

Isaiah 56-66 (Third Isaiah) + 24-27 (The “Apocalypse” of Isaiah).

Second Isaiah (40-55) has always been one of the favorite portions of the Hebrew Bible in the Christian tradition, especially the fourth song of the Servant (Isaiah 52:13-53:12) interpreted as a prophesy of Jesus’ redemptive death. As Paul Hanson points out,¹ Second Isaiah begins with an almost euphoric perspective: “Comfort, O comfort my people, says your God.” (40:1), but Third Isaiah, after the many texts reflecting bitter conflicts in the post-exile Jerusalem, concludes:

And they [all of humanity] shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me;
for their worm shall not die,
their fire shall not be quenched,
and they shall be abhorrence to all flesh (66:24).

Obviously, the contrast between the tone of Third Isaiah and the highly positive one of Isaiah 40-55 is enormous. And yet, for his inaugural sermon in Nazareth, Jesus selected two texts from Third Isaiah to set forth the Good News for the poor of his coming just new order (Isa 61:1-2 + 58:6 → Luke 4:18-19; concerning Isaiah 58 as a jubilee text see below).² Then, in his effort to purify the temple (Mark 11:15-19 // Luke 19:45-48 // Mat 21:12-17; cf. John 2:14-16), which resulted in his crucifixion, Jesus risked his life to establish an inclusive community – another principle of Third Isaiah:

for my house shall be called
a house of prayer *for all peoples* (Isaiah 56:7; Mark 11:17 and //s).

Furthermore, when Jesus chose eunuchs as a paradigm for the new community (Mat 19:12), in stead of “family values,” he followed the example of Third Isaiah (56:3-5), insisting on his right to be leader in this community without marrying or procreating children.

Mainly, the prophecies of Third Isaiah appear to reflect the disastrous years following the return to Jerusalem from Babylon of the small minority of those exiled, after the decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.).³ In compliance with Cyrus’ decree, the Israelites laid the foundation for the new temple (→ Ezra 5:14-16), but then they stopped reconstruction and the socio-economic situation then gravely deteriorated (→ Haggai explained that the cause of such poverty and other disasters was the refusal to finish reconstruction of the temple). In addition to addressing the economic crisis, Isaiah 56-66 highlights the bitter animosity between rival groups in Judah, denounces corrupt political and religious leaders, and also reflects the depression, pessimism and negativity, accompanied by a vindictive spirit that sought scapegoats and wanted to marginalize and exclude foreigners and sexual minorities from the new community.

The lack of homogeneity of style and content suggests diverse sources and editing processes for Isaiah 56-66, but probably some Third Isaiah “principal” in the Isaiah “school” managed to achieve a certain literary and theological unity in this diversity – a unity that continues to reflect a dialectic that is both internal as well as in contrast to Isaiah 40-55 and 1-39.

Outline

- 56:1-8 A new inclusive community
The new community law: admission to foreigners and eunuchs (cf. Dt 23:1-8):
“a house of prayer for all peoples” (56:7; Mic 11:17 // Mt 21:13 // Lk 19:46)
- 56:9-57:13 Denunciations of corrupt rulers (re-readings of the post-exile texts)
56:9-57:2 Against the shepherd-kings (see Jer 23 and Ezek 34
57:3-14 Against the idolatrous cults (= spiritual prostitution)
57:14-21 Comfort for the poor-oppressed, the broken spirited
- 58:1-14 The Jubilee: liberating fast (1-12), Sabbath-rest for the oppressed (13-14)
- 59:1-21 Prophetic liturgy: pleading, accusation, confession, divine promise
- 59:15b-20 Yahweh, the indignant warrior, out to judge his enemies
|
| 60:1-62:12 The liberation and glorification of Zion / Jerusalem (A)
| 60:1-22 Pilgrimage of the nations to Zion (Is 2:1-5 // Mic 4:1-4; Hag 2)
| | 61:1-3 The prophet proclaims an integral liberation (Luke 4:18-19)
| | 4-9 “...you shall be...a priestly kingdom...” (Ex 19:6; 1 Pet 2:4-8)
| | 10-12 Thanksgiving
| 62:1-12 The liberation and glorification of Zion / Jerusalem (B)
|
63:1-6 Yahweh, after judging “Edom, returns as bloody warrior to Jerusalem”
- 63:7-14 Lament: historical retrospective about Moses
- 63:15-64:12 Communal laments with entreaties and questions (→ Lamentations)
...you, O Yahweh, are our father...(63:16; 64:8)
“O that you would tear open the heavens...” (64:1)
- 65:1-16 Accusations and promises: the just and the rebellious
65:17-66:24 New heavens and new earth (→ Rev 21-22)
- The nucleus of Third Isaiah, the promises of liberation and glorification of Zion in 60-62, comes from a prophet in Jerusalem early in the post-exile epoch (after Cyrus’ decree in 538 B.C., but before the reconstruction of the Temple under Haggai and Zachariah in 520-515).
 - This nucleus of promises represents the answer to the lamentations and entreaties that come from and succeed the nucleus (59 + 63:15-64:12).
 - The next layer contains the accusations of 56:58 + 65:1-16, and reflect the sharp divisions of the post-exile Jewish community.
 - The introduction (a new law for the inclusive community, 58:1-12) and the conclusion (apocalyptic promises, 64-65) constitute the final stage which now forms Third Isaiah’s framework (56-66) ⁴ (NJB 1170; cf. NISB 956).

1 The oppressed poor and wealth. Third Isaiah's solidarity with the poor and oppressed probably stems in part from his suffering as a sexual minority (see 3 below, eunuchs). At any rate, the fact that Jesus took Third Isaiah's solidarity with eunuchs as a paradigm for his own ministry makes it all the more valuable and important historically. By his choice of vocabulary, Third Isaiah points to oppression as the fundamental cause of poverty (58:3, 5 ('*anah*); 58:7 ('*anayyim*); 61:1 ('*anawim*); 66:2 ('*oni*). According to David Pleins, the focus of the vocabulary '*ani*/*'anawim* is the way the elite, displaced and impoverished by exile, rethinks its experience.⁵ Furthermore, the prophet refers to the poor in concrete terms: 58:7 hungry, homeless, naked; 58:10 hungry; 61:1 brokenhearted, captives, prisoners. In 65:11-14 the prophet speaks of the revolutionary change in the future when impious oppressors will suffer hunger, thirst and shame and thus contrasts with the oppressed servants of Yahweh who will have food and drink and will sing with joy. Severino Croatto^{5a} points out the great similarity between Isa 65:11-14 and the Beatitudes in the Lucan form (→ Luke 6:16-20; cf. Mary's revolutionary song in Luke 1:51-54).

Since the fundamental cause of poverty is oppression, Third Isaiah proclaims liberation as the principal solution for the poor, crushed by the experience of the exile:

61:1 The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me,
because the LORD has anointed me;
he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed ('*anawim*),
to bind up the brokenhearted,
to proclaim liberty to the captives,
and release to the prisoners;
2 to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor [the year of Jubilee],
and the day of vengeance of our God (→ Luke 4:18-19).

58:6 Is not this the fast that I choose:
to loose the bonds of injustice (*resha*),
to undo the thongs of the yoke [common metaphor for oppression],
to let the oppressed (*ratsats*) go free,
and to break every yoke?

This liberation had meant specifically to escape from Babylon (48:20), a life of relative freedom under Cyrus (45:1-5, 13), the reconstruction of the Temple and the restoration of the destroyed cities,⁶ but the prophet is not so idealistic as to think that the entire world can expect a great day of freedom (the year of the Jubilee of Leviticus 25 occurred only every 50 years). Meanwhile, solidarity must be practiced with the poor and oppressed in their specific daily needs:

Is it not to share your bread with the hungry,
and bring the homeless poor ('*anayyim*) into your house;
when you see the naked, to cover them,
and not to hide yourself from your own kin [brother]? (58:7)

Traditionally, Marxists criticize capitalists for trying to resolve the fundamental problems of oppression and poverty with the "Band-Aids" of charity, instead of recognizing the

necessity of the structural changes that liberate from oppression. On the other hand, capitalists criticize Marxists for concentrating too exclusively on a future utopia but without showing solidarity with the poor in concrete terms in the present.

Third Isaiah avoids any such simplistic dichotomies and maintains a dialectical theology that affirms as much the necessity of future liberation for the oppressed (58:6) as well as solidarity with the poor in their specific present necessities (58:7). Jesus also developed Third Isaiah's dialectical perspective, demonstrating solidarity with the poor, weak and marginalized, but also overturning tables as a denunciation of oppressive structures, and established a new inclusive community, that did not discriminate against the poor, women and sexual minorities (Isa 58:6 + 61:1-2 → Luke 4:18-19; → Romans 16).

As I demonstrated in my original study of oppression in Isaiah 58, the chapter reflects the proclamation of the year of Jubilee (Leviticus 25).⁷ Factors that support the relationship between Isaiah 58 and the year of Jubilee include:

- Structurally Isaiah 58:1-12 is framed within a section of Sabbath Instruction (56:1-18 → 58:13-14); the prophet thus shows a relationship between the Weekly Sabbath (56:1-8; 58:13-14) and the Sabbath Years, culminating with the Year of Jubilee (58:1-12; cf. Lev 26:2).
- The basic theme of Isaiah 58 raises the question of what constitutes an appropriate fast (58:3-6); but the only fast stipulated in the Torah is the day of Propitiation, the same day indicated as the beginning of the year of Jubilee every fifty years.
- Isaiah 58 begins with the divine exhortation to the prophet to raise his voice “like a trumpet” (Hebrew *shofar*, 58:1); also the inauguration of the year of Jubilee must be announced with powerful sounds of the trumpet (*shofar*) that are heard throughout the land (Lev 25:9). The same word Jubilee translates a less common word which means a type of trumpet (*yobel*).
- Isaiah 58:2 refers to a statute (*mishpat*) of God which has been forgotten, causing great injustice and oppression; the Jubilee law was also one of the most neglected – so much so that a former generation of investigators commonly concluded that it was merely a priestly utopian dream that was never observed in Israel.
- The basic stipulation of the year of Jubilee was the emancipation of all the enslaved debtors in order that they return and recuperate their birthright inheritances; also the acceptable “fast” that Isaiah 58 proclaims is freedom: to “to loose the bonds of injustice, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke” (58:6).
- The oppressor's violence condemned in Isaiah 58:4a (“to quarrel and to fight and to strike with a wicked fist”) is best explained as the common phenomenon when the rich try to forcefully collect exorbitant interests from the poor.
- “The pointing of the finger” for “the speaking of evil” (false accusations) (Isaiah 58:9a) was another common mechanism used by the oppressors to take the properties of the poor and the weak (see such accusations against Naboth in Jezebel's plot to kill him and take his vineyard).^{7a}

As Paul Hanson points out, few texts in Third Isaiah speak to us so powerfully as does chapter 58. Its message speaks passionately to the heart today just as it did in the sixth century B.C.: “One cannot read these fourteen verses without having the sense of having been addressed by God...assuring in its invitation to return to authentic personhood. Like Micah 6:6-8 and Matthew 25:31-46, Isaiah 58 states God’s will with a clarity that wins the assent of all that is true within us....”⁸ Then we are invited to rejoice in the presence of God by means of a cult purified by love.

Although Jesus selected from Third Isaiah two texts that emphasize solidarity with the poor, Isaiah 56-66 actually contains much more vocabulary for the wealthy than for the poor (60:5-7, 9, 11; 61:6; 66:12). Therefore, Adam Smith in 1776 was also correct when he selected a common phrase from Third Isaiah (60:5, 11; 61:6; 66:12) as the title of his classic economic essay about free markets: *Wealth of Nations*. Like → Revelation (13, 17-18), Third Isaiah recognized how the wealth of the colonies (like ancient Israel) always augments the power of oppressive empires. The mechanisms of oppression were well known: foreign enemies consume the wheat and wine of the conquered colonies (Isa 62:8). Therefore, Third Isaiah prophesied a new just order, when the wealth would flow to the poor colony (Israel). Pioneering economists, like Adam Smith (18th Century), and Karl Marx (19th Century), and now so many others, attempt to show how the prophetic dream of a just world, free from all oppression, may become a reality today (see, for example David Landes 1998; Amartya Sen 1999).

According to Walter Brueggeman,⁹ while Second Isaiah teaches simple public acceptance of pain, Third Isaiah calls for the social imagination that results from such acceptance. Marvin Sweeney concludes that Third Isaiah transforms the figure of David from First Isaiah and, replaces Cyrus from Second Isaiah, subtly substituting Yahweh’s own sovereignty. In this way, Second Isaiah achieves a new theological perspective that foresees an ideal king and Israel as a priestly nation that fulfills the eternal covenant and establishes Yahweh’s dominion in Zion under the authority of the Persian Empire.¹⁰

To oppress / the oppressed / oppression. As in the case of Second Isaiah, Third Isaiah contains many more references to oppression than to the poor. In the case of → Second Isaiah, it is not only the poor but the entire nation exiled in Babylon that suffers imperial oppression. In Third Isaiah, in addition to the condemnation of imperial oppression that the nation suffered, the sharp ideological divisions provoke denunciations against the local oligarchy. Instead of the utopian state promised by Second Isaiah, the post-exile community as characterized by internal violence and oppression¹¹:

58:3 “Why do we fast, but you do not see?
Why humble [‘*anah*] ourselves, but you do not notice?”
Look, you serve your own interest on your fast day,
and oppress [*nagash*] all your workers.
4 Look, you fast only to quarrel and to fight
and to strike with a wicked fist.
(see also v. 5, a fast // “the oppressed [‘*anah*]”)

59:3 For your hands are defiled with blood,
 and your fingers with iniquity...
 4 No one brings suit justly,
 no one goes to law honestly (*'emeth*)...
 6b Their works are works of iniquity,
 and deeds of violence (*khamas*) are in their hands.
 7 Their feet run to evil,
 and they rush to shed innocent blood...
 8 The way of peace they do not know,
 and there is no justice in their paths...

(see oppression [*'osheq*] in 59:13; and violence [*khamas*] in 60:18).

The texts in which Third Isaiah condemns the sins of Israel (Isa 59:3-8), Paul uses to establish that all humanity lies under sin's dominion (→ Rom 3:10-18). Other texts condemn the oppression of the enemies (*tsar* II, 63:18; 64:2; cf. 60:14) while others refer to oppression by common mechanisms (65:22; 62:8). Also see the oppressed as "crushed" (*daka'*), 3 Sexual Minorities below (Isa 57:15).

The wrath of God against idolatrous oppression. Confronted with the oppression and violence of the idolatrous nations – and also common in the post-exile Israeli community – Yahweh is not passive or indifferent but instead reacts with multiple manifestations of wrath. As Elizabeth Achtemeier points out, God became indignant against the post-exile Israeli community because of the oppression of their neighbors in the form of unjust gain:¹²

57:16 For I will not continually accuse,
 nor will I always be angry (*qatsaph*);
 for then the spirits would grow faint before me,
 even the souls that I have made.
 17 Because of their wicked covetousness (*betsa'*)
 I was angry (*qatsaph*); I struck them, I hid and was angry (*qatsaph*)...

The most famous and vivid text in the entire Bible concerning Yahweh's wrath is Isaiah 63:1-6, which speaks of the terrible divine judgment against "Edom" → Obadiah. This dialogue between Yahweh and a guard (62:6; 52:8) or sentinel from Jerusalem demonstrates how divine wrath motivates the liberating justice that achieves the liberation-salvation and redemption of an oppressed people, which is the judgment's final objective:

63:1 Who is this that comes from Edom,
 from Bozrah in garments stained crimson?
 Who is this so splendidly robed,
 marching in his great might?
 "It is I, announcing vindication (*tsedeqah*), mighty to liberate"

- 2 Why are your robes red,
and your garments like theirs who tread the wine press?
- 3 I have trodden the wine press alone,
and from the peoples no one was with me;
I trod them in my anger (*'aph*)
and trampled them in my wrath (*khemah*);
their juice [=blood] spattered on my garments,
and stained all my robes.
- 4 For the day of vengeance (*naqam*) was in my heart,
and the year for my redeeming work had come.
- 5 I looked, but there was no helper;
I stared, but there was no one to sustain me;
so my own arm brought me victory,
and my wrath (*khemah*) sustained me.
- 6 I trampled down peoples in my anger (*'aph*),
I crushed them in my wrath (*khemah*),
and I poured out their lifeblood on the earth

This text, with its parallel in 59:15b-20, frames central part of Third Isaiah (60-62; see outline);

- 15b Yahweh saw it, and it displeased him
that there was no justice (*mishpat*).
- 16 He saw that there was no one, and was appalled
that there was no one to intervene;
so his own arm brought him victory,
and his liberating justice upheld him.
- 17 He put on this justice like a breastplate,
and a helmet of liberation on his head;
he put on garments of vengeance for clothing,
and wrapped himself in fury as in a mantle.
According to their deeds, so will he repay;
wrath to his adversaries,
requital to his enemies;
to the coastlands he will render requital (*gemul*).

The comparison with 59:15b-20 makes it quite clear that in 63:1-6 “Edom” is a symbol representing all the idolatrous, oppressive and violent nations, enemies of Israel and God (59:18). Oppression (*'osheq*; 59:13) and the lack of justice in Israel provoke the divine anger that motivates Yahweh’s intervention (liberating justice and liberation/salvation). Isaiah 59:15b-20 as well as 63:1-6 presents Yahweh under the metaphor of warrior, common in the Ancient East and known in Israel from the Exodus tradition.¹³

Yahweh is a warrior,
Yahweh is his name (Exodus 15:3).

Nevertheless, even in the Exodus story the conclusion is not that the people of God should take up arms and kill all its enemies. Rather, the surprising conclusion is peaceful: “The Lord will fight for you, and you have only to keep still (Ex 14:14). Thus, also in Isaiah 59:15b-20 and 63:1-6 Yahweh alone fights to defeat Israel’s oppressors – without any intervention by Cyrus; cf. → Second Isaiah. As Paul Hanson points out, the metaphor of Yahweh as a bloodied warrior is repulsive for modern readers but reflects a historical context in Israel when evil appeared to have overcome every agency of human justice and where direct intervention from God was the only hope. As an apocalyptic vision it remains an important medium for communicating God’s word for the oppressed.¹⁴

God’s anger against Israel resulted in the exile as punishment (60:10). Sins without any definition against the just (64:5) provoked Yahweh’s wrath in 64:5 and 9 (*qatsaph*, see also the metaphor “hidden your face”, 64:7). In 65:3 and 66:14-15 references to Yahweh’s wrath in his judgments against “all flesh” (66:16) appear to be motivated by idolatrous practices (65:3-7; 66:17-18). See also the *’atsab* (pain or anger) of the Spirit in 63:10; Yahweh’s zeal (*qin’ah*) in 63:15 and the iniquity of greed in 57:17.¹⁵

Salvation (=liberation) and liberating justice. In Third Isaiah, by the decree of Cyrus (538 B.C.), the exiled had already experienced the liberation of Babylon (the “salvation” promised in → Second Isaiah), but remained subjects of the Persian Empire and Cyrus’ successors. Since many of the promises of Second Isaiah were not fulfilled, frustrations and incredulity increased. A broader and more profound liberating-salvation remained to be realized which included liberation from economic slavery.¹⁶

56:1 Thus says the LORD:
Maintain justice (*tsedeqah*),
and do what is just (*mishpat*),
for soon my liberation-salvation will come,
and my deliverance be revealed.

Many texts denounce the lack of justice and solidarity with the oppressed (57:1-2, 12; 58:2; 59:4, 9, 14) or promise a just society in the future (60:17, 21; 61:2-3, 8); cf. 57:13: “When you cry out, let your collection of idols deliver you!”.

According to the following context (addressing eunuchs and immigrant proselytes, 56:3-7), justice and faithfulness to Yahweh’s covenant need not imply literal obedience to the 613 commandments of the Torah (see below, the re-reading concerning eunuchs and proselytes, compared to Deut 23:1-8). As Psalm 130:8 confesses, the liberation from the dominion of “iniquities” (both those of ordinary people and of the local oligarchy) turned out to be more difficult to accomplish than political liberation from a foreign empire.

56:1 See, Yahweh’s hand is not too short to liberate- save,
nor his ear too dull to hear.
2 Rather, your iniquities have been barriers between you and your God,
and your sins have hidden his face from you so that he does not hear....

- 11 We all growl like bears;
 like doves we moan mournfully.
 We wait for liberating-justice, but there is none;
 for liberation-salvation, but it is far from us.
- 60:14 The descendants of those who oppressed you shall come bending
 low to you...
- 16 ... and you shall know that I, Yahweh, am your Liberator-Savior
 and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob...
- 17 I will appoint Peace as your overseer
 and Liberating-Justice as your taskmaster.
- 18 Violence shall no more be heard in your land,
 ...you shall call your walls Liberation-Salvation,
 and your gates Praise.
- 61:10 I will greatly rejoice in Yahweh [the Liberator God of the Exodus],
 my whole being shall exult in my God;
 for he has clothed me with the garments of liberation-salvation,
 he has covered me with the robe of liberating-justice (*tsedeqah*)...
- 62:1 For Zion's sake I will not keep silent,
 and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest,
 until her vindication shines out like the dawn,
 and her liberation-salvation like a burning torch.
- 2 The nations shall see your vindication,
 and all the kings your glory...
- 11 Yahweh [the Liberating God of the Exodus] has proclaimed
 to the end of the earth:
 Say to daughter Zion,
 "See, your Liberator-Savior comes;
 his reward is with him,
 and his recompense before him."

Another text recalls the liberation-salvation from oppression in the Exodus:

- 63:8 For [Yahweh] said, "Surely they are my people,
 children who will not deal falsely";
 and he became their liberator-savior
 9 in all their distress (*tsarah* I).
 It was no messenger or angel
 but his presence that liberated-saved them;
 in his love and in his pity he redeemed (*ga' al,*) them;
 he lifted them up
 and carried them all the days of old.

(See also the past forgotten oppressions [*tsarah* I], 65:16).

2. Women. Susan Ackerman speaks of an “abundance of positive feminine images” in Isaiah 24-27, 34-35, 40-66 and affirms that these chapters bequeath us a collection of positive feminine images unparalleled in the rest of the prophetic books, and in almost all the Bible.¹⁷ Such images occur especially in → Second Isaiah (40-55). However, according to Severino Croatto,¹⁸ Third Isaiah, like Second Isaiah, has four discourses describing a city metaphorically as a woman (57:3, 6-13; 60; 62; 66:7-14^a; in Second Isaiah cf. 47:1-15; 49:14-26; 51:17-52:2 y 54:1-17).

The first text (**57:3, 6-13**) is quite negative, denouncing the post-exile community (“Jerusalem”) for its lack of justice (1-2) and idolatrous pagan practices (see Hosea 2:4-5):

3 But as for you, come here,
 you children of a sorceress,
 you offspring of an adulterer and a whore....
 6 Among the smooth stones of the valley
 is your portion;
 they, they, are your lot;
 to them you have poured out a drink
 offering, you have brought a grain offering.
 Shall I be appeased for these things?
 7 Upon a high and lofty mountain you have set your bed,
 and there you went up to offer sacrifice.
 8 Behind the door and the doorpost
 you have set up your pagan symbols;
 for, in deserting me, you have uncovered your bed,
 you have gone up to it, you have made it wide;
 and you have made a bargain for yourself with them,
 you have loved their bed,
 you have gazed on their nakedness [lit. “hand”].
 9 You journeyed to Moloch with oil,
 and multiplied your perfumes;
 you sent your envoys far away,
 and sent down even to Sheol. (57:3, 6-13)

In 57:7-8 the prophet deplores the woman-Jerusalem as an adulteress for having practiced idolatrous cultic sexuality.¹⁹ As Severino Croatto and Joseph Blenkinsopp point out,²⁰ in various texts from the Ancient East ‘hand’ (57:8) is a euphemism for the phallus or erect penis (Isa 56:5; 57:10?; 1QIsaA 65:3; Cant 5:4-5; 1QIsaA Cant 7:13). However, according to Croatto’s interpretation²¹, the texts’ emphasis does not rest solely on sexual acts, but on the alliance with lovers, gods foreign to Yahweh (cp. NOAB y NISB, 57:8 notes).

The perception that “hand” could be a euphemism for the phallus or the erect penis helps us to understand the reference to oral sex in Isaiah 65:3. Paul Hanson points out that Isaiah’s manuscript the Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran) speaks of the oral sex ritual, “an allusion well disguised in thee received text of 65:3 but preserved by the Isaiah manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”²² Perhaps for being a eunuch, Third Isaiah thus contains the only reference to oral sex in the entire Bible:

...a people who provoke me to my face continually,
sacrificing in gardens and *offering incense on bricks* (Is 65:3, MT).
“*they suck hands upon the rocks*” (DSSIIsa; see John Watts²³).

Although the context is negative, the condemnation of oral sex is due to cultic idolatry, not because of the act itself (→ Romans 14:1-15:6, which condemns the practice of eating meat offered to idols; Rom 1:26 may refer to idolatrous heterosexual oral or anal sex).

Although Yahweh is described as a violent spouse (60:10 → Ezekiel 16 and 23), the image of the woman in Isaiah 60:1-22 is positive, since the prophet is speaking to Jerusalem/Zion (60:7, 14) as a fertile mother who receives her sons/daughters from the Exile:

Lift up your eyes and look around;
they all gather together, they come to you;
your sons shall come from far away,
and your daughters shall be carried on their nurses' arms
(60:4; see 9; and cf. 60:16 under 3, sexual minorities).

In **62:1-12**, another positive text, Zion is a woman (1-3), not abandoned/divorced (4), and married with her children (5a! – literal Hebrew, as in RV95) and with Yahweh (5b).

3 You shall be a crown of beauty in the hand of the LORD,
and a royal diadem in the hand of your God.
4 You shall no more be termed Forsaken,
and your land shall no more be termed Desolate;
but you shall be called My Delight Is in Her,
and your land Married;
for the LORD delights in you,
and your land shall be married.
5 For as a young man marries a young woman,
so shall your builder marry you,
and as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride,
so shall your God rejoice over you (62:3-5).

In **66:7-13**, first Jerusalem is a woman, a fruitful mother who gives birth to the entire nation.

7 Before she was in labor
she gave birth;
before her pain came upon her
she delivered a son.
8 Who has heard of such a thing?
Who has seen such things?
Shall a land be born in one day?
Shall a nation be delivered in one moment?
Yet as soon as Zion was in labor
she delivered her children...

But in 12-13 the metaphor changes and God is the woman that bears and consoles her children (see Woman = God in → Second Isaiah).

12 For thus says the LORD:
I will extend prosperity to her like a river,
and the wealth of the nations
like an overflowing stream;
and you shall nurse
and be carried on her arm,
and dandled on her knees.
13 As a mother comforts her child,
so I will comfort you;
you shall be comforted in Jerusalem (66:7-13/16).

The final chapter of Third Isaiah celebrates the future restoration of mother Zion/Jerusalem who gives birth to her children without pain, suggesting a return to paradisiacal conditions (66:7-13/16; see 51:3; cf. Gen 3:16).²⁴ Not only Israel after the Exile, but also the church (Pentecost, Acts 2)²⁵ and the modern state of Israel (1948), have seen in their sudden births evidence of Yahweh's power to create a new nation "in one day" (Isa 66:8).

Reflecting the expected perspective of the eunuch of 56:3-7 (see Sexual Minorities below), Third Isaiah seems to reflect more a concern with descent (Hebrew "son", *ben*: seed/descent, *zera'*) than for women (in addition to 56:5, see 57:3; 60:4; 16; 61:9; 63:8; 65:20; 66:22). Over all, 59:21 reflects the language of Deuteronomy and the theology of an eternal covenant (as in the priestly source of the Pentateuch) which extends to future generations:

And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the LORD:
my spirit that is upon you,
and my words that I have put in your mouth,
shall not depart out of your mouth,
or out of the mouths of your children,
says the LORD, from now on and forever.

Although many commentators attribute this text in prose to a final editor (see 66:22-23), it is one of the few in the entire Bible which bring together God's spirit (see Ezekiel 36:26-27) and his words (see Jeremiah 1:9; 31:31-34) – a relationship of the highest importance in the history of theology.

In addition to the explicit texts, Rosemary Reuther identifies women as among the oppressed, broken hearted prisoners of Isa 61:1 (cf. Luke 4:17).²⁶ Also see the kings who feed Israel with the milk from their breasts (60:16 below 3 Sexual Minorities).

3 Sexual Minorities. → Deuteronomy (23:1-8) had excluded from the Israelite community eunuchs, bastard sons and three types of foreigners (the Ammonites, tenth generation Moabites, and third generation Edomites). Concerning eunuchs, Deuteronomy has said:

No one whose testicles are crushed (*daka'*) or whose penis is cut off shall be admitted to the assembly of Yahweh (23:1).

Yet, surprisingly, Third Isaiah contains an oracle that in effect revokes two of the provisions of the Torah:

3 Do not let the foreigner
 joined to Yahweh say,
 "Yahweh will surely separate me from his people";
and do not let the eunuch say,
 "I am just a dry tree."
4 For thus says Yahweh:

To the eunuchs who keep my Sabbaths,
 who choose the things that please me
 and hold fast my covenant,
5 I will give,
 in my house and within my walls,
 a monument and a name better than sons and daughters;
I will give them an everlasting name
 that shall not be cut off (*karath*, "cut" literally; see eunuch)...
7 ... for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples
 (Isaiah 56:3-5, 7 → Rom 15:1-6).

Some believe that the intention to exclude eunuchs in Deuteronomy 23:1 was to discourage the practice of pagan priests, who made themselves eunuchs as a type of sacrifice to their gods. However, having been taken captives of war after the fall of Jerusalem (587/6 B.C.) many Israelite males had been castrated (→ Nehemiah, Daniel). Such experiences made clear the injustice of any literalist interpretation of Deuteronomy, which Third Isaiah attempts to correct. In the New Testament Jesus develops even further the "science of eunuchology" when he speaks of three types of eunuchs (→ Matthew 19:12; he and the apostles, with the exception of Peter, were "eunuchs for the kingdom of God"). In → Acts Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch (also black; see Acts 8:26-40) and Paul and his companions followed Jesus' model as "eunuchs for the kingdom of God".

One advantage of the modern scientific study of Isaiah is that it allows us to perceive some important distinctions. Isaiah of Jerusalem, living in the 8th Century, had children by a prophetess (8:3). The author of the four songs of the Servant of Yahweh was not a woman, since he had a beard (50:6), but → Second Isaiah never mentioned being married and shows evidence of being Gay. In the case of Third Isaiah, although questions about sexuality abound (especially concerning sexual minorities), commentators are remarkably silent and in this case never ask, "Why was it so important for him to break with tradition and emphasize the inclusion of eunuchs and gentiles in the new community?" Once posed,

the most probable answer is obvious. Only a small minority of the exiled Jews had returned to the Holy Land, and the prophet wished to encourage the rest to come (Is 56:8; 57:14; 60:4). But in the exile, many had married gentiles, and those that were made eunuchs were able to rise to high positions in the government (→ Daniel, Nehemiah). Why would eunuchs and Israelites with proselyte gentile spouses return to Jerusalem where there had been a long tradition of discrimination against eunuchs and foreigners (Deut 23:1-8)? Third Isaiah wants to assure them that the new community will be inclusive, without the traditional discriminations. In the tradition of → Second Isaiah, he insists that the invitation is for *everyone* who has hunger and thirst to know God and to practice justice (55:1-2).

Because of the revolutionary character of the new teachings (adapting the Law of Moses to the new circumstances) and the priority that Third Isaiah gave to the inclusion of eunuchs and foreigners in the post-exile community, it even seems probable that he himself was a eunuch, having suffered castration in the Exile and perhaps was the son of a mixed marriage. His prophecy, would then constitute a type of personal testimony and a legitimizing of his prophetic calling as a leader in the inclusive new community. Thus the reference to the faithful eunuch, whose name cannot be “cut” (56:5; *karath*; see Deut 23:1), is not merely a linguistic accident, but reflects his extremely painful and shameful memory of being castrated. For eunuchs, who could not obey the divine command of Genesis 1:28 to procreate, what was important from the first creation story (Gen 2:1-3) and from the Ten Commandments was to keep the Sabbath as a day of rest (Ex 20:8-11 // Deut 5:12-15), a commandment repeatedly emphasized in Third Isaiah (56:2, 6b; 58:13-14; 66:23). Third Isaiah could also testify to the special presence of God in the life of person such as himself, who had been oppressed and broken – literally “crushed” (*daka'*):

For thus says the high and lofty One
 who inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy:
 I dwell in the high and holy place,
 and also with those who are crushed (*daka'*) and humble in spirit,
 to revive the spirit of the humble,
 and to revive the heart of the crushed (*daka'*). (Isaiah 57:15).

In the case of this sublime oracle also, the double reference to the “crushed” of spirit and heart is not accidental, but a reflection of the painful memory of someone who felt “crushed” when made a eunuch (*daka'*, Deut 23:1; concerning *daka'* as the strongest word in the Hebrew vocabulary of oppression and violence, see Hanks²⁷; Isa 53:5, 10). The perception that those who had been “made eunuchs by others” (Mat 19:12) had suffered an act of oppression and violence, without doubt contributed to the force of the condemnations of Third Isaiah against all types of oppression and violence, especially against the poor (see above, 1 The Poor). And as males made eunuchs they could experience the special presence of God with those in their suffering, as also women that have suffered rape have similarly testified (→ Ezekiel).^{27a} The psalmist (perhaps also a eunuch) similarly testifies:

The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit
 A broken and crushed (*dakah*) heart,
 O God, you will not despise (51:17).

According to Ezekiel's hopes, foreigners would be excluded from the new Temple (44:6-9), but Third Isaiah develops the universalism of Second Isaiah (42:1-4; 44:5; 49:6; 45:22-23) and of First Isaiah and his school (2:2-4; 14:1; 19:19-25; see Micah 4:1-5 and Gen 12:3).²⁸ Although Third Isaiah condemns oppressive and idolatrous gentiles (63:1-6), he reformulated the discrimination against foreigners of Deuteronomy to insist that the new inclusive community welcome sexual minorities and proselyte foreigners (53:3, 6-8; 57:14-21; 59:18-21; 60:1-22; 61:5-11; 62:1-12; 65:1, 17-19; 66:1-2, 5, 18-24). We may ask, what motivates this deep concern for Gentiles. Perhaps, in addition to being a eunuch, Third Isaiah descended from proselyte Gentiles. As Brevard Childs insists, we must understand the apparently excessive nationalism of texts such as 60:12 as an antithesis between those who do the will of God and violent oppressors (60:14) who oppose God.²⁹

Perhaps Third Isaiah's experience as a eunuch made him more sympathetic to flexibilities and transformations in matters such as gender and sex. At any rate, significantly he transformed the promise about queens in Second Isaiah:

Kings shall be your foster fathers,
and their queens your nursing mothers (49:23).

In Third Isaiah they become kings with maternal breasts that can feed Zion:

You shall suck the milk of nations,
you shall suck the breasts of kings (60:16; see NJB note I and. 66:11).

As in the case of → Jeremiah (31:22, women as amazons, taking the initiative in war and love), the ideal future promised by Third Isaiah includes transgendered kings who can suckle a nation. Traditional Biblical erudition criticized Third Isaiah for having made an unhappy poetic adaptation of the image of Second Isaiah,³⁰ but in the light of Jeremiah we may appreciate the creativity of the later prophet and his support of flexibility and freedom in gender matters (→ Paul in Gal 3:28). Note 60:16 of the Jerusalem Bible refers to the "bold metaphor" of the literal Hebrew, but various modern translations have made those scandalous "transgendered kings" disappear (NVI; cf. correctly NVI; ESV; NRSV and NISB note). They have not perceived that, for Third Isaiah, Yahweh is also the savior-liberator from all oppressive traditional, patriarchal rigidity in matters of sex and gender.

Note: for references to oral sex in an idolatrous context see above under women on Isa 57:7 and 65:3.

Isaiah 24-27 (Isaiah's Apocalypse).

For a century after Bernhard Duhm's study (1892) it was common to qualify Isaiah 24-27 as a small "Apocalypse" and interpret them as a belated entity, almost autonomous, showing little relationship with the rest of the chapter of Isaiah (BJ; DHHBE; RV95). Without doubt, Isaiah 24-27 reflect certain characteristics of apocalyptic literature: an eschatological focus, a divine universal justice (24:1-13), the imprisonment of celestial beings (24:21-22), the defeat of mythological monsters (27:1; see Rev 12-13), the abolition of death (25:7-8), and the resurrection of the dead (26:19). However, many other characteristics are missing: the schematization of history by epochs, celestial voyages, interpreting angels, a theology characterized by dualistic dichotomies, etc.³¹ Therefore, it is now more common to interpret Isaiah 24-27 as "proto-apocalypses" – a precursor to → Daniel, → Revelations and the various non-canonical Jewish apocalyptic books.

Due to the lack of concrete historical references, Isaiah 24-27 is difficult to date.³² Some prefer a late post-exile date (Paul Hanson 1979; Werner Schmidt 1995:290). But lately the destroyed nameless city is more commonly identified with Babylon (539 B.C.; see 13:1-14:23) and Isaiah 24-27 dated between 586-520.³³ "This mountain" (25:6-7. 10) has to be Zion and the "strong city" (26:1-2) Jerusalem (see 24:23; 27:13). Stylistically, the oracles show a marked tendency to repeat the same roots and the same words: "For the treacherous treacherously are treacherous; the treacherous deal very treacherously. (24:16b – the NIV substitutes "betray" twice rather than repeat the same root five times). For repetition of the same word, see also "earth" eighteen times in 24:1-13 (1, 3, 4, 4, 5, 6, 6, 11, 13); and nine times in 24:14-20 (16, 17, 18, 19, 19, 19, 20, 21, 21). The world's injustice reflects the Flood (cf. the "everlasting covenant of 24:5 with Noah, Genesis 9:16).

Outline

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 24:1-13 | The imminent judgment over the entire earth (10-12, an anonymous city destroyed: Moab, 10b-12? Jerusalem 586? Probably Babylon 539) |
| 14-23 | Ultimate combats: imprisonment of the celestial hosts and the terrestrial kings. |
| 25:1-5 | Song of praise for the liberation from oppression |
| 6-8 | Yahweh's banquet on the mountain |
| 9-12 | Judgment on Moab, symbol of permanent opposition against God |
| 26:1-6 | Judah's triumphal song |
| 7-19 | Laments and words of consolation |
| 20-27:1 | Yahweh punishes violent oppressors and a mythological dragon |
| 27:2-6 | Israel as Yahweh's vineyard (5:1-7) |
| 7-11 | Pardon for Jacob and punishment for the oppressor |
| 12-13 | The liberation of Israel and its return to Jerusalem |

1 The poor and oppressed In Isaiah 24-27 the technical vocabulary for the poor (four words) occur only in two verses (25:4; 26:6), but each verse signals oppression as the cause of poverty, and such oppression, cruelty and violence is the sin that receives most emphasis in these chapters:

For you have been a refuge to the poor (*dal*),
a refuge to the needy (*'ebyon*) in their oppression (*tsarar* I)... (25:4).

feet of the oppressed (*'ani*), the steps of the poor (*dal*) (26:6).

In addition to the explicit vocabulary, divine justice does not let the privileged classes escape but also affects the socio-economically poor classes:

24:2 slave, borrower, lender (see slaves, Rev 17-18).

Terms for oppressors/oppression are more frequent in these four chapters, since, in addition to the references relating to the poor (25:4 and 26:6), there are three references to oppressors who are “violent/cruel” (*'aritsim*):

25:3 cities of violent/cruel nations (*'aritsim*)

25:5 blast of the violent/cruel (*'aritsim*)... song of the violent/cruel (*'aritsim*)

See, additionally:

26:10 an oppressor (*rasha'*) experiences grace without learning justice

11 enemies/oppressors (*tsar* II)

16 Israel in oppression (*tsar* I)

21 blood (innocent) shed (=violence).

The infrequency of explicit vocabulary for the poor in Isaiah 24-27 is probably due to the universal and even cosmological perspective of the prophecies: the entire earth is under the judgment of God for its violence and oppression and all the earth will enjoy the liberation from oppressive empires and even from death itself. One text (26:20) speaks of God's wrath (*za'am*) against Israel provoked by oppression (shed blood 21; cf. *khemah*, 27:4).

Liberating justice. After the divine judgment against the oppressor and the fall of the city (Babylon), the whole earth, once liberated, praises Yahweh, God of the Exodus, for being the Just One (*tsadiq*; 24:16). God's judgments against the oppressors teach liberating justice (*tsedeq*) to the world (26:9); yet, even if the wicked oppressor (*rasha'*) experiences divine grace, he never learns justice (*sedeq*) in the land of rectitude (*nekokhoth*; 26:10). Judah redeemed is described then as a just (*tsadiq*, 26:2) nation which faithfully practices solidarity with the oppressed and weak, and receives the blessings of God, “the Just” (*yashar*), who makes “smooth” the path of the “just” (*tsadaq*, twice, 26:7).

To save, salvation = liberation. With divine judgment of the entire earth and the fall of the imperial oppressor with his principal city, all nations rejoice in Yahweh's salvation-liberation (25:9, verb + noun). Judah also celebrates its liberation-salvation from the oppressor (26:2; cf. 18). The liberation-salvation even includes resurrection and the

abolishing of death (25:7-8 + 26:19). Meanwhile, the faithful must not resort to violence and armed force, but “to wait” for God’s intervention, which is a teaching of the Psalms (2:3, 5, 21; 27:14; 37:34) and common in First Isaiah (8:17; 33:2); Second Isaiah (40:31; 49:23); and Third Isaiah (59:9; 69:9; 64:4; → Daniel).³⁴

2 Women Although Isaiah 24-27 shows continuity in the emphasis on the Biblical theology concerning the poor and oppression, perhaps because it speaks in universal terms of eschatological judgments, there are few references to women. As an example of poor classes, a text refers to a female slave, another to women that collect firewood (27:11); and another describes oppressed Israel with the common metaphor of “a woman with child...in her pangs...” (26:17 → Jeremiah).

3 Sexual minorities. For the same reason, because Isaiah 24-27 speaks in universal terms, references to sexual minorities are absent – but also to heterosexual couples, reproduction or family values. The condemned sins are not sexual sins, but the cruelty and oppression suffered by the poor (25:3-5; 26:6, 10-11); treachery (24:16b); pride (of Moab; 25:11); idolatry (27:9) and, above all, violence (26:21; see the flood in Gen 6:11, 13).

Bibliography: Isaiah 56-66 + 24-27.

- Achtemeier; Elizabeth (1982). *The Community and Message of Isaiah 56-66*. Minneapolis: Augsburg.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph (2003). *Isaiah 56-66*. AB19B New York: Doubleday.
- Croatto, J. Severino (2001). *Imaginar el Futuro: Estructura retórica y quierigma del Tercer Isaías (Isaías 56-66)*. Buenos Aires: Lumen
- Delcor, M (1967). "Two Special Meanings of the Word yad in Biblical Hebrew". *Journal of Semitic Studies* 12, 230-249.
- Johnson, D. G. (1988). *From Chaos to Restoration: An Integrative Reading of Isaiah 24-27*. JSOTSup. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.
- Koenen, K. (1988). "Sexuelle Zweideutigkeiten un Euphemismen in Jes 57,8" *Biblische Notizen* 44, 46-53.
- Millar, W. (1976). *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic*. HSM 11. Missoula: Sholars.
- (1992). "Isaiah, Book of (Chaps. 24-27)". *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. David Noel Freedman, ed. New York: Doubleday. III, 488-490.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford (1983/93). *Sexism and God-talk: Toward a Feminist Theology*. Boston: Beacon.

Bibliography: Isaiah 40-66

- Beuken, W. A. M. (1979-89). *Jesaja deel II B. De Prediking van het Oude Testament. Nijkerk: Callenbach* (Dutch, cited and followed with frequency by Brevard Childs 2001).
- Hanson, Paul D. (1995). *Isaiah 40-66*. IntBC. Louisville: John Knox
- Koole, J. L. (1997). HCOT.
- Seitz, Christopher R. (2001). "Isaiah 40-66". *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Leander E. Keck, ed. Nashville: Abingdon, VI, xxx-xxx.
- Westermann, Claus (1966/69). *Isaiah 40-66*. OTL / ATD. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Bibliography: Isaiah 1-66

Ackerman, Susan (1992/98). *Women's Bible Commentary*. Carol A. Newsom y Sharon H. Ringe, ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 169-177.

Brueggemann, Walter (1984). "Unity and Dynamic in Isaiah". JSOT 29, 89-107).

Childs, Brevard S. (2001). *Isaiah*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Fischer, Irmtraud (1998/99). "Das Buch Jesaja: das Buch der weiblichen Metaphern". *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung*. Luise Schottroff and Marie-Theres Wacker, ed. Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 246-257.

Marconcini, B. (1995). *El Libro de Isaías (1-39)*. Barcelona: Herder.

Motyer, J. A. (1993). *The Prophecy of Isaiah*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity

Oswalt, J. N. (1986, 1997). *The Book of Isaiah*. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans

Pelletier, Anne-Marie (1999). "Isaías". *Comentario Bíblico Internacional*. William R. Farmer, ed. Estella: Verbo Divino, 872-910.

Sawyer, J. F. A. (1999). "Isaiah, Book of". *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*. John H. Hayes, ed. Nashville: Abingdon. I, 549-555.

----- (1996). *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Sweeney, Marvin. A. (1996). *Isaiah 1-39*. FOTL 16. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

----- (1997). "The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah". *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken, ed. J. Van Ruiten and M. Vervenne*. Louvain: Leuven University, 41-61.

Watts, J. W. D. (1985, 1987). *The Book of Isaiah, 1-39, 40-66*. WBC. Dallas: Word.

Williamson, Hugh G. M. (1994). *The Book Called Isaiah*. New York: Oxford.

Young, E. J. (1965-72). *The Book of Isaiah*. 3 tomes. NICOT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans

Modern Economists (addressing poverty)

Landes, David S. (1998). *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some Are So Poor*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development As Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

End Notes

1. Paul Hanson 1995:186
 2. Hanks 1983:97-104
 3. Paul Hanson 1995:186; Brevard Childs 2001:443-44; Severino Croatto 2001:11-13
 4. Werner Schmidt 1999:267-269; Brevard Childs 2001:454-455; Paul Hanson 1995:185-193.
 5. David Pleins 2001:264
 - 5a. Severino Croatto 2001:423-425
 6. David Pleins 2001:265
 7. Hanks 1982:141-158; 1983:97-108
 - 7^a. Croatto 2001:254, note 15
 8. Paul Hanson 1995:207
 9. Walter Brueggemann 1984:94, (cited in David Pleins 2001:264)
 10. Walter Brueggemann 1997:41-61 (cited in David Pleins 2001:264)
 11. Hanks 1983:97-105
 12. Elizabeth Achtemeier 1982:49
 13. Paul Hanson 1995:232
 14. Paul Hanson 1995:234-235
 15. Severino Croatto 2001:91-95
 16. Childs 2001:506, 453-455
 17. Susan Ackerman 1998:176-177
 18. Severino Croatto 2001:67
 19. Brevard Childs 2001:466-467
 20. Severino Croatto 2001:72, note 15; Blenkinsopp 2003:154 gives as possible examples Isa 56:5; 57:10; Cant 5:4-5; 1 QS 7:13; 1QIsa 65:3
 21. Severino Croatto 2001:70-72
 22. Paul Hanson 1995:243
 23. John Watts 1987:341
 24. Susan Ackerman 1998:174-175
 25. Elizabeth Achtemeier 1982:36
 26. Rosemary Radford Ruether 1983/93:134-138
 27. Thomas Hanks 1982:35-36; 1983:14-15
 - 27a. Corrine Patton, Excursus concerning → Ezekiel 23
 28. Susan Ackerman 1998:174-175
 29. Brevard Childs 2001:497-498
 30. Brevard Childs 2001:498
 31. Joseph Blenkinsopp 2000:346; Brevard Childs 2001:173
 32. John Oswalt 1986:441-443, Excursus
 33. William Millar 1976 and 1992; Brevard Childs 2001:171-174, 178
 34. Brevard Childs 2001:185
-

