

particular all had a beginning, a *terminus a quo*, and an end, a *terminus ad quem*, and in between a whole range or history of fulfilments. But when Jesus of Nazareth had come, the early church and generations of Christians following it have believed that, ultimately speaking, every messianic prophecy, every messianism even, found its fulfilment in Jesus, the 'Christ' which—let us not forget this each time we say it—means the Messiah. It is thus that we understand Paul in 2 Corinthians 1:19-20:

'For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, whom we proclaimed among you, Silvanus and Timothy and I, was not 'Yes and No' but in him it is always 'Yes'. For in him every one of God's promises is a 'Yes'. For this reason it is through him that we say the 'Amen', to the glory of God.'

CHAPTER 6

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN THE 'SERVANT SONGS' OF ISAIAH: A SECOND MOSES FIGURE¹

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Summary

No explanation for the identity of the servant of the Lord in the 'servant songs' of Isaiah commands a scholarly consensus. This study attempts to overcome the pre-sent impasse by rejecting the dismemberment of Isaiah 40-66 advanced by Duhamel and others, who isolate the 'servant songs' from their immediate literary context. Taking account of that context, which is dominated by a pervasive second exodus theme, this essay argues that Isaiah's servant figure is to be identified with the expected 'prophet like Moses' (Dt. 18:14ff.; 34:10ff.). Such an approach enriches the interpretation of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 in particular and offers substantial support for the New Testament's messianic interpretation without presupposing that interpretation, as is often done.

⁷¹C.K. Beale (ed.), *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the use of the Old Testament in the New*, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994).

¹This essay is a revised version of a paper read on 5th July 1994 before the Old Testament Study Group of the Tyndale Fellowship in Swanwick, Derbyshire.

I. Introduction

In spite of the proliferation of scholarly attempts to identify the servant of the Lord in the so-called 'servant songs' of Isaiah (42:1-4 [Heb. v. 9]; 49:1-6 [13]; 50:4-9 [11]; and 52:13-53:12), as yet no theory appears capable of commanding a scholarly consensus.² On the other hand, the New Testament's messianic interpretation remains unconvincing as an original referent for the servant figure because it seems too remote from any posited historical context for Deutero-Isaiah.³ After surveying a few commonly proposed identifications for the servant, the present study will attempt to rehabilitate an earlier view that, with important exceptions, has been largely neglected in recent scholarship, namely an identification of the servant with the expected 'prophet like Moses' mentioned in Deuteronomy 18:14ff. and 34:10ff.

II. Alternative Identifications of the Servant in the Servant Songs of Isaiah

1. *The Servant in the Servant Songs of Isaiah refers to corporate Israel*⁴

Although the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:32-35 apparently considered it self-evident that Isaiah 53 refers to an individual, many modern interpreters hold that the figure identified as 'my servant' (עַבְדִּי) in 52:13 and 53:11 bears a collective reference, whether it is to the nation

²For a summary of attempts to identify the servant figure, see C.R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. An Historical and Critical Study* (2nd ed; Oxford: OUP, 1956); H.H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and other Essays on the Old Testament* (2nd ed; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965); D.J.A. Clines, *I, He, We and They: A Literary Approach to Isaiah 53* [JSOTS 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1976]; C.G. Kruse, 'The Servant Songs: Interpretive Trends since C.R. North', *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 8:1 (1978) 3-27; and D. F. Payne, 'Recent Trends in the Study of Isaiah 53', *Irish Biblical Studies* 1 (1979) 3-18.

³Given the mounting evidence for the literary unity of the book of Isaiah in its canonical form, the term 'Deutero-Isaiah' is retained here merely as a scholarly convention. No particular scheme of dating or compositional history for the book is presupposed.

⁴H.L. Ginsberg considers Daniel 11:33-35; 12:3 to offer evidence that the earliest interpretation of Isaiah's servant was a collective one since it describes faithful Jews of the Antiochene period as the 'wise', alluding to Is. 52:13 ('The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant', *VT* 3 [1953] 400-404). Cf. also J. Day, 'DA'AT "Humiliation" in Isaiah LIII 11 in the Light of Isaiah LIII 3 and Daniel XII 4, and the Oldest Known Interpretation of the Suffering Servant', *VT* 30 (1980) 97-103; J.J. Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 385, 393; R.J. Clifford, 'Isaiah, Book of (Second Isaiah)', *ABD*, 3, 490-501, at 500.

of Israel as a whole, to an ideal Israel, or to a faithful remnant of Israel.⁵ In support of a collective reference, it may be noted that the singular terms 'my servant' (עַבְדִּי), 'his servant' (עַבְדוֹ), and 'servant' (עַבְד) appear twentyfive times in the book of Isaiah.⁶ In twelve of these (all in chs. 40-53) the intended reference appears to be Israel.⁷ For example, 41:8f. reads:

But you, Israel, my servant [עַבְדִּי], Jacob, whom I have chosen, the offspring of Abraham, my friend; you whom I took from the ends of the earth, and called from its farthest corners, saying to you, 'You are my servant [עַבְדִּי], I have chosen you and not cast you off...'

Furthermore, in the servant songs there are several other descriptions or designations for the servant which are also used quite explicitly of Israel elsewhere in Isaiah. In particular, in the first servant song the expression 'whom I uphold' (אֲחַזְקֶנּוּ, 42:1), which qualifies 'my servant', parallels a similar promise addressed to Israel in 41:10, 'I will uphold you' (אֲחַזְקֶנּוּ). Also in 42:1 'my chosen' (בְּחִירִי) is a designation that is used of all Israel in 43:20; 45:4; 65:9, 15, 22 (cf. 1 Ch. 16:13; Pss. 105:6, 43; 106:5). Likewise, the expression 'called me from the womb'

⁵Cf., e.g., J. Muilenburg, who identifies the servant with Israel ('The Book of Isaiah, Ch. 40-66', *Interpreter's Bible*, 5 [New York: Abingdon, 1956] 406-14) and N.H. Snaith, who identifies the servant more precisely with the Israelites who were exiled in 597 BC and perhaps also 586 BC ('Isaiah 40-66: A Study of the Teaching of Second Isaiah and Its Consequences', in *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah* [VTS 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977] 135-264, at 170). Cf. J.E. Rembaum, 'The Development of a Jewish Exegetical Tradition Regarding Isaiah 53', *HTR* 75 (1982) 239-311.

A significant variant of this approach is offered by J. Lindblom, who views the servant as an allegorical symbol for Israel (*The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah: A New Attempt to Solve an Old Problem* [Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1951] 46-51, 102-104). Cf. L.E. Wilshire ('The Servant-City: A New Interpretation of the "Servant of the Lord" in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah', *JBL* 94 [1975] 356-67) and K. Jeppesen ('Mother Zion, Father Servant: A Reading of Isaiah 49-55', in H.A. McKay and D.J.A. Clines [eds.], *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages. Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday* [JSOTS 162; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993] 109-25).

⁶In Isaiah 'my servant' (עַבְדִּי) appears fifteen times: 20:3; 22:20; 37:35; 41:8, 9; 42:1, 19; 43:10; 44:1, 2, 21; 45:4; 49:3; 52:13; 53:11. 'His servant' (עַבְדוֹ) appears four times: 44:26; 48:20; 50:10; 63:11 (see *BHS* notes). 'Servant' (עַבְד) appears six times: 24:2; 42:19; 44:21; 49:5, 6, 7.

⁷Is. 41:8, 9; 42:19 (twice); 43:10; 44:1, 2, 21 (twice); 45:4; 48:20; and 49:3. The plural term 'servants' nowhere appears before ch. 53. Starting in 54:17 it appears eleven times to the exclusion of the singular term. In each case it refers to the people of God, including converted foreigners, as in 56:6 (cf. 56:3).

(מִבֶּטֶן קָרָאתִי) in 49:1 in the second servant song finds a parallel in 'formed you in the womb' (וַיִּצְרֶךְ מִבֶּטֶן), which is addressed to Israel in 44:2, 24. Additionally, 'he named me' (הוֹכִיר שְׁמִי) in 49:1 may find a parallel in 'I have called you by name' (קָרָאתִי בְשִׁמְךָ), which is addressed to Israel in 43:1. Finally, אֹרֶן גּוֹיִם ('a light to the nations') which appears in 49:6, is used of all Israel in 51:4 and perhaps 42:6, although this latter text may refer to an individual.

With reference to the fourth servant song, where the servant suffers, dies, and yet apparently lives (53:10f.), it is notable that the sufferings of Israel are similarly depicted in Ezekiel 37 as entailing a figurative death and resurrection. Moreover, it is possible that Israel's 'death' was thought to have benefited the nations, as is suggested by the imagery of Isaiah 53, by virtue of the witness of faithful exilic Israelites, such as Daniel, Esther, and Mordecai (cf., e.g., Est. 8:17; Zc. 2:11; see also Is. 2:1-4).⁸ Furthermore, the imagery of being as sheep led to slaughter in 53:7 is used also of Israel in Psalm 44:22. Even the remarkable expression '...he shall bear their iniquities' (וְעֹנֵתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל) in 53:11 need not exclude an identification with Israel since it does not require the notion of vicarious suffering. It can be used quite generally to refer to those who suffer the consequences of the offences of others, as is the case in Lamentations 5:7, 'Our ancestors sinned; they are no more, and we bear their iniquities' (אֲנַחְנוּ [וְאֲנַחְנוּ Q:] עֹנֵתֵיהֶם סָבַלְנוּ).

In spite of its attractiveness, however, there are three serious objections to this view. First, the servant suffers or dies, according to 53:9, 'though he had done no violence, nor was any deceit in his mouth.' Similarly, the servant confesses in 50:5, 'The Lord Yahweh has opened my ear, and I was not rebellious, I did not turn backward.' Although righteousness is promised for eschatological Israel (cf. 1:26f.; 32:16f.; 53:11; 60:21; 61:3, 10f.; 62:2, 12), Deutero-Isaiah repeatedly stresses that contemporary Israel is a sinful people who suffer on account of their own transgressions (40:2; 42:18-25; 43:22-28; 47:7; 48:18f.; 50:1; 54:7; 57:17; 59:2ff.). This point is made specifically with reference to the remnant in 43:22; 46:3, 12; 48:1, 8; 53:6, 8; 55:7; 58:1ff.; 63:17; 64:5-7.⁹

⁸Against this, however, see H.M. Orlinsky, 'The So-Called "Servant of the Lord" and "Suffering Servant" in Second Isaiah', in *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah*, 3-133.

⁹Although Isaiah acknowledges that Babylon acted without mercy (47:6; cf. Zc. 1:15), against the supposition that Israel's corporate sufferings went beyond the requirements of divine justice, Isaiah stresses rather that judgement had been tempered by divine mercy (cf., e.g., 1:9; 44:22; 48:9; 57:16).

Second, with B. Duhm it is notable that while outside the servant songs the 'servant' figure clearly does refer to corporate Israel, the songs themselves are distinguished precisely by the fact that within each of them the 'servant' appears to be an individual.¹⁰ Especially remarkable is 49:1ff., which introduces the second servant song. The servant of the Lord is called 'Israel' in verse 3, but in verses 5 and 6 he is distinguished from another 'Israel', which from the context can only refer to the repentant remnant (49:3-6):

He said to me, 'You are my servant, *Israel*, in whom I will display my splendour.' But I said, 'I have laboured to no purpose; I have spent my strength in vain and for nothing. Yet what is due me is in Yahweh's hand, and my reward is with my God.' And now Yahweh says—he who formed me in the womb to be his servant to bring Jacob back to him and gather *Israel* to himself, for I am honoured in the eyes of Yahweh and my God has been my strength—he says: 'It is too small a thing for you to be my servant to restore the tribes of Jacob and bring back those of *Israel* I have kept. I will also make you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring my salvation to the ends of the earth.'¹¹

Given the well-established dual usage of the term 'Israel' elsewhere, where it can refer either to the individual patriarch or to the nation of which he was the progenitor, there can be no inherent objection to a similar dual usage of this term within Isaiah, where it bears both an individual and a collective reference.

Moreover, there are at least four other examples where the songs appear to distinguish the servant from the repentant remnant of Israel to whom he ministers. In 42:3 the servant is differentiated from needy and tender-conscienced Israelites (the 'bruised reed', which he will not break, and 'the dimly burning wick', which he does not quench).¹² A similar contrast is implied by 42:6 and 49:8, where the servant is promised that he will be made 'a covenant for the people'. A final example is found in 53:8: '...For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people' (וְעַלֵּי). From the

¹⁰B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja Übersetzt und Erklärt* (4th ed; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1922) 311.

¹¹Although the originality of 'Israel' in 49:3 in the MT has been disputed (see, e.g., S.O.P. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* [ET; Oxford: Blackwell, 1956] 462-64; Orlinsky, 'The So-Called "Servant of the Lord"', 79-89), its inclusion is supported by all Hebrew MSS except Kenn 96, by both 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b, as well as by the LXX (except LXX^Q,⁵³⁴, which read Ιαχωβ in place of Ισραηλ), the Targum, the Vulgate, and the Peshitta. It is also favoured by the principle of *lectio difficilior*.

context 'my people' (עַמִּי) must refer to the forgiven, restored people of God, whether the 'my' refers to Yahweh or to the prophet. Accordingly, an identification of the servant with Israel is excluded because the 'he' who was 'cut off' cannot have the same referent as 'my people'.¹³

The third and final objection to an identification of the servant in the songs with corporate Israel is the observation that throughout Isaiah whenever the pronouns 'we', 'our', or 'us' are introduced abruptly, as in 53:1ff. (that is, without an explicit identification of the speakers, as in 2:3; 3:6; 4:1; etc.), it is always the prophet speaking on behalf of the people of Israel with whom he identifies (1:9f.; 16:6; 24:26; 33:2, 20; 42:24; 59:9-12; 63:15-19; 64:3-11; etc.).¹⁴ Accordingly, if the 'we' or 'us' in 53:1ff. is the prophet speaking on behalf of Israel, then the 'he' or 'him' of these same verses cannot also be a reference to Israel.

Consistent with this observation, other considerations support an interpretation of the 'we' in 53:6 as a reference to Israel, with whom the prophet identifies: 'All we like sheep have gone astray; we have all turned to our own way, and Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all.' There are well known parallels for the comparison between Israel and sheep who have gone astray: Psalm 95:7-10; 119:176; Jeremiah 50:6.¹⁵ At several points within Isaiah the prophet acknowledges both his own sinfulness and the universality of sin among the people of Israel (cf. 6:5; 59:11-13; 64:5-9). Accordingly, if the 'we' of 53:6 is Israel, with whom the prophet identifies (hence the emphatic comprehensiveness of the first person plural references: 'all we' [כָּלֵנוּ] and 'us all' [כָּלֵנוּ]), the 'him' cannot at the same time be a reference to Israel.¹⁶

In summary, although surrounded by texts that refer to corporate Israel as a servant, the servant of the servant songs, who innocent-

¹²Cf. 40:28-31; 51:4; 61:3. Alternatively, R.F. Melugin argues that 42:3 needs to be interpreted in light of 19:6; 36:6; and 43:17. Accordingly, the verse underscores the uncompromising fidelity of the servant: He 'will not rely on a crushed reed and thus break it; nor will he depend upon and thus extinguish a dimly-burning wick' (*The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* [BZAW 141; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1976] 99).

¹³This conclusion holds whether or not one chooses to emend the MT, 'my people' (עַמִּי), to read 'his people' (עַמּוֹ) with 1QIsa^a.

¹⁴See F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1873) Vol. II, 310.

¹⁵Other texts compare the people of Israel to a wandering shepherdless flock: Nu. 27:17; 1 Ki. 22:17; 2 Ch. 18:16; Zc. 10:2.

¹⁶For additional arguments against the collective interpretation of the servant figure, see J. Fischer, *Das Buch Isaias, II Teil* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1939) 10f.; North, *The Suffering Servant*, 6ff.

ly and obediently suffers for the transgression of the people (53:4-12) and who brings salvation to the Gentiles and restores Jacob/Israel to Yahweh (49:5-6), is not to be equated with corporate Israel. By allowing him to share the servant designation of corporate Israel, however, and in one verse even the name 'Israel' (49:3), the prophet may be suggesting that this one is everything Israel should have been, as he faithfully fulfils the role to which Israel had been called.¹⁷

2. The Servant in the Servant Songs of Isaiah as an Historical, Future, or Ideal Individual

(1) A Prophetic Servant (Deutero-Isaiah himself)

If the servant is not to be identified exclusively as a collective reference to Israel, it may plausibly refer to some individual who was a predecessor or a contemporary of the author, or perhaps it refers to the prophet himself.¹⁸ This was the suggestion of the Ethiopian eunuch: '...About whom, may I ask you, does the prophet say this, about himself or about someone else?' (Acts 8:34) An indirect corporate reference is still possible, however, if the individual servant is intended as the representative or example for his people.¹⁹

In favour of an identification with the prophet himself is the fact that in 20:3 Isaiah is explicitly identified as 'my servant': 'Then Yahweh said, "Just as my servant Isaiah [יְשַׁעְיָהוּ עַבְדִּי] has walked naked and barefoot for three years as a sign and a portent against

¹⁷Cf. the frequently cited pyramid analogy of Delitzsch, according to which the 'servant' designation is used of Israel as a whole (the base of the pyramid), it is used also of the purified remnant of Israel (the middle section), and it is used finally of the coming saviour (the apex), who is the embodiment of Israel (*Isaiah*, Vol. II, 174f.).

¹⁸That the servant in all four songs is the prophet himself is held by, among many others, J. Begrich (*Studien zu Deuterojesaja*, [BWANT 4/25; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938]), R.N. Whybray (*Isaiah 40-66* [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1975] 71, 171-83), and K. Elliger (*Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja* [BWANT 63; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933]; *idem*, *Deuterojesaja. 1. Teilband: Jesaja 40,1-45,7* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978] 198-221). Of course, there are significant variations in detail.

¹⁹This appears to be the logic of the New Testament authors, who combine the collective and individual interpretations of the servant songs by applying the details of the servant songs both to Jesus and to the church, since they are viewed as one. Cf., e.g., 'there was no deceit in his mouth' in 53:9, which is applied to Christ in 1 Pet. 2:22, but to those who follow the lamb in Rev. 14:5. Note also how 49:6 is applied to Christ in Acts 26:23, but to Paul and Silas in Acts 13:47. Similarly, in Rom. 8:33f. Paul applies 50:8-9, taken from the third servant song, to the church.

Egypt and Ethiopia...” Similarly 44:26 applies the term ‘his servant’ (עַבְדֵי) either to Isaiah, or at least to the prophets as a class:

...who confirms the word of his servant [עַבְדֵי], and fulfils the prediction of his messengers; who says of Jerusalem, ‘It shall be inhabited’, and of the cities of Judah, ‘They shall be rebuilt, and I will raise up their ruins...’²⁰

Perhaps the most compelling proof, however, that the servant is to be equated with Deutero-Isaiah is the presence of first person pronominal references in the second and third servant songs (e.g., 49:1, ‘Yahweh called *me* before I was born...’).²¹

Other details concerning the servant support a prophetic identity. This is so, for example, with the themes of rejection and suffering in the third and fourth servant songs (50:6-9; 53:3-12; cf. 42:4; 49:4, 7). Such rejection was predicted for Isaiah himself in 6:10 and was a common experience of many of the prophets. As with the servant in 53:7, the image of a lamb being led to the slaughter is employed in Jeremiah 11:19 to describe the prophet Jeremiah’s sufferings. Likewise, just as the servant bears the punishment of the people in 53:4ff., so also in Ezekiel 4:4-6 the prophet Ezekiel is instructed to bear the punishment of Israel. Furthermore, the intercessory work of the servant predicted in 53:12 is suggestive of a prophet: ‘...yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.’ See, for example, Genesis 20:7; 1 Samuel 12:23; Jeremiah 7:16; 27:18. In 42:1 the emphasis on the servant’s enduing with the spirit in 42:1 is consistent with a prophetic identification (cf. 61:1; Nu. 11:25ff.; Ne. 9:30; Zc. 7:12; etc.), as is his work in proclaiming the law in 42:4 (cf. 8:16). Accordingly, the servant confesses in 49:2, ‘He made my mouth like a sharp sword...’ This prophetic cast is perhaps most clear in the third servant song:

The Lord Yahweh has given me the tongue of a teacher, that I may know how to sustain the weary with a word... Who among you fears Yahweh and obeys the voice of his servant, who walks in darkness and has no light, yet trusts in the name of Yahweh and relies upon his God? (50:4, 10)

In spite of the strengths of this approach and the likelihood that there

²⁰Outside Isaiah the servant designation is used of various prophets. Cf., e.g., Ahijah in 1 Ki. 14:18; Elijah in 1 Ki. 18:36, etc.; Jonah in 2 Ki. 14:25.

²¹See, e.g., Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterocesaja*, 132; A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah* (ET; London: Lutterworth, 1955) 67.

are prophetic traits in the portrait of the servant, there are other characteristics that cannot be harmonized with a prophetic identity, and the attempt to equate the servant with Deutero-Isaiah is unconvincing. Although the appearance of first person pronominal references for the servant in the second and third songs is striking, it is not sufficient to establish an identification with Deutero-Isaiah since this theory leaves unexplained the use of third person references for the servant in the first and fourth songs, which purportedly are no less autobiographical.²² Moreover, it is simply not the case that unintroduced first person references within prophetic discourse necessarily refer either to God or to the prophet. While this is a typical practice, there are a sufficient number of counter-examples, such as Isaiah 61:10, where the unannounced speaker appears to be a personified Zion, to require caution. Further, as mentioned earlier, whenever the pronouns ‘we’, ‘our’, or ‘us’ are introduced abruptly in Isaiah, as in 53:1ff., it is always the prophet speaking on behalf of the people of Israel, with whom he identifies. Accordingly, if the ‘we’ or ‘us’ in 53:1ff. is the prophet speaking on behalf of Israel, as the emphatic universality of 53:6 seems to require, then the ‘he’ or ‘him’ of these same verses cannot also be a reference to the prophet.²³

Furthermore, it is only with difficulty that the servant’s commission to ‘bring forth/establish justice in the earth’ in 42:1, 3f. can be applied to a prophet.²⁴ It is also hard to square what is said of the exaltation of the servant in 52:13 (‘See, my servant shall prosper; he shall be exalted and lifted up, and shall be very high’) and his impact on ‘many nations’ and ‘kings’ in 52:15 (cf. 49:7) with the experience of Deutero-Isaiah or that of virtually any other prophet. This latter difficulty is recognised by many interpreters who favour the present approach. As a result, H.M. Orlinsky and R.N. Whybray, among others, argue that 52:13-15 is an independent oracle promising the reversal of Israel’s fortunes (Israel is ‘my servant’ in 52:13), and it ought to be detached from 53:1-12 (where the prophet Deutero-Isaiah is ‘my

²²See North, *The Suffering Servant*, 196f.

²³This interpretation of 53:6 finds support in other texts, such as 6:5; 59:12, 16; 64:6, in which the prophet acknowledges his own sin and personal disqualification.

²⁴Whybray does not succeed in establishing his claim that ‘bring forth justice’ (יִצְוֶה מִשְׁפָּט) in 42:1, 3 and ‘establish justice’ (יָשִׁים מִשְׁפָּט) in 42:4 mean merely ‘to publish/proclaim God’s universal rule’ (*Isaiah* 40-66, 72f.). Although ‘bring forth justice’ (יָצַו, Hiphil with מִשְׁפָּט) is found nowhere else, the traditional rendering is favoured by 51:4; Hab. 1:4, 7; Ps. 17:2, where the Qal of יָצַו appears with מִשְׁפָּט. The expression ‘establish justice’ (יָשַׁם with מִשְׁפָּט) is found in Ex. 15:25; Jos. 24:25; 1 Sa. 30:25; and Is. 28:17, none of which support Whybray’s proposal.

servant' in 53:12).²⁵ Such a suggestion, however, is unconvincing in the face of the coherence of 52:15b with 53:1a and the impressive A-B-C-B-A concentric literary structure of 52:13-53:12 as a whole.²⁶ In particular, the terminology of 'my servant' (52:13 and 53:11) offers an *inclusio*, as does also the theme of the servant's exaltation in the two A-sections: 52:13-15 and 53:10-12. These A-sections are distinguished by their use of 'my', 'I', and 'many'. On the other hand, both B-sections, 53:1-3 and 53:7-9, which stress the servant's rejection, and the central C-section, 53:4-6, which stresses the significance of the servant's suffering, employ 'we' and 'our'.²⁷ Accordingly, although the exaltation in 52:13 is particularly troublesome for an identification of the servant in that text as the prophet, the parallel exaltation in 53:12 is no less so: 'Therefore I will allot him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong...'²⁸

Finally, as observed by J.L. McKenzie, from the context of chs. 40-66 it would be quite unexpected for Isaiah to be intensely personal in these servant songs, as is claimed by those who identify the servant with the prophet.²⁹ In his larger work the prophet hides himself so thoroughly behind his message that the resulting composition is among the least biographical of any of the prophets.

(2) *A Royal Servant (including the traditional Messianic View)*³⁰

Without diminishing the impressive list of evidences in favour of prophetic elements in the portrait of the servant figure, other scholars have adduced equally cogent arguments for recognizing various royal aspects to his work. The designation 'servant' (עֶבֶד) is commonly used

²⁵Orlinsky, 'The So-Called "Servant of the Lord"', 17-23; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 169f.

²⁶For recognition of the concentric structure of the fourth song, involving five paragraphs of three verses each, see, e.g., F.D. Kidner, 'Isaiah', in *NBCR* (Leicester: IVP, 1970) 618; and G.W. Grogan, 'Isaiah', in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 6 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986) 300. Cf. also J.D. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (Waco: Word Books, 1987) 229.

²⁷For this *inclusio* as an argument against detachment of 52:13-15, see C. Stuhlmüller, 'Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah', in R.E. Brown *et al.* (eds.), *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990) 342.

²⁸Cf. 49:7. See also Rowley, who considers it incredible that the servant could be other than a future figure. He remarks, 'To suppose that the prophet cherished the confidence that he himself was destined to achieve this mission, yet died without even beginning it, is to ascribe these glorious songs to empty egotism' (*The Servant of the Lord*, 52-53).

²⁹*Second Isaiah* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968) xlvi. Cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (ET; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962, 1965) Vol. II, 238.

of royal figures both within Isaiah and elsewhere. For example, 37:35 identifies David as 'my servant': 'For I will defend this city to save it, for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David' (דָּוִד עֶבְדִּי) David is also identified as 'the servant of Yahweh' (עֶבֶד יְהוָה) in Psalm 18:1; 36:1, and pronominal forms of the term 'servant' (עֶבֶד; *i.e.*, 'my servant', 'your servant', 'his servant'), referring to Yahweh, are applied to David in dozens of other verses.³¹ Likewise, in 42:1 the designation 'my chosen one' (בְּחִירִי) for the servant may also suggest a royal identity, since this term is applied to David in Psalm 89:3 [Heb. v. 4].

The assertion in 42:1 that Yahweh has placed his Spirit on his servant is congruent with a royal identity (*cf.* 11:1-3), but it does not require one. The intended result of that enduing, however, does favour a royal identity: the servant 'will bring forth justice' in 42:1, 3 and 'establish justice in the earth' in 42:4 (*cf.* 51:4).

In the fourth song the texts which describe the response of earthly kings to the servant (52:14-15) and which promise victory and the exaltation of the servant (52:13; 53:12) likewise support a royal identity for the servant. The same is true of the honorific acknowledgment by kings and princes, who will 'stand up' and also 'prostrate themselves' before the servant in 49:7.

In 53:2 the twin metaphors of the tender shoot and the root, though less clear in their implication, may also suggest a royal figure. Supporting this implication is the mention of the 'root of Jesse' (שֵׁרֶשׁ יֵשׁוּ) in 11:10 (although the vocabulary differs from 53:2; compare also the 'branch' [צֶמַח] imagery for the Davidic scion in 11:1, found also in Je. 23:5; 33:15; Zc. 3:8; 6:12).³²

Striking parallels between the servant figure in the songs and the depiction of Cyrus in 44:28-45:13 (*cf.* 41:1-7, 25; 48:14) include the general similarity between the prediction prior to their birth of the

³⁰For the royal character of the servant, especially in the first song, see W.A.M. Beuken, 'Mišpār: The First Servant Song and Its Canonical Context', *VT* 22 (1972) 1-30, esp. 2-4; R.J. Clifford, 'Isaiah 40-66', in J.L. Mays (ed.), *Harper's Bible Commentary* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988) 575. O. Kaiser recognises the presence of royal (Davidic) traits in the servant of the first three songs, but Kaiser holds that this servant represents Israel, which has inherited the royal office (*Der königliche Knecht: eine traditionsgeschichtlich-exegetische Studie über die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterjesaja* [FRLANT, n.s. 52; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959] 18-31).

³¹See, e.g., 1 Sa. 23:10; 2 Sa. 3:18; 7:5, 8, 20, 26; 24:10; 1 Ki. 3:6; 8:24, 26, 66; 11:13, 32, 34, 36, 38; 14:8; 2 Ki. 8:19; 19:34; 1 Ch. 17:4, 7; 17:7, 18, 24; 21:8; 2 Ch. 6:15, 16, 17, 42; Ps. 78:70; 89:3[4], 20[21]; 144:9; Je. 33:21, 22, 26; Ezk. 34:23, 24; 37:24, 25.

³²See Midrash Tanḥuma on Nu. 1:2. Cf. also Grogan, 'Isaiah', 16.

careers of both figures (42:9; 49:1//44:26ff.), the congruence between the presence of the Spirit upon the servant in 42:1 and the 'anointing' (בִּשְׁחָ) of Cyrus in 45:1, and the fact that both are 'called' (קָרָא) by Yahweh (42:6//45:4), 'chosen' (בָּחַר) by Yahweh (49:7//42:1), and that Yahweh has 'taken [each] by the hand' (חָזַק Hiphil followed by בְּיָמִין / בְּיָד; 42:6//45:1). Israel is the beneficiary of the liberating work of both Cyrus and the servant (42:7; 49:5f.//45:4, 13), and God will enable both to succeed and to enjoy honour (42:4; 49:4f.; 50:7, 9; 52:12; 53:10, 12//44:28-45:5). Although these parallels do not constitute proof of identity, particularly in the light of the servant's explicit acknowledgement of Yahweh in 49:1-5 and 50:4-10 contrasted with the repeated assertion that Cyrus does not know Yahweh in 45:4f., nevertheless because Cyrus is clearly a royal figure, these parallels support a royal identity for the servant.³³ Accordingly, various scholars have argued in favour of identifying the servant of the songs with either Uzziah, Hezekiah, Josiah, Jehoiachin, Cyrus, Darius, or Zerubbabel, among others.³⁴

Drawing attention to the evidences of royal imagery discussed above, the traditional messianic interpretation of the servant songs argues that the servant is the promised offspring of David mentioned in Isaiah 7, 9, and 11.³⁵ Helping to link these texts to the concerns of the servant songs is 55:3-5, which renews the promise of an 'everlasting covenant' (בְּרִית עוֹלָם; cf. 42:6; 49:8), namely 'my steadfast, sure love for David' (חֶסֶד יְיָ הַנְּאֻמִּים). Just as the servant songs stress the international scope of the servant's ministry (42:1, 4, 6; 49:1, 6, 7; 52:15), in 55:4f. Yahweh asserts: 'I made him a witness to the peoples, a leader and commander for the peoples. See you shall call nations that you do

³³In spite of his significant role in Is. 44-45, Cyrus is nowhere called 'my servant' or 'servant' of the Lord, unlike Israel, who is so designated in the immediate context. Indeed, perhaps Cyrus is mentioned by name in 44:28; 45:1, 13 to make clear that he is not the servant figure intended elsewhere.

³⁴See North, *The Suffering Servant*, 39-42, 49, 56, 89. Watts combines several of these proposed identifications (*Isaiah* 34-66). In his view Cyrus is the 'servant' in 42:1ff., while Darius I is the 'servant' mentioned in 49:5ff., 52:13 and 53:11. On the other hand, the figure who suffers and dies in 52:14; 53:1, 3-10a, 12 refers to Zerubbabel, who also appears in 50:4-9.

³⁵See, e.g., D.H. Odendaal, *The Eschatological Expectation of Isaiah 40-66 with Special Reference to Israel and the Nations* (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1970) 129-35; E.J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, Vol. III: *Chapters XL-LXVI* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) 110, n. 5; Grogan, 'Isaiah', 16-20. Cf. also P.D. Wegner, *An Examination of Kingship and Messianic Expectation in Isaiah 1-35* (MBS; Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1992).

not know, and nations that do not know you shall run to you...³⁶ This promise is reminiscent of David's confession in 2 Samuel 22:44f. Although it is sometimes suggested that 55:3-5 transfers the substance of Yahweh's covenant with David to the people as a whole, this is not clear, and it is not favoured by the emphasis on the permanence of that covenant in vs. 3 and the use of singular forms ('him', 'witness', 'leader', 'commander', 'you') throughout 55:4f.³⁷

Against the traditional messianic interpretation, which looks to David as a source for the servant imagery in the songs, is the fact that apart from Isaiah 55 there is virtually a total absence of Davidic royal imagery throughout Isaiah 40-66, by contrast to what obtains in 1-39.³⁸ This absence may be explained by the historical reality of the subjugated state of exilic and post-exilic Israel, where one should hardly expect a promised deliverer to assume the profile of a king.³⁹ In any case, based on Israel's pre-exilic history, in which the monarchy arose only long after her deliverance from Egypt and settlement in the land (cf. Dt. 17:14), what was needed in the new reality would be not so much a new David as a new Moses or Joshua.

Furthermore, there are several specific difficulties with any attempt to identify the servant exclusively with a royal figure, whether that figure is understood as historical, ideal, or messianic. In particular, the earlier cited evidence for a prophetic role for the servant weighs against such a view—especially the emphasis on the gentle and sustaining effect of the servant's words (42:4f.; 50:4; cf. 49:2). If the servant were a king it would seem irrelevant to assert that 'he will not cry or lift up his voice, or make it heard in the street' (42:2). In spite of its frequent attestation, 'teaching' (תּוֹרָה, 42:4) is nowhere else ascribed to kings. Likewise, there is no obvious suggestion of royalty in the servant's multiple calling to 'open eyes that are blind' (42:7), to 'sprinkle [יָד] the nations', if this is the correct rendering of 52:13, or to suffer and make himself as a 'guilt offering' (זֶשֶׁן) in 53:10, etc. The abuse that David accepted from Shimei *et al.* may offer a possible parallel to the willingness of the servant to give his back to the smiters in 50:6, but such behaviour is hardly characteristic of royalty. Finally, the description of the servant as 'the slave of rulers' (לְעַבְדֵי מְשָׁלִים) in

³⁶Cf. also 2:2-4; 51:4-5.

³⁷See, e.g., Kidner, 'Isaiah', 619.

³⁸See W.J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1984) 190.

³⁹It is possible that the stress elsewhere in Isaiah on Yahweh's kingship (6:5; 24:23; 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; 52:7; 66:1; etc.) precludes a final kingly servant figure. Cf. R. Schultz, 'The King in the Book of Isaiah', in the present volume.

49:7 seems peculiar for any would-be scion of David.

(3) A Priestly Servant

Alternatively, some scholars have sought to do greater justice to the various priestly aspects of the servant's work by positing a reference to Jeremiah, who was both a priest and a prophet, to Ezekiel, who was also both a priest and a prophet, to Ezra, to Onias, or to some other contemporary priest.⁴⁰ The enhanced religious and civil leadership role of Israel's priesthood in the second temple period may add to the attractiveness of this approach. Certainly the term 'my servant' (עַבְדִּי, 42:1; 49:3) would be applicable to a priest in view of Zechariah 3:8, where Joshua the High Priest and his associates are said to prefigure 'my servant the Branch' (עַבְדִּי צֶמַח). Likewise, just as the servant is Yahweh's chosen (בְּחָר) in 42:1; 49:7, Aaron is chosen (בְּחָר) by Yahweh in Psalm 105:26 (cf. Dt. 18:5).

Other hints of the priestly identity of the servant include: the 'teaching/law' (תּוֹרָה) of the servant for which the coastlands wait (42:4; cf. Mal. 2:6-9); the 'justice' (מִשְׁפָּט) he is to establish (42:1, 3f.; cf. Dt. 17:9ff.; 2 Ki. 17:27; 2 Ch. 19:8); the mentioned 'reparation/guilt offering' (זָבַח) in 53:10; the fact that the servant 'sprinkles' (רָסַח) the nations in 52:15; and the servant's intercessory work in 53:12 (cf. Ps. 106:30; Je. 7:16).⁴¹ Deserving special note is the fact that in 53:4-6 Israel's guilt appears to devolve on the servant in a manner which is similar to the experience of the priests when they eat the sin and guilt offerings of the people (cf. Lv. 10:17; Zc. 3).⁴² In particular, the servant bears the punishment of the people in 53:4ff. in words that echo the experience of the prophet-priest Ezekiel in Ezekiel 4:4-6, and the servant's death effects atonement in 53:10-12 in a manner that is perhaps reminiscent of the symbolic expiatory consequence of the death of the High Priest in Numbers 35:25, 28, 32; Joshua 20:6.

For the purpose of the present study, it is enough to argue that even if all of these suggestions were equally convincing, they are not sufficient to identify the servant exclusively with a priestly figure. Some of these characteristics, such as the designations 'my servant' and 'chosen', are ambiguous in their implication. Other features, such

⁴⁰See, e.g., North, *The Suffering Servant*, 20f., 39-41, 56f.; and M. Treves, 'Isaiah LIII', VT 24 (1974) 98-108.

⁴¹Elsewhere 'sprinkling' (רָסַח) is usually the work of a priest (e.g., Ex. 29:21; Lv. 4:6, 17; 5:9; 14:7, 16, 27, 51; 16:14, 15, 19; Nu. 19:4, 18, 19).

⁴²See especially N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature* (JSOTS 56; Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1987).

as the recurrent themes of the rejection and suffering of the servant (42:4; 49:4, 7; 50:6-9; 53:3-12) or the exaltation of the servant (49:7; 52:13-15; 53:12), do not readily suggest a priestly figure. Finally, as has been noted, there are too many other features in the songs which point more naturally in the alternative directions of either a prophetic or a royal personage.

III. The Servant as a Second Moses

In the face of such contradictory results, one may despair of any solution to the identity of the servant from the standpoint of the original context. Indeed, the prophet may have drawn from such a rich diversity of sources for the composite picture he paints that any attempt to identify the servant figure is necessarily reductionistic.⁴³ Without diminishing that luxuriance of imagery, however, it is still possible that there is a dominant image, which underlies the servant figure and justifies exactly the kind of blending of prophetic, royal, and priestly features that is found. What is proposed here is that this dominant and unifying image is that of a second Moses figure. In other words, the servant is the 'prophet like Moses' promised in Deuteronomy 18:14ff. and 34:10ff.

This interpretation is not novel, even if it is not as well-known as it deserves to be. Probably the earliest expression of this view, or at least a variation thereof, is found in the Talmudic tractate *b. Soṭah* 14a.⁴⁴ Quoting Isaiah 53:12, Rabbi Simlai explains how Moses 'poured out himself to death' and 'bore the sin of many' when he offered his life, as related in Exodus 32:32, and atoned for his people after the golden calf incident. Simlai explains that Moses 'was numbered with the transgressors' because he was condemned to die along with the rest of the wilderness generation and that he 'made intercession for the

⁴³Clines suggests that the force of the poem in 52:13-53:12 may lie in its imprecision, concealment, and multivalence with respect to the identity of the servant figure (*I, He, We, and They*, 25-27, 33). Similar observations have been made by other scholars: they conclude that the songs are deliberately vague in order to point to a future fulfilment. See, e.g., H.W. Wolff, 'Wer ist der Gottesknecht in Jesaja 53?', *Evangelische Theologie* 22 (1962) 338-42.

⁴⁴It is possible that 11QMelch 18-25 associates the messenger in Is. 52:7, which it identifies as 'the Anointed of the Spirit', with the 'prophet like Moses'. Cf. N.A. Dahl, 'Messianic Ideas and the Crucifixion of Jesus', in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah. Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 382-403, esp. 386.

transgressors' because he prayed for mercy on behalf of his fellow-Israelites. Whether Simlai considered that Isaiah was referring directly to Moses or merely inferred the applicability of Isaiah 53 to Moses because he detected an underlying Mosaic typology, this text demonstrates an early (third century AD, Amoraic) recognition of a Mosaic allusion within the servant songs.

Presumably under Talmudic influence, other Jewish interpreters have also recognised Mosaic allusions in Isaiah 53:12 and possibly 53:9-12, although they typically and somewhat inconsistently identify the servant elsewhere as a reference to Israel. For example, this is the view of David Kimchi (twelfth century AD); Yalqut 2:338 (thirteenth century AD); the Zohar, Section נצח ד' (thirteenth century AD); Moses el-Shaikh (sixteenth century AD); and Sh'lomoh Levi (sixteenth century AD).⁴⁵

Most recent interpreters who recognize Mosaic allusions within the servant songs tend to consider these to be more extensive than was appreciated by earlier scholars, and they also prefer a reference to a contemporary or anticipated second Moses, rather than to the historical Moses.⁴⁶ Vitiating these advances, however, have been three factors. First, there has been a tendency among certain influential scholars to recognize only sporadic Mosaic allusions among the servant songs and also to combine this recognition with one of the more controversial views discussed above. So, for example, J.L. McKenzie recognizes Mosaic allusions only in the first song, where the servant appears as 'another Moses'.⁴⁷ McKenzie suggests that the editor of Deutero-Isaiah believed the servant to be Deutero-Isaiah himself.⁴⁸ Since McKenzie holds that the songs were originally unre-

⁴⁵For these sources, see S.R. Driver and A. Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters* (repr; New York: Ktav, 1969) Vol. II, 10, 15f., 56, 261, 270-74, 287-89.

⁴⁶Among recent scholars who acknowledge Mosaic allusions in the servant songs and, in most cases, support a second Moses identity for the servant are: von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 261f.; C. Chavasse, 'The Suffering Servant and Moses', *Church Quarterly Review* 165 (1964) 152-63; H. Blocher, *Songs of the Servant* (London: IVP, 1975); D. Michel, 'Deuterocesaja', *TRE* 8 (1981) 510-30, especially 521ff.; H. Schmid, *Die Gestalt des Mose: Probleme alttestamentlicher Forschung unter Berücksichtigung der Pentateuchkrise* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986) 64f.; P.D. Miller, 'Moses My Servant. The Deuteronomic Portrait of Moses', *Interpretation* 41 (1987) 245-55, esp. 251-53; G.W. Coats, *The Moses Tradition* (JSOTS 161; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 133-41; 182-89; D.C. Allison, Jr., *The New Moses. A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993) 68; and S. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel* (WUNT 81; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995).

lated to their present contexts, however, he argues that the servant is better understood as a composite ideal figure who represents what post-exilic Israel must become.⁴⁹ R. Clifford's interpretation resembles McKenzie's in that he also considers that the servant represents (or ought to represent) post-exilic Israel.⁵⁰ By contrast to McKenzie, Clifford finds Mosaic allusions only in the second song. Other scholars, such as S. Mowinckel, emphasize the presence of Mosaic allusions only in the fourth song.⁵¹

A second factor that has contributed to the neglect of this potentially fruitful insight has been the tendency to confuse the recognition of Mosaic allusions throughout the songs with the rather implausible view of E. Sellin, which he later abandoned, but not before he had convinced Sigmund Freud.⁵² Freud subsequently popularised the view in his *Moses and Monotheism*. On Sellin's view Moses was murdered by his own people after the Baal of Peor incident, and it was his death, not that of the obscure Zimri in Numbers 25, that stopped a plague. Sellin notes that the title 'servant of Yahweh', 'my servant', 'his servant', etc. is preeminently applied to Moses, and he is so called in 63:11 ('his servant'). As is the case with the servant in Isaiah, Numbers 12:3 stresses the exceptional meekness of Moses. If Exodus 15:25f. implies that Moses suffered a dread Egyptian disease, as Sellin supposes, then here is the background for the depiction in 53:2f. Finally, just as Moses' grave was hidden in the wilderness, so the servant's grave was with the wilderness 'he-goat demons', according to 53:9 (Sellin freely emends עֲשִׂיר to עֲשִׂירִים). C.R. North summarises

⁴⁷J.L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 38; see also xlv, xlvii, liii. J. Ridderbos suggests that the prophet like Moses may have influenced the first servant song because he too appears as both a prophet and a lawgiver (*Isaiah* [ET; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984] 374)

⁴⁸*Second Isaiah*, xli, xlii.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, lv.

⁵⁰Isaiah 40-66' 572, 580f.

⁵¹Although he identifies the servant with an unknown prophet, who lived sometime after Deutero-Isaiah, Mowinckel suggests that in the portrait of the servant the poet-prophet may have utilised the traditions of Moses' intercession and his readiness to die to appease the wrath of Yahweh. Such a procedure reflects the conviction that Moses was 'the pattern for all prophets' (*He That Cometh*, 232).

⁵²E. Sellin, *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922); *idem*, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (ET of 3rd German ed; London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923) 143f.; *idem*, *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1924, 1932) Vol. I, 76ff.; Vol. II, 67f.; S. Freud, *Moses and Monotheism* (ET; New York: Random House, 1967). Cf. North, *The Suffering Servant*, 53-55.

why Sellin's view proves to be unconvincing: 'none of these analogies, nor all of them together, constitutes proof of identification, and many of them would apply equally well to Jeremiah or Job.'⁵³

The third factor causing modern scholarship to overlook the possibility that the servant is a second Moses figure is the practice since B. Duhm of prescinding the servant songs from their immediate context.⁵⁴ More recent scholarship, especially the work of T.N.D. Mettinger, has dealt a severe blow to this earlier consensus.⁵⁵ If it can be conceded now that the songs are, in fact, integral to their context, then it is that neglected context which may provide the most compelling evidence for the servant's Mosaic identity.⁵⁶

1. Second Exodus

Although Isaiah 40-55 is extraordinarily rich in its complexity and multifaceted imagery, it is widely recognised that the controlling and sustained theme of these chs. is that of a second exodus.⁵⁷ While one should not neglect the importance of the second exodus theme already in chs. 1-39 (e.g., 4:2-6; 10:24-26; 11:11, 15-16; 35:5-10) or its continuing prevalence in chs. 56-66 (e.g., 58:8; 60:2, 19; 63), it is almost omnipresent in chs. 40-55, for which it provides an *inclusio* (40:1-11; 55:12-13).⁵⁸ With respect to these chapters which provide the immediate context for the servant songs, B.W. Anderson identifies at least ten texts which make explicit use of second exodus imagery: 40:3-5; 41:17-20; 42:14-16; 43:1-

⁵³North, *The Suffering Servant*, 55.

⁵⁴B. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (Bonn: A. Marcus, 1875); *idem*, *Das Buch Jesaja* (1892). Perhaps by force of scholarly habit, this tendency to minimise the canonical context for the servant songs may be observed even among interpreters who reject Duhm's claim for their independent authorship. Cf., e.g., Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 70f.

⁵⁵T.N.D. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom* (Lund: Gleerup, 1983). Other scholars who have emphasized the coherence of the songs with their contexts include: Muilenburg, 'The Book of Isaiah, Ch. 40-66'; Beuken, 'Mišpā: The First Servant Song and Its Canonical Context'; Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* (1976); J. Scullion, *Isaiah 40-66* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1982); McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (1968); Clifford, 'Isaiah 40-66' (1988) 571-96; H.G.M. Williamson, 'First and Last in Isaiah', in McKay and Clines (eds.), *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages*, 95-108.

⁵⁶Perhaps a fourth factor for the current neglect of the second Moses hypothesis is worth noting. North, in his classic *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, overlooks the second Moses hypothesis in his widely quoted preface in which he summarizes his nearly exhaustive survey of scholarly approaches to the servant's identity up to 1948. Many subsequent works have repeated this omission. Cf., e.g., Clines' otherwise useful survey of major approaches to the identity of the servant, which updates the work of North (*I, He, We, & They*, 25-27).

3, 14-21; 48:20-21; 49:8-12; 51:9-10; 52:11-12; 55:12-13.⁵⁹ There are other possible examples, including 42:13; 44:27; 54:3, 13. Since the prophet grounds the promise of the second exodus in the reality of the first (cf. 51:9f., etc.), references to the original exodus gain relevance and may be added here as well: 41:4, 9; 44:2, 7f.; 46:3f.; 48:8; 52:4.

To this impressive list one might also add references to the related themes of redemption, recreation, theophany, and pilgrimage/divine triumphal procession to God's holy mountain. While each of these can be viewed as an unrelated or even competing theme, several recent studies have demonstrated that all four are perhaps best understood as elaborations of the second exodus theme.⁶⁰ So, for example, 43:1f. provides a clear instance where the language of both

⁵⁷See, e.g., von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 239ff.; B.W. Anderson, 'Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah' in B.W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (eds.), *Israel's Prophetic Heritage* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1962) 177-95; *idem*, 'Exodus and Covenant in Second Isaiah and Prophetic Tradition', in F.M. Cross et al. (eds.), *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976) 339-60; J. Blenkinsopp, 'Scope and Depth of the Exodus Tradition in Deutero-Isaiah, 40-55', *Concilium* 20 (1966) 41-50; C. Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (Analecta Biblica 43; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970) ch. 4; D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuteriojesaja* (BZAW 121; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971) 1-26; J.D.W. Watts, 'Excursus: Exodus Typology', in *Isaiah 34-66* (1987) 80f.; H.M. Barstad, *A Way in the Wilderness. The 'Second Exodus' in the Message of Second Isaiah* (JSSM 12; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1989).

⁵⁸There is no need to dismiss second exodus allusions within chs. 1-39 as intrusive, as does Anderson ('Exodus and Covenant', 359, n. 26). The use of exodus imagery as a model for redemption is hardly confined to Is. 40ff. Cf., e.g., Ho. 2:14f.[16f.]; Mi. 7:14f.; Je. 16:14f.; 23:7f.; Ezk. 20; etc.

⁵⁹'Exodus and Covenant', 339-60.

⁶⁰For Isaiah's use of redemption imagery and its coherence with the second exodus theme, see, e.g., F. Holmgren, *With Wings As Eagles: Isaiah 40-55, An Interpretation* (Chappaqua, NY: Biblical Scholars Press, 1973) 71-96; W.C. Kaiser, Jr., *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978) 214; and Watts, 'Excursus: יָצָא "Redeem"', in *Isaiah 34-66*, 106f.

For Isaiah's use of creation imagery, see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 241; Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah*; Watts, 'Excursus: בָּרָא "Create"/"Creator"', in *Isaiah 34-66*, 93f.; Clifford, 'Isaiah 40-66', 582.

For Isaiah's use of theophany imagery, cf. D.A. Patrick, 'Epiphanic Imagery in Second Isaiah's Portrayal of a New Exodus', in R. Ahroni (ed.), *Hebrew Annual Review Volume 8, 1984: Biblical and Other Studies in honor of Sheldon H. Blank* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1985) 125-41.

Finally, for Isaiah's use of pilgrimage/triumphal procession imagery, see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 239; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 168; E.H. Merrill, 'Pilgrimage and Procession: Motifs of Israel's Return', in A. Gileadi (ed.), *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988) 261-72.

creation and redemption appears in the context of second exodus imagery:

But now thus says Yahweh, he who created you, O Jacob, he who formed you, O Israel: Do not fear, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you... (cf. 51:9-11).

Other texts which employ creation themes for the second exodus image include 43:1, 15; 55:12f., etc. Finally, a passage such as 51:9-11 demonstrates that the second exodus was to reflect the pattern of the original in a pilgrimage/triumphal procession to God's holy mountain (cf. 41:17-20; 42:14-17; 43:1-7; 52:7-12; 56:6-8; 57:14; 60:4-7; 62:10; 66:20-23).

Of course, the attraction and relevance of second exodus imagery for the prophet's use are transparent. God promises to deliver his people, who are dispersed among the nations, from their oppression and to return them to the Promised Land. From the vantage point of their captivity the people recognised, according to 63:11-15, that a new exodus was precisely what was needed.

(1) *The reapplication, with appropriate escalation, of many of the details of the original exodus to the second exodus*

It is necessary to stress that the prophet's application of the second exodus theme is not restricted to the central facts of the divine rescue of a needy people, redemption, recreation, triumphal procession, etc. Rather, a host of ancillary details connected with the original exodus are reapplied, with appropriate escalation, to the second exodus. For example, just as there is repeated stress on the sovereign predictive word of Yahweh that determined the outcome of the original exodus (Gn. 15:13f.; 50:24; Ex. 3:12, 17; 6:6f.; etc.), so also there is corresponding emphasis on the sovereign predictive word of Yahweh with respect to the second exodus (44:6-8; cf. 41:22f., 26; 42:9; 43:9, 18; 44:25ff.; 45:21; 46:9-11; 48:3-6, 14). Indeed, in light of 43:18 it seems likely that the 'former things' (הַדְּבָרִים הַשְּׂנוּיִם) in 41:22; 42:9; 43:9; 46:9; 48:3 (cf. 44:7; 65:17), which were predicted long ago, refer preeminently to the exodus redemption.⁶¹ Accordingly, the 'new thing(s)' (הַדְּבָרִים הַשְּׂנוּיִם/הַדְּבָרִים הַשְּׂנוּיִם, 42:9;

⁶¹Cf. A. Bentzen, 'On the Idea of "the Old" and "the New" in Deutero-Isaiah', *Studia Theologica* 1 (1947) 185; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 247; Anderson, 'Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah', 187f.

43:19; 48:6; cf. 41:23), which Yahweh is now revealing through his prophet, must be viewed as a reference to the new exodus. Moreover, since Yahweh personally led Israel out of Egypt and provided light for their way, once again Yahweh will personally lead his people and turn their darkness into light (42:16; 52:12). As the original exodus was intended to draw God's people into a covenant with himself, so also this second exodus will result in an 'everlasting covenant' according to 61:8 (cf. 42:6; 49:8; 59:21).⁶² Since the original exodus resulted in Israel's calling to be a kingdom of priests (Ex. 19:6) and the subsequent establishment of the Levitical priesthood (Ex. 32:29), so this new exodus will issue in a renewed calling to be 'priests of Yahweh' (61:6) and a surprising new selection of priests and Levites: 'And I will also take some of them [of Tarshish, Lybia, Lydia, Tubal, and Greece] as priests and as Levites, says Yahweh' (66:21). Furthermore, as Isaiah 48:20f. makes clear, because Yahweh miraculously provided water for his people in the original exodus, a similar provision is assured for the second exodus:

Go out from Babylon, flee from Chaldea, declare this with a shout of joy, proclaim it, send it forth to the end of the earth; say, 'Yahweh has redeemed his servant Jacob!' They did not thirst when he led them through the deserts; he made water flow for them from the rock; he split open the rock and the water gushed out.

Though not all equally convincing, similar examples are easily multiplied.

(2) *Cyrus as a second Pharaoh*

One further example that is especially intriguing concerns the account of Cyrus in 44:28-45:13 (cf. 41:1-7). As was noted above, there are numerous parallels between Cyrus and the servant. While an identification between these figures was rejected, it remains possible that the prophet intended these parallels to point to the servant figure as the one who would complete the deliverance of Israel begun by Cyrus at a more limited topological (material) level. Here it is only necessary to add that in terms of the overarching second exodus theme, which is very much in evidence in the immediate context (44:25, 27; 45:2, 7; etc.), there are many details in the portrait of Cyrus

⁶²In 55:3 the reference to the 'everlasting covenant' suggests the fluidity of images in Isaiah whereby the poet-prophet easily melds Davidic imagery with exodus imagery.

that recall Pharaoh. Accordingly Cyrus may be intended not only as a partial prefigurement of, but also as a foil for the servant who would come as the new Moses.⁶³

In particular, in Exodus 5:2 Pharaoh objects to Moses' request to allow Israel to leave: 'I do [לֹא יָדַעְתִּי] not know Yahweh.' Echoing this response of Pharaoh, but in sharp contrast to the servant (Is. 49:1-5; 50:4-10), twice it is said of Cyrus that he 'does not know Yahweh' (לֹא יָדַעְתִּי, Is. 45:4, 5; cf. 19:21). Nevertheless, in Exodus 7:5 Yahweh reveals that he will deliver his people so that 'The Egyptians shall know that I am Yahweh' (יָדַעְתֶּם ... כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה, cf. Ex. 7:17; 8:10[6]; 14:18; etc.). This same ultimate purpose is reiterated with respect to Yahweh's dealings with Cyrus in Isaiah 45:3: '...so that you may know that I am Yahweh' (לְמַעַן יָדַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה).

There is an obvious general similarity between Pharaoh and Cyrus as leaders of non-Israelite nations which ruled over Israel. Moreover, both Exodus and Isaiah stress that these leaders were raised up to fulfil their role in regard to Israel so that Yahweh would gain universal glory (note the similarity between Exodus 9:16 and Isaiah 45:4-5). Furthermore, just as Yahweh overcame the wise men (חֲכָמִים) of Egypt (Ex. 7:11), this glorious deliverance exemplifies the power of Yahweh, 'who foils the signs of false prophets and makes fools of diviners, who overthrows the wise [חֲכָמִים]...' (Is. 44:25). Finally, forced by Yahweh and without any compensation, Pharaoh does let the captive people of Israel go free (שָׁלַח, Piel, Ex. 3:20; 6:1; 14:5; etc.). Similarly Isaiah 45:13 declares, 'I have aroused Cyrus in righteousness, and I will make all his paths straight; he shall build my city and set my exiles free [שָׁלַח, Piel], not for price or reward, says Yahweh of hosts.'

(3) *Second exodus imagery in the context of the first servant song (Isaiah 42:1-4 [9])*

Second exodus imagery is evident in the immediate context of each of the servant songs. Prior to the first servant song, for instance, exodus imagery appears in 41:17-20, where Yahweh promises to provide the poor with water in the wilderness and an abundance of welcome shade trees (cf. Ex. 15:27; 17:1-7; Nu. 20:1-13). Exodus imagery resumes in 42:13-16, where Yahweh promises to go forth as a 'man of war'

⁶³Stressing the prevalence of the new exodus theme in Deutero-Isaiah, G.S. Ogden wonders whether Cyrus is a 'new Moses' ('Moses and Cyrus', VT 28 [1978] 195-203). Although Ogden discusses five points where the Cyrus Song (44:24-45:13) suggests literary dependence on the early chapters of Exodus, none of these requires the proposed identification of Cyrus as a Moses figure.

(אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה) to triumph over his enemies (cf. 'man of war' [אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה] in Ex. 15:3), to dry up rivers (Ex. 14:16-29), to lead his blind people along unfamiliar paths, and to turn darkness into light (cf. Ex. 13:21f.).

Further, in 42:6f. the servant's work to 'bring out the prisoners' (צָא, Hiphil, followed by אֶסְיֵר) from the 'house of confinement' (מִבֵּית כְּלָא) may echo the exodus where Yahweh 'leads out the prisoners' (צָא, Hiphil, followed by אֶסְיֵר, Ps. 68:6[7]) when he 'brought out Israel' from the 'house of bondage' (צָא, Hiphil, followed by עֲבָדִים, Ex. 13:3, 14; 20:2; Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:5,10; etc.).⁶⁴

(4) *Second exodus imagery in the context of the second servant song (Isaiah 49:1-6 [13])*⁶⁵

The verses which immediately precede the second servant song, namely 48:20-22, likewise offer an example of second exodus imagery. The text begins in 48:20a with a command to the people: 'Go out from Babylon, flee from Chaldea' (cf. Ex. 11:8; 12:31; 14:5). A triumphant proclamation of redemption in 48:20b (cf., e.g., Ex. 6:6; 15:13) is then followed in verse 21 by an unmistakable allusion to the original exodus: 'They did not thirst when he led them through the deserts; he made water flow for them from the rock; he split open the rock and the water gushed out.' The verses which immediately follow the second servant song, namely 49:8-12, similarly speak of 'a day of salvation' when the land will be reapportioned (Nu. 32:33; Jos. 13:8, 15ff., 32ff.) and the imprisoned people will be commanded to 'come out' (cf. Ex. 11:8; 12:31). An exodus allusion is transparent in the promise that

They shall feed along the ways, on all the bare heights shall be their pasture; they shall not hunger or thirst, neither scorching wind nor sun shall strike them down, for he who has pity on them will lead them, and by springs of water will guide them (49:9b-10; cf. Ex. 15:27; 16:4ff.; 17:6; etc.).

(5) *Second exodus imagery in the context of the third servant song (Isaiah 50:4-9 [11])*

The third servant song also is immediately preceded by a reference to the original exodus:

⁶⁴Cf. Chavasse, 'The Suffering Servant and Moses', 157.

⁶⁵In support of a second Moses identity for the servant in the second song, cf. Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, 66; G. Vermes, 'Die Gestalt des Moses an der Wende der beiden Testaments', in R. Bloch and G. Vermes (eds.), *Moses in Schrift und Überlieferung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1963) 61-93, esp. 80.

...Is my hand shortened, that it cannot redeem? Or have I no power to deliver? By my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a desert; their fish stink for lack of water, and die of thirst. I clothe the heavens with blackness, and make sackcloth their covering. (50:2f.)

The same logic reappears in 51:9-11, where the prophet again recalls the original exodus as a basis for assurance that Yahweh is entirely able to restore his ransomed people to Zion.

(6) *Second exodus imagery in the context of the fourth servant song (Isaiah 52:13-53:12)*

In 52:2-4 there is an allusion to the exodus and especially Israel's sojourn in Egypt, which is compared to the Assyrian captivity of the northern tribes:

Shake yourself from the dust, rise up, O captive Jerusalem; loose the bonds from your neck, O captive daughter Zion! For thus says Yahweh: You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money. For thus says the Lord Yahweh: Long ago, my people went down into Egypt to reside there as aliens; the Assyrian, too, has oppressed them without cause.

As elsewhere, this historical review serves as an assurance that Yahweh will once again redeem his people who 'are taken away without cause' (52:5). Second exodus imagery resumes in the three verses which immediately precede the fourth song:

Yahweh has bared his holy arm before the eyes of all the nations [*cf.* Ex. 6:6; 15:16; Nu. 14:13; Dt. 1:30-33; 4:34]; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God. Depart, depart, go out from there! Touch no unclean thing; go out from the midst of it, purify yourselves, you who carry the vessels of Yahweh. For you shall not go out in haste, and you shall not go in flight; for Yahweh will go before you, and the God of Israel will be your rear guard. (52:10-12)

As at the original exodus (Ex. 19:14), here also the Israelites are commanded to purify themselves. Once more 'Yahweh will go before you, and the God of Israel will be your rear guard' (*cf.* Ex. 13:21f.; 14:19-20). This time, however, the people will leave in serenity with Yahweh going before them: 'For you shall not go out in haste [בְּהִפּוּזִים], and you shall not go in flight.'⁶⁶ Contrast Exodus 12:11 and Deuteronomy 16:3. Indeed, the term 'haste' (בְּהִפּוּזִים) appears nowhere else outside these three texts.

2. *Second Moses*

As noted by G. von Rad, the prominence of the second exodus theme in Deutero-Isaiah invites, if it does not demand, an identification of the servant of the Lord with a second Moses figure.⁶⁷ Isaiah 63:11-19 offers important evidence for this association. In their desperation, the people cry out for a new exodus and with it, at least implicitly, a new Moses:

Then they remembered the days of old, of Moses, his servant. Where is the one who brought them up out of the sea...? Where is the one who put within them his holy spirit, who caused his glorious arm to march at the right hand of Moses, who divided the waters before them...?

The servant songs yield abundant confirmatory evidence for the identification of the servant figure as the long awaited 'prophet like Moses'.

(1) Apart from David, no individual is more frequently identified as the 'servant' (עֶבֶד) of the Lord than Moses. This appellation is applied to him forty times. Specifically, eighteen out of the twentythree occurrences of 'the servant of Yahweh' (יְהוָה עֶבֶד) and all four of the occurrences of 'the servant of God' (הָאֱלֹהִים עֶבֶד) are applied to Moses. In addition, with reference to God he is designated six times each as 'his servant' (עֶבְדוֹ),⁷⁰ 'my servant' (עֶבְדִּי),⁷¹ and 'your servant' (עֶבְדְּךָ).⁷² What makes this designation particularly characteristic of Moses is Numbers 12:6-8, where Yahweh twice distinguishes Moses as 'my servant' over against those who were merely prophets.

(2) Second, all the evidence cited earlier for the royal, priestly, and especially prophetic characteristics of the servant figure is easily

⁶⁶See also 58:8. Orlinsky uses the second exodus theme which begins in Is. 51 to argue that 52:13-14 belongs to what precedes and so should be detached from 53:1-12 ('The So-Called "Servant of the Lord"', 21-22). See earlier discussion against this proposal. Providing additional evidence for the coherence of the fourth song with its context, Melugin notes the repetition of the 'arm' (זְרוֹעַ) of the Lord in 51:5, 9; 52:10; 53:1 and of the verb 'to see' (רָאָה) in 49:7; 52:10, 15 (*The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*, 168).

⁶⁷*Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, 261.

⁶⁸Dt. 34:5; Jos. 1:1, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 11:12; 12:6 (twice); 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 4, 5; 2 Ki. 18:12; 2 Ch. 1:3; 24:6. The five remaining occurrences are Jos. 24:29; Judg. 2:8; Is. 42:19; and the headings to Ps. 18 [Heb. 18:1] and Ps. 36 [Heb. 36:1].

⁶⁹1 Ch. 6:49 [34]; 2 Ch. 24:9; Ne. 10:29 [30]; Dn. 9:11.

⁷⁰Ex. 14:31; Jos. 9:24; 11:15; 1 Ki. 8:56; Is. 63:11 (see *BHS* note); Ps. 105:26.

⁷¹Nu. 12:7, 8; Jos. 1:2, 7; 2 Ki. 21:8; Mal. 4:4 [3:22].

⁷²Ex. 4:10; Nu. 11:11; 1 Ki. 8:53; Neh. 1:7, 8; 9:14.

accommodated if the figure is understood as a reference to the promised 'prophet like Moses' mentioned in Deuteronomy 18:14ff. and 34:10ff.⁷³ Indeed, it is arguable that only on the assumption of a Moses-like figure, in whom these disparate offices cohere, can justice be done to this rich diversity of imagery. Though enjoying more privileged revelation than the prophets (*cf.* Nu. 12:6-8), Moses clearly functioned as a prophet and is identified as such in Deuteronomy 34:10, 'Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom Yahweh knew face to face' (*cf.* Dt. 18:15, 18).

On the other hand, Moses functioned as a priest in his holiness and mediatorial access to God within the tabernacle (Ex. 33:9; 40:31; *etc.*; *cf.* Nu. 16), his ministry of intercession and making atonement (Ex. 32:30; Nu. 14:5; *etc.*), his involvement in sacrifice and blood manipulation (Ex. 24:6-8; Lv. 8), and his blessing of the people (Ex. 39:43; Lv. 9:23; Dt. 33:1). See also Psalm 99:6, 'Moses and Aaron were among his priests, Samuel also was among those who called on his name. They cried to Yahweh, and he answered them.'

Even though Moses was not a king, he exercised royal (*i.e.*, preeminent civil) authority over the people as their divinely appointed ruler (*cf.* Ex. 2:14). He led the people, directed them in battle, judged them, and appointed commanders of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, who assisted him in administering justice (Ex. 18; Nu. 11; Dt. 1).⁷⁴ Agreeably, when Moses asked Yahweh to appoint his successor, the job description was hardly distinguishable from that of a king:

Let Yahweh, the God of the spirits of all flesh, appoint someone over the congregation who shall go out before them and come in before them, who shall lead them out and bring them in, so that the congregation of Yahweh may not be like sheep without a shepherd (Nu. 27:16f.; *cf. e.g.*, 1 Ki. 3:7).

(3) An identification of the servant with a second Moses figure provides a ready solution for the problem of the corporate vs.

⁷³So, for example, C. Westermann notes the royal features of the servant in 42:1 and his prophetic features in 42:2-4. Westermann suggests that the designation 'servant' may have been chosen precisely to allow a melding of these traits in a single individual, much as had been the case with Moses, who is often called 'servant' (*Isaiah 40-66* [ET; London: SCM, 1969] 97). Surprisingly, Westermann does not develop this insight.

⁷⁴According to Solomon's prayer in 1 Ki. 3:9 the preeminent responsibility of a king is to judge the people (לשפוט את ישראל), the very expression that is used of Moses in Ex. 18:13.

individual identity of the servant figure. At Israel's own request, Moses was the representative of his people (Ex. 20:18-19). Furthermore, not only was Moses' life exemplary in terms of faith and obedience, but also it provided a pattern for Israel's experience: his calling was in large measure theirs. So, for example, Moses was rescued from certain death at the hand of the Egyptians through a water ordeal in Exodus 2:1-10. The mention of 'reeds' (רִיב) in Exodus 2:3, 5 may provide a verbal link to 'the sea of reeds' (רִיב־יָם) in Exodus 15:4, *etc.* Likewise, Moses' flight from Egypt and from the murderous intention of the Pharaoh (Ex. 2:15) prefigures the later flight of Israel. Similarly, his experience of the fire theophany in the bush (רִיב) at Horeb in Exodus 3, where Yahweh promises his presence with Moses and reveals his name, seems to anticipate the subsequent fire theophany at Sinai (יְיָ) for all Israel in Exodus 19f. (*cf.* Ex. 3:12). In other words, the relationship between Moses and Israel is analogous to the relationship between the servant and Israel posited above. The servant is the representative of and model for his people: they share a common calling to be the servant of Yahweh, a light to the nations, *etc.*

(4) Two appellations in the servant songs besides the term 'servant' are at least consistent with, if they do not support, the proposed second Moses identification. The first is the term 'my chosen' (בְּחִירָי) in 42:1; Moses is called 'his chosen' (בְּחִירָיו) in Psalm 106:23. The second is the term 'Israel' found in 49:3: 'He said to me, "You are my servant, Israel, in whom I will display my splendour."' While Moses is never called 'Israel', on three occasions he would have been so called had Yahweh prevailed in his expressed wish. The first of these was immediately after the golden calf incident in Exodus 32:9f.:

Yahweh said to Moses, 'I have seen this people, how stiff-necked they are. Now let me alone, so that my wrath may burn hot against them and I may consume them; and of you I will make a great nation.'

Employing the vocabulary of the Abrahamic covenant in Genesis 12:2 (*cf.* 17:20; 18:18; 21:18), which was reapplied to Jacob/Israel in Genesis 46:3, Yahweh promised Moses that he would now become the sole heir of that covenant: he would be the new Israel. The same result was threatened on two other occasions: at Kadesh Barnea (*cf.* Nu. 14:12, 'I will strike them with pestilence and disinherit them, and I will make of you a nation greater and mightier than they') and, with less specificity, in the aftermath of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (*cf.* Nu. 16:20ff.).

(5) The enduing with God's spirit mentioned in 42:1 may find its source in the emphasis on Moses' possession of the spirit in Numbers 11:17ff. Similarly, there may be a Mosaic allusion in 61:1-7, where the prophet employs the vocabulary of the Jubilee year of release found in Leviticus 25:10 (cf. Je. 34:8, 15, 17; Ezk. 46:17).⁷⁵ This in turn may have been patterned after Israel's own experience of manumission from Egyptian slavery, which may account for such an incidental verbal parallel as the use of the *בַּבֵּל* horn in Exodus 19:13, as in Leviticus 25 and 27.

(6) The servant's calling to establish 'justice' (*בְּשֹׁפֵט*), which is repeated in 42:1, 3, 4, and which is paralleled with the promise that 'the coastlands wait for his law' (*לְהוֹרָהוּ*) in 42:4, suitably escalates in its universal application the work of the original Moses, who established justice (*בְּשֹׁפֵט*) and law (*הוֹרָהוּ*) for Israel (cf. Ex. 18; 21:1; 24:3; Nu. 11; 27:5; Dt. 1; 4:1, 13; 7:11f.; 10:4). Like Isaiah's servant, Moses was more than a prophet; he was a lawgiver. Of course, in the original exodus there was already an incipient universalism in that the law was to be applied to resident non-Israelites without discrimination (Ex. 12:49; Lv. 24:22; Nu. 15:16, 29) and was destined to impress the nations (Dt. 4:8). Indeed, the onlooking nations were a major concern for Moses in his intercession on behalf of the refractory Israel: he feared that the nations might misconstrue Yahweh's wrath against his people as evidence of inability to keep his promise (Ex. 32:12; 33:16; Nu. 14:13-16). Moreover, according to Exodus 12:38, the beneficiaries of the original exodus, hence recipients of Moses' teaching, included representatives from non-Israelite ethnic groups: 'A mixed crowd [*עַרְבֵי רַב*] also went up with them' (cf. Nu. 11:4).⁷⁶ Confirming this fact is the subsequent presence of foreign elements apparently engrafted into Israel, such as Kenizzites (Nu. 32:12; Jos. 15:13), Midianites (Nu. 10:29ff.; cf. the Kenites mentioned in Judg. 1:16; 4:11), and even a half-Egyptian (Lv. 24:10).

⁷⁵Significantly, 11QM^{elch} begins by combining citations of Lv. 25:13 and Dt. 15:2, which it applies to the last days by means of a reference to Is. 61:1. Is. 61:1-7 appears to be correlated with the servant songs; indeed, as argued by W. Zimmerli, among others, it may provide the earliest evidence for an interpretation of the servant as an individual (*παῖς θεοῦ*, TDNT 5:666, n. 67). Just as both the servant and the messenger have the spirit upon them for their work, their mission and message appear similar. See 42:7 and 49:9. Compare also 'the year of favour' (*שְׁנַת רַחֲמִים*) in 61:2 with 'the time of favour' (*עַתַּת רַחֲמִים*) in 49:8.

⁷⁶Cf. the promises to the patriarchs that all peoples would be blessed through them and through their seed (e.g., Gn. 12:3; 22:18), that they would become 'a company of nations' (Gn. 35:11f.; 48:4), etc.

Furthermore, although other backgrounds for the 'light for the nations' calling in 42:7 (and 49:6) are possible, an intriguing option is to relate this promise of figurative illumination to the account in Exodus 34:29-35, where Moses' face literally shone as he shared the law of Yahweh with the people (cf. 42:16). In support, 60:1-3 identifies the light with the glory of Yahweh.⁷⁷

(7) Although the call narrative in 49:1ff. offers significant parallels to Jeremiah 1:4-10, it is widely recognised that the narrative in Jeremiah is itself based on the call of Moses.⁷⁸ More particularly, the servant's objection to his call and sense of futility in 49:4, as well as his unpromising origin in 53:1f., find a plausible antecedent in the complaint of the self-doubting Moses in Exodus 3:11, 'Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring the Israelites out of Egypt?'⁷⁹ Likewise, the theme of meekness in the servant's demeanour and proclamation in 42:2-3a may echo Moses' unimpressive, at least by his own estimate, locution (cf. Ex. 4:10; 6:12, 30; cf. Nu. 12:3). On the other hand, the countervailing acknowledgement that Yahweh fashioned the servant for this purpose (49:1, 5), that he made his mouth (49:2), that he instructs the servant's tongue and wakens his ear (50:4-5) appear to echo the divine response to Moses in Exodus 4:11f.: 'Who gives speech to mortals? Who makes them mute or deaf, seeing or blind? Is it not I, Yahweh? Now go, and I will be with your mouth and teach you what you are to speak.'

(8) In 42:6 and 49:8 Yahweh makes the remarkable assertion to his servant, 'I have given you as a covenant for the people' (*וְאֵתְּנֶנְךָ לְבְרִית עַם*). Two features of this expression have vexed interpreters. First, since the phrase *בְּרִית עַם* (literally 'a covenant of people') is found nowhere else in the Old Testament, the implication of the construct is unclear. In 42:6 the parallel between *עַם לְבְרִית* and *לְאֹרֶת לְגוֹיִם* ('to be a light for [the benefit of] the nations'), however, favours the rendering 'to be a covenant for [the benefit of] the people'. The second difficulty concerns the relationship of *עַם לְבְרִית* to the preced-

⁷⁷Though note 51:4, '... my justice for a light to the peoples.' Although he identifies the servant with Israel, Sh'lomoh Astruc suggests that the radiance of the servant's countenance in Is. 52:14 recalls and exceeds that of Moses in Ex. 34:30 (Driver and Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters*, Vol. II: 130).

⁷⁸W.L. Holladay, 'The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding', *JBL* 83 (1964) 153-64; *idem*, 'Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations', *JBL* 85 (1966) 17-26; J.A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 148; Clifford, 'Isaiah 40-66', 580.

⁷⁹Cf. Ex. 3:13; 4:1; etc.

ing וְאֶת־נֶדֶךְ (‘I have given you’). Based on the semantic proximity of אָלָה (‘curse’) to בְּרִית (‘covenant’), P.J. Naylor argues that נָתַן לְבְרִית (‘to give/present as a covenant’) should be understood as an example of emphatic metonymy, as is the case with the parallel syntagm נָתַן לְאָלָה (‘to give/present as a curse’) in Numbers 5:21; Jeremiah 29:18; 42:18; and 44:12.⁸⁰ Accordingly, as the cursed woman in Numbers 5:21 was an embodiment of that curse, so the servant of Yahweh in Isaiah ‘constitutes the embodiment, and personal existentialisation, of all that the covenant entailed.’⁸¹

Although the expression ‘to give/present as a covenant’ is nowhere used of the original Moses, it seems entirely apt to describe one whose role is modelled on Moses as the mediator of the covenant at Sinai (Ex. 24; 25:22).⁸² To obey Moses was to obey the covenant (Ex. 20:19; cf. 16:8; 17:2). Faith in Moses was commensurate with faith in the Lord of the covenant (Ex. 14:31; 19:9). On the other hand, Moses is so thoroughly identified with the people that in Exodus 34:27 the covenant was deemed to have been made with Moses, whether in addition to Israel or, more likely, as their representative: ‘Yahweh said to Moses: Write these words; in accordance with these words I have made a covenant with you and [or perhaps, ‘that is’] with Israel’ (כָּרַתִּי אִתְּךָ בְּרִית וְאֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל).⁸³

A more specific allusion to Moses’ work as the mediator of the Sinaitic covenant may be intended by the statement in 52:15, if the MT is retained: ‘...so he will sprinkle many nations’ (כִּן יִזֶּה גּוֹיִם רַבִּים).⁸⁴ Moses was directed to sprinkle (זָרַק) the altar with blood in connection with the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:16, 20; Lv. 8:19, 24).⁸⁵ He also sprinkled (נִזָּה) Aaron and his sons with blood and oil

⁸⁰P.J. Naylor, ‘The Language of Covenant. A Structural Analysis of the Semantic Field of בְּרִית in Biblical Hebrew, with Particular Reference to the Book of Genesis’ (D.Phil. diss., Oxford University, 1980) 380-95.

⁸¹‘The Language of Covenant’, 394. Cf. also Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation*, 193.

⁸²McKenzie explains: ‘The Servant is called a covenant; the force of the figure means that the Servant mediates between Yahweh and peoples, that the Servant becomes a bond of union’ (*Second Isaiah*, 40). Cf. also A. Gelin, ‘Moses im Alten Testament’, in Bloch and Vermes (eds.), *Moses in Schrift und Überlieferung*, 31-57, esp. 55.

⁸³Cf. Ex. 34:10f.

⁸⁴Although the MT יִזֶּה, ‘he will sprinkle’, is supported by 1QIsa^a, 1QIsa^b, and the Targum (יִבְדֵּר, ‘he will scatter’), various implausible emendations have been proposed based on the LXX reading οὕτως θαυμασονται ἔσθῃ πολλὰ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ (‘many nations shall be amazed at him’).

⁸⁵Nu. 19:19f. demonstrates the synonymy of נִזָּה, ‘sprinkle’, and זָרַק, ‘sprinkle’ or ‘dash’, in these contexts.

(Ex. 29:21; Lv. 8:30) and the Levites with water in order to consecrate them for their ministries (Nu. 8:7). In Exodus 24, however, Moses sprinkled not just select individuals, but the entire people: ‘Moses took the blood and sprinkled it on the people [וַיִּזְרַק עַל־הָעָם], and said, “See the blood of the covenant that Yahweh has made with you in accordance with all these words”’ (Ex. 24:8). Perhaps Isaiah 52:15 alludes to this.

9) The recurrent themes of the servant’s rejection by the people, his suffering, and his submissive response to opposition have obvious relevance for a second Moses figure if his experience is to parallel that of the original Moses. While the difficulties faced by the servant in 42:4 and 49:4 are unspecified, 49:7 refers to the servant as one who is ‘...deeply despised, abhorred by the nation’. In 50:6 this rejection and the servant’s submissive response become even more explicit: ‘I gave my back to those who struck me, and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard; I did not hide my face from insult and spitting.’ It is unlikely that this text refers to merely private acts of opposition and insult. Striking and depilation of one’s beard are well-attested criminal sanctions in the ancient Near East (Ne. 13:25; cf., e.g., MAL A §§18, 19). Insult and spitting are likewise found in legal contexts, though they are not restricted to such contexts (Dt. 25:9; Mk. 10:34). The following verses (50:8f.), however, imply that in the present case there is a legal charge against the servant which requires divine adjudication.

These themes of rejection, suffering, and the servant’s submissive response are highlighted throughout the fourth servant song:

He was despised and rejected by others; a man of suffering and acquainted with infirmity... He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he did not open his mouth; like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep that before its shearers is silent, so he did not open his mouth. By a perversion of justice he was taken away. Who could have imagined his future? For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people. (53:3-8)

The experience of Moses is apposite; he was characteristically rejected and disdained by those to whom he was sent (Ex. 2:14; 4:1; 15:24; 16:2-12; 17:2f.; Nu. 12:1ff.; 14:2; 16:2ff.; 16:41f.; 20:2f.; 21:5; 26:9). Israel not only complained and rebelled against Moses, but also brought legal charges against him (cf. the use of רִיב [‘lawsuit’] in Ex. 17:2 and Nu. 20:3) and, on at least one occasion, threatened judicial execution by stoning (Ex. 17:3f.; cf. Nu. 14:10).⁸⁶ Such actions demanded and receiv-

ed divine vindication of the servant (cf. Nu. 16). On the other hand, resembling the servant in Isaiah (42:2-3; 50:5-6; 53:3-4, 7), Moses is described in Numbers 12:3 as 'very humble [חַסֵּד וְעָנָו], more so than anyone else on the face of the earth'. From the context in Numbers, Moses is thus depicted because he was characteristically silent before his detractors; he resisted defending himself, leaving his vindication with Yahweh (cf. Ex. 15:24f.; 16:3f.; Nu. 16:41f.; 20:2-6; 21:5). Moreover, on at least two occasions Moses fell face down before his accusers, perhaps thereby giving his back to those who would strike him (Nu. 14:5; 16:4; see Is. 50:6).⁸⁷

The mentioned 'grave with the wicked' in Isaiah 53:9 may continue the themes of rejection and the apparent miscarriage of justice that was the immediate cause of the servant's sufferings and death: 'They made his grave with the wicked... although he had done no violence, and there was no deceit in his mouth.' Alternatively, it may recall Moses' burial site in the wilderness, the place in which an entire generation of disobedient Israelites was condemned to die (Nu. 26:65; 32:13; Dt. 4:21f.; etc.; cf. b. *Sotah* 14a).

10) Isaiah 53:12 concludes the fourth servant song: '...yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.' Consistent with the view that Isaiah's servant refers to the expected second Moses, Psalm 99:6, quoted above, highlights Moses' ministry of intercession as a prominent aspect of his priestly calling. A similar point is made in Jeremiah 15:1, 'Then Yahweh said to me: Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my heart would not turn toward this people...' See also Psalm 106:23. The Pentateuch supports this assessment with repeated references to Moses' intercessory prayer, at first offered on behalf of the Egyptians (Ex. 8:8f., 29f.; 9:33; 10:18) and later offered on behalf of his own undeserving people (Ex. 32:11ff.; Nu. 11:2; 12:11; 14:5; 16:4; 20:6; 21:7; Dt. 9:18-29).⁸⁸

11) In 53:5 the healing that comes through the servant ('by his bruises we are healed') may also support a second Moses theme.⁸⁹ The

⁸⁶It is possible that 53:8a (cf. also 53:9) implies that the servant was a victim of a miscarriage of justice: 'By oppression and judgement he was taken away' (מֵעֶזְרָה לְקִרְיָהוּ וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לְקִרְיָהוּ). This expression may be rendered 'After arrest and sentence he was taken away.' Cf. Blocher, *Songs of the Servant*, 64.

⁸⁷It seems likely that the repulsive appearance and affliction of the servant in 53:2-4 are the result of maltreatment. If it is taken to suggest a condition of divinely imposed leprosy, however, as is suggested by B. Duhm as well as some early interpreters (cf., e.g., b. *Sanhedrin* 98b and Aquila's rendering of נִגְעָה in 53:4 with ἀφήμενον, 'leprous'), then Moses' experience with leprosy in Ex. 4:6f. may provide the basis for this expectation. Cf. Allison, *The New Moses*, 69.

Pentateuch offers several examples of Moses' healing ministry (Nu. 12:13; 21:9; cf. Ex. 15:26; Dt. 28:60f.), which may also have contributed to the emphasis on healing in the ministry of Elijah, who is widely recognised as a second Moses figure.⁹⁰

12) In terms of the fourth servant song, perhaps the most significant aspect of Moses' intercessory work was the fact that in his attempt to make atonement for Israel's idolatry with the golden calf he invoked upon himself the well-justified wrath of Yahweh (Ex. 32:30-35). Given the many examples in the second exodus of escalation over the original event (cf. e.g., the lack of 'haste' in 52:12 by contrast to Ex. 12:11), a similar escalation in the experience and calling of the 'prophet like Moses' should not be unexpected.⁹¹ Although the original Moses was not permitted to endure the wrath of Yahweh on behalf of his guilty people, this second Moses would be: 'But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities; upon him was the punishment that made us whole, and by his bruises we are healed' (53:5; cf. vv. 8b, 10, 11b, 12b).⁹² Anticipating the promise that 'Yahweh will make his life a reparation offering' (וְשִׁבְתָּ, 53:10a), the prophet confesses, 'All we like sheep have gone astray; we have all turned to our own way, and Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all' (53:6). As C. Stuhlmueller observes, it appears that a sacrifice greater than that described in Leviticus 4-5 was required because atonement was needed for the wilful sin of a nation, not merely sins of inadvertence.⁹³

Although Moses' self-sacrifice was declined at Mt. Sinai, nevertheless he did suffer for the sake of his people as a result of their

⁸⁸Cf. J. Muilenburg, 'The Intercession of the Covenant Mediator (Exodus 33.1a, 12-17)', in P. Ackroyd and B. Lindars (eds.), *Words and Meanings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1968) 159-81; Coats, *The Moses Tradition*, 63-75; Allison, *The New Moses*, 25, n. 45.

⁸⁹Coats, *The Moses Tradition*, 135-50 (Ch. 12: 'Healing and the Moses Traditions').

⁹⁰Cf., e.g., S.J. DeVries, *1 Kings* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985) 209f.; Schmid, *Die Gestalt des Mose*, 60. Cf. also discussion of Mal. 4:5 [Heb. 3:23] in G.P. Hugenerberger, 'Malachi' in D.A. Carson et al. (eds.), *New Bible Commentary: 21st Century Edition* (Leicester and Downer's Grove, IL: IVP, 1994).

⁹¹Schmid rejects a second Moses identification for the servant mainly, it seems, because Moses did not suffer vicariously for the people (*Die Gestalt des Mose*, 64f.). This objection fails to do justice to Moses' express wish in Ex. 32:30-35 and the pattern of escalation from type to antitype discussed above.

⁹²Deutero-Isaiah is not alone in its use of Mosaic aspirations as an apparent basis for Israel's eschatology. Cf., e.g., Joel 2:28f., which seems to reflect the hope expressed in Nu. 11:29.

⁹³'Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah', 342. F. Crüsemann considers that this verse offers the earliest clear expression of the concept of justification ('Jahwes Gerechtigkeit im Alten Testament', *Evangelische Theologie* 36 [1976] 427-50).

rebellion at the Meribah mentioned in Numbers 20:2-13; 27:12-14. The account in Numbers acknowledges that Moses sinned when he struck the rock 'a second time' (פַּעַם שְׁנֵיטַיִם, presumably referring back to Exodus 17 as the first occasion).⁹⁴ The penalty for this offence was that Moses would die without leading Israel into the Promised Land. As with the sufferings of the servant in 53:4, however, ultimately it was not on account of Moses' own sin that he was 'stricken, struck down by God, and afflicted'. The references to this event in Deuteronomy demonstrate that Yahweh was angry with Moses because of Israel's sin, which had been the provocation for his failure: 'Even with me Yahweh was angry on your account, saying, "You also shall not enter there"' (Dt. 1:37; cf. also Dt. 3:26; 4:20-22).

Finally, it is possible that the promise, 'he shall see his offspring, and shall prolong his days' (וַיִּרְאֶה זָרַע וַיִּאָרְרֶךְ יָמָיו, 53:10), implies an additional escalation of the experience of the original Moses. If, as observed by R.J. Clifford, the expression 'prolong days' has the meaning that it does in Deuteronomy (cf., e.g., Dt. 22:7, 'Let the mother [bird] go, taking only the young for yourself, in order that it may go well with you and you may live long [וַיִּאָרְרֶךְ יָמָיו]'), then the second Moses will be allowed to enjoy life in the Promised Land.⁹⁵ Moreover, given the ample evidence in the immediate context for the metaphorical use of the term 'seed' (זָרַע) as a reference to Israel (43:5; 44:3; 48:19; 54:3; etc.; cf. 49:20f.), it appears that the second Moses may experience the realization of Yahweh's cancelled promise/threat to Moses in Exodus 32:10 to raise up from him a new Israel.

IV. Conclusion

In conclusion, the present paper suggests a way forward out of the current interpretative impasse regarding the servant's identity. Rejecting the artificial dismemberment of Isaiah 40-66 advanced by B. Duhm and others, who isolate the servant songs from their immediate literary context, and assisted by the generally neglected Talmudic insight regarding the presence of Mosaic allusions within the songs, this study has argued for an identification of the servant with the expected 'prophet like Moses' mentioned in Deuteronomy 18:14ff. and 34:10ff. Although the second Moses hypothesis proves its heuristic value in resolving significant exegetical problems in the servant songs,

⁹⁴Cf. Ps. 106:33.

⁹⁵Isaiah 40-66', 584. Cf. also Dt. 4:26, 40; 11:9; etc.

it does not purport to offer an exhaustive explanation for every detail.⁹⁶ It is the contention of this paper, however, that only by recognizing the servant as predominantly a second Moses figure can justice be done both to the integrity of the servant songs with their context, which is dominated by second exodus imagery, and to the otherwise perplexing combination of corporate and individual, as well as prophetic, royal, and priestly traits in the portrait of the servant. In short, precisely because he is the long awaited 'prophet like Moses', there is a substantial degree of truth in most previous studies on the identity of the servant. It goes beyond the scope of the present paper to examine the extensive use of the servant songs within the New Testament.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, a felicitous consequence of the present approach to the servant songs is the substantial support it offers for the New Testament's messianic interpretation without presupposing that interpretation, as is often done.⁹⁸

⁹⁶Since Moses was the paradigm prophet (Dt. 18:14-22; cf. also Ho. 12:13[14]), there is a second Moses hue to the coloration of the biblical accounts of many of the subsequent prophets. Their call narratives are typically patterned after his; there are similarities in their experiences of rejection and suffering, etc. Deborah, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and Jeremiah provide obvious examples. While the assessment of Dt. 34:10-12 that none of these attained the stature of the expected 'prophet like Moses' still obtains (especially with respect to Moses' intended self-sacrifice to avert the wrath of Yahweh—cf. Ezk. 13:5; 22:30; Ps. 106:23), one need not exclude the possibility that some details in the portrait of the servant, as the final 'prophet like Moses', may have drawn from, or been reinforced by, the experiences of earlier prophets, including Deutero-Isaiah himself.

⁹⁷See, e.g., M.N. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant. The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: S.P.C.K., 1959); W.A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* (NTS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967); R.T. France, 'The Servant of the Lord in the Teaching of Jesus', *TynB* 19 (1968) 26-52; *idem*, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982); Allison, *The New Moses* (1993).