

Isaiah 40-55 (Second Isaiah / Deutero-Isaiah) + 34-35

The first person who thought of the possibility of more than one author for the book of Isaiah was a Spanish Jew, Moisés Ibn Chiquitilla, who lived in Cordoba in the 2nd Century A.D., and who suggested that Isaiah 40-66 was written by a prophet who lived in Babylon toward the end of the Exile. Another Spanish Jew, Abraham Ben Meir Ibn Ezra (1092/3-1167 A.D.), in his commentary on Isaiah, suggested the possibility of different authors for chapters 1-39 and 40-66. Until 1775, the Christian churches had accepted the more common Jewish tradition that presented the book of Isaiah (1-66) as a work written totally by the prophet Isaiah of the 8th Century B.C. However, since the commentary of J. Döderlein (1775, 1789), and the introduction of J. G. Eichhorn (1780-83), a growing number of scholars advocate a “Second Isaiah” who lived toward the end of the Exile (650-40) as author of Isaiah 40-66, and of certain portions of chapters 13-39.

During the course of the 19th Century, the hypothesis of Deutero-Isaiah gained force with the development of the literary and historical sciences, but particularly the conservative scholars continued to defend the traditional theory. However, in 1889, Frank Delitzsch, the most prestigious conservative scholar of the century, announced his acceptance of a Second Isaiah in the fourth and ultimate edition of his great commentary on Isaiah (I, 36-41; II, 120-133). Since then, few scholars have maintained the traditional theory (* in the following bibliography), although for most of the century the third edition of Delitzsch’s commentary (with his defense of the Isaiah of the 8th century as author of the entire book) continues to be circulated as a representation of his thought, while the fourth edition suffers from a type of “censure” by editorial houses driven by market interest.

Three years after Delitzsch’ recognition of Second Isaiah, another German, Bernard Duhm published his commentary (1892, 1922), in which he identified the four songs of the Servant (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12) as distinct elements in Second Isaiah, and also demonstrated the existence of a Third Isaiah (author of chapters 56-66), who wrote in Jerusalem, after the Exile (538 B.C.). As the admission of Second Isaiah succeeded in prevailing in the 19th Century, Duhm’s hypothesis of a Third Isaiah gained general acceptance in the 20th Century. The debate continues about the authorship and interpretation of the four songs of the Servant, but now it is more common to accept that Second Isaiah himself was the author of songs 1-3, and that the fourth song (Isaiah 53:13-52:12) was written by a disciple, perhaps impressed by the suffering of Second Isaiah. In the interpretation of the four songs, instead of the traditional sterile debate between the synagogue (“the servant is Israel”) and the church (“the servant is Jesus”), a conclusion such as Delitzsch’s (a Jew converted to Christianity) has gained wide acceptance: the traditional dichotomy must be rejected, since the figure of the servant in Isaiah 40-55 is variable: at times it is Israel, at times a faithful survivor of Israel, at times an individual (the prophet himself or someone like him).

For good summaries of the introductory questions, see: DHHBE, Introduction to Isaiah, 857-858; BJ, Introduction to Isaiah, 1081-1082; RV95 Introduction, 836-837. For more details, see: Anne-Marie Pelletier CBI (1999), 872-910; Werner Schmidt (1995/99: 156-267 and 267-269). To understand the historical context of Second Isaiah, see especially the texts that speak of Cyrus and even name him and describe him as “messiah/anointed”; 41:2-

4, 25-29; 44:28; 45:1-3; 46:8-11. Although → Deuteronomy greatly insisted in monolatry (the adoration of only one God; Deut 6:4 etc.) and in two late texts (4:35, 39) makes monotheism explicit, Second Isaiah generally receives the credit for being the first author in the Bible that taught monotheism (see the ten texts cited below, 1 The Poor, salvation, and also the declarations that the idols do not exist (41:1-24; 44:9-20; 46:1-13).

Outline

(for the scenes [“Acts”] I-VI, see Klaus Baltzer 2001:viii-xv, 15-23)

- 40:1-31 Prologue**
 40:1-11 Yahweh sends a counselor to his people / Jerusalem in Babylon
 12-31 The greatness of the unique and everlasting Creator
- 41:1-42:13 Scene 1: The beginning of that to come**
 41:1-20 God promises to use Cyrus to liberate Israel
 21-29 Yahweh challenges the false gods
- 42:1-4 (5-9) *The first song of the oppressed Servant: justice for the nations***
- 42:14-44:23 Scene II: Jacob / Israel (again) the slave / Servant of Yahweh**
 10-17 Hymn of praise for God’s liberating acts
 18-25 Israel a blind and deaf slave/servant
 43:1-28 Yahweh as the only liberator
 44:1-8 Yahweh’s faithfulness, the only God
 9-20 Satire against idolatry
- 44:24-45:25 Scene III: God’s sovereignty and the earthly government**
 21—28 Yahweh pardons and liberates Israel through Cyrus
 8-19 The sovereign power of Yahweh, the creator
- 46:1-49:13 Scene IV: The fall of Babylon**
 45:20-46:13 Yahweh confronts the Babylonian idols (Bel and Nebo)
 47:1-15 The imminent fall of Babylon
 48:1-11 Yahweh announces new things
 12-22 Yahweh will liberate his people: orders them to flee from Babylon (20-22)
- 49:11-6 (7-13) *The second song of the oppressed Servant: a light for the nations***
- 49:14-52:10 Scene V: Zion / Jerusalem, humiliated and vindicated**
 8-26 Announcement of the vindication of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem
 50:1-3 Yahweh refutes Israel’s accusations
- 50:4-9 (10-11) *The third song of the oppressed Servant: the master’s ear and tongue***
 51:1-23 A call for hope: An imminent new exodus
 52:1-12 A messenger brings good news: the impending liberation of Jerusalem

52:11-54:17 **Scene VI: Liberation for the Servant of God – by Zion/Jerusalem**

52:13-53:12 *The fourth song of the oppressed Servant, dead and rehabilitated*

54:1-10 Yahweh's maternal and eternal love

11-17 Jerusalem rebuilt in magnificence, free of oppression and fear

55:1-13 **Epilogue: Feast of the pilgrimage to the Holy City**

55:1-13 Grace and abundant life for exiles (poor, hungry and thirsty)

1 The poor and oppressed. David Pleins¹ points out that, to study the poor and oppressed in Second and Third Isaiah, we cannot limit ourselves to an investigation of the technical vocabulary, because *the entire "nation"* that the prophet must console and lift up (40:1-31) is an exiled nation, oppressed and impoverished (since it mainly represents the exiled elite). However, it is important to observe that, with the exception of 41:17, Isaiah 40-66 refers to the poor only with the term *'ani* (poor/oppressed; 49:13; 51:21; 54:11; 58:7; 66:2)². Pleins adds that this exclusive use of *'ani* has its only parallel in the post-exile work of → Zachariah and does not characterize the earlier prophetic tradition. In 41:17, the only text that employs a technical term for the poor in addition to *'ani*, the lack of water and the thirst are fundamental dimensions of the suffering of the exiled, which perhaps reflect painful memories of the voyage as Babylonian prisoners. The prophet wants to assure them that the return voyage to Jerusalem would be something very different:

41:17-20. When the poor (*'ani*) and needy (*'ebyon*) seek water, and there is none, and their tongue is parched with thirst... I will open rivers on the bare heights, and fountains in the midst of the valleys; I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water...

The invitation of the final chapter of Second Isaiah seems to form a kind of inclusion that repeats and transforms the theme of thirst and water:

Ho, everyone who thirsts, come to the waters; and you that have no money, come, buy and eat! Come; buy wine and milk without money and without price... (55:1; see the reference to the ungodly oppressor [*resha*], v. 7a).

In addition to the almost exclusive use of *'ani* ("poor-oppressed"), other terms in the contexts point to imperial oppression as the fundamental cause of impoverishment. The first song of the Servant (42:1-4, quoted below) twice refers to oppression with the strong term *ratsats* (crushed/squashed, see also the reference to the captives in 42:7). The fourth song (52:13-53:12) uses four words for oppression a total of six times, and makes it clear that the "suffering" Servant mainly suffers injustice and oppression.³ Without using technical vocabulary for oppression, the third song makes clear the violence that the Servant suffered at the hands of the oppressors:

I gave my back to those who struck me,
and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard;
I did not hide my face
from insult and spitting (50:6).

In Second Isaiah, only this reference to the beard refutes the theory that the prophet/Servant was a woman (see 3 Sexual Minorities, below). Of the four songs of the Servant, only the second does not specifically speak of oppression, but even in this song the Servant is “despised and abhorred by the nations” (49:7).

The same chapter questions whether liberation of the exiled be possible in the case of an empire as strong and cruel as Babylon:

Can the prey be taken from the mighty,
or the captives of a tyrant (*'aritz*) be rescued? ²⁵

For Second Isaiah, however, the answer is clear:

But thus says Yahweh (the liberating God of the exodus):

Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken,
and the prey of the tyrant (*'aritz*) be rescued;
for I will contend with those who contend with you,
and I will save your children...(49:24-25).

(See notes in NVI, DHHBE, BJ concerning the textual problem).

Further, in Isaiah 49, the reference to the oppressors who “swallowed up” (*bala'*) Israel (49:19) corresponds to the punishment that God promised for the violent tyrants: “I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh...” (49:26). With so many promises of liberation, the prophet bursts into praise:

Sing for joy, O heavens,
and exult, O earth;
break forth, O mountains, into singing!
For the LORD has comforted his people,
and will have compassion on his suffering ones (*'ani*) (49:13).

The verses continue where Yahweh compares his everlasting compassion for his nation to that of a mother for her suckling child (49:15-16, cited below 3, Women).

Also, chapter 51 makes it clear that for Second Isaiah all the people of God in exile are impoverished, oppressed, tortured and humiliated:

Therefore hear this, you who are wounded (*'ani*),
who are drunk, but not with wine:
Thus says your Sovereign, the LORD,
your God who pleads the cause of his people:
See, I have taken from your hand the cup of staggering;
you shall drink no more from the bowl of my wrath.
And I will put it into the hand of your tormentors (*yagah*),
who have said to you,
"Bow down,
that we may walk on you";

and you have made your back like the ground and
like the street for them to walk (*ábar*) on.
(*ábar*) in this context means “sexually violate”⁴).

The references to the bowl of wrath that is passed from Israel to Babylon are coherent with Second Isaiah’s insistence that it is Yahweh in his sovereignty who has always directed history, first the punishing of Israel for its sins, and then Babylon, before liberating his people from the yoke of the oppressor:

I have tested you in the furnace of adversity (‘*oni*) [oppression/affliction] (48:10).

With his militant monotheism, Second Isaiah cannot put the blame for Israel’s suffering on another god, nor on “Satan” or demons. It is only Yahweh who creates well-being and calamity (45:7):

Who gave up Jacob to the spoiler,
and Israel to the robbers?
Was it not the LORD,
against whom we have sinned...? (42:24).

However, it is precisely from this understanding of sovereignty and divine providence that the possibility of hope and consolation is born⁵. Thus Isaiah 34 speaks of God’s judgment and wrath (34:2) against all the gentile nations (34:1-4), with divine vengeance against Edom in particular (34:5-17). But this judgment prepares the way for the celebration of the liberation of Israel in 35:1-10. Likewise, Isaiah 51 gives a horrifying description of the suffering of the oppressed Israel in the exile, but followed by the promise of freedom:

You fear continually all day long
because of the fury of the oppressor,
who is bent on destruction.
But where is the fury of the oppressor?
The oppressed shall speedily be released;
they shall not die and go down to the Pit,
nor shall they lack bread (51:13-14).
(see the reference to hunger in war in 51:19).

In this text, Second Isaiah chooses a rare word for the oppressor (*tsuq*), but it is the same word Deuteronomy uses three times when speaking of the siege that threatened Jerusalem (Deut 28:53, 55, 57)⁶. And, again, poverty (lack of bread) is obviously owing to oppression (the fury of the oppressor...prisoners...Pit/jail). The descriptions of an oppressed Jerusalem continue in chapter 52, with references to the captured in chains (52:3), before, poor immigrants in Egypt (52:4ab), then oppressed (‘*ashaq*) by Assyria (52:4c) and now laughed at by the governors and princes of Babylon (52:5).

In chapter 54, Second Isaiah addresses Jerusalem/Zion as an impoverished and very agitated woman, who is consoled with promises of a splendid future:

O afflicted one ('*ani*), storm-tossed, and not comforted,
I am about to set your stones in antimony,
and lay your foundations with sapphires.
I will make your pinnacles of rubies, your gates of jewels,
and all your wall of precious stones.
All your children shall be taught by the LORD,
and great shall be the prosperity of your children.
In righteousness (*tsedeqah*) you shall be established;
you shall be far from oppression ('*osheq*),
for you shall not fear;
and from terror,
for it shall not come near you.
If anyone stirs up strife, it is not from me;
whoever stirs up strife with you shall fall because of you (54:11-15).

If poverty is due to the oppression of exile, liberation obviously results in prosperity (indicated by the references to jewels and precious stones and peace and well-being).

Thus, although Isaiah 41:17 uses one technical word for the poor (indigent, '*ebyon*'), for Second Isaiah all the people suffer from the oppression ('*ani*) of the exile that has impoverished them and the texts abound in other terms and metaphors for oppression and violence. Yahweh reacts with wrath against idolatry and oppression, both that of the gentiles and of Israel herself (34:2; 42:13; 47:6; 48:9; 51:17, 20, 22; 54:8-9).

“Salvation” as liberation from oppression. In Isaiah 40-55, the first word (40:1-2), the last (55:6-7) and the most profound (52:13-52:12) are concerned with *forgiveness* of sins and the justification of the sinners – a reality already fulfilled (40:1-2; 44:22) or present (43:25), but also in the future (55:6-7). In addition, Second Isaiah speaks with enthusiasm and eloquence about the future miraculous *cure* of the sick and disabled (35:3-6b; 42:7, 16; 43:8; 53:4-5; cf. 43:8; see 61:1-2; Mat 11:5; Luc 7:22); miraculous *ecological transformations* (35:1-2, 6c-10; 41:18-20; 43:18-21; 48:21; 51:3; 55:12-13) – and even of a promised economic *prosperity* for the oppressed and impoverished exiles (41:17-20; 49:23; 51:3; 53:12a; 54:11-12).

However, when Second Isaiah speaks of the forgiveness of sins and the curing of the sick, he does not use the word “salvation”, since, according to him, “salvation” is of the future and refers above all to the imminent **freeing of the exiled from Babylon and their return to Jerusalem*⁷. In Second Isaiah, “*redeem/redeeming/redeemed*” (*g' l*) and “*rescued*” (*pdh*) are synonymous with this imminent salvation-liberation of the captivity of Babylon.

Furthermore, as John Scullion points out ⁸, Second Isaiah speaks of *salvation* especially in the contexts where *monotheism* is affirmed ⁹ (as well as the texts cited above, see 44:6, 8; 45:5-6, 14d, 18; 46:9). Babylon's idols cannot save-liberate from oppression (*tsarah I*; 46:7). since only Yahweh is the liberating God of the Exodus (44:17, 20, *natzal*, liberate; +45:19-20; 46:2 and 4 rescue, *malat*, 7; 46:7 to save from oppression [*tsarah I*]; 47:13-15). Scullion warns that “salvation” in Second Isaiah does not have the same Christian theological sense common in the New Testament. Even the New Testament can speak of a

“salvation” of the enemies-oppressors (Luke 1:71) and this is the sense in Second Isaiah, which repeatedly refers to Yahweh as the only God that exists and that can save/rescue/liberate from the imperial oppressor:

You are my witnesses, says the LORD,
and my servant whom I have chosen,
so that you may know and believe me
and understand that I am he.
*Before me no god was formed,
nor shall there be any after me.*
I, I am the LORD,
and besides me there is no savior.
I declared and saved and proclaimed,
when there was no strange god among you;
and you are my witnesses, says the LORD (43:10-12)

*... There is no other god besides me,
a just (tsadiq) God and a Savior,
there is no one besides me.*
Turn to me and be saved,
all the ends of the earth!
For *I am God, and there is no other* (45:20-22).

Especially second song of the Servant (49:1-6/13) makes it very clear that the servant can at times be Israel herself (49:3), or a faithful survivor of Israel (49:6), and that the *light* is a common symbol for the *liberation-salvation* of the oppressed (**The Second song of the Servant: light-salvation for the nations**):

Listen to me, O coastlands,
pay attention, you peoples from far away!
Yahweh ... said to me, "You are my servant, Israel,
in whom I will be glorified."⁴
But I said, "I have labored in vain, spent my strength for nothing and vanity;
yet surely my cause is with Yahweh, and my reward with my God."
And now Yahweh says,
who formed me in the womb *to be his servant*,
to bring Jacob back to him,
and that Israel might be gathered to him...
"It is too light a thing that *you should be my servant*
to raise up the tribes of Jacob
and to restore the survivors of Israel;
I will give you as a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (49:1-6)

Furthermore, Second Isaiah tends to refer to *salvation/liberation* in the same context in which *+justice* (above all in parallel) makes it very clear that it is mainly concerned with oppression (judgment against the oppressors and/or liberation of the oppressed)—meaning

it is a *liberating justice* (42:1-7). Thus, God’s “**justice**” in Isaiah 40-55 refers to his *liberating justice* manifested in the liberation of the exiled from Babylon. This justice and this liberation in Isaiah 40-55 are fundamental elements of the **paradigm of the new exodus**: 41:17-20; 43:14-21; 48:10-22; 49:9c-11; 51:9-11; 52:11-12 (see also 35:1-10). In the first song of the Servant, Yahweh’s justice that liberated all oppression, which Israel experienced in the Exodus, the Servant now extends to all the nations – **The first song of the Servant: justice for all nations** (42:1-4/9).

Here is my servant, whom I uphold,
my chosen, in whom my soul delights;
I have put my spirit upon him;
he will bring forth liberating justice (*mishpat*) to the nations.²
He will not cry or lift up his voice,
or make it heard in the street;
a *bruised* reed he will not break,
and a dimly burning wick he will not *quench*;
he will faithfully bring forth liberating justice.
He will not grow *faint* or be *crushed* (*ratsats*)
until he has established justice in the earth;
and the coastlands wait for his *teaching* (*torah*; 42:1-4).

Confronted by the enigmatic figure of the Servant in the four songs of Second Isaiah, the first question posed by human curiosity is, “Who?”: the eunuch asked Philip, “About whom, may I ask you, does the prophet say this, about himself or about someone else?” (Acts 8:34, after reading Isaiah 53:7-8; see John 4:19-20). However, as Paul Hanson points out, the emphasis of the first song must show us that our first question should rather be: “What?” – *what* does God want us to do?¹⁰ And, the Servant being Israel (Isa 49:3; 41:8-10), a faithful survivor of Israel (49:6), a prophetic figure (perhaps Second Isaiah himself, 50:4-11), Jesus (Philip in Acts 8:35), Jesus’ disciples (Mat 5:14-16) — or a combination of these figures — the divine answer is quite clear: That which God demands of his servants is liberating justice for the weak and the oppressed.

This first song of the Servant also makes it clear that the focus (the “option”) of the Servant’s ministry are the weak and oppressed (*ratsats*), dejected people (like a “dimly burning wick”; see the exiled Israelites in Babylon). The text uses one of the strongest words for oppression (*ratsats*¹¹; see the “oppressed” Servant in Isaiah 52:13-53:12, below). The focus on oppression makes clear the reason that the promised justice (*mishpat*) is liberating justice (42:6-7, see below). Without doubt, Paul Hanson is correct when he described the justice in Isaiah as “compassionate justice”¹² (justice motivated by compassion), but we must not confuse the motive (compassion, love) with the objective (liberation) – and the paradigm of the exodus teaches us emphasize the objective (justice) not the motive (compassion, love).

Again correctly Hanson points out that the *method* (the “*how?*”) that the Servant uses to establish universal justice differs from the violent methods of the great empires. Since, instead of the “holy” wars, the crusades and the *jihad* characteristics of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the Servant’s method is peaceful, tender, pastoral, avoiding noisy

propaganda in the streets. The divine power that enables the Servant to fulfill his mission is not military force, but the unction of the Divine Spirit (see the seven gifts of the spirit in Isaiah 11:2; cf. 2:4; 64:25).

Hanson also points out the importance of 42:5-8 for the interpretation of the Servant Song, and especially 42:7, which “makes clear that the order of God’s justice involves healing of human illness and the reform of oppressive political structures. As God’s covenant with Israel took shape in the form of God’s actively getting involved in the plight of slaves in Egypt, so too the task of the servant people involves advocacy for those who suffer and are oppressed.”¹³ (citing Luke 4:16-21 and Matthew 25:31-46). However, when God’s people realize the pacific mission of the Servant, God promises to come out “as a warrior” to combat the oppressors (42:10-17, esp. v. 13; cf. Cyrus in 41:2-4).

In addition to the first song of the Servant (42:1-4/9), various texts point out the relationship between salvation-liberation and righteousness. For example, in the context that names Cyrus as “anointed/messiah, the Second Isaiah proclaims:

Shower, O heavens, from above,
and let the skies rain down righteousness (*tsedeq*);
let the earth open,
that salvation may spring up,
and let it cause righteousness (*tsedeqah*) to sprout up also;
I the Yahweh have created it (*bara'*; 45:8).

J.F. Sawyer shows how “Passages like 43:1; 44:2; and 45:9-11, in which the liberation of Israel from oppression is described as an act of creation, are given new force by the bias [!] of LIBERATION THEOLOGIES and are applied to issues of justice and freedom in this world”.¹⁴ In chapter 46, Second Isaiah mocks the idols of the great empire that cannot rescue-save (*malat*, 2, 4), but affirms that Yahweh can promise the exiled:

I bring near my deliverance (*tsedeqah*),
it is not far off,
and my salvation will not tarry;
I will put salvation in Zion,
for Israel my glory (46:13).

In chapter 51, Second Isaiah extends that promise to the nations:

I will bring near my deliverance swiftly,
my salvation has gone out
and my arms will rule the peoples;
the coastlands wait for me,
and for my arm they hope...
but my salvation will be forever,
and my deliverance will never be ended (51:5-6).

Thus Second Isaiah makes clear that in its historical context, the “salvation” that God promises is a “liberation-salvation” from the oppression of the empire (Babylonia), and that God’s “justice” is one that judges the oppressors and liberates the oppressed. Such justice and liberation represent the project (“plan”) that God, the creator, is carrying out for the entire world.

The four “songs of Yahweh’s slave/servant (*‘ebed*)” represent an independent layer and the first three have later expansions (see the verses in parentheses in the outline above). Probably, the first three songs are *autobiographical* descriptions of Second Isaiah himself, but the fourth song (Isa 52:13-53:12) has special characteristics and seems to be a biographical portrait of Second Isaiah which comes from a disciple.¹⁵ Both the traditional Jewish interpretation of the servant as Israel (49:3) or faithful survivor (49:5), as well as the traditional Christian interpretation of the songs as messianic prophecies reflect more the dominant ideologies than the conclusions of a scientific exegesis. The four songs of the Servant have many ties to Jeremiah and the stories about Moses in the Pentateuch, but very few agree with Klaus Baltzer, who concludes that the songs of the servant represent an interpretation of the life of Moses¹⁶.

52:13-53:12 The fourth song: Oppressed and rehabilitated Servant, liberated people

52:13 [Yahweh says:]

See, my servant shall prosper; he shall be exalted and lifted up,
and shall be very high.

14 Just as there were many who were astonished at him [at you, MT] —
so marred was his appearance, beyond human semblance,
and his form beyond that of mortals—

15 so he shall sprinkle [MT] many nations;
kings shall shut their mouths because of him;
for that which had not been told them they shall see,
and that which they had not heard they shall contemplate.

53:1 [The faithful of the nation respond:]

Who has believed what we have heard?

And to whom has the arm of the LORD been revealed?

2 For he grew up before him like a young plant,
and like a root out of dry ground;

he had no form or majesty that we should look at him,
nothing in his appearance that we should desire him.

3 He was despised and rejected by others;
a man of suffering and acquainted with *infirmity*;
and as one from whom others hide their faces he was despised,
and we held him of no account.

4 Surely he has borne our *infirmities*
and carried our diseases;
yet we accounted him stricken,
struck down by God, and *afflicted* [*‘anah*].

5 But he was wounded for our transgressions,
crushed [*daka'*] for our iniquities;
upon him was the punishment that made us whole,
and by his *bruises* we are *healed*.

6 All we like sheep have gone astray;
we have all turned to our own way,
and Yahweh has laid on him
the iniquity of us all.

7 He was *oppressed* [*nagash*], and he was *afflicted* [*'anah*],
yet he did not open his mouth;
like a lamb that is led to the slaughter,
and like a sheep that before its shearers is silent,
so he did not open his mouth.

8 By a *perversion* [*'otser*] of justice he was taken away.
Who could have imagined his future?
For he was cut off from the land of the living,
stricken for the transgression of my people.

9 They made his grave with the *wicked* [*resha'im*]
and his tomb with the rich,
although he had done no violence [*khamas*],
and there was no deceit in his mouth.

10 Yet it was the will of the LORD
to *crush* [*daka'*] him with *pain*.

When you make his life an offering for sin,
he shall see his offspring, and shall prolong his days;
through him the will of the LORD shall prosper.

11 [Yahweh says:]
Out of his anguish [*'amal*] he shall see light;
he shall find satisfaction through his knowledge.
The just one, my servant, shall justify many,
and he shall bear their iniquities.

12 Therefore I will allot him a portion with the great,
and he shall divide the spoil with the strong;
because he poured out himself to death,
and was numbered with the transgressors;
yet he bore the sin of many,
and made intercession for the transgressors.

Note 52:15a. “will sprinkle” [*yazzeḥ* from *nazah*] many nations (52:15a). So reads the MT, now supported by mss from the Dead Sea scrolls (1QIs a and b, the Manuel of Discipline iv.21; cf iii.1); Syriac, Aquila, and the Vulgate; see NIV, ESV. Despite the clarity of the Hebrew text (*pace* RSV and NRSV) and the strong textual support, the majority of modern translations prefer to follow the LXX: “many were astonished at him,” since many scholars that the cultic concept doesn’t fit the context and the parallelism of 15a and b would support the LXX reading “were astonished.” Nevertheless, the previous context refers to the Temple utensils (52:11; see the sacrifice in 52:11) and the poetic

parallelism here is more complex: if we change the Hebrew to create parallelism between 15a and b, we leave 14a without parallelism—to resolve one problem we create another (E.J. Young 1972:338-339; Hanks 1982:103-105; 1983:84-85). Now Klaus Baltzer supports the MT reading “will sprinkle” (2001:392, 400).

Note 53:11b. “will see *light*.” “Will see” lacks its object, “light” in the MT, but the LXX reading (“light”) is now supported by a Hebrew mss from Qumran (see NRSV, NIV notes).

In my earlier study of the fourth song, I analyzed the elements that support a Jewish and liberationist reading (oppression and liberation), charismatic-Pentecostal (infirmity and cure), and traditional evangelical/Catholic (sin and forgiveness-justification)¹⁷; Severino Croatto supports the Jewish-liberationist reading, in which the Servant is merely Israel¹⁸. He points out that six times the song uses four Hebrew roots which signify oppression, with which he makes with it, in all its dimensions, a basic category for understanding the theology of each song:

- 53:4d struck down by God, and *afflicted* [*‘anah*].
- 53:5b *crushed* [*daka*'] for our iniquities
- 53:7a He was *oppressed* [*nagash*], and he was *afflicted* [*‘anah*]
- 53:8a By a *perversion* [*‘otser*] of justice he was taken away
- 53:10a, b Yet it was the will of the Lord to *crush* [*daka*'] him with *pain*.

Furthermore, we must note the reference to the *wicked* [*resha'im*] in 9a (// the rich) and the fact that the servant does no violence [*khamas*], 9c.

Although few have gone as far as Bernard Duhm, who concludes that the fourth song describes a leprous rabbi, the descriptions in this song, in addition to the judicial oppression and violence, it makes clear the prominence of the Servant's infirmity and the healing of his followers.¹⁹ This dimension supports a charismatic-Pentecostal reading, the focus on the healings that result from the Jesus' sacrifice.²⁰ Also, this dimension supports the new theologies of liberation for the handicapped.²¹

The catholic and evangelical tradition, which interprets the suffering of the Servant as expiatory sacrifice for sin (or propitiatory of Yahweh's wrath) which achieves justification and forgiveness of sins (related to the interpretation of Jesus' death in terms of a penal substitution), is always a target of strong criticism, above all in the feminist and black theologies.²² Without doubt, the criticisms are correct to signal grave dangers in the metaphors commonly used in the traditional theologies (→ Ezekiel 16 and 23, in which the figurative language suggests that God is guilty of rape). At times, in traditional theologies, God appears to be a “prostitute” who offers love only “bought” at the price of blood and the sacrifice of his son (“child abuse”?). However, the fourth song emphasizes Yahweh as the Lord of history, the sovereign God, even the subject who “oppresses” his own innocent Servant²³. The “us” that witness the Servant's suffering (52:1-3) are first surprised that this innocent Servant suffers for their sins (53:4abc), and second that it is *Yahweh himself* who makes him suffer (53:4d, 6cd, 10a). God seems to act as a general who subjects his troops to fierce discipline and then sends them off to die, but as a crucial element in a project to defeat evil – and which includes the restoration and rehabilitation of the innocent Servant in

the heavenly court.²⁴ Interpreted in this way, the fourth song is a poem that reflects the historical context of the exile and not a “messianic prediction” of the crucifixion of Jesus. Still, as Jesus and the authors of the New Testament demonstrated, the sufferings of the crucified were so similar that the typological use of the fourth song, as a source of inspiration and a resource for understanding Jesus’ death, is thoroughly appropriate²⁵.

2 Women. In Isaiah 34-35, 40-55 we find a storehouse of *positive* feminist images unparalleled in the other prophetic books or in any other part of the Bible²⁶ (cf. the *negative* images in Ezek 16 and 23!). Although → Jeremiah 1-51 contains even more references to women and feminist images, given its small size, Isaiah 34-35 and 40-55 contains relatively more (see chapter 54 – also below the 3-6 texts that speak of God as *woman/mother*; with three of the six ambiguous texts). In addition to the 15 explicit texts treated below, Phyllis Trible applies verses from Isaiah 53 to women that suffer (*Texts of Terror* 1984²⁷).

2.1 God = woman/mother. In at least three texts (*42:14; *45:10; *49:15-16), Second Isaiah speaks of God as a woman and, in light of these contexts, possibly such is the intention in three other texts, in which is not explicit whether the “breast/womb” in the metaphor is about God or the other (42:2, 24, 46:3²⁸; cf. the reference in Jeremiah to his divine calling from the womb of his human mother, Jer 1:5). However, although relatively abundant, these references that speak of God as a woman, notably restrict the woman to her maternal functions (cf. → Proverbs 31).

***(1) 42:14-17, creation hymn?** In the first text of Second Isaiah which compares God to a woman, the prophet traces the three stages of a pregnant woman, who in the end gives birth with cries of pain:

For a long time I have held my peace [the nine months of gestation],
I have kept still and restrained myself;
now I will cry out like a woman in labor,
I will gasp and pant (42:14).

Thus Yahweh, after becoming silent and intervening for many years, suddenly is ready to act and liberate Israel from the exile in Babylon (42:15-16).

(2-3) 44:2 and 24. The second and third texts are parallels:

²Thus says the LORD, who made you,
who formed you in the *womb*... (44:2 and 24)

In reference to 42:14, some think that Yahweh speaks as a woman of her own breast. However, it is more common to suppose that, like Jeremiah 1:5, Yahweh merely insists in his sovereignty, presence and commitment in the birth process, but refers to someone else’s breast. This other is not specified in 44:2, 24, since it is merely a metaphor.

***(4) 45:9-10.** The fourth song speaks with remarkable freedom of God as a potter, as father and *as mother*, an impressive example of the flexibility in subjects of gender:

Does the clay say to the one who fashions it,
 "What are you making"? or
"Your work has no handles"?
Woe to anyone who says to a father,
 "What are you begetting?"
or to a woman,
 "With what are you in labor?"

(5) **46:3-4** compares Yahweh to a midwife who lifts Israel from the womb, and who carries her as a wet nurse:

Listen to me, O house of Jacob,
 all the remnant of the house of Israel,
who have been borne by me from your birth,
 carried from the womb;
even to your old age I am he, even when you turn gray
 I will carry you.
I have made, and I will bear;
 I will carry and will save.

*(6) **49:15-16** compares Yahweh to a mother who can never forget her sons and daughters:

But Zion said, "Yahweh has forsaken me,
 my Lord has forgotten me."
Can a woman forget her nursing child,
 or show no compassion for the child of her womb?
Even these may forget,
 yet I will not forget you.
See, I have inscribed you on the palms of my hands;
 your walls are continually before me. (see the sons and daughters in 49:18-23).

2.2 Israel/Jerusalem = woman. Although there are only six texts in which Second Isaiah speaks of Israel/Zion as a woman, there is no ambiguity in them and they are much more extensive (see especially Isaiah 54). In these texts the prophet speaks of Israel/Zion as Yahweh's wife:

(7) **40:1-2.** Jerusalem is a woman, punished and forgiven:

Comfort, O comfort my people, says your God.
 Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her
 that she has served her term,
 that her penalty is paid,
 that she has received from the Lord's hand
 double for all her sins.

If Yahweh loves Israel so much and is a just God, why had the nation suffered double the punishment it deserved? Since one of the identities of Yahweh's Servant in Second Isaiah

is Israel itself (49:3), “the suffering of God’s servant...[is] that which redeems the nations and restores them, to wholeness or (*shalom*).²⁹

(8) 49:14. Zion, the daughter of God-mother (49:15-16), suffers pain caused by the destruction of 587/86, although in 49:17-26 the image of matrimony dominates (Yahweh with his wife Israel/Zion).

But Zion [feminine – she) said, "The LORD has forsaken me,
my Lord has forgotten me."

The reference to Zion as daughter precedes the two verses that speak of Yahweh as mother, and present an image of mother and daughter, not of father and son or husband and wife, as is more common in this chapter (17-26).

(9) 50:1-2. Yahweh and his wife Israel are “separated,” but not divorced.

Thus says the LORD:

Where is your mother's bill of divorce with which I put her away?
Or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you?
No, because of your sins
you were sold,
and for your transgressions
your mother was put away.

As the DHHBE well explains: Yahweh “refutes those Israelites who accuse him of having rejected Israel definitively and without sufficient motive. En reality, there had been a transitory separation, not a divorce, and therefore no impediment exists to reconstituting the marriage”. [Moreover, Yahweh] has not behaved like a father who sells his sons into slavery in order to pay his debts” (note 50:1).

(10) 51:18, 20. Zion is a mother abandoned by her sons, who are all dead.

There is no one to guide her
among all the children she has borne;
there is no one to take her by the hand
among all the children she has brought up...
Your children have fainted,
they lie at the head of every street
like an antelope in a net...

Mother as well as sons have drunk to the bottom of the cup of Yahweh’s wrath (17, 20b, 22), but now he will place the cup the hands of the Gentiles that made Israel suffer.

(11) 51:1-12. Zion/Jerusalem, enchained and enslaved, feels like a woman abandoned in the dust, oppressed (*ashaq*) by Assyria (4). Yahweh invites her to awaken (1), to regain her throne (2), to hear the good news from the Kingdom of God (7-10), and to

be freed from Babylon (11-12). The promised “salvation” (52:7, 10) is the liberation from the oppression of Babylon:

Shake yourself from the dust, rise up,
O captive Jerusalem;
loose the bonds from your neck,
O captive daughter Zion!

Jeremiah (27:1-8) had announced that Judah was going to be subjected for a time to the yoke of Babylon, but Second Isaiah announces that the moment has arrived to loosen that yoke (a metaphor of oppression).

(12) 54:1-10, 11-15. Second Isaiah ends with prophecies directed at Jerusalem, considered to be Yahweh’s *wife* and *mother* of the nation Israel (see 40:2 and 49:14-23). The oppression and liberation of Jerusalem is expressed by a series of five powerful poetic images (see DHHBE, note):

- the *sterile woman* is going to be mother of a great multitude (54:1-3; see 48:19);
- she that was left a *widow* is going to be newly married to Yahweh (4-5);
- she that was *abandoned* is going to again experience God’s compassion, goodness and eternal love (6-10);
- she that had been *scourged* and destroyed is going to be reconstructed in splendor (11-13);
- she that had been *oppressed* (*‘osheq*; 14b) is going to be protected from her aggressors in order to live without fear and in peace (14-17):

Sing, O barren one who did not bear;
burst into song and shout,
you who have not been in labor!
For the children of the desolate woman
will be more than the children of her that is married, says the LORD...
your descendants will possess the nations
and will settle the desolate towns (1-3)...

...you will forget the shame of your youth,
and the disgrace of your widowhood you will remember no more.
For your Maker is your husband, Yahweh of hosts is his name (4-5)...

For Yahweh has called you like a wife forsaken
and grieved in spirit,
like the wife of a man's youth when she is cast off, says your God.
For a brief moment I abandoned you,
but with great compassion I will gather you.

In overflowing wrath for a moment
I hid my face from you,
but with everlasting love I will have compassion on you,
says Yahweh, your Redeemer (6-8)...

O afflicted one, [city]
storm-tossed, and not comforted,
I am about to set your stones in antimony,
and lay your foundations with sapphires.¹²
I will make your pinnacles of rubies,
your gates of jewels,
and all your wall of precious stones.
All your children shall be taught by Yahweh,
and great shall be the prosperity of your children (11-13)...

In liberating justice (*tsedeqah*) you shall be established;
you shall be far from oppression,
for you shall not fear;
If anyone stirs up strife,
it is not from me;
whoever stirs up strife with you shall fall because of you (14-15)...

Among all this abundance of positive feminist images with which Second Isaiah ends, perhaps the most surprising element is that Zion is represented as an offended woman, while Yahweh is seen as a penitent husband who appears to be guilty for the dissolution of the marriage (54:6; see John Sawyer 1989, cited by Susan Ackerman³⁰). Also important is the concept of the marriage as an eternal covenant between God and Israel (54:9-10), an image that influences the transformation of the concept of marriage in later history → Malachi. The enormous fertility of Zion (54:1-3) contrasts markedly with the sad post-exile lament of the eunuchs who follow in → Third Isaiah (56:3-5). Although Yahweh is responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem on the part of Babylon (40:1-2), Second Isaiah does not want to attribute to God the responsibility for the entire suffering of all the war; in the end it he presented as the God that defends his people against the oppression and violence of aggressive nations (54:15; cf. 45:7).

2.3 Others = woman

(13) **47:1-15.** For the cruel treatment they inflicted on Israel, the prophet denounces Babylon/Chaldea, portrayed as a virgin royal princess, naked, raped and imprisoned. This imminent fall of Babylon breathes the hope of liberation into the deported Israelites (4). As occurs in other prophetic texts, Yahweh himself is described as the sovereign agent who sexually violates the woman-city who must suffer (→ Ezekiel 16; 23; Jeremiah; Nahum):

1 Come down and sit in the dust,
virgin daughter Babylon!
Sit on the ground without a throne,
daughter Chaldea!

2 For you shall no more be called
tender and delicate.
Take the millstones and grind meal,
remove your veil, strip off your robe,
uncover your legs,
pass through the rivers.
3 Your nakedness shall be uncovered,
and your shame shall be seen.
I will take vengeance,
and I will spare no one.
4 Our Redeemer--the LORD of hosts is his name—
is the Holy One of Israel.

2.4 **Literal women.** In the lyric poetry of Second Isaiah, although metaphorical references to women abound, few texts refer to them literally. Still, in the light of so many Biblical references to Abraham without Sarah, the prophet treats them (almost) as equals. Thus, Second Isaiah refers to Sarah only in the traditional feminine role of procreating sons, while Abraham is not only father, but also the one God chooses to receive divine blessing of numerous descendents. This example of Abraham demonstrates how God could fulfill his promises, even though the exiled were few in numbers (Hebrews 11:8-12).

(14) 51:1-2

Listen to me, you that pursue liberating justice (*tsedeq*),
you that seek the LORD.
Look to the rock from which you were hewn,
and to the quarry from which you were dug.
Look to Abraham your father
and to Sarah who bore you;
for he was but *one* when I called him,
but I blessed him and made him *many*.

(15) 49:22-23. The tendency of Second Isaiah to balance mention of males with references to females is also remarkable in this text (→ Luke):

Thus says the Lord GOD:

I will soon lift up my hand to the nations,
and raise my signal to the peoples;
and they shall bring your sons in their bosom,
and your daughters shall be carried on their shoulders.
Kings shall be your foster fathers,
and their queens your nursing mothers.
(cf. the transgender kings in → third Isaiah 60:16).

How may we explain this abundance of feminine imagery in Second Isaiah, which takes in not only isolated verses, but entire chapters (47; 54)? Susan Ackerman cites two explanations:

- (1) Mayer Gruber concludes that the imagery was introduced in order to accommodate women that had previously felt excluded from a religion dominated by men;
- (2) Leah Bronner suggests that the loss of other institutions (monarchy, temple, earth) motivated the authors to look for metaphors in the only social unit / entity that still functioned – the family.

However, even though these two factors may have been influential, another possibility could have been even more important (see the following section concerning sexual minorities).

3 Sexual minorities. There is such an abundance of imagery of God as woman and feminine metaphors, that some authors have concluded that Second Isaiah could have been a woman.³¹ However, if Second Isaiah is the author of the first three songs of the Servant, the reference to the servant's "beard" makes it highly improbable that the author was a woman:

I gave my back to those who struck me,
and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard;
I did not hide my face
from insult and spitting (50:6).

Those who conclude that the four songs of the Servant are later additions to Second Isaiah could sustain that it is a woman, but the Servant of the four songs was a man. Remarkably, the Servant *voluntarily* offers himself to be struck, – a type of sadomasochism? To voluntarily offer the cheeks to have the beard pulled out was to subject oneself to be feminized, reduced to the inferior status of a woman (see prisoners with the beard and legs shaved in First Isaiah 7:20).

First Isaiah, who procreated sons with a prophetess (8:3; 18; 7:3), appears to be heterosexual and → Third Isaiah was probably the son of a mixed marriage (perhaps, like Timothy, with a gentile father) and eunuch (56:1-8). Second Isaiah, like → Jeremiah, was very conscious of having been selected for his mission from his mother's womb (49:1-3; Jer 1:4-5). Jeremiah's insistence that God commanded him to never marry (16:1-4), his especially intimate relationship with his mother and the abundant feminine metaphors suggest that Jeremiah was gay; a "eunuch for the kingdom of God" (→ Mat 19:12) like Jesus, Paul and his collaborators – and so many spiritual leaders (shamans) within the indigenous populations of many countries. If the author of Isaiah 34-35, 40-55 was also gay, his sexual orientation could better explain his flexibility in matters of gender and his tendency to identify himself with women in his imagery, and to even think of his God as a "celestial mother" (see the 3-6 texts cited above under 2, Women). One could object that it is merely a theory that Second Isaiah was gay and that the evidence is not convincing, but it

is also merely a hypothesis, totally lacking evidence, that Second Isaiah was heterosexual, married, and a defender of family values.

What, then, of the author of the fourth song of the Servant (52:13-53:12), who seems to be a disciple of Second Isaiah and not the prophet himself? The relationship between Second Isaiah and the disciple who wrote the fourth song of the Servant appears to be like the relationship between Jesus and the beloved disciple (→ John). When the disciple says that the Servant of the fourth song was not physically attractive (53:2), it implies that, if he had been handsome, he would have been sexually attracted – and not only him, but the entire circle of disciples (“us”). When the fourth song, after recounting the death of the Servant (53:7-9), asserts that “he shall see his offspring”, the author is obviously not thinking of a literal procreation after death, but of a multiplying of faithful disciples (see Jesus’ discourse about the “fruit” that his disciples must produce after His death; → John 15:1-17). Thus, the allusion to “offspring” after death merely confirms that the Servant, like Jeremiah, did not marry and had no literal children (see also 54:1-6, cited above, which celebrates the fact that Israel, like an infertile and abandoned woman, will have more children than the married woman – which is quite far from promulgating traditional “family values”!).

Even more surprising is the profile of Yahweh himself in the fourth song, since he first appears to be a sadomasochistic god:

Yet it was the will of the LORD to *crush* [daka’] him with pain (53:10).

In addition, one has to pay Yahweh for his love – as if he were a prostitute – to assure forgiveness:

When you [the Servant] make his life [to Yahweh] an offering for sin (*‘asham*),
he [the Servant] shall see his offspring, and shall prolong his days (53:10bc).

But he was wounded for our transgressions,
crushed [daka’] for our iniquities;
upon him was the punishment that made us whole,
and by his bruises we are healed.

All we like sheep have gone astray;
we have all turned to our own way,
and the LORD has laid on him
the iniquity of us all (53:5-6).

But if Yahweh experiences pleasure as a sadist and demands/accepts payment in exchange for forgiveness, is the Servant the masochistic partner who takes pleasure in suffering pain, or a male who pays a prostitute in exchange for sex or “love”? As in the case of the imagery in → Ezekiel (God as rapist), we must not take the metaphors literally, but in the case of Second Isaiah it is perhaps easier to imagine the person as representing a sexual minority that uses such images naturally, than to suppose that it were a happily married heterosexual who promulgated traditional “family values”.

Although Bernard Duhm's hypothesis, that the Servant of the fourth song was a leprous rabbi, hasn't gain many supporters, no one would want to deny that the Servant in this song is portrayed as suffering from a grave disease or a plague – and leprosy in antiquity was the most feared plague, as AIDS is today:

He was despised and rejected by others;
a man of suffering and acquainted with *infirmity*;
and as one from whom others hide their faces
he was despised, and we held him of no account.
Surely he has borne our *infirmities*
and carried our diseases;
yet we accounted him *stricken*,
struck down by God, and *afflicted* ['*anah*] (53:3-4).

Like Michelangelo, Second Isaiah was one of the history's great artists, and the most profound theologian of the Hebrew Bible. If Klaus Baltzer is correct, perhaps he was also a great dramaturge, whose work was sung as liturgical theater – almost an opera!³² The theological creativity, the artistic quality and the great quantity of feminine imagery will convince many that he represents a sexual minority (probably gay; see the probability that → Third Isaiah was a eunuch (56:1-8).

1 How firm a foundation, Ye saints of the Lord,
Is laid for your faith in his excellent Word!
What more can he say than to you he hath said,
To you, who to Jesus For refuge have fled? (Isa 40:8; 55:10-11)

2 Fear not, I am with thee, O be not dismayed;
For I am thy God, Who will still give thee aid;
I'll strengthen thee, help thee And cause thee to stand,
Upheld by my righteous Omnipotent hand (Isa 41:10).

4 "When through the deep water I call thee to go,
The rivers of sorrow Shall not overflow;
For I will be with thee Thy troubles to bless,
And sanctify to thee Thy deepest distress (Isa 43:2a).

5 When through fiery trials Thy pathway shall lie,
My grace, all sufficient Shall be thy supply;
The flame shall not hurt thee; I only design
Thy dross to consume And thy gold to refine (Is 43:2b)

6 E'en down to old age all my people shall prove
My sovereign, eternal, Unchangeable love;
And when hoary hairs shall their temples adorn,
Like lambs they shall still in my bosom be borne (Is 46:4).

7 The soul that on Jesus Hath leaned for repose,
I will not, I will not Desert to his foes;
That soul, though all hell should endeavor to shake,
I'll never, no never, No never forsake.

7 The soul that on Jesus Hath leaned for repñose,
I will not, I will not Desert to his foes;
That soul, though all hell Should endeavor to shake,
I'll never, no never, No never forsake.

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(* defending the tradition of Isaiah as author of the entire book)

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End Notes

1. David Pleins 2001:263-275
2. David Pleins 275, note 120
3. Hanks 1982:42-44, 105-122; 1983:37-38, 85-96
4. Klaus Baltzer 2001:368
5. Paul Hanson 1995:55-58
6. Hanks 1983:22-23
7. Hanks 1982:56; 1983:15-16, 47, 58-59, 62 with 135 note 5, 89-91; Scullion ABD II, 1043
8. John Scullion, "God", ABD II, 1041-48
9. John Scullion, "God", ABD II, 1043
10. Paul Hanson 1995:40-48
11. Hanks 1982:31-35; 1983:11-14
12. Paul Hanson 1995:42
13. Paul Hanson 1995:47
14. J. F. A. Sawyer 1999:554
15. Werner Schmidt 1999:266
16. Klaus Baltzer 2001:18-22, 392-429
17. Hanks 1982:42-44, 87-122; 1983:37-38, 73-96
18. Severino Croatto 1994:264
19. Hanks 1982:90-94; 1983:76-78
20. Hanks 1982:90-94; 1983:76-78
21. Hanks 2000:31-32
22. Hanks 2000:214-216, cf. Hanks 1982:94-103, 123-127; 1983:78-85
23. Paul Hanson (1995:153-169
24. Klaus Baltzer 2001:392, 423-425
25. Brevard Childs 2001:420-23
26. Susan Ackerman 1998:177
27. cited Sawyer 1999:554
28. Susan Ackerman 1998:176; Irmtraud Fischer 1999:255.257
29. Susan Ackerman 1998:173
30. Susan Ackerman 1998:175-176
31. Paul Hanson 1995:2
32. Klaus Baltzer 2001:7