



Jakub Ślawik

Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw

ORCID: 0000-0001-7867-7714

Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah 61:1–11: Redaction Criticism and Inquiry into the Identity of the Prophet Known as Trito-Isaiah¹

Abstract: The exegesis of Isa 61 demonstrated that the chapter is a separate composition, which comprises a framing device in vv. 1–3.10.11, and a middle section in vv. 4–9. This section did not have to originate as a single fragment. From the literary-critical standpoint, the suspect element is v. 3aa, which currently serves to connect Isa 61 with the adjacent chapters 60, and 62. However, it is best to interpret the pericope as a single whole, with the speaker being the prophetic “I,” stylised after the servant-prophet from the Deutero-Isaiah’s Songs of the Servant of the Lord. Behind this “I,” there are probably the tradents of Deutero-Isaiah’s traditions, updating his promises and adding new ones. In that case, the prophet Trito-Isaiah, who was to be reminiscent of the earlier prophets, speaking before the people, never existed. That, however, does not alter the fact that the tradents did consider themselves to be the servant of the Lord, and regarded their mission to be a prophetic one.

Keywords: Trito-Isaiah, interpretation of Isa 61, literary criticism, redaction criticism, scribal prophecy (*schriftgelehrte Prophetie*), ministry of a scribal prophet

1. Introduction

Since the breakthrough commentary by Bernard Duhm (1982), the Book of Isaiah has been divided into three sections: Proto-Isaiah (chapters 1–39), Deutero-Isaiah (40–55), and Trito-Isaiah

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(56–66), created in different time periods, that is, respectively, the pre-exilic, the exilic, and the post-exilic. The last of these parts deals with the situation in the post-exilic Jerusalem, or Judah. It has also been recognised for a long time that Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah are not only thematically, but also linguistically related, a fact which led Karl Elliger to the conclusion that Trito-Isaiah was a disciple of Deutero-Isaiah.² However, extensive research into the history of the redaction both of the Trito-Isa (Klaus Koenen,³ Odil Hannes Steck,⁴ Wolfgang Lau⁵), and of the Deutero-Isa (most of all Reinhard Gregor Kratz,⁶ and Jürgen van Oorschot⁷) resulted in the change in the perception of the third part of the Book of Isaiah, where we come across the *schriftgelehrte Prophetie*, a scribal prophecy, not rooted in oral heralding by the prophet, but is instead founded upon the earlier transmissions. However, whereas W. Lau spoke of a prophet-scribe, and of a prophetic personality, O.H. Steck argues that we are not dealing with a prophet in the likes of Amos, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, or even the anonymous Deutero-Isaiah, but with a circle of tradents (persons responsible for transmitting tradition), who in fact edited the Book of Deutero-Isaiah, while subsequently the entirety of the Book of Isaiah.⁸ Such a perception of the texts in Isa 56–66 is based upon the observation that these chapters constitute larger literary compositions, without any smaller units behind them, nor wide-ranging at time literal drawing from the earlier chapters of Deutero-Isa or the entire Isa. In the case of Deutero-Isa it was different,⁹ even though there, too, more and more often compositions are mentioned, of which it is increasingly difficult to

² K. Elliger, *Deuterocesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritocesaja*. So also W.H. Schmidt, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 269.

³ *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritocesajabuch*.

⁴ *Studien zu Tritocesaja*.

⁵ *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*.

⁶ *Kyros im Deuterocesaja-Buch*.

⁷ *Von Babel zum Zion*.

⁸ See in particular O.H. Steck, "Anschlußprobleme einer redaktionellen Entstehung von Tritocesaja," 270–5.

⁹ It is enough to consult such commentaries as: K. Elliger, *Jesaja 40,1-45,7*; H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 45,8-49,13*, and idem, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, or J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, and idem, *Isaiah 49-55*. Similarly: O.H. Steck, "Anschlußprobleme einer redaktionellen Entstehung von Tritocesaja," 271 n. 5.

bring out the annunciation of the alleged prophet.¹⁰ O.H. Steck claimed that it was impossible to recognise the “small textual units” in Trito-Isa,¹¹ whereas W. Lau was able to discover more or less “relatively independent fragments,” thematic units (it is supposed to pertain mostly to chapter 61),¹² but even then only in the form of larger compositions, which typically benefit and quote from the earlier texts, predominantly from Deutero-Isa. Were we to critically verify the thesis according to which it is in fact starting from Trito-Isa that we are no longer dealing with typical prophecy, which in essence meant the heralding of the word of YHWH, but instead with a written transmission and actualisation though in-depth literary reworking thereof,¹³ we would have to turn to Isa 60–62, about which scholars tend to agree that they constitute the core of the Trito-Isaiah’s tradition,¹⁴ around which the later editorial material was (concentrically) structured.¹⁵ Furthermore, chapter 61 seems to have been situated at the centre of it,¹⁶ although its relation

¹⁰ Since the 1980s a change has occurred in the research paradigm of the Old Testament exegesis: the point of balance was shifted from the search for (the original) small textual units to the study of larger compositions, at times spanning entire books – with regard to Deutero-Isa, see the following commentaries: K. Baltzer, *Deutero-Jesaja*; U. Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, and idem, *Jesaja 49-55* (whereas, say, with regard to Psalms: F.L. Hossfeld, E. Zenger, *Psalmen 51-100*, and *Psalmen 101-150*).

¹¹ O.H. Steck, “Anschlußprobleme einer redaktionellen Entstehung von Tritojesaja,” 271; also J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 41.

¹² So W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 89.

¹³ See *ibid.*, 320–1.

¹⁴ W.H. Schmidt, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 267; H.-W. Jüngling, “Das Buch Jesaja,” 437, 444; C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 280; O.H. Steck, “Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Hypothese zu Tritojesaja im Umriß,” 14; W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 19–20; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 206; J. Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 6, and *passim*. That consensus is also referred to in the two recent studies: S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, and A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt* (see in particular 12).

¹⁵ H.-W. Jüngling, “Das Buch Jesaja,” 438; in a similar vein W.H. Schmidt, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 268–9, and J. Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56-66*, 5.

¹⁶ H.-W. Jüngling, “Das Buch Jesaja,” 438; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 206.

to the surrounding chapters have been variously understood.¹⁷ The analysis of Isa 61 may therefore serve to verify the hypotheses on the origin of the final section of the Book of Isaiah, as well as the very person of the alleged prophet. The interpretation of that chapter continues to be debated; hence the need to scrutinise it in detail, both in terms of the motifs used therein and their potential meanings, as well as its literary integrity and provenance.

2. The Analysis of Isa 61

The speaker introduces himself (v. 1) as having been endowed with the spirit of the Lord. The expression of the spirit of the Lord upon the prophet is paralleled in the first of the Servant Songs (42:1), where it is an element of the servant's equipment enabling him to perform his task (so, too, Mic 3:8).¹⁸ The spirit indicates the royalty of the messenger (1 Sam 16:13–14, and regarding the future ruler in Isa 11:2),¹⁹ whereas his mission, as in the Servant Song mentioned above, is carried out largely through his heralding (Isa 42:2–3). Thus, much like the servant of the Lord he exercises the prophetic function (cf. also Isa 59:21; further Num 11:25.29).²⁰ As a noun clause was used, we can infer that it is a constant state of being

¹⁷ For instance, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 89, 117, considers it to have been a separate unit, however one created by the same person as Isa 60 and 62, and placed at the centre of the composition by the author; O.-H. Steck, "Zu jüngsten Untersuchungen von Jes 60-62," 119–39, unites Isa 60* and 61* into a single whole, whereas in Isa 62, he discovers three subsequent layers of redaction; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 208–10, highlights chapter 61, but ultimately argues that Isa 60–62 are made of varied material, even though it is difficult to decide whether or not the compilation resulted from combined efforts by many authors. It is worth noting that it was already B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 423–4, who regarded it as either the opening or the centre of the Trito-Isaiah's message, introducing the prophetic programme.

¹⁸ C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 291, does in fact recognise Mic 3:8 as the closest parallel.

¹⁹ About that issue, most of all: O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht*, 18–31, here in particular 22–3; K. Elliger, *Jesaja 40,1-45,7*, 204–5.

²⁰ In Isa 42:1–4, there occurs the fusion of the charismatic, royal elements with the prophetic ministry: R. Albertz, C. Westermann, תהי, *THAT II*, 726–753, 726–727, and 750. The same expression appears in another sense also in Isa 44:3.

endowed with the spirit of the Lord.²¹ The speaker thus takes as his example the royal servant-prophet in Isa 42:1.²² Compounds of the name of YHWH with אֲדֹנָי, which may also serve as one of God's names, are not a rare occurrence in the Old Testament; moreover, they emerge three times in the third Servant Song (Isa 50:4.5.9), and in Isa 48:12 in relation to the prophetic mission (in an identical grammatical form), together with the spirit of the Lord.²³ Such a “double” name of God seems to be related to the prophetic annunciation,²⁴ and particularly to the prophetic ministry of the servant of YHWH, who is supported and protected by God. Furthermore, as it can also be found in v. 11b, it constitutes a framing device, encompassing the entire chapter, and emphasising that the coming salvation is a thing of God's making.²⁵ The endowment with the spirit is the result of having been anointed by YHWH (pf.). It was associated with the institution of kingship (e.g., Ps 45:8), even though there is a single instance of an anointment of a prophet (1 Kgs 19:16).²⁶ However, in Isa 61, the anointed one must be understood

²¹ See also J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 269.

²² W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 69. While pointing out that being endowed with the spirit has its *Sitz im Leben* in apologetics, he put forth a supposition that the prophet speaking here had to face the charge of being a false prophet. Nevertheless, the associations with the Song of the Servant of the Lord serve as a good enough explanation of the application of that motif, royal in its origin.

²³ W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 67 n. 201, believes the word אֲדֹנָי to be an interpolation, as it is missing in many important sources (Q^a, V, and LXX, where there is a single κύριος), and on no other occasion do we find in the Hebrew Bible the expression “spirit of the Lord Yahweh.” However, due to the fact that the word serves a compositional function (cf. v. 11, and passim), one can hardly consider its removal plausible.

²⁴ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 269.

²⁵ W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 88 n. 314, again considers אֲדֹנָי to have been inserted, for in Q^a we have אֱלֹהִים, in LXX a singular κύριος, while he believes the change to also be corroborated by the metre. In my view, Q^a supports indirectly MT.

²⁶ About that notion J.A. Soggin, תְּלֵךְ, *THAT I*, 908–920, here 913–914: anointing of a king is mentioned for the total of thirty-two times in the Hebrew Bible (with the exception of Isa 45:1, it is always of a king of Israel/Judah, however, the instance in 1 Kgs 19:15 has in all likelihood been overlooked), and besides that of a priest (a high priest), or a patriarch. In the case of the king, it is associated with his inviolability, and at times also with the gift of the Spirit (1 Sam 16:13).

metaphorically.²⁷ The suffix is not attached to the verb but to the direct object marker, which might be seen as an emphasis placed upon the role and the significance of the messenger.²⁸ The prophet introducing himself has not only been anointed, but also sent by God (שליח).²⁹ Now, the task before him is that of preaching and heralding. It is already the verb בשר Piel (heralding good tidings in Isa 40:9; 52:7;³⁰ 41:27; also 60:6; Ps 96:2),³¹ but most of all the subsequent infinitive forms do not leave any doubts as to the fact that it is the tidings of salvation the messenger is proclaiming. The same way, the twice used verb קרא refers to a prophetic annunciation (e.g., Isa 40:6; Jer 2:2; 3:12; 1 Kgs 13:32),³² carrying the salvific message (Isa 40:2; 58:1). The phrase קרא דרור appears again in Lev 25:10, and Jer 34:8.15.17 for announcing or proclaiming a decree about freeing slaves in a jubilee year (either seventh or fiftieth; cf. also

²⁷ Quit rightly C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 291. Nowhere else did the prophet refer to himself as the God's anointed one – J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 270.

²⁸ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 269.

²⁹ The verb generally means sending someone on a mission, it often pertains to prophets (e.g., Isa 6:8, and 48:16). On the basis of that verb, K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 104–5, argues that the anointed one here is indeed the prophet.

³⁰ In these verses it is Zion/Jerusalem that is the herald, a fact from which O.-H. Steck, “Der Rachttag in Jesaja 61,2,” 107 n. 4; 111 n. 22; and 117 n. 43, proving its literary dependence on 40:1–9, concludes that the identity of the speaking “I” is Zion (so, too, A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 210–14). Such interpretation, however, proves problematic: 1) juxtaposed against “those who mourn Zion” (O.-H. Steck considers this expression to be a later insertion; on that see below), it would mean that the personalised Zion has a task to perform directed to those who mourn it; thus, the metaphor would be incoherent, for the “deceased” would be comforting the “mourners”; 2) how should one understand the “anointing” and “endowing with spirit” of a personalised Zion? Even less plausible seems the thesis that Isa 61:1–3 was the realisation of what Zion was called to do in 60:1–3, becoming the light for those dwelling in the darkness (so A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion*, 214, who does herself acknowledge that the metaphors of light are entirely absent in 61:1–3). *Contra* to that, already W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 67, 73 (70 n. 210, where he also critically comments about the identification of the messenger with the priest).

³¹ Hence the translation thereof in LXX as εὐαγγελίσασθαι (aor.). For more on that verb, see R. Ficker, תְּלַאֵךְ, *THAT I*, 900–907, in particular 903–904.

³² As a *terminus technicus* – C.J. Labuschagne, קרא, *THAT II*, 666–674, in particular 667–669.

Ezek 46:17),³³ that is, returning freedom and possessions (lost because of debt).³⁴ Even though the messenger presents himself using the kingly motifs, what he means here is probably not issuing of a royal decree, but a prophetic announcement of liberation from the yoke of any kind of slavery.³⁵ The parallel form פָּקַח-קוֹן was probably derived from the root פָּקַח,³⁶ which on all occasions, with the exception of Isa 42:20 (“ears”), is connected with the direct object “eyes” (as in Isa 42:7); thus, such an implicit object should also be assumed here: after leaving the long-standing darkness (as prison was referred to in Isa 42:7, and 49:9), the eyes slowly commence to see.³⁷ The activity of the messenger is also to lead to healing, and comforting of those, who are dejected,³⁸ broken inside (metaphorical use of the Piel of פָּקַח means, among other things, tending wounds, and bruises, cf. Isa 1:6), and it incontrovertibly follows from the context that the means to achieve it are the words of the prophet who is endowed with the spirit of the Lord (in the Old Testament, God is the one who injures and heals – cf. Isa 30:26, and Ps 147:3).³⁹ Such a healing seems to be related to the end of mourning, mentioned in vv. 2b–3a, and becomes the mission of the endowed one.

³³ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 273.

³⁴ This is the meaning placed at the the centre—with other motifs and phraseology subordinate to it—of the interpretation put forth by: O.-H. Steck, “Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2,” 108–18, in particular 108–10.

³⁵ W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 73, sees it as an eschatologisation of the expression, intended as a reference to liberation in general.

³⁶ *Hapax legomenon*, derived from the verb פָּקַח = “to open,” which in Q^a and in several MSS was written without the maqqep̄: פָּקַח־קוֹן. It may be an artificial notation of the word meaning “an opening,” or “setting free” (*HAHAT*). The version without the maqqep̄ is also recommended by *BHS* (or inf. abs. of the verb), as this form is based upon reduplication or dittography of a section of the root (as explained by J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 272, and J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 219).

³⁷ So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 272–3.

³⁸ Lit. “having broken heart” (see *HAHAT*).

³⁹ Although the inf. cs. form is not entirely unequivocal (who is the subject of the action of heralding?), the subsequent passage suggests that it is the task for the messenger. Additionally, his actions are aligned with God’s will and activity.

Now, who are the addressees of the prophet's words? An עני (a by-form of עני) is a person economically and socially deprived,⁴⁰ but it may also be a reference to God's people (cf. Ps 25:9), over whom God extends his protection.⁴¹ The emissary pays particular attention to נשבר־לב persons, i.e., those whose "hearts" have been broken (we encounter שבר in Isa 42:3); hence, it indicates a state of mind and emotions, the awareness or sense of helplessness – in the face of the enemies (cf. Jer 23:9). Meanwhile in Ps 147:3, these are the dispersed inhabitants of Jerusalem, healed by God, who replenishes their strength. Thus, the two terms point to the helplessness before the enemies; however, the latter pertains rather to a subjective feeling,⁴² while both are associated with the exiles. שבויים, on the other hand, refers to military captives,⁴³ and the noun שבי in Isa 49:24–25, and 52:2 to the expelled "children of Jerusalem," her former inhabitants, or rather their descendants (the use is not literal). Prisoners⁴⁴ appear in Isa 49:9, where the word means the Babylonian exiles, or the entire diaspora of Israel scattered throughout the world. The preaching of the messenger is, therefore, aimed at the Babylonian exiles, perhaps together with all those dispersed, who just like in Isa 42:7, and 49:9 are regarded as prisoners, stripped of their strengths and significance (more about the latter, see below).⁴⁵ The word of the herald is to set them free, to comfort them, and restore them to their previous state.

⁴⁰ L. Stachowiak, *Księga Izajasza II – III*, 283, believes that it is a reference to the socially impaired, whose number must have grown, following the exile. For more about the word, see R. Martin-Achard, עני II, *THAT* II, 341–350.

⁴¹ In a similar vein: J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 271.

⁴² As noticed by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 2018.

⁴³ About שבוה, see B. Otzen, שבוה, *TWAT* VII, 950–958: in the prophetic literature, it is most often used in reference to the Babylonian exiles, with the exception of Isa 20:4, and Nah 3:10.

⁴⁴ From the root אסר – "to shackle," "to bind" – see J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 272.

⁴⁵ *Sed contra*, see K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 108–9, who assumes that Trito-Isa meant the problems of the post-exilic community of Jerusalem, that is, debtors, although the annunciation of salvation encompasses the entire people, and an end put to all oppression. At the same time, K. Koenen did not pay any attention to the term "prisoners." Before him, C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 292, claimed that the addressees were not the exiles, but those

The messenger is to proclaim (קרא) that the time has come for the Lord's grace and vengeance (v. 2a). Although neither the year nor the day here have to literally mean a year or a day, but instead a period of time (in parallel to Isa 34:8),⁴⁶ the relatively longer period of a year is associated with God's favour, while the shorter one, that of a day, with his punishment (as in Isa 63:4). רצון is an objective term for the time of salvation, just as in Isa 49:8,⁴⁷ where it is used in parallel to ישועה, salvation (cf. also 60:10, where the element perceived as a sign of God's favour is the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by foreigners and the service of their rulers). The antithetic day of God's vengeance is a motif without any echo in this pericope.⁴⁸ We may assume that the liberation and comforting of "all mourners" entails a retribution, though not directly expressed here, upon the enemies of the Israelites, or of the exiles (as in Isa 47:3–4).⁴⁹ However, should the crucial meaning be attributed to

imprisoned for debt or some other kind of "yoke," as in 58:6. However, the vocabulary of ch. 58 is different, whereas debtors ended up as slaves, but not in prison (even if prison as such would not seem appropriate with regard to the exiles – U. Berges, *Jesaja 49-55*, 50, but see Isa 10:4; 14:17; 24:22; cf. also 22:3, evidence that being imprisoned may have been understood broadly). Likewise, J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 223–5, saw as the addressees of the prophetic preaching the poor of Judah of the Persian period (cf. Neh 5:1–5), also identified with the pious. The interpretation ruling out any references to the exiles depend on the dating of (Trito-)Isa 56–66.

⁴⁶ For more about the word, see E. Jenni, יום, *THAT I*, 707–726, here 711, and 722.

⁴⁷ For more on that notion, see G. Gerleman, רצון, *THAT II*, 810–813.

⁴⁸ See. O.H. Steck, "Der Ratchetag in Jesaja 61,2," 106–8, who considers the verse to have been a later correction (he does not find justification for it in the looting, in v. 8aβ). However, that sort of an observation cannot serve as a reason to introduce any textual corrections both due to the lack of evidence, and because of the principle of *lectio difficilior* – see also J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 271. Furthermore, there is a parallelism between this, and the previous line.

⁴⁹ See most of all J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 274. God's punishment upon nations for their hostility towards His people (e.g., Num 31:2; especially in the exilic, and post-exilic texts, such as Isa 34:8; 35:4; 47:3) could bring with it a consolation for the mourning, oppressed, and imprisoned people (Isa 61:2, and 63:4) – so G. Sauer, יום, *THAT II*, 106–109. *Sed contra* C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 292, who wants to understand vengeance in a positive sense of a restoration, return to the *status quo ante*, which, however, does not find corroboration in the meaning of the word, which always denotes a punitive retribution. The day of vengeance evokes

the differentiation between a day and a year, the thought could be an expression of the belief that God's punishment lasts only a short time, compared with His mercy (cf. Exod 20:5–6; Deut 5:9–10; 7:9–10): God's punishment in the form of the destruction of Zion and the exile is insignificant, when compared to the fullness of God's favour. Due to the fact that YHWH is referred to as "our God," the speaking messengers considers himself to be a member of the comforted community.

V. 2b does not belong to v. 2a (as a sort of a temporary summary),⁵⁰ but in its subject matter the motif of mourning ties it to the subsequent line and constitutes a parallelism with the half-verse following it. The messenger appears to be the subject of the action, for the infinitives are subordinate to the verb שָׁפַח ,⁵¹ and the entire expression is probably dependent on Isa 40:1–2, where the comforting is effected by virtue of annunciation.⁵² *De facto*, the shift from mourning to joy is predominantly the work of God (YHWH in v. 2a), so that by bringing consolation to the people, the messenger performs the tasks bestowed upon him by God.⁵³ Performing acts of consolation is an important motif in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 40:1–2; 49:13; 51:12; 52:9, and 51:3.19, in which the object is Zion).⁵⁴ לְבַדָּה refers to people in a difficult situation of loss, the death of a dear

images akin to those of the day of Yahweh (cf. 13:6.9; Amos 5, etc.) – more on that E. Jenni, דָּי , 723–724, and J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 225, as well as to the motif of "the day of vengeance" (see W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 76 n. 238, and O.H. Steck, "Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61.2," 110–16, who ultimately comments negatively on the associations with Isa 34:8; 47:3; 59:17; 63:4).

⁵⁰ So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 274.

⁵¹ The chain of infinitives reaches as far as v. 3, and they are all subordinate to the verb mentioned above (see *Gesenius' Grammatik*, §114f-p); however, the concatenation of inf. with ב may be of a rather loose character (*Gesenius' Grammatik*, §114o).

⁵² See A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 210.

⁵³ See C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 292, and the same in J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 27, who does not raise the issue considered here. The act of consoling with words occurs more frequently in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. Gen 50:21 (it may even be achieved by remaining silent, as in Job 2:11).

⁵⁴ What attracts attention is the fact that it only appears in the prologue, and in the second part of Deutero-Isa (49–55). In Trito-Isa, the Piel form emerges again only in 66:13.

one, or more broadly speaking of a misfortune.⁵⁵ In v. **3a**, it was specified that these are those who mourn Zion (likewise in Isa 66:10,⁵⁶ whereas in Isa 60:20, the crying one is Zion, cf. also Lam 1:4). The need of consolation stems from the life-threatening situation that befell Zion, the destruction, the loss of inhabitants, either slain or expelled. Are those crying for Jerusalem only the exiles, and the scattered inhabitants of the city (cf. v. 1), or are there also those who had remained in Judah among them? The first two infinitives,⁵⁷ perhaps doubled in the MT, should probably be treated

⁵⁵ It most often refers to the mourning for a deceased person (Gen 37:35), or occasionally to the atonement when faced with another great misery (Esth 4:3; 9:22), also in a generalised sense (as in Mic 1:8) – see F. Stolz, אבל, *THAT I*, 27–31.

⁵⁶ The adjective (in a nominal meaning) can also be found in (Trito-)Isa 57:18, but it does not appear at all in Detero-Isa. J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 225, believes that these must be identified as the “Servants of Yahweh,” and the “trembling ones” (cf. for instance 66:14; cf. also Mal 3:14), that is, a sect from the mid-fifth century B.C.E. (cf. Esd 9:4; 10:3), calling for a strict observance of the Sabbath (J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 51–4).

⁵⁷ In LXX, for both first lines in v. 3 a single verb was used (δοθῆναι, placed at the very beginning), hence the suggestion to remove the second inf. constr. Furthermore, BHS also recommends removing the phrase “those who mourn Zion,” as a sort of a repetition (so, too, K. Koenen, “Textkritische Anmerkungen zu schwierigen Stellen im Tritojesajabuch,” *Biblica* 69 (1988): 567–8, with it supposedly being a gloss specifying that the mourners mentioned are those “who mourn Zion”; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 219, for whom לָחַם לָחֵם is an alternative marginal expression, which somehow slipped into the text), but such a proposal is not substantiated in the textual testimonies. Of the doubled verbs, one takes an indirect object, while the other – a direct object. Meanwhile, *HATAT*, and W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 77–8, suggest removing the first of those. However, the indirect object “those who mourn [in] Zion” would be placed before the inf. (or it would belong to the preceding verse, then *contra* LXX); therefore, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 78 n. 249, additionally changes the word order. The reconstruction made by W. Lau establishes a coherent passage, but it raises the question of how such disruptions might have occurred. Whereas C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 290 n. 1, replaces the first verb with the Piel inf. שָׂמַח, that is, “to exhilarate” (as a continuation of the previous verse). The complete list of all the suggested deletions was compiled by J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 275–6, who ultimately espouses, and rightly so on my view, the MT version. This is not merely an issue of textual criticism, but also of literary criticism (so, too, S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, 44).

as an instance of emphasis.⁵⁸ The line might be a later editorial addendum, that would result in any mentions of Zion disappearing from vv. 1–3.⁵⁹ The three expressions with תָּחַח illustrate what the mourners (over Zion) would receive. First of all, a headdress,⁶⁰ perhaps a turban, worn on festive occasions (see Isa 3:20), but never in mourning (Ezek 24:17).⁶¹ Tying a turban signalled the end of mourning and the time of joyful celebration. Here it constitutes a word play,⁶² based around dust, loose dirt, the typical elements of a funerary rite (Job 2:8; cf. Isa 47:1, with a synonymous עָפָר, which differs from it in that the latter, with a single exception, does not denote ash), or of a penitential rite (Jonah 3:6; or of a fast in 58:5).⁶³ Secondly, joy – שְׂשׂוֹן, which is a programmatic notion for the time of salvation, in strong contrast to the present misery. In Deutero- and Trito-Isa, this noun additionally appears solely in 51:3.11 (the joy of Zion and those returning thereto, when God restored their fortunes), even though it is derived from the root שִׂישׁ/שָׂישׁ, favoured in Trito-Isa (in this pericope again in v. 10).⁶⁴ It appears in a picturesque expression with שָׂמָן (large concentration of sibilants may have been a stylistic device) in Ps 45:8, where it serves for anointing (נִשְׁחָח; cf. v. 1) – the author had probably drawn it from Ps.⁶⁵ Olive oil was associated with profusion, it was also used as a cosmetic, and a medicine, associated with pleasure (cf. Cant 1:3; 4:10), and treating wounds (cf. Isa 1:6).⁶⁶ Abundance, contentment, healing

⁵⁸ So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 276; however, שִׂישׁ should probably be taken in the sense of *exhibere*, showing, whereas נָתַן – *applicare*, applying.

⁵⁹ The name does not reappear anywhere else throughout the chapter, but that does not mean that it is not indicated otherwise. See below, the consideration on literary criticism.

⁶⁰ See *HAHAT*.

⁶¹ It was worn predominantly by priests (v. 10, and Exod 39:28; Ezek 44:18); see also J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 277. The word only appears seven times in the Old Testament, with the verb emerging more often, incl. Hitpael form in Isa 44:23; 49:3; 60:21, etc. (see also J. Hausmann, פָּאָר, *TWAT* VI, 494–499).

⁶² So, too, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 78; *HAHAT*.

⁶³ See G. Wanke, עָפָר, *THAT* II, 353–356.

⁶⁴ Trito-Isa is where a fifth of all instances of that root in the Old Testament is found – see J. Fabry, שִׂישׁ/שָׂישׁ, *TWAT* VII, 721–729, in particular 722–725.

⁶⁵ So according to W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 78 n. 252.

⁶⁶ See H. Ringgren, שָׂמָן, *TWAT* VIII, 252–254.

mental wounds (see the following line) are the characteristics of the new time of salvation, that will replace the mourning. Thirdly, the song of gladness, תְּהִלָּה, that may have as its subject either the people or cities (Zion in Isa 62:7, its gate in Isa 60:18), and also God (cf. Isa 42:8.10.12; 43:21, and 48:9; 60:6, and 61:11).⁶⁷ Included in the metaphor of the robe,⁶⁸ it indicates the exaltation of the mourners, whose situation will undergo a radical change.⁶⁹ This exaltation is in contrast to the “faint spirit,”⁷⁰ discouragement, resignation, and hopelessness (cf. Ezek 21:12).⁷¹ The adjective בְּהָה, denoting weakness, exhaustion, appears in Isa 42:3 (and a verb form in 42:4).⁷²

The result (pf. cons. in v. **3b**) of such a transformation would be a new name given (again קָרָא, but in Pual)⁷³ to those in mourning (over Zion). The passive form cannot indicate the messenger, for in v. 2 he counted himself among the addressees, using 1 per. pl., nor probably God (*pass. divinum*), for v. 3b β appears to be mentioning God in 3 per. (it is not entirely clear, as the name YHWH is *n. rectum*). Thus, it must be the reaction of the environment, which

⁶⁷ See C. Westermann, הָלַל, *THAT I*, 493–502.

⁶⁸ Interestingly, C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 290, not acknowledging the correction in vocalisation, links the noun with mourning as “mourner’s attire,” assuming that both metaphorical phrases belonged to the preceding verse. However, such an apposition (“morning, attire”) seems rather implausible. Even though we are dealing with a *hapax legomenon*, the verb that it is derived from, i.e., עָטָה¹ (*HAHAT*), does in no way point to modest clothing (such as a binding of sackcloth in Isa 3:24) – so J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 277.

⁶⁹ So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 278, according to whom the expression might have meant a sophisticated, beautiful vesture. See also C. Westermann, הָלַל, 501.

⁷⁰ רֵוָה refers here to vitality – see J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 277.

⁷¹ Only on these two occasions do we come across a juxtaposition of רֵוָה with the root בָּהָה.

⁷² W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 78, not without a reason, believes that this unique expression was in all likelihood created with reference to 42:3.

⁷³ In Q^a – pf. cons. Qal 3 per. pl., which, though it does constitute another variant, is semantically equivalent (with an undefined subject). Vrs support MT. On that, see J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 219. Pual (passive Qal) also in Isa 58:12; 62:2, and 65:1; Ezek 10:23, and in another meaning in 48:12 (“called”). W.A.M. Beuken, *The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah ‘The Servants of Yahweh’*, 71, claims that in Trito-Isa calling/summoning someone is always equivalent with their transfer to a new existence.

was left rather unspecified. Here, too, linguistic imagery was used: oaks, i.e., strong, and durable trees (from the noun אֵיל^2 = “strength”),⁷⁴ and a plantation or a vineyard,⁷⁵ associated with fertile land, and plentiful vegetation.⁷⁶ The oaks were referred to here as הַצִּדְקָה (a term very rarely used with the article,⁷⁷ but it is a *nomen rectum*, and therefore the entire expression is determinate, as in Isa 1:26).⁷⁸ The noun may mean both appropriate, loyal conduct, and the state resulting therefrom, that is, salvation or social harmony.⁷⁹ Even though in its immediate context (vv. 10–11, and 62:1–2) it appears in the latter sense (as opposed to, say, Isa 1:26, and 64:4; cf. also 60:21); nevertheless, there is no reason why it could not convey both these meanings concurrently: the mourners will experience the Lord’s salvation, as well as they will be righteous, i.e., they behaviour will be decent.⁸⁰ The parallel, profusely growing plantation of YHWH, indicates that they belong to YHWH, and they will participate in glorifying YHWH (Hitpael of פָּרַח as in Isa 44:23; 49:3; 60:21).⁸¹ Hence, it is the glorification of YHWH by the entire world that is the ultimate goal (here implicitly, but cf. Isa 44:23, and 42:12; 48:11), as the objective of the messenger’s activity, much like that of the Deutero-Isaiah’s servant of YHWH in cooperation with

⁷⁴ A powerful tree, a general term for a terebinth, an oak, or a palm, i.e., for the great tree that also appears in Isa 1:29; 57:5 – *HAHAT*, and J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 278.

⁷⁵ See *HAHAT*. The noun reappears in Isa 60:21, and in a literal meaning in Ezek 17:7; 34:4.29; Mic 1:6. O.H. Steck, “Jesaja 62,10-12 als Abschluß eines Großjesajabuches,” 148, recognises a connection with Isa 5:7a β .

⁷⁶ According to J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 278, the imagery used is based on alliterations related to אֵיל , and נִיבְטָה .

⁷⁷ Four times – J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 279. According to W.A.M. Beuken, *The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah ‘The Servants of JHWH’*, JSOT 47 (1990), 72, the use of the article is significant, as it indicates fullness (descriptive superlative).

⁷⁸ In Isa 1:26, it is in the name given to (קָרָא ל) Jerusalem; hence, it is possible that our expression here is based upon Isa 1:26 (see also the oak in 1:29) – see A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 225–6.

⁷⁹ See K. Koch, צִדְקָה , *THAT* II, 507–530.

⁸⁰ Also J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 278, is leaning towards such an interpretation. A different still interpretation in J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 226: a proper oak, that is, an oak as it should be.

⁸¹ The Hitpael form is also used in Judg 7:2 (about Israel), and in a non-theological context in Isa 10:15; Exod 8:5.

Israel.⁸² The name YHWH appears in vv. 1–3 in deliberate positions: in the opening (v. 1: the calling of the servant-prophet), in the middle (v. 2: God’s grace), and at the end (v. 3: God’s glory).

The person speaking in vv. 1–3 is the messenger–prophet,⁸³ anointed to perform the task (royal motifs), who was summoned and equipped by God, and sent on a mission of preaching to and consoling the people. Nothing is said about the prophet’s calling, the most that is provided here might be the legitimisation of his mission.⁸⁴ More importantly, the messenger is virtually identical with the Deutero-Isaiah’s servant of the Lord from the Song, or he downright identifies himself with the latter.⁸⁵ He was sent to those who mourn their own misfortune and that of Zion, to those who are oppressed, incarcerated, and despondent; however, their situation is subject to a change, becoming an incentive to glorify God. The

⁸² More on the issue H.-J. Hermisson, “Israel und der Gottesknecht bei Deuterjesaja,” *ZThK* 79 (1981): 1–24.

⁸³ See W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 67; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 221.

⁸⁴ See J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 223; and most of all W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 72, and 89 (an apology of a prophet-scribe, as a reaction to the reservations of the readers regarding the promises presented in ch. 60). Admittedly, such an apologetic legitimation may constitute the backdrop of vv. 1–3, but certainly not of the entire chapter. Neither is it possible to recognise here associations with a “prophet like Moses” in Deut 18:9–22, as postulated by Lau. Other attempts at identification of the speaker, for instance, with some prophetic and visionary group of Levites, go beyond what can be read from the text (so, too, according to J. Blenkinsopp *Isaiah 56-66*, 220–1).

⁸⁵ Such an identification does not raise doubts; however, its details are understood variously, as: K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 105–7 – a prophet who sees himself as the continuator of the tradition of the Servant of the Lord (K. Koenen identifies him as the successor of Deutero-Isaiah, who indeed was the Servant of the Lord); W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 69–71 – an autobiographical Trito-Isaian interpretation of the “I,” who identified himself with the Servant (considering the premature death of the Servant of the Lord – Isa 53); P.D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66*, 223–4; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 220–3 – the disciple of “the Servant of the Lord,” one of “the Servants of the Lord” in Isa 65–66, who saw themselves as the descendants of the Servant from 53:10 (cf. also 59:21; so, too, already W.A.M. Beuken, *The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah ‘The Servants of JHWH’*, 72). *Sed contra* O.H. Steck, “Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2,” 107 n. 4; 111 n. 22; and 117 n. 43, as well as A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 210–14 – Zion.

vocabulary is partly reminiscent of that used by Deutero-Isa (attention is drawn to its links to the prologue, the second part of Deutero-Isa 49–55, and such passages as 42:5–7), but at the same time we are also dealing with instances of entirely non-Deutero-Isaian phrasings.

The specific promises of the subsequent verses present the manner how God will comfort those who mourn Zion, and the liberated exiles. At the centre of focus is no longer the activity of the messenger, nor its consequences, but God's promise, as a potentially hope-restoring prophetic tidings.⁸⁶ V. 4 opens with pf. cons., and thus it is meant to be taken as a continuation of v. 3b.⁸⁷ The first promise is that of restoration: בנה, found in Isa 44:26.28; 45:13; however, in the two latter verses it is the work of Cyrus, and in 58:12;⁸⁸ 60:10, it is the task of foreigners;⁸⁹ a parallel (chiasmus) קים in Polel (the impf. form indicates that the rebuilding is yet to be accomplished) again in Isa 44:26; 58:12;⁹⁰ הרש in Piel, meaning restoration, amelioration appears in the prophetic message only during the period of the Exile and after it, most of all in Deutero-Isa (Isa 42:10; 43:19), and Trito-Isa (Isa 62:2; cf. also Jer 31:31; Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:26).⁹¹ Thus, the renewed cities will have a new qualitative value (cf. 62:2).⁹² Jerusalem is referred to as ruins in Isa 44:26; 49:19; 51:3; 52:9 (cf. also 5:17);⁹³ hence, such a contextually

⁸⁶ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 279.

⁸⁷ Even C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 292, dividing the chapter into two pericopes (vv. 1–3/4–11+10), acknowledges that the transition between them is seamless.

⁸⁸ An expression almost identical – to the relation between 61:(1–)4 and 58:12, see below.

⁸⁹ C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 294, claims that this verb occurs uncommonly often in Trito-Isa (again in 65:21–22 [the commentary has erroneously 65:23]; 66:1), which is seen as an indication that what Trito-Isaiah has in mind is mainly the restoration.

⁹⁰ This may be a suggestion of the great effort required – see K. Elliger, *Jesaja 40,1-45,7*, 473, and Amsler Samuel, קים, *THAT II*, 635–641, here 637. The Polel form emerges only four times in the Hebrew Bible.

⁹¹ See C. Westermann, הרש, *THAT I*, 524–530.

⁹² See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 280.

⁹³ Besides that, also in Isa 48:21 in an allusion to the exodus, the desert and wasteland (see. H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 45,8-49,13*, 305), and in 64:10 – to the temple.

fitting meaning seems to be the most plausible option here (likewise in Isa 58:12). In parallel, these ruins were called desolate (heritages) in a description of the country in Isa 49:8, whereas in the passage closest in its subject matter, Isa 49:19, the word appears alongside waste, and devastated land.⁹⁴ In the second part of the verse, the perspective widens to embrace the cities lying in ruins.⁹⁵ In Isa 40:9; 44:26, the cities of Judah are mentioned (whereas in the subsequent 64:10, the “holy cities” are associated with Jerusalem). The promise of restoration, therefore, encompasses Jerusalem, the cities, and the country surrounding it, its direct and perhaps further vicinity.⁹⁶

We encounter greater difficulty when determining the temporal setting. עולם, which denotes a very long or very distant time, both in the past and in the future,⁹⁷ could indicate that Jerusalem and the cities of Judah had been in ruin for a very long time (cf. the Deutero-Isaian trial speeches in Isa 42:14; 44:7; 46:9; also 57:11).⁹⁸ However, both in Deutero-Isa (Isa 40:8; 45:17; 51:6.8, etc.), and in Trito-Isa (Isa 61:7–8; 60:15.19–20; 59:21, etc.), “eternity” often connotes the coming time of salvation, one that will never pass. The expression חַרְבוֹת עוֹלָם besides Isa 58:12 only appears in Jer 25:9; 49:13, which speak of the annihilation of Israel’s foes for centuries. It is, then, probable that we are not dealing here with “ancient ruins,” but with their restoration for centuries (adverbial acc.).⁹⁹ רְאֵשִׁימִים,

⁹⁴ Cf. also other forms of שָׁמָּה in Isa 54:1 (about the children of Zion), and 54:3 (about the towns surrounding Jerusalem).

⁹⁵ עוֹלָם² only reappears in Jer 49:13; 50:38; Ezek 29:10 (?); Zeph 2:14 (defective?) – see *HAHAT*.

⁹⁶ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 152, who claims that it primarily concerns Zion, but understood as the centre of the entire country.

⁹⁷ See E. Jenni, עוֹלָם, *THAT* II, 228–243, in particular 230, 235, 239–240, according to whom the term was used in Deutero- and Trito-Isa to indicate the extremity of misfortune or salvation.

⁹⁸ So according to W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 80, due to the fact that the text was composed so late that the destruction of Jerusalem belongs to ancient past, and the designations included in the verse are historically precise; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 226 (from the point of view of mid-fifth century); whereas L. Stachowiak, *Księga Izajasza II – III*, 285, even claims that the ruins mentioned are not only those from the time of the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, but also some earlier ones.

⁹⁹ In a similar vein, the interpretation in J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 152.

linked with a feminine noun, is rather difficult to be understood adjectivally. The pl. masc. form (always without the article) does also appear in Lev 26:25 (together with the feminine noun בְּרִייתָהּ), and in Deut 19:14; Ps 79:8, referring to the primogenitors, predecessors.¹⁰⁰ In that case, it would most likely pertain to the destruction during the era of the ancestors, of the earlier generations, though not necessarily the ancient ones.¹⁰¹ The fixed expression דְּוִר וְדָוִר, which appears in the Old Testament more than thirty times, means something akin to “always”¹⁰² – either in the past (cf. Deut 32:7), or in the future (cf. Isa 60:15).¹⁰³ In Trito-Isa, it appears in a similar phrase in Isa 58:12, and in 60:15 for an eternal, coming, future joy (similarly in Isa 51:8). It is thus a notion analogous to עוֹלָם, together with which it constitutes a frame, a compositional device encompassing the verse, by connoting the ultimate, eternal restoration of the devastated Jerusalem and the cities of Judah.¹⁰⁴

Who was to rebuild Jerusalem and the cities? The possible answers are: 1) those who were called “the oaks of righteousness” in v. 3b,¹⁰⁵ 2) the strangers from v. 5, and 60:10,¹⁰⁶ 3) an unspecified

¹⁰⁰ Besides these, it occurs in the Hebrew Bible only in Deut 4:32, where bygone days are mentioned.

¹⁰¹ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 281, who points out that in Ps 79:8 it does not have a temporal meaning, but it forms a part of the opposition between the ancestors and the righteous. This numeral, in various forms besides pl. masc., tends to frequently recur in Deutero- and Trito-Isa, in principle referring to earlier times, and events (e.g., Isa 41:22).

¹⁰² See G. Gerleman, דְּוִר, *THAT I*, 443–445. The noun דְּוִר denotes most of all a duration, or a continuum, however, not as an abstract value, but one measured with the length of the human lifespan, that is, the succession of subsequent generations, but also in reference to the people living at the present time (Isa 53:8).

¹⁰³ See *HAHAT*.

¹⁰⁴ So, too, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 152, *sed contra HAHAT*.

¹⁰⁵ So, most of all, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 279; and also K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 113, who acknowledges a marked caesura between vv. 1–4/5–6; likewise A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 226–7.

¹⁰⁶ So W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 79–80, according to whom construction works do not befit the priestly role of the people, besides, as Cyrus did not actually execute the restoration (Trito-Isa draws from Isa 44:26), the task is passed down to other foreign nations (Isa 60:10). In his view, in the context of Trito-Isa, only strangers could be those to rebuild Jerusalem.

subject. In 60:10, it is the foreigners who are the ones to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (in relation to the pilgrimage of nations to Zion – see 60:3–9.13–14), whereas in v. 5 to be shepherds, farmers, and vineyard workers. Admittedly, their occupation with farming and garden works does not rule out their being burdened with the restoration of Jerusalem and other cities; however, it would then seem rather surprising that the subject was only provided in v. 5. In the direct context of the analysed pericope, those to undertake the reconstruction are the liberated prisoners, and those mourning [over] Zion, who would become a strong people (redeemed and righteous), that is the exiles and the scattered ones, who would become the people of Jerusalem anew.¹⁰⁷ Now, were chapters 60–62 to constitute a whole, the task would be most of all performed by strangers.¹⁰⁸ However, should we adopt the option with an unspecified subject, the question would remain without a clear answer, *de facto* boiling down to the above alternatives.¹⁰⁹

One would also have to take a closer look at the interdependency between v. 4 and Isa 58:12: which was the source for the author of the other? We will not be able to give a definite answer to that question.¹¹⁰ The fact remains that in ch. 61 the topic of the

¹⁰⁷ See J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 214: the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

¹⁰⁸ Even though such an assumption is shared by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 227, she nevertheless claims that both in Isa 60:10, and 61:4, the space is used as an expression of social processes: in 60:10, it indicates the external boundaries of the salvific change in the fortunes of Zion, whereas in 61:4, the social and economic transformations and the end to depravity within its bounds. Such an interpretation seems rather difficult to defend.

¹⁰⁹ On that matter, again J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 226, who does recognise the contradiction between v. 4, and 60:10, with the “inadmissibility” of strangers to the rebuilding works being then related to Neh 3, even though the editor seems to once again be including foreigners.

¹¹⁰ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 279–80. W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 79 n. 258, firmly believes that 58:12 draws from 61:4, with the assumption, however, it is the foreigners who have to be the subject. Meanwhile K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 109–12, sees in 58:3–12 (alongside 57:14–19*), and 61:1–4, the hand of the same author; similarly earlier, e.g., O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht*, 249, who, among other things, considers ch. 61, and 58:1–12 to be the work of a single author, Trito-Isaiah. However, it seems that Isa 56–66 is concentrically constructed, with its central section (chs. 60–62) being

reconstruction appears in a single verse, situated between two larger wholes (vv. 1–3/5–6/7–9/10–11),¹¹¹ with vv. 1–3, and 10–11, as well as vv. 5–9 being lexically and thematically correlated. Meanwhile, 58:12 is a part of a conditional promise in 58:9b–12, adjoined to the so-called fast sermon in 58:1–9a. The following pericope, 58:13–14, deals with the observance of the Sabbath. The abandonment of abusing the poor, and the support for the hungry and the oppressed (the condition in vv. 9b–10a) will lead to the flourishing of God's people and their salvific transformation into an Edenic garden under God's command (vv. 10b–11). V. 12 seems to be a continuation of that promise, but much like 61:4 it introduces an entirely new motif into it.

V. 5, opening with pf. cons., is formally the continuation of vv. 3b–4, but a (new) subject is introduced, and for the first time in ch. 61 there is the addressee in 2 per. pl. masc. The initial verb עָמַד signals the undertaking of an activity, a readiness to perform a task.¹¹² The subject here are strangers: זָר, and בְּנֵי נֶכֶר. Both expressions refer to a stranger in terms of ethnicity and politics, that is, to a foreigner, whereas in the plural to an alien people, and at times also to enemies.¹¹³ זָר appears in Trito-Isa only here (cf. Isa 43:12), while בְּנֵי נֶכֶר/נֶכְרִי is entirely absent in Isa 1–55, whereas in Trito-Isa, in Isa 62:8 it denote enemies, and in 60:10 the builders of Jerusalem. Much like in 60:10, the role are reversed: the strangers who oppressed the Israelites will become their servants,¹¹⁴ performing inferior shepherding and farming works: they will herd and protect (רָעָה) the flocks (of small cattle – cf. Isa 60:7). They will

the oldest, whereas the frames (not necessarily by the same author in their entirety) are subsequent elaboration(s) – see W.H. Schmidt, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 267–9; H.-W. Jüngling, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 444–5.

¹¹¹ More on that, see below.

¹¹² See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 282.

¹¹³ Both words naturally express a negative or indifferent connotation, so J. Schreiner, *Teologia Starego Testamentu*, 48. For more on those terms, see L.A. Snijders, זָר/זָרָה, *TWAT* II, 556–564; B. Lang, נֶכֶר, *TWAT* V, 454–462, and R. Martin-Achard, זָר, *THAT* I, 520–522, and idem, נֶכֶר, *THAT* II, 66–68.

¹¹⁴ Likewise J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 281.

cultivate the fields,¹¹⁵ and tend the vineyards.¹¹⁶ It will be the addressees (cf. Isa 60:21) who will become the owners of the flocks, fields, and vineyards, instead of the foreign workers. Such a range of works indicates that among the addressees are not only the exiles, who returned to inhabit Jerusalem again, but also those living in the territories surrounding Jerusalem (see v. 7), and it cannot be ruled out either, that the group does not have to be limited to the former exiles, but extended to include the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and of the entire country.¹¹⁷

The addressees will be called the priests of YHWH (v. 6, in which the 2 per. pl. continues to be used).¹¹⁸ The Niphal forms of the verbs קרא (cf. v. 3), and אמר serve to express social recognition. The priestly function of the addressees will win approval in the eyes of other nations, as the second part of the verse suggests. Thus, what we are speaking of here is not their political, but their religious role.¹¹⁹ The entire people will be referred to as priests, while in the light of vv. 1–3 these are primarily the exiles after their return. The priesthood of the people brings to mind Exod 19:6.¹²⁰ This is not a feat of democratisation or abolition of traditional priesthood, but an attribution to the people (and thus broader than in Isa 66:21)¹²¹ of a new role of a priestly ministry for their environment, for other nations.¹²² Priests represented the people before God, they

¹¹⁵ אָמַר is a rare word used again in Amos 5:16; Jer 14:4, and alongside shepherds in Jer 31:24; 51:23, as well as vineyard keepers in 2 Kgs 26:10; Joel 1:11.

¹¹⁶ O.H. Steck, “Jesaja 62,10-12 als Abschluß eines Großjesajabuches,” 148, who on that basis postulates the connection with Isa 5.

¹¹⁷ C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 124, speaks here simply of Israel and the Judeans, whereas J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 283, of the restored Israel.

¹¹⁸ Verbs in impf. (after the pf. cons. form in the previous line) are always placed at the end of the verse.

¹¹⁹ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 283.

¹²⁰ See L. Ruzkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 25; A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 237–9. Meanwhile, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 81, considers the connection with Exod 19 to be rather implausible, consisting solely in the fact that these are the only two instances in the Old Testament when such a ministry was ascribed to an entire people, and furthermore, with relation to foreigners.

¹²¹ This verb does not occur again in Deutero- and Trito-Isa (Cf. Isaian criticism in Isa 24:2; 28:7).

¹²² So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 283.

performed sacrifices on their behalf, but they also represented God before the people, teaching them, performing reconciliatory rites, and giving them blessings.¹²³ The people will perform the role of an intermediary between God and nations, foreigners, but the text does not specify in more detail which of the priestly functions are intended here (all of them?). The parallel name of the priestly people is those “serving our God.” שָׂרָה in the Piel form is used in P, Chr, as well as in Deut as a *terminus technicus* for the cultic ministry,¹²⁴ the honourable service.¹²⁵ YHWH is given the title of “our God.” Even though the title appeared already in v. 2, the suffix of the 1 per. pl. may imply the foreigners and nations accepting YHWH as their own God.¹²⁶ Be that as it may, the recognition of the priestly role of the entire new people of Jerusalem must have certainly entailed some extent of the acknowledgement of the God, whose priests they would have become.

The priestly ministry would be beneficial also to the priests themselves: in the form of possessions or wealth (הָיָל; cf. Isa 60:5.11).¹²⁷ Priests used the material goods of the people (Lev 6:9–11; 7:30–36).¹²⁸ Feeding on what the nations have means turning the current misery around, for the enemies used to eat what the Israelites / the Judeans grew in their own land (see, for instance, Isa 1:7; a similar thought in 62:8–9; 65:21–22). The priestly people would not only acquire material goods, but also recognition among nations, with the word כְּבוֹד referring to both wealth (cf. Gen 31:1),

¹²³ See W. Dommershausen, J. Bergman, H. Ringgren, בְּהָן, *TWAT* IV, 62–79, here 68–79; also J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 283.

¹²⁴ See C. Westermann, שָׂרָה, *THAT* II, 1019–1022. A certain group of *loci* may perhaps indicate the initial cultic use of that verb in relation to the service for a cultic monument (Ezek 20:32; 44:12, and 1 Sam 2:11; 3:1).

¹²⁵ See *HAHAT*. According to C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 294, the Judeans were to constitute a layer of spiritual leadership as priests, whereas according to J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 226; K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 113, what is referred to here is not a cultic reform, but merely that all Israelites would enjoy priestly privileges.

¹²⁶ The situation is different regarding the ministry of strangers in Isa 56:6–7, where the converted ones serve God themselves, participating in the cult, and in 60:7.10, according to which they will serve Israel (not in the cultic sense).

¹²⁷ See A.S. van der Woude, בָּהָן, *THAT* I, 823–825, here 823.

¹²⁸ The numbering according to *BHS*. See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 284.

and acknowledgement (cf. Job 19:9).¹²⁹ The people will boast of it;¹³⁰ hence, it will be fulfilled both in the material and in the mental (social) aspect.¹³¹

The first part of v. 7¹³² raises many doubts both in terms of the text, and of its interpretation:

¹²⁹ See C. Westermann, כּבֹד, *THAT I*, 794–812, in particular 795–796, 798–801. However, our attention is drawn by the fact that in Chr, and in the wisdom traditions, there often recurs the expression “riches and honour” (e.g., 1 Chr 29:12; 2 Chr 1:11–12; Prov 3:16, etc.), although never with the noun הֵייל.

¹³⁰ The text is dubious – the verb יָמַר appears again only in Hiphil in Jer 2:11, as a derivative form of מָוַר Hiphil (“to change,” “to alter,” as well as “to exchange,” “to transfer”), which here seems out of the question (*contra* J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 284, who reads the verb as a description of changing the vestment into the new one, which was supposed to express the priestly glory – such an interpretation, as well as the vestment constitute mere speculations; W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 81 n. 272, and S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, 46, who read the verb in MT as “to present”). It is more likely that we are dealing with אָמַר² (“boast,” “raise oneself with pride,” which in the Old Testament appears only in Ps 94:4, and there in Hitpael), which may be attested by θ^7 , S, and MS (Blombergiana). A by-form of the verb was also suggested, which would be suitable for the parallel אָכַל, derived from the Akkadian and Ugaritic: מָרַא (“to fatten,” “be fat/healthy”; so K. Koenen, “Textkritische Anmerkungen zu schwierigen Stellen im Tritojesajabuch,” 586–70, and *BHS*, besides an even less plausible, for drawn from Arabic and not attested to in Hebrew – מִיר, “supply with goods”). Even though its existence was not confirmed in the Hebrew of the Bible (in the Hebrew of the Mishnah, there exists מִירָה), such a reading may be corroborated by σ^7 (see *HAHAT*). Meanwhile, C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 293 n. 2, changes the verb to the Hitpael form of הָרַר (cf. Prov 25:6), i.e., “you will decorate yourselves.” Because of the evidence of the presence of the verb in the Hebrew Bible, it is best to assume that MT has the by-form of אָמַר² (so, too, according to J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 220).

¹³¹ See K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 113 (though he translates the final verb differently; see the above note on the text). Meanwhile, L. Stachowiak, *Księga Izajasza II – III*, 286, claims that on that occasion the universalism of Trito-Isaiah is not entirely free from undertones of Israel’s supremacy.

¹³² In this verse, as in v. 6, only the personal forms of impf. were used, which are situated towards the end of the verse, in its second part.

For 'their' ¹³³ shame – 'they' shall have double (compensation);

[for] dishonour – they shall rejoice in (of) their prize.¹³⁴

Ultimately, the choice of the suffix in the opening line does not in a major way influence its interpretation: 2 per. pl., as in vv. 5–6,

¹³³ The surprising element is the suffix of 2 per., which would have to refer to the priestly people from v. 6, for in a parallel line we have 3 per. pl., and that could potentially refer to the foreign nations from v. 5. However, such a meaning of v. 7a could in no way be reconciled with v. 7b. The most frequent practice is to correct the 2 per. of the suffix with the 3 per. (*BHS*; C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 293 n. 3; W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 82; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 220); however, there is no corroboration of that in the textual testimonies. Therefore, the correction was rejected by O.H. Steck, "Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2: Ein Kapitel redaktionsgeschichtlicher Kleinarbeit," in: idem, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, 106–7 n. 3; S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, 47. Meanwhile, K. Koenen, "Textkritische Anmerkungen zu schwierigen Stellen im Tritojesajabuch," 118 n. 356, seems to be accepting both these solutions: *lectio difficilior* or the correction 3 per., whereas L. Stachowiak, *Księga Izajasza II – III*, 286, without any comments translates the entire v. 7 in 2 per. (probably not motivated by Q^b nor S; on that, see S. Labouvie). Both the parallelism in v. 7a, and in the juxtaposition v. 7a/v. 7b (cf. תְּשׁוּבָה and joy), make one see the verse as a certain whole. The initial article may refer to the subsequent elements of the parallelism (see *Gesenius' Grammatik*, § 119hh). Various versions of translation of the verse are considered in J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 285–8.

¹³⁴ Because of לָךְ in the opening of v. 7b, and the intransitive meaning of יָרַח in Qal, one could be tempted to read the expression here as "dishonour and spittle" (see Isa 50:6; Mic 2:6), i.e.: "dishonour and spittle [are] their portion" (so *BHS*: prp; C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 293, and n. 4), then תְּשׁוּבָה would constitute an apposition, (the double shame would coincide with the two nouns for scorn in the second line – on that J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 285). As such a correction is not attested in textual testimonies, it is better to stay with MT – so, too, K. Koenen, "Textkritische Anmerkungen zu schwierigen Stellen im Tritojesajabuch," 570–1, who understands לָךְ in the beginning of v. 7b as an emphasis (cf. also W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 83), whereas the transitive meaning of the verb in Qal he postulates on the basis of a transitive use of Piel. Perhaps the textually difficult verse Sir 47:10 (see P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 84; cf. also *HAHAT*, 760, 1249) is an evidence of a transitive meaning of Qal. One could try to take תְּשׁוּבָה as an adverbial acc., indicating the circumstances or the cause, behind shouting joyfully. Thus, a twofold approach to MT is possible: 1) תְּשׁוּבָה as an apposition: "for ' their 'double shame and dishonour they shall rejoice in their portion" (so Lau; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 220; *HAHAT*); 2) as the above translation, which seems to be corroborated by the Massoretic accent, regardless of whether תְּשׁוּבָה is taken as a direct object (so K. Koenen), or as an adverbial acc.

which may be supported by the fact that the aforementioned shame is in contrast to the priestly ministry, and the recognition by foreign nations in v. 6, or 3 per. pl., adjusted to the rest of this verse.¹³⁵ For their dishonour, that is, the destruction and abasement (both in its objective and subjective aspect),¹³⁶ the addressees will be granted a double compensation. The noun *מִשְׁנֵה* means simply “that what is double,” and it was compensation that was paid as double of the original value (Gen 43:12.15; see also Exod 22:3.6.8; Job 42:10; cf. Zech 9:12; 1 Sam 1:5),¹³⁷ which fits well its use in the third line.¹³⁸

The root *כָּלַם* is almost synonymous with *בִּישׁ*,¹³⁹ they are often featured together (in [Deutero-]Isa 41:11; 45:16–17; 50:7; 54:4; whereas the noun *כְּלָמָה* also appears in Isa 45:16; 50:6). In its subject matter, the entire utterance is reminiscent of Isa 54:3–4 (*כָּלַם*, and *בִּישׁ*), where these terms refer to the devastation of Jerusalem and the Exile,¹⁴⁰ whereas v. 7b seems to indicate that they describe most of all the situation of the exiles (and of the diaspora),¹⁴¹ who had lost their land (which would reflect vv. 1–3). In the context of the experienced disgrace, they will loudly express their joy (*רִינְיָ*;

¹³⁵ Admittedly, one could read various aspects into the shift in persons (the present vs. the future, as suggested by J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 286–7), or speculate whether the suffix in 2. per. pl. indicates the priestly people, whereas the suffix in 3 per. pl. – the returning exiles; nevertheless, the textual intertwining with v. 7 (see below), and the fact that in v. 5 it is the foreigners who work “your” land, seem to rule out such interpretations.

¹³⁶ See F. Stolz, *בִּישׁ*, *THAT I*, 269–272, in particular 271.

¹³⁷ So, too, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 287. The numbering of verses according to *BHS*. In the semantic layer, it brings to mind Isa 40:2 (see C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 294).

¹³⁸ In an alternative take on MT, it would speak of a double shame, in the context of which a double portion of the heritage was acquired, including the land.

¹³⁹ See F. Stolz, *בִּישׁ*, 271; S. Wagner, *כָּלַם*, *TWAT IV*, 196–208, here 197. According to K. Elliger, *Deuterofesaja*, 143, and J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 285, the former refers rather to the emotional reaction, whereas the latter to social disgrace.

¹⁴⁰ According to A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 246, in v. 7, there is an actualisation of the *Vorgabe* from ch. 54.

¹⁴¹ So J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 285. On the contrary, according to A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 244–5, we are speaking here not of the exiles receiving their property back, but of the liberation of those, who had fallen into debt-induced slavery.

cf. Isa 42:11; 44:23; 49:13; 52:9, where the cause for joyful glorification of God are his saving actions). According to Deutero-Isa 54:1; 52:8–9, it is Jerusalem and her inhabitants that are to rejoice (in 65:14, these are the servants of the Lord, because of the overturn of their misfortunes). The reason behind the joyful screams of the exiles is חֶלֶק, their portion (e.g., in the spoils), or the land owned by someone, while at times it is a prize (Eccl 2:10.21, etc.).¹⁴² In Deutero- and Trito-Isa, it appears only in 57:6,¹⁴³ and as a verb in 52:12,¹⁴⁴ where it refers to prize or a payment. Here, it is a reward or a retribution in a positive sense (compensation) in the form of the reclaimed country, their own land, and that in a double quantity.

לָכֵן in the opening of v. 7b has in principle a causative meaning of “due to that”, “since”,¹⁴⁵ but it is often believed that it should be understood affirmatively here (“yes”, “certainly”).¹⁴⁶ The usual meaning is not beyond consideration, for v. 7b specifies the form of compensation, and underscores the finality of salvation. The compensation for the disgrace suffered will be (impf.) in the land of Israel (suffix; cf., for instance, Isa 60:18)¹⁴⁷ a doubled value of the land taken possession of (שָׂרָה).¹⁴⁸ Another consequence will be the eternal joy, that is, one unending in any imaginable perspective (cf. v. 4; however, in grammar and theme the word עוֹלָם here indubitably refers to the future). The joyous call, שִׂמְחָה, is on the one hand a reaction to the experience of salvation (the triumph over the enemies), whereas on the other it is a characteristic of cultic celebrations. The hope for the salvation to come is marked with joy (cf. Jer 31:13; 33:11; Isa 51:3; 55:12; cf. also 66:10). In the Hebrew

¹⁴² See H.H. Schmid, חֶלֶק, *THAT I*, 576–579, in particular 577–578.

¹⁴³ The meaning of that verse is unclear (the situation is very complicated due to the opening expression) – cf. J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 60. I believe that it indicates a “reward,” or rather a retribution, in this case the punishment for impiety.

¹⁴⁴ As well as, חֶלֶק¹ (Hiphil) in Isa 41:17, which, however, has an entirely different meaning.

¹⁴⁵ *HAHAT*, and commentaries (see, for instance, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 288).

¹⁴⁶ *HAHAT*, 554, expressing some doubts, whereas J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 288, sees it as a summative “in this situation,” “so.”

¹⁴⁷ Not in the land understood as the entire world – J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 287.

¹⁴⁸ See H.H. Schmid, שָׂרָה, *THAT I*, 778–781. חֶלֶק, and שָׂרָה may be stemming from the tradition of the conquest of Canaan, a position considered self-evident by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 243.

Bible, everlasting joy is only mentioned on three occasions, the other two being Isa 51:11 = Isa 35:10. These verses are certainly interdependent, whereas both 51:11=35:10 may have been founded upon v. 7.¹⁴⁹

V. 8 provides the justification of the change in the fortunes of the exiles and the people from v. 7, grounded in what God is like. The formula of self-introduction (of the divine “I”) in Deutero-Isa is a significant element of the prophetic heralding of salvation (Isa 43:3.11.15; 44:24; 45:3, etc.), or it underscores the exclusivity of YHWH (in particular Isa 42:8; 45:5),¹⁵⁰ whereas in Trito-Isa it also appears in 60:16.22. Similarly to Deutero-Isa (the formula of the messenger and of the self-identification) was furnished with participial extensions (so, too, in 60:16).¹⁵¹ The extension comprises two antonymous notions. God loves, i.e., he acts towards (אהב) ¹⁵² מִשְׁפָּט, that in Isa 42:1–4 means salvific order of the world,¹⁵³ whereas in Isa 49:4, legal protection, and salvific favour towards the servant.¹⁵⁴ God is the one who oversees the preservation of the salutary order, infringed upon by the hostility directed against Israel, and provides appropriate compensation (cf. Ps 37:28–29),¹⁵⁵ while to frame it in a slightly more general manner, he reinstates the

¹⁴⁹ See E. Ruprecht, אהב, *THAT* II, 828–835. If O.H. Steck, “Anschlußprobleme einer redaktionellen Entstehung von Tritojesaja,” 279, is right to classify Isa 51:11/35:10 in a single, generally-Isaian layer (*Heimkehrredaktion: großjesajanisch*; more on that, see O.H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr*) of the turn of the Persian and Hellenic period, they must have drawn from 61:7.

¹⁵⁰ Whereas, Isa 42:6 speaks of God as the one who summons.

¹⁵¹ Due to the fact that we are certainly dealing here with an extended formula of self-identification, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 288–9, is wrong to translate the phrase as an emphasis: “I, Yahweh, am the one who loves [...]”

¹⁵² See E. Jenni, אהב, *THAT* I, 60–73, in particular 63, 67, 70; G. Wallis, J. Bergman, A. Haldar, אהב, *TWATI*, 105–128, in particular 112–115.

¹⁵³ See H.-J. Hermisson, “Israel und der Gottesknecht bei Deuterjesaja,” 282–3; E. Haag, “Die Botschaft vom Gottesknecht,” 174, 179–80.

¹⁵⁴ See H.-J. Hermisson, *Deuterjesaja: 2. Teilband Jesaja 45,8-49,13*, 357; J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 49-55*, 15.

¹⁵⁵ J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 289: “saving justice,” referring back to Isa 59:9.11.14; Ps 37:28. In Trito-Isa, this noun appears again in 56:1; 58:2; 59:8.15. About מִשְׁפָּט, see also G. Liedke, אהב, *THAT* II, 999–1009.

balance undermined by improper conduct, i.e., looting.¹⁵⁶ God opposes (שנא)¹⁵⁷ taking away someone's property by force (לגזל; cf. Isa 10:2),¹⁵⁸ as underscored by עָלָה (בָּ),¹⁵⁹ which not only emphasises the social and legal dimension of the crime, but also always means transgressions against the divine law.¹⁶⁰ YHWH confronts alien invaders looting His people and their land.¹⁶¹

It follows (pf. cons. in the opening of v. 8b) that God will give to the people (suffix alluding to v. 7) a recompense (פְּעֻלָּה as in Isa 49:4).¹⁶² The circumstances of it being granted were described with the expression בְּאֵימָה, which may place emphasis both on the actual occurrence of such a compensation (cf. Jer 26:17), and the fact that it is the expression of God's loyalty (cf. Isa 10:20). In the latter case, it would particularly point to God as trustworthy, and merciful,

¹⁵⁶ So W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 84, who additionally believes that Trito-Isa includes literary allusions to Mic 3:9; cf. also Mic 3:2; however, it would be difficult to provide evidence for that, for the pair אהב שנא, and שנא appears over thirty times as juxtaposed in the Old Testament.

¹⁵⁷ About the verb, see E. Jenni, שנא, *THAT* II, 835–837. In Deutero- and Trito-Isa again only in 60:15, and 66:5 (in different contexts).

¹⁵⁸ See J. Schüpphaus, גזל, *TWAT* I, 999–1001: it is associated with violence and breaking of the rights of people hailing from lower social strata. The noun also emerges in Lev 5:21; Ps 62:11; Ezek 22:29; Sir 16:13 (*HAHAT*).

¹⁵⁹ A by-vocalisation of עָלָה (*HAHAT*). Such a reading of the noun is corroborated in many sources, and in all likelihood it does not require the correction in vocalisation (besides *HAHAT*, so, too, among others, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 289, who additionally refers to Zeph 3:5, and Deut 32:4 for support; in a different vein *BHS*, and S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, 8). Meanwhile, according to A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 248, and n. 954, what was meant here is “holocaust,” which was to signal a subtle criticism of the cult, which especially as the justification to v. 7 constitutes an entirely implausible interpretation.

¹⁶⁰ See R. Knierim, עָלָה, *THAT* II, 224–227. In Isa, again only in 59:3.

¹⁶¹ According to C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 295, the author refers to the conquest of Jerusalem.

¹⁶² So, too, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 290. In Isa 40:10, and 62:11, where it has a suffix related to Yahweh, the recompense is constituted of the exiles themselves. See also J. Vollmer, פְּעֻלָּה, *THAT* II, 461–466, in particular 464–466, and K.J. Illman, פְּעֻלָּה, *TWAT* VI, 697–702, in particular 701–702.

committed to his people.¹⁶³ God will enter with them into (ברת) an everlasting covenant (chiasmus), which must be understood here as God's promise or self-obligation,¹⁶⁴ as in Isa 42:6, and 49:8 (and also 45:10, and 55:3). The aim of the covenant always encompassed life, prosperity, harmony, peace.¹⁶⁵ The covenant will be lasting, timeless (עולם as in v. 7).¹⁶⁶ There are distinct connections linking this verse with the Songs of the Servant of the Lord (cf. 42:1–4; 49:1–6, as well as 42:5–8; 49:7–12).

V. 9, opening with pf. cons., is intended as a continuation of v. 8b, though we do not find here forms of 1 per., whereas v. 9בβ clearly speaks of God (in 3 per.).¹⁶⁷ The promise pertains to the offspring (chiasmus); hence, it is related to the generations to follow. Both notions denoting offspring, וְרֵעַ, and בְּצִאֲרָיוֹם, were used together in Isa 44:3, where they are granted God's blessing, and in 48:19.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, it is most probable that Isa 44:3 served as the basis here.¹⁶⁹ V. 7b speaks of the reclaiming of the land, whereas v. 9 of the salutary future of the offspring, thus probably alluding to the promises made to the patriarchs (cf. Gen 13:15–16; 26:3–4; 28:13–14; Exod 32:13).¹⁷⁰ The descendants will be recognised by and

¹⁶³ About אָמַת, see *HAHAT*, and H. Wildberger, א.ב.ן, *THAT I*, 201–208. In the latter meaning, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 290, who connects the noun with מִשְׁפָּט from the first section of the verse.

¹⁶⁴ See E. Kutsch, בְּרִית, *THAT I*, 339–352. Cf. also Isa 59:21. Apart from that, in Trito-Isa only in the meaning of an obligation “forced upon” the partner, who has to obey it (56:4.6).

¹⁶⁵ K. Elliger, *Jesaja 40, 1-45, 7*, 235.

¹⁶⁶ We encounter the expression sixteen times in the Old Testament, incl. in Isa 55:3; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 37:26.

¹⁶⁷ At the latest, since v. 9b we are no longer dealing with a styling to the speech of Yahweh. In spite of that, according to W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 83, vv. 8–9 are to be a unit-closing speech by Yahweh, whereas vv. 10–11 are to constitute a separate textual unit (n. 286).

¹⁶⁸ And further in Isa 65:23. Separately, each appears in Deutero- and Trito-Isa much more often.

¹⁶⁹ So W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 86; in a similar vein, W.A.M. Beuken, *The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah 'The Servants of JHWH'*, 72–3, who sees the offspring as the descendants of the Servant of the Lord (cf. Isa 53:10).

¹⁷⁰ It must be noted that the dating of these texts is very problematic. They are generally seen as post-exilic; however, there are major reasons at least for

among nations (two parallel expressions גוים, and עַמִּים;¹⁷¹ cf. v. 6), which was described using three cognitive verbs. Besides the Niphal form of יָדַע, we have רָאָה, the constitutive aspect of which consists in having a direct contact,¹⁷² meaning that everyone with no exceptions who comes in contact with the descendants of Israel (once again יָדַע), considers them (נָכַר Hiphil)¹⁷³ to have been blessed by YHWH, i.e., endowed with salvific power. God will grant the vital force, large population, and prosperity to the descendants of his people,¹⁷⁴ which will be acknowledged by other nations, and hence they will recognise God's people, and indirectly also God Himself (cf. Gen 12:2–3). The retaking of the land, and becoming a significant nation, and through that a testimony for other nations constitutes the imagery related to Deutero-Isa: Isa 44:23; 49:5–6; cf. also 43:10–12; 52:10 (and Trito-Isa 61:6a).¹⁷⁵ At the end of the verse, and of this part, there is the name of YHWH, returning immediately in v. 10, together with the prophetic “I” from vv. 1–3. Thus, the vv. 1–3, and 10–11 constitute the compositional frame of the pericope.¹⁷⁶ In the vv. 10–11, which close the pericope, words

Gen 28:13–14 to be dated to the period preceding the post-exilic era (on that, see H. Seebass, *Genesis II*, 321–2).

¹⁷¹ The first of those indicates rather the political than the territorial dimension thereof, whereas the second one – the blood ties – A.R. Hulst, גוים/עַמִּים, *THAT II*, 290–325, here 315–316.

¹⁷² See D. Vetter, רָאָה, *THAT II*, 692–701, here 693–694. J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 291, points to the fact that these two verbs tend to be placed in a reverse order.

¹⁷³ Other meanings of the word are also possible: “take care of,” “differentiate” (cf. Esd 3:13) – see *HAAHAT*.

¹⁷⁴ About the verb בָּרַךְ, see C.A. Keller, G. Wehmeier, בָּרַךְ, *THAT I*, 353–376. The verb appears in (Deutero-)Isa 51:2, in the context of numerous offspring (the legacy of Abraham and Sarah in the form of a great people), whereas in Trito-Isa, among other places, in the linguistically-related verse 65:23.

¹⁷⁵ According to, among other scholars, C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 295, 61:7–9 clearly allude to the message of Deutero-Isaiah.

¹⁷⁶ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 292–3, who rightly rejects the interpretation according to which it would be the thanksgiving of the people (or Zion–Jerusalem, as favoured by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 253, and J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 230–3, who refer to the metaphors in Isa 62:3–5, and T, so that it does come from the prophet, but the subject speaking is Jerusalem) for the salvation they have experienced. Meanwhile, C. Westermann, *Das Buch*

and motifs from the preceding verses make a returning appearance. The messenger is filled with great joy (emphatic inf.; שׂוֹשׁ – cf. שׂוֹשׁ in v. 3).¹⁷⁷ Due to the fact that as many as three verbs were used to convey the joy, we may be dealing with something of a (descriptive) superlative.¹⁷⁸ These, however, do not express emotions, but rather loud and cheerful glorification of God within the cultic community.¹⁷⁹ In his gratitude, the messenger (נְבִיאִי)¹⁸⁰ rejoices thanks to and in YHWH (the closest parallel we can find is Ps 35:9;¹⁸¹ cf. also Isa 41:16), who he refers to as “my God,” which further underscores his intimate relationship with the Lord. The justification of the joy (v. 10b) was expressed with the imagery of clothes,¹⁸² and outerwear (מְעִיל is a shirtless coat, a robe worn by signifiant figures, e.g., the priests in Exod 28:4, or by Job in 1:20).¹⁸³ Salvation and justice (cf. Ps 132:16.9) are so dear to the messenger

Jesaja 40-66, 295, relocating v. 11 to the end of the pericope (*contra*, quite rightly, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 87 n. 306), sees in it a small unit, a psalm of an individual, mirroring the Deutero-Isaian hymns, a responsorium of the congregation receiving the message of salvation. Formally, we are not dealing here with a hymn, for there is no call, expressed in impv. to glorify the Lord, but rather with an act of gratitude (of an individual) (similarly, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 267). The verses were to constitute a separate pericope also according to W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 86–7.

¹⁷⁷ This verb is typical of Trito-Isa (e.g., Isa 65:18–19; 66:10 – there the word with לַיְיָ), whereas it is absent in Deutero-Isa.

¹⁷⁸ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 293, who recognises this point as the climax.

¹⁷⁹ See, for instance, C. Westermann, לַיְיָ, *THAT I*, 415–418.

¹⁸⁰ נְבִיאִי happens to be the *de facto* equivalent of a personal pronoun; that does not mean, however, that the pronominal sense can easily be differentiated from its “full value,” as hypothesised by J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 293.

¹⁸¹ According to A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 254–5, in v. 10 the editor cites Ps 35:9, but W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 88, is right to answer that any such citation is out of the question, for the expressions are not very exceptional, and the language used is typical for many hymns in the Book of Psalms.

¹⁸² Clothes were essential for survival (Job 37:17). We encounter a similar image in Isa 59:17 – see W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 88, who rightly claims that Isa 61:10 served as the basis for the author of 59:17.

¹⁸³ See J. Gamberoni, לְבָשׁ, *TWAT IV*, 471–483, here 475–476, and 478–479. J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 293, refers the used noun to “under-” and “outer-” wear, a position that is untenable (cf., for instance, 1 Kgs 1:1).

that he attached himself to them as closely as to his own garment.¹⁸⁴ *ישע* meaning a life-saving support (cf. Isa 43:12),¹⁸⁵ and *צְדָקָה* – a salutary order, or the prosperity resulting from God’s favour (cf. v. 3; also Isa 45:18; 51:6.8) are the gifts of God, who protects his messenger (cf. Isa 52:1).¹⁸⁶ Besides the metaphors of clothing, there are also similes (*פָּ*) to the bridegroom with a headdress (turban) upon his head (cf. v. 3), and to the bride decorated (*עֲרֵהָ*)¹⁸⁷ with ceremonial garment, or rather with jewellery (*כְּלִי* – cf. Gen 24:53, and Exod 3:22).¹⁸⁸ There are many reasons to believe that the simile to the bridegroom is related to another image (a mixed metaphor) – that of performing the priestly ministry (*כהן* Piel).¹⁸⁹ The messenger

¹⁸⁴ *יִעָטֵנִי* – the vocalisation in MT seems to be indicating pf. (with a suffix) of a *hapax legomenon* *יעט*, which most probably is a by-form of *עטה*¹ Hiphil (see *HAHAT*; J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 293). However, more often than not, the *hapax legomenon* is avoided by a proposed correction to pf. Qual or impf. Hiphil of *עטה*¹, in spite of the intransitive meaning of this verb (thus, most likely suggesting a transitive sense thereof: *BHS*; see also W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 88 n. 313, and J.L. Koole, who further mentions the proposal to see MT as the so-called *forma mixta*, that is, a mixed form of pf. Qal / impf. Hiphil, leaving the choice to the reader.

¹⁸⁵ See F. Stolz, *יעט* Hiphil, *THAT I*, 785–790.

¹⁸⁶ According to A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 256, the reference to Isa 52:1 is certain.

¹⁸⁷ Either transitively, as in Ezek 16:11.13, or intransitively as in Hos 2:15; Jer 31:4, while as objects it can take gems, gold, and silver. On the oftentimes suggested relation to Isa 49:18 (most recently by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 258), see. W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 86–7.

¹⁸⁸ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 294. About both these options, see H. Madl, *ערה*, *TWAT V*, 1074–1079, here 1075. The noun has a broad meaning – see K.M. Beysse, *כלי*, *TWAT IV*, 179–185, in particular 180–184.

¹⁸⁹ MT seems unclear; hence the call to correct the verb with *יָבִין* (*BHS*; C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 293 n. 5), or *יָבִין* (W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 87–8 n. 310, in the transitive sense of “put on”). Both these corrections have been noted in *HAHAT*: in the meaning of “fixing,” that is “tying your turban,” or “wearing a headdress.” However, a turban may constitute an element of the priest’s attire, whereas J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 294, pointed out that the suggested verb is improper with relation to clothes (in Job 27:16–17 its sense is different). Textual testimonies (discussed by J.L. Koole) are not helpful at this point. Retaining the meaning of MT would allow one to see the “turban” as another object of the verb from the previous line: “[he has covered me] as the

likens his service to the joy of an experienced—and were we to read these verses together with vv. 1–3: also heralded—God’s salvation to the bridegroom wearing a wreath similarly to a priest performing his duty. The salvific benevolence of God is as dear to him “as a shirt to his body,” and he displays it as ornaments underscoring his status and dignity. Grateful joy and God’s salvation are inextricably connected with the messenger’s mission, which gives joy and a sense of triumph to the herald himself.

Another justification (v. 11) demonstrates that the reason for the messenger’s joy is salvation, which comes somewhat in and out of itself.¹⁹⁰ This time, a metaphor of vegetation was used. The earth causes (יָצָא Hiphil; cf. Gen 1:12, and Isa 11:1) plants (sprouts, צִמְחָה) to grow out of it, whereas in the garden (a rare fem. form, perhaps denoting gardens tended with special care; cf. Isa 1:29–30; 66:3.17)¹⁹¹ the sown plants (זָרְעָה)¹⁹² put forth shoots (צִמְחָה, cf. Gen 3:18). This marks a reference to v. 9 (זָרַע יָצָא Hiphil of צִמְחָה), as well as the “plantation,” and trees in v. 3.¹⁹³ The garden, as a meeting place of lovers (cf. Cant 5:1; 6:11; 8:13) may be associated in its imaginary with the bridegroom and the bride from the previous verse (as the place where their relationship was consummated).¹⁹⁴ In the same manner: the land, and the garden are granted salvation, צִדְקָה

bridegroom, who performs the ministry of a priest, with a headdress,” but then both parallel similes would have different structures, and syntactic dispositions. The best solution seems to be assuming that “headdress” is an adverbial acc. (for the “circumstances” of the action; such a solution is nothing new – on that, see W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 87 n. 309; one of J.L. Koole’s proposals, who makes an alternative suggestion to accept a transitive sense of the verb בָּהַן [?], which would possibly boil down to the translation put forth by J. Blenkinsopp [*Isaiah 56-66*, 227–8]: “he put on a turban as a priest”): “as the bridegroom, who serves as the priest with a headdress.”

¹⁹⁰ See J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 295.

¹⁹¹ Among other things, as the venue of idolatrous cults – see J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 295.

¹⁹² Again only in Lev 11:37 – see *HAAHAT*.

¹⁹³ These references were pointed out by C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 295, and J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 295.

¹⁹⁴ So according to J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 295.

(as in Isa 45:8),¹⁹⁵ by YHWH (on *Adonai YHWH*, see v. 1), certainly in the sense of v. 10, which underscores the direct connection of both lines and of the metaphors used therein.¹⁹⁶ On this occasion, what is noted as the parallel (chiasmus) gift is תְּהִלָּה, known already from v. 3 (there – presented within the metaphor of clothing), where it is the result of the restoration of the exiles, Zion, and its inhabitants to their former status, their rehabilitation (cf. also Isa 62:7, and 60:18). The song of praise resounds before (with נִגַּן cf. Isa 40:17, and 49:16; 59:12)¹⁹⁷ other nations, which again brings to mind v. 9 (as well as v. 6b). Such a manner of argumentation is in line with the thought of Deutero-Isa (see above, about v. 9), with the difference being that the people becomes not as much witnesses of YHWH, as His priests (v. 6).¹⁹⁸

The pericope is complex in its content, and its general structure could be presented in the following manner:

vv. 1–3: the mission of God’s messenger (the “I” of the messenger)

vv. 1–2a: being endowed with the spirit – anointment and being sent (personal forms), and the task of heralding (three inf. of verbs for heralding):

v. 1b: the liberation to prisoners

v. 2a: God’s grace and vengeance

vv. 2b–3: the activity of the messenger, and of God towards those crying [for] Zion¹⁹⁹

v. 4: the restoration of Jerusalem, and of the surrounding cities

¹⁹⁵ In all likelihood, the verse constituted a literary *Vorlage* for Trito-Isa – W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 89. The verb also appears in Isa 42:9; 43:19; 44:4 (in reference to offspring), as well as in 55:10; 58:8.

¹⁹⁶ So, correctly, J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 295–6, concurrently contradicting C. Westermann (*Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 295), who considers v. 10 to have been a separate unit.

¹⁹⁷ J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 296, reads נָגַן as an indication of someone’s judgement on the state of affairs.

¹⁹⁸ *Contra* K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 113. According to W.A.M. Beuken, *The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah ‘The Servants of JHWH’*, 71–4, the speaker in ch. 61 performs the work of the Servant of Yahweh, but at the same time, he transfers the qualities of the Servant to his audience, he renders his audience similar to the Servant, and to himself.

¹⁹⁹ The presentation of the messenger’s mission is framed by v. 1a, and v. 3b (תָּרַן, though in a different sense; see also the positioning of the name of Yahweh).

vv. 5–6: the service of the nations, and the priesthood of the people (the addressees: “you,” and the words uttered on “our” behalf)

v. 5: the work of nations (farming) for “you”

v. 6a: the inhabitants of Jerusalem / the people as the priests of YHWH

v. 6b: the wealth and praise of nations for “you”

vv. 7–9: the recompense for and the recognition of the descendants among other nations

v. 7: the recompense and joy (in place of the disgrace)

v. 8: God and his gift – the compensation and covenant (“I” of YHWH)

v. 9: the recognition of the descendants by other nations (as having been blessed by YHWH) – the verse is connected with vv. 5–6 by the topic of the relations between other nations and the people of God; therefore, together with those verses it may constitute a framing device for vv. 7–8

v. 10–11: thanksgiving joy of the messenger in YHWH, because of the salvation (“I” of the messenger)

v. 10 α : being grateful to YHWH, with two justifications and three images

v. 10 α β : the clothing of salvation

v. 10b: the simile to the bridegroom and the bride (the joy of salvation)

v. 11: the image of vegetation for God’s salvation (v. 11b: the action of YHWH, whose goal is to be praised by the nations).

The text comprises several interconnected parts, whereas its entirety is framed by the oration of the messenger in 1 per. (cf. also אֲדַבֵּר יְהוָה), who receives the task of announcing and comforting (vv. 1–3), and ultimately expresses joyful thanksgiving for the God-given salvation. What plays an important role in the central section thereof is the attitude of nations and towards nations. It comprises two parts constructed as frames (vv. 5–6, and 7–9). At the centre of the first, there is the priesthood of the people of Jerusalem, who will be served by other nations (with their work and wealth). In the second one, the possession of the land, and of everlasting joy, as well as of becoming a significant people, acknowledged by other nations – all facts that find justification in the middle of that section in God (God’s “I”), who grants the covenant. V. 4 seems to be formally

separate from the rest, but in its subject matter of restoration it is associated with the consolation for those mourning [over] Zion.²⁰⁰

Thus, the pericope constitutes a relatively coherent whole, framed by vv. 1–3, and 10–11, which share not only the “I” of the messenger-prophet, but also the metaphors of clothing.²⁰¹ They are also unified by the motif of the acknowledgement on the part of the nations for the addressees of the pledge, who are also the receivers of the words of the servant (markedly so in vv. 3.5–6.7+9.11). Were we to read the chapter as a single whole, these are the exiles (and the people scattered throughout the world), who have returned or/and will return, becoming the people of Jerusalem, and of the land surrounding it. They will be consoled and lifted in their spirits by the messenger (vv. 1–3), they will become priests for other nations, and the people will benefit from the goods of other nations (vv. 5–6). They will receive from God, who hates looting, a recompense double in its value: the land, and the offspring, who will be acknowledged by other nations, as well as the everlasting joy and the covenant of God’s favour (vv. 7–9, and 11). The messenger will rejoice and will give thanks to God for God’s salvation. As the country had been devastated, the presence of the issue of

²⁰⁰ Should it have been created on the basis of Isa 60:10, it would have been more closely related in its subject matter to v. 5 (see above). The text is divided in a similar way by K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 103, 105, 112, 115, 119, who separates out the following textual units (sic!): vv. 1–4/5–6/7–9/10–11, while also recognising the interrelations between them (vv. 5–6 intended as the continuation of v. 4; vv. 7–9 describe the consequences of God’s salvation; vv. 10–11 is the hymn of Zion as the reaction to the promises of salvation from the previous verses). A different division of the text was adopted by W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, 66, 79, who considers vv. 4–7 to be a whole, in which strangers stand before the community of the saved (with the subject of v. 4 having to be the strangers, as in 60:10), concurrently believing vv. 8–9, and 10–11 to be minor units (83 n. 286, and 86–7). The most marked caesura can be found between vv. 3/4 (C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40–66*, 292–3, although they are connected, and the transition between them is imperceptible). Meanwhile, according to J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, 222, 228, the chapter splits into two pericopes, vv. 1–7, and vv. 8–11 (the transition from the oration of the Servant to the oration of Yahweh), whereas the second one he divides into the oration of Yahweh, and the hymn.

²⁰¹ According to J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56–66*, 266, these constitute an *inclusio*, and thus vv. 10–11 are where the textual unit ends.

the restoration of Jerusalem and of other cities (v. 4) is hardly surprising, even though it is not entirely clear, who should actually perform it. The messenger speaks of his (v. 10), and “our” God (vv. 2,6), he situates himself among those who he addresses (2 per. pl. in vv. 5–6). The centrepiece is the oration of YHWH (v. 8): the promise stems from the essence of God, whereas the entire pericope is focused on the salvific activity of YHWH. Admittedly, there is a mention of the day of God’s vengeance (v. 2a), but it is not mirrored anywhere else in the entire text. The negative actions of God are only mentioned as an antithesis (he hates looting; v. 8), where the emphasis was placed on God’s salvific activity. The receivers/addressees are not faced with criticism of their conduct:²⁰² they are internally broken, discouraged, they mourn their losses (Zion), and are dejected, oppressed, and imprisoned (vv. 1–3; even though the significance of the prison is not entirely clear; much like in Isa 42:7), dishonoured (v. 7a), deprived of their possessions, and robbed (vv. 7b,8), perhaps deprived of their rights (cf. v. 8a, and v. 1); furthermore, Zion and the cities of Judah are in ruin (v. 4). However, their fortunes will be reversed, through: the liberation (v. 1), consolation (v. 2b), joy, and dignity (vv. 3a,6b–7), recognition in their surroundings and by other nations (vv. 3b,6b, for their offspring in v. 9), and their ministry (v. 5, and perhaps v. 4), the everlasting, that is, never ending salvations (v. 8: the covenant, vv. 7,11), the restoration of the ruins (v. 4), the use of the wealth of nations (v. 6b), their descendants (v. 9), their legacy (v. 7b), and, last but not least, their ministry as God’s priests (intermediaries between nations and God, and thus no longer as a testimony before other nations, as in [Deutero-]Isa 43:10–12). Nations are not of a negative value, even though they may indeed be what stands behind the dishonour, ruins, oppression, and looting. From their work (v. 4[?]-5), their possessions (v. 6b), and most of all from their recognition – God’s people will benefit. However, their attitude also suggests their acknowledgement of YHWH as God (“naming” in v. 3b, and v. 6a), so that the salvation of the people and the exiles (as well as Zion) and the praise of God (v. 3aβ, and v. 11b) will be a testimony for God before the nations, for whom the people will

²⁰² *Contra* J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 290, who in my opinion is wrong.

serve as the priests of God. In all of that, a significant role was reserved for the messenger, who was endowed and sent by God (vv. 1–3) to herald the salvation (v. 2a, and vv. 4–9), and who for that very reason gives thanks to God in acts of joyful gratitude (vv. 10–11). The salvific expectations are associated with living in their own country (after their return). The message is conceptually akin to that of Deutero-Isa, in particular chs. 49–55: the dominating issues include the liberation, the return, the repopulation of Zion, and its prosperity – before the eyes of the nations, or owing to their service; it is also reminiscent of the two first Songs of the Servant of the Lord.

3. Literary-Critical Issues

Of key importance for the interpretation of the fragment is the answer to the question, whether it should be read in relation to the adjacent chs. 60 (and 62). It is not only the dating that depends on those considerations, but also the identity of the addressees, and the receivers of God's promise, as well as the more detailed matters, such as who should rebuild the cities (see above, about v. 4). Isa 60 is the word of YHWH (cf. 60:16), even though he is also mentioned therein in 3 per. (60:19–20), addressed to Jerusalem (in 2 per. sg.) – it is the announcement of the commencing salvation of Jerusalem, where the light of YHWH's glory has arrived, and with it the nations, who will transfer their treasures to her, they will gather the scattered children of Zion, and they will serve Jerusalem, and they will rebuild her. It focuses on the pilgrimage of nations to Zion,²⁰³ which will appear in the glory of God, and it will be inhabited by the righteous people. Meanwhile, in 61:1 (and in v. 10), to the forefront comes God's messenger in 1 per. sg., who is to announce the liberation to the exiles, and the consolation to those mourning [over] Zion. It is only in v. 8, that we have a brief instance of the "I" of God. The message is addressed to a group (2 per. pl. in vv. 5–6).²⁰⁴

²⁰³ So W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 66.

²⁰⁴ As to the beginning of the textual unit in 61:1, there has been a general agreement among numerous scholars, for instance, C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja 40-66*, 293; J.L. Koole, *Isaiah 56-66*, 266.

The verses 60:20b β –22, closely related to ch. 61, seem to be a later insertion intended to unify both chapters: 1) they follow 60:19–20[b α], which together with 60:1–3 serve to frame ch. 60 (the motif of God’s glory as the light of Zion); 2) the emergence of the issue of the people of Jerusalem, who does not appear in the preceding verses in ch. 60; 3) the awareness of the delay in the fulfilment of God’s promises in 60:22b.²⁰⁵ The connections to Isa 62 are even more complex. The latter clearly refers to chapter 60, for starting from 62:2, the addressee is once again Zion/Jerusalem; however, in chs. 60–61, only the name Zion appears (and even that only on two occasions: 60:14; 61:3). It conveys the promise of the coming salvation of Jerusalem. Insofar as 62:6 appears to be the word of God, 62:1 has an “I” speaking, and mentioning Zion (in 3 per.), thus being reminiscent of ch. 61.²⁰⁶ Though 62:1 seems to share with 61:1–3.10 the prophetic “I,” nevertheless, the verse is closely associated not only with 62:2–3, as indicated by the key notions of “justice,” and “glory,” but also with the subsequent lines: the new name is only provided in v. 4; the “not being silent” together with the qualification “until,” reappears in vv. 6–7. Without making an attempt at identifying the details regarding the origin and the complexity of the corpus of Isa 60–62, one can ascertain that they constitute a sort of a whole, but it is a whole in terms of its editing. The most characteristic divergence of ch. 61, is the fact that it is not addressed to Zion. It does indeed mention the restoration of ruins, but the issue of walls does not directly appear therein (as opposed to 60:10–11, and 62:6).²⁰⁷ Despite certain similarities, and common motifs, ch. 61 constitutes a separate pericope.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ See K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 142–52, for whom the additional material includes 60:19–20.21.22a.22b, and O.H. Steck, “Der Grundtext in Jesaja 60 und sein Aufbau,” 51–3, who considers 60:17–22 to be an interpolation.

²⁰⁶ It is surprising that L. Ruzkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 15–27, entirely ignores the differences within the chs. 60–62.

²⁰⁷ The latter of which does not necessarily pertain to the already reconstructed walls – see O.H. Steck, “Zu jüngsten Untersuchungen von Jes 60–62,” 128, and J. Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56–66*, 338–9.

²⁰⁸ So, too, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, 89.

One may doubt whether chapter 61 constitutes a single pericope. Such doubts primarily concern vv. 1–3, as well as vv. 10–11, particularly because v. 10 (together or without v. 11) tends to be perceived as an originally separate passage.²⁰⁹ Vv. 1–3, and vv. 10–11, providing a framing device for vv. 4–9, are strongly associated with one another in their terminology, while concurrent connections of that sort with the rest of the chapter are relatively sparse, for they are limited to: the noun אָרֶץ, which, however, as opposed to v. 7, was used in a general sense in the image of the earth putting forth shoots; a non-characteristic and frequent verb קָרָא (in various forms in vv. 2.3.6); and of the more meaningful connections “our God” (v. 2, and v. 6); and the returning in v. 11 issue of nations (cf. vv. 5–6.9). Were the vocabulary to serve as the decisive argument, it could lead to the division of the chapter into further small textual units. That would particularly concern v. 4, which has nothing to do with the remaining part of the chapter, save for עוֹלָם. Vv. 1–3 appear to be focusing on the situation of the exiles and of the people of God scattered all over the world, who are oppressed, and imprisoned, discouraged, and in mourning (for Zion), and to whom the change in their fortunes is heralded by the prophet-servant. Meanwhile, vv. 4–9 pertain to the situation in the land of Israel, Jerusalem and its direct and further vicinity. Jerusalem and other cities were described as ruins (v. 4), which are to be restored, and the expellees are yet to be given their land (v. 11), which will be worked by strangers (v. 5). The promise encompasses the renewal of the people (v. 9), entering with them into a covenant (v. 8b), their drawing from the wealth of other nations (v. 6b) as the priests of God (v. 6a). Even though the point of view seems to differ between vv. 1–3 and vv. 4–9, what they nevertheless share is a complete misery, whether in exile or in the country, particularly because v. 7 refers most of all to the situation of the exiles.

A question related to the above is that of the literary integrity of this chapter, with the reason to pose it potentially stemming from the

²⁰⁹ Already K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 387–8, believed that v. 10 had initially been situated after 62:12; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 425–6, considered the verse to have been an addition, but one that was likely to have come from Trito-Isaiah; W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 86–7.

changes in grammatical persons (the oration in 1 per. in v. 1, and v. 10, with the appellation “our God” in v. 2, and v. 6; the addressee in 2 per. pl. in vv. 5–6, while in the remaining vv. 1–4.7[cor.]–9, the receivers of the promises appear in 3 per. pl.), and the fact that it is possible within it to identify several more or less interconnected sections. It can hardly come as a surprise, therefore, that some scholars put forth hypotheses that Isa 61 is not uniform in its aspect²¹⁰.

²¹⁰ K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 105–22, supposes that vv. 5–6 may constitute a complement (*Fortschreibung*) to v. 4, whereas vv. 7–9 a *Fortschreibung* to vv. 1–4.5–6 (cf. תַּחַת, and 2 per. in the opening of v. 7 [MT]), for which we are unable to rule out either Trito-Isaiah’s, or editorial origin. Meanwhile, indubitably the subject of editing are vv. 10–11, which are to be the hymn of Zion in reaction to the preceding promise of salvation. They were attached to the verses above it with the use of key words. The scholar evidenced their editorial insertion only lexically, and with a slightly different application of the image of the bridegroom and the bride in Isa 62.

Similarly, W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 80, does not rule out that vv. 5–6 were inserted later, but at the same they seem appropriate for the Trito-Isaian context.

On the other hand, O.H. Steck, “Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2,” 107 n. 3, and 4, rejects any literary critical operations in ch. 61, with the exception of a suspect expression “mourning [over] Zion” (v. 3), and the inserted “day of vengeance” (v. 2; O.H. Steck, “Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2,” 116–8), which in the general editing of Isaiah (Isa 34:8 influenced 59:18, and most of all 63:1–6) replaced the initial יוֹם יִשְׁפֹּטָהּ, as this line is based upon 49:8.

Again, S. Labouvie, *Gottesknecht und neuer David*, 49–59, suggested a far-reaching literary-critical differentiation (the basic text, and two editorial layers). The additions were supposed to include: v. 2a (the doubled אָרְבָּע – cf. v. 1b; the first part was to be an interpretation of דְּרוֹר, whereas the other to introduce the motif of prophetic announcement of the judgement); v. 3a α (a repetition and interpretation of קָל-אֲבֵלִים, with a missing direct object in acc.); vv. 5–6, and 7a α (MT; the emergence of 2 per. pl., insofar as v. 3 was to speak of the restoration of the *status quo ante*, the alleged addition pertained to the acquisition of wealth, power, and glory from other nations); v. 7a β -b (as an explanatory gloss to v. 7a α , specifically to מִשְׁפָּחָה, where a shift in the grammatical number occurs); vv. 8–9 (because of the speech of Yahweh, and the repetition of words from the preceding verses, whereas the covenant was to be a reference to the Abrahamic tradition). It must be noted that the suggested repetitions are limited to single words (could an author not use the same word twice?). Entirely unclear remains the basis upon which the author differentiated between the original text and its interpretation (see the considerations

In spite of the fact that it is possible to find footholds for using literary criticism here, it is impossible to satisfactorily justify the secondary nature of the respective verses. The use in vv. 5–6 of 2 per. pl. is not enough to prove that they are an interpolation, especially because one must at the same time recognise their matching the (Trito-Isaiah's) context. Besides the problematic suffix in the first part of the verse, there is absolutely nothing suggesting that vv. 7–9 were in fact inserted. Similar is the case of the entirely hypothetical postulate that, allegedly, the dependence of v. 2 on 49:8 was so powerful that it must have initially featured the “day of salvation,” which was then changed due to the influence of Isa 34:7. Recurring words cannot be automatically listed as doublets, without a prior consideration of their compositional function, and of the meaning of the respective sentences. However, a distortion of the text cannot be excluded only in the opening of v. 3 (see the above literary-critical comment). This expression is the only element unequivocally linking the entire chapter 61 with Zion (it could, however, be assumed from v. 4; cf. also the “priests” in v. 6), and thus with Isa 60, and 62. Should v. 3 α turn out to be an insertion, the independence of Isa 61 becomes even more striking. It is also conceivable that vv. 10–11 constitute a concluding framing device, fashioned by the editor after the model in vv. 1–3. As an additional argument, one could see the fact that whereas v. 2 speaks of “our God,” v. 10 has “my God.” Because such a hypothesis cannot be given a better grounding (actual doublets, inconsistencies, etc.), the postulate of vv. 10–11 having been added by the editor seems problematic. No different should be the evaluation of v. 4, for a new thematic motif—yet one not contradictory with the context—should not serve as the basis for ascertaining literary-critical interventions.

regarding vv. 2a.5–7 α .8–9). Apart from the long-noted difficulties with grammatical persons, and with the structure used in v. 3 α , the study does not provide any new justified observations.

With a little more caution, the issue was approached by A. Span, *Die Stadtfrau Zion im Zentrum der Welt*, 254, who considered vv. 10–11 to be an insertion by the editor, for they feature the language typical for the Book of Psalms.

Isa 61 contains references to texts of Deutero-Isaiah, and to Psalms, though their intensity varies.²¹¹ They are most evident in v. 1, the background of which is the summoning of the servant in 42:1–4. There is also a series of lexical associations with 40:6.9; 49:9; 52:7, as well as—in relation to the addressees—with 49:25–26; 52:2. Furthermore, vv. 2–3 use, or may be using, the motifs from 49:8 (the time of God’s favour), and the motif of consolation (40:1–2; 49:13; 51:12; 52:9, and 51:3.19), of the song of praise (Isa 42:8.10.12; 43:21, and 48:9; see also 61:11), and of glorification (פָּאֵל Hitpael – Isa 44:23; 49:3). Worth noting are also the parallels with Ps 45:8. Of the remaining verses, those particularly associated with Isa 40–55 include: v. 4 (בָּנָה – cf. 44:26.28; 45:13; חָרַשׁ – 42:10; 43:19; the ruins – 44:26; 49:19; 51:3; 52; the devastation – 49:8.19; the cities – of Judah in 40:9; 44:26; “everlasting ruins” – 49:13), and v. 8 (“I am YHWH” – 43:3.11.15; 44:24; 45:3, and in particular 42:8; 45:5; מִשְׁפָּט – 42:1–4, and 49:4[?]; פָּעֻלָּה – 49:4; בְּרִית – 42:6; 49:8, as well as 45:10, and 55:3). In the case of v. 9, the parallel between זָרַע and צִדְקָתָם seems to be based upon Isa 44:3, and 48:19, much like that between כָּלֵם and בּוֹשׁ in v. 7 seems to be based upon 54:3–4 (they are too common in the Old Testament for us to draw any further-reaching conclusions). Additionally, there is the characteristic expression שְׂמֵחַת עוֹלָם in v. 7, which appears in Isa 35:10=51:11, which does not necessarily mean the verse was created at a later period for the editor/s may have drawn it from 61:7. That could be corroborated by the fact that 35:10 combines the expression with the imagery of 61:3.²¹² The metaphors of justice putting forth shoots in v. 11 are probably based on Isa 45:8. The distribution of these allusions and parallels could lead one to the

²¹¹ For the details, see above. Already B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 424, did not hesitate to state that the content of the promises had been influenced by Deutero-Isaiah, and the Song of the Servant of the Lord.

²¹² As noted by H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 285, who furthermore believes that Isa 51:11 is solely based upon 35:10. It is intriguing that the appearance of the “everlasting joy” solely on those three occasions in the entire Hebrew Bible was not recorded in the form of a question of its origin, or its association with 61:7, neither in H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 283–5 (in the commentary to 51:11), nor in H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28-39*, 1366 (in the commentary to 35:10).

hypothesis of a separate character of vv. 1–3.(10–)11, and of v. 4, which would also explain why the new subject appears as late as in v. 5. However, already in the case of v. 8, it would be difficult to draw conclusions of that sort (as well as to prove that the later editors of Deutero-Isa referred to Isa 61).

The history of the origin of Isa 40–55 has been variously assessed in research works.²¹³ Be that as it may, the composition of these chapters was dated by R.G. Kratz in the case of the so-called *Ebed-Israel-Schicht* to the first half of the fifth century B.C.E., and before Isa 60–61,²¹⁴ whereas by H.-J. Hermisson to the early post-exilic period (the latest of the *Naherwartungsschicht*), soon after 540 B.C.E.;²¹⁵ however, it is the texts of Trito-Isaiah that depend on it, and not the other way around.²¹⁶

To summarise the issue of the literary complexity, one can ascertain that:

1. Isa 61 may be a composition comprising more or less independent units vv. 1–3/4/5–6/7–9/10–11, everyone of which would have its own thematic focus (which applies to the least extent to vv. 10–11). However, some of those would be markedly fragmentary, particularly v. 4, and vv. 5–6 (the topic of nations associates them with v. 9, but the severing of v. 9 from vv. 7–8 may be precluded by the combination of

²¹³ To cite only a few of the most important examples, R.P. Merendino, *Der Erste und der Letzte: Eine Untersuchung von Jes 40-48*, VT.S 31, Leiden 1981 (and his subsequent articles published in the following years); H.-J. Hermisson, “Einheit und Komplexität Deuterojesajas: Probleme der Redaktionsgeschichte von Jes 40-55,” 287–312 (and his commentaries; a summary in H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 655–760); R.G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch*; J. van Oorschot, *Von Babel zum Zion*.

²¹⁴ R.G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch*, 215, and n. 683, who, unifying Isa 60 and 61, has to date them to after the reconstruction of the temple (cf. Isa 60:7), and before the rebuilding of the walls (cf. Isa 60:10).

²¹⁵ H.-J. Hermisson, “Einheit und Komplexität Deuterojesajas,” 310, and H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 733; however, any dating of this layer has to be relative.

²¹⁶ H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 733–4.

the motifs of the country and the offspring in the traditions of the patriarchs – cf. Gen 28:13–14).²¹⁷

2. Vv. 1–3, and 10–11 could originally constitute a whole, and be autonomous. Even though without vv. 1–3, at least v. 4 would somewhat hang in the air, the position of these verses in the opening, and at the end of the pericope suggest their compositional, though not necessarily editorial positioning. There are indications that these verses did initially constitute a separate textual unit, but even in that case it is better to read ch. 61 as a single whole. It cannot be ruled out that the phrase “to provide those who mourn [over] Zion” in v. 3 may be an explanatory gloss and/or an addition connecting these verses with chapter 60, and perhaps also with chapter 62.
3. In all likelihood, the connection with Isa 60 and 62 is not original, and that pertains also to the 1 per. used in 62:1, a verse which not only speaks directly of Jerusalem, but assumes the anticipation of the fulfilment of God’s promises to Jerusalem (to say nothing of the fact that 62:1 is strongly linked with the subsequent verses all the way to the markedly related with it both in terms of its subject matter and its language – 62:7).

The dating of Isa 61 is dubious. Vv. 1–3 describe the situation of discouraged, and imprisoned exiles, and the people of God scattered all over the world, whereas vv. 4–9 are a promise for the country of Israel, for Jerusalem and its close and more distant vicinity, which continue to lie in ruins, and the expellees are yet to be given their land. The dating is rendered even more difficult by the fact that, sadly, we can say very little for certain about the fortunes of the post-exilic community. The calls to rebuild the temple, which probably emerged between 520 and 515 B.C.E. (during the reign of Darius – see Esd 6), presented in Hag 1, implicitly indicate that, admittedly, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were still poor, but some form of reconstruction had already been carried out (1:4). The need to restore life in its all aspects, that is, liberation, restoration, and allotment of land (which is to be worked by foreigners), would suggest the origin

²¹⁷ See above.

of Isa 61 during the very early post-exilic years. In this context, it is puzzling that the reconstruction of the temple is not mentioned there at all (the only element present is the motif of the priesthood, and at that of the entire people – understood metaphorically?), so that the question arises whether the restoration of the temple was still a relatively distant matter, or whether the temple already existed (which is reflected, for instance, in Isa 60:7.13; 62:9).²¹⁸ Similar is the situation in the case of Isa 40–55, where the temple is only mentioned in the later-inserted 44:28b.²¹⁹ However, one can hardly draw far-reaching conclusions from temple-silence.²²⁰ The conceptual proximity with such texts as the first two Songs of the Servant of the Lord, and other passages in these chapters, points to temporal vicinity; therefore transferring the origin of Isa 61 to a period distant from the conventional end of the Exile in 539 B.C.E., i.e., to the latter half of the sixth century B.C.E.,²²¹ does not seem plausible.

²¹⁸ See O.H. Steck, “Jesaja 60,13 – Bauholz oder Tempelgarten,” 101–5, and idem, “Der Rachtetag in Jesaja 61,2,” 116 (about that issue, see also K. Koenen, *Heil den Gerechten – Unheil den Sündern*, 69–70 n. 2). Were we to combine chs. 60+62, and 61 into a single composition, it would have to be created after the reconstruction of the temple. W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56-66*, 117, speaks of the first half of the fifth century B.C.E.

²¹⁹ It is commonly believed to have been a later insertion (from the period when the issue of the reconstruction of the temple grew in importance, i.e., ca. 520 B.C.E.) – see. K. Elliger, *Jesaja 40,1-45,7*, 457 (an addition *post eventum*); H.-J. Hermisson, *Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 734 (without an attempt at dating); and according to R.G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterjesaja-Buch*, 88–9, of the period of the early chronicles.

²²⁰ Another question could be added here whether the reference to the figure of the servant of the Lord the Servant Song (and the texts related thereto) with a concurrent omission of the servant’s death (cf. Isa 52:13–53:12), should indicate its origin before that of Isa 53.

²²¹ See H.-W. Jüngling, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 445–7, who refers to the model developed by M. Sweeney, assuming the dating of the origin of chs. 60–62 to the end of the sixth century (520–515 B.C.E.); likewise, K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch*, 215. For Deutero-Isa I am leaning towards the dating of H.-J. Hermissona (*Jesaja 49,14-55,13*, 731–7).

Conclusions

Admittedly, one could make attempts to recreate the alleged history of the composition of Isa 61, which would comprise small fragments of vv. 5–6/7–9, connected with v. 1–3, which together with vv. 10–11 created the framing of the whole chapter, in which v. 4 was also included, alongside an unequivocal connection to Isa 60, and 62, indicating that the point of view is that of the prosperity of the inhabitants of Zion (the gloss “those who mourn [over] Zion”); however, such a reconstruction would rest in its entirety on rather frail premises. Especially for pragmatic purposes, it is better to treat the chapter as a whole, constituting a deliberate composition. After all, Isa 61 is a literary product which may have been preceded by some other fragments (most of all, vv. 1–3+10–11, or vv. [4.]5–9). The addressees are predominantly the expelled and dispersed Israelites, who are returning and will return to Jerusalem, and to the cities of Judah, to whom God promises the restoration and the new organisation of life in their former homeland. They constitute the core of God’s people. Their prosperity will also be fostered by strangers (vv. 5–6), who in some form will acknowledge the priestly status of the people of Zion. Due to the fact that the dependence on the traditions drawn from Deutero-Isaiah and some Psalms is evident, the thesis of a scribal prophecy (*schriftgelehrte Prophetie*), that is, a literary activity of the prophetic type, which reaches back to earlier transmissions, appears to be in principle correct.²²² However, this qualification is not entirely precise,²²³ for we are not only dealing with the actualisation of once used

²²² In line with the title and the main thesis of W. Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, who, however, does not yet speak of a prophet-scribe and of a prophetic personality; see also O.H. Steck, “Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Hypothese zu Tritojesaja im Umriß,” 44.

²²³ This reservation was also voiced by L. Ruzkowski, *Volk und Gemeinde im Wandel*, 17–8, who on the basis of the notion of cognitive dissonance, stemming from the promises of Deutero-Isaiah not having been fulfilled, identifies two possible ways of dealing with it: 1) through a new phrasing of these promises, which would render their fulfilment easier; 2) through the addition of words indicating that the prophecies do in fact come to pass. *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie* would relate only to the first of these methods.

traditions, but also with new promises (vv. 5–6),²²⁴ or at least with ones expressed in a new way (for instance, the recompense in v. 7). It cannot be either ruled out, or confirmed, that some short earlier transmissions had been intertwined into the pericope in Isa 61; transmissions that gave rise to these promises. In any case, in Isa 61:1–3.10(–11) the prophetic “I” comes to be expressed, and therefore it would seem that at the root of these transmissions we encounter a prophet. However, this hypothesis seems to be contradicted by the styling of the “I” in these verses after the model of the prophet-servant in Isa 40–55 (most of all in the first two Songs of the Servant of the Lord), which forces one rather to focus rather on the tradents of the Deutero-Isaiah’s traditions (O.H. Steck). Did the prophet Trito-Isaiah exist? Much indicates that our answer to that question should be negative. What did exist, however, was a tradent or tradents (authors-editors), who actualised the transmissions of Deutero-Isaiah, not only correcting them, but also creating on their basis their own compositions; besides, they complemented them with new promises. They/he saw their/his mission as genuinely prophetic in nature, and concurrently as the fulfilment of the duty of the servant of the Lord, who he/they identified with. YHWH’s promises of liberation and restoration of the people of God remained valid, so did those of the restoration of the land, at the centre of which was Zion. The promises are presented with sharper outlines in Isa 60, and 62. Additionally, there was the acknowledgement from other nations, and their submission to the people of God, who as a whole was to serve the role of the priests of YHWH.

Would the composition of Isa 61 be understandable if read independently, not as an editorial reworking of Isa 40–55?²²⁵ For us today, the interpretation of Isa 61 (and the entire Isa 56–66) without the familiarity with Deutero-Isa would prove much more difficult. Meanwhile, about the historical receivers of those texts in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.E. we are unable to say anything. Even

²²⁴ Even if the submission of nations before the exiles is mentioned in Isa 49:22–23.

²²⁵ According to O.H. Steck, “Die redaktionsgeschichtliche Hypothese zu Tritojesaja im Umriß,” 12, since the outset Isa 60–61* was a continuation of Isa 49–55.

though these questions seem interesting, due to the sparsity of sources they must remain unanswered.

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