THE ARRANGEMENT OF ISAIAH XLI-XLV1)

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C. R. North²) speaks of two main approaches to the material in Isaiah xl-lv as a whole: on the one hand, "the detached units theory" and on the other "attempts to discover in the sixteen chapters a perfectly integrated, architectonic whole". The first approach, he comments, takes too little account of evidence of shaping and ordering in the chapters; but the second seems to rest too much on subjective considerations.

The fruitfulness of form-critical study of Isaiah xl-lv suggests that an understanding of these chapters must build on an analysis of the individual units which represent the written form of oracles delivered orally by the prophet³). Then, any approach to the structure of the collection as a whole needs, if possible, to be grounded on verifiable features of the material's forms, images, style, vocabulary, and so on⁴). In Isaiah xli-xlv, at least, I think one can identify certain parallels and sequences in form, motif, and vocabulary, which do offer evidence of thoughtful arrangement on the part of the prophet himself or of subsequent redactors.

I. xli 1-xlii 17: Yahweh and his servant's destiny

The diagram outlines my understanding of these sections as comprising two sequences, xli 1-20 and xli 21-xlii 17, made up of three parallel elements.

Each of these sequences begins with a legal scene (xli 1-7 and 21-29). Both are trial speeches, and of the same particular kind;

¹⁾ A paper read in an earlier draft to the Society for Old Testament Study in December, 1976. I am grateful to members of the Society, and to Professor W. A. M. Beuken, for their comments.

²⁾ The Second Isaiah (Oxford, 1967), p. 9.

³⁾ For this form-critical work, which the present study presupposes, see especially A. Schoors, I Am God Your Saviour: A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in Is. XL-LV (SVT 24, 1973).

Genres in Is. XL-LV (SVT 24, 1973).

4) Cf. the remarks of M. Haran, "The literary structure and chronological framework of the prophecies in Is. xl-xlviii", in SVT 9 (1963), pp. 127-32; and the work of R. F. Melugin and P. B. Harner referred to below.

ISAIAH xli 1-xlii 17 YAHWEH AND HIS SERVANT'S DESTINY

xli 1-20 (Sequence A)

xli 21-xlii 17 (Sequence B)

1. The challenge Yahweh issues before Israel, which cannot be met trial speech: Yahweh as the plaintiff versus the nations Summons; Yahweh's case; opposition default; conclusion.

xli 1-7
Who moves in history? —
The nations are asked
They are helpless

xli 21-29 Who explains history? — The nations' gods are asked They are useless

 Yahweh's purpose for his servant xli 8-16
 Salvation oracles (preceded by installation oracles?)

xlii 1-9 (10-13)
Installation oracles (with implications for Israel's salvation)

The commitment Yahweh makes to his servant Israel — he will experience the defeat of his oppressors

The commitment Yahweh expects of his servant —
he will bring deliverance to the oppressed

3. Yahweh's transforming power, to be acknowledged by men proclamation of salvation
(allusion to lament, God's response, his action, the object)
xli 17-20
xlii 14-17

He turns desert to garden He turns garden to desert

they are parallel in content and vocabulary, though the second takes the argument further than the first in transferring the question from "who makes history?" to "who can interpret history?". The parallels between the two units are, in fact, widely recognized; thus C. C. Torrey⁵) and W. A. M. Beuken⁶) take them as the opening and closing elements of a longer section, which consists of chapter xli as a whole. It is to be noted, however, that both are directly followed by further units which also balance each other.

These trial scenes, that is, are followed by the first two servant passages in Isaiah xl-lv⁷). Both xli 8-10 and xlii 1 speak of God's servant ('ebed) whom he chose (bāḥar) and upholds (tāmak). Both xli 9-10 and xlii 6 speak of one whom God called (qārā'), of whom he took hold (behexiq), and with whom he acts in sedeq. Further, as his coming to the help of his servant Israel will lead to her glorying in him (bithallēl) (xli 16), so the motive or result of the call described

⁵⁾ The Second Isaiah (Edinburgh, 1928), in loc.

^{6) &}quot;Mišpāt. The first Servant Song and its context", VT 22 (1972), p. 13.

⁷⁾ Strictly, only xlii 1-4 is explicitly a servant oracle. Verses 5-9 are a separate unit, perhaps not originally addressed to the servant. But the written context seems to apply it to the servant of verses 1-4, and the linguistic parallels with the servant passage in xli appear in both units.

in xlii 5-9 is Yahweh's concern for his glory (tehillāh) (xlii 8). This noun occurs also in the song of praise appended to xlii 5-9, that is xlii 10-13. (This song of praise, and the ones which appear at xliv 23 and xlv 8, may be regarded as extra-metrical or extra-sequential from the perspective of my analysis, though each of them takes up motifs or words from the unit to which it is attached. I thus treat them as appendages to the units they follow and refer to them in brackets on my diagrams⁸).

Unlike the two trial speeches, the two servant passages are not formally parallel in a strict sense. xli 8-16 is a double salvation oracle with characteristic elements and vocabulary. It does, however, have one distinguishing feature unparalleled by other examples of this genre in Isaiah xl-lv or by the Akkadian oracles translated in Ancient Near Eastern Texts⁹). The characteristic "fear not" of the salvation oracle is delayed by an extensive description of the recipient of the oracle, Israel (xli 8-9)¹⁰). This description also displaces any identification of the speaker, a further odd feature of this salvation oracle. The two verses are generally translated as an extended parenthesis: "You, Israel, my servant..." But it would be more natural to take them as an extended noun clause, such as frequently appears in Isaiah xl-lv: "But you, Israel, are my servant..." Formally, this means that, in effect, the salvation oracle is prefixed by what Eduard Nielsen calls an installation oracle.¹²)

This is noteworthy in view of the fact that the parallel section

⁸) It should, perhaps, be noted, that the songs of praise have often been taken as very significant structural markers in Is. xl-lv: see most recently R. F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55 (BZAW* 141, 1976), pp. 81-2. The sequential parallels of form, motif, etc., to which I am drawing attention suggest that this is a false trail.

⁹⁾ Ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ³1969), pp. 449-51 and 605-6. Cf. the discussion of P. B. Harner, "The salvation oracle in Second Isaiah", *JBL* 88 (1969), pp. 418-34.

¹⁰⁾ In the Akkadian oracles, the reassurance "fear not" sometimes follows an introductory short form of address, sometimes is the very first item in the prophecy. In one example it is preceded by a statement of the situation which the oracle addresses (comparable to the allusion to a lament in a proclamation of salvation). In one other example, according to R. D. Biggs's retranslation of one of the oracles concerning Esarhaddon (ANET, p. 605; contrast R. H. Pfeiffer's earlier translation, p. 450), extensive divine self-predication and introductory promises precede the reassurance.

¹¹) As similar clauses in xliii 10, 12, xliv 8, xlv 15, are regularly rendered. ¹²) E. Nielsen, "Deuterojesaja. Erwägungen zur Formkritik, Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte", VT 20 (1970), p. 204.

xlii 1-9 might also be described as an installation oracle¹³)—or rather two such oracles. The first also begins with a noun clause, "Here is my servant..." The second speaks directly to the designated one, "I have called you..." Furthermore, whomever we believe the prophet has in mind in these two oracles (that is, whether himself, or Israel, or Cyrus, or someone else), their effect is comforting to Israel, and in this sense they are parallel to salvation oracles¹⁴).

xli 8-16 and xlii 1-9 (10-13), then, manifest parallels of a linguistic, functional, and to some extent formal kind. The latter pair of oracles, however, go beyond the former pair, as was the case with the trial speeches. First, the servant's achievement is to be one which will be acknowledged by the nations; they will submit to him and recognize Israel's place in his purpose. Further, to be God's servant involves not merely the privilege of belonging to him (as in chapter xli) but the responsibility of being his agent in establishing mišpāṭ and bringing release to the captives.

The parallel-but-development suggests certain insights on the question of the servant's identity, which we left open above. On the one hand, the identity of position in the unfolding of the two sequences strongly suggests that the servant passages refer to the same entity: the servant Israel who is explicitly referred to in chapter xli is also described in xlii 1-4 and addressed in xlii 5-9. One would need some explicit contrary indication if one were not to make this inference from the structural parallel. On the other hand, the role attributed to the servant in xlii 1-4 is one which Israel herself is in no position to fulfil. The servant is to establish mišpāt; but Israel has mišpāt problems of her own (xl 27). The servant will not break a bruised reed or snuff a fading wick, nor will he himself fade or bruise; but Israel is bruised and fading15). It is, I think, because Israel cannot fulfil the servant role which is her responsibility, that the identity of the servant which was explicit in chapter xli is open in chapter xlii. The picture of the servant has become a role seeking for someone to fulfil it. Although it would be misleading to declare that Cyrus is the servant, simpliciter16), some aspects of the role described here

¹⁸⁾ So Nielsen (with reference to verses 1-4).

¹⁴) Cf. J. Jeremias's comment on verse 3, "Mišpāt im ersten Gottesknechtslied", VT 22 (1972), p. 37.

¹⁶) Further (as we shall note below), the commission described in verses 5-9 is taken up by contrast in the description of Israel in verses 18-25.

¹⁶) Contr. P. -E. Bonnard, Le Second Isau: Son Disciple et Leurs Éditeurs: Isaue 40-66 (Paris, 1972), pp. 45, 120. Jeremias (see especially pp. 39-42) offers a balanced analysis of the royal-cum-prophetic nature of the picture in xlii 1-4.

were to be fulfilled by him, as is reflected by the parallels between what is said here and what is said elsewhere of Cyrus (see xliv 28-xlv 13).

An element of contrast between the description of the servant in xlii 1-9 and the role of Cyrus perhaps appears in the verbal links between the trial scenes concerning the man of war on the one hand, and the installation/salvation passages concerning the servant on the other. Yahweh's redemption of the servant Israel contrasts with the confounding of the nations (xli 1-7, 8-16)¹⁷); the behaviour of the servant contrasts with that of Cyrus (xli 21-29, xlii 1-9)¹⁸).

The two sections linked by the servant idea are followed by units (xli 17-20, xlii 14-17) where one can again see, as in the trial speeches, precise formal as well as verbal parallels. Both are proclamations of salvation, which begin not with a word of reassurance to an individual ("fear not") but with an allusion to the community lament which the people have been uttering, and go on to promise Yahweh's response to this lament. But they do not explicitly address Israel (or anyone else); they are both monologues, a rare phenomenon¹⁹). They are of parallel structure, and manifest a particularly striking contrasting parallelism in their imagery for the acts of God which they describe. Both speak of a transformation of nature, but in xli it is an act of blessing which turns the desert into a garden, in xlii it is an act of judgment which turns the garden into a desert; the former leading to the recognition of Yahweh, the latter to the confounding of idolators. Claus Westermann calls this a curious correspondence²⁰); it is of a piece with the other correspondence-butdifferences that we have noted.

xli 1-xlii 17, then, consists of two threefold sequences, in each

¹⁷) Note especially the contrasting uses of $y\bar{a}r\bar{e}$, (with two different responses to the divine self-announcement), ' $\bar{a}zar$, and $b\bar{a}zaq$ in the two units; also the recurrence of $q\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, sedeq, and qesôt $b\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}res$.

¹⁸⁾ At the verbal level one may note the contrasting recurrence of ben, ruah, biggid, bišmia', and bāri'šōnôt; see J. Lindblom, The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah (Lund, 1951), pp. 18-19, and L. G. Rignell, A Study of Isaiah Ch. 44-55 (Lund 1956), p. 31.

¹⁹⁾ Beuken (p. 21) sees the origin of the monologue form as lying in the nature of the prayers it answers. But might its indirectness not also connect with the tension as to the servant's identity which we have already noted? The blind (xlii 16) are supposed to be the nations, whom the servant Israel will liberate (7); but we shall soon be told explicitly of *Israel's* blindness (18 ff.), so the proclamation can apply to her, too.

²⁰) *Isaiah 40-66* (ET London, 1969, from *Das Buch Jesaia*, 40-66 [Göttingen, 1966]), in loc.

of which the first and third elements are formally identical and have significant vocabulary links. The intervening material (xli 8-16, xlii 1-9 [10-13]), while not so exactly mutually corresponding, has certain formal and functional parallels and several sets of vocabulary links. The two sequences, while parallel, also manifest some development in the transition from making history to explaining history (the trial speeches), from the servant's privileges to the servant's calling (the servant passages), and from the blessing of the poor and needy to the confuting of idolaters (the proclamations of salvation). The successive units within the sequences frequently link with each other²¹), and the section as a whole begins to open up the tension between Israel's servant calling and her own need, which the following sequence will make more explicit.

II. xlii 18-xlv 7(8): The restoration of Yahweh's blind and imprisoned servant Israel

Two further parallel sequences, similar to those in xli 1-xlii 17 but perhaps more striking, appear over xlii 18-xlv 7(8).

ISAIAH xlii 18-xlv 7 (8) THE RESTORATION OF YAHWEH'S BLIND AND IMPRISONED SERVANT ISRAEL

xlii 18-xliii 21 (Sequence C)

xliii 22-xlv 7 (8) (Sequence D)

1. Israel is too unresponsive to be Yahweh's servant trial speech: Yahweh as the defendant versus Israel xlii 18-25

xliii 22-28

she is too blind to be Yahweh's servant, in her sin (v 18)

she has tried to make Yahweh her servant, with her sin (v 24)

But she is not to fear, for he is her creator and redeemer salvation oracle

xliii 1-7

xliv 1-5

he redeems those who bear his name

he recreates a people to bear his name (v 5)

3. Her status/calling as his servant/witnesses still stands

trial speech: Yahweh the plaintiff versus the gods; Israel as witnesses xliii 8-13 xliv 6-22 (23)

her God is the only one, others are futile

her God is the only one, others are futile (developed in vv 9-20)

4. Her redeemer, Israel's maker, will fulfil his purpose in present history polemical self-designation; proclamation of salvation (direct and indirect)

xliv 24-xlv 7 (8)

xliii 14-21 he will defeat Babylon (named for first time)

he will rebuild Jerusalem, by means of Cyrus (named for first time)

²¹⁾ Cf. Melugin.

Chapter xlii ends with another polemical speech, but of a different kind from the ones in chapter xli; it concerns Yahweh's case against Israel, not that against the gods or the nations. The opening words of the speech, "who is blind but my servant..." (19), seem to be Yahweh's reply to the charge made against him in the laments by Israel—he is blind and deaf to her affliction. If this is so, the unit is the speech for the defense in a trial. The defense consists in the countercharge that, while it is true that the people are afflicted, this is because of their sin (before the exile). Their inability to recognize this indicates that it is Yahweh's servant who is the blind and deaf one.

Chapter xliii ends with a similar trial speech, verses 22-28²²). The last verse refers to the charge that Yahweh had delivered Israel to destruction, and the opening verses (22-24) dispute Israel's further claim that she had been faithful to her side of the covenant. There is a nice verbal parallel with the previous speech for the defence. In xlii 18-25, the noun 'ebed has a key place in the question which follows the prophet's opening challenge (xlii 19). In xliii 22-28 the verb 'ābad is repeated in the verses which follow the opening challenge (xliii 23-24). The usage is indeed rather tortuous, but the parallel is thus made. Israel cannot function as Yahweh's servant (because of her blindness) (xlii 19); Yahweh has not made her serve him (with her offerings), she has made him serve her (with her sins) (xliii 23-24).

In considering sequences A and B, we noted that, although Israel was described as the servant in xli 8-16, she seemed a doubtful candidate for the servant responsibility outlined in xlii 1-9. Here at the beginning of sequences C and D the problem is explicit: Israel cannot fulfil the servant role.

Each of these twin trial speeches is followed by a salvation oracle (xliii 1-7, xliv 1-5)²³). These two paragraphs are parallel in their position and form, and in vocabulary which might be reckoned characteristic of the form as it would appear in the message of Isaiah

²²) l 1-3 is the only other example in Is. xl-lv.

²³) This is, of course, a striking innovation: in the pre-exilic prophets such an accusation would be followed by a declaration of judgement. Cf. H. Gressmann, "Die literarische Analyse Deuterojesajas", ZAW 34 (1914), p. 270. K. Elliger has noted the redactional unity of xlii 18—xliii 7 and xliii 22—xliv 5: see Jesaja II (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970 ff.), in loc. Cf. Harner, p. 433; also Bonnard, pp. 23-4. But I think I owe the suggestion that xlii 18 and xliii 22 begin parallel sections to a lecture by the Rev. J. A. Motyer.

xl-lv ("fear not", "Jacob-Israel", "who formed you")²⁴). They also have a distinctive stress on what Yahweh says he will do for "your offspring" (zar'ekā) (xliii 5-6, xliv 3-4). These descendants are spoken of individually as those "called by my name" in xliii 7; similarly xliv 5 speaks of how "this one will say I am Yahweh's, another will call himself by the name of Jacob".

The formal parallel continues with the next unit in each of these two sections. Further trial speeches begin at xliii 8 and xliv 6, but they are again more like each other than they are like any of the other trial speeches so far. They do resemble the ones in xli in that they are speeches of one with a case to bring (rather than of a defendant), and in that they raise the question of evidence; they concern the nations or their gods. But the nations and their gods are not addressed (as in xli) but are referred to in the third person (xliii 9, xliv 7); these trial speeches, like the speeches of a defendant at the beginning of sequences C and D (xlii 18-25, xliii 21-29), are addressed to Israel. Unlike those speeches, however, they summon Israel as a witness, not as a party in the case (xliii 10, 12; xliv 8). Formally, they thus correspond exactly to each other, and they manifest many parallels in words and images. Yahweh is the God of beginning and end (xliii 10, xliv 6), besides him there is no-one to turn to or rely on (xliii 11, xliv 8), no-one who declares himself (xliii 9, 12, xliv 8), no God of the former things (xliii 9) and the things to come (xliv 7); and the Israelites are his witnesses (xliii 12, xliv 8).

The parallels here from the unit in sequence D have been taken from xliv 6-8; it is not clear when the trial speech begun at xliv 6 ends. The long satire on idol-making, xliv 9-20, is widely regarded as an addition, though it fits rather well, amplifying verses 6-8, and paralleling xliii 10-12. And xliv 21-22 (23), though form-critically difficult, further extend the same line of thinking as xliv 6-8—of which Duhm²⁵) suggested they were the original continuation. Between them they describe Israel as both Yahweh's servant (21) and his witnesses (8): both terms had appeared in the parallel passage (xliii 10). Yahweh is Israel's redeemer (6), he has redeemed them (22 [23]): the term is an inclusio. So I regard xliv 6-22 (23) as parallel to xliii 8-13.

There is further uncertainty about the final units in sequences C

²⁴) Cf. the only other self-contained salvation oracle in Is. xl-lv, xli 8-16.

²⁵) Das Buch Jesaja (Göttingen, ⁴1922), in loc.

and D. xliii 14-21 seems to include two oracles, of which the second (16-21) is a proclamation of salvation. In sequence D, xliv 24-28 might be itself a self-contained oracle; but even so, at least in its written context it leads in to xlv 1-7 (8), which I thus take to be the end of the sequence. Whether taken as one unit or two²⁶), xliv 24-xlv 7 has certain parallels with the double unit xliii 14-15, 16-21. xliii 14-15 and xliv 24-28 both have a polemical tone about them, without one being able to identify their Gattung with any certainty. Both, however, are dominated by divine self-predication, evidently intended to convince their audience of something that, the prophet knows, will take some believing. The two elements contain the first explicit references in Isaiah xl-lv respectively to Babylon and to Cyrus.

xliii 16-21 and xlv 1-7 are formally dissimilar. The former is a proclamation of salvation addressed to Israel, the latter an installation oracle addressed to Cyrus. And yet if we are to understand the latter not as intended for Cyrus's own ears, but rather as an indirect message to Israel, then its function is to bring good news to Israel (who, indeed, is addressed in xliv 24); it is a proclamation of salvation in indirect form. Here, as in such an oracle, Yahweh makes promises and states his reasons²⁷). It may further be noted that the correspondence here of a direct proclamation of salvation in chapter xliii, and an indirect one by means of the designation of Cyrus in chapter xlv, is parallel to the correspondence in sequences A and B of a direct salvation oracle in chapter xli and indirect ones in chapter xlii, by means of the designation of the servant. These parallels confirm the impression that xlv 1-7, following xliv 24-28, parallels xliii 16-21, and thus concludes the second pair of sequences in Isaiah xli-xlv.

As in sequences A and B, the individual elements here, while parallel, do manifest some development. The first units suggest that Israel is not only too blind to be Yahweh's servant, because of her sin (xlii 18-25); she has tried to make Yahweh her servant, with her sin (xliii 22-28). Perhaps there is also a development from the mere implication that she can still turn to Yahweh, contained in the challenge to responsiveness (xliii 23), to an explicit declaration of

²⁸) See the discussion and references in C. Stuhlmueller, Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah (Rome, 1970), pp. 196-200.

²⁷) Cf. R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (London, 1975, in loc; J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja* (BWANT 4.25, 1938 [= ThB 20, 1963]), p. 14.

Yahweh's forgiving grace (if xliv 25 is meant to describe his current attitude).

In the second pair of units, which proclaim Yahweh's salvation despite the obduracy described in the trial speeches, we move from the return of those who already bear Yahweh's name (xliii 1-7) to the recreating of a people to take on his name (xliv 1-5).

In the third pair of units, the scale of the one in sequence D allows for the fullest of the satires on idol-making in Isaiah xl-lv. And in the final pair, we come to a climax with the explicit references first to Babylon and then to Cyrus and the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

The sequences as a whole begin by making explicit the double problem which makes Israel unable to fulfil the servant role—she is in bondage both physically and spiritually. They declare that, nevertheless, Yahweh is not finished with her; he still intends her to be his servant/witnesses. But to this end she needs a double deliverance. One half of this deliverance is to come about through the act of restoration which will follow Cyrus's victories over Babylon. Cyrus is the messiah; through him one part of the servant role described in xlii 1-4 is fulfilled for Israel. Here a high point in the written exposition of the prophet's message is reached, though it is also a point of transition to a greater concentration in succeeding chapters on the second aspect to Israel's bondage, her resistance to Yahweh expressed in her rejection of the prophet's message.²⁸).

The parallels and sequences in the units in Isaiah xl-lv which we have noted suggest that these chapters were compiled carefully and purposefully so as to express a specific message²⁹). The arrangement offers an interpretation of the individual oracles which seems, at some points at least, to differ from their original application³⁰), and this may have been the work of "Trito-Isaianic" circles. But the presence of more than one level of interpretation in the material

²⁸) On the development in these chapters see J. W. Miller, "Prophetic conflict in Second Isaiah", in H. J. Stoebe *et al.* (ed), *Wort-Gebot-Glaube* (W. Eichrodt 80. Geburtstag, Zürich, 1971), pp. 77-81; and on the relationship between the prophet's experience and his message, Melugin, pp. 154-5.

²⁹) The presence of formal sequences indicates that the vocabulary links are not merely *Stichworten*, as S. Mowinckel maintained in "Die Komposition des deuterojesajanischen Buches", *ZAW* 49 (1931), pp. 87-112, 242-60; accepted, for instance, by Schoors, p. 15.

³⁰) E.g., if xlii 5-9 was originally a Cyrus oracle, in following xlii 1-4 it continues the commission of the servant described in those verses, who has been identified in xli 8-9.

in chapters xl-lv does not rule out the possibility that the arrangement, as well as the original delivery of the oracles, were the work of the same prophet. If the conviction that Israel cannot function as Yahweh's servant, at least until her relationship with Yahweh has been restored, reflects the prophet's own experience of her rejection of his message, this latter may be the more likely view.



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