Abraham. The latter group also includes all those who embrace the Abrahamic faith. This development takes place in both texts before the expressed hope of a new world. There is an example of spatial dualism in 1 En. 9:1–11.⁹⁸ In that passage, the news about the rebellion of the watchers and the results of their deeds on earth have reached "the sanctuary of heaven"⁹⁹ via perishing humans who cry out for vengeance (8:4; 9:2–3, 10).¹⁰⁰ As Daniel

Empire, 320 n. 25).

97. It is "weeks without number forever" (91:17), or as Stuckenbruck says, "an new age that will persist and be without change" (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007], 152).

98. 1 En. 9:1–11 belongs to the longer narrative in chapters 6–11 about the watcher Shemihazar. 1 En. 6–11 is, therefore, commonly regarded as a composite text, although as a unit it is based upon Gen 6:1–14 and 1 En. 12–16 builds on it (Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96/2 (1977): 195–233; Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 383–405; Carol A. Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 313–316; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 123–128; Devorah Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* 53/2 (2002): 225–237). However, there are what VanderKam describes as "notable differences" between the biblical and apocalyptic presentation (VanderKam, *Enoch*, 37).

99. See also Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 157–158 and Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 129. "The sanctuary of heaven" or "sanctuary in heaven" refers to the heavenly temple.

100. See also 1 En. 7:6; 22:6–7, 12. The theme of cries or prayers to heaven and God is also found in 1 En. 47:1–2; 90:7–11; 83:8; 84:5; 89:15–16, 57, 69; 97:3, 5; 99:3, 16; 104:3. Enoch's prayer in 1 En. 84 in particular parallels the archangels' prayer in 1 En. 9 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 206; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 360–362).

C. Olson points out, this cry implies two types of people in 1 En. 8–9; those who accept what the watchers offer (8:1–2) and those who are oppressed and killed for not accepting the forbidden knowledge.¹⁰¹ The cry catches the attention of the four archangels,¹⁰² who guard the earth on behalf of God, and they decide to approach the Most High to intercede for them using the case of the martyrs (9:2–3). God’s response to the appeal (v. 11) results in a mission for the archangels to instruct Noah, imprison the watchers for the final judgement, destroy the giants (their sons), restore the earth, and allow all the righteous to escape the judgement (10:1–11:2). Devorah Dimant describes 1 En. 9:1–11 as “a sizable non-biblical expansion,”¹⁰³ and it is certainly true that the differences between the apocalypse and Isa 65–66 are wide. However, the intercession for the faithful in Isa 65:8 and the intercession for the human race in 1 En. 9:1–11 demonstrate that the two texts are not totally disconnected. Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch share the following concepts:

1. *The cry of the righteous (1 En. 8:4):* Isa 66:2, 5 also implies a cry or a groan from devout people because of the deeds of the rebellious against them. This cry of the faithful has presumably reached heaven in Isa 65:8 similar to the way it reaches the archangels in 1 En. 9:1.
2. *The intercession for the righteous (1 En. 9:1–11):* In Isa 65:8, the voice appealing for the faithful in the presence of God also functions as an intermediate who intercedes for the faithful so that they will not be destroyed along with the rebellious.
3. *The vindication of the righteous (1 En. 9:2, 10):* Vengeance is also a theme in Isa 65–66, and the faithful are promised vindication from the throne of God. The recompense in Isa 65:9–10, 13–16 is preceded by the intercession in v. 8 and supplemented by the vindication in 66:2.
4. *The value of the righteous (1 En. 9:10):* The righteous are dead in 1 En. 9:1–11 when their cry reaches heaven, but their value is high. The value of the righteous is also high in Isa 65:8, when the voice appeals to God: “do not destroy it, for there is blessing in it.”

1 En. 9:11 suggests that God knows about the evil taking place on earth and permits it.¹⁰⁴ As Miryam T. Brand says, it is a “paradox” and “a keen problem for both

101. Daniel C. Olson, *1 Enoch, ECB* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 910.

102. I only refer to them as the four archangels, or simply archangels, as the Aramaic fragments, the Gr. version, and the Ethiopic version show different constellations of the four (Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 129; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 202; Brand, “1 Enoch,” 1371). They are also presented as intercessors (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 208–210).

103. Dimant, “1 Enoch 6–11,” 232–233. Rather: “The addition embodies a number of conceptions typical of late and post-biblical thinking.” However, see Job 5:1; 33:23 and Zech 1:12 (Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 70).

104. The Gr. version reads, καὶ ἐᾶς αὐτούς (“and you permit them”), which makes it more expli-

the angelic speakers of the narrative and the Second Temple audience."¹⁰⁵ Nickelsburg, too, perceives that "the cry of beleaguered humanity is also assumed into the present situation."¹⁰⁶ This paradox, that God knows but does nothing or is absent, is also a problem for some of the post-exilic audience in Jerusalem. Isa 65–66 is an answer, among other things, to the question in 64:11, "After all this [the Babylonian desolation and destruction because of the people's sin] will you restrain yourself, YHWH, will you be silent and afflict us so terribly" (cf. 63:15). Although Isa 65:8 can imply some understanding of the distress in 64:7–11, the description of God's call in 65:1–2, 12, 24 and 66:4 also explains that he is far from being indifferent, particularly when it comes to the righteous. That God takes the situation seriously is also the point of what follows on earth in 1 En. 10:1–11:2, after the intercession of the four archangels. The reason why God chooses to wait before acting or commissioning, however, remains unanswered in both texts. Lastly, the ontological dualism in Isa 65:8–16 has already been touched upon above in connection with *Dualism in Isa 65–66*, and becomes more obvious as we read on in the Isaianic text. I shall, therefore, reflect on that aspect of dualism later in this work.

The second theme in Isa 65:8–16 is *Salvation and Judgement (vv. 8–12)*,¹⁰⁷ which is initiated by a metaphor about a cluster of grapes (v. 8). The point with the image is that salvation for a new life exists for a faithful remnant. The text also reveals that this remnant is an elect ("the chosen ones") and heir of the land and Zion. They will have access to the presence of God because of their loyalty to the covenant (vv. 9–10). In contrast, the rebellious will be empty-handed and rewarded with punishment to death because of their idolatry (vv. 11–12). Isa 65:8 individualises salvation and judgement, a development in post-exilic prophecy which has left its mark in the apocalyptic literature even when it comes to the resurrection of the dead – although the latter must still be regarded as yet another shift in the development of Jewish eschatology.¹⁰⁸ When it comes to Isa 65–66, however, the language is not simply metaphorical or merely about the restoration of the land but is also about the restoration of individual relationships with God in a new epoch (see 65:24; 66:14c–d). The salvation in Isa 65–66 is not other-worldly as in the *ApocW* (1 En. 91:15–17; see also 104:2), but is undoubtedly worldly as in *BWatch* (1

cit than the Eth version, which translates "and what concerns each of them." According to Knibb, the latter could very well be a misreading of the Gr. version, which is also Nickelsburg's view (Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 86–87; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 205). Cf. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 132, who suggest that "an original may have read [...] 'and thou has left them by themselves' i.e. 'let them alone'."

105. Brand, "1 Enoch," 1371.

106. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 205–206.

107. See p. 95.

108. Finitisis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 33–35.

En. 25:2–6). Thus, in Isa 65–66, there is a hope of a restoration of life for individually chosen individuals in the present challenging situation.

The implied reference to Abraham in Isa 65:8 is the basis for the promises of curses and blessing in vv. 13–16,¹⁰⁹ a theme it has in common with the *ApocW*. In 1 En. 93:5, the third week in the *ApocW*, Abraham is chosen for a significant role – the election of his true righteous offspring. Abraham is “the plant of righteous judgement” and his offspring is “the plant of righteousness.” In the important seventh week (vv. 9–11), God will restore through the latter his righteousness among the human race which was lost at the end of week one with the ascent of Enoch.¹¹⁰ This “plant of righteousness” will be a redeemed chosen group within Israel who will continue as “witnesses of righteousness” (v. 10). Abraham is implicitly referred to a number of times in Isa 65–66 in relation to the future salvation and restoration of the faithful.¹¹¹ Moreover, “offspring” occurs three times in Isa 65–66, directly or implicitly in connection with the Abrahamic tradition (65:9a, 23c; 66:22c). Because the literal meaning of “offspring” (זרע) is “seed,” it brings to mind the figure of a plant whose root in the Abrahamic covenant is the prerequisite for the salvation of a people. The many implied references to Abraham in Isa 65–66 give the Abrahamic tradition and its covenant a similar role as in *ApocW*.¹¹² It offers and sustains hope of righteousness for a remnant despite a wicked world. Above that, Abraham’s offspring Jacob and by extension Judah are explicitly referred to in 65:9, which brings to mind the significant ideological role Jacob has in the *AnApoc*.¹¹³

The third theme in Isa 65:8–16 is *Destinies* (vv. 13–16),¹¹⁴ which consist of curses and blessings that are presented in rapid alternation. Verses 13–14 are direct statements about the consequences of the rebellious’ wickedness in contrast to descriptions of the future condition of life for the faithful. This distinction between des-

109. The role of the patriarch Abraham in the formation and use of Jewish religious text in the Persian and Hellenistic period has been a subject of recent research. See e.g. Pernille Carstens and Niels Peter Lemche, eds., *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham*, PHSC 13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, August, 2011), and Jacques van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8*, JSJSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

110. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 444.

111. In addition to Isa 65:8–10, for allusion and implied references to Abraham in Isa 65–66 see also e.g. 9.3.1 *All Nations* (vv. 18–20), p. 278; 9.3.3 *A Sign with Survivors* (v. 19), p. 285; 9.3.4 *Your Brothers* (v. 20), p. 288; and 9.5.2 *Lasting Existence* (v. 22), p. 296. Those discussions also gather many of the allusions to Abraham in Isa 65–66. See also 7.3 *Zion as a Mother* (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b), p. 207 and 8.3.1 *His Servants* (v. 14c), p. 245. For the theme of blessing in Isa 65, see 4.5.2 *Blessings* (vv. 15–16), p. 110 and 5.7.5 *Blessing* (v. 23), p. 145.

112. See also 7.5 *Isaiah 66:7–14b and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 234.

113. See Daniel C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch: “All nations shall be blessed,”* SVTP 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 31–55. Olson argues that the white bull of 1 En. 90:37–38 is the true Jacob/patriarch of the “true Israel.”

114. See p. 107.

tinies goes back to the epithets in v. 9c, that the saved elect (v. 8) are “My chosen” and “my servants,” while the rebellious are treated as enemies cursed to death (see also 66:14d). Verses 15–16 are an expansion on what is stated and described in vv. 13–14, but with an emphasis on the blessings. One of things highlighted in the reading of vv. 13–14 is that the antitheses in those verses brings to mind an eschatological banquet which the rebellious will be excluded from. In 1 Enoch’s *Book of Parables*, 60:24a might refer to such a banquet¹¹⁵ and in 62:14 there is a messianic banquet preceded by judgement with a sword (see Isa 65:12a–b). As in Isa 65–66, the wicked and the righteous will be differentiated through judgement by sword, which is also the case in *ApocW*. In the eighth week, the destiny of the wicked is execution by a sword (91:12; cf. 90:34), while at the end of the seventh week the righteous¹¹⁶ “will be chosen [...] from the everlasting plant of righteousness” (v. 10a–b). Thus, the salvation of the chosen (Aram. בַּחִיר) will come when the divine initiative with Abraham (v. 5) results in a new community within Israel after the apostasy (v. 9).¹¹⁷ In Isa 65, the “chosen” (Heb. בַּחִיר) is also an epithet of the faithful, used three times, and in v. 9c is closely associated with the patriarch tradition.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, according to the *ApocW*, to be of “the chosen root” (93:8b) is not a guarantee against punishment or of salvation.¹¹⁹ This is also the view in Isa 65–66, but as in the apocalypse those who are elected within Israel during a crisis¹²⁰ are confirmed as true plants/servants in a new community before God. In short, Isa 65–66 and the present seventh week in *ApocW* are not parallel in time, but with its concept of the chosen and how it also includes all the people on earth after the judgement of the wicked, the former has clearly inspired the latter.

At first glance, unlike historical apocalypses in 1 Enoch, Isa 65–66 seems only to deal with the present contra the future. 1 Enoch reviews history up to the present in tension with the future, a review which also has explanatory functions. Nevertheless, three things should be noted regarding Isa 65–66:

1. The stark ethical or moral language in the Isaianic text clearly sets the contemporary time against the vision of the future in a dualistic manner.

115. See also 4 Ezra 6:49–52 and 2 Bar 29:4; cf. Isa 11:6–9; 43:18–20; 65:25 (Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 239–240, 241, cf. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 230–231).

116. 1 En. 93:9–93:11, the post-exilic period.

117. In v. 10, the author says, “the chosen (בַּחִיר) will be chosen (בַּחִיר), [...] from the everlasting plant (נֶצְחָה) of righteousness” (see parallel in v. 5). See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 448; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 122.

118. See Isa 65:9, 15, 22.

119. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 118, 124.

120. The chosen group within Israel in TI is also similar to how the historical background of Daniel is described. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, HTS 56, Expanded ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2006), 33–34.

2. The contemporary in the Isaianic text is complemented with references to the past in God's call (65:12, 12b; 66:4), and implicit references/allusions to the creation in Genesis, the promises in the Abrahamic tradition, and the degrading of the Davidic tradition.
3. All these allusions and implicit references in the Isaianic text are the basis for the resistance in the present against those who are regarded as enemies, and the reason for the hope of a new age with a reversed situation compared to the current one.

Thus, references to the past are not absent in Isa 65–66 and together with the present it contrasts with and explains an imminent transformed future. Furthermore, as in 1 Enoch, dualism in Isa 65–66 is used for the purpose of actively resisting the hegemony of empire, by exposing what is false and visualising a different reality, one which rejects the current one with its claims and power.¹²¹ The dualism in 1 Enoch is by no means a copy of the dualism in Isa 65–66, but a major common denominator is the desire to point to an alternative reality that will replace the old one by exposing its wickedness and destiny.

121. Cf. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 31–37, 44–45.

Chapter 5: Isaiah 65:17–25

The third unit in Isa 65–66 is a continuation from vv. 8–16 about destinies, but focus on the eschatological new age and the faithful. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, six main themes visualise a transformed cosmos for the presence of God with a New Jerusalem for her people. The analysis of these themes and their sub-themes are summarised at the end and compared with reflections on how this new age is revealed in 1 Enoch.

5.1 Text and Translation

<p>כִּי־הֵנִי בּוֹרֵא שָׁמַיִם חֲדָשִׁים וָאָרֶץ חֲדָשָׁה וְלֹא תִזְכְּרֶנָּה הָרְאשׁוֹנוֹת וְלֹא תֵעָלֶינָה עַל־לֵב: כִּי־אִם־שִׂישׁוּ וְגִילּוּ עַד־יְעַד אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי בּוֹרֵא כִּי הֵנִי בּוֹרֵא אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם גִּילָה וְעֵמָּה מְשׁוֹשׁ: וְגִלַּתִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם וְשִׂשְׁתִּי בְעַמִּי וְלֹא־יִשְׁמַע בָּהּ עוֹד קוֹל בְּכִי וְקוֹל זַעֲקָה: לֹא־יִהְיֶה מִשֶׁם עוֹד עוֹל יָמִים וְזֶקֶן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמְלֵא אֶת־יָמָיו כִּי הֵנָּעַר בֶּן־מֵאָה שָׁנָה יָמוֹת וְהַחֹטֵא בֶן־מֵאָה שָׁנָה יִקְלָל: וּבְנֵי בָתַיִם וַיִּשְׁבוּ וְנִשְׁעוּ כְרַמִּים וְאָכְלוּ פְרִים: לֹא יִבְנוּ וְאֲחֵר יֵשֵׁב לֹא יִשְׁעוּ וְאֲחֵר יֵאָכֵל כִּי־כִימֵי הָעֵץ יָמֵי עַמִּי וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם יִבְלוּ בַחִירֵי: לֹא יִיגְעוּ לָרֵיק וְלֹא יִלְדוּ לְבַהֲלָהּ כִּי זֶרַע בְּרוּכֵי יְהוָה הֵמָּה וּצְאֲצָאֵיהֶם אִתָּם: וְהָיָה טָרֵם יִקְרָאוּ וְאֲנִי אֶעֱנֶה עוֹד הֵם מְדַבְּרִים וְאֲנִי אֲשִׁמְעַ: זֶבֶד וְטֹלָה יִרְעוּ כְּאַחַד וְאֲרִיָּה כְּבֹקֵר יֵאָכֵל־תַּבָּן וְנָחֵשׁ עֹפֵר לֶחֶמוֹ לֹא־יִרְעוּ וְלֹא־יִשְׁחִיתוּ בְּכָל־הָר קִדְשֵׁי אֱמֶר יְהוָה:</p>	<p>17a For here am I, about to create^a new heavens and a new earth,^b and the former things will not be remembered, c they will not even come to mind. 18a Rather, be glad and rejoice forever in what I am creating. c For here am I, about to create Jerusalem for rejoicing and her people^c for gladness. 19a I will rejoice in Jerusalem and be glad in my people. c And there will no longer be heard in her the sound of weeping or the cry of distress. 20a No longer from there will there be^d an infant who lives a few days,^e c or an old man who does not fill his days; for whoever will die at a hundred is a youth, e and whoever does not reach a hundred will be cursed.^f 21a They will build houses and live [in them]; b they will plant vineyards and eat their fruit. 22a They will not build and another will live [in them], they will not plant and another will eat; c for like the days of the tree,^g so will be the days of my people, and my chosen will use up^h the work of their hands. 23a They will not labour in vain or bear children for disaster;ⁱ c For they are an offspring blessed by YHWH, and their descendants with them. 24a And it shall be: before they call, I will answer; b while they are still speaking, I will hear. 25a The wolf and the lamb will feed as one, and the lion will eat straw like the ox, c and the serpent: dust is his food. They will not do evil or harm e on my entire holy mountain, says YHWH.^j</p>
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a. The Hebrew בּוֹרֵא (“about to create”) in vv. 17 and 18 is replaced or paraphrased in ℳ by Greek words that basically lead to the same results as in the ℳ. All of the other ancient witnesses support ℳ.

b. ℳ reads: ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, [...] (“For the heaven will be new and the earth new”). Blenkinsopp suggests that the Greek translation possibly reflects “a deliberate avoidance of the idea of a new creation.”¹

c. ℳ reads τὸν λαόν μου (“my people”), likely because of the context and v. 19, which refers to “my people.” ℳ ועמה (“her people”) is supported by 1QIsa^a and ℑ (cf. ℒ). As observed in text critical note f above in connection with 65:7a (p. 65), the shifting of person in the Prophets is not uncommon. The sudden change of person from “her people” to “my people” in vv. 18d–19b may be a deliberate rhetorical choice, as is also the case in v. 15. In the case of ועמה in v. 18d, it is a question of varying the language.

d. The ℳ מִשָּׁם (“from there”) has created different suggestions on how v. 20a should be rendered, which become obvious in commentaries and translations. 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b and ℑ support ℳ; ℳ (ἐκεῖ) and ℒ (*ibi*) reads “there.” I translate מִשָּׁם as “from there,” with reference to the New Jerusalem in vv. 18–19.

e. Literally “infant of days” (עוֹלַם יָמִים). The simple plural “days” should be understood here as “few days.”²

f. Verse 20d–e has caused problems for translators, because 1. How vv. 20d, 20e, and 19c–d are parallels; 2. How the *qal* participle הַחֹשֵׁשׁ (“who miss” or “who sins”) should be understood in ℳ and whether יִקְלַל should be emended or not (see *BHS*); 3. How to add extra words in order to make sense of the lines in a translation. The varying renderings of the line in commentaries and translations are witness to the complexity of the lines. No emendation is necessary (see Blenkinsopp), and the choice of translation of the lines are close to e.g. Childs, Blenkinsopp and Goldingay.³

g. 1QIsa^a reads “a tree” (עֵץ), while ℳ and 1QIsa^b says “the tree” (הָעֵץ). Both ℳ (τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς) and ℑ (אֵילֵן הַיָּיִם) have “the tree of life,” which probably is a gloss on “the tree.”⁴ However, because “tree” is definite in ℳ and ℳ, and the context describes a paradise-like world, the gloss as an interpretation of the Hebrew text in Isa 65:22 is not farfetched. I therefore choose to translate it: “for like the days of the tree” (כִּי־כִיְמֵי הָעֵץ).

h. The ℳ piel יִבְלוּ means “wear out by use” or “use to the full,”⁵ and is supported by 1QIsa^a. The positive connotation, however, is not fully recognised by ℳ (παλαιώσουσιν), as observed by Goldingay.⁶ Paul argues that the Hebrew originally read יִאֲכָלוּ (“they shall eat”) with the meaning “enjoy” (as in ℳ, יִשְׂמְחוּ) and Koole understands בִּלְהָ as “fully enjoy.”⁷ The point in v. 22d is that they will live long enough “to use up” or “wear out” the fruits of their labour (cf. v. 22c).⁸

i. ℳ reads οὐδὲ τεκνοποιήσουσιν εἰς κατάραν (“[...] nor will they bear children to be cursed, [...]). The preposition and noun εἰς κατάραν may reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from ℳ. Instead of ℳ

1. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 284.

2. Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §139h.

3. Childs, *Isaiah*, 528; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 283–284; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 429–430.

4. See also Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 653.

5. BDB, s.v. “בָּלָה”.

6. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 430.

7. Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 605; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 460–461. See *HALOT*, s.v. “בִּלְהָ”, for alternative emending see also *DCH* 2, s.v. “בִּלְהָ”.

8. See also Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 653 n. 72; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 430.

לְבַהֲלָהּ Hebrew retroversion can be לְאֵלֶּהָ or לְקַלְלָהּ (“for a curse,” see Isa 65:20).⁹ However, מ is supported by 1QIsa^a and somewhat by B, and S reads לְמוֹתָא (“for death”). Because of this variation among the ancient text witnesses, and the support from 1QIsa^a, מ is preferable even if לְבַהֲלָהּ (“for disaster”) in the context may refer to “curse” and “death.”

j. Many commentators perceive v. 25 as a later addition,¹⁰ inspired by Isa 11:6–9, since קרא (“call”) and ענה (“answer”) in vv. 1, 12 and 24 structure Isa 65 and v. 25 follows suddenly after v. 24. However, v. 25 can still be syntactically connected to v. 24¹¹ and fits the contrasting context of Isa 65.¹² Verse 25 is also the final verse of Isa 65 in both 1QIsa^a and G, and therefore the verse is treated as an integral part of vv. 17–24 in the commentary.

5.2 Structural Issues (vv. 17–25)

The unit in question begins with כִּי־הֲנִי (“For here am I”),¹³ a marker which introduces a text that extends to the end of Isa 65 (v. 25). God’s voice responds to the rebellious in 65:1c with the bitter words, “here I am, here I am” (הֲנִי הֲנִי), // to a nation that did not call on my name” (אֵלֶי־גוֹי לֹא־קָרָא בְשִׁמִּי). Now, הֲנִי is repeated, with double impact, in v. 17a and 18c (כִּי־הֲנִי), as another response to the rebellious. This time, however, it is not used neither as a reminder nor as an expression of disappointment; it is about a vision that wants to give hope of a transformed creation and a New Jerusalem, in contrast to the present defiled one in 65:1–7. Isa 65:17–25 is also an expansion of the eschatological destinies in vv. 13–16. As a marker, כִּי־הֲנִי reemphasizes the presence of YHWH, to the sorrow of the rebellious and the delight of the faithful. After 65:25, הֲנִי is used once more in 66:12b, extending the promise of peace to a future Zion and her people. Using the phrase כִּי־הֲנִי, after 65:18, the author begins to describe the faithful in the third person plural in an extended passage – they are by themselves without the rebellious. However, e.g. Sweeney does not regard כִּי־הֲנִי in v. 17a as a marker for a new main unit in Isa 65, but suggests instead that the second principle component of 65:8–25 begins with לְכֵן (“Therefore”) in v. 13. Such a division would indicate that the practical consequences of vv. 8–12 follow from v. 13.¹⁴ Of course, לְכֵן must have something to do with the structure of the text, but for the contrast and message to the rebellious, כִּי־הֲנִי is a more important indication of what the author is pursuing. Also, interpreting כִּי־הֲנִי in 65:17a and its parallel in v. 18c, combined with

9. Tov and Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text*, Isa 65:23.

10. E.g. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 410.

11. Willem A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIIB*, POT (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1989), 91.

12. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 148–149.

13. The translation of the marker כִּי־הֲנִי is based upon the translation of 65:1c, “I said, ‘here I am, here I am,’ [...]” (אֲמַרְתִּי הֲנִי הֲנִי), and Isa 6:8, “Here am I. Send me!” (הֲנִי שְׁלַחֵנִי). See also Goldingay’s translation of כִּי־הֲנִי (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 429). The word הֲנִי is repeated again in 66:12b and translated “Here am I” for the same reason as in 65:17a and v. 18c – as a reemphasis of 65:1c.

14. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 460–461, 463.

65:1c and 66:12b as responses and not merely as interjections, highlights the theme of the presence of God in Isa 65–66.

For the sake of structure, therefore, it is thus vital to understand 65:17–25 together with 65:1–7. Sweeney’s insights are helpful here. He understands the third person plural forms in 65:1–7 as all-inclusive;¹⁵ everyone will be judged. He also argues that this all-inclusive message changes with 65:8, when God explains that he will save a group which he calls עַבְדֵי י (‘‘My servants’’). From that point on in the vision-speech, God is clearly describing two groups of people, the faithful and the rebellious, in an alternating way. Sweeney gets the impression from this that ‘‘the righteous are described to the wicked who are directly addressed.’’¹⁶ Where I depart from Sweeney, as shown above, however, is that he does not use כִּי־הֲנִי in v. 17a as a unit divider, and thus, does not consider the temporal dualism between vv. 1–7 and 17–25 as parameters for structuring the chapter. Furthermore, in the former passage the rebellious people are addressed in the third person plural and in the latter the faithful are addressed in the same way. Additionally, vv. 1–7 does not have to be all-inclusive, as explained in connection with 3.3.1 *Graciousness* (vv. 1–2),¹⁷ moreover, neither should vv. 17–25 be understood in that way.

In short, Isa 65 begins with a message of judgement, ends with a transformation, and in the centre of this development we find a New Jerusalem on earth. In the light of the themes so far discussed, the implied intent of Isa 65–66 suggests that vv. 17–25 reveals the expected outcome of God’s actions against an evil world. The main theme in this unit, visualising the cosmic transformation and a new epoch, form the background to the other themes in the unit: the creation of new heavens and a new earth (v. 17), the creation of a New Jerusalem and her people (v. 18), the rejoicing in the new creation (vv. 18–19b), the restored paradisiac life, (vv. 19c–23) and the restored paradisiac relationships (vv. 24–25).

5.3 The Cosmic Transformation and a New Epoch (vv. 17–25)¹⁸

Isa 65:17 introduces a vision of a transformed cosmos, a world imagined as totally different from the current one in vv. 1–7. Isa 65:17–25 also continues to explain the destiny of the faithful, first presented in vv. 8–10 and then in 13–16. As a theme, it begins with the words ‘‘For here am I, about to create new heavens and a new earth, [...]’’ (v. 17a), and it is closely associated with v. 16e–f which reads: ‘‘For the former troubles are forgotten, and truly hidden from my sight.’’ The point in this latter verse is reiterated in v. 17b–c: ‘‘[...], and the former things will not be re-

15. Sweeney, ‘‘Prophetic Exegesis,’’ 459.

16. Sweeney, ‘‘Prophetic Exegesis,’’ 460.

17. See p. 67.

18. See footnote 35 in connection with 5.5 *The Creation of a New Jerusalem and Her People* (v. 18), p. 127.

membered, // they will not even come to mind.” Verse 18a–b continues: “Rather, be glad and rejoice forever // in what I am creating.” In this way v. 16e–f functions as a bridge to a vision of cosmic transformation and a new world epoch in vv. 17–18, where v. 17b–c continues to develop the statement in v. 16e–f from a macro perspective (the creation of “new heavens and a new earth”) and v. 18c has the same intention from a micro perspective (the creation of a new “Jerusalem”).¹⁹ It is the combination of the “new heavens and earth” and a New Jerusalem that will fulfill the promise of v. 16e–f. In that sense, Isa 65 continues its striking dualistic perspective on the world,²⁰ because an old world order (vv. 1–7) will be replaced and forgotten by a transformed and righteous one, and a New Jerusalem will be received as the centre for restored worship (v. 18).

Following the themes of judgement and salvation in vv. 1–16, the remainder of Isa 65 is about restoration by God. The restoration starts from Zion and will renew the whole of creation, but it excludes the rebellious people who are condemned earlier in the chapter for their idolatrous behaviour.²¹ The keywords that explain this transformation are ברא (“to create”) and הָרָשׁ (“new”) in 65:17 and 18. God is sovereignly “about to create (בורא) new (חדשים) heavens and a new (חדשה) earth, [...] about to create (בורא) Jerusalem [...].” By creatively transforming the present into something הָרָשׁ, it points to what is to become fresh or renewed.²² There is no sign of any destruction that precedes בורא in v. 17 and v. 18. Thus, even if the text promises that the transformation will be profound, it is not about recreating the

19. The transformation in v. 17–18 for the new epoch is both cosmic and local, where a New Jerusalem is a microcosmos of the new heavens and new earth (see discussion below regarding the themes 5.4 *Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth*, p. 125, and 5.5 *Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People*, p. 127). Westermann’s idea that v. 17a (“new heavens and a new earth”) is inconsistent with v. 18c (a new “Jerusalem”), and that v. 17a therefore has been added later together with v. 25 with the purpose of making the text apocalyptic (Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 408, 410), does away with the natural thematic relationship between v. 17 and v. 18 with its macro and micro perspective on God’s creative transformation (see Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 78–99). For similar critique of Westermann’s suggestion, see also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 285.

20. See Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 155.

21. See 65:20 and 25d–e, and the promises to the faithful in 65:8–15 support the idea of a world without evil.

22. The Hebrew word for “new” in connection with “heavens” and “earth” in Isa 65:17 is an adjective, which derive from the root word חרש. According to HALOT, s.v. “הָרָשׁ”, the meaning of the adjective is “new” or “fresh,” but as a verb it means “make anew, restore” (*piel*) and “renew oneself” (*hitpael*). See HALOT, s.v. “חרש”. The adjective must be translated “new,” but the verb from the same root indicates in what way the “heavens” and “earth” are new in v. 17 and 66:22. The functional meaning of the adjective in these two passages is, therefore, “renewed” or “transformed.” The term חרש can also be compared to the Akkadian *edēšu*, which is said of structures and cities “to restore temple/shrine/sanctuary” (ALCBH, s.v. “חרש”), the Hebrew noun חָרָשׁ, “new moon, month” (HALOT, s.v. “חָרָשׁ”), and the Ugaritic *hd̄t*, in phrases e.g. “renew the moon” (UT, s.v. “*hd̄t* 843.”).

heavens and the earth and Jerusalem, but rather a radical modification of all.²³ This eschatological perspective is similar to how the translator of \mathfrak{G} seems to understand v. 17, which reads: ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινή, [...] (“For the heaven will be new [renewed] and the earth new [renewed]”).²⁴ Because Jerusalem in v. 18c is parallel to v. 17a, this creative renewal involves Jerusalem, and not merely in a metaphorical sense of the word. The combination בּוֹרָא and חֲדָשׁ in vv. 17–18 describes an alternative cosmos, where, in contrast to the current one, the New Jerusalem is the centre of the earth. The question is, however, how בּוֹרָא and חֲדָשׁ in Isa 65:17–18 can be perceived as pre-apocalyptic when YHWH restores and renews the existing creation and Jerusalem, rather than creating them anew after the destruction of the world.²⁵

This idea in Isa 65–66 of a new reality in the form of a transformed epoch is dependent on DI. Of the 21 uses of the root בּוֹרָא (“to create”) in the book of Isaiah, sixteen of them occur in Isa 40–55, one in 4:5, and the remaining four in 57:19 and 65:17–18. Its participle form בּוֹרֵא (“create”) in 65:17a (x1) and v. 18 (x2), in connection with a New Jerusalem and her people, bears witness to this dependency on Isa 40–55 even more.²⁶ However, among the thirteen occurrences of בּוֹרֵא in the Hebrew Bible, and particularly when compared to DI, it is only in 65:17–18 that the term is used in a future sense.²⁷ Thus, even if Isa 65:17–18 is dependent on DI for its use of בּוֹרֵא,²⁸ the application of the term is unique in Isa 65. As such, this does two things in the text. First, בּוֹרֵא marks a progression from a “new exodus”

23. After an analysis of vocabulary and intertextual connections, Anne E. Gardner also concluded that “the new heavens and new earth would be modified versions of the old ones.” See Anne E. Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth in Isaiah 66:22,” *ABR* 50 (2002): 13.

24. The Greek adjective καινός can mean “renewing” of person(s) (BDAG, s.v. “καινός”), and people together with Jerusalem are the object of God’s transformation בּוֹרֵא in Isa 65:18.

25. Destruction of the current evil world is a theme in 1 Enoch, see 1:9; 10:9, 15–16; 45:6; 76:4; 80:8; 84:5; 89:60–63; 99:16.

26. Out of thirteen occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 40:28; 42:5; 43:1, 15; 45:7 (2x); 45:18; 57:19; 65:17, 18 (2x); Amos 4:13; Eccl 12:1), בּוֹרֵא is used seven times in DI and four times in TI, three of them alone in 65:17–18. Risto Nurmela, in his analysis of the term, concludes that בּוֹרֵא describes a sovereign divine activity and is “characteristic of Isa 40–55” (Risto Nurmela, *The Mouth of the Lord has Spoken: Inner Biblical Allusions in Second and Third Isaiah*, StJ [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006], 125).

27. A participle in Hebrew can refer both to the present and future; when the participle comes after a הִנֵּה, as in Isa 65:17, it is quite common to carry the meaning “I am going to [...],” which denotes certainty and immanency (futurum instans participle). The function of the word הִנֵּה at the beginning of v. 17a thus calls attention to a near future event (Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 37.6f; cf. Nurmela, *The Mouth of the Lord has Spoken*, 125).

28. Isa 65:17–18 alludes in particular to 42:5–9; 43:18–19 and 45:18. All three of these texts present God as creator, and in 42:9 and 43:19 of something “new” (חֲדָשׁ). See also Stuhlmüller for a good discussion of these references (Carroll Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah*, AnBib 43 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970], 67–70, 205–207, 152–157).

for Israel in DI to a final cosmic-creative redemption.²⁹ In this new setting, the New Jerusalem becomes the centre of the earth for universal salvation as, according to 66:18–24, it will also include the Gentiles. Second, בִּרְאָה signals that God will create a new world of order and security, in short, new conditions for habitation (65:19–25). Thus, the author of Isa 65–66 has transferred the idea of creative redemption in DI to his vision of a new epoch. Moreover, Jerusalem will play a central role in this future eschatological transformation of cosmic proportions. Therefore, Hanson is correct when he states that Isa 65:17–25 “represents a very significant development beyond DI.”³⁰ However, even if this development is a movement towards the apocalyptic genre, Isa 65–66 is still, nonetheless, a prophetic speech dependent on DI.

In sum, it is promised in Isa 65:17–18 that YHWH will implement a creative renewal of the whole cosmos, which includes “new heavens and a new earth” in v. 17, and in conjunction with that a new “Jerusalem” and “her people” in v. 18. Everything is presented as part of a single divine act of transformation by God alone – to redeem the cosmos and introduce a new world epoch. This “creative redemption” alludes to texts in DI, but also finds inspiration in Gen 1, which is a way of saying that God will triumph over chaotic and rebellious forces and establish a safe and ordered world for habitation. The creative-redemptive act in vv. 17–18 is also the eschatological outcome of the judgement-salvation oracles in Isa 65:1–16, and, as we will see in the next chapter of this work, a forecast of what later became the apocalyptic world view. Thus, God’s renewal in vv. 17–18 marks a break in Isa 65 between a present evil world and a new approaching redeemed world for Jerusalem and its faithful elect. This transformation and new epoch in vv. 17–18 conveys a view of God’s future reign from both a macro and micro perspective. I will next discuss as themes how its author imagines the fulfilment of this vision from two perspectives or levels in Isa 65:17–18.

5.4 The Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth (v. 17)

The first aspect of the redemptive transformation in vv. 17–18 is the creation of “new heavens and a new earth” in v. 17. One way to look at this particular theme is that the “new heavens and a new earth” refers to a new world – a promise of divine act of renewal, which points back to the first creation account in Genesis. The following verses, therefore, allude to an edenic paradise. Because the transforma-

29. See also Konrad Schmid, “New Creation Instead of New Exodus. The Innerbiblical Exegesis and Theological Transformations of Isaiah 65:17–25,” in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40–66*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer and Hans M. Barstad, FRLANT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 175–194.

30. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 157. Hanson includes v. 16e–f, but I differ from him here in how to divide Isa 65 into units.

tion in v. 17 is about redemption, however, it connotes more than renewal. Jon D. Levenson, in his book *Creation and Persistence of Evil*, emphasises that the general ancient Near Eastern mythos, the creation story in Genesis, and the tabernacle in Exodus depict the sanctuary as a world (ordered, supportive and obedient) and the world as sanctuary (a place for God's reign and holiness). Whether it is possible to regard the creation story as depicting an original temple or not,³¹ the priestly texts in Genesis did function as an inspiration for the holy sanctuary in Exodus, the latter conceived as a microcosm of a world macro-temple. It is the macro-temple idea that can be associated with the "new heavens and new earth" in v. 17 – an ideal world in which all obey God's commands.³² Also, in the same way as creation, exodus, and mountain are associated with God's victory, the "new heavens and a new earth" in Isa 65:17 is coupled with God's final cosmic victory over the present world. The author of Isa 65:17–25 actually envisions a new macro-temple, where a victorious God is fully present and all the people remaining after the judgement are faithful to his covenant.

The phrase a "new heavens and a new earth" in v. 17a is also parallel to the mention of a New Jerusalem and her people in v. 18c–d, and together they become synonymous for the presence and reign of God. The former is God's cosmic throne and sanctuary, or as it is phrased in Isa 66:1, "The heavens are my throne // and the earth is my footstool." Thus, the creation of "new heavens and a new earth" in Isa 65:17a is about how God will conquer, redeem and transform the whole cosmos into a new sanctuary, and the creation of Jerusalem in v. 18c is a micro perspective of this transformation and divine presence. Another function of the "new heavens and a new earth" is that an establishment of a renewed connection between the heavens and the earth is promised. It is like Jacob's dream about a temple-"stairway" (סלם) from "earth" (ארצה) to the "heavens" (השמימה) in Gen 28:12, and angels going up and down it.³³ When Jakob awoke he gave testimony of God's presence and acknowledged the place (מקום) as "the house of God" (בית אלהים) and "the gate of heavens" (וזה שער השמים) in v. 17. In Isa 66:1, בית and מקום are also associated with a place for holy meetings, which is the earth linked together with the heavens in Isa 65:17, like a gate of communication with the heavenly throne-sanctuary. In 66:20–22 "the new heavens and the new earth" is the premise for true worship of God. The paradise-like life in 65:17–25 is also meant to mediate examples of God's complete presence that comprises the whole cosmos.

31. See Daniel I. Block, "Eden: A Temple? A Reassessment of the Biblical Evidence," in *From Creation to New Creation: Biblical Theology and Exegesis*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner and Benjamin L. Gladd (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013), 3–29.

32. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 75–86. I am indebted to Levenson for the continuing use of the terms "microcosm" and "macro-temple" in this work.

33. A connection between Gen 28:12–17 and Isa 65:17 is also implied because of the description of Jacob's offspring and their future inheritance in Isa 65:9–10.

The “new heavens and a new earth” can also be understood in Isa 65–66 as a cosmic mountain, which further highlights 65:17 as a restored macro-sanctuary for God. The context brings this out: in Isa 65:9, “my mountain” is associated with a temple mount and the presence of God, and specifically to Zion or Jerusalem; in v. 25, God’s holy mountain is equated with the whole new creation; Isa 66:22 supplements 65:17a by declaring that “the new heavens and the new earth” is something that is standing (עמרים, cf Ps 30:8) before YHWH like a holy mountain, as an assurance that the offspring of the faithful and their names will endure (יעמד). That Isa 66:22 is about a macro-temple mount is obvious considering the parallel in v. 20, which says that the survivors from all nations, together with dispersed Jews, shall come “to my holy mountain Jerusalem” to worship YHWH.³⁴ In sum, 65:17–18 and 66:20–22 together describe God’s holy abode in terms of a mountain. It encompasses the whole world as a temple, but it also implies an *Axis Mundi* between the heavens and the earth, a central place for God’s presence on earth. This eschatological centre is also about to be created by God.

5.5 The Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People (v. 18)³⁵

One of the central ideas in the Book of Isaiah as a whole is Zion. Many scholars have observed this unifying theme within the book. Antti Laato, for example, discusses Isa 1 as an introduction not only to 2–39 but also “to the great expectations concerning the future of Zion presented in Isaiah 40–66.” Further, in his view, Isa 56–66 explains “why this marvellous time of salvation has not yet come to pass in Zion.” Thus, Laato concludes that Isa 65:16–25 “contains many allusions to the texts in Isaiah 1–55 where the glorious future of Zion is described” and that “Isaiah 66 emphasizes the whole aim of the Book of Isaiah [...] the new future of Zion [...]”³⁶ David M. Carr notes that the Book of Isaiah has “a significant focus on Zion, which is presented as God’s special city and the ultimate locus of redemption: [...]”³⁷ Barry G. Webb regards the transformation of Zion as the key to “the formal and the thematic structure of the book [of Isaiah] as a whole.” More

34. To this context can also be added the prophecy against the king of Tyre in Ezek 28, the vision of the temple in Ezek 40–48, and the description of the temple as a world in Ps 78:69 (see also Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 74, 87–88).

35. Some of the material in Green, “Jerusalem as the Centre of Blessing,” 41–70 is reused and lightly edited in 5.3 *The Cosmic Transformation and a New Epoch* (vv. 17–25), p. 122, but foremost in this section about the New Jerusalem (including parts of 5.7 *The Restored Paradisiac Life* [vv. 19c–23], p. 139, and 5.8 *The Restored Paradisiac Relationships* [vv. 24–25], p. 147).

36. Laato, “About Zion I will not be silent”, 171, 206. See also William J. Dumbrell, “The Purpose of the Book of Isaiah,” *TynBul* 36 (1985): 112–113, who presents a similar view on the importance of Zion for the Book of Isaiah.

37. Carr, “Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66),” 202.

specifically he states: “The key to the transformation of Zion is purifying judgment.” Webb also states, that at “the end of the book” there emerges “an eschatological royal community.”³⁸

In Isa 65–66, the New Jerusalem is the second aspect of the transformation in vv. 17–18, and it concerns two things: the creation of a New Jerusalem³⁹ and her people. The emphasis here is more on the former because it is, in a way, a new theme in the text. The latter theme, regarding the salvation of a special people, has already been developed by the author as a theme in Isa 65. I will, therefore, begin by discussing the creation of a New Jerusalem, and towards the end of this section relate the analysis to the people of Zion.

5.5.1 The Temple-City (v. 18c)

When the phrase *כי הנני בורא* (“For here am I, about to create”) introduces the vision of a New Jerusalem in v. 18c, it repeats the first words in v. 17a. This parallelism, and the transition in v. 18a–b which repeats *בורא*, demonstrate that the creation of “new heavens and a new earth” and the creation of a new “Jerusalem” are not only understood as imminent but that they are also functionally related to each other. The “new heavens and a new earth” in v. 17a is cosmic, a perspective Levenson calls a macro-temple, but this new creation also has a microcosm, which in v. 18c is a temple-city.⁴⁰ In that capacity, as a temple-city, the New Jerusalem is imagined as central to the “new heavens and a new earth.” Furthermore, as a unique location for God’s presence in a future world sanctuary,⁴¹ the New Jerusalem will reflect the whole and function as the *Axis Mundi* between the heavens

38. Barry G. Webb, “Zion in Transformation: A Literary Approach to Isaiah,” in *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, JSOTSup 87 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 67, 72, 83. See also Richard Schultz, “The King in the Book of Isaiah,” in *The Lord’s Anointed: Interpretation of Old Testament Messianic Texts*, ed. Philip E. Satterthwaite, Richard S. Hess, and Gordon J. Wenham (Carlisle: Paternoster, Baker Books, 1995), 161–162, who thinks that Webb et. al. have “demonstrated convincingly” that “The dominant theme of the book of Isaiah is not the Messiah but Zion’s present sinful state and future glorification, [...]”

39. The terms “Jerusalem” (65:18, 19; 66:10, 13, 20), “Zion” (66:8), “city” (66:6), and the closely connected terms “My mountain” (65:9), “My holy Mountain” (65:11, 25; 66:20), “house of the Lord” (66:1, 20), “temple” (66:6), demonstrate how significant this place is for the message of Isa 65–66, especially in the eschatological parts of the texts. Zion’s role in biblical theology has been much discussed. For Zion’s theological significance in the Book of Isaiah, see e.g. Webb, “Zion in Transformation,” 65–84 and Laato, “*About Zion I will not be silent*”; in the theology of the Hebrew Bible, see e.g. Leslie J. Hoppe, *The Holy City: Jerusalem in the Theology of the Old Testament* (Collegeville, USA: Liturgical Press, 2000); in the theology of the Bible, see e.g. Lois K. Fuller Dow, *Images of Zion: Biblical Antecedents for the New Jerusalem*, NTM (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2010).

40. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 86, 88–91, 99.

41. Even if John Goldingay tends to view Isa 65:17–18 as metaphorical, he is correct in saying that in those verses the prophet is referring “to a whole new world for this city” (John Goldingay, *The Theology of the Book of Isaiah* [Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2014], 116).

and the earth. The image of the city as a mount for God's enthronement in 65:25d-e and 66:20,⁴² to which people from all nations will pilgrimage (66:12b-c, 18-23), confirms the future Zion as the centre of the earth.

The idea of a New Jerusalem in Isa 65-66 adds to the stark contrasts between the current world and the new one. The references to idolatry in "gardens" in 65:3 and 66:17, and "mountains" and "hills" in 65:7 were sites of *במות* since pre-exilic times.⁴³ In contrast to these images stands the symbolic eschatological language about God's holy mountain in vv. 65:9, 11 and 25, which in 65:18 and 66:20 is the New Jerusalem. This contrast reinforces the impression that the new temple-city was not only a symbol of hope for a brighter future, but also an ideology of resistance against the current situation in Jerusalem under Persian hegemony, the cultic gardens, and the defiled second temple. It declared a situation juxtaposed to the current one. In the new world, Zion will be the centre of everything and the faithful remnant, those who stand behind Isa 65-66, will no longer experience sorrow. Hence, it seems natural to assume that people perceived the vision of a New Jerusalem in 65:18 as a restored Davidic and Solomonic Jerusalem. Isa 65-66, however, does not mention any temple building in connection with the new Zion.⁴⁴ This implies a Zion tradition which is not dependent on the Davidic covenant as expressed in 2 Sam 7:1-16 and 1 Chron 17:1-15.⁴⁵ This discontinuity suggests, in turn, that the Davidic tradition is not prominent in Isa 65-66.

Conversely, the creation of the New Jerusalem, as the centre of a world-sanctuary, is a manifestation of God's kingship.⁴⁶ The concept of God's holy mountain in Isa 65-66 is a kingdom, which in 65:25 has expanded and has become the source of order for the whole creation.⁴⁷ The New Jerusalem in v. 18 is this cosmic mountain from which God will reign in a "new heavens and a new earth" (cf. 66:1-2b,

42. See also 66:1-2b, 6. I agree with Levenson that the creative renewal of the temple-city must have been understood by contemporaries "as a reenthronement of YHWH after a long period in which his palace lay in ruins." Moreover, "The reconstruction of the temple-city was not only a recovery of national honour, but also a renewal of the cosmos, of which the Temple was a miniature" (Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 89-90).

43. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree*, 175.

44. Regarding the mention of the temple in Isa 66:20, the compound *כאשר* is used in that verse for comparison, not as temporal to indicate that something else occurred simultaneously (Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 104, §264). Therefore, I translate the closing clause in Isa 66:20 as follows: "[...], just as (*כאשר*) the children of Israel bring the offering in a clean vessel to the house of YHWH."

45. See Thomas Renz, "The Use of the Zion Tradition in the Book of Ezekiel," in *Zion, City of our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 84-86, who says: "[...] while the Davidic tradition seems to be dependent on the Zion tradition (cf. Ps 2:7; 1 Kings 11:32, 36), the Zion tradition can be imagined without the Davidic tradition." (p. 85).

46. Lawrence E. Stager points out that the Israelite kingship is closely linked to this political and cosmological symbolism, see e.g. Ps 2 (Lawrence E. Stager, "Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden," *ErIsr* 26 [1999]: 183-194, esp 183, 188, or Lawrence E. Stager, "Jerusalem as Eden," *BAR* 26/3 [2000]: 3).

47. See also the result of the coming kingdom of God in Dan 2.

6). The transformed Jerusalem is, therefore, not only the *Axis Mundi* but also the *Axis Gloria* in the new world-temple. God residing in the New Jerusalem as King, together with the people who have responded to the call, is another sign of a shift of ideology within the text. The emphasis is not on the Davidic tradition but rather on God as the only king and creator. Hence, the absence of a messiah in 65:17–18 tells us two things: First, the author points back to the creation stories in Gen 1–2 and God’s enthronement on the day of rest, which כָּרָא in vv. 17–18 strongly implies. Second, v. 23c–d (cf. vv. 8, 16b) alludes to God’s unconditional promises of blessing to Abraham (Gen 15:1–21; 17:1–8). In other words, Isa 65:17–25 imagines a restart of God’s *Heilsgeschichte*, which is promised to develop faster and to be more successful than what came before.

The Abrahamic covenant has had a significant influence on the form of the Davidic covenant.⁴⁸ One reason for the return to the promises of Abraham in the post-exilic time would be the disappearance of the Davidic dynasty, due to the Babylonian exile and the destruction of Jerusalem. The return of the Jews from the Babylonian exile is even a parallel to the patriarch coming to the promised land (cf. 41:8–9).⁴⁹ During the exile, the people grew conscious of returning to where Abraham came from, i.e. the land of the Chaldeans. When the time had come, they, like the patriarch, responded to the call to return to the land.⁵⁰ This remembrance of Abraham in early Judaism appears in Isa 63:16 and is detectable in Isa 65–66. After the “Abrahamic intercession” in 65:8, the voice of God explains in vv. 9–10 that the descendants of Jacob and Judah (the seed of Abraham, Isa 41:8) will

48. Clements, *Abraham and David*, 15–22, 47–78. Cf. Jerome F. D. Creach, “Like a Tree Planted by the Temple Stream: The Portrait of the Righteous in Psalm 1:3,” *CBQ* 61/1 (1999): 43–46. Clements shows that Gen 15:18c, 20–21 expands the Abrahamic covenant to include the extent of the Davidic empire, which disappeared with the Babylonian exile. So, at the time Gen 15 was edited, the redactors anchored the Davidic tradition in the Abrahamic tradition. Clements also points out the echo of Gen 12:3; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14 in Ps 72:17.

49. Abraham came from “Ur of the Chaldeans” (Gen 11:28, 31), and Gen 15:7 claims that God brought him out with his family from “Ur of the Chaldeans” to give him the land of Canaan. This tradition about Abraham’s original homeland and the wandering to the promised land was very strong in the early post-exilic period when the Jews returned from Babylon, the kingdom of Chaldean (Neh 9:7). In Gen 15:7 it had been decreed by God, in Ezra 1:1–4 it had been decreed by God’s agent Cyrus (cf. Isa 45:1–3, 13). Because of God’s righteousness (Neh 9:8), the returning people would appeal “to unfilled aspects of the original promise” to Abraham (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 313). Moreover, the name “Chaldeans” in Gen 11:28, 31 and 15:7 is anachronistic, likely from the post-exilic era when redactors edited the story of Abraham.

50. A movement away, at least temporarily, from the Davidic tradition, is also found in the Book of Ezekiel. Renz has shown in his discussion of “The Use of the Zion Tradition in the Book of Ezekiel” that the Zion tradition is not dependent on the Davidic tradition (Renz, “The Use of the Zion Tradition in the Book of Ezekiel,” 84–101). Cf. Ezek 8–11 with 43, see also Ezek 33:23–24. However, a glorious future of the Davidic dynasty is also foretold in Ezek 17:22–24, even if it is the only instance in Ezekiel where the Davidic line and Zion are brought together (Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 551).

inherit God's mountain and the land. Those verses reflect what Bernard Gosse describes as a transfer (v. 9) from David to Abraham and his descendants. In other words, the patriarch substitutes king David.⁵¹ That this transfer concerns the New Jerusalem becomes clear when God's mountain and the land in vv. 9–10 are the New Jerusalem and the paradisiac world in 65:17–25 (66:20). Moreover, the theme of blessing⁵² in 65:16 is a bridge to the unit (vv. 17–25) where the “former things” are forgotten when God creates new heavens and a new earth (vv. 17–18). Thus, the divine creation of the New Jerusalem and her people alludes to Gen 1–2. However, the context also points to the covenantal promises of blessing that God gave to Abraham on a mountain in the land of Moriah (Gen 22:15–18), among other places. That mountain had become identified with God's holy temple-mount in Jerusalem during the post-exilic time (2 Chron 3:1). In sum, one of the theological foundations for the hope of a New Jerusalem in Isa 65:18c–19b is the unconditional relationship between God and Abraham. The prospect in Isa 65:17–25 for the faithful ones is that their previous distress will be forgotten and there would be a restoration of life and relationships instead. The New Jerusalem is central to such redemption, and the promise of blessing through her is an essential part of that hope. The author brings up this notion again in 66:7–14b, when Zion is described as a fertile mother once more, and God's blessings of comfort will flow through her to her children as nourishment for a new life (v. 13c).

5.5.2 Priests and Ambassadors (v. 18d)

The creative renewal of Jerusalem as a temple-city in v. 18 also encloses “her people” (עַמָּהּ). The possessive suffix (ה-) gives this group collectively a new position and a special status. The status of an elect people of God, who faithfully keeps the covenant, is an important theme in Isa 65–66. In chapter 65 the phrase עַמִּי (“my people,” vv. 10, 19, 22) occurs regularly after v. 7 in contrast to גּוֹי (“nation,” v. 1) and just עַם (“people,” vv. 2, 3). We have also seen that vv. 1–7 implies this faithful remnant. However, in vv. 8–10 the message is explicitly about the sal-

51. Gosse, “Abraham and David,” 25–31. Gosse argues that Isa 65:9 conforms with the promise in Gen 15:4 (see יִרְשׁוּ and יִצְאָה, also יִרְשׁוּ and זֵרַע in v. 3, and זֵרַע in v. 5), but there are also thematic connections regarding the promise between Isa 65:9 and Ps 105:6, 42–43 (the exodus); 106:45 (the return from exile). As Gosse implies, the only covenant (בְּרִיתָהּ) mentioned in Ps 105–106 is the Abrahamic (105:8, 10 and 106:45), which signals a transfer to Abraham (cf. Ps 89:4, 39–40).

52. See my discussion in this work on the term בָּרַךְ (“to bless” or “blessing”), which is repeated as a theme in Isa 65:8, 16, 23, pointing to the promises of God. In Isa 65:8 the message changes from judgement to include salvation, but only for the faithful, as a result of what looks like an Abrahamic intercession (cf. Gen 18:22–33; Isa 1:9). From Isa 65:8, there are promises in Isa 65–66 related to blessings, but also to the land (65:10; 66:8), to the holy mountain (65:7, 9, 11, 25; 66:20), to God's servants (65:8, 9, 13–15; 66:14), and to a miraculous birth of a boy (66:7–8). All these themes are associated with the Abrahamic covenant.

vation and restoration of a faithful elect, and as a result this group is given the position “my servants” (עבדֵי) in v. 8d, an epithet which is repeated six more times in vv. 9–15, and once in 66:14c (“his servants”). Another position introduced for the faithful in Isa 65 is as heir to God’s mountain Zion in v. 9, and in vv. 8c, 16a–b and 23 they have the status of being blessed. So, when the phrase עַמָּה (“her people”) in 65:18d and עַמִּי (“my people”) in v. 19b associate the faithful elect with a new temple-city, there is also the appointment of a new position – to become a people of priests and ambassadors for a new epoch. This idea of the faithful becoming priests and ambassadors in the new temple-city is reiterated in Isa 66:18–24, and there it includes converted foreigners (see Isa 56:4–8).

The New Jerusalem and her people in v. 18 are created together “for rejoicing” and “for gladness.” This rejoicing in the new creation is discussed below as a theme. Here, it should be noted that joy characterises both Jerusalem as the temple-city in a new world-sanctuary and “her people” as an elect. It gives both a common function and purpose. Furthermore, the combination of the word בָּרָא (“create”) with עַם (“people”) is rather unique in the Hebrew Bible, even in the Book of Isaiah. The combination is found in Isa 42:5, in the first servant song of DI, but there it refers to the creation story in Genesis. Ps 102:19 throws some light on to Isa 65:18d, which reads: “and a people (יְעַם) to be created (נִבְרָא) will praise YHWH.” Thus, Isa 65:18, conceives a people that will be created for true worship before God in a New Jerusalem. In other words, Isa 65:18d promises those described as “my people” in Isa 65–66 a special position in a recreated world-sanctuary and in the presence of God. The position involves being universal priests and ambassadors of a new epoch. Starting from Jerusalem, the purpose is to offer true and joyful worship unto God.

The priestly creation story in Genesis 1 is eschatologised in Isa 65:17–18,⁵³ as a response to and a resistance against the spirit of the time in the current Jerusalem. As a consequence, after the creation of a new temple-city and a paradisiac world, the Second Temple and its priesthood is questioned in 66:1–6. Thus, the author’s vision of the New Jerusalem as a temple-city for a spiritually reborn people (see 66:7–9), one that will function as priests and ambassadors in a new epoch, places him in a position of disagreement with his contemporary antagonists. The idea that a reconstruction of an earlier human-made temple would be the way forward under the present situation is absurd in the eyes of the author, considering the widespread idolatry and syncretism in the community.⁵⁴ Instead he envisions a trans-

53. The בָּרָא of the new heavens and a new earth, with a New Jerusalem to rejoice over are equivalent to בָּרָא in Gen 1 and that God finds it “very good” (Gen 1:31). It is also the line of argument in Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 90. However, I presuppose that the original Gen 1 is an older text than Isa 65–66.

54. See Isa 66:3–4. Therefore, I am not in full agreement with scholars such as R. E. Clements, who argue that the idea of a heavenly Jerusalem developed because the rebuilding of the earthly one

formed cosmic context, with the New Jerusalem as its centre, all created by God for true worship. This means a new covenant⁵⁵ with a faithful people of universal priests that will serve only YHWH with gladness. The author's conviction is that if such a restoration becomes permanent and results in a better world that rightly honours God, a complete renewal of the cosmos and a restored Zion is necessary. Only YHWH in a sovereign divine act of creative redemption could do that.

5.6 The Rejoicing in the New Creation (vv. 18–19b)

When the cosmic transformation in vv. 17–18 is completed, it shall embody true rejoicing. According to the vision in the text, this is especially true about the New Jerusalem and her people in v. 18–19b.⁵⁶ The call in v. 18a to “be glad (שִׂשׂוֹן) and rejoice (גִּילוֹ) forever,” followed by “rejoicing” and “gladness” in v. 18c–d and the reassurance in v. 19a–b that “I [God] will rejoice in Jerusalem / / and be glad in my people,” indicate that “For here am I, about to create [...]” (כִּי־הֵנִי בּוֹרֵא) in vv. 17a and 18c, and “[...] in what I am creating” (אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי בּוֹרֵא) in v. 18b, are about redemption.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the explanations in v. 16e–f and again in v. 17b–c (“the former things will not be remembered / / they will not even come to mind”) after the transformation of the heavens and the earth, leads up to v. 18a and the contrast-marker “rather” (כִּי־אִם) is followed directly by the exhortation to “be glad and rejoice forever” in all this. As a theme, the rejoicing in the New Jerusalem, the centre of a new macro sanctuary and the focal point in the author's positive expectation of God's imminent redemptive intervention, stand in stark contrast to the disappointment, anger and judgement reflected in 65:1–7.

The rejoicing in what God is about to do is explained in vv. 18–19b with two words (שִׂשׂוֹן and גִּילוֹ) in three successive ways, and in each case the general expectations of God's redemptive creation are demonstrated:

1. It is an exhortation to those directly addressed in Isa 65 to be glad and rejoice (שִׂשׂוֹן and גִּילוֹ).
2. It is a cultic rejoicing and gladness (שִׂשׂוֹן and גִּילוֹ) caused by God.

after the exile became such a disappointment (Clements, *God and Temple*, 127). The basic reasons for questioning attitudes towards the temple in 66:1b–c is the defilement of the cult and resistance against king Darius' commission to build the temple. Under the surface of Isa 65–66 there is a resistance to an unholy alliance with the ruling Persian empire. See also my discussion on 6.3 *The Presence of God* (vv. 1–4, 6a–b), p. 161.

55. That the author of Isa 65 envisions a new covenant as an outcome of the cosmic transformation and the new epoch in vv. 17–18, is supported by the covenant terms I have pointed out in my discussion so far, which have progressively been part of the text up to vv. 17–18.

56. See Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 603–604.

57. See also 5.3 *The Cosmic Transformation and a New Epoch* (vv. 17–25), p. 122.

3. It is a response of God, because of a New Jerusalem and her people (ששתי and גלתי).

The exhortation (imperative), the cultic rejoicing (noun), and God's response to the New Jerusalem and her faithful people (perfect) are interwoven with the cosmic creative transformation in vv. 17–18. The “new heavens and a new earth,” the new “Jerusalem” and “her people” are presented as an organic whole expected to result in specific responses that embody true joy in a new epoch. The expected responses, represented by the three applications of the words for rejoicing in vv. 18–19b, are treated as separate themes below. Each of them contributes to the vision in Isa 65–66 of a new creation with a New Jerusalem.

5.6.1 Exhortation to Joyful Appreciation (v. 18a–b)

The Hebrew words שישו (“be glad”) and גילו (“rejoice”) in Isa 65:18a are exhortations with the purpose of encouraging joyful appreciation for what God, in his wisdom, is about to create (אשר אני בורא). While the author continues to describe the faithful in the third person, שישו and גילו are imperatives that address the rebellious. The rebellious are the only ones spoken directly to in vv. 7a, 8–16. Despite the imminent judgement that the author threatens them with, the exhortations in v. 18a reflect a hope that they will harken to the call and thus join the faithful in rejoicing “forever” (עדי-עד) in the new creation. In other words, שישו and גילו suddenly deviate from the constant language of condemnation towards the rebellious in Isa 65. The author makes it clear in vv. 1–16 that people who are idolatrous have no future in a new paradisiac world, as described in vv. 19–25. However, v. 18a reflects a hope that the rebellious will respond positively to what God is about to create and repent from their wicked ways. I argue for this view in the following way.

Instead of the above suggestion, could not the exhortation instead be directed to the new people of Jerusalem? Or it is, perhaps, a general exclamation because of the great things about to happen? There are two reasons why such readings of v. 18a–b are less likely:

1. Those who are promised to be part of the new people of Jerusalem are still referred to in the third person plural in v. 18d, which is typical for the whole of Isa 65. The change of address of the faithful to the second person plural does not take place until 66:5.
2. The second person plural form is never used in Isa 65–66 in a general way, but rather specifically addresses two groups of people in the current Jerusalem community in turn, in Isa 65 the rebellious and in Isa 66 the faithful.

The best reading of 65:18a–b, therefore, seems to be an exhortation directed towards the rebellious, with the sincere hope that as many as possible will repent and join the faithful “forever” in worshipful rejoicing in the New Jerusalem (see the second use of שׂושׁ and גִּיל). The question is why the author wants to exhort a group of people to be glad and rejoice, when they have up until now been condemned, even to death, for their stubbornness and their breaking of the covenant. The likely answer is that the exhortation in v. 18a is a call to those who might still rethink and repent when facing God’s imminent judgement.

In the Book of Isaiah, the imperative form of שׂושׁ in v. 18a is used only once more in 66:10, and elsewhere in the rest of the Hebrew Bible it is found only in Lam 4:21. The imperative of גִּיל is found a little more frequently in the Hebrew Bible,⁵⁸ and occurs three times in the Book of Isaiah, i.e. 49:13; 65:18 and 66:10. Within the Book of Isaiah, שִׂישׁ and גִּילוּ are only found in 65:18a implying an exhortation to repent. Outside Isaiah, in Ps 2:11, גִּילוּ is used with repentance in mind (see v. 10 and 12); and in Joel 2 the exhortation of YHWH to rejoice (גִּילִי) is directed to the land in v. 21 and to Zion in v. 23 (גִּילִי), both preceded by a strong exhortation to repent in vv. 12–17.⁵⁹ Thus, it is primarily גִּיל that is associated with repentance outside the Book of Isaiah, but this does show that, at least in Isa 65:18a, גִּילוּ can be an exhortation to repentance. The term שִׂישׁ as a parallel expression can, therefore, have the same function. Consequently in Isa 65:18a we have what must be regarded as a unique use of שִׂישׁ (“be glad”) and גִּילוּ (“rejoice”) in the Book of Isaiah, when the combination exhorts the rebellious to repent and be part of the new creation and the New Jerusalem.

Despite the accusation against the rebellious in Isa 65:1–2, the description of their provocative behaviour in vv. 3–5, the promise of judgement in vv. 6–7, the accusations and promised punishment in vv. 11–12 again, and their cursed destiny in vv. 13–16, the rebellious are nonetheless exhorted in v. 18a–b to rejoice and be part of something new and transformative. Furthermore, the author reaches out to the rebellious by giving them reason to repent – the realisation of a New Jerusalem (v. 18c). However, there are no further such exhortations to the rebellious in Isa 65–66. In Isa 66:10, the people are exhorted again to rejoice (שִׂישׁ and גִּילוּ), but the rebellious are not, the call there is only to those faithful who love and mourn over the current Jerusalem.⁶⁰

58. Isa 49:13; 65:18; 66:10; Joel 2:21; 2:23; Zech 9:9; Ps 2:11; 32:11.

59. For the full record, in the Hebrew Bible is the imperative of שׂושׁ/שִׂישׁ used in Isa 65:18; 66:10 and Lam 4:21; the imperative of גִּיל is used in Isa 49:13; 65:18; 66:10; Joel 2:21, 23; Zech 9:9; Ps 2:11; 32:11.

60. See also Isa 57:18; 61:2–3, the mourners of Zion will be comforted and rejoice again. Cf. Zech 9:9.

5.6.2 Cultic Rejoicing and Gladness (v. 18c–d)

The second application of *נִיל* and *שׂוֹשׁ* in v. 18 are the nouns *גִּילָה* (“rejoicing”) and *מְשׂוֹשׁ* (“gladness”) in the second line. It is a cultic rejoicing and gladness associated with the creation of a New Jerusalem and her people. The contextual support for this in Isa 65 is two-fold:

1. The “rejoicing” and “gladness,” together with the exhortations in v. 18a, can be regarded as expected responses to God’s redemptive creative act when he transforms the cosmos and Jerusalem, and thus introduce a new epoch.
2. In Isa 65–66 there are many cultic references (such as “gardens,” “holy mountain,” “house,” “temple,” “sacrifices,” “offering,” and “Zion”), and the renewal of Jerusalem and her people rejoicing and their gladness in the new cosmic sanctuary is another such reference.

We therefore have a context in Isa 65 which supports the implication that God will create Jerusalem and her people anew for joyful and happy worship. These two nouns (*גִּילָה* and *מְשׂוֹשׁ*) in v. 18c–d need to be analysed separately, however, to determine further support for my reading, and I begin with *גִּילָה*.

The idea that rejoicing is a proper response to the redemption of God comes from texts such as Isa 49:13 in DI, where the imperative *רְנוּ* (“sing for joy”) and the noun *רְנָה* (“a [singing] shout of joy”) are used together with the imperative *וְגִילִי*, the root meaning of which can mean to “shout in exultation.”⁶¹ This combination of terms in 49:13 (cf 35:2) makes *רְנוּ* and *גִּיל* virtually synonymous, as together they point to what is a proper response to God’s redemption – to rejoice in such a way that can be described as worship.⁶² As a noun, *גִּיל* is used eleven times in the Hebrew Bible, not counting proper names, including 65:18c.⁶³ Even if not all of these references can be associated with worship, there are definitive cultic connotations in Hos 9:1; Joel 1:16 and Ps 43:4. The verb form has partially been discussed above, but of the 45 times that *גִּיל* is used as a verb in the Hebrew Bible it often occurs as a response to an act of God, and in a few cases the subject is a worshipper.⁶⁴

61. HALOT, s.v. “גִּיל”; DCH 2, s.v. “גִּיל”

62. Ch. Barth calls in question that the expression *גִּיל* originally meant “joy over an act of God,” or that the term was used in Canaanite fertility cult language (see e.g. Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 153). However, in addition to Isa 49:13, the term is associated to worship in the following biblical texts: Isa 9:2; Ps 2:11; 9:15; 31:8; 41:16; 43:4; 149:2; Joel 1:16. See Ch. Barth, “גִּיל,” TDOT 2:469–475.

63. Isa 16:10; 35:2; 65:18; Jer 48:33; Hos 9:1; Joel 1:16; Ps 43:4; 45:16; 65:13; Job 3:22; Dan 1:10.

64. If we limited ourselves to the Book of Isaiah (11 times) and Book of Psalms (19 times), *גִּיל* is associated with a worshipper or has a cultic meaning in Isa 9:2; 61:10; Ps 2:11; 32:11; 86:17. As a re-

Parallel to גילה in 65:18c is מְשׂוֹשׁ (“gladness”), and the root meaning of the latter is to “rejoice (in/over)” or “be glad.” In the current verse, however, מְשׂוֹשׁ is synonymous to גילה, as is also the case in v. 18a, which gives מְשׂוֹשׁ a cultic meaning. The following also supports such a conclusion: in Isa 61:10, the verbs שׂוֹשׁ and תְּגַל are used syntactically in the same way as in 65:18c–d when the combination is applied to the speaker as a worshipper who rejoices “greatly” (שׂוֹשׁ אֲשִׁישׁ) and who “will exult” (תְּגַל) in God. This use in 61:10 is basically done for the same reason as in 65:18, for the salvation and righteousness of God. In Ps 119:14, the subject is also a worshipper (שִׁשְׁתִּי); and in Hos 2:13, מְשׂוֹשׁ has a cultic meaning. In addition to these examples, שׂוֹשׁ other noun (שִׁשְׁוֹן) is used in the thanksgiving psalm of Isa 12:3 as a response to the salvation of YHWH.

Of course, שׂוֹשׁ, like its parallel גיל, is also used in a non-cultic way but an overview of the occurrences of מְשׂוֹשׁ in the Book of Isaiah show that it is a special word associated with Zion: in PI, מְשׂוֹשׁ is included in laments over Jerusalem, and in TI its motif is developed in close connection with Zion theology.⁶⁵ However, it is in 65:18c–d and 66:10 that the connection with the eschatological Jerusalem is prominent. Finally, it is noticeable that גיל and שׂוֹשׁ are used ten times in the Hebrew Bible as parallels,⁶⁶ three of them are located in Isa 65:18–19b and once in 66:10. Of the passages outside Isa 65–66, the one most closely associated with our current verse, is Isa 61:10. Thus, there are grounds for understanding גילה (“rejoicing”) and מְשׂוֹשׁ (“gladness”) in 65:18c–d as cultic. An amplified version of the line, therefore, could be: “For here am I, creating Jerusalem for exulting worship // and her people for joyful praise,” where the second line complements the first line.

5.6.3 Joyful Response of God (v. 19a–b)

The visualised joy, in connection with God’s creative redemption in Isa 65:17–18, continues into v. 19a–b with another combination of גיל and שׂוֹשׁ. The expected gladness and the great joy over the “new heavens and a new earth” and the New “Jerusalem,” that will send “the former things” to the sea of oblivion, also cause God to declare in v. 19a–b: “I will rejoice (גִּלְתִּי) [...] // and be glad (שִׁשְׁתִּי) [...].” When שׂוֹשׁ and גיל are used in vv. 18–19a–b for the third time, they are applied to God himself. The rebellious have been exhorted to rejoice, Jerusalem and her people will once again be a reason for true joyful worship, and now God assures the people that he will therefore rejoice and be glad about his creative accomplish-

sponse to an act of God (e.g. salvation, restoration, lovingkindness, judgement), גיל is used in Isa 25:9; 29:19; 41:16; Ps 9:15; 13:5; 21:2; 31:8; 35:9; 48:12; 53:7; 97:1; 97:8; 118:24; 149:2.

65. PI: 24:8, 11; 32:13–14. TI: Isa 60:15; 62:5; 65:18; 66:10. מְשׂוֹשׁ is not used in DI, but the other noun שִׁשְׁוֹן is preferred to express joy over Jerusalem: 51:3; 11. This latter noun is, however, used once in TI: 61:3. See Heinz-Josef. Fabry, “שׂוֹשׁ / שִׁשְׁוֹן,” *TDOT* 14:55–57.

66. Isa 35:1; 61:10; 65:18, 19, 66:10; Zeph 3:17; Ps 35:9; 51:10; Job 3:22; see also 1QM 13:13.

ments. Thus, all three players in Isa 65 are taken into account in the vision of what will embody the cosmic transformation and the New Jerusalem. Two things can be said about the expected response of God:

1. The purpose is to remove any doubt or fears in the community concerning the outcome of the present situation, especially among those that now might repent so that they can also partake in the coming paradisiac world.
2. Because God's response in Isa 65:19a–b ends the series of *שׁוּשׁ* and *גִּיל* in vv. 18–19, it can be interpreted as an expression of God's satisfaction with his new creation and its people (cf. Gen 1:31). All of it is so pleasing to God that he rejoices over it, especially over the New Jerusalem and its redeemed people.

The message of reassurance communicated by God's joyful response and what follows in vv. 17–25 could be interpreted as words of consolation to a marginalized group of people in the Judean community.⁶⁷ However, the faithful or "marginalized" are still described in the third person in those verses, while the rebellious continue to be addressed in the second person because of the imperatives in v. 18a. An implied intention with Isa 65, therefore, is to persuade in different ways those who need to repent, in vv. 18–19 with the theme of rejoicing in the New Jerusalem. This rhetorical strategy in Isa 65 is, however, abandoned by the author in 66:4 and when it is revealed that the event of the Divine Warrior in 66:15–16 will take place before the transforming event in 65:17–18. In the latter passage, all the rebellious who have not yet repented (responded to the exhortation in 65:18a) will be slain.⁶⁸

We have already seen that a New Jerusalem is equivalent to the Garden of Eden,⁶⁹ and joyful worship and gladness fit well with that picture. In the following theme below, the vision of a new world, with the New Jerusalem as its centre, is introduced as a paradise without "the sound of weeping or the cry of distress" (v. 19c–d). In vv. 18–19, this restored paradisiac life is presented as something very good that God can rejoice over, in stark contrast to his disappointment and anger over a fallen world in Isa 65:1–7. Furthermore, if one of the intentions of the creation stories in the Book of Genesis, and with what follows, is to explain the consequences of disobedience against God's will, the loss of paradise, then the promised blessing through Abraham in Gen 12 explains why it is also an implied theme in Isa 65:8–16 in preparation for a vision of the new paradise. When the rejoicing

67. Hanson, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, 36.

68. See 8.4.2 *Destruction* (v. 16), p. 261.

69. In conjunction with 5.5 *The Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People* (v 18), p 127.

over its centre, the New Jerusalem, reappears as a theme in Isa 66:10, 14a it alludes to the joy of Abraham and Sarah.⁷⁰ In sum, the future rejoicing in Jerusalem reflects a vision of a new cosmic status quo. The contrast between the contemporary world and the ideal world to come, the sorrow over the present situation and the expected gladness in the new life, and the tension it must have caused when people were hard-pressed to choose sides, are characteristic for Isa 65–66 as well as for the other genre apocalypse discussed in this current work.

5.7 The Restored Paradisiac Life (vv. 19c–23)⁷¹

The cosmic transformation and a new epoch foretold in Isa 65:17–18 are promised to have a profound effect on the environment for the elect people of Zion. One such effect, discussed above in connection with vv. 18–19, is the joy and gladness the New Jerusalem and her people will epitomise.⁷² What follows next in Isa 65 are the continuing effects that the temple-city will have on the environment. The effects are the reason for the joy in Jerusalem, turning the whole creation into a paradise once again. This joy corresponds to what God’s voice declares slightly earlier in the text: “For the former troubles are forgotten, / / and truly hidden from my [God’s] sight” (v 16e–f), and “ [...] the former things will not be remembered, / / they will not even come to mind” (v 17b–c). In the paradisiac environment of vv. 19c–23 there will no longer be any “weeping” or “cry of distress” of the old world. The past will be forgotten and remembered no more. Instead, the vision-speech talks about how the restoration of life and relationships will replace all the disappointments that have so far hampered joy and harmony.

The vision of the New Jerusalem in Isa 65:19–25, as a centre for God’s renewal of the whole creation, has several sources of inspiration. First, there are the broader contexts in the Hebrew Bible, such as the garden of Eden, the temple of Solomon, and the temple mount / Zion as cosmic symbols for a realisation of heaven on earth.⁷³ The new post-exilic temple did not live up to those expectations, however. Rather, Isa 66:3–4 explains that the rebellious had defiled the sanctuary soon

70. See 7.3.3 *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a), p. 223.

71. See footnote 35 in connection with 5.5 *The Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People* (v. 18), p. 127.

72. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 603.

73. In addition to Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, see also e.g. Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “YHWH’s Exalted House – Aspects of the Design and Symbolism of Solomon’s Temple,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 422 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 87–88 and L. Michael Morales, ed., *Cult and Cosmos: Tilting Toward a Temple-Centered Theology*, BTS 18 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2014). Daniel I. Block questions the idea that the Garden of Eden in Gen 1–3 was originally thought of as a sanctuary (Block, “Eden: A Temple?,” 3–29). It is, however, also Block’s view that the Garden of Eden functioned as a model for the tabernacle and the later temples, both the earthly and the eschatological ones (Block, “Eden: A Temple?,” 26).

after it was rebuilt.⁷⁴ Second, specific texts such as Ps 1:3; 36:9–10; Ezek 47:1–12; Joel 3:18 and Zech 14:8 functioned as models of inspiration.⁷⁵ Third, because of the exile in Babylon, the Mesopotamian city could also be taken as a model. Ancient Eastern cities functioned as centres of religion and learning,⁷⁶ and the gardens around the temples were perceived as heavenly paradises on earth.⁷⁷ In Isa 65:18, there is no mention of living water flowing from the New Jerusalem. Nonetheless, the impact that the city will have on the new world makes her the centre of renewal and thus as an Edenic source of life. God's creative restoration will expand from Jerusalem, to the enjoyment of both the faithful remnant and the creation as a whole.

The first sign in the text that the conditions in the New Jerusalem will also have an impact on life outside the city, is the change of preposition, from "in" the city (בה "in her") in v. 19c to "from there" (משם) in v. 20a.⁷⁸ The repeated promise "no longer," in these two lines implies that the present world will pass away. Instead, a renewed Jerusalem will be the source of new life. The author returns to this theme in 66:7–9, 14a–b, when he speaks metaphorically about the New Jerusalem as a fertile and capable mother.⁷⁹ So, the prepositional phrases in v. 19c and v. 20a have a mediating function. Instead of the current miserable life, a New Jerusalem will channel the blessings of God (see v. 23c), which impact the people, land and animals according to vv. 19c–25. Thus, Isa 65:20 begins a series of examples that explain why there "will no longer be" any "sound of weeping or the cry of distress" (v 19c–d).⁸⁰ The New Jerusalem is the source of these blessings which

74. See Isa 66:1–4, 6 and 6.3.1 *Temple of God* (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b), p. 161.

75. In Ps 36:9–10 the garden of Eden is, by allusion, identified with the house of YHWH in Jerusalem, from which the fountain of life flows. Both Ezek 47:1–12 and Joel 3:18 depict a flow of life-giving water from the sanctuary, turning the land into a very fertile garden. In Zech 14:8 the flow of living water is applied to Jerusalem as the source of cosmic water. Jerome F. D. Creach shows that Ps 1:3 is most likely dependent on Ezek 47:12, which connects Zion and the temple with paradise. However, Ps 1:2–3 implies that הירדה began to be regarded as an alternative to the temple in post-exilic Israel (Creach, "Like a Tree Planted by the Temple Stream," 34–46). See also Isa 51:3 and Ezek 36:35, which predict that a desolate Judah would become like Eden, "the garden of YHWH."

76. For discussion about the Mesopotamian urban culture and their temples in the cities, see e.g. Marc Van de Mieroop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 215–226. Van de Mieroops' exemplification by two specific cases, Nippur and Babylon, demonstrates that the administrative functions of Mesopotamian cities could have had a very extended influence. See also J. N. Postgate, "The Role of the Temple in the Mesopotamian Secular Community," in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1972), 811–825 and Gwendolyn Leick, *Mesopotamia: The Invention of the City* (London: Penguin, 2002).

77. See Gleason, "Gardens," 2:382–387 and Stager, "Jerusalem and the Garden of Eden," 183–194 (or Stager, "Jerusalem as Eden," 36–47).

78. In Gen 2:10 the preposition מן is also used to describe how a river flowed "from Eden" (מֵעֵדֶן) to water the garden, and from there it divided and became four rivers.

79. See 7.3.1 *The Centre of Life* (vv. 7–8, 14b), p. 211.

80. See Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 658 for this idea that v. 20 begins a series of concrete examples.

flows out from the temple-city into the land, transforming everything including even the dangerous wilderness.

The examples of the new paradisiac environment in Isa 65:20–25 fall into two related groups: restoration of life (vv. 19c–23) and restoration of relationships (vv. 24–25). These examples contrast in full the contemporary world of the author (65:1–5; 66:1–5; 14c–d, 17) with the envisioned utopian world of Zion in 65:17–25. They also supplement 66:7–14b; 18–24. The new environment illustrates that the cosmic events in 65:17–18 are prophesied to have consequences on both a general and a specific level. The subthemes related to *The Restored Paradisiac Life* follow below, and those about *The Restored Paradisiac Relationships* will be discussed after that.⁸¹

5.7.1 Lifespan (v. 20)

The restoration of lifespan in Isa 65:20 reflects anticipation regarding the extent of life in the new epoch. The transformation includes the absence of infant mortality and that all will live the full length of their lives. The lifespan will extend far beyond the average age in the current world. There will no longer be any distress regarding life. The vision of the new life conditions aims at recalling the lifespans of people during the biblical antediluvian period (Gen 1–11), in particular the great ages of the patriarchs.⁸² Mortality still seems to be part of life in the new creation, compared with the destruction of death in Isa 25:8. Thus, Isa 65 never refers to the idea of the afterlife, in contrast to Isa 26:19 and Dan 12:1–2.⁸³

Isa 65:20 would involve a radical change of life conditions, and a new kind of environment that did not exist in the author's own current world. Isa 65:20–25, however, does not purport to be a full presentation, but rather consist of examples "drawn from this life" that cause sorrow but will change radically. Conditions that extinguish life prematurely will no longer exist for those who repent in a creation with new heavens and a new earth.⁸⁴ The mention of death in v. 20d serves

81. See 5.8 *The Restored Paradisiac Relationships* (vv. 24–25), p. 147.

82. Thus, there is again an implicit reference to the patriarchs in Isa 65, but this time from the antediluvian period. The lifespan of the patriarchs had been shortened because of sin – Gen 5; 6:3; cf Zech 8:4 and Ps 90:9–12 (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 457; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 658).

83. A major dividing line between the apocalypse and biblical prophetic tradition is, according to Collins, the view on the afterlife. In Isa 65 life is still "this-worldly" and "finite," while the judgment and resurrection language in e.g. *1 Enoch* is more transcendent and mystical (John J. Collins, "The Place of Apocalypticism in the Religion of Israel," in *Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. Patrick D. Miller, Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009], 548–551; see also Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 29–30; Collins, *Daniel*, 13). If the purpose of Isa 65:17–25, however, is to contrast the current world with a utopian paradisiac world for the sake of repentance, then these verses want to make the point without giving a full picture of life and death.

84. See also Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 658.

to make the point about the lifespan, and the examples are selected to illustrate what the new era will offer. The symbolic language in vv. 17–25 also alerts us to perceive the vision of humanity’s new lifespan in an overly precise and literal way – the age of one hundred years could mean anything above those years.

5.7.2 Justice (vv. 19c–20)

The promise of restored lifespan also contains a call for justice.⁸⁵ The author depicts this with the repeated phrase עוֹד לֹא [...] (“no longer”), a mediation of justice from the New Jerusalem that will put things right in the land. There will “no longer” be any weeping and distress, which is a vision of a perfect paradise and a hope of salvation for those who suffer from injustice. When God has created a paradisiac environment and restored justice, according to vv. 19c–23, then there is no place for the rebellious in the new world that Isa 65–66 envisages. Leslie J. Hoppe says about the context leading up to v. 20, “The prophet has come to realize that this world will not be the place of the ultimate triumph of God’s justice.”⁸⁶

Isa 65:19c–20, as a call for justice, also wants to say something about the current situation in Jerusalem. Apparently, the lack of justice in the Yehud community had reached the point where it was affecting the lifespan of both infants (עֵיל) and the elderly (זִקֵן). The hope and longing in v. 20a–c may therefore also be an implicit allusion to a passage like Deut 27:19, “Cursed is he who distorts the justice due an alien, orphan, and widow.” The justice theme continues in Isa 65:20d–e as a parallel to vv. 19c–20c.⁸⁷ I have, therefore, chosen a translation of v. 20d–e that seems to reflect the context best and thus the intention of the text as whole – a vision of a paradise without sin, and a hope of salvation for those who suffer from injustice. The absence of sin and injustice in the new epoch are reasons to render וְהַחַיִּים in v. 20e as “and whoever does not reach,” rather than “and whoever sins.”⁸⁸ It is true, that its root חָטָא expresses religious disqualification in the Hebrew Bible (“sin” or equivalent), and is often used in cultic contexts, especially in association with ceremonies.⁸⁹ Such connotations support my suggestion, however, that vv. 18–19b is cultic, and הַחַיִּים in v. 20e should, therefore, be understood as a vision of justice in

85. See also Isa 57:1–2 (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 456–457).

86. Hoppe, *The Holy City*, 130.

87. The meaning of 65:20d–e causes difficulties for commentators. See e.g. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 457–459; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 659 for a discussion of the interpretive difficulties and solutions of v. 20d–e. For a different understanding of v. 20d–e than the one preferred in this work, see e.g. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 409; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 277.

88. See also text-critical note f in 5.1 *Text and Translation* on p. 120, cf. e.g. NASB, REB, and CSB. See also K. Koch, “חָטָא,” *TDOT* 4:309–311; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 458 for a somewhat different interpretation of these lines.

89. Koch, *TDOT* 4:313–315.

the new epoch, in contrast to the current age of social and religious misconduct. With a New Jerusalem, all the faithful will “reach a hundred” and still be young (v. 20d), while the phrase “will be cursed” (v. 20e) is a hint at the rebellious who will have no future unless they heed the exhortation in v. 18a.⁹⁰ As an participle, חַיִּטָּא in v. 20e differs semantically from the adjective חַיִּטָּא in Isa 1:28; 13:9 and 33:1, by referring to sinners who are still corrigible,⁹¹ and who can still repent and join the new life.⁹²

The hope and promises in vv. 19c–20 are, therefore, again a critique of the rebellious and a resistance to the spirit of the time.⁹³ The author belongs to a community which he accuses of unrighteousness and socially unjust. Thus, in contrast to the hope in v. 20a–c, the verse also implies a situation parallel to Isa 57:3–13; 58:1–9 and 65:3b–5. Furthermore, it throws some light on both the cause and the implied intent with the whole account in Isa 65–66. The purpose is to resist the current development in the community by visualising a new and better world. Verse 20d–e, on the other hand, is a message of judgement as well as salvation. Once God has created a paradisiac environment and restored justice according to Isa 65:19c–23, then there would no longer be a place for the accursed ones. Such a conclusion is based upon a development that, among other things, goes back to v. 15 and the words directed to the rebellious that they “will leave behind” their “name as an oath (לְשִׁבוּעָה) to my chosen ones [the faithful].” Together, the noun שְׁבוּעָה in v. 15a and the verb “will be cursed” (יִקְלָל) in v. 20e convey the idea that the author wants those he confronts in his vision-speech to be aware of the judgement and humiliation in the wake of the imminent creative redemption. The cursing in v. 20e will in fact come from those they oppress, for reasons that will, in the end, be their condemnation and, moreover, the salvation for those who disassociate themselves from the present situation in the community.

5.7.3 Freedom (vv. 21–22)

The restoration of life also includes freedom from oppression. The allusion to Deut 28:30, 32 in Isa 65:21–22 implies that the text is not primarily about prosperity. It is about people’s freedom or their right to live in the houses they

90. See also the short discussion by Block about the Israelites’ view on age, that “People believed that the wicked died young, [...]” (Daniel I. Block, *For the Glory of God: Recovering a Biblical Theology of Worship* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014], 130).

91. Koole refers to Duhm when explaining, “that an incorrigible sinner would be designated not by the participial form חַיִּטָּא but by חַיִּטָּא, cf. [Isa] 1:28; 13:9; 33:14 etc” (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 458–459).

92. The participle חַיִּטָּא is used only twice in the prophetic literature (Isa 65:20 and Hab 2:10) and the other occurrences are found in the wisdom literature (Prov 11:31; 13:22; 14:21; 19:2; 20:2; Eccl 2:26; 7:26; 9:18). The language of destruction and extermination is absent in these texts.

93. See 3.4 *The Provocations of the Rebellious* (vv. 3–5) on p. 72.

have built, and to eat the fruit from the vineyards they have planted. The freedom-value that vv. 21–22 expresses is important for the author. The tragedy of a worthless vineyard in Isa 5:1–7, a fruitful vineyard of YHWH in Isa 27:2–6, and the new wine in Isa 65:8 as metaphors of God’s restoration, confirm that the vineyard is an important feature in the Book of Isaiah. When the vineyard is again used symbolically in 65:21–22b, it becomes a hope for restored freedom and a bright economic future, with God reigning from the New Jerusalem.

The freedom in Isa 65:21–22 has its source in the New Jerusalem, and the theme is reinforced with the negatively phrased parallel line in v. 22a–b: “They will not build and another will live [in them], // they will not plant and another will eat; [...]” In other words, the author is arguing his case, which means that the implied intent is not merely to critique but also to persuade those who are considering repentance. Thus, the contrast between the current situation and the promised one, the call to justice in vv. 19c–20 and the call to freedom in vv. 21–22, reflect a common problem in the community that the author resists by sharing a vision of an alternative world for those who desire to stay faithful to the covenant. The examples of a new freedom in vv. 21–22b, together with the theme of justice in vv. 19c–20, reflect what is basic to human life, and is therefore projected on an utopian world: the right to have a place you can call home, food on the table, an income for living, and of course peace and harmony.

5.7.4 Quality of Life (vv. 21–22)

Isa 65:21–22 is also about the quality of life, and the widening effects the New Jerusalem has on that quality which characterises the paradisiac environment in vv. 19c–25. The building of houses and the planting of vineyards take place outside the city, in its vicinity, and is organised into communities. The creation of “new heavens and a new earth” and the creation of Jerusalem are, therefore, about quality. The New Jerusalem is a source from which blessings continue to flow out into the land, and the Tree of Life (כִּי־יִמִּי הָעֵץ) is its sign. The divine and merciful renewal of life benefits God, nature, and humankind. After the creation of the new heavens, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem, the earth is no longer cursed (cf. Gen 3:17–19; 5:29 and Isa 65:22c–d).

The association of Jerusalem with Eden becomes clear. As with Eden, blessings from the New Jerusalem blessings continue to flow through and out into the land. I have already observed that the imagery in Isa 65:19c–23 brings to mind the utopian vision in Ezek 47:1–12; but in Isa 65:22c–d, the idea of quality also resembles specific aspects of the creation stories in Genesis and the promise of restoration following the consequences of the fall of humans:

1. Both **℣** and **ℑ** understands “the tree” in v. 22c as “the tree of life,”⁹⁴ a gloss which makes sense in the context of a new paradise and an edenic Jerusalem.
2. In Gen 3:17–19 is the ground and man’s labour cursed by God because of the fall; in 5:29 new hope is given to Noah that relief from the curse will be lifted; but according to Isa 65:22d is it only with the new era that: “my chosens ones [whose days will be like the days of the tree of life] will use up the work of their hands.”

The quality of life is first emphasised with the repetition of ימי (“days”) in v. 22c: “like the days of the tree, so will be the days of my people” (כִּי־כִימֵי הָעֵץ יָמֵי עַמִּי). The phrase can be understood in two ways: 1. The long life of the people in v. 20 (whose first line is negatively formulated as in v. 22a–b) can be compared to the lifespan of such a tree; 2. A successful people in vv. 21–22b can be compared to the greatness and fruitfulness of such a tree. Both interpretations are legitimate and add to our understanding of a genre that develops towards apocalyptic eschatology. However, even if the exposition in v. 20 about the human lifespan can be linked to a timeless tree of life in v. 22c, it is references such as Isa 56:3–5 and 61:3⁹⁵ which also confirm the quality of life as a theme in v. 22c. I agree with Koole that the phrase “like the days of the tree” (and of the people) connotes more than a long life, but find his suggestion that it signifies a prosperous living too limited.⁹⁶ Rather, the author of Isa 65 contemplates the quality of the new world-sanctuary more than merely the quantity of it, which includes the joyful worship of God because of the restored lifespan, justice and freedom.⁹⁷ This brings us to the second emphasis of quality, found in v. 22d. In the vision of verse 22d (and overall in vv. 17–25) the quality of life, assumed to be lost in the original paradise because of the fall of humans, is divinely and mercifully restored and won back to the benefit of both God, creation and indeed human beings. The curse has given way to the blessings of the New Jerusalem, and the faithful will again “use up [or “fully enjoy”] the work of their hands” (v. 22d).

5.7.5 Blessing (v. 23)

The author reconnects to the themes of blessing in Isa 65, by alluding to various events of redemptive creativity in the biblical history which include God’s blessings. Verse 23c says: “For they [the faithful] are an offspring blessed by YHWH (כי

94. See also text-critical note **g** in 5.1 *Text and Translation* on p. 120.

95. See also Jer 17:8; Ps 1:3; 52:10; 92:13.

96. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 460.

97. Observe that quality of life and the tree of life belong together in Prov 3:18; 11:30; 13:12 and 15:4.

זרע ברוכי יהוה המה (וּצְאֲצְאֵיהֶם אִתָּם).” This line reflects a view of continuity based on the blessing that begins in the paradise of the antediluvian creation, restored with Noah after the flood and recreation, and renewed with Abraham after the confusion at the tower of Babel.⁹⁸ These restarts also have the births of children and descendants in common. There is, however, an emphasis in 65:23 which distinguishes the promise of blessing in v. 23 from the other instances. Verse 23a–b explains: “They [the faithful] will not labour in vain or bear children for disaster” (cf. Gen 3:16–19; 5:29). The multiplying of offspring had resulted in failure in the past, but that will end with the New Jerusalem. That is also the message in Isa 66:7–14b, where the eschatological Zion will give birth to her true children and comfort them. Isa 65–66 grounds the vision of life and a better world in God’s faithfulness through a New Jerusalem as the centre of blessing. This time it will not lead to disaster, but instead will cause a global movement towards her (66:12b–c, 18–23).

Isa 65:19c–25 is not the only description of a paradise in the Book of Isaiah. There is, for example, 11:6–9 which is closely related to 65:25. The exhortation in chapter 55 is another example of a paradisiac vision. The prophet, in the last two verses of Isa 55, conveys a vision about a return journey, most likely from Babylon – the whole creation shall rejoice with the returning people and the desert shall bloom. We have similar imagery in 41:18–19; 43:19–20; 44:23; 49:9–11, 13⁹⁹, all of them in the context of a Jewish return from exile in Babylon. The prophet in Isa 55 also preaches that the religion of the returning people shall be cleansed from the transgressions which had initially caused the exile. This kind of vision was probably needed to inspire a people who had left their homes and occupations in Babylon to start out on a laborious journey to Judah and a dilapidated Jerusalem. This vision, and similar imagery in Isa 40–55, could be regarded as parallel to the description of a future paradisiac environment in 65:19c–25 if it was not for the fact that the rebellious in Isa 65 are facing God’s wrath and judgement in a much clearer way than is the case in 55:6–7. The phrase “For here am I, creating new heavens and a new earth [...]” also marks a difference. The exclusion of the rebellious and the transformation of the cosmos into a world-sanctuary, suggests a different starting point in Isa 65 than in e.g. Isa 55 – or even a new beginning, which includes a re-creation, i.e., the resurrection of Jerusalem. The conditions have changed, and the prophetic author of Isa 65 does not have the same patience with the wicked as the prophet in Isa 55. In short, Isa 65:17–25 communicates a vision of a radical beginning that will finally secure a paradisiac environment from wickedness.¹⁰⁰

98. Gen 1:22, 28; cf. 9:1; 12:2–3; 17:16; 18:18; 22:17–18; Isa 65:8–10, 16.

99. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 444.

100. In Isa 55 the rebellious are part of the community, while in Isa 65–66 they are imagined as

5.8 The Restored Paradisiac Relationships (vv. 24–25)¹⁰¹

The revelatory vision in Isa 65:17–25 begins with God’s creative transformation of the cosmos. The part about the restoration of life (vv. 19c–23) ends with an allusion to God’s exhortation and promises of blessing in the Book of Genesis. The vision now continues with the restoration of relationships (vv. 24–25), which illustrates that the impact the creation of the “new heavens and a new earth” for a New Jerusalem in vv. 17–19b is promised to have on the paradisiac environment in vv. 19c–25. This theme about restored relationships is traceable to Isa 65:1, where God cries out: “‘here I am, here I am,’ // to a nation that did not call (לא־קרא) on my name.” In v. 12 the rebellious ones are accused of not answering the call of God (קראתי ולא עניתם), and in v. 15 God will “call” the faithful remnant “by another name” (ולעבדיו יקרא שם אחר). Then, in v. 24, God promises that he will answer them even before they call upon him (טרם־יקראו ואני אענה). Thus, the author of Isa 65 has moved the focus progressively from the contemporary world, where the people neither call upon God, even when they are exhorted to do so, nor answer when God calls them, to the New Jerusalem and its promised world-sanctuary where God will answer even before the elect call upon him.¹⁰²

Thus, the emphasis in Isa 65–66 is on the contrast between different worlds. The visualized restored paradisiac relationships in 65:24–25 are another way of strengthening this contrast. The examples of relationships in vv. 24–25 are intended to show how the author imagines them in a renewed environment with the New Jerusalem as its centre. They are as follows:

5.8.1 Intimacy (v. 24)

The blessing from the New Jerusalem will result in individual reconciliation between God and Israel in the form of a new fellowship of intimacy, although Isa 66 widens the scope to all of humanity. The phrase, “before they call (יקראו), I will answer (ואני אענה); while they are still speaking (מדברים), I will hear (ואני אשמע),” im-

having been obliterated, exchanged for a new true people of God. I have been arguing, however, that there is still a call to repentance in Isa 65, but it is part of a rhetorical strategy which is not characteristic for e.g. Isa 55.

101. See footnote 35 in connection with 5.5 *The Creation of a New Jerusalem and Her People* (v. 18), p. 127.

102. The contrasts in Isa 65 are the basis for Edwin C. Webster’s rhetorical approach to the text. Webster finds a triadic structure, which contrasts the righteous and the wicked. The first unit concerns the rebellious (vv. 1–7), and the last the chosen (vv. 17–25). In between are two contrasting pairs of clusters which compare the faithful and the rebellious (vv. 8–16). It is, among other things, the term קרא (representing “call” and “response”) that outlines Webster’s triadic structure, which is also the structure the present study on Isa 65 at large follows (Webster, “The Rhetoric of Isaiah 63–65,” 96–101).

plies an individualistic relationship of friendship and trust where one partner knows what the other partner wants and thinks before the wish or thought is pronounced.¹⁰³ It could even imply a revelation of wisdom where the chosen ones know God's law in their hearts. This personal fellowship in 65:24 reflects a hope grounded in the following:

1. The ideal covenantal relationship,¹⁰⁴ where God's Law is written on people's hearts and they acknowledge that YHWH truly knows them.¹⁰⁵
2. The covenant formula, "I will be their God, and they will be my people."¹⁰⁶ The phrases עבדֵי ("my servants") and עַמִּי ("my people"), repeated ten times between 65:8 and 22, suggest that the author had the formula in mind.
3. The theme of calling, therefore, brings to mind Abraham's obedient response to God's call in the Book of Genesis, and the description of him as God's friend (Isa 41:8 and 2 Chron 20:7).
4. The original Edenic paradise, where God after the fall had to search and call (קרא) for man. The vision in Isa 65:24 is that God and Israel will again have an intimate fellowship with one another, secured in permanent covenantal promises and friendship.

The first time the first part of the covenant formula appears in the Hebrew Bible is in connection with the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 17:7–8). In Isa 65:24, it is a follow-up from v. 23 about God's blessing. We can again see that the author is also inspired by the original Edenic paradise in Genesis. The fellowship between God and the first human beings in the Hebrew Bible before the fall is presented in Gen 2–3 as intimate and based on personal trust. In that environment God knows the needs of humans and supplies them, and he came walking in the "breeze of the day" searching after and calling (קרא) to them. This intimacy, which is described as lost in Gen 3, is the intimacy which the author of Isa 65 says will be restored in the new paradise of vv. 19c–25. God and humankind will once again have a trustworthy fellowship with one another, secured by the promises to Abraham, and this time in a world-sanctuary where rebellion no longer exists.

103. See also my discussion of Isa 65:8 and 66:14c–d regarding individualism in Isa 65–66.

104. Most of the key terms in 65:24 are associated with divine covenants in the Hebrew Bible. See: "call" (קרא), Isa 42:6; "answer" (ענה), 49:8; "speaking" (דבר), Exod 24:7, Hos 10:4; "hear" (שמע), Exod 2:24, 6:5, Deut 6:4, Jer 11:2, 6, 10.

105. Cf. Deut 6:6–7; 10:12; 30:6; Jer 31:31–34; Ps 37:31; 40:9; 139:1–6.

106. והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהוה לי. Gen 17:7–8; Exod 6:6–7; 19:4–5; Lev 11:45; Deut 4:20; 29:13; Ezek 34:24; Jer 24:7; 31:33; 32:37–38; Sak 2:11; 8:8.

5.8.2 Peace (v. 25a–c)

The restored relationships in Isa 65:24–25 will also lead to peace in creation. While 65:24 reminds the reader of the fellowship that was lost in Eden but which humans can regain, v. 25a–c is parallel to the harmony in the garden of Eden.¹⁰⁷ In 65:25, the restoring influence of the New Jerusalem reaches the wildlife. Moreover, it includes the relationship between predator and domestic prey. The environment in v. 25 is distant from Zion, which means that the transformation in vv. 17–18 also has an impact on those areas which in antiquity were perceived of as dangerous and evil for humans and their livestock. This restoration of peace in the animal world alludes to the results of God’s righteous reign in Isa 11:6–9, even if there is no mention of children in 65:25a–c. However, 65:25a–c presupposes humans because of the domestic animals. Another difference between Isa 11:6–9 and 65:25a–c is the seeming absence of a messianic agent in Isa 65–66, which makes God alone responsible for the peace in 65:25a–c.¹⁰⁸ In the new epoch, this peace from the New Jerusalem will even restore the relationships between enemies in an environment perceived as evil in the current world.

Humans are presupposed in 65:25 because of the mention of domestic animals and the continuation from v. 24 about the fellowship of intimacy, and thus both humans and their domestic animals will be able to trust their natural enemies and have fellowship with one another without doing “evil or harm” (לא־יִרְעוּ וְלֹא־יִשְׁחִיתוּ) (v. 25d). For instance, the snake will no longer be a threat to humankind. In Gen 3:14, the snake is cursed more than any other beast of the field and condemned to eat dust all the days of his life (וְעָפָר תֹּאכַל כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ) as a consequence of having deceived Adam and Eve. The curse upon the creation is removed in Isa 65:17–25, but the snake in v. 25 is still destined to eat “dust” (וְנָחַשׁ עָפָר לַחֲמוּ). This could be the author’s way of emphasizing that humankind will never again be deceived into evil and destructive behaviour.

5.8.3 Order (v. 25d–e)

God’s holy mountain in Isa 65:25e is the symbol of order in the new epoch, a theme with which we are already familiar in Isa 65. It is a place for God’s presence and his kingdom, which the faithful will inherit (v. 9b–c), settle there (v. 9d), and never forget (cf. v. 11b). It is apparent from 65:9, 11 and 66:20 that “my entire holy mountain” in 65:25e is the new Zion or New Jerusalem – a central symbol of hope

107. See Gen 1:29–31; 2:18–20.

108. For a discussion of messiah in Isa 65–66, see 6.5.3 *Intervention (v. 6)*, p. 192, and “Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate,” p. 164 in connection with the theme 6.3.1 *Temple of God (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*.

for a future paradise and an assurance against evil, including the threat from the wild and untamed animal world. Thus, in v. 25e the mountain of God is the centre of order in the world and the source of restored life and relationships.¹⁰⁹ As the last clause in Isa 65, the message is intended for those who might respond to the exhortation in v. 18a to “be glad and rejoice forever // [...]” over what God is “about to create,” a New Jerusalem (v. 18c). It reflects the joyful expectation of those, like the author, who regard themselves as faithful to YHWH as king and ruler from his mountain.

In my analysis of Isa 65:17–25, I have discussed the restoration of paradisiac life and relationships on the basis of the New Jerusalem. The theme *restored relationships* in vv. 24–25 is the thematic climax of the vision. These two verses not only end the chapter, but they express hope for a covenant fulfilment that will endure. Further, they place God’s holy mountain as the New Jerusalem in the very centre of such a covenant relationship. In that capacity, the influence of the mountain-temple city in Isa 65–66 is an expanding kingdom that will encompass the whole of creation. A parallel is a stone cut out without the use of hands in the apocalyptic dream of Dan 2:34, 44–45. The holy mountain in Isa 65:25e is more than a metaphor for the author.¹¹⁰ As a description of Jerusalem, it makes the temple-city a real place and a hillock for creative transformation, because the paradisiac environment in the text is literal and visualised in contrast to the reality of idolatrous gardens, mountains, and hills in 65:1–7.

5.9 Isaiah 65:17–25 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

New themes in Isa 65–66 have been introduced with the vision-speech in 65:17–25, and they all relate to the announcement of a new creation. The first one is *Cosmic Transformation and a New Epoch* (vv. 17–25),¹¹¹ which introduces a new world epoch. It is a promise of cosmic magnitude, where God will renew his whole creation, including a New Jerusalem and “her people.” It is presented as a redemptive creative act by God alone. This theme continues the alternation between the rebellious and the faithful in Isa 65, but now with an emphasis on the old world contra a new world. This theme of transformation implies a temporal dualism as in 1 Enoch. Already in 1 En. 1:3c–9, there is an alternation between a cursed present age that will pass away in violence and the new blessed age. In 1 En. 45:4–5, both heaven and earth will be transformed into a blessing and light forever, to a

109. See Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 179.

110. Cf. Isa 11:6–9, which is more metaphorical than 65:17–25. The prophecy in 11:6–9 continues from vv. 1–5 about a coming king and messiah at a time when the first temple and Jerusalem were not yet destroyed. When Isa 65 explains in v. 17–18, that God will create (ברא) anew, the need is as real for the author as the original creative act was in Gen 1.

111. See p. 122.

dwelling place for God's "chosen ones"; but "those who commit sin and error will not set foot on it." Also in Isa 65:17–25, "blessing" and "my chosen ones" are keywords that explain this transformation.¹¹² Other significant references to cosmic transformation and a new age in 1 Enoch are 25:7; 72:1; 91:14–17; and 1 En. 90:28–38 in the AnApoc is about a new epoch that implies a restoration of creation. The ontological perspective is also present in Isa 65:17–25, a dualistic differentiation between what is heaven and what is earth, who the creator is and what is the created. In 1 En. 84:2, as in Isa 65:17 and Isa 66:22, the heavens and earth are associated with a cosmic sanctuary where God is the great King and Creator in heaven with dominion over all flesh on earth (see also 1 En. 84:3 and 101:8).

The second theme in Isa 65:17–25 is the *Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth* (v. 17),¹¹³ which is the aspect of cosmic transformation which promises a new world-temple for the presence of God. Thus, the "new heavens and a new earth" can be understood as a cosmic mountain of God encompassing the whole world, and in connection with Isa 66:1–6, as we shall see further below, a holy abode and a throne from which God will reign. The above references to 1 Enoch regarding the transformation of cosmos and a new epoch also apply here, although the mention of "a new heaven" in 1 En. 91:16 illustrates nicely the transfer of concept between Isa 65:17 and the eschatology in *ApocW*. In connection with the tenth week, the author of *ApocW* declares that ultimately "the first heaven will pass away [...], and a new heaven will appear" (1 En. 91:16). That transformation will happen in combination with a renewed earth in the ninth week (v. 14),¹¹⁴ and to-

112. However, in his thesis Jacques van Ruiten rejects 1 En. 45:4–5 and 72:1 as being influenced by Isa 65:17 on the basis that the correspondence between the texts is "too narrow a foundation" (Jacques van Ruiten, *Een begin zonder einde: De doorwerking van Jesaja 65:17 in de intertestamentaire literatuur en het Nieuwe Testament* [Sliedrecht: Uitgeverij Merweboek, 1990], Chapter III and 245). Although direct influence might be questioned on the basis of the strict criteria set up by van Ruiten, my view is that 1 En. 45:4–5 has been influenced by Isa 65:17 and 66:22 because of their common themes: the transformation of both heaven and earth to be a blessing for the chosen ones. The concepts of transformation, heaven and earth, blessing, and the chosen ones are all themes in Isa 65–66. See also Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 151. The indications of influence from Isa 65:17 and 66:22 on 1 En. 72:1 are weaker because the latter passage only refers to "a new creation lasting forever." Nonetheless, those words in 72:1 are eschatological and the idea of a new creation which in some way replaces the old one as a cosmic sanctuary of blessing is initially expressed in Isa 65:17 and 66:22. See again Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 414.

113. See p. 125.

114. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 450; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 150–151. Van Ruiten, however, argues that in *ApocW* the transformation of the earth is of "second importance" in comparison to the transformation of heaven (van Ruiten, "The Influence and Development of Isa 65,17 in 1 En 91,16," 161–166, see also van Ruiten, *Een begin zonder einde*, Chapter IV and 245–246), which is a striking difference between how Isa 65:17 describes this transformation compared to the transformation in *ApocW*. 1 En. 91:17 ("weeks without number forever"), however, seems to me to include both the new earth and the new heaven. In any case, van Ruiten's view is that Isa 65:17 and 1 En. 91:16 are intertextually and thematically connected with each other.

gether these will be an everlasting habitation for both the righteous with “sevenfold wisdom and knowledge” (93:10) and for the angels “with sevenfold (brightness)” (91:16). Although *ApocW* seems to differentiate between the heavens and earth more than Isa 65:17 (66:22; cf. Gen 1:1),¹¹⁵ and also implies that humans will share the new habitation with angels, it must be remembered that 65:17 refers not only to the whole of creation but also to a macro sanctuary. The author of Isa 65–66 wants to connect the heavens with the earth by associating it functionally with a mountain, where the New Jerusalem as Zion is the centre. In 1 En. 25:2–7 and 26:1–2, God’s holy mountain is the implied connection between the heaven and earth, and 106:13 also reflects such a connection.¹¹⁶ In terms of spatial dualism, both Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch visualise a “correspondence between heaven and earth,”¹¹⁷ and as we shall see, this is in combination with a temple-city on earth.

The third theme in Isa 65:17–25 is the *Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People* (v. 18),¹¹⁸ an aspect of cosmic transformation that promises a microcosm in the new world-temple. The renewal of Zion is a resurrection of the old city to a new Eden and a place of joy for its people. It becomes a temple-city, a mountain of God on earth, from which blessing flows and which impacts the rest of creation. Although, 1 Enoch does not use the name Jerusalem or Zion when referring to the city, the book still refers to the place in functional ways, which is also the way Zion is presented in Isa 65–66.¹¹⁹ The New Jerusalem in a renewed creation, and its archetype in an antediluvian age, is described as “the holy place” (1 En. 25:5), “a blessed place” at “the center of the earth” (26:1), “the city of my righteous ones” (56:7), “a new house, larger and higher than the first one” (90:29), and as a result it is a joyful place (90:33).¹²⁰ In short, the Zion tradition has a central place in the Hebrew Bible which continued to develop in the literature of the second temple period,¹²¹ such as 1 Enoch. In connection with my doctoral studies, I have publ-

115. Frey, “Apocalyptic Dualism,” 273, 274.

116. See also Apoc. El. 5:38 and Jub. 1:29.

117. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 40; Gammie, “Spatial and Ethical Dualism,” 360. Gammie cites Hans Bietenhard, who says: “The basic thought of the ancient Near Eastern *Weltanschauung* is the teaching of the ‘correspondence’ between heaven and earth. [...] Thus everything which happens and exists in heaven is of primary importance for the earthly. [...]” (Gammie, “Spatial and Ethical Dualism,” 361–362).

118. See p. 127.

119. Beside Isa 65:17–25, see also *7.3 Zion as a Mother* (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b), p. 207.

120. See also T. Levi. 10:5, which refers to 1 Enoch when it speaks about Jerusalem: “For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as the book of Enoch the Righteous maintains” (H. C. Kee, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, OTP [New York: Doubleday, 1983], 788–792. Esp. p. 792, footnote d). For a comment on the passage in T. Levi, see James L. Kugel, “Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 1720.

121. Kim Huat Tan, *The Zion Traditions and the Aims of Jesus*, SNTSMS 91 (Cambridge: Cambridge

ished an article about “Jerusalem as the centre of blessing in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 En. 26:1–2.”¹²² For a more extensive analysis of the connection between the New Jerusalem in Isa 65:18 and a particular passage and context in 1 Enoch, I refer to that article.

The fourth theme in Isa 65:17–25 is *Rejoicing in the New Creation* (vv. 18–19b),¹²³ which is what the cosmic transformation will epitomize, especially regarding the New Jerusalem, her people, and God. The rejoicing in vv. 18–19b is an exhortation to the rebellious, a worship of God in the New Jerusalem, and God’s response to his achievements. In commentaries and studies of 1 En. 1–5 it is recognised that 5:5–9 have some close connections of both a structural and thematic character with Isa 65–66.¹²⁴ One of the themes in 5:5–9 is joy, because it is a key term when the passage focuses on the chosen. Furthermore, the vision of a new age in 5:6d–9 is framed as a time of joy, a temporal dualism that visualises the future rejoicing as a direct result of God’s peace in contrast to the present age that will end with curses and misery for the wicked. Both Lars Hartman and Nickelsburg have shown the numerous biblical allusions in 5:5–9 which include Isa 65–66,¹²⁵ although their comparative observations could have been enriched by taking into greater consideration the reasons for joy in the dualistic temporality of 1 En. 5:5–9. While it may be implied in 1 En. 5:9, the eschatological time of joy is also associated with the New Jerusalem in 25:4–6. In what is a temporal dualism between the old and the new world for the chosen, the renewed temple-city in vv. 4–6 is the centre of the earth in the same way as in Isa 65–66 where the New Jerusalem is the centre of joy (65:18–19; 66:10–11, 14a).

The fifth theme in Isa 65:17–25 is *Restored Paradisiac Life* (vv. 19c–23),¹²⁶ which is the effect of transformation that includes five paradisiac examples or sub-themes: the restoration of lifespan, justice, freedom, quality, and blessing. The influence from the New Jerusalem is described as vital for this new environment and the Tree of Life stands as a symbol for quality of life. The temporal dualism stands out clearly in Isa 65:19c–23, as well as in vv. 24–25 (see also 66:7–14b, 18–24), and both passages have had a visible influence on how the transformed world in 1 Enoch is visualised. Take for example *BWatch*, which in turn is a source of influence for the temporal dualism in *ApocW*. In the former, the present world of wickedness will

University Press, 1997), 31–42; Fuller Dow, *Images of Zion*, 111–138. See also: Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 130–165; John J. Collins, *Jerusalem and the Temple in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the Second Temple Period*, IRGLS 1 (Israel: Bar-Ilan University, 1998).

122. Green, “Jerusalem as the Centre of Blessing,” 41–70.

123. See p. 133.

124. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 32–33; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 114; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 161–164.

125. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 30–38; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 160–162, 164.

126. See p. 139.

be replaced through divine judgement by a renewed age of peace as a reward for the chosen for their piety. However, in these perceptions of reality and visions of the future, which also involve fallen angels (the Watchers), allusions to or echoes of biblical texts, particularly Isa 65–66, have been inserted. At least four passages in *BWatch*, which visualise a new age for the chosen in contrast to the judgement of all wicked beings in the present age, draw inspiration from the restored paradisiac life in Isa 65:19c–23, 24–25. According to 1 En. 1:8–9 there will be a time of peace, 5:5–9 foretells a time of joy, in 10:16–11:2 there will be a time of blessing, and according to 25:4–6 there will be a time of worship. In the case of *ApocW*, Stuckenbruck observes that the expectation in 1 En. 91:13a “is more in line with the enjoyment of labour-produced goods described for the future Jerusalem in Isaiah 65:21–22 and 66:12.”¹²⁷ Both Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch promise a reversal of the present situation in terms of a safe and comfortable life because of faithfulness/righteousness. This also demonstrates that the dividing line between the genres is somewhat fluid. Moreover, when important concepts from Isa 65:17–25 also surface in 1 En. 25:4–6 (see also 26:1–27:5), this shows that Isa 65–66 is a major biblical foundation for the vision-dreams in 1 Enoch.

The sixth theme in Isa 65:17–25 is *Restored Paradisiac Relationships* (vv. 24–25),¹²⁸ which is a reassurance of a new fellowship, peace, and cosmic order. The transformation and influence of the New Jerusalem will also have a profound effect on relationships in the new creation. The passages referred to above in connection with the theme *Restored Paradisiac Life* are also applicable here. However, 65:24–25 returns again to the mountain of God in Isa 65–66 and thus implicitly to the geography of God’s royal domain (see also 65:9–10). Mapping is a theme in 1 En. 17–36.¹²⁹ The heavenly journeys in those chapters are “alternative geography,” to counter human imperial ambitions and the ideology of dominance.¹³⁰ As in Isa 65–66, such mapping identifies Jerusalem as the capital of cosmic rule and the very centre of order and worship of YHWH as the one true God. In 1 Enoch, law and order are revealed as wisdom from above (e.g. 5:8; 82:1–3), which Isa 65:24 also implies if taken to refer to an intimate knowledge of God’s will among the chosen ones. In reception history the new environment of order and peace in Isa 65:24–25 could also have inspired other visionaries to use a creative language about relationships, for example between Gentiles and God’s people in the *AnApoc*. In that apocalypse (1 En. 85–90), the Israelites are “sheep” and Gentile nations are vari-

127. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 136.

128. See p. 147.

129. Newsom, “The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19,” 325–328; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 137–138; Kelley Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: “No one has seen what I have seen,”* JSJSup 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 289.

130. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 290.

ous wild animals that prey upon the former. In that case, the author of the apocalypse could have interpreted Isa 65:25 allegorically as a parallel to the last verses in Isa 66 (vv. 18–24), when all surviving Gentile people (wild animals) will respond to the call and journey to the holy mountain Jerusalem to sacrifice and worship God together with the faithful “servants” (domesticated animals). This transformation in the new age is also what happens in 1 En. 90:30, 37–38.

The temporal dualistic perception created by the vision-account in Isa 65–66, now also a contrast between 65:1–7 and vv. 17–25, is a forecast of a new world contra the old world. This is a view found in Jewish apocalyptic literature too. Isa 65:17–25 is an essential part in the study to get a grip of the development from prophetism to apocalypticism regarding the eschatological Zion tradition. Themes in 65:17–25, like the cosmic transformation, a new epoch, the new heavens and a new earth, a New Jerusalem, the rejoicing in the new creation, and a paradisiac environment that restores life and relationships, are all themes found in 1 Enoch. Thus, Isa 65:17–25 present a transformed cosmos and new epoch, with a world view and discourses which are, in many respects, similar to the apocalyptic genre, even if there are also features which clearly set them apart. Furthermore, even if much of the focus is on the faithful elect in Isa 65:17–25, the rebellious are still addressed implicitly as a group. For a moment, the rebellious are exhorted explicitly to rejoice in v. 18a–b which might be a sign that the author still has hope of convincing them. In that case, his rhetorical strategy is to point out what the rebellious are in danger of losing and thus motivate them to repent. As we shall see below, there are signs of a similar strategy in 1 Enoch. However, in both texts, it is the elect who will remain on earth after God has created the “new heavens and a new earth.”

Chapter 6: Isaiah 66:1–6

The fourth unit in Isa 65–66 is 66:1–6. It starts out in the present but the background is the eschatology in 65:17–25. The differentiation between the faithful and the rebellious continues but the latter are now definitely held responsible for their deeds. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, there are three main themes in the text: the presence of God (vv. 1–4, 6a–b), the expectations (vv. 2c–e, 3e–4), and the recompense (vv. 5–6). The analysis of these themes are summarised and compared with observations in 1 Enoch at the end of this chapter.

6.1 Text and Translation

כה אמר יהוה השמים כסאי והארץ הרים רגלי איזה בית אשר תבנול ואיזה מקום מנוחתי: ואתכל-אלה ידי עשתה ויהיו כל-אלה נאם-יהוה ואל-זה אביט אל-עני ונכה-רוח וחרד על-דברי: שוחט השור מכה-איש זובת השה ערף כלב מעלה מנחה דם-חזיר מזכיר לבנה מברך און גם-המה בחרו בדרכיהם ובשקוציהם נפשם חפצה: גם-אני אבחר בתעלליהם ומגורתם אביא להם יען קראתי ואין עונה דברתי ולא שמעו ויעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא-חפצתי בחרו: שמעו דבר-יהוה החרדים אל-דברו אמרו אחיכם שנאיכם מנדיכם למען שמי יכבד יהוה ונראה בשמחתכם והם יבשו: קול שאון מעיר קול מדיכל קול יהוה משלם גמול לאיביו:	1a Thus says YHWH: The heavens are my throne c and the earth is my footstool. What ^a house could you build for me? e And what ^a place [could be] my dwelling? 2a For my hand has made all these things, and so all these things came into being ^b – declares YHWH. c But to this one I will look: to the humble one and the contrite in spirit, e and who trembles at my word. 3a He who slaughters the ox strikes a man; ^c he who sacrifices the sheep breaks a dog's neck; c he who offers a grain offering [offers] swine's blood; ^d he who offers memorial of incense blesses an idol. e Yes, they have chosen their ways and their soul delights in their abominations. 4a So I myself will choose harsh treatments for them and their horrors I will bring to them. c Because I called but no one answered, I spoke but they did not listen. e They did evil in my sight and chose what I did not delight in. 5a Hear the word of YHWH, you who tremble at his word: c your brothers have said – who hate you, who exclude you for my name's sake, e "Let YHWH be glorified ^e so that we may look ^f at your joy." g But they will be ashamed. 6a A voice of uproar from the city, ^g a voice from the temple, c The voice of YHWH repaying recompense to his enemies!
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a. An alternative translation of אֵי-יָהּ is “where ([then] is).”¹ However, the critique against the temple in Isa 66:1–2 is directed towards an understanding of the nature the Temple of God which does not correspond with a view of God’s dwelling place as something holy and transcendent. The translation “What [...]// And what [...]” better reflects such an issue, than “Where [...]// And where [...]”. In support for my translation of אֵי-יָהּ, see also my discussion below about the Temple of God as an abode for divine transcendence (p. 165).

b. In the whole Hebrew Bible the phrase וַיְהִי כֹל־אֵלֶּה (“and so all these things came into being”) is found only here in Isa 66:2, and \mathfrak{G} reads $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \xi\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ (“and all these are mine”), supported by \mathfrak{L} and \mathfrak{S} . However, 1QIsa^a (וַיְהִי כֹל אֵלֶּה) supports \mathfrak{M} , even if וַיְהִי is a variant of וַיְהִי. Modern translations are therefore divided: e.g. NJB (“and all belong to me?”), REB (“and all belong to me”), and RSV/NRSV (“and so all these things are mine”) follow \mathfrak{G} ; while NJPS (“And thus it all came into being”), NASB (“Thus all these things came into being”), ESV (“and so all these things came to be”), CSB (“and so they all came into being”) follow \mathfrak{M} . Blenkinsopp thinks \mathfrak{G} probably is influenced by Ps 50:10–11.² The \mathfrak{M} reading is preferable because of: 1. The repetitive style of biblical Hebrew poetry; 2. The allusion to God’s creative act of heaven and earth (see Isa 65:17); and 3. \mathfrak{M} is supported by 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, the Three (\mathfrak{A}), \mathfrak{B} , and \mathfrak{Z} .³

c. The Hebrew in Isa 66:3 is elliptical, and some textual witnesses are variants as they have added words compared to \mathfrak{M} . Verse 3a in 1QIsa^a reads שׁוֹחֵט הַשּׁוֹר כַּמִּכָּה אִישׁ (“He who slaughters the ox is like one who strikes a man”), but the other lines in the verse do not add כ (“like”) but follow \mathfrak{M} . \mathfrak{G} reads $\acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \theta\upsilon\omega\nu\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{o}\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \kappa\upsilon\tau\upsilon\alpha$ (“But the lawless one who sacrifices a calf to me, is like the one who kills a dog”), and thereafter reappears $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (“like”) in the remaining lines of the verse. However, the first line in \mathfrak{G} diverges as a whole from vv. 3a–b in \mathfrak{M} . \mathfrak{Z} adds “like” in the first two lines, while 1QIsa^b is elliptical like \mathfrak{M} in v. 3a. I agree with Blenkinsopp that \mathfrak{M} “is deliberately abrupt and elliptical” in v. 3.⁴ Furthermore, because 1QIsa^b is also elliptical I have, therefore, not found it necessary to amplify the participles in my translation.

d. *BHS* proposes הַמֵּד (“delights in [a swine]”) instead of דַּם־ (“[swine’s] blood”). See Goldingay for other suggested emendations.⁵ The reasons for emending the text are: a second participle is absent in this line, and there is no mention of “swine’s blood” in 65:4c and 66:17c.⁶ But \mathfrak{M} is supported by 1QIsa^a (דַּם־הַחֲזִיר), \mathfrak{G} ($\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\ \upsilon\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$), and versions like \mathfrak{S} , \mathfrak{Z} and \mathfrak{B} ; and the lack of participle in \mathfrak{M} can be explained by ellipsis. It is therefore not a text-critical problem.⁷ Instead, a common solution among scholars (see also \mathfrak{B} and \mathfrak{S}) is to make דַּם־הַחֲזִיר (“swine’s blood”) dependent on the previous participle מַעֲלֶה (“presents/offers”), see e.g. Blenkinsopp, Childs, Koole, Goldingay.

e. \mathfrak{G} , \mathfrak{S} , \mathfrak{B} translate יִכְבֵּד as passive (“be glorified”), and both *BHS* and *HALOT* suggest emending יִכְבֵּד in \mathfrak{M} to a *nifal*, יִכְבֹּד (“be glorified”).⁸ 1QIsa^a can be interpreted either way (יִכְבֹּד). Goldingay points out that Isa 66:5e is not the only example of ancient versions translating כִּבְד *qal* as a passive (cf. Exod 5:9; 9:7); and Oswalt points out, referring to Cheyne, that “the intransitive nature of the *Qal* leaves open a number of possibilities” (cf. Mal 1:5).⁹

1. See *HALOT*, s.v. “אֵי” and *DCH* 1, s.v. “אֵי”.

2. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah* 56–66, 291; see also de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 223.

3. See also Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 458.

4. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah* 56–66, 292.

5. Goldingay, *Isaiah* 56–66, 431.

6. Koole, *Isaiah* 56–66, 479.

7. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, 483.

8. *HALOT*, s.v. “כִּבְד”.

9. Goldingay, *Isaiah* 56–66, 431; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 664.

f. 1QIsa^a has יראה (“he [God] will look”), instead of ונראה (“so that we may look”). But the ancient versions have “we will look” and it is more logical in the context that the author is referring to the rebellious, who are saying: “Let the Lord be glorified // so that we may look at your joy.”

g. 1QIsa^a has בעיר (“in the city”), but 1QIsa^b and G support מעיר (“from the city”). However, the following line i 1QIsa^a agrees with מן מדיכל (“from the temple”). The variant preposition in 1QIsa^a compared to מן does not affect the theme of the text.

6.2 Structural Issues (vv. 1–6)

Structural issues are pertinent in Isa 66, and vv. 4–6, in particular, is an arena for scholarly disagreement, specifically whether the text divides between v. 4 and 5 or v. 6 and 7. Where one ends upon this issue is significant in the final thematic analysis of the first unit in Isa 66. Sweeney proposes a division between vv. 4 and 5, because of a “call-to-attention formula” in v. 5a and a significant shift compared to Isa 65.¹⁰ As noted above, in connection with the analysis of Isa 65, the voice addresses the rebellious in the second person and describes the faithful to them. In 66:5, it is clear that the situation is reversed, when God speaks about the rebellious in the third person and addresses the faithful in the second person. However, this change of address probably happened in v. 3 with the transition from vv. 1–2.¹¹ That the voice in vv. 3–4 begins to speak about the rebellious is an essential observation for a thematic study of Isa 66:1–6. It is also noticeable that the voice in the text does not speak to a particular group of people in vv. 7–9. Instead, it describes Zion in the third person. Zion/Jerusalem is also a theme in vv. 10–14b, but the emphasis there is on the faithful as they are again addressed directly in the second person.

Webster, Beuken and Tiemeyer think that the literary unity should be extended beyond 66:1–4 to comprise vv. 5–6 too. Webster’s argument for an extended poetic composition is based upon a rhetorical pattern, which gives Isa 66 a concentric structure that commences with an oracle in vv. 1–6 and ends with another oracle in vv. 15–24 with Jerusalem as their common denominator (vv. 10–14). In this structure, vv. 7–9 are regarded by Webster as an introduction to the song of rejoicing over the blessed Jerusalem in vv. 10–14.¹² Beuken, like Sweeney, has noticed that the way of speaking in Isa 65 is reversed in 66:1–6. For Beuken, however, the way God is speaking to and about the faithful and the rebellious in 1–4 and 5–6 joins these passages together into a unit, rather than separates them. Sweeney does not consider this to be an argument for adding vv. 5–6 to vv. 1–4 be-

10. Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 461–462; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 362, 373.

11. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 486.

12. Webster describes the rhetorical patterns in chapter 66 as: 1. Concentric arrangement of complementary clusters, and 2. Balanced repetition of *Leitwort* (Webster, “A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66,” 93–108).

cause of the “call-to-attention formula” in v. 5a, שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה (“Hear the word of the Lord, [...]”). Beuken has other reasons as well for joining vv. 1–6 into an unit:¹³

1. The literal similarity between 66:4 and 65:12 makes 66:1–6 a mirror image of chapter 65.
2. The temple theme in 66:1–2, 6 can be linked to 65:25d–e (“They will not do evil or harm // on my entire holy mountain”) as a new prophecy about the rebellious and the nature of God’s presence.
3. A concentric arrangement of important words demarcate 66:1–6 into an unit.

Beuken’s proposal of a concentric arrangement in 66:1–6 is: v. 1 house/place of rest (A); v. 2 trembles (B); v. 3 as (גַּם) [...] (C); v. 4 so (גַּם) [...] (C’); v. 5 tremble (B’); v. 6 city/temple (A’). This argument and the judgement theme serve as reasons for joining v. 6 to vv. 1–5, and match Webster’s concentric ordering of Isa 66.

Tiemeyer’s reasons for extending 66:1–4 to include vv. 5–6, also depend partly on Webster’s identification of a literary composition in those verses (a removal of vv. 5–6 from this composition would unbalance the text), and in her discussion argues that “the content of 66:1–6 forms a logical unity.” Referring to J. D. Smart, Tiemeyer points out that a reference to the rebellious people (those who refuse to respond) in v. 4 is naturally followed by a direct message to the faithful (those who do respond).¹⁴ In that way v. 5 connects to vv. 1–4. Therefore, according to Tiemeyer the flow is:

- Verses 1–2, both groups are introduced
- Verses 3–4, the rebellious who do not listen to God’s call
- Verse 5, the faithful who tremble at God’s word
- Verse 6, promising rectification to those faithful

Tiemeyer concludes that “Isa 66:1–6 is a carefully thought-out literary composition, forming a subunit within the larger context of Isa 65:1–66:17.”¹⁵

Both Beuken and Tiemeyer refer to Webster when arguing for the unity of Isa 66:1–6. However, Webster’s proposal is not accepted by all scholars. We have already seen above that Sweeney is one opponent. P. A. Smith also thinks that the clearest indication of a division of 65:1–66:17 is the change of address to the

13. Willem A. M. Beuken, “Does Trito-Isaiah Reject the Temple? An Intertextual Inquiry Into Isa. 66:1–6,” in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas Van Iersel*, ed. Draisma Sipke (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1989), 59–61.

14. See also J. D. Smart, “A New Interpretation of Isaiah lxvi.1–6,” *Exp Tim* 46/9 (June, 1935): 420–424.

15. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 52–53.

second person plural at 66:5,¹⁶ and Koole does not find a concentric structure in vv. 1–6 entirely convincing.¹⁷ Smith also sees “problems of details” in Webster’s concentric arrangement of vv. 1–6, as he does not find this kind of linking of verses strong enough to set aside some of the arguments for dividing the material at v. 4. Instead, Smith finds Webster’s proposed structure weak and even insignificant, because the terms that Webster regards as complementary are not identical. Instead Smith finds a number of reasons why it is likely that vv. 1–4 “are a closely-knit unit” and “the original continuation of ch 65.”¹⁸ Sweeney, Smith, Koole are not alone in considering 66:1–4 a unit,¹⁹ but neither are Webster, Beuken, and Tiemeyer.²⁰

We do have a clear shift of address in v. 5 in combination with the “call-to-attention formula” in v. 5a (שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר-יְהוָה). However, in my interpretation, this formula is not an obvious divider between vv. 1–4 and 5–6.²¹ There is probably already a change of address after vv. 1–2 and there is a continuation from chapter 65 up to 66:6 in terms of the rebellious contra the faithful in the community. There is also the temple theme in vv. 1–2 and 6. Based on the themes in the text, therefore, I regard vv. 1–6 as an unit, also because in vv. 7–9 no particular group is being spoken to directly. Isa 66:1–6 begins and ends thematically with references to the presence of God in the temple and in the city as the location for divine intervention. In short, the eschatological temple in 66:6 is the implied true temple in 66:1 with the throne in heaven and the footstool on earth, and thus supplements the vision of the heavens and earth in 65:17. Furthermore, “the city” in 66:6a alludes to the New Jerusalem in 65:18, from which God’s voice is “repaying recompense to his enemies.” All together, 66:1–6 is a thematic unit and the first theme to analyse is the presence of God that spans over the whole section.

16. Other factors that Smith feels reinforce a division between 66:4 and 5 are: 1. New formula of address at 66:5; 2. There are strong verbal thematic links between 66:4 and 65:1, 12 and 24; 3. There is a loose ring structure between 65:1–7 and 66:3 (repetition of terminology and references to illicit cultic practice, which is also true of 66:3 and 66:17). See Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 131–132.

17. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 469.

18. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 154.

19. Smith says that the majority of commentators have accepted vv. 1–4 as the opening unit in chapter 66 (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 153). He refers specifically to Sekine and Muihlenburg when explaining his arguments for vv. 1–4 being “a closely-knit unit.”

20. See Childs, *Isaiah*, 539–541; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 663–671; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 290–301; Jill Middlemas, “Divine Reversal and the Role of the Temple in Trito-Isaiah,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 422 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 178–179; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 478.

21. Notable is also that Sweeney does not use such speech formulas after 66:5 to divide the text into different components. His second sub-component (vv. 15–24) in 66:5–24 begins with a כִּי־הִנֵּה (“For behold”), but does not make use of כִּי־הִנֵּה in 65:17a and 18c, or כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנֵּה in 66:12a–b, in the same way to mark new units in the chapters (Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 462–463; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 360, 363, 369–370, 373–374).

6.3 The Presence of God (vv. 1–4, 6a–b)²²

In Isa 65 the manifestation or presence of God is revealed as graciousness (v. 1), judgement (vv. 6–7, 11–12), salvation (vv. 8–10), curses and blessings (vv. 13–16), and creative restoration (vv. 17–25). However, in Isa 66:1 a certain view on the newly rebuilt Second Temple, as the place for God’s presence, is questioned.²³ The cause behind this questioning is the deeds and attitudes of the rebellious in contrast to those of the faithful, a crisis that results in expectations that God will act (vv. 2c–4, 5–6). As in Isa 65, a sizeable group of people in the Jerusalem community are accused of not respecting basic things about God’s presence, i.e., the function of the temple as a place of worship.²⁴ From the context, it is clear that syncretism, idolatry and deprivation prompted the questioning in 66:1–2b and obviously made the temple unsuitable for prayer and the worship of God. Furthermore, the questioning, prompted by this crisis, was also intended as a challenge to the Persian imperial ideology. The vision in 66:1–2b declares that the Persian king is not the creator and king of the universe, YHWH is, and his presence in the world is his throne’s footstool that will be located in Jerusalem. The following discussion of Isa 66:1–4, 6a–b analyses how the author explains the presence of God in different ways, although the unit (vv. 1–6) closes with the view that only the divine voice from an eschatological temple-city can make things right again.

6.3.1 Temple of God (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)

When Isa 65–66 refers to a temple, either directly or implied, it stands in contrast to the current situation in the Jerusalem community. In Isa 65:3b–5, the rebellious are accused of idolatry “in the gardens” (v 3b, בַּגִּנּוֹת), which are specific locations secluded for cultic activities. The gardens are referred to again in 66:17a–d as areas where “abominable” things took place. These gardens are contrasted to the paradise-like garden in 65:17–25, which the author closely associates with the renewal of a world-temple and a temple-city in vv. 17–18.²⁵ Another stark contrast to

22. Some of the material published in Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 47–66 are reused and lightly edited in this section of my study of Isa 65–66.

23. As in Isa 6 there must have been temple activities going on in Isa 65–66 (see in particular 65:3b–c and 66:3a–d, 17a–b) which triggered its author to communicate a vision that questioned its legitimacy (see e.g. H. G. M. Williamson, “Temple and Worship in Isaiah 6,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 422 [London: T&T Clark, 2007], 123–139). Also, Isa 66:6 presuppose a standing temple in Jerusalem. For a discussion of previous research on the temple and the dating of TI, see 1.3.2.1 *Authorship and Dating*, p. 9.

24. I am not in full agreement with the view that the central issue in Isa 65–66 is the possession of the Temple (see Middlemas, “Divine Reversal and the Role of the Temple in Trito-Isaiah,” 165), even if it might be a side effect of the dominating issue, which is the behaviour of the rebellious at the cult.

25. Besides my analysis of the themes *The Creation of Hew Heavens and a New Earth* (p. 125) and *The*

the idolatry “in the gardens,” the burning of incense “on the mountains” and the insults “on the hills” in 65:7b–c, is the mention of God’s mountain in Isa 65:9b, 11b and 25e (הר קדשי and הר קדשי). In Isa 65, the holy mountain is a potent symbol for Zion and a reference to the temple mount in Jerusalem, the centre of true worship. In that capacity, it is the symbol of the presence of God and the source of order in the new world. It is also likely that the author imagined “my (holy) mountain” in Isa 65 as reaching the “heavens” (v. 17), thus describing the true temple and the place from which God will reign over the universe.

The resistance against the rebellious in Isa 65–66 is expressed in 66:1 by questioning a view of the Second Temple. The reservation in the verse seems like a break with a tradition that emphasised the temple’s central importance in Israelite religion. However, this reaction in Isa 66 is neither a sign of a rejection of the temple in principle, nor of an attack against its priestly office,²⁶ but rather it strongly rejects and criticises the ideology of a priestly group and its lack of respect for the presence of God. Because of this disrespect, the rebellious/religious leadership in Isa 65–66 had defiled the cult and Jerusalem with their idolatry and syncretism (66:3). In short, the questioning of the practices in the Second Temple in Isa 66:1–2a was not caused by disappointment over its physical appearance, but came about because of unrighteous deeds there. It is possible that we then have an allusion here to the tradition of the Davidic covenant and 2 Sam 7:5, where YHWH asks king David through the prophet Nathan: “Are you to build me a house to dwell in?” Jacob Stromberg suggests that the rejection of king David as a temple builder, and not the temple itself, is a parallel to Isa 66:1.²⁷ However, if Isa 66:1 echoes God’s words to David in 2 Sam 7:5, the Isaianic text also has in mind the reason for the rejection of David; namely, the deeds he was responsible for that did not always honour God (cf. 1 Chron 22:8; 28:3).

So, what kind of temple is Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b describing, and what does it say about the presence of God? I will approach these questions by analysing how the presence of God is depicted in 66:1–2b, 6a–b. There are aspects in those verses that describe the nature of the Temple of God, as well as illustrating the defilement of

Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People (p. 127) above, see also further discussions of these themes in connection with *Temple of God* in Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b below (p. 161).

26. Hanson’s understanding that marginalised disciples of DI, represented by e.g. Isa 65–66, were in conflict with the establishment, represented by disciples of Ezekiel (Paul D. Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup* 1:32; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 71), becomes difficult to maintain. I would argue instead that the view of the temple and its function in Isa 65–66 is quite similar to Ezekiel’s view: because of Israel’s sin, God leaves Jerusalem and the Temple (a negation of Zion tradition), but it will be recreated along with the Temple when YHWH returns and holiness is restored (ch 40–48); it is the presence of God that make Zion and the cosmos secure for God’s people. See Renz, “The Use of the Zion Tradition,” 77–103.

27. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 21–22.

the Second Temple and the subsequent crisis. The aspects that describe the Temple of God in 66:1–2b, 6a–b, are as follows:

First, *the Temple of God is a divine throne that extends the presence of God from heaven to earth*. Isa 66:1b–c reads: “The heavens are my throne // and the earth is my footstool.” A parallel is of course Isa 6:1,²⁸ but also the new world-temple in Isa 65:17,²⁹ which illustrates the function of the divine throne in 66:1b–c as an axis between God’s heavenly and earthly abode.³⁰ The world-temple is thus like a cosmic hub that houses the throne. Ezek 43:1–12 also speaks about a vision of a temple, which is the place for God’s throne and his feet (v. 7), and where he will dwell forever among his people (v. 7, 9). The mention of God’s feet in Ezek 43:7 echoes Isa 66:1b–c, but Ezek 43:12 also declares that the temple and its throne are marked out with borders as a most holy mountain of God,³¹ which brings to mind Isa 65:25, where such a place is the base from which control, order and ruling flow out into a renewed world. When Ezek 43:12 declares all of it as the “law of the house” (זאת תורת הבית), therefore, it is a parallel to the idea in Isa 65–66 of a future new world of theocracy, where the temple throne manifests the presence of God among the people.

The short creation-oracle in Isa 66:2a–b is an evocation of the original act of creation in Gen 1, even though God also rests on the seventh day in the Genesis-account.³² This divine rest, however, should not be interpreted as God suddenly becoming inactive after a period of intense creativity, but rather be understood functionally as God’s “freedom to rule” over the cosmos.³³ In the Genesis-account, God is also free to commission the not yet fallen human race to be vice-regents and to reflect his glory as created in his own image. A similar pattern is visible in Isa 65:17–66:1–2, 6. Immediately after God’s renewal of the “heavens and earth” and the depiction of a new edenic paradise, God is portrayed in 66:1–2b, 6a–b as being enthroned in the world-temple; and moreover from this transcendent position he conveys his will through Jerusalem and its temple.

28. In Isa 6:1–4, the prophet Isaiah witnesses in a vision YHWH sitting on a heavenly throne that reaches down into the earthly temple and presumably the ark with its cherubim. Isaiah sees the celestial enthroned king in the temple, who easily breaches its dimensions. As Williamson says, the phrase “high and lifted up” (רם ונשא) in 6:1 infers “that what applies to God’s throne must apply even more to God himself, [...]” (Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 50. See also, e.g. Williamson, “Temple and Worship,” 124–126).

29. See 5.4 *The Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth* (v. 17), p. 125.

30. See John A. Walton, *Genesis 1 as Ancient Cosmology* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 178–179.

31. על־ראש ההר כל־גבולו סביב סביב קדש קדשים

32. Gen 2:1–3.

33. Walton, *Genesis 1*, 178–184; cf. Dan Liroy, *Axis of Glory: A Biblical and Theological Analysis of the Temple Motif in Scripture*, StBibLit 138 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 14–15; G. J. Wenham, “Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story,” in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11*, ed. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 403. See also Ps 132:7–8, 13–14.

Second, *the Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate*. The affiliation of a heavenly throne with the Temple of God reveals YHWH as a King in a palace, exercising universal authority over among others the rebellious and the faithful in Isa 65–66. The word “temple” (היכל) in 66:6b can also be translated “palace,” and because of the concentric pattern of 66:1–6, the “house” (בית) in v. 1d and “the palace” (היכל) in v. 6b depict the same holy abode of God.³⁴ The reference to the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 66:1d was therefore a “house” intended as an earthly representation of God’s heavenly palace – or the “footstool” for the King of the universe – but questioned in that capacity. It is true that the Hebrew word for “king” (מלך) does not occur in Isa 65–66. However, there are references to YHWH as King, for example, in Isa 6:1–5; 24:33; 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6. The mention of a future ruler is also found in Isa 9, 11, 16, 32.³⁵

When Isa 6 begins by mentioning the death of the human king Ussiah, it is in contrast to the presence of God as the eternal King in his heavenly temple/palace, surrounded by a council of seraphim (vv. 1–2). God is further revealed in that royal environment as metaphysically transcendent (v. 3), as a chief of warriors (vv. 3, 5), and as a redeemer (v. 7).³⁶ After Isaiah’s commission in Isa 6:8–13, the work of the divine King is delegated to a messianic agent in Isa 9 and 11. In Isa 40–55 the work of a messiah is developed and expanded to include the function of a servant/servants,³⁷ and in 61:1–3 to a victorious conqueror who will comfort (נחם) those who mourn in Zion.³⁸ These diverse portraits of God and a messiah are brought together in Isa 65–66, and applied in 66:1–2b, 6 on YHWH as the One who alone rules with judgement and salvation from his palace.³⁹ Thus, the vision of YHWH as King on his throne in his palace in 66:1–2b, 6 forms a kind of inclusion to the vision of YHWH as King in Isa 6:1–7. In both passages, the Temple of God is a combined heavenly and earthly palace for YHWH as king, the place for his throne and the base for his work. The difference between the two visions is that the presence of God in Isa 66:1–2b, 6 is eschatologized.

The vision of a royal God on a throne in his palace is also closely associated to a city or a capital in Isa 66:6a. The words of 66:6, which echoes 6:4, describe the di-

34. See also 6.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 1–6), p. 158.

35. For a discussion of these references, see Schultz, “The King in the Book of Isaiah,” 148–154.

36. Isa 6:3, קדוש קדוש קדוש; Isa 6:3, 5, יהוה צבאות; Isa 6:7, עניך והטאתך הכפר.

37. E.g. Isa 11:2/42:1; 9:7 and 11:1/55:3 demonstrate parallels between the king and the servant/servants. See Schultz, “The King in the Book of Isaiah,” 155–159. The servant-concept in Isa 40–66 will be discussed more below in connection with 8.3.1 *His Servants* (v. 14c), p. 244.

38. Schultz points out that an explicit connection between the king and the “Anointed Conqueror” is “this person as adjudicating on behalf of the needy (9:4 [3]; 11:4a; 61:1) and as slaying the wicked (11:4b; 63:6)” (Schultz, “The King in the Book of Isaiah,” 160–161). The motif of comfort is a key theme in the Book of Isaiah, and in 66:10–14b this messianic message in the Book of Isaiah is conveyed through Zion (see 7.3.3 *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* [vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a], p. 223).

39. See also 6.5.3 *Intervention* (v. 6), p. 192 for a full discussion about messianic concepts in Isa 65–66.

vine king's voice as a conquering roaring "from the city, // a voice from the temple!" // The voice of YHWH repaying recompense to his enemies." In Isa 65:18–19, the presence of God is also connected to a New Jerusalem. The concentric pattern, both in 66:1–6 and in 65:18–19, emphasises that the temple/palace-city is the mount from which God's judgement and redemption originate. All together, this reflects a conviction regarding the earthly location of the temple-palace with its royal throne, the place where the throne contacts with earth. This conviction moves the author to break out in a unique figurative language about Mother Zion in 66:7–14b as the very centre of the world.⁴⁰

Third, *the Temple of God is the abode for a transcendent God*. This is enforced when the divine voice declares in Isa 66:2a–b that his "hand has made (עשתה) all these things, // and so all these things came into being (ויהיו) [...]." This is an evocation of the creation (בורא) of the "new heavens and a new earth," and a New Jerusalem for its people in 65:17–18.⁴¹ Moreover, it is also an evocation of the original act of creation in Gen 1, which is structured around יעש and יהי ברא.⁴² God, as creator, is a transcendent divinity, and the place on earth for his feet ("footstool") in Isa 66:1c, and the temple in 6b, is a microcosm that reflects an already but not yet world-temple as the residence for his presence.⁴³ So when "a voice of uproar" comes from Jerusalem, and more exactly "a voice from the temple" (v 6a–b), it comes from the abode of a transcendent God, an abode also visualised as filling the whole world. However, the conviction of the author that a transcendent God does not really need an earthly temple for his presence is also part of the issue: "What house could you build for me? // And what place [could be] my dwelling?" (v. 1e). Nonetheless, the second line in the next verse makes the astounding statement that the abode of the transcendent God is among those who are humble, contrite and "who trembles at my word" (v. 2c–e).

The prophets Zechariah and Haggai are known for having encouraged the people to finish the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem after the exile. Zechariah had begun his prophetic ministry in Jerusalem a few weeks earlier than Haggai's third speech about defilement and repentance.⁴⁴ He had also found it necessary to exhort the people to return to YHWH so that he could return to them (Zech 1:3). The situation reflected earlier in Haggai had not changed, because the

40. Regarding the voice of God as King in Isa 66:6, see again 6.5.3 *Intervention* (v. 6), p. 192.

41. Hanson interprets Isa 66:2a–b as a rejection of pagan cult worship, "that the deity is dependent on human gifts [...]. Food and drink were offered to the gods to satisfy their hunger and thirst." Israel's God requires no such physical offerings. I agree with Hanson that the general point of the critique in v. 2a–b is that God does not need this world's objects to be who he is, but the specific issue here is the temple as God's abode between heavens and earth, and a new such world-temple is promised in 65:17. See Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 249.

42. However, the Hebrew term יצר ("to form") in Gen 2:7, 8, 19 is not used in the context of Isa 65–66.

43. Cf. Acts 17:24–25.

44. Zech 1:1; Hag 2:11.

people had not taken Haggai's message to heart.⁴⁵ The general situation, which the two prophets tried correct with their preaching, is shared by Isa 65–66, which is about the relationship of the rebellious people with the cult and syncretistic practices.⁴⁶ Thus, the temple as a dwelling place of God, as the central place for Israel's religion, is not in principle rejected in Isa 66:1–4, 6. Neither are Jerusalem or Zion, as the geographical place for this temple, rejected by the author of Isa 65–66. What is questioned in 66:1–2b, however, is the unrepented syncretistic attitude (see the contrast in 66:2c–e, 3), and that God supposedly needs or is dependent on an earthly temple. It is possible that the idea that God stood in favour of the people for their initiative of rebuilding the temple for him existed,⁴⁷ but the answer in Isa 66:2c ("But to this one I will look: [...]") is that a transcendent God is free to decide what and where his abode is, and for whom it is accessible.

Four, *the Temple of God is a holy place*. In Isa 65–66, the term "holy" is used in connection with God's mountain in 65:11, 25 and 66:20. The combination of the three aspects above confirm this holiness as a space that characterises the true nature of the Temple of God. Furthermore, the contrast between the Temple of God as a transcendent throne in a heavenly palace and the complacent behaviour of the rebellious in 65:3–5 and 66:3, which describes the defilement of holiness, is a main issue for the visionary. Even though the author of Isa 65–66 reacts strongly against misapplications of holiness in his community, he nonetheless returns regularly to God's holy mountain.⁴⁸ Like God's holy mountain, the temple (הֵיכָל) in 66:1 and v. 6b is understood as a place which belongs to God in heaven, not to man on earth. The throne rises like a mountain above the created and connects with the heavenly. So even if the term "holy" is not used in 66:1–6, the temple of God is nevertheless presented as a holy place. To put it differently, the habitation is not holy primarily because of its moral purity, otherwise the term holy would have been used in the passage, but the abode is holy because it belongs to the heavenly realm rather than to the mundane world.⁴⁹

This perception in Isa 66:1–2b, 6 about the Temple of God as holy, because of its affiliation to the heavenly, has parallels in the Hebrew prophetic literature. We have already seen that Isa 57 is an important passage in understanding the situ-

45. Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 115.

46. According to Blenkinsopp, "This is precisely the situation against which the Isaian 'quakers' and 'servants' protested" in Isa 66:1–5. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, rev. and enl. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 219–221.

47. Beuken describes it as the "notion" that God "needs the temple and owes it to a benevolent initiative from Israel (Beuken, "Does Trito-Isaiah Reject the Temple?," 63).

48. Isa 65:11, 25; 66:20; see also 65:9.

49. Isa 6 illustrates this understanding of God's temple or palace as utmost holy because of the presence of God, when the prophet Isaiah sees in a vision YHWH enthroned as king above the earthly temple in Jerusalem, and the seraphims calling out the liturgical phrase: "Holy, Holy, Holy, is YHWH of armies" (v. 3). Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 57–60; Goldingay, *The Theology of the Book of Isaiah*, 97–98.

ation in Isa 65–66, and 57:15 connects with 66:1–2b. After the promise in 57:13, that “whoever takes refuge in” YHWH “will inherit the land and possess” God’s holy mountain (see Isa 65:9b–10), the speech continues in v. 14 with an oracle of exhortation: to build up, prepare the way, and remove every obstacle for “my people.” This exhortation describes the mission of the prophetic voice in Isa 65–66 too.⁵⁰ Next, in Isa 57:15, we have the parallel to Isa 66:1–2b that refers to “a high and holy place” (מרום וקדוש) where the “high and exalted One (רם ונשא) [...] lives/enthrones forever, whose name is Holy, [...]” (שכן עד וקדוש שמו). Both in 57:15 and 66:1–2b, 6a–b, God’s presence is closely associated with a place, a place made holy because it belongs to YHWH. In Isa 66, that place is specified as the city and the temple, but the identification of where God’s presence is located is not decisive either in Isa 57 or 66. Instead, it is specified in both passages that God’s presence is with those who are oppressed and low in spirit.⁵¹ Thus, the sacred nature of the Temple of God in Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b is not something that belongs to humankind, but rather belongs to God and is accessible only if a person seeks it in humility and with trembling (v. 2c–e).

In the Book of Haggai (521 BCE), holiness and uncleanness became an issue in connection with the building of the Second Temple, because of unrepentant people. In the first half of the third prophetic speech, Haggai is urged by YHWH to ask the priests for a ruling (תורה). The question there was whether that which is holy (the priest’s portion of holy food) and that which is unclean (a person by corpse) is contagious or not.⁵² The priests’ official answers were that holiness is not transferable (2:11–12) while uncleanness is contagious (v. 13). Haggai subsequently applies these principles to the people by claiming that their work and their religion is unclean before YHWH (v. 14), an accusation made suddenly when the temple project had been going on for a relatively short time.⁵³ The people thus learned, in spite of thinking they had done the right thing when building a new house of God (1:12–14), that their involvement in the building project did not automatically make them clean in God’s eyes. Instead, they were guilty of defiling the building material and the sacrifices they offered because of their unrepentant hearts (2:14). I believe the author of Isa 65–66 is questioning attitudes towards the temple for somewhat similar reasons, namely that building a sanctuary for God,

50. See e.g. the repetition of “my people” in Isa 65:10, 18, 19 and 22.

51. For an analysis of Isa 57:15 and its parallel to 66:1–2, see also Jo Bailey Wells, *God’s Holy People: A Theme in Biblical Theology*, JSOTSup 305 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 152–155.

52. That holiness is not transferable beyond the garments of the priests is perhaps an oral Law; cf. Lev 10:8; Exod 29:31; 29:37; Lev 6:11, 19–22; 7:6; Exod 44:19. Regarding uncleanness and corpses, see Lev 21:11; 22:4; Num 5:2; 9:6, 10; 19:22. Regarding the function of priests that Haggai alludes to, see Mal 2:7–9; Jer 18:18.

53. According to Hag 1:15 and 2:10 the work on the temple had been going on for three months when Haggai delivered his third speech in 2:11–19.

or making sacrifice, do not automatically bring people closer to God, because that which is holy is incompatible with an unrepenting world.

6.3.2 Crisis (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)

The reasons for the expressed critique in Isa 66:1–2b, and the stark contrasts in connection with the sanctuary, imply a crisis in the early post-exilic period. The house had become a symbol for a crisis that divided the community regarding the presence of God. The issue derives from what is explained in v. 3, deeds that defile those who serve in the temple, but the questioning in vv. 1–2b also indicates a political angle to the conflict. The situation in the Persian Empire was unstable after Emperor Cambyses (530–522 BCE), and the rise of Darius (522–486 BCE) began with the suppression of revolts in many regions. No uprising occurred in Yehud, but it was part of an area that was essential for Darius' military activity in Egypt.⁵⁴ One of Darius' strategies was the rebuilding of temples throughout the empire, seemingly to gain good will, but the real reason was likely to strengthen his imperial power and the logistics of his army on its way to Egypt.⁵⁵ This policy meant that Darius mandated the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple for administrative purposes.⁵⁶ Darius' successor, his son Xerxes (486–465 BCE), emphasised the centrality of Persia against other ethnicities and nationalities and, therefore, did not show the same tolerance towards other faiths and temples as his father had done. Artaxerxes I (465–423 BCE) continued many of his father Xerxes' policies toward decay with a greater autonomy for colonies like Yehud. However, the support of religious reforms in Yehud during this time did have political reasons such as loyalty.⁵⁷

The strategies of the Persians kings to strengthen and maintain their power were rooted in ideology. W. Dennis Tucker Jr, in his book *Construction and Deconstructing Power in Psalms 107–150*, discusses how the anti-imperial tendency in Pss 107–145 is, to a high degree, about resistance against the imperial ideology eman-

54. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 60–65.

55. In Portier-Young's discussion of the imperial oversight of temples, she refers to Goldstone and Haldon, who observe that rulers (Assyrians and Persians) "became actively involved in the dominant cults of conquered territories, which were then assimilated into a broader network of divine relationships, participation in which guaranteed both continuing divine support and therefore political and institutional stability" (Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 85–86). Berquist also says: "Like Cyrus before him, Darius used religion and native traditions to construct an image of the Persian emperor as beneficent ruler, causing significant portions of local populations to ally themselves with Persia without military expenditures" (Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 57).

56. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," in *Second Temple Studies: 1. Persian Period*, ed. Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 117 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 51; Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 62–63.

57. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 111.

ating from Persia.⁵⁸ Tucker describes three claims that the ideology of the Achaemenid Dynasty made:⁵⁹

1. The empire was an empire that claimed a worldwide reach, with the divine mandate to expand, conquer, and control,
2. Such governance was cast in terms of joyful participation by the conquered peoples;
3. The ideology was meant to secure cosmic order.

As Pierre Briant explains, and Tucker points out, this ideology was regarded as timeless, because they were “Written in the immovable and infinite time of the King.”⁶⁰ This Persian imperial ideology began with Darius I, dominated the whole history of the Achaemenid dynasty, and extended into the reign of the early Hellenists.⁶¹ Briant says: “the invention of the great Hellenistic kingdoms was carried out in partial continuity with Achaemenid practice.”⁶² Isa 65–66, as well as Pss 107–145,⁶³ rhetorically challenged the ideological claims of the Achaemenid Dynasty with a theology rooted in the commitment to the covenant of YHWH and in the Hebrew prophetic tradition. We will have reasons to reflect further on this response to Persian claims when discussing Zion as the centre of joy and comfort, and as the centre of the world (66:10–14b) below.

While DI tried to blend Persian imperial ideology with Judean royal ideology by associating Cyrus with the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple (44:28),⁶⁴ Isa 66:1–2b implies that its author takes a reserved and critical approach to the current political situation.⁶⁵ In that case, the combining of a messiah with YHWH in Isa 65–66, which emphasises YHWH as the only Great King in his heavenly palace in 66:6a–b, is part of the vision’s rejection of the Persian ideology. Furthermore, an influence of the imperial rule of the Persian king over Jerusalem can partly explain the religious pluralism and syncretism in the community.⁶⁶ The critique in

58. W. Dennis Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power in Psalms 107–150*, AIL 19 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 16–17.

59. Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power*, 27–41.

60. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 7.

61. Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power*, 17.

62. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 876. Briant also states: “From the point of view of Near Eastern imperial geopolitics, Alexander was indeed ‘the last of the Achaemenids.’”

63. Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power*, 53.

64. Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power*, 55–59. See also the designation of Cyrus as YHWH’s “shepherd” (44:28) and “anointed” (45:1). Furthermore, and as Tucker also points out, the Babylonian provenance of Isa 40–55 has recently been challenged by scholars, by giving attention to aspects that suggest a Judahite provenance of Isa 40–55 (e.g. Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion*).

65. This difference or contrast between DI and TI is also extended to include the return of diaspora Jews to the New Jerusalem in Isa 66:20 (see 9.3.4 *Your Brothers [v. 20]*, p. 288).

66. See e.g. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia’s Shadow*, 73–80. Erhard S. Gerstenberger says that “within

connection with the temple in Isa 66:1–2b, therefore, reflects not only a questioning of the behaviour at the cult, but also an official debate regarding Darius’ mandate to rebuild the temple and the continuing Persian influence over Israel’s religious life.⁶⁷ When these levels of struggles interconnect in Isa 65–66, we have a discourse against an ideology pushed by some of the priesthood, and which has been established by the imperial ruler as an elite in “a semi-autonomous temple-community.”⁶⁸ Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b, therefore, reflect a resistance to a political situation which jeopardised the exclusive faith in YHWH and the temple of God as an undefiled house of prayer.⁶⁹ Another crisis of this kind befell the temple during the Hellenistic period, when again the influence of an imperial rule over the religious life in Judah defiled the temple and Jerusalem. The Antiochean persecution gave rise to apocalyptic literature with eschatological content⁷⁰ which reflects a crisis of the kind also implied in Isa 65–66. In short, there was a common cause to resist imperial ideology.

6.3.3 Deeds (vv. 2c–4)

After the explanation in Isa 66:1–2b about the presence of God and the true nature of his temple, the following phrase in v. 2c implies that the crisis involves relationships in the Jerusalem community too: “But to this one I will look: [...]” It is as if the divine voice answers a question from those who are responsible for the new temple, when they wonder who can hear or have a relationship with God when the building itself is questioned. Redemption in Isa 65–66 is not unconditional, as the phrase in v. 2c does not apply to those referred to in v. 3. Their deeds disqualify them from a relationship with God in his presence, which is clear from vv. 3e–4. Instead, God’s graciousness (cf. 65:1–2) applies to “the humble one and the contrite in spirit, and who trembles at my [God’s] word” (v. 2d–e). It is this approach to both the faithful and the rebellious that keeps vv. 1–4 together despite the sud-

and underneath the ‘official’ competing confessions, there existed a popular belief that fed on all kinds of archaic, contemporary, and cultural sources” (Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period*, 118). Some of these “contemporary, and cultural sources” can very well have had their rise in the imperial influence over Yehud as a temple-province.

67. For a discussion concerning the adoption of popular views and practices, and the official rituals, which likely characterised Israel in the Persian period, see Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period*, 116–121.

68. Blenkinsopp, “Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah,” 51.

69. The exclusive identification with YHWH among groups of post-exilic Jews was obviously very important for the survival of “my people” (אֲנִי) under the Persian rule (cf. Ezra–Nehemiah), despite the policy of decentralisation of religion (cf. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period*, 435–442).

70. See Michael E. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects, and Visions: A Profile of Judaism from Ezra to the Jewish Revolts*, repr. ed. (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2005), 45.

den transition from v. 2c–e to vv. 3–4.⁷¹ I will discuss the designations of the faithful in v. 2c–e, in connection with the theme *expectations* in more depth below.⁷² At this point, however, it can be said that because of YHWH’s royal sovereignty over all things, he desires a relationship only with those who seek and obey him.

The deeds of the rebellious are characterised as disobedience in v. 3, but what deeds do the faithful manifest in v. 2c–e? As we will see more in detail below, “humble” (עני) stands for a gracious attitude and openness, “contrite in spirit” (נכה-רוח) describes a group who are submissive through brokenness, and “trembles” (וחרד על-דברי) expresses a religious awe often described as the fear of God in the Hebrew Bible. The faithful are oppressed by the rebellious (v. 5), so the deeds they practice are limited by necessity to these three things. However, the author of Isa 65–66 argues that this is enough for God to listen to them, in contrast to those who practice at the cult in 66:3.⁷³ Deeds in vv. 2c–4 have to do with how the two different groups treat each other, but the divine response in v. 2c (“But to this one I will look”) comes in connection with the question of views towards the temple in vv. 1–2b and the deeds of the rebellious in v. 3, so the demand of obedience in vv. 2c–3 is also about worship. The faithful worship God in their humility and submissive state. They are portrayed as being in honest need, and their trembling at God’s word is a further expression of that.⁷⁴ Thus a new exodus is visualised,⁷⁵ as suggested by the faithful’s implied cries in v. 2c–e. Because of the cries, God looks to them as his chosen people and is ready to redeem them to enter the new holy Zion to worship him.

The divine voice in 66:2c–e continues in v. 3 to describe the behaviour of the rebellious, in contrast to the attitude of the faithful and their situation. In Isa 65:11–16, the rebellious and the faithful are set against each other, and here the author does it again, this time over the specific issue of deeds which also spills over to the already familiar issue of worship in Isa 65–66. In 66:3a–d, there are seven active participles in four lines of text. Six of these participles are placed in parallel relationship to each other. There is some discussion as to whether or not a comparative כ (“is like”) should be added to each line,⁷⁶ something I have found

71. Goldingay interprets the transition to vv. 3–4 as being “sudden” that he finds it “unlikely that vv. 3–4 provide the reason for the polemic about the temple in vv. 1–2, [...]” (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 486). However, Jacob Stromberg argues that “the addressees of 66:1–2 were regarded as among the syncretists” (the reason for the rejection of the temple) and that such an interpretation “receives support from what immediately follows [vv. 3–4] this passage” (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 24–25).

72. See 6.4.1 *Vindication (v. 2c–e)*, p. 174.

73. See also Isa 66:4c–f, cf. 65:24.

74. Cf. Deut 7:7–9. God’s election does not depend on human greatness, but is based on his love and loyalty to the Abrahamic covenant.

75. See 7.3.2 *The Centre of God’s Mercy (v. 9)*, p. 218. Mother Zion and God’s mercy in Isa 66:9 implies a new exodus.

76. Alexander Rofé, “Isaiah 66.1–4: Judean Sects in the Persian Period as Viewed by Trito-Isaiah,”

unnecessary as the verse is deliberately elliptical.⁷⁷ Instead, as Alexander Rofé explains, the first four participles in each line are functional subjects which describe the priestly professions and the participles they are paired with are predicates connecting abominable deeds with the priests:⁷⁸

- a – “he who slaughters (שוחט) the ox strikes (מכה) a man”;
- b – “he who sacrifices (זוכח) the sheep breaks (ערף) the neck of a dog”;
- c – “he who presents (מעלה) a grain offering [offers (מעלה)] swine’s blood”;⁷⁹
- d – “he who offers (מוזכיר) memorial of incense blesses (מברך) an idol.”

Thus, each line in v. 3a–d conveys parallel contemporary activities and, therefore, assumes an “also” or “is” between the first and second participle phrase. This interpretation makes it possible to identify the rebellious as consisting of Jerusalemite priests, an observation that 66:5c–d confirms because only those in religious authority can exclude somebody from the community. The point is also to explain that those people who are priests at an assumed temple are actually guilty of continuing wicked behaviour and syncretism. Furthermore, the way the rebellious are exercising religion is not only about idolatry but also about unrighteousness, both which are critiqued in other parts of TI (Isa 56:9–59:21). The lines that follow in v. 3e–f confirms v. 3a–d, and therefore reads:

Yes they have chosen their ways [the unrighteousness in v. 3a–b]
and their soul delights in their abominations [the idolatry in v. 3c–d]

This rhetorical response (גם) to the deeds of the rebellious in v. 3a–d, and which also explains the questioning in connection with an earthly temple in 66:1–2b, echoes the disappointment already expressed in 65:1–2. In short, when in 66:1–4 the divine voice ends the accusations against the rebellious with the explanation “They did evil in my sight (בעיני) // and chose what I did not delight (לא־הפצתי),” he does so for two major reasons: firstly, the unrighteous and impure activities in v. 3a–d, and secondly, their non-repentant attitude in v. 4c–d. Both בעיני (“in my sight”) and לא־הפצתי (“I did not delight”) have cultic applications in v. 4e–f,⁸⁰ so

in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 207; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 477–478; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 297; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 486.

77. See text-critical note c in 6.1 *Text and Translation*, p. 157.

78. Rofé, “Isaiah 66.1–4,” 208–213. In addition to Koole, Blenkinsopp and Goldingay in n. 76 (p. 171) above, see also Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 166–169 and Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 164–169 for detailed discussions of the syntactical issues in Isa 66:3 in favour of a subject-predicate reading.

79. See text-critical note d in 6.1 *Text and Translation*, p. 157.

80. In addition to 66:4e–f, בעיני is also used in a cultic context in 65:12e, which is also the case for

the reason for contesting views of the earthly temple in 66:1–2b is the impure deeds. Instead of honouring YHWH as their Great King, who alone has the ultimate authority to judge and save, the priests defile that which is holy and hinder the presence of God among them.

David L. Petersen makes the valid point regarding Isa 66:1–4 that the temple is not merely a place of sacrifices, but is even more importantly a place of prayer. He says: “[...] we must note the prominence of word and speech in both Isa. 66.1-4 and 56.1-8. The temple is a place of utterance, human voice and the deity’s voice (so also 66.6).”⁸¹ In other words, it is the attitudes of the faithful in v. 2c–e which illustrate pure deeds and prayerful worship at the temple of God. They are the ones who receive God’s attention and care, while the deeds and attitudes of the rebellious are the very opposite of the faithful. Smith suggests that Isa 66:1–4 echoes the prophet Jeremiah’s temple sermon in Jer 7. He says: “in 66:1–4 the author tells the people that, in the context of this kind of illicit cultic activity, building a temple will be of no avail.” Instead of interpreting Isa 66:1–2b as a “total renunciation of the temple and its worship,” it can instead be understood as “an attack on the rebuilding, and those planning it, in the present circumstances.” I think Smith is correct in interpreting 66:2c–e as referring to those who are obeying “the prophetic demand for social justice and right worship.”⁸² Isa 66:1–4 resists the ideology behind the rebuilding of the temple. The conviction that YHWH does not need an earthly dwelling place on human terms,⁸³ corresponds with a desire to see righteous deeds and prayerful worship among the people.

6.4 The Expectations (vv. 2c–e, 3e–4)

The exposition of deeds in Isa 66:2c–4 is interwoven with expectations in vv. 2c–e and 3e–4. This theme is introduced briefly with the statement: “But to this one I will look: [...]” (66:2c), an issue reflected on already in the beginning of Isa 65, with the words: “I allowed myself to be sought [...]” God’s ability to communicate had been questioned, and the disappointment and anticipation in response to the accusation continue with the call-theme in 65:12c–f, 24 and reach what ap-

לֹא־הִפְצִיתִי in 65:12f. That God finds no “delight” or take no “pleasure” in sacrifices and worship from unrepentant people is also the accusation in Isa 1:11. In Isa 66:3f, idolatry is the delight (הִפְצִיתִי) of the rebellious and a parallel to 66:4e–f. For cultic applications of הִפְצִיתִי, see also Hos 6:6; Isa 53:10 and 56:4.

81. David L. Petersen, “The Temple in Persian Period Prophetic Texts,” in *Second Temple Studies: 1. Persian Period*, ed. Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 117 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 139.

82. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 158–159. See also John Barton, “The Prophets and the Cult,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 422 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 112–113, 120–121.

83. See “the Temple of God is a holy place,” p. 166, and “the Temple of God is the abode for a transcendent God,” p. 165.

pears to be a final verdict in 66:4c–f with the words: “Because I called but no one answered, // I spoke but they did not listen. // They did evil in my sight // and chose what I did not delight.” If the author had any expectations at all that the rebellious would repent and truly seek God, he seems to have abandoned them in 66:2c–4. Thus, there are expectations of both judgement and salvation in vv. 2c–4, even though the author puts more emphasis on the former and focuses fully on the latter in connection with the renewed Zion in vv. 7–14b. That the author anticipates salvation and judgement in vv. 2c–4, depending on which group he is referring to, is not a new idea in Isa 65–66. His audience has heard it several times already, but from now on it is solely connected to an eschatology that includes “new heavens and a new earth” and a New Jerusalem for her people.

The prospect that judgement is awaiting the rebellious, according to Isa 66:3e–4, is reinforced by the affirmative declaration in v 2c. The promise, “But to this one I will look: [...]” does not have those who vv. 1–2b address and who behave wickedly in v. 3a–d in mind, but rather focusses on the faithful who tremble at God’s word in v. 5.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the statement explains forcefully the author’s different expectations for the two groups who are introduced together in vv. 1–2b. The voice in v. 2c–e explains that the faithful can expect vindication and comfort, while the divine voice simultaneously states the reverse: “To this one I will not look: to the complacent one, who thinks I need an earthly temple and behaves as if I do not care.” I discuss different aspects of both expectations and non-expectations below; first vindication, conviction and repentance in vv. 2c–4, and subsequently recompense in vv. 5–6.

6.4.1 Vindication (v. 2c–e)

I can safely state that the faithful elect in Isa 65, called “my servants,” “my people,” and “my chosen ones,” are the humble and contrite ones in 66:2d–e,⁸⁵ who “trembles” at God’s word. Furthermore, in Isa 65, this faithful remnant is “the new wine” (v. 8), the true offspring of the God of the fathers and the heir of Zion (vv. 9–10), and blessed by YHWH (v. 23). The obvious expectation in the vision-speech is that the faithful are those who have access to the presence of God and salvation. In Isa 66:2c–e, this message of salvation is about vindication, especially given the oppression of the faithful in v. 5. After the vision of a cosmic transformation and a new epoch (65:17–25), and God’s holy and royal abode (66:1–2b), the author lands this promise of vindication with the words “But to this one I [YHWH] will look: [...]” (v. 2c). The statement takes place in a unit which is followed by a new vision that directly concerns those who are “this one” (אֵלֶּיָּהוּא) –

84. See 6.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 1–6), p. 158.

85. See also Isa 57:14–15, and my discussion on p. 166 concerning Isa 57:14–15 and Isa 66:1–2.

the restoration of Mother Zion (66:7–14b). Basically, the whole point of the speech in Isa 66, from v. 2c on, is the vindication of the faithful in contrast to the condemnation of the rebellious. Therefore, as noted above in my discussion about the presence of God, the affinity in Isa 66:2c–e between the humble/contrite and the temple as a house of prayer, becomes a premonition of the eschatological and universalistic Jerusalem in 66:7–14b, 18–23 as a centre for restored life and worship.

The access of the humble and contrite ones to God, even though this presence originates from the holy abode of divine transcendence, is an application of texts such as Isa 5:16; 6:3; 55:6–9; 57:13–15 and a response to the lament in 63:15. The first group of texts portray God as high and exalted, but not far away for those who seek him. In Isa 5:16, “YHWH of armies” will be “exalted in judgement” (משפט) and “holy in righteousness” (צדקה), after humans have been humbled and forced to their knees in v. 15. The vision in Isa 6:3 results in a mission for the prophet Isaiah (v. 8) that will continue until only a stump of a holy rest is left (v. 13), which implies that a new branch might grow from it.⁸⁶ Isa 55:6–9 calls for repentance, as YHWH’s thoughts and ways are higher than the ways and thoughts of humans, which could also be said about the nature of the Temple of God in 66:1. I have already noted the connection between Isa 57:13–15 and the Temple of God as holy. Here, we need to notice three aspects that concern those who have access to the presence of God, i.e., the humble and contrite:

1. The inheritance promised in v. 13 to those who trust in YHWH, includes both the land and God’s holy mountain.
2. The “high and exalted one” in vv. 14–15, exhorts people to “remove every obstacle” that hinder עמי (“my people [...] the contrite and humble one”) to come to him, so that they can dwell with him.
3. The high and holy dwelling (שכן) in v. 15 is also with the “contrite and humbled” (רכא ושפל-רוח) for the purpose of reviving their hearts.

The voice that represents the laments of the rebellious in Isa 63:15 also reflects an understanding of a transcendent God domiciled in a “holy and glorious habitation,” an insight that misses the mark because of the accusations in Isa 65–66, and the vindication in Isa 66:2c–e. Of these applications of Isaianic passages, we have noted that Isa 57:13–15 is a significant text for understanding the vindication of the faithful in Isa 65–66. In short, the author thinks about the inheritance and the dwelling promised in 57:13–15 as it is promised in 65:9b–10⁸⁷ and strongly implied in 66:2c–e.

86. See Isa 4:2; 11:1.

87. See 4.4.2 *Inheritance* (vv. 9–10), p. 99.

The vindication of the faithful in 66:2c–e means that they will be comforted by YHWH. The words following “[...] I will look” suggest it: the ones YHWH will care for are “the humble one and the contrite in spirit, [...]” This declaration alludes to the joy and comfort that awaits the faithful through the New Jerusalem, visualised in 65:18–25 and 66:10–14b. It also stands in contrast to the rebellious’ rejection of God’s invitation in 65:1–2, 12c–f, and the brokenness they will experience because of that (see 65:13–14). The Hebrew phrase for “I will look” in 66:2c is אָבִיט, and should be read in the context as “to look graciously” or “to look favourably.”⁸⁸ This is a King’s attitude towards those who are openminded, submissive and have repented, and not towards those who say “keep to yourself, // do not come near me, for I am too holy for you” (65:5a–b). The phrase “I will look” (אָבִיט) is, therefore, also a response to the lament in Isa 63:15 and 64:8, which among other things intercedes to God by saying: “Please look (הִבַּט־נָא), all of us are your people.”⁸⁹ The answer in 66:2c–e to that saying is that God does not look to all, but rather looks only to those who are faithful to YHWH as King. In that case, the implication in 66:2c is also that God as King does not have to look to anyone, unless he so desires, and if he does it is because of his mercy towards those who desire to worship him.

The words “humble” (עָנִי) and “contrite in spirit” (נִכְהַרְיָה) describe a group of people who are poor and afflicted because of brokenness, and thus in a needy condition. By looking at these two terms separately, we can learn something about the faithful as a group. The term עָנִי, translated “humble” in 66:2d,⁹⁰ is used about 13 times in the Book of Isaiah, and in DI it is used to describe Israel and Jerusalem as afflicted.⁹¹ Of particular interest for the present study is how עָנִי is used in Isa 49:13b in combination with 54:11. In the latter passage, עָנִי invokes the afflicted Zion, and after comforting words her children are revealed in v. 17 as “YHWH’s servants” (עַבְדֵי יְהוָה), to whom vindication (צַדִּיקָתָם) is promised. Isa 49:13b ends a unit that follows directly after the so-called servant song in 49:1–9, which is about an individual prophetic figure. Isa 49:13b reads: “For YHWH has comforted (נָחָם) his people (עַמּוֹ) and will have compassion on his afflicted ones (עָנִי).” Three things are discernible based on עָנִי in Isa 49 and 54:

1. God comforts both “his afflicted ones” (עָנִי) and Zion (עֲנִיָּה) in Isa 49:13b and 54:11f, specifically by vindicating them (54:17) because of his compassion. This precludes the promise in Isa 66:2c–e, but also the new Zion and her children in vv. 7–14b.

88. See HALOT, s.v. “נִכְהַרְיָה” and DCH 5, s.v. “נִכְהַרְיָה”.

89. הִבַּט־נָא עִמָּךְ כָּלֵנוּ (Isa 64:8).

90. HALOT, s.v. “עָנִי” and DCH 6, s.v. “עָנִי”.

91. Isa 41:17; 49:13; 51:21; 54:11.

2. The designation עַנִּי is mentioned after the Servant's mission in Isa 49:6, a verse which expands the call to comprise all nations. After the oppression and death of the Servant in 53:7–9, this mission is transferred to Zion (עִיָּה) and her children (עַבְדֵי יְהוָה) in Isa 54 (see 54:2–3; 55:5). This prelude the visions following the vindication of the faithful in Isa 66:2c–e, where Zion is restored as the centre of the world, and her children become God's servants with a mission to all nations.⁹²
3. What we can also learn from the use of עַנִּי in Isa 49 and 54 is that the term reflects a change of attitude towards the nations.⁹³ This humbler or more gracious outlook appears in the mission of the Servant (49:6) and the servants (55:5), and that salvation includes the nations. The designation עַנִּי is an expression of that change.

The last point above shows that in Isa 66:2d the term עַנִּי can reflect an inclusive gracious attitude, which conveys not only affliction but also an openness among the faithful towards the nations in contrast to the rebellious (see 65:5a–b) who oppress them. In that case, עַנִּי is an insight into and a response to God's אֲבִיט ("I will look") in v. 2c. The context, as we read on in Isa 66, also supports such a conclusion. Furthermore, these "humble one" in 66:2d are God's servants in v. 14c, an association made in Isa 49 and 54 too.

The next designation to analyse in 66:2c–e, in connection with vindication, is "contrite in spirit" (נִכְהַרְרוּחַ), or "contrite spirit." The word נִכְהַ occurs only once in the Book of Isaiah, and four times in the whole Hebrew Bible.⁹⁴ The combination נִכְהַ־רוּחַ is used only in Isa 66:2d. From this meagre evidence, we understand that the word means to be crippled or stricken, and in 66:2d to be broken or submissive/meek, in other words, to have a contrite spirit.⁹⁵ Thus, while the author uses עַנִּי ("humble") as a relational term in the context of Isa 66, which implies an attitude, נִכְהַ־רוּחַ reflects more a physical state. In other words, Isa 66:2d implies that the faithful were physically oppressed and ridiculed for their humble attitudes towards that which was holy, and for glorifying YHWH which gave them joy.⁹⁶ Why then does Isa 65–66 imply that the faithful regarded themselves as an elect? Does not the word elect convey an idea of exclusiveness? The idea of elect

92. See my analysis of Isa 66:12b below (7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* [vv. 12b–c], p. 228), v. 14c–d (8.3 *God's Servants vs. God's Enemies* [v. 14c–d], p. 244), vv. 18–20 (9.3 *The Mission of the Nations* [vv. 18–20], p. 277, and 9.5 *The Pilgrimage of the Nations* [vv. 20, 22–23], p. 277).

93. In Isa 40–48, nations (גוֹיִם) are looked down on, to be subdued and ruled over (see Isa 40:15, 17; 41:2; 43:4, 9; 45:1). Isa 54:2–3 also conveys this idea of possession. However, in Isa 55:5 the servant will call on the nations, and they will run to them and Zion. This awareness of a special mission is confirmed in Isa 56:6 when converted foreigners are called "His/YHWH's servants."

94. 2 Sam 4:4; 9:3; Isa 66:2; Ps 35:15.

95. HALOT, s.v. "נִכְהַ" and DCH 5, s.v. "נִכְהַ".

96. Isa 66:5 support such an assumption. See below, 6.5.2 *Oppression* (v. 5c–g), p. 184.

in Isa 65–66 has to be understood in terms of remnant, i.e., the faithful were an oppressed and marginalised minority because of their particular respect for the presence of God and their liberal view on whom God’s salvation embraces. This, I believe, is an important observation for our understanding of the difference between God’s servants and God’s enemies in Isa 66:14c–d and, as we will see, what is meant by repentance in Isa 65–66.

The third designation in Isa 66:2c–e, the wish to explain the reasons for the divine vindication of the faithful, is that they tremble at God’s word (וחרד על-דברי). I have already mentioned that this phrase in v. 2e connotes the idea of the fear of God in the Hebrew Bible. There is, however, more to say about this designation of the faithful, and I shall return to it later in connection with my analyses of Isa 66:5 and the oppression of the elect, where the phrase is almost literally repeated. The word חרד (“tremble”) in the phrase “and who trembles at my word” can be associated with repentance, because six times in the Hebrew Bible God is the cause of חרד, and at least five of those six occurrences are associated with people’s awe or repentance.⁹⁷ In Isa 66:2e, the faithful are said to express this awe or repentance at God’s word, but there are no signs in Isa 65–66 that a similar response came from the rebellious despite the message of judgement against them. In conclusion, Isa 66:2c–e substantiates that the message of salvation in Isa 65–66 is about vindication of the faithful in the form of access to the presence of God. Specifically, the vindication here means that they will be comforted by YHWH and thus experience the joy of being faithful to God. The author assures the humble and contrite ones that this vindication depends on the grace by which God as King looks to them, and that this grace, in an eschatological perspective, expands to embrace all those nations who turns to YHWH. In that case, the faithful are presented in Isa 66:2c–e as being at one with God’s intention.

6.4.2 Conviction (vv. 3e–4b)

The second expectation in the text-unit under discussion is the conviction of the rebellious. The mention of “their ways” (דרכיהם) and “their abominations” (שקוציהם) in Isa 66:3e–f refers to the list of impure and idolatrous behaviours in v. 3a–d,⁹⁸ and it is claimed that they have “chosen” (בחרו) these ways and that “their soul delights” (נפשם חפצה) in the abhorrent practices. This is the indictment that convicts the rebellious, as v. 4a–b announces: “So I will choose harsh treatments for them (גם־אני אבחר בתעלליהם) // and their horrors (ומגורתם) I will bring to them.”

97. Ex 19:16; 1 Sam 14:15; Isa 32:11; 66:2; Hos 11:10–11; Job 37:1. Those passage, where חרד can be associated with awe or repentance are: Ex 19:16; Isa 32:11; 66:2; Hos 11:10–11; Job 37:1.

98. The Hebrew prophetic literature equates דרכיהם and שקוציהם with wickedness (Jer 15:7; 16:17; cf. 2 Chron 7:14) and foreign gods (e.g. Jer 4:1; 7:30; 16:18; Ezek 5:11; 20:7–8; 37:23; Hos 9:10).

Read in parallelism, the rebellious' choice of behaviour brings on them God's choice of judgement for them, and their soul's delight brings on them a severe lack of delight from God. Thus, because of the parallelism, I interpret Isa 66:3e–4b as if the author wants to say that for each choice and enjoyment lived out by the rebellious, God will respond with a corresponding punishment and horror in their lives. Moreover, the conviction of the rebellious stands in contrast to God's gentle treatment of the faithful, and the great comfort and pleasure he will bring to them through the renewed Zion as we will later see in Isa 66:7–14b.

The author of Isa 65–66 aims at building up a case in favour of the faithful and against the rebellious, as in a public trial that results in the conviction of the latter. A sign of this progressiveness in Isa 65–66, which culminates in the announcement in 66:3e–4b, is what follows in v. 4c–d. In those latter lines, קרא ("to call") and דבר ("to speak") are used for the last time in connection with the rebellious, and this draws to a close what can be interpreted as an indirect reaching out to them. The structure of arguments in Isa 65–66 against the rebellious are as follows:

1. God's response to the accusations of the rebellious (65:1–7)
2. God's response of assurance to the faithful (65:8–16)
3. The announcement of a new creation that the persistent rebellious are to be banished from (65:17–25)
4. The confirmation of the responses and announcements in Isa 65 (66:1–6), where the divine voice clarifies the motifs:
 - a Regarding the temple (vv. 1–2b)
 - b Regarding the faithful (v. 2c–e)
 - c Regarding the rebellious (vv. 3–4)

As a matter of fact, 65:1–7⁹⁹ and 66:1–6 can be read as parallel texts in the following way:

Vindication speech	65:1–2	66:1–2b
Indictment announced	65:3–5	66:2c–4
Verdict returned	65:6–7	66:5–6

As in Isa 65:1–7, the response in 66:3e–4 to the behaviour of the rebellious includes judgement words (v. 4a–b), a call-theme in v. 4c–d, and a statement regarding the evil behaviour of the rebellious in v. 4e–f. Characteristic of both units are also the clusters of active participles. Furthermore, Isa 66:1–4 is closely connected to the

99. For a detailed discussion of this particular way of reading Isa 65:1–7, see my analysis of that unit in the present study, beginning on p. 63 (Chapter 3: Isaiah 65:1–7).

description of idolatry in 65:11–12,¹⁰⁰ not at least because v. 12b is repeated almost literally in 66:4c–d. Isa 65:1–7, however, addresses the current situation, while 66:1–6 adds an eschatological dimension to the conflict, and the verdict regarding the rebellious is returned from the King’s throne in v. 6. Thus, the eschatological expectation in Isa 66:3e–4, after the vindication of the faithful in v. 2c–e, is that the rebellious will finally be convicted. While the behaviour and attitude of the faithful are expected to draw them near to the presence of God, the opposite is expected for the rebellious.

The expected “harsh treatments for them” (תעלליהם) and “their horrors” (מגורתם), that God will choose for the rebellious because of their “ways” and “abominations,” are not concretised in Isa 66:4. Furthermore, the two terms are used very infrequently in the Hebrew Bible,¹⁰¹ which limit our understanding of their meaning. However, it is possible to extract some insights from the usage and context. Firstly, תעלולים in Isa 3:4 are the capricious leaders that God will convict in Jerusalem and Judah for their sodomite rebellion (3:8–9). These leaders are wanton and childish.¹⁰² With regard to the situation in Isa 65–66, I have demonstrated that, in connection with 65:8, there is an implicit association between Sodom–Gomorra and its salvation-judgement message.¹⁰³ Hence, in 66:4a–b, the punishment of the rebellious will be a compulsive continuation of their mischief, together with a malicious leadership (v. 3a–d) that will bring horror upon them. Secondly, the suffixes “their” (הם- and -ם) imply that what will happen to the rebellious is personalized. The use of מגורה in Ps 34:2 and Prov 10:24 brings out such an aspect more clearly:

[...] and [YHWH] rescued me from all my horrors (מגורותי) (Ps 34:2)

What the wicked dreads (מגורת), it will come to him, [...] (Prov 10:24)

In Isa 66:4a–b, the expectation is that when “their horrors” come to them the rebellious will be convicted and ashamed (v. 5g) of their complacency. They had turned a deaf ear towards God and followed wanton leaders to the death.¹⁰⁴ That the promise is personalized, is also suggested when the expectations are expressed in the plural and the phrase אני אבחר emphasises “I myself will choose” the punishments and horrors for the rebellious. Later in Isa 66, the author explains

100. The nouns in 66:3d and 3f (אין and שקוצים, “idol” and “abominations”) probably refer to cultic idolatry which indicates that 66:3 is meant as anti-idol polemics, which supplement the accusations in Isa 65:11c–d (“who set a table for Gad, // and fill cups of mixed wine for Meni, [...]”).

101. תעלולים occurs only in the Book of Isaiah, twice in Isa 3:4 and 66:4a; מגורתם occurs three times, in Isa 66:4b; Ps 34:5 and Prov 10:24.

102. See HALOT, s.v. “תעלולים” and DCH 8, s.v. “תעלולים”.

103. See 4.4.1 *Intercession* (v. 8), p. 96.

104. Isa 65:12, 15; 66:16, 17e–f, 24.

in v. 17 about following the leaders: “[...] after one in the midst, [...]” and “together [they] will come to an end, declares YHWH.” Finally, the expectation in Isa 66:18–24 is an abhorrent (דראין) end for the rebellious (v. 24), confirming the conviction of the rebellious in v. 4a–b.

6.4.3 Repentance (v. 4c-f)

A third expectation in Isa 65–66 is repentance, or at least an ambivalent hope of a response from the rebellious that they desired to renew their relationship with YHWH. One such sign in the text, up to 66:2, is the persistent direct address to the rebellious, combined with the exhortation to joyful appreciation in 65:18a–b.¹⁰⁵ David A. Lambert’s recent contribution has challenged the presence of repentance in the Hebrew Bible as an expression of contrition. He argues that it is only with the help of the “penitential lens” that such a thing as repentance is read into the text in modern interpretations.¹⁰⁶ According to Lambert, this applies to the judgement and salvation message in the Book of Isaiah too.¹⁰⁷ My position in the discussion is that Lambert is not without arguments, that we are indeed sometimes guilty of using that particular lens, but to argue that there is no theology of repentance, for example in the Book of Isaiah, is to go too far.¹⁰⁸ I find it unlikely that one developed method can explain away all assumed references to repentance. Furthermore, the many warnings and calls, and even the shutting down of people’s sensitivity to the message (Isa 6:9–10), imply a penitential process that ultimately produces a faithful elect for the New Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹ What makes Isa 65–66 special in this respect is that the window of repentance (65:1–2; cf. 55:6) closes when the call-theme has been repeated for a fourth time in 66:4c–f with a third person address.¹¹⁰ It is unclear as to whether the author tries to reach the rebellious in 65:1–2 because of the third person address in those particular verses. In 65:12c–f, however, the address is in the second person, so there is an alternation

105. כִּי־אִם־שִׂישׁוּ וְגִילוּ עַד־יַעַד אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי בּוֹרֵא.

106. Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 1–10, 187.

107. See especially Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 26–27, 29–30, 81–83, 110–113.

108. Cf. Boda, ‘Return to Me’, 67–78.

109. Isa 44:21–22; 55:6–7; 56:1–8; 65:18.

110. I have so far dealt with three occurrences of the call-theme in connection with 65:1–2, 12c–f, 24, and here in 66:4c–f we have the last usages of קרא in Isa 65–66. In Isa 65:1–2, the call-theme does not yet differentiate explicitly between the rebellious and the faithful in the Jerusalem community, and 65:24 refers to those faithful who will live in the restored creation in close intimate relationship with YHWH. In 66:4c–f, the rebellious are addressed in the third person in contrast to the direct address in 65:12. Furthermore, Isa 65:24 is not an appeal (contra Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 49 and n. 40) as the penitential process is visualised as fulfilled in that verse. The term קרא is also used in Isa 65:15c with the meaning to give God’s servants another name, not as an invitation from God to the rebellious.

which I interpret as rhetorical with the intent of confronting the rebellious. When the call-theme returns to a third person address in 66:4c–f, and there is no alternation back to a direct address of the rebellious in the rest of Isa 66, it seems clear that the offer to repent has ceased.¹¹¹ In that case, the view on penitence in Isa 65–66 is akin to its function in the Jewish apocalyptic literature.¹¹²

In connection with the theme of “graciousness” in 65:1–2,¹¹³ I agree with Boda’s definition of repentance, which “involves a shift in behaviour,” and thus “a turn or return to faithful relationship with God from a former state of estrangement.”¹¹⁴ In short, it is about the relationship between God and humankind, and consequently between humans. To a large degree, Isa 65–66 is about relationships, and from the perspective of the call-theme there are several features in the account that are there to signal the significance of returning (or not) to God. In short, the idea of repentance has been discussed in this work in connection with Isa 65:1–2, 6c–7, 13–16, 18a–b, 22, and 66:2c–e. In relation to 66:4c–f, the following can also be added to the presence of penitence in Isa 65–66:

1. On a general level, Isa 65–66 is an answer to the lamentation in 63:7–64:11. As such, the speech serves to remind the audience that God has indeed called them (אָרָא). These reminders are described as invitations from YHWH, and are repeated three times with the rebellious in mind (65:1–2, 12b–c; 66:4c–f). Above that, אָרָא is used once for a fulfilled invitation in a new epoch of restored relationships (65:24). It is the rejection of these calls by the rebellious that have occasioned the vision-speech in Isa 65–66, invitations that should be understood as calls to repentance in the light of Isa 57:1–59:21.¹¹⁵
2. In the speech up to Isa 66:4, despite the words of condemnation in 65:6–7, 11–16, there are occasional indications of a desire to see some kind of response from the rebellious. Such instances include: the readdressing of the rebellious in 65:11–12, the exhortation to joyful appreciation in 65:18a–b, and the arguing for freedom in a restored paradisiac life in 65:21–22.¹¹⁶ There are no such re-addressings or exhortations in

111. Cf. Jonah 3–4; Mic 3:11–12 (Jer 26:18–19); Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11.

112. See the important discussion by Lambert about repentance in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, “Agency and Redemption” (Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical*, 121–150).

113. 3.3.1 *Graciousness* (vv. 1–2), p. 68.

114. Boda, ‘Return to Me’, 31.

115. In my survey of research (see p. 5), Smith has presented strong arguments that a common author is responsible for Isa 56:9–59:21 and Isa 65:1–66:17 (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 173–186; see also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 35–36, 56–57; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 32–34). Thus, Isa 65–66 is critiquing the same people as in 56:9–59:21, especially the religious leadership.

116. See 5.6.1 *Exhortation to Joyful Appreciation* (v. 18a), p. 134, and 5.7.3 *Freedom* (vv. 21–22), p. 143.

the text after 66:4:c–f, which would imply that the author has given up on the rebellious. Instead, a view is applied that restoration through repentance is no longer possible for the wicked.

3. Inward signs of repentance, such as joy (65:13d, 14a, 18), relief (65:19c–d), and humility/contrition/trembling (66:2c–e) are explained to the rebellious in Isa 65–66. Despite this effort, the rebellious choose to oppress those who “tremble” at God’s word because of their joy (66:5). The call-theme using the third person plural in 66:4c–f is the final point made to the rebellious: they will never experience true joy. Instead they will inevitably be ashamed and repaid for their wickedness (66:5g–6).

The expectations in Isa 66:2c–4 function as a transfer to the first direct address in Isa 65–66 to the faithful (v. 5). Those two and a half verses pause the direct address in the speech, and v. 4c–f plays a significant role in that transfer. It is almost a verbatim repetition of 65:12b–c, with the difference that the latter is addressed in the second person plural and the former in the third person plural. Thus, the accusation in v. 4c–f against the rebellious for not responding to God becomes symptomatic for the rest of Isa 65–66:

Because I called but no one answered,
I spoke but they did not listen.
They did evil in my sight
and chose what I did not delight.

God’s way of talking about the rebellious in v. 4c–f, particular since it is the last occurrence of קרוא in Isa 65–66, is a dissociation from the rebellious because of their syncretistic pursuits. They are no longer in the presence of God, and are disqualified as candidates for the intimate and personal relationship visualised in 65:24. In short, Isa 66:4c–f reflects resignation.

The need of the people to repent, even though they think they are doing the right thing, is also an issue in the second half of Haggai’s third speech (2:15–19).¹¹⁷

117. Both form-critical and textual evidence support the unity of the passages, and that “people” (עם) and “nation” (גוי) in Hag 2:14 refer to the inhabitants of Yehud, as in Isa 65:1–2, not to the Samaritans. See Herbert G. May, “‘This People’ and ‘This Nation’ in Haggai,” *VT* 18 (April 1, 1968): 190–197; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1984), 80–82, 87–88; Ralph L. Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1984), 159–161; Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, 112–114; J. Alec Motyer, *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, vol. 3, *EECMP* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1992), 994–995; Michael H. Floyd, *Minor prophets: Part 2*, *FOTL* 22 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 289; David J. Clark and Howard Hatton, *A Handbook on Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, USBH (New York: United Bible Societies, 2002), 42, 47. Cf. Hinckley G. Mitchell, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah*, ICC (Edin-

In that passage, YHWH strongly encourages the people to really “set (שׁוּ) your heart” (v. 15, 18; cf. 1:5, 7) to trust in him for daily bread. Then God can bless them, when they focus on the work of the temple. The exhortation also reminds the people of the past (מִטְרָם, v. 15) when, in various ways, YHWH tried to get the attention of his people. However, they did not turn back to him – at least that is how *U* understands Haggai’s words in v. 17: καὶ οὐκ ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς με, λέγει κύριος (“and you did not return to me, says the Lord”). Even though Isa 65–66 does not encourage the rebuilding of the Second Temple, the vision-speech begins with the accusation that the rebellious had not been attentive to the call of God. Furthermore, the issue of unclean food and complacency is strongly implied in Isa 65:3–5 and 66:17 in connection with “the gardens.” Both Hag 2:10–14 and Isa 66:1–2b critique indifference to the essence of Israel’s religion. Working on a temple would not elect the people and save them from judgement. Only repentance and the grace of God can make a people holy and ready for a new age.

In sum, the return to the call-theme (קָרָא) in 66:4c–f, and the persistent way of addressing the rebellious directly in 65:7–66:2, are rhetorical reminders and attempts to convince the rebellious of their guilt or to make sure they are without excuse. The words of judgement and salvation in 65:1–16, the vision of a New Jerusalem in a new paradisiac world, the question of the temple in 66:1–2b, and the declaration of to whom God will look in 66:2c–e, are attempts to explain and possibly to convince the rebellious of their ways and abominations. In 66:4c–f, it shifts to a singular condemnation of the rebellious, as there is no further return to any form of direct address, arguing, or exhortation from that point on in Isa 65–66. The vision of the renewed Mother Zion, which follows 66:1–6, is not for them, as the author no longer expects a positive response from them, and expects that they will continue with their wicked behaviour to the very end (vv. 14c–17, 24). In short, as far as the visionary is concerned, it is too late for the rebellious to repent from their idolatry, oppression and syncretism. It is possible to draw such a conclusion from what follows after 66:4, for example, God’s verdict in v. 6 and also that the rebellious are branded as God’s enemies in v. 14d in contrast to “his servants” in v. 14c.

6.5 The Recompense (vv. 5–6)

God’s dwelling place in Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b represents a world that is controlled by a sovereign YHWH, and created for “the humble and the contrite” (v. 2c–e),

burgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), 57; Willem A. M. Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8: Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Frühnachexilischen Prophetie*, SSN 10 (Assen: van Gorcum, 1967), 67–72; Coggins, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 36; Hans Walter Wolff, *Haggai: A Commentary*, CC (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 59–63, 88, 90, 92–94.

whom he has selected to represent him.¹¹⁸ This divine choice, to whom God will look, is also implied in the text by a change of direct address from the rebellious to the faithful remnant in v. 5: “Hear the word of YHWH, / / you who tremble at his word” (v. 5a). Whether this can be interpreted as a commission is somewhat vague, but a new relationship of joy, trust and hope is described in 66:10–14b between the faithful of Zion and God; and it is those who are faithful in vv. 18–19 that act as agents for YHWH by announcing his glory among the nations. Nonetheless, in the current situation, which Isa 65–66 also reflects, those who tremble at God’s word are being bullied by those who are criticised in the speech. After the expectations in 66:2c–e, 3e–4, the text is about the oppression of the faithful (v. 5), and an announcement of the King from his heavenly throne who speaks out against their oppressors (v. 6). Although Isa 66:5g–6 expresses a fourth expectation in vv. 1–6, which is recompense, vv. 5–6 are still held together by the phrases “Hear the word of YHWH” (שמעו דבר־יהוה) in v. 5a and “The voice of YHWH” (קול־יהוה) in v. 6c, which announce YHWH’s intervention of. I will discuss the phrase “repaying recompense” (משלם גמול) below in the way the theme develops towards that end.

6.5.1 Trembling (vv. 2e, 5a–b)

As already stated, those “who tremble” at God’s word in 66:2e and v. 5b are the faithful in Isa 65–66, in contrast to those who do not tremble in repentance before the presence of God (see 65:3–5 and 66:3). Thus, these adjectives in 66:2e and v. 5b (הַתַּרְדִּים / תַּרַד) describe an attitude of reverence or fear of God because of his word. However, the verb תַּרַד (“tremble”) is a rather infrequent term for such religious awe. In the Hebrew Bible, God is the cause of תַּרַד about six times, and at least five of those six occurrences are associated with people’s awe or repentance.¹¹⁹ In the case of תַּרַד in Isa 66:2e and הַתַּרְדִּים in 66:5b, those two adjectives function as active participles and reoccur only in Ezra 9:4 (תַּרַד) and 10:3 (הַתַּרְדִּים). Although there is a grammatical connection between the passages, the terms designate a humble and contrite group of people in Isa 66 while in the Book of Ezra the terms designate the גִּילָה-group. Nonetheless, the fact that mourning and fasting characterise those who tremble at God’s word in both Isa 56–66 and Ezra (9:4; 10:6) implies common characteristics.¹²⁰ The reference to “the holy seed” (זרע הקדש) in Ezra 9:2,

118. See Jon D. Levenson, “The Temple and the World,” *JR* 64/3 (July, 1984): 295–296.

119. See the discussion in this work about the third designation of the faithful in Isa 66:2c–e, p. 178.

120. Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 400. See the “Mourners of Zion” in Isa 57:18; 61:2–3; 66:10. Blenkinsopp also argues here that Ezra’s הַתַּרְדִּים anticipates Dan 9:3–23; 10:1–9 in particular. He says: “In this respect Ezra’s support-group anticipates certain features of the milieu in which *Daniel* circulated during the Seleucid epoch: mourning, fasting, penitential prayer, and intense concern for the law.”

and the use of “seed” (זרע) three times in the context of the tremblers in Isa 66, also support such a link.¹²¹ In short, החרדים/החרדים refer to the same group of people in these two post-exilic texts, but their situation is not the same and the conditions for the faithful have changed depending on how Isa 65–66 and the arrival of Ezra to Jerusalem¹²² relate to each other.

Since both in Isa 65–66 and in the Book of Ezra חרד identifies a group of people trembling at God’s word, some scholars have paid special attention to who these people are.¹²³ In Ezra 9:4, the term identifies all those (כל) who sided with Ezra after his lament over Israel’s unfaithfulness towards the Mosaic law, and which had taken the expression of intermarriage. In Ezra 10:3, it is evident that this group functioned as advisors together with Ezra the scribe.¹²⁴ How organised they were is uncertain, as החרדים/החרדים is not a title, either in Isa 66 or in the Book of Ezra. Nonetheless, when a covenant was made before God in Ezra 10:3, the decision to send away all foreign wives and their children was taken *inter alia* on the basis of counsel with “those who tremble (החרדים) at the command of our God.” Among those scholars who equate the tremblers in Isa 66:2e, 5b with the tremblers in Ezra 9:4 and 10:3,¹²⁵ some also make a connection with the God-fearers in Mal 3:13–21.¹²⁶ As in the case of Isa 65–66, the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Malachi reflect a post-exilic setting, where the rebuilding of the Second Temple was completed in March of 516 BCE (Ezra 6:15). Furthermore, synchronism in the establishment, including that of the priests, was an issue of frustration and controversy in the Jerusalem community and rebuked in all three sources.

It is well known, also in the case of Isa 65–66, that reconstructing the setting of Ezra-Nehemiah and Malachi is complicated,¹²⁷ even though they share a common post-exilic setting. One difficult task is deciding whether the situation in Isa 66:1–6

121. Isa 65:9, 23; 66:22. See also Isa 6:13; 61:1–3, 9, which suggest that the “holy/blessed seed” are the mourners of Zion (Antti Laato, “Isaianic Texts, the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Restoration of Jerusalem” [paper presented at SBL International in Helsinki, 2018]).

122. Regarding the date of Ezra’s arrival in Jerusalem, it is a very complicated issue. I side with Williamson, that Ezra 7:1–9 refers to Artaxerxes I, who reigned between 465–425 BCE (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, xxxix–xliv, 89). In that case, Ezra arrived in Jerusalem in 458 BCE, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I.

123. E.g. Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 398–401; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 113–114, 168–170; Ulrich Berges, “Who Were the Servants? A Comparative Inquiry in the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms,” in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Herrie F. Van Rooy, OS 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2–6.

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125. E.g. Rofé, “Isaiah 66.1–4,” 216–217; Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 398–401; Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 152; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 168–170; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 300–301; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 379.

126. E.g. Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 401–403; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 301; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 82–84, 185.

127. For a discussion of the biblical sources of this period, see Grabbe, *Yehud*, 70–104; Sara Japhet, “The Temple in the Restoration Period: Reality and Ideology,” *USQR* 44 (1991): 196–201.

reflects circumstances before Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem in 458 BCE or after he left in Ezra 9–10. If before, then the tremblers went from being a marginalised humble position to holding a position as advisers in issues of theology and ideology. In that case, the tremblers in Isa 66:2e, 5b found a much needed ally in Ezra against the idolatry, syncretism, and complacency of the priesthood. However, the issue of syncretism in Book of Ezra-Nehemiah is about intermarriages.¹²⁸ In Isa 65–66, nothing is mentioned about intermarriage, which is odd if we are dealing with the same group of people in Isa 66:2e, 5b and Ezra 9:4, 10:3. In that case, the source of the problem was first discovered on Ezra's arrival to Jerusalem (Ezra 9:1–3). On the other hand, it would seem logical to assume that the author of Isa 65–66 was conscious of this unfaithfulness to the command in Deut 7:3, even though it is not explicitly stated in the text. That said, the problem with syncretism was not resolved despite the vision-speech in Isa 65–66 and the vigorous effort in Ezra 9–10 (see Neh 13:23–29). Thus, the tremblers were repudiated again after Ezra was possibly recalled by the Persians.¹²⁹

The other alternative is that Isa 66:1–6 reflects a situation after Ezra 9–10, as there are ingredients in Isa 65–66 which do not fit the portrayal of the tremblers in Ezra 9–10. First, we have the universalism in Isa 66. The author of the Isaianic text, who represents the faithful in 66:2e, 5b, advocates a liberal view towards the nations (66:12b; 66:18–23; see also 56:6). This openness is not characteristic of the tremblers in Ezra 9:4 and 10:3, as those passages imply an exclusive ideology. Second, in Isa 66 there is no longer any hope or expectancy regarding those who continue to do evil. It is too late for repentance, and thus the offenders are destined for punishment and a horrible death. In Ezra 10:2–4, the time is not up for those who have done wrong, and the tremblers exhorts Ezra to be strong and act. Third, Isa 65–66 also reflects a resistance against the Persian hegemony and its ideology. There is no gratitude to God for the Persian kings in the Isaianic text, while God is praised in Ezra 9:9 for extending grace to Israel's people in the presence of those kings. Four, we have the eschatology in Isa 65–66. The resistance against imperial ideology motivated the author of Isa 65–66 to introduce an eschatological word-view which is not found in Ezra-Nehemiah. Both the tremblers in TI and in Ezra-Nehemiah dreamed of a rebuilt Jerusalem, but the New Jerusalem in Isa 65–66 is created by God alone while the restoration of Jerusalem's walls during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424 BCE) was led by Nehemiah. It is true, that concern of Ezra and the tremblers for observance of the law does

128. Ezra 9:1; 10:5, 18–24; Neh 13:28; see also Mal 2:10–12.

129. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, xlvi. The abrupt end of Ezra 10 could suggest such a recall; if Isa 65–66 reflects a situation before Ezra 9–10 the fact that “the tremblers” are not mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah, not even together with Ezra the scribe/priest, implies that the faithful/tremblers in Isa 65–66 and Ezra 9–10 were sent back to the margins again.

not necessarily rule out an eschatological worldview.¹³⁰ However, the vision of a new creation and a New Jerusalem is so strong in Isa 65–66 that it complicates any identification of the faithful in the Isaianic text with the tremblers in Ezra 9:4 and 10:3, unless something of a great disappointment happened after Ezra 9–10. That could explain all the differences highlighted above: Ezra was called back, the establishment continued with their syncretism and started to oppress the tremblers, and the latter retreated to the Isaianic eschatology as their last resort of hope. The result is the resistance speech in Isa 65–66.

A third alternative is that the *החרדים* in Isa 66 and Ezra 9–10 are not the same group of people, something which the references to God's word in both texts could imply. In Isa 66 we read "my word" (*דברי*, v. 2e), "Hear the word of YHWH" (*שמעו*) (*דברי-יהוה*, v. 5a), and "his word" (*דברו*, v. 5b). What *דבר* refers to in these two verses is not specified, but the exhortation *שמעו* in v. 5a, and the other six times *שמע* is used in Isa 65–66 with the meaning to "hear" or "listen,"¹³¹ creates a contrast between those who are listening and those who are not listening to God's word. Also, *שמע* and the divine/prophetic *קול* ("voice") are closely linked in the Book of Isaiah.¹³² This latter association becomes particularly clear in Isa 66, when *שמע* in v. 5a, and the three-fold *דבר* vv. 2e, 5a–b is followed by a three-fold *קול* in v. 6. In short, *דבר* ("word") in 66:2e and v. 5a–b does not refer to the Law, but to a prophetic word. In Ezra 9:4 and 10:3 it refers to the Law/God's commandment (*במצות*) (*אלהינו*) rather than a prophetic word, especially considering Ezra's priestly office. However, the prophetic words in Isa 66:2e, 5a–b are parallel to the condemnations of idolatry in v. 3, which demonstrates that in Isa 65–66 the prophetic and the legal are in tandem (cf. Ezra 9:11). In other words, *דבר* has a broad meaning¹³³ in Isa 65–66 and thus brings the tremblers in Isa 66 and Ezra 9–10 together even though the emphasis is not the same because of the different situations.

Despite the differences between the tremblers in Isa 66 and the Book of Ezra–Nehemiah, there are enough signs in the texts that the *החרדים* refers to a group of people of the same tradition with an interest in Isaianic texts. Enough evidence also exists to conclude that the critique in post-exilic texts against some in the religious leadership reflects a problem of syncretism and class schism in Yehud and Jerusalem under the Persian hegemony.¹³⁴ This schism is, however, not about the

130. Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah," 400; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 53. Blenkinsopp refers to the Qumran community as an example that strict observance of the Law demands a positive approach to eschatological. However, in Qumran, the concern for eschatological issues is explicit, while in Ezra–Nehemiah it is not even implicit.

131. Isa 65:12d, 19c, 24b; 66:4d, 5a, 8a, 19. The exhortation *שמעו* in 66:5a is only used once in Isa 56–66, but 30 times in the rest of the Book of Isaiah. Isa 66:5a also creates an inclusion with 1:10 (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 490).

132. See e.g. Isa 6:8; 28:23; 30:30; 32:9; 50:10; 52:7–8.

133. See also Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 114–123.

134. Regarding class schism, see Isa 57:16; 58:1–12; 66:2, 5 and Neh 5:1–8 (Rofé, "Isaiah 66.1–4," 215).

temple *per se*, but rather what is going on in and around the sanctuary and in the Jerusalem community.¹³⁵ To all this Nehemiah's affiliation with "his servants" in Neh 2:20 may be added, an epithet which also designates the faithful in Isa 66:14c.¹³⁶ If Ezra's influence ceased and Isa 65–66 was composed shortly after that (but before Nehemiah), it would explain the negative situation in Isa 65–66 between the faithful/tremblers and the priestly leadership as revenge.¹³⁷ Such a conclusion is possible from available witnesses, but I have to agree with Stromberg too that the only secure position is that Isa 65–66 and Ezra 9–10 share the same post-exilic background.¹³⁸

6.5.2 Oppression (v. 5c–g)

The tremblers, who are the faithful in Isa 65–66, do not fare very well in the Jerusalem community. Their situation is implied in Isa 66:2d by the terms "humble" and "contrite in spirit" and is confirmed in v. 5c–f when the attitude and behaviour of the rebellious is described as oppression. The divine voice claims in an accusing tone: "Here the word of YHWH, [...] your brothers [the rebellious] have said – who hate you, // who exclude you for my name's sake, [...]" (v. 5a, c–d). What they have said in mockery is an allusion to important themes in Isa 65–66: "Let YHWH be glorified // so that we may look at your joy" (v. 5e–f). The issue is how God should be revered and who has reason to rejoice. The response in v. 5g is another reformulation of the message of judgement, which explains that the rebellious are at fault in terms of both reverence and joy: "But they will be ashamed" because of their pride. The threat against the rebellious so far in Isa 65–66 is that God will convict and punish them harshly for their idolatrous deeds.¹³⁹ Isa 66:5c–g adds oppression to the list of accusations. To illustrate the consequences of the disgrace of the rebellious, the author continues to present Zion as a mother for the faithful in vv. 7–14b, as the theme of joy reoccurs in those verses too. Before that, however, v. 6 speaks about what is awaiting the rebellious, an intervention by

135. Such a conclusion is based, among other things, on the role that post-exilic prophets played as levitical singers in relation to the temple (David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, SBLMS 23 [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977], 55–96; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 378–379). Themes about Jerusalem in Isaianic texts of levitical singers inspired Ezra and Nehemiah in their missions (Laato, "Isaianic Texts, the Book of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Restoration of Jerusalem".)

136. See also discussion in 8.3 *God's Servants vs. God's Enemies* (v. 14c–d), p. 244.

137. Cf. Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah," 401; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 53–54. See also Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 379, the last paragraph under the heading *Setting* (pp. 378–379).

138. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 169–174. For further discussion who the tremblers are, see 8.3 *God's Servants vs. God's Enemies* (v. 14c–d), p. 244.

139. Isa 65:6–7, 11–16; 66:3e–4, 14c–17, 24.

God that promises to “recompense his enemies” and pay them back as a direct consequence of their behaviour.

In Isa 66:5c–d, the behaviour of the rebellious is again described with active participles in the Hebrew text.¹⁴⁰ They are: “who hate you” (שנאיכם) and “who exclude you” (מגדריכם), and denote rejection or disassociation.¹⁴¹ This attitude of hate comes from those who have the power to expel people from the community, which is another reference to the religious leadership.¹⁴² This reference, therefore, leads to some additional observations:

1. These priests (66:3) are referred to as “your brothers” (אחיכם), or fellow-Jews (cf. Neh 4:8; 5:8), an expression used only here and in 66:20 in the Book of Isaiah. Such a rejection in 66:5c implies a sorrow over the disassociation. The author of Isa 65–66 wishes it were different.
2. The author of Isa 65–66, and those he represented, is not against the ruling priesthood, but is critical towards their ideology.¹⁴³ I have also stated above in connection with the theme “The presence of God,” that in principle the faithful have nothing against the temple.¹⁴⁴
3. That the designation “your brothers” implies grief, is because hate is linked to the religious leadership in 66:5c and not to the faithful who are humble and broken. However, this grief is mixed with anger in v. 6c when the rebellious/the priesthood are called “his [YHWH’s] enemies.”

Indicative is that the faithful are expelled “for my [YHWH’s] name’s sake” (למען שמי) (v. 5d) by those who possess the religious power in the Jerusalem community. I have suggested above, in connection with the trembling in v. 2e, 5b, that the reason for Isa 65–66 should be traced to Ezra–Nehemiah, in particular to what might have happened after Ezra 9–10 and, moreover, that the exclusion in Isa 66:5d could be an act of revenge because of the threat of excommunication in Ezra 10:8. The reference to the “hate” of the rebellious towards the faithful in the same line connotes such an act of rejection. This expulsion by priests is staged for the sake of YHWH’s name, which shows how the rebellious regarded themselves. They

140. For other clusters of participles in Isa 65–66, see 65:2–5, 11; 66:3a–d; 66:17a–d, 24 (x1).

141. An attitude or act of social or political rejection (Beuken, *Jesaja deel IIIB*, 106). Blenkinsopp explains that the action “who hate you” in 66:5c “implies active dissociation rather than a merely emotional state; [...]” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 299–300). Cf. Isa 60:15, which promises that the hate towards Jerusalem will be replaced by joy.

142. See also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 267–270.

143. See Rofé, “Isaiah 66.1–4,” 212–213 and Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 168. For the view that argues that Isa 66:1–4 is an attack against the temple and its priesthood, see Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 163, 170–180.

144. 6.3 *The Presence of God* (vv. 1–4, 6a–b), p. 161.

saw themselves, not the tremblers, as the faithful. The author of Isa 65–66 is of the opposite opinion. In Isa 65:1c–d, there is a reminder of God’s accessibility and grace to the establishment of the rebellious that reads: “I said, ‘here I am, here I am,’ // to a nation that did not call on my name (בשמי).” The voice in those lines expresses disappointment and grief because of the rejection of the invitation from God. In 66:5c–d, this rejection of God’s graciousness is also about the persecution of the faithful. By pointing out how the rebellious relate to God’s name in 65:1c–d and 66:5c–d, the author tells the faithful that the hypocrisy of the rebellious is taken personally by YHWH, and an intervention that will end both the oppression and the misuse of God’s name is to be expected.

The reasons for the oppression by the rebellious could be the eschatological view of the faithful concerning destinies, especially the joy and shame in 65:13d, the vision of rejoicing in the new creation in 65:18–19b, and the universalistic hope in 66:18–24 that includes fellow Jews (“your brothers,” v. 20) but not the rebellious (v. 24). It might even be a reaction against the exhortation to joyful appreciation in v. 18a–b. In that case, the rebellious respond to the call of repentance with sneers ridiculing the faithful. However, 66:5e–f also shows that the rebellious do challenge the faithful/tremblers who are truly worshipping God (“Let YHWH be glorified [...]”) and whom will have reasons to rejoice (“[...] so that we may look at your joy”).¹⁴⁵ Again, there is insufficient material to be on secure ground here to determine exactly how to interpret v. 5c–g, but the mockery in v. 5e–f may reflect a sequel to the recall of Ezra by the Persians. In other words, the questioning concerning the integrity of the current priesthood was repelled. However, the author of Isa 65–66 responds with one line of judgement, “But they will be ashamed” (v. 5g), i.e., they will be disgraced and thus will never experience the joy promised to the faithful.¹⁴⁶

The contrast, or the direct conflict, between the rebellious and the faithful in Isa 65–66 becomes more concrete in Isa 66 in comparison to Isa 65. One reason for this is the alleged oppression of the faithful in the Jerusalem community in 66.5c–g. The passage about oppression, together with vv. 2c–5b, also raises the question of identification of the parties in Isa 65–66. While v. 2e, 5b associate the tremblers with the scribe Ezra, v. 5c–g confirms that the establishment in the early post-exilic era is the rebellious, including some of the priesthood, who are criticised by the former but who are beaten off by expulsion and ridicule.¹⁴⁷ Sweeney’s proposal

145. Cf. Goldingay translation of v. 5e, “May Yhwh be severe,” instead of “Let YHWH be glorified” (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 492). Koole argues that God’s glory is “the great salvation,” and the faithful are ridiculed for such a hope (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 486).

146. Cf. Isa 41:11; 45:24.

147. Berquist says in his conclusions regarding the exiles in Isa 40–55: “DI’s prophecies may well have brought together an alliance of the priestly and political factors among the Jewish exiles. [...] The power of this immigrant group would only increase in years to come” (Berquist, *Judaism in Per-*

that Isa 65–66 “would easily function as part of a liturgy designed to celebrate the restoration of the Jerusalem temple”¹⁴⁸ is interesting, but 66:1–6 demonstrates that the crisis in Isa 65–66 reflects a real situation which conjured up a new vision regarding Jerusalem.

6.5.3 Intervention (v. 6)

The intervention of God is a theme in Isa 65–66 which has progressed from the initial reminder of God’s accessibility (65:1–2), via promises of judgement and salvation (65:6–7, 8–12), to the eschatological destinies of the rebellious and faithful (65:13–16) and the vision of creative restoration (65:17–25). When the vision-speech continues in Isa 66:1–6, it begins and ends thematically in a concentric pattern with references to a temple, which is a dwelling not limited to earth but which functions as the presence of God (vv. 1–2b) and a place from which divine intervention originates (v. 6). Isa 66:6 announces that the voice of God “from the city, [...]” and “[...] from the temple” (v. 6a–b) is “repaying recompense to his enemies” (v. 6c). This voice of judgement comes as a direct consequence of the syncretistic behaviour of the rebellious together with their complacency and oppression of the faithful. However, after the vision of a renewed Zion in vv. 7–14b, the speech again picks up the thread from v. 6 by continuing to speak about how God will rage “against his enemies” (v. 14d) with a final judgement because of their idolatrous abominations in the gardens (vv. 15–17).

One of the aspects discussed above in connection with the Temple of God in vv. 1–2b, 6a–b is that *the Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate*.¹⁴⁹ I continue here to discuss the view on God as the King from Isa 66:6 and its emphasis on a divine voice. There is also an eschatologizing of the presence of God which emerges in vv. 1–6, and it reaches a climax at the end of the unit. In v. 6, the vision of a royal God on a throne in his temple/palace (היכל) and in his city (=Jerusalem, 66:7–14b) is reinforced by repeating the “voice” (קול) three times as a tricolon.¹⁵⁰ The first occurrence of קול in v. 6a should be understood more as a “noise” (קול שאוין) from the city (“A voice of uproar [...]”), like a thunder with associations with passages such as Isa 29:6; 30:30; Joel 4:16 (3:16); Amos 1:2.¹⁵¹ Not least, v. 6a makes one think of the sound coming down from Mount Sinai in Ex 19:16 and 20:18. Next, the sound of the voice is specified as

sia's Shadow, 42–43). In my view, the critique in Isa 65–66 towards the priests may also reflect religious and political struggles among the returnees.

148. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 379.

149. See p. 164.

150. Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III: Isaiah 40–48*, vol. 1, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 487–488; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 671.

151. See also Ps 29:3–5; 46:7; 68:34; 77:19; 104:7.

coming from the temple in Isa 66:6b, before it is identified as God's voice in v. 6c (קול יהוה). This gradual pinpointing and even increase of intensity of the source to the transcendent voice of wrath is an indication of what is coming next in the semi-apocalyptic judgement-salvation drama of Isa 65–66.

The phrase “a voice of uproar” (קול שאון) in Isa 66:6a connects with the theophany of breaking the silence in 65:6b (לא אחשה). Furthermore, the word שאון (“uproar”) in 66:6a is the third term in Isa 65–66 that refers explicitly to divine anger and results in acts of judgement. The second one is part of the phrase לא אחשה (“I will not be silent”) in 65:6b.¹⁵² The semantic range of the root שאה does not seem to be fully clear, but together its aspects describe a noise or a roar that creates turmoil and confusion.¹⁵³ In 66:6, therefore, the term hints at the disorder that God's voice of judgement will cause amongst a rebellious people.¹⁵⁴ It would confirm the impression from the announcement in 65:6b, that God's anger is very unpleasant. The lexeme שאון in 66:6a is used a total of 17 times in the Hebrew Bible, mainly in the prophetic books,¹⁵⁵ and in each case is associated with judgement. However, it is only in v. 6a that the word is applied to God himself. In short, שאון normally occurs in the context of judgement, but has a unique application in Isa 66:6a where it is directly associated with a wrathful God.

It is the voice of the King that sounds in Isa 66:6, and he is in the process of intervening like a warrior against the rebellious. The Isaianic tradition entitles the enthroned God as “the Holy One of Israel,” which presents YHWH both as a divine warrior and a redeemer in relation to his people and nations.¹⁵⁶ In 66:6, the temple-throne is the home base for a God roaring against the rebellious. In vv. 7–14b, God is the redeemer of Zion and the faithful, and in vv. 15–16 he is again the divine warrior. In v. 24, the corpses of the slain are laid in a place outside the New Jerusalem, separated from the presence of God. Parallel to that latter scene, the enthroned God is the redeemer of all the faithful (vv. 18–23). Thus, from the perspective of intervention, Isa 65–66 is meant as a resistance text, where God will settle up with those who are stubborn and rebellious, and gives hope of salvation to the oppressed faithful who tremble at God's word. This time the voice of resistance is coming from God's temple-throne, which implies that the rebellious have broken the covenant with their King.¹⁵⁷ A theology that portrays God warring

152. We have the first term in Isa 65:3a (המכעיסים). See also 3.4.1 *Anger (v. 3a)*, p. 72.

153. HALOT, s.v. “שאון II”.

154. K-M Beyse, “שאה,” TDOT 14:237.

155. שאון is used 15 times in the prophetic literature, and eight times alone in the Book of Isaiah. In Book of Psalms it is used twice (65:8; 74:23).

156. The direct parallel between “the Holy One of Israel” and warrior/redeemer is limited to Isa 1–55. However, the only two references to the epithet in TI (60:9, 14) occur in connection to a promise of redemption.

157. Covenant terms have been pointed out in my discussion of Isa 65–66, and Isa 66:6 is a climax regarding covenant relationship. God on his throne announces the intention to punish the rebellious

against the insurgents from his cult-throne is also a theme in the Jewish apocalyptic literature, which illustrates once again that Isa 65–66 is a prophetic text which has influenced the later apocalypses.¹⁵⁸

What characterises God as an intervening King in Isa 65–66, also characterises the messianic agent in the Book of Isaiah. God and the messiah are two entities in the Book of Isaiah, but as I have discussed above in connection with the theme about the Temple of God in 66:1–2b, 6a–b,¹⁵⁹ they are likely joined into one entity in Isa 65–66. The work of God from his temple in 66:1–6 should be interpreted together with texts like Isa 61:1–3 concerning an anointed conqueror, and together with Isa 11:1–10 a messianic ruler. In the latter reference, the spirit of God works through the agent as a collaboration between the two, while God works out the judgement and salvation alone in Isa 65–66. In other words, towards the end of the prophetic book, after the last mention of the title מלכים (“kings”) in 62:2 and of a messiah in 61:1, the author of Isa 65–66 focuses on YHWH as the only King.¹⁶⁰ The most logical reason for this emphasis is, among other things, that in Isa 65–66 the Persian kings are no longer trusted and their hegemony and ideology have begun to be resisted.¹⁶¹

What then are the signs in Isa 65–66 that the author is aware of the messianic concept in the Book of Isaiah? There are associations and explanations imbedded in the vision-speech, that suggest both a portrait of a King and an implicit awareness of groundwork by a messiah. This solution to the absence of a messianic agent in Isa 65–66 is possible for the following reasons:

1. The purpose of Isa 66:1–6 is to supplement the portrait of God in Isa 65, where YHWH is portrayed as judge, redeemer and the Creator of a renewed world with Jerusalem as its temple city.
2. The seemingly lack of messianism in Isa 65–66 is also owed to the fact that 65:17–25 and 66:7–14b focus on the transformation of Zion and its faithful elect into an eschatological royal community and, moreover, that YHWH in 65:17–18 and in 66:6, 9, 13 is ultimately responsible for its fulfilment.
3. The messianic servant concept in Isa 49–53 is transferred in 54:17b to those who will listen and are faithful – they are the Servant’s disciples.

for their disloyalty.

158. See also Tryggve Mettinger, “The Study of the Gottesbild – Problems and Suggestions,” *SEA* 54 (1989): 142–143; cf. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 343.

159. See the discussion in connection with the aspect “the Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate,” p. 164.

160. Here I assume that Isa 60–62 is the core of Isa 56–66, and thus an earlier unit than Isa 65–66. See also Berges, “Where Does Trito-Isaiah Start in the Book of Isaiah?,” 72.

161. See also the discussion in 6.3.2 *Crisis (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*, p. 168.

With the care of YHWH as supreme king, God's servants in Isa 66:14c will finally experience the promised vindication (54:17b, **צִדְקָתָם**), described in Isa 55; 65:8–10, 13–16, 18–25; 66:7–14b and 66:18–24.¹⁶²

4. Part of the vindication in Isa 54:17b is the comforting (**נָחַם**) of the faithful (see 54:11) – by God in 57:18 (cf. vv. 15–16) and by the anointed conqueror in 61:2. In 66:1–6, this role is united in God as supreme King, when, from his palace YHWH comforts the faithful in 66:2c–e, 5 (see also 66:11, 13) and condemns the rebellious in v. 6. Also, in Isa 65:8–9, 13–15 “my servants” are promised consolation, even if **נָחַם** is not used in those passages.
5. The references to God's “holy mountain” in 65:9, 11, 25 and 66:20 imply a source of order,¹⁶³ which will be accomplished by the anointed conqueror in Isa 61:1–3 in connection with Zion and eschatologically by YHWH as King in 66:6, also in connection with the temple and its city.

These examples from the context of Isa 66:6 strongly suggest that the function of a messiah is united with God as supreme King. The collaboration between YHWH and his messianic agent(s) in the Book of Isaiah is thus imagined as fulfilled in Isa 65–66.¹⁶⁴ The only thing in Isa 65–66 which is not connected to a messiah in the Book of Isaiah is the creative redemption in 65:17–25 and 66:22. Such authority over the heavens and earth is only associated with YHWH as sovereign King.

The unit Isa 66:1–6 ends with the expected divine intervention of “repaying recompense to his enemies” (**מִשְׁלֵם גְּמוּלָה לְאֹיְבָיו**). First, the “repaying” (**מִשְׁלֵם**) in 66:6c repeats the promise of rendering in 65:6c–d (**שְׁלֵמָתִי**), and stands in direct contrast to “peace” (**שְׁלוֹם**) in 66:12b.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the double perfect **שְׁלַמְתִּי** (“I have repaid/I will repay”) in 65:6c–d has become the participle **מִשְׁלֵם** (“repaying”) in 66:6c. This morphological change, as the judgement message progresses in the speech, is another example of intensification in Isa 65–66. In short, God will act in a violent way against the rebellious. The voice from the city and temple is not merely noise, but a course of action against the rebellious. Second, “recompense” (**גְּמוּלָה**) implies that the rebellious will get what they deserve, i.e. death (see 65:11–12, 15; 66:16, 24), and it is a question of vengeance according to their deeds against

162. See also the discussion in 8.3 *God's Servants vs. God's Enemies (v. 14c–d)*, p. 244.

163. See 5.8.3 *Order (v. 25d–e)*, p. 149.

164. I think, therefore, that Schultz is correct in his observation that “When the task of the King/Servant are accomplished, Yahweh himself will bring about the final conquest of the nations and the climatic restoration and the glorious exaltation of Zion, just as announced in Isaiah 2. The book thus ends as it begins: without any direct reference to a messianic mediator” (Schultz, “The King in the Book of Isaiah,” 162).

165. See 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World (v. 12b–c)*, p. 228.

God and the faithful.¹⁶⁶ Third, “to his enemies” (לְאֹיְבָיו) is an epithet repeated in 66:14d, a term usually applied to foreign nations.¹⁶⁷ In sum, the various descriptions in Isa 66:1–6 of the people in the Jerusalem community reflect various relationships to YHWH as a transcendent and holy King.

One last thing needs to be analysed in Isa 66:6. The presence of God in vv. 1–4, and the expectations in vv. 2c–e, 3e–4, 5d–6 are eschatologized by v. 6. The reason for this development, in comparison to texts like Isa 1:11f; 6:1–5; 57:13–15, is the crisis detectable in 66:1–2b, 6a–b. The author’s conclusion is that YHWH alone can save Israel’s religious life, by intervention, which is visualised already in 65:17–25. The voice of judgement from the city and the temple in 66:6 does not come from Zion in the current Jerusalem, but from a renewed Zion described in 66:7–14b, and from “my (entire) holy mountain (Jerusalem)” in 65:25 and 66:20. After the final judgement, according to 66:12b, 20–24, a pilgrimage of all nations will come to this New Jerusalem. Thus, the context supports the impression that eschatologizing is ongoing in 66:1–6. Furthermore, Levenson’s analysis of four texts from Isa 56–66 shows that the emphasis in TI is on the world as the future sanctuary.¹⁶⁸ This eschatological frame of reference, which motivated the questioning of the attitudes to the temple, was meant to give the faithful in the current Jerusalem reason to hope for new joy as well as to shame the rebellious.

Isa 65–66 is not the only prophetic text in the Hebrew Bible which eschatologizes the presence of God for a new epoch because of a crisis. I have already noted Ezek 43:1–12, about the Temple of God as a throne, and Jer 3:16–17, about pure worship without the Ark of the Covenant in vv. 15–18.¹⁶⁹ In both cases, the prophets do not reject the temple entirely. The post-exilic prophets Haggai and Zechariah encouraged the people in the rebuilding of the Second Temple as a place of worship from an eschatological perspective.¹⁷⁰ However, the difference between Isa 66:6 and these examples of prophetic visions is a matter of perspective. First, Isa 65–66 gives the sanctuary a cosmic function with the figurative language of a

166. Cf. Isa 3:11; 35:4; 59:18.

167. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 170. See also the discussion in 8.3 *God’s Servants vs. God’s Enemies* (v. 14c–d), p. 244.

168. Isa 56:1–7; 61:1–2; 65:17–18; 66:1–2 (Levenson, “The Temple and the World,” 291–297). For a different view regarding the connection between Zion or Jerusalem and the temple in TI, see Middlemas, “Divine Reversal and the Role of the Temple in Trito-Isaiah,” 165–169. Curiously, Middlemas in her article about the temple in TI never discusses Levenson’s view of the “heavens and earth” as a world-temple and the New Jerusalem in 65:17–18 as a microcosm of the former, nor the parallelism in 66:6a–b (“A voice of uproar from the city / / a voice from the temple!”).

169. For Ezek 43, see the aspect “the Temple of God in Jerusalem is a divine throne that extends the presence of God from heaven to earth,” p. 163. For Jer 7, see p. 173, and the introduction to 6.3.1 *Temple of God* (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b), p. 161.

170. E.g. Finitis argues for a “Restoration Eschatology” in Haggai and Zech 1–8 (Finitis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 102–136). See also 2.3.2 *Prophecy in Apocalypse*, p. 55.

“new heavens and a new earth,” a universalistic perspective not explicitly present in the other oracles.¹⁷¹ Second, the rebuilding of the Second Temple was more vital for Haggai and Zechariah than for the author of Isa 65–66. As a matter of fact, in Isa 65–66 the temple and the New Jerusalem blend into one single institution, which is unique at this point in the prophetic history of Israel. Even though the common denominator was the sanctuary as the central place for God’s presence,¹⁷² the perspective of the true temple in Isa 65–66 is more like an eschatological “superstructure.”¹⁷³

6.6 Isaiah 66:1–6 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

In Isa 66:1–6, the author of Isa 65–66 returns to the present time. However, the eschatology of 65:17–25 forms a background to his response in this new unit. The distinction between the faithful and the rebellious in the community is now based on an assumed temporal dualism which separates the current fallen world from a new creatively redeemed world. The first major theme in 66:1–6 illustrating this perspective, is *The Presence of God* (vv. 1–4, 6a–b),¹⁷⁴ which questions attitudes towards the Second Temple. This questioning, a conflict caused by deeds and idolatry at the temple, but also because of deprivation, disobedience and ideology, implies a crisis that divided the community religiously and politically. The house of prayer has been defiled and the author of Isa 65–66 dismisses priests and their followers from the presence of God. In my article, “The Temple of God and Crises in Isaiah 65–66 and 1 Enoch,” I have shown that aspects of the temple-issue in 66:1–4, 6a–b provide common denominators with 1 En. 89:73–75 in the *AnApoc*.¹⁷⁵ Even though they are separated as genres and belong to different historical circumstances, namely the Persian and Hellenistic periods, they can be studied and understood in tandem regarding the Second Temple crises; and in doing so it is

171. Haggai’s fourth speech in Hag 2:20–23, where YHWH promises a violent restoration that will “shake the heavens and the earth” (מרעיש את־השמים ואת־הארץ), is parallel to promises of eschatological restoration two years later in Zech 8:9–13 (for the chronology, see Zech 7:1). In comparison, however, the reference to “heavens and the earth” in Isa 65–66 gets an extended meaning of a world-sanctuary.

172. Or as Herbert G. May says about Haggai: “Haggai’s concern is that Yahweh be honored with an adequate house” (May, “‘This People’ and ‘This Nation’ in Haggai,” 195).

173. Levenson calls temple theology a “superstructure, the cultural heritage shared by all factions of a society.” He continues to say: “King, prophet, and priest all had more in common with each other than any of them would have had with the modern world” (Levenson, “The Temple and the World,” 296–297). Sara Japhet’s argues that Isa 66:1–2 is polemic against the necessity of a temple in Jerusalem, while my argument is that this text is a prophetic reproof of the rebellious and their attitude regarding the nature of God’s temple. Japhet has also misunderstood what “new heavens and a new earth” stands for symbolically in Isa 65:17–18, i.e., a world-temple with Jerusalem as its centre (see Japhet, “The Temple in the Restoration Period,” 233–236).

174. See p. 161.

175. Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 57–62.

also possible to analyse three other common denominators: the questioning of the temple, the defilement of sanctuary, and the nature of the Temple of God.¹⁷⁶ In short, the author of *AnApoc*, like in Isa 65–66, puts all his hope in a final judgement, a new age and a New Jerusalem for its people, rather than in the present world. As stated in my article about the Temple of God, “[...], both texts express a desire to recreate and establish right worship in contrast to the prevailing one, which is portrayed as severely compromised.”¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, how the Persian ideology extended into the Hellenistic period is also significant for the present study.¹⁷⁸ It would mean that Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch also had resisting imperial ideology and humans as replacement of the Great King as a general common cause.

The presentation of God in Isa 66:1–6 as the Great King on a throne in his heavenly abode,¹⁷⁹ also brings out ontological dualism in the text. The five spiritual aspects of the Temple of God in vv. 1–4 and 6a–b, discussed above in this work and in connection with the *AnApoc* in my article,¹⁸⁰ are therefore also material for reflection on the contrast between God in heaven and humankind on earth. After a dream vision in 1 En. 83–84, the first of the two dreams in the Book of Dreams,¹⁸¹ Enoch breaks out in a beatitude (1 En. 84:2) that acknowledges God as King and Lord over all the universe in all eternity, throughout all generations. To illustrate this divine dominion, he declares that the heavens are God’s throne forever and the earth is God’s footstool “forever and forever and ever.” Thus, the following is observable:

1. As in Isa 65–66, we have in 1 En. 82:2 the functional difference and association between the heavens and earth, also observed above in connection with Isa 65:17,¹⁸² which together form a cosmic temple for the presence of God.
2. The last part of 1 En. 82:2 about “the heavens” as God’s throne and “the earth” as his footstool is a direct allusion to Isa 66:1. Thus 1 En.

176. Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 63–66.

177. Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 66.

178. See the discussion above in connection with 6.3.2 *Crises (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*, p. 168.

179. See also Mettinger, “The Study of the Gottesbild,” 142–143, who suggests: “Our insight into the root metaphor of the temple theology of pre-exilic times, with the central role of the battling and enthroned God, make us ask whether a cultic background may not be part of the answer to the question of origins [of apocalypticism].” In Isa 66:1–6 we find this enthroned God, vindicating the faithful and convicts the rebellious. In 66:14d–16, he is also the battling God from heaven, destroying all wicked flesh. In 1 Enoch, the throne of glory is a theme in 14:18–19; 18:8; 24:3; 25:3; 47:3; 51:3; 55:4; 60:2; 61:8; 62:2–3, 5; 69:29; 71:7; 84:2–3; 90:20; 108:12. Cf. “A Throne in the Heavens” in John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 149–170.

180. See 6.3.1 *Temple of God (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*, p. 161, and Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 65–66.

181. 1 En. 83–90, the second dream is the *AnApoc*.

182. See 5.9 *Isaiah 65:17–25 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 150.

84:2 and Isa 66:1 share a similar firm belief that God's presence cannot be contained in a physical building on earth.

3. As in Isa 65–66, God in heaven is the Great King (“King of kings,” 1 En. 84:2d) with dominion over all human generations on earth. 1 En. 84:3 continues: “For you have made and you rule all things.” That separates God not only as Creator and King from all the created but also as Judge of all flesh. These three divine characteristics similarly portray God in Isa 66:1–6, 22.¹⁸³

The prayer in 1 En. 84 to the King and Creator in heaven and the sayings in Isa 66:1–6 share the same ontological view of God – a divine entity profoundly and distinctly different from the created, but nonetheless still present because of his grace. Thus, that God is accessible to humans in both texts, whether through judgement or salvation, is a sign of God's intervention or graciousness, not of the human ability to reach him in heaven.

The second theme in 66:1–6 is *Expectations* (vv. 2c–e, 3e–4),¹⁸⁴ which expresses vindication (v. 2c–e) for the faithful/tremblers, conviction for the rebellious/priests (vv. 3e–4b), and a lack of repentance (vv. 4c–f) from the latter group. The window of repentance was open, but now seems to be closed to the rebellious because of their evil deeds. From this point on God will look to the faithful because they seek and obey him in their brokenness. The belief that something will or must happen is very strong in both Isa 65–66 and throughout 1 Enoch. The promise is a reversal of reality where the former age will end in judgement and be followed by a new age that will bring restoration through divine intervention.¹⁸⁵ Thus, temporal dualism structures the expectation that one day there will be vindication of the faithful and conviction of the rebellious. The same applies to repentance. Although, in both Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch it seems as if God has predetermined the destiny of the faithful and the rebellious, I would argue that the future expectations in these texts want to induce the audience to repentance, or as Greg Carey puts it, a kind of determination “which implies a measure of openness in the cosmic plan that depends on human responses.”¹⁸⁶ For example, the outcome of judgement depends on a person's choice on whether to obey or disobey God's ways. Therefore, when we talk about determinism in Jewish apocalyptic literature and in Hebrew prophetic biblical texts, we are dealing with expectations about human behaviour and how the cosmos is divinely ordered. Furthermore, in

183. The first two lines in 1 En. 84:3 appeal to God as the Creator of heavens and earth in a similar way as in Isa 66:2a–b. See also Jer 32:17, 27 and Gen 18:14 (Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 256; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 352).

184. See p. 173.

185. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 41.

186. Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 9.

both the apocalyptic and prophetic literature, God is personal with the ability to relent when people truly repent.¹⁸⁷

The message in both Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch has the purpose of motivating people to follow the covenant of God. It is the condition for a new start, although this desire and expectation is not explicitly stated because of the strong judgement message to the wicked. Did it, however, ever come to a point in such a message that repentance on the part of the unrighteousness was no longer possible? The structures (the alternation) and topics (the rebellious/faithful and their destiny) in Isa 65 and 1 En. 1–5 have much in common and are meant to convey the importance of repentance (see especially 1 En. 2:1–5:4). However, in Isa 66:1–6 the direct address changes from the rebellious to the faithful, which has no direct parallel in 1 En. 1–5; but what we can learn by comparing Isa 65 with 1 En. 1–5 actually prepares the listener or reader on how to interpret the sudden point of no return for the rebellious in Isa 66. In 1 Enoch, situations after 1 En. 1–5 are also portrayed where, because of their unrepented attitude, wicked people eventually come to the point of no alternative but death (see Isa 66:6, 14d–17, 24) while the righteous will live on in a new age. In 1 En. 25:2, Enoch has arrived at the cursed valley, filled with people “who are cursed forever.” *The Book of Parables* (1 En. 37–71) introduces the coming judgement of the wicked in chapter 38 and regarding cursed kings and rulers v. 6 states: “[...] and from then on, no one will seek mercy for them from the Lord of Spirits, for their life will be at an end.” In chapter 45, referred to above in connection with Isa 65:17–25,¹⁸⁸ the second parable explains that there are no alternatives left for the deniers but for them to perish, with the words: “To heaven they will not ascend, and on earth they will not come” (v. 2, see also v. 5–6). 1 En. 84, where Enoch expresses remorse and supplication to God for the survival of the earth and a remnant (see 83:8), is similar. The intercession presupposes that God hears the cries of humans, can relent from a decision and vindicate the righteous instead as in Isa 66:2c–e, 5–6 (see also 1 En. 9:1–11).

187. See also Amos 7:1–6; Jer 18:8; 26:3, 13. Foreknowledge in the Ancient Near East was not something absolute or invariable – it was assumed that human behaviour could change outcomes in contrast to the classical Greek view of the world where fate was predetermined at birth (Francesca Rochberg, “Fate and Divination in Mesopotamia,” in *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy*, SAMD 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–30; See also E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, SCL 25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 2–8, about Greek deities having their ways). The gods in Mesopotamia were personal, and could therefore be affected by pious human behaviour. This in contrast to Greek religion, which discouraged individualism, and preoccupation with your inner states – a person was not a sinner in need of redemption. Robert Parker explains: “[Greek] Religion was never personal in the sense of a means for the individual to express his unique identity.” (Robert Parker, “Greek Religion,” in *The Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, and Oswyn Murray [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991], 314).

188. 5.9 *Isaiah 65:17–25 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 150.

The third theme in 66:1–6 is *Recompense* (vv. 5–6),¹⁸⁹ which addresses the **החרדים** directly in the second person, namely, those who are oppressed by those priests who rule in the Jerusalem community. Thus, the voice promises the former divine intervention (v. 6). God will repay to their common enemy. The combination of the presence of God, expectations, and recompense in 66:1–6 eschatologizes the whole passage. Only YHWH alone can save Israel’s religious life, as is also visualised in 65:17–25 and 66:7–14b. It is the eschatology of the “tremblers” in Isa 65–66, not the focus on the Law in the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah, that must have influenced parts of 1 Enoch.¹⁹⁰ The persecution of the righteous or faithful is also a theme in 1 Enoch, and the *AnApoc* is one of the best examples where the angelical shepherds are held responsible for the nations’ persecution of Israel. Although Isa 65–66 does not put the same emphasis on the spiritual war with humanity,¹⁹¹ its author does point out the significance of the worship and prayer of the righteous, which rise to the “Lord of Spirits” in 1 En. 47. In that latter passage, God will avenge the blood of the righteous, or repay it as in Isa 65:6c–e and 66:6c.¹⁹² The same motif is used in Isa 66 too, although 1 En. 47 alludes first of all to Daniel 7.¹⁹³ The voice identifies the wicked as persecutors and God will put them to shame through judgement as a payback for what they have done. In 1 Enoch 47 it is the prayer of the righteous which triggers God’s punishment, and in Isa 65–66 it is the combination of the lament in 63:7–64:11 and the implicit cries of the faithful in 65:8; 66:1–6 that incite God to answer with promises of judgement and salvation. Another theme is the messianic expectation, which Isa 65–66 incorporates into YHWH as King. The fact is that a messianic agent is absent in the Isaianic text and there is no explicit messianic expectation in the early Jewish apocalypse of Enoch either.

By extension, the affinity of the humble and contrite with the presence of God in Isa 66:2c–e becomes a premonition of a universalistic and eschatological temple-city for prayer and worship in 66:7–14b and 18–24. Furthermore, the blending of a temple with the New Jerusalem in Isa 66:6–14b is a vision of a place that will function as the centre of the world. The view on the presence of God and expectations and recompense in Isa 66:1–6 reflect the conviction that spiritual re-

189. See p. 184.

190. However, as Blenkinsopp suggests, the **החרדים** in Ezra 9:4 (10:6) likely fostered an eschatological milieu “in which *Daniel* circulated during the Seleucid epoch: mourning, fasting, penitential prayer, and intense concern for the law” (Dan 9:3–23; 10:1–9). This mourning and fasting was in anticipation of the eschatological rejoicing with feasting (see Isa 65:13, 18–19b). Blenkinsopp, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah,” 400.

191. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 40–41.

192. I will continue to reflect upon the concept “repayment” in *8.6 Isaiah 66:14c–17 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 266. See also *7.5 Isaiah 66:7–14b and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 234 about the concept of peace and Zion as the centre of the world.

193. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 250–251.

newal is necessary for a new life and a new world (cf. Ezek 47:1–12). Only God can recreate the true nature of the temple for his people. In short, Isa 65–66 has influenced the view on the presence of God in 1 Enoch, because, among other things, of the crises of defilement in the Hellenistic period which caused a response of resistance against the hellenistic ideology at that time.

Chapter 7: Isaiah 66:7–14b

After God's recompense from the city and the temple in Isa 66:6, the next major thematic unit in Isa 65–66 is 66:7–14b. These verses are about the future Zion which reconnect to and supplement the vision-account of the New Jerusalem in 65:18–19b and the results of God's creative redemption in vv. 19c–25. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, there are two main themes in the text: *Zion as a Mother* (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b) and *God as a Mother* (v. 13a–b). The sub-themes have Zion as the centre for God's presence on earth for his people. The analysis of these themes are summarised and reflected on in comparison with observations in 1 Enoch at the end of the chapter.

7.1 Text and Translation

בטרם תחיל ילדה	7a	Before she is in labour, she has given birth, ^a
בטרם יבוא חבל לה		before labour pain comes to her,
והמליטה זכר:	c	she has delivered a boy. ^b
מי-שמע כזאת	8a	Who has heard anything like this? ^c
מי ראה כאלה		Who has seen such things?
היוחל ארץ ביום אחד	c	Is a land brought through labour ^d in one day,
אם-יולד גוי פעם אחת		or a nation be born at once?
כי-חלה גם-ילדה	e	For she has laboured, loudly ^e given birth,
ציון את-בניה:		Zion, to her children.
האני אשביר ולא אוליד	9a	Shall I break open ^f [the womb] and not bring to birth?
יאמר יהוה		says YHWH.
אם-אני המוליד ועצרת	c	Or shall I, who bring to birth, close [it]? ^g
אמר אלהיך:		says your God.
שמחו את-ירושלם	10a	Rejoice with Jerusalem ^h
וגילו בה כל-אהביה		and be glad for her, ⁱ all who love her.
שישו אתה מושש	c	Rejoice with her joyfully,
כל-המתאבלים עליה:		all who mourn over her.
למען תינקו ושבעתם	11a	So that you may suck and be satisfied
משד תנחמיה		from her comforting breasts;
למען תמצו והתענגתם	c	so that you may draw milk and delight yourselves
מזיז כבודה:		from her heavy bosom. ^j
כי-כה אמר יהוה	12a	For thus says YHWH:
הנני נטה-אליה כנהר שלום		Here am I, ^k extending peace to her like a river, ^l
וכנחל שוטף כבוד גוים	c	and the glory of nations like an overflowing river valley.
וינקתם על-צד תנשאו		And you will suck ^m as you are carried on the hip,
ועל-ברכים תשעשעו:	e	and you will be dandled on the knees.
כאיש אשר אמו תנחמו	13a	Like one whom his mother comforts,
כן אנכי אנחמכם		so I will comfort you;
ובירושלם תנחמו:	c	and through Jerusalem you will be comforted. ⁿ
וראיתם ושש לבכם	14a	You will see and your heart will rejoice,
ועצמותיכם כדשא תפרחנה	b	your bones will flourish like the grass.

a. Because the line is short, and to adapt it to v. 7b–c, scholars have proposed various additions in v. 7a (Fohrer, Duhm and Hanson; see *BHS*). However, as Koole suggests, the shortness may be intentional and should therefore not be emended.¹

b. **Ⓞ** has ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν (“she escaped and gave birth”) for והמליטה (“she delivers”) in **Ⓜ**, but the connotation might be the same. **Ⓢ** replaces זכר (“a boy”) with יתגלי מלכה (“The king will be revealed”), which reflects an interpretation that v. 7c reveals a messiah. The lack of an explicit mention of a messianic king in the **Ⓜ** version of Isa 65–66 has perhaps caused this rendering.

c. The aspect of the perfective form שמע puts emphasis on the uniqueness of the birth by Zion, and which must appear in the translation.²

d. The passive masc. causative היוהל (*hof*, “brought through labour”) in **Ⓜ** has been changed from the active fem. causative התחיל (*hif*) in 1QIsa^a, or the active indic. ὄδινε (“give birth”) in **Ⓞ**. **Ⓢ** is passive fem. (حسدلك) and **Ⓜ** active indic. (*parturiet*). Another question is whether עם should be read as instead of or before ארץ (“land”). However, such an emendation of **Ⓜ** is deemed unnecessary by both Koole and Goldingay.³

e. A standard translation of גם is “also”; however, 66:8e can also read as “loudly,”⁴ which would enhance the question היוהל of intense and instant labour pains in v. 8c, when Zion’s new people are born. Cf. e.g. Lam. 1:8.

f. **Ⓞ** reads, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔδωκα τὴν προσδοκίαν ταύτην (“But I myself gave you this expectation”), and continues, καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης μου (“and you did not remember me”). This may reflect a different and mistranslated Hebrew source, than the one underlying the **Ⓜ**,⁵ or it may be that the translator has rewritten the verse to emend the anthropomorphic idea about Zion being a mother. The phrase “and you did not remember me” could also allude to the forgetfulness of the rebellious in 65:11 and their deafness in 65:1, 12, 24; 66:4. See also **Ⓢ**, which may be another example of how the Isa 66:9 was rewritten to deny the idea of YHWH being a midwife.

g. 1QIsa^a supports **Ⓜ** in verse 9, but has replaced ועצרתה with a cohortative, ואעצורה (“would I indeed close?”).⁶

h. **Ⓜ** exhorts the faithful remnant to “Rejoice with Jerusalem,” while **Ⓞ** exhorts Jerusalem to rejoice (εὐφράνθητι, Ἱερουσαλημ), and **Ⓢ** to “Rejoice in Jerusalem” (חדו בירושלם). 1QIsa^a supports **Ⓜ** (את־ירושלם), so the other Versions, including also **Ⓢ** (ב, “in”), may reflect different interpretations.

i. **Ⓞ** reads καὶ πανηγυρίσατε ἐν αὐτῇ (“and celebrate a festival in her”), of religious character. This would be in accordance with the implied meaning of וגילו בה (“and be glad in her”), where גיל can be associated with worship.⁷

j. The translation of the substantive זי is difficult. The line it belongs to is paraphrased in different ways in the ancient versions. E.g. **Ⓞ** reads, “from the entrance to her glory” (ἀπὸ εἰσόδου δόξης αὐτῆς), and **Ⓢ** reads, “from the wine of her glory” (מחמר יקרה). 1QIsa^a supports **Ⓜ**, even if מזי is substituted with a variant (מזיז). The substantive זי can be understood as “nipple,” based upon Akk.

1. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 492.

2. See Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §112d; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 30.5.1b. Cf. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 672; Childs, *Isaiah*, 529; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 302.

3. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 494 and Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 432.

4. See *DCH* 2, s.v. “גם II” and Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 432, n. 57.

5. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 61–62.

6. See also Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 432.

7. See 5.6.2 *Cultic Rejoicing and Gladness (v. 18c–d)*, p. 136.

zīzu and Arb. *zīzat*,⁸ even though it does not occur with that meaning anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible (see Ps 50:11 and 80:14).⁹ However, because Isa 66:11 is about nursing and nourishment, the construction כבודה and זי in v. 11d must refer to a heavy or abundant breast, as is the case in v. 11b.

k. For choice of translation, see footnote 13 on p. 121 in connection with 5.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 17–25).

l. In v. 12b, **Ⓞ** is parsed differently than in **Ⓜ**, which gives it a somewhat different connotation. In **Ⓞ**, God himself turns to “them like a river of peace, [...]” (Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐκκλίνω εἰς αὐτοὺς ὡς ποταμὸς εἰρήνης), while God is “extending peace to her like a river” (הנני נוֹפֵה-אֵלֶיהָ כְּנַהַר שְׁלוֹם) in **Ⓜ**. The former refers to “them” (see “the nations” [ἔθνων] in v. 12c) and understands שְׁלוֹם כְּנַהַר as a genitive construction, while the latter refers to “her” (Jerusalem, vv. 10–11) instead of “they” and promises “peace [...] like a river.” **Ⓜ** is close to **Ⓞ**, with the exception of the referral to “her” (*eam*). **Ⓢ** leans more towards **Ⓜ**, and 1QIsa^a/**Ⓢ** supports **Ⓜ**. Because the emphasis in context is more on salvation of the faithful than on material blessings, it is likely that the referral to Jerusalem, and “peace [...] like a river,” is a more correct rendering of the line.¹⁰

m. This part of the line is fragmentary in 1QIsa^a and reads ויהימה[...], but can be completed with וינק, which gives us a noun and thus translated as “and their infants.”¹¹ That is supported by **Ⓞ**, τὰ παιδία αὐτῶν (“their children”), while **Ⓜ** verb וינקתם (“And you will suck”) is supported by 1QIsa^b, the Three (λ'), **Ⓜ**, **Ⓢ**, and **Ⓢ**. The difference reflects two textual traditions (1QIsa^a/*Vorlage* to **Ⓞ**, and **Ⓜ**). Scholars and modern translations do not agree on which is preferable, e.g. Blenkinsopp says that **Ⓜ** וינקתם “does not make good sense in the context.”¹² However, the depiction of Zion in v. 12b–c is followed, as in vv. 10–11 after vv. 7–9, by a direct address in v. 12d–e to the faithful. Moreover, Koole argues that following “the alternative tradition requires emendation of the subsequent verbal forms [...],”¹³ something **Ⓞ** has done but not 1QIsa^a. My conclusion is that the textual problem in v. 12d–e can be solved in a satisfactory way without emending the **Ⓜ**, by reading the verse according to the same pattern as in the previous verses, and because **Ⓜ** in this case is supported by a clear majority of ancient versions. Therefore I follow the text tradition behind **Ⓜ** in my translation of v. 12d–e.

n. *BHS* thinks that perhaps the phrase וברושלם תנחמו (“and through Jerusalem you will be comforted”) has been added, but does not suggest deleting it. In fact, 1QIsa^a, **Ⓞ**, **Ⓢ**, **Ⓢ**, and **Ⓜ** supports **Ⓜ**. The phrase also has an important function as an inclusion with v. 10a and a transition to v. 14a–b, the last two lines in the unit which explain the results of YHWH intervention in vv. 11–12.¹⁴

7.2 Structural Issues (vv. 7–14b)

I have already discussed the structural issues that divide vv. 6 and 7 in connection with Isa 66:1–6.¹⁵ Here, we can note that this new section of Isa 65–66 starts out with no direct address of a particular group of people in the current Jerusalem (vv. 7–9). Instead, the voice of God describes Zion figuratively in the third person as a mother (vv. 7–8), and himself as a midwife/midhusband and mother (vv. 9, 13a–

8. *ALCBH*, s.v. “זיז”; *HALOT*, s.v. “זיז II”.

9. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 303.

10. See also Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 499.

11. de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 224.

12. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 304.

13. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 500. See also Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 460–461 for more objections against emending the **Ⓜ**.

14. See Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 502.

15. See 6.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 1–6), p. 158.

b). Together they shall bring forth a new people. Webster suggests, therefore, that vv. 7–9 functions as an introduction to a song about Zion in vv. 10–14b. In this latter section, the faithful (the tremblers in v. 2c–e and v. 5b) are exhorted to rejoice as a born again people “with Jerusalem” (v. 10), because of the comfort they will receive from God through her (v. 13). The rejoicing extends to v. 14b, but in v. 14c–d the speech returns to the division between the faithful and rebellious and the final judgement of the latter in vv. 15–17. Thus, we can delimit the unit to 66:7–14b, because of the change of theme and address.¹⁶

In Isa 66:7–14b, Zion continues to play a significant role in the larger eschatological vision that so far includes 65:8–16 and 17–25 regarding destinies and cosmic transformation for a new epoch. The vision becomes more intense in Isa 66 with the help of a figurative language that emphasises intimacy. The switching between two opposing universes in chapter 66, the present defiled one and the glorious utopian one, is more rapid compared to chapter 65. While 66:1–5 deals mostly with the current situation, v. 6 functions as an eschatological bridge to 66:7–14b. From 66:6 on, the author moves from judgement to a restored world in the next eight verses. After v. 14b, the speech again turns its attention to the situation in the community and in Isa 65–66 pronounces judgement over the current world for the last time. The impression is that the author progressively pays less attention to the current situation after 65:12, and increasingly focuses more on a new Zion and her people. Moreover, after 66:17 the pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem becomes one of the dominant themes that close the Book of Isaiah.

What then is the purpose of pausing the direct address in Isa 66:1–6, and highlighting a future Zion once again? The context implies at least five things that explain this:

1. The author wants to challenge the current spirit in the Jerusalem community by resisting it. In 66:7–14b, he takes that dispute to a new level with its figurative language that imagines and promises a sacred space of joy and comfort for the faithful (the “this one” in 66:2c) in a refurbished world in contrast to idolatry and oppression in the current community.
2. The author expounds the promise in v. 5g, that “they will be ashamed” by presenting Zion as the mother of the faithful in vv. 7–14b. Furthermore, the author wants to say, therefore, that the voice of judgement in vv. 5g–6 does not come from the current Jerusalem but rather from a renewed Zion.

16. Goldingay also delimits 66:7–14b by regarding v. 13c–14b as a tricolon (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 502). See also Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 57–59.

3. The author continues to challenge the religious and political situation in the Jerusalem community by using the imagined Zion as destined to be the centre of the world in a new epoch. Such an ideology about God's throne forebodes a more apocalyptic world view regarding the destiny of nations.
4. Despite speeches of judgement before and after 66:7–14b, the author wishes to emphasise God's mercy and love. Therefore, the message of creative redemption in 65:17–18 continues in Isa 66:7–14b. In fact, 66:7–14b is the third extent vision in Isa 65–66 about God's mercy and a future Zion plays a key role in all of them.¹⁷ The final fourth one is 66:18–24.
5. The judgement and salvation message in 66:1–6, followed by an eschatological Zion in vv. 7–14b, conform to the same general pattern found in Isa 65, where the message of judgement and salvation in vv. 1–16 is followed by the vision of transformation and the New Jerusalem in vv. 17–25.

The transformation of Zion and God's salvation in a new epoch is the ultimate hope in Isa 65–66. The thematic discussion of 66:7–14b presented below is an analysis from that perspective.

7.3 Zion as a Mother (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b) ¹⁸

Scholars have recently given some attention to the female personification of Zion and God in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the books of Isaiah and Lamentations. The latter book has also been analysed as a context for both DI and TI.¹⁹ The highly figurative language characterising the personifications in 66:7–14b, has been examined, for example, by Chris A. Franke, Gary Stansell and Christl M. Maier.²⁰ The separate readings of vv. 7–14b of the three scholars show that the

17. See Isa 65:8–10 (“my mountain”), 17–25 (a New Jerusalem).

18. The material published in Green, “Zion as a Mother,” 266–297 is reused and lightly edited in this section of my study of Isa 65–66.

19. E.g. several articles in Mark J. Boda, Carol J. Dempsey, and LeAnn Snow, eds., *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, AIL 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012) that have dialogs with Carleen Mandolfo, *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets: A Dialogic Theology of the Book of Lamentations*, SemeiaSt 58, rev. ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007). See also Knut M. Heim, “The Personification of Jerusalem and the Drama of Her Bereavement in Lamentations,” in *Zion, city of our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 132; Reinoud Oosting, *The Role of Zion*, SSN 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 191–200, 226–254; Rebecca W. Poe Hays, “Sing me a Parable of Zion: Isaiah’s Vineyard (5:1–7) and its Relation to the ‘Daughter Zion’ Tradition,” *JBL* 135/4 (2016): 755.

20. A. Chris Franke, “‘Like a Mother I Have Comforted You’: The Function of Figurative Language

metaphors in the unit are employed differently compared to similar uses in other parts of the Book of Isaiah, even in the prophetic corpus as a whole.²¹ The perspective I choose in my reading of the text confirms the idea of an eschatological Zion in Isa 65–66 as a unique place. However, it is also about new life and universalism. Isa 66:7–14b visualises God’s mercy as comprising of more than the Jewish people, and includes all those who willingly pilgrimage to Zion. The following exegesis aims at showing how Isa 66:7–14b imagines God acting sovereignly in a renewed way through an eschatologically restored Zion in connection with a transformed epoch. Zion is the centre of the world for her people, a mother, who gives birth to life and relationships with the help of God’s mercy, so that joy and comfort will emanate from her.

Before taking a closer look at the different aspects of Zion as a mother in Isa 66:7–14b, it needs to be clarified that the term “mother” is not something peculiar to vv. 7–14b. Zion is also presented as a mother in DI. That mother, however, is adulterous, abandoned and, moreover, barren even if God does promise to bring her children back from exile. What then makes the idea of a mother so strong throughout 66:7–14b? It is the birthing of children, and that the maternity theme is also applied to God in 66:13a–b. Moreover, Zion as a fertile mother gives 66:7–14b a special social emphasis regarding new relationships. This is how Maier wants to understand Jerusalem in Isa 66:7–14b and within TI, when she describes Zion in those verses “as a social space produced by a specific society at a certain time.”²² Furthermore referring to the analysis of the female personification of a city of other scholars, she says that it “is based on a general analogy between the role of women and the role of cities, at least in a patriarchal perspective [...]. Thus, the female gendering of the space is primarily based on ideas about its use and

in Isaiah 1:7–26 and 66:7–14,” in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Chul Paul Kim, AIL 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 35–55; Gary Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion: Pilgrimage and Tribute as Metaphor in the Book of Isaiah,” in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Chul Paul Kim, AIL 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 233–255; Christl M. Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood in Isaiah 66:7–14,” in *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Carol J. Dempsey, and LeAnn Snow, AIL 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 225–242.

21. Chris A. Franke points out that Isa 66:7–14 presents “a dramatically different view of the divine/human relationship,” compared to the description of Zion’s condition and God’s reaction in Isa 1:7–26, 27. Franke continues to explain that in 66:7–14 the “image of the relationship between God and Zion and an interaction between the two” is not only “dramatically different” from other metaphors of Zion in the Book of Isaiah but also “perhaps unique in the prophetic corpus” (Franke, “Like a Mother I Have Comforted You,” 38, 43–44). Christl M. Maier says regarding metaphors of motherhood and midwife in vv. 7–14b: “Compared with the salvation oracles in DI and Isa 60–62, Isa 66 not only expands the vision but also increases the significance of Zion as a mother city” (Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 234). Stansell’s interest is concentrated to the metaphors of “pilgrimage” and “bringing tribute,” which coincide, among other things, with “the wealth of nations” in Isa 66:12.

22. Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 227.

usefulness for human habitation.”²³ This would be the case in Isa 62:5 if we understand the repeated word **בעל** in that verse as “possession,”²⁴ but in 66:7–14b the patriarchal perspective breaks down, at least partially, when God brings on himself the role of a midwife (v. 9) and a mother (v. 13a–b).

The positive and unique use of metaphors in Isa 66:7–14b regarding Zion or Jerusalem can be seen both as an expansion and intensification of a theme in the Book of Isaiah. On the one hand, Zion in 66:7–14b reflects a central idea in the book.²⁵ On the other hand, the vision in vv. 7–8 about a mother giving birth to her children develops an expectation found in both PI and DI. In short, Zion will be the centre of the earth, and a channel for God’s mercy and comfort. As such, it supplements the depiction of a New Jerusalem and her expanding impact on life and relationships in Isa 65:18–25. The image of Zion as a mother, in combination with the idea of a future and imminent redemption, could also function rhetorically as attentional capture²⁶ after the judgement speech in 66:1–6 concerning the rebellious. In this case, the metaphor intends to interrupt current processes in life and immediately shifts the focus from everyday matters to God’s intervention and involvement with Jerusalem and her true children. The following things, which demonstrate that 66:7–14b is an effort by the author in Isa 65–66 to catch the attention of his audience regarding the seriousness of his message, before the final judgement in 66:14c–17, can be identified in the text:

1. The prophetic speech in Isa 65–66 makes an abrupt change in v. 7, from the voice of judgement in v. 6 to a voice of redemption in vv. 7–14b. The judgement speech against the rebellious is expected to continue after v. 6, but such a topic is not picked up again until vv. 14c–17. Isa 66:7 interrupts the text, and the voice begins to speak about Zion.²⁷
2. The figurative language in Isa 66:7–8 is formulated as a riddle, with three questions in v. 8a–d, and the answer is suspended until v. 8e–f. As an attentional capture, it can be imagined like this: Who is “she”? Who is the “boy [...] a land [...] a nation”? It is Zion and her redeemed elect!
3. Zion’s new people are claimed to have already been born! The *qatal* forms in vv. 7–8 imply a completed event: **ילדה** (“she has given birth”), **והמליטה** (“she has delivered”), **שמע** (“has heard”), **ראה** (“has seen”), **חלה** (“she has laboured”), **ילדה** (“she has given birth”).

23. Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 228.

24. See also discussion of **בעל** in connection with Isa 66:7–8 and Zion as the centre of life (p. 214).

25. See the introduction in 5.5 *The Creation of the New Jerusalem and Her People* (v. 18), p. 127.

26. For a more general definition, see “What is Attentional Capture?,” Psychology Dictionary. <http://psychologydictionary.org/attentional-capture/>.

27. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 494.

4. Birth in biblical times was very dangerous for both the mother and child, but will not only be successful according to vv. 7–8, but also miraculously easy and thus something unheard of at that time (v. 8a–b). The sudden deliverance from death (birth),²⁸ as vv. 7–8 implies, portrays Zion as a place of life (cf. Isa 65:3–5; 66:17) and would certainly be an attentional capture.
5. The metaphoric language in vv. 7–8 is about a miraculous birth by Zion, but when we read on, attentional captures are not limited to the first two verses in the unit. For example in v. 9 God is presented as a midwife/midhusband, in v. 12b–c “peace [...] and the glory of nations” will be extended to Zion, and in v. 13a–b is God likened to a mother.

The figurative language in Isa 66:7–14b was certainly intended to catch the attention of the inhabitants in the Yehud community of Jerusalem as something imminent and which extended beyond the local community. Moreover, the birth metaphor in 66:7–8 reflects an ideological resistance for the same reason that a New Jerusalem is visualised as the *Axis Mundi* in 65:17–19 (66:20) and the current temple is criticised in 66:1–2.²⁹ The fertile Zion as the centre of the world in v. 12b–c is presented as an alternative to king Darius’ imperial ambitions and the capital of Persepolis. It is doubtful that a single prophetic voice in Jerusalem caught the attention of Darius as a serious threat, even if it represents a group in the community. Nonetheless, the eschatological theology in Isa 66:7–14b claims to encompass more than just a small Persian province. The birth of Zion’s true children is expected to draw much interest from the outside world. Such expectations are reflected in v. 8 about the astonishment it will cause, in v. 9 about God’s personal involvement, and in v. 12b–c about “the glory of nations” (cf. 66:18–24). Either way, the critique in 66:1–6, followed by the metaphors in 66:7–14b, was among other things intended to worry those who did not want to alarm Darius.³⁰

The attention the author captured with the sudden image of Zion’s motherhood could have had several effects on the hearers. In addition to the anxiety it might have stirred up, the following consequences can also be imagined:

1. A definitive dividing line (see again the *qatal* forms in vv. 7–8) that graphically emphasised what was already a dualistic situation in Isa 65–66, the separation of the rebellious and the faithful.

28. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 495.

29. See 6.3.2 *Crisis (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*, p. 168.

30. Cf. Ezra 4–6 and Neh 6, which show how sensitive the issue regarding the status of Jerusalem in relation to the Persian hegemony could be. In Neh 6:5–9, the enemies threaten to send a false report to King Artaxerxes stating that Nehemiah was about to proclaim himself king in Judah.

2. It challenged those who are criticised in 66:1–6 and in vv. 14c–17. The unit following vv. 7–14b confirms that the rebellious are not and will not be the children of Mother Zion. They are condemned, and God like a divine warrior will destroy them in a final judgement – the same God who is Zion’s midwife/midhusband in v. 9.
3. Verses 7–8 are part of an interposed unit that also wants to show the rebellious the things they will miss out on, such as life, mercy, joy, and comfort. I discuss these themes in 66:7–14b more below.

The author of Isa 66.7–14b wishes to illustrate what a new Zion will offer those who are the faithful remnant. However, the unit is silent about the reaction of those described as rebellious throughout Isa 65–66.³¹ Nonetheless, the symbolic language of Isa 66:7–9 is intended to maximise the urgency in the overall message of judgement and salvation. The purpose would be to catch the attention of people regarding the imminent fate of the city and her people, and to further distinguish between the faithful (see 66:14c) and the rebellious (see 66:14d). When new life is born, it attracts the full attention of those who long for it, fear it or are challenged by it. So when these verses claim that Zion “has given birth,” it puts that place, or institution, in the centre of the world for those it concerns. Moreover, we see once again that the author of Isa 65–66 argues that a New Jerusalem affects all people but is, nonetheless, not open to those who continue their unrepentant lives. Next, I analyse four aspects of Zion’s motherhood in 66:7–14b, all with the common purpose of intensifying the imagery of a New Jerusalem in the Book of Isaiah as the centre of creation, which provide an interesting conceptualisation of the renewed relationship between God and God’s people.

7.3.1 The Centre of Life (vv. 7–8, 14b)

In Isa 66:7–8, Mother Zion first gives birth to “a boy” (זכר), then to “a land” (ארץ), and finally to “a nation” (גוי). These nouns are identified with Zion’s children (בניה, v. 8f), the fruits of her labours.³² The combination of the first three nouns confirms the extraordinary nature of the image of Zion as the centre of life. As a matter of fact, the nouns are only found together here in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, if only one of these nouns were combined with Zion, it would still have been a unique portrayal of the New Jerusalem.³³ That might actually be the very point, i.e.

31. In Isa 65–66, the author quotes the rebellious in 65:5 and 66:5e–f. However, it does not give any hints of how the rebellious reacted to the speech, except that perhaps business went on as usual for some “in the gardens” because of the repetition of 65:3 in 66:17.

32. A combination of חבל, ילד, היל, and מלט is used in 66:7–8, of which חבל and מלט are not repeated.

33. The combination ציון and זכר does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, except in Isa 66:7c–8. Neither

to portray something unique that has never happened or endured before. The births convey continuity, from a boy to an inclusive nation (גוי, not עם) with its own land, and it happens with God's support as the midwife/midhusband (v. 9). As such, Isa 66:7–9 is an antitype of important events in the biblical history that gave birth to a people of God. We have the boy Isaac, the son of promise; the first exodus from Egypt which redeemed a people for a land; and the return from exile in Babylon, described by DI as a second exodus. In all these cases, God is a promise-giver and helper. Yet, according to the biblical records, things did not turn out so well in the end, nor did the promise live up to expectations. Therefore, as an eschatological text, Isa 66:7–8 is a vision of a unique new beginning for Zion and her new children. They will not fail the covenant this time, but will reach their full potential with the help of God's direct involvement (v. 9, 13a–b). In other words, 66:7–8 reflects a contrast in Isa 65–66, alluding to the negative past by visualising a bright future for Zion as the centre of life that will fulfil the Abrahamic covenant that all nations (see גוי) will be blessed in his offspring.

First, the centre of life in Isa 66:7–8, 14b is visualised as a place for newborn relationships. In addition to the contrast, the figurative language of vv. 7–8 conveys several additional aspects. The fulfilment of an enduring covenant relationship will take place through a renewed Zion. We must understand Zion, in the context of Isa 65–66, as God's holy mountain, Jerusalem. Consequently, 66:7–8 adheres to the tradition in the Hebrew Bible that divine covenants concerning ancient Israel's destiny as God's people are associated with mountains. Additionally, there is no explicit mention of a Davidic Messiah (cf. Isa 11:1–5). Instead, the new relationship continues with Zion giving birth to a boy. Therefore, it is worth noting that the Akedah, and the following confirmation of the covenant with God regarding a people and land, occurred on a mountain in Moriah (Gen 22:1–19). In post-exilic times, Zion is equated with "Mount Moriah" (2 Chron 3:1), and both the sacrifice of Isaac and Zion's earlier barrenness are resolved through divine redemption. Furthermore, the motherhood of Zion in 66:7–8, 14b is parallel to the New Jerusalem in 65:17–25 as the centre of the earth for restored paradisiac life and relationships. What the language in 66:7–14b adds to this picture of new relationships is more contentment, depth and warmth to the joy and fellowship of intimacy in

do the subsequent combinations in v. 8, with the meaning to be "brought through labour," occur in any other passage: for ציין and ארץ in the same verse, see Isa 16:1; 18:7; 32:2; 51:16; 62:11; Jer 8:19; 9:18; 50:28; Ezek 39:15; Joel 2:1; 4:16; Mic 4:13; Ps 48:3; 134:3; Lam 2:1, 10; for ציין and גוי in the same verse, see Isa 14:32; 18:7; 29:8; Amos 6:1; Mic 4:2, 7, 11. In the Prophets and Psalms there is also a close connection between ציין and עם (Isa 2:3; 10:24; 14:32; 18:7; 30:19; 51:16; Jer 8:19; 26:18; Joel 4:16; Mic 4:13; Ps 9:12; 14:7 [53:7]; 99:2); however, perhaps only Isa 51:6 (עמרי-אתה) and Ps 14:7; 53:7 (מציון ישועת ישראל) can vaguely imply what Isa 66:7–8 portrays, because of reference to "my people" in Isa 65:10, 19, 22 and the major theme of salvation in Isa 65–66.

65:18–19b, 24. It is about love, a theme explicitly referred to in Isa 66:10b as the result of vv. 7–9.

In the Book of Isaiah there are some parallels about Jerusalem that explain the contrast and hope for newborn relationships in Isa 66:7–8, 14b. To begin with, in Isa 1:7–15, 21–23 the condition of daughter Zion and the land is much more precarious than in Isa 66:7–8. She is alone, has become a “whore” and is described as corrupt. As in Isa 65–66, there are deep disappointments with groups of residents in the current Jerusalem (see Isa 1:9, 11–15; 65:1–7, 8; 66:1–6, 14c–17).³⁴ Nonetheless, there is also a vision of a restored and redeemed city of righteousness in Isa 1:26–27, but not equal to the more explicit and radical description in 66:7–8 of a mother as a place for the birth and care of newborn relationships.³⁵ In Isa 49:20–23, there is another case of the female personification of Zion.³⁶ She is presented there as a restored parent who witnesses the return of her children, together with gentile nations. This restoration means that she will no longer be alone and forgotten. Zion can hardly believe that this will happen to her (vv. 17–22). It will also bring her great joy (vv. 18, 22) and no more shame (v. 23).³⁷ Zion wonders, however, who has given birth and raised all those who return to her, because she is infertile (v. 21). In Isa 66:7–8, the theme in 49:20–23 is developed. Zion’s parental role is no longer that of a barren mother seeing her children returning to her, but rather a mother who is fertile again and who gives birth to a boy as fulfilment of the abrahamic promise of a land and a nation blessed by God. Moreover, she will take care of the nursing herself, which is not the case in 49:23.³⁸ The difference between Isa 49:20–23 and 66:7–8, therefore, is a vision of transformation, where the eschatological Zion is imagined in a more intense way as an organic centre of life for restored relationships.

34. There is also a positive exhortation and invitation in Isa 1:16–19, something which is not offered to the rebellious in Isa 65–66, either before or after 66:7–14b. Instead, only the sword is left for the wicked (חֶרֶב, cf. 1:20 and 65:12; 66:16).

35. Franke, “Like a Mother I Have Comforted You,” 44–45.

36. Its figurative language belongs to vv. 14–23 where Zion is assured that God has not forgotten her, even if she feels abandoned by or divorced from her husband. Verse 15 aims at getting this message across by also describing God as a mother who has not forsaken her daughter Zion (see 66:13a–b). Cf. also John J. Schmitt, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” *RB* 92/4 (1985): 561–562.

37. The themes in Isa 49:14–23 about a barren Zion and a compassionate God as both mother and husband continue in Isa 51:11, 16, 18; 52:1–2; 54:1–8, 13 (Schmitt, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” 562; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 305).

38. In Maier’s words, “Isa 66 intensifies Zion’s maternal role” (Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 233). However, I do not think “intensifies” is sufficient to describe the change of view of Zion from Isa 49:20–23 to Isa 66:7–8. What is described in Isa 66 is a recreated or transformed Jerusalem, one which is no longer barren but can produce new children. In other words, we have a whole new situation in Isa 66. Additionally, Schmitt fails to see in full this radical difference between Zion’s maternal function in Isa 49:14–23 and 66:7–8 (Schmitt, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” 562, 563).

In TI there is an aspect of the relationship between Zion and her children, which has caused some trouble for exegetes.³⁹ In Isa 62:5, Zion's motherhood is presented in מ as if her sons (בניך) shall marry her (יבעליך). Such a relationship is not described, intensified or an object for transformation in Isa 66:7–14b. It is also at odds with the Levitical code in Lev 18:6–18. The keyword in Isa 62:5a which explains this seemingly unusual relationship between mother and sons, is בעל and it is repeated twice in the verse as part of a parallelism. The term means “to marry,” “to take possession of a woman as a bride or wife,” or “take woman as sexual partner,”⁴⁰ and the new relationship will be joyfully celebrated in v. 5b, even by God himself. There are, however, some alternative readings of 62:5 that make more sense than sons marrying their mother. For example, בעל can also simply mean “to possess,” as is the case with the land (ולארצך בעולה and ווארצך תבעל) in v. 4, which in an implied sense flows over to v. 5.⁴¹ On the other hand, using a starting point from Isa 54:5, Paul V. Niskanen argues extensively for a text-critical emendation of “your sons” (בְּנֵיךָ) to “your builder” (בְּנֵיךָ or בְּנֵיךָ) in Isa 62:5a. In that case, 62:5a reads: “As a young man marries a virgin // your builder [God] will marry you.”⁴² Both these alternative solutions of Isa 62:5 are attractive and have the advantage of making the verse more sensible. In any case, TI develops the marital metaphor from Isa 1:7–15, 21–23; 49:20–23 by according Zion a new status.⁴³ The full-blown vision of a transformed Jerusalem, however, remains reserved for Isa 65:18c–19b and 66:7–8, 14b.

The theme of Jerusalem's sons is retrieved from DI (see Isa 43:6; 49:17, 20–23, 25; 51:17–20; 54:1–8, 13; 60:4, 9, 16),⁴⁴ even though the relationship between Mother Zion and her children in Isa 66:7–14 is best imagined as a rebirth or renewal. Isa 54:1 could be one of those texts that inspired the author of 66:7–8. There is, however, another Isaianic text about Mother Zion giving birth to a boy. In Isa 51:1–2, Abraham is “the rock” (צור) and Sarah is “the quarry” (מקבת).⁴⁵ The exhortation in v. 2a is to “Look to [the rock] Abraham your father and to [the quarry] Sarah” in a time of exile when both Jerusalem and the temple are still in ruin. Here let me em-

39. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 310–311; Schmitt, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” 562–563.

40. HALOT, s.v. “בעל I” and DCH 2, s.v. “בעל I”.

41. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 309, 311. Goldingay interprets “to possess” as “entering into possession,” in other words: “[...] the city's inhabitance will live in the city and commit themselves to it” (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 337, cf. Schmitt, “The Motherhood of God and Zion as Mother,” 562–563).

42. Paul Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, BO (Collegeville: Michael Glazier, 2014), 59–61.

43. Niskanen says about Zion in 62:5, “The marital metaphor understood in this light becomes for TI a very appropriate image for denoting the glorious transformation of Jerusalem to a new and exalted status” (Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, 62). This “glorious transformation of Jerusalem” is full blown in Isa 65–66.

44. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 337.

45. Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III: Isaiah 49–55*, vol. 2, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 141–142; John Goldingay and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40–55*, vol. 2, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 223–224.

phasise v. 2b, namely that the people should look to Sarah “who gave birth to you” (תחוללכם) in pain, which refers to a miracle. The metaphors in v. 1b (“rock” and “quarry”) thus not only imply the character of Abraham and Sarah, but also the great age and barrenness of the patriarchal couple. Subsequently, v. 2c–d recalls how God called (קראתי) Abraham into service⁴⁶ to bless him (ואברכהו) and make him many (וארבהו) through the son that Sarah bore him. In short, the message is that God can do it again.⁴⁷ The promise in v. 3 is that God can repeat the miracle through Zion. The introducing particle כִּי (“for” or “because”) in that verse serves as a conjunction and thus applies the reference to Abraham and Sarah in vv. 1–2 to Zion. God will comfort (נחם) Zion and her waste places, transform (וישב) her wilderness/desert into a paradise/garden, which will cause “joy and gladness” (ששון ושמחה), thanksgiving and singing (תודה וקול זמרה) in Zion (בה).

Isa 51:2b is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible that explicitly mentions Sarah outside the Book of Genesis. It is an important passage for understanding Isa 66:7–8 alluding to Sarah’s birth of Isaac. In that light, it is also interesting to observe that the unusual combination בָּרַךְ (“to bless”) and רַבָּה in *hiphil* (“to become many, increase”) in 51:2d occurs among other passages in Gen 22:17 (again the Akedah) and 26:24.⁴⁸ In addition to the explicit use of בָּרַךְ and the implied meaning of רַבָּה regarding the faithful in Isa 65–66, another allusion to Gen 22:7 is found in Isa 66:22, which I will explain closer in connection with that verse. Furthermore, the meaning of both בָּרַךְ and רַבָּה from Gen 22:17 and Isa 51:2d is applied to 66:10–14b, although in a more extensive way. In any case, Isa 66:7–8 associates Sarah with the new Zion in vv. 7–8 by alluding to 51:1–3 in four ways:

1. Both texts describe a miracle about to happen. This is more apparent in 66:7–8 than in 51:1–3, but the point is the same – a barren Zion will suddenly give birth to her own child again.
2. Both texts explain that there will be children and land from this miracle. Again, this is made explicit in 66:8 and more implicit in 51:1–3 because of parallelism in the verses.
3. Both texts have the keyword חֵיל (“be in labour”) in common. The promise in 51:3a refers back to תחוללכם in v. 2b. In 66:7–8 חֵיל is used

46. See 𐤆 Isa 51:2, “I brought him near to My worship [...]” (Eldon Clem, “Targum Onqelos, Jonathan, and the Writings [English, Targ-E],” version 7.2, *Accordance Bible Software*, Oaktree Software, 2015).

47. Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55: Volume II*, 224.

48. Nurmela, *The Mouth of the Lord has Spoken*, 59–60. Gen 22:17 is about the covenant with Abraham and 26:24 is about Jacob while referring back to Abraham. The two other places, where בָּרַךְ (“to bless”) and רַבָּה in *hiphil* (“to become many, increase”) occur together, are in Deut 7:13 and 1 Chron 4:10. While Nurmela credits the passages in the Book of Genesis to the mention of Abraham in Isa 51:2a, Deut 7:13 refers also to Israel’s forefathers, which were Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. However, as Nurmela points out, Gen 22:17 is the closest one to Isa 51:2.

three times, the first time when Zion is in labour (תחיל) and gives birth to a boy.

4. Both texts equate Jerusalem with Sarah, implicitly in 66:7–8 and explicitly in 51:3. In the latter text, Zion is a mother because of the parallel connection with vv. 1–2. In 66:7c this is done by referring to the birth of a “boy” and implying what 51:3c refers to (ששון ושמחה ימצא בה).

If we continue to read 66:7–14b, we encounter more intertextual relationships with 51:1–3. For example, in 66:10 there are the exhortations to “rejoice” (שמחו, גילו) with Jerusalem, which are implied references to ושמחה and ששון in 51:3c. Moreover, the word נחם (“comfort”) is used once as a noun, twice as a *piel* verb, and once as a *pual* verb in 66:11b and 13, which reflects the two *piel* about God comforting Zion in 51:3a. Lastly, in 51:3 there is the idea of a transformation of Zion’s lands which also permeates not only 66:7–14b, but also 65:17–25. This last example from Isa 51:1–3 confirms what is thematically implied so far in Isa 65–66. When Isa 66:7–8 speaks about birthing Zion, its author expresses a hope in the restoration of Abraham’s descendants⁴⁹ by associating a new fertile Jerusalem with Sarah. The composite parallelism in 66:7–8 points to such a hope, that God will finally restore his people’s relationship to himself and the land promised to Abraham. As we will see below, and because of the implied reference to the patriarch, the reference to Zion’s children as a נוי also makes this hope very inclusive.

Second, the centre of life in Isa 66:7–8, 14b is also visualised as a place for new life. In my analysis above I have already mentioned that vv. 7–8 speak about transformation. The verses omit the word “new,” however, in contrast to how frequently the word is used in the rest of Isa 65–66 regarding the restoration and renewal of the faithful, Jerusalem and creation.⁵⁰ While the term is not used in an explicit way, we have seen that the idea of transformation can be safely deduced from 66:7–8, and that its author had such a creative restoration in mind regarding Mother Zion. For example, when the voice in v. 8 asks: “Who has heard anything like this? // Who has seen such things?,” the author speaks of something new and extraordinary. Additionally, the author imagines a new kind of intimate relationship, not fully revealed before, in contrast to the relationships described in 66:1–6. Moreover, her children’s “bones will flourish like the [springtime] grass” in v. 14b, which implies renewal of the human core and a new epoch/season. Thus, a common denominator for Zion or Jerusalem in Isa 65–66 is the idea of something new and different from the current situation.

49. See also Isa 41:8; cf. 4Q176 Frags. 1–2 Col. 1, lines 9–11.

50. התירוש (“new wine,” Isa 65:8), חדשים and חדשה (“new,” 65:17), חדשים and חדשה (“new,” 66:22), בחדשו and חדש (“new moon,” 66:23).

Even if New Jerusalem is presented as a place for new life in Isa 66:7–8, however, neither the restored Zion nor the birth of her children is explained as a bodily resurrection from physical death. We have such an idea regarding the righteous in Isa 26:19, which parallels the apocalyptic text in Dan 12:2; but, as Nickelsburg points out, Dan 12:2 speaks about a twofold resurrection – that both the righteous and the unrighteous will be resurrected, the first group to eternal life with God and the second group to judgement and eternal contempt.⁵¹ While Isa 66:7–8, 14b are figurative, they simultaneously stand in contrast to the literal, horrifying death of the rebellious in 66:24. Thus, there are similarities with the bodily resurrection in Daniel – the separation of the righteous and unrighteous, and their respective destinies.⁵² Given the prophetic vision’s eschatological character concerning the promise of a New Jerusalem and Mother Zion as the centre of new life, I would argue that there is at least soil in Isa 66:7–14b for a future resurrection doctrine.

In addition to the differentiation between the rebellious and the faithful, Isa 66:7–8 (together with its context) also accommodates other signs that can be likened to the idea of resurrection. Sight and hearing are important human senses in Isa 65–66 and can be regarded as prerequisites for a relationship with God.⁵³ If those senses are exchanged for blindness and deafness, it is the same as being dead. That is the point in Isa 59:10, where people who are “like the blind” (כְּעִוְרִים) are equated with “like the dead” (כַּמֵּתִים), namely to be without sight because of unrighteousness and transgressions.⁵⁴ People in 64:12 accuse God for his silence, but God’s voice is heard in 65:1 when accusing the rebellious people for their deafness and disobedience. Moreover, because of this deafness the rebellious are destined “for the sword” and “slaughter” in 65:12. In contrast, those who see and hear the miracle and glory of God are offered life and joy in Zion. Isa 66:7–14b is, thus, a vision of a future for those who can see and hear. Sight and hearing are restored in 66:7–8, 14b to those who are born of the new Zion. The miracle is not only that Jerusalem is fertile again, but also that those who will see and rejoice are part of the miracle (v. 14a–b). This wonder implies a movement from death to life for “the humble one and the contrite in spirit” who “hear the word of YHWH” (66:2c–e, 5a). Not only will the faithful in Isa 65–66 experience this resurrection through birth, but they will also continue to witness how Zion is a centre for new-born relationships. The author might not have a physical resurrection for the

51. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 30–33. See also Collins, *Daniel*, 20 and Collins, “The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature,” 119–139.

52. See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 33–38, and my discussion of themes in connection with 8.3 *God’s Servants vs. God’s Enemies* (v. 14c–d), p. 244, and with 9.6 *The Death of the Wicked* (v. 24), p. 301.

53. Sight (Isa 66:8, 14, 18, 19, 24), hearing (Isa 65:1, 12, 24; 66: 5, 8).

54. See also Isa 6:9–10; 42:7; 61:1 (Ⓞ).

faithful in mind, however, as death is reserved for the rebellious.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, Isa 66:7–8, 14b is a reaction against what is felt to be a dead community, and its author is looking forward to a restored life through a renewed Zion.

Third, the centre of life in Isa 66:7–8, 14b is visualised as a place for growing life. This last point is more or less a summary of what we have discussed so far about Mother Zion. The restored relationship through Zion offers her people a new life which has the potential to expand from a boy to a nation (גוי). It is about growth from the modest to the grand and inclusive, and thus adds another aspect to the many allusions this text already makes. This time it brings to mind the command that God gave Adam and Eve, Noah, and of course the promise to Abraham⁵⁶ to be fruitful, multiply and fill the earth. Considering the status of the current Jerusalem, as it is presented in TI and other post-exilic texts, the author wants to announce the coming of something imposing. However, in the same breath (“Who has heard anything like this? // Who has seen such things?”), the author addresses the impatient ones (the rebellious?) in v. 8c–d regarding Jerusalem’s bright future. This miracle of Zion and her people will not become a full-blown reality overnight. Instead, Zion’s people will multiply progressively from a restored remnant to a nation, and as we will see below, to a new order of life at a global level with Jerusalem as the centre of the earth.

7.3.2 The Centre of God’s Mercy (v. 9)

The vision of the New Jerusalem or Zion as the centre of life is the point of departure for what follows in Isa 66:7–14b. The city is the place for the presence of God. In v. 9, therefore, the city is the centre of God’s mercy because of the support YHWH gives Mother Zion in her labour. The divine assistance is expressed in two parallel lines, formulated as rhetorical questions. Even if the verse in question does not state explicitly that God is Zion’s midwife, its four verbs convey that understanding figuratively and make God the master of Zion’s womb.⁵⁷ The first three *hiphil* verbs (אשכיר, אוליד, מוליד) are used only here in the Hebrew Bible with the purpose of revealing God’s mercy towards Zion. Goldingay points out that the fourth verb in v. 9c, a *qal* perfect consecutive (ועצרתה), is also used in a unique way here. God will bring the birth to completion by keeping the womb open, while in Gen 16:2; 20:18 עצר denotes that God prevents conception.⁵⁸ These four verbs in Isa 65:9, in combination with vv. 7–8, are also part of the larger response

55. Isa 65:6–7, 11–12; 66:4, 6, 14c–17, 24.

56. Adam and Eve (Gen 1:28), Noah (Gen 9:1, 7), Abraham (Gen 12:2; 15:5, 7, 17–21; 17:3–8; 22:15–18). Note the use of “fruitful” (פרה) in Gen 1:28; 9:1, 7 and 17:6. Regarding the promise to Abraham, see Isa 48:19.

57. Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 232.

58. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 498.

in Isa 65–66 to the lament in Isa 63:7–64:11. Among other things, this lament accuses God of being inactive and silent (64:6, 11).⁵⁹ Here in 66:9, however, he is perceived as being anything but passive concerning the fate of Zion. The third verb, the participle *המוליד* (“who bring to birth”) in 65:9, is perhaps the strongest expression of a reaction against such an accusation. It confirms the image of God in Isa 65–66, that only he is active and he is the one who mercifully brings Zion to birth.⁶⁰

Thus, in Isa 66:9, the author wants to convey a message of assurance that God is fully capable of and willing to assist Zion into renewed relationships with her children (and as we will see in v. 13a–b, also with himself). The four verbs are divided into two on each line in a concentric arrangement, figuratively describing God’s active involvement in making Zion a place for her people again. The arrangement of the verbs in v. 9 is:

- a *אשביר* (“shall I break open [the womb]”)
- b *אוליד* (“bring to birth?”)
- b’ *המוליד* (“who bring to birth”)
- a’ *ועצרתה* (“or shall I close [it]”).

The first verb (*אשביר*) denotes the initial stage in the birthing process when the womb, and the birth canal, opens up (see noun *משבר*).⁶¹ The last verb (*ועצרתה*) declares the completion of God’s action so that Zion can once again become a place for new divine/human relationships. The third verb, *מוליד*, is masculine – so God is perhaps best described as a midhusband in v. 9?⁶² In any case, the verbs supplement God’s creative, redemptive act in 65:18c–d which made a New Jerusalem and explain it as an act of mercy. Isa 66:10 confirms this connection, which begins: “Rejoice with Jerusalem [...]” (see 65:18–19b).

Based on how the verbs in 66:9 are structured, the first rhetorical question (v. 9a), can be paraphrased as: “Are there any reasons to believe that I cannot continue what I have begun in my new relationship with Zion – to cause a new people?” However, the second rhetorical question (v. 9c) does not repeat the question in the first line. Instead, the second question develops with the trailing *qal* verb and continues the argument of the first line. It conveys the idea that this time the process

59. For a discussion of further connections between Isa 66:9 and 63:16; 64:7, see Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 496, who also refers to Steck for correspondences with Isa 64:3–8. The response in Isa 65–66 to the lament is also discussed in this study e.g. in connection with Isa 65:1, 8, 9–10; 66:2c–e, 4c–f, 14c and the marker *כִּי־הִנְנִי* in 65:17a, 18c; 66:12b.

60. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §1371.

61. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 495; Paul, *Isaiah 40–66*, 618–619; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 497. Watts translates *אשביר* as “I rupture (the membrane)” (John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, WBC 25 [Waco, TX: Word, 1987], 358).

62. This is suggested by Franke, but she identifies the participle as a noun (Franke, “‘Like a Mother I Have Comforted You’,” 44, n. 31).

of deliverance to a new relationship will not stop halfway.⁶³ To understand the impact of such mercy, we have to place Isa 66:9 in the larger context of the whole Book of Isaiah. In all parts of the book, there are threats of judgement pronounced over Zion, parallel to expectations of her future redemption. In connection with Zion as the centre of comfort in 66:12d–13, I will trace this salvation history in the Book of Isaiah that focuses on Zion and her children. Here, however, it is suffice to state that God as a midwife/midhusband in v. 9 is the comforter (נִחֵם) in v. 13, because of his mercy towards Zion in her labour. In short, at this point, the author thought it necessary to give a fresh vision about Zion, which includes divine help so that she would not remain bereaved. She would no longer have to wonder where her children were to come from (cf. Isa 49:21).

Mother Zion and God's mercy in 66:9 imply a new exodus.⁶⁴ A coming redemption, in the form of a second exodus, is an important theme in the Book of Isaiah. Such a day is prophesied already in Isa 11, when a great exodus is said to take place in combination with a new utopian epoch for the home-comers (cf. Isa 65:17–25). In DI, when the Jewish exile drew to an end in 538 BCE, the theme of a second exodus and salvation of Jerusalem continued.⁶⁵ Isa 40:3–5, 48:20 and 52:11–12 are examples of well-known texts that exhort Jews to leave Babylon. The idea of a second exodus for the sake of Jerusalem is clearly the point in Isa 49, where the barren Zion is comforted (v. 21).⁶⁶ We have already seen that Isa 49:20–23 is a parallel text to Isa 66:7–8. While the latter text develops the theme in the former, Isa 66:9 actually answers the “bereaved” (שְׂכֹלָה) and “barren” (וּנְלִמְוִדָה) Zion in 49:21. It is declared that she will, at last, experience an exodus when she receives her true children with joy and gladness (see vv. 10–14b). God as midwife/midhus-

63. Westermann describes 66:9 as “a disputation of the scepticism,” which had arisen because “DI’s salvation had come to a stop half-way along the road” after 538 BCE (Westermann, *Isaiah* 40–66, 419–420).

64. Konrad Schmid argues that God’s eschatological work in Isa 65:17–25 resulted in a new permanent creation rather than a new exodus, and in that sense is the “final station of the scribal development of the Isaiah tradition” (Schmid, “New Creation Instead of New Exodus,” 175–194). I argue here that Isa 66:7–14b is about a new exodus, and as such a supplement to Isa 65:17–25. However, its author or editor regarded this new exodus as the last and final one, and in that sense it was the final station of prophecy in the Book of Isaiah.

65. Bernhard W. Anderson, “Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah,” in *Israel’s Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter J. Harrelson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 177–195. Anderson says: “In the development of Second Isaiah’s eschatological message, one of the dominant themes is that of the new exodus [...] it was Second Isaiah who, more than any of his prophetic predecessors, perceived the meaning of the Exodus in an eschatological dimension” (p. 181). See also chapter four – “The New Exodus as a Way to Creative Redemption” in Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption*, 59–98.

66. Laato, “*About Zion I will not be silent*,” 131–141. Laato has shown that in Isa 49 there are multiple connections with texts in Isa 1–39 which deal with a new exodus. He discusses four texts in Isa 1–39 that speak about a new exodus and how they prepare the way for the message of salvation in Isa 40–66. They are 11:10–12:6; 14:1–2; 27:12–13 and 35:1–10.

band in v. 9 promises that this time Mother Zion's womb will stay open and he will bring her to birth. In other words, v. 9 accommodates a unique figurative description of a new exodus that is expected to fulfil the vision in Isa 11.

Isa 49:21 also conveys, with the help of what probably is a very early gloss in the verse, a sceptical view of the possibility of a new exodus from captivity. The voice in 49:21 describes herself as "exiled" (גלה) and "away" (סורה), in other words as "captive" (cf. אסורה).⁶⁷ If the gloss was already added at the time of the composition of Isa 66:7–14b, it could very well mean that its author still considered Zion's faithful people to be in exile and not yet redeemed by YHWH until the "now" in 66:9. In either case, Isa 66:9 (and v. 13) intends to fulfil that which in the mind of the author was never fully realised in 49:13. The time was now ripe for God to comfort his people and show his mercy to the afflicted ones (כִּי־נַחַם יְהוָה עַמּוֹ וְעַנְיָו) (Isa 49:13b).

Another sign of an expected new exodus in Isa 66:9 is the Hebrew word ילד ("to beget"), used twice in the verse. In Isa 40–55, ילד occurs in three important contexts and in direct association with a second exodus: 42:14; 49:21 and 55:10. Regarding Isa 55:10, it is used in a metaphor that illustrates the productivity of the word of God. However, we have seen above that 49:21 is an important text for Isa 66:7–14b, and this is also the case with 42:14 both in connection with 66:9 and 66:13a–b. In Isa 42:14, ילד figuratively describes God as being in labour like a woman. Also worth noting is that Isa 42:1–17 has the same pattern as Isa 11:1–16 in the following order: Servant/Messiah (11:1–5; 42:1–4), new epoch (11:6–9; 42:5–9), the new exodus (11:10–16; 42:10–17). When ילד is used for the final time in the Book of Isaiah in 66:9, it refers to an eschatologised exodus that will redeem the faithful. Furthermore, ילד connects God as midwife/midhusband in v. 9 to the other three ילד in vv. 7–8, which miraculously result in "a boy," "a land" and "a nation." From being barren in 49:21, Zion is made fertile again in a new epoch and will give birth to a boy who will inherit a land and become a nation (see also Isa 65:9–10). The first exodus from Egypt and the event at Sinai were also the beginning of a new epoch of freedom,⁶⁸ a release and birth of a people/nation through

67. The \mathfrak{M} reads גלה וסורה ("an exile and away"). This phrase is omitted in \mathfrak{G} , which reads as אסורה in Syh. and \mathfrak{B} ("captive, prisoner," see *BHS*), and \mathfrak{C} and \mathfrak{Z} translate it. Most recent exegetes regard גלה וסורה as secondary and excessive, or metrically suspect, probably a dittography/gloss on שכולה וגלמודה ("bereaved of children and barren") in the previous line of 49:21. See Koole, *Isaiah 49–55*, 66–67; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19A (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 308–309; Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 49–54*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2015), 27. However, \mathfrak{M} concords with 1QIsa^a (ויגלה וסרה) except for a minor variant, which means that if the phrase is a gloss it was added to the Hebrew text of Isaiah very early on, deriving at least from the second century BCE, and should therefore not be removed (Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*: 2, 368–369; cf. Koole, *Isaiah 49–55*, 65, 67).

68. At Sinai, the Mountain of the Covenant, the relationship that was established there after the first exodus between God and the redeemed Israel, is described by Levenson as "The Wedding of

water, predicted according to Scripture in connection with the promise of Abraham's chosen son Isaac and of the land to his multiple offspring.⁶⁹

The rhetorical questions in Isa 66:9, about God's ability to complete in his mercy what he has already begun, are probably caused by scepticism from some in the community. According to 66:5a–d, the rebellious pridefully bully those "who tremble" at God's word, but God's voice assures the listeners: "But they [the rebellious] will be ashamed." In the same way, those who doubt God's ability to function as midhusband/midwife for a new Zion will be put to shame. One reason for the rhetorical questions in v. 9, therefore, would be the response to the attitude of the rebellious reflected in 65:1–7, 11–12; 66:3–5, 17. Such an interpretation fits the context well, even though v. 9 is also meant as a continuation of vv. 7–8 (in particular the questions in v. 8) with the aim of giving the faithful "tremblers" hope regarding the fate of Zion. Thus, we have another parallel to the first exodus, where both Pharaoh and the people of Israel repeatedly challenged or questioned God's ability to save his people from bondage and lead them to the promised land. Although both God and Zion share responsibility for the newly born in Isa 66:7–9, it is explained in v. 9 that God is still active and has not abandoned his people. The basic message is the same as in Isa 65:8, and it is directed at both the rebellious and the faithful in the community. God alone will set the birth in motion and has the skill and the desire to bring the birth of a new people of Zion to full completion.

Despite the disappointment regarding the outcome of DI's second exodus, reflected in II, Isa 66:9 wants to see beyond that and make Zion a place for God's mercy. By focusing on God as a saving midwife/midhusband for a faithful elect in a new Zion, fresh promises were offered. The community and temple had been defiled by idolatry and syncretism, and consequently Isa 65–66 argues for a new radical birth of the people. Isa 66:9 wants to explain how that will be possible. Moreover, this initiative by God is regarded by its author as a new and final exodus. Thus, the longing for God's vindication in Isa 66:7–14b is very strong, as the unique use of figurative language in these verses implies a vision that revisits the idea of redemption. The author continues to condemn the wicked in Isa 65–66, as well as comforting the faithful with a bright future after the new exodus. The message to the former is that they are not part of this new relationship through Zion. The message to the latter is that Zion will rightfully be the centre of God's mercy. The guarantee to both is found in the final words in v. 9: "says your God" (אמר אלהיך).

God and Israel" (Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*, 75–80). This is an appropriate association, in view of the parental figurative speech in Isa 66:7–14b. The first exodus is connected to Sinai, the eschatological exodus in Isa 66 is connected to Zion.

69. See Gen 15; cf. Ex. 2:24; 6:8; 32:13; 33:1. We have also seen that Isa 66:7–14b not only illustrates a new exodus, but also alludes to the birth of Sarah and Abraham's promised son Isaac.

7.3.3 The Centre of Joy and Comfort (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a)

When Zion's labour is over and the boy/her children is/are born, she will also become a place of both joy and comfort. This particular theme is structured around v. 12b–c about Zion as the centre of the earth and v. 13a–b about God as a mother. I will return to these two latter themes below, as they define what kind of place Zion is understood to be: the capital of a new world and the centre for God's activities. The themes to be analysed first, joy and comfort, are symbiotic in an obvious and natural way, and I begin with joy in vv. 10 and 14a. The theme "rejoice" is also found in connection with the New Jerusalem in Isa 65:18–19b. In those verses, joy is an exhortation (שִׂישׂוּ and נִילִי), a cultic expression of worship (נִילִהּ and מִשׁוֹשׂ), and a response from God (שִׂשְׂתִּי and גִּלְתִּי).⁷⁰ The result of this emanation of joy from the New Jerusalem is a paradisiac life and relationships (vv. 19c–25). In Isa 66:7–14b, the rejoicing is also associated with the temple-city, and the result is that even her children's "bones will flourish like the grass" (v. 14b). As in 65:19c–23, this brings to mind a paradisiac environment that will enhance life on earth and give renewed strength to humans. In short, the theme of joy is special in 66:10–14b because it turns the passage into a joyful song over the blessed Zion, who has given birth and new life to the children of YHWH.⁷¹

The three different verbs of joy in 66:10 (שָׂמַח, נִיל, שִׂישׂ) are also a response of exhortation. They respond to the three verbs about Zion giving birth in vv. 7–8 (חִיל, מִלֵּט, יָלַד) and the three verbs about God's active support of the birth in v. 9 (עָצַר, עָצַר, יָלַד). In other words, as in Isa 65:17–19b, the joy in 66:10 is the result of the renewal of Zion, the birth of her children, and God's involvement in vv. 7–9.⁷² In 66:14a, שִׂישׂ is used again as a *qal* perfect (וְשִׂישׂ) and is also the final reference to joy in Isa 65–66. It corresponds in form to the last active verb in 66:9, which asks the rhetorical question: do you really think that God the deliverer will "close" (וְעָצַרְתִּי) Zion's womb and not bring her to birth? In that verse, God keeps the womb open this time, and in 66:14a the rejoicing continues because of that. Those who rejoice in v. 10 and 14a are all who love Zion and mourn over her current state in contrast to those who forget her in 65:11. In the author's mind, this excludes the rebellious, who do not care about Jerusalem and are complacent in their religion. ⚡ understands the joyfulness in the new Zion as celebrating a festival (καὶ πανηγυρῶσιν ἐν αὐτῇ) of cultic character,⁷³ and the rebellious in Isa 65–66 are not part of it. The contrast is almost immediate between the celebratory joy in vv. 10, 14a and the promise that God "will rage against" the rebellious in v. 14d.

70. See 5.6 *The Rejoicing in the New Creation* (vv. 18–19b), p. 133.

71. Webster, "A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66," 93–108.

72. See also Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 498.

73. See text-critical note i in 7.1 *Text and Translation*, p. 204.

We have already seen that the lives of Abraham and Sarah inspired the figurative language in Isa 66:7–8. Since one of the implications of those verses, including v. 9, is the rejoicing with Jerusalem in v. 10 and 14a, it is not foreign to the text to find implicit references to the birth of the boy Isaac in those verses too. In that case, vv. 10 and 14a, together with vv. 7–9, allude to the amazement of Abraham and Sarah and their rejoicing over the miraculous birth of Isaac.⁷⁴ The following are parallels to Gen 21:1–2, 6–7 detectable in vv. 7–9 and their results are shown in v. 10 and 14a:

1. In Isa 66:7, Mother Zion gives birth to “a boy,” and in v. 8 also to a land and a nation (see also Isa 48:19). In Gen 21:2, Sarah gives birth to Isaac, with whom a land and blessing of nations are associated according to God’s promises to Abraham.
2. In Isa 66:8, there is amazement over what has happened. It is a miracle because Zion used to be barren. In Gen 21:7, Sarah is amazed that the impossible has happened, that she bore Abraham a son as promised by God.
3. In Isa 66:9, God assures repeatedly (because of scepticism and the current state of Jerusalem and its temple) that he will indeed make sure that Zion will have her boy and consequently her children. In the Genesis story, God assured Abraham many times of a promised son, and in Gen 21:1 he did what he had promised through Sarah.
4. In Isa 66:10, all who love and mourn over Zion are exhorted to rejoice and celebrate her. Isa 66:14a reads, “You will see and your heart will rejoice.” In Gen 21:6, Sarah’s sorrow is over, when she says that “God has made laughter for me” (צחק עשה לי אלהים), “everyone who hears will laugh for me” (כל-השמע יצחק-לי).⁷⁵ This is a laughter of joy, in contrast to the scepticism in 17:17 and 18:12–13. Sarah’s poetic expression of joy in 21:6, over God’s act, is transferred to v. 7 in the form of a song over her wonder and pleasure of being a mother.⁷⁶

If we investigate the parallels above further, it is noticeable that both Isa 66:11 and Gen 21:7 speak about nursing. Zion’s nursing of her children is a sub-theme in connection with Jerusalem as the centre of comfort. It is not far-fetched, therefore,

74. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 305–306.

75. See Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §124c; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, WBC 2 (Waco, TX: Word, 1994), 80–81 for this translation of Gen 21:6. Wenham also refers to Ps 113:9 and 126:2 in connection with this verse. For a different interpretation, where Sarah will be laughed at, see Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 74.

76. Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 146.

to suggest that the texts speak about Sarah, as well as Zion, experiencing great joy and comfort in becoming a true mother after having been barren. In any case, Isa 66:10–14b can be described as a song of Zion’s new motherhood. In Isa 66:10, the symbol for universal rejoicing is Zion, and in Gen 21:6 it is Sarah (and of course Abraham) who rejoices. Both Sarah and the New Jerusalem are mothers of first-borns. What weakens the parallels between the two contexts is the complete absence of explicit references in the Hebrew Bible that connect Isaac with the promise of Zion, even though the reference to Mount Moriah in 2 Chron 3:1 includes Isaac implicitly. The way joy is associated with the eschatological Zion in Isa 65–66 is, nonetheless, unique in the Book of Isaiah.⁷⁷

I have discussed above, in connection with Zion as the centre of life,⁷⁸ that the return of sight among Zion’s children in 66:14a can be interpreted as a basic idea of resurrection. Here, we need to note that the visualisation of Zion as the centre of joyfulness in a new world is a place for the sighted. The reason for the joy in v. 14a is the return of sight. The faithful, who are addressed in the second person in this part of Isa 65–66, “will see” (וראיתם) in contrast to the rebellious whose senses are blocked by their idolatry and syncretism. What then will the prospective people of the New Jerusalem see that will create such gladness? Given what has been revealed in 66:7–13 about the future Zion as the centre of life and God’s mercy, and as we will see below, of the world, v. 14a–b is the summary and finale of the vision: “You will see [all this] and your heart will rejoice, // [therefore] your bones will flourish like the grass.” Those who see, by being covenantally loyal to YWHW and resisting the way the rebellious defile Jerusalem and its temple, will experience the strength of a whole new life that will flow from God through Zion (v. 13).

The second implication of Isa 66:7–9 is comfort in vv. 11, 12d–e. Moreover, Zion is a centre of comfort in v. 13c thanks to God. After the exhortation to rejoice with Jerusalem in v. 10, the figurative language from vv. 7–9 continues in v. 11. The message now is that Zion’s “comforting breasts” (v. 11b, מִשְׁדַּר תְּנַחְמִיָּה) and “heavy bosom” (v. 11d, מִזִּיז כְּבוֹדָה) are a source of nourishment for her children. The result is that they will “be satisfied” (v. 11a, שְׂבַעְתֶּם) and “delight” (v. 11c, הִתְעַנְנַתֶּם) themselves with her milk. The way the lines are structured in v. 11 also highlights also that Zion will be a centre of comfort for her children:

- a שְׂבַעְתֶּם (v. 11a)
- b מִשְׁדַּר תְּנַחְמִיָּה (v. 11b)
- a’ הִתְעַנְנַתֶּם (v. 11c)
- b’ מִזִּיז כְּבוֹדָה (v. 11d)

77. Cf. Isa 12:6; 35:10; 51:3, 11. In the Book of Psalms, Joel, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, joy radiates from Zion (Ps 9:15; 48:12; 53:7; 149:2; Joel 2:23; Zeph 3:14; Zech 9:9).

78. See p. 217, about Zion as a place for new life.

The joy and comfort come from the breasts of Mother Zion, miraculously healed from her barrenness, in 66:7–8. As a continuation from v. 10, the metaphor in v. 11 alludes to Isa 60:16 and 61:2, and again shows the visualised transformation which Zion will go through, and become a mediator.⁷⁹ She will no longer be the one who nurses on other nations, but conversely the nations will come to her for nourishment in the new age. This is, among other things, what the vision in v. 12b–c is about, when the “wealth of nations” will come to Zion. The direct addresses to the faithful in v. 11 and 12d–e also function as a special emphasis on the comfort Zion’s children will receive from her (cf. 60:4).

The Hebrew word for “comfort” in vv. 11b and 13 is נַחַם, and in the latter verse it is a covenantal term.⁸⁰ In other words, the birth in Isa 66:7–9, assisted by God, will result in a refreshed covenant relationship characterised by “comfort” (and of course joy). Throughout the Book of Isaiah, נַחַם occurs in connection with Zion too. In PI, which partly speaks to people not yet in exile but still in Jerusalem,⁸¹ Isaiah begins with what we have observed above: a concern for the city’s welfare and a prediction of hope (1:8/1:27). Hence, in 1:24 we have the first use of the נַחַם, where in the process of redeeming a corrupt Zion God relieves himself of people’s disobedience.⁸² After hovering between hope and despair regarding Jerusalem/Zion in Isa 1–5, the prophecy of judgement and hope in Isa 6–11, the first major sub-unit in PI ends in 12:1–6 with Zion’s thanksgiving to God that he has comforted her (וַתְּנַחֲמֵנִי, v. 1, cf. v. 6).⁸³ In short, even if the majority of references in PI promise redemption to Zion/Jerusalem,⁸⁴ they all share a real concern for the city, explicit or implicit, because of the looming judgement.⁸⁵ God is angry with Zion, but the conviction that God will comfort Zion with salvation remains. DI addresses an audience that has experienced the Babylonian exile,⁸⁶ and the expecta-

79. Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 234. However, Maier describes the allusion to Isa 60:16 as an “update,” while I think the difference is so radical that we need to understand it as a transformation of Zion. Stromberg talks here about “shifts of emphasis away from the corporate persona of Zion onto the righteous individuals who are to enjoy Zion’s salvation [...]” (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 29). However, I think the emphasis is also on the new Zion in vv. 7–12, 13c–14b and transformation is a way of describing the difference between 60:16 and 66:11.

80. Cf. Ps 106:45 (וַיִּזְכֹּר לָהֶם בְּרִיתוֹ וַיִּנְחַם כָּרַב חֲסָדוֹ).

81. Laato, “*About Zion I will not be silent*,” 126–127.

82. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 142–143.

83. For the view that Isa 12 ends the first major sub-unit in PI, but composed with other parts of the Book of Isaiah, see Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 712–715.

84. Warnings of judgement and to destruction of Zion/Jerusalem: 1:8; 3:1, 8, 16–17; 5:3, 14; 8:14; 10:10–12; 22:10; 28:14, 16; 29:8; 33:14. Promises of redemption to and restoration of Zion/Jerusalem: 1:27; 2:3; 4:3–5; 7:1; 8:18; 10:24, 32; 12:6; 14:32; 16:1; 18:7; 22:21; 24:23; 27:13; 30:19; 31:4–5, 9; 33:5; 33:20; 34:8; 35:10; 37:32.

85. In Isa 24–27, a section usually dated later than the rest of the material in Isa 1–39, there is a deviation from the pattern judgement-salvation in e.g. Isa 1–5. Zion/Jerusalem is mentioned in 24:23 and 27:13 as the place for YHWH’s future reign and worship of him.

86. Antti Laato refers to Isa 44:24–45:7 as “one of the most explicit texts proving that the audience

tions of Zion's salvation are very high. Visions of redemption and restoration have taken over, and convey encouragement and optimism.⁸⁷ The concern for the city is, nonetheless, still present, from the very beginning in Isa 40: "Comfort, comfort my people (נחמו נחמו עמי) says your God. Speak tenderly to Jerusalem (דברו על-לב ירושלים), [...]" (vv. 1–2a). The *piel* form of נחם ("to comfort") is used consistently in Isa 40–55, except for 54:11, to reflect the intensity of the message.

While the message of comfort is clear in Isa 40:1–2, despite the assurance in 49:13 (כי-נחם יהוה עמו), in v. 14 Zion still responds: "YHWH has forsaken me, my Lord has forgotten me" (v. 14). However, vv. 15–20 continue to do what 40:1 exhorts its audience to do, i.e. strongly encourages Zion that she will surely have an abundance of new children. Thus, as we have seen above, in 49:21 Mother Zion is prophesied to respond with amazement (ואמרת בלבבך) and wonder at who has born the children to her (מי ילד-לי את-אלה). The comforting of Zion, and the joy it will result in, intensifies significantly in Isa 51–52,⁸⁸ and נחם (*pual*) concerning Zion is used in DI for the last time in 54:11. The expectations of a new epoch, however, continue throughout Isa 55. In TI, the critique and disappointments with the current situation in Yehud and Jerusalem have become acute. The glorious visions in DI did not live up to expectations, which created a need for vision of a New Jerusalem in a new epoch. Therefore, in 61:2 the *piel* verb נחם is used again with Zion in mind (v. 3), and for the last time as *pual* in connection with the eschatological Zion in 66:13c. The children of the fertile Mother Zion and her true children will finally be consoled by the love of God.⁸⁹

The verb נחם in Isa 66:13, and the results in v. 14a–b (recovery of sight, joy and growth), brings us back to the theme of resurrection one more time in vv. 7–14b.⁹⁰ The common meaning of נחם in the Book of Isaiah in connection with Zion can be described in Simian-Yofre's words: "the attempt to influence a situation," and specifically in 66:13c ("and through Jerusalem you will be comforted") the "determination to bring about a new situation that actually alters what has gone before."⁹¹ In v. 13a–b, the comforting is an act of God which aims at transforming an unsatisfactory situation.⁹² Moreover, God's action in v. 9 and his consolation in v.

of Isaiah 40–55 have experienced the Babylonian exile" (Laato, "About Zion I will not be silent," 128).

87. Isa 40:2, 9; 41:27; 44:26, 28; 46:13; 49:14–23; 51:3, 11, 16–17; 52:1–2, 7–9.

88. Isa 51:3 (x2), 12, 19; 52:9.

89. Isa 66:13 (כאיש אשר אמו תנחמוני כן אנכי אנהמכם ובירושלם תנחמו) cf. 61:2. The phrase דברו על-לב in Isa 40:2 shows that נחם is associated with the language of love (H. Simian-Yofre, "נחם," *TDOT* 9:352). The verb נחם is used 17 times in the Book of Isaiah: 15 times as *piel* and 2 times as *pual* about God's people/Zion, 2 times as *nif* about God himself (1:24, "satisfaction"; 57:6, "satisfied"). In Isa 66:13 is נחם is used 3 times, and for the last time in the whole book as a *pual*, which is also the form used for the last occasion of the verb in Isa 40–55, in 54:11 on Zion (see 54:1–4, cf. 49:21).

90. See p. 217, about Zion as a place for new life.

91. Simian-Yofre, *TDOT* 9:342.

92. Cf. Isa 66:1–2 with Isa 61:1–2.

13 are what bring new life in v. 14a–b. On the other hand, there is a close association between the lack of comfort and death in the Hebrew Bible,⁹³ and it is God’s comforting of Zion that will restore her to a meaningful life.⁹⁴ While the rebellious in Isa 65–66 are destined for annihilation and death (not raised from the dead to be judged by God for eternal punishment), the faithful will be brought back to a dignified life by God’s consoling love. However, as stated above, we still do not have a doctrine of resurrection in Isa 66:7–14b, as in Dan 12:1–2, although the use of נחם in Isa 66:11, 13 is another reason for concluding that the grounds for such a view are implied in the Isaianic text.

7.3.4 The Centre of the World (v. 12b–c)

Having analysed the new Zion in Isa 66:7–14b as the centre of life, mercy, joy, and comfort, I shall now examine the part in the unit which regards the New Jerusalem as the centre of the world. One of the things to note about the vision in 66:12b–c, which signals an alternative universe in contrast to the current situation in Jerusalem, is the flow to the city. In Isa 65:18–19b, the author imagines an emanation of joy from the New Jerusalem that will even reach the wilderness. However, in 66:12b–c, the flow is in the direction of Zion, not *away* from it. In that way, the alternative world in vv. 7–14b is emphasised by stating in v. 12b–c what will flow to Jerusalem: “Here am I, extending peace (שלום) to her like a river, // and the glory of nations (כבוד גוים) like an overflowing river valley.” This verse is interesting not least from a topographical perspective, considering that Isa 65–66 describes Jerusalem as a holy mountain, with water flowing up to the city from the rest of the world in 66:12b–c.⁹⁵ It thus describes a totally different, and humanly impossible, world order compared to the current one, with the help of a surrealistic image of Jerusalem as the centre of the world.

The creative metaphors in Isa 66:12b–c are discussed by Gary Stansell as a “pilgrimage” (*Völkerwallfahrt*) by the nations to Zion, in contrast to Isa 60 and 61 (also 45:14 and 49:22–23) which is about the less voluntary “journey” of the nations (*Völkerzug*) to the city for servitude. Other texts in the Book of Isaiah analysed by Stansell are Isa 55:5 and 2:2–4. They describe the flow of the nations to Zion as a pilgrimage and are, thus, more closely connected to Isa 66:12b–c than those texts depicting a forced journey.⁹⁶ That 66:12b–c is about the pilgrimage of the nations

93. See Gen 37:35; Isa 22:2, 4; Isa 22:4; 51:19; Jer 16:6–7; 31:15; Job 7:13, 15; Ps 94:17, 19, 21; Eccl 4:1; Lam 1:2, 9, 16, 20–21.

94. Isa 49:13; 51:3, 12; 52:9; Zech 1:17.

95. A similar image of Israel’s potentiality, if they had listened to God, see Isa 48:18.

96. Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 236–254. See also Terence L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 500–501. Stansell also discusses Isa 35:1–2 and 23:1–14, but he does not explicitly associate those texts

in connection with Zion's eschatological salvation is obvious also in the light of the parallel text in 66:18–20, which is about the promise that God will gather together all people and tongues so that they will come to the New Jerusalem and see his glory. In agreement with its context and Isa 56:3–8, therefore, the author of 66:12b–c explains that God will be “extending” (נִטְהַר אֱלֹהִים) peace (שְׁלוֹם) and the glory (כְּבוֹד) of the nations to Zion. I agree with Stansell that this is an act of grace and favour by God towards Zion, one in which the nations and kings play no role (see 49:18–23; 60:4–5 and 61:5–6). Additionally, that שְׁלוֹם and כְּבוֹד are parallel terms in 66:12b–c marks a shift in the function of metaphors in comparison with the other texts about Zion and the nations in the Book of Isaiah. My question then is whether Isa 66:12b–c is a reinterpretation and reapplication of the metaphors in Isa 60–61⁹⁷ or something new in the Book of Isaiah.

First, God will extend שְׁלוֹם to the New Jerusalem in Isa 66:12b. This is understood by Stansell as God's “prosperity” and part of the images of saving comfort in vv. 11, 13. “Prosperity” communicates the idea of materialism, however, even if it, as Stansell says, “takes on a function subordinate to a message of consolation, losing its thrust of material blessing, as Isa 60–61 presents it.”⁹⁸ In Isa 65–66, שְׁלוֹם has the root שָׁלַם in common with שָׁלַמְתִּי/וּשְׁלַמְתִּי (“I have repaid/I will even repay”) in 65:6b and מִשְׁלַם (“repaying”) in 66:6b.⁹⁹ Both the repayment as judgement and the extension of שְׁלוֹם as a blessing are two sides of the action of God, and in v. 14a result in joyful hearts for the faithful versus the raging punishment upon the rebellious in v. 14d. In other words, שְׁלוֹם places emphasis on God's salvation of the faithful from death in contrast to the divine judgement of the rebellious. God will extend this salvation, or peace, like a river – another metaphor associated with life and survival, and v. 14b is about how the new life will enter the very core of humans, as “bones will flourish like the grass.” In short, Isa 66:12b is neither about materialistic prosperity as in Isa 60:1–14 nor priestly support as in Isa 61:6b, but rather is about a divine act of salvation that resembles resurrection to a new life. The apolitical use of שְׁלוֹם in 66:12b is, therefore, more than a reinterpretation or a refurbishing of Isa 60 and 61, and adds something new to the vision of an eschatological Zion.¹⁰⁰

with either a *Völkerwallfahrt* or a *Völkerzug*.

97. Stansell, “The Nations' Journey to Zion,” 245. We have seen above in connection with Isa 66:11 that the nursing metaphor in 60:16 is changed in Isa 66.

98. Stansell, “The Nations' Journey to Zion,” 246.

99. See 3.5.2 *Repayment* (vv. 6c–7a), p. 80 and 6.5.3 *Intervention* (v. 6), p. 192.

100. The word שְׁלוֹם (“peace”) is used in connection with Zion in Isa 60:17, but then in a more political sense than in 66:12b, in parallel with צְדָקָה (“righteousness”). For a political/materialistic application or emphasis, see also Isa 9:5, 7; 26:12; 32:17–18, 54:13; and for a meaning that emphasises or implies salvation, see Isa 38:17; 39:8; 41:3; 45:7; 48:18, 22; 52:7; 53:5; 54:10; 55:12; 57:2, 19, 21; 59:8.

Second, God will also extend “the glory of nations” (כבוד גוים) to the New Jerusalem in Isa 66:12c. The phrase is read by Stansell as “wealth of nations,” and is thus equivalent to היל גוים in 60:5, 11 and 61:6b.¹⁰¹ Isa 60:13 also declares that the glory or the wealth of Lebanon (כבוד הלבנון) will come to Zion (see also 35:2) and the parallel line to “the wealth of nations” in 61:6 is “in their glory/wealth you will boast” (ויבכבוד תתימרו). The latter use of כבוד in Isa 61 could support an understanding of the word in 66:12c as referring to riches. However, there are other things to take into consideration too. The root word כבד is used six times in Isa 65–66: once in 66:5e as a jussive verb (יכבד) with God as the object, and five times as a noun (כבוד). The nouns are distributed in the following way: once in 66:11d referring to Zion (כבודיה), once in 66:12c in the construct chain discussed in this paragraph, and three times in 66:18–19 as objects with God’s glory in mind (את-כבודי). The point I want to make is that each use of כבד must be interpreted separately, even if כבוד גוים is subordinated to the message of saving consolation in vv. 7–14b, because they do not refer to the same thing. In v. 12c, it is the nations’ כבוד that God extends to the New Jerusalem, and this must also be understood in the light of its parallel term “peace” (שלום) referring to the salvation of Zion and its people. Therefore, I would argue that functionally “the glory of nations” in v. 12c is a recognition of the peace or salvation God is bestowing on Mother Zion and her people. It is a vision of the creative redemption of God and Jerusalem as the new centre of the world.

The vision of a recognised Zion as the centre, even the capital of the world, in Isa 66:12b–c does not need to exclude material blessing in the form of prosperity. I think Stansell shows this in his discussion of Isa 66 (see also Isa 65:17–25), even if he also points out that “the metaphor ‘journey of the nations,’ is not immediately connected to the wealth motif as in Isa 60.”¹⁰² According to my interpretation, however, the primary aim of the vision, and the overall impression of vv. 7–14b, is to present the eschatological Jerusalem as the centre of the world in a new epoch. The reference to “her children” (בניה) in v. 8f may be understood as the new life, God’s mercy, and the joy and comfort through Zion being limited to the faithful in Isa 65–66. In this case, we have to read the preceding line, “a nation/people” (גוי) as in v. 12c (גוים), which gives the vision a broader perspective. This perspective becomes global with the *Völkerwallfahrt* in vv. 18–23. In that context, Zion’s children are imagined in Isa 66:12c as a people of multiple ethnic backgrounds who will come to the New Jerusalem for the worship of God. The phrase “the glory of nations” also complements the vision of a saved Zion (שלום in v. 12b) with a political aspect to the function of the temple-city. As an post-exilic prophetic vision-

101. In that case we have five construct chains in TI, expressing “wealth of [...]” (60:5, 11, 13; 61:6; 66:12). Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 245.

102. Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 246.

speech, the ideology of the New Jerusalem in v. 12c is imagined as replacing the ideology of Persian imperial ideology.¹⁰³ In other words, the recognition of Jerusalem as the new capital by the nations will cause the people of the Persian empire to stream to her “like an overflowing river valley.” DI explains in 48:18 that Israel could have experienced this river “if only” they had “paid attention” (לֹא הִקְשַׁבְתָּ) to God’s commandments (לְמִצְוֹתַי). In Isa 66:12b–c, it is time for a new Zion to experience what 48:19 alludes to – the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, but now in a broader way than imagined by DI.

As the capital in the new epoch, and even in the new world, the vision implies that Zion will also house that which is extended to her, namely God’s “peace” and the “glory of nations.” Such functions supplement the New Jerusalem in Isa 65:18–25 as a source of blessing for her people, the restored paradisiac life and relationships, and anticipate the *Völkerwallfahrt* to the “holy mountain Jerusalem” in 66:18–23. It is also from there that nourishment (v. 12d–e), interaction with God, and comfort (v. 13) will come. Together this aims at emphasising Zion’s central role in the world. As in the case of the Temple of God in Isa 66:1–4, 6, there is also a parallel between Zion in v. 12b–c and Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel. Levenson, in a discussion with Zimmerli, argues that in Ezekiel “the entirety of the people Israel and, especially, of the Land Israel is seen as concentrated upon the Temple on the mountain” (Ezek 34:14). Further, “Even before the note of restoration appears in his preaching, Ezekiel conceives Jerusalem as the type and figure of all Israel.”¹⁰⁴ According to Levenson, it is this kind of view of the city that underlies passages like Ezek 5:5; even the historical Jerusalem was conceived as the political centre of the world. These kinds of presentations of Jerusalem also understood Zion like a “navel/top of the world” in Ezek 38:12 (טַבּוּר הָאָרֶץ, cf. Jub 9:37). Such depictions of the current Jerusalem function as symbolic parallelism to the eschatological Zion in Isa 66:12–13. In short, the New Jerusalem in Isa 65–66 is presented as both the religious and political capital of the world, and thus as the seat of God’s cosmic rule.¹⁰⁵

7.4 God as a Mother (v. 13a–b)

To induce an understanding of the relationship between God and Zion’s children or people, the metaphor of midwife/midhusband in 66:9 is completed in v. 13a–b.

103. Ps 138 is also an example of a text that resists the claims of the Persian imperial ideology by declaring how the kings of the earth will confess YHWH (cf. “the glory of nations”), sing of his ways, and join the people of God in participating with joy in the ways of God (Tucker, *Constructing and Deconstructing Power*, 125–128).

104. Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*, HSM (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 7–8.

105. See Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*, 9–10.

Even though DI wonders twice if anything can be likened to God, the Holy One,¹⁰⁶ the author of Isa 65–66 does just that, first in 66:9 and again in 66:13a–b.¹⁰⁷ Both these images are compatible in the sense of care, support and comfort. In the next unit (vv. 14c–17), as we shall see, Isa 66 presents another image of God, the divine warrior. Thus, the images of God in vv. 7–14b are a remarkable contrast to the image in vv. 14c–17, or that which Marc Zvi Brettler calls “Incompatible Metaphors,” standing more or less side by side in Isa 66. The purpose of such metaphors is, according to Brettler, to create a “notion of God” as “both supremely compassionate and supremely powerful.” Although these images do not mix on a literal level (“contradictory metaphors”) they do interact on a metaphorical level (“metaphorical coherence”),¹⁰⁸ and thus avoid a monotone image of who God is.¹⁰⁹ The image of the divine warrior, however, is not incompatible with the image of God in vv. 1–6 as the divine avenger of the rebellious. In any case, I shall analyse what the text reveals here working in tandem with Mother Zion – God’s comforting love to her people.

First, *the figurative language in Isa 66:7–14b wants to show that Zion is the centre of God’s activity.* In the present unit, the divine activity in connection with Zion is already revealed in vv. 9, 12b–c. In v. 13a–b, however, YHWH is like a mother who “will comfort you [the faithful]” and will take place “through Jerusalem” (בִּירוּשָׁלַם, v. 13c). The preposition כִּי connected as an attribute to ירוּשָׁלַם here should be understood as instrumental (*beth instrumenti*),¹¹⁰ in view of Zion as a mother in vv. 7–8. Functionally, this means that God’s comfort will come through Zion, and those who do not belong to Zion, and are thus not comforted by God through her, are condemned for their rebellion.¹¹¹ Hence, when the author applies the maternity theme to God, he makes YHWH responsible for the new life that flows to Zion (v. 12b–c) and through her as the centre of comfort.

Second, *the imagery of motherhood is used in a positive way in Isa 66:13a–b, by emphasising God’s new relationships through Zion with her people.*¹¹² The implied refer-

106. Isa 40:25; 46:5.

107. Marc Zvi Brettler describes these statements as “wonderful irony” and “the Hebrew Bible’s strongest statements concerning the incomparability of YHWH.” Nonetheless, “it is found within a literary corpus which is particularly rich with comparisons for YHWH.” (Marc Zvi Brettler, “Incompatible Metaphors for Yhwh in Isaiah 40–66,” *JSOT* 23/78 [1998]: 97–98.)

108. Brettler, “Incompatible Metaphors for Yhwh,” 118–120.

109. Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, 98.

110. See Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §132e; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §11.2.5d; Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 98, §243. Also Maier, “Zion’s Body as a Site of God’s Motherhood,” 235.

111. Isa 66:14c–17; 66:24. Niskanen also sees a parallel to the sacraments in 66:13a–b (Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, 98).

112. Franke, “‘Like a Mother I Have Comforted You,’” 49; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 502. For a study in the negative use of feminine imagery in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible, see Cynthia R. Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter*, HSM 62 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004).

ence to Isa 42:14¹¹³ about a new exodus also describes God as a woman in labour (כּוֹלֵדָה) ready to give birth. The labour starts after a longer period of silence or restraint from taking action on behalf of the people in exile (v. 14a). God's restraint is explained by means of the figurative language of pregnancy, and the time has come for redemption (v. 14b). God's intervention, thus likened to labour pains, will have negative consequences for everything that opposes it (v. 15) and positive results for those in exile (v. 16–17).¹¹⁴ Zion's perplexed reaction in Isa 49:21 is another explanation as to why in 66:13 the parental responsibility for the people's future ultimately belongs to God. In the vision of Isa 66, the labouring and birth of new children is over and the result is a new relationship between God and Zion's people which is seen as something positive for both parties.

Third, *the positive image of God in Isa 66:13a–b depicts YHWH as reliable and compassionate*. The vision is partly an answer to the implied criticism in Isa 65–66 regarding God's absence and silence (64:6, 11; 65:1–2). The rebellious think God has forgotten them, and is not listening to them. However, by presenting God as a mother in 66:13a–b, the metaphor sends the same signal as in Isa 49:15. It explains, that even if human mothers can forget their nursing children, "I will not forget you." Aida Besançon Spencer says in connection with 49:15 that "God's reliability and compassion are like that of a nursing mother."¹¹⁵ Spencer's point is that the Isaianic text describes God as more constant than any mother, and never forgetful in the care of children. Therefore, when the maternity theme is applied to God again in 66:13a–b, it wants to depict YHWH acting on the basis of lasting motherly love. The divine compassion for Zion's children is total, beyond the midwife/midhusband metaphor in v. 9.¹¹⁶

Fourth, *Zion is the reflection of God as the comforter, the same way as the earthly temple and Jerusalem in Jewish religious tradition are reflections of archetypes in heaven*. In that respect, Zion is the centre of divine compassion for all her children. This is also an example of how the vision-speech in Isa 65–66 is expanded, in this case from 66:7 to 66:13a–b. Zion is the mother in vv. 7–8, the motherly comforter in vv.

113. For other instances in DI that apply feminine roles to God, see 45:10; 46:3–4; 49:15. Cf. Mayer I. Gruber, "The Motherhood of God in Second Isaiah," *RB* 90 (1983): 351–359; Hanne Løland, *Silent or Salient Gender? The Interpretation of Gendered Good-Language in the Hebrew Bible, Exemplified in Isaiah 42, 46 and 49*, FAT II 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

114. See Koole and Goldingay/Payne for more in depth discussions on how Isa 42:14 relates to v. 13 and 15–17 (Koole, *Isaiah 40–48*, 253–260; John Goldingay and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40–55*, vol. 1, ICC [London: T&T Clark, 2006], 242–250). Isa 42:13–17 portrays God as a battling warrior, and the labouring God in v. 14b underlines the nature of that action (Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40–55: Volume I*, 245).

115. Aida Besançon Spencer, *Beyond the Curse: Women Called to Ministry* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1985), 123.

116. Or as Koole puts it when referring to Isa 51:12: "He [God] is the true, perfect Comforter, [...] The presence and the comforting words and deeds of a mother are fully realized in Him" (Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 501).

11 and 12d–e, and in v. 13a–b it is revealed that God has the same function in relationship to Jerusalem’s new children. Using Zion’s new motherhood it demonstrates the point that God is directly involved in her destiny as the centre of the earth as the sign of his presence. A parallel is Isa 66:1, where regarding his temple God’s voice says: “The heavens are my throne / / and the earth is my footstool.”

Fifth, *God is the creator mother*. The eschatological approach in Isa 66:7–14b has transformed Zion to something radically better for her children. Within Isa 65–66, there are premonitions of this new relationship. In 65:9a–b, it is promised that God “will bring forth (והיציאתי) offspring” from Jacob and Judah that will inherit his mountain Zion. This declaration is part of the first occurrence of a salvation theme in Isa 65–66,¹¹⁷ which will subsequently come through Zion in 66:7–14b. After the redemption of the heavens and earth in 65:17–25, the holy mountain Jerusalem will stand like a hillock in the new paradisiac creation, symbolising God’s order and universal reign. In 66:7–14b, the creative redemption is accomplished by mother God through Zion so that hearts will rejoice and limbs flourish like new grass (v. 14a–b). These visions have in common the desire and the expectation of a change that will transform the present situation. In Isa 66:13a–b, this hope for transformation relies on God’s creative mercy, which is like a mother’s compassion for her children.

7.5 Isaiah 66:7–14b and Comparison with 1 Enoch

The unique use of images of mothers and the midwife in Isa 66:7–14b have in common, among other things, that they want to convey Zion as a transformed and central place in an approaching new and eschatological world. The four sub-themes discussed above in connection with *Zion as a Mother* (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b)¹¹⁸ illustrate such an idea:

1. *The Centre of Life* (vv. 7–8, 14b), which visualises that through the new Zion, new life and relationships will be born, grow and flourish – the beginning of a resurrection discourse *à la* apocalypse.
2. *The Centre of God’s Mercy* (v. 9), which figuratively describes that the centre of life is made possible by God’s mercy – an implied new exodus for the faithful.
3. *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a), which also compels the author to imagine Zion as a centre for joy and comfort – a place for the sighted and the resurrected life.

117. See 4.4 *The Salvation and Judgement* (vv. 8–12), p. 95.

118. See p. 207.

4. *The Centre of the World* (v. 12b–c), which in turn presents the New Jerusalem as the capital of the world. She will be recognised by nations for the life, mercy, joy and comfort that emanates from her.

These sub-themes share an eschatological Zion, the vision of sacred space that will function as the centre of the world, with the other references in Isa 65–66.¹¹⁹ In 66:7–14b, Jerusalem is the centre of life and as a mother the faithful will live in close relationship with her. Mircea Eliade explains that our world is always situated in the centre, and thus “A universe comes to birth from its center; it spreads out from a central point that is, as it were, its navel.”¹²⁰ The themes also add warmth and intimacy to the initial presentation of the New Jerusalem in 65:17–25. Even though there are no equivalences to Zion as a mother in 1 Enoch,¹²¹ I have suggested in connection with the discussion of the New Jerusalem and her people in Isa 65:18 that the vision in the apocalypse of a new temple-city at the centre of the earth resembles how the renewal of the city is presented in Isa 65–66.¹²² The promised affect that the renewal of the city will have on the people in 66:7–14b and 66:22–23, however, is comparable to how the New Jerusalem and its archetype are described in 1 Enoch: as a holy place (25:5), as a blessed place (26:1), as a righteous place (56:7), and a joyful place (90:33). In short, the transformed Zion is an organic centre of life for restored relationships. This means that life gets a new start reminiscent of a new birth through Zion; it also conveys the idea of being something new and different compared to the present situation. This is also the vision in 1 En. 90:29, of something different compared to the present city, when the new Zion replaces the “old house” with “a new house, larger and higher than the first one.”

Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch also agree that the New Jerusalem, as the central place in a new age, will ultimately cause the nations to stream to the temple-city in recognition of her as the symbol of God’s mercy (1 En. 25:6; 90:30, 37–38; 91:14). I shall discuss the visualisation of a pilgrimage to Zion in connection with Isa 66:18–24 later;¹²³ but here reflect instead on the concept of peace that the pilgrimage people in 66:12b will bring with them to Zion. As in Isa 65–66, peace in 1 En. 1:8 will characterise the total and full life in the eschatological age. This idea of peace for the chosen in the Enochic text is rooted in the Hebrew Bible, with the term שלום (see

119. See Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane, The Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 36–42.

120. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 44.

121. Zion as a mother is not a common metaphor in either the Pseudepigrapha or Apocryphy, but see 4 Ezra 2:40; 10:7, 44; Jub. 1:28; Pss. Sol. 11:2; 2 Esd 10:7.

122. See 5.9 *Isaiah 65:17–25 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 150.

123. See 9.7 *Isaiah 66:18–24 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 305.

Aram. שלם in 1 En. 5:4),¹²⁴ and in Isa 65–66, God’s peace is a major promise and hope in an age perceived as evil and fallen. As we have already seen, and as in 1 En. 1:8, it is the Isaianic author’s persuasion that one day all the faithful will one day experience שלום forever. The prospect of no שלום for all the rebellious in Isa 65–66, however, also has a counterpart when we read on in 1 En. 1:9. The connection between the idea of divine repayment (שלם, Isa 65:6c–d; 66:6c) in Isa 65–66 and the verdict in 1 En. 1:9 is revenge.¹²⁵ The last line in 1:9 reads: “[...], and the proud and hard words that the wicked sinners spoke against him.”¹²⁶ The wicked will be repaid for their attitude, i.e., they will experience God’s revenge. In short, the retribution and reward in both texts have the different aspects of the Hebrew שלם, revenge and peace, in common. These two concepts are contrasted with each other to characterise the end of the old age and the beginning of the new one. Eschatologically, שלם conveys two divine provisions. One will end the present age with raging punishment for the prideful rebellious and the other will characterise the new age with peace in the people’s hearts and on earth.

The allusions to Abraham and Sarah in Isa 66:7–14b, in connection with the new Zion as a mother, do not have direct parallels in 1 Enoch. However, the allusions are connected foremost with Zion as the centre of life and as the centre of joy and comfort, and thus supplement the implied covenant of Abraham in chapter 65, which in turn opens up for observations in the apocalypse.¹²⁷ The birth of a boy, a land, and a nation in Isa 66:7–8 is presented as a true righteous offspring from Abraham and Sarah. The salvage process in vv. 7–8 begins in the Abrahamic tradition, which is also the case with Abraham as “the plant of righteous judgement” in the *ApocW* (1 En. 93:5). The process continues through an elect offspring to the fulfilment in the ninth week (91:14),¹²⁸ when it will include all people on earth. Although the word “plant” (Heb. עֵשֶׂב) is not found in Isa 65–66, the three occurrences of “offspring” in Isa 65–66 associated with the Abrahamic tradition (65:9a, 23c; 66:22c) suggest the same idea. Furthermore, in 66:14b “grass” (דשא) is used figuratively on the flourishing bones of blessed people who belong to the

124. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 133.

125. See also “all flesh” in Isa 66:16 (כל-בשר) and 1 En. 1:9 (Aram. כול בשרא); cf. 25:4.

126. Aram. רברבן וקשין. Gr. καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων, καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. See the reconstruction of the Aramaic text in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 184–185. Cf. Jude 15. The Eth. version ends short of this last line in 1:9 emended by Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, 189; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 26; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 20. The prideful attitude against God is further explained in 1 En. 5:4. It ends: “Hard of heart! There will be no peace for you!” After the curses and promises of no peace for the wicked in 5:5–6c the text shifts to peace for the righteous (5:6d–g; 7a–b, 8–9), as they will no longer sin “through godlessness or pride” (5:8c).

127. See also 4.6 *Isaiah 65:8–16 and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 112, for a discussion of Abraham in Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch. For an enthralling work, that wants to show the *AnApoc* as an ambitious theological interpretation of human history with the help of allegory in the light of the Abrahamic covenant, see also Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*.

128. See also 1 En. 10:3, 16; 84:6.

new Zion. Thus, the eschatological new life is traced back to Abraham (and Sarah) in both 1 Enoch and Isa 65–66, and the same thing can be said about joy. According to 1 En. 5:6g, 7b, the chosen “will inherit the earth.” This inheritance alludes to the promise of land to Abraham, namely that it will multiply so that in the future the true Israel will inherit the whole earth.¹²⁹ This inheritance will result in joy as a quality of life (5:9). It is unclear whether this eschatological time of joy in 1 En. 5 also implies an association with the New Jerusalem, but it is definitely the case in 1 En. 25:4–6. The renewed temple-city in 25:4–6 is located in the centre of the earth, as its archetype (26:1–2), with a similar function to Zion in Isa 65–66, namely, to be centre of joy (65:18–19b; 66:10–11, 14a).

The observations I have made so far regarding the relationship between Isa 66:7–14b and 1 Enoch can at best be described as concepts that touch each other as discourses. Any direct allusions seem to be absent and the influence of Isaianic text upon the 1 Enoch must, therefore, be regarded as vague in contrast to the impact e.g. Isa 65:17–25 must have had on parts of the apocalypse. Another theme implied in Isa 66:7–14b that touches upon the hope of a restoration of God’s people and the land in 1 Enoch, is a new exodus. One of the failed expectations in the post-exilic period, according to Isa 65–66, was the human/divine relationship (cf. Isa 49:21). The fertile Zion as the centre of God’s mercy implies, therefore, a new exodus imagined as a birth (ילד) and a comforting (נחם) which lead to a refreshed covenant relationship with YHWH. Unlike the first exodus, this time it will take place through the water of mother Jerusalem and to Zion the mountain of God, but like the first exodus it happens only with the assistance and the creative help of YHWH. The hope of a new exodus is expressed already at the beginning of 1 Enoch in connection with an oracle of judgement (1:2–5:9) that introduces the *BWatch*:

“The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling,
and the eternal God will tread from thence upon Mount Sinai.
[...]” (1 En. 1:3c–4a).

Verse 4 continues to describes how God will appear (again) with his heavenly army so that at the end the righteous will experience peace, protection, mercy, blessing, and light (v. 8). The destruction of wickedness in vv. 5–7, 9 is the topic for the next unit in Isa 66. In the *AnApoc*, the hope of a new exodus also comes to an expression in 1 En. 89:73–75, which includes the rebuilding of the Second Temple and the events of the return from the exile, to Alexander the Great. The Second Temple is defiled, spiritual blindness continued after the exile, the angelic patrons handed over the people to the Gentiles “for greater destruction,” and

129. Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 115.

Ezra-Nehemiah's reforms are completely omitted. In short, according to 89:73–75, the apostasy is presented as characteristic for the entire Persian period; God remains silent throughout the whole period, and the people are regarded as still being in exile.¹³⁰ According to the visionary, this situation continued into the second century (the Hellenistic period) and will continue until the end times (90:2–19). Hence, the hope is set to a final judgement, a New Jerusalem for the worship of God, and a patriarchal messiah (vv. 20–37). In the *ApocW*, the New Jerusalem is represented by the “temple of the kingdom of the Great One” (91:13), but a new earth and the new heaven will also be ushered in as part of the hope of a new exodus (vv. 14–16).¹³¹ In Isa 65–66, a similar pattern is revealed for the new exodus but without the explicit mention of a messiah.

In connection with Zion as the centre of life, I have also suggested that there is the beginning of a resurrection doctrine. If so, the promise of new life in our text belongs to a tradition that developed and which later became part of a characteristic apocalyptic discourse. For the faithful, the result of this new birth from death to life is sight, and for Zion it is the function of being the centre of the world. Furthermore, Zion will become a place of joyfulness in a new world for the sighted, as new life flows from God through her (v. 13) so that hearts will rejoice anew and strength will flow to the core like flourishing springtime grass (v. 14a–b). In short, while in vv. 14c–17 the rebellious are destined for annihilation and death, the faithful will be brought back to life by God's consoling (נִחַם) love. Nevertheless, the vision-account in Isa 66:7–14b is not about a bodily resurrection, as is the case in 1 En. 22; 51:1; 61:5; 62:15; 90:33; 91:10; 92:3–4; 103:1–4; 104:2, and it is even less about angelification as in *The Book of Parables* (1 En. 37–71; cf. 104:2). There are points of contact between the texts, however, especially when 1 En. 25:6 says: “Its fragrances [from the tree of life] <will be> in their [the righteous'] bones.”¹³² This is a sign that Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch are not two separated traditions when it comes to the transformation of life.

The second major theme discussed above in Isa 66:7–14b is *God as a Mother* (v. 13a–b).¹³³ While Isa 66:7–14b is different compared to 65:17–19b because of its figurative language, it is still the same basic eschatological message in Isa 65–66 regarding God's role. He alone will renew and sustain Jerusalem and her people. In 66:13a–b the mention of God like a mother who will comfort the reborn people through Zion, is – in Isa 65–66 – another way of expressing how God will rejoice

130. Green, “The Temple of God and Crises,” 57–62.

131. See also Paul S. Coxon, *Exploring the New Exodus in John: A Biblical Theological Investigation of John Chapters 5–10* (Eugene, OR: Resource Publications, 2014), 297–300.

132. Although C. D. Elledge has not noted that Isa 65:22c could refer to the Tree of Life in a new paradisiac environment, he does argue the same point as me regarding the connection between Isa 66:14b and 1 En. 25:6 (Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 73).

133. See p. 231.

(65:19a–b) after he has creatively redeemed the world. Thus, the process of birth and the raising of a child into a nation (גוי) in 66:7–14b is ultimately God’s responsibility. As in the case of Zion, in 1 Enoch there is no metaphor describing God as a mother. However, the idea of comforting the righteous is one of the main purposes of 1 Enoch,¹³⁴ which includes a reversal of the present situation. This hope of comfort from God in both Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch also demonstrate dualistic spatiality in both texts; any decision made in heaven will have positive benefits for the faithful in the present world in the form of hope and comfort.

134. 1 En. 10:16–11:2; 81:4; 91:13; 92:2–5; 103:1–4; 104:1–6; 107:3.

Chapter 8: Isaiah 66:14c–17

The themes in this new unit continue the condemnations and promise of recompense in Isa 66:1–6 and 65:1–7, after the author has established, in the minds of the listeners, Zion’s future role as the centre of a restored life for the faithful in a world who will worship YHWH. The message is: God will intervene and definitely put an end to his enemies. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, there are three main themes in the text: God’s Servants vs. God’s Enemies (v. 14c–d), The Divine Warrior (vv. 14d–16), and The Final Judgement (vv. 16–17). The analysis of these themes are summarised and reflected on in comparison with observations in 1 Enoch at the end of the chapter.

8.1 Text and Translation

<p>וְנֹדְעָה יַד־יְהוָה אֶת־עַבְדָּיו וְזַעַם אֶת־אֹיְבָיו: כִּי־הִנֵּה יְהוָה בָּאֵשׁ יָבֹא וְכִסּוּפָה מִרְכַבָּתָיו לְהִשִּׁיב בַּחֲמָה אָפוּ וְנִגְעַרְתּוּ בְלֹהֲבֵי־אֵשׁ: כִּי בָאֵשׁ יִהְיֶה נִשְׁפָּט [אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ] וּבְחַרְבוֹ אֶת־כָּל־בָּשָׂר וְרַבּוֹ חָלְלֵי יְהוָה הַמְתַּקְדְּשִׁים וְהַמְטַהֲרִים אֶל־הַגְּנוֹת אַחַר אֶחָד בְּתוֹךְ אֲכָלֵי בָשָׂר הַחֲזִיר וְהַשְּׂקִץ וְהַעֲכָבֵר יַחַד יִסְפוּ נַאֲם־יְהוָה:</p>	<p>14c The hand of YHWH will be known to his servants,^a but he will rage^b against his enemies.</p> <p>15a For behold, YHWH will come with fire^c and his chariots like the storm,^d c to vent his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.</p> <p>16a For with fire [all the earth] will be judged by YHWH,^e and with his sword all flesh, c and many will be the slain of YHWH.</p> <p>17a Those who sanctify and purify themselves to go to the gardens, after one in the midst,^f c who eat swine’s flesh, the abominable and mouse, e their works and their thoughts^g together will come to an end, declares YHWH.</p>
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a. ^g translates עַבְדָּיו (“his servants”) with τοῖς σεβομένοις αὐτόν (“those who worship him”). This is probably a result of an interpretation of the context, that refers to hearts that will rejoice and bones that will be alive anew as fresh grass, because of the intervention of YHWH. An alternative translation of v 14c–d in the *MT* is “and it shall be known that the hand of YHWH is with (אִתּוֹ) his servants/ / and his indignation is against (אֵת) his enemies (see NRSV).¹

b. A number of scholars and modern translations regard וְזַעַם (“but he will rage”) functionally as a substantive, in order for it to fit better as a parallel to the previous line (v. 14a). See e.g. *BHS* that suggests וְזַעְמוֹ (“but his rage”), and Blenkinsopp reads the line, “and his indignation among his enemies.”² However, the first line in v. 14c–d begins with a verb (וְנֹדְעָה) and it is not, therefore, strange that the second line also begins with a verb (וְזַעַם). Both lines also ends with אֶת־, which should be un-

1. See Willem A. M. Beuken, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah: ‘The Servants of YHWH,’” *JSOT* 15/47 (1990): 84–85.

2. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah* 56–66, 302.

derstood as object-markers.³ Thus, the two lines can be regarded as parallels, without understanding the verbal form in **מ** functionally as a noun.

c. **מ** reads באש יבוא (“with fire”), while two medieval MSS have באש and **ט** has ὡς πῦρ (see *BHS*), both of which are translated “as/like fire” which would accord with “like the storm-wind” in v. 15b. However, v. 16a also reads באש, which makes emending the text unnecessary. See also v. 15c–d (“with fury [...] / [...] with flames of fire”). Above that, 1QIsa^a supports **מ**, באש יבוא (see also **ז** and **ח**).

d. A common translation of the word סופָה into English is “whirlwind.” *HALOT*, *DCH*, and *BDB*, however, renders it “storm-wind, tempest, storm, gale,”⁴ which seems to be a more general understanding of the Hebrew word. It is a simile of rushing war chariots (see *BDB*, cf. Isa 5:28; Jer, 4:13).

e. **מ** reads נשפט (“will be judged”), while 1QIsa^a reads יבוא לשפוט (“he [Yahweh] will come to judge,” cf. Ps 96:13; 98:9; 1 Chron. 16:33). **ז** and **ח** are similar to the latter. After נשפט / κατῆρησεται **ט** adds the phrase πᾶσα ἡ γῆ (“all the earth”), which may reflect a different Hebrew source but has no correspondence in 1QIsa^a, **ז** or **ח**. However, if **ט** is based upon another *Vorlage* it could mean that **מ** downplays the apocalyptic scope in v. 16–17, or vice versa that **ט** reinforces the judgement theme because of את-כל-בשר (“all flesh”) in v. 16b. *BHS* does not suggest any emending of the **מ**-text, and the majority of modern translations follow **מ**, but the question is what את-כל-בשר stands for – the rebellious which are referred to again in v. 17, or the whole mankind as in vv. 23, 24 (כל-בשר)? Because a final judgement is described in vv. 15–17, the verses get a global dimension in contrast to the global promise in vv. 18–24. Also, the **מ** in vv. 16–17 is unstable (see footnotes below). In other words, “on all the earth,” therefore, is added due to implication in the verses.

f. Referring to J. A. Emerton, Smith suggests that the phrase אחר אחר בתוך (“after one in the midst”) “has entered v. 17 by vertical dittography from v. 16.”⁵ However, 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b supports the *qere* of **מ**, and other versions (**ט**, **ז**, Symmachus and Theodotion, **ח**) indicate something there even if they do not correspond with each other. E.g. **ט** reads καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις (“and in the porches”), which is an expression also found in Ezek 8:3, 7, 14,⁶ and which refers to the temple in vv. 7 and 14. There are enough reasons to follow **מ**, but from an interpretive perspective the choice between *ketiv* אחר (masc.) and *qere* אחת (fem.) is a difficult one. For a more complete discussion regarding the text-critical issue in v. 66:17b, see e.g. Koole and de Waard.⁷

g. The phrase מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם (“Their works and their thoughts”) is transposed in my translation from the first line in v. 18 to v. 17e. In v. 18, it causes a syntactical problem in relationship to the first word ואנכי (“and I”) and the following fem. באה (“coming”). Different solutions have been suggested regarding the awkwardness of מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם: *BHS* wants to move the phrase to v. 16 after את-כל-בשר (“on all flesh”), Torrey to the beginning of v. 17.⁸ Whybray regards it as a gloss or part of a gloss and removes it altogether.⁹ Waard, Oswalt, Koole, and Goldingay follow **מ** in one way or another.¹⁰ The reasons for not removing מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם from v. 18, and thus staying with **מ**, are: 1. There is no MSS evidence that the Hebrew has been read differently, which could question the objective ground for emending the text; 2. The end of v. 17 (“[...] together will come to an end, declares

3. For the view that את is prepositions, see Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 503.

4. *HALOT*, s.v. “סופָה I”, *DCH* 6, s.v. “סופָה I”, and *BDB*, s.v. “סופָה I”.

5. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130.

6. Seeligmann thinks that **ט** has borrowed “καὶ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις” from Ezek (Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 74).

7. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 514; de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 225–226.

8. Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1928), 276, 473.

9. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 289.

10. de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 226–227; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 681, n. 60; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 515–517; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 511–512.

the Lord”) is parallel with v. 16c (“[...] and many will be the slain of YHWH.”). However, by not removing the phrase, a syntactical problem remains and which makes the Hebrew unintelligible without adding a verb after **וַיֵּדְעוּ** (e.g. “know” from **יָדַע** and **יָדָע**) and a subject before **בְּאֵה** (e.g. “the time”).¹¹ Additionally, regarding the first reason not to transpose the phrase and stay with **וְ**, the entering of **וּמַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם וּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם** in v. 18 could have happened earlier than any existing MSS; and regarding the second reason, v. 17e–f in my translation can still function as a parallel to v. 16c. An attractive solution is proposed by Waard, with NIV as a model, not to remove **וּמַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם וּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם** from v. 18 and regard the following line as a new paragraph/division.¹² However, to remove **וּמַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם וּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם** from v. 18 to be part of v. 17e–f does not change the meaning of the text in any significant way, and it also separates the judgement theme in vv. 14–17 from the eschatological promise which follows in vv. 18–24.¹³ Therefore, I am in agreement with quite a few commentaries (e.g. Duhm, Westermann, Blenkinsopp),¹⁴ that the phrase **וּמַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם וּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם** (“Their works and their thoughts”) should be moved from v. 18 to v. 17e, a correction which makes the text flow better. Both these verses are otherwise very difficult to translate. See also below the text-critical note **a** in connection with the translation of Isa 66:18 (p. 271), and the discussion of the issue from a rhetorical and philological perspective.

8.2 Structural Issues (vv. 14c–17)

The differentiation between the faithful (“his servants”) and the rebellious (“his enemies”) continues in Isa 66:14c from 66:1–6, after the intermission about the new Zion and her people in vv. 7–14b. Furthermore, the change of the address and the theme moves from referring to the faithful in the second person plural in vv. 10–14b to the third person addresses and God’s final judgement of the rebellious in vv. 14c–17. This proposed structure divides Isa 66:14 into two separate clauses, where the first one ends a unit and the second begins the subsequent one. However, even if this reading is the preferred one in this current work,¹⁵ there are other solutions which need discussing before a thematic analysis of the text is begun.

The disagreement among scholars about delimitation at this point in Isa 66 is whether it should take place between v. 14 and 15, or 16 and 17, or 17 and 18.¹⁶ Both Webster and Sweeney, for different reasons, regard 66:15 as a unit-divider, i.e., v. 15 starts a new concentric unit (Webster)/begins with the speech component **כִּי־הִנֵּה** (Sweeney).¹⁷ Essentially, God’s voice speaks throughout Isa 65 up to 66:14b, which includes most of Webster’s first two units in chapter 66 (the first oracle [vv. 1–6] and the theme Jerusalem [vv. 7–14]). The human voice takes over in

11. See Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 463–464.

12. de Waard, *A Handbook on Isaiah*, 227.

13. Childs, *Isaiah*, 541.

14. See also Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130.

15. See also the initial discussion in 7.2 *Structural Issues (vv. 7–14b)*, p. 205 and Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 502.

16. Hanson, for example, already at the outset of his discussion of Isa 66 concludes that “There is little agreement among scholars concerning the division of chapter 66 into original units.” (Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 161)

17. Webster, “A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66,” 94–105; Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 462–463; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 374–375. See also Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 507.

66:14c–16, and God’s voice returns in v. 17. However, I agree with Webster that the sudden human voice in v. 14 is not sufficient reason for delimitation. The change of voices in Isa 65–66 does not follow a consistent pattern (the human interruptions seems to be rather spontaneous). They interact rather freely with each other. Furthermore, a delimitation after the first line in v. 14, because of the change of address and theme, would damage Webster’s concentric structure.¹⁸ Additionally, there is the marker כִּי־הִנֵּי (“For behold”) in v. 15a, although Sweeney does not give this marker the same importance in 65:17.¹⁹ Nonetheless, in vv. 7–14b there is a unifying theme with Zion and Jerusalem, to which different sub-themes are connected. Therefore, instead of כִּי־הִנֵּי marking a new unit, it can mark the main speech in 66:14c–17 after the introduction in v. 14c–d.

While the human voice is of no concern for Webster,²⁰ both Muilenburg and Hanson’s unit of 66:1–16 actually complies with the change of voices in the unit. Hence, they argue that vv. 17–24 is “an eschatological summary” (Muilenburg) and part of TI’s overall framework together with 56:1–8 (Hanson).²¹ Hanson’s argument for not dividing vv. 1–16 is the same as for Isa 58, 59 and 65, i.e. the unique form of the prophetic oracle during that period, “the rapid oscillation between salvation and judgment words [...]”.²² Hanson has certainly made a major contribution on how to read Isa 65–66 literary. Nevertheless, Webster’s thematic pattern and the first long cluster (A) in his concentric unit 66:15–24 includes the opening phrase in v. 18, וְאֵנֹכִי מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם. According to my textcritical analysis of v. 17, this phrase (minus וְאֵנֹכִי), מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם (“Their works and their thoughts”), should be moved from v. 18 to the beginning of what becomes v. 17e–f, and thus extends the salvation and judgement oracle in vv. 14c–16 to include v. 17. This emendation has led Smith, among others, to regard 65:1–66:17 as a primary unit in Isa 65–66, and 66:18–24 as an appendix.²³ Furthermore, Tiemeyer thinks that one author is responsible for 65:1–66:17 (and 56:9–59:21), and that it primarily addresses the Judahite leadership.²⁴

Isa 66:17 plays an important part in Isa 65–66 concerning the judgement theme.²⁵ We need to understand this function before entering into further discus-

18. Webster, “A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66,” 100.

19. See Sweeney, “Prophetic Exegesis,” 461, 463.

20. Webster’s thematic and quantitative pattern, with longer clusters (A, vv. 15–18a; B, vv. 18b–19; C, vv. 20–21) and its shorter restatements in reverse order (c, v 22; b, 23; a, 24), does not take into account the different voices in the text (Webster, “A Rhetorical Study of Isaiah 66,” 100–102).

21. Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah*, 418, 758, 769; Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 161–167.

22. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 162.

23. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 132.

24. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 55–65.

25. Smith describes 66:17 as a stumbling verse for commentators. Many have recognised the resemblance with 65:1–7 regarding idolatrous practices, but according to Smith commentators have “failed to perceive the significance of the verse.” The verse should therefore not be considered an in-

sion concerning the themes in vv. 14c–17. Smith describes 66:17 in the following way: “It is an intentional, concluding reference back to the statements made at the opening of ch. 65.”²⁶ In other words, 66:17 and 65:1–7 mark the framework of the main speech in Isa 65–66. Smith calls this “a ring structure around the material in 65:1–66:17.” Above all, it is the modified repetition of the phrase *אכלי בשר החזיר* (“who eat swine’s flesh”) which connects 66:17 back to 65:1–7 (v. 4). He also points out connections such as the repetition of *גנות* (“gardens,” 65:3) and the root *קדש* (“to set apart,” 65:5) in 66:17. The number of connections increase if we look at 66:15–16 and 65:1–7 too. The similar imagery of fire in those passages reinforces the message of repayment in 65:5–7.²⁷ To the list of parallels, I would also like to include *מעשיהם ומהשבתיהם* (“their works and their thoughts”) in 66:17e as a reference to *אחר מהשבתיהם* (“after their own thoughts”) in 65:2c. That would reinforce the framework of 65:1–66:17. However, Smith also points out that 66:14c–17 functions both as part of a ring structure and as a kind of climax for the whole unit. While this framework ends with the final judgement of the rebellious, however, the vision about the faithful’s destiny also needs a climax. We should, therefore, not assume that 66:18–24 is an appendix by a different hand than 65:1–66:17. This is discussed further below when I discuss the structural issues of 66:18–24.²⁸ In any case, Isa 66:17 is a thematic closer regarding the rebellious and their wicked idolatry²⁹ and the analysis of the following themes illustrates that.

8.3 God’s Servants vs. God’s Enemies (v. 14c–d)

Isa 66:14c–17 is about the final judgement of the rebellious in Isa 65–66, and it begins in v. 14c–d by distinguishing between God’s servants (*עבדיי*) and God’s enemies (*איבוי*). Although the author has made this distinction throughout Isa 65–66,³⁰ it is in 66:14c–d that the relationships are finally laid down. Thematically, “his servants” in v. 14c are linked with 66:2c–e, 5b (the tremblers) and this supplements the message of salvation in 65:8–9 and the destiny of “my servants” in 65:13–16. “His enemies” in 66:14d links with 66:4, 5g, 6 (the repayment) and sup-

dependent unit, nor should it be moved from its present position (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 129).

26. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 129.

27. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130.

28. 9.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 18–24), p. 273.

29. Smith refers to Wilfred G. E. Watson in support for his view on 66:17 as a closure. Watson says regarding thematic closure: “Reference to some kind of finality is often used as an indicator of closure” (Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, repr. ed. [London: T&T Clark, 2007], 65). Smith further reinforces his view by pointing out the presence of *נאמרי יהוה* (“declares YHWH”) in 66:17 as a possible concluding formula, and the change of theme and style between v. 17 and 18 (–24) (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130–131).

30. See especially Isa 65:13–16.

plements the message of judgement in 65:1–7 and the destiny of the rebellious in 65:13–16.³¹ The rebellious are God’s enemies who will know YHWH through his rage; and the faithful are “his servants” who will know YHWH through his mercy. Verse 14c–d is a confirmation of what the vision-account has so far revealed about Zion and her people, and about the rebellious, and how each will reap the consequences. According to vv. 15–17, the latter will experience total annihilation; and according to vv. 18–24, the former will experience a totally new life. The destiny of the rebellious in 65:15 is the same as in 66:14d–17, YHWH will kill them, and their final death is laid out in the full sight of God’s servants in 66:24.

8.3.1 His Servants (v. 14c)

The noun “servant” (עֶבֶד) is one of the themes in the Book of Isaiah that brings its different parts together,³² and Isa 66:14c holds the last occurrence of this term (עֶבְדָיו) in the book. This latter observation is significant in the light of Beuken’s claim that TI is “occupied with the question of the servants of YHWH.”³³ Beuken’s assertion is true for Isa 65–66, because in those two chapters alone the term is used eight times. The preoccupation with this theme in Isa 65–66 is God’s salvation of his servants through a renewed Zion, and connected with this theme is also the idea of God as King. However, the “servant” as a messianic agent (see DI) is absent in Isa 65–66 and I have argued above that this is due to the fact that it has merged into the office of the King.³⁴ Regarding how the term “servant” is distributed in Isa 65–66, the epithet is far more frequent in Isa 65 than in 66. “My servants” occurs twice in 65:8–9, representing the group that will be saved, four times in 65:13–14, referring to the same group as in 65:8–9, and once as “his servants” (עֶבְדָיו) in 65:15c. Furthermore, in Isa 65, “my servants” are parallel to “my people,” “her [Jerusalem’s] people,” “offspring,” and “my chosen ones.”³⁵ These “my servants” are blessed (65:8, 16, 23) and will inherit God’s mountain, dwell in

31. See also Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 503.

32. The noun עֶבֶד occurs 40 times in the whole book: 9 times in chapters 1–39, 21 times in chapters 40–55, and 10 times in chapters 56–66. In Isa 1–39, however, the term does not have the same messianic function as in 40–55, and of the 10 occurrences in chapters 56–66, eight of them appear in chapters 65–66 alone.

33. Beuken, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah,” 67–68. In the prophetic literature at large, the term God’s servants is also a designation of a special group consisting of God’s prophets (Jer 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Ezek 38:17; Amos 3:7; Zech 1:6).

34. See 6.5.3 *Intervention* (v. 6), p. 192, and the aspect that “The Temple of God is a palace for a King from which judgement and redemption originate,” p. 164.

35. “My people” (עַמִּי) in Isa 65:10c, 19b, 22c and “her people” (עַמָּהּ) in 65:18d; “offspring” (זֶרַע) in 65:9a, 23c; “my chosen ones” (בְּחִירַי) in 65:9c, 15a, 22d. In other passages in the Book of Isaiah, the idea of God’s servant(s) is also associated with the theme “people” (43:9–10; 63:17–18), with “offspring” (44:2–3), and with “chosen” (41:8–9; 42:1; 43:10; 44:1–2; 45:4). See also Isa 61:9.

the land, and eat, drink, rejoice and live long lives through Zion in that land.³⁶ In Isa 66, “servants” occurs only once in v. 14c, and the parallel words to “servants” in Isa 65 (“my people,” “chosen ones,” and “blessed”) are also not found in Isa 66. This difference between Isa 65 and 66 could be due to a longer exposition about relationships in 66:1–14b, first presented in Isa 65, and “his servants” and “his enemies” is the sum of that exposition as well as the introduction to the final judgement in 66:14c–17.

In addition to the eight occurrences of “servants” in Isa 65–66, there are only two more instances of עֶבֶר in TI (56:6; 63:17), which is not enough to regard God’s servants as a major theme in 56:1–64:11. However, if we include the discourse about the restoration of Zion and her people, the major theme in Isa 65–66 too, the servant-theme is implicitly much more common in TI. In that case, it would also explain how some people in TI are condemned because they simply do not act as God’s servants in contrast to those who are righteous. Beuken also sees this problem with the absence of the term עֶבֶר in Isa 56:9–63:6, and solves it by showing that the elaboration of “servants” in TI takes place via the terms “seed” (זרע) and “righteous(ness)” (זדק),³⁷ terms which are connected to “the Servant” in DI.³⁸ In that case, the theme of God’s servants gradually develops in TI, until it finds its natural place and function in the visionary program of Isa 65–66. To discuss Beuken’s solutions further, however, demands analyses too extensive for this current work. I will, therefore, *inter alia* focus below on what we can learn about Isa 66:14c from the two occurrences of עֶבֶר in Isa 56:6 and 63:17.

The “his servants” (עֶבְדָיו) in Isa 66:14c is a theological phrase, and thematically conveys several things. First, “his servants” is a standing before God as King that includes more than the faithful Israel. The “servants” are the same group who are called my servants/his servants” in Isa 65. However, such an obvious conclusion needs qualification in the light of how the vision-speech has developed so far. When the text continues into Isa 66, the descriptions of “my servants” in Isa 65 are presupposed in 66:2c–e, 7–14b and explained again in v. 14c as “his servants.” When 66:14c, therefore, speaks about “his servants” it refers to a group who has turned to YHWH and will thus experience the saving hand of God. However, 66:12b–c and 66:18–21 supplement the idea in 65:18 that the New Jerusalem will function as the centre of the new world, and the program in 66:7–14b, 18–20 extends the עֶבְדָיו in v. 14c to include those גוֹיִם (“nations”) who have converted to YHWH and who will pilgrimage to the temple-city. In short, all people who turn to YHWH are “his servants.”³⁹ The term “offspring” (זרע) in 65:9a, 23c and 66:22c

36. Isa 65:9–10, 13–14, 19–25.

37. See especially Isa 60:1–3 (cf. 42:6; 49:6), 21; Isa 61; 62:10–12.

38. Beuken, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah,” 67–75. Beuken also points out that “The passage 63.1–6 is the only one in TI in which the theme of the offspring does not play a part, [...]” (p. 74).

39. Fredrik Hägglund argues that in TI “it is clear that this belonging [to ‘the group of servants’] is

also supports this development towards a universalistic perspective of who “his servants” are by referring and alluding to God’s promises to the Hebrew patriarchs of a great nation that will include all families of the earth.

The first occurrence of עֶבֶר in TI is found in Isa 56:1–8, a context which functions as the introduction to Isa 56–66 and is from the same hand as Isa 65–66.⁴⁰ The phrase “his servants” (לוֹ לְעֶבְרִים) in 56:6 indicates, therefore, a major theme in TI which reaches a climax in Isa 65–66. As part of an introduction and a framework, 56:6 specifically exhorts people to join God as his servants by keeping the Sabbath and upholding on to the covenant. However, the call in 56:6 also reaches also out to both the “eunuchs” (סְרִיסִים) and “the foreigners” (בְּנֵי הַנּוֹכַר), who convert to YHWH to worship him. They are also God’s servants, which is an expansion of the concept “YHWH’s servants” (54:17b) in DI, which includes only Israel.⁴¹ Moreover, God will bring these new servants to his holy mountain to rejoice and offer sacrifices (v. 7). This theme continues in Isa 66, with the vision of nations (גוֹיִם) who pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem. As Stromberg points out, we have a paradigm shift in comparison to the corporate “servant/servants” in DI, when TI applies the epithet to “ethical individuals,”⁴² but these individuals receives a new corporate standing when they are called “his servants” in 66:14c. This new group includes those nations (66:12b–c; 66:18–20, 23) which have converted and who are coming to the New Jerusalem to worship. In short, “his servants” in 56:6 and 66:14c refer to the same group of people, and this is another example how TI develops concepts in DI towards what later became an apocalyptic worldview of God’s cosmic reign over all people.

The second occurrence of עֶבֶר, with the meaning “servant,” is found in Isa 63:17 as part of a longer lamentation (63:7–64:11). Beuken argues that those who present themselves as servants in that passage are the ones who belong to the new Zion in Isa 60–62, and the lamentation reflects the misery directed against them.⁴³ I agree

limited to a small group in the province [Yehud].” I partly disagree with that conclusion, as in the visionary program of Isa 56:1–8 and 66:7–24 God’s servants became a mixed group of faithful Jews and converted gentiles. However, I agree with Häggglund’s observation that the conflict in TI does not need to be between those who have come back from exile and those who stayed behind. Additionally, to be a God’s servant has become a question of “individual personal choice (Isa 65:12; 66:3).” (Häggglund, *Isaiah 53*, 171–172)

40. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 40–68.

41. This would be an argument against the opinion that Isa 54:17b is a redaction by the author of TI, with the purpose of developing Isa 54 in the direction of limiting the promises about Zion to “YHWH’s servants” (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 247). In TI there is an expansion of the term that includes eunuchs and foreigners, which is not implied in 54:17b unless the reference to נָיִן in 55:5 indicates such a thing. In any case, in the current work “YHWH’s servants” in 54:17b is analysed as part of a major theme in Isa 40–66.

42. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 79–82. Individualism in Isa 65–66 is also implied in 65:8, 24, when it comes to salvation and a restored relationship in a new world.

43. Beuken, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah,” 75–76.

with Beuken that there are specific aspects in 63:17, שׁוּב (“return”) and נחלה (“heritage”), which connect the verse to DI, and in that sense the intercession continues the servant-theme from passages like 52:8 (שׁוּב) and 54:17b (נחלה). However, עֶבֶר in 63:17 is used differently compared to עֶבֶר in 56:6. In 63:17 the term is used in an exclusive way, which the subsequent parallel phrase confirms by qualifying who God’s servants are, i.e. “your servants” (עֶבְדֶיךָ) are “the tribes of your heritage” (שְׁבֵטֵי נַחֲלֶתְךָ). In 56:6, as discussed above, the term is inclusive. Furthermore, Isa 63:7–64:11 is a complaint about God, and Isa 65–66 is regarded in the present study as a critical response to that lament. The lament represents those who think they are God’s servants but who actually, according to Isa 65–66, are not. Thus, Isa 65–66 is not only a wrathful response to those represented by the lament, but the vision-account is also a stand against too narrow a view of God’s servants. Thus, Isa 66:14c–d answers the lamentation in 63:16–17 in three ways:

1. The lament in 63:16–17 distances itself from Israel’s ancient fathers⁴⁴ by declaring twice in v. 16: “(For) you (YHWH) are our Father,” rather than you are “the God of the Fathers.”⁴⁵ This particular intercession also frames the reference to Abraham and Israel/Jacob in the verse,⁴⁶ and claims that these ancestor neither know nor recognise them anymore. Isa 66:14c–d corrects this rejection by being an integral part of a speech that wants to show in many ways that the salvation of Jerusalem and her people rests upon the tradition of Abraham.⁴⁷
2. The people in Isa 63:17 calls themselves “your servants” (עֶבְדֶיךָ) and not “your sons,” despite the fact that they address YHWH as their Father and not as their King. In Isa 65–66, God is king, above all, even though a parental relationship with the faithful is implied in 66:13a–b, perhaps to avoid a monotone image of God. In any case, in 66:14c–d the relationships are servants-king and enemies-king, and thus an argument against what seems to be a more confused view in 63:17 about the relationship with God.
3. Beuken argues that the phrase “the tribes of your heritage” in 63:17 connects to a theme about the mission of the servant(s) to reach the end of the earth with YHWH’s salvation in Isa 49:6 and 54:17b.⁴⁸ If Beuken is correct, I would argue that, among other things, Isa 56:6 and 66:14c–d aims at explaining this mission for those who call themselves

44. כי אברהם לא ידענו וישראל לא יכירנו

45. Klaus Baltzer says that “This is the most astonishing development of the Abraham tradition! No longer, Abraham but YHWH is the Father!” (Baltzer, “Abraham,” 83).

46. אתה יהוה אבינו and כי אתה אבינו

47. See also Isa 29:22–23; 41:8; 51:2–3, and the possible allusion to the *akedah* in 40:9.

48. Beuken, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah,” 76.

God's servants in 63:17. Since the lament distances itself from the sonship to Abraham in 63:16–17, it also denies the universalistic implications of the Abrahamic tradition, something Isa 65–66 espouses *inter alia* with the words "The hand of YHWH will be known to his servants" (66:14c).

In other words, those who call themselves for "your servants" in 63:17 doubt Abraham's role in their inheritance of the land and of Zion. Thus, the lament represents a group of people that does not agree even with DI, and who states that the salvation of the elect is founded on Abraham: "But you, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend, [...] You are my servant [...]" (41:8–9; cf. 51:2–3).⁴⁹ So, when a people is described in Isa 54:17b as YHWH's servants in the plural for the first time in the Book of Isaiah, it identifies the redeemed Israel as chosen because of God's covenant with Abraham (Gen 15). The servant theme in Isa 65–66 restores the implications of such a status in contrast to 63:16–17. Furthermore, Isa 66:14c expands the identification of God's people to include all who will repent and come to the New Jerusalem to worship YHWH, but excludes those who do not recognise their foundation or their mission.

The second aspect conveyed by the servant-theme in Isa 66:14c is that "*his servants*" is a relationship where the King owns the other, but in a larger theological context should also be understood as a friendship. An ultimate sign of salvation and restoration in Isa 65–66 is stated when 66:14c says: "The hand of YHWH will be known to his servants, // [...]" It means that the people of the New Jerusalem are God's possession, that they will know and belong to YHWH, and that they are a creation of God.⁵⁰ Because "his servants" is contrasted with "his enemies" (v. 14d), the redemptive relationship in v. 14c should also be understood as "his friends." Alternatively, "his servants" could mean "his allies," but the faithful are not involved in God's battle against his enemies in 66:15–17. As we will see in connection with the theme about the divine warrior in vv. 15–16, the theophany in those verses is manifested from heaven, not from earth, together with a divine council. The holy war in those verses are started on God's initiative alone. Thus, "his servants" are not soldiers in v. 14c but rather God's friends, who in times of peace first stepped into action by being sent out by God to announce his victory to the world (vv. 18–20).

I have demonstrated in this work that the salvation of the faithful and the renewal of Zion/the New Jerusalem in Isa 65–66 are founded on the tradition of the covenantal promises to Abraham. The result, therefore, is that the faithful are

49. Baltzer, "Abraham," 82.

50. As Beuken also points out, it is a prophetic theme that the intervention of God in history leads to knowledge of him and thus brings salvation to the faithful and punishment to the rebellious (Beuken, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah," 84).

called God's servants, with the implication of being God's friends (see especially 65:24). These redemptive epithets are allusions to Abraham as the first person in the Hebrew Bible whom God calls "my servant" (Gen 26:24), and who is described as God's friend in Isa 41:8 and 2 Chron 20:7. Isa 41:8 is particularly interesting, because in that passage the concept God's "servant" is, by extension, related to Abraham (the prototype of election and servanthood) and combined with a description of him as God's friend or "beloved" (אהבי). The latter designation suggests what Oswalt points out, that the election "is rooted and grounded in love, both the love of God for the chosen and the love of the chosen for God."⁵¹ In the case of 2 Chron 20:7, that passage reflects the perception in the post-exilic era that Abraham was God's friend or beloved. Thus, when the author of Isa 65–66 calls the faithful and the converted in 66:14c God's servants, he implies a relationship with God for the sake of Abraham.

The third aspect conveyed by Isa 66:14c has already been touched upon in the first two aspects of the servant-theme discussed above, i.e., "his servants" is the basis for a mandate to be sent out by God as his ambassadors in peace time to tell the nations about his glory and mercy." In connection with the vision of the creation of the New Jerusalem in 65:18, the phrase עמה ("her people") in 65:18d and עמי ("my people") in v. 19b imply special appointments to positions as priests and ambassadors for a new epoch.⁵² As I said above, "her people" and "my people" are parallel phrases to "servants" in Isa 65–66. Those who will survive the final judgement in 66:16–17 are "his servants" and thus appointed as God's ambassadors in v. 19–20 and as priests in v. 21. They are sent out in an envoy to declare God's glory and bring converted people from all nations home to the New Jerusalem to worship YHWH. The mission of "his servants" will be discussed further in connection with Isa 66:18–20, 21 below, but here it is significant to show that this mission as God's messengers is specifically associated with how the servant-theme developed from the "servant" in DI to "servants" in TI.

The connection between the "servant" in DI and "servants" in TI has motivated research on the identity of this latter post-exilic group in contrast to those who were not regarded as such.⁵³ For the purpose of this current study, it is not

51. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 90. See also Isa 66:10b and 7.3.3 *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a), p. 223.

52. See 5.5.2 *Priests and Ambassadors* (v. 18d), p. 131.

53. Blenkinsopp, "A Jewish Sect of the Persian Period," 7–11, 16–20; Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah," 395–398; Willem A. M. Beuken, "Servant and Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61 as an Interpretation of Isaiah 40–55," in *The Book of Isaiah = Le livre d'Isaïe: les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage*, ed. Jacques Vermeylen, BETL LXXXI (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 411–442; Beuken, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah," 67–87; Berges, "Who Were the Servants?," 2–6, 15–18; Hägglund, *Isaiah 53*, 156–172; Antti Laato, *Who is the servant of Lord?: Jewish and Christian interpretations on Isaiah 53 from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, SRB 4 (Åbo and Winona Lake: Åbo Akademi University and Eisenbrauns, 2012), 31–47.

necessary to repeat these ambitious attempts of identification more than what has already been done in connection with the tremblers in Isa 66:2e, 5a–b.⁵⁴ That said, the following can also be added to the functional picture of “his servants” in v. 14c. In Isa 40–48, the singular עֶבֶר is used collectively on the returning exilic Israel,⁵⁵ and in Isa 49–53 on an individual prophetic figure.⁵⁶ After the opposition against this singular Servant and his death (50:4–9; 52:13–53:12), his offspring / disciples had succeeded him in 54:17b.⁵⁷ This transfer of prophetic duties could indicate that the mission of the Servant had failed, but it could equally well indicate a continuity from the Servant to the servants. The exact composition of the group in 54:17b, called “YHWH’s servants” (עֲבָדֵי יְהוָה), is unclear but they are the children of a restored Zion and share the mission of the prophetic figure in 49:6, namely, to be a light and salvation for the nations (55:5). However, the transfer of the title “servant” from being an exclusive term for the returning Israel, via an individual prophetic figure, to a group of disciples of the Servant implies a broadening of the term that became open to foreigners in TI.

In short, the open attitude among “YHWH’s servants” toward the “foreigners” (בְּנֵי הַנּוֹכַר) in Isa 56:6, but also in 55:5 (גוֹי), signals that the strict exclusiveness of the title “servant” in 40–48 had become more liberal. In Isa 40–48, nations (גוֹיִם) are looked down on, to be subdued and ruled over.⁵⁸ In 54:2–3, the restored offspring of Zion will take possession (יִירָשׁ) of the nations (גוֹיִם). However, after the עֲבָדֵי (“servants”) in 54:17b, the oracle in 55:5 reveals that that possession of the nations is replaced by calling (תִּקְרָא) of the nations, who will then run (יִרְצוּ) to Zion. When the term “servants” reoccurs in the context of Isa 56:1–8 and Isa 65–66, it applies eschatologically what 55:5 implies, a universalistic pilgrimage of “his servants” to the New Jerusalem. The author, who does that, most likely associates himself with this group and is thus responsible for large parts of TI.⁵⁹

54. See 6.5.1 *Trembling* (vv. 2e 5a–b), p. 185.

55. With the exception of Isa 42:1–4 (5–9), the first of the so-called servant songs. Because it is an individual, the context suggest that the servant in 42:1–9 could be Cyrus.

56. Isa 49:3, 5, 6; 50:10; 52:13; 53:11. The indications of individuality and the mission to Israel in 49:1–6 have to govern the identification of the servant with Israel in 49:3. As Blenkinsopp suggests, “The autobiographical language of 49:1–6 is specific enough to suggest a prophetic profile [...] reminiscent of Jeremiah [...] or (less likely) a collective within the Jewish community rather than the community itself” (Joseph Blenkinsopp, “The Servant and the Servants in Isaiah and the Formation of the Book,” in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, vol. I, 1 of *Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature*, VTSup LXX 1 [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 164–165; see also Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 291).

57. See Isa 53:10, זֶרַע and 52:13.

58. Isa 40:15, 17; 41:2; 43:4, 9; 45:1.

59. Berges, “Who Were the Servants?,” 6. Berges argues: “[...], it can be safely stated that there is a growing awareness of the fact that the term עֲבָדִים in Isaiah is not only a term for the pious but a pointer to a special group of people in post-exilic times who were active in the shaping of the literary heritage of Ancient Israel.” See also Blenkinsopp, “The Servant and the Servants in Isaiah,” 155–

8.3.2 His Enemies (v. 14d)

The eschatological perspective on God's servants in Isa 66:14c is contrasted to the naming of the rebellious as God's enemies in v. 14d. In Isa 65–66, the rebellious are described as "his enemies" (אֹיְבֵי) once before in 66:6c, which declares: "The voice of YHWH repaying recompense to his enemies" (אֹיְבֵי). In the Book of Isaiah, the noun אֹיְבֵי is used six times for God's enemies,⁶⁰ but only about Israel in 1:24; 66:6c, 14d. However, 63:10 explains in retrospect that God became Israel's enemy at one point in their history, and even if God's enemy are the foreign nations in 42:13 there is an implicit warning in 42:17 that if the Israelites trust in idols instead of YHWH, they will become his enemies too. The specific phrase "his enemies" (אֹיְבֵי), with reference to God's enemies, occurs in Isa 42:13; 59:18; 66:6c, 14d, but only in Isa 66 is the phrase applied to Israel. In the Hebrew Bible at large, the phrase "his enemies" is also normally applied to foreign nations rather than Israel,⁶¹ which is not very flattering for those who are given such an epithet in Isa 66.⁶² This latter observation brings us to what makes the application of אֹיְבֵי in Isa 66 somewhat unique in the Hebrew Bible. The expressed differentiation between God's servants and God's enemies in v. 14d (and less explicit in v. 6c) within the Jerusalem community is found in no other passage in the Hebrew Bible.⁶³ At least that is the case in the prophetic literature, when even Isa 1:24, the nearest candidate for more than one reason, shows no sign of such differentiation.⁶⁴

Antithetically Isa 66:14d says that "he [YHWH] will rage against his enemies." The divine wrath, which the rebellious will be confronted with, is a sub-theme I will analyse below in connection with the theme Divine Warrior in vv. 14d–16. For the time being I concentrate on what more can be said about the phrase "his enemies" in Isa 65–66. Before getting into the specifics, I can safely state that from the author's perspective the rebellious, as God's enemies, are the opposite of what he has stated about God's servants. Firstly, "his enemies" in 66:14d *are the object for the final judgement in vv. 15–17*. They are not the ones who have survived in v. 19 and who were sent out as messengers of God's glory. Rather, as God's enemies, they are the ones who will be deprived of all good things, including their lives,

175 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 9–68.

60. Isa 1:24; 42:13; 59:18; 63:10; 66:6c, 14d.

61. As God's enemies (Num 32:21; Isa 42:13; 59:18; 66:6c, 14d; Nah 1:2, 8; Ps 68:22) and as Israel's enemies (Gen 22:17; Deut 21:10; 28:25, 48; Josh 7:8, 13; Judg 3:28; 1 Sam 14:30; 14:47; 2 Sam 7:1; 22:1; Isa 9:11; 62:8). An investigation of "enemies" (אֹיְבֵי) in Hebrew Bible will show the same results.

62. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 170.

63. There are a couple of interesting cases in the Book of Samuel that describe Israel's internal struggles against their enemies. In 1 Sam 24:4, David's אֹיְבֵי is king Saul and in 2 Sam 18:19, David's אֹיְבֵי is his son Absalom. Those situations, however, do not have the combination עֵבֶר and אֹיְבֵי in the same verse, and are neither permanent nor eschatological as in Isa 66.

64. For the relationship between Isa 1 and Isa 65–66, see 1.3.2.2 *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, 13.

works, and thoughts (vv. 16–17) i.e. that which God’s servants will experience in the new world.⁶⁵ What has lead up to these consequences for the rebellious is clear for the author, because the statements in v. 14c–d are made as a matter of course. Because of their idolatry, syncretic world view, and their oppression of the faithful, they are destined for the final judgement that will annihilate them into oblivion (v. 17e–f).

Secondly, it is reasonable that *the phrase “his enemies” in v. 14d includes all of God’s enemies*, considering its parallel relationship with “his servants” in v. 14c which refers to all God’s servants. Up to Isa 66:6, the rebellious in Isa 65–66 are treated as a group in the Jerusalem community, but with the vision of Zion as a renewed mother and as the centre of the world, the situation received a broader perspective. One result of that vision is that all the rebellious, not only those in the Jerusalem community, become God’s enemies. This includes any worldly power not willing to submit to YHWH as King, and thus obviously included the Persian hegemony. Furthermore, the theophany the divine warrior and the final judgement in 66:14d–16 are promised to affect “all flesh,” including the current political powers. Thus, because of the development of the servant-concept in TI as a natural consequence of the universalistic discourses in DI, we have to treat the enemy-concept on equal terms as being universalistic. Therefore, “his servants” vs. “his enemies” in v. 14c–d is not primarily about social and political status in the community, but rather about general attitudes to YHWH as King from an ideological and eschatological perspective.

The tremblers/servants in Isa 66 and Ezra-Nehemiah share the same post-exilic background.⁶⁶ This observation brings us to the third aspect of “his enemies” in v. 14d, namely, that *God’s enemies/opponents in Isa 66 and Ezra-Nehemiah also share a common background characterised by conflicts*. In Neh 2:20, the phrase “his servants” (עבדיו) is used with the same function as in Isa 66:14c,⁶⁷ as an ideological edge directed not only at hostile officials, but also at internal enemies.⁶⁸ As is the case with Ezra 9:4 and 10:3, the situation in Neh 2:20 is different from Isa 66, but there are, nonetheless, common traits: the location of God in heaven rather than on earth, the reconstruction of Jerusalem, as well as denying the enemies’ a right to the temple-city. It is clear, that those returning from exile had laid claim on the title

65. Isa 65:6–7, 12, 15b; 66:4a–b, 6, 14d–17, 24.

66. See 6.5.1 *Trembling* (vv. 2e, 5a–b), p. 185, and above 8.3.1 *His Servants* (v. 14c), p. 245.

67. Nehemiah describes himself, and the people God has delivered, as “your [God’s] servant(s)” in Neh 1:6, 10–11, but the epithet “his servants” is only used in 2:20 and with the same connotation as in Isa 66:14c.

68. F. Charles Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 168; Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 191–192; Berges, “Who Were the Servants?,” 17. Berges also argues extensively that the development of the “servants” in Isaiah and Nehemiah is reflected in the composition of the Book of Psalms (Berges, “Who Were the Servants?,” 6–15).

“his servants,” which is also the case with the faithful in Isa 66:14c; therefore, it is likely that “his enemies” in 66:14d must have something in common with the opponents in Neh 2:20. In short, God’s servants vs. God’s enemies in Isa 66:14c–d and Neh 2:20 reflects conflicts and struggles between groups in the Jerusalem community. The conflict is about the rebuilding of Jerusalem and, by extension, those who really belong to God on the basis of obedience and service.

Isa 66:14c–d conveys a strong tension between “his servants” and “his enemies, and the reason for this is the original tension in the community where the faithful obviously viewed themselves as God’s elect in contrast to their enemies. The latter, however, are not to be confused with converted foreigners who have chosen YHWH. Thus, the development from DI’s corporate “servant” to TI’s more individualistic “servants,” reflect in Stromberg’s words “a new criterion of selection” based on people’s choice.⁶⁹ This criterion presupposes repentance and conversion in contrast to “his enemies” who have not made the choice to repent. To sum up, the relationship between God’s servants vs. God’s enemies in v. 14c–d reflects the ideas of an eschatological movement which probably remained a minority, but was not always marginalised. Their opposition in the Jerusalem community was represented by some of the religious leadership of the day who were criticised and questioned in Ezra 9–10 and Neh 2:20 but took their revenge on the faithful (tremblers/servants) at some point before or between Ezra and Nehemiah, as described in Isa 66. If between, the faithful experienced vindication through Nehemiah. However, it is not possible to establish these relationships historically because of insufficient sources. Nonetheless, they hang together thematically.

8.4 The Divine Warrior (vv. 14d–16)

The epithet “divine warrior” is not used in Isa 66:14d–16. However, the human voice in the text promises that God will go off in anger to battle “against his enemies” (v. 14d) and rebuke them with fire and war chariots.⁷⁰ With “his sword [...] many will be the slain of YHWH” (vv. 15–16). Thus, to associate these verses with a warrior attacking and killing his enemies lies near at hand. The listeners have been prepared for this change of scene already in 66:6, with the eschatological intervention of YHWH as King in the form of “a voice of uproar from the city, [...] from the temple! [...] “repaying recompense to his enemies.” Also, in Isa 65 there are several references to violence against the rebellious in the form of punish-

69. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 82. About individualism in Isa 65–66, see also 4.4 *The Salvation and Judgement* (vv. 8–12), p. 95, and 5.8.1 *Intimacy* (v. 24), p. 147.

70. Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, SBL ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 105, 201 n. 123.

ment.⁷¹ In the context of Isa 65–66, therefore, the rebellious will suffer a terrible defeat in the end times because of their evil deeds against YHWH and his chosen. In TI, a framework around 60–62 describes YHWH as a warrior in 59:15–20 and 63:1–6. Furthermore, in the Book of Isaiah, God is often presented as “YHWH of hosts” (יהוה צבאות) who fights (see מלחמה) with Israel’s enemies, but also against his own people.⁷² In the book we also have the Hebrew word גבור (“mighty”), a designation for a warrior, which is applied to God twice in the Isaianic text.⁷³ Even though 66:15b is the only passage in the Book of Isaiah which refers to God’s “chariots” (מרכבתיו), 19:1 speaks about God who “rides on a swift cloud”⁷⁴ to Egypt with the aim of fighting against their idols. The idea is the same as in 66:15b, which likens “his chariots” with “the storm” (כסופה). If passages from the Book of Psalms are also added, it would strengthen the image of a divine warrior in Isa 66:14d–16.⁷⁵

The background to the theophany and holy war in Isa 66:15–16, must be the “storm theophany” from early Israel (tenth-century BCE) and the mythological language in the Syria-Palestine religion.⁷⁶ By following Cross’ basic idea, Patrick D. Miller and others have shown that the Ugaritic texts, in particular, confirm such an observation in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁷ A common trait of the ancient Near East religions is the assembly of gods, and the great god El seems to have been in charge of the divine council in the Syria-Palestine religion. The assembly functioned as the host of El and his consort Atirat, but the rapidly rising star in the congregation was Baal who also had a coterie of gods that went off in battle with him. Miller’s analysis shows that both El and Baal had the function of being divine or cosmic warriors, although Baal has the clearest characteristics for such a role as a storm god in the cosmic conflict between order and chaos. It is Baal who rides forth on chariots into battle, while El is the bull who stands for might and strength. Miller discusses different biblical passages about the cosmic and holy war in Israel found throughout the Hebrew Bible and which reflect this Syria-Palestine religious background.⁷⁸ Regarding the Book of Isaiah, Miller is particularly interested in Isa 13; 40:26 and 45:12 about the heavenly host of warriors,⁷⁹ but

71. Isa 65:6–7 (“repay”), 12 (“sword” and “slaughter”), 15b (“the Lord YHWH will kill you”).

72. E.g. Isa 6:3, 5; 13:1–5, 10–13; 30:32; 42:13; 42:25.

73. Isa 10:21; 42:13; See also Isa 9:5; 13:3.

74. יהוה רכב על-עב קל

75. E.g. Ps 68:5, 18, 34. See also Ps 24:7–10.

76. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 147–194 (169–177).

77. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 8–63. Miller’s main sources for his analysis and conclusion are the Ugaritic texts and Philo Byblius’ account of the “Phoenician History” of Sanchuniathon.

78. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 64–165. See also “Ugaritic Myths: The Ba’lu myth,” trans. Dennis Pardee (COS 1.86:241–274), 243–273 and Michael David Coogan and Mark S. Smith, eds., *Stories From Ancient Canaan*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 97–108.

79. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 136–137, 139–140.

he also mentions, for example, 14:13 which refers to הַר־מוֹעֵד (“the mount of [the god’s] assembly”) and כּוֹכְבֵי־אֵל (“the stars [=gods] of El”).⁸⁰

The militant imagery in Isa 66:15–16 is another Isaianic text which shows signs of mythological language in common with the function of a divine assembly in Canaanite and Mesopotamian mythology. In particular, there are associations with Baal as a warrior. However, the borrowed terminology describing a divine warrior in 66:15–16 is adapted to Israel’s religion and concept of God. For example, Baal and his military retinue are engaged in battle with other gods in the myth, not with human beings,⁸¹ while in the Isaianic text the battle is against the rebellious people in Jerusalem; moreover, the Baal myth is cyclical while Isa 65–66 is linear, i.e. YHWH does not die and is revived recurrently but is the Creator of life (in that case, a Father like El). Nonetheless, the following linguistic ingredients in 66:15–16 about YHWH as a warrior have parallels to Baal’s warfare as found in texts from Ugarit:⁸²

1. An assembly going forth into battle with YHWH (he will come with “his chariots,” v. 15b).
2. YHWH is the leader of this assembly or host of military force (“For behold, YHWH will come with [...] his chariots,” v. 15a–b).
3. This going forth will be like a storm with devastating effects (“For behold, YHWH will come with fire [...] like the storm, to vent his anger with fury,” v. 15a–c).
4. The weaponry of the charging divine assembly of YHWH are flaming swords (“For with fire [...] and with his sword [...],” v. 16a–b).
5. God’s judgement with fire and sword afflicts people on a multinational level (all the earth “will be judge by YHWH [...] all flesh, and many will be the slain of YHWH,” v. 16).

The assembly following YHWH (see plural “chariots” in v. 15b) into battle against “his enemies” are anonymous and thus subject to the will of YHWH. It implies a heavenly host consisting of an army of angels. If that is the case, in Isa 65–66 we have a referral to the angelical world and their involvement in the judgement and salvation of humankind. In apocalyptic thinking, this latter aspect plays a significant role in the origin of evil, the judgement of it, and the subsequent restoration of both the earth and the chosen. Regarding the heavenly host’s subjection to God’s

80. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 14, 23.

81. Miller points out one exception in CTA 3.ii 5–30 (in “Ugaritic Myths: The Ba’lu myth,” COS 1.86:241–274) to gods battling gods in the Canaanite mythology, where the goddess Anatu fights and slaughters human beings described as soldiers (Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 47).

82. Cf. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 12–48. See especially CTA 2–6 (in “Ugaritic Myths: The Ba’lu myth,” COS 1.86:241–274), cf. Coogan and Smith, *Stories From Ancient Canaan*, 97–153.

will, it also demonstrates another common difference between the Canaanite mythology and the Hebrew perception of the divine council, where the former gave individuals and groups their own status.⁸³ Nonetheless, in Canaanite mythology the divine warfare is cosmic which is similarly reflected in Israel's view of a holy war against its enemies. The enemies in Isa 65–66 are the rebellious, but the vision of a holy war in 66:15–16 is extended to include all foreign powers in league with Jerusalem's priests.

The connection between the divine warrior in Ugaritic mythology and the warfaring YHWH in Isa 66:15–16, allows for an interpretation of the context leading up to vv. 15–16, that clarifies the aim of the author. The coming of YHWH of hosts is portrayed in 66:15–16 as a response both to protect the faithful and to preserve God's kingship. Consequently, the establishment of God's rule as King, by victory over "his enemies," is manifested with the establishment of the New Jerusalem as a temple-city for "his servants." The repeated reference to God's holy mountain in Isa 65–66 and the pilgrimage of triumph to Zion, the New Jerusalem, are features in the text which also confirm this intention with the speech.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the thundering voice of the enthroned YHWH from his temple/palace (66:6) is intended to frighten "his enemies" and is a war cry considering 66:15–16.⁸⁵ Including v. 17 as part of the picture, YHWH the warrior will annihilate as well as avenge the oppressed faithful ones (v. 5). These observations means that three epithets, God the Avenger, God the Warrior, and God the Annihilator, are connected to God on the basis of 66:5–6 and 15–17. However, this image of a wrathful YHWH ready to destroy is balanced in the same speech by the promise of God's salvation, mercy and comfort to the faithful, "his servants."

In Isa 65, YHWH as the creative Redeemer stands in the centre of the vision of salvation and judgement; but towards the end of the unit (66:15–17), YHWH as the divine Warrior has taken the place in what remains a vision of salvation and judgement. Of course, both concepts of God are present in the chapters, but 65:1–66:17 culminates with a holy war where YHWH fights in order to save the faithful and establish his sovereignty and rule. In other words, the author of Isa 65–66 falls back on the ancient tradition of Israel's origin, namely, that YHWH fought for his people and saved them through an exodus.⁸⁶ As explained above, Isa 65–66 claims that God will do it again with a new exodus for all the faithful, and the new des-

83. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 69–74.

84. Cf. CTA 4.i 4–19; vii 7–28 (in "Ugaritic Myths: The Ba'lu myth," COS 1.86:241–274). Baal's Saphon is the counterpart of the new Zion in Isa 65–66.

85. Cf. CTA 4.vii 29–37 (in "Ugaritic Myths: The Ba'lu myth," COS 1.86:241–274). The earth trembles at Baal's "holy voice" from his palace and frightens the enemies.

86. Exod 15 (see Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 121–144; Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 113–117, 166–170).

tionation is the New Jerusalem.⁸⁷ Another observation is that the mythological language from Ugarit in 66:15–16 is a tool to remind the audience of the historical past with the aim of giving hope for the future. However, the mythological terminology must have entered the language in those verses because of syncretism in the past, a phenomenon the author does not mind using when threatening the rebellious for their current practice of syncretism.

The question then is which route the mythological language in the Syria-Palestine religion took in order to be assimilated into Israel's religion? This question becomes very complex given the particularly hard resistance of Yahwism against Baal-worship. Although it is outside the aim of this work to discuss this in detail, one suggestion presented by e.g Cross and Miller, based on Albrecht Alt's groundbreaking work on the concept *Der Gott der Väter* (1929), is that there are strong relationships between YHWH and El, not least in the area of being a war leader.⁸⁸ Because the El of the patriarchs was identified with YHWH, certain basic aspects of the warlike characters of the Canaanite gods entered into Israel's religion to describe YHWH as the ruler of the universe. The many implied references to Abraham in Isa 65–66, therefore, make it possible for the author to give the final argument in favour of judgement against all the rebellious – that he will come as the divine warrior in a holy war and annihilate them, the way he has done in the past against his people's "enemies."

Isa 66:15–16 is a vision of re-enactment of the original exodus-redemption, as described in Ex 15 and in Ps 24:7–10 about the return of the great warrior from battle. Cross, with his exegesis of Ps 24:7–10 about the warrior-king,⁸⁹ argues for the presence of a "ritual conquest" (the re-enactment of the Exodus-Conquest) as central to the early cultus of Israel. Isa 65–66 also combines the conquest (Isa 66) and the creation-kingship (Isa 65) in a context where the temple is questioned and kept together by the ideology of a holy war (66:15–16), so that they complement each other. Cross suggests further, that it is the ideology of a holy war that makes the transition possible from "the cultus of the league to the cultus of the kingdom, and ultimately to the ideology of the apocalyptic."⁹⁰ In that case, Isa 65–66, as a prophetic text, also combines cosmic elements in a complementary fashion, such as heavenly council of YHWH (king) and a divine warrior (conquest), and thus creates a mythic depth to a new exodus and a precursor to Jewish apocalypse. Next, I shall highlight two aspects of these cosmic elements in Isa 66:15–16, the wrath and destruction of the divine warrior.

87. See 7.3.2 *The Centre of God's Mercy* (v. 9), p. 218.

88. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 3–75; Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 48–63.

89. According to Cross the strongest evidence for mythological elements in Psalm 24 is the personification of the circle of gate towers which sat like a council of elders waiting for the return of the army and its Great Warrior from battle (Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 91–99).

90. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 105.

8.4.1 Wrath (vv. 14d–15)

The theme of anger or wrath in Isa 65–66 has accompanied the progression of the vision-speech since 65:3a, where it was presented as a theme in this current work.⁹¹ There are at least six words in the speech that relate to anger. Two of them are found in Isa 65:3a (המכעיסים, “who provoke”) and 65:6b (לא אחשה, “I will not be silent”). The theme becomes clearer in Isa 66, where the words שאון (v. 6a, “uproar”), וזעם (v. 14d, “but he will rage”), and the phrase בהמה אפו (v. 15c, “his anger with fury”) are used. The development of the theme goes from relating to describing, and from being mentioned twice in Isa 65 to an increased dose of thrice in Isa 66. Of course, there are other words and phrases connected to these five expressions of divine wrath which also function as the result of God’s anger against the rebellious. Such a word is found in the next clause of the passage now under analysis, “his rebuke” (נערתו, v. 15d). That wrath is a dominant theme in v. 15 is evident from the transition in v. 14d and וזעם (“but he will rage”), and I will, therefore, discuss these two terms below together. In addition to the terms themselves, there is imagery in v. 15 that enhances the atmosphere of wrath in the passage, and figurative language that is analysed above in connection with the theme “Divine warrior,” such as “YHWH will come with fire // [...] like a storm, // [...],” and he will “vent [...] // with flames of fire.”

In Isa 66:14d, the divine reaction against the rebellious is stated directly as anger: “[...], but he will rage (זעם) against his enemies.” The drama in Isa 65–66 is approaching the final unavoidable judgement, and the “rebellious people” in 65:2 are about to be stricken down by the wrath of God, as promised according to the verdict in vv. 6–7, and confirmed in 66:6. As a verb זעם occurs only here in the Book of Isaiah.⁹² However, the noun (“wrath” or “fury”⁹³), from the same root זעם, is used in Isa 10:5; 10:25; 13:5; 26:20 and 30:27 – all of them have God as the subject in a context of judgement and are specifically associated with flaming divine wrath, with the exception of Isa 26:20. The noun in these texts, and in other prophetic and apocalyptic texts as well, where it also occurs with reference to God,⁹⁴ can therefore be understood as a divine blazing fury. With such evidence, in his article about זעם in *TDOT* Wiklander states: “The [noun] word appears as a kind of technical term in formulaic expressions belonging to prophetic and apoca-

91. 3.4.1 *Anger (v. 3a)*, p. 72.

92. In seven out of 12 usages, the verb זעם has God as the subject. In the prophetic literature, it is only used three times: Mic 6:10; Zech 1:12, and Mal 1:4. In the last two references, God is the subject.

93. Both the verb and the noun of זעם can also refer to a “curse” (cf. Num 23:7; Mic 6:10) which in that case means that God will put a curse on “his enemies” in 66:14d. It is hard to distinguish between these meanings, but as a verb in 66:14d the translation “rage” or “anger” fits the context better, as it is associated with theophany of fire, storm and fury in v. 15 (see B. Wiklander, “זעם,” *TDOT* 4:106–107, 108–109, 110–111).

94. Nah 1:6; Zeph 3:8; Ezek 21:36; 22:31; Dan 8:19; 11:36.

lyptic eschatology: [...].”⁹⁵ The phrase וַיִּזַם (“but he will rage”) in Isa 66:14d, therefore, communicates an extreme aspect of judgement; firstly, because of the way it is used in other parts of the Hebrew Bible and secondly, because of its particular association with the outpouring of divine flaming wrath. With such promised consequences for the rebellious, Isa 66:14d functions as a transfer to vv. 15–16 about the divine warrior who will come with blazing fury and destruction.

Verse 15 continues the divine anger-theme with what can only be described as a full release of wrath: “For behold, YHWH will come with fire // [...] to vent his anger with fury (להשיב בהמה אפו), // and his rebuke with flames of fire.” The phrase “with fire” (באש) is an expression of strength (cf. 40:10),⁹⁶ and in v. 15 it is combined with the word “anger” (אף) which is a common word, not least in the Book of Isaiah. The latter is used metaphorically when referring to wrath, often in combination with devouring fire as in 66:15c.⁹⁷ “Fury” (חמה), in the same clause, is also fairly common in the Hebrew Bible; it is used 13 times in the Book of Isaiah but only twice in combination with אף in 42:25 and 66:15c.⁹⁸ Both these passages belong to contexts (42:18–25 and 65:1–66:17) that are characterised by disputes between God and his own people,⁹⁹ and the basic issue is the same – the people accuse God of having forsaken them (cf. 40:27). The response in both cases is a rejection, both by God and the prophet. It is not God who is the problem, rather it is the people who are both deaf and blind because of their disobedience. Furthermore, the question of divine judgement must be settled so that God’s graciousness can rule. The prophet in 42:25, therefore, says that YHWH did pour out “the fury of his anger” (חמה אפו) on the people, and the author in 66:15c says that YHWH will “vent his anger with fury” (להשיב בהמה אפו).¹⁰⁰ However, the two passages differ on several points: they reflect different situations (exile and post-exile), the former addresses the whole of Israel while the latter is said to a group within Israel, moreover, 66:14c–17 is eschatological while 42:18–25 is not. In short, we see once again that Isa 65–66 has taken steps toward the apocalyptic genre in comparison to the message of judgement and salvation in DI.

95. Wiklander, *TDOT* 4:109.

96. “With fire” reminds about “with strength” in 60:10 (Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 208; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 116–117).

97. E.g. Isa 5:25; 13:9, 13; 30:27, 30; 42:25; 63:3, 6. In Isa 65:5c, אף is used with reference to God’s “nostrils,” but in 66:15c it metaphorically means “anger.”

98. Nurmela, *The Mouth of the Lord has Spoken*, 131–132. The combination of אף and חמה in the same verse is found mainly in the exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature (Isa 42:25; 66:15; Jer 44:6; Ezek 7:8; 13:13; 20:8, 21; 23:25; 38:18), but also in the poetic literature as parallelism (Prov 15:1, 18; 27:4) and a lament (Lam 4:11).

99. In the case of Isa 42:18–25 as a disputation, see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 109; Koole, *Isaiah 40–48*, 263–264; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 130; Childs, *Isaiah*, 333–334.

100. In the current work, I have also discussed connections between Isa 42:18–19, 23 and 65:1–2; 42:5 and 65:18d; 42:14 and 66:9; 42:14 and 66:13a–b.

The words that YHWH will “vent his anger with fury” is followed up in Isa 66:15d with another promise, to execute “his [YHWH] rebuke (נַעֲרָהוּ) with flames of fire.” Such an action clarifies what God as the divine warrior will do with “his enemies” in his furious anger over their wickedness. The Hebrew word for “rebuke” (נַעֲרָה) in v. 15d also carries the meaning of “threat,” and in the prophetic literature it only occurs as a noun in the Book of Isaiah.¹⁰¹ When God in the Hebrew Bible is the subject who delivers a threatening נַעֲרָה, it is done with his creative power which can both lay bare the whole cosmos and establish it, but also stun creatures and make things tremble or perish.¹⁰² In Isa 66:15d, it is the Creator of new heavens and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem, who will vent his terrible rebuke. Furthermore, this divine reprimand connotes loudness (66:6), which finds support in the Ugaritic mythological texts, where *g^cr* is used *inter alia* of Baal’s loud reproval of members in the divine assembly.¹⁰³ Thus, the use of נַעֲרָה in Isa 66:15d confirms the association of YHWH in vv. 15–16 with a divine warrior who furiously and loudly rebukes those who cause chaos and revolt in the Jerusalem community and eschatologically beyond that.

The loud sound of God’s נַעֲרָה stands in close connection with the terms of wrath in Isa 66:14d (זַעַם) and in v. 15c (בַּהֲמוֹה אַפּוֹ).¹⁰⁴ Other close connections between נַעֲרָה and the theophany in v. 15 are fire and storm, especially when it says “to vent [...] // his rebuke with flames of fire.” Thus, YHWH’s rebuke is understood as an integral part of the natural forces that work destruction. Isa 54:9–10 reminds the people returning from exile of what God promised after the destruction by natural forces in the days of Noah, and reassures them that God will no longer be angry (קָצַף) with his people, nor rebuke (נַעַר) them because of his loving-kindness (חַסְדֵי); but in 66:15–16, this lovingkindness is not intended for those who will be destroyed by divine rebuke. This extreme differentiation of groups within Israel (which is non-existence in DI), between those who God will rebuke and those he will bless, certainly gives Isa 66:14c–17 a touch of determinism that brings Isa 65–66 closer to apocalypticism than any other Isaianic text.

8.4.2 Destruction (v. 16)

The promised result of God’s wrath in Isa 66:15–16 is the destruction of the rebellious. This threat to their very existence is imagined as coming in the form of an approaching slaughtering divine warrior (cf. Isa 63:1–6). In v. 15, the source of de-

101. Isa 30:17 (x2); 50:2; 51:20; 66:15.

102. 2 Sam 22:16; Isa 50:2; Ps 18:16; 76:7; 80:16; 104:7; Job 26:11. See also Isa 17:13; Nah 1:4; Ps 106:9.

103. A. Caquot, “נַעַר,” *TDOT* 3:49; John E. Hartley, “נַעַר,” *NIDOTTE* 1:868. However, it is Astarte who rebukes Baal in *CTA* 2, iv 28 (in “Ugaritic Myths: The Ba’lu myth,” *COS* 1.86:241–274).

104. See also e.g. Isa 51:20 and 54:9. In Isa 17:13 the sound of God’s rebuke is even louder than the roar of the nations, so much so that they will flee far away in pure fear of his wrath.

struction is the warrior God’s furious rebuke of what is implied from the context – the wickedness of the rebellious. Figuratively it is also described in that verse as the perfect storm with “flames of fire.” Thus, the strength of the divine wrath behind the destruction is emphasized in v. 15, while v. 16 is about the destruction as the judgement of God “with fire [...] // and with his [YHWH’s] sword [...].” Furthermore, the position taken in this work is that v. 16 suggests a global scene for this judgement, based on the fact that the verse states that YHWH will judge “with his sword all flesh (כל־בשר), // and many will be the slain of YHWH,” in contrast to the global promise in vv. 18–24, that “all [saved] flesh” (כל־בשר) will come and worship God in the New Jerusalem (v. 23c, cf. v. 24). Therefore, “all the earth” is added to v. 16a from the \mathfrak{G} ($\pi\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\ \acute{\iota}\ \gamma\eta$) due to implications in the verse and context.¹⁰⁵ Understanding the promised judgement in 66:16 as something that is intended to affect “all the earth” is also evidenced by vv. 14c–17 being eschatological and paralleling the cosmic warfare in Ugaritic mythology. Even though vv. 15–16 have been discussed together above, there are some details to point to in v. 16 that are pertinent to the theme of the Divine Warrior.

The destruction in 66:16 with fire and sword is directed towards the people, referred to as “all flesh” (כל־בשר). Although my translation has added “all the earth” from \mathfrak{G} , the emphasis in the verse is on all those who are affected by the promised annihilation. The phrase “all the earth” should, therefore, be understood as referring to all those on earth who rebel against God. Also in Isa 65, the rebellious are told that they will suffer death by sword (v.12a–b), while there is no destruction in the vision of the creation of new heavens and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem in vv. 17–18. The idea in those latter verses is a divine creative redemption that will renew, by transforming the existing cosmos for a new epoch, rather than destroy. Thus, the rendering “with fire” and “with his sword” in 66:16, so that “many will be the slain of YHWH,” conveys the meaning of an eschatological “armageddon” led by a divine warrior against “his enemies.” In v. 24, the corpses of those who are “the slain of YHWH” (הללי יהודה) have been placed in the implied valley of Hinnom outside Jerusalem, in contrast to all those (כל־בשר) who pilgrimaged to Jerusalem to worship YHWH, and who will go out and look at those others who “will be an abhorrence to all flesh” (לכל־בשר).

In Isa 65:18–19b, we have seen that the three-fold repetition of ניל (“to rejoice” / “rejoicing”) and שוש (“to rejoice” / rejoicing) is a response to God’s creative redemption in vv. 17–18. It is an expected reaction to the arrival of a “new heavens and a new earth” and a New Jerusalem, and in 66:10 there are again exhortations to rejoice with the New Jerusalem. In 65:19a–b, God also responds in joy, when the divine voice says, “I will rejoice (נלתי) in Jerusalem // and be glad (ששתי) in my people.” God’s joy in v. 19a–b can be understood as an expression of his satisfac-

105. See also text-critical note ϵ in 8.1 *Text and Translation* on p. 241.

tion with what he has accomplished, as in the creation story when he had mastered the elements and saw that everything he had made “was very good” (Gen 1:31). There are a few passages in Hebrew Bible that directly state that satisfaction is a reason for God rejoicing as a warrior over victory and that he finds joy in destroying the oppressors of his people.¹⁰⁶ From this, I suggest the following. While the rejoicing in Isa 65:18–19b and 66:10 occur after the establishment of the New Jerusalem, the conquering and destruction of “his enemies” in 66:15–16 happens beforehand since the enemies are gone in the former passage. Thus, the rejoicing in connection with the New Jerusalem is a victorious joy over the rebellious and a pilgrimage of triumph to Zion, in which God participates because of his accomplishment as warrior portrayed in 66:15–16. The reconnection to 65:3 in 66:17, regarding the sacrificing in the gardens, supports the suggestion that the visualised destruction in vv. 14c–17 is intended to supplement the creative redemption in 65:17–18.

In Isa 66:16, the human voice in the text claims that the divine warrior will slay many (ורבו חללי יהוה), i.e., all the enemies. Passages with the word combination חלל and יהוה, or where God is the subject or has mandated the slaying as a holy war, occur about 17 times in the Hebrew Bible, primarily in the exilic and post-exilic prophetic books of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the occurrences of חלל are indicative of the broad presence of a holy war in the Hebrew Bible. The redemption of God’s people through the Biblical history is based on defeating their (and God’s) enemies by the sword (e.g. Deut 32:41–43) or punishing Israel physically for her disobedience (e.g. Isa 10:1–4). Not least, all the references to God as the divine warrior show a relationship between redemption/restoration and a holy war,¹⁰⁸ and Isa 65–66 does not deviate from the larger *Heilsgeschichte* in the Hebrew Bible. In Isa 66:15–16, however, the divine warrior’s destruction of his enemies with fire and sword, which according to v. 17 includes a specific group of people in the Jerusalem-community, is eschatologised. Therefore, when vv. 14c–17

106. שושׁ: Deut 28:63 (x2); Zeph 3:17; cf. 19:6. גיל׃: Zeph 3:17. שׁמחה׃: Zeph 3:17. רנה׃: Zeph 3:17. The passage from Zeph 3:17 is particularly interesting, as it belongs to a unit consisting of vv. 14–20 which establishes Jerusalem as the centre of the world (cf. Isa 65:17–19b; 66:12b–c, 18–20). The unit is addressing Jerusalem and her people, and exhorts them to rejoice and not fear. The reasons for joy is that YHWH has averted judgement against them, eliminated their enemies, stands in their midst as a victorious warrior king, and will restore their fortunes. It is uncertain when Zeph 3:14–20 was composed, whether it is exilic or post-exilic, but it echos the vision of Jerusalem and Zion in Isa 65–66. See J.J.M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 222; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Zephaniah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 194–197; Adele Berlin, *Zephaniah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 32–47, 145, 148.

107. Deut 32:42; Josh 11:6; Isa 66:16; Jer 25:33; 51:47, 52; Ezek 6:7; 21:14; 28:23; 30:24; 31:18; 32:31 (x2); Zeph 2:12; Ps 69:27; 89:11; 1 Chron 5:22.

108. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 64, 74–141.

ends with words of doom, it is the final judgement of all the rebellious which the author of Isa 65–66 has in view.

8.5 The Final Judgement (vv. 16–17)

The visualised arrival of the divine warrior in Isa 66:15–16 begins God’s judgement (יהוה נשפּט, v. 16a) of all people (“all flesh,” v16b), “and many will be the slain of YHWH” (v. 16c). In v. 17a–d, to specify what all these people in general are guilty off and who will suffer destruction from the wrath of God, the author repeats 65:3–5 in a condensed form with a couple of additional examples of their abominable behaviour. As discussed above, regarding structural issues in vv. 14c–17, v. 17 together with 65:1–7 creates an important frame structure in Isa 65–66. Furthermore, 66:16–17 is meant as the eschatological final judgement, which is clear from v. 17e–f: “[...] their works and their thoughts// together will come to an end, declares YHWH.” Thus, what makes it a final judgement is that the divine warrior will not only end the physical life of the wicked, but also “their works and their thoughts,” an antithetical action to what 65:16e–f and 17b–c says. According to those latter verses, “[...] the former things will not be remembered, // they will not even come to mind.” This contrast between what will be annihilated with punishment and what will be transformed for a new age demonstrates again that the final judgement in 66:16–17 and the creative redemption in 65:17–18 are interrelated in the eschatological program of Isa 65–66.

As is the case many times in Isa 65–66, the Abrahamic tradition is also present in the visualisation of the final judgement in 66:16–17. We have already seen above that the epithet “his servants,” and thus “his friends” in v. 14c, is likely derived from how Abraham’s relationship with God is described. That God’s enemies experience divine “rage” to the point that “their works and their thoughts together will come to an end” is an implied reference to the judgement of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 19:23–25. Already in Isa 65:8, in connection with the theme of salvation and judgement in that verse, there is an allusion to Abraham’s intercession and God’s destruction of those two cities in the Biblical history.¹⁰⁹ In 66:17e–f, there is a reminder of that destruction which concludes the inclusion (v. 17a–d) that forms a frame structure together with 65:1–7 about the activities in the gardens/graveyards and the results of those activities. Other points of contact between the judgement and the destruction in Gen 19:23–25 and Isa 66:16–17 are that in both cases fire (אש) from heaven is involved, and that both the lives and the works of the wicked are demolished (cf. Gen 19:25). That the sinful ideas in Sodom and Gomorrah also went up in smoke, could also have induced the author to add “their thoughts” to the object of final judgement in Isa 66:17e.

109. See 4.4.1 *Intercession* (v. 8), p. 96.

What then led up to the words of a final judgement in Isa 66:16–17? The process is explained by the author with the help of clusters of participles in both Isa 65 and 66. The active participles in Isa 65:2–5 and 65:11¹¹⁰ describe in general the same behaviour as in 66:17a–d. The idolatry going on in “the gardens,” probably specific cultic locations in Jerusalem and the vicinity, one of which could have been the temple area,¹¹¹ is unacceptable in the view of the temple theology not only in Isa 65–66 but in what is advocated by TI as whole. In Isa 66:3a–d, there is a third cluster of active participles which describe the deeds of the rebellious, and after the final statement in Isa 66:4e–f about the behaviour of the rebellious a fourth group of two active participles describe the oppression of the faithful in 66:5c–d.¹¹² The fifth cluster of active participles is found in 66:17a–d, composed of “who sanctify themselves” (המתקדשים), “who purify themselves” (המטהרים), and “who eat” (אכלי). These participles, as in the other cases, describe the behaviour of the rebellious and reconnect them to the first cluster in Isa 65:2–5, thus closing the frame structure of the speech that deals with the destiny of the rebellious. When the last active participle in Isa 66 is used in v. 24, those “who rebelled” (הפושעים) against YHWH are a closed chapter while all the faithful live on.

Thus, the clear majority of active participles in Isa 65–66 are connected with the rebellious, and describe their wicked cultic behaviour but also shine light on the treatment of the faithful.¹¹³ The first four clusters are found in affinity with the call-theme, while the participles in 66:17a–d reconnect to the cluster of participles in 65:2–5. These clusters show how Isa 65–66 hangs together, but also demonstrate that the author is no longer concerned with the salvation of the rebellious. The re-telling of the activity of the rebellious in v. 17 emphasises why they deserve the final judgement. The author, therefore, states in v. 16a that the unrighteous world “will be judged by YHWH” (יהיה נשפט). The *niphal* participle form of שפט (“to judge”) in that clause is a little unusual, as it only occurs a total of five times in Isa 59:4; 66:16; Jer 2:35; 25:31; Prov 29:9. God is the subject in Isa 66:16a, Jer 2:35 and

110. See 3.3.2 *Disappointment and Grief* (vv. 1c–2), p. 71; 3.4 *The Provocations of the Rebellious* (vv. 3–5), p. 72; 4.3 *Dualism* (vv. 8–16), p. 92.

111. About “the gardens” in Isa 65:3 and 66:17, see also 3.4.2 *Idolatry* (v. 3b–c), p. 73.

112. See 6.3.3 *Deeds* (vv. 2c–4), p. 170 and 6.5.2 *Oppression* (v. 5c–g), p. 189.

113. The rebellious 26 times (65:2–5 x9, 11 x3; 66:3 x7, 4, 5 x2, 17 x3, 24) the faithful 5 times (65:9, 16, 24; 66:10 x2), God 8 times (65:17, 18 x2; 66:6, 9, 12, 16, 22). Additionally, active participles are used in five other ways in 65–66: הוסיא in 65:20, referring to a religious conduct that disqualifies a person before God, however its semantic meaning in v. 20e does not seem to address the hardened sinner but those who might be corrigible of repentance (see 5.7.2 *Justice* (vv. 19c–20), p. 142); שוטף in 66:12, describing an overflowing stream, but it is indirectly associated to God’s activity towards Zion; באה in 66:18, referring to the time when all nations will be gathered to the New Jerusalem; משכי in 66:19, as a construct in a proper name; and עמדים in 66:22, describing the enduring nature of “the new heavens and the new earth,” but as in 66:12 indirectly associated to God. This makes a total of 44 active participles in Isa 65–66.

25:31, but only in Isa 66:16a is the judgement decidedly eschatological.¹¹⁴ Although the accused are the subject of נשפט in Isa 59:4, this belongs to a context (vv. 1–8) that discusses the iniquities separating the people from God. In 59:4, the people’s lack of concern about justice and their inability to plead (נשפט) truthfully instead of living out their lives in righteousness, is an antithetic parallelism to God’s ability to judge righteously (נשפט) in his wrath against the rebellious in 66:16. In short, if Isa 56:1–59:21 and Isa 65–66 originate from the same author, the point in 66:16a could very well be that God’s final נשפט is the result of rebellious’ dishonest נשפט.

Isa 65:3–4, 11 and 66:17 refer to the actual practices of the rebellious in the current Jerusalem together with priests.¹¹⁵ I differ, for example, with Hanson on this point, who understands these practices as more polemic than literal. However, I concur with Hanson that the theophany in 66:15–16, which according to v. 17e–f will end all wicked works and thoughts, is what the oracles in Isa 65–66, after having given up on the repentance of the rebellious, have been striving at.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, here is a reason for not assuming that 66:18–24 is from a different hand than 65:1–66:17, as Isa 65–66 is also about the final redemption of the oppressed faithful ones who belong to the New Jerusalem. Isa 66:17 would end the vision-speech on a very negative note, communicating an utterly depressing end-message to those who lament in 63:7–64:11 and who do not tremble at God’s word. Instead, it is necessary for the author to follow through the other main thread in Isa 65–66, namely, the final destiny and purpose of the faithful. That is the emphasis of the final unit in Isa 65–66.

8.6 Isaiah 66:14c–17 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

Isa 66:14c–17 describes the eschatological end of wickedness, which includes both its “works” and “thoughts.” It begins by distinguishing between the faithful and the rebellious in v. 14c–d. The author has made this distinction throughout Isa 65–66, but it becomes universalistic in vv. 14c–17 (see also vv. 18–24). The first major theme in 66:14c–17 that communicate this message is *God’s servants vs. God’s enemies* (v. 14c–d),¹¹⁷ which is divided in the analysis into two sub-themes: “His ser-

114. Jer 25:30–31 has some similarities with Isa 66, such as the roaring voice of YHWH and that judgement involves all nations. However, the context of the passage shows that the oracle is connected to the exile. Cf. Ezek 38:22 and Joel 4:2 (3:2), that are also eschatological. In those references, the *niphal* is a perfect (נשפּטִיר), which is also the case in Ezek 17:20; 20:35, but not eschatological. See Oswald, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. 2, 680.

115. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 156–157. See also Tiemeyer, who discusses in detail that which the author accuses the priest of doing in 65:11; 66:3, 17 as actual practices and should, therefore, not be interpret metaphorically (Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 171–177).

116. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 163, 179–180.

117. See p. 244.

vants” and “His Enemies.” The former is a significant theme in TI, and its three aspects, based on v. 14c, define the standing, friendship and mandate of God’s servants in relationship to YHWH. The phrase “his enemies” is best understood in contrast to “his servants,” and its three aspects associate them with the final judgement, with all God’s enemies, and with conflicts. This differentiation between God’s servants and God’s enemies in Isa 65–66 is an ethical dualism which separates those who will follow God’s glory (66:18–19) from those who will die because of their wickedness. It also illustrates the ontological dualism in Isa 65–66, i.e. the contrast between God as King and humankind as his servants/enemies. The combination of these two forms of dualism clearly has their equivalence in 1 En. 84:1–6, which is a prayer of Enoch as God’s servant to his King (the brackets and the italic are my addition):

- (2) “Blessed are you, O Lord, King,
 great and mighty in your majesty,
 [...]”
- (6) And now, my Lord [King], remove from the earth the flesh [your enemies]
 that has aroused your wrath,
 but the righteous and true flesh [your servants] raise up as a
 seed-bearing plant forever.
 And hide not your face from the prayer of *your servant*, O Lord.

The statements in Isa 66:14c–d are based on the Abrahamic covenant, especially since in Isa 66 the servanthood is expanded to include foreigners in the mission (vv. 18–20) as well. I shall discuss the divine commission in 1 En. 93:10 further below in connection with 66:18–24, but in 1 En. 93:10 (*ApocW*, the seventh week) the differentiation between true plants/servants and those who are not true plants/enemies is also made in connection with moral crises¹¹⁸ and is based on the Abrahamic covenant.

The second major theme in 66:14c–17 is *Divine Warrior* (vv. 15–16),¹¹⁹ which concerns how the final judgement will be implemented. Two aspects of the divine warrior’s action stand out in vv. 15–16: the wrath and its destructive force. The verses bring to mind God’s redemption in the Biblical history through a holy war or divine punishment of Israel as a people, but here the judgement is directed towards those who have not chosen YHWH. Although, the oracle of divine judgement in 1 En. 1:3c–5:9 has the salvation of the future chosen in mind (1:1, see also 1:2–3b),¹²⁰ the speech begins in v. 3c with the promise that God will “come forth

118. See also the historical background of Daniel (Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 33–34).

119. See p. 254.

120. This first verse in the book is meant as Enoch’s blessings of “the righteous,” a future elect

from his dwelling,” (the throne of God) and via Mount Sinai (v. 4a, cf. 1 En. 25:3) and appear in a theophany as a divine warrior with a heavenly army (v. 4b–c) to execute judgement on the wicked (v. 9) and make peace with the righteous (v. 8).¹²¹ God’s action will start a global judgement, which will cause upheaval among the watchers and destroy the earth and everything in it (vv. 5–7). The biblical allusions and covenantal associations in 1 En. 1:8–9 have been discussed and acknowledged by different scholars.¹²² Hartman, for example, has shown that 1:8 is inspired by the Aaronic benediction in Num 6:24–26.¹²³ In that case, 1 En. 1:8 functions as an eschatological blessing of the true Israel, i.e., those in the verse who are “the righteous [...], the chosen,” and who belong to God (“They will all be God’s”). However, the following concepts also connect 1 En. 1:3c–9 with Isa 65–66:

1. *The chosen* – this particular concept (see as well the “righteous chosen” in 1 En. 1:1) has been noted several times in this work as an epithet of the faithful in Isa 65:9c, 15a, 22d.
2. *The theophany* – the divine actions come with God’s appearance on earth from his throne (1 En. 1:3–4) via a mountain of God on earth.
3. *The heavenly army* – when 1 En. 1:8a says, “With the righteous he will make peace, [...] it is preceded and followed by divine judgement executed by “holy ones” from heaven (v. 4b–c, 9a–b), God’s army of angels.
4. *Alternation* – in both 1 En. 1:8–9 and Isa 65–66, the divine theophany alternates between judgement and salvation in a temporal dualism. However, while 1 En. 1:8 is a statement of peace between declarations of judgement, Isa 66:15–17 is a statement about judgement between declarations of peace (66:7–14; 18–24).
5. *Peace* – as in 1 En. 1:8, the chosen/God’s servants in Isa 66:14c–17 will not participate in the final judgement but afterwards will experience peace as God’s mercy (Isa 66:18–19; see also 65:9–10, 17–25; 66:7–14b).

group that “will be present on the day of tribulation.” The initial words in 1:1 also resemble Pss Sol 4:8 and Deut 33:1 (followed by a theophany from Mount Sinai in 33:2). 1 En. 1:2–3a also introduces Enoch in the *BWatch* as a diviner-seer. Thus, for a biblical parallel, see the oracle of Balaam in Num 23–24 (VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 115–119).

121. For the Hebrew Bible background of divine intervention in 1 En. 1:3b–9, see Lars Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted: The Formation of some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par*, ConBNT 1 (Lund: Gleerup, 1966), 71–73; Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 22–24; James C. VanderKam, “The Theophany of Enoch 1.3b–7, 9,” *VT* 23/2 (1973): 129–150; Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 299–300.

122. VanderKam, “The Theophany of Enoch 1.3b–7, 9,” 147–150; Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 25–26, 132–138; VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 119; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 147–149.

123. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 25, 44–48. Hartman also argues that 1 En. 5:5–9 are dependent on and elaborate Num 6:24–26 (Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 32–34). Both 1 En. 1:8 and 5:5–9 are also associated with thinking in the Q literature (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 148, 160–165).

I wish to highlight two things from this list. In Isa 66:14d–16 God will also act from heaven and implicitly via his holy mountain on earth (see 66:1–6, see also v. 20). However, in 1 En. 1:4a the holy mountain on earth is Mount Sinai, in Isa 65–66 it is Mount Zion. There are other functions which the mountain Jerusalem has in Isa 65–66, which explain its platform for God’s action: it is the symbol of divine order in the renewed creation (65:25), it is the place on earth from which God will intervene with judgement (66:6), and it is the centre of God’s peace in the new age (65:9–10 and 66:20–23). Second, as in 1 En. 1:3c–9, the divine warrior in Isa 66:14d–16 will lead a host from heaven and attack his enemies on earth with “fire” (cf. 1 En. 1:6b), “chariots like the storm” (cf. 1 En. 1:5c–6a), and “sword” (cf. 1 En. 1:7). Whether or not the plural “chariots” in Isa 66:15b represent the host of heavens, or angels, is not fully clear but it seems to me to be the most natural interpretation of the verse. Above that, the destruction in Isa 66:16 will affect only the wicked, and in those cases when God threatens to destroy everything in 1 Enoch (e.g. chapters 83–84), it is implied that God changes his mind after an appeal to save a remnant and renew the heavens and the earth.

The third major theme in 66:14c–17 is *Final Judgement* (vv. 16–17),¹²⁴ which is directed against all God’s enemies. The attitude of the rebellious and their practices in “the gardens” (cemeteries) are repeated from 65:3–5, but now all wicked flesh is doomed. Both the final salvation (vv. 18–24) and the final judgement in vv. 16–17 are interrelated and have become universalistic with eschatological results for both God’s servants and God’s enemies. My reflection regarding the theme of judgement in 1 Enoch has been interwoven throughout this work in connection with my summaries and needs not be illustrated further, except to observe that the final judgement, as well as the final salvation, are genuine parts of the whole in both texts. When it comes to the criteria determining who are God’s servants and who are God’s enemies, faithfulness to the covenant is the dividing line. Isa 66:14c–d is associated with what Stromberg explains as “the refrain of 56 and 65–6 where the righteous choose (בחר) what pleases God and the wicked do not (56:4; 65:12; 66:4). Thus, the old theme is transformed from one in which God chooses his people to one where his people choose him.”¹²⁵ The allusion in 66:14c to Abraham as God’s blessed servant and friend could perhaps, therefore, also be extended to the memory of Abraham’s choice to listen to the call of God. As in other parts of Isa 65–66, the allusions to the Abrahamic tradition in the speech are part of the identification of God’s friends and enemies in 66:14c–17 and because of the allusion in v. 14c, it is also possible to associate the final line in v. 17 with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen 19:23–25.

124. See p. 264.

125. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 82.

Chapter 9: Isaiah 66:18–24

While 66:14c–17 is mainly about the final destiny of all wicked people, the final unit in Isa 65–66 about God’s cosmic reign over all people is essentially about the destiny of all righteous people. This eschatological finale reveals a limited universalism which does not include everyone. Based on my translation and the delimitation of the unit, there are four main themes in the text: The Mission of the Nations (vv. 18–20), The New Priesthood (v. 21), The Pilgrimage of the Nations (vv. 20, 22–23), and The Death of the Wicked (v. 24). These themes are summarised and reflected on by comparing them with observations in 1 Enoch at the end of the chapter.

9.1 Text and Translation

- 18 ואנכי [מעשיהם ומחשבתיהם] באה לקבץ את־כל־הגוים והלשונות ובאו וראו את־כבודי:
- 18 For I am coming^a to gather all the nations and languages, and they will come and see my glory.
- 19 ושלמתי בהם אות ושלחתי מהם פליטים אל־הגוים תרשיש פול ולוד משכי קשת תבל ויון האיים הרחקים אשר לא־שמעו את־שמעי ולא־ראו את־כבודי והגידו את־כבודי בגוים:
- 19 I will set a sign^b among them, and send survivors^c from them to the nations: Tarshish, Pul and Lud, drawers of the bow;^d Tubal and Javan, the distant coastlands and islands, who have not heard about me^e or seen my glory. They will declare my glory among the nations.
- 20 והביאו את־כל־אחיכם מכל־הגוים מנחה ליהוה בסוסים וברכב ובצבים ובפרדים ובכרכרות על הר קדשי ירושלם אמר יהוה כאשר יביאו בני ישראל את־המנחה בכלי שוור בית יהוה:
- 20 They will bring all your brothers from all the nations as an offering to YHWH by means of horses, chariots,^f litters, mules, and she-camels onto^g my holy mountain Jerusalem, says YHWH, just as the children of Israel bring the offering in a clean vessel^h to the house of YHWH.
- 21 וגם־מהם אקח לכהנים ללויים אמר יהוה:
- 21 Also from them I will takeⁱ as Levitical priests,^j says YHWH.
- 22a כי כאשר השמים החדשים והארץ החדשה אשר אני עשה עמדים לפני נאם־יהוה כן יעמד זרעכם ושמכם:
- 22a Because as the new heavens and the new earth, which I make will stand before me, declares YHWH, c so your offspring and your name will stand.
- 23a והיה מדי־חדש בחדשו ומדי שבת בשבתו יבוא כל־בשר להשתחות לפני אמר יהוה:
- 23a And it shall be, from new moon to new moon, and from Sabbath to Sabbath,^k c all flesh^k will come to bow down low before me,^l says YHWH.
- 24 ויצאו וראו בפגרי האנשים הפשעים בי כי תולעתם לא תמות ואשם לא תכבה והיו דראון לכל־בשר:
- 24 Then they will go out and look on the corpses of those who rebelled against me. For their worm will not die and their fire will not go out. They will be an abhorrence to all flesh.^m

a. The phrase **מעשיהם ומחשבתיהם** (“Their works and their thoughts”) is transposed in my translation from the first line in v. 18 to the beginning of v. 17e,¹ to make the Hebrew intelligible. The reasons for such a move are: to avoid a syntactical problem as well as ellipses for clarity after **ואנכי** (“For I [know]”) and before **באה** (“[the time] is coming”).² If **מעשיהם ומחשבתיהם** is transposed to v. 17e, the participle **באה** can function as the verb controlling the initial pronoun in v. 18. However, **באה** is feminine and cannot refer to God (see **שמעי** [v. 19] and **אמר** [vv. 20 and 21]), and should therefore be emended to **בא**.³ Such an emendation would correspond with **Θ** *ἔρχομαι* (“I am coming,” see also **Σ** and **Ξ**), which does not begin the verse but follows the phrase (*ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτῶν ἐπίσταμαι*) I transpose in my translation. However, 1QIsa^a has **באו** which can be an imperative (“come”), but nevertheless it still needs an ellipse like “know” (**Θ** *ἐπίσταμαι*) to function well in the verse. See also the text-critical discussion in note g above (p. 241) in connection with my translation of 66:17e–f regarding different solutions to the problem. In short, the transpose of **מעשיהם ומחשבתיהם** to v. 17e makes the text flow better than other solutions without the need for ellipses and a significant change of meaning. It also corresponds well with the sequence in **Θ**.

b. Both 1QIsa^a (**אותות**) and **Θ** (*σημεῖα*) have “signs,” while 1QIsa^b (**אות**), **Σ** (*ἀγῶν*) and **Ξ** (*ῥῆμα*) all have the singular “sign” as in **מ** (*אורה*). Kutscher suggests that 1QIsa^a is emended to the plural because of the plural “survivors.”⁴ See also **אות** as plural in Ex 10:2; Jer 32:20; Ps 74:4; 78:43; 105:27. If **אותות** is original, it would suggest an influence from the Exodus tradition. However, because 1QIsa^b supports **מ**, which is known to diverge less from **מ** than 1QIsa^a, and because 1QIsa^a and **Θ** probably changed the text to assimilate to the plural nouns in 66:18–20,⁵ I prefer the singular reading in my translation.⁶

c. For **מ** and 1QIsa^a **פליטים** (“survivors”), **Θ** has *σεσωσμένους* (“who are saved”) and **Ξ** *qui salvati fuerint* (“that shall be saved”). However, **Σ** has “preservers” (*ῥυτῶν*) and **Ξ** has “deliverers” (*משיבין*).

d. For **מ** **משכי קשת** (“drawers of the bow”), **Θ** has a place name, *Μοσσοχ*. 1QIsa^a offers a variant, **משוך קשת**, but is still similar to **מ**. In short, both the descriptive meaning and place name are proposed translations.⁷ The choice of interpretation depends on whether you follow the **מ** or the **Θ**. Retaining **משכי קשת** as a descriptive apposition to Tarshish, Pul and Lud (see 1 Kgs 22:34; Jer 46:9) works well in the context and is confirmed by 1QIsa^a, even if there is a possibility that Hebrew MSS are corrupt in Isa 66:19.⁸

e. **Θ** reads “those who have not heard my name” (*οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασί μου τὸ ὄνομα*), which may reflect a different Hebrew source, for **מ** **שמעי** (“about me/report”) cannot imply **שמ** (“my name”).⁹

1. See also Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 335; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 130; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 310. For a discussion and interpretation, which does not transpose **מעשיהם ומחשבתיהם** but adds ellipses, see Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament*: 2, 462–464.

2. See e.g. ESV, NASB, and NRSV. CSB have “knowing,” and NIV has “And I, because of their actions and their imaginations, am about to come [...]” Cf. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 512 for a discussion of ellipse in Isa 66:18.

3. See also Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 517.

4. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll*, 397.

5. See also Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 126.

6. See also the following scholars for arguments that prefer the singular reading: Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 519; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 309, 310 n. g, 314; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 509, 513–514.

7. For arguments that **משכי קשת** is a place name, after emending the text, see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 310.

8. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 60.

9. Tov and Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text*, Isa 66:19; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 509; Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 521–522.

f. The singular **כרכב** is translated “chariots” as the other means of transport in the verse are in the plural in **ℳ**. **℣** (ἀρματών), **Ⓢ** (מִכְרָבִים), and **Ⓣ** (רֶחֱבִין) also read (“chariots”).

g. 1QIsa^a (**אל**) and **℣** (εἰς) read “to” (also **Ⓢ**), while **ℳ** and **Ⓣ** uses **על**. Because the destination of the nation’s pilgrimage is the holy mountain of God, also associated with Jerusalem, the **ℳ** preposition **על** (“unto”) is preferable to **אל**. **℣** εἰς can also be understood as “into” especially since “mountain” is exchange for “city” (εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν Ἰερουσαλημ). See also **Ⓜ** “towards” (ad).

h. For **ℳ** “in a clean vessel” (**בכלי טהור**) **℣** has “with psalms” (μετὰ ψαλμῶν). Adrian Schenker argues that the latter is the original. Entering the temple, or even the New Jerusalem, with music would fit the context of Isa 65–66 with all its references to joy (Isa 65:18–19b; 66:10, 14a). However, Schenker’s arguments that the procession with music in LXX is singular, are not convincing (cf. Goldingay).¹⁰ Additionally, QIsa and the majority of ancient Versions would not support an emendation of **ℳ**.

i. 1QIsa^a has added **ליא** (“for myself”), and probably also the *Vorlage* of the **℣** (ἐμοί), which is an expansion not present in **ℳ** and 1QIsa^b. It is difficult to determine which text is the most original in this case.¹¹ I therefore follow **ℳ**, even though **ליא** is implied.

j. Because **לכהנים לויים** (lit. “as priests, as Levites,”) stand in apposition to each other,¹² they do not refer to two groups of people, something which is reflected in many MSS **Ⓢ** (וְלֵוִיִּם וְלִכְהֹנָנִים, “and for Levites”), **℣** (καὶ Λευίτας, “and Levites”), and **Ⓜ** (*et in Levitas*). 1QIsa^a does not deviate from **ℳ**, but DSSB still translates it “as priests and as Levites.” However, **Ⓣ** understands it as one group (**כהניא לויאי**, “levitical priests”). Cf. Deut 18:1 or Neh 13:30; 2 Chron 31:2. See also Koole’s (“Levitical priests”) and Goldingay’s/Blenkinsopp’s translation (“as priests, as Levites”).¹³ Because an appositional phrase in Hebrew agrees in definiteness, and also in the light of Deut 18:1 (cf. 17:9, 18), I find it likely that **לכהנים לויים** means “Levitical priests.”¹⁴

k. In Isa 66:23a–b, **ℳ** reads literally “to his new moon” and “to his sabbath,” and “all flesh/humanity” in v. 23c. Both 1QIsa^a and 4QIsa^c reads **בשבתה** (“to her sabbath”), and **שבת** is feminine in Ex 31:14. 1QIsa^a has **כול הבשר** (“all the flesh/humanity”) in v. 23c, but **ℳ** finds support for **בשר** in 4QIsa^b (see **Ⓜ**, cf. **Ⓣ**).

l. **℣** adds ἐν Ἰερουσαλημ (“in Ierousalem”) which does not correspond to **ℳ**. Tov suggests a reconstruction of a possible Hebrew source with **בירושלים**, cf. Isa 27:13; 65:19.¹⁵ However, an emendation of **ℳ** with an ellipse is not necessary as it is clear from the context that v. 23 takes place in Jerusalem.

m. For **ℳ** **דראון** (“abhorrence”) **℣** has ὄρασις (“spectacle”). The words **דראון** and **לכ-בשר** (“all flesh/humanity”) is not translated in **Ⓣ**, but the word “see” (**חיי**) implies the horror of the sight and presents the final judgement as a spectacle for the faithful (see **℣**) until they have seen enough (cf. **Ⓜ**). **Ⓣ** version amplifies the verse and emphasises the wicked’s eternal death in Gehenna (see e.g. “breath” instead of “worm”). 1QIsa^a has **דראון**, but end the verse with “to all the flesh/humanity”

10. Adrian Schenker, “Dans un vase pur ou avec des psaumes? Une variante textuelle peu étudiée en Isa 66:20,” in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Looij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michaël N van der Meer, Percy van Keulen, Wido van Peursen, and Bas ter Haar Romeny, VTSup 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 407–412; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 510.

11. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 140.

12. See Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 450 §131i; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 227 §12.1c.

13. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 524, 525–526; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 309; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 510, 519–520.

14. See also the discussion in Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 139–141 about **לכהנים לויים** in Isa 66:21.

15. Tov and Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text*, Isa 66:23.

while 4QIsa^b has “[...] all flesh/humanity” (see also v. 23c in this case) as **𐤂**, **𐤃**, and **𐤄**. Since **𐤅** is supported by QIsa, and the implied meaning in all ancient versions is the horrible eternal fate of all the rebellious/transgressors/wicked, I translate v. 24 as it stands in **𐤅**.

9.2 Structural Issues (vv. 18–24)

The delimitation of v. 17 and v. 18 has already been discussed from a text-critical perspective in note **g** to Isa 66:14c–17 and note **a** to Isa 66:18–24.¹⁶ There I conclude that the opening phrase in v. 18, **וּאֲנֹכִי מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם** (“For I [know] their works and their thoughts”), minus **וּאֲנֹכִי** (“For I”) should be transposed to v. 17 and form the final line in that verse. Thus, vv. 17e–f and 18 look like this:

17e–f

מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם יַחְדָּו יִסְפוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה

“their works and their thoughts// together will come to an end, declares YHWH”

18

וּאֲנֹכִי בָא לִקְבֹּץ אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וְהַלְשׁוֹנוֹת וּבָאוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת־כְּבוֹדִי

“For I am coming to gather all the nations and languages, and they will come and see my glory.”

This reading of 17e–f and v. 18 is attractive, since this emendation makes **𐤅** flow better without changing its basic meaning. From the perspective of structure, it means that the unit 66:14c–17 ends with **נְאֻם־יְהוָה** (“declares YHWH”) and 66:18–24 begins with **וּאֲנֹכִי בָא** (“For I am coming”). In 1QIsa^a, **וּאֲנֹכִי** as YHWH in v. 18 also functions as a marker of a new unit. However, both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b start another section in v. 20 after **אָמַר יְהוָה**, and 1QIsa^a again with v. 22 after **אָמַר יְהוָה** at the end of v. 21.¹⁷ These divisions in 1QIsa are probably there to mark out the divine speeches in the text.¹⁸

It is debated whether Isa 66:18–24 has been written by one hand or if its short sayings (vv. 18–21, 22–23, 24) are of diverse origins.¹⁹ It is also argued by some that the unit is most likely a later add-on to Isa 65:1–66:17, mainly because of its prosaic nature.²⁰ Furthermore, vv. 23–24 is expressed in the third person, in contrast to

16. See p. 241 and p. 271.

17. For the system of division in 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, see John W. Olley, “Hear the Word of YHWH’: The Structure of the Book of Isaiah in 1QIsa^a,” *VT* XLIII/1 (1993): 19–49.

18. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 148.

19. See e.g. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 423; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 288; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 311. For a survey, see Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 507–508.

20. Smith argues that 66:18–24 “is a later development rather than an original part of the preceding material [...] suggested by the tension between the apparently universal judgment of vv. 15–17 [...] and the gathering of all nations to see Yahweh’s glory in vv. 18–24” (Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction*

the second person address in v. 22, which has caused some commentators to regard those verses as a late addition.²¹ The position taken in this work regarding the structure of 66:18–24 can be summarised in the following way: First, I agree with Stromberg that TI's introduction (56:1–8) and conclusion (66:18–24) is the work of a single hand.²² Second, even though 66:18–24 stands out as a unit in Isa 65–66 for its prosaic nature,²³ the unit can still function as a textual basis for a discussion of themes in Isa 65–66. Third, Isa 65–66 as a whole, with its shifting emphasis on the two differentiated groups in the Jerusalem community, needs 66:18–24. The following structure of the account demonstrates the importance of this final unit:

- a 65:1–7, the wicked (the righteous)
- b 65:8–16, the wicked and the righteous
- c 65:17–25, the righteous
- d 66:1–6, the wicked and the righteous
- c' 66:7–14b, the righteous
- a' 66:14c–17, the wicked and the righteous
- b' 66:18–24, the righteous (the wicked)

The purpose of this structure is not to demonstrate a concentric pattern in Isa 65–66 (it is not concentric). There are scholars who do a better job on that (e.g. Webster). Neither is it based primarily on to whom it is addressed, but rather on which group the author focused on. Furthermore, because the rebellious and the faithful receive a broader meaning in 66:12b–c, I designate the two groups as the wicked and the righteous in the structure above. With that in mind, we can learn from this particular structure that Isa 65–66 begins solely with the wicked and ends solely with the righteous (even though the faithful are implied in 65:1–7,²⁴ and the rebellious are dead in 66:18–24). Thus, **a**, **b** and **a'** and **b'** give rise to a reverse parallelism that together frame the whole oracle and complete its message by beginning with the wicked and finishing with the righteous. Specifically, **a** and **a'** frames the wicked, and **b** and **b'** frames the righteous. Furthermore, the break-

in *Trito-Isaiah*, 169). However, I find it rather clear that the judgement in vv. 15–17 afflicts the rebellious and the faithful survives it (v. 19) and lives on in vv. 18–24.

21. See Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 171 for arguments against such a view.

22. For a discussion as to whether or not Isa 56:1–8 and 66:18–24 are the work of the same author, see Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 17–18. Stromberg draws the conclusion that two units derive from the same hand.

23. There are attempts to lay out vv. 22–24 in poetic lines (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 511). Goldingay refers to Jefferson as the reason to consider Isa 66:18–24 as prosaic (Jefferson, "Notes on the Authorship of Isaiah 65 and 66," 225–230).

24. For arguments that the faithful in Isa 65–66 are implied in 65:1–7, see 3.3.1 *Graciousness* (vv. 1–2), p. 68.

ing point in the model is the change of direct address in 66:1–6 (vv. 3–4), from the rebellious to the faithful in the Jerusalem community. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that 66:18–24 is not an original part of Isa 65–66. Instead I have to agree with Sommer who argues that “the verses follow naturally from what precedes them.”²⁵ In short, 66:18–24 ends Isa 65–66, but does not function simply as a summary. Rather, as a closing unit, 66:18–24 extends, develops and unifies the themes in 65:1–66:17.²⁶

A common view among biblical scholars is to regard Isa 66:17/18–24 as the conclusion of not only Isa 65–66, but also Isa 56–66. In that function, Muilenburg gives these final verses in Isa 66 the caption “An Eschatological Summary.”²⁷ Williamson explains that commentators in general do not see any major differences between Isa 56:1–8 and 66:17/18–24. According to him both texts are “liberal” regarding the gentiles having access to the temple for the worship of God, and in both texts there is an exhortation to bring both the dispersed Jews and the gentile nations to Jerusalem to worship together at the temple. Consequently, Isa 56:1–8 and 66:17–24 share the same outlook.²⁸ Furthermore, Goldingay says that “66:18–24 matches the chapters’ preface (56:1–8) in broadening the horizon to incorporate references to foreign people coming to worship Yhwh.”²⁹ However, in my view, the only key phrase in 65:1–8 and 66:18–24 which literally connect the two units with each other is “my holy mountain” (הַר קֹדֶשׁ) in 56:7 and 66:20, preceded by prepositions which basically make the same point (עַל and אֶל). There are other individual words and phrases that the two passages share (e.g. Israel), but they are too common in the Hebrew Bible to assume a unique framework for Isa 56–66. Instead, there are themes in the passages that establish a tight relationships between the units and frame TI.³⁰ It is, therefore, my opinion in this work that 56:1–8 and 66:18–24 share some vocabulary and, more importantly, themes which enclose Isa 56–66,³¹ but that 66:18–24 develops 56:1–8 into a full-blown eschatological discourse.

25. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 246.

26. Smith and Sommer agrees on this point, even though they seem to differ about the originality of the 66:18–24.

27. Muilenburg, *The Book of Isaiah*, 769.

28. Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 150.

29. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 510.

30. For lists of parallels, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 70–71 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 14–15.

31. For a summary of arguments in support of a framework that encloses Isa 56–66, see also Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 70–71 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 14–15. However, see e.g. Gregory J. Polan, who in addition to the links between Isa 56:1–8 and 66:18–24, also regards 56:1–8 and 56:9–59:21 as a textual unit (Gregory J. Polan, *In the Ways of Justice Toward Salvation: A Rhetorical Analysis of Isaiah 56–59*, AUS [New York: Peter Lang, 1986], 19–22, 28–34, 79–89). This latter conclusion by Polan is questioned by Tiemeyer.

Tiemeyer not only argues that 56:1–8 was added to TI and that 66:18–24 was attached to fit together with 56:1–8 as a framework, but also states that 66:18–24 is a conclusion to the whole Book of Isaiah.³² This observation was also pointed out earlier by Sweeney and Hanson, namely that both the beginning (1:12–17, 29–31; 2:2–4) and the end of the book are about worship and pilgrimage.³³ Furthermore, Beuken claims that the closure of Isa 24–27 (the Apocalypse of Isaiah), i.e. 27:12–13, is a counterpart to 66:18–23, and thus forms a backdrop to the latter passage.³⁴ In Beuken's words, 66:18–24 belongs to a "final elaboration" in the Book of Isaiah about God's royalty and the worship of him on Zion.³⁵ Contrary to these views, Williamson says that the connections between Isa 1 and Isa 65–66 "are not all of equal weight and significance",³⁶ and Carr is critical to the claim that they function as an inclusion.³⁷ In my view, there is a progression, though not a linear one, throughout the Book of Isaiah in the form of a developing eschatology with its focus on Zion, which cannot limit 66:18–24 to a summary of Isa 65–66, 56–66, or 1–66.³⁸ Instead, Isa 66:18–24 in the book as whole is intended as a final vision of the end of the old world and the beginning of a new one; and as an Isaianic theme it involves the whole of creation and a New Jerusalem for all God's people.

In sum, Isa 66:18–24 is a closure for both Isa 65–66 and TI that expands and heightens specific themes. Regarding the latter, 66:18–24 is a framework which brings the exhortations in 56:1–8 to an eschatological close. Regarding the former, 66:18–24 unite and develop the eschatological themes in 65:1–66:17. For the book as whole, there are enough indications in 56:1–8 and 66:18–24 to assume that its author was aware of Isa 1–2 but nonetheless composed 65–66, and especially 66:18–24, as a unique closure of the Book of Isaiah.³⁹ The following themes in vv. 18–24 illustrate these functions.

32. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 17, 36.

33. Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 248–249; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 384.

34. Willem A. M. Beuken, "YHWH's Sovereign Rule and His Adoration on Mount Zion: A Comparison of Poetic Visions in Isaiah 24–27, 52, and 66," in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Chul Paul Kim, AIL 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 102–107; see also Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 510.

35. Beuken, "YHWH's Sovereign Rule and His Adoration on Mount Zion," 103.

36. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 11.

37. Carr, "Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66)," 214–218. See also p. 16 in this work about Carr's and Williamson's critique of a macro-structural perspective in the Book of Isaiah, being propagated by e.g. Sweeney and O'Connell.

38. For a discussion of Isa 65–66 in the overall structure of the Book of Isaiah, in particular the relationship between Isa 65–66 and Isa 1–2, see 1.3.2.2 *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 13.

39. Carr and Williamson's objections that Isa 1–2 is not part of an inclusion but prepares the reader for what is coming are valuable here (Carr, "Reaching for Unity in Isaiah," 71–75; Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 10).

9.3 The Mission of the Nations (vv. 18–20)

Isa 66:18–20, 21 have caused diverse interpretations as to whether these verses in the final unit of Isa 65–66 advocate universalism or offer perspectives on nationalism and diaspora. These different views even go back to what David A. Baer describes as “a nationalistic bias [in the LXX Isaiah] that is largely absent from the Hebrew [Isaianic] text.”⁴⁰ Regarding the fate of the gentiles in the LXX version of Isa 66, Baer concludes that “They will participate in that city’s [Jerusalem] final glories, but only as tribute-bearers who remain in the moral shadow of those returned Jews who offer eschatological sacrifice to the Lord himself in his own house.”⁴¹ In my view, the Hebrew text in 66:18–21, which is the focus in this work, gives away these privileges to include fully those gentiles from “all the nations and languages” who have “survived” the judgement. Before continuing my thematic analysis of 66:18–24, and vv. 18–20 in particular, I need to clarify briefly the difference between nationalism and universalism. The former refers to a self-conception of superiority and privileged destiny, and the latter to inclusion of all people without distinction.⁴² While Isa 65–66 has, to a large degree, been preoccupied with the conflicts between two divergent groups in the Jerusalem community, the starting point of a new age in 66:18–19 includes a movement away from nationalism and a reprioritisation of privileges.

After the promised final judgement of “all flesh” in 66:16–17, where the behaviour of the rebellious in the Jerusalem community exemplifies condemned wickedness, the visionary program in vv. 18–24 reveals in one sense what life after death is. It begins with the words: “For I am coming to gather (לִקְבֹּץ) all the nations (אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם) and languages (הַלְשׁוֹנוֹת), and they will come and see my glory” (אֶת־כְּבוֹדִי) (v. 18). As an introduction, it implies that after the gentiles of all tongues have been gathered by God, they will come to Jerusalem and see his glory. The phrase “my glory” is repeated a couple more times in v. 19, which makes it look like a pilgrimage of the nations. Verses 22–23 would support such an idea, and it describes in v. 12b–c how God will cause a flood of nations to come in peace to the New Jerusalem and with wealth. The starting point for this event, however, is declared in v. 19 with the words: “I will set a sign (אֹיֹת) among them [the nations],

40. David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66*, JSOTSup 318 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 199.

41. Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 276.

42. See also Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 199; Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, 61. However, Webb argues that Isa 66:18–24 is not universal, and v. 24 shows that it is about an inclusive remnant, but nevertheless still a remnant (Webb, “Zion in Transformation,” 79–80. See also Paul R. Williamson, *Death and the Afterlife: Biblical Perspectives on Ultimate Questions*, NSBT 44 [Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2018], 136). By universalism, I mean inclusion without disagreeing with Webb that the final verses of Isa 65–66 is also about a remnant.

and send survivors (פליטים) from them [the nations] to the nations [...].”⁴³ The term אֹת and the following פליטים suggest a final judgement in retrospect (see vv. 15–17), and after that comes the mission. Below I will discuss further the term “sign” in v. 19, but here I want to point out that after the setting of a sign among the גוים, the survivors (פליטים), those who will escape the sign (the fugitives), are sent out with the purpose of telling of God’s glory “among the nations,” i.e., to those who have not heard or seen it yet. As a result of the mission, the escapees will bring, by any means, “all your brothers (אֶת-כָּל-אֲחֵיכֶם) from all the nations as an offering to YHWH” onto God’s “holy mountain Jerusalem [...], just as” (כַּאֲשֶׁר) the Israelites bring clean offerings to the temple.

The people, who the author describes as survivors, are a remnant with the function of missionaries of good news about the glory of God. The object for their activities are the nations listed in v. 19,⁴⁴ and this probably alludes to the “Table of the nations” in Gen 10 and to the list of nations in Ezek 27:10–13.⁴⁵ The point then in v. 19 is that the message about YHWH’s splendour must be heard to the ends of the earth (cf. 62:11), as implied by הרחקים (“the distant”).⁴⁶ In short, the dominant theme in 66:18–20 is the mission of the nations, or rather the mission of the survivors from the nations.⁴⁷ Although there are clear allusions to the universalism of DI, and even to PI, in 66:18–20, the theme about the mission of the nations in those latter verses has some special features. They are surveyed above and marked out by the Hebrew words or phrases, but are analysed in more detail as subthemes below.

9.3.1 All Nations (vv. 18–20)

The “Nations” as גוים are referred to four times in 66:18–20, and before that in Isa 65–66 twice in the singular (65:1d; 66:8d) and once in the plural (66:12c). Thus, there is a concentration of the term in 66:18–20 and only in the plural form. In 65:1d, גוי designates the wicked Israelites in the Jerusalem community, those who

43. See Tiemeyer’s summary of 66:18–20, an interpretation “partly a matter of pronouns,” and which is the base for my analysis of these verses (Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 281).

44. For a survey of these nations in the scholarly debate, see Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 520–521 and text-critical note **d** in 9.1 *Text and Translation* on p. 271.

45. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 314; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 516. See also Stromberg’s extensive discussion of Isa 11:11–12 as a source of influence for 66:19 (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 128–132).

46. Although Blenkinsopp points out that “the emissaries are sent out to the west, north, and south, but not to the east, i.e., the Mesopotamian location of the principal Jewish diaspora center” (Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 314). The reason for this omission could be that the exiles had already come to Jerusalem from the east, and after the manifestation and witnesses of God’s glory the dispersed Jews from the the rest of the world would be ready to be brought to Zion for universal worship of YHWH.

47. See also Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 167–168.

do not respond to God's graciousness despite his accessibility. From 65:8, the divine voice differentiates explicitly between "my people" (עַמִּי) and those who are "a nation" (גוֹי) in v. 1 and "a people" (עַם) in vv. 2–3. This clearly demonstrates what is a common view among commentators, that a division within the Jerusalem community existed and Isa 65–66 clearly favoured those who are described as "my people." Although גוֹיִם refers to converted gentile nations in 66:12c and 66:18–20, the Jews referred to as גוֹי in 65:1d and not as "my people" suggest a rebellious behaviour equal to the idolatry of unconverted gentiles (see vv. 3–5), that some of the גוֹיִם in 66:18–19 are visualised implicitly as repenting of. This positive development regarding the foreigners, despite the negative connotation in 65:1d, is signalled in 66:7–8 with the future birth of a boy through Mother Zion who will become a גוֹי. This marks a change in Isa 65–66, and from there on the vision-account becomes clearly universalistic. As discussed above, this breaking point is also an allusion to Abraham and Sarah, and thus to the Abrahamic covenant.⁴⁸ The reference to גוֹי in 66:8d is the fulfilment of covenantal promise, that all nations shall be blessed in Abraham's offspring. Thus, the universalism in 66:12b–c and vv. 18–20 is presented as the result of that particularism, especially since those promises are also associated with Zion, the holy mountain of Jerusalem, in 66:8c–d, 12b–c and 66:20 (see Gen 22:15–19 and 2 Chron 3:1).

The transformation of גוֹי from something associated with wickedness towards people who are willing to serve YHWH occasions a closer look at גוֹיִם in 66:18–20. The first aspect is that *the "nations" in vv. 18–20 are foreign nations*. This observation has been more or less assumed so far, but there are terms and phrases in vv. 18–20 which confirm that גוֹיִם must refer to non-Jews. The assembling of the nations will include all languages (הַלְשׁוֹנוֹת), the repeated pronouns "they" (x3) and "them" (x2) refer back to גוֹיִם and הַלְשׁוֹנוֹת in v. 18, and the list of nations in v. 19 are examples of other גוֹיִם to whom God will send some of the gathered גוֹיִם on a mission to tell the former about the glory of God. Furthermore, the oracle in Isa 56:1–8 talks about "a house of prayer for all the peoples" (v. 7) and about a "foreigner" (בֶּן־הַנֹּכַר, vv. 3, 6) that together present a universalistic perspective on salvation which has also strongly influenced 66:18–20.⁴⁹ Even though the "foreigner" in Isa 56 can refer to those who are children of inter marriage or have converted to Judaism,⁵⁰ they are

48. See 7.3.1 *The Centre of Life* (vv. 7–8, 14b), p. 211 and 7.3.3 *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a), p. 223.

49. As argued above in connection with structural issues in Isa 66:18–24, both 56:1–8 and 66:18–24 come from the same hand even though the eschatological movement and mission in the former are more of an exhortation than is the case in 66:18–20. See the discussion, involving G. I. Davies, "The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah," in *The Book of Isaiah = Le livre d'Isaïe: les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage*, ed. J. Vermeylen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 117; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 167; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 71 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 14, 17–18.

50. Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature*, 80–81; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 255–256. The "eunuch" (סְרִיס) in

still גוים who will be brought to the “holy mountain” (Jerusalem) as God’s “all people” (כל-העמים). In other words, what is singular in v. 3 (בן-הנכר) is presented as a movement in vv. 6–7 (בני הנכר), when גוים will join YHWH and become God’s עמים. This vision is more developed in 66:12b–c, and in 66:18–20 it is combined with a visionary program of mission that will bring the rest of the dispersed Jews home to Jerusalem (v. 20).

The second aspect to observe about the nations in 66:18–20 is that *the emphasis is on all the nations*. The divine voice in v. 18 says that he will “gather all (כל) the nations and languages,” and in v. 20 the “survivors” in v. 19 “will bring all your brothers from all the nations as an offering to YHWH.” The phrase “all you brothers” will have to wait for separate analysis below in connection with the current theme about the mission of the nations. Here we need to consider what “all” stands for, when v. 16 in connection with the final judgement also says that YHWH will judge “with fire [all the earth] [...] and with his sword all flesh (את-כל-בשר).” The phrase “all flesh” is repeated in v. 23c (“all flesh will come [...] before me [YHWH]”) and in v. 24 (“They [the rebellious/wicked] will be an abhorrence to all flesh”), both with reference to “all nations” in vv. 18–20. From the context, the simplest explanation of “all” in vv. 18–20 (23c, 24) is implied by “survivors” in v. 19. In 65:8d–e, God promises to act “on behalf of my servants” so that not “all” would be annihilated, and thus there are survivors despite God’s judgement. The same voice in 65:12a–b promises that “all of you” will be slaughtered, thus the judgement is visualised as being without any survivors among the wicked. The exhortation in 66:10 must then be addressed to “all” the survivors of God’s judgement, those who truly love Zion and mourn over her, rejoicing at her new capacity to be mother of all God’s people (v. 12b–c). In 66:18–20 (23c, 24), the different application of “all” in Isa 65–66 is assembled when addressing the faithful. According to v. 18, God is coming (like a divine warrior, vv. 15–16) “to gather” all the גוים. In v. 19, the judgement has created survivors from all of the nations and languages who will be sent out to tell about God’s glory to those designated “all your brothers from all the nations” so that “all flesh” can come to Jerusalem and worship YHWH and witness what has happened to the wicked. In short, the comprehensive “all” in the visionary program of 66:18–24 simply has all the righteous in view in contrast to all the wicked.

The third aspect in connection with all the nations in 66:18–20 is that *they will be gathered by God for a mission*. The vision opens up with the key word “gather” (קבץ), and thus the theme about the mission of the nations connects with 56:1–8. I have already discussed above the relationship between “all the peoples” in 56:7

56:3–4 can refer to Jews who served as officers in the Babylonian government. Because this suggested interpretation of “eunuch” is probable, and also less important for the theme discussed here, I concentrate on the relationship between the “foreigner” and the “nations.”

and the nations in 66:18–20. The repetition of קבץ three times in 56:8 demonstrates further the thematic influence on 66:18–20, which reads: “Thus the declaration of Lord YHWH, who gathers the dispersed of Israel: I will gather still others onto it [Zion, see “my holy mountain” in v. 7a, cf. 66:20] to its gathered ones.” This rendering complies well with the assembling of all people at God’s holy mountain Jerusalem in Isa 66:7–14b and 18–23. This divine proclamation and future realisation regarding all nations have 55:5, that God’s servants shall summon “a nation (גוי) you do not know” who will “run to you,” in common. As Berges explains it, in view of 56:1–8, this servants-task “finds its fulfilment in 66:18–23” where it is pursued “to its ultimate consequences.”⁵¹ In short, God will gather both the diaspora Jews and the gentile nations to Zion. What 66:18–20 reveals is that the survivors of the nations, i.e., those who have also become “servants” through repentance and conversion, will be sent by God to the nations on a mission with the purpose of continuing the ingathering to Jerusalem by telling of God’s glory.

Isa 66:18 is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible that uses “gather” (קבץ) with the nouns “all the nations” (כל-הגוים), and “languages” (לשונות) in the same verse.⁵² However, these words are concentrated in two separated verses in 45:20, 23, where כל is in construction with ברך (“knee”) and לשון (“language,” lit. “tongue”). Moreover, v. 20 invites the “survivors of the nations” (פליטי הגוים, see 66:19) to gather and come to YHWH, and v. 22 declares: “Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth.”⁵³ It is, therefore, a common opinion that the universalism in Isa 45:20–25 influenced the visionary program in 66:18–24.⁵⁴ If we also consider the parallel phrase “all flesh” (כל-בשר) in 66:16, 23c, 24, Beuken has noticed that it “reminds us of the prologue of DI” (40:5–6; cf. 49:26), “precisely because there also DI speaks of the acknowledgement of YHWH by all the nations.”⁵⁵ However, as Stromberg explains, this parallel and others in Isa 40:1–8 are no more than allusions because Isa 40 “offers nothing but assurance to an undivided whole” (see especially vv. 1–2).⁵⁶ Unlike 40:1–8, chapters 65–66 combine salvation with judgement and is particularistic concerning the internal strifes in the Jerusalem community. While there are many allusions to DI in connection with features in 66:18–20,⁵⁷ in my opinion Isa 56:1–8 in TI is a most significant passage as a bridge

51. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 497–498.

52. In addition to Isa 66, the lexeme of these words, minus כל (“all”), are spread out over three different Isaianic chapters: Isa 11:10, 12, 15; 45:1, 20, 23; 54:3, 7, 17.

53. פנור-אלי והושעו כל-אפסי-ארץ.

54. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 425; Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 210–213; Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 111; Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 16–17; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 122–123; Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 498.

55. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 209.

56. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 118.

57. E.g. see Stromberg and his analysis of TI as part of his profile of its author “as a reader” (Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 114–141).

between Isa 66 and DI. Because it is reasonable that 56:1–8 was added first to the framework of TI, the universalism found in those verses, and its allusions to DI, must therefore be a primary source of influence which created the eschatological vision of the future in 66:18–20 (21–24).

9.3.2 God's Glory (vv. 18–19)

In Isa 65–66, we find explicit references to God's glory only in 66:18–19. In those verses, "my glory" (כבודי) is repeated three times. However, כבוד is used twice more in Isa 65–66, in 66:11d and 66:12c. Both cases occur in connection with the figurative vision of Zion's renewed motherhood. In v. 11d, כבוד describes mother Zion's abundant or heavy breasts. Verse 12c is part of a parallel to the vision program in vv. 18–23, although כבוד in that line describes the "wealth of nations"⁵⁸ that will flow like a overfull river valley (wadi) to the New Jerusalem. Thus, in both cases, כבוד has a different connotation to כבודי in vv. 18–19, and it depends on the emphasis on the mission of the nations in those latter verses. In v. 18, "all the nations and languages" are gathered by God to come and see his glory in the New Jerusalem; and in v. 19, the survivors of the nations will be sent to all those who have not yet seen God's glory to tell them about it. Although, vv. 18–19 are preceded by judgement in vv. 14c–17, none of the occurrences of "my glory" can be associated with judgement. The gathering of all nations and diaspora Jews to see and hear about God's glory in the New Jerusalem is about salvation.⁵⁹ Those who are rebellious and judged by God will never experience this positive thing. Instead they will lie as tormented corpse outside the gates of Jerusalem (v. 24).

The first thing observable about כבוד in 66:18–19 is the emphasis "my glory," i.e., *the glory belong to God alone and to nobody else*. The nations will be gathered to see God's glory, not their own. Moreover, when they are sent out on their mission, it is God's glory they shall tell the nations about, not their own. This is very humbling from a human perspective, not least from the perspective of Persian hegemony. In Isa 65–66, the servant-attitude is brought out, and is the spirit that will eventually characterise the converted gentiles in 66:18–19 too. The foreigners' response to God's call is contrasted with that of the rebellious in the Jerusalem community (see 65:5, 7b–c, 11a–b; 66:3, 5, 17), who have ignored the call of God despite his glory (65:1–2, 12c–d; 66:4c–d). In 66:5, it is said that the prideful rebellious ridicule the faithful for glorifying (יכבר, note the jussive) YHWH and challenge

58. Stansell, "The Nations' Journey to Zion," 246.

59. This is also Ulrich Berges' conclusion: "The assumption that the divine gathering of the nations aims at judgement on them would not only make the connections with 56:1–8 absurd, but would also contradict the predominant usage of קבץ in the book of Isaiah" (Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 498). However, v. 19 might imply judgement in retrospect with the combination "a sign" and "survivors" in that order.

the latter's reasons for doing so. God's response to such ridicule is that "they [the rebellious] will be ashamed." It is the faithful, as God's servants, who have their priorities straight in the presence of the divine glory. In 66:18–19, therefore, the emphasised is on God's glory alone. Furthermore, this priority in the coming new epoch alludes to passages in DI with the same emphasis:⁶⁰

I am the Lord, that is My name;
I will not give My glory (כבודי) to another,
Nor My praise to graven images (Isa 42:8)

For My own sake, for My own sake, I will act;
For how can My name be profaned?
And My glory (כבודי) I will not give to another (Isa 48:11)

Isa 42:8 is preceded by the so-called servant song in 42:1–4, and 48:11 belongs to a context about Israel's obstinacy followed by the second servant song in 49:1–6. Servanthood and stubbornness are also issues in Isa 65–66 in connection with the opportunities to experience God's glory in the New Jerusalem. The difference is that in Isa 65–66 it divides the Jerusalem community and opens up to foreigners who will see God's glory instead and thus also be allowed by divine grace to carry the title "servants."⁶¹

The second aspect about כבוד in 66:18–19 is that *God's glory is a precondition for the survivors of the nations to be sent out by God to testify about this glory.* We have seen that the divine advent of YHWH (באה) and the gathering (לקבץ) in v. 18 are presented as conditions for the nations' pilgrimage (to Jerusalem) to see God's glory. To have experienced God's glory is another precondition for the mission in vv. 18–20. Thus, God takes the initiative, both with the in-gathering and the sending out, a move which makes him self-revealing. This self-revealing intervention, not uncommon in the Hebrew Bible when God desires to intervene in human affairs, is also expressed in 65:1–2, 12c–d, 24; 66:4b–c. It is possible that the author implies that it is the cries of suffering in 66:2c–e that causes God to step in with redemption (a new exodus) for the sake of his glory (see also 45:23). While the author again draws inspiration from DI, it is only in 66:18–19 that God gathers and reveals his God's glory for the would be foreign missionaries. Isa 40:5 announces: "Then the glory of the Lord will be revealed" for all people (כל-בשר). Reading on in vv. 10–11, God will come (יבוא) with power and gather (יקבץ) and lead his people like a good shepherd. Although 40:5 refers to "all flesh," the special care expressed in 40:10–11 primarily concerns Israel, because in vv. 15 and 17, the na-

60. Translation, NASB 1995.

61. Berges has noticed this important connection between the title "servant" and the vision program in Isa 66:18–24 (Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 497–498).

tions (גוים) are nothing before God. Thus, the value of foreigners having seen God's glory is missing in Isa 40, and they are not sent out either to tell about this glory either. Regarding Isa 60, the first five verses (vv. 1–5) are of interest as they contain the terms “nation/nations” (גוי/גוים, twice), “gather” (קבץ, once), and God's glory (כבוד, twice). However, it is not a pilgrimage of the nations, as Stansell points out, but a *Völkerzug* of subdued people carrying Jerusalem's children and their wealth with them to Zion (vv. 4–5, 9 and 11–13) as homage.⁶² In 62:1–2, the message is that the nations will see Jerusalem's righteousness along with her restoration. In 66:18–19, it is not about the wealth of the nations. Furthermore, the ingredient that God will gather and send out the nations because of his glory, to witness so that they can bring the rest of his people to Zion, is also missing both in Isa 60 and 62.⁶³

The third observable thing about כבוד in 66:18–19, is that *God's glory is revealed by sight and hearing*. The last part of v. 18 reads: “[...] and they will come and see (ראו) my glory”; and v. 19 says: [...], who have not heard (לא-שמעו) about me or seen (לא-ראו) my glory.” In the first instance, the nations will see God's glory in the New Jerusalem; in the second instance they will be sent out to those who have yet not seen or heard about God's glory, with the mission to persuade them to see it through hearing the message. In Isa 65–66, blindness and deafness is associated with the stubbornness and lack of fear/awe of the rebellious in the presence of God (see e.g 66:2c–e, 5a–b in contrast to v. 3–4).⁶⁴ Spiritual blindness and deafness is even likened to being dead (Isa 59:10). On the other hand, sight and hearing is associated with being alive and the ability to see and hear about the glory of God with joy.⁶⁵ According to 66:14a, these senses will be restored to those who belong to the new Zion, and in v. 18 survivors from foreign nations will also experience a new life by seeing God's glory. As a result, their witness will enable others to experience the same thing. In 66:18–19, the eschatological hope is that the blindness and deafness will disappear from those who are accused in II. This includes both the rebellious in the Jerusalem community and the unrepentant foreign people, so that God's glory will be visible again to rule and bless the world.

62. Stansell, “The Nations' Journey to Zion,” 246–247.

63. Stansell, “The Nations' Journey to Zion,” 246; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 116. Isa 60 and 62 are also discussed in this work in connection with Zion as a mother (66:7–12, 13c–14b). See 7.3.1 *The Centre of Life* (vv. 7–8, 14b), p. 211, and 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* (v. 12b–c), p. 228.

64. See 6.3.3 *Deeds* (vv. 2c–4), p. 170.

65. See “The centre of life in Isa 66:7–8, 14b visualised as a place for new life,” p. 216, and 7.3.3 *The Centre of Joy and Comfort* (vv. 10–11, 12d–e, 13c, 14a), p. 223.

9.3.3 A Sign with Survivors (v. 19)

The next feature in Isa 66:18–20 which is associated with the mission of the nations is a single word in v. 19, which has created much discussion. It is the noun *אֵיט*, “a sign,” found in the first clause of v. 19. God as subject “will set (*שְׁמַרְתִּי*) a sign (*אֵיט*) among them (*בְּהֵם*).” The pronoun in the prepositional phrase “among them” is the indirect object and refers to “the nations” (*גֵּוִיִּם*) in v. 18 and to “from them” (*מֵהֵם*) in the next clause of v. 19. This latter phrase *מֵהֵם* is an adjunct phrase which explains that the “survivors” will spring from the nations after God has “set a sign among them.”⁶⁶ In short, this suggests an interpretation that the setting of “a sign” among the gathered nations will result in “survivors” whom God can send out on a mission to the nations who have not yet heard about him or his glory. What this sign stands for, however, is not explicitly explained in v. 19, even though its association with “survivors,” those who have been spared or escaped the sign, should give us an idea of its function. Furthermore, the three-fold phrase “my glory” in vv. 18–19 might also have something to do with the sign, i.e., an assurance of who YHWH really is (cf. *אֵיט* = *שֵׁם* in 55:13). As Koole points out, this assurance is also expressed in the transition between the vision of Zion and the final judgement: “You will see [...]” (v. 14a) and “The hand of YHWH will be known [...]” (v. 14c).⁶⁷

In the Book of Isaiah, the only occurrence of *אֵיט* together with *גֵּוִי/גֵּוִיִּם* is found in 66:19, and in the Hebrew Bible it also occurs in Deut 4:34 and Jer 10:2. For an understanding of *אֵיט* in Isa 66:19, I find Deut 4:34 quite helpful in a way which I will develop more fully below. Furthermore, synonyms to *אֵיט* can also be helpful, and if we restrict ourselves to the Isaianic tradition, we have “wonder” (*מוֹפֵת*) in 8:18; 20:3 and “witness” (*עֵד*) in 19:20.⁶⁸ Both these terms are applicable to *אֵיט* in 66:19. Thus, “a sign” set up by God among the nations would witness about the wonder of his glory. Nonetheless, as Koole observes, the uncertainty concerning the function of *אֵיט* in v. 19 is caused by its broad range of meanings in the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁹ Stromberg, for example, argues for a close relationship between *אֵיט* in Isa 66 and *נִס* (“signal”) in Isa 11:11–16, 49:22–23, and 62:10–12. The basis for these textual connections depends on the minimal semantic difference between the two terms, with 55:13 as a link between the two, and that those passages which use *נִס* concern the nations gathering the exiles.⁷⁰ Thus, for Stromberg, the function of “a

66. See also Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 514 and the whole discussion in Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 135–141 about the inclusive course of 66:18–24 in the light of 11:11–16; 49:22–23; 62:10–12.

67. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 519.

68. F. J. Helfmeyer, “*אֵיט*,” *TDOT* 1:168–169.

69. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 519. See Helfmeyer, *TDOT* 1:170–186 and Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 513–514.

70. Stromberg is aware that Isa 62:10–12 is more removed from 66:18–24 than the other two earlier texts (Isa 11:11–16, 49:22–23).

sign” in 66:19 is a standard that will initiate a gentile-assisted return of God’s people, even though he also observes that the four Isaianic passages do not depict the Israelites’s relationship with the nations in the same way. Unlike the visions in 11, 49, 62, the eschatological program in 66:18–24 does not even imply that Israel will exercise harsh treatment towards or subjugate the nations. The reason for that is the more universalistic, individualistic, and inclusive perspective in Isa 66.⁷¹

All these observations above regarding the function of “a sign” in 66:19 are valuable for the exegesis of the term. I believe, however, that we also have to take into consideration that with this sign God will not only send the gathered nations out on a mission, but also that those whom God sends out will be “survivors” (פליטים) of the sign. This brings to the fore the suggestion of a connection between v. 19 and the miraculous exodus-event under Moses’ leadership, where in order to bring Israel to the land God displays his presence and power by “signs” (אותות) among the Egyptians.⁷² Although this connection is weakened by the fact that אות is always in the plural when associated with the exodus and that the liberation of the people was done without the help of other nations,⁷³ an allusion cannot be ruled out. Deut 4:34, which supplies the reader with a retrospect on the exodus, is key here, and I argue that it is one of the passages outside the Book of Isaiah which complements the understanding of “a sign” in Isa 66:19 as a judgement of the nations, before God sends out the “survivors” from that trial on their mission:

1. The combination of the lexical אות with פליית and גוי in the Hebrew Bible is only found in Isa 66:19.⁷⁴ However, as we have seen above, Deut 4:35 uses both אות (in the plural) and גוי (in the singular), and contains the idea of survivors or escaped ones with the clause: “[...] as YHWH your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?”
2. In Deut 4:35, the message is that God has saved a גוי for himself “with signs” (באותת). There are, however, other synonyms for “signs” in the passage, such as “with trials,” “with wonders,” “with war,” “with a mighty hand,” “with an outstretched arm,” and “with great terrors.” All of them are intended to manifest God’s great power to liberate his people. Similarly, in Isa 66:19, the first clause is a retrospect of vv. 14c–17 which mentions signs such as “the hand of YHWH” (v. 14c), war,

71. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 123–135.

72. E.g. Exod 10:1–2; Num 14:22; Deut 26:8–9; Jer 32:20; Ps 78:43; 105:27.

73. Goldingay also thinks that the sign is associated with God’s glory/splendour in v. 18 rather than with “survivors” in v. 19 (referring to Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 518, although Koole’s view is that the sign in 66:19 must refer “to a preliminary and limited execution of judgement, in which some are spared to warn the world of the comprehensive, definitive judgement,” Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 519). See Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 514; cf. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 125–127.

74. Which is also the case when פליית is combined either with גוי or אות.

and terror from the divine warrior. Furthermore, Isa 65–66 is akin to a trial against the rebellious which finds them guilty. Thus, we have to consider the possibility that the sign in v. 19 has the double function of a trial against the nations and God’s wonders/glory which will convince non-Israelites to become his servants in the new age.

3. The language of wonder in Deut 4:34 over the miracle of liberation from Egypt is reminiscent of the language of wonder in 66:8 over the new Zion giving birth to a boy that becomes a nation (נִי). Isa 66:7–9 imply a new exodus, and v. 19 is added to the signs of that future event which confirm the upcoming wondrous act of God that will result in survivors from those nations who have escaped the divine terror against them.
4. The reason for the wonder in Deut 4:34 is the miracle, expressed as the question: “has any god [ever] attempted to go and take a nation as his own out of another nation [...]” The answer is that this is exactly what YHWH has done for his people with different signs. In Isa 65–66 the differentiation between the rebellious and the faithful in the Jerusalem community does the same thing, and in 66:19 this is extended to the nations. God will extract survivors from the nations to be part of his people by means of “a sign.”
5. Deut 4:34 reports that the liberated Israel was witness to the signs by which God took them as his own out of another nation (“before your eyes”). Israel was responsible for remembering this event and its signs, and to pass that knowledge onto the next generations (6:20–25). In Isa 66:19, the escapees are sent out to the nations by God to witness about the sign and his glory, to persuade dispersed Jews with what they themselves had experienced so that they too would return to the New Jerusalem in the land.

In short, “a sign” in 66:19 represents more than one thing. It relates to God’s power and glory in the form of both a trial and a standard. Thus, “a sign” refers to both salvation (something positive) and judgement (something negative), and this is also the function of “signs” in connection with the exodus. The fact that אִיִּת is plural in the context of the exodus and singular in 66:19 need not be a problem because the sign in v. 19 is added in Isa 65–66 to the signs about the new exodus and the new Zion in 66:7–14b.⁷⁵ Furthermore, this sign affects all nations which suggest that the author also had in mind Abraham’s experience when God pointed to signs in heaven and on earth that all people would be blessed in his offspring.

75. Note also that אִיִּת may be original in 66:19. See text-critical note **b** in 9.1 *Text and Translation* on p. 271 and Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 125–127.

9.3.4 Your Brothers (v. 20)

From the above analysis, it is clear that in v. 20 the pronoun and subject in “They will bring all your brothers from all nations as an offering to YHWH [...]” are the nations and specifically the “survivors” or escapees of the nations in v. 18–19. The object of this mission will be “all your brothers” (את־כָּל־אֶחָיִכֶם). As Tiemeyer summarises: “Verse 20 continues that *they* (presumably still the nations) will bring back *your* brothers (presumably the exiles), from among the nations, [...]”⁷⁶ In addition to the pronouns in vv. 19–20, the context also favours the interpretation that “your brothers” are diaspora Jews who are willing to return with the “survivors” to YHWH and his “holy mountain Jerusalem.” First, those directly addressed in v. 20 (“all your brothers”) and again in v. 22c (“so your offspring and your name will stand”⁷⁷) must be the faithful in Isa 65–66. The rebellious have received their sentence of doom and after 66:1–2 are no longer addressed directly. Second, the phrase “your brothers” is an antithetical reference to the oppressing “your brothers” in 66:5. Thus, the new and assumedly more kindly disposed “your brothers” in v. 20 are fellow exiled Jews who have not yet returned to Zion.⁷⁸ Unlike the rebellious in the current Jerusalem, this group of Jews will hear YHWH’s call and respond positively to it. Thus, while the faithful are being oppressed by their own fellow brothers in Jerusalem the author of Isa 65–66 puts his hope in the redemption of Jews still in exile.

The antithetical references in 66:20 to things associated with the rebellious in 65:1–66:17 continue after the phrase “all your brothers.” The diaspora Jews are portrayed as “an offering (מִנְחָה) to YHWH,” and thus compared to how “the children of Israel bring offering (את־הַמִּנְחָה) [...] to the house of YHWH.” This future situation alludes to the evil deeds of the rebellious in 66:3c, who defile their “grain offering” (מִנְחָה) to YHWH by also offering “swine’s blood.” In v. 20, the simile also explains that the מִנְחָה is brought “in a clean vessel” (בְּכֵלֵי טְהוֹרָה), which is contrasted to the abominable behaviour of the rebellious in 65:4 when they eat pork “and broth of unclean meat (פְּגִילִים) in their vessels (כְּלֵי־הֵם).” The contrast between the behaviour of the foreigners in 66:20 and the rebellious in 65:4 and 66:3 is remarkable, or as Tiemeyer explains this reversal of a post-exilic situation in Jerusalem to an eschatological future: “In this way, we see that 66:20 creates a contrasting picture: the priests of Judah carry impurity while the foreigners’ bowls are

76. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 281.

77. בֶּן יַעֲמֹד זֶרְעֶכֶם וְשִׁמְכֶם. Thus, those who are addressed in vv. 18–24.

78. For the same line arguments and conclusion, see also e.g. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 499; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 312–315; Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 18; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 172; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 121–122; Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 291.

pure” and that “in contrast to the Judahite priests’ unorthodoxy, the foreigners will serve YHWH.”⁷⁹

Tiemeyer also points out an inter-textual relationship between 66:20 and Isa 60:7.⁸⁰ Above, I have discussed briefly the importance of 60:1–5 for the concept God’s glory in 66:18–19, but also noted that a missing ingredient in the former passage (as well as in Isa 62) is God sending out some from the nations on a mission to dispersed Jews. Regarding 60:7, Tiemeyer wishes to demonstrate that the difference is not only about what is missing in Isa 60–62 when compared to 66:18–20, but also what is contrasting. In 60:7, foreign animals will be accepted on God’s altar, and God will “beautify” (or glorify) his “beautiful house” because of this.⁸¹ In an implicit sense, these animals will be brought by foreigners to Jerusalem as an offering, but it is only Judahite priests who are worthy to sacrifice these animals. According to Tiemeyer, this stands in contrast to how the “survivors” of the nations in 66:20 will bring diaspora Jews as offerings to YHWH, just as the children of Israel bring offerings in/to the temple. This gives the foreigners “a clerical role.” If Tiemeyer is correct, “the author of 66:20 tells of a new and different future relation between strangers and the temple.”⁸² However, 66:20 also says nothing explicit about sacrificing, only that the returning gentile missionaries will bring with them Jews as an offering to God. Furthermore, the last clause in v. 20 is comparative (כְּאִשֵּׁר), how the children of Israel bring offerings to the temple, and thus is intended to illustrate the obedience of the serving foreigners rather than a visualisation of the new age. In both cases, therefore, where מִנְחָה is mentioned in v. 20, the author is ambiguous about who would take care of the offering. If there were no temple in the New Jerusalem there would be no sacrifice. What also speaks against an implied Judahite priesthood in v. 20 is the negative view towards at least some in this group throughout Isa 65:1–66:17. In short, if there is a contrast between 66:20 and 60:7, it is decided by those who are like the Levitical priests in 66:21.

Regarding other possible allusions in 66:20 which can affect our understanding of the theme in the verse, they are found in passages already discussed or referred to above in connection with vv. 18–19. However, there is one important allusion in v. 20 about the location “my holy mountain Jerusalem,” that I would like highlight when I discuss the pilgrimage theme in vv. 20, 22–23. Here, in connection with the transportation of the dispersed “your brothers” to this location, one contrast to DI and also an implicit reference to Abraham are of interest. When analysing the questioning in connection with the temple in 66:1–2, I suggested that those verses implied, among other things, a critical approach to the current political

79. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 283.

80. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 282–283.

81. וּבֵית תְּפֹאֲרֹתַי אֶשְׂאֵר.

82. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 283.

situation in contrast to how DI tries to blend Persian imperial theology with Judean royal ideology.⁸³ Alexander Rofé extends this difference between DI and TI to include the description of redemption,⁸⁴ which I believe is significant for understanding the resistance against the current empire also in 66:18–20. In v. 20, it is not a Persian king who will allow exiled Jews to come home to YHWH, but a converted remnant of foreigners, who are not kings but God’s servants on a mission, and it is they who will bring the exiled to the centre of the world and the throne of YHWH (“my holy mountain”). This contrast illuminates an implied reference in v. 20 to the Abrahamic covenant – the promise in vv. 18–23 that “all flesh” will belong to YHWH as King. Because of the testimony about God’s glory, the foreigners (represented by the promises to Abraham) will bring God-fearing Jews (represented by Isaac) onto the holy mountain Jerusalem as “an offering to YHWH,” with the same implied obedience as was significant for Abraham and Isaac on Mount Moriah (cf. Gen 22:2–10; 2 Chron 3:1).⁸⁵ If there is a major difference here between the *Akedah* and the mission accomplished in vv. 18–20, it is that the offering in the latter passage is a gift and an act of worship, but not a literal sacrifice.⁸⁶

9.4 The New Priesthood (v. 21)

Isa 66:21 belongs structurally to vv. 18–20 and needs to be interpreted together with the latter verses. The initial וְגַם (“and also”), the pronoun “them,” the closure “says YHWH,” and its prosaic style suggest a continuation from vv. 18–20. Thematically, however, v. 21 deserves its own treatment, but in conjunction with the previous verses about the mission of the nations. Considering the universalistic perspective in vv. 18–21, the question is: who does the pronoun in וְגַם מֵהֵם refer to in v. 21? The verse reads: “(And) also from them (מֵהֵם) I will take [some] as Levitical priests, says YHWH.” Tiemeyer suggests one possible implication of this verse, and its pronoun, already discussed in connection with my analysis of “my brothers” in v. 20 above. If “from them” in v. 21 refers to same group who are referred to as “they” in v. 20, i.e., the escapees in v. 19 who will bring exiled Jews with them as an offering to YHWH in the New Jerusalem, then some of these foreigners will be chosen by God to be his priests. In that case, the author of Isa 65–66, in his endeavour to account for a different eschatological future than the current one (characterised by strife and lack of trust), relinquishes privileges, until this point monopolised by the Judahite priesthood, to foreigners with the purpose of creat-

83. See 6.3.2 *Crisis (vv. 1–2b, 6a–b)*, p. 168.

84. Rofé, “Isaiah 66.1–4,” 205–206.

85. See also *The centre of life in Isa 66:7–8, 14b is visualised as a place for newborn relationships*, p. 212.

86. Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 247.

ing a new kind of clergy.⁸⁷ Thus, parallel with Jerusalem as a renewed temple city in vv. 18–20 this new priesthood of YHWH emerges in v. 21 and is characterised by universalism. Irrespective of what v. 21 refers to, however, Rosé points out correctly that the author's antipathy towards the Judahite priesthood in the current Jerusalem is apparent in 66:21.⁸⁸

Before definitive conclusions about 66:21 are drawn, it must be recognised that there is no consensus among scholars regarding "them" in the verse. From the above discussion, it is apparent that **גוים** can either refer to the dispersed Jews⁸⁹ or to the "survivors" of the nations who will bring the exiled as an offering to YHWH.⁹⁰ In my view, the evidence in the text and Whybray's argument that Jews brought back in v. 20 would already "be divided by heredity into laymen, priests, and Levites," speak in favour of **גוים** in v. 21 referring to the nations, especially since we also have **גוים** in v. 19. Tiemeyer also points out that v. 23 describes universal worship in the New Jerusalem ("all flesh") and that **וְגַם** ("and also") implies new or additional information. The news is that a group who were not able to function as priests earlier will be allowed to do so by God in the coming new epoch.⁹¹ Furthermore, in 56:1–8, the prologue of TI, again advocates that proselytes (circumcised foreigners) will be allowed to serve (**שָׂרָת**, v. 6) as priests in the temple.⁹² Stromberg even argues that **שָׂרָת** gives the foreigners in Isa 56 levitical status.⁹³ Such a status, I believe, wants to emphasise the equality among the pilgrims even when it comes to the priesthood. As Tiemeyer also explains, the inclusiveness in 66:21 is a development of 56:1–8 which widens the scope in TI by going beyond current issues. The foreigners taken as priests in 66:21 are not proselytes in Jerusalem but Gentiles in general (non-circumcised foreigners) who belong to a movement of a global pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem.⁹⁴

As a theme, the new priesthood in 66:21 is what Stromberg describes as "the final stage in that sequence of events which began with the giving of the 'sign' to

87. This giving away of priestly privileges in v. 21 may also include the brought back "your brothers" (see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 282 but the emphasis is on **גוים**, i.e., the Gentiles, which implies a new kind of priesthood (see Ruszkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 122–124).

88. Rofé, "Isaiah 66.1–4," 212.

89. E.g. Rofé, "Isaiah 66.1–4," 212; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 172–173; Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 499–500; Sweeney, *Isaiah 40–66*, 384.

90. E.g. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 291–292; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 168; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 281–282; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 135–141; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 518–520.

91. For Whybray and Tiemeyer, see footnote 90 above. See also Stromberg's extended and detailed analysis of textual evidences that favours the position that **גוים** in v. 21 refers to the nations in v. 19–20.

92. Only those specific foreigners "who join themselves to YHWH" (Isa 56:6). See Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah—Prophet of Universalism," *JSTOT* 13/41 (1988): 95–96; Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 122 and cf. Ezek 44:4–14.

93. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 138–139.

94. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 285–286.

the nations.”⁹⁵ Goldingay suggests that v. 21 is about God adopting Gentile people as priests into Levi (“I will take as priests, as Levites”),⁹⁶ which not only completes the events in vv. 18–21 but is also “a suggestive sequence within Isaiah 56–66.”⁹⁷ Isa 56:1–8 and 61:6 lend support to Goldingay’s observation. The problem of how Gentiles can become Levitical priests, if understood in a literal way, still remains. One suggestion is that the language in v. 21 is symbolic and used to demonstrate the equal status that will exist between the Jews and Gentiles before God in the *eschaton*.⁹⁸ That would not contradict the message of 66:18–21 about a fullness of time characterised by universal inclusiveness. Although, the eschatological perspective in 66:18–21 can certainly be described as revolutionary or radical,⁹⁹ the other oracles concerning foreign nations in the Book of Isaiah are, nonetheless, still significant. Isa 65–66, however, is different and closer than other Isaianic texts to the later apocalyptic genre when it comes ethnic equality in the *eschaton*. In 66:21, the theme of transformation in Isa 65–66 also reaches its climax with the theme about foreign nations. It even makes 66:21 unusual in comparison with the eschatological vision of Ezek 40–48.¹⁰⁰ The globalisation of the priesthood in Isa 66:21 is the result of a global pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem, and the culmination of those events is the global worship of YHWH in vv. 22–23. Next, therefore, I will analyse the pilgrimage of all flesh as a theme in 66:18–23.

9.5 The Pilgrimage of the Nations (vv. 20, 22–23)

Another theme in Isa 65–66, which is brought to a closure in 66:18–23, is the *Völkerwallfahrt* of the nations. This eschatological pilgrimage includes “all flesh” (v. 23c), even though v. 20 and 22 are addressed directly to the faithful, which makes it a unique vision of the servitude of the nations and their equal standing before God. Verse 20 refers to this pilgrimage by repeating the verbs “bring” (בוא) and “offering” (מנחה) with the additions of “to YHWH” and “to the house of YHWH.” The way in which the action of the nations is compared to how the “children of Israel” carry clean offerings to the temple, conveys a clear message of universalistic inclusion. The destination is “onto my holy mountain Jerusalem,” which is also the location in v. 23. In that latter verse, the divine voice declares: “all flesh will come to bow down before me, [...]” Thus, as already discussed above, according to the vision-plan in vv. 18–21 some of the nations will bring dis-

95. Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 135.

96. אָקח לכהנים ללויים. Cf. Exod 6:7.

97. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 519–520.

98. Cf. Donaldson about the ambivalence about eschatological salvation and status of the Gentiles in both the Biblical and Pseudepigraphic material (Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 499–505).

99. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 285; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 140.

100. See Ezek 44:7–15 and Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 284–286.

persed Jews to the New Jerusalem, and as we will see more below, the motivation for this mission is the new world and the universal worship of YHWH in vv. 22–24. Furthermore, the goal in vv. 22–24 with the new relationship in Zion is not promised as an isolated phenomenon, but is characterised by continuity and assumed to last (v. 22): “And it shall be, from new moon to new moon, // and from Sabbath to Sabbath, // all flesh will come [...]” (v. 23). In short, although v. 20 does not belong to the same saying or sub-unit as vv. 22–23,¹⁰¹ the pilgrimage-theme in both sayings shows that vv. 18–23 should be read together as the pilgrimage is the method of securing a stable world in the vision-plan.

Stansell has made a valuable analysis of the journey of the nations to Zion in the Book of Isaiah.¹⁰² In short, the saved countries in 66:20, 22–23, in comparison with Isa 60 and 61 in TI,¹⁰³ Isa 55:5; 49:22–23 and 45:14 in DI, and Isa 35:1–2; 23 and 2:2–4 in PI, are indeed pilgrims of the same status as the dispersed Jews whom they will bring to Jerusalem as an act of worship. The only real exception to the contrasts between Isa 66 and the other oracles about migration to Zion is found in 2:2–4, which like 66:20, 22–23, is about a *Völkerwallfahrt* rather than a *Völkerzug*. Stansell says, 66:18–21 “points back to 2:2–4” and thus frames the theme about “the wealth of the nations” in the Book of Isaiah, with the purpose of showing symbolically that “Israel and the Gentile world finally come together before YHWH [...]”¹⁰⁴ I want to add two more passages from the Book of Isaiah to the list about the nations coming to Zion and the house of God, both which have also been part of the above discussion concerning the mission in 66:18–20. They are Isa 11:12 and 56:7–8, which 66:19–20 alludes to (the former) and develops (the latter) into a new way of looking at the nations. If we turn our attention to the post-exilic prophecies about the journeys of the nations to Jerusalem outside the Isaianic tradition, we have Hag 2:7 where all people will come to the house of God in Jerusalem and restore temple treasures (חֲמַדַּת כֹּל־הַנְּיִים).¹⁰⁵ In Isa 66, that is first of all analogous to v. 12c and “the glory/wealth of nations,” although Hag 2:7 implies the plunder and subjection of the nations and there is no indication of this in Isa 66¹⁰⁶ other than the annihilation of God’s enemies in connection with the final judge-

101. Because of the prosaic style in vv. 18–21, compared to vv. 22–23, and that both v. 21 and v. 23 ends with the speech marker “says YHWH” (אָמַר יְהוָה).

102. See also 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* (v. 12b–c), p. 228.

103. I will discuss 66:12b–c below in comparison with 66:20, 22–23.

104. Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 254–255. See also 9.2 *Structural Issues* (vv. 18–24), p. 273, which, among other things, discusses Isa 66:18–24 as part of the framework of the Book of Isaiah.

105. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 67–68.

106. Herbert G. May argues that the vision in Hag 2:7 is not inconsistent with the vision of the future in Isa 49:22–26 and 60:4–9 (May, “‘This People’ and ‘This Nation’ in Haggai,” 196). For a somewhat different opinion, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 68. In my view, all three passages imply the submission of nations. Although Isa 49:22–26 and 60:4–9 have influenced Isa 66, and Hag 2:7 belongs to the same period as TI, the nationalism in those passage separate them from Isa 66.

ment. So, although the prophets do share some common grounds regarding Jerusalem as a destination, the differences are the more conspicuous: the crucial role of the Judahite priesthood and the nationalistic undertones in both Haggai and Zechariah are in contrast to the explicit inclusion of all flesh in Isa 66:20, 22–23.¹⁰⁷

9.5.1 Destination (vv. 20, 23c)

In Isa 65:13–16, the destinies of the rebellious and the faithful in the current Jerusalem community are explained directly to the former group (“Behold, my servants will [...], // but you will [...]). The substance of those verses is that the rebellious will receive diverse curses that directly threaten their lives, while the faithful will enter into a new reality characterised by blessings.¹⁰⁸ In the following vision about a cosmic transformation and a new epoch (vv. 17–25), the destiny of the faithful is the joyful presence of God in the New Jerusalem. In Isa 66, after the final judgement in vv. 14c–17, the destiny of the faithful has expanded to include all those willing to obey God. Furthermore, in vv. 20 and 23c this destiny of “all flesh” becomes a continued pilgrimage to YHWH at a tangible destination on the “holy mountain Jerusalem.” The temple-city as God’s holy mountain has received a lot of attention in this study. The place is mentioned in 65:9, 25 and implied twice by referring to the “new heavens” and the “new earth” in 65:17 and 66:22a.¹⁰⁹ In short, Zion in Isa 65–66 is the renewed centre of the world for true universal worship of YHWH and characterised by an atmosphere of joy. However, including a *Völkerwallfahrt* of the nations with the destination of the New Jerusalem is preceded in Isa 65–66 by other visualised pilgrimages to God’s holy mountain that create a thread throughout the speech.

The first implied reference to travelling, where the destination is an eschatological Jerusalem, is found in 65:9c–d with the words: “My chosen ones shall inherit it [God’s mountain/Zion] // and my servants shall settle there.” The “settle there” (ישכנו־שמה) suggests a getting there in order to dwell there, which stands in contrast to the accusation of the rebellious in v. 11b: “who forget [do not pilgrimage/travel to] my holy mountain.” The forgetfulness of the rebellious is one of the reasons why their destiny is death (65:15b; 66:24) rather than the pilgrimage to God’s holy mountain Jerusalem in order to dwell there. The phrase “settle there” also connotes stability, which is parallel to the everlasting existence and continued

107. Williamson sees a difference between Isa 56:7–8; 66:20 and Zech 14:16. The latter has a more sectarian definition of the community than the inclusive terminology in Isa 56:8 and 66:20. For that reason, 56:7–8 and 66:20 could very well reflect hopes that are closer to Zech 1–8 than to 14 (Williamson, “The Concept of Israel,” 150–151).

108. See 4.5 *The Destinies* (vv. 13–16), p. 107.

109. See *The inheritance in Isa 65:9–10 is about Zion with land*, p. 101; 5.4 *The Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth* (v. 17), p. 125; and 5.8.3 *Order* (v. 25d–e), p. 149.

worship in 66:22–23. In both cases, the rebellious are deprived of such an assurance. The next implied pilgrimage is found in 65:18–19b, again in connection with God’s holy mountain, the New Jerusalem. In v. 18a–b, the rebellious are directly exhorted to rejoice over what God is about to create, and which must involve repentance and turning their attention to the New Jerusalem in v. 18c–d (“For here am I, [...]”). Verses 18c–19b continue to explain the recreated Jerusalem as a place for joyful worship (the reason for the exhortation in v. 18a–b) and about God’s joyful satisfaction over Jerusalem and his people who will come to that place.¹¹⁰ The stability and the lasting aspects of the new epoch, in connection with the New Jerusalem as the central place of worship, is further developed in vv. 19c–25. Furthermore, the New Jerusalem’s accessibility to God’s people in Isa 65 must be a visualised pilgrimage of triumph to the renewed city after the final judgement and the following transformation; and the rebellious in v. 18a–b are exhorted not to miss that joyful event because of their wickedness.¹¹¹ This vision in 65:18–19b is supplemented by 66:12b–c, which explicitly mentions a pilgrimage of nations to the New Jerusalem. While joyful activities are going on in Jerusalem (65:18–19b; 66:10–11), the nations will also travel in peace to the city with the purpose of partaking in that joy. It is possible that “the glory of the nations” in 66:12c not only refers to their material wealth but also to those dispersed Jews who they will bring as an offering to YHWH (66:20).¹¹² Isa 66:20, 22–23, therefore, unite and develop the pilgrimage-theme in Isa 65–66, giving more details about how this event is going to happen in terms of who, when, and where.

A closer comparison between how the pilgrimage of the nations is presented in 66:12b–c and 66:20, 23c, in relation to its destination, is also valuable for understanding the development of the theme in our passage. First, *it will take place on God’s initiative*. In v. 12b, the divine initiative stated at the beginning of that line by the marker “Here am I” (הִנְנִי), followed by “extending,” emphasise the presence of God in the whole process. In vv. 20, 23c, in context (vv. 18–23), this initiative is expressed in terms of: “For I am coming to gather [...]” (v. 18), “I will set signs among them, and send survivors from them to the nations: [...]” (v. 19), and “From them I will also take [...]” (v. 21). It is the manifestation of God’s glory that motivates the pilgrimage to the place where it is found. Furthermore, God himself stands as guarantee of its lasting effects (v. 22) provided the saved ones “come [to Jerusalem] to bow down low before me, [...]” (v. 23c). Second, our passages imply that *the people are not forced to the New Jerusalem*. In v. 12b–c the pilgrimage is surrounded and characterised by joy and comfort through Zion, and in vv. 20, 23c by

110. See also 5.6 *The Rejoicing in the New Creation* (vv. 18–19b), p. 133.

111. See also reference to Isa 65:18–19 in 8.4.2 *Destruction* (v. 16), p. 261.

112. See also 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* (v. 12b–c), p. 228, and in particular the discussion about “the glory of the nations.”

awe and assurance because of God's glory in Zion (vv. 18–19). Third, both 66:12b–c and 66:20, 23c portray *an eschatological event of salvation that will gather together all flesh to the New Jerusalem*. Fourth, and lastly, the people on the pilgrimage will bring offering to Zion as an act of worship of YHWH. The act of worship is included in the streams of “peace” (שָׁלוֹם) and “the glory of nations” (כְּבוֹד גּוֹיִם) that will reach Zion in v. 12b–c; and it is the gift of offering to God's holy mountain Jerusalem in v. 20 and the bowing “down low” before YHWH in v. 23c. These similarities have both the destination and God as the initiator and object of the pilgrimage of nations in common.

9.5.2 Lasting Existence (v. 22)

The reason or motivation for the vision-plan in vv. 18–21 is explained in vv. 22–24, and it is introduced with the conjunction כִּי (“Because”) in v. 22. The particle has as a causal/evidential function for the last clauses in Isa 66,¹¹³ which after the narration of events in the preceding verses describes the stable and everlasting new world. In v. 22a–b, the emphasis is on the lasting existence in terms that proceed from 65:17a, but now with definitives: “Because as the new heavens and the new earth, which I make (עָשָׂה) will stand (עֹמְדִים) before me, declares YHWH, [...]” Additionally, the assurance in 65:17b–c, that former troubles will no longer exist, corresponds to the promised stability of life in 66:22c, where those problems are gone along with the rebellious, because: “[...] so your offspring (זֶרְעֵכֶם) and your name (וְשִׁמְכֶם) will stand (יִעֹמְדוּ).” However, it is not only the definitiveness in 66:22 that implies a development of 65:17, but also that the verb “make” (עָשָׂה) is used instead of “create” (בָּרָא). As commentators have noted, this corresponds to Gen 1–2 and the “new things” in Isa 43:19.¹¹⁴ Koole also suggests that עָשָׂה could point to מַעֲשֵׂיהָם in v. 17e (in my translation), the “works,” of the rebellious which vanish when God renews everything.¹¹⁵ Instead, a new people will take the place of the rebellious and form a community with a new kind of priesthood.

In connection with 65:17–18, I have interpreted newness as a renewal of the heavens and the earth, and the New Jerusalem. This is also the case in 66:22 with

113. The conjunction כִּי has a key role in vv. 22–24, as the following eight ׀ plays a conjunctive role when conjoining the clauses. See Bill T. Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 146 §4.3.3b, 149–150 §4.3.4a-b; Williams, *Hebrew Syntax*, 156–157, §444.

114. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 526; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 520. See also Gardner's discussion of Isa 37:16; 45:12, 18 (Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 19–20).

115. In that case, even though 65:17 and 66:22 complement each other it can still be argued that 65:1–66:17 and 66:18–24 come from the same hand. The fact that 66:20 is not a repetition of 65:17 is another argument that the passages do not have separate author or redactors, but that 66:20 continues from 65:17–18.

both heaven and earth and the new community, and as in 65:18, which will centre upon a New Jerusalem. However, the repeated word “stand” (עמד) in 66:22 conveys other aspects about the creative renewal in the passage that characterise the new epoch and do not show up as clearly in 65:17–25. The reasons for this difference are partly that in 65:17–18 the emphasis regarding the people is on the joy, which is assumed in 66:22, but also that 66:22 belongs to the conclusion of the whole vision-account. First, the participle עמדים in v. 22b is an assurance in contrast to all the participles in Isa 65–66 which describe the evil behaviour of the rebellious in the gardens.¹¹⁶ That the “offspring” and “name” of the faithful will stand, or continue to exist, the way “the new heavens and the new earth” are going to stand, is therefore an assurance to a humble and contrite group of the faithful that the current situation will not last. Second, because “the new heavens and the new earth” is a cosmic sanctuary that will stand in service “before” YHWH,¹¹⁷ the faithful and their “offspring” will similarly stand in submission to their King as his servants.

As Goldingay points out, the promise that the new community’s offspring and its name will stand before YHWH also speaks of divine commitment.¹¹⁸ The initial “because” (כי) in the verse is associated with vv. 18–21, and God’s commitment to his people will, therefore, continue to stand in the same way as his renewed cosmic sanctuary will stand in service before him. Here I would like to add that because the community is likened with how the renewed cosmic sanctuary will stand actively (note the participle) before God, so shall the people in the new world also continue to stand in active service before him. It is, however, uncertain who is covered by this commitment, i.e., to whom v. 22 refers with the opening כי. I find it unlikely that it refers only to the Gentiles,¹¹⁹ as the verse directly addresses the faithful group of Jews in the current Jerusalem. The choices left are whether it refers only to the Jews and their dispersed “brothers” or to both Jews and Gentiles. Smith argues that v. 22 “refers back to the faithful as a whole, to both Jews and foreigners,”¹²⁰ which I also find convincing for the reason that כי provides a conclusion that involves all those people in vv. 18–21 who will pilgrimage to the New Jerusalem. This does not imply, however, that in the *eschaton* Israel will disappear into a uniform people (see also v. 23a–b). On the contrary, both Jews and Gentiles will stand as equal partners before God in the new community.

That the faithful Jews in the current Jerusalem and the dispersed ones in 66:20 get to keep their identity in the *eschaton* is explained in v. 22 – that “your offspring

116. This is also true of the participle באה/בא in v. 18, and together they set the state of affairs in the new epoch, i.e. what God shall do.

117. See 5.4 *The Creation of New Heavens and a New Earth* (v. 17), p. 125.

118. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 521.

119. See e.g. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 292.

120. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 170.

and your name” will remain. Gardner has noticed that all passages in the Book of Isaiah prior to Isa 66 that mention “seed” or “offspring” (זרע) refer to people from Israel, but also that the occurrences of “seed” clarifies a division of Israel into the righteous and the wicked.¹²¹ Among those passages where Israel is described as the seed of the patriarchs, criticism is also expressed against them (e.g. Isa 43 and 48; see especially 48:18–19) because of their sinfulness. Gardner points out, therefore, that “the lack of religious and moral purity in the ‘seed’ [...], paves the way for the division of Israel [...] in later chapters of Isaiah where the ‘seed’ is the ‘seed’ of the new community.”¹²² This is confirmed in Isa 65–66, where the other two occurrences of זרע in the chapters, along with 66:22, are associated with both the patriarchs and the new community – explicitly in 65:9 (“I will bring forth offspring (זרע) from Jacob, [...]”) and implicitly in 65:23 (“For they are an offspring (זרע) blessed by YHWH, // and their descendants with them”). Gardner has observed the same about the “name” (שם), parallel to “seed” in 66:22, that in some Isaianic passages it applies to all of Israel¹²³ but in 65:15c (and 56:5) as a new name only to the faithful in the Jerusalem community.¹²⁴ The idea is not, therefore, that the Jewish identity will disappear with the new heavens and a new earth. However, as in the case of the “seed,” the occurrences of the “name” is also associated with the patriarchs, and especially with the Abrahamic covenant in 65:15c–16b.¹²⁵ I would, therefore, like to suggest that in 66:22 the author makes another association between the everlasting “seed/name” and the patriarchs, specifically with the Abrahamic covenant in mind, which would explain why the divine voice assures that “all flesh” (v. 23c) will also have a future covenant with YHWH.

As a confirmation of a number of implied references to the covenant of Abraham in Isa 65–66, the outcome for both Jews and the nations is decided in Isa 66:18–23. The outcome of the conflict between the groups in the Jerusalem community, as reflected in 56:9–21 and 65:1–66:17, is not that God will rescue all his people from the foreigners (the wish of the lamentation in 63:7–64:11), but rather that the survivors of all nations will be counted as God’s people because of the promise of an everlasting existence of the seed and legacy of the faithful. As Carr stresses, the fate of the nations in Isa 66 adds a new theme to the vision-account,¹²⁶ but the main emphasis in vv. 18–23 is on what will make it a reality. The parallelism between “my holy mountain Jerusalem” in v. 20 and “the new heavens and the new earth” in v. 22 is presented as an assurance of lasting existence for those who are being addressed and their offspring. This is an implicit reference to God’s

121. Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 21–25.

122. Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 22.

123. Isa 43:1; 44:5; 45:3–4; 48:1.

124. Gardner, “The Nature of the New Heavens and New Earth,” 25–27.

125. See 4.5.2 *Blessings* (vv. 15–16), p. 110.

126. Carr, “Reading Isaiah from Beginning (Isaiah 1) to End (Isaiah 65–66),” 211.

promise to Abraham in Gen 22:17 on a mountain in Moriah (see 2 Chron 3:1) which reads “I will indeed bless you, and I will make your offspring (זרעך) as numerous” with reference (כ) to both the heavens (השמים) and earth (“seashore” [על־שפת הים]). Also supporting a connection with the *Akedah* in Isa 66:20, 22 is Beuken’s suggestion that v. 22 refers to cultic ministry. The phrase “will stand before me/my face” (עמדים לפני) in v. 22b is presumed in the second half of that verse, which should be understood in the sense of standing in service “before me/my face.”¹²⁷ When v. 23c repeats the liturgical phrase from v. 22 in connection with “all flesh,” it also confirms the result of the blessings through Abraham’s offspring, that all people will be God’s servants.¹²⁸ In short, it is the belief in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that causes a kind of resurrection belief in 65–66 for all people with the total renewal of the heavens and earth, and the holy mountain Jerusalem.¹²⁹

9.5.3 Continued Worship (v. 23)

Isa 66:23 extends the theme in v. 22 about the new community’s everlasting existence in the presence of God to also include a continued worship of God. While v. 22 focuses on the faithful Jews and their offspring, the inclusivity has returned in v. 23: “And it shall be, from new moon to new moon, // and from Sabbath to Sabbath, // all flesh will come to bow down low before me, says YHWH.” The fact that v. 23 switches to a third person address is indicative of a more general statement about a new status quo, and is therefore not in conflict with v. 22. As is the case with 66:18–22, v. 23 also gathers themes from other passages and unite them in a universalistic perspective on the *eschaton*. The verse begins the same way as in 65:24, with והיה (“And it shall be”), which implies an intimacy explicitly stated in 65:24. Thus, in 66:23 the vision is of a new trustworthy fellowship, a covenant relationship, where God responds positively and immediately (cf. 65:1–2, 12 and 66:4) to the feasts the pilgrims will celebrate in the New Jerusalem. The mention of the sabbath (also offering and Levitical priests in vv. 20–21) implies that the Mosaic law will continue to be important for the sake of order, although God’s will is wisdom in people’s hearts (see 65:24). YHWH reacts with abhorrence to Israel’s new moon festivals and sabbath in 1:13–14,¹³⁰ but in 66:23 the opposite is

127. Beuken, “Isaiah Chapters lxx–lxxvi,” 214 n. 15.

128. See also Isa 48:18–19 and how it alludes to the covenant of Abraham.

129. See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 37.

130. Condemnation of new moon and sabbath cultic practice occurs only twice in the prophetic literature (Isa 1:13–14 and Hos 2:13). As Philip S. Johnston observes, this does not indicate a general disapproval, which Isa 66:23 (see also Ezek 45:17; 46:3) implies when visualising their future celebration (Philip Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* [Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2002], 192–193).

true because of their new relationship. Another reconnected theme in v. 23 is the significance of the sabbath for “all flesh” as a sign of continuity. It is parallel to keeping the sabbath in 56:1–8 in respect of foreigners. As Goldingay points out, the sabbath in both 66:23 and 56:1–8 is also “the sign of commitment,” with the difference that in 66:23 the sabbath is associated with pilgrimage and worship, which is unusual but does connect with Num 28:9–10 (11–15).¹³¹

“All flesh” (כל־בשר) in 66:23 is a universalistic restatement of “all the nations and languages” in v. 18 and “all your brothers from all the nations” in v. 20. As concluded above in connection with my discussion of vv. 18–20, the comprehensive “all” in vv. 18–24 concerns all the righteous in contrast to all the wicked.¹³² So, in v. 23 all the righteous “will come” as pilgrims to feast before God’s face.¹³³ The author has in mind the total number of repented Judahites and Gentiles, and those who do not repent in the end are referred to as dead in v. 24. Both “all flesh” and “will come” (יבוא), as well as the reference to the sabbath, refer back to 56:7 but stand in contrast to how the nations will come in submission to Zion (“to bow,” חוה) in 45:14; 49:7, 23; 60:14.¹³⁴ That all people will “bow down low” (השתחוה) in submission is also the situation visualised in 66:23c, but this time it happens in the worship of God.¹³⁵ The lexeme חוה is used once more in the Book of Isaiah, in 27:13, with “to come” (בא) for the purpose of “bow down” in worship (השתחוה) of YHWH “in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.” The theme of gathering “the sons of Israel” from the nations in v. 12 and the occurrences of בא and חוה with בהר הקדש בירושלם in v. 13, makes 27:12–13 a parallel to 66:18–23. The addition in the latter passage is that the Gentiles will come with the gathered Israel to the holy mountain Jerusalem so that they can worship together.¹³⁶ The universalistic streak in Isa 13–27 also stresses the continued text-tradition in the Book of Isaiah about salvation,¹³⁷ but 66:23c stresses even more that this will also involve repenting Gentiles.

In connection with 66:22, I concluded above that its author does not imagine that Jewishness will disappear as an identity.¹³⁸ Verse 23a–b confirms such an observation. The referrals to “your offspring” and “your name” in v. 22c, and to the Jewish feasts and the sabbath in v. 23a–b, are promises probably intended to assure the faithful in the current community of a continuity that would not rob them

131. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 522.

132. See “The emphasis is on all the nations,” p. 280.

133. Cf. Isa 30:29; 40:5; 45:23; Joel 2:28; Zech 14:16–21; Ps 42:5; 65:3; 145:21. However, Goldingay points out, particular in connection with Zech 14:16–17, that the universal worship in Isa 66:23 is “much more intense” (Goldingay, *Isaiah 56–66*, 522).

134. See again Stansell, “The Nations’ Journey to Zion,” 246.

135. For the motion of bowing down low (חוה) as worship, see Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 528.

136. See also Beuken, “YHWH’s Sovereign Rule and His Adoration on Mount Zion,” 103–105.

137. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, 379.

138. So also Beuken, “YHWH’s Sovereign Rule and His Adoration on Mount Zion,” 105–106.

of their traditions entirely. Of course, the presence of God in a renewed Jerusalem (not Persepolis) and references to offerings and the levitical priesthood in vv. 20–21 are other assurances of continuity. When vv. 18–23 advocate an equal standing before God regarding both Gentiles and Jews, it does not mean that Jews as a people shall cease to exist. Does it mean instead that in vv. 22–23 the Gentiles are expected to have converted? Does it mean that Gentiles will be assimilated to the Jewish people, when v. 23c declares, after all the promises of Jewish continuity, that “all flesh” (כל־בשר) will worship YHWH? The fact that 66:18–23 proceeds from or is a development of 56:1–8, could also suggest a process which ends with the assimilation of Gentiles. In my opinion, because כל־בשר is used in v. 16b and vv. 23–24 for all the wicked respective to all the righteous, the phrase has a similar but more specific function in v. 23c and v. 24 when it refers only to the righteous. So, when כל־בשר is used in those latter verses, it presupposes a distinction between faithful Jews and faithful Gentiles. Furthermore, because vv 18–20 describe the Gentiles and the dispersed Jews as two identities, and v. 21 is a symbolic expression of a new kind of priesthood characterised by equal standing before God, then there are no reasons to understand כל־בשר in terms of total assimilation.¹³⁹ I agree with Berges that v. 23 speaks about a time when Gentiles will accept and show respect for the Jewish calendar of feasts, and there will be no division of nations before God.¹⁴⁰ Berges suggest an allusion to Gen 6–9 and how Noah was not saved because of ethnic affiliation. I would like to add that “all flesh” in that section consisted of many groups of people but corruption became their downfall. In Isa 66:18–24, “all flesh” also represents many groups of people, but without corruption, repented and therefore saved.

9.6 The Death of the Wicked (v. 24)

In the eschaton, those who do not repent and survive the final judgement are referred to in 66:24 as dead: “Then they [the repented ones] will go out (ויצאו) [from Jerusalem] and look (וראו) on the corpses of those who rebelled (הפשעים) against me.” The relative participle הפשעים (“rebelled”) carries the meaning of having transgressed against God and thus refers back to all the participles describing the

139. There is an ambivalence about the exact status of Gentiles in relation to Israel in both the Biblical and Pseudepigraphic material. Donaldson’s explanation of this fact is the focus on Israel, even though it is expected that the Gentiles are also included in the eschatological salvation (Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 505). However, in Isa 66:18–24, the focus is on “all flesh,” and v. 21 does imply a more exact status for the Gentiles than what is often the case in the Post-Exilic and Second Temple period material. In favour of Donaldson, the direct address to the faithful in Jerusalem (vv. 20, 22) implies that this focus is more on Israel than on the Gentiles.

140. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 500 with “reference to the human race before any division into nations and ethnicities (Genesis 6–9).”

opponents' deeds in Isa 65:1–66:17. Moreover, it must also refer to those who did not survive or escape the sign in Isa 66:18. Thus, **הַפְּשָׁעִים** stands for a definitive and complete wickedness from which there is no future except as corpses. The subject of **יֵצֵא** (“to go out”) and **רָאָה** (“to see”) are those who have not broken away from God and are saved from the expected death of the rebellious. They are the Jews and Gentiles in vv. 20 and 23 (“all flesh”), and in v. 24 they will go forth and gaze upon the dead ones outside the New Jerusalem, probably in the valley of Hinnom.¹⁴¹ It is possible that the gazing will take place in connection with leaving Jerusalem after the pilgrimage to the city.¹⁴² The death of the rebellious is described visually in the last words of Isa 65–66: “For their worm will not die (**לֹא תָמוּת**) and their fire will not go out (**לֹא תִכְבֶּה**). They will be an abhorrence (**דְּרֹאיוֹן**) to all flesh.” The *yiqtol* forms used here in connection with “worm” (**תוֹלְעָה**) and “fire” (**אֵשׁ**) imply what shall be a reminder of the faithful’s reversed situation. The death of the wicked is portrayed as a continuous shame,¹⁴³ as their composting and burning bodies will be a public spectacle. It is also a message to the spectators in their new position, although it is difficult to assess how this relates to 65:17 (see also v. 16e–f), which promises that “the former things will not be remembered, they will not even come to mind.” If the corpses are the definitive sign of vindication, then it is a reminder that the faithful can put the former things behind them. When the bodies are gone (cf. Targ 66:24), it belongs to the past.

Death is included in many of the themes in Isa 65–66. In connection with the rebellious, such a destiny is explicitly stated in 65:12, 15 and 66:16, and therefore, implied in all the passages which threaten the rebellious with judgement. In 65:8d–e the voice of God explains that he will save his servants “in order not to destroy all,” which does not include the lives of the rebellious. In 66:4a–b, the divine voice promises again that he will, in a harsh way, bring on the rebellious what they dread (**מִגִּוְרָתָם**), but it is not specified what this refers to other than the rebellious “will be ashamed (v. 5g) and be repaid “recompense” for their complacent pride and deeds (v. 6c, see also 65:6–7). However, what God will bring upon the rebellious is specified in 66:24, when the “horrors” (**מִגִּוְרָתָהּ**) in 66:4b will be an “abhorrence” (**דְּרֹאיוֹן**) for God’s servants. Physical death is also referred to in connection with the faithful in 65:20.¹⁴⁴ Isa 65:20 visualises a radical reversal of life that will do away with conditions that extinguish life prematurely. Furthermore,

141. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 317. Because the Hinnom valley was the place for pagan worship outside Jerusalem, the author also finds this place suitable for the worm-eaten and burning corpses of the rebellious.

142. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 500.

143. Because the rebellious are dead, not in a state of afterlife, the worms and fire cannot speak about eternal suffering, but rather it illustrates the shame the rebellious are promised in 66:5g (see also Williamson, *Death and the Afterlife*, 136–137, cf. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 293–294).

144. See 5.7.1 *Lifespan* (v. 20), p. 141.

in 66:10–14b life conditions are characterised by joy and comfort through Zion. Nonetheless, the new life granted to the faithful in Isa 65–66 is not a liberation from death, even though it is not a question of punishment as in v. 24. Because the death in 66:24 is focused on that part of humanity which is evil, the lifespan of the faithful and their joy and comfort in the New Jerusalem before God, are presupposed in the verse. In short, death presented in 66:24 is very different from what is implied in 65:20.

In Isa 66:24, the death of the rebellious is spelled out in terms of corpses and horrors, a terminology which is also used to describe the fate of Israel's enemies in 14:19; 34:3 and 37:36. In 66:24, פִּגְר ("corpse") is also applied to the Jews. That would mean that part of Israel is regarded by the author of Isa 65–66 as a degenerated group of people not worth more than the corpses of idolatrous Gentiles.¹⁴⁵ "Corpses" is a unusual way to describe the people of Israel within the Isaianic tradition, and פִּשְׁע ("to rebel") is a more common way to describe the idolatrous behaviour of God's people. The close combination of פִּגְר and פִּשְׁע in 66:24 is unique in the Hebrew Bible, but the punishment of transgressors (פִּשְׁעִים) against God is specified as death in both Isa 66:24 and in Isa 1:28 (43:27–28). In 59:13, פִּשְׁע is a reason for repentance, but not as a self-evident act in 1:2, which is obviously the case also in Isa 65–66 and why this resulted in the condemnation in 66:24. However, in contrast to the salvation promised to all פִּשְׁעִים in 46:8 and 48:8 (פִּשְׁע), in 66:24 salvation is no longer an option for those who have transgressed against God. In Isa 53:12, the servant is counted with the פִּשְׁעִים, and in Isa 65–66 the servants are oppressed by the rebellious, but at the end of Isa 66 the only ones who are described as פִּשְׁעִים are the oppressors. Furthermore, their punishment with fire and worms has parallels in other parts of the Book of Isaiah, even though the former method is much more common than the latter. Regarding "their worm" (תוֹלְעָתָם), there is one counterpart in 14:11 which is part of a taunt against the king of Babylon, that he has been brought down to Sheol together with his wealth.¹⁴⁶ In Sheol, "[...] worms (תוֹלְעָה) are your covers," a proverb now turned against those in Isa 65–66 who taunted the tremblers in 66:5. They are the ones who will become a spectacle of horror for the faithful.

The Hebrew noun for "abhorrence" in 66:24 is רָרְאוּן, and in the Hebrew Bible it only occurs once more in Dan 12:2. Thus, the influence of 66:24 is evident in the latter verse. Both passages have in common a death that never ends for the transgressors,¹⁴⁷ although the mention of the corpses in 66:24 is avoided in Dan 12:2–3.

145. This low view of the rebellious group in Jerusalem is also expressed with the phrase "his enemies" in Isa 66:14d (see 8.3.2 *His Enemies* (v. 14d), p. 252).

146. 1 En. 46:6–7 contain a couple of allusions to Isa 14:11, 13 (Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 98), that also opens this up for an implied reference to Isa 66:24.

147. Jon D. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 190.

Nonetheless, the dead (“who sleep”) will awake from the “dust of the ground” (ארמת־עפר) and the wicked to “everlasting abhorrence,” which could allude to the corpses after judgement in Isa 66:24.¹⁴⁸ The comparisons between Dan 12:2 and Isa 66:24 are not, however, an indication of a two-fold resurrection in Isa 66,¹⁴⁹ and the destiny of the righteous is not other-worldly in 66:24. There are, however, sufficient similarities in Isa 66 to function as soil for the discourse of resurrection in the apocalyptic literature.¹⁵⁰ An actual afterlife is promised in Dan 12:2,¹⁵¹ but I agree with Levenson that a central point in both passages is vindication for both the righteous and for God. Thus, both texts are about the reversal of condition and status,¹⁵² a theme that complies with the rest of Isa 65–66.¹⁵³ The contrast between the two groups is noticeable in Isa 65–66, particularly when it comes to the reversal of destiny, and could also have laid the ground for a doctrine of resurrection; not least in 66:24, where the wicked shall suffer death and the righteous are assured of an everlasting existence for their name and offspring (v. 22c). In Dan 12:2, the righteous will be resurrected to what can be interpreted as an angelic life with God, but the unrighteous will resurrect “to shame” (לחרפות) and “to eternal abhorrence” (לדראון עולם). In Isa 66:5g, the rebellious are also promised that “they will be ashamed (הם יבש),” something which will extend into the new epoch when they, as corpses, will be openly exposed to the public instead of being buried.¹⁵⁴

As Berges states, 66:24 is not an apocalyptic addition to vv. 18–23 despite its thematic similarities to the latter genre. Instead it is an integrated part of the unit, and Isa 65–66 as whole, with the message “to all flesh” that the mountain of God shall become pure again and remain in that state.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, a joyful and comforting life is certainly implied in 66:22–24, waiting for those individuals who

148. See Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 21–23 for a discussion of different interpretation of the fate of the deceased body in Dan 12:1–3. Another Isaianic text that Dan 12:1–3 relies on is Isa 26:19. See also Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism*, 68–71, on how the language of prophecy in Isaiah provided an important precedent for resurrection in Dan 12:1–3.

149. For a discussion of similarities and contrasts between Isa 66 and Dan 12:2, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 33–38.

150. See also Isa 66:7–8, p. 217.

151. John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 391–393.

152. Levenson, *Resurrection and the Restoration of Israel*, 190–191.

153. E.g. 65:13–16, the change of direct address after 66:1–2, and the behaviour of foreigners in contrast to the rebellious in 66:20 which reflects a reversal of a post-exilic situation in Jerusalem to an eschatological future.

154. In a note, Johnston lists biblical texts that speaks with horror of unburied corpses (Johnston, *Shades of Sheol*, 178).

155. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 500–501; Webb, “Zion in Transformation,” 72. Whybray is of another opinion, and thinks that the author added the v. 24 out of determination that “the book should not end on a universalistic note,” and in agreement with the first oracle of the book (Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 293). That Isa 66:24 ends very similarly to how the book begins and that its universalism is limited to a remnant, do not make the verse less part of vv. 18–24.

choose YHWH, even though v. 24 does not associate this with the afterlife. Physical death is still part of life in vv. 18–24, even for the faithful, but the promise is that their name and offspring shall be vindicated with a reversal of conditions equal to a resurrection. The corpses of the rebellious are a sign of this vindication, and not a sign of a continues reassessment of the pilgrims' faithfulness to YHWH.¹⁵⁶ The former things are put behind. Nevertheless, although a clear message in vv. 18–24 is that "all flesh" may have access to God's presence, it is not a matter of course that a particular person or a group of people with Israelite heritage has a guaranteed place among God's servants.¹⁵⁷ My analysis has, however, determined that the eschatology in Isa 65–66 is unique in many ways and v. 24 is no different with its special emphasis on the inclusive "all flesh."

9.7 Isaiah 66:18–24 and Comparison with 1 Enoch

Isa 66:18–24 unites and finishes the themes in Isa 65–66, but also supplements in particular the *eschaton* in 65:17–25 with a limited universalism. This finale is a vision of providence for both Jews and Gentiles, where the holy mountain is the temple-city Jerusalem and the centre of God's activity as King in the new creation. Thus, 66:18–24 share themes with both TI and DI, but in comparison with the Book of Isaiah as a whole, the verses present a "visionary program"¹⁵⁸ that ultimately dissolves nationalism. Its universalism includes both repented foreigners and faithful Jews, but visualises the final result for all rebellious behaviour. In short, the present unfavourable situation for the faithful will be reverted. Isa 66:18–24 links up with promises mainly in DI about foreigners coming to Jerusalem in humiliation, but develops such oracles into a unique inclusive vision of equality. Nonetheless, this salvation does not include all people, but only those who are willing to confess YHWH as King in the New Jerusalem.

The first main theme in 66:18–24 is *The Mission of the Nations* (vv. 18–20),¹⁵⁹ which calls on converted gentiles to witness and bring home dispersed Jews to the holy mountain Jerusalem. Furthermore, this theme adds a dimension to the new epoch in Isa 65–66 which reprioritise privileges to include the nations' escapees of. The first sub-theme in vv. 18–20 aims at clarifying what "all nations" refers to, i.e. who will bring dispersed Jews to the temple-city in recognition of God as the universal King. In 1 En. 25:6; 90:30, 37–38; 91:14 we can also read about surviving nations who are saved after judgement because of God's mercy. However, those pas-

156. Cf. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah*, 500.

157. Webb, "Zion in Transformation," 79–80.

158. Davies, "The Destiny of the Nations in the Book of Isaiah," 117; Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah*, 167; Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile*, 17.

159. See p. 277.

sages mention nothing about God giving the nations a mission to go out in the world to gather dispersed Jews. In *ApocW*, the chosen within Israel are the ones who are commissioned in the seventh week to be “witnesses of righteousness” (93:10). This call stands in contrast to all those who are spreading depravity through their deeds in the apocalypse (v. 9), a behaviour of Israel from the pre-exilic sixth week (v. 8). The implied correlation of Abraham and his offspring in v. 5 with the election from the plant of righteousness in v. 10 will give the chosen full (“sevenfold”) revelation of their destiny, mission and affinity with all who are God’s chosen in creation. The commission in v. 10, therefore, is a mission of righteousness in a time of sin (vv 12–13), or as Stuckenbruck points out, a divine response to an evil generation.¹⁶⁰ The mission is completed in the ninth week, when the revelation in the seventh week is expanded to a “righteous law” to “all the sons of the whole earth” while all wickedness will vanish (v. 14a–b). Although, only the chosen within Israel are commissioned in *ApocW*, the call is first re-designed to the chosen tremblers in 66:2c–e because of wickedness in the community before it is broadened in 66:18–20.

The mission to all surviving nations in Isa 66:18–20 is preceded by the revelation and witnessing of God’s glory, which is “a sign” of both a trial and a standard as they respond to the call to find “your brothers” and bring them home as a symbolic offering to YHWH. This revelation is analogous to what we can read in 1 En. 93:10, where the chosen will be equipped for the divine call with “sevenfold wisdom and knowledge” (v. 10c)¹⁶¹ in connection with their commission to be “witnesses of righteousness.” God’s glory is closely associated with the “sign” in Isa 66:18–20, which is also an important sign that defines God in 1 Enoch. In the *BWatch* there are four doxologies each of which end a stage in Enoch’s eastward journey toward the ends of the earth. They appear in 22:14, 25:7, 27:5, and 36:4, where Enoch blesses God for his majesty and kingship. To this end, all these praises use the title “Lord (or ‘God/King’) of glory,” also occurring in 25:3; 27:3; 40:3; 63:2; 81:3; 83:8. In the Book of Luminaries, a variant of the title is found in 75:3 (“the Lord of eternal glory”). In addition to this title of God, “glory” is used in 1 Enoch to exalt God as the Lord of lords and the King of kings.¹⁶² As in Isa 66:18–19, the references to God’s glory in the doxologies of the *BWatch* mark out

160. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 123.

161. According to 4QEn⁸. Eth. reads: “[...] denen siebenfache Unterweisung über seine ganze Schöpfung zuteil werden soll” (Siegbert Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ 5 [Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984], 712; cf. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, 264; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 118), or “to whom shall be given sevenfold instruction concerning all his flock” (James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*, vol. 1 of 2, OTP [New York: Doubleday, 1983], 74).

162. E.g. 1 En. 9:4; 39:12; 40:1; 41:7; 49:2; 90:40. Nickelsburg says, the title Lord of glory “alludes to the effulgent splendor that envelops the enthroned deity [...] and complements other terms that define the transcendent God [...]” (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 316).

the ontological dualism in those texts (see especially 1 En. 25:7 and 36:4). Even though there are no direct allusions to Isa 65–66 in the doxologies from the *BWatch*, they do have God’s glory as a theme in common with the Isaianic text, especially when glory equals God’s kingship over all creation and that he deserves worship from all flesh. Like Enoch, when all people in Isa 66:18–20 see God’s glory, all will confess it before his glorious presence.

The second major theme in Isa 66:18–24 is *The New Priesthood* (v. 21),¹⁶³ which is the final stage of events that started with “a sign” in v. 19. The language in the verse demonstrates the equal status between Jews and Gentiles before God in the *eschaton*. The globalisation of the priesthood in Isa 66:21 is the result of the mission in vv. 18–20 and a climax in the future transformation. There are no explicit references in 1 Enoch to a priesthood, either in the present or in the future, although different texts in the book might carry critique against the present day office.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, the Enochic doxologies in 25:7 and 36:4, together with 22:14 and 27:5, give the journey in chapters 20–36 a liturgical touch with the worship of the Lord of glory,¹⁶⁵ which would indicate that Enoch has a priestly function in the vision. However, if we reflect on the concept of equal status before God in the new age, then we do find parallels. While total inequality describes the relationship between God and people in both texts, equality after the transformation of heavens and earth is what will characterise the relationship amongst Jews and Gentiles in the presence of God. 1 En. 25:6a reads, “[...] they [all the righteous] will rejoice greatly and be glad, and they will enter into the sanctuary”; at the end of the *AnApoc* in 1 En. 90:38 we read, “And I [Enoch] saw until all their species [the Gentiles] were changed [after repentance], and they all became white cattle [...]. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the cattle [as he had done over the white sheep, 90:33]”; and at the end of the *ApocW* in 93:17 we read that after the tenth week an everlasting age will set in, where “they [all humankind who looked ‘to the path of everlasting righteousness,’ v. 14d] will do piety and righteousness, [...]” As in Isa 66:21, and also in v. 23, all three passages above in 1 Enoch also indicate or imply acts of worship and piety in the presence of God, and which can be interpreted as common priestly behaviour in the new age.

The third major theme in Isa 66:18–24 is *The Pilgrimage of the Nations* (vv. 20, 22–23),¹⁶⁶ which offers a unique contribution about the servitude of the nations and their equal standing before God. Gentile and Jewish pilgrims alike will have the same status without an erased identity. This new situation is illustrated by assuring the latter that even if the New Jerusalem becomes the common destination for

163. See p. 290.

164. E.g. Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Inter-marriage,” 27–47.

165. See also Olson, *1 Enoch*, 915.

166. See p. 292.

“all flesh,” their existence will ensure and they will continue to worship God in their way without corruption. The future global pilgrimage to the temple-city, therefore, is a vision of how, with God’s peace, all repenting people will stream to this centre of the world in recognition of him as the universal King.¹⁶⁷ This pilgrimage is also the effects of the judgement and mission in 1 En. 25:6; 90:30, 37–38; 91:14. In those passages, already touched upon above, the pilgrimage of the nations to the house of God/Jerusalem is also the result of transformation and divine mercy. Of particular note in 25:6 is the New Jerusalem, and its archetype in 26:1–2, the centre of the earth for all worshippers of God in the new age. What is also significant, is that after the transformation in the *AnApoc* (1 En. 90:28–38) the Jews and the Gentiles continue to be different species (sheep and cattle) but of the same colour (white). This suggests what I have discussed above about identity in Isa 66:20, 22–23, namely that in neither text who you are is not erased with the coming of the *eschaton*. The last point to observe in connection with 66:20, 22–23 is that in 1 Enoch the law is revealed as wisdom to the chosen ones (e.g. 1 En. 5:8; 82:1–3), while in Isa 66:20–23 the Mosaic law still plays a certain role in the *eschaton* (see however the comments on 65:24).

The fourth major theme in Isa 66:18–24 is *The Death of the Wicked* (v. 24),¹⁶⁸ which the author visualises as a physical death. The corpses will remain unburied while putrefying and burning in the valley of Hinnom. Death is not perceived as eternal (see 65:16e–f, 17b–c), but continues until the worms and the fires have done their job. The expectation is that shame will befall the rebellious (the unburied), and the faithful will experience vindication (by looking at the unburied).¹⁶⁹ Even though 66:24 is about death without afterlife, the reversal of conditions for the faithful resembles a resurrection to a new kind of life. I have already shown the difference between the bodily resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked in 1 Enoch, and the new existence for the faithful in Isa 65–66 which does not rule out death even for the latter group of people. However, texts like 1 En. 22:13 and also Dan 12:2 imply that God will not raise all from the dead on judgement day. Only the righteous, whose names are written in the heavenly book (cf. Isa 65:6a, 8), and the wicked who have sinned against the covenant, will be raised from the ground.¹⁷⁰ Although Isa 66:24 does not divide dead people as 1 En. 22:13, what they do have in common is that one category of people will keep on living while the other will have no lasting existence.

To conclude this final theme in Isa 65–66 about the death of the wicked, which also ends the whole Book of Isaiah, I observe how different the eschatology in Isa

167. See also the discussion of pilgrimage in 7.3.4 *The Centre of the World* (cc. 12b–c), p. 228; and 7.5 *Isaiah 66:7–14b and Comparison with 1 Enoch*, p. 234.

168. See p. 301.

169. See also Isa 66:5g and 66:2c–e, 7–14b.

170. See Segal, *Life After Death*, 275–279, 291–292.

65–66 is in comparison to the exilic and pre-exilic prophecy in the Book of Isaiah. I think, therefore, that the reversed new life in Isa 66, after the transformation of the creation and the renewal of Jerusalem, in some ways resembles how the discourse is presented in the apocalyptic literature.¹⁷¹ The same impression persists when looking at Isa 65–66 as a whole. The faithful can expect vindication while the verdict lands on the rebellious for their engagement in false worship and their breaking of the covenant. In short, the promise of restoration in the text is a total reversal of the vulnerable position of the faithful, which also involves a transformed cosmos and an inclusion of all people for salvation and service to God. The pattern is progressive, the eschatological expectation is built up in the text, and the final climax is in 66:18–24, with similarities to the apocalyptic genre.

The Abrahamic covenant is visible in this final unit of Isa 65–66, as well as in the other units of our text, first of all in the universalistic vision of “all nations” before God on the holy mountain of Jerusalem. The sign in v. 19, referring to God’s power and glory is analogous to Abraham’s experience of God’s signs in heaven and on earth that all people would be blessed in his offspring. Furthermore, in the same way as Abraham brought his son Isaac to the mountain of Moriah as an offering to God, in v. 20 the survivors of nations will bring “your brothers” onto the holy mountain Jerusalem as “an offering to YHWH.” Moreover, in v. 22 there is an association between the everlasting “seed/name” and the patriarchs, which explains that “all flesh” (v. 23) will have a future covenant with YHWH. In short, an important background to the current unit is the *Akedah* and vv. 18–23 concerns what will make it a reality for both Jews and Gentiles. This emphasis on “all flesh” in 66:18–24 is also a main reason why, in many ways, this vision-account resembles the universalistic visions of reversal in 1 Enoch, even though the idea of afterlife is not yet developed.

171. Therefore, I think Collins somewhat overstates the discontinuity when he explains: “Even in the matter of eschatology, however, TI is still closer to preexilic prophecy than to Daniel or *Enoch*, although ‘the continuity of the tradition should not be denied’ (Collins, *Daniel*, 20).

Chapter 10: Conclusion

In this work, I have analysed different themes in Isa 65–66 and demonstrated that a number of these themes lean toward apocalypticism. These last two chapters in the Book of Isaiah differ thematically from the typical prophetic genre in the Hebrew Bible, not so much with regard to the generic labelling of literary styles, but more in the way the themes are presented. I have discussed this literary development by illustrating how the themes in Isa 65–66 have left marks in 1 Enoch. For more in-depth analysis of the relationship between Isa 65–66 and 1 Enoch than what I am offering in this work, I refer in the introduction (and also in connection with Isa 65:17–25 and 66:1–6) to two articles, one about the New Jerusalem and the other about the Temple of God.¹ In chapter 2, titled “The Apocalyptic and Prophetic Genre,” I argue for a theory of genre that explains it as being fluid with the function of communicating messages rather than classifying texts.² This view on genre has been a guiding principle throughout this study, but I have nonetheless still chosen to distinguish between the prophetic and apocalyptic genres for methodological reasons. I have found it helpful to keep them separated, in order to see the prophetic more clearly in a text such as 1 Enoch which also has distinctive marks as an apocalypse.

The main task of this project is, however, to understand Isa 65–66 and its themes. In 65:1–7, we have the accessibility of God (vv. 1–2), the provocations of the rebellious (vv. 3–5), and the first reference to God’s judgement (vv. 6–7). While 65:1–7 focuses on the rebellious and ends with a threat of judgement, 65:8–16 introduces the dualism between faithfulness and wickedness in the text: the salvation and judgement (vv. 8–12) and the destinies of the faithful and rebellious (vv. 13–16). After describing the reverse future destinations, in contrast to the current situation, the focus changes to a vision of cosmic transformation and a new epoch (vv. 17–25): the creation of new heavens and a new earth (v. 17), the New Jerusalem and her people (v. 18), the rejoicing in the new creation (vv. 18–19b), the restored paradisiac life (vv. 19c–23), and the restored paradisiac relationships (vv. 24–25). While the eschatological perspective is integrated in the text from 65:6 on, the account stays focused on the local situation in Jerusalem. The author seems to restrain the idea of inclusion until the dualistic contrast between the righteous and the wicked, between the present and the future, between heaven and earth, and between God and humankind is fully explained.

In Isa 66:1–6, the author returns temporarily to the contemporary situation, but with themes that are not all new at this point in the text: the presence of God (vv.

1. See 1.1 *Task*, p. 1.

2. See 2.1.1 *The Fluid Nature of Genre*, p. 31.

1–4, 6a–b), followed by expectations of vindication and conviction of the rebellious because of their lack of repentance (vv. 2c–e, 3e–4), and God’s recompense to the rebellious (vv. 5–6). In Verse 6, the eschatological vision dominates with the judgement from Zion and as a transition to the figurative song of a restored Zion in 66:7–14b. It begins with Zion as a mother (vv. 7–12, 13c–14b), with focus on all the faithful who belong to her, but deviates from that for a moment by describing God also as a loving mother comforting through Zion her people (v. 13a–b). In this unit (vv. 7–14b), Zion is presented as the centre of life, the centre of God’s mercy, the centre of joy and comfort, and the centre of the world; but we also have the first reference to universalism (v. 12b–c) in Isa 65–66. In 66:14c–17 the vision-account finally returns to the theme of eschatological judgement, but this time as a global event: first by differentiating between God’s servants and God’s enemies (v. 14c–d), and second by presenting a complementary image of God (to the one in v. 13a–b) as an all-powerful and wrathful divine warrior (vv. 14d–16) who will implement a brutal final judgement on all wicked people (vv. 16–17).

Isa 65–66 has a third major vision-account in 66:18–24, which visualises the destiny of all flesh which has repented to God in contrast with the eternal death of all wicked people. These last verses are an eschatological closure which unites and develops themes in Isa 65–66 (and in 56–66) to their final height of universalism. The emphasis is on a global remnant and the reversal of their situation by vindication. Four themes make this evident: the mission of nations (vv. 18–20), the new priesthood (v. 21), the pilgrimage of the nations (vv. 20, 22–23), and the death of the wicked (v. 24). I have suggested different ways how all these themes in Isa 65–66 relate to each other and how they influence the structure of Isa 65–66. There is more than one way to look at it, which reflects how dynamic the text is, as a whole, particularly when the author develops his themes towards the *eschaton* in 66:18–24. In short, this work about themes in Isa 65–66 is divided into chapters which cover the seven units in Isa 65–66. Each of these chapters has a conclusion where I have discussed my exegetical results in more detail than in this concluding chapter. There are, however, results in my research that I find essential and would like to emphasise below.

The themes show that the real emphasis in Isa 65–66 is more on principles, whether ideological or theological, than on a historical situation. The setting becomes less important compared to the rest of the Book of Isaiah because of its eschatological perspective. Despite that, we can still learn from Isa 65–66 that the political situation with Persian hegemony over Judah was not taken for granted.³ Our text does have some historical connections, such as the characterisation of the rebellious/faithful and the presence of a temple (66:1–2b). Above all, it is the text’s eschatological perspective on a New Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, God on

3. Thus, I differ with Schramm on this point (see Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 75–80).

his throne in that city, and the pilgrimage of all nations to the temple-city which suggest a resistance against Persian imperial ideology. Still, as Schramm also correctly states, only when we read Isa 65–66 (and TI as well), in the light of the Book of Isaiah as a whole, can we fully appreciate the vision of new heavens and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem.⁴ Then, the visionary's current world is transformed by God into a new cosmos. In the apocalyptic literature, this drastic revision of history is fully developed, a process to which the vision-speech in Isa 65–66, with its vision of vindication and reversal of positions, has contributed.

In my analysis of Isa 65–66, I repeatedly return to the issue of repentance as a constant theme implied in the rhetoric of the passage. It has the function of persuading, even in 65:18a–b, when the divine voice in the text threatens the rebellious with judgement and promises salvation to the chosen ones. The intent is to convince the rebellious in the community to repent when facing the imminent transformation of the heavens and earth and God's will to bring in universalism. This intention is implied not least in the stark dualistic contrast and rapid alternation between destinies and, therefore, does not only reflect internal division in the Jewish community. This offer of repentance is part of the rhetoric at least up to 66:2, after which direct address to the rebellious ends. The recurring call-theme (קרא) in 65:1–2, 12c–f, 24 and 66:4c–f is an attempt to convince the rebellious of their guilt. In 66:4c–f, the condemnation of the rebellious is definitely irrevocable, after having described them in the third person in 65:1–2, directly addressing them in v. 12c–7, and subsequently describing the new relationship for them in v. 24. In short, the author of Isa 65–66 speaks on behalf of the faithful and the oppressed, and develops this issue into an eschatological vision of a transformed new world with individual salvation for all who repent. Thus, as is often the case in apocalyptic thinking, the deterministic world view in Isa 65–66 reflects expectations with room for repentance and faithfulness.

In this work, there have been many references to the tradition and covenant of Abraham. The author of Isa 65–66 does not dream about a new Davidic kingdom, but of a new age that includes a remnant of "all flesh" all of whom are equally blessed by God. All the different allusions and implied references to Abraham in the text have progressively prepared the minds of those addressed that there is also a covenant and salvation for the Gentiles. Why would the author give these Gentile pilgrims equal status before God? As observed in connection with 66:21, the equal status is a development from 56:1–8. The author's antipathy towards the Judahite priesthood must also have influenced an inclusive view of the people of God based on the Abrahamic covenant. A third reason, which the text does not clearly state but which is, nonetheless, still a possibility, is that the faithful in TI were not the only ones in the Persian empire who experienced oppression. As a

4. Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah*, 79–80.

group, who were “all the nations and languages” in 66:18–19 if not the assumed marginalised people in the Persian Empire who are survivors because God hears and responds to their cries as in v. 2c–e. In that case, the author argues that the nations in vv. 18–19 also belong to the faithful in Isa 65–66 who through the patriarchal covenant will find vindication before YHWH in the New Jerusalem.

Isa 65–66 is a unique prophetic text in the Book of Isaiah, even though the account is part of a framework that comprises the whole book. In addition to how the form in Isa 65–66 alternates between the rebellious and the faithful, and the rarity of some of its words/phrases,⁵ a number of its themes are presented with details that separate them significantly from similar themes in other parts of the Book of Isaiah. These themes are still grounded in the prophetic tradition, but in my opinion, some of those themes also lean towards what we today define as apocalypticism. The following are examples of themes applied in a unique way in Isa 65–66:

1. *Dualism*. The contrast regarding the destinies of the faithful and rebellious (65:8–16), the differentiation between the present situation and the new age (65:1–7 and 17–25; 66:1–6/14c–17 and 7–14b/18–24), and God as creator/king and his servants suggest a stark dualism in Isa 65–66.
2. *The creation of new heavens and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem for her people*. Although Isa 65:17–18 is dependent on DI for the use of בּוֹרָא, the application of the term is unique in Isa 65. With this term, the idea of creative redemption in DI is transferred to the vision of a new epoch.
3. *The New Jerusalem as a temple city*. In Isa 65:18c, the renewed city receives a central role in a transformed cosmos. As a special place for God’s presence in a future world sanctuary, she will function as the *Axis Mundi* and as the mount for God’s enthronement (65:25d–e; 66:20).
4. *The presence of God and the temple*. Isa 66:1–2b, 6a–b as a supplement to 65:17–18 show that the temple and the New Jerusalem blend into one single institution, which is unique in the prophetic history of Israel. This perspective of the true temple is like an eschatological superstructure.
5. *Zion as a mother*. In Isa 66:7–14b, the author uses figurative language about Zion as the very centre of the world. The metaphors in the unit are deployed in several unique ways, compared to similar uses in other parts of the prophetic corpus.

5. E.g. בֶּשֶׂר הַחֲזִיר (“the flesh of swine”) in Isa 65:4c and 66:17c; the combination שִׂישִׁי (“be glad”) and גִּילִי (“rejoice”) in Isa 65:18a; the application of שֹׁאֵן (“uproar”) in Isa 66:6a.

6. *God's servants and God's enemies.* In Isa 66:14d, the phrase אֵיבֵיִי expresses a differentiation between God's servants and God's enemies within the Jerusalem community which is found nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Even Isa 1:24 shows no sign of such differentiation.
7. *The pilgrimage of the nations and equality.* In Isa 66:20–23, the eschatological pilgrimage includes all redeemed flesh (see also 66:12b–c). Such a *Völkerwallfahrt* makes it a unique vision of the servitude of the nations and the equal standing before God – irrespective of Jews and Gentiles.
8. *The death of the wicked.* In Isa 66:24, the corpses of the rebellious burn in what probably is the valley of Hinnom. In the verse, the close combination of פֶּגֶר (“corpse”) and פִּשְׁעוֹ (“to rebel”) is unique in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, דְּרֹאֵן (“abhorrence”) only occurs once more in Dan 12:2.

Thus, my analysis has determined that the eschatology in Isa 65–66 is unique in many ways, especially when it ends in 66:24 with its special emphasis on the inclusive “all flesh.” The eight points above are combined with a marked individualism, which also separates Isa 65–66 from the rest of the prophetic corpus in the Book of Isaiah. Salvation is offered to a cluster of people within Israel, each of whom can still produce righteousness because of the fear of God. As the chosen ones, as individuals they will receive a new close relationship with God in a restored paradisiac environment and become God's servants. In combination with eschatology, this individualism is extended to all flesh in Isa 66. The author visualises that among humankind there will be those who will respond to the glory of God, and who will also become servants of the great King.

Isa 65–66 lean towards a new worldview which we today define as apocalypticism. It does not mean that Isa 65–66 contain everything characteristic for apocalypticism, such as the periodisation of history, life after death, and evil spiritual powers in the form of fallen angels that will be judged for their wickedness in the presence of angels who have not fallen (1 En. 91:15, see also v. 16b). However, mentions of angels in Isa 65–66 are possibly found in 65:8 and the reference to “his chariots” in 66:15b does imply a heavenly host. Furthermore, although it is more speculative, the emphasis in Isa 65–66 that individuals will become God's chosen “servants” (66:14c) could have prepared the soil for the idea of angelification of humans in an apocalyptic text such as 1 Enoch. The term God's servants is also a designation for the angels, who come before God with intercession and worship as in Isa 66:23 (cf. 1 Enoch 9:1–11). In any case, my argument that Isa 65–66 lean towards apocalypticism explains points where Isa 65–66 differentiate from its prophetic tradition, and suggests further research in questions that concerns its relationship with apocalyptic thinking such as dualism, determinism, and the presence of God.

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Stefan Green

Toward Apocalypticism

A Thematic Analysis of Isaiah 65–66

In this work, Stefan Green analyses different themes in Isa 65–66 and demonstrated that a number of these themes lean toward apocalypticism. These last two chapters in the Book of Isaiah differ thematically from the typical prophetic genre in the Hebrew Bible, not so much with regard to the generic labelling of literary styles, but more in the way the themes are presented. Green discusses this literary development by illustrating how the themes in Isa 65–66 have left marks in 1 Enoch. It is, therefore, the author's hope to contribute to the discussion of the functional relationship between the prophetic and apocalyptic genre and their discourses.