

The Theological Profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah

Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible

Editorial Board

Russell Fuller (*University of San Diego*)

Matthias Henze (*Rice University*)

Armin Lange (*University of Vienna*)

Emanuel Tov (*Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

VOLUME 5

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/thbs

The Theological Profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah

By

Attila Bodor



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Bodor, Attila, author.

Title: The theological profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah / by Attila Bodor.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2021] | Series: Supplements to the textual history of the Bible, 2214–5958 ; volume 5 | Revision of author's thesis (doctoral)—Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2020, titled The theological profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah : a study of the interpretative readings. | Includes bibliographical references and index. Summary: "In *The Theological Profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah*, Attila Bodor explores theological elements in the book of Isaiah as represented in the Peshitta. Through a close study of its interpretative renderings, the author shows that this lesser-known ancient version is not only an important witness to textual history and a repository of early exegetical traditions but also testifies to the beliefs of the early Syriac-speaking community from which the Peshitta emerged. In the monograph, sixty-three Peshitta divergences from the Hebrew version of Isaiah are collected and analyzed in order to illustrate the theological implications and the impact of these divergent renderings on the interpretation and reception of the major Isaianic themes that treat God, the Messiah, and the people of God."—Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021031525 (print) | LCCN 2021031526 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004469037 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004469129 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Bible. Isaiah. Syriac. Peshitta. | Bible. Isaiah. Syriac. Peshitta—Versions. | Bible. Isaiah—Criticism, interpretation, etc. | Bible. Isaiah—Comparative studies.

Classification: LCC BS1514.S97 P472 2021 (print) | LCC BS1514.S97 (ebook) | DDC 224/.1043—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021031525>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021031526>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2214-5958

ISBN 978-90-04-46903-7 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-46912-9 (e-book)

Copyright 2021 by Attila Bodor. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau Verlag and V&R Unipress. Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*Vidimus et approbamus ad normam Statutorum
Pontificii Instituti Biblici de Urbe.*

•••

Romae, die 30 octobris anni 2020.

Prof. MORRISON Craig

Prof. MARKL Dominik

••
•

Contents

Acknowledgments	XI
Abbreviations	XII
1 Introduction	1
1 Previous Research	3
1.1 <i>Research on the Early History of the Peshitta</i>	3
1.1.1 Jewish Origin	5
1.1.2 Christian Origin	8
1.1.3 Jewish-Christian Origin	9
1.2 <i>Research on the Peshitta of Isaiah</i>	11
1.2.1 Weisz (1893) and Warszawski (1897)	12
1.2.2 Diettrich (1905)	14
1.2.3 Delekat (1956) and Running (1964)	14
1.2.4 Brock (1987)	16
1.2.5 Other Studies	17
2 Present Study	21
2.1 <i>Purpose</i>	21
2.2 <i>Method</i>	22
2.2.1 The Peshitta Renderings Analyzed in This Monograph	22
2.2.2 The Comparison between the Peshitta Translation and the Hebrew Text of Isaiah	24
2.2.3 The Method Used to Study the Interpretive Renderings of P-Isa	26
3 Summary	28
2 The Representation of God	29
1 Divine Attributes	29
1.1 <i>God: The Mighty One</i>	30
1.1.1 Presentation of Evidence	31
1.1.2 Assessment of Evidence	34
1.2 <i>God: The Supporter and Helper</i>	37
1.2.1 Presentation of Evidence	38
1.2.2 Assessment of Evidence	44
2 Divine Acts	46
2.1 <i>God: Protagonist of the Events</i>	46
2.1.1 Presentation of Evidence	46
2.1.2 Assessment of Evidence	56

2.2	<i>The Consistency of God's Deeds</i>	56
2.2.1	A Preliminary Remark	56
2.2.2	Presentation of Evidence	57
2.2.3	Assessment of Evidence	65
2.3	<i>Profanation by God</i>	66
2.3.1	Presentation of Evidence	67
2.3.2	Assessment of Evidence	71
3	Monotheism	72
3.1	<i>Presentation of Evidence</i>	73
3.2	<i>Assessment of Evidence</i>	76
4	Conclusion	77
3	The Representation of the Messiah	79
1	Messianism in the Book of Isaiah	79
1.1	<i>The Concept of Messianism</i>	79
1.2	<i>Messianic Ideas in Early Judaism and the New Testament</i>	82
1.3	<i>Messianic Passages in Isaiah</i>	85
2	The Peshitta Rendering of the "Messianic Triptych": Isaiah 7, 9, and 11	88
2.1	<i>Isaiah 7:14, 16</i>	89
2.2	<i>Isaiah 9:5</i>	99
2.3	<i>Isaiah 11:1-3</i>	103
3	Messianism in the Isaiah Apocalypse	108
3.1	<i>Messianism or Eschatology?</i>	109
3.2	<i>An Eschatological or a Messianic Banquet on Zion?</i>	115
4	Messianism in the Suffering Servant Song	123
5	Other Messianic Passages	138
6	Conclusion	145
6.1	<i>A Messiah Like That of the Hebrew Text</i>	145
6.2	<i>God in a Messianic Role</i>	146
6.3	<i>A More Explicit Messiah</i>	147
6.4	<i>A Less Historical Messiah</i>	149
6.5	<i>Jesus as Messiah in the Peshitta of Isaiah?</i>	149
4	Some Aspects of the Representation of the People of God	152
1	Judah and Israel	153
1.1	<i>Presentation of Evidence</i>	153
1.2	<i>Assessment of Evidence</i>	162
2	Israel and the Nations	162
2.1	<i>Presentation of Evidence</i>	163
2.2	<i>Assessment of Evidence</i>	174

3	The Lives of People	175
3.1	<i>Drunkenness</i>	176
3.1.1	Presentation of Evidence	176
3.1.2	Assessment of Evidence	182
3.2	<i>Haughtiness</i>	183
3.2.1	Presentation of Evidence	184
3.2.2	Assessment of Evidence	195
4	Conclusion	197
5	Conclusion	199
1	The Theological Intention of the Translator and the Theological Implications of the Translation	199
2	The Theological Profile of the Peshitta of Isaiah	200
2.1	<i>The Representation of God</i>	200
2.2	<i>The Representation of the Messiah</i>	200
2.3	<i>Some Aspects of the Representation of the People of God</i>	202
3	The Peshitta of Isaiah as an “Almost” Faithful Translation	203
6	Excursus on the Origin of the Peshitta of Isaiah	204
1	Assessment of Studies on the Origin of the Peshitta of Isaiah	204
1.1	<i>The Religious Background of the Peshitta of Isaiah 7:14</i>	205
1.2	<i>The Religious Background of the Peshitta of Isaiah 25:6–8</i>	206
1.3	<i>The Religious Background of the Peshitta of Isaiah 52:13–53:12</i>	208
2	Assessment of Studies on the Origin of the Peshitta of the Old Testament	210
2.1	<i>The Current State of the Research</i>	210
2.2	<i>The Results of the Present Research</i>	211
3	Conclusion	213
	Bibliography	215
	Index of Modern Authors	235
	Index of Ancient Sources	237
	Index of P-Isaiah Passages Analyzed	245

Acknowledgments

This book is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. I would like to express my appreciation to those who have helped and supported me in my research. My greatest debt is owed to Prof. Craig E. Morrison, my doctoral supervisor, for his exacting guidance and critical insight during the writing of this work. His insightful comments and encouragement have been an indispensable support over my years of study. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dominik Markl, my *Lizenzvater* and the second advisor of the present study, who checked and improved the entire manuscript. I am also grateful to the thesis committee members and the reviewers by THBSup, especially Emanuel Tov, who offered valuable suggestions which improved the overall quality of this present work.

In the first semester of my doctoral studies, I had the privilege of reading the Hebrew and the Syriac text of Isaiah 6–12 together with Hugh G.M. Williamson. I have appreciated his fascinating knowledge of the book of Isaiah, his helpful suggestions, and expert advice. During the writing of the dissertation, I spent six weeks in London and Oxford where I met Sebastian P. Brock and David G.K. Taylor. I am very grateful for their availability and insightful comments on my ongoing research.

I also want to express my gratitude to all the professors at the Pontifical Biblical Institute who have contributed to my formation. I am also grateful for the support of the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum where I spent seven years. Many thanks are due to my bishops, Dr. György Jakubinyi and Dr. Gergely Kovács, who supported my study during all these years. I offer special thanks to Martin Roos, bishop emeritus of Temeswar, who gave me all the volumes of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten & Neuen Testament*. Finally, heartfelt thanks to my family, my colleagues in Rome and Alba Iulia, and all my friends for their support and encouragement.

Attila Bodor
Rome

Abbreviations

1 General Abbreviations

The sigla for the Peshitta manuscripts follow Sebastian P. Brock, ed., *Isaiah*, part 3 and fasc. 1 of *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, ed. Peshiṭta Institute Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1987; 2nd impression, 1993), viii–xxxvii.

BTR	Basic Textus Receptus
LXX	Septuagint
MS(s)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
NT	New Testament
OL	Old Latin (Vetus Latina) Translation of OT and NT
OS	Old Syriac (Vetus Syra) Translation of the Four Gospels
OS-C	Old Syriac (Vetus Syra) Translation of the Four Gospels, Codex Curetonianus
OS-S	Old Syriac (Vetus Syra) Translation of the Four Gospels, Codex Sinaiticus
OT	Old Testament
P-NT	Peshitta New Testament
P-OT	Peshitta Old Testament
P	Peshitta (refers to the text of P-OT and/or P-Isaiah)
T	Targum
T-N	Targum Neofiti
T-O	Targum Onqelos
T-PJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TR	Textus Receptus
V	Vulgate

2 Abbreviations of Ancient Texts

<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i> = <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Azym.</i>	Ephraem Syrus, <i>Hymni Azymorum</i> = <i>Hymns on Unleavened Bread</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	Aphrahat, <i>Demonstrationes</i> = <i>Demonstrations</i>
<i>Fid.</i>	Ephraem Syrus, <i>Sermones de fide</i> = <i>Sermons on Faith</i>
<i>Her.</i>	Philo, <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i> = <i>Who Is the Heir?</i>
<i>Migr.</i>	Philo, <i>De migratione Abrahami</i> = <i>On the Migration of Abraham</i>
<i>Nat.</i>	Ephraem Syrus, <i>De Nativitate Sermones</i> = <i>Sermons on the Nativity</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	Theodorus Mopsuestenus, <i>Commentarius in XII Prophetas: In Sophoniam</i>
<i>Virt.</i>	Philo, <i>De virtutibus</i> = <i>On the Virtues</i>

3 Journals, Series, and Major Reference Works

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
AS	<i>Aramaic Studies</i>
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDAG	Bauer Walter, Frederick W. Danker, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> . Edited by Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSD	<i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded Upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith</i> . Edited by Jessie Payne Smith. Oxford: Clarendon, 1903
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by David J.A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014
DSI	De Septuaginta Investigationes

<i>DTC</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> . Edited by Alfred Vacant et al. 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908–1950
EHS.T	Europäische Hochschulschriften, Theologie
<i>EL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i>
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
<i>GKC</i>	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arther E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
GOF.B	Göttinger Orientalforschungen, Biblica et patristica
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E.J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HThKAT	Herder Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HUBP	The Hebrew University Bible Project
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IECOT	International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAB</i>	<i>Journal for the Aramaic Bible</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by Isidore Singer. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1925
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Joüon	Joüon, Paul. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . Translated and revised by Takamitsu Muraoka. SubBi 27. Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2006
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

LD	Lectio Divina
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LiBi	Lire la Bible
<i>LXX.H</i>	<i>Handbuch zur Septuaginta – Handbook to Septuagint</i> . Edited by Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Siegfried Kreuzer. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2016–
MNTS	McMaster New Testament Studies
MPI	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute
<i>Mus</i>	<i>Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
NEB.T	Die Neue Echter-Bibel, Themen
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
Nöldeke	Nöldeke, Theodor. <i>Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik</i> . 2nd ed. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1898
<i>NPNF</i> ²	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i> , Series 2
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OrChrAn	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PETSE	Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus</i> : Series Graeca]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1857–1886
<i>PS</i>	<i>Patrologia Syriaca</i> . Edited by René Graffin. 3 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894–1926
PUM	Publications of the University of Manchester
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
REB	Revised English Bible
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RTP</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
SBEC	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SS	Scriptores Syri

SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StBi	Studi biblici
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STLI	Studies and Texts, Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 16 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2018
THAT	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by Ernst Jenni, with assistance from Claus Westermann. 2 vols. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971–1976
THB	<i>Textual History of the Bible</i> . Edited by Armin Lange et al. Leiden: Brill, 2016–
THBSup	Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible
Thesaurus	<i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i> . Edited by Robert Payne Smith. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901
ThWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. 10 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970–2016
TLOT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by Ernst Jenni, with assistance from Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997
TOB	Traduction œcuménique de la Bible – Ecumenical Translation of the Bible
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZKT	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>