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"Like a Booth in a Vineyard":

The Remnant Theology in the Book of Isaiah and Its Implications on Early Jewish and Christian Reception History

Antti Laato

1. Introduction

Professor Göran Eidevall is a well-known scholar in the field of Old Testament prophetic literature in which he has made many significant research contributions. In his doctoral dissertation, Eidevall applied Eva Kittay's perspective theory for understanding metaphors in the Book of Hosea. According to Kittay, a metaphor functions so that relations are transformed in one semantic field ("vehicle field") to another semantic field ("topic domain") and in this transformation the context should be considered. Eidevall developed Kittay's theory to apply in particular to intertextual links between different texts in the Bible and especially within the same biblical book.

In this article, I follow Eidevall's intertextual approach to metaphors and discuss the ways in which the Book of Isaiah, especially Isa 1–39, uses metaphors to denote the remnant of Jerusalem under the pressure of enemies and how the latter part of the book, Isa 40–66, transforms this remnant theology. My starting-point is the metaphor in Isa 1:8–9 where Jerusalem is depicted as "a booth in a vineyard." Two other metaphors "like a shelter in a cucumber field," and "like a besieged city" in Isa 1:8 have similar topics.⁴ The vehicle fields consist of three metaphorical expressions: "a booth in a vineyard" or "a shelter in a cucumber field" or "a besieged city" and these are related to a topic domain where the remnant is left in Jerusalem while enemies destroy the land of Judah around the city (Isa 1:9): "If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we would have been like Sodom and become like Gomorrah." These three metaphors for the remnant of Jerusalem/Judah in Isa 1:4–9 are significant for the remnant theology of the Book of Isaiah because Isaiah 1 is an introduction to the whole book.⁵ According to Isa 1:1, the prophetic message of Isaiah concerns "Judah and Jerusalem" and the content of Isaiah 1 is focussed on the city of Jerusalem. The passage which follows, Isa 2:1–5, with its new introduction (Isa 2:1), confirms the Zion-centred message of the Book of Isaiah and is a programmatic passage in the whole book.⁶

My aim in this article is to contribute to the remnant theology in the Book of Isaiah and its later reception history. In addition to the Book of Isaiah, I use the Book of Ben Sira and early Christian reception history to illustrate the ways in which the remnant theology has been treated. The analysis is done in three different stages. *First*, I deal with different metaphors in Isa 1–39 which use different vehicle fields to conceptualise the same topic domain concerning the remnant in Jerusalem (section 2). I demonstrate that different metaphors have been used to describe the remnant in Jerusalem under the enemy pressure. This corresponds to the story in Isa 36–37 where the remnant of the people was saved from the invasion of Sennacherib. In section 2 I apply Eidevall's methodological insights to metaphor criticism. *Second*, I show that the remnant theology related to Jerusalem is not an isolated

¹ See, e.g., Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert*; idem, *Prophecy and Propaganda*; idem, *Sacrificial Rhetoric*; idem, *Amos*.

² Kittay, *Metaphor*, 13–39.

³ Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert*, 24–41.

⁴ Note also the useful discussion of metaphors in Isa 1:8–9 in Larsson, "Trouble in God's Household," 91–98.

⁵ See, for example, Eck, *Jesaja 1*.

⁶ See the thesis which I presented in Laato, "About Zion I Will Not be Silent"; idem, "Understanding Zion Theology." Concerning Isa 2:2–5, note also Eidevall, "Swords into Plowshares." In his article in the Festschrift dedicated for me, Eidevall dealt with Isa 2:2–5 and its reception history. It is now a great honour for me to write a similar contribution and deal with the remnant theology of the Book of Isaiah and its reception history.

theme in Isa 1–39 but, rather, a constitutional theological theme in the Book of Isaiah (section 3). The story of the miraculous salvation of Jerusalem in Isa 36–37 is a paradigm for YHWH's ability to save Jerusalem from the crisis of the exile. In section 3, I have to limit my examination to "the first and last things"- texts in Isa 40–55. Nevertheless, with their aid, it is possible to demonstrate how the context of the new era for Jerusalem (in the postexilic period) is linked with the prophecies of Isa 1–39. The aim of such a linking is to show that God planned the salvation of Jerusalem a long time beforehand. The remnant of the people will return to Jerusalem and rebuild the city. *Third*, I relate this discussion of the remnant theology to my recent research interests where the main focus is on the reception history of the Book of Isaiah in Judeo-Christian borderlines. I demonstrate that the remnant theology of the Book of Isaiah was relevant in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (section 4), and that it was also an important theme in early Christian writings (section 5).

2. Jerusalem under attack

In scholarly and commentary literature Isa 1:8–9 has been understood as referring to the historical situation in 701 BCE.¹⁰ This being the case the enemy can be identified as Assyria which during the reign of Sennacherib invaded Judah. Sennacherib, in his own inscriptions, tells that after having destroyed fortified cities of Judah, he blocked Jerusalem and trapped Hezekiah "like a bird in a cage."11 The vehicle field of this metaphor consists of "a bird in a cage" and it is related to the topic domain of the catastrophic situation in Judah where Hezekiah was forced to see from his royal residence how the Assyrian troops destroyed the land. Both metaphoric expressions "like a booth in vineyard" and "like a bird in a cage" are related to the same historical situation and indicate the distress of Judah under the attack of the Assyrian army. In spite of this tragedy caused by the Assyrian army (Isa 36:1), the Book of Isaiah gives another viewpoint to this historical event too. God saved the city of Jerusalem by destroying the great Assyrian army (Isa 37:36). 12 A small remnant was left in the city which was saved from the destroying power of the Assyrian army (Isa 37:31–32, NSRV): "The surviving remnant of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward; for from Jerusalem a remnant shall go out, and from Mount Zion a band of survivors. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this." While the annalistic report of Sennacherib does not give any hope for Hezekiah, in contrast, the Book of Isaiah interrelates the metaphor for the remnant of Jerusalem to give a more hopeful picture in Isa 36–37.

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⁷ Concerning this methodological approach see especially Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*; see also his *Isaiah 1−5* and *Isaiah 6−12*. I have found Williamson's methodological approach as valuable in understanding the internal dynamics between Isa 1−39 and Isa 40−55. Concerning the whole book of Isaiah see further Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile* and "The Book of Isaiah: Its Final Structure"; Berges, *Book of Isaiah*. See further Beuken's and Berges' commentaries. I have followed these methodological outlines earlier in Laato, "*About Zion I Will Not be Silent*" and *Message and Composition*.

⁸ The project has received funding from the Polin Institute and the Academy of Finland for 2022–2026.
⁹ In my *Message and Composition*, I emphasise that early Jewish reception history may help scholars to see how both the message and the composition of the book was formed. Scribes who wrote early reception historical interpretations on the Book of Isaiah received training in scribal schools. In these schools they may have learned to know interpretive strategies of the Book of Isaiah which went back to those scribes who formed the final composition of the Book of Isaiah (pp. 13–19). In that study I demonstrated that Ben Sira's way of characterizing the message of Isaiah corresponds well to the interpretive strategy in the present form of the Book of Isaiah (pp. 43–53).

¹⁰ See, e.g., the discussion in Wildberger, *Jesaja 1–12*, 18–31; Eck, *Jesaja 1*, 352–364; Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 47–73.

¹¹ This quotation can be found, for example, in the Rassam cylinder (Grayson and Novotny, *Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib* Part 1:65) which is the most relevant and earliest historical document of the Assyrian invasion in Judah. For this see Cogan, "Cross-Examining the Assyrian Witnesses."

¹² See Childs, Isaiah and Assyrian Crisis; Kahn, Sennacherib's Campaign against Judah.

Vehicle field	Topic domain	Literary context
Jerusalem is "a booth in a	Jerusalem is left out from the	The Book of Isaiah: Enemy
vineyard"	destruction	troops destroy Judah, but
		Jerusalem is saved
Hezekiah is "a bird in a cage"	Hezekiah is helpless in his	Sennacherib's annals: Assyria
	royal residence	has destroyed the land of Judah
		and humiliated Hezekiah

Isa 1–39 contains several texts where the invasion of the enemy army against Jerusalem is described by means of metaphors which illustrate that only Jerusalem is left in Judah. ¹³ A striking parallel to Isa 1:8–9 is Isa 8:5–8 where the Assyrian invasion is depicted with the metaphor of the flooding river (Euphrates). Assyrian troops "will sweep on into Judah" and "reach as far as the neck" (Isa 8:8). The metaphoric expressions indicate that the land of Judah is conceptualised as a human figure who is to be drowned under the flooding waters. Nevertheless, the head of Judah is left intact, and that head must be Jerusalem. This becomes clear from the similar expressions in Isa 7:8–9 which refer to the head of Israel, i.e., Samaria and the head of Aram, i.e., Damascus. According to these metaphoric expressions, the land is conceived of as a human figure and its royal city with her head. Accordingly, the head of Judah is Jerusalem. The metaphoric expressions in Isa 8:8 can be compared with Isa 1:7–9 in the following ways:

Vehicle field	Topic domain	Comparison to Isa 1:7–9
Assyrian invasion is flooding water which "will sweep on into Judah"	Assyrian troops destroy the land of Judah	Enemy army invades Judah and destroys it systematically
Judah is a human who is to be drowned, because flooding waters "reach as far as the neck"	Jerusalem is the head of Judah and cannot be conquered (Isa 8:8–10)	Jerusalem is left over "like a booth in a vineyard"

I have argued elsewhere that the Deuteronomistic-oriented editor used Isa 8:5–10 to explain that prior to the event Isaiah saw what would happen in Israel and Judah in 2 Kings 16–20.¹⁴ Isa 8:5–8 contains later explanative additions in verse 6b ("and has rejoiced for Rezin and the son of Remaliah") and 7aß ("the king of Assyria and all his glory"). These additions were made at the time Isa 8:5–8 was related to the Deuteronomistic History and similar editorial work is visible in Isa 7:1 (= 2 Kgs 16:5) too. The aim of these additions was to reinterpret the original prophecy of doom directed against Judah to concern the historical events recounted in 2 Kings 16–20 where Assyria destroyed Israel and Samaria, and subsequently also attempted to destroy Judah but failed to do so. That failure is explained as being because Judah had a loyal king, Hezekiah, who was identified with Immanuel (Isa 8:8). Because of Immanuel, God decided to save Jerusalem from destruction—something which was presented in Isa 8:9–10 with linguistic allusions to the nickname of Hezekiah, Immanuel. ¹⁵ The following table illustrates how Isa 8:5–10 was understood in the Deuteronomistic edition:

¹³ A classical study in this question is Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* where he discusses several Isaianic texts and their relation to Isaiah 36–37 (par 2 Kings 18–19). See recently also Kahn, *Sennacherib's Campaign against Judah*.

¹⁴ Laato, Message and Composition, 40–43, 51–52.

¹⁵ The Chronicler follows this interpretive scenario in 2 Chr 32 as indicated in 2 Chr 32:7–8 where Hezekiah refers to the nickname Immanuel. See more closely Laato, *Message and Composition*, 28–43.

Israel's evil plan against Judah in	2 Kings 16 par Isa 7:1–17	Isa 8:6
Syro-Ephraimite war		
Israel will be punished by Assyria	2 Kings 17	Isa 8:7
Assyria's attempt to destroy	2 Kgs 18–19 par Isa 36–37	Isa 8:8
Immanuel's land		
Assyria will fail to destroy	2 Kgs 19:36	Isa 8:9–10
Jerusalem	_	

By relating Isa 8:6–10 to 2 Kings 16–20 the editor of the Book of Isaiah managed to create a historical context for Sennacherib's invasion linking it to the metaphorical expression "will reach as far as neck" in Isa 8:8. This being the case, the metaphorical expression corresponds well to the metaphor "like a booth in a vineyard" in Isa 1:8–9. The metaphorical expression of Isa 8:8 (i.e., "will reach as far as the neck") is also found in Isa 30:28 where, in its literary context, Isa 30:27–33 refers to the invasion of the enemy army against Judah and Jerusalem. Isa 30:33 indicates that the enemy king ¹⁶ and his army would experience hard times in the vicinity of Jerusalem. Close parallels to Isa 30:27–33 are Isa 29:1–8 and 31:4–9 where the enemy army attacks Jerusalem but is ultimately incapable of conquering the city. ¹⁷ It is worth noting that in all three passages, Isa 29:1–8; 30:27–33; 31:4–9, Jerusalem is likened to a furnace (Isa 29:1; 30:33; 31:9) which means hard times for Jerusalem because of the enemy (Assyrian) invasion, but which also refers to the destiny of the enemy (Assyrian) army—a topic which is related to Isa 36–37. ¹⁸ The following table illustrates these metaphoric expressions:

Vehicle field	Topic domain for Jerusalem	Topic domain for
		Enemy/Assyria
Isa 29:1: Jerusalem is "Ariel"	Jerusalem is under the	The enemy attacking Jerusalem
(nickname for altar)	oppression of the enemy attack	will be destroyed (Isa 29:7–8)
Isa 30:33: Jerusalem is	Jerusalem is under the	The enemy king attacking
"Tophet" (nickname for the	oppression of the attack of the	Jerusalem will be destroyed
burning place)	enemy king	(Isa 30:33)
Isa 31:9: YHWH's "fire is in	Jerusalem is under the	Assyria will be dismayed and
Zion" and his "furnace is in	oppression of the Assyrian	flee (Isa 31:8–9)
Jerusalem."	attack	

Even though in the final composition of the Book of Isaiah Isa 1:8–9 is related to the positive traditions concerning the deliverance of Jerusalem, the verses are not a prophecy of salvation for Zion. The verses form part of Isaiah 1, where the people of Judah are called to repent. A similar metaphor for Zion, which according to Isa 1:8–9 is left as "a booth in a vineyard, like a shelter in a cucumber field," is presented in Isa 30:15–17. It seems that Judah's willingness to co-operate with the Egyptian cavalry (Isa 30:1–5; 31:1–3) is criticized in Isa 30:15–17. The prophecy ends with the following scenario: "until you are left like a flagstaff on the top of a mountain, like a signal on a hill" (Isa 30:17). These metaphoric expressions are related to Jerusalem as becomes clear from Isa 30:18–19 which *expressis verbis* refers to the people of Zion. This being the case, I interpret Isa 30:17 so that the fleeing Judean military troops take their final place of escape in Zion and become "like a flagstaff"

¹⁶ The king presumably refers to the Assyrian king because in the Book of Isaiah the enemy attacking Judah is often related to the Assyrian king (see Isa 7:17, 20; 8:7; 10:12; 30:33).

¹⁷ For the analysis of these three texts Isa 29:1–8; 30:27–33; 31:4–9 as referring to enemy invasion (Assyria) against Jerusalem, see especially Wildberger's, Beuken's and Roberts' commentaries on Isaiah. Especially Beuken (*Jesaja 28–39*, 110) argues that Ariel (Isa 29:1) is the nickname for the "altar." Tophet (Isa 30:33) and Isa 31:9 also refer to a burning place in Jerusalem.

¹⁸ For this link see Laato, Who is Immanuel? 225–243; idem, Message and Composition, 113–116.

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on the top of a mountain, like a signal on a hill." When Isa 30:17 is compared with the imagery of Isa 1:8–9, both passages relate the fate of Jerusalem to the military setback (Isa 1:4–9; 30:15–17) and describe the loneliness of the city with metaphors where Jerusalem is conceived of as being a higher place separated from its spatial terrain. The topic domain indicates the catastrophic situation of Jerusalem after the military setback. The following table illustrates the topic domains in the intertextual perspective between Isa 1:8 and 30:17, and both passages are related to the military setback in their literary contexts.

Vehicle field	Topic domain	Military setback
Jerusalem is "a booth in a vineyard" and "a shelter in a	Jerusalem is the only city not destroyed	Enemy troops destroy the land (Isa 1:4–9)
cucumber field."		
The fleeing troops are "like a	Jerusalem is the only place to	Judah's military troops escape
flagstaff on the top of a	which the defeated troops can	to Zion (Isa 31:18–19)
mountain" and "like a signal	flee	
on a hill."		

The references to the Egyptian cavalry in Isa 30:1–5, 15–17; 31:1–3 are related to the speech of RabSaqeh in Isa 36:4–20. The Assyrian commander demoralizes the inhabitants of Jerusalem because they can no longer rely on the Egyptian cavalry. RabSaqeh's speech indicates that the topic of Isa 30:15–17 explains the situation of Judah after the destruction of Judah at the hands of Sennacherib's troops (Isa 36:1). However, in the composition of Isa 30:15–26 even the hopeful aspect of salvation of Jerusalem is included, as in Isa 36–37.¹⁹

Summing up, I can conclude that the remnant theology in Isaiah 1–39 has been formulated with several metaphorical expressions where Jerusalem is left out of the enemy or Assyrian invasion corresponding to the story in Isa 36–37. In these metaphors Jerusalem is described as a place which is higher than its spatial terrain – a theme often presented in Zion-related texts (e.g., Ps 48:2-3; 121:1-2). Jerusalem is "a booth in a vineyard" and "a shelter in a cucumber field". Jerusalem is a head which is above the level of the flooding waters. Fleeing military troops escape to Zion and form a remnant there "like a flagstaff on the top of a mountain" or "like a signal on a hill." The paradigmatic story in Isa 36–37 indicates that YHWH has power to realize the promise in Isa 2:2–5 which begins: "In days to come the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains and shall be raised above the hills; all the nations shall stream to it." According to Isa 2:2, Zion will become a city which is on higher mount over all other places in the world. This being the case, the metaphorical expressions where Jerusalem is depicted as being on a higher level than its spatial terrain indirectly illustrate YHWH's salvation plan for his city. YHWH has destined that his city will be a place for the remnant of the people.²⁰

Isa 2:2–5 also indicates that the remnant theology in Isa 1–39 has relevance to the theology of the Book of Isaiah which, in its present form, is a literary composition in the postexilic period. Isa 6:11–13 is an important text in Isa 1–39 which deals with the remnant of Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem.²¹ The relevance of the remnant theology for the postexilic Jerusalem also becomes clear from the compositional history of Isa 36–37. I have demonstrated elsewhere that 2 Kings 18:13, 17–19:38 (and its parallel Isa 36–37) was compiled from two parallel stories (B1 and B2) in such a way that the historical events correspond paradigmatically to the events in Jeremiah 37–39:²² *First*, the

¹⁹ For this see Laato, *Message and Composition*, 110–113.

²⁰ For this interrelation between Isa 2:1–5 and the remnant theology of Isa 1–39 related to Zion and the Assyrian invasion, see Laato, "About Zion I Will Not be Silent."

²¹ For this see, e.g., Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 83–88; Laato, *Message and Composition*, 262.

²² See Laato, Who Is Immanuel? 293–296; idem, "About Zion I Will Not be Silent," 66–68; Message and Composition, 34–36. Cf. Hardmeier, Prophetie im Streit.

enemy army (Assyria or Babylonia) comes to Jerusalem to conquer it. *Second*, the enemy army hears that the military forces from Egypt/Ethiopia are approaching, and therefore must abandon its siege of Jerusalem to confront those particular forces. *Third*, after the Egyptian/Ethiopian forces are defeated the enemy army once again turns against Jerusalem. This being the case, the Deuteronomistic editor wanted to compare the historical events in 701 and 586 BCE. Because of the loyal Hezekiah Jerusalem was saved but this was not to be the case during the reign of the disloyal Zedekiah. A corresponding positive attitude towards Hezekiah is preserved in Jeremiah 26 where the prophecy of doom in Mic 3:12 caused Hezekiah to turn towards God and the result was the salvation of Jerusalem.

The righteousness of Hezekiah is presented in 2 Kings 16–20 also in relation to the fate of Samaria. Twice in 2 Kings 17 and then again in 2 Kgs 18:9–11 the destruction of Samaria, dated to the reign of Hezekiah, is mentioned.²³ Whereas the city of Samaria was destroyed during the reign of Hezekiah, Jerusalem was not because her king was righteous. In the Book of Isaiah this same theological pattern is presented comparing the fate of Samaria and Jerusalem. Isa 17 is a prophecy against Damascus (Isa 17:1) but the main target in Isa 17:1–11 is Israel which will be destroyed. Isa 17:12–14 was edited after this prophecy of doom. In terms of content and metaphors it provides close parallels to Isa 29:7–8 indicating that the best interpretation is that Isa 17:12–14 concerns the security and inviolability of Zion.²⁴ This being the case, Isa 17 links the fates of Samaria and Jerusalem together as in 2 Kings 17–20. Isa 28–31 should also be mentioned in this connection because it begins with the doom prophecy against Ephraim prophesying its destruction (Isa 28:1–4) but then continues by describing how the Lord will save a remnant of his people (Isa 28:5–6). While what this salvation actually means it not clearly presented in Isa 28:5–6 the context of Isa 28–31 indicates that the salvation of the remnant (cf. Isa 37:30–32) will be realized through divine intervention during the Assyrian invasion (Isa 29:1–8; 30:27–33; 31:4–9) when Sennacherib's army will be destroyed (Isa 37:36).

What happened to Jerusalem in the time of Isaiah and Hezekiah is a paradigm in Isa 1–39 which shows how YHWH has the power and might to take care of the future of Jerusalem. ²⁵ This aspect of salvation of Jerusalem is related to the remnant theology in Isa 1–39. In spite of the destruction, a small remnant was saved. The salvation of the remnant is a topic which also concerns the exilic crisis. I now turn to this topic.

3. The Future of Jerusalem belongs to YHWH

In this section my aim is to show that the remnant theology of Isaiah 1–39 has a function in the interpretation of Isa 40–66 which describes the fate of Judah after the catastrophe of the exile. When the remnant theology is interpreted from the perspective of the final form of the Book of Isaiah, it is closely related to two other texts. In addition to the forementioned Isa 6:11–13, Isa 10:20–23 also illustrates the remnant theology in the postexilic situation. The basic pattern in these two texts is similar to the remnant theological texts in Isa 1–39: in spite of destruction, a small remnant is left, and this remnant indicates a new hope. Isa 6:11–13 demonstrates how the remnant will be saved during the exile and this remnant will inherit salvation in the future. I have discussed the composition of Isa 10:5–34 elsewhere and argued that in it the Assyrian paradigm (according to which Jerusalem was saved during the reign of Hezekiah) is used to illustrate a new hope of the deliverance from the Babylonian power. Against this background, Isa 1:8–9, as a part of the introduction in Isaiah 1, is an

²³ Concerning the problem of this way to date the fall of Samaria to the reign of Hezekiah, see Laato, *Guide to Biblical Chronology*, 43–48.

²⁴ See, e.g., Wildberger, *Jesaja* 13–27, 664–677.

²⁵ This thesis was laid down in Laato, "About Zion I Will Not be Silent" and then discussed more closely from the perspective of early Jewish reception history in Laato, Message and Composition.

²⁶ Concerning the interconnection between these two passages See, e.g., Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, 565; Laato, *Message and Composition*, 73. Concerning Isa 1:7 and 6:11, see especially Eck, *Jesaja 1*, 343–348.

²⁷ For this see Laato, Message and Composition, esp. 122–123.

²⁸ Laato, Message and Composition, 70–74.

important theological statement on how YHWH, in spite of political catastrophes, will take care of his people so that a remnant will be saved.²⁹

The texts of Isa 40–66 are related to the historical period which postdates Isaiah's own time.³⁰ The destruction of Jerusalem is clearly indicated in Isa 40–66—and this destruction is also implied indirectly in many passages in Isa 1–39 and especially in Isaiah 39 which precedes Isa 40–66.³¹ The limits of this article do not allow me to deal with all intratextual connections between Isa 1–39 and Isa 40–66³² and, therefore, I concentrate only on four groups of passages which are related to the expressions "the first things" and "the last things." I have chosen these texts because they are relevant not only for the rhetorics of the Book of Isaiah but also in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (see section 4). These passages have been formulated in such a way that Yhwh will realize "the last things" in Isa 40–55 and they refer to "earlier" prophecies, i.e., "the first things" in Isa 1–39. In this way the Book of Isaiah gives the impression that YHWH has had everything under control. A long time prior to this, YHWH had given a prophetic word about these future events and then, in the new historical situation, the promised salvation for the *remnant* of his people is realized.

The *first* group of texts in Isa 40–48 consists of images of power. They include predictions (Isa 41:1–7; 21–29; 46:8–13; 48:12–16) that Yahweh will raise Cyrus to power. In the Cyrus-related texts it is noted that this plan of salvation was predicted by Yahweh a long time ago. Cyrus' task is to destroy Babylonia (Isa 46–47) and release the remnant of the people of Judah to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple there (Isa 44:28). The rise of Cyrus is depicted as an act of God and one of the key words is the verb העיר (Isa 41:2, 25). The statement is made that YHWH predicted this event a long time ago (see 41:22; 46:10) and reference is made to Isa 13–14 where Yahweh predicts that Babylonia will be annihilated by Medes and the same verb העיר is used there (Isa 13:17): "See, I am stirring up the Medes (מעיר עליהם אח־מדי) against them, who have no regard for silver and do not delight in gold." The second anti-Babylonian text in Isa 1–39 is Isa 21 and, even there, reference is made to the Medes who will destroy Babylonia (Isa 21:2, 9).

The *second* group of texts include images of time. These are the predictions which were made by Yahweh a long time ago and which deal with the destruction of Babylonia. Isa 46–47 contains a doom prophecy against Babylonia and in it emphasis is made that Yahweh foresaw its destruction by the Persian-Median king Cyrus (Isa 46:10) long ago. Isa 47 is a prophecy where the doom of Babylonia is expressed with terminology and themes similar to those found in Isa 13–14.³⁴ As scholars have earlier noted, there are strikingly similar themes between Isa 13–14 and Isa 47. In addition, both Isa 13–14 and Isa 47 are reminiscent of Isa 37:22–35 indicating that in the composition of the Book of Isaiah Assyria has become a typos for Babylonia.³⁵ A) Both Isa 14 and 47 are taunt songs (cf. Isa 37:22–35). B) Babylonia's pride is emphasized and criticized (Isa 13:11; 14:13–14; 47:7–8, 10; cf. Isa 37:23–25). C) Babylonia has oppressed the nations (Isa 14:4–6, 12, 16–17; 47:6; cf. Isa 37:24–27). D) YHWH will overthrow Babylonia (Isa 13:19–22; 14:22–23; 47:3, 9, 11; cf. Isa 37:29). E) Babylonia's pre-eminent status is reversed (Isa 13:19; 14:15; 47:1, 5; cf. the destruction of the Assyrian army). F) Babylonia has no hope for a future revival (Isa 13:20; 14:22; 47:9). From these parallels, one can conclude that in the message of the Book of Isaiah the destruction of Babylonia is seen as an important event which

²⁹ Concerning the possibility to interpret Isa 1:4–9 against different historical backgrounds, see further Ben Zvi, "Isaiah 1,4–9"; Eck, *Jesaja 1*, 336–337.

³⁰ This becomes evident, for example, in Abraham ibn Ezra's medieval commentary on the Book of Isaiah. For this see Simon, "Ibn Ezra between Medievalism and Modernism"; idem, "Abraham Ibn Ezra."

³¹ See discussion in Poulsen, *The Black Hole in Isaiah*.

³² For these links see especially Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah* and his commentary on Isaiah 1–12 as well as Stromberg, *Isaiah After Exile* as well as Laato, *Message and Composition*.

³³ For this, see Berges, *Jesaja* 40–48, 219, 405.

³⁴ For this see especially Begg, "Babylon in the Book of Isaiah"; Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*, 168–170.

³⁵ See more closely, how Assyria is typos for Babylonia in Laato, *Message and Composition*, 63–79.

ushered in the new era of salvation for the remnant of Judah, and which would finally lead to the eschatological redemption of Jerusalem. YHWH was able to see this destruction a long time before the actual events (Isa 45:21; 46:10) as he once saw the destruction of the Assyrian army during the reign of Hezekiah (Isa 37:26). Like Assyria, Babylonia also failed to understand the plans of YHWH (Isa 47:7): "You said, 'I shall be mistress forever', so that you did not lay these things to heart or remember their end."

The *third* group of texts use images related to the exodus. YHWH predicted long before the event that the exodus from Babylonia would take place (Isa 42:9; 43:18–19). The theme of the new exodus is expressed clearly in Isa 43:19 (NRSV):³⁷

I am about to do a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness (אשים במדבר דרך) and rivers in the desert.

The way (קרך) Yahweh will prepare for the remnant of his people is also called a "highway" (מסלה) in Isa 40–66 (Isa 40:3; 49:11; 62:10). In Isa 11:16 it is predicted that there will be a highway for the remnant of the people of God (עמו שאר) in the coming day of salvation. This being the case, by referring to the older Isaianic material³⁸ Isa 42:9; 43:19 announce that the new exodus from Babylonia is a decisive salvation historical event which will open the new era for Jerusalem.

The *fourth* theme related to the topic of the first things and the last things is found in the three self-presentations of YHWH (Isa 44:6–8; 45:21; 48:6–7).³⁹ These texts emphasize the sovereignty of Yahweh. He is the only God in the world who is capable of leading world history (Isa 44:6–8, NRSV):⁴⁰

Thus says the Lord, the King of Israel, and his Redeemer, the Lord of hosts:

I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god.

Who is like me? Let them proclaim it, let them declare and set it forth before me.

Who has announced from of old the things to come? Let them tell us what is yet to be.

Do not fear, or be afraid; have I not told you from of old and declared it? You are my witnesses!

Is there any god besides me?

There is no other rock; I know not one

It seems clear that YHWH's self-presentations as the only God in the world are related to passages such as Isa 10:5–15, according to which YHWH can use Assyria for his own purpose as he will. The

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 $^{^{36}}$ The Hebrew expression שיתי מימי אותה עשיתי המרא הלוא־שמעת (Isa 37:26) is reminiscent of the expressions מי (Isa 45:21) and מגיד מראשית אחרית ומקדם אשר (Isa 46:10).

³⁷ According to Lund (*Way Metaphors*, 179–200, esp. 190–191) the passage does not speak about the new exodus. Cf. similar opinions in Barstad, *Way in the Wilderness*. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in several connections Lund notes that the vocabulary used in Isaiah 40–55 is similar as the vocabulary in those passages of the Pentateuch where the exodus from Egypt has been referred to. I follow the old and well-argued idea of Anderson ("Exodus Typology") that in Isaiah 40–55 the new exodus from Babylon is related to that from Egypt. ³⁸ Older Isaianic material as known in tradition but not authentic Isaiah's prophecy.

³⁹ See Laato, "About Zion I Will Not Be Silent," 149–151.

⁴⁰ See Berges, *Jesaja 40–48*, 324–332.

idea that all nations will realize that YHWH is the only God in the world is again implied in Isa 2:2–4 where all nations and peoples will be willing to learn to know Israel's God.

These four groups of "the first things and the last things" texts, are, in my view, best witnesses to Williamson's basic thesis that there was an intensive period of the exilic or early postexilic time when older Isaianic material was interpreted to become relevant.⁴¹ Older Isaianic texts were regarded as predicting the coming eschatological era which would be realized for the remnant of the people and for Zion. This era was, however, followed by a disappointment⁴² where the topic of "the last things" was again postponed (Isa 61:4; 65:16–17).⁴³ Such a critical attitude toward the people is also visible in the so-called Deutero-Isaiah corpus. Isa 48:8–11, which follows "the first things and the last things" passage Isa 48:6–7, indicates that the final edition of Isa 40–66 originates from the period after the disappointment. This being the case, the final edition of the Book of Isaiah was made during the period when "the last things" were transformed to no longer being about the immediate future but rather postponed to concern the "eschatological" future.⁴⁴ It is significant that Ben Sira understands the message of Isaiah from this perspective as becomes clear from Sir 48:24–25. I now turn to the Wisdom of Ben Sira.

4. The Remnant Theology in the Wisdom of Ben Sira

In section 2, I demonstrated how Isa 1–39 uses different metaphors for the salvation of the remnant in Jerusalem and that these metaphors are related to the paradigmatic story of Isa 36–37. In section 3, I showed that this remnant theology is relevant for the whole Book of Isaiah and also concerns the remnant which was saved from the exilic catastrophe. From this perspective I now approach the Wisdom of Ben Sira which gives us an early reception-historical overview of the message of Isaiah in the context of presenting Hezekiah (Sir 48:17–25). ⁴⁵ According to Ben Sira, Isaiah's message was related to the fate of Jerusalem in two different stages. At the historical level Isaiah prophesied the message of salvation during the reign of Hezekiah, when Jerusalem was saved from the Assyrian invasion. Additionally, the prophet also had a vision about the future of Zion, a future which would be so wonderful that it would comfort "the mourners of Zion" (Sir 48:24). Ben Sira states that Isaiah "revealed the things that will be forever, and the hidden things before they will come" (Sir 48:25). Sir 48:24 refers to Isa 61:1–3 and the wording in Sir 48:25 is reminiscent of expressions and the content of "first and last things" in Isa 41:22; 42:9; 43:18–19; 46:10; 48:6.

It is apparent that in Sir 48:24–25 Ben Sira recognized that the latter part of the Book of Isaiah was related to the time after the destruction of Jerusalem. He quotes from or alludes to texts from Isa 40–66 when speaking about the future of Jerusalem. In the Wisdom of Ben Sira, Isaiah's message is related to the salvation-historical deliverance of Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah and the salvation-eschatological future of Jerusalem. This parallels well with the analyses in sections 2 and 3 that the remnant theology is related to the hopeful theme of the deliverance of Jerusalem at the time of Hezekiah, and moreover, that this historical event is evidence that God has the power to save Jerusalem in the future. According to Ben Sira, the destruction of Jerusalem took place at the time between the deliverance of Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah and the eschatological future of

⁴¹ Williamson, *Book Called Isaiah*.

⁴² Concerning prophecy which failed, see especially the innovative and good book by Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*.

⁴³ For this, see Laato, "About Zion I Will Not Be Silent", 151–152.

⁴⁴ Concerning the use of the term "eschatological" to refer to coming salvation-historical events which God will realize in the future see Laato, *Message and Composition*, 21.

⁴⁵ See Askin, Scribal Culture in Ben Sira, 79–110; Laato, Message and Composition, 28–53.

⁴⁶ See Beentjes, "Hezekiah and Isaiah" and "Relations between Ben Sira and the Book of Isaiah"; Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 87–95.

Jerusalem (Sir 49:4–7). Ben Sira later refers to the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem (Sir 49:11–12, NRSV):

How shall we magnify Zerubbabel?

He was like a signet ring on the right hand, and so was Jeshua son of Jozadak; in their days they built the house and raised a temple holy to the Lord, destined for everlasting glory.

Ben Sira sees a clear link from Isaiah's eschatological hopes concerning the glory of Jerusalem (Sir 48:24–25) to what Zerubbabel and Jozadak achieved when they rebuilt the Temple which was "destined for everlasting glory."

5. Christian Interpretation of Isaiah 1:8–9

The metaphor "like a booth in a vineyard" (Isa 1:8–9) plays a central role in the early Christian reception history of the remnant theology of the Book of Isaiah. It is important to understand that the process of Christian reception history did not start from scratch but rather developed from the Jewish interpretive traditions and the message and the composition of the Book of Isaiah was one part of this Judeo-Christian episteme where the Christian interpretation of Isa 1:8–9 began to take form. My analysis above has shown that Isa 1:8–9 indicates a positive aspect of salvation for the remnant which was left. When analysing the development of the Christian interpretation of Isa 1:8–9 it is significant that its starting-point followed Jewish reception emphasizing aspects of salvation, but it subsequently then developed in a strong anti-Jewish direction.

I have discussed elsewhere the Christian reception history of Isa 1:8–9 and especially its development in the early Christian (patristic) writings.⁴⁷ The starting-point was the Jewish understanding of Isa 1:8–9 where the remnant was seen as a positive sign for the Jewish people. This is illustrated by the Apostle Paul's Letter to the Romans where he uses Isa 1:9 metaphorically to refer to the remnant of Jewish people who believe in Christ (Rom 9:29). After the destruction of the Temple, and especially after the war of Bar Kochba, Christian interpreters began to develop arguments from Isa 1:7–9 in another direction. By using the metaphors of Isa 1:7–9 they wanted to illustrate how the Jewish people had received punishment from God. This particular emphasis began to downplay the positive aspect of remnant theology attested in Isa 1:9. Nevertheless, Justin Martyr⁴⁸ and Origen⁴⁹, in some passages, still followed the exegesis where a positive idea of the remnant is apparent, but in these cases the

⁴⁷ Laato, "Juutalaiskristillinen jäännös Siionissa" [Jewish-Christian remnant in Zion], forthcoming.

⁴⁸ *I Apology* 47; 53; *Dialogue with Trypho* 16; 32; 52; 55; 108; 140. In the case of Justin, it is important to note that Justin's similar quotations of Isa 1:9 in *I Apol* 53:7 and *Dial* 140:2–3 do not follow the Septuagint reading and are, therefore, probably from older testimonial sources. Concerning this see Skarsaune, *Proof from Prophecy*, esp. 67–69.

⁴⁹ Origen often interprets Isa 1:8–9 as concerning the punishment which God has given to the Jewish people in their two Jewish revolts against the Roman Empire. See *Against Celsus* 2.76; *Commentary on John* 10.19; *Commentary on Matthew* 14.19; 16.3; *Luke Homily* 5; *Numbers Homily* 20.3; 23.2. However, in his Commentary on Paul's Letter to Romans Origen is dependent on Paul's exegesis and clearly sees the positive remnant theology in Isa 1:9. The edition of Origen's commentary cannot be used without critical evaluation because it is mainly based on Rufinus' Latin translation. See *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes* edited by Hammond Bammel. See further Scheck's English translation in *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. Nevertheless, scholars have tested Rufinus' (partly abridged) translation with available Greek quotations and regarded the Latin translation as reflecting well Origen's ideas. For this, see especially Schelkle, *Paulus, Lehrer der Väter*, 443–448. While it is clear that Origen's treatment of Jews has several problems it is nevertheless worth noting that he also had positive contacts to Jews. For this, see de Lange, *Origen and the Jews*. The relevant passages where the positive influence of Paul's exegesis is visible in Origen's commentary on Romans in Scheck's English translation (Bammel's edition differs in some points) are 7.19 [Bammel's edition 7.17]; 8.1 and 8.12 [Bammel's edition 8.11].

influence of Paul's exegesis in Romans can be detected. In Tertullian's writings⁵⁰ and in Cyprian *Testimonies* (1.6), however, the Christian exegesis was simplified and modified into an anti-Jewish argument so that Isa 1:7–9 witness only God's punishment towards the Jewish people in the two Roman invasions (66–70 and 132–135 CE). When the first great commentary on the Book of Isaiah was written by Eusebius around 325 CE (if not later; in any case clearly after the edict of Milan 313) the interpretation of Isa 1:8–9 had already been formed in an established anti-Jewish mould with strong supersessionist and vilifying elements.⁵¹

An interesting detail in the reception history of Isa 1:7–9 consist of references to early Jewish-Christian groups. In the above-mentioned article "Jewish-Christian remnant in Zion" (in Finnish) I demonstrated that in the Christian interpretive tradition of Isa 1:8-9 references were made to a Jewish-Christian congregation which once existed in Jerusalem on the Mount of Zion. The localization of Mount Zion was not placed in the city of David but in the western part of Jerusalem understood according to Eusebius' Onomastikon.⁵² Eusebius writes that Golgotha is situated "in Aelia by the northern parts of Mount Zion."53 Eusebius mentions the Jewish-Christian congregation on the Mount of Zion in his earlier work Demonstratio evangelica (= DE) written around the time of the Edict of Milan when he discusses Isa 1:8–9.54 At that point Eusebius still followed his earlier, more positive, attitudes toward the Jewish-Christian groups. In DE 70 and 131 he writes that a Jewish-Christian congregation once existed on Mount Zion "until the siege of the city under Hadrian." The same tradition is also attested in Epiphanius' work Weight and Measurements § 14 where he notes that such a congregation existed on Mount Zion and it was Hadrian who discovered it there. In this context, Epiphanius also refers to Isa 1:8 when he describes this church as "like a booth in a vineyard" and states that it continued to exist in Zion until the time of Maximona the bishop and Constantine.⁵⁵ Epiphanius mentions this small church as being one of the seven synagogues which once stood on Zion. This same tradition can also be found in another source from the time of Eusebius, in the itinerary of the Bourdeaux pilgrim:⁵⁶ "Seven synagogues were there once, but only one is left—the rest have been ploughed and sown, as was said by the prophet Isaiah." Even in this pilgrimage story we find a reference to the metaphor of the Jewish remnant in Isa 1:8–9.57 The recollection that the Jewish-Christian remnant once existed on Mount Zion is also documented in Egeria's Pilgrimage when she writes that on Zion is the place "where once after the Lord's passion a crowd had gathered with the apostles" and also refers to the Church (or synagogue) which once existed there (Itinerarium Egeriae 42.3).⁵⁸ All these references indicate that at the time of Eusebius there was a widespread and

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⁵⁰ Against Jews 3.13; Against Marcion 3.23; 4.25; 4.31; 4.42. See further Dunn, Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos. ⁵¹ Concerning the edition of Eusebius' Isaiah commentary, see Eusebius, Jesajakommentar (edited by Ziegler) and Armstrong's English translation Commentary on Isaiah.

⁵² See Klostermann, ed., *Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*; Timm, ed., *Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*

⁵³ Aelia is the Roman name for Jerusalem which was in use after the Bar Kochba war.

⁵⁴ The text edition is Heikel, *Demonstratio Evangelica*; the English translation is available in *Eusebius of Caesarea*: The Proof of the Gospel which contains the translation of Ferrar, Proof of the Gospel. References to DE are made with the page numbers of Heikel's edition and translations are taken from Ferrar's work.

⁵⁵ Dean Eniphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures. 30. See also Baker. "Eniphanius On Weights and

⁵⁵ Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures*, 30. See also Baker, "Epiphanius, On Weights and Measures 14."

⁵⁶ See the text in Geyer et al. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, 1–26. Concerning the Bordeaux pilgrim see Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land*, 36–68; see the English translations in Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 158; McGowan and Bradshaw, *Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 202. See also Stewart, *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, 23.

⁵⁷ In addition to Isa 1:8–9 the text of Mic 3:12 was also alluded to. It is very possible that the two texts were combined because both could be explained as referring to the destruction of the Second Temple after which there was the same prophecy of a universal "Church" (i.e., Isa 2:1–4 and Mic 4:1–5). The combination of Isa 1:8–9 and Mic 3:12 can also be found in Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lecture* 16.18. For this, see further Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land*, 58 n. 91.

⁵⁸ Translation is from McGowan & Bradshaw, *Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 184–185.

established tradition that the Jewish-Christian remnant had its congregation on Mount Zion. Eusebius refers to this remnant when he interpreted Isa 1:8–9 in the Pauline way as referring to the Jewish remnant inside the Christian Church in his earlier work, *DE*. Subsequently everything changed as evidenced when Eusebius wrote his Commentary on Isaiah at the time Constantine began his building projects in Jerusalem.

In his earlier days, Eusebius had followed the older Jewish-Christian tradition and interpreted Isa 1:8–9 as critical exhortative text toward Jews which emphasized the existence of a Jewish-Christian minority in the Church—a trend which Paul, a Jew, used in his letters to illustrate that a small Jewish remnant had been preserved (Rom 9–11).⁵⁹ After the Constantinian shift, however, Eusebius took a small sidewise step away from this Jewish-Christian tradition and in his commentary related Isa 1:8–9 to Isa 5:1–7 emphasizing the total rejection of the Jewish people. This "small step" for Eusebius meant "a giant leap" for Christianity which now oriented itself more deeply in its anti-Jewish vilifying and supersessionistic argumentation.⁶⁰ In this new anti-Jewish trend, intra-Jewish criticism of the New Testament was transformed into full-blown interreligious polemics against Judaism where the Jewish people were rejected totally because of their disbelief and where Jewish-Christian groups no longer had the right to exist inside the Church.⁶¹ In this new supersessionist understanding all critical prophecies in the Book of Isaiah were interpreted as referring to the Jews—an interpretive tendency which clearly militates intra-Jewish criticism of the Apostle Paul.

Conclusion

In this article I have dealt with metaphors in Isa 1–39 (Isa 1:8–9; 8:5–8; 29:1–8; 30:15–17, 27–33; 31:4–9) relating to the remnant of Judah which remained in Jerusalem and were saved from the Assyrian invasion. I have shown that they are linked with the historical narrative in Isa 36–37. God saved a remnant during the time of Hezekiah when the Assyrian army attacked Judah but was not able to conquer Jerusalem. This historical paradigm was used in the Book of Isaiah to refer to God's power to realize the promise given in Isa 2:1-5 and to take care of the remnant of Judah during the Babylonian exile. Isa 40–55 contains four kinds of "the first and the last things" -texts where the salvation of the remnant of Judah has been presented. They all contain references back to the texts in Isa 1–39. Firstly, Cyrus' rise to power: Isa 41:1–7, 21–29; 44:24–45:7; 46:8–13; 48:12–16 and Isa 13:17; 21:2, 9. Secondly, the destruction of Babylon: Isa 46–47 and Isa 13–14. Thirdly, the new exodus: Isa 42:9; 43:18–19 and Isa 11:11–16. Fourthly, the self-presentation of YHWH: Isa 44:6–8; 45:21; 48:6–7 and Isa 10:5–15. This interpretive strategy in the Book of Isaiah indicates that YHWH had everything in control. This being the case, the remnant theology in the Book of Isaiah is a positive theme. The connection between the salvation of Jerusalem during the reign of Hezekiah and the

⁵⁹ I have earlier argued that Justin Martyr preserved New Testament trends allowing the existence of a Jewish-Christian minority inside the Church. See Laato, "Justin Martyr Encounters Judaism"; idem, "Jewish Believers in Jesus and the Mosaic Law"; idem, "Abraham in Justin Martyr's Dialogue."

⁶⁰ Concerning Eusebius' attitudes toward Judaism, see Ulrich, *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden*. Ulrich's analysis is based mainly on Eusebius' works *Praeparatio evangelica* and *Demonstratio evangelica*. I shall demonstrate elsewhere how Eusebius developed his anti-Jewish statements in his commentary on Isaiah.
61 The question of the position of the Jewish-Christian group in the Early Church is difficult and multifaceted and attitudes varied among early Christian theologians. For this see Skarsaune and Hvalvik, eds., *Jewish Believers in Jesus*. I have touched on this very problem in several articles and recognized that, in broad terms, the development of Jewish-Christian groups went through three significant transformations: 1) In Early Judaism there were intra-Jewish confrontations between different Jewish groups (a good example of this is the Qumran writings) and the first Jewish-Christian groups inherited this concept when they discussed the messiahship of Jesus from Nazareth. 2) This intra-Jewish confrontation later developed into inter-religious confrontation in different early Christian texts while some texts continued to preserve an idea of Jewish-Christian groups which could follow the Mosaic Torah (e.g., Justin Martyr). 3) The Constantinian shift radically changed this multifaceted situation and the interreligious polemics with strong anti-Jewish elements was normalized in the Church with its all problems and lethal consequences.

coming glorified future of Jerusalem – both dealt with in the Book of Isaiah – are also presented alongside each other in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Sir 48:17–25). The Apostle Paul, who was a Jew, used the Isaianic remnant theology (exemplified with Isa 1:8–9) in a positive way (Rom 9:29) – something that receives support from the analysis of the remnant theology of the Book of Isaiah in this article. However, later in Christian reception history an anti-Jewish and supersessionistic interpretation was developed according to which Isa 1:8–9 depicts the catastrophe of the Jewish people as a consequence of its disbelief. Such an interpretation was not only against the theology of the Book of Isaiah but also against the theology of the Apostle Paul.

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