

Isaiah between Judaism and Christianity

Edited by
STEFAN GREEN,
JUDITH KÖNIG,
ANTTI LAATO,
and TOBIAS NICKLAS

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Early Christian Reception and Interpretation

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Stefan Green, Judith König, Antti Laato,
and Tobias Nicklas

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Introduction

1. The Book of Isaiah as the “Fifth Gospel”

The title of this volume, *The Book of Isaiah between Judaeo-Christian Borderlines*, illustrates how the exegesis of Isaiah developed in early Christianity. Scholars have often referred to Isaiah as “the fifth Gospel,” reflecting the way Christians regarded this prophetic book as a witness to foundational Christian doctrines.¹ The book of Isaiah is the most frequently quoted prophetic text in the New Testament² and in early patristic literature.³ In Second Temple Jewish texts, references to Isaiah are numerous,⁴ and its significant role in the Qumran writings has been widely recognized by scholars.⁵ It is therefore remarkable that there has been virtually no study focusing on the formal and thematic parallels between early Christian and Jewish interpretations of Isaiah, or on how Christian exegesis of Isaiah developed in relation to these early Jewish traditions.⁶ Illustrative is John Sawyer’s statement that “‘Isaiah in Judaism’ would have to be a study in its own right, quite separate from ‘Isaiah in the Church.’”⁷

Sawyer’s statement concerning the separation between Jewish and Christian interpretations of Isaiah is understandable in light of the history of exegesis

¹ The idea of Isaiah as an evangelist rather than a prophet goes back to Jerome. On this idea, see John F.A. Sawyer, *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also idem, *Isaiah through the Centuries*, Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Hoboken: Wiley & Sons, 2020).

² Scholars have dealt with the reception of the book of Isaiah in the New Testament from different angles. See, e.g., Jan Fekkes III, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development*, JSNTSup 93 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Rikki E. Watts, *Isaiah’s New Exodus in Mark* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000); J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken, eds., *Isaiah in the New Testament: The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2005); Mark S. Gignilliat, *Paul and Isaiah’s Servants: Paul’s Theological Reading of Isaiah 40–66 in 2 Corinthians 5:14–6:10*, LNTS 330 (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

³ References to the book of Isaiah can be found in *Biblica Patristica* (see also the web-page: <https://www.bibindex.info/>).

⁴ See Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, eds., *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, JAJS 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

⁵ See Christian Metzenthin, *Jesaja-Auslegung in Qumran*, AthANT 98 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2010).

⁶ This could be also highly important for the broader question of Jewish-Christian relations in the first centuries CE.

⁷ Sawyer, *Fifth Gospel* (see n. 1), 5.

where Christians often have attempted to impose their own interpretations of Isaiah onto Jewish writings. For example, in the Middle Ages, the famous 1263 Barcelona disputation was based on a new Christian mission strategy where Pablo Christiani claimed that rabbinic sources contain Christian interpretive ideas, especially the interpretation of Isa 53.⁸ Raymundus Martini's *Pugio Fidei* (1278) continued along similar lines by reading Christian ideas into the rabbinic writings. We hope and even believe that scholars have learned their lesson not to engage in such forced and perverse exegesis, and discovered that it is possible to deal with how early Christian exegesis of Isaiah started from Jewish exegetical traditions by adopting, modifying, and confronting its themes and how Christian exegesis developed in an anti-Jewish direction in the early centuries CE. This volume contains articles which are related to this development in the Christian exegesis of Isaiah.

2. Judaeo-Christian Borderlines

Almost all the papers in this volume were presented at the conference “The Book of Isaiah between Judaeo-Christian Borderlines” which was held in Turku, Finland, May 3–5, 2023. The background of the conference was the research project “Isaiah between Judaeo-Christian Borderlines” (IJCB) with Professor Antti Laato (Åbo Akademi University) as the Principle Investigator (PI). The project received funding from the Academy of Finland and Polin Institute for the years 2022–2026. The University of Regensburg with its Beyond Canon project under the leadership of Professor Tobias Nicklas partnered together on this project. Thus, the conference was conceived and realized through the co-operation of the two universities.

The research project IJCB was based on recent developments in scholarship on Isaiah, where the gap between the final edition and the early Jewish reception of Isaiah has lessened. In recent Isaiah research, scholars have agreed that the final form of the book was a product of scribal activity during the late postexilic period.⁹ On the other hand, the early reception history of Isaiah also originated in the scribal circles where individuals were trained to read and write.

⁸ From this disputation two different accounts have been preserved, a shorter Christian version and longer one from Nahmanides. See Chaim Chavel, *Kitvei Rabbenu Moshe ben Nahman*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1971), 1:302–320; Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial: Jewish-Christian Disputations in the Middle Ages* (London: Associated University Press, 1982), 97–146. See the larger historical context and cultural evidence in Robert Chazan, “The Barcelona ‘Disputation’ of 1263; Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response,” *Speculum* 52 (1977): 824–842; and idem, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and Its Aftermath* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992).

⁹ See, e.g., Ulrich Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, HBM 46 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012).

This has consequences in terms of re-evaluating the importance of early Jewish reception history when the message of the final version of Isaiah is discussed and vice versa – a scenario which has not yet been sufficiently recognized in scholarship. Antti Laato argues along these lines in his monograph *Message and Composition*.¹⁰ This implies that scholars interested in the reception history of Isaiah must consider anew the value of the research done on its composition and ask in which ways these ideas were known among the Jews and Christians who interpreted it in late antiquity. Figure 1 below illustrates how, in the final compositional form of Isaiah, early Jewish reception history and early Christian exegesis are interrelated:

Final composition of Isaiah ↔ scribal school ↔ early Jewish reception → Christian exegesis

Figure 1: Interrelations.

The early Christian interpretation of Isaiah in the New Testament and in early Christian literature did not start from scratch but rather distinguished itself from already established Jewish interpretations. The reception history of Isaiah in the early postexilic period onwards determined many important interpretive themes which were later adopted, modified, discussed, or refuted in early Christian interpretation. In recent decades, scholarship has undermined a too simplistic division between Jewish and Christian exegesis which had been held in early centuries. This is clear in four different areas of research.

First, scholars have made an important survey of Judaeo-Christian world-view(s) at the beginning of the common era. They have argued that borderlines between what is Jewish and what is Christian were not clear.¹¹ Instead they depended on concrete situations, contexts, and perspectives, differed regionally and between different groups. In other words, they were created through (partly, but not always conflictual) communication. At the same time, shared spaces and thresholds connected Christ-followers and other Jewish groups. Scholars have become aware that early confrontations between the Jesus movement and other Jewish groups in the Second Temple period should be evaluated as intra-Jewish confrontations (corresponding to similar confrontations, for example, between

¹⁰ Antti Laato, *Message and Composition of the Book of Isaiah: An Interpretation in the Light of Jewish Reception History*, DCLS 46 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022).

¹¹ Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2004); Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007); Tobias Nicklas, *Jews and Christians? Second Century 'Christian' Perspectives on the 'Parting of the Ways'*, Annual Deichmann Lectures 2013 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); idem, "Parting of the Ways? Probleme eines Konzepts," in *Juden – Heiden – Christen? Religiöse Inklusionen und Exklusionen im Römischen Kleinasien bis Decius*, ed. Stefan Alkier and Hartmut Leppin, WUNT 400 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 21–42; Karin Hedner Zetterholm, Anders Runesson, Cecilia Wassen, and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *Negotiating Identities: Conflict, Conversion, and Consolidation in Early Judaism and Christianity (200 BCE–600 CE)* (Lanham: Lexington/Fortress Academic, 2022).

Jerusalem priestly aristocracy and Qumran community). These intra-Jewish confrontations were developed in subsequent centuries to the interreligious conflict between Christianity and Judaism.

Second, the sociological difference between synagogue and ecclesia was not as straightforward as it is often presented in scholarly literature where the institution of the synagogue was closely related only to Judaism and the ecclesia to Christianity.¹² For example, in the Jewish Greek translation of Ps 22 the term “ecclesia” is used for the congregation of Jewish believers while “synagogue” refers to the groups of evil people. In a corresponding way, the term synagogue appears in Jas 2:2 with reference to the Christian congregation. It is impossible to emphasize a strict distinction of the terms “synagogue” (referring to Jews) and “ecclesia” (referring to Christians) in the early centuries CE.

Third, the reception history of biblical texts has shown that the New Testament is part and parcel of Jewish interpretive history.¹³ The problem has been mainly that strong christological emphases in Christian writings have prevented scholars from seeing how strongly early Christian exegesis follows the basic lines of Jewish interpretive traditions. Scholars who took part in the conference in Turku in 2023 have, in different ways, had the early Jewish and Christian reception history of biblical texts in focus within their research. Without generalizing too much, they have become convinced that early Christian biblical exegesis was deeply rooted in a Jewish context but then developed in an anti-Jewish way.

Fourth, early Christians texts “beyond the canon” have been the focus of recent scholarly activities.¹⁴ Previous scholars often reconstructed earlier Jewish literary strata in these texts, which were later edited or interpolated by Christians. Now, a more popular explanatory model is that these texts were composed in a Judeo-Christian milieu where there was no great distinction between Jewish and Christian.¹⁵

¹² Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-historical Study* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001); Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder, and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹³ James Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible. A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); see also idem, *In Potiphar's House: The Interpretive Life of Biblical Texts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994); idem, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁴ See, e.g., Tobias Nicklas and Jens Schröter, eds., *Authoritative Writings in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Their Origin, Collection and Meaning*, WUNT 441 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

¹⁵ On this, see especially James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Pierluigi Piovaneli, “In Praise of ‘The Default Position,’ or Reassessing the Christian Reception of the Jewish Pseudepigraphic Heritage,” *NedTT* 61 (2007): 233–250; Anette Yoshiko Reed, “The Modern Invention of ‘Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,’” *JTS* 60 (2009): 403–436.

The early reception history of Isaiah touches on various areas of research.¹⁶ In the following subsections we identify important fields of research that should be considered when examining the early reception history of Isaiah.

3. Different Textual Versions of the Book of Isaiah

The textual basis for the book of Isaiah is an important precondition for all research on the text's reception history.¹⁷ Every reception historical interpretation of Isaiah in late antiquity was based on a specific textual version. It is always a fundamental task to clarify the text that was read and/or interpreted in early Jewish or Christian writings.¹⁸ In late antiquity, the Masoretic text (MT) was not available, only its consonantal text. It played an important role in rabbinic writings as well as in Jerome's commentary on Isaiah.

Scholars have discussed Jerome's ability to read and understand Hebrew. Perhaps the most critical statements about Jerome's facility in Hebrew is Pierre Nautin's article in *TRE*.¹⁹ Michael Graves has shown convincingly how Jerome worked with the Hebrew language in his commentary on Jeremiah.²⁰ Jerome writes that he had a Jewish convert who taught him Hebrew (*Epist.* 125.12).²¹ He was also able to use Aquila's word-for-word translation as a wordbook to understand Hebrew words.²² Jerome writes in the short letter to Marcella (*Epist.* 32)

¹⁶ See, e.g., the different approaches in Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Isaiah* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

¹⁷ See the recent scholarly overview of the origins of the Bible in Craig A. Evans and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Exploring the Origins of the Bible Canon Formation in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008); Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible, Volumes 1A, 1B and 1C: The Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2016–2017); Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, eds., *Textual History of the Bible, Volumes 2A, 2B and 2C: The Deuterocanonical Scriptures* (Leiden: Brill, 2019–2020); Armin Lange and Russell Fuller, eds., *Textual History of the Bible, Volumes 3A: A Companion to the Textual Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2023).

¹⁸ A good overview on the most important readings can be found in Donald W. Parry, *Exploring the Isaiah Scrolls and Their Textual Variants*, THBSup 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

¹⁹ Pierre Nautin, "Hieronymus," *TRE* 15 (1986): 304–315, esp. 309. See also Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, Christianisme Antique 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 214–219, 284–292, 326–361.

²⁰ Michael Graves, *Jerome's Hebrew Philology: A Study Based on His Commentary on Jeremiah*, VCSup 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Cf. the opinion presented in Hillel I. Newman, "How Should We Measure Jerome's Hebrew Competence?" in *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy*, ed. Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 131–140.

²¹ "To subdue it I put myself in the hands of one of the brethren who had been a Hebrew before his conversion, and asked him to teach me his language." See the text in Eusebii Hieronymi, *Opera. Epistularum Pars III: Epistulae CXXI–CLIV*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, CSEL 56.3 (Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1918), 131; and its English translation in F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, LCL (London: Heinemann, 1933), 418–419.

²² Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Questiones*

that he studied Aquila's translation with the aid of the Hebrew text, indicating that Jerome apparently used Aquila as some sort of Hebrew lexicon.²³ Through Jerome's massive work, i. e., the Vulgate, Hebrew readings were introduced into western Christian theology, so also in the interpretation of Isaiah.

The main evidence for the presence of the text of Isaiah in Qumran includes IQIsa^a and IQIsa^b.²⁴ However, the text of Isaiah is also attested in several Qumran writings, including pesharim on Isaiah.²⁵ While readings of Isaiah at Qumran contain several differences from the MT, it seems clear that IQIsa^a follows the basic outline of the MT.²⁶ As Eduard Y. Kutcher puts it: "And though it was clear from the very beginning that the significance of the variations between the readings of IQIsa^a and those of the Masoretic Text should not be exaggerated (on the contrary the very close similarity between the two versions astounded all Biblical scholars nevertheless the considerable differences in the language of the two texts was immediately apparent)."²⁷

Hebraicae in Genesim, OCM (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 41–49; Graves, *Jerome's Hebrew Philology* (see n. 20), 83, writes: "For Greek speakers, a literal Greek version, like Aquila, would have best facilitated the process, although an explanatory translation like Symmachus would also have had its place." And further on he notes: "First, he could compare the Hebrew text with Aquila, whose literal segmentation, etymologizing, and quantitative representation of the Hebrew text would help sort out the details of the Hebrew" (93–94).

²³ See Eusebii Hieronymi, *Opera. Epistularum Pars I: Epistulae I–LXX*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1910), 252–253.

²⁴ See Qumran Isaiah Scrolls in *Qumran Cave 1. II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, DJD 32.1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); Qumran Isaiah Scrolls in *Qumran Cave 1. II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, DJD 32.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010).

²⁵ Concerning pesharim, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations Volume 6B: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James Charlesworth (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002). See further Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association, 1979); Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

²⁶ See further the analysis of Isaiah scrolls in Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIs^a)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974); idem, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIs^a): Indices and Corrections by Elisha Qimron*, STDJ 6A (Leiden: Brill, 1979). See also George J. Brooke, "Isaiah in the Pesharim and Other Qumran Texts," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 609–632; idem, "On Isaiah at Qumran," in *As Those Who Are Taught: The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, ed. Claire Mathews McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 69–85. See also Jesper Høgenhaven, "The First Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (IQIs^a) and the Masoretic Text. Some Reflections with Special Regard to Isaiah 1–12," *JOT* 28 (1984): 17–35.

²⁷ Kutcher, *Language and Linguistic Background* (see n. 26), 2.

The Septuagint of Isaiah provides important evidence of variant readings in late antiquity.²⁸ The use of the Septuagint in early Christian writings makes its different versions relevant. Today, scholars are able to read Codex Vaticanus,²⁹ Codex Alexandrinus,³⁰ and Codex Sinaiticus³¹ as well as different scholarly editions that give a good overview of the most important Septuagint manuscripts.

Early Christian testimonies that contain non-Septuagint readings is a special case, because Greek biblical texts may have been checked with the aid of Hebrew texts.³² Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*³³ is a good example of a work that contains both Septuagint and non-Septuagint readings of Isaiah.³⁴ Antti Laato is currently completing his monograph on Justin's exegesis of Isaiah where these different readings of Isaiah play an important role.

In addition to different textual versions of the Septuagint, scholars have made important contributions to the understanding of the translation technique of Isaiah and its theology.³⁵ Translators have sought new, inner-biblical connections with other biblical books, such as the book of Daniel. It is worth noting that scholars have shown convincingly that already in its Hebrew and Aramaic form

²⁸ The foundational study on different textual variants is Joseph Ziegler, *Isaiaes, Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

²⁹ Henry Barclay Swete, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887).

³⁰ Richard Rusden Ottley, ed., *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*, 2 vols. (London: Clay and Sons, 1904 and 1906).

³¹ Ken Penner, *Isaiah, Septuagint Commentary Series* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

³² Martin C. Albl, "And Scripture Cannot Be Broken": *The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*, NovTSup 96 (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

³³ Edgar J. Goodspeed, ed., *Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); Miroslav Marcovich and Édouard Des Places, eds., *Justin Dialogus cum Tryphone* (New York: de Gruyter, 1997); Philippe Bobichon, ed., *Justin Martyr: Dialogue avec Tryphon*, 2 vols., Paradosis 47 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003).

³⁴ Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

³⁵ Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaiaes*, ATA 12:3 (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934); Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*, OBO 35 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1981); Isaac Leo Seeligman, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, FAT 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*, SupSJS 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Rodrigo Franklin de Sousa, *Eschatology and Messianism in LXX Isaiah 1–12*, LHBT 516 (New York: T&T Clark, 2010); Abi T. Ngunga, *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah: An Intertextual Analysis*, FRLANT 245 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013); Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

Daniel invoked texts from Isaiah.³⁶ The translators simply continued an established interpretive tendency (= inner-biblical exegesis) in early Judaism.³⁷

The first printed edition of the Targum to Isaiah was included in the First Rabbinic Bible (1515–1517), *Miqraot Gedolot*.³⁸ However, it became clear that the earliest manuscripts of the targum do not always correspond to the versions of these rabbinic Bibles. Therefore, one of the most important tasks in targum studies has been to construct a reliable edition of the text. In recent scholarship, scholars agree that Sperber's is the best edition of the targumim.³⁹ Sperber chose the manuscript B. M. 2211 as a basic text (*Grundtext*) for his edition but corrects it with other manuscripts "in respect of grammar, style and harmonization."⁴⁰ Bruce Chilton has made a detailed analysis of the theology of the Targum to Isaiah. Chilton's work contains many important references to the rabbinic writings. His study is relevant even for New Testament studies.⁴¹

Important, early translations of Isaiah also include the Peshitta,⁴² *Vetus*

³⁶ For this see especially G. Brooke Lester, *Daniel Evokes Isaiah: Allusive Characterization of Foreign Rule in the Hebrew-Aramaic Book of Daniel*, LHBT 606 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015). See also John Day, "DA'AT 'Humiliation' in Isaiah LIII II in the Light of Isaiah LIII 3 and Daniel XII 4, and the Oldest Known Interpretation of the Suffering Servant," *VT* 30 (1980): 97–103; Michael A. Knibb, "'You Are Indeed Wiser than Daniel': Reflections on the Character of the Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. Van Der Woude, BETL 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 399–411; Matthias Henze, "The Use of Scripture in the Book of Daniel," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 279–307; Andrew Teeter, "Isaiah and the King of As/Syria in Daniel's Final Vision: On the Rhetoric of Inner-Scriptural Allusion and the Hermeneutics of 'Mantological Exegesis,'" in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam Volume One*, ed. Eric F. Mason, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 169–199; Laato, *Message and Composition* (see n. 10), 54–63, 158–170.

³⁷ See here Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); Matthias Henze and David Lincicum, eds., *Israel's Scriptures in Early Christian Writings: The Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2023).

³⁸ Concerning these rabbinic Bibles, see Edward L. Greenstein, "Medieval Bible Commentaries," in *Back to the Sources. Reading the Classic Jewish Texts*, ed. Barry W. Holtz (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 212–259.

³⁹ See Alexander Sperber, ed., *Isaiah Targum in The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1959–1973; repr. Leiden 1992). See also *The Targum of Isaiah*, trans. John F. Stenning (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949; repr. 1953).

⁴⁰ Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum in The Aramaic Bible II* (Wilmington: Glazier 1987), xxx.

⁴¹ Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum*, JSOTSS 23 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); idem, "Two in One: Renderings of the Book of Isaiah in Targum Jonathan," in *Writings and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, VTSup 70.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 547–562.

⁴² See the Isaiah edition in *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version. Part 3, fasc. 1, Isaiah*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock (Leiden: Brill, 1987). See further Attila Bodor, *The Theological Profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah*, THBSup 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Ronald L. Troxel, *Commentary on the Old Greek and Peshitta of Isaiah 1–25*, TCSt 13 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2022).

Latina,⁴³ and the Latin translation of Jerome, the Vulgate, which is based on the Hebrew text.⁴⁴

4. Jewish Reception History

It is difficult to understand the early Christian reception of Isaiah without the development of its Jewish reception history in the Second Temple Jewish writings. Isaiah has played an enormous role in these writings. It is impossible to collect all the relevant scholarly studies in this introduction. Nevertheless, some volumes of collected essays offer a good picture of the research made in this area.⁴⁵ Second Temple Jewish reception history forms the background to many theological themes common in rabbinic and Christian interpretations.⁴⁶ One of the best examples is the positive portrayal of Hezekiah in Isaiah: Hezekiah was identified with Immanuel in Isa 7:14; 8:8–10 and with the royal king in Isa 9:5–6.⁴⁷

The Jewish reception of historical topics also created spiritual milieu where Christian interpretations took form. There is no passage in Isaiah that could be interpreted unequivocally as a comment about resurrection. It is obvious, however, that the writer of Dan 12:1–4 understood Isa 26:19 and 66:24 as references to the idea of resurrection.⁴⁸ Therefore, it is important to distinguish

⁴³ See the *Vetus Latina* version in Roger Gryson, ed., *Vetus Latina 12: Esaias*, part I (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1987); part II (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993–1997).

⁴⁴ See Anni Maria Laato, “Isaiah in Latin,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Isaiah*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 489–503.

⁴⁵ See Lange and Weigold, eds., *Biblical Quotations* (see n. 4).

⁴⁶ See various important collections of essays in the following works: Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah, Volume 1–2*, VTSup 70.1–2 (Leiden: Brill 1997); Florian Wilk and Peter Gemeinhardt, eds., *Transmission and Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Context of Intra- and Interreligious Debates*, BETL 280 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Unperceived Continuity of Isaiah*, Jewish and Christian Texts 28 (London: T&T Clark, 2019); Tiemeyer, *Handbook of Isaiah* (see n. 16).

⁴⁷ See Antti Laato, “Hezekiah in the Rewritten Version of the Book of Isaiah, Targum Isaiah,” in *Take Another Scroll and Write: Studies in the Interpretive Afterlife of Prophets and Prophecy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. Pekka Lindqvist and Sven Grebenstein, SRB 6 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 111–138; idem, “Isaiah in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Jewish Traditions,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Isaiah*, ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 507–530; idem, *Message and Composition* (see n. 10); idem, “Reading Isa 8:4 inside Isa 7:10–17 – An Attempt to Understand Justin Martyr’s Isaiah Exegesis,” *Annali di Storia dell’Esegesi* 39 (2022): 289–312; idem, “The Vision of Hezekiah in the Ascension of Isaiah,” *JSP* 34 (2024): 89–106.

⁴⁸ On this, see John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 391–392; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 14–18; especially Lester, *Daniel Evokes Isaiah* (see n. 36), 100; Laato, *Message and Composition* (see n. 10), 162–166, 196–198.

between the interpretation of the Hebrew text in its original setting and the later reception of the Hebrew text in a new apocalyptic milieu. Seen from this Palestinian perspective, it is important to consider the spiritual atmosphere behind specific interpretations of Isaiah. While it is clear that not all Jews in Palestine regarded resurrection as a valid eschatological expectation (cf. the famous struggle between the Pharisees and Sadducees documented in the New Testament and, in particular, in Acts 23:6–8), the book of Daniel indicates that Isaiah was read in a new apocalyptic milieu that included a hope of resurrection.

Finally, we should also mention rabbinic writings where the book of Isaiah is present in different ways. With the aid of Hyman's concordance, one is able to find references to Isaiah.⁴⁹ Neusner's works are also good sources to discover the presence of Isaiah passages in rabbinic writings, and they have the benefit of containing some analyses of how rabbinic works have interpreted passages from Isaiah.⁵⁰ However, rabbinic writings cannot provide a background for early Christian exegesis. The best they can offer is parallel interpretations that may have been rooted in Second Temple Jewish texts.

5. The Development of Early Christian Isaiah Exegesis

There is no detailed scholarly work which detects the development of Isaiah exegesis from early Christian writings (the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers) to later patristic exegesis when the first Christian commentaries were written.⁵¹ In the works of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus (who transmitted the "apostolic" understanding of scriptures), Isaianic material plays an important role, especially for christological arguments. In these early writings, a more intensified anti-Jewish tendency in the exegesis of Isaiah can be detected. Patristic commentaries and homilies from the third century onwards illustrate the way Christian exegesis was developed in early centuries.⁵² These texts include Tertullian's exegesis, Origen's homilies (some of which were translated

⁴⁹ Arthur Hyman, *Torah Hakethubah Vehammesurah: A Reference Book of Scriptural Passages Quoted in Talmudic, Midrashic and Early Rabbinic Literature*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Dvir 1979).

⁵⁰ Jacob Neusner, *Isaiah in Talmud and Midrash: A Source Book Part A: Mishnah, Tosefta, Tanaite Midrash-Compilations, Yerushalmi and Associated Midrash Compilations*, Studies in Judaism (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007); idem, *Isaiah in Talmud and Midrash: A Source Book Part B: The Later Midrash-Compilations and the Bavli*, Studies in Judaism (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007).

⁵¹ Note, however, Johanna Manley, *Isaiah through the Ages* (Menlo Park: Monartery Books, 1995); Steven A. McKinion, ed., *Isaiah 1–39*, ACCS: Old Testament 10 (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2004); Mark W. Elliott, ed., *Isaiah 40–66*, ACCS: Old Testament 11 (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2007).

⁵² See these texts as well as their editions and main studies in Brevard S. Childs, *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004).

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