



# Spirit(s), Angels, and Virtues: The Reception of Isaiah 11:2–3a in Early Judaism

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**Abstract:** This article examines the reception history of Isa 11:2–3a in Second Temple Judaism, as it relates to pneumatological perceptions and uses of the words for “spirit” in Hebrew and Greek (*rūah* and *pneuma*). Isaiah 11 plays an important role in messianic expectations in both Judaism and Christianity, but its reception in early Judaism sheds light also on early pneumatological developments and forms the background to later, early Christian interpretations of this text. Via close readings and analyses of (1) The Septuagint translation of Isa 11:2–3a; and relevant texts from (2) Qumran; (3) the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; and (4) the Targum Isaiah this study demonstrates different interpretative lines and uses of “spirit.” The main conclusions are that there are both royal or messianic and more “democratized” interpretations and applications of the original “royal charisma” in Isa 11:2; furthermore, that “spirit” can be used to denote the spirit of God, human dispositions, charismatic gifts or virtues, and angelic beings—and, sometimes, the distinctions between these categories are blurry and overlap.

**Keywords:** Book of Isaiah, reception history, Second Temple Judaism, pneumatology

Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible are the attributes of the spirit of God described in such a concentrated way as in Isa 11:2.<sup>1</sup> Here, the spirit of YHWH—empowering the future Davidic king with the qualities needed to rule justly as God wills—is presented as the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and strength, of knowledge and fear of YHWH. When studying the early Jewish and Christian reception of texts about the Spirit and how these relate to developments in pneumatology, it is no surprise that Isa 11:2 emerges as one of the most vital texts.

This text has connections to royal psalms (e.g., Ps 72), the anointing of David (1 Sam 16:13), and the wisdom tradition (Ma 1999, 34–39; Ringgren 1956, 31–32).

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<sup>1</sup> The Book of Isaiah as a whole is one of the most quoted books in both early Judaism and early Christianity (Sawyer 2018, 2–3); in the Hebrew Bible, it is second only to the Book of Ezekiel when counting the number of occurrences of the word רוּחַ, with 51 and 52 occurrences respectively. At least 18 times, רוּחַ refers to the spirit of God (Isa 11:2; 30:1; 32:15; 34:16; 40:7, 13; 42:1; 44:3; 48:16; 59:19, 21; 61:1; 63:10, 11, 14; possibly also 4:4; 11:4, 15; 27:8; 28:6; 30:28). In Isa 11:2–3a (MT), רוּחַ is used four times; the Greek (LXX) has πνεῦμα five times. Only in two verses in the Hebrew Bible does רוּחַ occur as many as four times: Isa 11:2 and Ezek 37:9.

According to Tryggve Mettinger, it combines “the martial charisma of Saul and the judicial wisdom of Solomon.” (Mettinger 1976, 253) There is evidence to suggest that the first ten verses of Isa 11, together with Gen 49:9–11; Num 24:17 and perhaps 2 Sam 7:10–14, was part of a “core group of *testimonia*” in Jewish, pre-Christian, expectations of a royal, Davidic messiah; and that these texts were, subsequently, applied to Jesus by Christians (Albl 1999, 58, 208–15).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the six attributes of the Spirit in the Hebrew text of Isa 11:2 become seven in the Greek (LXX Isa 11:2–3a); by the second century a Christian tradition of the “sevenfold spirit,” in which the seven attributes are interpreted as denoting the fullness of the Spirit and/or charismatic gifts,<sup>3</sup> has already been established (e.g., Justin, *Dial.* 87; Iren., *Haer.* 3.9.3; 3.17.1–3; *Epid.* 9; Tert., *Jud.* 9.26–27; *Marc.* 3.17.3–5; 5.8.4; *Cor.* 15.2; cf. Aphrahat, *Dem.* 1.9). Tertullian, e.g., explicitly identifies the “gifts” of Isa 11:2–3a with the nine *χαρίσματα* of 1 Cor 12:8–10 (*Marc.* 5.8.8). Isaiah 11:2–3a is also associated with personified and angelomorphic perceptions of the Spirit (e.g., Justin, *Dial.* 87–88) (see Bucur 2008, 201).<sup>4</sup>

This article aims to examine the early Jewish reception of Isa 11:2(–3a), to see if and in which ways it forms the background to these early Christian interpretations, and show that the Jewish reception of this text contains different—but many times interconnected and overlapping—interpretative lines. This also sheds light on early Jewish pneumatological developments and perceptions of the spirit of God.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See also Collins 2010, 28, 74–75; Penner 2020, 426. “Isaiah 11:1–5 was probably the most popular text of Davidic messianism in early Judaism.” (Bauckham 2008, 193) It should also be pointed out that Isa 11 is part of a larger context in the Book of Isaiah, and read together with, e.g., Isa 9:5–6, the “Shoot of Jesse” can be interpreted as referring to someone who is *more* than just a human offspring in the line of David; several words or concepts connect Isa 9:5–7 and 11:1–9 with each other, such as “counsel/counsellor” (ייעוץ/עצה), “strength/mighty” (גבור/גבורה), the connection to David (and a Davidic rule), the Prince of Peace (9:5) and the rule of peace (11:6–9). Furthermore, in the LXX, the child is called *μεγάλης βουλής ἄγγελος* (the angel or messenger of great counsel), who will bring peace to “the princes” (τοὺς ἀρχοντας); this could foreshadow some of the later “angelomorphic” Christological interpretations, and perhaps even some of the angelic interpretations of the “spirits” in Isa 11:2–3a that will be encountered in this article (if the spirits are understood as the angelic “princes” of the Shoot of Jesse/the Angel of great counsel). This would require further research, however.

<sup>3</sup> Already in its original context, Isa 11 is a *charismatic* text, if by this is meant the “royal charisma” that Mettinger connects to “the king’s endowment with the Spirit of God and with the idea of his divine wisdom.” He defines “charismata as specific gifts of body and spirit which are conceived of as supernatural in the sense that they are not accessible to everyone.” (Mettinger 1976, 233) This is not charismatic in the same sense as the spiritual grace gifts Paul and later Christian writers like Tertullian write about, but, as I aim to show, in the early Jewish reception of Isa 11:2–3a, we do find developments in that direction.

<sup>4</sup> It can also be argued that the seven spirits in Rev 1:4; 4:5; 5:6 allude to both Isa 11:2–3a and seven principal angels—or express an archaic angelomorphic understanding of the Spirit. Angelomorphic perceptions of the Spirit are also found in, e.g., Justin, *Dial.* 116.1 (see Oeyen 1972, 220–221); Asc. Isa. 3:15; 4:21; 7:23; 9:36, 39, 40; 10:4; 11:4, 33; Herm. 43:9.

<sup>5</sup> John Levison argues against the view that pneumatology started as a Christian discipline and that “the study of the spirit as a person or a *hypostasis*—pneumatology proper, finds no place ... in the Old Testament,” and aims to show that “[p]neumatology began in ancient Israel with a burst—a big bang—of creativity.” (Levison 2022, 4, 21)

The texts are analyzed as they relate to: (1) The context and identity of the recipients of the spirit's endowment/attributes from Isa 11:2-3a, i.e., does the text contain *royal*, *messianic*, or *priestly* expectations, or does it express a “*democratization*” of the Davidic promise? (2) The use of the terms רוּחַ and πνεῦμα: do they denote, e.g., the *spirit of God*, *human dispositions*, *charismatic gifts* or *virtues* (in themselves), or *angelic beings*? (3) The nature of the different attributes quoted or alluded to from Isa 11:2-3a: are they best understood as, e.g., *attributes* (or names) of the spirit(s) in question, or as *human dispositions*, *gifts*, or *virtues*?

This study is primarily reception-historical and includes surveying texts in early Judaism in which Isa 11:2-3a is quoted or alluded to. By means of a close reading of these texts, the *translation*, *use*, and *interpretation* of Isa 11:2-3a is examined, with a special interest in how this relates to pneumatological perceptions. As a starting point in the selection of texts, Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold's *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (2011) and Steve Delamarter's *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2002) have been consulted (see also Flint 2012, 389-406). These works, however, need updating, so texts have also been added to the investigation.<sup>6</sup> The categories suggested by Matthias Henze and David Lincicum (2023) to distinguish between different uses of Scripture have been employed in the analysis, which are: marked and unmarked citations, verbal and conceptual allusions.<sup>7</sup> All of these are present and sometimes overlap in the texts selected for this study.

## 1. From Six to Seven Attributes: Hebrew and Greek Texts

The consonantal text of Isa 11:2-3a in Codex Leningradensis and the text in the Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 10:20-21) are verbatim identical to each other (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is a proto-Masoretic text)<sup>8</sup> and will hereby only be referred to as the Hebrew text (or MT). In this text, the spirit of יהוה is described as having six

<sup>6</sup> This has been done when reading through Second Temple Jewish Literature, and via suggestions in research seminars (primarily the Exegetical research seminar at Åbo Akademi University), and conferences. I especially want to acknowledge the advice I have received from Professor Antti Laato and Professor Terje Stordalen.

<sup>7</sup> Marked citation: “an explicit citation of a discrete text that is marked for the reader in some way”; unmarked citation: “might have a verbatim agreement with a scriptural predecessor text but is not marked as such”; verbal allusion: “a reference to a specific word or string of words without an explicit marker” (no distinction between allusion and echo); conceptual allusion: “a reference to a theme or topic that is not tied to a specific text in Scripture but nonetheless may plausibly be seen to derive from it.” (Henze and Lincicum 2023, 7-9)

<sup>8</sup> For more about this group of manuscripts, see Tov 2012, 24-39. Note that 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> does not contain Isa 10:20-13:15.

attributes or qualities that transfer onto the messianic figure upon whom the Spirit will come to rest. There could, however, be a connection to the number seven even here, if רוח יהוה in 11:2a is counted as one of the “spirits” or attributes; also in 11:15, רוּחוּ is mentioned, together with שבעה נהלים (“seven streams”). The spirit of YHWH can then be likened to the Menorah, with one stem and six branches, having seven lamps in total (Exod 25:31–37).<sup>9</sup> When Aphrahat quotes Isa 11:2 in his demonstrations, he closely follows the Hebrew text, with the spirit of God plus six attributes, but simultaneously states that these are “seven operations” of the Spirit (Dem. 1:9) (Bucur 2009, 188–90).

With the Greek versions, the sevenfold pattern becomes unequivocal. The יראת יהוה at the end of 11:2 becomes καὶ εὐσεβείας, and a seventh attribute is added via: (1) the integration of 11:3a, where יראת יהוה becomes φόβου θεοῦ; and (2) the translation of והריחו as derived from רוח instead of ריח, (see Shifman 2012, 242) thus translating into ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα. The translation of Isaiah into Greek is “notorious for the liberties it takes with its source text” (Penner 2020, 3);<sup>10</sup> and among its mistakes, the confusion of *waw* and *yod* is “especially common” (Penner 2020, 6).

Table 1. Hebrew and Greek Texts

Isa 11:2–3a (MT) = 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 10:20–21	Isa 11:2–3a (LXX Göttingen)	Isa 11:2–3a (LXX Sinaiticus) <sup>11</sup>
ונהח עליו	καὶ ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν	καὶ <b>ἐ</b> παναπαύσεται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν
רוח יהוה	πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ,	πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ,
רוח חכמה ובינה	πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως,	πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως,
רוח עצה וגבורה	πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος,	πνεῦμα βουλῆς καὶ ἰσχύος,
רוח דעת ויראת יהוה	πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας·	πνεῦμα γνώσεως καὶ εὐσεβείας·
והריחו	ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα	<b>καὶ</b> ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν πνεῦμα
ביראת יהוה	φόβου θεοῦ	φόβου θεοῦ

There are some textual variants in Greek, apart from the minor ones seen in Sinaiticus in Table 1,<sup>12</sup> such as κυριος instead of θεος, and the repetition of φοβου in 11:2b–3a. According to Chrysostom and minuscule 710, both Aquila and Theodotion (second century CE) use φοβου instead of εὐσεβείας in 11:2b, and render 11:3a as σφρανει αυτον εν φοβω κυριου, which is closer to the Hebrew text. It is

<sup>9</sup> Irenaeus, e.g., makes a connection between Isa 11:2–3a and the Menorah (*Epid.* 9).

<sup>10</sup> See also Seeligmann 2004, 184; Troxel 2008, 2–4, 72; Parry 2012, 151–68. The LXX Isaiah is “a text closely resembling the MT, but with considerable freedom.” (Dines 2004, 22)

<sup>11</sup> Differences from the critical edition of Göttingen are highlighted in bold.

<sup>12</sup> The tables and figures in this article are all the author’s own work.

clear, however, that the Greek translation, with the spirit of God connected to *seven* attributes, has been of crucial importance in the development of a “seven spirits” or “sevenfold spirit” tradition, as is also reflected in the early Christian sources.

Πνεῦμα is by far the most common word used in the LXX to translate רוּחַ (277 times),<sup>13</sup> and its semantic range makes it “a remarkably appropriate term” (Edwards 2012, 110). Both רוּחַ and πνεῦμα can denote: (a) wind, breath (air in movement); (b) the animating principle, i.e., that which animates the body of living creatures, including humans; (c) the human soul or immaterial aspect of the human personality, e.g., the seat of emotions and intellectual capacities (also, the mind of God); (d) the spirit of God, his own presence and creative power as he relates to humans and the world, or a unique, transcendent divine agent; (e) the divine spirit as agent of prophetic or mantic inspiration; (f) independent, noncorporeal beings and intermediaries, whether good or evil, i.e., angelic spirits and demons.<sup>14</sup>

Relevant in this study, too, is that there are *angelomorphic*<sup>15</sup> tendencies related to the use of πνεῦμα in the LXX. John Levison has demonstrated the existence of angelic or angelomorphic perceptions of the spirit of God in early Judaism, already in the Hebrew Bible. The choices made by the LXX translators often only make this perception stronger: “there are indeed several instances in which LXX-translations provide intimations that the spirit continued to be interpreted as an angelic being in the Greco-Roman period.” (Levison 1995, 474)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This count includes Da. Θ and Sir (Baumgärtel 1968b, 367–68).

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., “רוּחַ,” HALOT 3:1197–1201; “πνεῦμα,” BDAG 832–36; Baumgärtel 1968a, 359–67; Kleinknecht 1968, 334–59; Edwards 2012, 93–120.

<sup>15</sup> The definition for “angelomorphic” used in this article comes from Crispin Fletcher-Louis: “we propose its use wherever there are signs that an individual or community possesses specifically angelic characteristics or status, though for whom identity cannot be reduced to that of an angel.” (Fletcher-Louis 1997, 14–15)

<sup>16</sup> A few examples from Levison’s paper: “To trouble” (פַּעַם), naturally translated by ταρασσῶ (Gen 41:8; Ps 76:4; Dan 2:1), in LXX Judg 13:24f is instead translated as “to accompany” (συνπορεύομαι; *Codex Vaticanus* has συνεκπορεύομαι); “Such a translation indicates the presence of the belief in the Greco-Roman era that a spirit of God could be present by accompanying rather than possessing someone.” (Levison 1995, 474–75) Regarding Isa 63:14: instead of livestock going down (MT), the LXX connects “going down” with the spirit: the spirit descends, and “the spirit is not רוּחַ יְהוָה but πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου”: παρὰ “often signals an independent רוּחַ”; “Taken together, these elements suggest that the LXX translator understood Isa 63:14 to refer to a spirit which descended from Yahweh in order to lead the people of Israel to Canaan.” (475–76) In Mic 3:8 (MT) the prophet is filled with power, the spirit of YHWH, justice and might; in the LXX translation, however, the prophet is filled by power, justice and strength, but not by the spirit: here the translator describes the spirit as “the means or person by which the prophet is filled with power and justice.” (488–78) Judith 16:14c changes Ps 104:30a (LXX Ps 103:30a) from God sending his spirit to the *spirit* being the subject of the verb (to build): the spirit “is no longer a vehicle through which the creation is built but the subject which builds.” (479)

## 2. Qumran Writings

In the following, texts from Qumran which quote or allude to Isa 11:2–3a are investigated; some quote the whole passage (marked or unmarked citations), while others make verbal or conceptual allusions.<sup>17</sup> First, two passages in which Isa 11:2 (or parts of it) is quoted are dealt with (2.1.–2.2.); these texts also contain clear *messianic* interpretations. Then come passages with verbal allusions to Isa 11:2 (more than one or two keywords) (2.3.–2.5.); these present us mainly with *charismatic* interpretations in which the attributes of the Spirit from Isa 11:2 are seen as virtues or gifts from God endowed on individual humans. And finally, passages in the Two Spirits Treatise with allusions to the “spirits” in Isa 11:2, which have been interpreted either as angelic beings or as human dispositions (2.6.), and allusions in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice with *angelological* interpretations (2.7.) are investigated.

When studying the use of רוּחַ (even רוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ) in the writings of Qumran, one must be careful to keep two things in mind: first, these writings are not homogeneous in their uses of these terms or in their respective pneumatological perspectives (Tigchelaar 2014, 167–240; Menzies 1994, 76, 82); second, these terms can be employed for different things even in the same writing: “the designations, holy spirit or spirit of holiness, describe equally God’s spirit (e.g., 1QS 8:16; 1QH 7:6; 9:32), angelic spirits (e.g., 1QH 8:12; 4QS1 40, 24, 5), and the human spirit (CD 5:11–12; 7:3–4).” (Levison 1995, 486)

### 2.1. 1QS<sup>b</sup> (28<sup>b</sup>)

In one section of the Rule of Blessings, namely 1QS<sup>b</sup> (28<sup>b</sup>) V, 21–27, the messianic Prince is given a benediction and parts of Isa 11 are quoted, in the following order (with commentary in between): 11:4a, 4b, 2c–d, 5 (11:2c–d is squeezed in between 11:4 and 11:5). The first part of Isa 11:2 is missing, but the rest follows with only a few deviations (see Table 2). The benediction is written like a prayer: “May He [i.e., God] give [you ‘the spirit of *coun*]sel and of eternal *might*, the spirit of *knowledge* and *fear of God*” (V, 25).<sup>18</sup> An allusion is also made to Num 24:17 in line 27 (the “scepter”), and the context of the whole passage makes it clear that the messiah is expected to be a warrior (Collins 2010, 68): He will be like a “forti[fied] tower” and a goring bull, who will “kill the wicked,” and “lay waste the earth” (V, 23, 24–25, 27). This indicates how the spirit of “eternal *might*” (גְּבוּרַת עוֹלָם) was expected to operate through the messiah (cf. how the Spirit comes or “rushes upon” judges in the Book of Judges to give military victories, Judg 6:34; 11:29; 15:14). Military themes also exist in the

<sup>17</sup> Many of them also connect to or have parallels in other Qumran texts, which are noted, but the parallel texts are not handled in separate sections in this article.

<sup>18</sup> Words in *italics*, in quotes from the source texts, are words that are also found in Isa 11:2–3a (MT+LXX); this will be the case consistently throughout the article.

close context of Isa 11, at the end of chapter 10, just before the promise of the “shoot of Jesse” and his rule of peace: the Lord YHWH of hosts promises to “wield a whip against” the Assyrians and cut down “the great in height” (Isa 10:24–34).<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2. 4QIsaiah Peshera<sup>a</sup>

In the 4QIsaiah Peshera<sup>a</sup> (4Q161), a commentary on Isa 10:20–11:5, Isa 11:1–5 is quoted and commented on. Table 2 shows the quotations in 1QS<sup>b</sup> (dealt with above) and 4Q161, compared to the MT text of Isa 11:2–3a (= 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 10:20–21). As can be seen, the reconstructed quotation in 4Q161 is identical to the MT/1QIsa<sup>a</sup> consonantal text, apart from one missing *yod*.

Table 2. Quotes from Isa 11:2–3a in 1QS<sup>b</sup> and 4Q161 Compared to the MT

1QS <sup>b</sup> V, 25	4Q161 8–10 III, 11b–13a	Isa 11:2–3a (MT)
יתן] לכה	ונח]ה עלו	ונחה עליו (v. 2a $\alpha$ )
	ר]וח] יהוה	רוח יהוה (v. 2a $\beta$ )
	רוח חכמ]ה ובינה	רוח חכמה ובינה (v. 2b)
רוח עצ]ה	רוח עצ]ה	רוח עצה (v. 2c $\alpha$ )
וגבורת עולם	[וגבורה]	וגבורה (v. 2c $\beta$ )
רוח דעת	רוח דע]ת]	רוח דעת (v. 2d $\alpha$ )
ויראת אל	[ויראת יהוה]	ויראת יהוה (v. 2d $\beta$ )
	והריחו ביראת] יהוה	והריחו ביראת יהוה (v. 3a)

In the commentary, the author of 4Q161 states that this oracle refers to “[the Branch] of David, who will sprout in the fi[nal days...],” and that “God will support him with [the spirit of *strength*]” (III, 18–19). It is emphasized that this Davidic messiah will be powerful: he is given a “glorious [thro]ne” and will “rule over all the G[entiles], even Magog [and his army... al]l the peoples his sword will judge” (III, 20, 21b–22a). As in 1QS<sup>b</sup>, this text envisions a warrior messiah, and there are parallels to themes in the War Scroll (1QM) about an eschatological battle against Belial and the *Kittim* (often used of “Westerners,” i.e., Romans or Seleucids) (Collins 2010, 62–64; Bauckham 2008, 193–97). The “majestic one” in Isa 10:34, who will cause Lebanon to fall, “is understood to refer to the Prince of the Congregation” (the messianic figure) “and ‘Lebanon’ to the king of the Kittim.” (Bauckham 2008, 196)

<sup>19</sup> Note, however, also the conclusion of Philp Sam (2025), who argues that the “shoot of Jesse” in Isa 11 is presented as a “mimetic/hybrid figure” who *both* “subverts the imperial discourse” (of the Assyrians) “as well as nationalistic hegemonic overtures of the Davidic dynasty” (in Israel).

In the comment on Isa 11:3, rather than the messiah gaining insight and discernment in judgment from the spirit of YHWH, and therefore not judging by ear or by eye, it is claimed that this means that the messiah will be advised by what can be inferred to be the Zadokite priesthood: “and according to what they teach him, he will judge, and upon their authority ... with him will go out one of the priests of renown...” (III, 24–25a). Here, the role of the spirit of God is, thus, in practice, reduced and at least partly replaced with the priesthood.

### 2.3. 4Q213<sup>a</sup> (Prayer of Levi)

4Q213<sup>a</sup> is a narrative text, featuring Levi, and written in Aramaic.<sup>20</sup> There is an allusion to Isa 11:2 in the following prayer:

Remove far [from me, Lord, the spirit of injustice and] evil [thoughts] and fornication; turn away [pride from me. Show me the holy spirit, counsel, *wi*]sdom, intelligence and *strength* [חַכְמָה וּמַנְדֵּעַ וּגְבוּרָה] [to do your will, to] find your compassion before you, [to praise your deeds towards me, and to do] what is beautiful and good before you [... and] may no adversary rule over me. (4Q213<sup>a</sup> I I, 12b–17)

Here the “holy spirit” stands in contrast to the “spirit of injustice” and the adversary (שׂטָן) that Levi prays to be rid of and protected from, just as the four virtues connected with the holy spirit—counsel, wisdom, intelligence (knowledge), and strength to do God’s will—are opposites to evil thoughts, fornication and pride. Line 14 of this prayer is related to Isa 11:2, “the only place in the Hebrew Bible where all the elements of [this line] are reflected (spirit, counsel, wisdom, knowledge, might).” (Drawnel 2004, 214) The final pair of attributes from Isa 11:2 is missing, but the prayer “to do your will”—or “to do what pleases you” in some reconstructions—is, nonetheless, conceptually close to “knowledge and fear of YHWH.”

The royal or messianic context is absent too; but, “[o]n the other hand,” Henryk Drawnel argues, “by adapting to his purposes the Isaian text, the author ... undoubtedly connected to Levi, to a priestly person, traits ascribed to a Davidic salvific individual.” (Drawnel 2004, 215)<sup>21</sup> This is not surprising: it is well-known that the Qumran material contains expectations of both a royal–military and a priestly messiah (Collins 2010, 79–109); cf. with 4Q161, where the priesthood is emphasized too.

<sup>20</sup> This text has a parallel in the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD), and is also related to the Testament of Levi; there are “remarkable agreements” between this Aramaic fragment (4Q213<sup>a</sup>) and the Prayer of Levi, inserted in T. Levi 2:3 (after ἀδικία) in a Greek ms. (MS *e/cod.* 39) from Mt. Athos (Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 17; also Kugler 2001, 30–31, 47–56; Drawnel 2004).

<sup>21</sup> See also Collins 2010, 99, where he states: “The formulation echoes Isa 11:2, but again it is not clear that there is any messianic implication in this context. The attributes in question emphasize the wisdom of the ideal priest.”



## 2.4. 4QIncantation

The 4QIncantation (4Q444) is written to combat evil spirits. The author says that he belongs to “those who *fear* God” (מִירֵאֵי אֱלֹהִים), directly followed by two clauses: “with his true *knowledge* he opened my mouth” (בְּדַעַת אֱמֶתוֹ פָּתַח פִּי), “and from his holy *spirit*...” (וּמְרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ) (1, 1). In lines 3–4, we read: “A *spirit* of *knowledge* and *understanding* [רוּחַ דַּעַת וּבִינָה], truth and justice, did God place in [my] hea[rt ...],” so that he can be strong in God’s precepts and battle “the spirits of iniquity.” Several words and concepts in this passage connect it with Isa 11:2: רוּחַ plus three of the attributes. The “holy spirit” clearly references the spirit of God, since it is “his.” The “spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and justice,” however, does not appear to be a description of the attributes of the holy spirit, but rather, in contrast to the evil spirits, either human dispositions/virtues given by God and his holy spirit, or an angelic spirit (Tigchelaar 2014, 209).

## 2.5. 1QH<sup>a</sup>

In the first parts of the Hodayot<sup>a</sup> (1QH<sup>a</sup>), the Thanksgiving Hymns, the author gives thanks to God “for the spirits which you have placed in me” (מְרוּחוֹת אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי) (IV, 17)<sup>22</sup> and for having “spread [your] holy *spirit* upon your servant” (הַנִּיפּוֹתָה רוּחַ) (קוֹדֶשׁךָ עַל עַבְדְּךָ IV, 26). In column 6, there are a few verbal allusions to Isa 11:2: through the “*spirit* of your holiness” (רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁךָ), the author can approach the *understanding* of God (בִּינָתָ VI, 13; cf. line 8), and he is favored with the “*spirit* of *knowledge*” (רוּחַ דַּעַת VI, 25). Further down, a similar prayer is found: “And I, the Instructor, have known you, my God, through the *spirit* which you gave in me [בְּרוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי], and I have listened loyally to your wonderful secret through your holy *spirit* [בְּרוּחַ קֹדֶשְׁךָ]. You have [o]pened within me *knowledge* [דַּעַת] of the mystery of your wisdom [שִׁכְלִי], and the source of [your] *strength* [[גְּבוּרַת] כֹּה]” (XX, 11–13; cf. 4Q427). Although the links to Isa 11 are not strong or direct here, it can be argued that the author uses language drawn from a conceptual universe to which Isa 11:2 has contributed.

## 2.6. Two Spirits Treatise

In 1QS IV, 3, we read about a spirit who “engenders humility, patience, abundant compassion, perpetual goodness, insight [שִׁכְלִי], *understanding* [בִּינָה], and *mighty wisdom* [חֲכָמַת גְּבוּרָה],” i.e., seven virtues. In the next line, a *spirit* דַּעַת בְּכֹל מַחֲשַׁבַת מַעֲשֵׂה (“a *spirit* of *knowledge* in every plan of action”) is mentioned.<sup>23</sup> Further down (IV, 20–22), it is

<sup>22</sup> The way of numbering the verses follows García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997.

<sup>23</sup> Parallel text: 4Q257 V, 1–6.

said that God will refine “all man’s deeds,” and instrumental in this will be a cleansing “by [the/a] holy *spirit*” (ברוח קודש) and sprinkling (root: נזה) “upon him [the/a] *spirit* of truth” (עליו רוח אמת); this, in turn, leads for the upright “to *understanding*” (להבין) “with *knowledge* of the Most High and [the] *wisdom* of the sons of heaven [i.e., angelic beings]” (בדעת עליון והכמת בני שמים). Several words, thus, connect these passages with Isa 11:2 (MT). In both of them, however, the spirit, if indeed only one, and the virtues of that spirit are not promised to a messianic or royal figure but rather to every upright man and all the children of light who follow the spirit of truth.

This text is part of the Two Spirits Treatise. It has been much debated among scholars whether the two spirits that God “put in” or “placed before” man to walk in (רוחות האמת והעול)—the “spirits of truth and of deceit” (רוחות להתהלך בם) III, 18–19—should be considered angelic beings influencing humans or simply human dispositions (psychological interpretation).<sup>24</sup> The two spirits describe two pathways or patterns of conduct, which humankind can choose between to walk in (III, 18–19; IV, 23–24), each with its own distinctive results: virtues or vices (IV, 3–11).<sup>25</sup> The declared purpose of this instruction concerns the “nature of all the sons of man” and “all the kinds of their spirits” (לכול מיני רוחותם) III, 13–14; at the end of the whole section it is stated that God has given these two spirits to the sons of man for them to know good and evil, and that the fate of every living being will be decided “according to his spirit” (lit. “the mouth of his spirit,” לפי רוחו IV, 26). Nevertheless, I do not think that the two spirits can be equated merely with human impulses (similar to the יצר הטוב and the יצר הרע—the “good and evil inclinations”—in later rabbinic literature) (Wernberg-Møller 1961, 418–34; Heger 2012, 303–5).<sup>26</sup> Seeing them as “spiritual influences” on the human heart, with a somewhat autonomous agency and within a framework in which there are no clear distinctions between the category of “spirit” (as in God’s spirit or the human spirit) and “angelic spirit-being,”

<sup>24</sup> Iranian influence has been suggested due to similarities to the Gathas of Zarathustra (two fundamental spirits, good and bad), in attempts to identify the two spirits with cosmic/angelic/demonic entities (Kuhn 1952, 296–316; Dupont-Sommer 1952, 5–35). Author P. Wernberg-Møller (1961) argued instead for the two spirits being human dispositions. Arthur Sekki argued that three different interpretations of רוח coexist in 1QS III–IV: (1) the feminine gender (e.g., III, 18–19), is used in reference to human dispositions and man’s spirit; (2) the masculine gender is used when talking about angels beings; (3) the term “spirit of holiness” (IV, 21) refers to an eschatological gift of God, the Spirit of God (cf. Isa 44:3; Joel 3:1 [LXX]; Ezek 36:25–27), partly because this kind of cleansing always is the work of God or his spirit in Qumran texts (Sekki 1989, 193–219). For an overview of the discussion, see Levison 1995, 480–486. James H. Charlesworth (1969, 396) notes that III, 18 does *not* talk of two spirits *within* human beings, but of two spirits *for* human beings to follow. Mladen Popović (2016, 58–98) understands the spirits as distinct, created beings that influence human behavior, but also discusses their ambiguous nature. Levison and Robert Menzies view the spirits as human dispositions, although Levison ends his discussion on an uncertain note, lending credibility to both possibilities (Levison 1995, 486; Menzies 1994, 72–73).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Paul’s discussion on walking in the flesh or in the spirit and the different “fruits” of those (Gal 5:16–25).

<sup>26</sup> Note, however, that Ishay Rosen-Zvi (2008) has challenged the scholarly consensus of two *yetzarim* in Rabbinic sources overall, arguing for a “single-*yetzer* model” (placing sources that speak of two inclinations in the margins).

fits the context and logic of the passage better.<sup>27</sup> The two spirits are created by God (III, 25); they “contend” (ריב) with each other in the human heart (IV, 23), and stand, respectively, under the dominion of the two angelic beings called the Prince of Lights—presumably the same as the Angel of God’s truth—and the Angel of Darkness (III, 20–21, 24).

The term “spirit of truth” could, furthermore, denote two different spirits: the first, none other than the spirit of God (e.g., III, 6; IV, 21); the second, a human disposition or an external spiritual influence/angelic being (e.g., III, 18; IV, 23). However, the parallels between III, 6–8 and IV, 20–22, which both speak of God cleansing the upright, indicate that the “*spirit* of [the] true *counsel* of God” (רוח עצת אמת אל), the “*holy spirit* of the community” (רוח קדושה ליהוד), the “*spirit* of uprightness and of humility” (רוח ישר וענוה), the “*spirit* of holiness” (רוח קודש) and the “*spirit* of truth” (רוח אמת) are closely related to each other. The image of sprinkling, “like purifying waters” (IV, 21), resembles Ezek 36:25–27, which speaks of God’s spirit. But even if we do not identify some or all of these spirits with the spirit of God, they, whatever they are—human dispositions, spiritual entities, something in between, or both—undoubtedly reflect the attributes and character of God and his spirit.

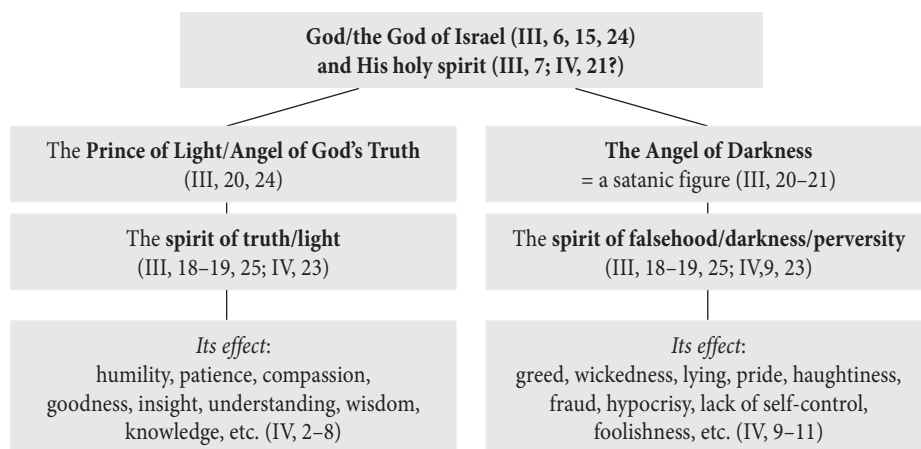


Figure 1. Spirits and Angels in IQS III–IV

<sup>27</sup> “It is clear, however, that a cosmic significance is not entirely absent for ruach in IQS 3:18 & 18/19 despite the author’s primary interest in it as a human disposition.” (Sekki 1989, 198) “[O]ne may argue that in the section as a whole, spirits sometimes seem to be cosmological figures and sometimes metaphysical entities, or again psychological traits. Some of the tensions in the *Treatise* may be solved if one assumes that its present form consists of multiple layers that were edited.” (Tigchelaar 2014, 179) Shaul Shaked states that רוח is used in four ways in Qumran: (1) two spiritual entities (representing “the two poles of the ethical dualism”); (2) two opposing qualities inherent in man; (3) the “numerous qualities and faculties in Man”; (4) as indicating “angel”; and suggests that the distinction between these can be blurred (Shaked 1972, 436).

In conclusion, I propose taking the lack of distinction between “spirit” as human disposition and a separate entity/being in this treatise seriously, and view the created spirit of truth and light as a spiritual influence, extending into—and connecting—the human and angelic realms. Regardless of their exact nature, the “good spirits” in this treatise reflect the character of God and are associated with attributes and word pairs shared with the spirit of YHWH in Isa 11:2 (MT). The only attribute missing is the fear of YHWH.

## 2.7. Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407) consists of thirteen songs that describe the celestial liturgy of the angels serving as priests in the heavenly temple. The idea is that through liturgical practice, the community can join the angels in their worship and cross the symbolic boundary between heaven and earth, the sacred and profane (von Weissenberg and Seppänen 2015, 71–97). These songs, as far as they are extant to us, neither clearly nor unambivalently mention God’s own spirit; four times, a “spirit of utter holiness” (lit. “spirit of holiest holiness,” רוח קודש קודשים) is mentioned,<sup>28</sup> but even this “does not seem to single out a specific spirit” (Tigchelaar 2014, 202). The same composition, but using the plural “spirits,” occurs many times more and refers to angelic beings in the heavenly sanctuary.

The angelic beings, of which there are many in these songs, are often called “divinities” (אלים), “gods” (אלהים), “spirits” (רוחות), or “angels/messengers” (מלאכים). The words knowledge (דעת) and understanding (בינה) occur with high frequency and are related to angels in constructs such as “divinities of knowledge” (אלי דעת), “spirits of understanding” (רוחי בין), “exalted ones of knowledge” (רומי דעת), “spirits of knowledge and light” (רוחי דעת ואור), “spirits of knowledge and understanding” (רוחי דעת ובינה), and “spirits of knowledge of truth and justice” (רוחי דעת אמת וצדק). Thus, “spirits,” “knowledge,” and “understanding” often occur together; moreover, even if they are divorced from their pneumatological meaning and the context of Isa 11, the purely verbal connection still stands. It is also possible that the “spirits” in Isa 11:2 have been given an angelic interpretation; similarly, the spirit which moves the living creatures in Ezek 1:12, 21, has been transformed into the “spirits of living gods” (רוחות [א]לוהים חיים) in 4Q405 20 II, 9–11.

There are many “sevens” in these songs: seven words, seven heavenly counsels, seven chief princes (high-ranking, priestly, angelic beings); clearly, this has a symbolical meaning. Most interesting for this study are the “seven mysteries of knowledge” (שבע רזי דעת) spoken by seven priestly princes (4Q403 1 II, 27).<sup>29</sup> No spirit is mentioned here, but the princes are “spirit beings.” In another song from

<sup>28</sup> 4Q403 1 II, 1; 4Q404 5, 1; 4Q405 14–15 I, 2; 23 II, 8.

<sup>29</sup> As already demonstrated, there is a basis for a “sevenfold” spirit even in the Hebrew text of Isa 11:2.

Qumran, a connection between God's holy spirit, knowledge (דעת), and mystery (רז) is explicitly made (1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 11–13). God is the God of knowledge (אלוהי דעת, e.g., 4Q402 4, 12), exalted among the “divinities of knowledge” (4Q403 1 I, 31), i.e., angelic high-ranking beings of which Elliot Wolfson writes: “The angels are designated in this way not because they apprehend the inner knowledge of God but because they are manifestations of the divine mind (*maḥšavah*) wherein all knowledge inheres.” (Wolfson 2004, 208) This view of angelic beings can be related to Isa 11:2, where instead the Spirit conveys YHWH's wisdom and knowledge.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.8. Summary

The Qumran material is diverse, both in terms of its reception of Isa 11:2 (quotes and allusions) and its different perceptions of the spirit of God and use of רוּחַ. Both 1QS<sup>b</sup> and 4Q161 quote from Isa 11 and speak of a warrior messiah, to whom the spirit of strength (or “eternal might”) will be given. 4Q161, however, partly replaces the role of the Spirit as the source of the messiah's insight with that of the priesthood; in 4Q213<sup>a</sup>, the attributes/virtues of the Spirit from Isa 11:2 are applied to a priestly individual (with no explicit messianic context). In 4Q213<sup>a</sup>; 4Q444; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI; XX, and 1QS III–IV, the charismatic endowments of the Spirit on the royal figure in Isa 11:2 are transformed, “democratized” and applied to non-kingly or non-military individuals. “Spirit” (רוּחַ) is used in reference to the spirit of God (4Q213<sup>a</sup> I, 14; 4Q444 1, 1; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 26; possibly 1QS III, 6–7; IV, 21), but can also be understood as human dispositions, virtues, or gifts (1QS III–IV; 4Q444 1, 3; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 25)—or angelic beings (4Q400–407; possibly 4Q444 1, 3). Wisdom and understanding are the most commonly used of the attributes from Isa 11:2.

## 3. Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Writings commonly referred to as the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha will now be addressed.<sup>31</sup> While most of the following sources are undoubtedly Jewish writings, the origins of some have been debated; the texts included here, however, are all considered by most recent scholars to be of Jewish origin. For this reason, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and its allusions to Isa 11:2–3a (T. Levi 2:3; 18:7; T. Jud. 24) are excluded: the general consensus today is that this work, as we have it, should be considered a Christian text, and that it is hard or even impossible

<sup>30</sup> Wonsuk Ma states that the spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah functions as an extension of YHWH's own being and executes his will as he relates to “human beings, nature and ... the nation.” (Ma 1999, 29; see also 16, 26)

<sup>31</sup> The problems with these terms and their definitions are well-known in scholarship; I hereby acknowledge this.

to reconstruct a pre-Christian, Jewish *Vorlage* (if such ever existed) even though it makes heavy use of Jewish material and traditions.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.1. Ben Sira

In Ben Sira, three passages have connections to Isa 11:2–3a: Sir 24:23–29; 39:6–7 and 48:24. Originally written in Hebrew, this book is extant as a whole only in Greek although many fragments in Hebrew have been found in Qumran, the Cairo Geniza and Masada (Shehan and Di Lella 1987, 51–62; Coggins 1998, 33–41).<sup>33</sup> These findings show that at least two Hebrew recensions of the book existed. Only the last of the passages analyzed here is found in a Hebrew fragment;<sup>34</sup> for the other two, we depend on the Greek texts.

For the author of Ben Sira, wisdom is mainly to be found through studying the *torah* (Sir 1:26; 6:37), and in 24:23–29, the personified Wisdom is even identified with the book of the *torah*. However, this “Wisdom-*torah*” is described like a spirit (Shehan and Di Lella 1987, 336) and shares several of the attributes of the Spirit in Isa 11:2–3a: “This book possesses the same qualities as the Spirit of the Lord. The allusions to Isaiah 11:2 are unmistakable: the book is full of wisdom (Sir 24:25), understanding (24:26), knowledge (24:27) and counsels (24:29).” (Argall 1995, 56)

<sup>32</sup> The debate has centered around the question of whether the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (as we have it today) should be viewed as a Jewish work with considerable Christian editing and interpolations, or as a Christian composition that incorporates Jewish material and traditions; in my opinion, we must also consider the alternative that this work could be of Jewish-Christian origin, from when the “parting of the ways” was not yet fully realized and the borderlines between Christianity and Judaism was still open. See Hollander and de Jonge 1985, 1–85; de Jonge 2004, 303–15; Collins 2010, 101; Kugler 2001, 28–38. David DeSilva uses criteria set up by Robert Kraft and James Davila for determining whether a text transmitted by Christians should be treated as a Jewish document or not, and argues that even though the extant text is Christian, it is not impossible to recover earlier, pre-Christian, Jewish elements; we do not have to abandon it as a witness to early Jewish reflections, it is best to see the Testaments as a Jewish text that was later adapted for Christian interests (DeSilva 2013, 21–68). The situation is somewhat different for the Testament of Levi, since discoveries in the Cairo Geniza and Qumran make it possible to compare the text to older, parallel Aramaic material (e.g., 4Q213<sup>a</sup>); as a result, a “pre-Christian, non-Greek ‘Testament of Levi’ begins to emerge.” (Kugler 2001, 48) Unfortunately, the passages relevant for this study have no parallels in the ALD. In 2:3, Levi states that as he was tending his flocks, “a *spirit of understanding* of the Lord came upon me” (πνεῦμα συνέσεως κυρίου ἦλθεν ἐπ’ ἐμέ), making him see the sinfulness and injustice of humans; this is a moment of calling for him (cf. Amos 7:14–15). T. Levi 18:6–7 says: “the *spirit of understanding* and sanctification shall rest upon him” (καὶ πνεῦμα συνέσεως καὶ ἁγιασμοῦ καταπαύσει ἐπ’ αὐτόν). One Greek ms. (A<sup>β</sup>) even has γνώσεως (“of *knowledge*”) instead of ἁγιασμοῦ; in the same ms., however, “in the water” (ἐν τῷ ὕδατι) is added at the end of v. 7, revealing it as a Christian interpolation.

<sup>33</sup> See also Rey and Joosten 2011; Muraoka 2023. Of the two Greek witnesses, G1 is the most important one; G2 is not an independent translation but builds on G1, with additions and changes based on the HT2 (the 2nd recension of the Hebrew text). There are also a Syriac version and the version found in the Vetus Latina; the Syriac seems to have fused the two Hebrew recensions attested in the Hebrew fragments, and the Vetus Latina version was compiled from a Greek text tradition (in line with G2).

<sup>34</sup> For the examination of the Hebrew manuscript fragments, Beentjes 1997 has been used.

Of these, only knowledge is described using a different word than Isa 11:2 (LXX): παιδεία, which could also translate as “education,” instead of γνῶσις.

These connections become even stronger when turning to Sir 39:6–7. To the scribe who has devoted himself to the study of God’s law, prophecies, proverbs and prayer (38:34–39:6), wisdom can be given by God through the infilling of the “*spirit of understanding*” (πνεύματι συνέσεως), which will lead to speaking “words of wisdom” (ῥήματα σοφίας), thanksgiving, and divine guidance in *counsel* (βουλή) and knowledge (ἐπιστήμη). The use of βουλή together with πνεῦμα, σοφία, and σύνεσις indicates an allusion to Isa 11:2, but the use of ἐπιστήμη could also point to Exod 31:3 (cf. 35:31). It is safe to say that Sir 39:6–7 seems to allude to both Isa 11 and Exod 31 (see Table 3).<sup>35</sup>

Table 3. Connection of Key Words in Sir 39:6–7 to Other Biblical Texts

Exod 31:3 (MT + LXX)	Sir 39:6–7	Isa 11:2 (MT + LXX)
רוח אלהים πνεῦμα θεῖον	πνεῦμα	רוח יהוה πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ
חכמה σοφία	σύνεσις	חכמה σοφία
חבונה σύνεσις	σοφία	בונה σύνεσις
–	βουλή	עצה βουλή
דעת ἐπιστήμη	ἐπιστήμη	דעת γνῶσις

Whereas in Exod 31, the spirit of God is equips *craftsmen* for practical work, and in Isa 11, the coming *king* is to be empowered to rule justly, in Sir 39:6–7, the spirit of understanding from the Lord imbues the *scribe of the torah* with wisdom and knowledge<sup>36</sup> (and practical work is viewed as something for “simple people,” very different from scribal activities).<sup>37</sup> The lowest level of “sapiential achievement” is for people who work with their hands (their work, however, is considered very important, 38:25–33); the next level is for the student of the law (38:24; 38:34–39:5),

<sup>35</sup> Parallel in 4Q365 10, 4, where there is a marked citation of Exod 31:3.

<sup>36</sup> “This wisdom is available to anyone who can devote the requisite time to mastering it.” (B. G. Wright 2007, 168)

<sup>37</sup> The link from wise/skilled craftsmen to wise scribe is, however, closer than from the messianic/royal charisma to wise scribe, which strengthens the connection between Sir 39 and Exod 31.

but the “the highest level of wisdom is reserved for the sage who receives the Spirit of understanding” (Menziez 1994, 64)<sup>38</sup> (39:6–11). This finds a parallel in Philo, who seems to think that the highest form of knowledge is “attained through an experience of Spirit-inspired prophetic ecstasy.” (Menziez 1994, 60)<sup>39</sup>

The third passage speaks of the prophet Isaiah, who “by his *dauntless spirit* saw the future and comforted the mourners in Zion” (Sir 48:24). The Greek has πνεύματι μεγάλῳ, and the Hebrew (MS B) has בְּרוּחַ גְּבוּרָה. The echo of Isa 11:2 is thus stronger in the Hebrew text.

### 3.2. Wisdom of Solomon

I have devoted another study to the spirit of wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon (Johansson 2025), and offer only a summary of the conclusion here. The author of this work brings together three different concepts from the earlier Jewish Scriptures—the divine “spirit of wisdom” (Exod 28:3; Deut 34:9; Isa 11:2), the personified Wisdom from the sapiential literature (e.g., Prov 8–9), and the Angel of the Lord (Exod 23:20–23)—and lets them converge in one figure. This “spirit of wisdom” (Wis 7:7) is a πνεῦμα (1:6) reminiscent of the Stoic world soul (7:22–8:1), but is also personified (e.g., 6:12–25; 9:9–11:1) and, as I argue, “angelomorphized.” Wisdom is associated with angelic motifs (such as God’s throne, fire/light, and the sun), is depicted as an angel in 18:15–16 (here as the Word of God), and takes on the salvific role of the Angel of the Lord in a retelling of the Exodus (Wis 10:15–21). In this retelling, Wisdom both behaves as a spirit (10:16; cf. 7:25, 27) and acts as a guide for the people, being identified with the pillar of cloud-and-fire (10:17–18). I have also shown linguistic and thematic similarities between this text and Isa 63:8–14, which is interesting as a comparison due to its textual variants: The Hebrew text (according to the *Qere*-reading) states that the “angel of his presence” saved the people (v. 9) and seems to identify the holy spirit of ὙΨΩΣ with this angel; the LXX, on the other hand, is polemical against the idea that God used an angelic agent to save the people (in v. 9),<sup>40</sup> but simultaneously states that a “spirit *from* the Lord” (πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου) *came down* (κατέβη) to lead the people (v. 14), which could be interpreted angelomorphically.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Menziez here follows Davies 1984, 16–21.

<sup>39</sup> Philo of Alexandria seems to think that there are three types of knowledge: (1) Knowledge received through the senses; (2) Knowledge attained through philosophical reflection; (3) “Pure” knowledge, given through Spirit-inspired prophetic ecstasy. See also Davies 1984, 52; Pearson 1973, 45.

<sup>40</sup> In the Hebrew (*Qere*), it is stated that “In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them.” The *Kethib* can be read in two ways, either as (a) “In all their affliction [there was] no affliction, and the angel of his presence saved them,” or as (b) “In all their affliction, neither messenger nor angel [but] he himself saved them.” The LXX here follows (b), negating that an angel saved them.

<sup>41</sup> See Levison 1995, 470–471; and footnote 16 above.



In the Wisdom of Solomon, personified Wisdom is thus identified simultaneously with the spirit of God (the spirit of wisdom) and with the angelic presence that led the Israelites through the desert in the Exodus. Wisdom is depicted as a spirit with angelic features, and is, therefore, an early example of angelomorphic pneumatology.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.3. Susanna

In the story about Susanna in the Old Greek (OG) version of the Book of Daniel, a “spirit of understanding” (Sus 45) and “a spirit of knowledge and understanding” (Sus 62b) are mentioned, before alterations in the “*Theodotion* recension” of Daniel (Θ’-Dan). The textual history of the Greek forms of the book is complex, and the nomenclature can be confusing: The OG version is sometimes called the LXX but was almost universally rejected in the early church, and Θ’-Dan was, in fact, not compiled by the historical Theodotion but much earlier.<sup>43</sup>

In the OG, “an angel” (ὁ ἄγγελος)—earlier in the same verse called ἄγγελος κυρίου—gave, as commanded, “a spirit of *understanding*” (πνεῦμα συνέσεως) to the young Daniel (Sus 45). This is in line with passages in the Book of Daniel which speak of angels conveying revelation to him (Dan 9:21; 10:5ff.). In Θ’-Dan, however, there is no mention at all of an angel; instead, we read: “God raised up the holy spirit of a young man named Daniel” (ἐξήγειρεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παιδαρίου νεωτέρου, ᾧ ὄνομα Δανηλ). God is now the subject, and the spirit in question is none other than Daniel’s own (human) “holy spirit” being stirred up or, possibly, the holy spirit of God he already possessed (cf. Dan 4:9, 18; 5:11) (Moore 1977, 108). A tradition in which angels functioned as mediators, transmitting “spirits” from God to man, has thus been replaced with a far less compelling alternative.

Something similar occurs in v. 62b/63. In the OG, the story concludes: “let us watch out for young powerful [δυνατούς] sons; for youths will be *pious* [εὐσεβήσουσι], and a *spirit* of knowledge and *understanding* [πνεῦμα ἐπιστήμης καὶ συνέσεως] shall be with them forever and ever.” Here, both verbal and conceptual allusions to LXX Isa 11:2–3a are found (Collins 1993, 435) (see Table 4). This also reflects

<sup>42</sup> I am aware of the fact that different conclusions and interpretations can be made; for a fuller presentation of my arguments supporting this position, see Johansson 2025.

<sup>43</sup> Theodotion lived in the late second century CE, but the so-called Theodotion’s version of Daniel (Θ’-Dan) is attested in the New Testament (as is also the OG). Scholars agree that Θ’-Dan depends on and is a revision of the OG, which in turn is usually dated to somewhere around 100 BCE. The term “Θ’-Dan” is therefore a misnomer, but continues to be used by scholars to avoid creating even more confusion. In Θ’-Dan, the story of Susanna is placed before Dan 1, but in the OG (and the Vulgate), it is placed after chapter 12; in one manuscript (Papyrus 967), the story is placed after another addition (Bel and the Dragon). The original language of the story is debated: many assume a Semitic original (Hebrew/Aramaic), but there is no manuscript evidence for this (Collins 1993, 3–13, 426–428; 2001, 3–5; Di Lella 2001, 586–607; Moore 1977, 16–18, 78–84; Newsom 2014, 4–5).

LXX Dan 1:17 (Knibb 2001, 27), where Daniel and his friends (all young men) are gifted with “knowledge and *understanding* and skill” (ἐπιστήμην καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ φρόνησιν).<sup>44</sup> In Θ’-Dan, none of this remains, and the chapter ends with the words: “from that day onward Daniel had a great reputation among the people.”

Table 4. Allusions to Isa 11 in Sus 62b

Sus 62b (OG)	Isa 11:2–3a (LXX)
δυνατός	ισχύς
εὐσεβέω (verb)	εὐσέβεια (noun)
πνεῦμα	πνεῦμα
ἐπιστήμη	γνώσις
συνέσις	σύνεσις

While the later recension of the story of Susanna contains no clear allusions to Isa 11:2–3a, this is not true of the OG version, which mentions the/a “spirit of (knowledge and) understanding.” The exact nature of the spirit(s)—whether it pertains to the spirit of God and its different attributes or to charismatic virtues transferred to the human spirit—is, however, unclear. The connection to the angelic realm, the idea that spirit(s) can be given via angels, is notable and has parallels in other sources (e.g., 1QS III–IV; Herm. 43:9).

### 3.4. Psalms of Solomon 17–18

In the Psalms of Solomon, two passages allude to different parts of Isa 11:1–5 and mention a “spirit,” and both occur in the explicitly messianic psalms.<sup>45</sup> Their historical setting is shortly after the invasion of Jerusalem by Pompey (63 BCE),<sup>46</sup> who is considered by most commentators to be the “foreigner” in 17:7, 13. These psalms are extant in eleven Greek and four Syriac manuscripts, but were probably originally written in Hebrew (R. B. Wright 2007, 1–33; 1983, 639–70).

The second half of Pss. Sol. 17, beginning with v. 21, is a prayer for God to raise up the messianic king, the “son of David” (remarkably called χριστός κύριος in 17:32), and a description of his rule. The passage contains clear allusions, both verbal and

<sup>44</sup> In the Hebrew text (MT), only two virtues are mentioned: מַדַּע וְהִשְׁכָּל (knowledge/learning and skill/wisdom).

<sup>45</sup> The Psalms of Solomon are extant in both a Greek and a Syriac version, and there are twelve Greek manuscripts. There has been a consensus about a Hebrew *Vorlage*, but this has also been challenged (Bons and Pouchelle 2015, 4). In this analysis, I use Robert B. Wright’s (2007) critical edition of the Greek text.

<sup>46</sup> Probably even after Pompey’s death (48 BCE), since the death of a foreign invader is mentioned in 2:26 (Collins 2010, 52–53).

conceptual, to Isa 11 (Collins 2010, 58). The king will “not weaken during his reign, [relying] on his God,” because “God made him powerful in the holy *spirit* and *wise* in the *counsel* of *understanding*, with *strength* and *righteousness*” (ὁ θεὸς κατεργάσατο αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ συνέσεως μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ δικαιοσύνης, 17:37). Later, it is also stated that he will be strong “in the *fear of God*” (ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ, 17:40). However, here the πνεῦμα [ἅγιον] is connected directly only to God making the king powerful, and not to the other key words from Isa 11:2–3a, as the sentence is structured in the following way (see Figure 2, below):

God makes him:	– (a) strong/mighty	– in/by [a] holy spirit	
	– (b) wise	– in/by “intelligent counsel”	– with strength and righteousness

Figure 2. Structure of Pss. Sol. 17:37

Moreover, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ can be read in two ways: instrumentally, as “by/with [the/a] holy spirit”; or as “in [his] holy spirit,” denoting a human disposition in the messiah. The connection to Isa 11 strengthens the first reading, but the similarities between these psalms and Qumran writings, which have been pointed out by many,<sup>47</sup> make this conclusion less certain, since in the writings of Qumran, שׁוֹרֵי קוֹדֶשׁ or similar terms can often denote the human spirit (e.g., CD V, 11: “they have corrupted their holy spirit”).

In Pss. Sol. 18:7–8, the psalmist talks in positive terms about the discipline of Israel by the Lord’s messiah, and the *fear of God* is a repeated theme (18:7, 8, 9, 11). Verses 7–8 read as follows, with words also found in Isa 11:1–5 (LXX) in italics:

under the *rod* of discipline of the Lord Messiah in the *fear of his God* [ὑπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ], in *wisdom of spirit* [ἐν σοφίαι πνεύματος], and of *righteousness* and of *strength* [καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἰσχύος], to direct people in righteous acts in the *fear of God* [φόβῳ θεοῦ], to set them all in the *fear of the Lord*.<sup>48</sup>

The allusions are clear, but the spirit’s role is not emphasized, and ἐν σοφίαι πνεύματος can be read in different ways: “in the spirit’s wisdom,” “in the spirit of wisdom,” or “in wisdom of spirit.”

John Collins sees the rule of the messianic king in these psalms as “undeniably violent” (Collins 2010, 58–59), but the texts themselves are at least ambivalent in this

<sup>47</sup> Some scholars are even suggesting Qumran as the locale for the writing of the Psalms of Solomon (R. B. Wright 2007, 9). They are, however, completely absent in the Qumran scrolls (Collins 2010, 74).

<sup>48</sup> The last phrase is based on Ms. 260. The doubling of the fear of God possibly reflects the doubling in Isa 11:2d–3a (MT). Other mss. read “to establish them all before the Lord.”

regard. It is stated that the awaited king “will not rely on horse and rider and bow” or on “the day of war” but be merciful towards the Gentiles (17:33–34). It is also a repeated theme that it is *with his word* (and wisdom) that he will “strike,” “judge,” and “destroy” sinners/lawbreaking Gentiles (17:23–24, 29, 35–36; cf. Isa 11:4) and discipline his people (17:42–43). Antti Laato argues that it “is not the Messiah’s political power which plays a significant role in the subjugation of sinners and gentiles but his wisdom and righteousness.” (Laato 1997, 281–82) Thus, while the interpretation of Isa 11 and related messianic expectations in the Pss. Sol. 17–18 show similarities to 1QS<sup>b</sup> and 4Q161, they are less explicit and clear about the messiah taking on a militant role. In a broader sense, it is, however, clear that these sources bear witness to a common Jewish understanding of Isa 11 in the first and second centuries BCE (cf. Collins 2010, 74). The messianic figure will be an eschatological king who will subjugate the Gentiles, and in both these psalms and 4Q161, the role of the Spirit as the direct source of the virtues of the messiah is somewhat toned down.

**3.5. 1 Enoch—Book of Parables**

The most relevant texts from the composite 1 Enoch for this study are all found in the Book of Parables (chs. 37–71).<sup>49</sup> 1 Enoch 49:3 contains “an almost verbatim quotation of the Davidic oracle in Isa 11:2.” (Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2011, 178) Table 5 provides English translations of 1 En. 49:3–4 and Isa 11:2, side by side:

Table 5. Text Comparison of 1 En. 49:3–4 with Isa 11:2

1 En. 49:3–4 <sup>50</sup>		Isa 11:2
49:3	And in him [the Chosen One] dwell	The spirit of YHWH will rest upon him;
	the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of insight,	the spirit of wisdom and understanding,
	and the spirit of instruction and of might,	the spirit of counsel and might,
	and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.	the spirit of knowledge and the fear of YHWH.
49:4	And he will judge the things that are secret, and a lying word none will be able to speak in his presence; for he is the Chosen One in the presence of the Lord of Spirits according to his good pleasure.	[cf. Isa 11:3b–4: “He shall not judge by what his eyes see...” etc.]

<sup>49</sup> This is probably the latest part of 1 Enoch, dated to “around the turn of the era” (Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2011, 3–4) or “the end of the first century CE” (Knibb 2007, 27–28) and is only extant in Ge‘ez. It is not clear if it was originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic.

<sup>50</sup> Translation from Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2012.

God is repeatedly called the “Lord of Spirits” in the Book of Parables (102 times), which corresponds to יהוה צבאות in the Hebrew Bible. The “Chosen One” refers to the messiah (also, the “Anointed One,” “Righteous One,” and “Son of Man”). Non-angelic spirits are rarely the means by which revelation is received in 1 Enoch; more often, as in apocalyptic texts in general, revelation is given via angelic messengers (Russel 1964, 160; Menzies 1994, 65–66). Here, however, perhaps due to the connection to Isa 11:2, it is by “spirit” wisdom, insight, understanding, and might are given. As shown in Table 5, 1 En. 49:3 follows Isa 11:2 quite closely in the first parts of the verse, but deviates in the last one; this is “presumably because the author does not consider the knowledge and, especially, the fear of ΥΗΩΗ, ascribed to the human king, to be appropriate to this heavenly figure.” (Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2011, 178)

As in the Psalms of Solomon, the messiah is equipped to rule as king, and it is less clear precisely what is meant by “spirit.”<sup>51</sup> This is further complicated by the reference to the spirit (in singular) of the righteous who have fallen asleep (dwelling together with the other “spirits” in the messiah). One possible interpretation is that the righteous are thought of as being partakers of the same spirit as the messiah; another option is that the messiah is the one who gathers together the spirits of the righteous when they have died, i.e., those who have hoped for his salvation (Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2011, 178).

1 Enoch 61:11 does not quote Isa 11 but, nevertheless, contains a conceptual allusion. The whole host of heaven, including many ranks of angelic beings (and the Chosen One), is said to praise the Lord of Spirits *in* a “sevenfold” spirit or *with* seven spiritual virtues:

And they will raise one voice, and they will bless and glorify and exalt with the spirit of faithfulness and with the spirit of wisdom, and with (a spirit of) long suffering and with the spirit of mercy, and with the spirit of judgment and peace and with the spirit of goodness. And they will all say with one voice, “Blessed (is he), and blessed be the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever.”

Only the “spirit of wisdom” matches the “spirits” (i.e., attributes) in Isa 11:2–3a, but the fact that there are precisely seven of them indicates a connection. These spirits cannot be angels, since the angelic beings mentioned in the immediate context partake in the worship described as taking place *with/in* these spirits. If the translator into Gèez wanted to indicate that the spirits were angelic beings, he would have

<sup>51</sup> In the Book of Parables as a whole, “spirit” often refers to the human spirit or the whole person (e.g., 41:8; 67:8; 71:1, 5, 6, 11), but is also used to denote a human disposition (e.g., 56:5), evil spirits/demons (69:12), and weather phenomena (60:16–20; 69:22). Possible references to the spirit of God, apart from 49:3; 61:11, are found in: 62:2, where the “spirit of righteousness” is poured out on the Messiah; and 68:2, although the “power of the spirit” experienced by the angel Michael probably refers to his emotional state.

used *mesla* (together with) instead of *ba* (in/with).<sup>52</sup> Neither are they human spirits. The most probable interpretation is that they refer to the different attributes of the spirit of God and/or the state/attitude in which the worship takes place;<sup>53</sup> and, thus, finds a parallel in the “seven mysteries of knowledge” by which the angels in 4Q403 praise and bless God.

Lastly, in 1 En. 71:11, “Enoch” himself praises God, “with a loud voice, with a *spirit of power*,” when his own spirit has been “transformed.”

Like so many other writings in early Judaism, the Book of Parables connects its messianic expectations with Isa 11. Its use of “spirit,” however, is often difficult to determine: It can refer to angelic beings and human dispositions, virtues, and attitudes, but rarely in a fully unambivalent way to the spirit of God.

### 3.6. Joseph and Aseneth

In Genesis, Joseph is already associated with the possession of God’s spirit, extraordinary understanding, and wisdom; according to Pharaoh, he is a man in whom the divine spirit dwells (אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ) (אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ) (נְבוֹן וְחָכָם) (Gen 41:38–39). The much later Joseph and Aseneth, which most recent scholars consider to be a Greek writing of Jewish origin from 100 BCE–115/117 CE,<sup>54</sup> expands Gen 41:45 (which briefly mentions Aseneth) into a story of love and of conversion to the true Jewish faith.

Joseph and Aseneth 4:9 describes Joseph as a man who worships God, a self-controlled male virgin, “powerful in *wisdom* and knowledge, and the *spirit of God* is upon him” (δυνατός ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῶ).<sup>55</sup> This echoes the language in Gen 41:38–39 (LXX) and also its structure: the wisdom and knowledge that Joseph possesses is not directly tied to the Spirit but set as a parallel

<sup>52</sup> The Ge‘ez preposition *ba* is equivalent to the Hebrew בְּ.

<sup>53</sup> “As they sing God’s praise, they express the seven virtues that live in them and that are characteristics of the deity. Perhaps this also implies that they are qualities of the righteous person.” (Nickelsburg and VanderKam 2011, 252) There are similarities between this list of spirits and the fruit of the Spirit in Gal 5:22–23; six of the seven spirits mentioned (all but wisdom) could, with some generosity, be equated to six of the nine fruits in Gal 5.

<sup>54</sup> This has been challenged by Ross Kraemer, who argues for a later date (not ruling out Christian origin), but most scholars still hold to the earlier consensus and the view that it is more probable that Joseph and Aseneth is of Hellenistic–Jewish origin. See Burchard 1983, 187–88; Chesnutt 1995, 65–93; Humphrey 1995, 30, 33; Kraemer 1998. For an overview of the debate: Humphrey 2000, 18–26. Collins argues for an origin in (Egyptian) Judaism, with the following main points: the issue of intermarriage was more central in Judaism than in Christianity; the absence of baptism in Aseneth’s conversion; no explicit Christian references in the work (Collins 2005, 97–112).

<sup>55</sup> For the Greek text, I follow Christoph Burchard’s critical edition (the “long text”): Burchard 2003, which he also defends in Burchard 2005. About Kraemer’s contribution and critique of Burchard, Patricia D. Ahearne-Kroll states: “Kraemer convincingly demonstrates that some of the differences between the longer and shorter texts reflect redactions.... Nevertheless, as we have seen, redaction occurred with most of the manuscripts, not just between manuscript families.” (Ahearne-Kroll 2020, 74)

to having the Spirit. It seems, however, that Isa 11:2 (LXX) has influenced the phrasing too; see Table 6 for a comparison.

Table 6. Key Words in Jos. Asen. 4:9 and Related Texts

Gen 41:38-39 (MT + LXX)	Jos. Asen. 4:9	Isa 11:2 (MT + LXX)
(v. 39b) נבון וחכם φρονιμώτερος καὶ συνετώτερός	δυνατός	גבורה (v. 2cβ) ἰσχύος
(v. 38b) רוח אלהים בו πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ	καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ	חכמה ובינה (v. 2bα) σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως דעת (v. 2dα) γνώσεως
		עליו רוח יהוה (v. 2a) πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 2aβ) ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτόν (v. 2aα)

Other mentions of “spirit” in this writing include: (1) 8:11, where Joseph lays his hand on Aseneth and prays for her to be “renewed by your spirit” (ἀνακαίνισον αὐτήν τῷ πνεύματί σου), “re-moulded [ἀνάπλασον] by your hidden hand,” and “re-made-alive [ἀναζωοποίησον] by your life.” Aseneth is immediately filled with joy and repents from her idolatry (9:1-2), and thus, Joseph’s blessing and laying on of hands are effective, presumably by the Spirit. (2) 19:11, in which by kissing Aseneth three times, Joseph gives her the/a “spirit of life” (πνεῦμα ζωῆς), “spirit of wisdom” (πνεῦμα σοφίας), and “spirit of truth” (πνεῦμα ἀληθείας). That 8:11 refers to God’s spirit is clear, but in 19:11, the “spirits” could refer to attributes of the spirit of God, charismatic gifts/virtues, or both. These texts portray Joseph as a “man of the Spirit”: He has the spirit of God (4:9), and he can transfer the Spirit/spirits to other people by physical means (laying on of hands and kissing). He is not a messianic figure, but certainly a charismatic figure. The allusions to Isa 11:2-3a in Joseph and Aseneth are thus both found in charismatic contexts.

#### 4. Later Jewish Reception: Targum Isaiah

This final section focuses on a text that is, technically, later than the Second Temple Era, but which, it can be argued, reflects earlier stages of the Jewish reception of

Isa 11. The Targum Isaiah (T<sup>I</sup>) contains many layers of interpretative stages, but it is relatively safe to assume that parts of it go back to the Tannaitic period (prior to 220 CE), although precisely what parts is more challenging to ascertain.<sup>56</sup> In the following text (T<sup>I</sup> Isa 11:1–4), words in italics are words that either deviate from or are additions not found in the Hebrew text:

And a *king* shall come forth from the *sons* of Jesse, and *the Messiah* shall be exalted from *the sons of his sons*. And a spirit *before* the LORD shall rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and might, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD. And the LORD shall *bring him near to his fear*. And he shall not judge by the sight of his eyes, and he shall not reprove by the hearing of his ears; but in *truth* he will judge the poor, and reprove with *faithfulness* for the needy of the *people*; and he shall strike *the sinners of the land* with the *command* of his mouth, and with *the speaking* of his lips the wicked shall *die*.<sup>57</sup>

Important to note is, firstly, that the words “shoot” (חטר) and “branch” (בצר) are replaced with the more explicit “king” and “messiah,”<sup>58</sup> indicating that the messiah will indeed be a king. It is also emphasized that the messiah will punish sinners (v. 4), be surrounded by righteous people (not just himself being girded with righteousness, v. 5), and bring peace to the land by subjecting the nations (vv. 6, 10).

Secondly, the spirit’s attributes number six (as in the MT), and no spirit is mentioned in 11:3a; instead, the “his delight” or “his smelling” (הריחו) of the messiah has been translated as “bring him near to,” with God as the active subject. Rabbinic texts often emphasize that there are six virtues or blessings in Isa 11:2 (e.g., t Sanh. 93b:6; m Ruth Rabbah 7:2; m Bamid. Rabbah 13:11).

Thirdly, even though רוּחַ (as a single word) is indefinite in the MT, it is still clear that the reference is to the spirit of YHWH; here, however, the indefiniteness is made explicit by the addition of “before” in “a spirit *before* [*qdm*] the Lord.” The preposition *qdm* as moderating “spirit” is also used in 61:1: “a spirit of prophecy *before* the LORD God is upon me.” In many other instances in the Targum Isaiah, the spirit is translated as “the holy spirit” and connected with prophecy (Chilton 1982, 49–50),

56 “At both the Tannaitic and Amoraic phases, current interpretations of Isaiah were obviously gathered together and ordered into the paraphrase which we know as the Targum. But it is impossible to know whether a complete Targum was produced at the Tannaitic phase, and reworked at the Amoraic phase, or whether both phases were partial affairs, and only formed a coherent whole when they were brought together. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable, in that much of the material in the Targum coheres with the general theological orientation of the document, but is not easily assigned to either of the twolevels.... During the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods, it would appear, rabbis developed an interpretative translation of Isaiah. Successive generations took up the work of earlier interpreters until the coherent Targum we can now read emerged.” (Chilton 1987, xxiv–xxv)

57 Translation: Chilton 1987 (based on the British Museum Ms. 2211).

58 “Branch terminology” is replaced with “Messiah” several times in the Targum Isaiah (Chilton 1982, 86–96).



e.g., 40:13; 59:21; the fact that this is not the case in 11:2 only underlines the indefiniteness. The spirit in 11:2 seems to be no longer God's own spirit but a separate entity. This could be explained by a willingness to distance the text from Christian interpretations, but it also opens it up for *angelic* interpretations, or an *angelomorphic* view of the spirit of God. A "spirit before the Lord" is reminiscent of 1 Kgs 22:21, where "a spirit [a member of the heavenly host] came forward and stood before YHWH" (MT: ויצא הרוח ויעמד לפני יהוה; LXX: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πνεῦμα καὶ ἔστη ἐνώπιον κυρίου), and then went out as a lying spirit in the mouths of the prophets. Other times where "a spirit" is used in the Targum Isaiah, it can, e.g., refer to "a spirit of deception" (19:14; 29:10) or "a spirit of understanding" (29:24; a human disposition); and in 37:7, God says that he will "put a spirit in him [the Assyrian king]." In these cases, the spirit referred to is not the spirit of God, but either an angelic spirit (a "spirit-being") or a human disposition. Thus, it seems as if the spirit in Isa 11:2 (T<sup>1</sup>) that is before the Lord and will rest upon the messiah, is best interpreted as a spirit or quality going forth from God.

## Conclusions and Discussion

This survey and analysis of quotes and allusions to Isa 11:2-3a in Second Temple Jewish sources has illuminated different uses and interpretations of this text. This helps shed light on later, early Christian reception of Isa 11, in which these interpretations have been appropriated, taken further, and modified. A summary of the findings is presented in Table 7.

Isaiah 11 is about a future Davidic king, his endowment by the spirit of God (the royal charisma), and his rule. It is interpreted as a *messianic* text in many of the sources (1QS<sup>b</sup> V, 25; 4Q161; Pss. Sol. 17:37; 18:7-8; 1 En. 49:3; T<sup>1</sup> Isa 11:1-2), the very same texts which most clearly quote Isa 11:2 or significant parts of it (rather than merely containing allusions or focusing on a few of the attributes). Common themes suggest that the messianic figure will be an eschatological ruler, who will subjugate the nations and be endowed by/with the "spirit of" + different attributes from Isa 11:2.

In several texts, however, the royal or messianic theme and context have been omitted or transformed. The attributes/endowments of the Spirit (or allusions to those attributes) are understood as *virtues*, *charismatic gifts*, or *human dispositions* given to or possessed by Levi/priests (4Q213<sup>a</sup>), diligent scribes/students of the torah (Sir 39:6-7), the "sons of truth" (1QS III, 24-IV, 8), anonymous supplicants (1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 13; XX, 11-13; 4Q444), or young Jewish men: Joseph (Jos. Asen. 4:9), Daniel and his friends (OG Sus 45, 62b). This "democratization" of the original royal charisma can be related to Isa 55:3-5, the only text in Isa 40-66 which speaks of

David, and “the most obvious case of a collective interpretation of the dynastic promise.” (Laato 1997, 11) This is a key to understanding how Isa 11 could be applied to people other than the future Davidic king—the promise given to the dynasty is expanded to the whole people: God will make an everlasting covenant with the people, his “steadfast love for David” (חסדי דוד הנאמנים); “all” are invited (Isa 55:1).<sup>59</sup>

The term “spirit” (רוח/πνεῦμα), with its broad semantic range, is used in different ways. In the sources surveyed, it can refer to: (1) the *spirit of God* (Isa 11:2–3a [MT+LXX]; 4Q161; 4Q213<sup>a</sup>; 4Q444 1, 1; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 12b; Wis 7:7; Jos. Asen. 4:9; probably 1QS<sup>b</sup> V, 25; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 13; Sir 39:6–7; Pss. Sol. 17:37; 18:7–8; possibly 1QS III, 6–7; IV, 21; OG Sus 45, 62b; 1 En. 49:3; Jos. Asen. 19:11; T<sup>j</sup> Isa 11:2); (2) *human dispositions* (possibly 4Q444 1, 3; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 25; XX, 11–12a; 1QS III, 6–8; Sir 48:24; Pss. Sol. 18:7); (3) *charismatic gifts* or *virtues* (possibly 4Q444 1, 3; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 25; OG Sus 45, 62b; Jos. Asen. 19:11);<sup>60</sup> or (4) *angelic spirit-beings* (4Q400–407; possibly 4Q444 1, 3; T<sup>j</sup> Isa 11:2). In the Wisdom of Solomon, and perhaps also in the Targum Isaiah, the spirit of God is presented with angelomorphic traits; and in 1QS III–IV, the created spirit of truth/light is best understood as a spiritual influence on the human heart which is subordinate to the Angel of God’s Truth and reflects the nature of God and his spirit. Since רוח and πνεῦμα can denote both angelic beings and other kinds of “spirits,” including human ones and charismatic gifts, the distinctions between these categories are often blurry and may overlap. Another connection between the angelic and charismatic conceptual realms is found in Sus 45 (OG), which reflects a tradition in which spirits—perhaps even God’s spirit—are given to people via angelic messengers. In 1 En. 61:11, the seven “spirits” listed are neither connected to the spirit of God nor entities of their own, but rather spiritual virtues in which the angelic host are worshipping God.

Lastly, the use of seven/sevens, which later becomes significant in Christianity, also needs to be addressed. Even though this number clearly has symbolic meaning in some of the sources, no clear Jewish concept of a “sevenfold spirit” is to be found; many times, the number of attributes, virtues or “spirits” does not seem important at all (e.g., Sir 39:6–7; 1QS<sup>b</sup> V, 25; 4Q213<sup>a</sup>; Pss. Sol. 17:37; 18:7–8; 1 En. 49:3).

<sup>59</sup> Isaiah 11:1–16 and 55:3–5 echo ideas from 2 Sam 7; but Isa 55 reflects an exilic interpretation of God’s promise. Laato argues that this democratization and collective interpretation of the promise to the Davidic dynasty does not exclude messianism; instead, it connects the people’s actions and the fulfillment of these promises (Laato 1997, 46, 149, 194–95; 2022, 252–53, 257–58).

<sup>60</sup> The *attributes* of the Spirit from Isa 11:2–3a are interpreted as charismatic gifts or virtues in other sources too (as discussed in the previous paragraph), but here I only list texts where the term *spirit* (possibly) is used of the gifts/virtues themselves. Note that categories 2 and 3 are similar and can overlap.

Table 7. Summarized Overview of Texts Investigated

Text	Number of “attributes”	Comments/context
Isa 11:2 (MT) [= 1QIsa <sup>a</sup> ]	Spirit of YHWH + wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, fear of YHWH (1+6)	Attributes of God’s spirit; Davidic future king equipped to rule justly
Isa 11:2-3a (LXX)	Spirit of God + wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, piety, fear of God (1+7)	
1QS <sup>b</sup> V, 21-27	Quoting Isa 11:4a, 4b, 2c-d, 5: spirit of <i>counsel</i> + eternal <i>might</i> ; spirit of <i>knowledge, fear of God</i> (4)	Messianic Prince
4Q161	Quoting Isa 11:1-5: Spirit of YHWH + wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, fear of YHWH (1+6)	Messianic text; role of the Spirit downplayed
4Q213 <sup>a</sup>	Holy spirit + <i>counsel, wisdom, intelligence, strength</i> (4/3) <sup>61</sup>	Prayer by Levi
4Q444	<i>Fear of God + knowledge</i> + holy spirit + a spirit of <i>knowledge and understanding</i> (3)	Holy spirit = God’s spirit; “spirit of...” = human disposition or angelic spirit
1QH <sup>a</sup> VI, 13, 25	Holy spirit + <i>understanding</i> ; spirit of <i>knowledge</i> (2)	God’s spirit + human dispositions/virtues
1QH <sup>a</sup> XX, 11-13	Spirit + holy spirit + <i>knowledge, wisdom, strength</i> (3/2)	
1QS IV, 3	A spirit + seven virtues: among them, <i>understanding</i> and <i>mighty wisdom</i> (7/3)	Spiritual influences on the human heart
1QS IV, 4	Spirit of <i>knowledge</i> (1)	
1QS IV, 21-22	Spirit of truth + <i>understanding, knowledge, wisdom</i> (3)	Possibly God’s spirit
4Q400-407	Spirits of <i>understanding</i> + spirits of <i>knowledge</i> (+ seven mysteries of knowledge)	Angelic spirits
Sir 24:23-29	Wisdom/Torah is full of <i>wisdom, understanding, knowledge</i> (education), <i>counsels</i> (4/3)	Wisdom is like a spirit
Sir 39:6-7	Spirit of <i>understanding</i> + <i>wisdom, counsel, knowledge</i> (4)	Given to the diligent scribe of the Torah
Sir 48:24 (MS B)	Spirit of <i>strength</i> (dauntless/mighty spirit) (1)	About Isaiah, it gives him the ability to foresee the future
Wis 7:7	Spirit of <i>wisdom</i> (1)	Angelomorphic divine spirit of wisdom
Sus 45 (OG)	Spirit of <i>understanding</i> (1)	Given by an angel
Sus 62b (OG)	Powerful and <i>pious</i> young sons + spirit of <i>knowledge</i> and <i>understanding</i> (4/3)	Human dispositions, virtues from the spirit
Pss. Sol. 17:37, 40	Powerful in the holy spirit + <i>wise in counsel</i> of <i>understanding</i> + <i>strength</i> + <i>fear of God</i> (5)	Messianic text

<sup>61</sup> When two numbers are given in this format (e.g., “4/3”), the first number denotes the total number of attributes/virtues, etc., and the second denotes the number of attributes that are in common with Isa 11:2-3a.

Text	Number of “attributes”	Comments/context
Pss. Sol. 18:7–8	Wisdom of spirit + strength + fear of God (3)	Messianic text
1 En. 49:3	Quoting Isa 11:2: spirit of wisdom, insight, instruction, might + of those fallen asleep (5/4)	Messianic text; unclear what the “spirits” are
1 En. 61:11	Worship in the spirit of faithfulness, wisdom, long suffering, mercy, judgment, peace, goodness (7/1)	Angelic worship; “spirits” = virtues/attitudes
1 En. 71:11	Spirit of power (1)	Unclear meaning
Jos. Asen. 4:9	Strong in wisdom and knowledge + spirit of God (2)	Human disposition/virtues
Jos. Asen. 19:11	Spirit of life, wisdom, truth (3/1)	God’s spirit, or charismatic gifts/virtues
T <sup>1</sup> Isa 11:2–3a	Spirit before the Lord + wisdom, understanding, counsel, might, knowledge, fear of the Lord (1+6)	Spirit before God, angelic spirit and/or virtues

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