

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH SONG OF THE SERVANT  
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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## Preface

### THE FOURTH SONG OF THE SERVANT

Isaiah 52:13 - 53:12

Translation by Marshall H. Lewis

**52:13** My servant now has success; he is exalted and will be lifted up and will be very high. **14** Even as many were appalled at you -- his appearance was disfigured beyond the human and his form beyond the sons of man -- **15** so he startles many nations. Kings shut their mouths because of him, for they will see what was not recounted to them and they will understand what they did not hear.

**53:1** Who will believe our report and to whom will the arm of Yahweh be revealed? **2** So he grows up before him like the young plant and like the root from dry land. He has no form and no splendor so that we look at him and no appearance so that we take pleasure in him. **3** He is despised and rejected by men, a man of pains, knowing sickness, and like one from whom faces are hidden. He is despised and we did not regard him.

**4** Surely he has carried our sicknesses and borne our pains, but we regarded him stricken, struck by God and afflicted. **5** But he was pierced for our transgressions and crushed for our iniquities, the chastisement that made us whole was upon him and with his stripes healing is ours. **6** All of us like sheep have strayed, each has turned to his own way, and Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all.

**7** He was oppressed, yet being afflicted he does not open his mouth. He is led like the lamb to the slaughter and like a sheep before its shearers is speechless, so he does not open his mouth. **8** He was seized by coercion and by judgment and who considers his age? For he was cut off from the land of the living, his stroke for the transgressions of my people. **9** So they make his grave with the wicked, with the rich in his death, although he did no violence and no deceit was in his mouth.

**10** But Yahweh was pleased to crush him; he made him sick. If he sets guilt his being, he sees his seed, he prolongs his days, and the pleasure of Yahweh prospers in his hand. **11** He sees the trouble of his being; he is satisfied by his knowledge. My righteous servant is declared righteous to the many and he bears their iniquities. **12** Therefore, I apportion him with the great and he apportions spoil with the strong because he poured out his being to death and was counted with the transgressors, but he carried the sin of many and makes entreaty for the transgressors.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH SONG OF THE SERVANT  
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Marshall H. Lewis

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# THE FOURTH SONG OF THE SERVANT

Translated by Marshall H. Lewis

**FIRST STROPHE**   **SECOND STROPHE**   **THIRD STROPHE**   **FOURTH STROPHE**   **FIFTH STROPHE**  
Success of Servant   Pain of Servant   Vicarious Death of Servant   Pain of Servant   Success of Servant

## THE FIRST STROPHE

Isaiah 52:13-15

My servant now has success; he is exalted and will be lifted up and will be very high.  
Even as many were appalled at you  
- his appearance was disfigured beyond the human and his form beyond the sons of man -  
so he startles many nations.  
Kings shut their mouths because of him,  
for they will see what was not recounted to them and they will understand what they did not hear.

## THE SECOND STROPHE

Isaiah 53:1-3

Who will believe our report and to whom will the arm of Yahweh be revealed?  
So he grows up before him like the young plant and like the root from dry land.  
He has no form and no splendor so that we look at him and no appearance so that we take pleasure in him.  
He is despised and rejected by men, a man of pains, knowing sickness, and like one from whom faces are hidden.  
He is despised and we did not regard him.

## THE THIRD STROPHE

Isaiah 53:4-6

Surely he has carried our sicknesses and borne our pains, but we regarded him stricken, struck by God and afflicted.  
But he was pierced for our transgressions and crushed for our iniquities,  
the chastisement that made us whole was upon him and with his stripes healing is ours.  
All of us like sheep have strayed, each has turned to his own way, and Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all.

## THE FOURTH STROPHE

Isaiah 53:7-9

He was oppressed, yet being afflicted he does not open his mouth.  
He is led like the lamb to the slaughter and like a sheep before its shearers is speechless  
so he does not open his mouth.  
He was seized by coercion and by judgment and who considers his age?  
For he was cut off from the land of the living, his stroke for the transgressions of my people.  
So they made his grave with the wicked, with the rich in his death,  
although he did no violence and no deceit was in his mouth.

## THE FIFTH STROPHE

Isaiah 53:10-12

But Yahweh was pleased to crush him; he made him sick.  
If he sets his being for a guilt offering, he sees his seed, he prolongs his days, and the pleasure of Yahweh prospers in  
his hand.  
He sees the trouble of his being; he is satisfied by his knowledge.  
My righteous servant is declared righteous to the many and he bears their iniquities.  
Therefore, I apportion him with the great and he apportions spoil with the strong because he poured out his being to  
death and was counted with the transgressors, but he carried the sin of many and makes entreaty for the transgressors.

## EXCERPTS FROM THE HYMN SCROLL

Translated by A. Dupont-Sommer and G. Vermes

### 1QH II:8b-14a

Thou hast confirmed my steps in the realm of ungodliness.  
And I have been a snare for sinners, but healing for all those whose heart is troubled.  
And Thou hast made of me an object of shame and mockery for traitors,  
(but) the foundation of truth and understanding for them whose way is straight.  
And I was exposed to the affronts of the wicked,  
an object of slander upon the lips of the violent; the mockers gnashed their teeth.  
And I was ridiculed in the songs of sinners and the assembly of the wicked raged against me  
and roared like storms upon the seas when the billows rage throwing up slime and mud.  
But Thou hast made me a banner for the elect of righteousness and an interpreter of Knowledge  
concerning the marvelous Mysteries, to test (the men) of truth and to try them that love instruction.

### 1QH III:6

(...for I was despised by them and they) had (no) esteem for me.

### 1QH IV:8-9; 23-25

...all their works are in folly.  
For (I was) despised by them, and they had no esteem for me  
when Thou didst show Thy power in me.  
For they drove me out of my land like a bird from its nest  
and all my companions and friends were driven far from me and they considered me a broken vessel.  
  
...they had no esteem for (me un)til Thou shouldst manifest Thy power in me.  
And at daybreak Thou hast appeared unto me in Thy might and hast not covered with shame the face  
of all them that inquired of me, that gathered in Thy Covenant and heard me,  
that walk in the way of Thy heart and are ranked for Thee...

### 1QH VII:23b-25

And I will shine with a seven-fold li(ght) in the E(den which) Thou hast (m)ade for Thy glory.  
For Thou art an (ever)lasting light unto me and hast established my feet on an (infinite) p(lain).

### 1QH VIII:8, 11b-15, 26b-27

And in the Shoot, near by, all the beasts of the thicket shall graze,  
and its stock shall be trod underfoot by all that pass on...  
  
And Tho(u, O G)od, hast shut up his fruit in the mystery of the strong Valiant Ones  
and of the Spirits of holiness and of the Flame of whirling fire.  
He shall not (slake his thirst at) the fountain of life  
and shall not drink with the ancient trees of the waters of holiness,  
the clouds shall not cause his fruit to prosper with (full)ness (?)  
For they have seen without recognizing and considered without believing in the fountain of life;  
and he was delivered (?) and (...) eternal.  
And I, I was exposed to the defilements of the unleashed rivers when they threw up their slime on me.  
  
But no (fountain) has been opened (for me) in the midst of the wa(ters),  
(but) a place of exile in the midst of sickness and for me the f(ou)nt was of blows.  
And I was like a man forsaken in the t(rouble and sadness of my soul) without strength;  
for my chas(ti)sement g(r)ew...

### 1QH IX:10; 24b-26a

For I know Thy truth and have loved my judgment,  
and the blows which struck me were pleasant to me. For I hoped in Thy grace...

And my chastisement has become for me a joy and a gladness,

and the blows that have smitten me (have become) an ev(erlasting) healing (and bliss) without end,  
and the scorn of my enemies has become for me a glorious crown, and my stumbling everlasting might.

## List of Dead Sea Scroll Abbreviations Used

1QDM	<i>The Sayings of Moses</i>
1QH	<i>The Hymn Scroll (Hodayot)</i>
1QIsa	The Isaiah Scrolls
1QM	<i>The Manual of Discipline</i>
1QpH	The Habbakuk Peshet
1QS	<i>The Community Rule</i>
1Q28	<i>The Rule Annex</i>
3QpIsa	a disputed Isaiah peshet
4QpIsa <sup>a-e</sup>	The Isaiah Pesharim
4Q374	a fragment of a hymn unrelated to 1QH



## THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH SONG OF THE SERVANT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Marshall H. Lewis

The Songs of the Servant in Isaiah (42:1-4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13-53:12) were first identified in 1892 by Bernhard Duhn as a separate literary unit. Duhn proposed the date of the Songs as later than that of Second Isaiah, circa 450 BCE or around the time of Third Isaiah, which was also isolated by Duhn. Today, the scholarly consensus is that these Songs do form a distinct unit, but there is no consensus regarding their origin or interpretation. It is unclear if they are the work of Second Isaiah; their relationship to the context of Second Isaiah and to each other is not understood; the Servant and his mission remain unidentified; the relationship of the Servant to the other servants mentioned in Second Isaiah remains unclear.<sup>1</sup>

Zimmerli and Jeremias offer an analysis of the use of the term עֶבֶד in the Prime Testament. They conclude that the term implies the ownership of one person by another and that this concept includes a spectrum of responsibility and status from the lowly household slave to the Servant of the King who acts on the authority of the monarch much like a Prime Minister. The king also may be described as the servant of an overlord.<sup>2</sup> McKenzie notes that the term "Servant of Yahweh" (עֶבֶד יְהוָה) denotes a peculiar relationship with and commission from Yahweh,<sup>3</sup> perhaps parallel to the civil function of the Servant of the King (עֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ). Zimmerli and Jeremias note further that the term is exclusive; the Servant of Yahweh can serve no other master.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1968, xv-xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, *The Servant of God*. Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957, 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> McKenzie, xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 13.

The meaning of the title is no less elusive for us as it was in the past. In the Prime Testament the title was applied to patriarchs, to Moses, to kings and to prophets. In the prose sections of Second Isaiah, it appears as a collective title for Israel.<sup>5</sup> The term appears related to the Temple cult and to popular piety (i.e., the Psalms); hence it is avoided by the early prophets. By the time of Jeremiah and Second Isaiah, however, it is freely used. In post-biblical Judaism the term *Pai' Qeou'* takes its place in such documents as *Wisdom*, *Baruch*, the *Psalms of Solomon* and *I Esdras*. It is also used by Philo and Josephus.<sup>6</sup>

Then, as now, one of the central issues of exegesis is whether the Fourth Song of the Servant is to be understood as collective or individual. McKenzie outlines these possibilities in more detail. The only collective interpretation that is convincing is that the Servant is Israel, either historical or idealized. The difficulty is that the death of the Servant in the Fourth Song seems inconsistent with the overall tone of Second Isaiah. Options of individual interpretation include considering the Servant to be an historical person of the past, an historical person of the future (from the perspective of Second Isaiah), or a fictitious, idealized character.<sup>7</sup> This final interpretation seems to be favored today in scholarly circles,<sup>8</sup> though in the past Hellenistic Judaism tended toward collective interpretations while Palestinian Judaism favored an individual understanding.<sup>9</sup> As we shall see, both the community at Qumran and the compilers of the New Testament were mainly in the latter camp. This paper will first examine the characteristics of the Fourth Song of the Servant and then explore the uses to which this song was put in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament.

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<sup>5</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 17-21.

<sup>6</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 23, 43.

<sup>7</sup> McKenzie, xlii-xlvii.

<sup>8</sup> McKenzie, liv.

<sup>9</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 53-54.

*The Text.* The Fourth Song of the Servant is composed of five strophes (52:13-15; 53:1-3; 4-6; 7-9; 10-12)<sup>10</sup> in inverse parallelism. Yahweh speaks in the first and fifth strophes while a community speaks in the remaining strophes. The climatic middle strophe (53:4-6) in particular is notable for its recurrence of the *û* sound. The theme of the strophe and the sound reinforce each other. The three middle sections have been compared to the Book of Lamentations, the confessions of Jeremiah, the individual laments of the Psalms and the laments of Job. Forty-six words appear in the Fourth Song which are not present elsewhere in Second Isaiah, but this is inconclusive evidence of dual authorship given the differences in subject matter and style.<sup>11</sup>

Many repetitions occur<sup>12</sup>:

he is despised	53:3a, 3d
he does not open his mouth	53:7a, 7e
all of us	53: 6a, 6d
we did not regard him	53: 3d, 4c
afflicted	53: 4d, 7a
crush	53: 5b, 10a
pains...sickness	53: 3b, 4ab
he carried	53: 4a, 12e
he bears	53: 4b, 11c
his appearance...his form	52: 14bc, 53:2cd
the pleasure of Yahweh	53: 10a, 10e
the many	52: 14a, 15a, 53:12a, 12e

Principle contrasts include humiliation versus triumph and the transgressions of the many versus the solitary righteousness of the Servant. The pronouns he and we, him and us are accentuated by assonance.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE FIRST STROPHE

My servant now has success; he is exalted and will be lifted up and will be very high.  
 Even as many were appalled at you  
 - his appearance was disfigured beyond the human and his form beyond the sons of man -  
 so he startles many nations.  
 Kings shut their mouths because of him,

<sup>10</sup> R. B. Y. Scott and G. G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Book of Isaiah* in the Interpreter's Bible. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956, 614.

<sup>11</sup> Scott, 614.

<sup>12</sup> Scott, 615.

<sup>13</sup> Scott, 615.

for they will see what was not recounted to them and they will understand what they did not hear.

The first strophe begins with an introduction (verse 13), proceeds to a protasis and apodosis (verses 14-15a) and concludes (verse 15bc). The Servant is said to have יִשְׁכִּיל which I have translated as success. The term also means insight, perhaps implying that the success of the Servant is in some way related to his insight. One may cross reference Psalm 2:10; 94:8 and Daniel 12:3, among many others, for additional examples of the relationship of insight or wisdom to success. The term מִשְׁחָה in verse 14 reads מִשְׁחָהּ in 1Q Isa, which is hard to explain.<sup>14</sup>

The "many" are introduced in verse 14; great speculation has taken place over who they are. The contrast of the many with the Servant is one argument in favor of an individual interpretation, but it is by no means conclusive. The many could refer to the nations, as it does in verse 15, but ultimately this would seem to make Israel carry the sins of the nations -- a difficult theological position to maintain. The term will come back as an allusion both in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament.<sup>15</sup>

The term הָיָה in verse 15 is usually translated with reference to its Arabic cognate which means "rise up," hence "startle." This stands in good parallel form with the previous reaction of the many who were appalled. Elsewhere in the Prime Testament, however, the term means "to sprinkle" in a ceremonial sense, as with blood, water, or oil (Leviticus 4:6; 8:11; 14:7, 27, 51; Numbers 8:7, etc.). This interpretation is supported by the *Manual of Discipline* (1QM IV:21, cf. III:10). This type of extreme reversal of circumstances from verse 14 is especially common in eschatological contexts and in the Psalms.<sup>16</sup> New Testament allusions are, of course, also present.

#### THE SECOND STROPHE

Who will believe our report and to whom will the arm of Yahweh be revealed?

So he grows up before him like the young plant and like the root from dry land.

He has no form and no splendor so that we look at him and no appearance so that we take pleasure in him.

He is despised and rejected by men, a man of pains, knowing sickness, and like one from whom faces are hidden.

He is despised and we did not regard him.

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<sup>14</sup> Scott, 616-617.

<sup>15</sup> Scott, 617.

<sup>16</sup> Scott, 618.

The second strophe addresses the lowly condition of the Servant as described by a community. The Dead Sea Scrolls differ from the Masoretic Text again in verse 1, where the 1Q Isa has **אל מי** instead of **על-מי**. The expression **וַיִּחַרְל אִישִׁים**, most literally, "ceased of men," is a bit unusual. Some contrast with Job 19:14. Moreover **אִישִׁים** is a rare form; elsewhere it occurs only in Psalm 141:4 and Proverbs 8:4. It is probably used here for assonance as **איש** occurs immediately following. The terms "pains and sickness" are used in the ancient Near East to describe general suffering, physical or otherwise. Faces are hidden from the Servant not only in disgust but also in superstition; this is especially true if the description is of leprosy.<sup>17</sup>

#### **THE THIRD STROPHE**

Surely he has carried our sicknesses and borne our pains, but we regarded him stricken, struck by God and afflicted.  
But he was pierced for our transgressions and crushed for our iniquities,  
the chastisement that made us whole was upon him and with his stripes healing is ours.  
All of us like sheep have strayed, each has turned to his own way, and Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all.

It was the conviction of ancient Near Eastern peoples that suffering was the result of sin. This may be seen in Deuteronomy and Leviticus. That guilt could be transferred was also understood, but usually it was from one representative to many as when the people were punished because of the sin of the king. The Fourth Song of the Servant reaches its climax in this strophe and does so with a surprising twist -- the sins of the many are transferred to the Servant. Moreover, the Servant brings **שלום** to the many by carrying their iniquity. Verse 5 suggests that the many did not even know this was the case, for, like Job, the Servant was considered struck by God, implying that he was being punished for his own sins. Verse 6 is especially poignant and reiterates the point. Beginning and ending with **כִּלְנוּ** the many have strayed from the way and Yahweh has placed their iniquity on the Servant. It is his suffering that is the penalty for sin (verse 5ab) and the means of restoration (verse 5cd).<sup>18</sup>

#### **THE FOURTH STROPHE**

He was oppressed, yet being afflicted he does not open his mouth.

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<sup>17</sup> Scott, 619-621 and McKenzie, 131.

<sup>18</sup> Scott, 622-623.

He is led like the lamb to the slaughter and like a sheep before its shearers is speechless  
so he does not open his mouth.  
He was seized by coercion and by judgment and who considers his age?  
For he was cut off from the land of the living, his stroke for the transgressions of my people.  
So they made his grave with the wicked, with the rich in his death,  
although he did no violence and no deceit was in his mouth.

The fourth strophe echoes the second in its description of the suffering of the Servant. The suffering increases here to include the death and burial of the Servant (verses 8-9). That the Servant does not open his mouth to cry out against the injustice is not characteristic of sufferers in the Prime Testament (consider Job, Jeremiah, Habakkuk and the laments of the Psalms). A striking contrast is thus developed between what he bore and how he bore it.<sup>19</sup>

עצר occurs here as one of three places in the Prime Testament where it is used as a noun. It is used frequently as a verb, however, generally meaning "shut up or locked up." It may mean he was seized from prison and from (deprived of) justice (i.e., taken directly from prison to execution, perhaps without trial). A variety of translations have been offered. Translators have also been vexed by דורו, his generation. Torrey's translation of "offspring", based upon Deuteronomy 32:19-20 and Psalm 73:15; 112:2, has been widely accepted.<sup>20</sup> I am using the term "age" to refer to the Servant's time of influence which did not come about because he was seized.

The term מִפְשַׁע עַמִּי in verse 8 is often amended to מִפְשַׁעֵנוּ, which reads better for a community interpretation. 1Q Isa however, reads "his people," מִפְשַׁע עַמּוֹ. In verse 9, he makes his grave, נִתְּקַן, or one makes his grave -- an impersonal statement. Most English translators write "they make;" 1Q Isa also uses the plural of the verb. Making his grave with the rich, עֲשִׂיר, places the rich in parallel with the wicked. This is consistent elsewhere (Jeremiah 7:11; 9:23; Micah 6:12; Proverbs 11:16; 28:11, as well as in the New Testament), though some amend to "evildoers," עֲשֵׂי רָע. The Masoretic Text literally says "in his deaths," בְּמִתָּיו, whereas 1Q Isa has בּוֹמְתּוֹ, "his high place" or "mound,"

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<sup>19</sup> Scott, 624.

<sup>20</sup> Scott, 625-626.

perhaps referring to a burial mound. The word may have this meaning in the Ugaritic *Baal and Anath* (I AB 1:7) and is the opinion of Ibn Ezra; however, it does not clearly have this meaning elsewhere in the Prime Testament; one reference in Ezekiel 43:7 is disputed. Finally, 1Q Isa uses וַעֲמַן for the sign of the object in this verse, which lacks explanation and may be an error.<sup>21</sup>

#### THE FIFTH STROPHE

But Yahweh was pleased to crush him; he made him sick.

If he sets his being for a guilt offering, he sees his seed, he prolongs his days, and the pleasure of Yahweh prospers in his hand.

He sees the trouble of his being; he is satisfied by his knowledge.

My righteous servant is declared righteous to the many and he bears their iniquities.

Therefore, I apportion him with the great and he apports spoil with the strong because he poured out his being to death and was counted with the transgressors, but he carried the sin of many and makes entreaty for the transgressors.

The fifth strophe refers to the first in its speech by Yahweh and in its discussion of the success of the Servant. Despite the death of the Servant in the third strophe, this strophe indicates that the Servant will prolong his days. This leads some to believe that a resurrection is implied. As a result of this change of events, the many now understand that the Servant was righteous all along, whereas in the third strophe they had regarded him as punished for his own sins.

The Masoretic Text וַיַּחֲלֵהוּ, "he made him sick" is rendered וַיַּחֲלֵהוּ, "that he might pierce him" in 1Q Isa, referring to verse 5. The same relationship between life and offspring may be observed in Psalm 22:29-30 (Heb 22:30-31); 25:13. The term זֶבַח is used for "guilt offering" in Leviticus 5:1-9; 7:1-38; 14:1-57; I Samuel 6:3. The idea of individual resurrection is late (cf. Daniel 12:2), though the idea of a community resurrection is possible. Of course, the resurrection of the Servant, even as a individual, in no way implies a general resurrection. In verse 11 both 1Q Isa and the Septuagint<sup>22</sup> add the object "light" (i.e., he sees the light), making light parallel with knowledge. This

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<sup>21</sup> Scott, 626-627.

<sup>22</sup> Isaiah 53:11 LXX: ajpoÿ tou' povnou th`" yuch" aujtu' dei'xai aujtw/' fw" kaiÿ plavsai th/' sunevsei dikaiw'sai divkaion eu\ douleuvonta polloi" kaiÿ taÿ" aJmartiva" aujtw'n aujtoÿ" ajvoivsei.

is also consistent with the use of the word "light" in the first two Servant Songs and with its use in Isaiah 50:10, immediately following the Third Song of the Servant. The term צדק is believed by Brown to be used here in a forensic sense, perhaps in parallel to the denial of justice in verse 8. Legal vindication takes place when the Servant is declared righteous.<sup>23</sup>

*The Dead Sea Scrolls.* Fifteen scrolls of the Book of Isaiah have been found at the Qumran excavation site, making it one of the most frequently copied texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>24</sup> Despite this apparent interest in Isaiah, only six *pesharim* have been found and released to the scholarly community which directly quote Isaiah.<sup>25</sup> No direct quotes from the Fourth Song of the Servant are included among these *pesharim* or any where else among the Qumran literature. Therefore, an understanding of the use of the Fourth Song at Qumran must rest upon allusions. The vast majority of these allusions occur in the *Hymn Scroll* (1QH, also known as the *Hodayot*), although some may occur in the *Community Rule* (1QS). The method of using allusions is particularly appropriate to the *Hymn Scroll* which uses frequent and free paraphrases from many parts of the Hebrew Bible, especially from Psalms and secondarily from Isaiah. It is, therefore, not particularly surprising to find allusions here to the Fourth Song of Servant, a piece of literature itself similar to the Psalms.<sup>26</sup> Dupont-Sommer also claims two allusions from the *Sayings of Moses*, specifically, 1QDM III:11 and 1QDM IV:3. For the purposes of this paper, the following allusions will be commented upon:

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<sup>23</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1966, 628-630.

<sup>24</sup> Along with fourteen copies of Deuteronomy and seventeen copies of Psalms, André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*. New York: World Publishing Company, 1962, 3.

<sup>25</sup> 3QpIsa, which is disputed, and 4QpIsa<sup>a-e</sup>, according to M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979, 1.

<sup>26</sup> Sven Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Copenhagen: Aarhus Stiftsbogtrykkerie, 1960, 304, 308-309.



Isaiah 52:14	1QH VIII:3	
53:1	VIII:14	
53:2	VIII:8	
53:3	III:6; IV:8, 23	
53:4	IV:8, 23	
53:5	II:8-9; VIII:8, 26-27; IX:10	1QS VIII:6, 10; IX:4
53:10	IX:10	
53:11	VII:23-25; VIII:26-27	
53:12	1QS VIII:6, 10; IX:4	1QDM III:11; IV:3

These allusion are similar to those identified by Dupont-Sommer<sup>27</sup> with the exception of the 1QH III:6 allusion to Isaiah 53:3 and the 1QH IX:24b-26a allusion to Isaiah 53:5, 7 which are identified by the student. Other alterations to Dupont-Sommer's list are minor.

As the vast majority of allusions are from the *Hymn Scroll*, some comments upon it are in order. The *Hymn Scroll* is composed of eighteen columns; sixty-six additional fragments have been found. It was first published by E. L. Sukenik in 1954-5.<sup>28</sup> It is in generally poor condition. Different handwriting appears near the middle of column XI. Dupont-Sommer judges the first scribe to have been the more expert. All of the allusions come from the hand of this first scribe in the first ten columns. In addition to allusions from the Fourth Song of Servant, it has long been recognized that the *Hymn Scroll* contains more allusions to and quotes from the Prime Testament than any of the other Dead Sea Scrolls. About thirty hymns are extant in this collection, though it is believed that originally there were many more. Nearly all scholars agree that the hymns begin with the expression "I thank thee, O Lord," or, "Blessed be thou, O Lord."<sup>29</sup> *The Hymn Scroll*, like Isaiah, seems to have been highly valued by the Qumran sect; six additional copies of it have been found in Cave 4.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 364.

<sup>28</sup> G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962, 149.

<sup>29</sup> Eugene H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1975, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 198-199.

The hymns of the scroll are written in the first person. Each hymn contains the personal pronoun "I."<sup>31</sup> The voice is that of the leader of the community, known in the hymns as the Teacher, the Father, the Source of living waters, the Builder of the community and the Gardener. Dupont-Sommer, leading the scholarly consensus, identifies him as the Teacher of Righteousness who was the founder of the Qumran community. He further entertains the possibility that the hymns are the work of this Teacher himself which would put the date of the original work near the end of the second century BCE or the beginning of the first; Knibb places the present scroll firmly in the first.<sup>32</sup> General scholarship places the age of the entire collection between the second century BCE and the first century CE.<sup>33</sup> Regardless of the exact date, Dupont-Sommer believes that the Teacher's ideas are here faithfully expressed.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, the Teacher of Righteousness was persecuted by the "Wicked Priest," turned on by his own friends and family<sup>35</sup> and finally executed.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the author is able to be content and to accept his sufferings as the will of God, even to rejoice in them for that reason.<sup>37</sup> The allusions, as translated by Dupont-Sommer<sup>38</sup>, follow:

**1QH II:8b-14a**

Thou hast confirmed my steps in the realm of ungodliness.  
 And I have been a snare for sinners, but healing for all those whose heart is troubled.  
 And Thou hast made of me an object of shame and mockery for traitors,  
 (but) the foundation of truth and understanding for them whose way is straight.  
 And I was exposed to the affronts of the wicked,  
 an object of slander upon the lips of the violent; the mockers gnashed their teeth.  
 And I was ridiculed in the songs of sinners and the assembly of the wicked raged against me  
 and roared like storms upon the seas when the billows rage throwing up slime and mud.  
 But Thou hast made me a banner for the elect of righteousness and an interpreter of Knowledge

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<sup>31</sup> Merrill, 9.

<sup>32</sup> M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 157.

<sup>33</sup> M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1961, 7.

<sup>34</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 200-201.

<sup>35</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 293.

<sup>36</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 364.

<sup>37</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 294.

<sup>38</sup> Dupont-Sommer's translation was, of course, into French. The translation of Dupont-Sommer's book into English was carried out by G. Vermes, who compared the French to the original scrolls.

concerning the marvelous Mysteries, to test (the men) of truth and to try them that love instruction.<sup>39</sup>

According to Dupont-Sommer, the principle allusion here is to Isaiah 53:5, wherein the Servant is depicted as a source of healing. H. Michaud accepts Dupont-Sommer's thesis of the author being the Teacher of Righteousness but denies this particular allusion. Holm-Nielsen sees "cure" as meaning enlightenment.<sup>40</sup> In larger context, it is also clear that the Teacher of Righteousness, like the Servant, was opposed by evildoers. The Teacher brought special knowledge to his followers as well. In social context this probably had special meaning to the inhabitants at Qumran and they certainly would have noticed Isaiah 53:11: "he is satisfied by his knowledge."

Some debate has taken place on the expression **לפח היה** found in verse 8. Some have argued that **פח** cannot mean snare when used as a contrast with **מרפא**. Holm-Nielsen argues that the phrase in the Prime Testament refers to the result of being caught by a snare and that the snare itself is not the important issue.<sup>41</sup> In verse 13, "banner" (**נס**) has its closest parallel to Isaiah 11:10 where it refers to the Root of Jesse. For this reason, Dupont-Sommer believes the author is attempting to represent himself as a messiah.<sup>42</sup> If so, this weds the Fourth Song of the Servant with a messianic title through the agency of a third person. While Holm-Nielsen believes that Dupont-Sommer pushes his conclusion too far, the use of this term is, at least, unexpected in this context. Holm-Nielsen also takes the meaning of **מליץ** to be not one with mere human insight, but an interpreter given special knowledge by God for the member of the covenant community. He bases this understanding on the use of the word in 1QpH VIII:6 which has **מליצי חידות** in place of **מליצה** in the Masoretic Text.<sup>43</sup>

**1QH III:6**

(...for I was despised by them and they) had (no) esteem for me.

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<sup>39</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 205.

<sup>40</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 34.

<sup>41</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 34.

<sup>42</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 35.

<sup>43</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 35.

**1QH IV:8-9; 23-25**

...all their works are in folly.  
For (I was) despised by them, and they had no esteem for me  
when Thou didst show Thy power in me.  
For they drove me out of my land like a bird from its nest  
and all my companions and friends were driven far from me and they considered me a broken vessel.  
  
...they had no esteem for (me un)til Thou shouldst manifest Thy power in me.  
And at daybreak Thou hast appeared unto me in Thy might and hast not covered with shame the face  
of all them that inquired of me, that gathered in Thy Covenant and heard me,  
that walk in the way of Thy heart and are ranked for Thee...<sup>44</sup>

The same words repeated in Isaiah 53:3a and 3d (he is despised) and again in 53:3d and 4c (we did not regard, or have esteem for, him) is here also used in the same parallel fashion. Moreover, like the Servant (and even more strongly, like Job), the Teacher is cut off from his friends and driven away. Yet, after the power of God is revealed in him, the Teacher is vindicated, as the Servant in the First and Fifth strophes of the Servant Song.

Some have emphasized the singular verb יִדְרֹג in verse 9 and have suggested that the passage alludes to historical persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness by the Wicked Priest (1QpH XI:5-6). Holm-Nielsen notes that it could also have been used collectively for the Qumran community or as a general literary depiction of suffering (cf. Psalms 31:12-13; 27:10; 42:7; 88:19).<sup>45</sup>

**1QH VII:23b-25**

And I will shine with a seven-fold li(ght) in the E(den which) Thou hast (m)ade for Thy glory.  
For Thou art an (ever)lasting light unto me and hast established my feet on an (infinite) p(lain).<sup>46</sup>

The allusion here is to "light" in Isaiah 53:11 as found in the Septuagint and 1Q Isa, though not in the Masoretic Text. Dupont-Sommer translates it as: "Because of the affliction of his soul, he shall see the light and shall be satisfied."<sup>47</sup> Dupont-Sommer has suggested that "light" refers to the Teacher of Righteousness, now dead, being risen in glory at some future time.<sup>48</sup> It is the light of God which strengthens the Teacher and

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<sup>44</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 211-212.

<sup>45</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 81.

<sup>46</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 224.

<sup>47</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 365.

<sup>48</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 135.

inspires his trust.<sup>49</sup> Light is set in parallel with knowledge, by which the Servant is satisfied or sated. In the context of Isaiah this comes directly before the vindication of the Servant. The context is the same in the *Hymn Scroll*; the Teacher has just previously (1QH VII:23) had his "horn" lifted "on high" and his soul "succored" by God. Mansoor believes that this passage suggests a doctrine of resurrection or of immortality of the soul.<sup>50</sup> Kittel, following Holm-Nielsen, sees the background of this particular passage has heavily influenced by the language of Isaiah as well as Zechariah.<sup>51</sup>

Column VIII, the fifteenth hymn, or Hymn O, contains the greatest number of allusions (verses 8, 12, 14, 26-27):

**1QH VIII:8, 11b-15, 26b-27**

And in the Shoot, near by, all the beasts of the thicket shall graze,  
and its stock shall be trod underfoot by all that pass on...

And Tho(u, O G)od, hast shut up his fruit in the mystery of the strong Valiant Ones  
and of the Spirits of holiness and of the Flame of whirling fire.

He shall not (slake his thirst at) the fountain of life  
and shall not drink with the ancient trees of the waters of holiness,  
the clouds shall not cause his fruit to prosper with (full)ness (?)

For they have seen without recognizing and considered without believing in the fountain of life;  
and he was delivered (?) and (...) eternal.

And I, I was exposed to the defilements of the unleashed rivers when they threw up their slime on me.

But no (fountain) has been opened (for me) in the midst of the wa(ter)s,  
(but) a place of exile in the midst of sickness and for me the f(ou)nt was of blows.  
And I was like a man forsaken in the t(rouble and sadness of my soul) without strength;  
for my chas(ti)sement g(r)ew...<sup>52</sup>

The first allusion in VIII:8 is to the Shoot of Isaiah 53:2. Both the Servant and the Teacher are compared to a shoot. In Isaiah, the metaphor ends and the Song continues that "we take no pleasure in him." In 1QH VIII:8 the metaphor is expanded such that the Shoot becomes trampled underfoot. Mansoor suggests that the Teacher is sorrowful because, due to sickness, he is unable to perform his task as Gardener.<sup>53</sup> Holm-Nielsen questions this translation, however, and suggests that the Shoot is being compared to "an

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<sup>49</sup> Mansoor, 38.

<sup>50</sup> Mansoor, 54.

<sup>51</sup> B. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981, 136.

<sup>52</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 226, 227, 229.

<sup>53</sup> Mansoor, 39.

eternal fountain."<sup>54</sup> As in Isaiah 52:14, so in VIII:13, the Servant/Teacher is not recognized for who he is. Disbelief in him is recorded in VIII:14 and strongly implied in 53:1. Again, in VIII:26-27, the Teacher is forsaken in the trouble of his soul; his chastisement grows. Holm-Nielsen, generally conservative in accepting allusions, agrees that this one in verses 26-27 is dependent upon Isaiah 53.<sup>55</sup> The Servant sees the trouble of his soul in 53:11 and his chastisement is addressed in 53:5.

**1QH IX:10; 24b-26a**

For I know Thy truth and have loved my judgment,  
and the blows which struck me were pleasant to me. For I hoped in Thy grace...

And my chastisement has become for me a joy and a gladness,  
and the blows that have smitten me (have become) an everlasting healing (and bliss) without end,  
and the scorn of my enemies has become for me a glorious crown, and my stumbling everlasting might.<sup>56</sup>

The allusion here is to the unusual character of the Servant. The Teacher of Qumran also, apparently, does not cry out as would be expected. His suffering is somehow pleasant to him as he hopes in God, as in Isaiah 53:10: "the pleasure of Yahweh prospers in his hand." Moreover, as in 53:5, his chastisement leads to healing and, as in 53:12, vindication comes in the end.<sup>57</sup>

A recently discovered fragment, 4Q374, lacks context to determine if it is truly an allusion; however, it is worth mentioning at this point because "healing" and "knowledge" are joined together along with one not known:

**4Q374 Fr. 2 II:8-9**

And when he caused his face to shine upon them for healing, they strengthened (their) hearts again, and knowledge (...)  
And though no one had known you, they melted and trembled. They staggered at the sound of...

The term נָבַר used in verse 8 occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible (Psalm 12:5), but occurs several times in the *Hymn Scroll* (II:24; IV:8, 23; V:15) and once as a transitive in

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<sup>54</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 150-151.

<sup>55</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 156, 166.

<sup>56</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 231.

<sup>57</sup> Mansoor, 39.

1QM XIII:15.<sup>58</sup> The second person statement suggests that this was not part of the *Hymn Scroll* but it may have been a comment upon it.

Dupont-Sommer observes that, unlike the Fourth Song of the Servant (53:5), the *Hymn Scroll* does not contain any direct statement that the suffering of the Teacher is meant as an atonement for others. However, he also points out that vicarious atonement was a belief of the Qumran community as reflected in the *Community Rule* and the *Sayings of Moses*<sup>59</sup>, thus:

**1QS VIII:6-10; IX:4**

...they are the witnesses of truth unto Judgment and the chosen Loving-kindness appointed to offer expiation for the earth and to bring down punishment upon the wicked. It is the tried wall, the precious corner-stone; its foundations shall not tremble nor flee from their place. It is the Dwelling of infinite holiness for Aaron in (eternal) Knowledge unto the Covenant of justice and to make offerings of sweet savour; (it is) the House of perfection and truth in Israel to establish the Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. And they shall be accepted as expiation for the earth and to decree the judgment of wickedness with no perversity remaining.

...they shall expiate guilty rebellion and sinful infidelity and (procure) Loving-kindness upon earth...<sup>60</sup>

**1QDM III:11**

...and on the tenth day of the month they shall make atonement...

**1QDM IV:3**

(...and they shall make atonement for them...)<sup>61</sup>

Here, perhaps, the method has been pressed too far. Although the community does believe that sacrifice produces an atonement, all of these references seem to refer to the priestly sacrificial system and, therefore, may be understood as references to the Torah, not to an atonement through the suffering of the Teacher of Righteousness. Holm-Nielsen points out that the idea of redemptive suffering is not present in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the *Manual of Discipline*, quoted above, goes on to say, "When these things come to pass in Israel according to all the appointed times for the Institution of the Spirit of holiness (founded) in accordance with eternal Truth, they shall expiate guilty

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<sup>58</sup> Carol A. Newsom, *4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition in The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, eds., Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1992, 42-47.

<sup>59</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 366n.

<sup>60</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 91-92.

<sup>61</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 309.

<sup>62</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 35.

rebellion and sinful infidelity and (procure) Loving-kindness upon earth without the flesh of burnt offering and the fat of sacrifice, but the offering of the lips in accordance with the law shall be as an agreeable odour of righteousness, and perfection of the way shall be as the voluntary gift of a delectable oblation" (1QS IX:3-5).<sup>63</sup> Here, sacrifice that brings expiation is not suffering but the offering of the lips (divine praise) and perfection of the way. This, of course, is also in accord with Isaiah, and agrees with Philo's account that the Essenes offered no sacrifice.<sup>64</sup>

Dupont-Sommer offers additional relevant commentary on the following quotation from the *Rule Annexe*:

**1Q28<sup>a</sup> II:11-17**

(Concerning the mee)ting of the men of renown (called) to assemble for the Council of the Community when (Adonai) will have begotten the Messiah among them.

(The Priest) shall enter (at) the head of all the Congregation of Israel, then all (the chiefs of the sons) of Aaron the priests called to the assembly, men of renown; and they shall sit (before him), each according to his rank. And afterwards, (the Mess)iah of Israel (shall enter); and the chiefs of (the tribes of Israel) shall sit before him, each according to his rank, according to their (position) in their camps and during their marches; then all the heads of fa(mily of the Congre)gation, together with the wise me(n of the holy Congregation), shall sit before them, each according to his rank.

Dupont-Sommer notes that the Priest appears before the Messiah of Israel. He then identifies the Priest with the Messiah of Aaron, a Priest-Messiah, who had been taken away and who would return in the future with the Messiah of Israel. Given that the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest, Dupont-Sommer offers the possibility that the Qumran community identified their Teacher with the Priest-Messiah and so expected his return with the Messiah of Israel.<sup>65</sup> No clear reference to a messiah is present in the *Hymn Scroll*, although references to a "wonderful counselor," "she who brings forth a male child," and other allusions are convincing to Dupont-Sommer, Vermes, Allegro, Black, Stendahl and Chamberlain.<sup>66</sup> Many leading scholars, however, among them Mansoor, Mowinckel, Silbermann and Cross, do not agree with Dupont-Sommer on this

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<sup>63</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 93.

<sup>64</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 93n.

<sup>65</sup> Dupont-Sommer, 71, 108, 108n.

<sup>66</sup> Mansoor, 90-91.



point. They believe that the combination of Suffering Servant and Messiah motifs is original to Christianity. It is to the documents of the Christian community that we now turn.

*The New Testament.* Unlike the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament contains eight direct quotations from the Fourth Song of the Servant. Allusions are also present, but some of them are questionable. J. Massyngberde Ford, for example, identifies an allusion in Revelation, "the lamb which was slain."<sup>67</sup> This may be from the Fourth Song of the Servant or it may be from Daniel or other apocalyptic literature. Given that the New Testament uses direct quotations, I will concentrate on these, mentioning allusions in appropriate places if they seem particularly strong. I have identified the following quotations in the New Testament, a slightly longer list than that of Zimmerli and Jeremias<sup>68</sup> and slightly shorter than that of Caird and Hurst:<sup>69</sup>

Isaiah 52:15	Romans 15:21
53:1	Romans 10:16; John 12:38
53:4	Matthew 8:17
53:7-8	Acts 8:32-33
53:9	I Peter 2:22
53:12	Luke 22:37; Hebrews 9:28; Mark 15:28 (disputed)

Bultmann claims that I Peter 2:22, Hebrews 9:28 and Acts 8:32 are the oldest Christian uses of the Fourth Song. He believes they are older than Paul and may be behind certain Pauline sayings such as Romans 4:25.<sup>70</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias agree. They identify I Peter 2:21-25 as one of the most ancient Christian formulae, which they see as a series of free quotations from the Fourth Song as expressed in the Septuagint.

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<sup>67</sup> J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1975, 30, 235.

<sup>68</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 88, lists six direct quotations.

<sup>69</sup> G. B. Caird and L. D. Hurst, *New Testament Theology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, 59, list fifteen. I have eliminated questionable allusions in favor of direct quotations.

<sup>70</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, i, 31.

#### **I PETER 2:21-25**

For to this you have been called, because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps. He committed no sin; no guile was found on his lips. When he was reviled, he did not revile in return; when he suffered, he did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly. He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed. For you were straying like sheep, but have now returned to the Shepherd and Guardian of your souls.

Zimmerli and Jeremias note similarities between verse 22 and Isaiah 53:9, verse 24a and 53:12, verse 24b and 53:5, and verse 25 and 53:6.<sup>71</sup> Caird notes that in I Peter the suffering of Christ is held up as a model for all Christians, especially slaves, to follow. There is no interpretation here of Christ being a sin offering, though he is a bearer of sin.<sup>72</sup> I Peter also makes an allusion to the sheep of Isaiah 53:6, here applied to Christians who had gone astray. Christ is then identified as the Shepherd. Scholarship is divided on the dating of I Peter; those with an early date place it around 64 CE; those with later dates suggest 95 CE. Scholars tend to agree, however, that the epistle contains elements much older than its date of authorship.<sup>73</sup> It is, therefore, interesting to note in this early use of the Fourth Song of the Servant an absence of absolute identification of the Servant with Jesus. While he is identified as such, the follower of Christ is called upon to suffer as well, illustrating the oscillation between individual and community understandings of Servanthood.

Another ancient Christian interpretation is found in Hebrews:

#### **HEBREWS 9:28**

...so Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many,  
will appear a second time, not to deal with sin but to save those who are eagerly waiting for him.

The key words here are "bearing the sin of the many" just as is found in Isaiah 53:12. Caird points out the influence of the Song by noting that Christ is depicted in Hebrews as both the sin-bearer and the sin-offering. This identification is inconsistent overall with the image of the High Priest being used in Hebrews, who would not be the sin offering himself, but is consistent with early Christian understanding of the Fourth Song.

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<sup>71</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 91.

<sup>72</sup> Caird and Hurst, 153.

<sup>73</sup> Bo Reicke, *The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1964, 71.

Moreover, the sacrifice in Hebrews is described as willing. This would not describe an animal sacrifice, but does fit the character of the Servant.<sup>74</sup> Here, then, is the next stage of Christian use, one that seems to move in the direction of exclusive interpretation: Jesus, as the Servant, is offered for sin as well as bearing it.

The synoptic tradition uses direct quotations and interprets them in light of the experience of the early Christian community. As part of the Passion narrative, Mark 15:28 reads, "and the scripture was fulfilled which says, 'He was reckoned with the transgressors.'" This verse is not included in  $\kappa$ , A, B, C, D, X, y, or many other witnesses, though it is included in q, Origen, Eusebian Canons and Vigilius. Nestle omits it. Nevertheless, it accurately reflects the opinion of the early church that the Servant is Jesus. Zimmerli and Jeremias point to an allusion in Mark that they consider to be part of a pre-synoptic tradition: "...and how is it written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things and be treated with contempt?" (9:12). An identification is also made with a servant in Mark 10:45: "For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve..." Zimmerli and Jeremias see here a very early identification of Jesus with the Servant of Yahweh that found its expression in pre-New Testament formulae.<sup>75</sup> Caird even suggests that the use of the Fourth Song could go back to Jesus himself. He notes that there is no *prima facie* reason why Jesus could not have read the handwriting on the wall, seen the likelihood of his death, and interpreted it out of his understanding of scripture.<sup>76</sup>

Luke makes the identification unmistakable, placing the quotation in the mouth of Jesus:

**LUKE 22:37**

For I tell you that this writing must be ended in me: "And with the lawless he was counted," for indeed, this (writing) concerning me has an end.

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<sup>74</sup> Caird and Hurst, 153, 314.

<sup>75</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 89-90.

<sup>76</sup> Caird and Hurst, 313.

Again, this occurs in the Passion narrative. Luke omits two references from Mark that interpret Jesus' death as a ransom or sacrifice (Mark 10:45; 14:24), but is the only evangelist to use a direct quote from the Fourth Song in his Passion narrative. Luke also fails to take advantage of his use of Isaiah to expound upon the atoning significance of Jesus' death. For Luke, why Jesus dies is not as important as where -- among the transgressors. This is in harmony with Luke's presentation of Jesus as a friend to sinners, the sick and the outcast.<sup>77</sup> Fitzmyer believes this verse to be from a pre-Lucan Sayings of Jesus tradition that Luke has strung together.<sup>78</sup> Luke continues his identification of Jesus with the Servant in Acts:

**ACTS 8:32-35**

Now the passage of the scripture which he was reading was this: "As a sheep was led to slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is silent, so he does not open his mouth. In the humiliation his judgment was taken away; who will relate his generation? Because his life is taken from the earth." The eunuch, responding to Phillip, said, "I ask you, about whom does the prophet say this? About himself or about someone else?" And Phillip opened his mouth and beginning from this scripture preached Jesus to him.

Luke here cites Isaiah 53:7 LXX. He also describes Jesus as "pai"" in Acts 3-4 and as "oJ divkaio"" in Acts 3:14; 7:52; and 22:44.<sup>79</sup> Luke is the only New Testament writer to use the term "pai`" qeou`" unmistakably for Jesus.<sup>80</sup> Clearly, Luke believed that the Fourth Song of the Servant was an excellent proof text from which to present the gospel and may have been citing an early Christian formula.

Matthew confirms that Jesus is the Servant and gives evidence of such by the casting out of demons. After a period of exorcisms and healings, Matthew writes:

**MATTHEW 8:17**

This was to fulfill what was spoken through Isaiah the prophet, saying,  
"He took our weaknesses and bore the diseases."

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<sup>77</sup> Caird and Hurst, 300, 312-313.

<sup>78</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, vol. ii, in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1985, 1429.

<sup>79</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 91.

<sup>80</sup> Caird and Hurst, 312.

Bultmann reminds us that the use of the Fourth Song in Matthew has nothing to do with suffering, but with healing.<sup>81</sup> Caird believes that Matthew merely added this quote to bring closure to the stories of healing and had taken it from common formula quotations extant in the early church.<sup>82</sup> It is typical of Matthew to stress fulfillment from the Prime Testament. Note that the fulfillment concept leaves no room for future Servants to appear. Jesus as the Servant of Yahweh is the only Servant that matters. With him, the scripture has its fulfillment, its ultimate meaning revealed.<sup>83</sup> Clearly, then, the synoptic tradition stresses the identification of Jesus with the Servant.

Paul also makes use of the Fourth Song of the Servant:

**ROMANS 10:16**

But not all obeyed the gospel, for Isaiah says,  
"Lord, who has believed what we heard?"

Then faith is from hearing and the hearing through the word of Christ.

In Romans, circa 54-58 CE, Paul identifies the report of the community in Isaiah 53:1 LXX with the gospel; this further implies that the community is the Christian community or the apostolic community who sent out the message. Paul weaves this into his discussion on faith, which is equated with believing the gospel (or Christ) that he and the other apostles preach. In Romans 15:21, Paul makes use of Isaiah 52:15 LXX: "...but as it is written, 'They shall see who have never been told of him, and they shall understand who have never heard of him.'" In context, Paul is discussing his ambition to preach the gospel where it has never been heard before. This is fully consistent with his previous use of Second Isaiah in equating the message of Isaiah with the gospel of Christ. Where Isaiah is speaking of kings of the nations, however, Paul is speaking of the gentiles in general who lack the gospel. Moreover, Paul is hoping in this passage to visit

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<sup>81</sup> Bultmann, *Theology*, 31.

<sup>82</sup> Caird and Hurst, 314.

<sup>83</sup> W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1971, xxviii, 94.

the Romans as he travels to Spain. Zimmerli and Jeremias agree that Paul employs the passages from Isaiah primarily in a missionary context.<sup>84</sup>

Zimmerli and Jeremias believe that apart from these quotations other ancient allusions are present in the Pauline writings that are not original to Paul. They identify the stock *kerygma* kata "ta" grafav" of I Corinthians 15:3-5 as well as the eucharistic words of II Corinthians 11:23-25 and the christological formula of Romans 4:25 to all be dependent upon the Fourth Song of the Servant.<sup>85</sup> Bultmann sees Paul's use of Isaiah in this passage as tied to a common Christian apologetic.<sup>86</sup> Fitzmyer believes that the text was used early on, with a quote from First Isaiah, as a stock explanation for Jewish unbelief.<sup>87</sup>

The Gospel of John (circa 70-90 CE) contains the final reference to the Song:

**JOHN 12:37-38**

But while he did so many signs before them, they did not believe in him that the word of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled which he said,

"Lord, who believed our report and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed?"

Using the Septuagint, John ties this passage together with Isaiah 6:9-10 as an explanation for the unbelief of the Pharisees, possibly using a stock Christian quotation.<sup>88</sup> The identification of Jesus with the Servant is by this time taken for granted; it is the unbelief of others that must be explained. Moreover, John notes in 12:41, "Isaiah said this because he saw his glory and spoke of him."

Bultmann identifies this passage as the opening lines of a conclusion concerning the Revealer's victory over the world, a section of John's gospel that precedes the Revealer's farewell. He sees the purpose of quoting Isaiah to explain Jewish unbelief as a

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<sup>84</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 89.

<sup>85</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 89-90/

<sup>86</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971, 453n.

<sup>87</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1993, 595.

<sup>88</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John* in the Anchor Bible Series. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1966, 485.

means to awaken in the reader the importance of concrete action and decision, not as a deterministic statement. Isaiah's words are only deterministic for one who has not awakened his will, has not responded to the Truth revealed in Jesus. This is done by John through the addition of Isaiah 6:10, which Bultmann considers was not in John's source, and is spoken directly to those who fear being put out of the synagogue.<sup>89</sup>

Zimmerli and Jeremias see possible allusions in John concerning Jesus as the Lamb of God, another ancient formula but also with a connection to the Torah sacrificial system. They also believe the expression in John 16:32, *scorpiqh`te e[kasto" eij" tav i[diá*, is an allusion to Isaiah 53:6 and upon this understanding the Palestinian exegesis of *אתבררנא* (we were scattered) is dependent.<sup>90</sup>

Thus we see unanimous understanding among the authors of the New Testament that Jesus is the Servant of the Fourth Servant Song. There is some variation, however, in the exclusivity of this identification and the use for which the identification is made. The Song is also used in reference to unbelief and applied to Christians who had gone astray.

*Discussion.* Three assumptions are made in the discussion which follows: 1) the sectarian nature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; 2) the identification of the Teacher of Righteousness with the "I" of the *Hymn Scroll*; and 3) the applicability of allusions. The method allowing the use of allusions is argued in Zimmerli and Jeremias and is accepted for the Dead Sea Scrolls because no direct quotes from the Fourth Song are extant. The criticism of this method is stated in Holm-Nielsen.<sup>91</sup> It is difficult to know if the author had a particular biblical passage in mind or was simply using stereotyped words and expressions. In the final analysis, however, it may make little difference as certain words and phrases became stereotyped because of their use in scripture. The first two

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<sup>89</sup> Bultmann, *John*, 452-454.

<sup>90</sup> Zimmerli and Jeremias, 92.

<sup>91</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 302.

assumptions follow the broad scholarly consensus since the publication of the initial findings in the Judean wilderness. This consensus has recently been challenged by Norman Golb of the University of Chicago.<sup>92</sup> He argues that the scrolls are not at all sectarian. If so, then there is no reason to suppose that the author of the *Hymn Scroll* was related in any way to the author or authors of the *Manual of Discipline*. The fact that the scrolls were found together means as little as finding a copy of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* along with a copy of the *Chicago Maroon* in some student's backpack. This would mean that the author of the *Hymn Scroll* is much less likely to be the Teacher of Righteousness. Kittel accepts the sectarian nature of the community, but is suspicious of statements about the Teacher of Righteousness, noting that statements about him in other scrolls are written in apocalyptic language.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, if there was no Qumran sect, then, of course, it could not be compared with the early Christian community. The *Hymn Scroll* would remain valuable as an example of the suffering righteous genre in Jewish literature, but, like the Fourth Song of the Servant or the Psalms, little could be said concerning authorship or if the hymns referred to historical events. It is too early to know if Golb's ideas will become accepted. Given the possibility that the above assumptions made by Dupont-Sommer and others are incorrect, however, then the comparisons below must be considered tentative.

Accepting Dupont-Sommer's thesis that the "I" of the *Hymn Scroll* refers to the Teacher of Righteousness and the founder of the Qumran community, the following points of concurrence suggest themselves. The Teacher is described as a "Shoot" who is despised and rejected, opposed by evildoers and deserted by his friends. His chastisement, which he accepts with equanimity, produces healing. He is given the light of knowledge and vindication by God; the Teacher becomes a source of healing and special knowledge. Mansoor believes that characteristics of the author are identifiable,

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<sup>92</sup> Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* New York: Scribner, 1995.

<sup>93</sup> Kittel, 9.



even if one is not willing to name him categorically as the Teacher. Specifically, the author of the *Hymn Scroll* considers God to be both his father and mother, he has become a spiritual leader and father to his community, he is a teacher and interpreter of knowledge given by God, he receives divine revelation, through him God enlightens and performs wonders, he is persecuted and driven away by his enemies, members of his own community slander him to his enemies, despite his suffering his sole delight is to praise God, and God rescues him from his suffering.<sup>94</sup>

Unlike the authors of the New Testament, the author of the *Hymn Scroll* did not select proof texts from the Prime Testament, but made organic use of the whole.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Hymn Scroll* was certainly different from that of the New Testament. Holm-Nielsen identifies two possibilities: liturgical use, as the Psalms themselves, or the personal edification more common to later Judaism.<sup>96</sup> For purposes of group cohesion, it would be understandable for members of the community to meditate upon their founder. This is all the more true if the members of this community no longer had commerce with the worshippers at the Temple.<sup>97</sup> New discoveries from 4Q suggest that the Qumran community had a number of their own psalms.<sup>98</sup> Mansoor believes that the *Hymn Scroll* fits the genre of post-biblical hymns such as Psalms of Solomon and the canticles in the prologue of Luke. In a similar vein, Kittel notes the similarity of the *Hymn Scroll* with New Testament hymns.<sup>99</sup> Yet for all the imitation of the biblical Psalms, Mansoor senses that the full meaning of the *Hymn Scroll* is best appreciated by looking to apocalyptic hymns of the Apocrypha and New Testament.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Mansoor, 45-49.

<sup>95</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 306.

<sup>96</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 332.

<sup>97</sup> Holm-Nielsen, 337.

<sup>98</sup> Eileen M. Schuller, 4Q380 and 4Q381: *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran* in Dimant and Rappaport, 90-99.

<sup>99</sup> Kittel, 6.

<sup>100</sup> Mansoor, 25-26.

The least that can be said is that the Teacher of Righteousness, the founder of the community, separated himself from normative Judaism in the second century BCE and was persecuted for his beliefs, leading to his execution. The death of the leader did not lead to the death of community, however, and his life was remembered and mediated upon through the use of the *Hymn Scroll*, which had been written by the Teacher or by one of his disciples. Either the Teacher himself, or his followers after his death, saw parallels between his life and the description of the Servant of Yahweh in Second Isaiah. Unlike the New Testament, nowhere do the Dead Sea Scrolls categorically identify the Teacher with the Servant, but striking allusions from the Fourth Song of the Servant are used to describe him and his life. Dupont-Sommer and others go farther by stating that his death, like that of Jesus, may have been seen by the community as having a redemptive purpose and that the Teacher may have been perceived as one of two messiahs, along with an expectation that he would return with the next messiah at some future time. This, however, may go beyond the data at hand. At any rate, the community considered the Teacher of Righteousness to have been given special knowledge by God and that by entering into the New Covenant their community was preparing the way for the messianic age.<sup>101</sup>

The authors of the New Testament put the Song to various uses, most likely drawing on earlier Christian traditions. In I Peter all Christians are called upon to imitate the service of Christ who bears our sin. Hebrews, Acts and the synoptic tradition draw parallels between the suffering of the Servant and that of Jesus, making Jesus both sin-bearer and sin-offering. The story of the eunuch may have been common in Christian circles. Mark stresses Jesus as healer, whereas Luke emphasizes Jesus' identification with transgressors. Matthew speaks of Jesus fulfilling the scripture. An apologetic and explanation for Jewish unbelief may have made use of the Fourth Song in combination

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<sup>101</sup> Vermes, 35-51.

with Isaiah 6:9-10; it seems to have been known independently by both Paul and John, though Paul uses it in a more missionary context.

The Fourth Song of the Servant has been read by Christians for centuries as a direct prediction of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus. Scholars like Jeremias see the Servant idea as a major influence on both the New Testament and on the self-understanding of Jesus. Only relatively recently have some scholars questioned this. M. D. Hooker and C. K. Barret claim that the New Testament makes only an occasional use of the Servant theme but that no christology is built on it. Conzelmann believes that all that can be said is that the early church employed a simple exegesis and read the Fourth Song in light of Jesus' death. He also believes that the Song had some influence on the *uJpeYr hJmw`n* formula.<sup>102</sup> Caird, on the other hand, finds a middle ground.<sup>103</sup> He notes no developed doctrine of the Servant in the New Testament based on the surprisingly few references and quotations actually used. He does believe, however, that the text may have exercised an influence upon Jesus himself and that it was the Fourth Song which forced early Christians to rethink traditional ideas of messiahship in the light of Jesus' Passion. Caird further notes that it is likely that Jesus knew the Aramaic Targum of Isaiah, which contains a messianic reference, as did the early church.<sup>104</sup>

The New Testament, according to Dodd and confirmed by Caird, uses only certain passages and themes from the Prime Testament. Specifically, the New Testament appropriates apocalyptic scriptures, scriptures of the New Israel, and references to the righteous sufferer as proof texts.<sup>105</sup> Bultmann's position is that while a suffering servant was certainly present in Israel's conscious, there was no idea of a suffering and dying

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<sup>102</sup> Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*. New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1968, 44.

<sup>103</sup> Caird and Hurst, 311.

<sup>104</sup> Caird and Hurst, 314-315.

<sup>105</sup> Caird and Hurst, 59.

messiah.<sup>106</sup> Dupont-Sommer claims otherwise, but Bultmann's position remains majority opinion among New Testament scholars. Application of both concepts in the one person of Jesus of Nazareth is, then, unique and original with Christianity. Jesus, as Messiah, is also seen as uniquely fulfilling the vocation of Israel.<sup>107</sup>

Like the community of Qumran, the early Christian communities were faced with the unjust death of their founder. Like those at Qumran, and perhaps even more emphatically, they identified Jesus as the Servant of Yahweh, whose suffering was understood to be healing. This identification came to be exclusive; Jesus fulfilled the words of Isaiah so completely that no other identification of the Servant would be possible. While this may or may not have been hinted at at Qumran, the Christians made it clear: their Messiah was a suffering, redemptive messiah who was vindicated by resurrection.

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<sup>106</sup> Bultmann, *Theology*, 31.

<sup>107</sup> Caird and Hurst, 60.

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