Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Egypt and Assyria in Isaiah 11:11–16

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Abstract
In the following article I will deal with one of Isaiah's prophecies, Isaiah 11:11–16, whose date is debated. In this article, I will concur that the prophecy is not original to Isaiah, nor was there an early Isaianic core that was expanded in later periods. Other scholars suggested different dates for the prophecy, ranging from the reign of Josiah at the end of the Assyrian rule in the Levant until the Hasmonean Period. I will forward a different historical setting to the oracle than the hitherto given options. According to this understanding, the oracle was composed in the mid-7th century BCE and reflects the political situation during the reigns of Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, and Manasseh, King of Judah, respectively.

I DEDICATE THE ARTICLE, WHICH WAS WRITTEN IN HOSPITAL, TO THE MEMORY OF MY BELOVED SON, JONATHAN KAHN Z"L, WHO UNTIMELY PASSED AWAY ON THE 17TH OF APRIL 2012 AT THE AGE OF 8. MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

1. The Context of the Prophecy
The prophecy is part of a collection of four prophecies introduced by the formula "והיה ביום ההוא" "and it shall come to pass in that day." These oracles announce the future relief of Assyrian oppression. The first oracle in 10:20–26 may have described the events of 720 BCE and was possibly edited at a later stage.[1] The second prophecy in Isaiah 10:27–11:9 comprises several literary units basically announcing the impending fall of the Assyrian monarch and the subsequent rise of the Davidic monarch.[2] The third short prophecy (11:10) is a later editorial addition, which focuses on the nations' future recognition of the new Davidic monarch and serves as a bridge between the prophecies.[3] The fourth and last prophecy in this collection, the focus of this study, is Isaiah 11:11–16, which announces the future restoration of Israel when the remnant of the people will return from exile. I will first deal with the date and composition of Isaiah 11:11–12.

> In that day the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that remains of his people, from Assyria, from Egypt, *from Pathros, from Kush, from Elam, from Shin'ar, from Hamath, and from the coastlands/Islands of the sea*. He will raise a signal for the nations and will assemble the banished of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. (Isaiah 11:11–12; emphasis added)

2. The Date of Isaiah 11: 11–12
2.1. During Isaiah's Time
Many commentators, who date the prophecy to the days of Isaiah (ca. 734–701 BCE),[4] claim that the list of toponyms to which Israelites and Judeans were exiled to in Isaiah 11:11 "can be interpreted against the background of events of Isaiah's time in connection with the Assyrian visitation. The really great dispersion and exile happened in Isaiah's time, and the countries mentioned are all in existence just at that time."[5]

However, when checking the list of toponyms carefully, it becomes clear that this statement is not precise, to say the least. The existence of a kingdom in the days of Isaiah does not prove that the Assyrians exiled people to it.[6] When identifying the toponyms with precision, and trying to reconstruct a historical possibility of exile to these places in the days of Isaiah, immediately a problem is encountered with the historical setting of the prophecy, i.e., "The countries which are given as the location of the Diaspora in verse 11 point to a time *long after Isaiah*,"[7] since:

a. during most of the activity of Isaiah there was not yet a Judean Diaspora (note the Exile in the year 701 BCE);[8]
b. the destinations of the Diaspora in Isaiah 11:11 do not fit the destinations of the known deportations from Judah during Isaiah's years of activity;[9]

c. some of the toponyms (i.e., Egypt, Pathros, and Kush) could not have been the destination of mass deportations during the time of Isaiah, since they were not under Assyrian control at the time.

2.2. Alternative Dates

Many scholars have argued that the oracle or parts thereof *are not originally from Isaiah* himself. Many commentators refute the integrity of v. 11b in the prophecy (above, in italics) and treat it as a later expansion of an older text. Koenig maintains that the mention of Assyria in verse 11 and 16 may point to an older original and that "all the following places were added later," with the possible exception of Egypt.[10] Assyria and Egypt in Isaiah 11:11 were recognized as a pair, mentioned again in verses 15 and 16, as well as in several additional prophetic books.[11] This led to the notion that the toponyms following Egypt in verse 11 were later additions, which fitted a later historical reality.[12] Thus, most scholars agree that vv. 11–12 or parts thereof do not stem from the Assyrian period, but are of a later date (exilic or post exilic) in part or in its entirety

Duhm[13] claims that Isaiah 11:11–16 reflects the expansionist activity of the Hasmoneans, namely Yohanan Hyrcanus (134–104 BCE) and Alexander Yannay (103–76 BCE) at the *end of the second century BCE*. The mention of only Assur and Egypt in vv. 15–16 as well were regarded as a proof that all the other provinces in v. 11 are additions of the editor, who, in order to show his geographical and historical knowledge, added the provinces of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires. Kaiser and Vermeylen dated the prophecy to the *early Hellenistic Period* and identify Egypt and Assyria with the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires.[14]

However, an updated list dating to this period appears in Septuagint (LXX) Isaiah 11:11, and the occurrence of these verses in the Isaiah scrolls from Qumran dating to the 2nd century BCE entirely speaks against this late dating.[15] Furthermore, the identification of the Seleucid Empire with "Assyria" cannot be accepted, since in the Septuagint, the original designation of Assyria and Egypt remain and are not updated with the current designations of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires. This fact, as well, rules out the suggestion that the entities named might be mere ciphers for other, later political realities. Furthermore, Assyria never designates the Empires west of the Euphrates.[16]

Thus, Williamson[17] refutes the proposal to date the prophecy to the Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods, bases the refutations on their occurrence in the Septuagint,[18] and fits the renaming of several of the place names to the conditions of the second century BCE. Furthermore, he notes that the situation described in vv. 13–14 where Israel and Judah fight united against their neighbors in Transjordan does not fit the historical reality of the Hasmoneans at all. Furthermore, these texts cannot be dated later than their counterparts from Qumran. The Isaiah scroll, which is dated on paleographical grounds to 150–125 BCE, contains this prophecy, so the events in it clearly cannot be dated to Alexander Yannay, and scarcely to Yohanan Hyrcanus, [19] but if it was written in the reign of one of the later kings, there should not have been any variants in spelling between the two versions, which clearly exist. Furthermore, there is no clear instance where texts in Proto-Isaiah can be dated later than the reign of Nabonidus on *historical* grounds.[20]

Wildberger dates the prophecy to the Persian period. The traditions of the Exodus in v. 16 would be surprising in the prophecies of Isaiah from Jerusalem, since First Isaiah never mentions the Exodus from Egypt. The ideas of a new exodus are found in Deutero-Isaiah. Wildberger considers the early Persian period, when Zechariah and Malachi prophesied, but eventually opts for the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and the return from Exile in their days (mid-5th century BCE). The prophecy is dated by Blenkinsopp to the early to middle Achaemenid period.[21]

Williamson assigns the prophecy to Deutero-Isaiah (ca. end of 6th century BCE and before the Cyrus edict of 538). He bases his arguments on similarity in ideas, motifs, and phraseology with Deutero-Isaiah and parallel ideas in Zechariah 10:11–16. Williamson claims that Isaiah 11:11–16 is part of the alleged editorial work of Deutero-Isaiah in Isaiah 1–39.[22]

However, I consider Williamson's above thesis regarding editorial interventions of Deutero-Isaiah hypothetical, lacking even one chronological-historical anchor point.[23] The same literary style and terminology are considered by other scholars as indication of a much later period, and some of the terms occur in the days of Jeremiah.[24]

Roberts has rightly observed that the motif of God raising a standard to the nations in order to accomplish the return of his people in Isaiah 11:12 and 49:22 differ in diction and the vocabulary. The verbs נד״ח and נפ״ץ are not used in Deutero-Isaiah.[25]

Furthermore, if verses 13–14 are an integral part of the prophecy, the historical background of the relations with Judah's neighbors would not fit the time of Deutero-Isaiah or his lack of interest in the unification or reconciliation between Ephraim and Judah.[26] The most one can say is that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by these verses. In addition, the following geographic-historical considerations suggest that the dating to the Babylonian period cannot be accepted: 1. The political difficulties in having a body of Judean exiles during the Babylonian period in Kush, or in the islands of the Sea (see below). 2. God's peoples were exiled to *Assyria* in verses 11 and 16. The Babylonians did not exile to Assyria. 3. The Babylonian exile was of limited scope and involved a removal to a few areas in Babylonia as opposed to the vast exile described in the prophecy. And 4. Babylon's insignificant place within the prophecy.

Sweeney dates the prophetic unit Isaiah 11:1–12:6 to the reign of Josiah and stresses the following points: 1. The close relation between the several prophecies in the unit 11:1–12:6. He identifies the future "messianic" king (Isaiah

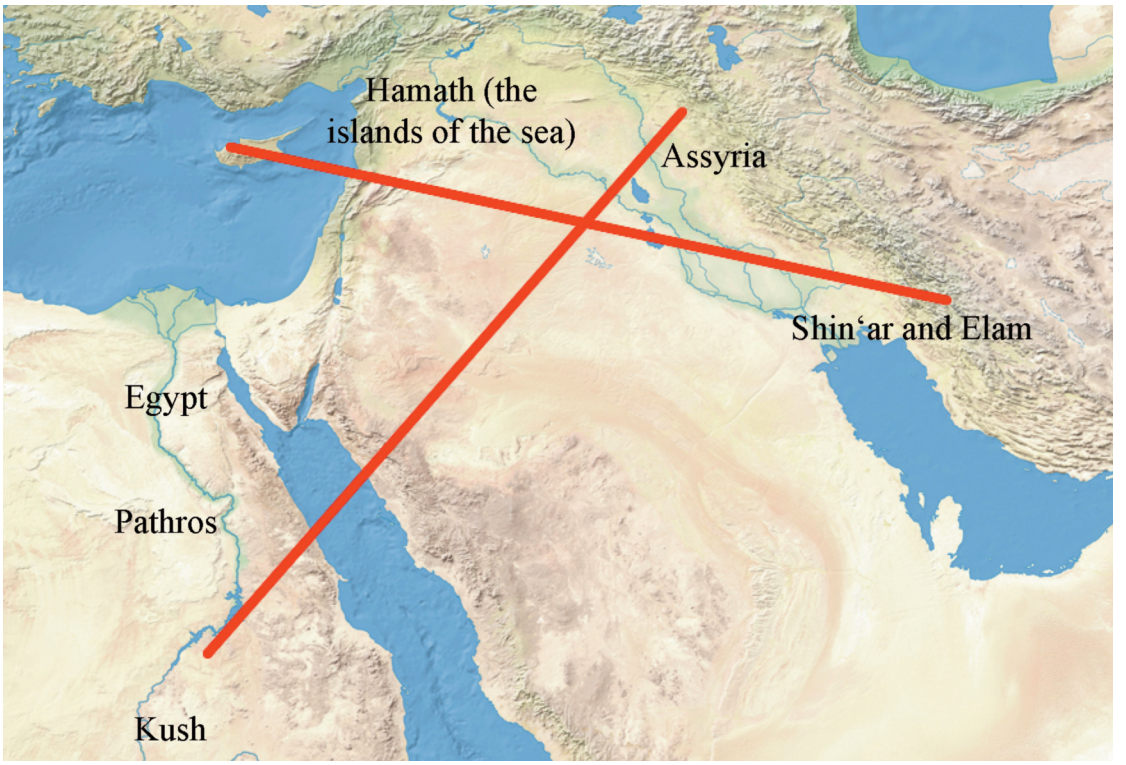


Figure 1: The geographical locations to which Judeans were exiled according to Isaiah 11:11 (base image *Natural Earth II* [public domain]).

11: 1–9) as the young Josiah (639–609 BCE). 2. The punishment of Egypt and Assyria in the context of the return of the exiles from these countries corresponds to Josiah's attempt to rebuild the Davidic Empire in the face of opposition from Egypt and Assyria in the late 7th century. 3. The interest in Exodus traditions apparent in both 11:11–16 in the context of the Josianic redaction, in 2 Kings 23:21–23 and in 2 Chronicles 35:1–19 indicate, that the celebration of Passover served as the festival basis for Josiah's reform.[27]

The above scholars, using historical, linguistic and intertextual criticism as dating methods, did not achieve a conclusive and accepted dating (ranging between 734 BCE and ca. 170 BCE).

3. The Identification of the Lands in Isaiah 11:11–12 from Which the Remnant Will Return and the Formation of the List

In most cases the discussion about this topographic list is mainly centered on identifying the place names. In the following I will claim that verse 11b is not a later addition, but is part of the *original composition* of the list. The above list comprises of eight geographical toponyms. The list is built on two axes, NE–SW and SE–NW, consisting of the four corners of the earth.

At the beginning of the list, Assyria is placed *first*, in the *northeast* not only because of geographical reasons but perhaps also owing to its political significance during the creation of the list. If the list was created or edited when Assyria lost its prominence (either in the Babylonian or the Persian periods), the primary place in the list could have been taken either by Babylonia/Shinar or by Persia, so the list could have started in the southeast or in any other corner of the universe.

The following toponyms in the list, Egypt, Pathros, and Kush, are the areas in the opposite *southwestern* extremity of the known world. Egypt is to be identified with Lower Egypt, Pathros with Upper (=Southern) Egypt,[28] and Kush with the kingdom to the south of Egypt, equivalent to modern-day Sudan. It is significant that these countries are listed together, since they are mentioned exactly in this order only in Esarhaddon's inscriptions (680–669 BCE).[29]

Following this, the toponym of Elam is mentioned at the beginning of the second axis, in the extreme *southeast*,[30] continuing to Shinar—the land Babylonia.[31] From there it continues to Hamath. Some commentators identified Hamath with Achmeta אַחְמְתָא, classical Ecbatana in Media,[32] but it is almost universally accepted that Hamath should be located in northern Syria. The list ends in the *northwest* with the "איי הים,"[33] traditionally translated "the

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Egypt	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Pathros	No	No	No	No	No info	Yes
Kush	No	No	No	No	No	No info
Elam	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Shinar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hamath	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Islands of the Sea	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Table 1: Neo-Assyrian control over kingdoms.

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Yes	Possible	Yes	Possible	Possible	Possible
Egypt	No	No info	Possible	No	No info	No info
Pathros	No	No info	No	No	No info	No
Kush	No	No info	No	No	No info	No
Elam	No	No info	No	No	No	Yes
Shinar	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Hamath	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Islands of the Sea	No info	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible

Table 2: Judean and Israelite exiles during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Egypt	Yes	Yes	Yes	No info	No	Yes
Pathros	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Kush	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Elam	No	No	No	No	No	Possible
Shinar	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Hamath	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Islands of the Sea	No	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible

Table 3: Judean and Israelite refugees, merchants, soldiers, and immigrants during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

Period	Babylonian Empire 605–539 BCE			Persian Empire A 525–465 BCE			Persian Empire B after 465 BCE		
Toponyms	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants
Assyria	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Low probability	Yes	No	Probable
Egypt	No	No	Yes	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Probable
Pathros	No	No	Probable	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Probable
Kush	No	No	Low probability	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Low probability
Elam	Yes	Yes	Probable	Yes	Probable	Probable	Yes	Probable	Probable
Shinar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Probable	Probable	Probable	Probable	Probable
Hamath	Yes	Yes	Probable	Yes	No info	Low probability	Yes	Probable	Probable
Islands of the Sea	No	No	Probable	No info	Yes	Yes	No	No info	No info

Table 4: Judean and Israelite exiles during Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires.

islands of the Sea," i.e., the islands in the Mediterranean Sea, such as Cyprus and Rhodes and possibly the Aegean. אי, however, may also denote the coastlands, thus the Phoenician or Cilician coast.

The list was carefully planned. The *four* toponyms Assyria (NE, which appears *alone*) and Egypt, Pathros, and Kush (SW, which appear as a *threesome*) are on one axis. The axis running from the southeastern corner (Elam, Shinar) to the northwestern corner (Hamath, the islands of the sea) constituted of two couples of toponyms. Therefore, I suggest that the occurrence of the "Islands of the Sea" is not a later addition or afterthought, even though it is missing from the LXX.

It seems that the list was a *unity*, geographically organized, and listed the toponyms that constitute the extreme four corners of the controlled universe on two axes. These "four corners of the Earth" אַרְבַּע כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ where Jewish exiles lived, and from which they would return, are mentioned at the end of vs. 12.[34]

4. Summary of the Evidence of Judean (or Israelite) Diaspora at the Toponyms Mentioned in Verses 11–12 during the Assyrian to Persian Empires (8th–4th centuries BCE)

In the four tables below I have summarized my findings, taking into consideration Mesopotamian or Egyptian control over the mentioned regions and the probability or actual evidence of presence of a *considerable* Judean or Israelite Diaspora in these areas. I have organized the tables according to historical periods.[35] Table 1 surveys the control of the Neo-Assyrian empire over the mentioned toponyms; table 2 surveys the possible Israelite and Judean exiles in the mentioned toponyms during the Neo-Assyrian Empire; table 3 surveys the possible Israelite and Judean merchants, emigrants, refugees and soldiers during the Neo-Assyrian period; table 4 surveys the possibility of Judean and Israelite exiles during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.

During the surveyed reigns, the deportations to the mentioned places and arrival of refugees, emigrants, merchants, or soldiers is recorded. Where information is positive, the answer is (yes); where the political situation may allow for a Jewish Diaspora but the data are not available, the answer is recorded as (possible); when the evidence is missing, there is a (no info); and where the answer is negative, I marked it as (no). Thus a quick overview of Jewish Diasporas during the mentioned periods for the listed toponyms is made available.

Summing up the results of the probable dispersion and surviving evidence for exiles from Israel and Judah in the areas listed in verse 11 shows that the list does not fit the times of the recorded activity of the prophet Isaiah (734–ca. 701 BCE), nor does it fit the Babylonian, late Persian, and Hellenistic periods, which were suggested by most scholars. *The best historical-geographical setting of the list is during the mid-7th century*, preferably during the *end of the reign of Manasseh* king of Judah, concurrent with the reign of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria. We may now turn to the rest of the prophecy. The period of the early Persian Period (525–465 BCE) cannot be ruled out.

5. An Anticipated Exodus from Egypt (Isaiah 11:15)

> And the Lord will utterly dry[36] the tongue of the Sea of Egypt; and will wave his hand over the river with his scorching (?)[37]wind; and will split it into seven streams, and make a way to cross on foot. (Isaiah 11:15)

Verses 15–16 use deliberately Exodus imagery. God is expected to redeem the remnant of Israel from exile in Egypt *and Assyria* and smites and dries up the "tongue of Egypt."

5.1. The Sea of Egypt

This body of water is identified by many commentators as the Red Sea that was parted under the extended hand of Moses (Exodus 14:16, 21, 26–27).[38] However, one must not confuse the Red Sea with the Reed Sea (ים סוף), which the people of Israel crossed at the Exodus, even though the term ים סוף may have been used in the Bible for the Red Sea as well (cf. Num. 21:4; Deut. 1:1; 2:1; 1 Kings 9:26).[39]

5.2. The Tongue of the Sea of Egypt

The Tongue of the Sea of Egypt is to be understood as a geographical feature—a body of water that penetrates the mainland. Such a feature has been identified on the estuary of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile into the Mediterranean and described as a paleo-lagoon.[40] During the 1st millennium BCE the lagoon may have been marshy and dry parts of the year. This lagoon should be identified with the Egyptian *š ḥrw*, biblical Shihor, Lake of Horus, in Isaiah 23:3; and in Jeremiah 2:18.

5.3. The River

Early and modern commentators alike recognized verse 15's הנהר "The River" as the Euphrates,[41] since in the Bible, as in the rest of the ancient Near East, this is "The River" *par excellence* (2 Samuel 8:3; 1 Chronicles 18:3; 1 Kings 14:15, 2 Chronicles 9:26).[42] As a consequence of the identification of the river as the Euphrates, most commentators interpreted the following verses as dealing with Assyria, and the forthcoming exodus as coming from there. However, the term נהר "river" does not always denote the Euphrates. In Genesis 2:14 and Daniel 10:4 the Tigris is denoted as "The River" (written with the definite article). In Genesis 2:13 the Gihon (=Nile) is mentioned as one of *the* four Rivers of the garden of Eden, and in Isaiah 19:5 a river (without the definite article) is mentioned in an Egyptian context, which clearly points to the *Nile* (Isaiah 19:6, where נהר is written without the definite article), which would dry up.[43]

5.4. Seven Streams

Smith, Sweeney, and others rightly associated the motif of seven streams with the seven-headed chaos monster slain

by YHWH (especially Leviathan and its Sea/River cognates in Ugaritic and Mesopotamian mythologies).[44] The violent act of smiting the river into seven streams (נכ"ה in Hip'il) points in this direction as well. This association can be strengthened by the proximity of the *Sea* (ים) and the River (נהר) in v. 15,[45] two well-known terms denoting deities (or aspects of the same deity) who appear side by side in Ugaritic mythology (cf. Isaiah 30:7).

However, the prophecy does not have to remain on the mytho-symbolic level of conflict between YHWH and Yam and may be multivalent. While the description may allude to the subduing of the seven-headed Sea/River monster from the Canaanite mythology, it may, at the same time, signify a real geographical feature. Nothing is known of seven streams in the Euphrates or its tributaries, not in Akkadian literature and imagery,[46] nor in geological terms.[47] Taking into consideration the possibility that "The River" is not the Euphrates, but the Nile, the geographical reality behind the prophecy can be clarified. The River Nile spreads out into branches and drains into the Mediterranean Sea. Herodotus mentions seven branches of the Nile, but considers two of them to be artificial.[48] All other classical writers, namely Pseudo Scylax, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, Hectaeus of Abdera, Ptolemy, and Pliny,[49] as well as the Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran mention that the Nile has seven branches.[50]

5.5 Cross the River on Foot

The motif of low inundation of the Nile and its effects is known from several Egyptian texts.[51] The motif of crossing the Nile on foot is almost identical in Isaiah 11:15 and in the prophecy of Neferty: "Dry is the river of Egypt, one crosses the water on foot."[52]

Reading verse 15 carefully, it becomes clear that the return is anticipated from Egypt. The drying/dividing the tongue of the Sea of Egypt would occur at the eastern borders of Egypt, the place of entrance and exit from Egypt. From the analysis above, it becomes clear as well that the crossing of the River to return to the homeland should not be seen as the crossing of the Euphrates, as was commonly thought, but as the crossing of the Nile. After having established the geographical background of verse 15, we can continue and interpret verse 16.

6. A Second Exodus: The Anticipated Exodus of the Judeans Who Were under Assyrian Rule (in Egypt)

> And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt. (Isaiah 11:16.)

The occurrence of Assyria and Egypt, which appear several times in the Bible as an opposing couple, led scholars to assume that vs. 11 included originally only the return from the exile of the remnant of Assyria and of Egypt (see note 9) and that the rest was a later elaboration.

A highway (מְסִלָּה) is mentioned again in Isaiah 19:23, where it connects between Assyria and Egypt, which is to be subservient to the former. The historical setting of Isaiah 19:16–25 is best to be dated as well in the seventh century BCE or several decades earlier (671–664 BCE).[53] In Isaiah 11:16 a (similar/the same?) highway was supposed to enable the return from the exile, which shall be left *from Assyria*.[54]

Judeans are attested in Egypt serving the Assyrians during the reigns of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria and Manasseh, King of Judah respectively. According to the annals of Ashurbanipal, Judean vassal soldiers were recruited under the command of the Assyrian forces and participated in the invasion of Egypt (667 BCE). They may have remained in Assyrian garrisons during the short-lived Assyrian occupation.[55] Furthermore, in the reign of either Sargon II (708 BCE) or Ashurbanipal deportees from Rashi, the capital of Elippi, near Elam, were deported to Beth-El in the province of Samerina (according to Papyrus Amherst 63). From Beth-El some of these deportees (seemingly a group of male soldiers) went to Egypt and finally settled at Syene.[56] Porten, considering the various options of the date of the arrival of Jewish mercenaries in Elephantine, came to the conclusion that the Jewish colony arrived at Elephantine during the days of Manasseh.[57] In a study published in 2003, he adds arguments in favor of his dating, claiming that Manasseh, who rebelled against Assurbanipal probably between 651–648 (cf. 2 Chronicles 33:1–13), wished to aid Psammetichus I, his new ally, in his wars against the Kushites.[58] Whether the Jewish military colony arrived during the reign of Manasseh or during the reign of Josiah (640–609 BCE), his successor, as I maintain,[59] they are attested in Elephantine from the third quarter of the 5th century BCE until ca. 400 BCE. In either case, Judeans are attested in Egypt during the 7th century BCE onwards.

According to the context, the author of the prophecy expresses the hope that these Judeans *from Egypt*(!) will return from exile and regards this return as a second Exodus.[60] It thus seems that the prophecy in vv. 15–16 describes the situation of the anticipated mass return of Judean (and Israelite?) exiles from Egypt during Assyria's retreat from Egypt in approximately the mid-650s BCE.[61]

In Conclusion

- The literary form of the list of toponyms suggests that it is an authentic unity without any late additions.
- The survey of a historical reality in which Judeans and/or Israelites could be exiles in the listed kingdoms points to the mid-7th century as the most probable dating possibility. An early Persian dating (525–465 BCE) is not ruled out.
- V. 15 anticipates an Exodus from Egypt (and not from Egypt and Assyria).
- V. 16 elaborates on the identity of peoples who are expected to take part in this Exodus from Egypt: They are the Judeans, who are the remnant who remained from the Assyrians. From the geographical context in

v. 15, it becomes clear that the setting of this second Exodus is from Egypt. Altogether, this is a unique echo of the end of the Assyrian rule in Egypt during the mid-7th century BCE.

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1 M. J. de Jong, "A Window on the Isaiah Tradition in the Assyrian Period: Isaiah 10: 24–27," in M. N. van der Meer et al. (eds.), *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty–Fifth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 83–107.

2 M. A. Sweeney, "Jesse's New Shoot in Isaiah 11: A Josianic Reading of the Prophet Isaiah," in D. M. Carr and R. D. Weis (eds.), *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 225 (Sheffield: Shieffield Academic Press, 1996), 103–118. Isaiah 10:28–32 is an insertion from a different source. See: D. L. Christensen, "The March of Conquest in Isaiah X 27c–34," *Vetus Testamentum* 26.4 (1976): 385–399.

3 J. Stromberg, "The 'Root of Jesse' in Isaiah 11: 10: Postexilic Judah, or Postexilic Davidic King?," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.4 (2008): 655–669; J. J. M. Roberts, "The Translation of Isa 11:10 and the Syntax of the Temporal Expression והיה ביום ההוא," in Mori Masao, Ogawa Hideo, and Yoshikawa Mamoru (eds.), *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 363–370.

4 A list of scholars who date the prophecy to the days of Isaiah can be found in: G. E. Umoren, *The Salvation of the Remnant in Isaiah 11:11–12: An Exegesis of a Prophecy of Hope and its Relevance Today* (Rome: Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas in Urbe, 2006), 140; S. Erlandsson, "Jesaja 11:10–16 och dess historiska bakgrund," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 36: 24–44; Seth Erlandsson, "Isaiah 11:10–16 and Its Historical Background," trans. S. Becker, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Digital Library, http://essays.wls.wels.net/bitstream/handle/123456789/1386/ErlandssonIsaiah11.10-16.pdf?sequence=1, accessed 13 December s016 (original publication: *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* [1974]: 94–113; B. Otzen, *Studien uber Deuterosacharja*, trans. H. Leisterer, Acta Theologica Danica 6 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964), 44; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible 5 (New York—London: Doubleday, 1991), 84; B. D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 247. Weinfeld, followed by Sommer, gives much weight to the mention of Egypt, Pathros, and Kush for dating the prophecy to the Neo–Assyrian period. However, both Weinfeld and Sommer do not distinguish between the realities of the 8th century BCE—Isaiah's time—and the 7th century BCE.

5 Erlandsson [1974], 9; P. Graham, "The Remnant Motif in Isaiah," *Restoration Quarterly* 19 (1976): 224.

6 See Erlandsson's treatment of Kush under the same heading of Egypt and Pathros without distinguishing between them: Erlandsson [1974], 6–7.

7 Erlandsson [1974].

8 It can be argued that Isaiah refers to Israelite exiles as well if עמו "his people" includes Israelites. However, this is not stated explicitly.

9 As for the possibility that Isaiah refers to Israelites who were deported to these locations by the Assyrians, Egypt, Pathros, Kush and Elam are excluded, since they were not under Assyrian control. The Islands of the Sea, if identified with Cyprus, were under brief Assyrian control during Sargon II's reign, and there is no indication that Israelites were deported to Cyprus or that they fled to these locations voluntarily. Furthermore, refugees, merchants, or immigrants may have settled in the mentioned kingdoms, but their numbers would be mostly insignificant. See Tables 1–2.

10 E. Koenig, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926), 166.

11 Cf. A. Niccacci, "Isaiah XVIII–XX from an Egyptological Perspective," *Vetus Testamentum* 48.2 (1998): 226–227: Hosea 7:11; 9:3; 11:5; 11:11; 12:1–2; Micah 7:12; Isaiah 7:18; 19:23, 25; 27:13; Jeremiah 2:18.

12 J. H. Hayes, and S. A. Irvine, *Isaiah, the Eighth Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 216.

13 B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*) Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 85–87.

14 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 264, n. 8, 266; J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi–millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. I (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1977), 279.

15 See: H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 127–128; F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 176; E. Ulrich (ed.), *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants; Based on the Identification of Fragments by Frank Moore Cross et al. and on the editions of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls by Maurice Baillet et al.*, Vetus Testamentum Supplements 134, The Text of the Bible at Qumran (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 353–354. See: C. B.

Hays, "The Date and Message of Isaiah 24–27 in Light of Hebrew Diachrony," in J. T. Hibbard, and H. C. P. Kim, (eds.), *Intertextuality and Formation of Isaiah 24-27*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 17 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), esp. 11, 23. Linguistically and syntactically, no features of late biblical Hebrew can be identified in these verses.

16 G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah*, (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1974), 344.

17 Williamson 1994, 127–128.

18 LXX Isaiah 11:11 "And it shall be on that day that the Lord will further display his hand to show zeal for the remnant that is left of the people, whatever is left from the Assyrians, and from Egypt and Babylonia and Ethiopia and from the Elamites and from where the sun rises and out of Arabia."

19 Cross 1995, 176; Ulrich 2010, 353–354.

20 Chapters 13–14, which were added to the oracles against the Nations and are conventionally dated to the mid-550s. See: R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: London, 1980), 137; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 277–279; G. Eidevall, *Prophecy and Propaganda: Images of Enemies in the Book of Isaiah*, Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament series 56 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 113. These chapters reflect the threat of the fall of Babylonian Empire, but they must be dated before its actual occurrence and before the defeat of Astyages of Media by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 550 BCE.

21 H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, T. H. Trapp (trans.) (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), esp. 490; Cf. Blenkinsopp 2000, 267–268.

22 Williamson 1994, 125–133, 141.

23 Williamson 1994, 125 ff.

24 See note 14. Cf. B. J. Sommer, "Dating Pentateuchal Texts and the Perils of Pseudo–Historicism," in T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 95–96. Sweeney shows that Trito–Isaiah as well employs language and imagery specifically from this chapter. See: M. A. Sweeney, "The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah," in J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne, (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken*, BEThL 132 (Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1997), 52, 57.

25 See the thorough rebuttal of Williamson's arguments in J. J. M. Roberts, "Critical Reflections on The Book Called Isaiah with Particular Attention to the Second Exodus Theme (Isa 11:11-16)," The Old Testament and the Ancient Near East, n.d., http://prophetess.lstc.edu/~rklein/Doc11/roberts.rtf, accessed 13 December 2016.

26 Cf. J. Blenkinsopp 2000, 268; Roberts n.d., noting Williamson's admitting on p. 128 that there is no evidence in Isa 40–55, to back up the claim that Deutero-Isaiah was concerned with the reunification of north and south.

27 M. A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 204–205. Additional chapters in First Isaiah are ascribed by various scholars to the reign of Josiah. See esp. M. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); A. Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus*: *The Historical Josiah and the Messianic Expectations of Exilic and Postexilic Times*, Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series 33; (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992); C. B. Hays, *A Covenant With Death: Death in the Iron Age II and Its Rhetorical Uses in Proto-Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 315–346; C. Balogh, *The Stele of YHWH in Egypt: The Prophecies of Isaiah 18–20 Concerning Egypt and Kush*, Oudtestamentische studiën 60; (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

28 אֶרֶץ פַּתְרוֹס, e.g. *pꜣ-tꜣ-rsy*, lit. "The Land of the Land of the South." Cf. G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlischen Jahrtausend* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 2003), 91.

29 E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo–Assyrian Period 4 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 344–345, occurrences of Egypt, Upper Egypt (Paturisu) and Kush, listed in the index.

30 H. Tadmor, "World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire," in L. Milano et al., eds., *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*: *Papers Presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia 1997*, vol. II (Padova: Sargon srl, 1999), 60. Note that Elam was considered as Assyria's imperial Eastern Horizon for the first time in Assurbanipal's reign.

31 Cf. Genesis 10:10, where the cities of Babylon and Uruk (but also Calne in the Umqi Valey, Cilicia, Turkey) are located in Shinar.

32 See: Wildberger 1991, 487, citing earlier literature. B. Oded suggested identifying Hamath with ^{URU}Amatu in Babylonia (private communication). For ^{URU}Amatu, see: G. R. Driver, "Geographical Problems," *Eretz Israel* 5 (1959): 18*–19*; R. Zadok, Geographical and Onomastic Notes, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 8 (1976): 117–120.

33 M. Korpel, "Second Isaiah and the Greek Islands," in M. Parsons (ed.), *Text and Task: Scripture and Mission* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 79–90.

34 See: J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, revised ed., World Bib-

lical Commentary 24 (Nashville: Nelson, 2005), 215.

35 The tables present key results of a detailed study of the evidence currently in preparation by the author, yet exceeding the scope of this paper.

36 I accept the emendation by most commentators of the Masoretic Text החרים to והחריב; cf. Isaiah 19:5; 51:10; Exodus 14:21. See especially: A. Schenker, "Beginnings of the Text History of the Book of Kings in the 4th Century: The Importance of the Parallel Passages 2 Kings 19:11, 19=Isa 37: 11, 20 for the Earliest History of the Bible Text," in A. Schenker, *Anfänge der Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments. Studien zu Entstehung und Verhältnis der frühesten Textformen*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 194 (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2011), 23–26. Schenker notes the exceptional use of geographical term as direct object instead of the expected direct object that corresponds to persons, animals, movables, and human settlements. However, see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, New Century Bible Commentary (London: Eerdmans, 1981), 127, who prefers החרים "to cut off," from Akkadian *ḫarāmu*. See also L. H. Hill, *Reading Isaiah as a Theological Unity Based on an Exegetical Investigation of the Exodus Motif*, PhD dissertation (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary [Fort Worth, Texas], 1993), 91–92. For the use of חר"ם in late Biblical Hebrew in the meaning "to destroy," see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, Anchor Bible 11 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1988), 235.

37 בעים is a hapax legomenon. Recently Eshel and Demsky respectively proposed to interpret בעים as a name for the Euphrates or the name of the Aramaean kingdom of Bīt–Baḫiān, respectively. However, this word must remain a crux, since the river in question is not the Euphrates, but the Nile (see subsequent discussion). E. Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the Genesis Apocryphon," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13.1 (2006): 38–45; A. Demsky, "B'ym (Isa 11:15) = (Bīt–) Baḫiān: Resolving an Ancient Crux," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 15 (2008): 248–252.

38 Sweeney 1996, 117; F. Feldmann, *Das Buch Isaias I*, Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 14 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1925), 161: "oberste Spitze des Roten Meeres"; J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1–39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 289: "any bay or gulf" of the Egyptian or Red Sea; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah, I* (Dublin: Richview Press, 1960), 139; J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, World Biblical Commentary 24 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 217: "the upper end of the Gulf of Suez"; Blenkinsopp 2000, 268: "'The tongue of the Egyptian Sea' may refer to the tongue-shaped Red Sea."

39 In the Genesis Apocryphon, after Abram was shown the Promised Land from Mt. Hazor (21:8–12), he went for a grand tour of the Promised Land: "So I, Abram, went to go around and look at the land. I started going about from the Gihon River and moved along the Sea, until I reached Mount Taurus. I journeyed from [the coast] of this Great Salt Sea and moved along Mount Taurus toward the east through the breadth of the land, until I reached the Euphrates River [נהרא פורת]. I traveled along the Euphrates [פורת] until I came to the Red Sea in the east (*i.e. the Persian Gulf*). (Then) I moved along the Red Sea, until I reached the *tongue of the Reed Sea (suf), which goes forth from the Red Sea*. (From there) I journeyed toward the south, until I reached the Gihon River" (21:15–19). See: J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd edition, Biblica et Orientalia 18B (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 105, 225–227.

On first impression, in this text as well, the tongue of the Reed Sea is connected with the Red Sea. However, on further inspection, it becomes clear that Abram proceeded from the Red Sea to the Reed Sea along the eastern borders of Egypt (arriving at the Mediterranean Sea or close to it), and then journeyed toward the south and arrived at the (Gihon) Nile.

It seems that in Jubilees 8: 13–15 movement in the opposite direction is described. It seems that Shem's lot is delineated on its western borders by the Mediterranean from Karas (the Bay of Iskandrun?) straight south along the Mediterranean Sea toward Egypt. The allotment of Shem includes the Sinai Peninsula until the paleo–lagoon at the border of Egypt. From there, along the Bitter Lakes, which separate Egypt from Asia, southward to the Red Sea (approximately along the line of the current Suez Canal), and from there to the Persian Gulf up to the estuary of the Euphrates (Tina River). Cf. the description in Herodotus, *Histories* III, 5. See: A. F. Rainey, "Herodotus' Description of the East Mediterranean Coast," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 321 (2001): 57–63, esp. 59, where the lake is identified as Lake Serbonis, which seems not to have been in existence before the Persian Period. See J. K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 41.

40 J. K. Hoffmeier and S. O. Moshier, "New Paleo–environmental Evidence from the North Sinai to Complement Manfred Bietak's Map of the Eastern Delta and Some Historical Implications," in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, and A. Schwab, (eds.), *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), vol. II, 167–176; S. O. Moshier and A. El–Kalani, "Late Bronze Age Paleogeography along the Ancient Ways of Horus in Northwest Sinai, Egypt," *Geoarchaeology* 23.4 (2008): 450–473, esp. 471; D. Kahn and O. Tammuz: "Egypt is Difficult to Enter (Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.21): Invading Egypt—A Game

Plan (7th–4th Centuries BCE)," *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 35 (2009): 42–43.

41 See: B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes*, The Aramaic Bible 11 (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark Ltd., 1987), 28; Hayes and Irvine 1987, 217; Eshel 2006, 39–40 with earlier literature there; C. von Orelli *Der Prophet Jesaja*, (München: C.H. Beck, 1904), 55; Feldmann 1925, 161; Duhm 1914, 86; Kissane 1960, 139; Kaiser 1983, 268; Oswalt 1986, 289; Wildberger 1991, 497; Blenkinsopp 2000, 268; Watts 2005, 217.

42 See the numerous Biblical instances where the term River הנהר denotes the Euphrates. In ancient Near Eastern texts, see: I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *Israel Exploration Journal* 39 (1989): 192–200; N. Na'aman, "Hazael of 'Amqi and Hadadezer of Beth–Rehob," *Ugarit Forschungen* 27 (1995): 394–381.

43 Ibn Ezra raises the option that הנהר refers to the Nile and not the Euphrates; see also Hoffmeier 2005, 79; D. B. Redford, "Some Observations on the Traditions Surrounding 'Israel in Egypt,'" in O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and M. Oeming, *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 329.

44 For the association with the battle against chaos, see: Wildberger 1991–1997, 497; and more specifically, identifying the seven streams with the seven headed mythical *sea* monster, see: M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco; Harper & Row, 1990), 52–53; M. A. Sweeney, "New Gleanings from an Old Vineyard: Isaiah 27 Reconsidered," in C. A. Evans, and W. F. Stinespring (eds.), *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, Scholars Press Hommage Series 10 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 65. For the seven-headed monster, see: J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 13–14, 24, 81; M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Baal, Leviathan und der siebenköpfige Drache Šlyṭ in der Rede des Todesgottes Môt (KTU 1.5 I 1-8 ǁ 27a-31)", in: *Orbis Ugariticus. Ausgewählte Beiträge von Manfried Dietrich und Oswald Loretz zu Fest- und Gedenkschriften: Anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages von Oswald Loretz* (*AOAT* 343; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008), 75–107. Cf. also the motif of the הַתַּנִּים הַגָּדוֹל Big Dragon/ Crocodile" swimming in the Nile in Ezekiel 29: 3–4.

45 I thank Dr. John Huddlestun for this insight.

46 R. Zadok, "Neo–Assyrian Notes", in: M. Cogan and D. Kahn, (eds.), *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies Presented to Israel Eph'al* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2008), 312–316; see, however, the mention of the seven-headed River that may possibly located in Iran in the Sumerian *Epos of Lugalbanda*: Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once. . . Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven—London: Yale University Press, 1987), 323, n. 3. Note, however, that the literary motif of something splitting into seven smaller elements occurs several times in the Bible. See: Deuteronomy 28, 7, 28; Joshua 18:6; Zechariah 3:9. I thank Prof. Oded for these references.

47 G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, "The Geographical History of the Mesopotamian Plains," *The Geographical Journal* 118.1 (1952): 24–39; C. E. Larsen "The Mesopotamian Delta Region: A Reconsideration of Lees and Falcon," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95.1 (1975): 43–45; J. F. Hansman "The Mesopotamian Delta in The First Millennium BC," *The Geographical Journal* 144.1 (1978): 49–61; Watts 2004, 217 does not interpret the "seven streams," but understands it as silt building up to a point that the stream has seven channels so small one does not need to remove his sandals in crossing.

48 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 17. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 1–98,* Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain 43 (Leiden: Brill 1976), 85–87.

49 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* I. 33.7; Strabo, *Geographica* 17.1.18; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* V, 64, see: Lloyd 1976; J.–Y. Carrez–Maratray, "Les branches du Nil d'Hérodote et le désastre athénien de l'Île Prosopitis," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147. 2 (2003): 939–951.

50 Fitzmyer 2004, 98–99, col. XIX, l. 12, 182–183. Note also that Medieval Armenian texts describing the rivers of the Garden of Eden mention that the Gihon (geographically identified as the Nile) separates into seven streams. See: M. E. Stone, "The Names of the Rivers," in: A. M. Maeir, J. Magness, and L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *"Go Out and Study the Land" (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2011), 250, MS 5254 Fol. 160v; 253, M8053 fols. 364v-365 (manuscript of the *Book of Sermons* of Grigor Tat'ewac'i).

51 H. Marlow, "The Lament over the River Nile—Isaiah xix 5–10 in Its Wider Context," *Vetus Testamentum* 57 (2007): 229–242.

52 Cf. Isaiah 37: 25. For the motif of crossing the river on foot in Egyptian literature, see: W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*, (Kleine ägyptische Texte; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 26; translation: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 141. For the motif of high and low Nile, see: J. R. Huddlestun, "'Who Is This That Rises Like

the Nile?' Some Egyptian Texts on the Inundation and a Prophetic Trope," in A. Beck, et. al. *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids—Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1995), 338–363; Redford 2011, 329. Cf. the description of Pharaoh in Ezekiel 32:2, 13.

The description of crossing overflowing rivers as if they were dry land while on military campaign is widely known in Mesopotamian literature as well. Cf. Fuchs 1998, 46, text VII b. ll. 33–37.

53 Cf. Sweeney 1996, 270. Contra: Scholars who date these verses to the days of Sargon II in 720 BCE: Hayes and Irvine 1987, 266: "The Egyptians will work with (not 'worship with' as in the RSV) the Assyrians"; Niccacci 1998, 222–223. Others date these verses to the Persian or even Seleucid periods. See: Williamson 1994, 126–127; Blenkinsopp 2000, 316–320; S. Lauber, "'JHWH wird sich Ägypten zu erkennen geben, und die Ägypter werden an jenem Tag JHWH erkennen', (Jes 19, 21): Universalismus und Heilszuversicht in Jes 19,16–25," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentlische Wissenschaften* 123 (2011): 374–375.

54 Cf. S. Japhet, "The Concept of the 'Remnant' in the Restoration Period: On the Vocabulary of Self–definition," in F.–L. Hossfeld and L. Schwienhorst–Schönberger, (eds.), *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments: Festschrift für Erich Zenger*, Herdeser biblische Studien 44 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 252–254.

55 R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 212, Prism C II 37–67; Prism A I 68–74; Esarhaddon's Large Egyptian Tablets Vs 10'. H. –U. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens, Teil I: Kommentare und Anmerkungen* Ägypten und Altes Testament 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 105; Assyrian forces are known to have remained in Egypt in strongholds and as taskforces, among them possibly Judeans; cf. Kahn, 2006. For the Egyptian evidence, see: The Dream Stela of Tanutamun, ll. 16–17. For the transliteration and translation, see conveniently: T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD I: From the Eighth to the Mid–Fifth Century BC* (Bergen: Department of Classics, 1994), 193–207, esp. 200.

56 R. C. Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy of a New Year's Festival Imported from Bethel to Syene by Exiles from Rash," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991): 362–363; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, "Assyrian Deportations to the Province of Samerina in the Light of Two Cuneiform Tablets from Tel Hadid," *Tel Aviv* 27, (2000): 179. Cf., however, I. Kottsieper, "Die literarische Aufnahme assyrischer Begebenheiten in frühen aramäischen Texten," in D. Charpinand& F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancient*: *Acts de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilizations, 1992), 283–289.

57 B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life on an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (California: University of California Press, 1968), 11–13.

58 B. Porten, "Settlement of the Jews at Elephantine and the Arameans at Syene," in O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo–Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 460–463.

59 See: D. Kahn, "Judeans in Elephantine," in preparation.

60 Cf. Hayes and Irvine 1987, 216, who treat the mention of Egypt in vs. 11, and 15*aa* as a later addition.

61 The treatment of this issue exceeds the scope of the present paper. Three further studies, which deal related issues, are in various stages of preparation: 1. The date and circumstances of the Assyrian retreat from Egypt; 2. Judeans in service in the Assyrian Empire and in Egypt: 8th–5th centuries BCE; 3. Additional evidence of 7th century editing in the prophecies of Isaiah 1–39.