Edinburgh Research Explorer

"Biblicist Additions" or the Emergence of Scripture in the Growth of the Prophets

Citation for published version:
Klein, A 2018, "Biblicist Additions" or the Emergence of Scripture in the Growth of the Prophets. in S Olyan & J Wright (eds), Supplementation and the Study of the Hebrew Bible. Brown Judaic Studies, vol. 361, Society of Biblical Literature, Providence, RI, pp. 125-145.

Link:
Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version:
Peer reviewed version

Published In:
Supplementation and the Study of the Hebrew Bible

ANJA KLEIN, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

"Biblicist Additions" or the Emergence of Scripture in the Growth of the Prophets

1. Walther Zimmerli and the Updating of "Biblical" Tradition

In his major 1969 commentary on the book of Ezekiel (English translation 1979), Walther Zimmerli was the first to describe the phenomenon of literary supplementation and its significance for the literary growth of the Prophets. In his work, he coined the term *Fortschreibung* (literary continuation) to describe the successive elaboration of oracles and the reworking of existing units in light of subsequent events.[1] He also referred to so-called "'biblicist' additions" in these processes of "updating of traditions"[2], when texts from other later biblical books influenced the literary continuation of prophetic oracles in Ezekiel. The literary phenomenon that Zimmerli described as "biblicist additions" has been labelled by later scholars as "biblical interpretation" (Michael Fishbane)[3] and "innerbiblical exegesis/*Schriftauslegung*" respectively (Reinhard G. Kratz; Konrad Schmid; Jan Christian Gertz)[4], acknowledging the fact that biblical interpretation starts within the development of the biblical scriptures themselves. In particular, Odil Hannes Steck described the redaction history of the prophetic books in terms of a history of biblical interpretation.[5]

---

[1] Walther Zimmerli, *Ezechiel: 1. Teilband: Ezechiel 1–24*, BK XIII/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 106*–7* (cf. the translation: Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24,* Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 69).

[2] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 69, 70.

[3] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

[4] Reinhard G. Kratz, "Innerbiblische Exegese und Redaktionsgeschichte im Lichte empirischer Evidenz," in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels,* FAT 42, by Reinhard G. Kratz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006 [2004]), 126–56; Konrad Schmid, "Innerbiblische Schriftauslegung: Aspekte der Forschungsgeschichte," in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift,* BZAW 300, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz et al. (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2000), 1–22; see further Konrad Schmid, *Schriftgelehrte Traditionsliteratur: Fallstudien zur innerbiblischen Schriftauslegung im Alten Testament*, FAT 77 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), and Jan C. Gertz, "Schriftauslegung in alttestamentlicher Perspektive," in *Schriftauslegung*, Themen der Theologie 8, ed. Friederike Nüssel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 9–41.

[5] Odil Hannes Steck, *Die Prophetenbücher und ihr theologisches Zeugnis: Wege der Nachfrage und Fährten zur Antwort* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996); Odil Hannes Steck, *Gott in der Zeit entdecken: Die Prophetenbücher des Alten Testaments als Vorbild für Theologie und Kirche*, BThS 42 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001).

In this contribution, I want to draw on existing hermeneutical and exegetical studies and analyze the phenomenon of innerbiblical exegesis, focusing on three examples from the Major Prophets. I will demonstrate that there is a shift in the way innerbiblical exegesis contributes to the literary growth of the prophetic books: in the early stages of literary development, prophetic images and topics are taken up and reinterpreted; as the process continues, literary references increase, while in late literary layers, exegesis comes close to quotations of earlier prophecies.[6] This phenomenon bears witness to a growing interest to distinguish between exegesis and its "innerbiblical" *Vorlage*, indicating an understanding of scripture that was increasingly perceived as authoritative.[7]

For the purpose of discussion, I have chosen three examples from the Major Prophets that demonstrate in different ways how the dynamic exegetical process of literary supplementation is indicative of an emerging idea of scripture. The first is Ezek 38–39, the chapters about Gog from Magog, which are a classic example of Zimmerli's phenomenon of *Fortschreibung*. Here, the depiction of the enigmatic Gog draws on foe imagery of other oracles first, before the advent of the enemy is formally identified with earlier prophecies (38:17). In the book of Isaiah, however, I want to take a conceptual approach, tracing the idea of salvation in terms of a new exodus through the literary development of the book. Again, while the earliest prophecies engage with exodus metaphors, the latest supplementation in Isa 11:16 marks the events of new salvation as an explicit repetition of the first biblical exodus from Egypt. Finally, in Jeremiah, the focus is on the prophecy of the limitation of the exile to seventy years that undergoes an exegesis in several books, before the author of Dan 9:2 refers back by name to the scriptural prophecy of Jeremiah. These three examples will shed light on the various forms of literary supplementation in the Prophets and will demonstrate the significance of this phenomenon for the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

2. Literary Supplementation in the Three Major Prophets

The Invasion of Gog from Magog in Ezek 39–39

During the last two decades of research on the Book of Ezekiel, there has been renewed interest in the Gog chapters, Ezek 38–39.[8] This is due especially to the recognition of the Greek Papyrus 967 (Pap 967) that attests to

---

[6] I have already described this phenomenon for the book of Ezekiel (Anja Klein, "Prophecy Continued: Reflections on Innerbiblical Exegesis in the Book of Ezekiel," *VT* 60 [2010]: 571–82).

[7] Klein, "Prophecy Continued," 581.

[8] Since 2001, we have seen the publication of four monographs dealing with the Gog chapters: Sverre Bøe, *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-Text for Revelation 19:17–21 and 20:7–10*, WUNT II 135 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Paul E. Fitzpatrick, *The*

a differing placement of the chapters Ezek 38–39 in the third part of the book—sparking new discussion about how these chapters emerged. Among the scholars that assume a history of literary growth, there is increasing consensus that Pap 967 represents an earlier edition of the book preceding the Proto-Masoretic Text.[9] On this understanding, the Gog materials once followed directly on the oracle about the sanctification of God's holy name in 36:16–23abα and have to be understood as its continuation.[10] Yet opinions differ in reference to whether these chapters originated outside the book and were inserted as a whole (William A. Tooman; Christoph Rösel; Michael Konkel),[11] or if they developed from a literary core within the book (Anja Klein; Bernd Biberger)[12]. There is further debate surrounding whether the Gog materials were inserted into a previous literary context 36:16–23abα; 39:23–29*, or if the prophetic word in 39:23–29 belongs to the Gog chapters themselves.[13] For the purpose of this paper, however, it suffices to say that

---

Disarmament of God: Ezekiel 38–39 in Its Mythic Context, CBQMS 37 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2004); William A. Tooman, *Gog of Magog: Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39*, FAT II 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Christoph Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg über Gog aus Magog: Ez 38–39 im Masoretischen Text und in der Septuaginta*, WMANT 132 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2012). See also the forthcoming overview by Michael Konkel, "Ezek. 38–39 in Current Research: Questions and Perspectives," in *Ezekiel: Current Debates and Future Directions*, FAT, ed. William A. Tooman and Penelope Barter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming 2017), my own analysis of Ezek 38–39 in Anja Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39*, BZAW 381 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 111–67, and Bernd Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil innerhalb von Geschichte und Gegenwart: Zukunftskonzeptionen in Ez 38–39, Joel 1–4 und Sach 12–14*, BBB 161 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2010).

[9] Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 517–33; Peter Schwagmeier, "Untersuchungen zu Textgeschichte und Entstehung des Eze–chielbuches in masoretischer und griechischer Überlieferung" (PhD diss., University of Zürich, 2004); Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Der Prophet Hesekiel (Ezechiel): Kapitel 20–48*, ATD 22/2, with a contribution by Thilo A. Rudnig (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), esp. 524–26; Ingrid E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions*, VT.S 150 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[10] Klein, Schriftauslegung, 71–72. On the later addition of verse 36:23abα see Klein, Schriftauslegung, 143, who refers back to the studies by Christoph Levin, *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt*, FRLANT 137 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985) and Stefan Ohnesorge, *Jahwe gestaltet sein Volk neu: Zur Sicht der Zukunft Israels nach Ez 11,14–21; 20,1–44; 36,16–38; 37,1–14.15–28*, fzb 64 (Würzburg: Echter, 1991), 288–89.

[11] See Tooman, *Gog*, 72–84; Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 349–65; similarly Konkel, "Ezek. 38–39," 1–8.

[12] See Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 111–40; Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 93–112.

[13] An original connection between Ezek 36:16–23abα* and 39:23–29* has been advocated first by Pohlmann, *Prophet*, 485–87, 514–18; see also Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 140–69. Differently, Tooman, *Gog*, 77–83, 188–95; Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 87–88, 102–3,

the Gog materials have been inserted following directly onto the oracle in 36:16–23abα*. This text addresses the problem that exile and diaspora of the people of Israel had defiled the holy name of Yhwh, because their dispersion was interpreted by the nations as proof of Yhwh's lack of power (36:20). As a consequence, Yhwh announces that he will take action for the sake of his holy name (36:22). Against this literary background, the insertion of the Gog materials suggests that the shattering of Gog provides a—secondary—account about how Yhwh will prove his sovereignty towards the foreign nations.[14]

Let us now look at the Gog materials themselves to determine how the texts draw on other "biblical" texts. It is often noted that the two chapters are dominated by the bipartite division into chapters 38 and 39, both of which start from a prophecy against the enigmatic Gog announcing his downfall (38:1–9; 39:1–5). I myself find it difficult to ignore the double nature of this prophecy, which is usually indicative of literary supplementation.[15] Furthermore, the clustering of speech formulas in Ezek 38–39, several changes of addressees, and a number of shifts in content point to a history of literary growth.[16] On this assumption, a core can only be reconstructed with one of the prophetic words directed at Gog, either 38:1–9 or 39:1–5, as all the other units in the chapters prove to be dependent on these two oracles.[17] Between the two, the oracle in 39:1–5 turns out to be the shorter and more coherent version of Gog's defeat that—contrary to 38:1–9—provides in the first place information about the outcome of Gog's campaign. It can thus be assumed that the oracle in 39:1–5 forms the literary

---

and Konkel, "Ezek. 38–39," 3–4, have recently argued against this connection and consider 39:23–29* to be part of the Gog materials.

[14] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 125–27, 370; see further Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 95–98; 104–6; 125–26, who, however sees the basic oracle of the Gog chapters in 39:1–5, 7 as an *original* continuation of Ezek 36:26–23abα, classifying 39:23–29 as a later supplementation of the Gog chapters (Biberger, ibid., 102–3).

[15] See, however, Tooman, *Gog*, 115, who attests the Gog chapters a character "unlike any other text within the HB. *It is a pastiche, an extreme example of a conflate text*."

[16] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 115. In general, scholarship since Zimmerli has tended to assume a history of literary growth (see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*, Hermeneia [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 296–302, see further Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches*, fzb 20 [Würzburg: Echter, 1977], 402–509; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, WBC 29 [Dallas: World Books, 1990], 202–4; Pohlmann, *Prophet*, 509–11, and Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 112–27). Yet recently, there has been an increasing number of studies suggesting literary unity or working from this assumption, see Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 349–51; Tooman, *Gog*, 114–16, and Konkel, "Ezek. 38–39," 8.

[17] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 119. Similarly, Konkel, "Ezek. 38–39," 8, in his review of scholarship limits the options to Ezek 39:1–5 (and 39:25–29).

core of the Gog chapters, in which Yhwh asks the prophet to announce judgment against Gog, who shall fall on the mountains of Israel (39:4: על־הרי ישראל תפול אתה).[18] It is especially this location—characteristic of the salvation prophecies in the book of Ezekiel (cf. 6:3, 13; 19:9; 33:28; 34:13–14; 35:12; 36:1, 4, 8; 37:22; 38:8; 39:2, 4, 17)—which is argument for the origin of the Gog materials within the book.[19] In their literary beginnings, the Gog prophecies represent the literary continuation of the oracle in 36:16–23abα, actualising the discussion about how Yhwh can sanctify his name in the eyes of the foreign nations.

In the past, attempts to identify Gog with a historic enemy of Israel have proved to be rather fruitless.[20] When it comes to the textual evidence, the Hebrew name Gog (גּוֹג) occurs only in Ezek 38–39 in the Masoretic Text, yet there are a number of parallels in the Septuagint, among which Num 24:7 and Amos 7:1 are possible origins.[21] Num 24:7 is a prophecy from the Balaam cycle, which in its Masoretic version announces the coming of a king, who shall be higher than Agag (וירם מֵאֲגַג מלכו). Yet a great number of the versions testify instead to the exaltation of the kingdom of Gog (cf. LXX: ὑψωθήσεται ἢ Γωγ βασιλεία).[22] It has been suggested that the author of the Gog materials "derived his villain from the Balaam Oracles".[23] However, assessing the textual evidence, the Masoretic Text reading represents the *lectio difficilior*, while the variant of the versions can be understood as a secondary simplification of the text—identifying the exemplary foe in Num 24:7 with the by then

---

[18] On the literary analysis see Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 121. Most exegetes, who assume literary growth, suggest that some part of Ezek 39* represents the original core, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 298–99 (38:1–9*; 39:1–5, 17–20); Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 431–44, 462–67 (38:1–3a; 39:1b–5), and Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 95–98 (39:1–5, 7).

[19] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 125–27, 329–36, 370. Differently, Tooman, *Gog*, 85–116, notes the dependence on vocabulary from Ezekiel as a characteristic of the Gog chapters as a whole, which for him is no argument against an origin outside the book.

[20] On this discussion see Margaret S. Odell, "'Are You He of Whom I Spoke by My Servants the Prophets?': Ezekiel 38–39 and the Problem of History in the Neobabylonian Context" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1988), esp. 1–42.

[21] See Bøe, *Gog*, 50–75, and Tooman, *Gog*, 139–43, both of whom discuss the Septuagint parallels in detail.

[22] On this reading see the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, Theodotian, and the Vetus Latina.

[23] Tooman, *Gog*, 142. Previously, the identification of Gog in Ezek 38–39 with the Balaam prophecy has been argued for by Gillis Gerleman, "Hesekielbokens Gog," *SEA* 12 (1947): 148–62, 161; Ernst Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus: Drei Studien* (Leipzig: Deichert, 1912), 154; see further George Buchanan Gray, *Numbers*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1903), 366, who considers the reading if "the poem be regarded as a late Messianic composition, in which case the allusion to Gog would be suitable enough".

well-known enemy from the book of Ezekiel.[24] The second significant reference is the Greek text of Amos 7:1 that attests to an invasion in the form of a locust plague under the leadership of a locust king named Gog (βροῦχος εἷς Γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς). Yet again, this variant can be explained easily as a later clarification of the difficult Masoretic Text that attests to the reading "mowing" (גִּזֵּי), which is difficult to interpret.[25] Finally, any postulated dependency of the Masoretic version of Ezek 38–39 on the Greek translation of either Num 24:7 and/or Amos 7:1 works only under the assumption that we deal with a late unified composition in Ezek 38–39, which does not fit our textual analysis. In summary, to my mind the name of the enemy in the Gog oracles cannot be explained with reference to the Greek text in Num 24:7 and/or Amos 7:1, but these oracles are clearly part of the reception history of Ezek 38–39.[26]

Even if the origin of his name cannot be determined, the portrayal of the enigmatic enemy in Ezek 38–39 provides some evidence to suggest his identity. First, he is attributed characteristics from the nations in the oracles against foreign nations in Ezek 25–32.[27] The prediction that Gog shall fall on the open fields (39:5: על־פני השדה תפול) has one parallel only in the threat against the Pharaoh of Egypt (29:5: על־פני השדה תפול), which is strong evidence to suggest a literary dependency here. Furthermore, both enemies are told that their weapons will be dropped from their hands: the sword in the case of Pharaoh (30:22: והפלתי את־החרב מידו) and the arrows with regard to Gog (39:3: וחציך מיד ימינך אפיל). Finally, Gog shares the inglorious fate with Pharaoh that both are left to be devoured by the wild animals, even though the animal species differ slightly in the two accounts (29:5: לחית הארץ ולעוף השמים נתתיך לאכלה; 39:4: לעיט צפור כל־כנף וחית השדה נתתיך לאכלה).[28]

---

[24] The major Numbers commentaries retain the reading of the MT (מֵאֲגָג); see Martin Noth, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri*, ATD 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1966), 150; Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, WBC 5 (Waco: Word Books, 1984), 252; Ludwig Schmidt, *Das vierte Buch Mose: Numeri 10,11–36,16*, ATD 7/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2004), 121; see, however, FN 23 for exceptions.

[25] On the preference for the MT see Hans W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheton 2: Joel und Amos*, BK XIV/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 337; the MT reading further underlies the translations by Francis I. Andersen and David N. Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AncB 24A (New York et al.: Doubleday, 1989), 739, and Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 226.

[26] On this assumption see already Bøe, *Gog*, 311 ("To find relevance for the text [Num 24:7] Gog was a figure ready at hand …"), and similarly Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 220, 311, who explains the LXX readings as part of the reception history ("Wirkungsgeschichte") of Ezek 38–39.

[27] On these parallels see Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 128–29; Tooman, *Gog*, 108–9.

[28] Similarly, Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 250, observes in Ezek 39:4 a "relation to the Egypt-words" ("in V 4 erkennbare Beziehung zu den Ägypten-Worten").

Second, Gog in the original oracle Ezek 39:1–5 shares some characteristics with an enemy threatening Israel from the north that appears both in the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah. As to Jeremiah, the connections between Gog and the foe from the north have long been recognised.[29] Here, the prophecy in Ezek 39:5 comes close to Jer 6:22–23, since in both texts a foe is announced that advances (Ezek 39:2: והבאותך / Jer 6:22: בא) from the north (Ezek 39:2: מירכתי צפון / Jer 6:23: מארץ צפון), armed with the bow (Ezek 39:3: קשתך / Jer 6:23: קשת).[30] However, a decisive difference can be observed: while in Jer 6:23, the threat is directed at the daughter Zion, the events in Ezek 39:2 take place on the mountains of Israel. A closer match with the location in Ezekiel can be found in Isa 14:4b–21, a taunt song that according to the superscription refers to the king of Babylon (14:4a: על־מלך בבל). The song itself describes the pending fall of an unnamed enemy, who planned to elevate himself by taking his seat on the mountain of assembly in the north (14:13: בהר־מועד בירכתי צפון).[31] It can be assumed that the song was previously connected with the threat of Assyria, the downfall of which is prophesied in the literary context in Isa 14:25, locating the downfall of Assyria on Yhwh's mountains (על־הרי אבוסנו). Assessing these literary links, it becomes obvious that Gog in Ezek 38–39 is from his beginnings designed as a persona that assembles characteristics from several other prophetic texts, presented as a mysterious enemy at the end of times.[32]

On the subsequent literary stages of the development in Ezek 38–39, the existing connections both to the oracles against foreign nations in the book

---

[29] See e.g. Gustav Hölscher, *Hesekiel: Der Dichter und das Buch: Eine literarkritische Untersuchung*, BZAW 39 (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1924), 180–83; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 299–300; Hanns-Martin Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker: Zur Vorgeschichte von Sach 12,1–8 und 14,1–5*, WMANT 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 125–30; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 204; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 132–40. While Tooman, *Gog*, 175–76, acknowledges the links to Jeremiah, he finds the links to Isaiah 14 stronger, see in the following.

[30] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 134. Tooman, *Gog*, 175–76, has good arguments to prefer the links to Isaiah above those to Jeremiah (see FN 29), but his assessment first of all proceeds from the assumption of literary unity in Ezek 38–39, and, secondly, his judgment that the links via קשת and בוא are "too common to be used as evidence" (176), does not register that Jer 6:22–23 and Ezek 39:1–5 are the only two texts in the Hebrew Bible, in which the three words בוא, קשת and צפון appear together within two verses.

[31] Even though the parallel in Isa 14:13—contrary to Jer 6:22—represents an exact match with Ezek 39:2 (see 38:6, 15), Isa 14:13 does not explicitly give the direction, from which the threat advances against Israel, but specifies the place, where the enemy desires to dwell (בירכתי צפון). In this respect, Ezek 39:2 seems to be closer to the Jeremiah reference, which is neglected by Tooman, *Gog*, 176, who dismisses the locution מארץ צפון in Jer 6:22 as "inexact parallel", giving preference to Isa 14:13 (and the oracle 14:4b–21 as a whole) as *Vorlage* (see also FN 29 and 30).

[32] See Tooman, *Gog*, 140: "A character designed by assimilating information from several texts about a mysterious eschatological enemy of Israel."

itself, and to the foe oracles in Jeremiah and Isaiah are strengthened further. First, the oracle in 38:1–9 is inserted preceding the prophetic announcement in 39:1–5. With the word reception formula in 38:1, the supplemented Gog prophecy is now shaped as an independent oracle and marked off from its context.[33] The supplementation in 38:1–9 repeats the pending threat by Gog describing it now on a larger scale by providing a range of information about the enemy and his army. As to the links with the oracles against the foreign nations, the description of the foe in Ezek 38:1–9 recalls the portrayal of the Assyrians and Babylonians in Ezek 25–32.[34] Regarding the foe from the north, the oracle in 38:1–9 confirms the origin of the foe from the far north (38:6: ירכתי צפון).

There is some evidence to suggest that the further literary development took place in parallel steps, so that the basic oracles in Ezek 39 and 39 share a timeline of supplementation.[35] In this process, the two continuations in Ezek 38:17 and 39:8 are of special interest as they are evidence for a changed understanding of scripture. First, the supplementation in 39:8 is clearly recognizable as a single verse continuation, since it is separated from its context by the recognition formula in the preceding verse 39:7 and the divine asseveration formula at its own end.[36] The short prophecy supplements the notion that the events prophesied will surely arrive and identifies them with the day, of which Yhwh has spoken earlier (39:8: הנה באה ונהיתה נאם אדני יהוה הוא היום אשר דברתי). The announcement of coming events in the first part is a common topic in the Prophets, and the wording of Ezek 38:9 has an exact parallel in Ezek 21:12,[37] where the phrase refers to the coming judgment. Yet the prophecy in 38:9 stands out as it further identifies the coming events with the fulfilment of an earlier prophecy about a specific day, which recalls the idea of the day of Yhwh.[38] Even though it remains unclear if 38:9 refers to a specific text, the back-reference attests to an understanding that the Gog prophecies actualize a preceding announcement.

---

[33] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 122–23.

[34] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 129, and Tooman, *Gog of Magog*, 102–4. In this supplementation, it is especially the description of the enemies as being "perfectly clothed" (לבשי מכלול) that occurs in Ezek 23:12 and 38:4 only and links the Gog oracles to the prophecies in Ezek 25–32.

[35] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 123–27.

[36] See Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 118, who further refers to the shift in content: While the previous context in 38:6–7 is concerned with the holiness of the divine name, the following oracle 39:9–10 deals with the problem, how to dispose of the enemy's remains. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen*, 423–24, similarly notes the closing formula in 39:8, but he classifies the verse as part of an oracle in 39:8–10.

[37] Tooman, *Gog*, 265; for parallels in the Prophets announcing the coming of the day he refers to Isa 13:9; 39:6; Jer 7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31, 38; 33:14; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47, 52; Ezek 7:10; Amos 4:2; 8:11; 9:13; Zech 14:1; Mal 3:19.

[38] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 138, and Tooman, *Gog*, 265.

Secondly, this understanding is even more pronounced in the continuation 38:17, where Yhwh addresses Gog and explicitly relates his invasion to former prophecies: "You are[39] the one, of whom I spoke in former days by my servants, the prophets of Israel (אתה־הוא אשר־דברתי בימים קדמונים ביד עבדי נביאי ישראל)". The prophecy is clearly marked off from its preceding context by the message reception formula at its beginning, while the following oracle 38:18–23 is delineated as something new by the elaborate back reference at the beginning of 38:18.[40] Furthermore, the Masoretes understood this verse as being disconnected from its context, as they bracketed it with *setumôt*.[41] The direct address of the invader in 38:17 stands out from the rest of the oracles, which are concerned with interaction between Yhwh and the prophet. Evidently, the significance of this verse hinges on the understanding of the dating "in former days" (בימים קדמונים) and the identification of the group "my servants, the prophets of Israel" (עבדי נביאי ישראל). As to the date, the formulation does not have an exact parallel in the Hebrew Bible, but in relation to time, the adjective קדמני occurs three more times (1 Sam 24:14; Isa 43:18; Mal 3:4). In all these cases, the term refers to a time period "that is long past from the point of the speaker".[42] In Ezek 37:18, this time period is further specified as the time of Yhwh's servants, the prophets of Israel (עבדי נביאי ישראל), which combines the notion of the prophets as the servants of Yhwh with a specific Israel-reference that is unique in the book.[43] Idiom and concept of the prophets as servants of Yhwh occur especially in the deuteronomistic literature and with variations in the prophetic books.[44] An

---

[39] The translation follows the reading of the versions (LXX: σὺ εἶ), while the Masoretic Text attests to an additional *he interrogativum* at the beginning (האתה־הוא), which, however, similarly aims at a positive identification (see Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 216; also Tooman, *Gog*, 262). The MT reading could be explained by a dittographic repetition of the preceding he (יהוה האתה־הוא), as proposed by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 288; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 218; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 138. Yet the LXX reading differs further in adding the address by name (τῷ Γωγ) in the speech introduction, so that the LXX seems to attest in general to a variant reading that establishes a more obvious connection between Gog and former prophecies; see on this discussion Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 74–76; 216–17, who concludes: "Inhaltlich scheint LXX von einer offensichtlicheren Verbindung zwischen Gog und den Worten der Propheten auszugehen, während MT durch die Frageform offener formuliert ist." (Rösel, ibid., 74–75).

[40] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 116–17; Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 216.

[41] See also Tooman, *Gog*, 136, 262.

[42] Tooman, Gog, 263. Similarly, Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 217, points to the time distance between the former days and the Gog events: "Die in 38,17 anschließend genannten 'früheren Tage' stehen im Gegensatz zum 'Ende der Tage' in V 16, in denen das Gog-Geschehen stattfinden wird."

[43] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 312.

[44] See Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998), 453; Tooman, *Gog*, 264.

overview of these occurrences shows that the designation of the prophets in terms of עבד in the narrative books describes the prophets of Israel as mouth-pieces of Yhwh, who pass on his message dutifully and act on his command. Yet especially in Jeremiah, it is a recurring motif that the people do not listen to Yhwh's servants, the prophets.[45] The use of the term in Ezek 38:17 is closer to the occurrences in the narrative books, as it emphasizes the notion that a previous prophecy has been fulfilled.[46] Considering the innerbiblical links in the Gog materials, it seems likely that the insertion of Ezek 38:17 has to be understood as a later innerbiblical interpretation that comes close to a quotation by relating the prophecies about Gog to earlier prophetic *texts*, pointing to the books of Jeremiah and Isaiah.[47] This later insertion thus attests to an under-standing of scripture as authoritative, which can be quoted and commented on.[48] In the actualization of earlier prophecies from Jeremiah and Isaiah, the invading threat from the north is merged with foe imagery in the Book of Eze-kiel and presented as the advance of an eschatological enemy, who, however, will be shattered by Yhwh on the mountains of Israel.

The New Exodus in Isaiah

While the analysis of the Gog materials has shown how the understanding of scripture has emerged during the literary continuation of a core oracle, my second example in the Book of Isaiah attests to the productive develop-ment of a theological motif throughout the book. It is widely accepted that the idea of a new or second exodus is a core part of the prophetic message in the Book of Isaiah, especially in its second part Isa 40–55(66).[49] These

---

[45] See 2 Kgs 9:7; 17:13, 23; 21:10; 24:2; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Am 3:7; Ezra 9:11; Zech 1:6; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Dan 9:6, 10.

[46] Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 218.

[47] On the actualization of former prophecies in Ezek 38:17 see already Hölscher, *Hesekiel*, 182–83; further Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 312; Rösel, *JHWHs Sieg*, 221, and Biberger, *Endgültiges Heil*, 61; the literary character of the interpretation is emphasized by Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 514; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 206; Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 138; Too-man, *Gog*, 26. Even though Block, *Book of Ezekiel*, 453–56, and Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 215, take note of the referential character of Ezek 38:17, they argue for a different understanding: "This verse is not about unfulfilled prophecy, but about earlier prophecies illegitimately appropriated." (Joyce, ibid, 215, with reference to Block).

[48] Klein, *Schriftauslegung*, 138.

[49] The first scholar to observe this was Alfred Zillessen, "Der alte und der neue Exodus: Eine Studie zur israelitischen Prophetie, speziell zu Jesaja 40ff," *ARW* 6 (1903): 289–304, 290. Further studies on the topic include Walther Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden großen Exilspropheten,"in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament*, ThB 19, by Walther Zimmerli (München: Chr. Kaiser Ver-lag, 1963), 192–204; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Scope and Depth of the Exodus Tradition in Deutero-Isaiah 40–55," *Conc(D)* 2 (1966): 22–26; Dieter Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deutero-jesaja: Berührungen in der Heilserwartung der beiden großen Heilspropheten*, BZAW 121 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971), 12–26; Michael Fishbane, "The 'Exodus' Motif /

chapters have been analyzed thoroughly elsewhere[50] and, for the present pur-
pose, I want to focus on how the manner and technique of interpretation
changes through the literary development of the book.

The history of the new or second exodus in the book of Isaiah begins with
the salvation oracle in 43:16–21. This prophecy is usually counted among
the oldest oracles of the book,[51] even though its idea of time differs from the
time conception in the other oracles of the original collection, which sug-
gests a slightly later dating.[52] In its first part 43:16–17, the oracle comprises
an extended messenger formula praising Yhwh as the one who sets a way in
the sea and a path in mighty waters (43:16: הנותן בים דרך ובמים עזים נתיבה).
He is praised further for bringing out chariot and horse, which, however,
subsequently meet with a rather bitter end, lying quenched and extinguished
(43:17: המוציא רכב־וסוס חיל ועזוז יחדו ישכבו בל־יקומו דעכו כפשתה כבו). The
second part in 43:18–21 starts with two negative exhortations, in which the
addresses are called neither to remember the former things nor to consider

---

The Paradigm of Historical Renewal," in *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected
Biblical Texts*, by Michael Fishbane (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), 133–40; Klaus
Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und Motivgeschichtliche Analysen*,
OBO 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1979); William H. Propp, *Water in the
Wilderness: A Biblical Motif and Its Mythological Background*, HSM 40 (Atlanta: Scholars
Press, 1987), 99–106; Hans Barstad, *A Way in the Wilderness: The 'Second Exodus' in the
Message of Second Isaiah*, JSSM 12 (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1989); Lena-
Sofia Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion: The Geographical and Theological Location of
Isaiah 40–55*, VT.S 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 155–203; Øystein Lund, *Way Metaphors
and Way Topics in Isaiah 40–55*, FAT II 28 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

In a previous publication I have asked if the motif of the Second Exodus belongs to the
original prophecies in Isa 40–55; see Anja Klein, "'Zieht heraus aus Babel': Beobach-
tungen zum Zweiten Exodus im Deuterojesajabuch," *ZThK* 112 (2015): 279–99. Finally,
Saul M. Olyan, "The Search for the Elusive Self in Texts of the Hebrew Bible" in *Religion
and the Self in Antiquity*, ed. David Brakke, Michael L. Satlow, and S. Weitzman (Indiana
and Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 40–50, reviews the Exodus texts in
Second Isaiah with the specific question how "an individual creative voice might be recov-
ered" (Olyan, ibid., 44).

[50] The literary development of Second Isaiah has been the object of extensive research,
which allows for a general consensus about if a text belongs to older or younger layers of
the book, see Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, "Einheit und Komplexität Deuterojesajas: Probleme
der Redaktionsgeschichte von Jes 40–55," in *The Book of Isaiah. Le Livre d'Isaïe: Les
oracles et leurs relectures: Unité et complexité de l'ouvrage*, BEThL 81, ed. Jacques
Vermeylen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 287–312; Reinhard G. Kratz, *Kyros
im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Entstehung und
Theologie von Jes 40–55*, FAT 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), and Jürgen van Oor-
schot, *Von Babel zum Zion: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersu-
chung*, BZAW 206 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1993).

[51] Both van Oorschot, *Babel*, 69–74, and Kratz, *Kyros*, 148–57, count this oracle among
the texts belonging to their respective "original collection" of prophetic words.

[52] Thus Klein, "Zieht heraus," 288–95.

things of old (43:18). Rather, their attention is drawn to the new thing that Yhwh will do now (43:19: הנני עשה חדשה עתה), and which includes orientation for his people in the wilderness and provision of water in the desert (43:19–20). Consequently, the whole oracle ends in 43:21 with the praise of the people that Yhwh had formed for himself (עם־זו יצרתי לי תהלתי יספרו).

In this oracle, it is first of all water metaphors that connect the prophecy to the exodus events and, furthermore, the images used can only be understood if the biblical narratives are known. On this understanding, the way in the sea recalls the trek of the Israelites through the divided waters of the Reed Sea (Isa 43:16, cf. Exod 14), while the pairing of way and path points to a spiritualization of the exodus.[53] The oracle exhibits two lexical links to the Exodus account: first of all, the mention of chariot and horse in 43:17 (רכב־וסוס) that can be understood as a reference to the Egyptian army (Exod 14:9, 23; 15:1, 19, 21).[54] Consequently, the description of their fate in terms of being extinguished and quenched like a wick serves as a euphemism for their end in the returning waters of the Red Sea. Second, the final characterization of the people in Isa 41:21 as the people that Yhwh had formed for himself (עם־זו יצרתי לי), recalls the description of the people in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:13: עם־זו גאלת; 15:16: עם־זו קנית).[55] The different choice of verb in Isa 43:21 can be explained with a book-internal reference to the divine oracle in 43:1–4 that in the literary pre-context employs the root יצר to refer to the creation of Jacob-Israel as the creation of Yhwh's own people (43:1: ויצרך ישראל).[56]

Even if there is a good case for exodus language and imagery in Isa 43:16–21, there remains the question if the oracle provides indeed for a second or new exodus. The answer to this question lies in the hermeneutical distinction between the things of old and the new thing that structures the oracle.[57] While the former things are identified with Yhwh's guidance of his

---

[53] The pairing has a background in wisdom literature, see further Kiesow, *Exodustexte*, 77 ("Realsymbole"); Barstad, *Way*, 97 ("poetical metaphors"); Tiemeyer, *Comfort*, 182–84, and in detail Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 181–97.

[54] It needs to be said, though, that the mention of horse and rider in both Exod 14 and 15 are most likely post-priestly additions (see Christoph Berner, *Die Exoduserzählung: Das literarische Werden einer Ursprungslegende Israels*, FAT 73 [Göttingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010] 376–77, 403, and with regard to Exod 15 Anja Klein, *Geschichte und Gebet: Die Rezeption der biblischen Geschichte in den Psalmen des Alten Testaments*, FAT 94 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014], 39); this is further argument that the oracle Isa 43:16–21 does not belong to the original collection of prophecies in the prophetic book.

[55] On this references see Olyan, "Search," 43; Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 40–48*, HThK.AT (Freiburg i.Br: Herder, 2008), 306.

[56] The oracle in 43:1–4 is generally assumed to be part of the original prophecies, see Kratz, *Kyros*, 148–74, 217; further van Oorschot, *Babel*, 59–62 (with respect to 43:1–3a).

[57] See on this Klein, "Zieht heraus," 291–92. See further the discussion in Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 181–97.

people through the Reed Sea and the destruction of the Egyptian enemy, the new salvation comprises guidance in the wilderness and the provision with water. The water now serves to sustain the people of Yhwh instead of killing their enemies. As to the exegetical technique, the author of the oracle Isa 43:16–21 draws on images and words that recall the first exodus, against which the new salvation appears as a second or new exodus. He engages both Exod 14 and 15, even though the exegesis relies on association rather than on a specific textual *Vorlage*. Furthermore, the exodus is not in the focus as a narrative event, but it constitutes the being of both Yhwh and his people, whom he formed "for myself" (Isa 43:21). In drawing on the understanding of the Exodus as a founding event in Exod 15, the oracle concurs with existing prophecies in the book (Isa 43:1).

The motif of water sustenance in the desert reappears in our second example, the two-partite oracle in Isa 48:20–21, where, however, the textual links are more numerous. This prophetic word is usually considered to represent the closing of the original oracles in the book.[58] While its first part in 48:20 calls the exiles in a sequence of five imperatives to flee from Babylon/Chaldea (צאו מבבל ברחו מכשדים), the second part narrates the fate of a group that was led by Yhwh through the wilderness and was sustained with water from the rocks (48:21). The change in addressees together with the shift in topic suggests literary growth, classifying 48:21 as a later continuation of the call to leave Babylon in 48:20.[59] Yet it is this later continuation that shapes the preceding call to flee from Babylon into a call to a second exodus by establishing links to the first exodus from Egypt.[60] While the splitting of the rocks (ויבקע־צור) in Isa 48:21 recalls the dividing of the waters in Exod 14:16, 21 (בקע),[61] the trek through the deserts (Isa 48:21: בחרבות) recalls the drainage of the Reed Sea before Israel can pass through (Exod 14:21: וישם את־הים לחרבה). Furthermore, these reminiscences to the Sea Miracle in Exod 14 merge with the literary memory of the water miracles in the wilderness (Exod 15; 17; Num 20). Similar to Isa 43:16–21, the specific use of terms and images of the first exodus in order to describe the new salvation relates the two events in terms of first/old and second/new. The idea that the second exodus leads through dry land, where the water serves to sustain the people, connects the two oracles even closer.

---

[58] Kratz, *Kyros*, 216.

[59] Klein, "Zieht heraus," 287. In general, scholarship argues for literary unity here, see e.g. van Oorschot, *Babel*, 159–67, and Kratz, *Kyros*, 148–51.

[60] On the Exodus imagery in Isa 48:21 see Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 224–26; Berges, *Jesaja 40–48*, 548–49; Tiemeyer, *Comfort*, 185–86.

[61] An even closer parallel to the formulation in Isa 48:21 exists in the narration of the exodus events in Ps 78:15 (יבקע צרים במדבר), which, however, seems to be dependent on the oracle in Isa 48; see Klein, *Geschichte*, 114, 116.

The water imagery also shapes the exegesis of the exodus in 43:1–7; an oracle that originally comprised a divine announcement of protection in 43:1–4. As already mentioned, in these verses Yhwh lays claim on his people, since he is the one who created and delivered them (43:1). From this claim results the affirmation that he will be with his people, when they pass through both the waters (כי־תעבר במים) and the fire (43:2). The formulation עבר מים has a loose parallel in Exod 15:16 (עד־יעבר), but this is the only piece of evidence recalling the exodus events.[62] Yet things change with the later continuation in 43:5–7,[63] the author of which applies the original promise of protection onto the gathering of the diaspora from all over the world (43:5: הביאי בני מרחוק ובנותי מקצה הארץ; 43:6: ממזרח אביא זרעך וממערב אקבצך). Here, a redactor takes the floor, who is clearly familiar with the idea of a second exodus and interprets the water imagery in 43:1–4 as a reference to the exodus events, supplementing the promise of gathering and return. His continuation, however, takes the idea of a second exodus a step further by extending the salvation to include the worldwide diaspora.

While these first examples mainly demonstrate use of metaphors and imagery connected with the first exodus, in a second group of texts the concept is developed further with increasing literary links to the Exodus narratives. Our first example is the oracle in 51:9–11 that belongs to the so-called Zion-continuations (*Zion-Fortschreibungen*)[64] in the book. Here, the original wakening call in 51:9–10a[65] praises the might of the divine arm that is victorious over the water powers—a clear allusion to the idea of Yhwh as chaos fighter. Similar to the interpretation of the water imagery of 43:1–4 in the

---

[62] The parallelism of the threats of water and fire is rather evidence that common hazardous situations are in the focus, which are not related specifically to the exodus, see Tiemeyer, *Comfort*, 182; Barstad, *Way*, 90; Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 167–77, and Klein, "Zieht heraus," 287–88.

[63] Both the literary *Wiederaufnahme* of the call not to fear in 43:5 (cf. 43:1) and the shift to the diaspora in 43:5–7 speak for a literary continuation, see Kratz, *Kyros*, 48; Klein, "Zieht heraus," 285; similarly van Oorschot, *Babel*, 9–62, opts for an original oracle in 43:1–3a.

[64] On term and analysis see Odil H. Steck, "Beobachtungen zu den Zion-Texten in Jesaja 51–54: Ein redaktionsgeschichtlicher Versuch," in *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja*, FAT 4, by Odil H. Steck (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 96–125, and Kratz, *Kyros*, 216–17. Differently Hermisson, 303–4, delineates a collection of Zion-texts, which he counts among the original oracles of the book.

[65] Already Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja*, BWANT 63 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), 202–3, and Kiesow, *Exodustexte*, 93–94, questioned the literary affiliation of verse 51:12, before Odil H. Steck, "Zions Tröstung: Beobachtungen und Fragen zu Jesaja 51,1–11," in *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja*, FAT 4, by Odil H. Steck (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 73–91, 77–79, furnished proof that verses 51:10b–11 as a whole have to be seen as a later continuation; see also Kratz, *Kyros*, 82, and Klein, "Zieht heraus," 282.

later continuation 43:5–7, a later redactor in 51:10b–11 draws on the water imagery of 51:9–10a and relates it to the exodus. In this supplementation, the preceding drainage of the waters (51:10a: המחרבת ים) serves as a pre-condition to allow the redeemed ones to pass through (51:10b: לעבר גאולים) on their way back to Zion (51:10b–11). A number of lexical links with the exodus poetry in Exod 15 demonstrate the dependence of Isa 51:10b–11 on the Exodus materials (עבר, Isa 51:10b, cf. Exod 15:16; גאל, Isa 51:10b, cf. Exod 15:13). Both in the literary growth of Exod 15[66] and Isa 51:9–11, the literary supplementation attests to an exegetical development, in which the idea of Yhwh as chaos fighter is augmented with characteristics of the god that acts in biblical history on behalf of his people.

The second example in Isa 52:11–12 demonstrates further how literary links to key passages contribute to a "scripturalization" of salvation prophecies in the book. This oracle represents a continuation of the book's epilogue, in which the prophet calls the people to depart "from there", referring to Babylon (52:11: צאו משם). Its second part in 52:12 illustrates the circumstances of this departure, which are described as neither hasty nor in flight (52:12: כי לא בחפזון תצאו ובמנוסה לא תלכון). In biblical history, the Israelites have departed in haste only once, namely, when they hurriedly ate the last Passover before leaving Egypt, following the divine instruction: "You shall eat it hurriedly" (Exod 12:11: ואכלתם אתו בחפזון); the command finds a literary echo in the Passover legislation Deut 16:3: "because you went out of the land of Egypt in great haste" (כי בחפזון יצאת מארץ מצרים).[67] The second adverb in Isa 52:12, however, that describes the circumstances as "not in a flight" (ובמנוסה), has a different literary background. The only other occurrence of the term מנוסה can be found in the covenant curses Lev 26:36. Here, it refers to the living conditions of Israel in the diaspora, where life is characterised by being on a constant run from the sword (מנסת־חרב). By way of innerbiblical exegesis, the author of Isa 52:12 describes the organized departure from Babylon against a double negative foil: Not only is it painted in rosy colors compared with the first exodus from Egypt, but because of the reference to Lev 26, it also promises a change for the better for the diaspora. In this exegetical relationship, the interpretation in Isa 52:11–12 is indicative of an emerging distance between *traditum* and *traditio*, by which the second exodus is depicted as a more orderly departure, thus surpassing the first biblical exodus from Egypt.[68] Furthermore, the reference to the fate of

---

[66] See on this Klein, *Geschichte*, 15–78.

[67] On the references to Exod 12:11 (and Deut 16:3) see already Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja,* HK III/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, [5]1968 [1892]), 393; further Kiesow, *Exodustexte*, 118; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 134; Tiemeyer, *Comfort*, 197–98, and Olyan, "Search," 43.

[68] Olyan, "Search," 44, and, Klein, "Zieht heraus," 284.

the diaspora in Lev 26 marks the return from exile as a paradigm that applies also to the worldwide diaspora.

The hermeneutical differentiation between *traditum* and *traditio* can be traced further in two texts that belong to later literary layers of the book of Isaiah. The first example in Isa 63:11−14 is part of the prayer of the servants of God in Isa 63−64 that at one point represented the closure of the book.[69] In this prayer, the group of speaker remember Yhwh's salvation deeds in biblical history, in which the exodus remembrance takes pride of place. The exodus is clearly depicted as an event from biblical past, connected with the figure of Moses (63:11: ויזכר ימי־עולם משה עמו), and a number of lexical links are further proof that the prayer refers back to the exodus events in their literary form (Isa 63:12: מוליך לימין משה זרוע, cf. Exod 15:16; Isa 63:12: בוקע מים, cf. Exod 14:16, 21; Isa 63:13: מוליכם בתהמות, cf. Exod 15:5, 8). It is especially the idea that Yhwh made himself a name (Isa 63:12: לעשות לו שם עולם, cf. 63:14; see Exod 15:3: יהוה שמו) that serves as hermeneutical key for the present concern, as the rescue of the people in the exodus events is used as a paradigm of salvation for the present. By referring to Yhwh's reputation, the speaker hope to provoke him to intervene again on their behalf and save them from their present distress.[70] This time, however, it is not a second exodus that is in focus, but the people hope for restitution of land, city and sanctuary alike.

Our final example is the redactional passage in Isa 11:11−16 that prepares for the salvation prophecies in the second part of the book.[71] Here, the prophet announces that Yhwh will ban the tongue of the Sea of Egypt (11:15: והחרים יהוה את לשון ים־מצרים) so that one can cross with sandals (והדריך בנעלים); there will be a passage for his people "as there was for Israel on the day when they came up from Egypt" (11:16: כאשר היתה לישראל ביום עלתו מארץ מצרים). In this comparison, the particle כאשר clearly marks the way back from exile as a repetition of the first exodus and thus as a second one, indicating a clear distance between both events.[72] Furthermore, the specific

---

[69] On the redactional closure see Odil H. Steck, "Zu jüngsten Untersuchungen von Jes 56:1−8; 63,7−66,2," in *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, BZAW 203, by Odil H. Steck (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1991), 229−65, 242; see further the study by Johannes Goldenstein, *Das Gebet der Gottesknechte: Jesaja 63,7−64,11 im Jesajabuch*, WMANT 92 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001).

[70] Klein, "Zieht heraus," 297.

[71] On this function see Odil H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und Zweiten Jesaja*, SBS 121 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985), 62−63.

[72] On the exegesis of the first biblical exodus in Isa 11:11−16 see Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja: 1. Teilband Jesaja 1−12*, BK X/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 474; *John D.W. Watts, Isaiah 34−66*, WBC 24 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978, Revised 2005), 217; further Hugh G.M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's*

footwear of the Israelites, the "sandals" (בנעלים) represents a decisive link to the description of the last Passover in Egypt, when the Israelites were commanded to take the meal at the ready, with sandals on their feet (Exod 12:11: נעליכם ברגליכם).[73] As the sandals are now equally the footgear of choice in Isa 11, the new salvation literally walks in the shoes of the first exodus. The oracle in 11:11–16 can thus be seen as the endpoint of the literary historical development that anchors firmly the notion of the second exodus in the book and that—due to its redactional placing as a hinge text—pre-sets a line of interpretation for the salvations prophecies to follow in chapters 40–66. The oracle represents further the endpoint in hermeneutical perspective, as the exegesis distinguishes clearly between the future salvation and past events that serve as point of reference.[74] We deal here with a clear distinction between the first exodus from Egypt and the second exodus in Isaiah. In summary, the exegesis of the new exodus in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah demonstrates how the manner and technique of exegesis has changed through the literary growth of the book. While the earliest texts about the new exodus draw on metaphors and motifs, textual links increase in the subsequent literary layers. Finally, the latest interpretations are indicative of a clear distinction between *traditio* and *traditum*, correlating the exodus from Egypt and the exodus from exile as two distinct events of salvation.

The 70-Year Motif in Jeremiah

Our final example is the 70-year motif in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 25:11–13; 29:10), the beginnings of which, however, lie in the prophecies of Zechariah (Zech 1:12, 7–8), while its further exegesis extends to 2 Chr 36:21–22, Ezr 1:1 and Dan 9 (9:2, 24–27).[75] As to the relationship between these

---

Role in Composition and Redaction (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 125–27, and Klein, "Zieht heraus," 298.

[73] Even though the lemma נעל occurs quite often in the Hebrew Bible, it is used in an Exodus/Egypt context only in Exod 12:11; Deut 29:4, and Isa 11:15, which makes the link significant and is argument for a conscious allusion on the part of the author in Isa 11.

[74] Klein, "Zieht heraus," 298.

[75] The exegesis of Jeremiah's seventy years does not end in the later biblical books, but continues in further literature from the second temple period; see Christoph Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum*, BZAW 363 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2006), 100–515. Of special interest is the Qumran Jeremiah Apocryphon, the author of which undertakes a further heptadic adjustment by transferring the prolonged time span of seventy year-weeks from Dan 9 into a jubilean periodization of history (4Q387 f2ii, 3–4: עשרה יבלי שנים); see Eibert Tigchelaar, "Jeramiah's Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition," in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction, and Transformation*, JSS 173, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2016), and Anja Klein, "New Materials or Traditions Expanded? A Response to Eibert Tigchelaar's 'Jeremiah's Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Growth of a Tradition," in *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception,*

texts, Reinhard Kratz in 1991 proposed a literary development that has found support in further research.[76] His model will thus be used as a working hypothesis in the following, while the focus is on the manner and techniques of biblical interpretation through the literary development.

According to Kratz's model, the idea of the seventy years has its beginnings in the first vision Zech 1:12, where the angel asks Yhwh how long he will withhold mercy even though seventy years have passed (שבעים שנה). Yhwh answers with the promise of restitution provisions (1:13–17), which culminate in the assurance that the temple shall be built again (1:16). Zech 7–8 draw on this prophecy by connecting the time span with a period of fasting and by promising the dawning of salvation for the rest of the people (8:11–13).[77] The origin of the 70-years figure has been discussed without reaching a consensus yet. While the references to Ancient Near Eastern parallels remains a possible option,[78] the easiest explanation can be found in the historic realities, as the number of 70 years roughly corresponds to the time between the destruction of the first temple (586 BCE), and the second temple's dedication (519 BCE) and completion respectively (516 BCE).[79] Apparently, the 70-year period has later come to be understood as a figure of exile, which is obvious in our next example, the prophecy in Jer 29:10.

Interaction, and Transformation, JSS 173, ed. Hindy Najman and Konrad Schmid (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2016).

[76] Reinhard G. Kratz, *Translation imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld*, WMANT 63 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 261–67. His model has been adopted by Berner, *Jahre*, 78–84. While the dependence of Dan 9 on the texts from the Book of Jeremiah is *communis opinio*, scholarship differs especially in the assessment of the texts from Zechariah, which are usually considered to follow the Jeremianic texts, see p.e. Louis F. Hartman/Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AncB 23 (New York: Yale University Press, 1978), 246–47; Hartmut Bluhm, "Daniel 9 und die chronistische Geschichtsdarstellung," *ThGl* 72 (1982): 450–60, 451; Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 287, or Carol A. Newsom with Brannan W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2014), 299–300; differently, however, Julius Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten: Übersetzt und Erklärt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, [4]1963), 179; Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, KHC XI (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1903), 202.

[77] Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 261.

[78] As a possible candidate, studies refer to the Esarhaddon inscription Ep 10:2b–9a / 10:19–20 (on the edition see Rykle Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, AfO.B 9 [Graz: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1956, 15]), that refers to the god Marduk shortening a previous 70-year period of depopulation in Babylon to eleven years. One might assume that the figure denotes a fixed time period connected to the destruction of cities and temples (thus Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 261).

[79] Berner, *Jahre*, 81.

In the book of Jeremiah, chapter 29 contains the letter (29:1: ואלה דברי הספר) that the prophet sent to the exiled community in Babylon. Yhwh announces in writing that he will return them when Babylon's seventy years are completed (29:10: כי לפי מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה, cf. 29:14), thus fulfilling his earlier promise (דברי הטוב). Considering that the prophecy in Zech 8 provides for the rescue of the remnant (cf. 8:13: כן אושיע אתכם), it is possible to understand the term דברי הטוב in Jer 29:10 as a reference to this earlier prophecy, which is now interpreted as a promise for gathering and return. The exegetical trail is more obvious when it comes to the oracle in Jer 25:11–12 that presupposes Jer 29:10,[80] drawing on the idea that the seventy years denotes a time period for Babylon. After the fulfilment of this time (25:12: והיה כמלאות שבעים שנה) judgment will be implemented that leaves the land of the Chaldeans an everlasting waste (לשממות עולם). Thus, Jeremiah continues the discussion about the seventy years started in Zechariah, but focuses on the time period in terms of its importance for the duration of the exile and the consequences for Babylon, while the promise of the rebuilding of the temple is not taken up.

It is not the judgment on Babylon, but the interest in the duration of exile that the later interpretation in 2 Chr 36:21–22 continues. Drawing further on the concept of the empty land in Lev 26:31–35[81] and thus introducing a heptadic timeframe, its author interprets the 70-year period from Jeremiah as a time in which the land receives compensation for its Sabbaths (2 Chr 36:21: למלאות שבעים שנה), while the Persian king Cyrus is named as the one who will end the seventy years for Babylon (36:22). For the present question, however, it is noteworthy that the text emphasizes twice the accordance of its message with the words of the prophet Jeremiah. While previously, the focus was on the fulfilment of the time period of seventy years (Jer 29:10: מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה; Jer 25:12: שבעים שנה כמלאות), the text in 2 Chr 36:21–22 focuses on the fulfilment of the divine word *as authorized by Jeremiah* (36:21 למלאות דבר־יהוה בפי ירמיהו; 36:22: לכלות דבר־יהוה בפי ירמיהו). This chronistic note has a counterpart in the anterior chronistic frame Ezr 1:1–4 that in its beginning parallels the reference to Jeremiah (Ezr 1:1: לכלות דבר־יהוה מפי ירמיה). Apparently, the prophets of Israel—or at least the figure of Jeremiah—were already ascribed a certain authority that the authors of 2 Chr 36:21–22 and Ezr 1:1–4 referred to in order to stress the significance of the events narrated.

---

[80] Thus already Charles F. Whitley, "The Term Seventy Years Captivity," *VT* 4 (1954): 60–72, 68; further Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 261–62, and accordingly Berner, *Jahre*, 79.

[81] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 481–82; Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, WBC 15 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 301; Sara Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1993), 1075–76; John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 352; Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 544–45.

Finally, the interpretation in Dan 9 represents the biblical endpoint of the hermeneutical development, while at the same time it breaks with the preceding chronology in terms of years.[82] In Dan 9:2, we find the prophet pondering on the books (בינתי בספרים) with regard to the number of the seventy years that Yhwh had spoken to the prophet Jeremiah (דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיה הנביא למלאות). However, the prophet's scripture study is not sufficient, but Daniel needs the help of the *angelus interpres* Gabriel (9:20–23), who deciphers the understanding of the numerical figure on the prophet's behalf. According to his interpretation of the 70-year oracle (9:24–26), the Jeremianic seventy years have to be understood in terms of seventy weeks of seven years each (Dan 9:24: שבעים שבעים),[83] thus indicating an elongation of the period in question (490 years).[84] Furthermore, the number does not denote a period for Babylon anymore, but it refers to the time that is assigned for the ruins of Jerusalem (9:2: לחרבות ירושלם), meaning a time for the people and the holy city to bring their transgressions to an end and atone for them (9:24). Even though the interpretation in Dan 9 refers to the prophet Jeremiah by name (9:2), the lexical links provide sufficient evidence that the entire development of the 70-year motif is in the literary background—this is evidenced already by the use of the plural "books" in Dan 9:2 (בספרים).[85] The 70-year number in previous written prophecies is not simply redetermined, but the pondering of the prophet and the subsequent revelatory recalculation attest to a process of actualization that distinguishes clearly between *traditum* and *traditio*. In comparison with the chronistic evidence in 2 Chr 36:21–22 and Ezr 1:1–4, the author of Dan 9 equally refers to Jeremiah by name, but the additional mention of the scriptures (9:2: ספרים) establishes a *literary* reference. There has been some discussion about what entity the term ספרים refers to, but it can be safely assumed that the author of Daniel had access to *Torah* and *Neviim*, which were already well established (with parts of the *Ketubim*) at his time.[86] Therefore, the exegesis in Dan 9 is unique

---

[82] On the chronological reinterpretation in Dan 9, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 485–89; Odil H. Steck, "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel," in *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im Alten Testament: Gesammelte Studien*, ThB 70, by Odil H. Steck (München: Christian Kaiser, 1982), 277–81; Bluhm, "Dan 9," 454–55; Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 39, 263–67, and in detail Berner, *Jahre*, 19–99, 501.

[83] A possible key to this interpretation is the doubling of the consonants for "seventy" (שבעים), which add up to "seventy weeks"; see Berner, *Jahre*, 47, and Newsom, *Daniel*, 299. On the interpretation in 9:24–27 see further Hartman/DiLella, *Daniel*, 249–50.

[84] Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 265–66.

[85] Berner, *Jahre*, 75; on the wider literary background in Dan 9 see further Kratz, *Translatio imperii*, 39, while Newsom, *Daniel*, 290, deems it less likely that "Daniel is doing 'intertextual' interpretation, comparing Jeremiah's prophecies with passages from Leviticus".

[86] Both *Torah* and *Neviim* are referred to in the prologue of Sirach (132 BCE). On the reference in Dan 9:2 pointing to Jeremiah as part of the—later scriptural—books of the Prophets, see Collins, *Daniel*, 348; Berner, *Jahre*, 43.

insofar as it does not only draw on previous prophecies, but it also actualizes explicitly its *Vorlagen* and quotes these as authoritative "scripture". Hence Dan 9 can be seen rightly as a precursor for the exegetical literature in Qumran (*pesharim, midrashim*), where we encounter the same hermeneutics with the difference that the interpretation in Qumran forms its own literary genre with specific form elements.[87]

3. The Emergence of Scripture in the Prophets

This contribution has focused on the phenomenon of literary supplementation in its specific form as innerbiblical exegesis. Therein, the diachronic differentiation of the texts has mostly been presupposed in order to demonstrate the technique and hermeneutics of the dynamic exegetical process. The argument started from the observation that there are a small number of oracles in the three Major Prophets of the Hebrew Bible that draw on other prophetic texts signifying a clear distance between *traditio* and *traditum*. By investigating their literary origins, it could be demonstrated that each of these texts represents the literary endpoint of a productive process of interpretation. First, the literary development of the Gog chapters Ezek 38–39 is a classic example for the literary continuation (*Fortschreibung*) of a core oracle that deals with the threat of an enigmatic enemy, whose advance in later literary layers is identified explicitly with prophecies from other prophetic books (Ezek 38:17; cf. 39:8). Secondly, in the case of the new exodus, the literary development of this concept of salvation throughout the book of Isaiah attests to a borrowing from the first biblical exodus, which in the latest literary supplementations is related explicitly to the new act of salvation (Isa 11:16). Finally, the interpretation of the 70-year prophecy in the prophetic literature shows how the oracle came to be connected with the figure of Jeremiah and is finally attributed authority by making it the object of scriptural studies (Dan 9:2). Our three examples thus demonstrate a development in technique and hermeneutics of literary supplementation that culminates in the emergence of scripture as an authoritative variable that can be quoted and interpreted.

---

[87] Berner, *Jahre*, 44. The closeness to the Qumran *pesharim* is noted also by Hartmann/DiLella, *Daniel*, 247.