

Psalm 22 and the “Servants” of Isaiah 54; 56–66

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Abstract: The unusual flow of thought in Psalm 22 (description of suffering, description of deliverance, global acknowledgment of Yhwh as king) has long been recognized, as have its lexical and thematic similarities to the servant passages in Deutero-Isaiah. In this essay, I argue that Psalm 22 has been edited in light of how Trito-Isaiah develops themes from Deutero-Isaiah—in particular, in light of its emphasis on a social group called the “offspring” or “servants.” Psalm 22 functions paradigmatically for those who suffer righteously and who self-identify as the “servants.”

Key Words: Psalm 22 • Trito-Isaiah • servant • servants

THE LOGIC BEHIND the connection of ideas in Psalm 22 is not immediately obvious. The first part of the psalm consists of a complaint regarding apparent divine inactivity in the face of suffering (vv. 2-22). This is abruptly replaced in the next section by a claim that God did answer and deliver, a celebration of this deliverance, and a concluding shout of triumph (vv. 23-27).¹ The third section of the psalm is marked by a global perspective in which the “I” of the individual vanishes and in which all the nations of the earth acknowledge Yhwh (vv. 28-32). Though the juxtaposition of complaint and thanksgiving for deliverance can be found in other psalms and has been explained in various ways, what possible relationship is there between the deliverance of a suffering individual and the global recognition of Yhwh?²

¹ The transition from the first to the second section is understood differently in the textual witnesses: in the MT, the shift from complaint to deliverance occurs in v. 22b עֲנִיתִנִי “you have answered me” [NRSV], whereas the LXX understands v. 22b as part of the complaint (τὴν ταπείνωσίν μου, “my humiliation”).

² See the juxtaposition of complaint and thanksgiving in, e.g., Ps 28:1-5, 6-9; 30:2-11, 12-13. Bernhard Duhm believed that Ps 22:23-32 “had nothing whatsoever to do with” the first part of the psalm (*Die Psalmen* [Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament 14; Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr,

Many have argued that Psalm 22 was composed and/or edited in relation to Isaiah 40–55, particularly in relation to the so-called Servant Songs.³ If this is true, it may be possible to explain the relation of the diverse parts of the psalm (suffering, vindication, global recognition of Yhwh) by understanding the psalm as a reflection of an argument present in the Book of Isaiah. In this essay, I first assess older claims that Psalm 22 is dependent on Deutero-Isaiah in general, and on the Servant Songs in particular, by examining the locutions shared by these texts. Next, I discuss recent research on compositional strategies operative in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah and argue that Psalm 22 was composed not simply in relation to the Servant Songs, but in relation to an argument structure in Isaiah 54; 56–66 that extends and develops themes present in chaps. 40–55. While Psalm 22 does contain lexical parallels to passages about an individual righteous servant of Yhwh who suffers, it is using this vocabulary in light of a larger argument that a righteous *community* created by this agent will suffer as he did and be vindicated as he was, resulting in global acknowledgment of the God of Israel. Finally, I discuss other Second Temple-period texts that draw on this same Isaian argument and conclude with observations on how the Book of Isaiah was being read in this period.

I. Assessing Lexical Parallels between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40–55

According to some commentators, the lexical parallels in Psalm 22 and the Isaian Servant Songs suggest dependence of the former on the latter.⁴ That ancient

1899] 74). His suggestion that two different psalms were combined to form Psalm 22 is not so unusual when we consider Psalm 108 (Ps 108:2-6 = Ps 57:8-12; Ps 108:7-14 = Ps 60:7-14). Hans-Joachim Kraus argues that the connection of Ps 22:2-22 with vv. 23-32 is due to the setting in which the psalm was used (*Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* [trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988] 298). For Kraus, vv. 23-32 were uttered in response to an oracle of deliverance spoken to the sufferer by a cultic official. Still others attribute the mixed forms to the psalm's use as liturgy or cultic prayer; see Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco, TX: Word, 1983) 197; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part 1, with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (FOTL 14; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988) 109.

³ E.g., Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, 72; C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906) 1:190; S. R. Driver, *Studies in the Psalms* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915) 171, 180; A. Gelin, "Les quatre lectures du Psaume xxii," *BVC* 1 (1953) 31-39, esp. 36; Claus Westermann, *Gewendete Klage: Eine Auslegung des 22. Psalms* (BibS[N]8; Neukirchen: Kreis Moers, 1955) 63; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Psalms 1–72* (OTM; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983) 147; James Luther Mays, *Psalms* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1994) 113; Marko Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms: A Study of the Redaction History of the Psalter* (FAT 2/13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006) 133-35 (though Marttila sees connections to Trito-Isaiah as well). Joachim Becker isolates shared motifs and posits a shared setting for both texts (*Israel deutet seine Psalmen: Urform und Neuinterpretation in den Psalmen* [SBS 18; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1966] 49-53). For a precritical reader who noted a relationship, see John Calvin, *Commentary on the Psalms* (trans. James Anderson; 5 vols.; Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845) 1:356.

⁴ See Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, 190: "The ideal of the Ps. is so nearly related to the suffering

Israelite authors used earlier texts is widely recognized; the problem is, in the absence of explicit references to earlier literary works (by mentioning the name of the work or author or by using a citation formula), how can readers determine whether an author is alluding to an earlier text? Vocabulary shared by two texts could be due to deliberate borrowing, but it could also be due to coincidence, unconscious dependence, or the use of stock vocabulary associated with a particular social setting or genre. Lexical parallels are more likely to be the product of allusion if we find the following: multiple words in syntactic connection in such quantity and similarity that occurrences are unlikely to be coincidental; awareness of the source text (shown by use of lexical items from different locations in the source text, or by interaction with the larger argument of the source text); and creative use of the source text, either through modification of its formal features (inversion, splitting and redistribution of lines, conflation with other borrowed material, adjustment to fit the new context) or interaction with its content (interpretation, harmonization, interaction with the ideas of the source text, semantic reversals, wordplay, creative reuse of imagery).⁵

Potentially significant locutions shared by Psalm 22 and the Servant Songs include the following: Ps 22:2-3//Isa 49:8 (ישועה, ענה); Ps 22:7//Isa 49:7; 53:3 (בזה); Ps 22:9//Isa 53:10 (חפץ); Ps 22:10-11//Isa 49:1, 5 (מבטן, אם); Ps 22:12//Isa 49:8 (עזר); Ps 22:16//Isa 53:12 (מות); Ps 22:19//Isa 53:12 (חלק); Ps 22:22//Isa 49:8 (ענה); Ps 22:23//Isa 52:15 (ספר); Ps 22:24//Isa 53:10 (זרע); Ps 22:25//Isa 49:7; 53:3, 4, 7 (סתר פנה, ענה, בזה); Ps 22:28, 30//Isa 49:7 (חור); Ps 22:31//Isa 52:15; 53:8, 10 (דור, ספר, זרע, עזר). Yet the following caveats should be noted: first, these lexical parallels are not uncommon words. Furthermore, at least some of these shared words (e.g., עזר) seem to be typical of the complaint genre (and Psalm 22 contains vocabulary present in other complaint psalms, particularly Psalms 35, 40, 71).⁶ Second, Psalm 22 and the Servant Songs do not share any unique vocabulary

servant of Is.² that there must be dependence of the one upon the other. . . . If the suffering servant of Is.² is exilic, that of the Ps. is post-exilic"; Westermann, *Gewendete Klage*, 63: "Es ist auch nicht zufällig, daß gerade dieser Psalm deutliche Anklänge an die Gottesknechtlieder in Deuterocesaja zeigt (vgl. Jes. 53,3; 52,14; 49,7; 53,10)"; Stuhlmüller, *Psalms*, 147: "the psalmist nonetheless found companionship—or better, sheer survival—by repeating over and over the laments particularly of the prophet Jeremiah but also the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah, and then by absorbing and recasting them into new forms."

⁵ For definitions of allusion and criteria for determining literary dependence, see Jeffrey M. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case," *JBL* 127 (2008) 241-65; Michael A. Lyons, *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code* (LHB/OTS 507; New York: T&T Clark, 2009) 59-75, 76-109; Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 211-31; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Contraversions; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) 20-31, 152-65.

⁶ Ps 35:10//Ps 22:21, 25 (עני, נצל); Ps 35:17//Ps 22:21-22 (יחיה, כפיר, אריה); Ps 35:18//Ps 22:26 (קהל רב); Ps 35:21//Ps 22:14 (פה, פצה/רחב); Ps 35:21//Ps 22:8, 18 (ראה, of enemies); Ps 35:22//

(i.e., words found nowhere else), and the possibility of a relationship between Psalm 22 and the Servant Songs is further complicated by the fact that Isaiah 40-55 shares vocabulary with and seems to be borrowing from other psalms.⁷ Third, Psalm 22 does not in an obvious manner use the shared locutions themselves in ways that could be described as "modification" or "interpretation."⁸ From these facts I conclude that, though the locutions in Psalm 22 *may* be a result of literary dependence on Isaiah 40-55, they cannot *by themselves* be taken as strong evidence for literary dependence. Nevertheless, I would argue that earlier scholarship has been correct to posit a connection between these two texts because the *density* of the lexical parallels and the presence of *shared themes, outlook, and argument* make some kind of relationship plausible.

II. Assessing Thematic Similarities and Differences between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40-55

In considering the possibility of a relationship between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40-55, we must take into account not only shared words but also shared themes, outlook, and argument. Moving to the larger context of Isaiah 40-55, we find the following significant thematic parallels with Psalm 22: (a) a righteous figure suffers and is despised by others (Ps 22:7-9, 12-19; Isa 49:7; 53:3, 7); (b) the suffering figure is vindicated by Yhwh (Ps 22:22b-26; Isa 49:8; 50:7-9; 52:13; 53:10-12); (c) the whole earth acknowledges Israel's God (Ps 22:28-30; Isa 42:10-13; 45:22-24; 49:6-7; 51:5), who reigns as king (Ps 22:29; Isa 52:7); (d) Yhwh's salvific acts are proclaimed (Ps 22:31-32; Isa 48:20; 52:10).

It is the last section of Psalm 22 (vv. 28-32) in particular that demands an explanation. In these verses there is a shift to a global perspective and an eschatological outlook⁹ articulated in the description of the universal rule of Yhwh (v. 29),

Ps 22:12, 20 (אל־תִּרְחֹק); Ps 40:14//Ps 22:9, 20, 21 (חוש, עזר, נצל); Ps 40:18//Ps 22:9, 20, 25 (עני, עזר, פלט); Ps 71:5//Ps 22:10 (מבטחי); Ps 71:6//Ps 22:10, 11 (מעני אמי, מבטן); Ps 71:11//Ps 22:2, 9, 21 (נצל, עזר); Ps 71:12//Ps 22:12, 20 (אל־תִּרְחֹק, חוש, עזר). Note Briggs and Briggs's argument (*Psalms*, 190-91) that Psalm 71 was borrowing from Psalm 22.

⁷ See Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 108-27 (note esp. his cautionary statements, pp. 109-10).

⁸ Possible exceptions might include the use of חָלַק in Ps 22:19 as an ironic reversal of Isa 53:12, or the appropriation of the language describing Yhwh's servant to describe any righteous sufferer (I will return to this idea below).

⁹ So Klaus Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 97: "Ein eschatologischer Ausblick auf das Königtum JHWHs bildet den letzten Teil (28-32), der die Dokumentation fortschreibt und zugleich in eine universale Perspektive stellt"; cf. Hubert Irsigler, "Psalm 22: Endgestalt, Bedeutung, und Funktion," in *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung: Psalm 2 und 22* (ed. Josef Schreiner; FB 60; Würzburg: Echter, 1988) 193-240, esp. 196; Hartmut Gese, "Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament: Der älteste Bericht vom Tode Jesu und die Entstehung des Herrenmahles,"

the universal acknowledgment of Yhwh (v. 28)¹⁰ by both living and dead (v. 30, a surprising departure from the belief expressed in, e.g., Pss 88:6, 11-13; 115:17!), the proclamation of Yhwh's righteous salvific acts (vv. 31-32), and meal imagery (v. 30, which in this context may be compared to the banquet in Isa 25:6).¹¹ No other psalm connects deliverance from suffering to an eschatological outlook comparable to this (except for Psalms 69 and 102, which I will discuss below). To be sure, these images can be found separately elsewhere in the Psalter, but not in combination. Furthermore, the fact that a relationship between deliverance from suffering and universal acknowledgment of Yhwh is assumed in Psalm 22 but not explained suggests that Psalm 22 is dependent on an explanation that is expressed elsewhere. There must be a motivation for relating these two concepts. Given that these concepts are related to each other in a coherent fashion in Isaiah 40-55, one can see why A. Gelin has argued that an editor reworked Psalm 22 to align it with the argument structure of Deutero-Isaiah.¹²

In addition, Psalm 22 shares lexical and conceptual parallels with material outside the Servant Songs proper (which in any case cannot be viewed as an originally independent composition):¹³

All the ends of the earth [כל־אפסי־ארץ] will remember and return to Yhwh.
(Ps 22:28)

Turn to me and be saved, *all the ends of the earth* [כל־אפסי־ארץ]! (Isa 45:22)

They will come and proclaim his righteousness to a people about to be born, because *he has acted* [כי עשה]! (Ps 22:32)

Sing, O heavens, *because Yhwh has acted* [כי עשה]! Shout aloud, O lower parts of the earth! Break forth, O mountains; sing, O forest, and every tree in it, because Yhwh has redeemed Jacob, and in Israel he will be glorified!¹⁴ (Isa 44:23)

ZTK 65 (1968) 1-22, esp. 13; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (London: SPCK, 1939; repr. 1962) 181.

¹⁰ The locution "remember and return" (זכר . . . ושוב), used here in v. 28 of the nations, is found elsewhere only in Zech 10:9, where it is used of the future restoration of Israel.

¹¹ So Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, 99; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1-50* (NEchtB; Würzburg: Echter, 1993) 148; Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (trans. Francis Bolton; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996) 205.

¹² Gelin, "Psaume xxii," 36: "Comment cette juxtaposition étonnante [viz., vv. 2-27 and 28-32] a-t-elle été possible? Elle est évidemment l'oeuvre d'une communauté de chantes acquise à l'idéal des *anawim* et sensibilisée à l'attente messianique qui s'exprime dans le quatrième chant du Serviteur (Is 52,13-53,12)"; *ibid.*, 37: "Le rythme d'Isaïe va d'un échec à un rétablissement; celui de notre psaume est identique; le Pauvre du psaume est agrandi en personnage eschatologique, comme le Serviteur d'Isaïe, par le fait de l'évocation prestigieuse dont il est l'occasion."

¹³ See Trygve N. D. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom* (trans. F. H. Cryer; Scripta minora 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1983).

¹⁴ On this parallel, see in particular Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 51.

A number of compositional models have been proposed to explain the relationship between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40–55.¹⁵ For some commentators, Psalm 22 was a preexilic composition that influenced the depiction of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 40–55.¹⁶ This dating seems unlikely, however, given the outlook in Ps 22:28–32.¹⁷ For Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, vv. 2–3, 7–23 constitute the original psalm; this influenced the composition of the Isaian servant passages. The original psalm was then given a series of editorial additions, the latest of which was vv. 28–32.¹⁸ Curiously, Hossfeld and Zenger do not explore the similarities between this final editorial addition and material in Isaiah. For Gelin, vv. 2–27 constitute the original psalm, and vv. 28–32 represent a postexilic editorial expansion dependent on Deutero-Isaiah.¹⁹ For still others, the entirety of Psalm 22 was composed (and, for some, further edited) in light of Isaiah 40–66, though the composer also undoubtedly drew on the motifs and language of traditional complaint and thanksgiving psalms.²⁰ In my view, commentators are correct in seeing vv. 28–32 as an editorial expansion, in view of the shift in outlook and the affinities with not only Isaiah 40–55 but also Isaiah 56–66 (to be discussed below).²¹

It is noteworthy that proponents of different compositional models share the same position with respect to how they believe suffering is depicted in Isaiah 40–55 and Psalm 22. For S. R. Driver, the *composer* of Psalm 22 drew on the

¹⁵ For a survey of compositional models, see Gottfried Vanoni, "Psalm 22: Literarkritik," in *Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung* (ed. Schreiner), 153–92, here 156–61; Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 99–105. There are, of course, models that do not posit any relationship with material in Deutero- or Trito-Isaiah.

¹⁶ So Delitzsch, *Psalms*, 192, 197; Moshe Seidel, "Parallels between the Book of Isaiah and the Book of Psalms," in *Hiqrei Miqra* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1978) 1–97, here 65–66.

¹⁷ There are no unambiguously early or late linguistic features that would allow us to date Psalm 22 with certainty. It is true that none of its lexemes are identified as "Late Biblical Hebrew" (LBH) by Avi Hurvitz in his *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period* (in collaboration with Leor Gottlieb, Aaron Hornkohl, and Emmanuel Mastéy; VTSup 160; Leiden: Brill, 2014), and he did not in his earlier work classify Psalm 22 among those that displayed LBH features; see Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972) 70–176; nevertheless, the absence of distinctively LBH features in a psalm this small is not determinative for dating.

¹⁸ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 145; see 149: "Diese Beschreibung eines extrem Leidenden [speaking of vv. 7–9] hat auf die Gottesknechtslieder Deuterocesajas eingewirkt."

¹⁹ So Gelin, "Psaume xxii," 31–37, who sees similarities between exilic laments and vv. 2–27 and sees the influence of Deutero-Isaiah on vv. 28–32. Note also R. Martin-Achard, who understands vv. 28–32 to be a later addition and sees similarities between the *original* lament and Deutero-Isaiah ("Notes Bibliques: Remarques sur le Psaume 22," *VCaro* 17 [1963] 78–87, here 81, 82).

²⁰ So Driver, *Studies in the Psalms*, 161–85. Briggs and Briggs (*Psalms*, 190–91) take Ps 22:2–23 as postexilic, and vv. 24–25, 27 and vv. 28–32 as even later expansions.

²¹ This editorial activity seems to have produced the longer poetic lines in these verses; see Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, 199, 206.

vocabulary of suffering from Isaiah 40–55, and understood all instances of the servant in these texts to be a collective image of Israel.²² For Joachim Becker, the *editor* who added vv. 28–32 referred to all Israel and shaped the earlier images of the individual's suffering and vindication in vv. 2–27 through this understanding, "collectivizing" them.²³

Becker's position is very much in line with the results of recent scholarship on the psalms that has examined the ways in which the presentation of an individual speaking voice ("I") could be reinterpreted collectively for communal worship.²⁴ While many psalms were composed by cult functionaries for specific occasions and for the specific needs of the Israelite worshipers, these psalms continued to be used for a variety of situations long after the time of their composition.²⁵ Sections from a complaint psalm of the individual (e.g., Ps 57:8–12) could be reworked into a new communal composition (e.g., Ps 108:2–6); individual confessions (e.g., Ps 51:3–19) could be adapted for communal prayers (Ps 51:20–21). It is not implausible, then, that a depiction of individual suffering could be editorially shaped, rendering it appropriable for a wider audience after the trauma of the Babylonian exile.

But while I agree with Becker that Psalm 22 creates a paradigm for community suffering and vindication using the depiction of an individual's suffering,²⁶ and while I believe with Driver that the psalm depends on Isaiah for this understanding, I am unconvinced that this is derived simply from a collective reading of the Isaian servant figure. To be sure, there is a fluctuating perspective and even overlap between individual and collective referents (as well as a good deal of ambiguity) in the way the term "servant" is used in Isaiah 40–55, but it seems most

²² Driver, *Studies in the Psalms*, 181–82. Briggs and Briggs (*Psalms*, 191–92) make similar claims about the servant figure as a collective.

²³ Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 52, 53: "Uns scheint jedoch völlig sicher zu sein, daß die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder nach der Aussageabsicht des Isaiasbuches von Israel als dem Knecht Jahwes zu verstehen sind. . . . Es wird offenbar, daß der interpretierende Bearbeiter die Duldergestalt in Ps 22 vom Volke verstanden hat."

²⁴ See the summary of research on this topic in Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 1–36. Note even in Psalms 66 and 94 the combination of individual and group perspectives.

²⁵ See, e.g., the use of Ps 79:2–3 in 4Q176 1.3–4, or Ps 37:15; 63:7, 9; Isa 42:2 in 4Q437 2 i.3, 8–9, 16, or Ps 26:12 in 1QH^a 10.29–30. Note that according to the superscript, Psalm 63 could also be read biographically about David.

²⁶ That is, the last five verses make it possible for the faithful in the community to identify with the individual depiction of suffering and vindication in the earlier verses. See Irsigler, "Psalm 22," 209: "V.28–32 stellen somit nicht nur eine aktuelle Dank- und Lobrede V.23–32 her, sondern bewirken für den Vortext V.23–27 auch situativ eine Eschatologisierung und für den ganzen Text V.2–32 eine Kollektivierung des armen Beters von Ps 22." On collective interpretation of psalms through redactional adjustments, see most recently Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*.

likely to me that, though some of these passages refer to Israel as Yhwh's servant, other passages speak of an individual prophetic figure as Yhwh's servant.²⁷

Further, I do not think that the analyses by Driver, Briggs and Briggs, and others take sufficient account of the *differences* between Psalm 22 and the Servant Songs, of which the following are significant: first, in Psalm 22 the speaker feels abandoned by God (but not enough to prevent him from crying for and expecting help!), whereas in Isaiah 53, there is no reference to feeling abandoned by God.²⁸ Second, in Psalm 22 the speaker's suffering is not explicitly depicted as part of a divine plan; in Isaiah 53, the individual servant's suffering is attributed to God's design (v. 10). Third, in Psalm 22 the speaker's suffering is not for the benefit of or in the place of others, nor is he described as "sin-bearing"; in Isaiah 53, the individual servant's suffering is described in this manner (vv. 5, 6, 8, 12). Finally, in Psalm 22 the speaker feels close to death (v. 16) but does not in fact die (vv. 22b, 25); in Isaiah 53, the servant figure does die (vv. 8, 9, 12).

Because of these differences, it seems unlikely to me that we should understand Psalm 22 as a collectivizing interpretation of the Isaian servant figure. As I see it, the psalm was composed not simply with reference to the Servant Songs, or even to Isaiah 40–55, but in light of an argument in Trito-Isaiah that extends and develops certain themes of Isaiah 40–55. As recent scholarship has shown, the suffering, vindication, and role of the individual servant of Yhwh are taken as paradigmatic in the latter part of Isaiah for a community of faithful Israelites, the "servants," who—unlike their contemporaries—respond to Yhwh's prophetic word. The transition from an individual righteous suffering servant to a community of righteous sufferers is thus already present in the Book of Isaiah.

²⁷ See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2002) 299–300, 344–57; Peter Wilcox and David Paton-Williams, "The Servant Songs and Deutero-Isaiah," *JSOT* 42 (1988) 79–102. For other perspectives, see Christopher R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah: An Historical and Critical Study* (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1956); 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; Henning Graf Reventlow, "Basic Issues in the Interpretation of Isaiah 53," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (ed. William H. Bellinger Jr. and William R. Farmer; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998) 23–38; Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, "The Fourth Servant Song in the Context of Second Isaiah," in *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (ed. Bernd Janowski and Peter Stuhlmacher; trans. Daniel P. Bailey; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 16–47; Ulrich Berges, "The Literary Construction of the Servant in Isaiah 40–55: A Discussion about Individual and Collective Identities," *JSOT* 24 (2010) 28–38.

²⁸ In Isa 49:4 the servant feels ineffective but nevertheless expects to be vindicated by God. In Isa 49:14, it is Zion who feels forsaken; see Irsigler, "Psalm 22," 210.

III. Psalm 22 and the Argument Strategy of Trito-Isaiah

A. The Transition from the "Servant" to the "Servants" in Isaiah

The complex relationship between Isaiah 54; 56–66 and Isaiah 40–55 has been described in detail by others, and I will merely summarize it here.²⁹ In Isaiah 40–55, it is said that Yhwh's servant, the agent of restoration who suffers (Isa 49:6; 53:5), will have "offspring" and "make many righteous" (53:10–11). Yet after chap. 53, the figure of the individual servant vanishes from the book and is replaced with descriptions of a community called the "servants" or "offspring."³⁰ According to W. A. M. Beuken, it is the development of this theme of the "servants" that constitutes the major theme of chaps. 56–66, though it is first editorially introduced in 54:17.³¹

In Isa 55:6–7, God makes an offer to the people to repent and "seek" him, an offer that is described as rejected in Isa 65:1–7.³² In 65:9–10, however, the "servants"/"offspring" are those among the people who accept the offer to "seek" God.³³ These "servants"/"offspring" are mocked and persecuted by those who

²⁹ See W. A. M. Beuken, "The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah 'The Servants of YHWH,'" *JSOT* 47 (1990) 67–87; also George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (expanded ed.; HTS 56; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006) 39–40; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 152–55; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah: Profile of a Pietistic Group in the Persian Epoch," in *"The Place Is Too Small for Us": The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (ed. Robert P. Gordon; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 392–412; 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 C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; 2 vols.; VTSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 1:155–75; Jacob Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 79–91.

³⁰ "Servants," עבדים: Isa 54:17; 56:6; 65:8, 9, 13–15; 66:14 (the occurrence in 63:17 is probably part of an earlier poem); "offspring," זרע: Isa 59:21; 61:8–9; 65:9, 23; 66:22. We already see a hint of a community that follows the servant in opposition to one that does not in Isa 50:4–11.

³¹ Beuken, "Trito-Isaiah," 67–68; see also Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile*, 243–47.

³² Isaiah 55:6–7: "Seek [דרש] the LORD while he may be found [מצא]; call [קרא] upon him while he is near; let the wicked forsake his way [דרך], and the unrighteous man his thoughts [מחשבת]; let him return to the LORD, that he may have compassion on him, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." This offer is described as rejected in Isa 65:1–2: "I was ready to be sought [דרש] by those who did not ask; I was ready to be found [מצא] by those who did not inquire of me. I said, 'Here am I, here am I,' to a nation that was not called [קרא] by my name. I spread out my hands all day long to a rebellious people, who walk in a way [דרך] that is not good, following their own thoughts [מחשבת]."

³³ Isaiah 65:9–10: "I will bring forth offspring [זרע] from Jacob, and from Judah one who will possess my mountains; my chosen ones shall possess it, and my servants [עבדי] shall dwell there.

have rejected God (57:1; 66:5).³⁴ But the "servants"/"offspring" will be vindicated (54:15-17; 66:2, 5), and their opponents will be punished (65:6-12; 66:4-6). God will bless the "servants"/"offspring" (65:13-15; 66:14) but will withhold blessing from those who reject him (66:13-15). The last chapters of Isaiah place great emphasis on the "inheritance" that God will give the servants, which includes vindication from enemies, possession of the land, God's favor, and the eschatological blessing of the "new heavens and new earth" (65:17-25; 66:22).³⁵ These references to marginalization and hope for vindication (as well as other references in the surrounding context) suggest a very particular form of community conflict, one that might explain why Isaiah 54; 56-66 are drawing on Isaiah 40-55. A number of studies have attempted to reconstruct the identity of the groups involved in the conflict described here.³⁶

To sum up: Isaiah 54; 56-66 extends and develops earlier passages in Isaiah 40-55 to argue that Yhwh's righteous servant creates a community (the "servants"/"offspring") who suffer righteously like him and are vindicated like him. The servant's role of being a "light to the nations" (Isa 42:6; 49:6) is also passed on to the inhabitants of the restored Zion using the theme of "light" (Isa 55:5; 60:1-22; 62:1-12).³⁷ In a less obvious way, this role also seems to be passed on in Isa 66:18-21 to the servants, though these verses are syntactically and compositionally difficult.³⁸ What is clear is that this passage describes witnesses who go out to "declare God's glory among the nations" (v. 19). The fact that this passage is surrounded by descriptions of the "servants" (v. 14) and the "offspring" (v. 22) suggests that

And Sharon will become a pasture for flocks, and the Valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down,
for my people who seek me [עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר דִּרְשׁוּנִי]."

³⁴ On the nature of the persecution and the two groups envisioned in Isa 57:1-2, 3-13, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 19B; New York: Doubleday, 2003) 148-52; Ulrich F. Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form* (trans. Millard C. Lind; Hebrew Bible Monographs; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012) 439-40.

³⁵ Isaiah 54:17 (נְהַלָּה); Isa 57:13 (יִרְשׁ, נְהַל); Isa 61:7 (יִרְשׁ); Isa 65:9 (יִרְשׁ).

³⁶ Blenkinsopp ("Pietistic Group," 395-403) has explored evidence indicating that the initial group who self-identified as the "servants" and who were marginalized by their contemporaries could be regarded as a "sectarian" group. He suggested a connection between the "ones who tremble" in Isa 66:2, 5 and those referred to in Ezra 9:4; 10:3. See also Brian R. Doak, "Legalists, Visionaries, and New Names: Sectarianism and the Search for Apocalyptic Origins in Isaiah 56-66," *BTB* 40 (2010) 9-26; Brooks Schramm, *The Opponents of Third Isaiah: Reconstructing the Cultic History of the Restoration* (JSOTSup 193; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 82-83, 102-3, 169-70, 174-82.

³⁷ See Ronald E. Clements, "A Light to the Nations: A Central Theme of the Book of Isaiah," in *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D. W. Watts* (ed. James W. Watts and Paul R. House; JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 57-69, esp. 66-68.

³⁸ See Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah 56-66*, 311-15), who argues that the outlook of vv. 18-21 has been modified by the addition of v. 20.

this role of witness to the nations is a further link between the individual servant and the community of servants.

B. Psalm 22 and the "Servants" of Trito-Isaiah

Although Psalm 22 contains vocabulary associated with the individual Suffering Servant figure of Isaiah 40–55, it is contextualized in the psalm in a way that has been influenced by the argument of chaps. 54; 56–66, in which a righteous community (the "servants") will suffer and be vindicated like the individual servant. Note the following lexical and thematic parallels between Isaiah 54; 56–66 and Psalm 22: (a) In Isa 57:1, a righteous community (the "servants"/"offspring") is persecuted; in Ps 22:2–22a, a righteous individual is persecuted. (b) In Isa 66:5, the righteous community (the "servants"/"offspring") is mocked for its trust in Yhwh; in Ps 22:8–9, the righteous individual is mocked for his trust in Yhwh. (c) In Isa 65:13–15; 66:2, 5–6 the persecuted community (the "servants"/"offspring") is vindicated; in Ps 22:22b–27, the persecuted individual is vindicated. (d) As described above, in Isaiah 54; 56–66 we see a community of "servants"/"offspring" who are created by the individual servant. In Ps 22:30d–31a, we see this same vocabulary employed:³⁹ "And the one who did not preserve himself alive—*offspring* will serve him [ונפשו לא היה זרע עבדני]."⁴⁰ It seems likely that the "one who did not preserve himself alive" is a reference to the individual servant of Isaiah 53, the one from whom the community of those who self-identified as "servants" derived their identity.⁴¹ (e) Both Isaiah 54; 56–66 and Psalm 22 share an eschatological outlook in which there is global recognition of Yhwh (Isa 66:18, 23; Ps 22:28) and proclamation about Yhwh (Isa 66:19; Ps 22:31–32). To sum up: the outlook expressed in Ps 22:28–32 envisions Yhwh's universal reign and a universal acknowledgment of this reign. The scope of this outlook is expressed by

³⁹ Both Becker (*Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 52, 53, citing Isa 53:10; 61:9; 65:9) and Marttila (*Collective Reinterpretation*, 211) also note the references about the "offspring."

⁴⁰ Here I follow Irsigler, "Psalm 22," 197: "MT 30d (= korr. 30c) und MT 31a verknüpfen sich primär am ehesten zu einem Satzgefüge" (thus yielding a balanced tricolon in v. 30). For a different construal, see Othmar Keel-Leu, "Nochmals Psalm 22:28–32 (Reply to Krahmalkov)," *Bib* 51 (1970) 405–13, who takes vv. 30–31 as a three-part merism referring to the living, the dead, and the descendants of the dead.

⁴¹ The seventeenth-century commentator Matthew Poole took Ps 22:30–31a as a parallel to Isa 53:10 ("if he makes himself [נפשו] a reparation offering, he will see offspring"); see Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible*, vol. 1 (ed. Thomas Parkhurst et al.; London: John Richardson, 1683). Becker also sees a parallel to Isaiah 53 but reads the reference collectively: "Die Stelle gehört nicht (wie etwa Ps 71,18) dem Bereich der individuellen Heilserfahrung an, sondern ist wie die angeführten Parallelstellen vom Volk zu verstehen, das als Knecht Jahwes in den Tod gegeben wurde (Is 53,8–9), aber in der Nachkommenschaft, dem künftigen Geschlecht, Jahwe dienen wird. Es wird offenbar, daß der interpretierende Bearbeiter die Duldergestalt in Ps 22 vom Volke verstanden hat" (*Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 53).

the mention of "all the ends of the earth" turning to Yhwh (Ps 22:28; cf. Isa 45:22; 52:10), the reference to "all the families of the nations" worshiping (Ps 22:28), the statement that Yhwh "rules over the nations" (v. 29), the reference to both living and dead, probably as a merism (v. 30),⁴² and the reference to a witness to future generations (vv. 31–32).

In light of this evidence, I would argue that the shift from suffering to vindication to description of the eschatological rule of Yhwh in Psalm 22 is to be explained not as a simple transformation of the suffering and vindication of the individual servant of Yhwh in Isa 52:13–53:12 but as an argument shaped in light of the *already* collective suffering and vindication of the servants (Isa 54:14–17; 57:1; 66:5–6) and the eschatological rule of Yhwh (Isaiah 65–66) in the latter part of the Book of Isaiah. In other words, Psalm 22 is not creating a new argument from Isaiah 53, or "collectivizing" Isaiah 53, but is simply following a pattern that already exists in the larger context of the Book of Isaiah.

C. *Situating Psalm 22 in Its Social Context and Literary Relations*

What I have argued so far is that the numerous lexical parallels between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40–55 should be understood in light of a larger set of relationships: the presence of parallels between Psalm 22 and Isaiah 54; 56–66, and in particular the presence of an argument structure in all these texts that moves from righteous suffering to vindication to a universal acknowledgment of Yhwh and his rule. It is widely accepted that Trito-Isaiah reflects the existence of a social group that self-identified as the "servants" or "offspring" of Deutero-Isaiah's servant figure. Trito-Isaiah describes this group's identity in terms of righteous suffering, vindication, and eschatological hope. If this group's existence and values are reflected in Isaiah 54; 56–66, might they not also be reflected in other texts?

Becker has argued that not only Psalm 22 but also Psalms 69 and 102 share the same motifs and the "same salvation-historical situation" as Isaiah 40–66.⁴³ As I noted above, out of the entire Psalter only these three psalms share the same argument structure:⁴⁴ (a) a description of an individual's suffering (Pss 22:2–22a; 69:2–30; 102:2–12, 24–25); (b) thanksgiving for deliverance (Pss 22:22b–25 [of the individual]; 22:27 [of other sufferers]; 69:31 [of the individual]; 69:33–34 [of other

⁴² Despite suggestions to emend דשני in v. 30, I think the MT is intelligible; כל־דשני־ארץ refers to the living/flourishing (cf. Ps 92:15), and כל־יורדי־עפר refers to the dead (cf. Ps 88:5–6; Job 17:16). The reference to "eating" in v. 30a is likely picking up the image in v. 27a.

⁴³ Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 42–53; the shared motifs he identifies include Yhwh's kingship, the release of captives and restoration of Zion, the recognition of Yhwh, and the possession of the earth by the descendants of Yhwh's servants. See particularly p. 43: "Gedanken und Sprache lehnen sich anerkanntermaßen stark an deutero- und tritoisaianische Texte an, die ja auch aus derselben heilsgeschichtlichen Situation heraus geschrieben sind" (a claim repeated on pp. 52, 53).

⁴⁴ So also Driver, *Studies in the Psalms*, 156.

sufferers]; 102:18, 21); (c) an expectation of the universal acknowledgment of Yhwh (Pss 22:28-32; 69:35-37; 102:13, 16, 19, 22-23). This universal acknowledgment is expressed using merisms (living and dead, Ps 22:30; heavens and earth, Ps 69:35) and includes all nations (Pss 22:28; 102:23), future generations (Pss 22:31, 32; 102:19) and the offspring of Yhwh's servants (Pss 22:31; 69:37; 102:29). Psalms 69:36 and 102:14-17 explicitly look forward to the restoration of Israel (echoing the sentiments of Isa 44:26; 49:16-21; 52:7-9), and Ps 22:32 implicitly refers to the restoration of Israel, drawing on the wording of Isa 44:23 (כי עשה).⁴⁵

Moreover, Psalm 22 contains extensive lexical parallels with Psalms 69 and 102; e.g., Ps 22:3, 22//69:18//102:3 (ענה); Ps 22:4//102:13 (ישב, of Yhwh); Ps 22:23//102:22 (ספר שם); Ps 22:25//69:30, 34//102:18 (בזה, עני); Ps 22:25//69:18//102:3 (סתר פנה); Ps 22:27//69:33 (ענוים, דרש חיה, לבב חיה); Ps 22:31a//69:37//102:29 (עם נולד/עם נברא, דור); Ps 22:31b-32//102:19 (זרע, עבד).

What are we to make of these parallels? It is not enough to speak vaguely of affinities in vocabulary, perspective, and situation. If we can reconstruct the existence of a social movement reflected in Isaiah 54; 56–66, it seems likely, given the parallels cited above, that the final shapes of Psalms 22, 69, and 102 are in some way the products of this movement. There is therefore good reason to argue, as Marko Marttila does, that these three psalms were edited in light of Isaiah 40–66.⁴⁶ All three psalms concern the distress and the rescue of the “afflicted” (עני), and all three move toward an expression of hope for eschatological restoration. Based on the shared concern for the afflicted, shared eschatological outlook, and shared use of the terms “offspring” and “servants” (Pss 69:37; 102:29), Ulrich Berges and Alphonso Groenewald have respectively argued that Psalms 102 and 69 were edited in light of the larger argument of Isaiah 54; 56–66 about the “servants,” and were in fact composed by those who regarded themselves as these “servants.”⁴⁷ I would argue that, for the very same reasons, Psalm 22 is to be connected with the same social group: a community of those who saw themselves as faithful to Yhwh, who formed themselves around the values of the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, and who—despite their own sufferings—meditated on the prophetic word and looked forward to eschatological vindication and the coming of Yhwh's kingdom.

⁴⁵ See Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*, 51.

⁴⁶ Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation*, 133: “All the collectively oriented layers in these three psalms derive material from the compositions of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah”; see further 132-35.

⁴⁷ Ulrich Berges, “Who Were the Servants? A Comparative Inquiry in the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms,” in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomic History and the Prophets* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harry F. van Rooy; OTS 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 1-18; Alphonso Groenewald, “Who Are the ‘Servants’ (Psalm 69:36c-37b)? A Contribution to the History of the Literature of the Old Testament,” *Hervormde teologiese studies* 59 (2003) 735-61.

IV. The Reception of Isaiah 40–66 and Psalm 22 in the Second Temple Period

If I am correct that Psalm 22 is using the language of suffering, vindication, and Yhwh's eschatological rule from Isaiah 40–55 but understanding this in light of a larger argument about a righteous community (the "servants") in Isaiah 54; 56–66, we should ask whether such a reading strategy is attested elsewhere. In fact, it can be found in a number of Second Temple-period texts, including Daniel, Wisdom of Solomon, and a variety of early Christian writings.

Over a century ago, Gustaf Dalman 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* [מַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים], like the stars forever and ever") is borrowing the wording of Isa 53:11 ("Because of his anguish, he will see light; he will be satisfied through his knowledge; the righteous one, my servant, *will make many righteous* [יַצְדִּיק . . . לְרַבִּים], and he will bear their iniquity").⁴⁸ Moreover, the reference in Dan 12:3 to "those who have insight" (הַמְשַׁכְּלִים) seems to be drawing on the terminology of Isa 52:13, in which it is said that Yhwh's righteous Suffering Servant will "have success" (יִשְׁכִּיל עֲבָדִי). Finally, the larger context of Daniel 11–12 parallels the argument structure of Isaiah 53: the righteous suffer (Isa 53:3–10; Dan 11:33–34; 12:1), die (Isa 53:8, 9, 12; Dan 11:33; 12:2), make others righteous (Isa 53:11; Dan 12:3), and are vindicated by God (Isa 52:13; 53:12; Dan 12:1–3). But Daniel 12 is not simply repeating the argument of Isaiah 53. Its argument that the righteous *community* (here called "those who have insight") suffers, makes many righteous, and is vindicated is drawn from the larger argument of Isaiah, in which the servants (like the Servant) suffer, carry out the Servant's mission, and are vindicated. As in both Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40–66, this is set against the backdrop of hope for the coming of God's kingdom.

Similarly, the author of Wisdom of Solomon paints a picture of an exemplary righteous sufferer in order to strengthen his own community in the face of cultural conflict and persecution.⁴⁹ The figure of this righteous sufferer has been created

⁴⁸ G. H. Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Berlin 4; Berlin: H. Reuther, 1888) 31; see also James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1927) 472; H. L. Ginsburg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 3 (1953) 400–404; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 33–41. John Day finds an additional parallel between the word דָּעַת in Isa 53:11 and Dan 12:4, translating both occurrences of this word as "humiliation" rather than "knowledge" (based on the occurrence of יָדוּעַ in Isa 53:3, which he translates as "humbled") ("DA'AT 'Humiliation' in Isaiah LIII 11 in the Light of Isaiah LIII 3 and Daniel XII 4, and the Oldest Known Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 30 [1980] 97–103).

⁴⁹ On the date (first century B.C.E.), message, and setting of Wisdom of Solomon, see M. Gilbert, "The Wisdom of Solomon," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT,

from the vocabulary and themes of Isaiah 53 and from the larger argument structure of Isaiah, in which suffering is experienced not only by God's agent the righteous servant, but also by a righteous community in Israel (cf. Isa 57:1; 66:5).⁵⁰ Vocabulary and themes borrowed from Isaiah 53 include the following:⁵¹ in Wisdom of Solomon the "righteous one" (Wis 2:12; 5:1; Isa 53:11) is actually called the "servant of the Lord" (Wis 2:13; cf. Isa 52:13) and is despised and oppressed (Wis 2:12, 19; 5:4; cf. Isa 53:3, 7-8), but displays gentleness and patience (Wis 2:19; cf. Isa 53:7). The righteous one is condemned to death (Wis 2:20; cf. Isa 53:8-9, 12)—a fate that is "accounted an affliction" (Wis 3:2), just as the Servant of Isaiah 53 is "accounted afflicted" (Isa 53:4).⁵² Those hostile to the righteous one (note their first person plural speech in both Wis 2:10-20 and Isa 53:2-6) are characterized by "sin" and "lawlessness" (Wis 4:20; Isa 53:5) and by "going astray" (Wis 5:6; Isa 53:6). They do not recognize the innocence of the righteous one (Wis 5:4-5; cf. Isa 53:3-4) or his "toil" (Wis 5:1; Isa 53:4; cf. 49:4; 53:11). Nevertheless, the righteous one will be vindicated (Wis 5:1; cf. Isa 52:13; 53:12), and others will be "amazed" (Wis 5:2; Isa 52:14) at "seeing" him (Wis 5:2; Isa 52:15).

What is noteworthy is that Wisdom of Solomon alludes not only to Isaiah but also to Psalm 22 (LXX Psalm 21).⁵³ In LXX Ps 21:7 the speaker complains "I am the contempt of people"; in Wis 4:18 the wicked "have contempt" for the righteous. In LXX Ps 21:7 the speaker complains, "I am the reproach of humanity"; in Wis 5:4, the wicked have made the righteous a term of "reproach." In LXX Ps 21:9 the enemies mock by saying, "Let [the Lord] help him"; in Wis 2:18 the enemies mock by saying that God will "help" the righteous one. After deliverance is accomplished, LXX Ps 21:27 exclaims "their hearts will live forever!"; in Wis 5:15 the author argues that the righteous will "live forever." Finally, the statement in LXX Ps 21:29 that "dominion belongs to the Lord, and he rules over the nations" may be alluded to in Wis 3:8, where the righteous will "judge the nations" and "have

Section 2: The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud 2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 301-13; M. Jack Suggs, "Wisdom 2:10-5: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song," *JBL* 76 (1957) 26-53, esp. 33.

⁵⁰ This awareness of the larger context of Isaiah is obvious in the following allusions: Isa 54:1 in Wis 3:13; Isa 56:4-5 in Wis 3:14; Isa 59:17 in Wis 5:18.

⁵¹ Lists of parallel words and themes can be found in Suggs, "Wisdom," 30-31; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 83-88; Martin Hengel (with Daniel P. Bailey), "The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period," in *Suffering Servant* (ed. Janowski and Stuhlmacher), 75-146, here 129-31; Pancratius 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. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997) 413-20.

⁵² Note the reversal of Isa 53:12 ("numbered among transgressors") in Wis 5:5 ("numbered among the children of God").

⁵³ For a list of words borrowed from Psalm 22, see Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel* (LHB/OTS 398; New York: T&T Clark, 2009) 116-17.

dominion over peoples," and "the Lord will reign over them forever." To sum up: Wisdom of Solomon constructs the figure of an exemplary individual by borrowing from Isaiah 40–66 and Psalm 22. This figure of an exemplary individual in Wisdom of Solomon is constructed for the needs of the righteous suffering *community*, who will be vindicated and participate in God's kingdom because they put their trust in God (Wis 3:1–9; note the shift to plural language). It seems likely that the conflation of passages from Psalm 22 and Isaiah 40–66 in Wisdom of Solomon was motivated by the author's recognition of the shared vocabulary and themes in these two texts.

Finally, there are many examples in early Christian literature where the same paradigmatic reading of Isaiah may be observed. That the NT authors depict Jesus as the righteous servant of Isaiah 40–55 (e.g., Mark 10:45; Luke 2:30–32; 3:22; 22:37; Acts 26:23) is widely appreciated.⁵⁴ It is also clear, however, that those in the early Christian community drew on the Book of Isaiah to identify themselves as the servants of the Servant, the ones who were called to suffer like Jesus (Acts 9:16; Phil 1:29; Col 1:24; 1 Pet 2:19–25; 4:12–14) and carry out his mission (Acts 1:8; 13:47; Rom 10:14–15; 2 Cor 5:18–6:2).⁵⁵ The transformation of LXX Isa 52:7 in Rom 10:14–15 in particular bears eloquent witness to this fact.⁵⁶

V. Conclusion

I conclude this essay with two observations about the text-handling strategies under consideration. First, we have observed that not only Psalm 22 but also other texts (Psalms 69 and 102, Daniel, Wisdom of Solomon, NT writings) that used the Book of Isaiah were able to recognize the argument created by Trito-Isaiah's

⁵⁴ See, e.g., Otto Betz, "Jesus and Isaiah 53," in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant* (ed. Bellingier and Farmer), 70–87. On the use of Psalm 22 in the NT, see Gese, "Psalm 22," 14–22; Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (1992; repr., New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 180–82; Carey, *Jesus' Cry*, 126–37. We have evidence of early Christian readers explicitly conflating Psalm 22 and Isaiah 53 in their reflections on Jesus (see, e.g., 1 Clement 16, which quotes Isaiah 53 and Ps 22:7–9, and possibly alludes to Phil 2:3–11); see Michael Mees, "Ps 22 (21) und Is 53 in frühchristlicher Sicht," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 313–35.

⁵⁵ See Michael A. Lyons, "Paul and the Servant(s): Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47," *ETL* 89 (2013) 345–59; Matthew S. Harmon, *She Must and Shall Go Free: Paul's Isaianic Gospel in Galatians* (BZNW 168; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010) 45, 74–89, 120 n. 257, 192; 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) 108–42; Blenkinsopp, "Pietistic Group," 411–12; idem, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 134.

⁵⁶ Note the modification of the singular "he who brings good news" (εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ) of LXX Isa 52:7 to the plural "those who bring good news" (τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ) of Rom 10:15. The change in number reflects the argument of Trito-Isaiah that the servants carry out the mission of the servant (Isa 66:19; cf. vv. 14, 22; also LXX Isa 60:6).

editorial interaction with Deutero-Isaiah. And other similar cases could be adduced: we have in Isa 57:14 an instance of *Fortschreibung* in which the language of Isa 40:3 is picked up and used to make a different argument; and when Isa 40:3 is cited by 1QS 8.12-16 and Mark 1:2-5, both of these texts read it through the lens of Isa 57:14.⁵⁷ The fact that ancient Jewish reader-authors could use locutions borrowed from one text segment in light of an argument from the larger context of the same composition serves as a corrective to the assumption that interpretation of Scripture in the Second Temple period was entirely “atomistic.”

Second, we have to account for the fact that *multiple* social groups across a broad span of time used the Book of Isaiah to define themselves as righteous “servants” who would endure suffering and look forward to eschatological vindication and the coming of God’s kingdom. Again, we can point to other examples where groups throughout history self-identify with terminology taken from older texts: the use of the term “the poor” (עניים) as a communal self-designation, frequent in the Psalter and used even in the first century C.E. (see Matt 5:3; Luke 6:20);⁵⁸ or the use of the terms “the wise” (משכלים) and “the many” (רבים) in Second Temple sectarian literature, terms taken from Dan 12:3 but ultimately derived from Isa 52:13; 53:11.⁵⁹ What is common to all these examples is the socially transformative nature of the texts being read. As James L. Mays notes, “The language of the hymn [*Psalm* 22] reflects a group who without separating themselves from the national society in a social way are thinking and speaking about themselves and their relation to God in a way that is beginning to redefine what it means to be Israel.”⁶⁰ *Psalm* 22 continues a process that begins in the Book of Isaiah itself, a process in which earlier texts are picked up and extended by later texts in ways that define community identity and create hope.

⁵⁷ See Jacob Stromberg, “Isaiah’s Interpretive Revolution: How Isaiah’s Formation Influenced Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation,” in *The Book of Isaiah: Enduring Questions Answered Anew. Essays Honoring Joseph Blenkinsopp and His Contribution to the Study of Isaiah* (ed. Richard J. Bauckham and J. Todd Hibbard; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014) 214-32, here 227-31.

⁵⁸ See A. Rahlfs, עני and עני in den Psalmen (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1892); Christoph Levin, “Das Gebetbuch der Gerechten: Literargeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Psalter,” in *Fortschreibungen: Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003) 291-313, here 308-13; idem, “The Poor in the Old Testament: Some Observations,” *Religion & Theology* 8 (2001) 253-73, esp. 263-65; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 1:442-47.

⁵⁹ See Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) 493; Seth L. Sanders, “Performative Exegesis,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. April D. DeConick; SBLSymS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 57-79, here 68-70. Note also the cautionary remarks of Charlotte Hempel, “The Community Rule and the Book of Daniel,” in eadem, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies* (TSAJ 154; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) 231-52, esp. 237-41.

⁶⁰ Mays, *Psalms*, 111-12.

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