

Isaiah's Servants in Early Judaism and Christianity

Edited by
JACOB STROMBERG
and MICHAEL A. LYONS

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The Isaian Servant and the Exegetical Formation
of Community Identity

Edited by

Michael A. Lyons and Jacob Stromberg

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Preface

Much has been written on the “Suffering Servant” of Second Isaiah. But a critical gap remains in scholarly treatments of this topic in its earliest reception. While there has been a great deal of attention devoted to the identity and tradition-historical background of the “Suffering Servant” and to the use of the so-called “Servant Songs” in early Christianity, far less attention has been given to the Trito-Isaian “servants” and to how their description was received by early readers. This has resulted in an incomplete and distorted picture. It is our contention that the Isaian argument about the servants and Servant is not of marginal importance in the Second Temple period, but had a significant impact on the formation of texts and community identity.

This volume of essays takes as its starting point the fact that a group referred to as the “servants” or “offspring” in Isaiah 54–66 has been described in relation to the “Servant” figure of Isaiah 40–53. Like the Servant, the servants/offspring suffer righteously, are promised vindication, and are in various ways linked to the theme of the universal recognition of Yhwh. It is already suggested in Isa 53:10–11 that the Servant will create a righteous community, and – as Joseph Blenkinsopp and Willem Beuken have shown – the remainder of the book develops this idea in greater detail. The servants/offspring play a key role in this argument.

But to what extent are early Jewish and Christian readers aware of this Isaian argument about the servants and the Servant, and how do they use it to shape their own identity? To what extent might their constructions of community identity be understood as “exegetical”? What are the similarities and differences in the ways that they use these Isaian texts? How is the Isaian presentation of the servants and Servant designed to be understood within the framework of a larger portrait of Israel’s history, and as the product of a profoundly analogical strategy of composition? This volume of essays is dedicated to answering these questions.

The following essays have been written by a talented cast of scholars. They bring a variety of perspectives and methodologies to bear on the questions stated above. The editors are grateful to the contributors for their careful and creative work.

We are also indebted to Elena Müller and Tobias Stäbler for their editorial expertise and to Tobias Weiß for his diligent work in producing this volume. Finally, we wish to thank Jörg Frey, Tobias Nicklas, and the rest of the editorial board of Mohr Siebeck for accepting this project.

Michael A. Lyons, Jacob Stromberg

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
ATM	Altes Testament und Moderne
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BEL	Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>BR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BThSt	Biblisches-Theologische Studien
<i>BVC</i>	<i>Bible et vie chrétienne</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBETH	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament
<i>DNTB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i>
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETHSt	Evangelical Theological Society Studies
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GRBS	Greek, Byzantine, and Roman Studies
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HeBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

<i>HTS</i>	<i>Hervormde Theologiese Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IKZ</i>	<i>Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>
ITC	International Theological Commentary
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJP</i>	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyri</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JPTSup	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplements
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplements
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
<i>JSPL</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Paul and His Letters</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JTSA</i>	<i>Journal of Theology for Southern Africa</i>
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsche
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTSI	New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>PIBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association</i>
POuT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Studies
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SIJB	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTA	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	Studia Post Biblica
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
<i>TBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>

<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
ThB	Theologische Bücherei
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThKNT	Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TVG	Theologische Verlagsgemeinschaft
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
UTB	Universitätstaschenbücher
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Introduction

“This is the Heritage of the Servants”

MICHAEL A. LYONS AND JACOB STROMBERG

... identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.¹

Scriptural exegesis lay at the heart of Jewish and Christian identity formation in and around the Second Temple period. There were of course many factors that would have shaped the construction of one’s notions of self, of the “other,” and of the group or groups with which one might be affiliated. But in no small measure, Jewish and Christian communities were (or became) textual communities with exegetically-derived identities – something that can be easily seen in compositions such as IQS and CD, 4Q504 “Words of the Luminaries,” and the bulk of the writings in the New Testament.²

¹ Stuart HALL, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222–37 (here 225).

² For the notion of “textual communities,” see Brian STOCK, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90; Maren R. NIEHOFF, “Did the *Timaeus* Create a Textual Community?,” *GRBS* 47 (2007): 161–91. For explorations of how Second Temple-period Jewish and early Christian identities were exegetically constituted, see e.g. George J. BROOKE, “Justifying Deviance: The Place of Scripture in Converting to a Qumran Self-Understanding,” in *Reading the Present: Scriptural Interpretation and the Contemporary in the Texts of the Judean Desert*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 73–97; P.R. DAVIES, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”*, JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), esp. 55; Maxine L. GROSSMAN, “Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and ‘Insider’ Status,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović, STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1–11; Reinhard G. KRATZ, “Die Suche nach Identität in der nachexilischen Theologiegeschichte: Zur Hermeneutik des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes und ihrer Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Alten Testaments,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, FAT 42, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 157–80; David LINCICUM, *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*, WUNT II/284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Hanna LISS and Manfred OEMING, eds., *Literary Construction of Identity in the Ancient World* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Jeremy PUNT, “Identity, Memory and Scriptural Warrant: Arguing Paul’s Case,” in *Paul and Scripture: Extending the Conversation*, ed. Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 25–53 (esp. 49); Rafael RODRÍGUEZ, “Textual Orientations: Jesus, Written Texts, and the Social Construction of Identity in the Gospel of Luke,” in *T&T Clark Handbook to Social*

But although it holds promise as a key to unlock the mysteries of identity formation, the study of how readers in Antiquity handled scripture is fraught with complexity. The following questions are illustrative of the problem: in any given instance, to what extent were the motivating factors behind the shaping of identity external versus internal? When did texts exert pressure on readers, and when did readers (driven, perhaps, by felt needs or by group conflicts) exert pressure on texts? In any given instance, did readers of scripture work with locutions or passages in isolation, or in light of the text's larger argument structure? To what extent did the innovation of meaning trump the inheritance of meaning? These are no simple matters.

The present volume aims to illuminate the dynamics behind the exegetical origins of early Jewish and Christian identity by focusing on the reception of the relationship between the "servants of Yhwh" and the "Servant of Yhwh" in Isaiah 40–66. Since there is evidence to suggest that the Isaianic presentation of the Servant(s) was central to the self-conception of multiple communities over time, this selection should prove to be a useful test case. While much has been written on the reception of the Isaian Servant in early scriptural exegesis, this volume takes as its starting point the underappreciated fact that the interpretation of the "Servant of Yhwh" in Isaiah 40–55 begins in the book of Isaiah itself in chs. 54, 56–66, where we find an argument about a group known as the "servants of Yhwh." This starting point is in line with a trend in Isaian research that understands material in Isaiah 56–66 as instances of *Fortschreibung*, or editorial extension, of Isaiah 40–55.³ Of course, this is not to deny that older traditional material has also been incorporated into Isaiah 56–66. However, this trend does reflect a growing appreciation that Isaiah 56–66 was the product of sustained theological reflection on a text, reflection that generated a new post-exilic edition of the book of Isaiah. It is thus proper to view the contents of these

Identity in the New Testament, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman Baker (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 191–210; Konrad SCHMID, "The Canon and the Cult: The Emergence of Book Religion in Ancient Israel and the Gradual Sublimation of the Temple Cult," *JBL* 131.2 (2012): 289–305; Devorah STEINMETZ, "Sefer HeHago: The Community and the Book," *JJS* 52.1 (2001): 40–58; Shemaryahu TALMON, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1994), 3–24; Susan J. WENDEL, *Scriptural Interpretation and Community Self-Definition in Luke-Acts and the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 27–79, 279–82 (esp. 27–28, 44–45, 77–79).

³ See e.g. Wolfgang LAU, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66*, BZAW 225 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994); Risto NURMELA, *The Mouth of the Lord Has Spoken: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Second and Third Isaiah* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2006); Odil Hannes STECK, *Studien zu Tritojesaja*, BZAW 203 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991); Jacob STROMBERG, *Isaiah After Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Walther ZIMMERLI, "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," *STU* 20 (1950): 110–22, repr. in *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament*, ThB 19 (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1963), 217–33.

eleven chapters of the book as the arguments of one who was both a *reader* and a *redactor* of an earlier form of the book of Isaiah.⁴

As the history of research presented below will show, scholarship has become increasingly aware of the significance of the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument and its reception by early readers. And yet to this point there has been no attempt at a comprehensive investigation into this topic with a synthesis of the results. This is the goal of the present volume.

1. The Isaian Servants and their Afterlife: The History of Research

The investigation of how the Isaianic theme of the “Servant of Yhwh” has been transformed in the latter portion of the book has its roots in older scholarship. It has long been recognized that references to the “Servant of Yhwh” end in Isaiah 53 and that what we find thereafter are references to “servants of Yhwh” (Isa 54:17; 56:6; 65:8–9, 13–15; 66:14). This raises the question of whether there is a connection between the Servant and the servants, and if so, what the nature of the connection is. In his 1841 commentary on the prophets, Heinrich Ewald remarked that the reference to the “servants of Yhwh” in Isa 54:16–17 was an “explanation” of Isa 53:10–12 (in which Yhwh’s Servant is said to “see offspring” and “make many righteous”).⁵ And in an 1877 study, William Urwick argued for a connection between the Servant figure of Isaiah 53 and the “servants” of the latter part of the book.⁶

⁴ See STROMBERG, *Isaiah After Exile*, 248. Of course, the presence and number of editorial layers in Isaiah 56–66 is a currently debated topic in Isaian scholarship.

⁵ Heinrich EWALD, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Adolph Krabbe, 1841), 457: “v. 16f., welche letzten Worte ganz wie absichtliche Erklärung zu 53,10–12 sich zu erkennen geben und das Ganze erhaben schliessen.” Duhm would subsequently argue that this plural reference to the “servants” in Isa 54:17b was related to the plural references in Isaiah 56–66; see Bernhard DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 5th ed., HKAT 3/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 413.

⁶ William URWICK, *The Servant of Jehovah: A Commentary, Grammatical and Critical, upon Isaiah LII. 13–LIII. 12* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1877), 56–58: “A careful examination of these passages – the only places in which the word occurs after chapter liii., and the only places in which it occurs in the plural throughout this later portion from chapter xl. onwards – leads to the conclusion that by the phrase *my servants* (in the plural) is meant ... a class of persons, a class of characters, all who piously fear the Lord and walk in his ways, whether they belong to the chosen people or be strangers The more natural explanation of this strikingly marked change of number is, that the prophet, having applied the title in chapter liii. to an individual person in whom his ideal should find its full realization, thenceforward, when speaking of the class, adopts the plural.” Abraham KUENEN also saw a connection between the Servant and the servants in which a task was “transferred,” though he understood the relationship in terms of a shift from David’s descendants to obedient Israel (this was related to his argument that the promise to David was democratized in Isa 55:3); see Abraham KUENEN, *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israël. Historisch-dogmatische studie*, 2 vols. (Leiden: P. Engels, 1875), 1:256–59

The connection between the Servant and the servants was gradually explored in subsequent research: in 1956, Venantius de Leeuw noted the textual shift from the Servant to the servants and suggested that Trito-Isaiah constituted the earliest interpretation of Deutero-Isaiah, an interpretation in which the role of the Servant was passed on to the servants.⁷ And in a 1972 monograph, George Nickelsburg argued that the imagery of the Deutero-Isaianic Servant figure was taken up and used for a righteous community in Trito-Isaiah and in Daniel:⁸

In Second Isaiah the term *'ebed* occurs in the singular. For the most part, this servant is identified with the nation, Israel – although at times he seems to be a figure separate from the nation. Daniel 12 witnesses to a pluralization of the servant figure: the servant, singular, has become the servants, plural (or more specifically, “the wise ones” and “those who bring many to righteousness”). This shift had taken place already in Third Isaiah, where the righteous are called “my servants, my chosen ones.”

In 1975, Paul Hanson attempted to reconstruct the roots of Jewish apocalyptic thought, tracing it to conflict between visionary and priestly groups. While he understood Deutero-Isaiah’s “Servant” as referring to Israel rather than to a prophetic individual within Israel, he believed that these references were re-interpreted for a community called the “servants” in Trito-Isaiah.⁹ A similar view can be found in Elizabeth Achtemeier’s short commentary (1982) on the last eleven chapters of Isaiah. Here she argued that Trito-Isaiah’s references to Yhwh’s “servants” were used to designate a “Levitical-prophetic” party within Israel and that the author had appropriated the role of Deutero-Isaiah’s “Servant” to describe these “servants.”¹⁰

(esp. 256, n.3). Elliger too noted the linguistic shift from the Deutero-Isaian singular to the Trito-Isaian plural (and argued that the occurrence of “servants of Yhwh” in Isa 54:17 belonged with Trito-Isaiah) but did not speak of a role being passed from DI’s “Servant” to TI’s “servants.” As he saw it, TI took up DI’s vision of salvation, then focused on those to whom salvation would come: “Dtjes.s Botschaft umspannt das ganze Volk; allen ohne Ausnahme steht das Heil bevor; die Sünde ist ja abgewischt. Trtjes.s Blick haftet nicht so sehr an dem, was kommt, sondern auch sehr stark an denen, zu denen es kommt.” See Karl ELLIGER, *Deuterocesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritocesaja*, BWANT 63 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), 162–63.

⁷ Venantius de LEEUW, *De Ebed Jahweh-Profetieen: Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar hun ontstaan en hun betekenis* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1956), 332: “L’histoire de l’interprétation des chants de l’Ébed débute avec les *Livres de l’Ancien Testament*, peut-être déjà avec le *Trito-Isaïe*. Alors que le Serviteur occupe une place de premier plan dans *Is.*, xl–lv, il disparaît de l’horizon dans *Is.*, lvi–lxvi, où se rencontrent plutôt ‘les serviteurs’, c’est-à-dire les Israélites pieux et fidèles auxquels le rôle de l’Ebed, au moins en partie, semble avoir été dévolu.”

⁸ George W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 25.

⁹ Paul D. HANSON, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 36: “In 40–55 the entire nation is the object of the promise of salvation, whereas in 56–66 salvation is reserved for one segment of the nation. This is reflected, e. g., in the reinterpretation of the ‘servant’ Israel of Second Isaiah as the ‘servants’ comprising only the faithful remnant” (see further 44–45, 67–69, 93–100).

¹⁰ Elizabeth ACHTEMEIER, *The Community and Message of Isaiah 56–66: A Theological*

But perhaps the most concentrated analysis of the relationship between the Servant and the servants was undertaken from a sociological standpoint by Joseph Blenkinsopp and from a literary standpoint by Willem Beuken. In 1983 and afterward, Blenkinsopp wrote a series of articles arguing that at least some of the references to Yhwh's Servant in Isaiah 40–55 referred to an individual prophetic figure whose disciples honored his legacy. The Servant's values and mission were taken over as paradigmatic by a sectarian "pietist, prophetic-eschatological" group referred to in Isaiah 56–66 as the "servants." These "servants" were also designated as the "tremblers" (Isa 66:2, 5), a group that Blenkinsopp linked with those who "feared God's name" in Mal 3:13–21.¹¹ In 1990 and 1991, Willem Beuken published two essays exploring the literary development of the "servants of Yhwh" theme throughout Isaiah 54, 56–66, and argued that these chapters functioned as an explanation of the promise in Isaiah 53 that the Servant would "see offspring" and "make many righteous."¹² The research of Blenkinsopp and Beuken in particular has had a significant impact on Isaian scholarship.¹³

Commentary (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982), 132: "... Trito-Isaiah here pictures a new election of a new group within Israel. As before, the title of 'servants' is intended to appropriate for the Levitical-prophetic community the role of Second Isaiah's Servant" (see further 16–17, 45, 88–89, 144).

¹¹ Joseph BLENKINSOPP, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah: Profile of a Pietistic Group in the Persian Epoch," *PIBA* 7 (1983): 1–23; repr. in *The Place Is Too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship*, ed. R. P. Gordon (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 392–412; idem, "A Jewish Sect of the Persian Period," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 5–20; idem, "The Servant and the Servants in Isaiah and the Formation of the Book," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig Broyles and Craig A. Evans, *VTSup* 70/1 (New York: Brill, 1997), 155–75; idem, "Trito-Isaiah (Isaiah 56–66) and the gôlâh Group of Ezra, Shecaniah, and Nehemiah (Ezra 7–Nehemiah 13): Is there a Connection?" *JSOT* 43.4 (2019): 661–77. See BLENKINSOPP, "Jewish Sect," 14: "... the statement that the servant will see his offspring and the outcome of his travail implies either belief in a miraculous restoration to life or, more probably, that his work and mission will be continued by those who, like the speaker, have come to believe in him and have answered the call to perpetuate his mission and teaching"; "Servant and the Servants," 171: "The texts do, however, permit and even encourage us to think of the relationship between the prophetic Servant who is spoken of and who himself speaks in chaps. 49–54 and the 'servants of YHWH' of the last two chapters in terms of discipleship." See further Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 56–66. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 33–34, 63–66, 132–33, 275–83, 293–301.

¹² W. A. M. BEUKEN, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah 'The Servants of YHWH,'" *JSOT* 47 (1990): 67–87; idem, "Isaiah Chapters LXV–LXVI: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah," in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989*, ed. J. A. Emerton (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 204–21.

¹³ See e.g. Ulrich F. BERGES, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, trans. Millard C. Lind (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 392–93, 451–502; Brevard CHILDS, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 430–31, 455, 499; Emmanuel Uchenna DIM, *The Eschatological Implications of Isaiah 65 and 66 as the Conclusion of the Book of Isaiah* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 1–2, 280–82, 349–53; Judith GÄRTNER, "... Why Do You Let Us Stray From Your Paths ..." (Isa 63:17): The Concept of Guilt in the Communal Lament Isa 63:7–64:11," in *Seeking the Favor of God, Vol. 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Mark J. Boda et al. (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 145–63 (esp. 160–62); Knud JEPPESEN, "From 'You, My Servant' to 'The Hand of the Lord is with My Servants': A Discus-

Modern readers are not unique in recognizing the connection between the Servant and the servants. Ancient readers were influenced by it as well and followed in the footsteps of the original Persian-period sectarian group by defining themselves as the servants or offspring of the Deutero-Isaian Servant.¹⁴ As noted above, Nickelsburg recognized that the shift from the Servant figure of Isaiah 40–55 to the servants of Isaiah 56–66 was reflected in the book of Daniel. In this claim he was anticipated by Gustav Dalman, who had long before pointed out that Dan 12:3 (“And those who have insight will shine like the radiance of the expanse; and *those who make the many righteous* [מצדיקי הרבים], like the stars forever and ever”) is borrowing the wording of Isa 53:11 (“the righteous one, my Servant, *will make many righteous* [יצדיק ... לרבים]”). Moreover, the reference in Dan 12:3a to “those who have insight” [המשכלים] seems to be drawing on the terminology of Isa 52:13, in which it is said that Yhwh’s righteous Servant will “have success” [ישכיל עבדי].¹⁵ Another Second-Temple period Jewish text that used the Isaian Servant figure as a paradigm for a later community of righteous sufferers is Wisdom of Solomon.¹⁶ Similar lines of investigation into the reception of the Isaian “Servant/servants” argument have been continued in

sion of Is 40–66,” *SJOT* 1 (1990): 113–29 (esp. 125–29); Jan Leunis KOOLE, *Isaiah III, Volume 3: Isaiah 56–66*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 21, 87; Paul V. NISKANEN, *Isaiah 56–66*, Berit Olam (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2014), xx, 33, 86–89; Christopher R. SEITZ, “How Is the Prophet Isaiah Present in the Latter Half of the Book? The Logic of Chapters 40–66 within the Book of Isaiah,” *JBL* 115 (1996): 219–40 (esp. 237–38); idem, “The Book of Isaiah 40–66: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections,” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible VI*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 307–552 (here 317–21); STROMBERG, *Isaiah after Exile*, 79–91; Marvin A. SWEENEY, “The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah,” in *Reading Prophetic Books: Form, Intertextuality, and Reception in Prophetic and Post-Biblical Literature*, FAT 89 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 94–113 (esp. 97–98, 101–103); Lena-Sofia TIEMEYER, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Isaiah 40–66. History of Research,” in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40–66*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer and Hans M. Barstad, FRLANT 255 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 13–40 (esp. 32–35).

¹⁴ The labels “Deutero-Isaiah” and “Trito-Isaiah” are of course anachronistic when speaking of the earliest reception of the book of Isaiah.

¹⁵ G. H. DALMAN, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend*, SIJB 4 (Berlin: H. Reuther, 1888), 31; see also James A. MONTGOMERY, *The Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1927), 472; H. L. GINSBERG, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” *VT* 3 (1953): 400–404; John DAY, “DAAT ‘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* 30.1 (1980): 97–103; Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 40–55. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19A (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 85; idem, “The Suffering Servant, the Book of Daniel, and Martyrdom,” in *Essays on the Book of Isaiah*, FAT 128 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 198–215.

¹⁶ See P. C. BEENTJES, “Wisdom of Solomon 3,1–4,19 and the Book of Isaiah,” in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken*, ed. Jacques van Ruiten and Marc Vervenne, BETL 132 (Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1997), 413–20; George W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 83–88; M. Jack SUGGS, “Wisdom of Solomon 2:10–5: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song,” *JBL* 76.1 (1957): 26–33; J. Pat-

recent studies. For example, Ulrich Berges, Alphonso Groenewald, and Michael Lyons have respectively argued that Psalms 102, 69, and 22 were edited into their final forms by those who self-identified as the “servants” or their “offspring.”¹⁷ All three of these psalms contain the motifs of righteous suffering, hope for vindication, and the universal recognition of Yhwh found in Isa 40–66.

Blenkinsopp had already suggested in his 1983 essay that the Isaian argument about the “Servant” and the “servants” also played a prominent role in the formation of early Christianity:¹⁸

A closer study of the movement generated by the Servant’s career may serve not only to fill out some details, but to suggest that the early Christian movement, in the way it understood itself charged,¹⁹ and the prospects which lay ahead of it, was following a pattern already at hand in the historical experience of Second Temple Judaism.

This suggestion would be confirmed in studies on Luke-Acts (Holly Beers, Michael Lyons), 2 Corinthians (Mark Gignilliat), and Galatians (Mark Gignilliat, Matthew Harmon).²⁰ It is important to note that the authors of these studies do not argue that the formulations of early Christian identity and mission are merely random, *ad hoc* transformations of Deutero-Isaian Servant imagery. Rather, they agree that it was the way in which Isaiah 54, 56–66 picked up and extended the Servant imagery of Isaiah 40–55 that was determinative for early Christian writers. To sum up: recent scholarship on the reception and use of Isaian Servant language in later texts has concluded that these texts reflect

rick WARE, *The Mission of the Church in Paul’s Letter to the Philippians in the Context of Ancient Judaism*, NovTSup 120 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 118–26.

¹⁷ Ulrich BERGES, “Die Knechte im Psalter. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Kompositionsgeschichte,” *Biblica* 81 (2000): 153–78; idem, “Who were the Servants? A Comparative Inquiry in the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms” in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy, OTS 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–18; Alphonso GROENEWALD, *Psalm 69: Its Structure, Redaction, and Composition*, ATM 18 (Münster: Lit, 2003), 239–60; idem, “Who are the ‘Servants’ (Psalm 69:36c–37b)? A Contribution to the History of the Literature of the Old Testament,” *HTS* 59.3 (2003): 735–61; Michael A. LYONS, “Psalm 22 and the ‘Servants’ of Isa 54, 56–66,” *CBQ* 77.4 (2015): 640–56. See also the contribution by LYONS in this volume.

¹⁸ BLENKINSOPP, “Pietistic Group,” 411–12; see also idem, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 134.

¹⁹ BLENKINSOPP, “Pietistic Group,” 412, n.60: “The sequence: mission to Israel, relative failure, mission to the Gentiles as a preparation for the parousia not only in the Servant passages but throughout Second and Third Isaiah (e. g., 66:18–21 for a Gentile mission leading to the parousia).”

²⁰ Holly BEERS, *The Followers of Jesus as the ‘Servant’: Luke’s Model from Isaiah for the Disciples in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 535 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), esp. 41–48, 86, 88–89; Mark GIGNILLIAT, *Paul and Isaiah’s Servants: Paul’s Theological Reading of Isaiah 40–66 in 2 Corinthians 5:14–6:10*, LNTS 330 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), esp. 108–42; idem, “Isaiah’s Offspring: Paul’s Isaiah 54:1 Quotation in Galatians 4:27,” *BBR* 25.2 (2015): 205–23; Matthew HARMON, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul’s Isaianic Gospel in Galatians*, BZNW 168 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), esp. 45, 74–89, 120 n. 257, 192; Michael A. LYONS, “Paul and the Servant(s): Isa 49,6 in Acts 13,47,” *ETL* 89.4 (2013): 345–59.

thematic developments that are *already present in the book of Isaiah as a whole* and are a product of its compositional development.

These recent studies represent a dramatic shift from the assumption that early readers of Isaiah simply re-imagined themselves as the Deutero-Isaian Servant.²¹ The problem can be illustrated by asking the following question: by what logic do New Testament authors use Isaian Servant language to describe both Jesus and Jesus' followers? On the one hand, it is clear that Jesus is described using Isaian Servant imagery in e. g. Luke 2:30–32 (cf. Isa 49:6 + 46:13) and Luke 3:22 (cf. Isa 42:1). On the other hand, in Acts 13:47, Paul and Barnabas are depicted as quoting Isa 49:6 (in which Yhwh tells the Servant that he has made him “a light for the nations”) and stating that “This is what the Lord has commanded us.” Similarly, the argument of 1 Pet 2:21–25 (which uses the language of Isaiah 53 to describe Jesus' suffering and death) is prefixed with the statement that Jesus' sufferings function as an “example” (ὑπογραμμόν) to the addressees of the book. This use of material from Isaiah 40–55 demands an explanation: by what rationale do these authors claim that Jesus' followers have acquired the role of the Isaian Servant?²²

It is not enough to point to Jesus' commissioning of the apostles in Acts 1:8 or the commissioning of Paul in Acts 9:15–16. This would require us to believe that Jesus had invented the notion himself – and such a hypothesis does not satisfactorily explain the pervasive use of the book of Isaiah in shaping both pre-Christian identity and early Christian mission. Nor is it enough to say that the earliest Christians saw themselves as the “New Israel” and, believing that being a “light to the nations” was Israel's God-appointed task, decided to take up this task themselves. This raises the question of why the earliest Christians would believe this about themselves in the first place and ignores the fact that the New Testament authors identify the Isaian Servant *figure* with Jesus even while using Isaian *language* for his followers. Nor again is it enough to use the word “collective” in a facile way, as if by introducing enough elasticity into the Isaian Servant image one can stretch it to “explain” how the book of Isaiah is being used by later authors.²³ It is striking that the New Testament authors do not appeal

²¹ See e. g. Paul E. DINTER, “Paul and the Prophet Isaiah,” *BTB* 13 (1983): 48–52; Robert F. O'TOOLE, *Luke's Presentation of Jesus: A Christology*, SubBi 25 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004); 95 n. 211; W. F. J. RYAN, “The Church as the Servant of God in Acts,” *Scripture* 15 (1963): 110–15.

²² For statements of the problem, see GIGNILLIAT, *Paul and Isaiah's Servants*, 51; LYONS, “Paul and the Servant(s),” 345–49; Grant MACASKILL, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 125–27, 260–61.

²³ See e. g. George Adam SMITH, *The Book of Isaiah*, 2 vols. (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1893), 2:287–88: “... Paul revives and reinforces the collective interpretation of the Servant. He claims the Servant's duties and experience for himself, his fellow-labourers in the gospel, and all believers.” Note the ambiguity of the term “collective interpretation”: is this an assertion that ancient readers *understood* the Servant figure in e. g. Isaiah 53 to refer to a group (as opposed to an individual)? Or is it an assertion that ancient readers *used* Deutero-Isaian

to a *collective* understanding of their relationship to Jesus when defining their identity and mission, but to a *paradigmatic* or *exemplary* understanding (cf. Acts 26:23; 1 Pet 2:21). Furthermore, if the relationship of Jesus to his followers could be explained in terms of “collective Servant imagery,” why the need for the commissions in Acts 1:8; 9:15–16?

It seems to the editors of this volume that there is a more compelling way to explain the use of Isaiah in defining early Christian identity and mission: what if these New Testament authors are not doing something fundamentally new in their use of the book of Isaiah, but are instead responding to an argument structure that already exists within the book itself? What if there were precursors to this kind of text-handling that were already operative in pre-Christian, Jewish literary circles? And what if the way in which the identity of both early Jewish and Christian readers was defined was (at least in some cases) fundamentally *exegetical* in nature?²⁴

2. The Aims of this Volume

The essays in this volume present and coordinate research on how the Isaian relationship between the Servant and the servants was perceived and utilized by early readers of the book of Isaiah. The texts to be investigated include the following: Psalms 22, 69, 102; Daniel; Wisdom of Solomon; Mark; Luke-Acts; Romans; 2 Corinthians; Philippians; 1 Peter; Revelation; Targum Jonathan on Isaiah. These represent the earliest reflections on the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument from Second Temple-period Israelite, early Christian, and early Jewish perspectives.²⁵ Also included is an essay on the literary and conceptual antecedents to the Isaian Servant(s). The essays in this volume answer the following questions:

Servant imagery to describe their own community identity? And if the latter is true, is the former necessarily the case?

²⁴ For an explanation of what we mean by “exegetical,” see the concluding essay in this volume.

²⁵ While the speaking voice in 1QH^a self-designates with the title “your servant” (e. g. 1QH^a 5.24; 13.28; 18.29) and speaks of suffering and vindication, and while 1QH^a uses individual locutions from Isaiah 40–66 (e. g. 1QH^a 15.10 // Isa 50:4), the Isaianic “servants” theme is not taken up and developed in this text. On the use of Isaian Servant language in the Hodoyot and the Self-Exaltation Hymn (4QH 491^c), see John J. COLLINS, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament: The Case of the Suffering Servant,” in *Method and Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge*, ed. A. B. McGowan and K. H. Richards, SBLRBS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2012), 279–95. Similarly, 2 Maccabees does not develop the “servants” theme, even though it may be influenced by the concept of vicarious suffering in Isaiah 53. On the latter possibility, see NICKELSBURG, *Resurrection* (2nd ed.), 119–38; Antti LAATO, “The Influence of Isaiah 53 on Early Jewish Martyr Theology,” in *Who is the Servant of the Lord? Jewish and Christian Interpretations on Isaiah 53 from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 49–71.

- What was the literary matrix in which the presentation of the Isaian Servant(s) was shaped?
- How does one explain the continued use of the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument centuries after the composition of Isaiah, by which time the interpretation of some passages was uncertain (Acts 8:34) and the original community who self-identified as the “servants” had long since vanished?
- How are themes associated with the Servant’s identity and mission in Isaiah 40–55 (particularly, righteous suffering, hope for vindication, and the universal acknowledgment of Yhwh) that are taken up in Isaiah 54, 56–66 as paradigmatic for the “servants” subsequently taken up by later authors and read as paradigmatic for their own communities?
- When compared, how similar or different are the ways in which later authors utilized the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument? How diverse was the interpretation of Isaiah and the exegetical construction of community identity in Antiquity?
- What kinds of text-handling practices are employed by the communities that read and used the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument? Were the early Jewish and Christian authors who referenced the book of Isaiah merely engaging in atomistic, *ad hoc* readings of the Deutero-Isaian Servant figure?²⁶ Or were these readers’ uses of Deutero-Isaian locutions influenced by the larger argument structure extending into Isaiah 54, 56–66 (that is, by the passages that are *already* reading the Servant figure as paradigmatic for a later community of servants)?

The volume concludes with a synthesis of the results and reflections on the significance of the project.

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²⁶ So Henry J. CADBURY, “The Titles of Jesus in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933), 354–75 (here 369–70); Morna HOOKER, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1959), 21–23.

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