On the Structure and Formation
of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah

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At the end of the last century, when I wrote my book on the history and literature of the Babylonian exile, which included — among other issues — a study on Deutero-Isaiah,[1] I was not aware that Joseph Blenkinsopp had prepared a commentary on Isaiah 40–55 nearly at the same time (published 2002),[2] which was part of the enormous project of interpreting the entire book of Isaiah in three volumes.[3] I am happy to be given the opportunity to appreciate this sophisticated and thoughtful commentary, which I think is one of the best written since the commentary of Bernhard Duhm.[4] For me, as one who tries to resist the pressure of specializing in our field, Joseph Blenkinsopp is an outstanding example of a learned Old Testament scholar. He has a competent overview of all research fields in scholarship, not only of all the books of the Hebrew Bible, including their ancient Near Eastern background and their

1. See Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century* B.C.E., Studies in Biblical Literature 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), pp. 376-438. The German original is titled: Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,* Biblische Enzyklopädie 7 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001).

2. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* The Anchor Yale Bible 19A (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

3. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* The Anchor Yale Bible 19 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000) and Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* The Anchor Yale Bible 19B (New York, London, Toronto, Sidney, and Auckland: Doubleday, 2003).

4. See Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia,* 5th ed., Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament III/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968). The first edition was published in 1892.

Wirkungsgeschichte,[5] but also of the historiography of all periods including archaeology.[6] Therefore, it is a great privilege for me to contribute some ideas about the structure and formation of the book of Deutero-Isaiah to this volume in his honor.

1. Basic Insights in the Structure of Isaiah 40–55

Blenkinsopp discussed the structure of Deutero-Isaiah in some length.[7] He was aware of many different proposals, but wisely did not follow one fixed scheme. He rightly maintained, against Kiesow,[8] that the two parts of the book, the Jacob/Israel section (Isa 40–48) and the Zion/Jerusalem section (Isa 49–55), conceptually belong together.[9] Therefore the call to flee from Babylon (48:20-21) constitutes just the end of the first section, but not an end of an earlier book. Interestingly, he observed that the second section is structured by an alternation between Servant and Zion passages, but suggested that the last sequence, the fourth servant song (52:13-53:12) and promises for Zion (54:1-17a), "might . . . appear to have been added subsequently."[10]

Perhaps one could emphasize a little bit more explicitly than Blenkinsopp that the joyous report of YHWH's arrival at Zion in 52:7-12, which runs parallel to 48:20-21 at its end, constitutes a first epilogue, where several visions of the prologue in 40:1-11, the announcement of good news and YHWH's return to Zion, become true. Because of this obvious *inclusio* already Elliger concluded that 52:7-12 may have constituted the end of the book at an earlier stage.[11] This view, which is now shared by several recent scholars,[12] is supported by the

5. Cf., with regard to the book of Isaiah, the interesting study of Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2006).

6. Cf. for example, Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Age of the Exile" in *The Biblical World,* vol. 1, ed. John Barton (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 416-39.

7. *Isaiah 40–55,* pp. 59-61.

8. Cf. Klaus Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen,* Orbis et Biblicus Orientalis 24 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), p. 165.

9. Following Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, *Studien zur Prophetie und Weisheit,* Forschungen zum Alten Testament 23 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), pp. 117-23, 148-49.

10. *Isaiah 40–55,* p. 61.

11. See Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja,* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 63 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), pp. 265-67.

12. Thus, Odil Hannes Steck, *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuteroje-*

observation that only Isa 40:1–52:7 are structured by so-called "eschatological hymns" (42:10-13; 44:23; 45:8; 48:20-21; 49:13; 52:9-10) into meaningful segments.[13]

It is generally acknowledged that the present book of Deutero-Isaiah comes to its end in Isa 55:13. Among others, Kiesow has convincingly shown that 55:6-13 constitutes a second epilogue, whose praise of YHWH's creative word in 55:10-11 refers back to 40:6-8* of the prologue, where the eternity of the divine word is reflected.[14] These verses constitute an outer *inclusio*. From these observations Elliger concluded that an earlier Deutero-Isaiah collection (40:1–52:7*) was expanded by the fourth servant song (52:13–53:12) first, and by chapters 54–55 later. He regarded Trito-Isaiah as responsible for these later editions of the book.[15] This last suggestion became less convincing, since it turned out that Isa 56–66 do not originate from a single person, but constitute a multi-layered composite in itself. His basic insight, however, that the doubled structure of the book points to two major editions of the book of Deutero-Isaiah, remains true; likewise that the second edition generally shows a closer relationship with Isa 56–66 than the first.

saja, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 4 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), p. 125; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jesaja 40–55,* Forschungen zum Alten Testament 1 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991), p. 217; Jürgen van Oorschot, *Von Babel zum Zion: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung,* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 206 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1993), p. 345; Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt,* Herders Biblische Studien 16 (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, Barcelona, Rome, and New York: Herder, 1998), p. 549; Jürgen Werlitz, *Redaktion und Komposition: Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40–55,* Bonner Biblische Beiträge 122 (Berlin and Bodenheim: Philo, 1999), pp. 319-23. This view is also indicated by Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55,* p. 372.

13. Cf. Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55,* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 141 (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1976), pp. 90-175. Isa 51:3 is just a fragment of such a hymn at best; it will prove to be a late insertion; see below. Isa 54:1-2 is no religious hymn at all, but a call to joy, *pace* Claus Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja: Kapitel 40–66,* 5th ed., Das Alte Testament Deutsch 19 (Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), pp. 19-20.

14. Kiesow, *Exodustexte,* pp. 65-66, 165.

15. Cf. Elliger, *Verhältnis,* pp. 265-71.

2. Consequences for Reconstructing the Formation of Isaiah 40–55

In his commentary, Joseph Blenkinsopp deals with the formation of Isa 40–55 in some detail.[16] After having referred to the theories of some scholars, Blenkinsopp identified a "current confused situation" and maintained that "our text exhibits a relatively high level of coherence,"[17] especially in chapters 40–48, where he noted only a few possible additions.[18] With regard to chapters 49-55 he accepted the evidence of a Trito-Isaianic editor, who has added the last three servant songs (49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13–52:12) including the comments to the first two (49:7, 9-12; 50:10-11). He also added some smaller passages in their immediate surroundings (50:1-3; 51:1-6) and some sporadic insertions in chapters 54–55.[19] Thus, Blenkinsopp sensitively noticed different styles and concepts in such passages,[20] but he hesitated to go further in order to differentiate and classify these insertions. That may be wise for writing a commentary, which will still be read when most of the recent redactional theories will have been forgotten.

The current situation, however, is not as confused as Blenkinsopp has stated.[21] Nearly all proposals for reconstructing the formation of the book which have been recently published converge — in spite of all differences in detail — on the result that there is ample evidence to distinguish two major editions of the book of Deutero-Isaiah, an earlier one, which was restricted to Isa 40:1–52:12* and a later one, which comprised Isa 40:1–55:13*. What was identified as "Jerusalem redaction" by van Oorschot (Dtjes Z) in the earlier edition, substantially corresponds to Berges's "Golah redaction" and "first Jerusalem redaction" and Werlitz's "book edition."[22] Even the "supplementary Cyrus stratum" reconstructed by Kratz is similar.[23] The four scholars even agree on dating; they all propose the origin of the earlier edition around the year 520 B.C.E., although they concede the incorporation of older material. With regard to the later book edition, three of these scholars argue for a later

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16. See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, pp. 69-81.

17. For both citations see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, p. 73.

18. So Isa 46:12-13; 48:16b, 17-19, 22; see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, pp. 73-74, 80.

19. For example Isa 54:17b; 55:13b; see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, pp. 74, 80, 366.

20. Especially in Isa 48; cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, pp. 288-90, going beyond the introductory remarks.

21. For a more detailed study of the research history see Albertz, *Israel*, pp. 378-93.

22. See the schemes or summaries mentioned above in note 12.

23. Kratz, *Kyros*, p. 217, mainly differs as far as he included also the fourth servant song into this stratum and suggested Isa 55:3-5 as a possible end. But there is no need to go beyond 52:12.

redaction during the fifth century, be it the "Servant Israel stratum" of Kratz, the "secondary Zion stratum" of van Oorschot, or the "second Jerusalem redaction" of Berges.

Among these recent attempts to reconstruct the earlier edition of the book of Deutero-Isaiah, the methodological reflections of Jürgen Werlitz are of major importance.[24] Werlitz connects the diachronic literary critical and redaction historical approach, on the one hand, with a synchronic composition critical approach, on the other hand. In his view, the composition criticism must provide a constant frame of reference and corrective for redaction criticism, and vice versa. A satisfactory literary and redactional study must yield a book with a distinct beginning and end, a clear structure, and a meaningful sequence of texts. By this methodological innovation, the redaction critical results can be controlled much better and provided with a higher degree of probability. Following these methodological lines, Werlitz was able to reconstruct a first book edition, which runs from a reduced prologue (40:1-2, 3-5*) through the Jacob/Israel and the Zion/Jerusalem portions to an epilogue (52:7-12).[25] Both portions are linked by the second servant song (49:1-6), including its commentary (49:8-12). The entire book is structured by the eschatological hymns in two introductions (40:12-31; 49:14–50:2*) and five segments (41:1–42:13; 42:14–44:23; 44:24–48:21; 49:1-13*; 50–52*). Interestingly, Werlitz has recognized that the structuring elements — the prologue, epilogue, eschatological hymns, and the commentaries on the first two servant songs — are all editorial. By these, the prophetic editor not only brought the older material into a meaningful sequence, but also actualized it for a new purpose. According to Werlitz, this older material also includes the first three servant songs and parts of the polemics against the idols, because they are firmly anchored in the composition. Thus, the composition critical approach detected the original compositional setting of some of those texts, which, since Bernhard Duhm, were often regarded as secondary.[26]

3. A Possible Reconstruction of the Formation of Isaiah 40–55

Along the methodological lines elaborated by Jürgen Werlitz, I presented a reconstruction of the book of Deutero-Isaiah, which comprised the first three

24. See Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 237-82.
25. See his summary, Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 319-23.
26. See for example Duhm, *Jesaia*, pp. 14-15; Westermann, *Jesaja*, pp. 27-28.

editorial stages, the first book edition (40:1–52:12*: DtIE¹), the appendix of the
fourth servant song (52:13–53:12), and the second edition of the book (40:1–
55:13*: DtIE²).²⁷ These strata include about 87 percent of the present text. The
book of this stage, however, was later expanded by a number of insertions,
which I did not deal with before in detail, because my earlier publication was
restricted to the exilic period. Thus, I would like to take the opportunity to
complete my view of the formation of Isa 40–55 here.

3.1 The First Edition of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah (DtIE¹)

The first book edition, which was already reconstructed and described else-
where in detail,²⁸ consists of the following passages:

DtIE¹
Isa 40:1-2, 3aβ-5ba, 9-11, 12-31*; 41:1–42:16, 18-19a, 20, 22-24aα₁, 25;
43:1–44:8, 10-17, 20, 21-24, 26b-28; 45:1-8, 11a, 12-13ba, 14-15,²⁹ 18-20a,
21-25; 46:1-7, 9-13; 47:2, 5-8a, 10-15; 48:1aba, 3, 6-7a, 8a, 11aα, 11b-16a,
20-21; 49:1-6, 8-21*; 50:1-2, 4-9; 51:4-5, 9-10, 17-19; 52:1-2, 7-12

According to my view, it was written during the years 521-520 B.C.E., after the
group of the anonymous prophet, who had preached before among the Babylo-
nian exiles from about 547 B.C.E. onwards, came to Judah in order to bring the
good news to Zion that YHWH had decided to show pity to his people, to release
his capital and bring the exiles home (40:1-2, 9-11; 52:9-10). The political events
in the background are probably the usurpation of Gaumata by Darius I, the fol-
lowing revolts against Darius throughout the empire, especially those in Babylon
during the years 522 and 521, and the suppression of these revolts by Darius.
Under these conditions, Darius was probably ready to repatriate a loyal group of

27. See Albertz, *Israel*, pp. 393-438.
28. See Albertz, *Israel*, pp. 393-425.
29. In contrast to the table in Albertz, *Exilszeit*, p. 297, I include also the difficult verses
Isa 45:14-15 in the first edition. They seem to reflect — like 43:3b-4 — the conquest of Egypt
by Cambyses (525 B.C.E.); for additional reasons, see Rainer Albertz, "Loskauf umsonst? Die
Befreiungsvorstellungen bei Deuterojesaja," in *Freiheit und Recht*, ed. Christof Hardmeier,
Rainer Kessler and Andreas Ruwe (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser and Gütersloher Verlag, 2003), pp.
360-79, esp. pp. 366-75. In the English edition (Albertz, *Israel*, p. 398), these verses are already
included (see also p. 415). But in the table on p. 398 the misprint of the first line (40:12-1) should
be corrected to 40:12-15.

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Judean exiles around Zerubbabel and Joshua in order to stabilize the western wing of his empire. Against these dramatical historical events, the book describes how the message of comfort — from the first victories of Cyrus to the conquest of Babylon by Darius — extended from Babylonia to Jerusalem through all resistances and disappointments. The book proclaims divine salvation without any conditions, but its probable public recitation was intended to encourage the lethargic and reserved population of Judah to grab the opportunity of salvation and welcome the returnees from Babylonia. As shown elsewhere in detail,[30] this reconstructed edition can be understood as a well-structured, coherent, and meaningful rhetorical unit in a concrete historical situation.

3.2 The Appendix of the Fourth Servant Song

That the fourth servant song (52:13–53:12) has to be regarded as an appendix was already seen by Elliger.[31] As shown by the framing divine speeches in 52:13-15 and 53:11aβ-12 it is a rhetorical unit of its own. The fact that this song follows a call to leave Babylon as does the second one (48:20-21; 49:1-6), which was rightly observed by Blenkinsopp,[32] may be one reason for adding it at this place. There is a link to the given context: the term "arm of YHWH" in 53:1 refers back to 52:10. Thus, the song was composed with knowledge of the final passage of DtIE[1]. Since 49:7, which constitutes a second divine answer to the complaint of the Servant (49:4) and is completed by 49:8-12, directly refers to the beginning of the fourth servant song (cf. 52:15), it serves to link this song with DtIE[1]. Its position indicates that the fourth servant song should be read as a commentary to the second one, especially to the universal salvific task of the Servant mentioned in 49:6. Here, it is not the place to discuss the highly disputed meaning of the fourth servant song. Considering the given links to 49:1-7 and 52:10, however, one should rather think of a collective understanding: By all his suffering during the exile the Servant Israel has taken on an atoning and salvific function for all the nations. These deep reflections about a possible positive meaning of the distress of exile may come from the years after 515 B.C.E., when Israel's "renewal" had begun but was not yet complete. The author was still a member of the Deutero-Isaiah group, but — as some differences in language and concept show — not the redactor of the DtIE[1].

30. Cf. Albertz, *Israel*, pp. 404-25.
31. See Elliger, *Verhältnis*, pp. 266-67.
32. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, p. 74.

3.3 The Second Edition of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah (DtIE²)

The author of the second edition of the book (DtIE²) added the new chapters Isa 54–55* and tied them to the DtIE¹ through a framework of appeals to hear around the appendix of the fourth servant song (51:1-2, 7-8; 55:1-5). In addition, by inserting 40:6, 8 into the prologue and composing a new epilogue (55:6-13), the editor created a new framework for his entire book (55:10-11), which intended to emphasize the persistence and effectiveness of the divine word in the face of all earthly obstacles. Thus, he sporadically intervened also in the first edition. As explained elsewhere in more detail,[33] DtIE² consists of DtIE¹ including its appendix plus probably the following passages:

DtIE²
Isa 40:3aα, 6, 8; 44:25-26a; 45:9-10, 11b, 13bβ; 47:3-4, 8b-9; 51:1-2, 7-8, 12-15, 20-23; 52:3; 54:1-17a; 55:1-6, 8-13[34]

The message of the DtIE² cannot be unfolded here in detail.[35] But it should be mentioned that the second edition of the book is characterized by a defense of the prophetical message against substantial obstacles and doubts. In the beginning of the fifth century, the reality lagged far behind the enthusiastic message of the Deutero-Isaiah group. It is true that a sizable group of exiles had returned and the temple had been rebuilt, but Jerusalem lay still in ruins until the middle of the fifth century, and several foreign leaders whom the Persians settled in Samaria interfered in Judah (Ezra 4:9-10). With several exhortations, the author of DtIE² intended to encourage those faithful adherents, who still waited for the complete fulfillment of the announced salvation, to maintain their hopes against all obstacles, threats and mockeries (51:1-2, 7-8, 12-15; 55:1-5). He never tired of assuring the ruined capital of YHWH's irremovable love (54:4-6, 7-9), of its wonderful reconstruction (54:11-13) and a peaceful existence (54:10, 14-17a). Since the new book edition reveals fear about

33. See Albertz, Israel, pp. 428-33.

34. In the table of Albertz, Israel, p. 429, the verses Isa 45:11a, 13bα have to be corrected to 45:11b, 13bβ. Isaiah 51:12-15 has to be added to the list, because in this divine answer to the lament of 51:9-10, which is secondary with regard to the primary answer in 51:17-19, the warning about fear of human beings, who are transient like grass, reminds one of 40:8, a verse which certainly belongs to DtIE². The gloss in 40:7b, which relates the grass to people, is wrong; the enemies of Israel are meant. Also Oorschot, Babel, pp. 253-55, includes the passage in his "secondary Zion stratum."

35. See for more details Albertz, Israel, pp. 430-33.

new military threats (51:12-13, 20-23; 54:15-17a), it was perhaps prompted by Xerxes' campaigns against Greece (484-479 B.C.E.), which were accompanied by new uprisings of Babylon (cf. 47:3-4, 8b-9). In DtIE² the prologue was converted by small intrusions (40:3aα, 6) into a kind of call narrative corresponding to Isa 6:4, 8. Now, the commission of comforting the people and Zion (40:1-2) was interpreted as an explicit annulment of the heavenly judgment of doom, which the prophet Isaiah had experienced (6:9-11). Thus, it may have happened at this stage of redactional history that the enlarged book of Deutero-Isaiah was physically connected with the existing book of Isaiah (roughly Isa 1-32*).

3.4 Alignments with the Book of Trito-Isaiah (DtIT)

After the second book edition, Deutero-Isaiah seems to have been subject only to sporadic insertions or smaller redactions. One group of insertions is characterized by the intention of aligning the book of Deutero-Isaiah with topics that can be found in the book of Trito-Isaiah. The following passages can be ascribed to it:

DtIT
Isa 48:16b; 49:22-23, 24-26; 54:13

The secondary character of 48:16b is generally acknowledged.[36] After a divine oracle, which commissioned an anonymous king — after the fall of Babylon (Isa 47) probably Darius I[37] — to carry through the salvific will of God (48:12-16a), the short self-report of a prophetical figure about his call seems to be out of place. It may even be an anacoluthon: "And now Adonay-YHWH has sent me, and his spirit . . . ," as Blenkinsopp considered.[38] The phrase takes up the

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36. Duhm, *Jesaia*, p. 365; Elliger, *Verhältnis*, pp. 213-15; Oorschot, *Babel*, 277-78; Werlitz, *Redaktion*, p. 275; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, p. 294; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56–66*, p. 64, among many others.

37. For the thesis that the commission of Cyrus (Isa 41:1-4; 44:24-28; 45:1-7) is tacitly substituted for that of Darius in the DtIE¹ (42:5-9; 45:11a, 12-13abα; 48:12-16a), see Albertz, *Israel*, pp. 399-404, 408-9, 418, and Albertz, "Darius in Place of Cyrus: The First Edition of Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40.1–52.12) in 521 BCE," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 27 no. 3 (2003): 371-83.

38. See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, p. 294. Nowhere else is the divine spirit an object of God's sending.

presentation of the Servant Israel in 42:1 and clearly refers to the self-presentation of the prophetical Servant in 61:1. The anacoluthon may even have the rhetorical function that the reader should complete it from there in the sense: "and his spirit is laid on me." In my view, the insertion has two intentions: on the one hand, it aims at relating the royal oracle to the prophetical figure, whom we call Trito-Isaiah. It was no longer the Persian king Darius, but the Israelite prophet in the succession of Deutero-Isaiah and his group who would conduct the salvific will of YHWH in the future. On the other hand, the insertion indicates where Trito-Isaiah's promises for Zion (Isa 60–62), which run partly parallel to those of Deutero-Isaiah (49:14–54:17), should be placed in the process of Israel's salvation: just before the return of the prophetical group to Jerusalem (48:20-21).

In the contentious comfort of Zion (49:14-26), the last two passages, 49:22-23 and 49:24-26, probably constitute later additions.[39] In contrast to the announcement of 49:14-21, which belongs to DtIE[1], both small units use the messenger formula in their introduction. They both end with recognition formulas, whose stylistic features (with *waw*-perfect) remind one more of Ezekiel (Ezek 16:62; 22:16; 25:11, 17 passim) than of Deutero-Isaiah (with *lĕma'an* and imperfect in 45:3); a similar construction occurs in Trito-Isaiah (60:16). Moreover, 49:22 gives an answer to Zion's question (49:21), although it was only rhetorical, and 49:24-25 imitate the rhetorical question-answer play of 49:14-15 in an artificial and slightly unclear manner. As Elliger already pointed out,[40] the language and motives of the two passages remind one of Trito-Isaiah. The first passage intends to support the hopes in the repopulation of Jerusalem with the notion that YHWH would stimulate the nations by his banner (similar to 62:10) announcing his intentions to bring home the sons and daughters of Zion (49:22). This notion is not totally absent from the DtIE[1] (43:6), but is displayed in detail by Trito-Isaiah (cf. 60:4, 9; 66:20). The idea that kings and queens will serve Zion and its people like vassals (49:23) has its closest parallels in the descriptions of salvation of Trito-Isaiah (60:16; 61:5-6; cf. already 49:7). Against the fear that mighty earthly powers might cost YHWH his victory, the

39. Westermann, *Jesaja*, pp. 175-80, regarded Isa 49:14-26 as a compositional unity following the three addressees of complaint, but this was already questioned by Melugin, *Formation*, pp. 148-52. Oorschot, *Babel*, pp. 151-52, 247-48, and Hans-Jürgen Hermission, *Deuterojesaja, 3. Teilband: Jesaja 49,14–55,13*, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament XI/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2007), pp. 17-18, 25, attribute the first passage (49:22-23) to an early book edition, but regarded the second (49:24-26) as clearly secondary. The secondary character of both passages is stressed by Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 308-13.

40. See Elliger, *Verhältnis*, pp. 124-29.

second passage (49:24-26) encourages the audience to believe that YHWH himself will litigate with the nations and save Zion's children. The somewhat cruel notion that YHWH will feed Zion's enemies with their own flesh and make them drunk from their own blood has no parallel at all, but the final recognition formula is a citation of Isa 60:16. It is possible that especially the second passage responds to a similar military threat during the first part of the fifth century B.C.E., like DtIE².

Finally, 54:13 interrupts the report of the wonderful reconstruction of Jerusalem (from DtIE²) by interpreting the precious stones of Zion's gates as its sons, who would all become "pupils of YHWH" and enjoy peace.⁴¹ This idea reminds one of the pupils of the prophet Isaiah (8:16) and the Deutero-Isaiah group (50:4), but is also paralleled by the notion of 61:6 that all inhabitants of restored Judah will become priests and servants of YHWH. Isaiah 54:13 intended to emphasize that not only the city but also its inhabitants would have to be transformed in the direction of a close relationship with the divine, as shown by the prophetic group itself.

It is not quite clear whether all these additions come from the same hand and from the same time, but they all intend to replenish the salvific notions of Deutero-Isaiah with ideas developed by the prophetic circle behind Trito-Isaiah. Since these ideas all are taken from the kernel of this book (Isa 60–62), these alignments must not be much later than DtIE² and probably still belong to the first part of the fifth century B.C.E.

3.5 The Scholastic Redaction (DtIS)

A more coherent reworking of the book happened by the so-called scholastic redaction, which is characterized by a closer relationship to styles and concepts of Deuteronomistic literature and other prophetic books, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This redaction was first discovered by Hans-Christoph Schmitt long ago,⁴² but meanwhile can probably be expanded by some other secondary verses. In my view, it comprises the following passages:

41. The verse was regarded as secondary to its context by Oorschot, *Babel*, p. 268. The variant reading of 1QIsᵃ ("your builder" instead of "your sons") can be regarded as an attempt to align the verse a little bit more with its context. Its intrusion also disturbs the *stichoi* of the passage.

42. See Hans-Christoph Schmitt, "Prophetie und Schultheologie im Deuterojesajabuch: Beobachtungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte von Jes 40–55*," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 91, no. 1 (1979): 43-61. Schmitt calls this redaction "schultheologische Bearbeitung."

DtIS

Isa 42:19b, 21, 24aα₂b; 46:8; 48:1bβ, 2, 4-5, 7b, 8b-10, 11aβ, 17-19; 50:10-11; 55:7

The best evidence for this redaction comes from Isa 48, a chapter which is thoroughly reworked in the course of this redaction.[43] Originally, 48:1-11 was an editorial unit, by which the redactor of DtIE[1] intended to prepare his Judean audience for the surprising message (48:6) that YHWH had decided to commission anew a king with the salvation of his people (48:12-16a), who — after the fall of Babylon (47:1-15*, referred to in 48:1) — could only be Darius I. He would carry through God's salvific will, what Cyrus had only started, but not completed.[44] This preparation for a salvific message was secondarily converted into a penitential sermon:[45] In 48:1bβ, 2, which constitutes a doublet to 48:1abα, the people are accused of referring to Zion and YHWH in a dishonest and immoral way. The delay of fulfilling the given prophetic announcements (48:3) is now secondarily founded on the stiff-necked character of the people (48:4; cf. Ezek 2:4; 3:7), who would rather ascribe the fulfillment to their idols (48:5). The surprising character of the good news (48:6-7a) is interpreted as a divine strategy against the arrogant attitude of the people that they already knew all that the prophets would say (48:7b). Finally, the divine statement that YHWH would save Israel for his own sake (48:11aα, b) is interpreted by a long accusation (48:8b-10, 11aβ), in which Israel is characterized as a treacherous and notorious rebel from its origins (cf. Jer 3:8, 11; 5:11; 9:1; Isa 1:2). Only because YHWH wanted to care for his name did he remain patient and not destroy Israel (cf. Ezek 20:9, 14, 22), but tested it in the smelting furnace of exile (cf. Jer 6:27-30; Ezek 22:18-22). Thus, the scholastic redaction (DtIS) used an earlier text, which reflected the delay of salvation in some way, for the purpose

43. See already Duhm, *Jesaia*, pp. 360-66, Westermann, *Jesaja*, pp. 159-62, and Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 348-53. Also Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, pp. 288-90, 295, noticed in Isa 48 passages of a different language and concept, which are "difficult if not impossible to reconcile with the outlook, the tone, and even the religious vocabulary of the 'prophet of consolation'" (p. 290).

44. As is known, Cyrus did not conquer Babylon in 539 B.C.E., but cooperated with its aristocracy and its Marduk priests, not with the exiled Judean groups. He only sent some temple vessels back to Jerusalem at best (Ezra 1:7); see Albertz, *Israel*, 113-32.

45. Some recent scholars argue that the passage gains its specific profile only by the accusations (cf. Kratz, *Kyros*, pp. 114-17; Hans-Jürgen Hermission, *Deuterojesaja, 2. Teilband: Jesaja 45,8–49,13*, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, XI/2 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003], pp. 210-13), but they seem to overlook its important function to introduce the commission of a new Persian king after the fall of Babylon.

of introducing accusations of the pre-exilic prophets of doom — not only of Isaiah, but also of Jeremiah and Ezekiel — into the book of Deutero-Isaiah. It intended to demonstrate that Israel, not God, is to be blamed for the delay of salvation. From his post-exilic experience the redactor wanted to make Deutero-Isaiah's unconditional message of salvation conditional.

The intention of providing the salvific message of Deutero-Isaiah with a strong ethical commitment becomes obvious in 48:17-19, which the redactor put in the mouth of the prophet introduced by DtIT in 48:16b. Here YHWH is presented as a helpful guide of Israel who wishes to keep Israel on the right way (48:17). But God has to complain that the people missed the chance to obey his commandments and reflects about how Israel could have been multiplied and lived in peace, if it had done his will (48:18). According to the scholastic redactor, the misery of the people from the exilic past up to the present was a consequence of its disobedience (48:19 with a reference back to 48:9). The concept expressed in these verses is clearly Deuteronomistic; the language partly reminds one of Trito-Isaiah (60:17; 66:12), but also of patriarchal promises (Gen 22:17; Exod 32:13) and of Ps 81:14-17 (13-16).

The scholastic redactor seems to have reworked also Isa 42:18-25, the first one of the two judgment speeches on Israel (cf. 43:22-28*) in DtIE^1.[46] Here Deutero-Isaiah had criticized his companions in Babylon for being blind and deaf to his message of salvation, because they did not understand that their exilic situation was caused by YHWH and nobody else (42:18-19a, 20, 22-24aα$_1$, 25).[47] Thus, for the prophet and his group, the acceptance of the divine punishment was crucial for salvation, but that did not explicitly include new rules of conduct. The scholastic redactor wanted to make this explicit. He probably inserted the repeating questions of 42:19b in order to emphasize the scandal that even "Meshullam," the post-exilic substitute for the dead exilic generation, persisted in the blindness of YHWH's servant.[48] He interpreted

46. Cf. the identical expression *hālak b^e derek* "to go on the way" in Isa 42:24bβ and 48:17; 55:7, and the similar phrases *šāma' b^e tôrâ* in 42:24bβ and *qāšab* hif. *l^e miṣwôt* "to listen to the torah/commandments" in 48:18. All these phrases have their parallels in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic texts (Deut 8:6; 1 Kgs 3:14; Jer 32:23; Neh 9:34).

47. Hans-Christoph Schmitt, "Erlösung und Gericht: Jes 43,1-7 und sein literarischer und theologischer Kontext," *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und Biblische Theologie: Festschrift für Horst Dietrich Preuß,* ed. Jutta Hausmann and Hans-Jürgen Zobel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), pp. 120-31, ascribed the ground level to the DtIS and the additions to a late Torah piety (pp. 122-25), but such a solution would distort the clear structure of DtIE^1.

48. Meshullam is a very common personal name given to a child who is regarded as a substitute for his elder brother who has died. Thus there is no reason for believing that it should have a completely different meaning as a symbolic name for Israel.

Israel's disorientation as divine strategy of magnifying the Torah as a new rule of conduct (42:21).[49] And he inserted an explicit confession of sins through 42:24aα₂b in order to clarify that only an honest repentance of the people would pave the way of salvation. According to the scholastic redactor, Israel's sin was characterized by its unwillingness to listen to the Torah and to follow God's way, similar to 48:17-18. Thus, Israel's lesson to learn from the exile should be to keep God's Torah in the future.

After the third servant song (50:4-9), there is a short admonition that takes the faithful prophet as an example for the pious, but as a warning to his enemies (50:10-11). The text clearly depends on the song, but interprets it in a generalized way. Since 50:10 partly speaks in Deuteronomistic language,[50] the admonition probably also belongs to the DtIS. Anyone who is still living in darkness but "leans on his God" should be encouraged by the faithful confession of the prophet (50:10). But all those who no longer wait for the light of salvation, but kindle their own fire, are warned that they will be killed by their own hostile actions (50:11). This argument reveals that the scholastic redactor seems to belong to a prophetic group in succession of Deutero-Isaiah, which enjoyed some agreement but suffered much rejection. According to him, Israel, or at least the pious, did not only have to listen to the Torah but also to the voice of YHWH's prophet.

There are two other small admonitions, secondary to their context, which can probably be ascribed to the scholastic redaction. The first, 46:8, addresses the "rebels" (cf. 48:8) and warns them about the idols in which they may trust: they are not able to save human beings (48:7). The verse depends on its context, but draws a conclusion that moves clearly beyond.[51] The accusation of idolatry corresponds with 48:5b. The second admonition, 55:7, addresses the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* and calls him to leave "his way" *(darkô)* (cf. 42:24; 48:17) and return to YHWH. For this case, it promises him the pity and the forgiveness of "our God" (55:7; cf. 50:10; 42:24). The verse shows its secondary character by doubling the final admonition ("seek YHWH!") of DtIE² in 55:6 and focusing it on the specific group of the wicked *(rᵉšāʿîm)*. It takes up terms from its context but uses them in a different sense: in 55:7 *derek* denotes, for example, no longer

49. The personal pronoun *wᵉhûʾ* "but he" in Isa 42:22 refers back to the subject of 42:20b and proves that 42:21 is an insertion.

50. For the phase *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl* "to listen to one's voice" cf. Deut 4:30; 8:20; 1 Sam 8:19; 15:22 and others. These affinities in language are the main reason why I no longer assign this passage to DtIT as done before in Albertz, *Israel*, p. 397, note 778.

51. The addressees in the second person plural of Isa 46:5, 9 are not the evildoers, but all the Israelites.

the plan for salvation as in 55:8, but the way of life. The call for repentance is typical for the Deuteronomistic theology (cf. 1 Kgs 8:33-34; Jer 36:3 among others). Thus the language and the concept of Isa 55:7 fit the characteristics of the scholastic redactor. From Isa 46:8; 50:10-11; and 55:7 it becomes clear that the scholastic redactor already knows a split of the Judean society into "the pious" and "the wicked" factions. This points to the social reality of the middle of the fifth century (cf. Neh 5). For the redactor, however, this split is not completely settled. He still tried hard to lead the wicked to repentance, so that they would listen to the Torah and the prophetic word and would improve their conduct. Verbal and conceptual parallels to later layers of the book of Trito-Isaiah (especially, Isa 59) suggest that the scholastic redactor — or a companion of his — was also involved in the formation of that book; but this suggestion needs further study.

3.6 Late Idol Additions

While earlier scholars regarded all idol polemics as later additions,[52] Jürgen Werlitz has shown that a major portion of them are well integrated into the composition (Isa 40:19-20; 41:6-7; 44:10-17, 20; 46:6-7).[53] They already belong to DtIE[1] and function to convince the audience of the monotheistic belief in a more amusing manner.[54] From these early passages, which reflect the Babylonian polytheistic background in a sarcastic way, those later polemics have to be distinguished. The late idol additions are secondarily placed into their contexts, and they criticize the producers and venerators of idols in a more schematic way:[55]

Late idol additions
Isa 42:17; 44:9, 18-19; 45:16-17, 20b

These passages accuse all those who create idols for their own needs, trust in them (42:17), pray to them (45:20b), and call them "our gods" (42:17). The idolators all have no understanding and will be ashamed, because these idols

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52. For example, Elliger, *Verhältnis*, pp. 305-7, Westermann, *Jesaja*, p. 27.

53. See Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 221-37.

54. These passages have an impressive rhetorical function: When a student group in my seminar in 2002 performed a recitation of DtIE[1] on stage, the audience laughed every time during the polemical idol passages.

55. See Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 231-32.

would not save them (45:20b), in contrast to YHWH (45:16-17). Since the DtIS is also concerned with adherents of idols (46:[6-7], 8; 48:5), these late idol additions may come from a similar background. That some kind of idolatry became popular in post-exilic Judah can be seen from Isa 57:5-8; 66:17.

3.7 A Great Isaianic Redaction (DtIG)

Odil Hannes Steck elaborated several indications that the entire book of Isaiah including Proto-, Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah may have undergone *"großjesa-janische Fortschreibungen."*[56] Steck observed several redactional links running through the book of Isaiah. According to him Isa 34–35 played a major role in connecting the books of Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah. He dated this redaction in the early Hellenistic period.[57] Meanwhile, several scholars postulate such a redaction,[58] but neither its scale nor its date is settled. In my view, within Isa 40–55, the following passages could most likely belong to such a redaction:

DtIG
Isa 40:5bβ; 48:22; 51:3, 11, 16; 52:4-6(?); 54:17b

The concluding formula in Isa 40:5bβ "For the YHWH's mouth has spoken" turns out to be secondary, because the order to build a "highway of YHWH" through the desert was originally spoken by the prophetic group (DtIE¹), and later — in the sight of DtIE² — by a heavenly figure (cf. 40:3aα), but not by God himself. All the more, the formula is not integrated in the poetic structure of the text. Since it also appears in Isa 1:20, its major function seems to be in aligning the beginning of Deutero- with that of Proto-Isaiah. What is said in both parts of the book comes from the very voice of YHWH. In Trito-Isaiah, the formula occurs a third time (58:14), but not in such a prominent position. At any rate, the promises of the book's third part are also provided with the same divine sanction as the first two.

At the end of Isa 48 an isolated statement is made in v. 22: "There is no peace — says YHWH — for the wicked," which has no connection to the

56. Thus, in Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 121 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985), p. 76.

57. Cf. Steck, *Heimkehr*, pp. 65-80.

58. See the discussion in Werlitz, *Redaktion*, pp. 332-41, and the considerations of Berges, *Buch*, pp. 533-46, 551.

following second servant song (49:1-6) and only a weak linguistic link with the preceding context in 48:18 ("peace"). While the admonition speech calls all Israel to repentance (48:17-19), v. 22 presupposes a manifest split into a "pious" and a "wicked" faction. Thus, the verse is clearly an addition to its context. Nearly the same statement about the wicked is made in Isa 57:21, where it is much better integrated into its context (57:20-21; cf. the contrasting frame with 57:1-2). There, it functions to restrict the cited promise of Trito-Isaiah (57:14-19) to the pious. Thus, the Great Isaianic editor clearly borrowed the statement from 57:21. When he inserted it in 48:22, just before the pro-phetic group had returned from Babylon to Jerusalem (48:20-21) and passed the good news to Zion (49:14-26), he intended to exclude the wicked *(rešā'îm)* from all the salvific promises to Jerusalem and the Judean population given in Deutero-Isaiah (49–55). They would not be included into the eternal "covenant of peace" (54:10) that YHWH would establish with Jerusalem in the future. In contrast to the scholastic redactor, the Great Isaianic book editor presupposed a manifest split of the Judean society, which can likewise be noticed in the latest layers of Trito-Isaiah (Isa 57; 65–66). Thus, he erected a barrier in the "book of consolation," which should hinder the arrogant, anti-social, and god-less people from getting an easy access to its promises.

In 54:17b there is a concluding statement which defines all the promises for Zion given in that chapter as the heritage of the "servants of YHWH." Since such "servants" are never mentioned before, the statement is clearly secondary to its context. With the same terminology ("my servants") the pious faction is named at the end of Trito-Isaiah (65:8-9, 13-15; 66:14).[59] Thus, the restriction comes from a similar milieu as 48:22 and probably also belongs to the DtIG. Both statements, 48:22 and 54:17b, constitute brackets around the promises for Zion and its people, which intended to protect the treasure of the "book of consolation" in between from any misuse by the wicked faction.

Among the promises for Zion, there are some extensions, which can prob-ably be ascribed to DtIG. The complaint of the people in 51:9-10 that YHWH has forgotten his mighty deeds of the days of chaos and the time of the exodus is amplified by a description of the joyful wanderings of the released to Zion in 51:11. The complaint does not only burst the shape of the *Gattung*, but also has a parallel in Isa 35:10. Since the verse is firmly anchored in the salvific descrip-tion of 35:1-10, where it constitutes its final climax, it is highly probable that the verse was taken from there and inserted in 51:11. According to Steck, Isa 35, which reminds one of Isa 40 in many aspects (cf. 35:2b-4 with 40:5, 9-10), was

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59. Cf. the similar assessment of Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, pp. 74, 366.

created for the purpose of connecting the books of Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah.[60]
Thus, the primary function of 51:11 would be to fasten this redactional bridge
by stretching a rope back to chapter 35. In that case, we would have to do with
a basic editorial work of the DtIG. There are, however, some doubts about such
an appraisal. According to my observations the literary connection between
Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah was rather established already by DtIE².[61] Moreover,
Joseph Blenkinsopp has rightly pointed out that Isa 35 presupposes not only
Deutero- but also Trito-Isaiah (cf. 35:1-2a with 60:13, 61:10; 65:18-19; 66:10).[62]
According to him, chapters 34–35 — the final judgment of the nations, exem-
plified by the destruction of Edom, and the final salvation of Zion including a
miraculous transformation of nature (35:2, 7-9) — should rather be regarded
as an eschatological interpretation of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah's prophecies,
which were intended to conclude the first part of the Isaiah book (cf. the refer-
ences of 34:8, 17 back to 13:9, 17). Thus, the effort of the Great Isaianic redactor
was of a smaller scale: he already presupposed the literary connections between
the three parts of the book including the eschatological finale of the first part
(34–35), but he wanted to align the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah with the es-
chatological message already addressed in Isa 35. Since 51:10 speaks of the "re-
leased" (gᵉ'ûlîm), who have passed through the chaos waters, and 35:9 also
mentions the "released" (gᵉ'ûlîm) on their wonderful way back to Zion, the
redactor saw an appropriate place here to include a reminder of the eschato-
logical events described by Isa 35 in the Deutero-Isaianic context of Isa 51. By
this, he intended to synchronize the process of salvation between the first and
second part of the book of Isaiah. Zion's preparations for the arrival of salvation
dealt with in chapters 51–52 should be understood by the reader as that period
when the eschatological events of chapter 35 would take place.

It is probable also that 51:3, sometimes regarded as a displaced fragment
of an "eschatological hymn,"[63] belongs to the same reworking of the chapter,
because it includes the identical expression "joy and gladness" (śāśôn wᵉśimḥâ),
found in both 35:10 and 51:11.[64] Through this insertion the Great Isaianic re-
dactor intended to focus the scope of the entire chapter on Zion; in addition,
he described the wonderful transformation of the city into the garden of Eden
in accord with the visions of Isa 35.

Finally, the surprising address to a prophetic figure in 51:16 may be also

60. See Steck, *Heimkehr,* pp. 13-64.
61. See above p. 29.
62. See Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55,* pp. 44-46.
63. See for example Westermann, *Jesaja,* p. 192.
64. Apart from these passages the expression only occurs in Isa 22:13 and Ps 51:10(8).

ascribed to the DtIG. The verse is clearly an insertion, after the divine answer to the lament (51:12-15a) has ended with a concluding hymnic formula in 51:15b (DtIE²).⁶⁵ If one takes the verse as it is transmitted in the Masoretic text the prophet is commissioned to "plant" *(nāṭaʿ)* heaven and to ground earth through the divine word, before he should assure Zion of God's solidarity with its people. The motives are partly taken up from the context (cf. 51:13; 49:2); the commission also reminds one of Jer 1:9-10.⁶⁶ While the prophet Jeremiah was ordered to pull out and plant the nations through his divine message, the Isaianic prophet would be able to plant a new heaven through his divine word. Steck has proposed to interpret Isa 51:16 in such an eschatological horizon.⁶⁷ Then, it would refer to the creation of a new heaven and a new earth announced in 65:16b-23, which also aims at a wonderful transformation of Jerusalem and the circumstances of its inhabitants. If such an interpretation is accepted, the verse will fit perfectly the concept of the Great Isaianic redactor. In the same Deutero-Isaianic chapter, where he referred back to Proto-Isaiah, he also pointed forward to Trito-Isaiah. By doing so, he united the three parts of the book under the same eschatological perspective. According to him, at that moment (Isa 51), when the wonderful salvation of Zion described in Isa 35 is prepared, the Isaianic prophet of the book is commissioned to start the creation of the new world according to Isa 65.⁶⁸ Since DtIG lacks historical allusions, it is difficult to date. Its fully developed eschatological concept, however, points to the end of the fifth or to the fourth century B.C.E.

3.8 Apocalyptic Additions

Within Isa 40–55 there are two additions, which can be labeled as "apocalyptic," since they describe a cosmological dissolution of heaven and earth (Isa

65. The insertion probably caused the textual problem that resulted in the addressee of the divine speech varying between the female (Zion) and male (prophet) gender.

66. In the phrase "I put my words in your mouth" only the verb differs (*śîm* instead of *nātan*). The verb *śîm* is used also in Exod 4:15; Num 23:5; and Isa 59:21. Whether the last verse, which indicates a succession of the prophetic office, also belongs to DtIG, is not clear, because it is formulated in prose.

67. See Steck, *Zion*, pp. 70-72.

68. Steck, *Heimkehr*, p. 80; Steck, *Zion,* pp. 124-25, also ascribed the prose extension, Isa 52:4-6, to the DtIG. The passage, however, has more interest in historical connections than in an eschatological unification of the book. Thus, the affiliation is rather improbable. Whether one has to distinguish different Great Isaianic redactions needs further research.

50:3; 51:6). They may have to do with the insertion of Isa 24–27 in the book of Isaiah. Especially 51:6 could perhaps be assigned to the DtIG described above. But since a similar apocalyptic perspective seems to be an expansion even in 34:4, the apocalyptic additions may be later.[69]

4. Conclusion

The redaction historical hypothesis elaborated above covers about 98 percent of the text of Isa 40–55 with an explanation of its formation. This is not a bad portion. Many redaction-critical proposals in our research field suffer from the fact that they are not tidied up for the entire text unit. It is not necessary to emphasize that my results are hypothetical to one degree or another. They can only be regarded as preliminary, as long as they are not controlled, revised and expanded by similar redactional and compositional critical studies of Proto- and Trito-Isaiah. Joseph Blenkinsopp would be one of the few scholars in the world who would be able to carry out such a tremendous task, since he has thoroughly studied all three parts of Isaiah. But I am afraid he would not like to do so, even in his younger years. I wish him more healthy years of study and hope that he may acknowledge that my attempts at reconstructing the formation of the book of Deutero-Isaiah are not totally superfluous, but can lead to a better understanding of some difficult passages.

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69. A few additions to the book can be characterized as glosses: Isa 40:7a, 7b, 14bα; 43:28a; 49:21bα$_1$.