

“He Will Call His Servants by Another Name”: Concluding Reflections on Community Identity and the Exegesis of Isaiah

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How did the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument shape the identity of early readers of Isaiah, and in what sense could their engagement with this text be described as “exegetical”? This conclusion does not aim to summarize the volume chapters themselves, but offers a synthesis of results in light of the research questions presented in the introduction, namely:

- 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 (see e.g. 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 49, 52–53 (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 were 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 Servant figure described in chapters 49, 52–53? Or were these readers’ uses of locutions from this section of the book 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)?

1. Synthesis of Results

1.1 Community Identity-Shaping Practices

The continued use of the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument over the centuries points to the power of authoritative texts to shape community identity.¹ In this particular case, the power of the book of Isaiah lay in its ability to link the experience of suffering, the pursuit of righteousness, and the hope for vindication—all situated in a larger narrative about God’s transformation of Israel, the nations, and indeed the cosmos itself (Isa 65:17; 66:22)—and

¹ One way in which identity can be conceived of is by the category of “social identity,” which Tajfel defines as “that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”; see Henri TAJFEL, “Introduction,” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–12 (here 2). For the ways in which texts shaped early Jewish and Christian identity, see footnote 2 of the Introduction to this volume. For other explorations of early Jewish and Christian identity, see Cornelis BENNEMA, “Early Christian Identity Formation Amidst Conflict,” *JECH* 5.1 (2015): 26–48; Ken BROWN, Alison L. JOSEPH, and Brennan BREED, *Reading Other People’s Texts: Social Identity and the Reception of Authoritative Traditions*, LHBOTS 692 (London: T&T Clark, 2020); Renate EGGER-WENZEL and Stefan C. REIF, eds., “Religious Identity Markers—A Workshop on Early Judaism at St John’s College, Cambridge in June 2014,” *BN* 164 (2015): 2–130; Bengt HOLMBERG, ed., *Exploring Early Christian Identity*, WUNT 226 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); David G. HORRELL, “‘Becoming Christian’: Solidifying Christian Identity and Content,” in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*, ed. Anthony J. Blasi, Paul-André Turcotte, and Jean Duhaime (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 309–35; Larry W. HURTADO, “Earliest Expressions of a Discrete Group-Formation among Jesus-Believers,” *Estudios Bíblicos* 85.3 (2017): 451–70; Linda M. STARGEL, *The Construction of Exodus Identity in Ancient Israel: A Social Identity Approach* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2018); J. Brian TUCKER and Coleman A. BAKER, eds., *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014).

make these formative for reading communities. It is not the case that later communities “just happened” to appropriate the book of Isaiah in order to define their own identity. Rather, the book seems to be the kind of literature that was intended to facilitate this kind of reading. The book of Isaiah has clearly been composed by reading earlier texts (themselves heavily patterned) as having prospective significance for the present and future. The resulting network of textual allusions creates “an analogical history whereby the shape of the past continuously portends that of the future.”²

It is certainly true that many of the Isaian passages about the servants reflect specific settings in the past. We can see this in e.g. the reference to temple practice in Isa 56:6–7, the indictment of rebellion in Isa 65:1–7, 12; 66:4, and the description of community conflict in Isa 66:5. Nevertheless, the language used in these passages was not so restrictive as to prevent later communities in similar situations from using them to describe their own experiences. Moreover, the hopeful visions of the future that include the servants in e.g. Isa 54:17b; 65:9; 66:14 are clearly not restricted to a single narrow socio-historical context, and the book’s descriptions of a restored Zion and restored cosmos were never historically realized. My point here is that the content and shape of these Isaian texts are such that they can easily be used to shape community identity in times and settings far removed from their point of literary origin. The authority of the book of Isaiah for later readers lay not only in its description of how Yhwh worked in the past, but also in how it contained material that could describe community experience and shape community identity in the present and give hope for the future. But how can we detect evidence of identity-shaping practices in the book of Isaiah and in later texts authored by those who read the book of Isaiah?

1.1.1 (Self-)Designation

One way in which a community’s identity can be perceived is by the *designations* with which it is described and by its own use of *self-designation practices*.³ As Paul Trebilco notes, “The articulation of a self-designation by a group implies that they are a group, and that they have a distinctive identity compared to outsiders, who are to be distinguished from ‘us’. . . . The way members of a group answer the question, ‘Who are we?’ has a significant impact on the group’s life.”⁴ It should not be surprising that some communities derived their self-designations from texts that they treated as authoritative. Well-known examples include “the poor / afflicted” (e.g., Ps 22:25, 27; 34:7; 37:11, 14; 69:33, 34; 147:6; Isa 61:1; 66:2; used in 4Q171 2.9–10; 4Q521 2.ii.6, 12; Matt 5:3, 5 // Lk 6:20)⁵ and “the holy ones” (e.g., Pss 16:3; 34:10; Dan 7:18, 21–22, 27; used in Acts 9:13, 32, 41; 26:10; Rom 1:7; 15:25, 26; Phil 1:1; Rev 11:18; 13:7, 10; 14:12; 17:6; 20:9; 22:21).⁶

Within Isaiah, the relevant communal designations are the titles “servants” (עֲבָדִים, Isa 54:17; 56:6; 65:8, 9, 13–15; 66:14, constructed on the Isaianic Servant figure described in greatest

² So Jacob STROMBERG (see the chapter in this volume); see also the chapter by TEETER & LYONS.

³ On the importance of (self-)designation for community identity formation and maintenance, see Paul TREBILCO, *Self-Designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. 1–15; Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 169–221.

⁴ TREBILCO, *Self-Designations*, 5.

⁵ For the origins and early use of this term, see Alfred RAHLFS, עַיִ and עַו 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; Sue GILLINGHAM, “The Poor in the Psalms,” *ExpTim* 100 (1988): 15–19; BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 209–12. For later use, see 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.

⁶ See TREBILCO, *Self-Designations*, 122–63; BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 203–9.

detail in Isa 49:1–7; 52:13–53:12),⁷ and “offspring” (עֶרְוָה, Isa 59:21; 61:9; 65:9, 23; 66:22, based on the statement in Isa 53:10 that the Servant would “see offspring”).⁸ The importance of naming is reflected within Trito-Isaiah in the statement that Yhwh would “call his servants another name” (Isa 65:15).⁹ Both the designations “servants” and “offspring” appear in the psalms that have been edited in light of Isaiah: “servants” in Pss 69:37; 102:15, 29, and “offspring” in Pss 22:31; 69:37; 102:29. In the book of Daniel, both the character Daniel and his three friends are referred to as God’s servants (Dan 3:26; 6:21). Later in the book, a different set of designations derived from Isaian Servant passages (Isa 52:13; 53:11) are employed: “those who have insight” (משכילים, cf. Isa 52:13), and “the many” (הרבים, cf. Isa 53:11).¹⁰ These are used in Dan 11:33–35; 12:2–4, 10 to describe those who remain faithful to God.¹¹ One further Isaian designation is “the righteous man” (הצדיק, Isa 57:1a), which seems to be used as a class noun to refer to the righteous community (אנשי־חסד, v. 1b).¹² This verse references the argument that the righteous Servant would “make many righteous” (יַצְדִּיק עַבְדֵי לְרַבִּים, Isa 53:11).¹³ This hope and promise of “righteousness” is developed—though without using the word as a designation—in e.g. Isa 54:14, 17; 56:1; 59:9, 14, 16, 17; 60:17, 21; 61:3, 10, 11.¹⁴ However, “those who are made righteous” are also alluded to in Daniel, insofar as this is a trait of the “many” that are influenced by “those who have insight” (מצדיקי הרבים, Dan 12:3; cf. Isa 53:11).

⁷ See 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, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 197–202.

⁸ See W. A. M. BEUKEN, “The Main Theme of Trito-Isaiah ‘The Servants of YHWH,’” *JSOT* 47 (1990): 67–87.

⁹ That is, a name that would be used in a blessing (as opposed to the name of the servants’ opponents, which would be used as a curse; see Isa 65:15–16).

¹⁰ See H. L. GINSBERG, “The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” *VT* 3 (1953): 400–404, here 403: “But why, then, doesn’t our author call the Maskilim ‘Servants’ or ‘Servants of God’? Because he doesn’t need to, since the Servant himself is called a Maskil right at the beginning of the Servant Pericope (Isa lii 13), if one will but look at it closely: ‘Behold, my Servant yaskil.’” See further G. Brooke LESTER, *Daniel Evokes Isaiah: Allusive Characterization of Foreign Rule in the Hebrew-Aramaic Book of Daniel*, LHBOTS 606 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 94–99.

¹¹ See Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 40–55. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19A (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 85; idem, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 174–78. On the use of רבים and משכיל as self-designations in e.g. IQS 3.13; 6.8–9, see Michael FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 493; Matthias HENZE, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 232–33; Seth L. SANDERS, “Performative Exegesis,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, ed. April D. DeConick, SBLSS 11 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 57–79 (here 68–70); note however the cautionary remarks of Charlotte HEMPEL, “The Community Rule and the Book of Daniel,” in *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 231–52, esp. 237–41.

¹² Note however that BLENKINSOPP (*Opening the Sealed Book*, 258–59) understands the “righteous man” of Isa 57:1a to be the Servant himself, and the reference in v. 1b to refer to his followers, the “servants.”

¹³ BEUKEN, “Main Theme,” 69.

¹⁴ See BEUKEN, “Main Theme,” for how this theme is developed in TI.

The translation of Isaiah into Greek shaped subsequent designation practices.¹⁵ The Isaian $\tau\upsilon\beta$ became the $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (LXX Isa 49:6; 52:13) or $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (LXX Isa 49:3, 5, 7¹⁶) or $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega\varsigma$ (LXX Isa 53:11), and the Isaian דִּבְדָּב became the $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ / $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (LXX Isa 56:6;¹⁷ 65:8, 9, 13–15) or the $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (LXX Isa 54:17).¹⁸ These terms were taken up by later reading communities as designations for exemplary figures constructed to model the Isaian values to which they aspired,¹⁹ as designations for those they revered as their community founders,²⁰ and as designations for themselves. The terms $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ / $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ / $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ are used as designations in e.g. Acts 4:29; Rom 1:1; 2 Cor 4:5; Phil 1:1; 1 Pet 2:16; Rev 1:1; 2:20; 6:11; 7:3; 19:2, 5; 22:3, 6 (note also the use of $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$ in 2 Cor 6:4). I do not mean to suggest that every occurrence of $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as a metaphorical self-designation in early Christian writings had its source in the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument.²¹ This metaphor for devotion to God was undoubtedly influenced both by broader Jewish notions of “serving” God²² and by Greco-Roman social institutions.²³ Nevertheless, the appearance of this term in texts that are

¹⁵ On the numerous and important differences between the Hebrew and Greek versions of Isaiah 53, see Otto BETZ, “Die Übersetzungen von Jes 53 (LXX, Targum) und die Theologia Crucis des Paulus,” in *Jesus, der Herr der Kirche: Aufsätze zur biblischen Theologie II*, ed. idem, WUNT 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 197–216; David A. SAPP, “The LXX, 1QIsa, and MT Versions of Isaiah 53 and the Christian Doctrine of Atonement,” 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), 170–92; Eugene R. EKBLAD, Jr., *Isaiah’s Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999). Note that the textual forms of Isaiah used in early Christian texts are not homogenous; see e.g. the non-Septuagintal textual forms of Isa 42:1 and Isa 52:7 used in Lk 3:22 and Rom 10:15, respectively. Furthermore, the interpretation of the Isaian Servant figure in LXX Isa 53 does not seem to have been taken up by early Christian authors. On this point, see SAPP, “Versions of Isaiah 53,” 186–87, and note Martin Hengel’s caution against the overly rigid categorizing of Second Temple interpretive traditions; see M. HENGEL with D. P. BAILEY, “The Effective History of Isaiah 53 in the Pre-Christian Period,” 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), 75–146 (here 81).

¹⁶ Reading the singular $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ with Joseph ZIEGLER (ed.), *Isaiaes. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum XIV* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 306. LXX^{AB} and other Greek mss have $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$.

¹⁷ LXX Isa 56:6 specifies that the foreigners who become “servants” can be both male and female ($\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ καὶ $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\alpha\varsigma$).

¹⁸ Note the transformation in LXX Isa 66:14, in which “his servants” (דְּבָדְבָד) is rendered with “those who fear him” ($\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\mu\omicron\epsilon\mu\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ αὐτόν). Beers argues that this term refers to Gentile God-fearers, and that it reflects the translator’s belief that Gentiles may join the servants; see 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), 59, and her chapter in this volume. If so, the translator is picking up an idea that has already appeared in Isa 56:6–8.

¹⁹ The exemplary righteous man in Wisdom of Solomon is described as $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (Wis 2:13) and $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ (Wis 2:10, 12, 18; 3:10; 4:7, 16; 5:1). This is applied at the group level when the author speaks of “the righteous ones” ($\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\omicron\iota$, Wis 2:16; 3:1[–9]; 5:15).

²⁰ Early Christian communities referred to Jesus as $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (Acts 3:13; 4:27, 30, likely exploiting the word’s multiple senses of “servant” and “son”), $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (Phil 2:7), and $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14; 1 Pet 3:18; cf. Lk 23:47); see also the reference to Jesus “serving” ($\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\omega$, Mk 10:45). Cadbury claimed that the use of $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ for Jesus in Acts was not borrowed from Isaiah; see Henry J. CADBURY, “The Titles of Jesus in Acts,” in *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co., 1933), 354–75 (here 366–67). However, modern commentators are more optimistic about this possibility; see e.g. Jürgen ROLOFF, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, NTD (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 74; Rudolf PESCH, *Die Apostelgeschichte: App. 1–12*, EKKNT 5/1 (Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), 153; Luke Timothy JOHNSON, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 67; C. K. BARRETT, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. Volume 1*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 194; J. A. FITZMYER, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 284–85; Richard I. PERVO, *Acts: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 105; Rouven GENZ, *Jesaja 53 als theologische Mitte der Apostelgeschichte. Studien zu ihrer Christologie und Ekklesiologie im Anschluss an Apg 8,26–40*, WUNT 2/398 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2015), 186–200; Carl R. HOLLADAY, *Acts: A Commentary*, NTL (Louisville: WJKP, 2016), 117–18.

²¹ On $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as a self-designation in the New Testament, see TREBILCO, *Self-Designations*, 14, 312.

²² See e.g. Deut 9:27; 10:12; 32:36; Josh 24:14–15; Isa 60:12; Jer 30:9; Zeph 3:9; Neh 1:6, 10; Tobit 4:14; Sir 2:1; 1QH^a 4.14; 4Q381 frg. 33 + 35.5–6.

²³ See Dale B. MARTIN, *Slavery as Salvation. The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Isobel A. H. COMBES, *The Metaphor of Slavery in the Writings of the Early Church. From the New Testament to the Beginning of the Fifth Century*, LNTS 156 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); John BYRON, *Slavery Metaphors in Early Judaism and Pauline Christianity*, WUNT 2/162 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); John K. GOODRICH, “From Slaves of Sin to Slaves of God: Reconsidering the Origin of Paul’s Slavery Metaphor in Romans 6,” *BBR* 12 (2013): 509–30.

dependent on Isaiah 40–66 is suggestive.²⁴ Finally, the designation ὁ δίκαιος (used of the Servant in LXX Isa 53:11, and of the servants in 57:1) was taken up as a designation in Wisdom of Solomon both for the paradigmatic “righteous man” (ὁ δίκαιος, Wis 2:10, 12, 18; 4:7, 16; 5:1) and also for those who follow his example (δίκαιοι, Wis 2:16; 3:1; 5:15). We also see this word used as an early Christian designation for Jesus (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14; 24:15²⁵) and as a description for both Jesus and the righteous community he creates (Rom 3:26; 5:19, drawing on the argument of MT Isa 53:11).

1.1.2 Conflict and Marginalization

A second way in which community identity can be perceived is by *references to conflict with, marginalization by, or polemic against* others who are outside the community.²⁶ Community conflict is clearly present in the descriptions of the servants and their opponents in Isaiah 54, 56–66 (see e.g. Isa 54:17; 57:1; 65:8–16; 66:5–6, 14).²⁷ References to persecution and to in-group / out-group boundaries can also be seen in descriptions of the groups who shaped their identity through the use of these Isaian texts; see e.g. Ps 22:7–9, 17–19; 69:8–13; Dan 11:32–33;²⁸ Wis 2:10, 12–20;²⁹ Mk 13:9–13; Luke 6:22; John 15:18–21; 17:14–16; Acts 9:16; 2 Cor 4:8–11; 6:4–5; Phil 1:28–29; 1 Pet 4:13–14; Rev 6:9–11 (note that this last text constructs a definition for martyrdom, and creates solidarity between those killed in the past and those yet to be killed).³⁰ Some have attempted to explain the distinctive interpretations in Targum Jonathan on Isaiah as due to Jewish polemic against Christian interpretation of Isaiah 53.³¹ But because we lack specific information about the origin of Targum Isaiah and the community in which it arose, this cannot be clearly demonstrated.

1.1.3 Shared Values: Righteous Suffering, Vindication, Universal Knowledge of Yhwh

A third way in which community identity can be perceived is by *references to shared values and goals*, often embodied by paradigmatic or exemplary figures, whether actual or literary (though in both cases, described using textually-derived terminology).³² In Isaiah 56–66, the Trito-Isaian servants are the “offspring” of the Deutero-Isaian Servant figure (Isa 53:10;

²⁴ See Lionel J. WINDSOR, *Paul and the Vocation of Israel. How Paul's Jewish Identity Informs his Apostolic Ministry, with Special Reference to Romans*, BZNW 205 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 96–112.

²⁵ Note the reference in Acts 24:15 to the idea of a dual resurrection for the righteous and unrighteous—an idea first seen in Dan 12:2–3, a text that is also dependent on the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument.

²⁶ See Henri TAJFEL and John TURNER, “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict,” in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1979), 33–47 (here 33): “Thus, the real conflicts of group interests not only create antagonistic intergroup relations but also heighten identification with, and positive attachment to, the in-group.”

²⁷ See BLENKINSOPP, “The ‘Servants of the Lord’ in Third Isaiah”; idem, “Jewish Sect.”

²⁸ For attempts to reconstruct the social setting of the מַשְׁכִּילִים and the persecution referred to in Dan 11–12, see John J. COLLINS, “Daniel and His Social World,” *Interpretation* 39 (1985): 131–43; Philip R. DAVIES, “The Scribal School of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, vol. 1, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, VTSup 83.1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 247–64; Anne E. GARDNER, “מַשְׁכִּיל in the Hebrew Bible: Key to the Identity and Function of the Maskilim in Daniel,” *RB* 118.4 (2011): 496–514.

²⁹ For reconstructions of the setting of Wisdom of Solomon and the community conflict reflected in it, see Andrew T. GLICKSMAN, *Wisdom of Solomon 10: A Jewish Hellenistic Reinterpretation of Early Israelite History through Sapiential Lenses*, DCLS 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 14–31.

³⁰ For analysis of community conflict in early Jesus-communities, see Jack T. SANDERS, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants: The First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1993); Travis B. WILLIAMS, *Persecution in 1 Peter: Differentiating and Contextualizing Early Christian Suffering*, NovTSup 145 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); BENNEMA, “Early Christian Identity Formation Amidst Conflict.”

³¹ So e.g. Joachim JEREMIAS, “παῖς θεοῦ,” *TDNT* 5:695. For a critical and nuanced evaluation, see Jostein ÅDNA, “The Servant of Isaiah 53 as Triumphant and Interceding Messiah: The Reception of Isaiah 52:13–53:12 in the Targum of Isaiah with Special Attention to the Concept of Messiah,” 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), 189–224 (here 190–97).

³² On the function of shared norms, beliefs, and values in constructing community identity, see Daniel BAR-TAL, *Group Beliefs: A Conception for Analyzing Group Structure, Processes, and Behavior* (Berlin: Springer, 1990).

65:8–9) and are patterned after him, a role already hinted at in Isa 50:4, 10.³³ Just as the Servant suffers righteously (Isa 50:6; 53:2–12), the servants also suffer righteously (57:1–2;³⁴ 66:5); just as he is vindicated (Isa 49:4b, 7; 50:7–9; 52:13; 53:10–12), so they are promised vindication (54:14–17; 65:13–15; 66:2, 5–6);³⁵ just as he brings about the universal recognition of Yhwh (Isa 42:1, 6–7; 49:5–7; 53:11), so they too play a role in this task.³⁶ First, the Servant’s role of being a “light to the nations” (Isa 49:6) is extended to restored Jerusalem, whose “light” will attract the nations to come (60:3–14; 62:1–2).³⁷ It is the servants/offspring who are the heirs and citizens of this restored Jerusalem (Isa 65:9; 66:10–14).³⁸ Second, Isa 66:18–23 envisions the proclamation of Yhwh’s glory to distant nations, a passage that is surrounded by references to the servants (66:14) and offspring (66:22). But are the servants the *products* of this proclamation, or *participants* in this proclamation? That foreigners can become Yhwh’s servants is already clear from Isa 56:6–8. Whether the servants are those who are deputized to go and make proclamation is less clear, though it is plausible.³⁹

The idea of a righteous community being formed by a suffering prophetic figure is a result of the coordination of the book of Isaiah with the presentation of Moses in Deuteronomy.⁴⁰ This is but one of the many instances in which the literary representations of persons and events are constructed in light of earlier persons and events. Such representations are the products of the pervasive use of analogy and patterned repetition as a literary convention in Hebrew scripture.⁴¹

It is not surprising, then, that reflections of the paradigmatic role of the Servant for the servants also appear in texts produced by later readers of Isaiah.⁴² For example, in Psalms 22 and 69, the presentation of the “afflicted one” who suffers reproach for Yhwh’s sake is editorially shaped in light of the “Servant(s)” argument, thus creating a paradigmatic righteous sufferer who trusts in Yhwh for vindication. By praying the words of the first-

³³ On the connection between the Servant and servants in Isa 50:4–11, see BLENKINSOPP, “Jewish Sect,” 13; idem, *Isaiah 40–55*, 323; H. G. M. WILLIAMSON, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah’s Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 108–9.

³⁴ On Isa 57:1–2, see BEUKEN, “Main Theme,” 69: “the victims of that sinful generation have a likeness to the Servant. They undergo his destiny: they as well as he are ‘righteous’ (53.11; 57.1) and yet they experience suffering.”

³⁵ Whereas the Servant imagines that he has “labored in vain” (לְרִיקָה יִגְעֵתִי, Isa 49:4) due to the lack of response to his mission, the inhabitants of restored Jerusalem (Isa 65:19–24)—defined in context as the servants/offspring (Isa 65:8–15)—are promised that they will *not* “labor in vain” (לֹא יִגְעוּ לְרִיקָה, Isa 65:23).

³⁶ See the chapter by STROMBERG in this volume; see also Frederik POULSEN, *God, His Servant, and the Nations in Isaiah 42:1–9*, FAT 2/73 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 222.

³⁷ See R. 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. J. W. Watts and P. R. House, JSOTSup 235 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 57–69 (here 66–68).

³⁸ See BEUKEN, “Main Theme,” 74–75, 78.

³⁹ This text is syntactically difficult and seems to have undergone redactional revision; see Joseph BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 56–66. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 19B (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 313–15. Yhwh is described in Isa 57:8; 66:18 as the one who gathers the nations, and in 66:19 as the one who sends “survivors” (פְּלִיטִים) to proclaim his glory among the nations. The question is whether these “survivors” are from the nations (so BEUKEN, “Isaiah LXV–LXVI,” 211), or from Israel (so BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 56–66*, 313–15); and if the latter, whether the reader is to understand them as made up of the servants. Of course, Israel has already been named as witnesses to Yhwh’s salvific activity (Isa 43:10, 12; 44:8), though the idea of proclamation is not developed in these passages. For critical reflections on how modern readers come to conclusions about “mission” and “conversion” in Isaiah, see Joel KAMINSKY, “A Light to the Nations: Was there Mission and or Conversion in the Hebrew Bible?” *JSQ* 16.1 (2009): 6–22. For a sustained defense of the possibility that “them” in Isa 66:21 refers to the nations, see Jacob STROMBERG, *Isaiah After Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 135–41.

⁴⁰ See the chapter by TEETER & LYONS in this volume.

⁴¹ See further the chapter by STROMBERG in this volume.

⁴² For the conception of these shared similarities between the Servant and servants as a schema that is taken up by later authors, see the chapter by RÜGGEMEIER in this volume.

person speaking voice, the reader of these psalms enters into this schema.⁴³ The placement of allusions to Isaian “Servant(s)” texts in the conclusion of the book of Daniel (Dan 12:1–3) prompts the reader to bring the earlier stories of the character Daniel and his three friends under the rubric of exemplary servants who suffer righteously (Dan 3:12–23; 6:2–17), are vindicated (3:24–30; 6:22–25), and who play a role in bringing about recognition of Yhwh by others (Dan 3:28; 6:26–28).⁴⁴ In Wisdom of Solomon, the author creates from the description of the Isaian “Servant(s)” a paradigmatic “righteous man” who, though persecuted unto death, remains faithful to God and is vindicated (Wis 2:10–20; 5:1–5), creating a model for those who suffer righteously (Wis 3:1–9; 5:15–16).⁴⁵ The presentation of Paul in Acts as an exemplary figure who suffers and carries out Jesus’ mission (Acts 8:15–16) is likewise meant to be paradigmatic, as is Paul’s rhetoric of communal suffering and communal mission in his epistles (e.g., 2 Cor 1:5–7; 4:5, 11, 14; 5:18–20; 6:1–5; Phil 1:5, 7, 29–30).⁴⁶ In 1 Peter, the author points to Christian slaves as exemplars of righteous suffering for his community.⁴⁷ And in Revelation, the narrator describes himself in the language of communal suffering and vindication: “your brother and partner in the persecution and kingdom and endurance that are in Jesus” (Rev 1:9).

Of course, for the early Christian communities the primary exemplar was Jesus, whom they described using Isaian Servant language.⁴⁸ The paradigmatic role of the Servant for the servants in Isa 40–66 is reflected in the paradigmatic role of Jesus for his followers as a righteous suffering figure and as one who proclaimed God’s kingdom.⁴⁹ This is depicted implicitly by the way Mark draws on the “teacher-disciple” relationship in Isaiah 50,⁵⁰ and is made explicit in Jesus’ statement that “if anyone wishes to follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me” (Mk 8:34–38), in the reference to “drinking the cup” that Jesus drinks (Mk 10:38–45; cf. 8:31), in Jesus’ followers being commissioned as his “witnesses . . . to the uttermost parts of the earth” (Acts 1:8; cf. Isa 45:22; 49:6), in the instruction to “have this mind in you that was also in Christ Jesus” (Phil 2:5ff.), and in the reference to Jesus’ suffering as an “example” (ὑπογραμμόν, 1 Pet 2:21; cf. 4:1). Strikingly, Colossians depicts Paul’s suffering as “filling up in his flesh what is lacking in Christ’s afflictions” (Col 1:24)—a statement that presumes the paradigmatic nature of Jesus’

⁴³ Regarding the vindication of the individual in Ps 69, Kleinknecht observes: “Auch er versteht seine individuelle Rettung als exemplarischen Erweis der weltumspannenden $\eta\kappa\tau\alpha$ Gottes”; see Karl Theodor KLEINKNECHT, *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte: Die alttestamentlich-jüdische Tradition vom ‘leidenden Gerechten’ und ihre Rezeption bei Paulus*, WUNT 2/13 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 64.

⁴⁴ Note that Daniel and his friends are described as among the משכילים (Dan 1:3–4, 6) and are given השכל “insight” by God (1:17; 5:11, 14); cf. 12:3, 10. See the chapter by STROMBERG in this volume; see also GARDNER, “שכל in the Hebrew Bible,” 507–14.

⁴⁵ On the construction of the exemplary righteous man in Wisdom of Solomon, see the chapter by CAREY in this volume; see also BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 264–65.

⁴⁶ On Paul as exemplar in 2 Corinthians, see the chapter by GIGNILLIAT in this volume. For a broader treatment of Paul as paradigmatic “righteous sufferer,” see KLEINKNECHT, *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte*, 369–76.

⁴⁷ See the chapter by GÄCKLE in this volume.

⁴⁸ For descriptions of Jesus that utilize Isaian Servant passages, see e.g. Mt 8:16–17 (cf. Isa 53:4); 12:15–21 (cf. Isa 42:1–3); Mk 1:10–11 (Isa 42:1); 10:45 (cf. Isa 53:11–12); Lk 2:30–32 (cf. Isa 49:6); 3:22 (cf. Isa 42:1); 22:37 (cf. Isa 53:12); 23:47 (cf. Isa 53:11); Jn 1:29 (cf. Isa 53:7); Acts 3:13 (cf. Isa 52:13; 53:11–12); 8:32–35 (Isa 53:7–8); 26:23 (cf. Isa 49:6); Rom 4:25; 5:19 (cf. Isa 53:11–12); Phil 2:7–9 (cf. Isa 52:13; 53:2, 8, 11–12); 2 Cor 5:14, 21 (Isa 53:10–12); 1 Pet 2:22, 24–25 (cf. Isa 53:4–6, 9). The passages Lk 4:16–21 (cf. Isa 61:1–2) and Lk 24:26 (cf. Isa 53) should be included as well. Beuken has argued that in Isa 61, the author “saw the Herald of good Tidings and the Servant as one and the same figure. It is according to the paradigm of this figure who combines in his person two dramatis personae that «the prophet» announces himself in 61,1–2”; see W. A. M. BEUKEN, “Servant and Herald of Good Tidings: Isaiah 61 as an Interpretation of Isaiah 40–55,” in *The Book of Isaiah / Le Livre D’Isaïe: Les Oracles et Leurs Relectures Unité et Complexité de L’Ouvrage*, ed. Jacques Vermeulen, BETL 81 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 411–42 (here 418). On Lk 24:26, see Christoph DOHMEN, “The Passion of Jesus,” *Communio* 30 (2003): 452–62 (here 453–55).

⁴⁹ BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 134.

⁵⁰ See the chapter by SHIVELY in this volume. On the relationship between the Servant and servants in Isaiah 50, see BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 40–55*, 323.

sufferings as the Servant for his followers as the servants.⁵¹ Similar statements can be found in 2 Cor 1:5 (“the sufferings of Christ abound to us”); 4:10 (“carrying in the body the death of Jesus”); 1 Pet 4:13 (“you share the sufferings of Christ”).⁵²

But how do the Isaian themes of suffering, vindication, and universal recognition of Yhwh actually shape community identity? Suffering creates group cohesion because this suffering is *shared*, both between members of the community (Phil 1:29–30; 4:14; 1 Pet 5:9) and between the community and the exemplary figure they follow (Mk 10:39; Jn 15:18–21; Phil 3:10; 2 Cor 1:5; 4:10; 1 Pet 2:21; 4:13). The experience of suffering for the same cause becomes a defining feature of the community, and because it is the result of marginalization and/or persecution by outsiders, it strengthens in-group / out-group boundaries. This suffering is given an *explanation* by the community—it is because of righteousness (Wis 2:12; 1 Pet 2:20), or “for the sake of” Jesus (2 Cor 4:11; Rev 1:9), or even “according to the will of God” (1 Pet 4:19)—but it is also the *result* of being a member of the community (Isa 66:5; Ps 69:8–13; Jn 15:18–21). Suffering therefore becomes a signifier: it is how individuals are assured that they are members of the group (Jn 15:18–21; 17:14–16; 2 Cor 1:3–7; 4:7–12; 1 Pet 4:12–19; cf. the description of Christians in the 2nd century *Epistle to Diognetus* 5, 6).⁵³ By reflecting on the depiction of suffering in the Isaian “Servant(s)” texts, later communities found a powerful tool to interpret their own suffering. Moreover, in the texts authored by those who read Isaiah, suffering was linked to hope for vindication: those inside the community would be rewarded and declared to be in the right, while those outside the community would be shamed and judged (Dan 12:2;⁵⁴ Wis 3:1–10; 4:16–20; 5:1–15; Phil 1:28–29; 1 Pet 4:17–18; 5:10; Rev 6:9–11). Such hope for vindication also creates community cohesion, because this vindication too is shared (Lk 22:28–30; Jn 16:33; Rom 8:17). Finally, the lives of community members are given meaning by being situated in a larger narrative, namely, the Isaian account of how Yhwh will restore both Israel and all creation and bring about universal recognition of himself and his salvation (Ps 69:36–37; 102:14–23; Luke 2:30–32; Acts 3:20–21;⁵⁵ Phil 2:10–11; Rev 21:1, 7). And here early Christian communities adopted a specific and distinctive perspective: not only did they follow Jesus as one who took up the Isaian proclamation of “good news,” they also included themselves in the Isaian narrative of divine restoration as those who likewise took up the proclamation of “good news” (Mk 13:10–11; 16:15; Acts 8:40; 13:32; Rom 1:15; 2 Cor 5:19). This was clearly another factor that created group cohesion, as is evident in Paul’s

⁵¹ See Joel WHITE, “Paul Completes the Servant’s Sufferings,” *JSP* 6.2 (2016): 181–98. On the economic background of the statement “filling up what is lacking,” see T. J. LANG, “Disbursing the Account of God: Fiscal Terminology and the Economy of God in Colossians 1.24–25,” *ZNW* 107.1 (2016): 116–36.

⁵² On the motif of shared suffering in 2 Corinthians and 1 Peter, see the chapters by GIGNILLIAT and GÄCKLE in this volume.

⁵³ On suffering and the construction of community identity, see BENNEMA, “Early Christian Identity Formation Amidst Conflict,” 38; L. Gregory BLOOMQUIST, *The Function of Suffering in Philipians*, JSNTSup 78 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); Elizabeth BOASE, “Fragmented Voices: Collective Identity and Traumatization in Lamentations,” in *Bible Through the Lens of Trauma*, ed. Elizabeth Boase and Christopher G. Frechette (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 49–66; James A. KELHOFFER, *Persecution, Persuasion and Power: Readiness to Withstand Hardship as a Corroboration of Legitimacy in the New Testament*, WUNT 270 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); Judith LIEU, “‘I Am a Christian’: Martyrdom and the Beginning of ‘Christian’ Identity,” in *Neither Jew Nor Greek: Constructing Early Christianity*, ed. idem, 2d ed. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 223–43; Paul MIDDLETON, “Suffering and the Creation of Christian Identity in the Gospel of Mark,” in *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 173–90; Todd D. STILL and Natalie R. WEBB, “‘Aliens’ among ‘Pagans’, ‘Exiles’ among ‘Gentiles’: Authorial Strategy and (Social) Identity in 1 Peter,” in *T & T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament*, ed. J. Brian Tucker and Coleman A. Baker (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 455–72; WILLIAMS, *Persecution in 1 Peter*, esp. 35–59.

⁵⁴ In Dan 12:2, we see the binary opposition between those who are resurrected to “everlasting life” (who in v. 3 are described in Isaian terms as the *משכילים* and *מַצְדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים*) and those who will receive “disgrace and everlasting contempt (*דְּרָאוֹן*)”—a word found elsewhere only in Isa 66:24. Here—as earlier in Isa 65:1–15; 66:1–5, 14—we find the binary opposition between the servants/offspring and those who have rebelled against God; these latter ones are an “object of contempt” (*דְּרָאוֹן*).

⁵⁵ See Richard B. HAYS, “The Liberation of Israel in Luke-Acts: Intertextual Narration as Countercultural Practice,” in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009), 101–18 (here 102).

rhetoric of shared involvement in the gospel (Phil 1:5, 7, 27; 2:22; 4:3, 18).⁵⁶ Thus Ware rightly speaks of the “missionary identity” of the church at Philippi, articulated in Paul’s (allusive) statement in Phil 2:15.⁵⁷

It is important to note that the reception of the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument by later communities was not monolithic. An analysis of how the values and goals of the Isaian servants (righteous suffering, the hope of vindication, and involvement in God’s mission to bring about universal recognition of himself) were taken up in the texts under consideration will reveal both unity and diversity. On the one hand, some texts pick up in an explicit way the Isaian argument about the Servant *producing* a righteous community of servants.⁵⁸ Dan 12:3 describes a community of *משכילים* (“those with insight”) who replicate the Isaian Servant’s task by “making many righteous” (*מצדיקי הרבים*; cf. Isa 53:11), and early Christian texts depict Jesus in terms of the Servant who creates a righteous community (Rom 5:19; 2 Cor 5:21; 1 Pet 2:24; cf. Rom 3:26; Phil 1:11).⁵⁹ On the other hand, Psalms 22, 69, 102 and Wisdom of Solomon 1–5 *presume* the presence of righteousness rather than describing how it is brought about. And Revelation depicts the righteousness of the suffering community using the motif of “white robes” (Rev 3:4–5; 6:9–11; 7:13–14; 19:7–8, 14; cf. Isa 61:10; 62:1; 64:5).⁶⁰

In some texts, references to suffering are couched in Isaian language or explicitly linked to Isaian allusions (e.g. Ps 22:7–9; Dan 12:1–4; Wis 2:10, 12–20; 3:2; Mk 10:38–39 [cf. v. 45];⁶¹ Phil 2:7–8; 1 Pet 2:19–25). Two of these texts in particular (Wis 2:10, 12–15, 18; 1 Pet 2:20; 3:14, 17) forcefully highlight the Isaian connection between “righteousness” and suffering. The context of Dan 11:32–35; 12:1–3 indicates that the *משכילים* are suffering for their piety and obedience to God.⁶² In Phil 2:1–8, Paul uses Isaian language about the humiliation and lowly status of the Servant to describe Jesus, then draws from this example ethical conclusions for his community—specifically, the notion of self-abasement and preference for the interests of others. This idea also appears in Mk 10:42–45. In other texts, the Isaian connection is implicit: the afflicted person in Ps 69 suffers “for the sake of” Yhwh (Ps 69:8–13).⁶³ In the early Christian texts surveyed here, Jesus’ followers are described as

⁵⁶ On the allusion to Isa 56:6–7 in Phil 4:18, see the chapter by WARE in this volume.

⁵⁷ See James WARE, “‘The Word of Life’: Resurrection and Mission in Philippians,” in *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice*, ed. Trevor J. Burke and Brian S. Rosner, LNTS 420 (New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 209–19 (here 217) and the chapter by WARE in this volume.

⁵⁸ Isa 53:11; 54:17; 56:6 [cf. 56:1]; 57:1; 60:21; 61:3; 64:4. On this argument, see BEUKEN, “Main Theme.”

⁵⁹ Compare the sentiment in MT Isa 53:11 (*יצידיק צדיק עבדי לרבים*) with Rom 5:19 (οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς δίκαιου κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί); 2 Cor 5:21 (τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ); 1 Pet 2:24b (ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν). Note that 1 Pet 2:24a,c (ὅς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν . . . οὗ τῷ μῶλωπι ἰάθητε) draws on Isa 53:12 and 53:5 respectively.

⁶⁰ See the chapter by LEAR in this volume.

⁶¹ Seán Freyne noted similarities in how suffering and death are treated in Daniel, Wisdom of Solomon, and the Gospel of Mark; see Seán FREYNE, “The Disciples in Mark and the *Maskilim* in Daniel. A Comparison,” *JSNT* 16 (1982): 7–23 (here 11–12).

⁶² John Day has shown how Dan 12:3–4 refers to Isa 53:11; see DAY, “*DA ‘AT* ‘Humiliation’ in Isaiah LIII 11 in the Light of Isaiah LIII 3 and Daniel XII 4, and the Oldest Known Interpretation of the Suffering Servant,” *VT* 30.1 (1980): 97–103. That these texts are connected is indisputable (see also דראון in Isa 66:24; Dan 12:2), though the meanings (and readings) of both texts are contested; the usual meaning of דעת (“knowledge”) does not fit either context well. A root ידע II meaning “humiliation” was proposed by D. Winton THOMAS, “A Consideration of Isaiah LIII in the Light of Recent Textual and Philological Study,” *ETL* 44 (1968): 79–86, but the Arabic basis for this proposal was shown to be faulty by William JOHNSTONE, “YD’ II, ‘Be Humbled, Humiliated?’” *VT* 41.1 (1991): 49–62, and J. A. EMERTON, “A Further Consideration of D. W. Thomas’s Theories about *yāda*,” *VT* 41.2 (1991): 145–63. Gelston proposed emending ברעתו in Isa 53:11 to ברעתו “by his hurt” (cf. Jonah 4:6; Ecc 5:12); see Anthony GELSTON, “Knowledge, Humiliation or Suffering: A Lexical, Textual and Exegetical Problem in Isaiah 53,” in *Of Prophets’ Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Heather A. McKay and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 162 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 126–41. If this is the original reading, it would still find a connection in the reading ἀδικίας of OG Dan 12:4.

⁶³ See KLEINKNECHT, *Der leidende Gerechtfertigte*, 64–65.

sharing in the suffering of Jesus (Mk 10:38–39;⁶⁴ Rom 8:17; 2 Cor 1:5; 4:10; Phil 3:10; 1 Pet 3:21; 4:13; Rev 1:9), suffering “for the name / sake” of Jesus (Lk 6:22; 21:12, 17; Acts 5:40–41; 9:16; 2 Cor 4:11; Phil 1:29; 1 Pet 4:14),⁶⁵ or suffering because of their “testimony” about Jesus (Rev 6:9–11; 12:11). In the Targum on Isaiah, the Servant-Messiah does not suffer, and Israel’s suffering is not derivative of or modelled after his experience. Righteousness is indeed brought about, but this is accomplished when the Servant-Messiah reinstates the cult.⁶⁶

These texts, then, depict suffering in a variety of ways: suffering may be presented as the *result* of devotion to God (Ps 22:7–9; 69:8–13; Dan 6:11–14) or of doing what is right (Wis 2:12–16; 1 Pet 2:19–20; 3:17; 4:15–16); it may be presented as an *exemplary act* for others to follow (e.g., the suffering of the “righteous man” in Wis 2–5; the suffering of Jesus as an example for his followers in Phil 2:5–11; 1 Pet 2:21–23; 4:1); it may be presented as something that is *shared* (Mk 10:39; Rom 8:17; 2 Cor 1:5, 7; 4:9–10; Phil 1:29–30; 3:10; 4:14; 1 Pet 4:13; 5:9); it may be presented as something that can bring about a *benefit* for others in the community (2 Cor 1:6); it may be presented as an opportunity for rejoicing (Rom 5:3); or it may be completely removed from the Servant figure and divested of any paradigmatic value (Targum Jonathan on Isaiah). It is worth noting that the motif of *vicarious* suffering is taken up only in early Christian writings, where it is used to describe the actions of Jesus alone (e.g. 1 Pet 2:21, 24; 3:18).⁶⁷

The Isaian theme of vindication is also picked up and used in diverse ways. In some texts the vindication of the righteous sufferers is expressed using locutions from Isaian “Servant(s)” passages: e.g. Ps 22:25 (an inversion of Isa 49:7; 53:3, 4, 7); 69:36–37 (cf. Isa 65:9); 102:29 (cf. Isa 65:9); Wis 3:1–3; 4:7 (cf. Isa 57:1–2); Rev 7:15–17 (cf. Isa 49:9, 10 + 25:8).⁶⁸ The Isaian “new heavens and new earth” (Isa 65:17; 66:22), which in context is the inheritance of the servants / offspring,⁶⁹ appears in Rev 21:1–7 as the “inheritance of the one who is victorious” (v. 7). In Wisdom of Solomon, the use of Isaian imagery to describe vindication is complex: the vindication of the righteous after suffering and death in Wis 3:1–3; 4:7 is described as peace and rest (εἰρήνη, ἀναπαύσις) a result modelled on the rest of the righteous sufferer in Isa 57:1–2. Yet Wisdom of Solomon also depicts vindication as a public affair: the righteous one will “stand in great boldness” before his persecutors, who are forced to acknowledge his status (Wis 5:1–14). Those who suffer righteously will “live forever” and receive salvific vindication from the Lord, described here as the Isaian Divine Warrior (Wis 5:15–20; cf. Isa 59:16–18).

In other texts, the vindication of the sufferers is described using individual words or images such as resurrection (Dan 12:2–3; Acts 26:23; 2 Cor 1:9–10; 4:14, 17; Phil 3:10–11), “comfort” (2 Cor 1:4–5), “glory” (1 Pet 1:7; 5:1, 10), “blessed” (1 Pet 3:13–14),⁷⁰ “reward”

⁶⁴ Mark uses the same vocabulary (παράδιδόναι, “handed over”) to describe the suffering of Jesus’ followers in Mk 13:9, 11–12 as he does to describe the suffering of Jesus (e.g. Mk 9:31; 10:33 [cf. Lk 24:7]; 14:10, 11, 18, 21, 41–42, 44; 15:1, 10, 15). The same term is used to describe the Servant’s suffering in Isa 53:6, 12. See the chapter by SHIVELY in this volume.

⁶⁵ See Isa 66:5, where the servants (here referred to as “those who tremble at [Yhwh’s] word”; cf. v. 2) suffer “for the sake of [Yhwh’s] name.”

⁶⁶ See the chapter by TOOMAN in this volume.

⁶⁷ The idea that early Jesus-followers should be willing to suffer to promote the interests of others is suggested in Rom 15:1–3 (drawing on Psalm 69, an Isaian intertext) and Phil 2:3–11 (drawing on Isaiah 53), and the idea of dying for others is mentioned in Jn 15:12–13, but there is no attempt to link this latter passage with an Isaian argument or with a salvific result. For the restriction of the theme of atoning death to Jesus alone (rather than his followers) in Luke-Acts, see the chapter by BEERS in this volume.

⁶⁸ On the vindication of the servants expressed in terms of shared authority and inheritance in e.g. Rev 2:18–29, see the chapter by LEAR in this volume.

⁶⁹ BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 56–66*, 289; W. A. M. BEUKEN, “Isaiah Chapters LXV–LXVI: Trito-Isaiah and the Closure of the Book of Isaiah,” in *Congress Volume: Leuven 1989*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 43 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 204–21 (here 213–15).

⁷⁰ For the allusion in 1 Pet 3:13 to Isa 50:9 (the context of which describes the suffering of the Servant [vv. 5–6], his hope for vindication [vv. 7–9], and the paradigmatic relationship between the Servant and the servants [vv. 4, 10–11]), see Patrick T. EGAN,

(Lk 6:22–23; Rev 11:18), or “salvation” (Wis 5:2; Phil 1:19, 28)—though even these words and images are thoroughly Isaianic.⁷¹ The description of the righteous sufferer’s vindication in terms of “peace” and “rest,” appearing first in Isa 57:1–2 then later in Wis 3:1–3; 4:7, may reappear still later in Rev 6:10–11; 14:13. The Isaian description of blessing for the servants and disaster for their opponents (Isa 65:8–16; 66:5) appears to have influenced the discussions of vindication in Mk 10:28–31⁷² and in the Lukan Beatitudes (Lk 6:20–26).⁷³ Still other texts, such as Luke 22:28–30 and Rom 8:17, explicitly underscore the connection between joint suffering and joint vindication, arguing that suffering with Jesus necessarily implies vindication with Jesus.⁷⁴ In the Targum to Isaiah, the situation is of course different: here the Servant-Messiah does not suffer, and thus there is no paradigmatic suffering and vindication to be shared by Messiah and the servants.

Finally, the Isaian theme of the universal recognition of Yhwh (which is what the Servant as God’s agent works to bring about, and what the servants are a result of) is picked up in similarly diverse ways. In the three psalms examined here, this theme is pronounced: in Ps 22:28, “all the ends of the earth” and “all the families of the nations” will turn to Yhwh and worship him; in Ps 69:35–37, all creation breaks into praise when God “saves Zion” so that the “offspring of his servants” may dwell there. Likewise, Ps 102:16, 22–23 envision the nations worshipping Yhwh in Jerusalem. In Daniel 1–8 the universal recognition of Yhwh is linked to the suffering and vindication of the servants,⁷⁵ though it is not picked up in Dan 11–12.⁷⁶ And while in Wisdom of Solomon the rulers of the world are exhorted to “love righteousness” (Wis 1:1) and “learn wisdom” (6:9), and while God desires the repentance of all (Wis 11:23–12:2, 10–11), the book does not really take up the Isaian vision of global recognition and transformation—though to be sure, the unrighteous are forced to recognize both their own wickedness and the vindication of the righteous at the final judgment (Wis 5:1ff).

The theme of the universal recognition of Yhwh takes a distinctive shape when it is picked up in early Christian texts: here it is associated with the “proclamation of good news” (εὐαγγελίζω / κηρύσσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), a motif that becomes constitutive of early Christian identity. In Isaiah, the proclamation of the good news of Yhwh’s salvation is attributed to a variety of voices, and refers to the restoration of Zion—though it becomes clear that the nations are also involved in this restoration.⁷⁷ It was subsequently applied to a number of

Ecclesiology and the Scriptural Narrative of 1 Peter (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2016), 173–74. The statement linking “blessing” to doing “righteousness” in 1 Pet 3:14 may allude to Isa 56:1–2, another passage whose context describes the servants (v. 6).

⁷¹ For resurrection, see Isa 26:19; for “comfort,” see Isa 40:1; 49:13; 51:3, 12; 52:9; 61:2; 66:13; for “glory,” see Isa 60:1–2, 19; 62:2; for “reward,” see Isa 40:10; 62:11; for “salvation,” see Isa 49:6, 8; 52:7, 10. On resurrection as vindication in Acts 26:23, see the chapter by BEERS in this volume.

⁷² Concerns about vindication are raised by Jesus’ disciples in Mk 10:28, and are addressed in 10:29–31; the description of reward as houses, family, persecutions, and eternal life (along with the motif of reversal) is strikingly similar to the description of the reward given to the servants in Isa 65–66.

⁷³ For the dependence of Luke on Isaiah in these passages, see BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 134. The relationship is already recognized in the early third century CE (Tertullian, *Marc.* 4.14).

⁷⁴ For the argument in Mark 13 that Jesus’ followers will share in his vindication, see the chapter by SHIVELY in this volume.

⁷⁵ In Dan 3:28–30; 6:26–29, foreign kings recognize Israel’s God due to the righteousness, suffering, and vindication of the three friends and Daniel.

⁷⁶ Nevertheless, as I noted above, what we do see in Dan 12:3 is that there is a community that is patterned after the Isaian Servant—namely, “those who have insight” (הַמְשַׁלְמִים; cf Isa 52:13), and that this community “makes many righteous” (מַצְדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים), thus taking up the same mission as the Isaian Servant (יְצִדִּיק עַבְדֵי לְרַבִּים; Isa 53:11).

⁷⁷ Isa 40:9 (Zion proclaims Yhwh’s salvation to other Judean cities); 52:7 (a messenger announces salvation to Zion); 61:1 (Yhwh’s agent—who apparently speaks as the Servant—is anointed to proclaim deliverance to the afflicted in Zion). In Isa 60:6, the nations who come to Zion will “proclaim the praises of Yhwh” (וְתִהְיֶה יְהוָה יְבִשָׁרוּ). However, in LXX Isa 60:6, this is rendered as “proclaim the good news of the *salvation* of the Lord” (καὶ τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται)—a rendering that seems to have been influenced by the sentiment of Isa 45:22.

individuals in Second Temple Jewish texts,⁷⁸ but is less strongly associated with communities: the communal proclamation of good news is completely absent in Daniel and Wisdom, though it is arguably present in the references to “recounting” in Pss 22:31; 102:22–23 and “telling” in Ps 22:32.

In early Christian texts, the proclamation of good news is described as taken up by Jesus (Mk 1:14–15; Lk 4:16–21; 7:18–22)—and then, remarkably, by Jesus’ followers. Some of the texts under consideration very clearly link the Isaian theme of the universal recognition of Yhwh to the motif of proclamation: Acts 1:8; 8:25–40; 9:15–16; 13:46–47; 26:16–18, 23 (cf. Isa 49:6; 52:7); Rom 10:12–21 (cf. Isa 52:7; 53:1; 65:1–2);⁷⁹ 15:20–21 (cf. Isa 52:15); 2 Cor 4:5, 13; 5:18–20; 6:1–2 (cf. Isa 49:8); Phil 1:5, 7, 12–18; 2:22 (cf. Isa 52:7?). Here Isaian statements about “light,” “salvation to the ends of the earth,” and “good news”—all of which are thematised in their Isaian context by repetition—have been picked up by the early Christian community and associated with their proclamation of Jesus.⁸⁰ This forms the conceptual background to Jesus’ statement in Mk 13:10–11 that “the good news must first be proclaimed to all the nations” (followed by a statement that his disciples will speak publicly before their persecutors).⁸¹ Mark 16:15 depicts Jesus commissioning his followers to “proclaim the good news”—a reference likely placed here at the end of the composition in order to form an *inclusio* around the entire Gospel (// Mk 1:1, 14–15). Luke 2:29–32 applies the Isaian “light to the nations” image (Isa 49:6) to the infant Jesus, then describes the risen Jesus reminding his disciples that “repentance . . . is to be proclaimed in his name to all nations” (Lk 24:45–49).⁸² In Acts, the proclamation of the good news by Jesus’ followers is justified in characters’ speeches (Acts 10:36–43; 13:47; 26:15–23)⁸³ and is central to the plot (Acts 1:8; 8:12, 25, 40; 13:32; 14:7, 15, 21; 15:7; 16:10; 20:24). In Romans, the motif of proclaiming the good news is articulated not only in the allusions noted above, but also in Paul’s self-descriptions (Rom 1:15; 15:19–20). Moreover, Paul reflects on the response to this proclamation, admitting that the message of the “good news” about Jesus has not been universally received (Rom 10:16)—an allusion to Isa 53:1 (cf. 49:4a), where it is stated that the message about the Isaian Servant was not universally received. In Philippians, Paul depicts Jesus as the Isaian Suffering Servant (Phil 2:7–9; cf. Isa 52:13; 53:2, 8, 11–12), then uses Isa 45:23 with reference to Jesus (Phil 2:9–10), thereby applying the Divine Name to Jesus and making him the object of universal recognition. And it is the good news of the crucified and exalted Jesus that is the object of proclamation in Philippians (Phil 1:5, 18). In other early Christian texts, however, the motif of proclamation is not extensively developed with reference to Isaian “Servant(s)” argument (1 Peter, Revelation).⁸⁴

While the role of the Isaian servants with respect to the proclamation described in Isa 66:18–23 is debated (see the discussion above), it is clarified in a number of early Christian texts

⁷⁸ The motif of the proclamation of good news in Isa 61:1–2 is taken up in 1QH^a 23.15–16 (attributed to God); 4Q521 2.ii.1–12 (attributed to God or his anointed one); 11Q13 2.9, 18–20 (apparently attributed to the heavenly agent Melchizedek; note that the description of “good news” in Isa 52:7 is taken up in 11Q13 2.15–16, 23).

⁷⁹ On the use of Isaiah in Rom 10, see J. Ross WAGNER, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 170–217; see also the chapter by RÜGGEMEIER in this volume.

⁸⁰ For “light,” see Isa 42:6; 49:6; 51:4; 60:3; for “salvation to the ends of the earth,” see 45:22; 49:6; 51:5; 52:10; 56:1; 62:11; for “good news,” see 40:9; 52:7; 61:1.

⁸¹ Note that proclamation is presumed by the statement in Mk 14:9.

⁸² As Holly Beers notes, while Jesus is initially presented as the Isaian “light to the nations,” the fulfilment of this hope is still awaited at the end of Luke’s Gospel; see the chapter by BEERS in this volume.

⁸³ Note the allusion in Acts 10:36 to Isa 52:7, the allusion in Acts 13:47 to Isa 49:6, and the allusion in Acts 26:18, 23 to the Isaian themes of light and sight.

⁸⁴ See however 1 Pet 3:15; 4:6. In Revelation, the servants’ proclamation (which is linked with their suffering) is described as “testimony” (μαρτυρία, Rev 1:9; 6:9; 12:11; 20:4) rather than as “proclaiming good news” (εὐαγγελίζω / κηρύσσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον); see the chapter by LEAR in this volume.

that proclamation and mission are extended to Jesus' followers in their role as servants.⁸⁵ Indeed, Riesner has argued that in Rom 15:16–21 Paul describes his own proclamation to the Gentiles in language and imagery borrowed from Isa 66:18–23.⁸⁶ It seems clear that early Jesus-followers used the paradigmatic relationship between the Isaian Servant and servants as the logic behind the way in which they saw themselves taking up the proclamation of the good news from Jesus, even though (as noted above) the relationship between the servants and proclamation in Trito-Isaiah is somewhat ambiguous.

In conclusion, a synoptic presentation and examination of the texts under consideration demonstrates that the three Isaian themes of suffering, vindication, and universal recognition of Yhwh were widely taken up by later readers, but were used in a variety of ways. Not all texts display or prioritize all the same themes. The vindication of righteous sufferers is linked with the restoration of Zion in Pss 69, 102 and in Rev 21, but not in Ps 22 and Wisdom of Solomon. The Isaianic universal recognition of Yhwh is present in most texts, but is not developed in Dan 11–12⁸⁷ or Wisdom of Solomon, and is distinctively linked with proclamation only in early Christian texts (though this is presumed rather than emphasized in 1 Peter, and Revelation). The inclusion of the Targum to Isaiah in this study is particularly important for demonstrating that the reception of Isaiah in Antiquity was not monolithic: in the Targum, the Servant-Messiah does not suffer or paradigmatically model righteous suffering for the community he creates. Instead, righteousness is created when the Servant-Messiah restores the cult for the chastened and repentant ones of Israel.

1.2 Text-Handling Techniques and Reading Strategies

In the introduction to this volume we claimed that community identity is in part *exegetically* derived—but what do we mean by “exegetical”? Obviously we have in mind the individual and communal reading of and reflection on texts.⁸⁸ But more than this, we refer to the production of texts that use the book of Isaiah as an authoritative source—and not just to the *fact* of textual use, but the *manner* of use: techniques of allusion and quotation; techniques of selection, modification, inversion, and juxtaposition; the reading and explanation of one text in light of another text; the editing of one text in light of another text; the exploitation of existing intertextual allusion; the use of comments that reflect a perception of a text's literary shape and argument; the phenomenon of “triggered” allusion, where the words of one text recall another text to a redactor, prompting the addition of further verbal linkages; the interpretation of events in light of texts, and the use of texts to define community ethos.⁸⁹ The section below will examine such textual use under the rubrics of *presentation*, *selection*, *modification*, and *contextual awareness*.

⁸⁵ Note also that the dual objects of the Servant's salvific activity—i.e., both Israel (Isa 49:5, 6a) and the nations (Isa 49:6b; cf. 45:22–24)—was a theme picked up in Isa 54:17 and 56:3a, 6–8 respectively: those who make up the servants include both Israelites and foreigners. The notion that Yhwh's salvific task included both Israel and the nations was also essential for defining early Christian mission and proclamation (Lk 2:32; 24:26–49; Jn 10:16, 51–52; Acts 1:8; 3:26; 9:15; 11:17–18; 13:46–48; 14:1, 27; 15:7, 14; 26:17–18, 23; 28:28; Rom 1:16)—though this was clearly not an uncontroversial idea. On this dual mission, see Peter MALLIN, *The Reading and Transformation of Isaiah in Luke-Acts*, LNTS 367 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 87–88, 105–13; Holly BEERS, *Followers of Jesus*, 156–57. For a reconstruction of Jesus' self-understanding and its relation to the concept of a Gentile mission, see Michael F. BIRD, *Jesus and the Origins of the Gentile Mission*, LHBOTS 331 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007).

⁸⁶ Rainer RIESNER, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*, trans. Doug Stott (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 245–53.

⁸⁷ Though see Dan 3:29; 6:25–27.

⁸⁸ See Garrick V. ALLEN and John Anthony DUNNE, eds., *Ancient Readers and their Scriptures: Engaging the Hebrew Bible in Early Judaism and Christianity*, AJEC 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Brian J. WRIGHT, *Communal Reading in the Time of Jesus: A Window into Early Christian Reading Practices* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017). Note the depictions of reading and explanation of texts in e.g. Neh 8:1–8; 1QS 6.6–8; 8.11–16; Lk 24:27, 44–47; Acts 17:11; 1 Tim 4:13; 2 Tim 3:16–17.

⁸⁹ For a description of what constituted “exegesis” in the Second Temple period, see Andrew TEETER, “The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections,” *DSD* 20 (2013): 347–75 (here 353–66).

1.2.1 Techniques of Presentation

One way in which the presentation of Isaianic “Servant(s)” material in later texts can be analysed is by examining the manner in which these texts reference Isaiah, that is, by means of *quotation* or *allusion*.⁹⁰ By “quotation” I mean a reference to an earlier text that replicates material from that source while calling attention to the act of referencing, to the speaker or author of the quoted material, or to the source being referenced. Such references can invoke rhetorically significant categories of authority and testimony; this is particularly evident in attributions of material to a source that is prophetic (e.g. Acts 8:28) or divine (e.g. Acts 13:47). By “allusion” I mean the use of material from an earlier text that lacks an element of “calling attention.” The lack of a quotative marker places greater demands on reader competence in identifying the source text, but also means that borrowed material can be more easily inserted into the target text (clearly a requirement for the editing of the three psalms under investigation). The texts in this study that reference Isaiah 40–66 by means of allusion alone are Psalms 22, 69, 102; Daniel; Wisdom of Solomon; Philippians; 1 Peter; Revelation. Texts that use quotation as well as allusion include Mark (e.g. Mk 1:1–3; 11:17); Luke (e.g. Lk 3:4–6; 4:17–19; 19:46; 22:37); John (e.g. Jn 12:38); Acts (e.g. Acts 8:27–33; 13:47); Romans (e.g. Rom 10:15, 16; 15:21); 2 Corinthians (e.g. 2 Cor 6:2). Note that in both Psalm 22 and Wisdom of Solomon, some Isaianic locutions are either placed in mouths of those hostile to a righteous sufferer (Ps 22:9; cf. Isa 53:10) or used to describe them (Wis 5:2; cf. Isa 52:14, 15). By this technique, the righteous sufferer is portrayed as persecuted for being one of the servants (cf. Isa 66:5).

Another way in which the presentation of borrowed material can be analysed is by looking at the *structure* of the borrowing text. This is particularly significant in the case of Psalm 22, the structure of which displays what seem to be highly disparate and unconnected genre features: a complaint of the individual about righteous suffering, vv. 2–22a; thanksgiving of the individual for vindication, vv. 22b–27; universal recognition and praise of Yhwh, vv. 28–32. But this atypical psalm structure actually replicates the shape of Deutero-Isaiah’s argument about the Servant and Trito-Isaiah’s argument about the servants (who suffer righteously, are vindicated by God, and play a role in bringing about the universal recognition of Yhwh).⁹¹ Another example can be seen in the way the sequence of “new life after a flood of judgment” in the book of Isaiah is taken up in Dan 11–12.⁹²

Yet another way in which the target texts present borrowed material is by their use of *introductory or concluding framing statements* that provide commentary on the material. Examples include Paul’s comment on Isa 49:8 in 2 Cor 6:2 (“behold, now is the ‘acceptable time’; behold, now is the ‘day of salvation’”), and Paul’s statement in Acts 13:47 that Isa 49:6b is “what the Lord commanded us.” In the former framing statement, Paul interprets his community’s situation in light of the Isaian text. In the latter framing statement, Paul takes Yhwh’s speech to the Isaian Servant and—in light of the paradigmatic relationship of the Isaian Servant for the servants—applies this statement to Barnabas and himself.⁹³

A final way in which the borrowing texts (in particular, the book of Acts) can present borrowed Isaianic material is by the use of *narrative instantiation*. In this strategy, the configuration of plot, characterization, and dialogue is used to exemplify an Isaian argument. For example, in Acts 8:26–35 the author depicts an Ethiopian eunuch reading Isaiah 53:7–8, which the evangelist Philip explains to him with reference to Jesus. This scene is an instantiation of the Isaian “servants” argument in Isa 56:3–8, in which “foreigners” (Isa 56:3a, 6–8) and “eunuchs” (vv. 3b–5) are described as “joining themselves to Yhwh . . . to be

⁹⁰ The Targum on Isaiah is obviously an exception, as it is a rewriting and translation of the source text.

⁹¹ See the chapter by LYONS in this volume.

⁹² See the chapter by STROMBERG in this volume.

⁹³ See Michael A. LYONS, “Paul and the Servant(s): Isa 49,6 in Acts 13,47,” *ETL* 89.4 (2013): 345–59.

his servants” (v. 6). Likewise, in Acts 9 and 26, Paul’s encounter with Jesus is described using motifs from descriptions of the Isaianic Servant(s): Paul falls to the ground after seeing a “light” (9:3; 26:13; cf. Isa 42:6; 49:6; 51:4), is transformed from a condition of blindness into sight by the intervention of another (9:8–9, 12, 17–18; cf. 26:18; Isa 42:7; 52:10), is “filled with the Holy Spirit” (9:17; cf. Isa 59:21), is chosen to “bear [Jesus’] name before Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel” (9:15; cf. 26:16–18, 19, 23; Isa 49:6–7; 66:19), and is described as being shown “how much he must suffer” for the sake of Jesus (9:16; cf. Isa 53; 66:5).

Another instance of narrative instantiation occurs in Acts 16:16–18, where a slave-girl repeatedly describes Paul and Silas as “servants (δοῦλοι) of the Most High God, who are proclaiming the way of salvation to you.” This description is entirely made up of distinctively Isaianic vocabulary,⁹⁴ and highlights the role of Paul and Silas as servants who take up the mission of Jesus (depicted as the Servant). But the technique of narrative instantiation arguably occurs already in the Gospel of Luke, which describes a man named Simeon being led by the Spirit into the temple to see Jesus (Luke 2:25–32). Simeon is described as “righteous” (Lk 2:25; cf. Isa 53:11; 54:17), as looking “for the consolation of Israel” (v. 25; cf. Isa 40:1),⁹⁵ and as having the “Holy Spirit upon him” (v. 25; cf. Isa 59:21). He then self-identifies as the Lord’s “servant” (δοῦλος, v. 29; cf. Isa 65:9, 13–15) and quotes Isa 49:6; 52:10 (Lk 2:30–32). In all these cases, Isaian references are woven into the fabric of the narrative itself.

1.2.2 Techniques of Selection

A second way in which later authors’ use of the Isaianic “Servant(s)” texts can be analysed is by examining their techniques of selection and the reasons behind the selections. This includes an investigation of what Isaian texts are used, what Isaian texts are *not* used, and what non-Isaian texts are used in conjunction with Isaiah (see the discussion of “Contextual Awareness” below). For example, Peter Mallen has argued that Luke-Acts emphasizes Yhwh’s salvation of foreign nations rather than his judgment of these nations—and that this tendency is a result of how the author selectively borrows material from Isaiah and modifies it.⁹⁶ As another example, Richard Hays argues that Paul’s selection and use of Ps 44:23 [LXX 43:23] in Rom 8:36 to describe the suffering of Jesus’ followers was motivated by the use of the phrase “sheep for slaughter” in Isa 53:7 and by Paul’s use of Isaian Servant passages elsewhere in Romans—and particularly by Paul’s conviction that Jesus’ followers share his sufferings (Rom 8:17).⁹⁷

As a final example, J. Ross Wagner shows how Paul selects and uses Isa 65:1ab, 2 (but not v. 1c!) in Rom 10:20–21, and how he splits the referent of the quote in his attempt to explain why Gentiles have enthusiastically responded to his message about Jesus while the majority of his fellow-Jews have not.⁹⁸ If this was where Paul’s argument stopped, we might conclude

⁹⁴ δοῦλοι: LXX Isa 65:9, 13–15; ὑπιστος: Isa 57:15; καταγγέλλω: 66:19; ὁδός: 40:3; 41:27 (word absent in MT); 42:16; 49:11; 57:14; σωτηρία: 49:6; 52:7, 10.

⁹⁵ Compare LXX Isa 40:1 (Παρακαλεῖτε παρακαλεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου) with Lk 2:25 (προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ).

⁹⁶ See MALLEN, *Reading and Transformation of Isaiah*, 108–12; Mallen points to the partial quote of Isa 61:1–2 in Lk 4:18–19, and to the author’s preference for the Isaian motif of salvation *going out* to the nations (Isa 49:6; cf. Lk 24:47–49; Acts 1:8; 13:47) over and above the Isaian motif of humbled nations *coming* to Zion (e.g. Isa 55:5; 60:1–14).

⁹⁷ Richard B. HAYS, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 62–63.

⁹⁸ See WAGNER, *Heralds of the Good News*, 190–217 (for the likely rationale behind Paul’s choice not to include Isa 65:1c in his citation, see p. 209). Paul’s split reading of Isa 65:1–2 seems to have been motivated by two formal features of the text: first, the use of the words ἔθνος in Isa 65:1 and λαός in Isa 65:2 likely suggested to Paul that two different referents were in view. For an argument that the word “nation” even in MT Isa 65:1 refers to foreigners, see Ulrich F. BERGES, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, trans. Millard C. Lind (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 467–68. Second, in Isa 65:1 the LXX translates the Hebrew Niphal verbs יִתְּשַׁרְר and יִתְּמַנֵּן (the tolerative sense of which reflects the offer in 55:6–7) with ἔμφανής ἐγενόμην and εὐρέθη, resulting in a depiction of Yhwh’s offer as actually having been successfully received by a non-Jewish

that he equates his Jewish contemporaries with Trito-Isaiah's rebellious Israelites who did not respond to Yhwh's offer, implying that only non-Jewish Jesus-followers are to be identified with the Trito-Isaian servants. However, while for Paul the Trito-Isaian distinction between the servants and their opponents was analogous to the largely positive Gentile and negative Jewish responses to Jesus *at the moment*, this could not for many reasons (not the least being Paul's own Jewish identity!) be a *permanent* analogy: for Paul, the idea that God has rejected his people is at odds with a great many other scriptural passages (Rom 11:1ff). As Paul continues, he coordinates his reading of Isa 65:1–2 with Deuteronomy 32 (which he cites in Rom 10:19; 11:11; 15:10)—a strategy which allows him to conclude both that foreigners have been “grafted in” (Isa 11:17–25) and that “all Israel will be saved” (Rom 11:26–27).⁹⁹ Paul's conclusion here in Rom 11:26–27 quotes a conflation of Isa 59:20–21 + 27:9, the first part of which makes an argument about the Trito-Isaian servants/offspring: those who confess their unrighteousness (Isa 59:9–15a) and are consequently visited by a righteous Redeemer (59:15b–17, 20) will be in covenant with God, receive his spirit, and pass on his word to their “offspring” (v. 21). As Beuken notes, “In these righteous ones the servants take form In these generations the promise is realized that the Servant ‘shall see offspring (seed) and prolong his days’ (53.10).”¹⁰⁰ These examples show the complex relationship between attempts to interpret texts and attempts to account for social realities, and the ways in which these affected each other.

1.2.3 Techniques of Modification

A third way in which later authors' use of the Isaianic “Servant(s)” material can be analysed is by examining the ways in which they modify their Isaian source text. One kind of modification involves a change of wording. For example, Paul modifies Isa 52:7 (ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πόδες εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης, ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀγαθὰ) when he quotes it in Rom 10:15 (καθὼς γέγραπται· ὡς ὥραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ), changing the singular “one who proclaims good news” to the plural “those who proclaim good news”—a change that reflects the inclusion of the servants in the Isaian Servant's mission.¹⁰¹

Yet another kind of modification involves inversion. For example, when the author of Wisdom of Solomon constructs a paradigmatic righteous sufferer, he takes up a phrase used to describe the Isaian Suffering Servant: “numbered among transgressors” (ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη, Isa 53:12). However, he places this in the mouths of the wicked opponents of the righteous sufferer and ironically inverts it so that they say of him, “We accounted his life madness how he is *numbered among the sons of God*” (πῶς κατελογίσθη ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ, Wis 5:4, 5). This assessment is an inversion of the assessment of the Suffering Servant in Isa 53, who is supposed (incorrectly) to be guilty and is associated with the guilty, though he is actually innocent (Isa 53:4b, 9, 12). The inversion is ironic, because the language of earlier mockery (cf. Wis 2:13, 17–18) now reflects the vindication of the righteous one. Again, this change depicts the paradigmatic sufferer of Wisdom of Solomon as being persecuted precisely because he is one of the righteous servants.

nation. Note also that the motif of foreigners joining themselves to Yhwh to be included in the servants already appeared in Isa 56:6–8.

⁹⁹ Like Paul's reading of Isa 65:1–2 in Rom 10:20–21, Deuteronomy 32 also uses ἔθνος for non-Israelite nations (Deut 32:8, 21, 43) and λαός for Israel (Deut 32:6, 9, 36, 43). What is more, Deuteronomy 32 envisions the restoration of Israel (Deut 32:36), and concludes in v. 43 by depicting the nations (ἔθνη) *rejoicing together with* God's restored people Israel (μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ)—a passage that Paul quotes in Rom 15:10.

¹⁰⁰ BEUKEN, “Main Theme,” 69, 70.

¹⁰¹ On the other changes, and on the textual form that Paul uses for this quotation, see WAGNER, *Heralds of the Good News*, 170–73.

Still another kind of modification consists of what we see in Targum Jonathan on Isaiah. Through a series of formal changes (constituent replacements, changes in verbal person and number, or exploitation of homographic roots),¹⁰² the author of the Targum creates modifications in content, rewriting the text of Isaiah so that the Servant-Messiah does not suffer. The Servant is not despised and rejected; rather, the “glory of all the kingdoms” is (Tg Isa 53:3). The Servant does not vicariously bear the sins of Israel; rather, he entreats God to forgive the people (Tg Isa 53:4, 12). The Servant does not die; rather, he hands the wicked over to death (Tg Isa 53:9).¹⁰³ While all of this seems to be evidence of a deliberate counter-reading of Isaiah, we can also find modifications showing that the author of the Targum perceives and highlights arguments about the servants rising from the larger Isaian context. As I noted above, the Isaian servants are the community in which righteousness has been produced (Isa 53:11; 54:17). The Targum underscores this Isaian argument by adding the term “righteous” to occurrences of the word “servants” in Tg Isa 63:17; 65:8, 9, 13–15; 66:14.¹⁰⁴

1.2.4 Contextual Awareness

A fourth way in which later authors’ use of the Isaianic “Servant(s)” texts can be analysed is by examining the contextual awareness displayed by their text-handling practices. One technique by which early readers’ contextual awareness is signalled is the practice of quoting or alluding to both Isaiah and to another text that *also* alludes to Isaiah. For example, Wisdom of Solomon interweaves allusions to both Isaiah and Psalm 22 (LXX 21) in order to construct its paradigmatic righteous sufferer.¹⁰⁵ The “righteous one” (ὁ δίκαιος, Wis 2:12; 5:1; cf. Isa 53:11; 57:1; also called the πᾶς κυρίου, Wis 2:13; cf. Isa 52:13) is despised and oppressed (Wis 2:12, 19; 5:4; cf. Isa 53:3, 7–8) and becomes a term of “reproach” (ὀνειδισμός, Wis 5:4; cf. LXX Ps 21:7), 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 death that is “accounted an affliction” (ἐλογίσθη κάκωσις, Wis 3:2; cf. Isa 53:4). Those hostile to the righteous one are characterized by “sin” and “lawlessness” (ἀμάρτημα, ἀνόμημα, Wis 4:20; cf. Isa 53:5) and by “going astray” (πλανᾶω, Wis 5:6; cf. Isa 53:6). They do not recognize the righteous one’s “toil” (πόνος, Wis 5:1; cf. Isa 49:4; 53:4, 11); in fact, they “have contempt” (ἐξουθενήσουσιν, Wis 4:18; cf. LXX Ps 21:7) for him, and mock him by saying that God will “help” (ῥύσεται, Wis 2:18; LXX Ps 21:9). Nevertheless, the righteous one will be vindicated (Wis 5:1; cf. Isa 52:13; 53:12), and people will be “amazed” (ἐκστήσονται, Wis 5:2; cf. Isa 52:14) when they “see” (ιδόντες, Wis 5:2; cf. Isa 52:15). In keeping with this vindication, the author argues that the righteous ones who model themselves on the paradigmatic righteous sufferer will “live forever” (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῶσιν, Wis 5:15; cf. LXX Ps 21:27).

¹⁰² See e.g. Isa 53:7, where the Servant is described as “oppressed and humiliated” (נגש והוא נענה); the Targum renders this as “he requests, and is returned a response” (בעי והוא מיתבר). To produce “he requests,” the author has read נגש “oppressed” as גש “draw near [to make a request]” (cf. Gen 44:18), and to produce “he is returned a response,” the author has read נענה¹¹ “humiliate” as ענה¹ “answer.” See the chapter by TOOMAN in this volume.

¹⁰³ See the chapter by TOOMAN in this volume.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ For the allusions to Isaiah in Psalm 22, see the chapter by LYONS in this volume. For the allusions to Psalm 22 in Wisdom of Solomon, 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*, LNTS 398 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 116–17.

Similarly, the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John reference both Isaiah and Psalm 22 and/or Psalm 69,¹⁰⁶ and the Epistle to the Romans references both Isaiah and Psalm 69.¹⁰⁷ Philippians references not only the “Servant” passages of Isaiah, but also Daniel and Wisdom of Solomon—two of the texts under discussion that likewise allude to the Isaian “Servants” passages.¹⁰⁸ Revelation references both Isaiah and Daniel.¹⁰⁹ The fact that these texts reference both Isaian “Servant(s)” passages and earlier compositions that also drew on Isaian “Servant(s)” passages—in some cases, even juxtaposing or conflating locutions from both sources—suggests that early readers were aware of existing intertextual connections and recalled the arguments of the book of Isaiah within a matrix of compositions they perceived to be thematically connected. This should come as no surprise, given the roles of repetition, analogy, and allusion as prominent conventions in Israelite literature, and given that referencing within and to these texts tends to be complex and composite.¹¹⁰ After all, the Deutero-Isaian suffering Servant figure himself is presented in terms of Moses, the earlier “servant of Yhwh.”¹¹¹

Another technique by which early readers’ contextual awareness is signalled is by the practice of using Isaian Servant *language* from Isa 40–55 in light of the Isaian “servants” *argument* in Isa 54, 56–66.¹¹² For example, Psalms 22, 69, and 102 use locutions from Isa 53 (about the Suffering Servant) in order to describe the righteous suffering of the afflicted individual who speaks in the psalms. But this should not be seen as a “collectivization” of the Isaian Suffering Servant figure; after all, the afflicted speaker in these psalms is not suffering as part of a divine plan or for the sake of others. Nor does the afflicted speaker actually die. Rather, the use of Isaian Servant-language in these psalms represents a *paradigmatic* reading of the Suffering Servant in light of the Trito-Isaian “servants” argument—as is demonstrated by the use of locutions from Isa 54, 56–66 in these psalms. In other words, these psalms follow the argument strategy that is already laid out within the book of Isaiah itself.¹¹³ Similarly, the allusions to Isaian material outside Isaiah 53 in Wisdom of Solomon¹¹⁴ suggest that its use of material from inside Isaiah 53 does not represent a “collectivizing” reading of

¹⁰⁶ See e.g. Mk 10:45 (Isa 53:11–12); Mk 15:34 (LXX Ps 21:2); Lk 22:37 (Isa 53:12); Lk 23:34 (LXX Ps 21:19); Lk 23:35 (LXX Ps 21:8); Lk 23:36 (LXX Ps 68:22); Jn 12:38 (Isa 53:1); Jn 19:24 (LXX Ps 21:19); Jn 19:28–30 (LXX Ps 68:22). For the allusions to Isaiah in Psalms, see the chapter by LYONS in this volume.

¹⁰⁷ See Rom 5:8, 19 (Isa 53:11–12); Rom 15:3 (LXX Ps 68:10); Rom 15:21 (Isa 52:15).

¹⁰⁸ Phil 1:28 (Wis 5:2, 7); Phil 2:7–9 (Isa 52:13; 53:2, 4, 11–12); Phil 2:15 (Dan 12:3); Phil 4:5 (Wis 2:19). See the chapter by WARE in this volume.

¹⁰⁹ See the chapter by LEAR in this volume.

¹¹⁰ See e.g. Sean A. ADAMS and Seth M. EHORN, *Composite Citations in Antiquity. Volume One: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016); idem, *Composite Citations in Antiquity. Volume Two: New Testament Uses*, LNTS 593 (New York: T&T Clark, 2018); Esther CHAZON, “Scripture and Prayer in the ‘Words of the Luminaries,’” in *Prayers that Cite Scripture*, ed. James L. Kugel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 25–41; Michael B. SHEPHERD, *The Text in the Middle* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014); Yair ZAKOVITCH, “The Book of the Covenant Interprets the Book of the Covenant: The “Boomerang Phenomenon,”” in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 59*–64* [in Hebrew].

¹¹¹ See the chapter by TEETER & LYONS in this volume.

¹¹² Note the similar findings of Jacob Stromberg, who demonstrates how Isa 57:14 (an instance of *Fortschreibung* that picks up Isa 40:3 to make a new argument) is used as a lens through which to understand Isa 40:3 when the latter is cited in 1QS 8.12–16 and Mark 1:2–5; 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. Bautch and J. Todd Hibbard (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 214–32 (here 227–31).

¹¹³ The paradigmatic nature of the relationship between the Servant and the servants is captured in Ps 22:30d–31a: “As for the one who did not preserve himself alive—offspring will serve him.” See Michael A. LYONS, “Psalm 22 and the ‘Servants’ of Isa 54, 56–66,” *CBQ* 77.4 (2015): 640–56, and the chapter by LYONS in this volume.

¹¹⁴ See the use of Isa 54:1 in Wis 3:13; Isa 56:4–5 in Wis 3:14; Isa 57:3 in Wis 3:16; Isa 59:17 in Wis 5:18. All of the other texts under consideration also reference the larger Isaian context outside of Isa 52:13–53:12; see e.g. Ps 22:28 // Isa 45:22; Ps 69:36–37 // Isa 65:9; Ps 102:29 // Isa 65:9; Dan 9:20–21 // Isa 65:11, 24, 25; Dan 12:2 // Isa 66:24; Mk 9:48 // Isa 66:24; Mk 11:17 // Isa 56:7; Lk 4:18–19 // Isa 61:1–2 + 58:6; Lk 7:22 // Isa 61:1; Jn 6:45 // Isa 54:13; Jn 16:22 // Isa 66:14; Acts 7:49–50 // Isa

the Suffering Servant figure in which a group now “sees itself as the Servant.” Rather, the author seems to recognize the existing *paradigmatic* relationship between the Servant and servants within the larger context of Isaiah, and uses this relationship to construct an ideal righteous sufferer as an exemplar for his community.

I have argued elsewhere that Paul’s and Barnabas’ quote of Isa 49:6 and their claim that “this is what the Lord commanded *us*” in Acts 13:47 is not a collectivizing reading of the Isaian Servant figure in which early Jesus-followers imagine themselves to be the Servant, but a *paradigmatic* reading of this verse in light of the larger argument in Isa 40–66 that moves from the Servant to the servants.¹¹⁵ While Isaian Servant-language is sometimes used to describe Jesus’s followers, this does not mean that they “saw themselves as the Servant.”¹¹⁶ Rather, they saw themselves as continuing Jesus’ mission,¹¹⁷ and understood this in terms of the Isaian relationship between the Servant and the servants. Such a paradigmatic understanding of Isaiah’s Servant is supported not only by other references in Acts (e.g., Acts 9:16; 26:23), but also by Paul’s change of the singular language of Isa 52:7 to plural in Rom 10:15, and by his choice to depict his own work in Phil 2:16 using language that describes not only the Isaian Servant (Isa 49:4) but also the Isaian servants (Isa 65:23).¹¹⁸ The use of Isa 49:6 as a rationale for early Christian mission was not due to ancient conceptions of “corporate personality,”¹¹⁹ but to argument strategies created in the composition of the book of Isaiah and to social conditions involving early Christian groups who defined their identity in terms of the Isaian servants.

Given that the readers of Isaiah surveyed in this project seem to be aware of the wider argument structure in Isaiah 40–66 (and in some cases, also aware of earlier readings of Isaiah than their own), it seems to me that the word “atomistic” is an inadequate label for describing their overall approach to using the book of Isaiah.¹²⁰ In any case, a simplistic binary approach (“atomistic use” vs. “non-atomistic use”) cannot do justice to the continuum along which authors interact with the context(s) of their source texts. For example, certain elements of Paul’s treatment of Isa 65:1–2 in Rom 10:20–21 (see above under “Techniques of Selection”) can be linked to strictly local-level formal features in these two verses (and to social realities) rather than the larger context of Isaiah 65. Yet as I noted above, Paul then qualifies his reading of Isa 65:1–2 by bringing it into dialogue with a much wider scriptural context—in this case, with Deuteronomy 32 (which shares many lexical and conceptual features with Isaiah) and Isa 59:20–21 + 27:9. Indeed, the way in which Paul uses Isa 65:1–2

66:1–2; Acts 8:27 // Isa 56:3–8; Acts 13:34 // Isa 55:3; Rom 10:20–21 // Isa 65:1–2; Rom 11:26–27 // Isa 59:20–21; 2 Cor 9:10 // Isa 55:10; Phil 2:16 // Isa 65:23; 1 Pet 2:9 // Isa 43:20–21; Rev 21:1 // Isa 65:17.

¹¹⁵ LYONS, “Paul and the Servant(s).”

¹¹⁶ *Contra* Paul E. DINTER, “Paul and the Prophet Isaiah,” *BTB* 13 (1983): 48–52 (here 48); 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.

¹¹⁷ See BEERS, *Followers of Jesus*, 4–5, 116, 134, and the chapter by BEERS in this volume.

¹¹⁸ Compare Isa 49:4 (καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα κενῶς ἐκοπίασα); 65:23 (οἱ δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ μου οὐ κοπιήσουσιν εἰς κενόν); Phil 2:16 (οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα).

¹¹⁹ *Contra* Matthäus Franz-Josef BUSS, *Die Missionspredigt des Apostels Paulus im Pisidischen Antiochien: Analyse von App 13,16–41 im Hinblick auf die literarische und thematische Einheit der Paulusrede* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980), 138.

¹²⁰ This was the claim of Cadbury and Hooker, neither of whom looked past the so-called “Servant Songs” to investigate the larger argument structures in Isaiah 40–66; see CADBURY, “The Titles of Jesus in Acts,” 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, 150–52 (see e.g. 114–16 for her analysis of Isaiah in Acts). By “atomistic,” Hooker meant that early Christian authors used individual Isaian words or passages without any reference to their larger Isaian context. Of course, the relationships between source and target texts must be decided on a case-by-case basis; see William A. TOOMAN, “Scriptural Reuse in Ancient Jewish Literature: Comments and Reflections on the State of the Art,” in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, ed. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 597 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 23–39 (here 31–34). But it seems to me that Hooker rejects *ab initio* the possibility that early readers of Isaiah looked for coherence when engaging the text. On the necessity of moving beyond a search for individual words to a search for how readers perceive larger patterns, see the chapter by RÜGGEMEIER in this volume.

along with other Isaian texts about the “Servant(s)” —and the fact that he uses this passage at all! —is evidence that he perceives large-scale cohesion and coherence in Isaiah. The same can be said for the other readers of Isaiah surveyed here. Their uses of Isaian locutions and themes were influenced by a larger argument structure that runs across Isaiah 40–66 (that is, by passages that were *already* reading the Servant figure as paradigmatic for a later community of servants).¹²¹

2. The Contributions of this Project

What contributions does this volume make to the study of early Judaism and Christianity? First, it fills a lacuna in scholarship by providing a full and rigorous investigation of the reception of the Trito-Isaian “servants of Yhwh” in relation to the Deutero-Isaian “Servant of Yhwh.” While there are numerous important investigations into how later texts made use of the Servant figure in Isaiah 53,¹²² there are by comparison far fewer investigations of the reception of the Isaian servants.¹²³ This may to some extent be due to the way in which earlier scholarship focused on the so-called “Servant Songs” as a discrete entity apart from the larger Isaian context. Yet a focus on Isaiah 53 or the “Servant Songs” alone cannot adequately explain the interpretations of Isaiah or strategies of community identity formation of the kind we see in Psalms, Daniel, and Wisdom of Solomon. Nor can it adequately explain the origins of early Christian mission and ethics: the failure to study the Servant in connection with the servants in the broader Isaian context (and in context of subsequent Second Temple-period texts that exploited this connection) means that we lose the Isaian logic behind the shared suffering, shared vindication, and shared mission described in the New Testament.¹²⁴ The essays in this volume prevent a myopic focus on Isaiah 53 as an isolated influence on early Christianity.

¹²¹ See in particular the chapter by SHIVELY in this volume. See also David SECCOMBE, “Luke and Isaiah,” *NTS* 27 (1981): 252–59 (here 253, 259): “With respect to Isaiah, did [Luke] use it simply as a quarry for texts or was he influenced by a deeper appreciation of Isaianic themes? Examination of Luke’s Nazareth story and his use of the Servant theme have convinced me that the latter is the case. . . . I conclude, therefore, with some confidence that in approaching quotations from and allusions to Isaiah there is a presumption in favour of Luke’s awareness of their context and wider meaning within Isaiah as a whole”; WAGNER, *Heralds of the Good News*, 356: “Paul’s citations and allusions to Isaiah are not plunder from random raids on Israel’s sacred texts. Rather, they are the product of sustained and careful attention to the rhythms and cadences of individual passages as well as to larger themes and motifs that run throughout the prophet’s oracles.”

¹²² Noteworthy studies of the reception of the Isaian Suffering Servant include Hans Walter WOLFF, “Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum” (Ph.D. diss., Halle, 1942); idem, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum: Mit einer Einführung von Peter Stuhlmacher*, TVG, 4th ed. (Gießen: Brunnen, 1984); HOOKER, *Jesus and the Servant*; Walther ZIMMERLI and Joachim JEREMIAS, *The Servant of God*, rev. ed. (London: SCM, 1965); Sydney H. T. PAGE, “The Suffering Servant between the Testaments,” *NTS* 31 (1985): 481–97; Joel B. GREEN, “The Death of Jesus, God’s Servant,” in *Reimagining the Death of the Lukan Jesus*, ed. Dennis D. Sylva, BBB 73 (Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1990), 1–28, 170–73; Bernd JANOWSKI and Peter STUHLMACHER, eds., *Der leidende Gottesknecht. Jesaja 53 und seine Wirkungsgeschichte*, FAT 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) = idem, *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources*, trans. Daniel P. Bailey (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); William H. BELLINGER, Jr., and William R. FARMER, eds., *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998); Anneli AEJMELEAUS, “The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 as an Intertext of the New Testament,” in *Lux Humana, Lux Aeterna: Essays on Biblical and Related Themes in Honour of Lars Aejmelaus*, ed. Antti Mustakallio, with Heikki Leppä and Heikki Räisänen, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 89 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 475–94; Ulrike MITTMANN-RICHERT, *Der Sühnetod des Gottesknechts: Jesaja 53 im Lukasevangelium*, WUNT 220 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2008); Antti LAATO, *Who is the Servant of the Lord? Jewish and Christian Interpretations on Isaiah 53 from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012); GENZ, *Jesaja 53 als theologische Mitte der Apostelgeschichte*; Marc BRETTLER and Amy-Jill LEVINE, “Isaiah’s Suffering Servant: Before and After Christianity,” *Interpretation* 73.2 (2019): 158–73.

¹²³ For a survey of earlier research on this theme, see the Introduction to this volume.

¹²⁴ For an example of an attempt at explaining Paul’s mission solely in light of the Deutero-Isaian Servant, see Lucien CERFAUX, “St Paul et le ‘Serviteur de Dieu’ d’Isaïe,” in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux II*, ed. idem, BETL 6–7 (Gembloux: Duculot; Leuven: University Press, 1954), 439–54.

Second, the comprehensive nature of this project sets it apart from earlier studies. This volume brings together research on Isaiah, Psalms 22, 69, and 102, Daniel, Wisdom of Solomon, Mark, Luke-Acts, Romans, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, 1 Peter, Revelation, and Targum Jonathan on Isaiah. The comprehensive and diachronic nature of this project—as well as the fact that it crosses older disciplinary boundaries¹²⁵ of “Old Testament” and “New Testament” studies—allows a comparison of texts and enables us to see both unity and diversity in how later readers used the book of Isaiah.

Third, this project contributes to our understanding of the history of reading strategies and text-handling techniques in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Common Era. It analyses examples of textual presentation, selection, and modification, as well as the scope of ancient readers’ contextual awareness. The results point to the importance of looking beyond the individual lemmata taken up by a quoting or alluding text to examine the broader contexts of both the source text (or texts!) and the target text.

Fourth, the findings of this volume necessitate a reassessment of claims that the Isaian Servant-passages were only of marginal importance to reading communities before the rise of Christianity.¹²⁶ Of course, the current shape of the book of Isaiah alone should suffice to dismiss such claims. Jacob Stromberg has demonstrated how Trito-Isaiah represents a deliberate development of Deutero-Isaian material, a development which—as Joseph Blenkinsopp and Willem Beuken have also shown—involved reflection on and extension of earlier passages about the Servant.¹²⁷ The existence of a Second Temple-period community known as the “servants” (who derived their identity from the Servant) also points to the importance of these passages. But the evidence from this volume goes even further in showing the influence of the Isaian “Servant(s)” argument on the literary formation of Psalms 22, 69, and 102, Daniel, and Wisdom of Solomon as well as on the social formation of the Jewish communities who read Isaiah and produced these compositions. The fact that the suffering described in Daniel is not depicted as vicarious, or that Wisdom of Solomon does not replicate every sentiment from Isaiah 40–55, can hardly be taken as evidence that the Isaian Servant passages were marginal for later readers. To the contrary, the exegetical practices described above point to a sophisticated and sustained engagement with the book of Isaiah that spanned centuries and involved multiple Jewish reading communities.¹²⁸

Fifth, this volume serves as a test case for how early Jewish and Christian identity was exegetically constituted. It describes how the presentation of the Isaian Servant(s) was already shaped according to the dynamics of prospective analogy, providing readers with a patterned view of history in which the past served as a template for later generations.¹²⁹ These readers drew on the Isaian description of God’s agent and the community formed around him, a description that proved to be remarkably influential for shaping readers’ values, hopes, and responses over the course of several centuries. The power of the book of Isaiah for these readers lay in the way it connects suffering, righteousness, and the hope for

¹²⁵ On the artificiality of disciplinary boundaries and the need to overcome them, see TEETER, “The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature,” esp. 350–58, 375–77.

¹²⁶ According to Brettler and Levine, “The servant songs thus did not receive substantial attention in early Judaism until they were adopted and adapted by either Jesus and/or his early followers.” They come to this conclusion on the grounds that “Daniel does not . . . reuse all the elements of Isa 52:13–53:12” and that “whereas Wisdom shares occasional terms with the song [*viz.*, *Isa* 53], it offers no consistent treatment”; BRETTLER and LEVINE, “Isaiah’s Suffering Servant,” 165. Similarly, Orlinsky claimed that “We have seen that nothing especially significant was attached in biblical times to the so-called ‘*ebed*’ sections in Second Isaiah; were it not for the theological needs of early Christianity that brought emphasis for the first time to the concept ‘servant’ in Isaiah 52–53, it is altogether doubtful that scholars would subsequently have paid special attention and granted special status to Second Isaiah’s servant passages”; HARRY M. ORLINSKY, *The So-Called “Servant of the Lord” and “Suffering Servant” in Second Isaiah*, VTSup 14 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), 74. See also CADBURY, “The Titles of Jesus in Acts,” 366.

¹²⁷ STROMBERG, *Isaiah After Exile*; BLENKINSOPP, “The Servant and the Servants,” esp. 170–75; BEUKEN, “Main Theme.”

¹²⁸ See also BLENKINSOPP, *Opening the Sealed Book*; HENGEL, “Effective History.”

¹²⁹ See the chapters by TEETER & LYONS and STROMBERG in this volume.

vindication—all situated in a larger narrative about God’s transformation of Israel, the nations, and indeed the cosmos itself—and makes these themes formative for reading communities.

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