STRUCTURE AND REDACTION IN ISAIAH 2-4

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In his recent study of Isaiah 2-4, B. Wiklander (1984) employs linguistic text theory and rhetorical methodology in an effort to demonstrate that Isaiah 2-4 functions as a unified, coherent and communicative prophetic discourse. Wiklander argues that Isaiah 2-4 consists of three macrostructural parts: 1) the prophetic vision of the future world (2:1-4) in which the nations would peacefully submit to YHWH's sovereignty; 2) the hortatory conclusion concerning the world intended by the speaker (2:5) in which the house of Jacob would join the nations in acknowledging YHWH's sovereignty; and 3) the explanatory comments which explain the discrepancy between the intended world and the actual world (2:6-4:6) by portraying YHWH's lawsuit against the house of Jacob for apostasy (pp. 96, 144-5).[1] He maintains that the hortatory invitation to Jacob in Isa 2:5 was the primary thesis of the author (p. 183) and that the superordinate genre of Isaiah 2-4 is a "restoration of the covenant by means of prophetic revelation" (p. 219). On the basis of this view of Isaiah 2-4 as a unified composition and various arguments from its contents, Wiklander dates the composition of the final form of this text to 734-622 B.C.E., the period of Judah's subjugation to Assyria (pp. 176-182). The purpose of the text is to convince the audience that subjugation to Assyria was a divine punishment for apostasy and to persuade them to return to YHWH so that the intended future could be realized. While he does not attempt to settle the question of authorship, he does note that "a number of passages in Isa 2-4 have been attributed by a majority of scholars to the creative activity of the prophet Isaiah . . ." (p. 182).

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1. Wiklander provides a detailed structural outline of the compositional arrangement of Isaiah 2-4 on p. 224.

Wiklander's view of Isaiah 2–4 as a unified composition and his consequent dating of the final form of this text to the pre-exilic period depends heavily on his identification of a coherent, unified structure in these chapters. The details of his structural analysis will be challenged, but many scholars will agree with his contention that Isaiah 2–4 has a unified structure (e.g., Magonet, 1982; Sweeney, 1988, pp. 134–163). With respect to his historical conclusions, he is correct that the majority of scholars attribute much of this material to Isaiah, but he overlooks the debate concerning specific passages, most notably Isa 2:2–4(5). A full summary of positions concerning the date of this passage cannot be attempted here.[2] It should be noted, however, that a recent study by Vermeylen (1977, pp. 114–133) dates this passage to the Josianic reform, and those by Clements (1980, pp. 39–40), Werner (1982, pp. 151–163), and Kaiser (1983, pp. 49–52) date it to the post-exilic period.

Other scholars, including Cazelles (1980), and Roberts (1985) attribute this passage to Isaiah, but like Wiklander, a unified structure for Isaiah 2, which associates Isa 2:2–4(5) with 2:6–22, plays a major role in the argument of each.[3] Although the date of Isa 2:2–4(5) is hardly settled, this does raise a methodological question: is a coherent, unified structure in a text necessarily the product of an original author, or can such a structure be the product of later editing or redaction?[4] It is the contention of this paper that, with respect to Isaiah 2–4, the latter is the case. The *final* form and structure of Isaiah 2–4 is the product of a late 6th century redaction.

Although the specific conclusions differ, the author's analysis of the final form of Isaiah 2–4 confirms that Wiklander is correct in arguing that these chapters have a unified, coherent structure (Sweeney, 1988, pp. 162–3). Generically, Isaiah 2–4 is a prophetic announcement concerning the cleansing of Zion for its role as the locus of YHWH's world rule. Its purpose is to convince the audience that YHWH's covenant with them is still in effect. It explains that the punishment of Jerusalem and Judah is intended to purify the city/land and prepare it for its role as the center for YHWH's rule of all nations. The structure may be briefly outlined as follows:

2. Cf. Wildberger (1972, pp. 78–80), Renaud (1977, pp. 160–163), and Killian (1983, pp. 86–91).

3. Wildberger (1957; 1972, p. 80) also attributes this passage to Isaiah but his argument does not depend on structural grounds.

4. Cf. Ackroyd (1978) who attributes the final form of Isaiah 1–12 to later redaction.

PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE CLEANSING OF
ZION FOR ITS ROLE AS THE LOCUS OF YHWH'S WORLD RULE 2:1–4:6

In order to determine the provenance of the final form of Isaiah 2–4, it will be necessary to examine three major issues: 1) the referent of the address to the "House of Jacob" in Isa 2:5 and 2:6; 2) the literary character of Isa 2:5; and 3) the conceptual and historical setting of Isa 2:2–4.

I

Wiklander correctly identifies the invitation to the House of Jacob in Isa 2:5 as the thesis of Isaiah 2–4. By inviting the House of Jacob to walk in the light of YHWH, it attempts to persuade the audience to take action that will resolve the discrepancy between the ideal future described in Isa 2:2–4 and the actual situation of the present presupposed throughout the rest of the text (1984, p. 183). Consequently, it is a key text in the structure of Isaiah 2–4 in that it projects a resolution to the tension between the two major components of this text and binds them together as a textual unit.

In the present context of Isaiah 2–4, the invitation to the House of Jacob must refer to a Judean audience. Isaiah 2:1 states that the following material is concerned with Judah and Jerusalem. Likewise, Isaiah 3:1–4:6 describes the punishment of Jerusalem and the restoration of the remnant of Israel to the city after it has been cleansed. That "House of Jacob" can refer to all Israel, including Judah and Jerusalem, is clear

from its usage in Jeremiah 2:4; 5:20, Ezekiel 20:5, Obadiah 17, 18, Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 46:3; 48:1), and Trito-Isaiah (Isa 58:1).

Roberts (1985) and Cazelles (1980) challenge this notion, however, arguing that the original referent in this passage is the northern kingdom of Israel. Later editors added other passages and reshaped this material so that it is now understood in relation to Judah and Jerusalem. Cazelles maintains that an earlier edition of Isa 2:2–5 was addressed to the northern tribes in an effort to convince them to return to YHWH, but the addition of Isa 2:6–22 changed the referent to Judah and Jerusalem (1980, p. 420). Roberts goes so far as to maintain that Isa 2:2–22 was originally a unified composition by Isaiah, ostensibly addressed to the northern kingdom during the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis, but intended for the south (1985, p. 308).

In coming to this conclusion, both Cazelles (1980, pp. 412–13) and Roberts (1985, pp. 293–98) base their positions on the claim that "House of Jacob" in 2:3, 5, 6 must refer to the northern kingdom. Both scholars examine other references to the "House of Jacob" or "Jacob" in Isaiah's oracles and argue that they refer to the northern kingdom.[5] By analogy, the references to "House of Jacob" and "Jacob" in 2:3, 5, 6 also refer to the northern kingdom. Roberts then correlates various features of Isa 2:6–22, including the alliances with foreigners, the emphasis on military equipment and wealth, and the concern with *ʾĕlîlîm*, 'idols', with the activities of the northern kingdom during the Syro-Ephraimitic War to lend further support to the identification (1985, pp. 300–308).

This position presents problems, however. There is no evidence that the various features of Isa 2:6–22 cited by Roberts refer explicitly to the activities of northern Israel during the Syro-Ephramite War. The alliances with foreigners and the buildup of military equipment and wealth could certainly have been characteristic of Hezekiah's revolt against Assyria as well. The appearance of Philistines in this context would hardly be surprising since Ekron and Ashkelon were among Hezekiah's closest supporters in this revolt (Pritchard, 1969, p. 287). Finally Roberts (1985, p. 305) is correct to point out that most references to 'idols' *ʾĕlîlîm* in Isaiah are associated with the northern kingdom or a foreign nation (Isa 10:10–11; 17:7–8; 19:1–3). However, Isa 31:7 associates *ʾĕlîlîm* with the people of Israel/Jerusalem who rely on the military power of Egypt for help. There are also a number of lexical and thematic associations

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5. Cazelles includes Isa 8:17; 10:20; 14:1; 29:22. Roberts includes 8:17; 9:7; 10:20–21; 17:4, but attributes 14:1 and 29:22–23 to later writers.

between Isa 31:1–9 and 2:6–22.[6] In this respect, it is noteworthy that Egypt was another of Hezekiah's major allies in his revolt against Assyria.

There is also no evidence that the references to "House of Jacob" in Isa 2:5, 6 must refer to the northern kingdom. Cazelles and Roberts argue that Isa 2:5, 6 must refer to the northern kingdom because other references to "House of Jacob" or "Jacob" in the oracles of Isaiah refer to the northern kingdom. But this is circular reasoning because one must assume that Isaiah wrote Isa 2:5, 6 in order to validate the argument. In this respect, it is important to note the reference to "House of the God of Jacob" (*bêt 'ĕlōhê ya'ăqōb*) in Isa 2:3. Clearly, the context and phraseology of 2:5 requires that the references to "House of Jacob" in 2:5, 6 depend on 2:3 for their meaning. However, "House of the God of Jacob," in Isa 2:3 does not refer exclusively to the northern kingdom. Wildberger (1957; cf. 1972, pp. 78–80) has clearly demonstrated that Isa 2:2–4 is grounded in the tradition of the Songs of Zion. Although *bêt 'ĕlōhê ya'ăqōb* appears elsewhere only in Mic 4:2, the parallel to this passage, the phrase, *'ĕlōhê ya'ăqōb* 'the God of Jacob' appears frequently in texts stemming from the Zion tradition (2 Sam 23:1; Ps 20:2; 46:8, 12; 76:7; 84:9). In these contexts, *'ĕlōhê ya'ăqōb* refers to the God of all Israel, based in Jerusalem. Although at times, the phrase could be understood in reference to the southern kingdom, it can hardly be restricted to the northern kingdom in the Zion tradition.

The absence of a specific reference to the northern kingdom in Isa 2:2–4 indicates that if Isa 2:2–22 is understood as a unified composition as Roberts maintains (1985, p. 308), it is doubtful that "House of Jacob" in Isa 2:5, 6 refers exclusively to the northern kingdom of Israel. Likewise, the absence of specific references to the northern kingdom in 2:6–22 indicates the same conclusion if Isa 2:2–22 is understood as an edited text as Cazelles maintains (1980, pp. 413–16).

II

A second major issue centers around the literary character of Isa 2:5. There are indications that 2:5 was not composed by an original author, but by an editor attempting to join previously existing passages.

6. Cf. esp. Isa 31:7. Note that Clements (1980, p. 258), Kaiser (1974, p. 319), Vermeylen (1977, p. 423), and Wildberger (1982, p. 1239) consider v. 7 to be a secondary addition to this text by a post-exilic writer. The use of terminology from Isaiah 2 in Isa 31:7 indicates that the purpose of this addition was to associate these passages on the basis of their similar theme of avoiding reliance on military power and alliances.

First, apart from Isa 2:5, there is no indication of any explicit literary relation between Isa 2:2–4 and 2:6–22. Whereas 2:2–4 focuses on Jerusalem and Mt. Zion, 2:6–22 deals simply with the "land/earth." Isa 2:2–4 portrays a peaceful, voluntary pilgrimage to Mt. Zion by nations who wish to acknowledge YHWH's sovereignty, but 2:6–22 presents a scene of upheaval in which humans attempt to escape from YHWH's wrath. Some have attempted to associate the mountain imagery and military concerns of 2:2–4 with their counterparts in 2:14 and 2:15, but whereas these are central motifs in 2:2–4, they are only elements of the general description of worldly pride in 2:6–22, which also includes magic, idolatry, wealth, trees, and ships. There may be a general contrast between the elevation of Zion in 2:2–4 and the downfall of worldly pride in 2:6–22, but there is no explicit connection between these passages.

Second, Scott (1956, p. 182) and Vermeylen (1977, p. 131) point to the lexical and syntactic similarities between Isa 2:5 and 2:3. Thus, *lĕkû wĕnēlĕkāh* 'come and let us walk' in 2:5 corresponds to *lĕkû wĕnaᶜāleh* 'come and let us go up' in 2:3. Likewise, *wĕnēlĕkāh bĕʾôr yhwh* 'and let us walk in the light of YHWH' in 2:5 corresponds to *wĕnēlĕkāh bĕʾōrḥōtāyw* 'and we shall walk in His paths' in 2:3. Finally, *bêt yaᶜăqōb* 'House of Jacob' in 2:5 corresponds to *bêt ʾĕlōhê yaᶜăqōb* 'House of the God of Jacob' in 2:3. These observations prompt Scott and Vermeylen to conclude that 2:5 was composed as a textual variant of 2:3. Their conclusion is supported by several additional considerations. Whereas the "House of Jacob" is explicitly addressed in Isa 2:5, no specific audience is identified in Isa 2:2–4. Furthermore, Isa 2:5 presupposes that Jacob is excluded from the scene portrayed in 2:2–4, but 2:2–4 say nothing about such an exclusion. The reference to 'House of the God of Jacob' may indicate just the opposite.

A third indication that Isa 2:5 was composed by a later writer who joined 2:2–4 with 2:6–22 involves the mention of *bêt yaᶜăqōb* 'House of Jacob' in Isa 2:6. This phrase provides the only explicit link between Isa 2:6–22 and either 2:5 or 2:2–4. However, the appearance of *bêt yaᶜăqōb* in 2:6 presents syntactical difficulties in that it can be read either as a vocative which specifies the second person singular address of 2:6a or as an accusative which specifies *ᶜammĕkā* 'your people'. If *bêt yaᶜăqōb* is vocative (cf. TJ), then *kî nāṭaštāh ᶜammĕkā bêt yaᶜăqōb* 'for you have rejected your people, O House of Jacob' must be addressed to the House of Jacob. Unfortunately, this is difficult to reconcile with the third person pronoun references of 2:6b–9a or with the second person address

of 2:9b.[7] If *bêt ya'ăqōb* is accusative (cf. LXX), then *kî nāṭaštāh 'ammĕkā bêt ya'ăqōb* 'for you have rejected your people, the House of Jacob' must be addressed by the prophet to YHWH. This understanding is undoubtedly correct as indicated by the second person address in Isa 2:9b. Consequently, in 2:6–9 the prophet addresses YHWH, and in 2:10–21 he addresses the people.[8] Nevertheless, the appearance of 'House of Jacob' in this context is awkward. Apart from 2:6a, there is no evidence that 2:6–22 is concerned with the House of Jacob at all. Instead, the passage refers consistently to *'ādām* 'humanity', *'îš* 'man', and *'ănāšîm* 'men.' If *bêt ya'ăqōb* was removed from this passage, the meaning would still be clear and the syntax less awkward. Overall, it contributes little to Isa 2:6–22. Its primary function appears to be as a link between 2:6–22 and the preceding material. Consequently, *bêt ya'ăqōb* appears to be an editorial addition to Isa 2:6 designed to link 2:6–22 with 2:5.[9]

III

A third major issue centers around the conceptual and historical setting of Isa 2:2–4. Most scholars recognize that this passage is in some way related to the Zion psalms. Wildberger (1957, pp. 68–9) has pointed to themes that this passage shares with Pss 46; 48; and 76, including the

7. Roberts (1985, pp. 298–300) attempts to understand "House of Jacob" as a vocative, but this raises problems with 2:9b, "and you shall not forgive them," which is clearly addressed to YHWH. In order to maintain his vocative understanding, Roberts is forced to emend the verse (p. 306) so that it is addressed to the "House of Jacob" ("and you should not look to them [for help]").

8. For a detailed discussion of this problem, see Sweeney (1988, pp. 139–146).

9. An additional indication that Isa 2:5 was composed by a later writer involves the reference to 'the light of YHWH' in 2:5. This indicates an interpretative word play which associates *'orhōtāyw* 'his paths' and *tôrāh* 'instruction' or 'law' in 2:3. The Hebrew word *'ôr* 'light' is identical to the first syllable of *'orhōtāyw* 'his paths' (cf. Ps 43:3), and *tôrāh* is frequently associated with *'ôr* in later wisdom literature (Prov 4:18; 6:23) as well as the work of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 51:4; cf. 42:6; 42:16; 49:6). Furthermore, this association of *'ōrah*, *tôrāh*, and *'ôr* appears to depend on the association of *tôrāh* in Isa 8:16, 20 with *'ôr* in Isa 9:1 and the association of *tôrāh* in Isa 30:9 with *'ōrah* in 30:11. If this is the case, then the writer of Isa 2:5 is drawing on imagery employed to describe Israel's rejection of YHWH's Torah spoken through the prophet in Isa 30:8–14 with the imagery used to describe the House of Jacob's anticipated acceptance of YHWH's Torah in Isa 8:16–9:6. In both Isa 30:8–14 and 8:16–9:6, the association of *tôrāh* with *'ōrah* or *'ôr* is implicit, but the writer of Isa 2:5 makes these associations explicit. This is a further indication that 2:5 was composed by a writer who reflected on the meaning of other Isaianic texts. Note that both of these passages are concerned with preserving the prophet's teaching for the future (8:23; 30:8; cf. 2:2). It appears that, to the author of Isa 2:5, 2:2–4 represents that time in the future when Isaiah's teaching will be revealed.

prominent position of Zion as the home of YHWH, the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion, and the resulting peace when YHWH's rule is established. Likewise, the epithet *ʾĕlōhê yaʿăqōb* 'the God of Jacob' (cf. Isa 2:3) frequently appears in the Zion psalms (Ps 20:2; 46:8, 12; 75:10; 76:7; 84:9).

There are major differences, however, between Isa 2:2–4 and the psalms of the Zion tradition. Isa 2:2–4 portrays a peaceful situation in which the nations come to Zion after witnessing its elevation. They recognize YHWH's Torah at Zion and wish to learn it so that they can submit to YHWH's rule. Once YHWH has settled their disputes, the nations voluntarily refashion their weapons into agricultural tools and settle down to live together in peace. Psalm 46 presents a somewhat different picture. The nations come to Zion but their purpose is to attack and YHWH must act to defend the city:

> God is in her midst (i.e., of the city of God, v. 5), she shall not fall. God will help her before morning. The nations are confounded, the kingdoms fall. He shouts, the earth trembles. YHWH Seba'ot is with us, the God of Jacob is our protection. (vv. 6–8)

The result will be peace after the weapons of the nations are destroyed, but it is YHWH who destroys them. The nations do not submit voluntarily:

> Come, behold the deeds of YHWH who has wreaked havoc on earth, stopping wars unto the ends of the earth. He breaks the bow and cuts down the spear. He burns chariots with fire. (vv. 9–10)

The contrast is more marked in Psalm 48. Analogous to Isa 2:2–4, verses 1–3 begin with statements praising YHWH and His high, holy mountain. But verses 5–9 follow with a description of the defeated kings:

> For behold, the kings were assembled, they advanced together. They saw (and) so they were terrified, they were frightened, they bolted. Trembling seized them there, shaking like a woman giving birth. With the East Wind, You destroyed the ships of Tarshish. Just as we heard, so have we seen in the city of YHWH Seba'ot, in the city of our God, which God establishes forever.

Likewise Psalm 76 presents a scene in which YHWH breaks weapons. The nations do not give them up voluntarily:

> God is known in Judah, great is His name in Israel. And His tent is in Salem and His dwelling is in Zion. There, He broke the flashings of the bow, shield and sword and war. (vv. 2–4)

Finally, Psalm 2 portrays a scene in which the nations come to Zion to submit to YHWH, but their motivation is fear of Him, not a desire to receive His Torah and learn His ways:

> And now, O Kings, be prudent and be warned, O Rulers of the earth. Serve YHWH in fear and frightful trembling. Kiss His feet least He become angry and you perish by the way for He is easily provoked. (vv. 10–12a)

Quite clearly, Isa 2:2–4 differs from the Zion psalms in that it presents a peaceful pilgrimage by the nations to Zion and their voluntary submission to YHWH. The Zion psalms present an attempted attack against Zion by the nations, their defeat by YHWH and their subsequent submission to Him. In this respect, Isa 2:2–4 is quite distinct from the psalms of Zion.

Wildberger's recognition of this distinction leads him to conclude that Isaiah is the author of Isa 2:2–4. He claims that Isaiah borrowed themes from the Zion tradition, including Zion's exaltation, YHWH's rule of the nations, etc., and combined them with other elements concerned with the welfare, not the submission, of the nations.[10] He then undertakes an exhaustive study of the vocabulary of 2:2–5 to show that it is characteristic of both Isaiah and the Zion tradition (1957, pp. 73–5).

Cannawurf has already demonstrated that Wildberger's vocabulary statistics do not prove that Isaiah wrote this section (1963, p. 30). Furthermore, although Isaiah was heavily influenced by the Zion tradition (von Rad, 1965, pp. 155–169), there are major differences concerning the portrayal of YHWH's relationship with the nations between Isa 2:2–4 and oracles by Isaiah. Isa 31:4–5 portrays YHWH as one who defends Zion from attack:

> For thus said YHWH unto me, "Just as the lion or young lion roars over its prey when a group of shepherds is called against it, by their voice he is not alarmed and from their noise he does not cover. So shall YHWH Seba'ot come down to battle upon Mt. Zion and upon its hill. Like birds flying, so shall YHWH Seba'ot guard over Jerusalem, to guard and to save, to spare and to deliver."

The same situation applies in Isaiah as in the examples from the Zion tradition cited above; YHWH defends His people and the nations are His foes. Isa 8:9–10 illustrates:

> Be shattered and frightened, O Peoples, and give ear, all of you from the far reaches of the land. Arm yourselves and be dismayed. Arm yourselves

10. E.g., Ps 102:14–28. Cf. Wildberger (1957, p. 71).

and be dismayed. Consult in counsel, but it will be frustrated. Speak a word, but it will not stand, for God is with us.

Isaiah even goes so far as to say that YHWH will defend Zion from the nations even after punishing Zion Himself. Isa 29:1–4 describes YHWH's punishment to Ariel (Zion) but vv. 5–8 state:

> And the mob of the foes shall be like fine dust and the mob of tyrants shall be like passing chaff and at a sudden moment, you will be visited by YHWH Seba'ot and with thundering and quaking and great noise, whirlwind and tempest and a flame of consuming fire. And like a dream, a vision of the night, shall the mob of all the nations that gather against Ariel be and all going forth against her and her fortress and besieging her. And it shall be as when a starving man dreams and behold! Food! And he awakens and he is hungry. And as when a thirsty man dreams and behold! Drink! And he awakens and behold, he is faint and he thirsts. So shall the mob of all the nations which gather against Mt. Zion be.

As in the Zion psalms, the nations will attack and YHWH will defeat them. Nowhere does Isaiah use the Zion tradition to illustrate any benefit to the nations or show their voluntary acceptance of YHWH's rule as in 2:2–4.[11] At best, they are tools for YHWH to use (Isa 5:26–30) and if they fail to perform their proper function, they will be punished (Isa 10:5–11). On these grounds, it is doubtful that Isaiah wrote Isa 2:2–4.

In attempting to establish the historical setting of Isa 2:2–4, it is important to note its relationship to other biblical texts. The theme of the nations' recognition of YHWH at Zion appears in pre-exilic times (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:41–43; Isa 11:10). However, the world-wide recognition of YHWH by the nations as well as their pilgrimage to Zion and submission to His rule first appears in texts that date to the exilic or early post-exilic periods (Jer 3:17–18; 16:19–21; Isa 60:1–7; Hag 2:6–9; Zech 2:8–12; 8:20–23). There are also a number of other exilic or post-exilic passages which appear to have some direct relationship to Isa 2:2–4, including Joel 4:9–12; Zech 8:20–23; Isa 37:20–32/2 Kgs 19:29–31; and Isa 51:4. Joel 4:9–12, which dates to the first half of the 4th century (Wolff, 1977, pp. 5–6), presupposes Isa 2:2–4 in that it employs its language to reverse the image of peace to that of war. Likewise, Zech 8:20–23, written in the late 6th century, employs language and imagery from Isa 2:2–4/Mic 4:1–4 and perhaps Isa 7:14 to depict the nations' seeking YHWH at Zion (cf. Petersen, 1984, pp. 316–320). Clearly Isa

11. Other examples of YHWH's punishment of the nations appear in Isa 9:1–6; 11:12–16; 13–23; 14:24–27; 17:12–14; and 30:27–33.

2:2–4 was written earlier than Joel 4:9–12 and Zech 8:20–23. The other passages require closer examination in order to clarify the nature of their relationship and their relevance for understanding the historical setting of Isa 2:2–4.

Isa 37:30–32/2 Kgs 19:29–31 reports the sign given to Hezekiah during Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem which insures that YHWH will deliver the city. It employes agricultural imagery to speak of the remnant of Judah which will survive the siege and again "take root" in the city of Jerusalem. Its relationship to Isa 2:2–4 is evident from the formulation of v. 32 (= 2 Kgs 19:31) which is very similar to Isa 2:3b:

Isa 37:32: *kî mîrûšālayim tēṣēʾ šĕʾērît ûpĕlêṭā mēhar ṣiyyôn qinʾat yhwh
             taʿăśeh zōʾt*
Isa 2:3b: *kî miṣṣiyyôn tēṣēʾ tôrā ûdĕbar yhwh mîrûšālāyim*

Both verses share the same syntactical structure, verb, and objects, although the positions of the two objects, Jerusalem and Zion, have been exchanged. The two subjects of each verse are different in that Isa 37:32 includes *šĕʾērît/pĕlêṭâ* whereas Isa 2:3b uses *tôrā/dĕbar yhwh*. Such a striking correspondence indicates that one must be modeled on the other.

There are a number of reasons for maintaining that Isa 37:32/2 Kgs 19:31 is modeled on Isa 2:3b. Isa 37:30–32, together with 37:22–29, interrupts Isaiah's response to Hezekiah and is considered a secondary interpolation in this text (Wildberger, 1982, pp. 1420–21). Isa 37:32 contains the statement, "the Zeal of YHWH Seba'ot shall do this," which also appears in Isa 9:6. This suggests the possibility that the author of Isa 37:32 borrowed the phrase from Isa 9:6. The agricultural imagery associated with the remnant in Jerusalem in Isa 37:30–32 corresponds to that of Isa 4:2ff. Isa 4:2ff concludes the text unit introduced by Isa 2:2–4 and plays a key role in the structure of Isaiah 2–4, demonstrating how the ideal situation of 2:2–4 will be realized. It appears that the author of Isa 37:30–32 combined the remnant motif and agricultural imagery of Isa 4:2ff with Isa 2:3, which states what will come forth from Zion, and Isa 9:6, which validates YHWH's plans for the future king. All three texts deal with the future time of promise, and it appears that the author of Isa 37:30–32 has used them to construct a new text which promises the restoration of Jerusalem/Judah.

The reason for creating this text relates to the function of Isaiah 36–39 in the structure of the book of Isaiah. Recent research has demonstrated the important role that Isaiah 36–39 plays in linking chapters 40–66 with chapters 1–35 (Ackroyd, 1974, 1982a, 1982b; cf. Sweeney,

1988, pp. 12–17). An important aspect of this function is that Isaiah 36–39 employs various elements from the narrative in Isa 7:1–9:6 to present a deliberate contrast between the figures of Hezekiah and Ahaz. Whereas Isa 7:1–9:6 portrays Ahaz as a sinful king who brought YHWH's punishment on the people in the form of the Assyrian empire, Hezekiah's righteousness prepares for YHWH's restoration of the people as announced by Second Isaiah. In this respect, Isa 37:30–32 plays a key role. By adding the "sign" to the narrative, which the context indicates that Hezekiah accepts, it provides a parallel to the sign which Ahaz rejected in Isa 7:10–25 and therefore aids in establishing the contrast between the two kings. By announcing the restoration of the remnant of Judah, it anticipates Second Isaiah's message.

Likewise, Isa 37:22–29 recalls the arrogance of the Assyrians through-out the first part of the book but looks forward to YHWH's overthrow of Jerusalem's enemies in the second part of the book. Note that the statement in v. 26, "Have you not heard that I determined it long ago, etc.," corresponds to similar statements in Isa 40:21, 28; 44:8; 45:21; 46:8–11 (cf. Kaiser, 1974, p. 396). In this respect, it is important to note that Isa 37:22–29 is also viewed as a secondary interpolation in this narrative (Wildberger, 1982, pp. 1420–21). This indicates that the addition of Isa 37:22–29, 30–32 plays an important role in enabling the narratives in Isaiah 36–39 to serve as an editorial link between First Isaiah and Second Isaiah.

These considerations indicate that the author of Isa 37:30–32 pre-supposes Isa 2:2–4. Furthermore, the secondary character of Isa 37:22–29 and 37:30–32 in the literary setting of Isaiah 36–39 together with their linguistic and conceptual connections with both First and Second Isaiah suggests that they play a major role in linking these two parts of the book of Isaiah. This suggests that Isa 2:2–4 was known in the early post-exilic period by the editors who combined Second Isaiah with First Isaiah.

Isaiah 51:4–6 maintains that YHWH is sending forth His Torah and justice as a light to the people. Verse 4 is particularly important in that it includes the statement, *kî tôrā mē'ittî tēṣē' ûmišpāṭî lĕ'ôr 'ammîm,* 'For Torah goes forth from Me and My justice shall be a light of the peoples'. Obviously, it includes some syntactical, lexical, and conceptual parallels with Isa 2:3. However, there are major differences between the two passages. Isa 51:4 pairs *tôrā* with *mišpāṭ* instead of *dĕbar yhwh.* Where-as Isa 2:3 states that Torah will go forth from Jerusalem, Isa 51:4 states that Torah goes forth from YHWH and says nothing at all about

Jerusalem. According to Second Isaiah, YHWH is returning to Jerusalem (Isa 40:9-11; 52:7-10) but Isa 2:3 presupposes that He is already there. Furthermore, Isa 51:4 says nothing about a pilgrimage of the nations to Zion, the central motif of Isa 2:3. The only context in which Second Isaiah mentions the nations' approach to Zion is Isa 49:22-23, where they bring the exiles back to Jerusalem and then submit to them, as well as to YHWH, in shame. The concept of the nations submitting to the exiled Judeans is completely foreign to Isa 2:3, however. These differences indicate that Isa 51:4 does not presuppose Isa 2:3.

The syntactic, lexical, and thematic parallels between the two passages do suggest that Isa 2:2-4, 5 represents a progression in thought from Second Isaiah. As indicated above, the pilgrimage motif whereby the nations voluntarily come to Jerusalem to revere YHWH and receive His benefits first appears in Jer 3:17-18; 16:19-21 but is primarily characteristic of Third Isaiah (Isa 60:1-7) and Zechariah (Zech 2:8-12; 8:20-23) in the early post-exilic period. Furthermore, Isa 51:4 is dependent on the servant song in Isa 42:1-4 where the servant takes YHWH's justice to the nations (Westermann, 1969, p. 235). There appears to be a development in thought from Second Isaiah to Third Isaiah and Zechariah. Second Isaiah maintains that YHWH will send His Torah and justice to the nations and that the nations will then bring the exiles to Zion and submit to them in shame. Third Isaiah and Zechariah maintain that the nations will come to Zion, not in shame, but to entreat YHWH (Zech 8:20-23) or in recognition of YHWH's glory and Jerusalem's light (Isa 60:2-3). Isa 2:2-4 contains the motifs of YHWH's Torah going out to the nations as well as the nations' voluntary recognition of YHWH at Zion. As noted above, Zech 8:20-23 presupposes Isa 2:2-4. This indicates that Isa 2:2-4 was written in the late 6th century, following the period of Second Isaiah and prior to the building of the Second Temple. The vision of universal peace and the nations' acknowledgment of YHWH corresponds well to the expectations for the reign of King Cyrus (539-530 B.C.E.). His designation as YHWH's anointed (Isa 45:1; cf. 44:28), his lenient treatment of subject populations including his decree for the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple (2 Chron 36:22-23; Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-5),[12] and the general peace which followed the fall of Babylon contributed toward a general attitude of optimism among Jews which would have prompted the writing of such a vision. The renewal of

12. Cf. Pritchard (1969, p. 316). On Cyrus' policies toward subject populations, see Kuhrt (1983).

political unrest during the reigns of Cambyses (530–522) and Darius I (522–486) make it unlikely that the oracle would have been written later than the building of the Second Temple.

Conclusion

In sum, the above evidence demonstrates three important points: 1) there is no reason to limit the referent of "House of Jacob" in Isa 2:5, 6 to the northern kingdom of Israel. Instead, it appears to include all the tribes of Israel, centered in Jerusalem; 2) Isaiah 2:5 is the product of a later writer, influenced by the work of Second Isaiah, who intended to link Isa 2:2–4 with Isa 2:6ff. Furthermore, "House of Jacob" appears to be an addition to Isa 2:6 intended to link Isa 2:6ff with Isa 2:5; 3) the conceptual and historical setting of Isa 2:2–4 corresponds best to the late 6th century, shortly before the building of the Second Temple.

On the basis of this evidence and the observation that Isa 2:5 serves as the "thesis" in the structure of Isaiah 2–4, it may be concluded that the final structure and form of Isaiah 2–4 is not the product of an original author, such as Isaiah ben Amoz. Instead, it is the product of a redaction which assembled, organized, supplemented, and reinterpreted earlier Isaianic material during the late 6th century. The intent of the redaction was to re-present earlier Isaianic material to convince Jews during the late exilic period that YHWH's covenant with them was still in effect. Although Jerusalem had been destroyed and the people exiled, this punishment was intended to produce a purified remnant in Zion which would serve as the center for the recognition of YHWH's sovereignty by all the nations of the earth. Consequently, the ultimate purpose of this redaction was to convince the post-exilic Jewish population to undertake the task of rebuilding Zion so that it could assume this role.

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