# DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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# *Dead Sea Scrolls*

*Malcolm B. Yarnell III*
*Managing Editor*
*ctr@swbts.edu*

*But we were eyewitnesses of His majesty.*
*2 Peter 1:16*

*Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen.*
*Hebrews 11:1*

Christianity wages warfare against two opposing worldviews: mysticism, which would dismiss reason entirely, and scientism, which would exalt reason unduly. Both are manifested in contemporary culture. For many in our age, modern science seems to be dissolving before the acidic onslaught of a mystical postmodernism. Even more recently, a resurgent militant atheism has attacked any form of theism as incompatible with enlightened rationality. As an historical and intellectual yet spiritual and simple faith, Christianity takes firm stands against both the mystical and the scientistic errors. On the one hand, our faith depends upon the eyewitness of the apostles, who literally saw the God-man die and were then amazingly transformed by Jesus' bodily resurrection. On the other hand, our faith is based on a hope that we ourselves may neither see nor measure in the same way that a geometrician calculates the hypotenuse of a triangle or a physicist measures the speed of light. Christianity does not fit within the modernist or the postmodernist worldviews, because it sublimely integrates historical objectivity with spiritual fideism.

This issue of the *Southwestern Journal of Theology* maintains that balance by concerning itself with the amazing developments surrounding the discovery and dissemination of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the last half century. First, Eric Mitchell of Southwestern Seminary reminds the reader of the history of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which is, according to him, nothing less than a miracle. Their discovery has forever shifted the fields of biblical archaeology and Christian apologetics as well as those of biblical textual studies and biblical hermeneutics. Second, Peter W. Flint of Trinity Western University contributes an essay on the significance of the biblical scrolls found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. While relaying the importance of the scrolls for affirming the content of our Bibles, he details in particular the

impact their discovery is having upon lower or textual criticism, the determination of the earliest readings of the perfect Word of God.

The next two articles of this issue on the Dead Sea Scrolls delineate the importance of the scrolls for our understanding of hermeneutical and theological trends contemporaneous with the ministry of Jesus Christ and His apostles. Herbert W. Bateman IV of Southwestern Seminary writes a groundbreaking essay on the hermeneutical practices of the extra-biblical scrolls and how they shed light upon the similar hermeneutical practices of the New Testament letter to the Hebrews. Bateman's essay will doubtlessly be considered a hermeneutical *tour de force* and we are elated he contributed it to this journal. Next, Ryan E. Stokes of Yale Divinity School considers the theological ruminations of both the extra-biblical and biblical authors of the Second Temple period regarding the origin of human sinfulness. Stokes' reflections upon the doctrines of humanity, original sin, free will, and angels shed light upon the contextual options present to the apostles.

Finally, Steven M. Ortiz, Associate Professor of Archaeology and Biblical Backgrounds and Director of the Charles D. Tandy Archaeology Museum at Southwestern Seminary, threads his way through recent archaeological debates regarding the identification of the uses and communities affiliated with the Qumran site where most of the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. Appreciation is extended to Professor Ortiz for his incalculable assistance in collecting the essays for this issue.

It should also be mentioned that Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary has received and is in the process of obtaining more of these important archaeological literary remains known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. These acquisitions make the Fort Worth, Texas seminary a central location for both specialists and the broader public, which has shown an abiding interest in their import for biblical archaeology and Christian apologetics.

The continuing study of the Dead Sea Scrolls provides scholars with data that simultaneously affirms and challenges our perceptions of the biblical faith once for all delivered to the saints. This is a cause for intellectual and Christian (as well as Jewish) rejoicing. The contributions of these archaeological finds cannot be underestimated. On the one hand, the Dead Sea Scrolls reinforce the cry of Blaise Pascal against optimistic scientism, "Humble yourself, impotent reason. . . . Listen to God!" On the other hand, they remind us that the texts upon which our faith is built have a demonstrably ancient and prestigious history.

# *A Brief History of the Dead Sea Scrolls*

*Eric Mitchell*
*Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary*
*Fort Worth, Texas*
*emitchell@swbts.edu*

Ancient scrolls made of leather do not survive well in a humid environment. Even in a hot dry climate they will eventually dry out, decay, and begin to fall apart. Thus no one really expected to find ancient manuscripts in the land of Palestine, because while it is arid in places, there is a small amount of rainfall, even in the arid regions. However, the desert rocks and caves of the Dead Sea region have occasionally countered this opinion. Around 800 AD,

> An Arab's dog was hunting an animal, pursued it into a cave, and did not come out. Its master went after it and found in the rock a little house that contained many books. The huntsman then went to Jerusalem and told it to the Jews. Many of them then went out and found books of the Old Testament, along with others, in the Hebrew script.[1]

Thus wrote Timotheus, Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, in a letter addressed to Sergius, Nestorian metropolitan of Elam. Two hundred Psalms of David had been found in a discovery not to be exceeded until modern times.[2]

The rocky ledges of this barren Judean wilderness around the Dead Sea are desolate. Their most frequent visitors are sheep and goats looking for forage with their ever present shepherds watching over them. It was thus in the winter of 1946/47. Three Ta'amireh Bedouin shepherds from Bethlehem had taken their flocks of sheep and goats to forage down near the Dead Sea. They led their flocks down to an area northeast of the Dead Sea near the cliffs overlooking the valley. Perhaps the winter rains were heavier that year and resulted in better forage for their flocks in such a deserted place.[3] It is

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[1] *Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1, quoted in Weston Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History: Volume One, 1947–1960* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 21. The historical value of Fields' work for the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls cannot be overstated. Fields has collected herein a vast array of primary and secondary sources as well as further evaluation and commentary on these sources. This article is heavily indebted to the documents and information that he has collected in this excellent work.

[2] Ibid.

[3] G.W. Lankester Harding, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan,

the shepherd's job to keep the sheep from straying and they will occasionally throw rocks to startle them and to guide them in another direction. One account is as follows. Some of their flock were climbing too high on the rocky slopes. It was late and one shepherd was climbing up to herd them down,

> As he climbed something caught his attention. There were two small openings in the rock. They were caves, or maybe two openings into the same cave. But they were so small. A man could not get through the lower one but might just squeeze through the upper one. He threw a rock into the opening and peered in. The rock had broken pottery, and what else would be in these remote caves but treasure?[4]

Some accounts say he may have thrown the rock to see if a stray goat had entered the cave or perhaps just out of curiosity at a new rock fall revealing the entrance, but the shepherd was startled when he heard the stone break pottery.[5]

The next day two of the bedouin returned to search the cave. When they entered they found several intact large clay jars with lids and many that had been broken into pieces. They broke open some of the jars but found nothing. However they took the lid off of one jar that held four bundles wrapped in linen that had turned green. The odor from the jar was awful but that did not keep them from eventually returning to their home camp with the bundles where three were hung on a tent post in a bag (the complete Isaiah[a] scroll, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Manual of Discipline), while one was left on the floor where children played with it and it subsequently was torn apart and thrown out.[6] One young Ta'amireh tribesman in recent years shared with this writer an anecdote that had been passed down that pieces of this doomed scroll had been used as wipes to clean a baby's bottom.

The miracle of the scrolls surviving millennia in desert caves has several parts. First, the parchment on which they were written was untanned sheepskin. A tanned hide will deteriorate over time. Second, the ink was made of inert carbon from soot. Other inks would fade or even corrode a text. Third, the cave climates were ideal. The very dry air and stable temperature along with little air movement within the caves allowed them to slowly dry and maintain a consistent low humidity level. In the presence of humidity

Amman, to Robert Hamilton, Director of the Department of Antiquities, Mandate Palestine, Jerusalem, 6 March 1949, transcript in the Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives; quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26, 96, 522n10. William H. Brownlee, "Muhammad Ed-Deeb's Own Story of His Scroll Discovery," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957): 236, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26, 96, 521n9.

[4]Harry Thomas, "How the Dead Sea Scrolls Were Found," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 1 (Dec 1975): 1, 7.

[5]Harding to Hamilton, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 96.

[6]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26.

parchment will decay, so this climate, then, severely slowed the scrolls' process of decomposition.[7] Even though the process was slowed for over two thousand years, it was not stopped. Most of the 850 scrolls (220 Old Testament scrolls) discovered and in evidence are in fragments. Not a few scrolls are only known to exist by evidence of a small number of fragments.[8]

The Bedouin who found these first scrolls took the bundles to Bethlehem in early spring (around March) of 1947. They offered them to an antiquities dealer who kept them for a time, showing them to others, but no one was interested. The antiquities dealers feared that they were stolen goods. The Bedouin had no luck but were persistent. They offered them to several dealers and shopkeepers, eventually offering them to the sheikh of their tribe who recommended they see a Syrian shopkeeper who knew about leather, Khalil Eskander Shahin, called Kando.[9] Kando would later become a key intermediary having negotiated with the authorities that neither he nor the Bedouin who brought him the scroll fragments would be prosecuted under antiquities laws, as long as Kando would offer the scrolls first for sale to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem (built by John D. Rockefeller and most often today referred to as the Rockefeller).[10] One shopkeeper mentioned the scrolls to the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, at St. Marks Monastery in Jerusalem. Samuel, who had some knowledge of ancient manuscripts, was very interested and sought to contact Kando and acquire the scrolls. When he was shown one of the scrolls, Samuel realized they were written in Hebrew and sought to purchase them. Meanwhile, the Bedouin returned to the cave and retrieved four more scrolls (the second Isaiah[b] scroll, the *War Scroll*, the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* in Aramaic).[11]

On the day the Bedouin came to the monastery to sell all seven scrolls to Samuel, they were rudely turned away at the door by one of the monks, who had no knowledge that they were invited. Greatly offended, the Bedouin left with no intention of returning. Two of them were persuaded to return their

[7]Dodo Joseph Shenhav, "Saving the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Next 2000 Years: Preservation in the Qumran Caves was Easier than in a Museum Atmosphere," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 7 (Jul/Aug 1981): 44–47.

[8]George J. Brooke and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Past: On the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings*, ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller (Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 9. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, "From Qumran to Roehampton: Fifty Years of Research and Reflection on the Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 16. The scrolls reveal the hand of least 500 scribes. Lena Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence* (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 6.

[9]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26–28. Shahin was his family surname and Kando was what he was called. However, due to the notoriety he gained, his family has used Kando as their surname ever since.

[10]William Kando, Interview by Weston Fields, 7 February 2007, Jerusalem, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 98–99, 533n26.

[11]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 28–29.

scrolls to Kando's shop for safekeeping, while one left with his share of four scrolls (Isaiah[b], the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*). Kando convinced the two remaining Bedouin to return with him to St. Marks with their scrolls (Isaiah[a], the Habakkuk Commentary, and the [Essene] Manual of Discipline/*Rule of the Community*). Samuel purchased these scrolls and spent much time and effort trying to authenticate them, but most to whom he showed them did not believe in their antiquity.[12]

The third Bedouin, who left with his share of scrolls, contacted an Armenian antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, who was a friend of Professor E.L. Sukenik, staff archaeologist at Hebrew University. Sukenik had knowledge of Second Temple period Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions.[13] They wanted Sukenik to authenticate and perhaps purchase these scrolls for the Museum of Jewish Antiquities at Hebrew University, which he did. It was while he was first examining these newly purchased scrolls that Sukenik's son, Yigael Yadin (an Israeli army officer and later the preeminent Israeli archaeologist), burst into the room to exclaim that the United Nations had voted to partition Palestine into two states: one Jewish and one Palestinian. These two great events for the Jews coincided on one day, one connecting it to its past and one leading into a brighter future.[14]

In February 1948, the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop Samuel had his scrolls shown to Sukenik for authentication and possible purchase.[15] However, things moved slowly because money was hard to come by and war was in the offing (the British mandate was ending and tensions were high). Meanwhile, a colleague of Samuel's was in communication with the American Schools for Oriental Research in Jerusalem (called the Albright). Samuel sent the scrolls to the temporary acting director at the time, John Trevor, for authentication. Trevor, along with his colleague William Brownlee, studied the scrolls and determined that one scroll was a complete copy of the book of Isaiah and that the writing was similar to the Nash Papyrus, which W.F. Albright had dated to 100 BC.[16] Trevor, being an amateur photographer, asked for permission to photograph the archbishop's scrolls. Trevor convinced the archbishop that the photographs, if published, would advertise the scrolls and make them worth a greater amount of money. Trevor's information likely encouraged the archbishop to forestall a sale to Sukenik and instead to travel to the United States to sell the scrolls.[17] Trevor was allowed to make

[12]A.Y. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology* 12:2 (1949): 27, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 29–31, 524n39, 524n47.

[13]E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 14, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40–42, n88.

[14]Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, 1992 ), 23–24, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 46, 526n95.

[15]Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 10.

[16]John C. Trevor, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood: Fleming H. Revell, 1965), 24–26.

[17]William Brownlee, "Phenomenal Discoveries in the Judean Wilderness," Unpublished Manuscript, 83–84, The Brownlee Archives, University of Manchester, Manchester, quoted in

the photographs and, with Brownlee's help, took pictures that became a standard for Dead Sea Scrolls research for decades to come.[18] Trevor sent some photographs of the scrolls to W.F. Albright at Johns Hopkins University for his study and authentication. Albright worked through the texts and within minutes located their date to the second century BC.[19] He wrote to Trevor that this was "the greatest discovery of modern times!"[20] An announcement was made on 11 April 1948 by the director of the Albright, Millar Burrows, who had been on vacation during the negotiations and photographing of the scrolls by Trevor and Brownlee. Burrows placed the announcement in the *New York Times* as well as in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (*BASOR* 110). Needless to say, Sukenik was probably surprised by the announcement, since he had several scrolls of his own that he had not yet published and since Burrows announcement had been somehow edited to indicate that the scrolls had not been recently acquired but had been in the St. Marks monastery library for many years.[21] Sukenik soon after announced his purchase of scrolls for Hebrew University, which included a description of Archbishop Samuel's Isaiah[a] scroll and which he had seen before Trevor had photographed them. This type of early miscommunication and later arguments over publication rights caused mistrust and in part may have contributed to the delay in publication for which those who worked on the scrolls are now famous.

Meanwhile, the cave had been revisited several times and excavated by some Bedouin and other intermediaries, who gained more fragments, including Daniel, a prayer scroll, and *1 Enoch*.[22] Kando later sold the remaining fragments from Cave 1 to Yusef Saad, Secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, including six fragments of Isaiah[b], eight pieces of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the only known fragments to the *Annex to the Rule of the Community*.[23] In October 1948 a Jewish newspaper announced that at that time eleven scrolls or parts of scrolls had been found along with two whole pots and that Sukenik surmised it was a storehouse of texts belonging to the Essenes.[24] It was only in November 1948 that the director

Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 61–62, 529n133.

[18]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 66.

[19]Trevor, *The Untold Story*, 60, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 71–73, 530n160. Frank Moore Cross, interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, 29 March 1999, Lexington, Massachusetts, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 71–73, 530n163–64.

[20]W.F. Albright, Baltimore, to John Trever, Jerusalem, 15 March 1948, transcript in the hand of James Trevor, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 76, 530n174.

[21]Millar Burrows, News Release, Yale University News Bureau, 10 April 1948, The Brownlee Archives, University of Manchester, Manchester, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 82, 530n186.

[22]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85–88.

[23]Dominique Barthelémy and J.T. Milik et al., *Qumran Cave 1*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 43, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103, 533n41.

[24]This is still the prevailing view. Geza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman, eds. *The Essenes: According to Classical Sources* (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,

of antiquities in Jordan, G.W.L. Harding, first learned of the scrolls when the *BASOR* 110 volume reached him in Jordan. By that time they had all been purchased and/or were on their way out of the country and the Jordanian Department of Antiquities had no idea of the Cave 1 location. However, it was soon located and an official excavation took place by Harding and a Dominican priest, archaeologist, and scholar named Roland de Vaux.[25] The official excavation turned up hundreds of small scroll fragments, remains of 30 pots, and cloth fragments for wrapping the scrolls.[26] Harding was very concerned about illegal excavation and losing scrolls to the black market. So he wisely set up a system of payouts for information and scroll fragments utilizing as intermediaries de Vaux as well as Kando. In this manner literally thousands of transactions were made with local Arabs for information and scroll fragments as they appeared, thus saving them for posterity.[27] After weighing all the reports, accounts, and interviews as well as hard evidence connecting the scrolls to Cave 1 archaeologically, Weston Fields posits the possibility that there were actually two Cave 1's that were near each other, one containing the scrolls initially sold to Samuel and one containing the scrolls eventually sold to Sukenik.[28]

Sukenik offered Archbishop Samuel 500 Palestinian Pounds (about $16,200) for the scrolls in his possession, but Samuel had become convinced he could get more money for them in America. So Samuel took the scrolls in his possession to Beirut and eventually to America in early 1949, where he tried to sell them to gain money for the Syrian Orthodox community in Jerusalem. However, the newly formed governments of Jordan and Israel were demanding their return, even though neither had existed when the scrolls were discovered.[29] It was not until 1955 that anonymous negotiations were completed for the purchase of Archbishop Samuel's Cave 1 scrolls for $250,000 by Yigael Yadin, Sukenik's son, and others on behalf of Israel.[30]

These early discoveries and payouts of money quickly led to further searching for caves and scrolls, both legal and illegal. The authorities wanted to purchase all the scrolls at as low a price as possible but did not want to lose out on obtaining them all, the Bedouin wanted to eliminate the middle men like Kando in order to have a larger cut, and middlemen like Kando were trying to control the market on negotiating and selling scroll fragments. In fact Kando apparently had an agreement to be the only one who sold the

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1989), 12.

[25]Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 10.

[26]G.W.L. Harding, Communiqué to the Press, 21 March 1949, Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93–95, 532n12–13.

[27]Antoun Hazou, Interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, March 1999, Jerusalem, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 107–09, 116–17, 534n55.

[28]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 110–13.

[29]A.Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 173–76, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 98–99, 533n27.

[30]Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 198–200, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 246, 547n6.

museum scroll fragments.[31] Information, disinformation, tough negotiations, sales, and hold-outs were frequent occurrences between the Bedouin, Kando, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum/authorities or those deputized by them, such as de Vaux.[32] Early on, the Bedouin were tearing the scroll fragments into smaller pieces, because they were being paid per fragment, but de Vaux instigated a change in the policy so that they would be paid per square centimeter of fragment purchased. In this manner they were able to forestall further destruction by the Bedouin.[33]

By the spring of 1950 scholarly articles began to appear on the scrolls.[34] In late 1951, de Vaux began excavations at the site near Cave 1, Qumran (called *Secacah* in biblical times),[35] which confirmed the connection between Cave 1 and Qumran through pottery and coin analysis.[36] Cave 2 was discovered near Cave 1 in early 1952 as were 5 caves in the Wadi Murraba'at 18 kilometers south of Qumran Cave 1. These caves contained materials from the Chalcolithic to the Arab period, including metal objects, cloth and rope, pottery and coins, as well as papyrus and leather fragments inscribed with Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. The last Murabba'at cave contained a scroll of the minor prophets, but because of documents found from Simon Bar Kokhba during the second Jewish revolt, the Murraba'at caves are more connected to his name.[37] Shortly thereafter, a survey of the 225 caves within 4 km of Qumran led to the discovery of Cave 3, which contained the *Copper Scroll*. At the same time, Josef Milik discovered what may have been the cave mentioned by Timotheus in 800 AD. It was filled with many stacked store jars, empty with their lids set aside.[38]

With money changing hands for scroll fragments, the Ta'amireh tribe continued extensively searching the cliffs near Qumran for caves. Sitting around the fire one evening an older Bedouin recalled hunting for partridge in the area years before. He had followed an injured partridge into a small

[31]Dominique Barthélemy, Interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, 12 February 2000, Albertinum Dominican monastery, Fribourg Switzerland, translated by Eva Ben-David, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 152–53, 537n25–26. Hazou, Interview by Fields, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 152–53, 537n27.

[32]Roland de Vaux, "Historique des Decouvertes," in *Les Grottes de Murabbaat (Textes)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 3–8, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 116–25, 535n5–9, 535n12, 536n15.

[33]Barthélemy, Interview by Fields, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 148, 537n21.

[34]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 503.

[35]Jodi Magnes, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 25. Cf. Josh 15:61–62 and the *Copper Scroll* from Cave 3, where this ancient name for Qumran also occurs.

[36]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 503.

[37]Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 91. Geza Vermes, *Discovery in the Judean Desert* (New York: Desclee, 1956), 20–22; de Vaux, "Historique des Decouvertes," 3–8, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 123–27, 536n15.

[38]J. Milik, Interview by Weston Fields, Diane Fields, and Eva Ben-David, 20 January 2004, Paris, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 136–37, 537n5.

hole that opened into a cave with broken jars on the floor.[39] They immediately made an expedition there and they found what is now known as Cave 4 right next to Qumran in August 1952. They removed most of the scrolls and sold them to both Kando and de Vaux before their digging was stopped and a proper excavation undertaken.[40] The Rockefeller did not have the funds to purchase all of the Cave 4 finds, so the Jordanian Government raised the money from academic institutions. A short sampling of institutions that participated includes the University of Heidelberg, McGill University of Montreal, the University of Manchester, and the Vatican Library. The agreement was that once the scrolls were published, Jordan would send the scrolls and fragments to the institutions that had helped purchase them and who would then have ownership of them.[41] With this help the Jordanian government paid a modern equivalent of $42,000 for the Cave 4 fragments. Cave 4[42] contained over 16,000 scroll fragments from around 600 manuscripts.[43] It is no wonder that some scroll researchers took so long to publish when faced with the great puzzle they were given.

Cave 5 was discovered after Cave 4 in 1952 and Cave 6 soon after that in the Wadi above Qumran. In 1954 John D. Rockefeller began to provide funds for scroll purchases, scholar's expenses, photography, preservation, and office help. This relationship would last for six years.[44] Caves 7–10 were discovered in the spring of 1955 above and near Qumran but yielded few results. A month later an Israeli team at Masada found one papyrus document.[45] In 1956 the Bedouin found Cave 11 and removed all its materials, which would eventually find their way through Kando to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The Cave 11 scrolls included texts from Psalms, Ezekiel, Leviticus, an Aramaic scroll of Job, and a scroll of *The Apocalypse of New Jerusalem,* among others.[46]

In 1953, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan established an international committee of world-class scholars to oversee the publishing of the scrolls. The international committee worked informally without rules or even

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[39]Kenneth Atkinson, "Two Dogs, a Goat and a Partridge: An Archaeologist's Best Friends," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 22 ( Jan/Feb 1996): 42.

[40]Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 33. This allowed scholars to confirm the provenance of many fragments found by the Bedouin as being from Cave 4.

[41]Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik, Dead Sea Scroll Editor," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 ( Jul/Aug 1990): 48.

[42]Magnes, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 29. Cave 4 was actually two caves closely adjacent to one another. Since these scroll fragments were mixed by the Bedouin all are considered to be from Cave 4 though these caves are designated 4a and 4b.

[43]Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 1.

[44]Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 11.

[45]Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 507.

[46]G.W. Lankester Harding, Memo on Purchase from Kando, 17 July 1956, Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 343, 565, 552n93.

funding at first.[47] The materials from the different caves were assigned by the committee members to themselves. The committee members were scholars in academia or in the Catholic church: Roland de Vaux, Józef Milik, Dominique Barthélemy, Jean Starcky, Patrick Skehan, Frank M. Cross, Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, and John Allegro. Later Pierre Benoit replaced de Vaux, John Strugnell replaced Allegro, Eugene Ulrich replaced Skehan, Emile Puech replaced Starcky, and Maurice Baillet was added, among others such as Emanuel Tov. Eventually, those controlling these original allotted scrolls allowed their select PhD students and a few others to work on and publish scrolls under their control, so that by 1991, some 40 years after the original discovery, there were as many as fifty-five working under the main scholars on the team.[48] The publication *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* was begun in 1951 to publish the findings with Fathers Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Milik as the first editors/authors. The first volume came out in 1955 and the second in 1961. However, by the early 1990s over half of the scrolls were yet to be published.

Just before the 1956 Arab/Israeli war, the scrolls in the Rockefeller Museum were transferred for a time to Amman, Jordan for their protection, but they were kept in a damp storage room. The humidity initiated serious deterioration, mold, and mildew, which took months to clean off the scrolls when they were returned to the museum. However, the scrolls were not kept in a climate-controlled location even in the Rockefeller, so deterioration accelerated.[49]

In 1961, Jordan nationalized all the Dead Sea Scroll fragments and scrolls within their borders.[50] Thus the Jordanians broke all their agreements with the institutions that gave money for the purchase of the Cave 4 finds. It was also in 1961 that Yigael Yadin, in Israel, was contacted by Kando, at that time in Jordanian Bethlehem, who wanted to sell him a scroll from Cave 11. These negotiations broke down, but Yadin did not forget. Later, during the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel captured the Jordanian West Bank, including Bethlehem as well as East Jerusalem and the Rockefeller Museum in which the scrolls and fragments from Caves 2–11 were located.[51] As soon as Jerusalem was in Israel's hands, Yadin went to Kando's home to get the scroll from Cave 11. Israel confiscated what is now known as the *Temple Scroll*, containing large sections from the Pentateuch. They paid Kando $105,000 in order to encourage others to come forward with scrolls.[52] The political shift

[47]Hershel Shanks, "BARview: Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls Is Leitmotif of New York University Scroll Conference," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 11 (Sep/Oct 1985): 6.

[48]Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices*, trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden, Brill: 1995), 22.

[49]Hershel Shanks, "DSS Update: Preserve the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18 (Jan/Feb 1992): 62.

[50]Fitzmyer, "A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik," 48.

[51]Ibid. Brooke and Shiffman, *The Past*, 16.

[52]Yigael Yadin, "The Temple Scroll—The Longest and Most Recently Discovered Dead

left a legal quagmire as to who owned the scrolls and who had the right to publish them. Yadin was influential in the decision of the Israeli government to retain the same relationship with the International Scrolls Committee that had been set up by the Jordanians.[53] The Israeli Antiquities Authority made no changes to the status quo and essentially maintained no oversight until 1990.[54]

The original international committee of scroll editors published them slowly and were loathe to expand the number of scholars working on them. This situation caused frustration and consternation to the many scholars worldwide that wanted to work on them and/or just be able to see their content. The scroll editors had the attitude that only they could give a correct reading to the scrolls. Eventually, the Israeli oversight committee began to encourage publication and oversee the assignment of scrolls for publication. The issue of publication came to a head in the early 1990s through the pressure of Hershel Shanks at *Biblical Archaeology Revue* and others.[55] An American foundation even offered the Israeli government $100,000 to finance the publishing of a book of photographs of the Dead Seas Scrolls, but to no avail.[56] In 1990, one of the scroll editors, Eugene Ulrich of Notre Dame University, responded to the pressure by stating that the publication pace had been too fast during the 35 years since the scrolls discovery. Shanks argued that the common response of scroll committee members, that scholars must take time to be careful, was not the reason for the long delay in Dead Sea Scroll publication. Shanks stated,

> This delay is simply the result of scholars taking on more assignments than they could reasonably complete in a lifetime and refusing to publish until they have written extensive commentaries on the texts. In the meantime, they refuse to let scholars generally see the unpublished texts.[57]

Sea Scroll: How it affects our understanding of the New Testament and early Christianity," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10 (Sep/Oct 1984): 36. Brooke and Shiffman, *The Past*, 16.

[53]John Strugnell, "Yigael Yadin: 'Hoarder and Monopolist'," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (July/Aug 1994): 51.

[54]Hershel Shanks, "Israeli Oversight Committee Takes Charge," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 46. Fitzmyer, "A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik," 48. Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: Team Scholars Working Hard on Dead Sea Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17 (Nov/Dec 1991): 96. Marvin C. Pate, *Communities of the Last Days: The Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament & the Story of Israel* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000), 35.

[55]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: The Dead Sea Scroll Monopoly Must Be Broken," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 44–45.

[56]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: Scroll Editors Spurn $100,000 Offer to Publish Book of Photographs of Still-Secret Texts," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 44.

[57]Hershel Shanks, "The Difference between Scholarly Mistakes and Scholarly Concealment: The Case of MMT," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (Sep/Oct 1990): 64.

However, the logjam broke in 1991 when professor Ben-Zion Wacholder, of Hebrew Union College and one his doctoral students at the time Martin Abegg, Jr. used a computer program to sort a Dead Sea Scrolls concordance to reconstruct some scrolls. The concordance was an in-house publication used by the scroll researchers on the international committee for research that listed every word and its context within the scrolls.[58] Riding in a taxi with John Strugnell at a conference in Israel, Wacholder asked Strugnell if the rumors were true that the concordance existed and Strugnell affirmed. Wacholder then asked if Hebrew Union College could obtain a copy of it. Strugnell said he would look into it and later allowed a copy to be sent. Strugnell never stipulated that the concordance be kept secured away from prying eyes and the five-volume concordance was placed in Hebrew Union's library available to the public and students for use in the library but not for general circulation. Wacholder and Abegg eventually published four fascicles of reconstructed scroll texts through Hershel Shanks at the Biblical Archaeology Society.[59] Only days after the first fascicle was published, William Moffett, the director of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, made open to the public a study collection of around 3,000 photographs of the Dead Seas Scrolls, which had been funded by philanthropist Elizabeth Hay Bechtel in 1980. Bechtel helped finance the purchase of some scroll materials years earlier.[60] Wacholder, Abegg, and Moffett's actions ended the monopoly the committee had over the Dead Sea Scrolls and opened up their content for the world's benefit.[61] Within weeks, Emanuel Tov, Director of the Scrolls Project, announced the restrictions on free access to the scrolls had been lifted.[62] Of the forty-four volumes of scrolls now published in the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series, thirty-seven of them have been published since 1991. In 2002, Tov announced that the majority of the scrolls had been published.[63]

The scrolls have been plagued with other controversies as well. In 1990, chief scroll editor John Strugnell was forced to resign over an anti-Semitic interview with an Israeli newspaper reporter[64] and was replaced by Emanuel Tov. In 1992 Elisha Qimron sued Hershel Shanks, the publisher

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[58]John Noble Wilford, "Computer Breaks Monopoly on Study of Dead Sea Scrolls," *New York Times*, 5 September 1991.

[59]Martin Abegg, Michael Phelps, and Hershel Shanks, "'Will Marty Abegg Ever Find a Job?' Scroll Scholar Thrives Despite Unauthorized Publication," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29 (Jan/Feb 2003): 38.

[60]John Noble Wilford, "Monopoly Over Dead Sea Scrolls Is Ended," *New York Times*, 22 September 1991.

[61]John Noble Wilford, "William A. Moffett, 62, Is Dead: Opened Door to Dead Sea Scrolls," *New York Times*, 22 February 1995.

[62]Peter Steinfels, "Dead Sea Scrolls Free of Last Curb," *New York Times*, 27 November 1991.

[63]Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 45.

[64]Hershel Shanks, "An Interview with John Strugnell: Ousted Chief Scroll Editor Makes His Case," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (July/Aug 1994): 40.

of the Biblical Archaeology Society, for publishing a reconstructed Hebrew text of the MMT, a scroll originally assigned to Strugnell and turned over to Qimron. Qimron asserted that he had the sole copyright to the ancient text.[65] Shanks argued that the copyright belonged to the original ancient author and only belonged to Qimron in part, if, in his reconstructions spanning the lacunae in the text, he was wrong. However, an Israeli court ruled in Qimron's favor and awarded him $100,000, even though it had ruled Qimron had failed to prove any financial injury.[66] Qimron later had a restraining order made out to prevent Shanks from leaving Israel for his home in the United States on the possibility that Shanks might not pay the judgment. The order was eventually overturned.[67] Later, when Qimron published the text of MMT through Oxford University Press, he did allow Shanks to publish the complete reconstructed text of MMT in *Biblical Archaeology Review*.[68]

The scholarship that has been focused on the Dead Sea Scrolls in the past sixty years has been vast and varied. Even with the frustrating delays in publication literally thousands of works were written on the scrolls and Qumran. There has been much debate about the Qumran community, what they believed, and how they lived. The relationship of the scrolls to Qumran has also been debated, as well as who might have written the scrolls. The scroll caves may have been the library for the sect at Qumran and then some scrolls were deposited just before the Roman destruction of Qumran in 68 AD.[69] However, some now suggest that the scrolls originated in the Temple in Jerusalem.[70] All the scrolls of the Old Testament are in evidence, except for that of Esther, and these are now the oldest copies of biblical texts available for use in textual criticism. The commentaries from Qumran are also the oldest interpretations of Scripture. The significance of the scrolls' content for the current and future study of Judaism, the Old Testament, and the New Testament cannot be overstated.[71]

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[65]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Why Professor Qimron's Lawsuit Is a Threat to Intellectual Freedom," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18 (Sep/Oct 1992): 67.

[66]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Qimron Wins Lawsuit: Paying the Price for Freeing the Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (July/Aug 1993): 65.

[67]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Qimron Obtains Court Order Preventing *BAR* Editor from Leaving Israel," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (Sep/Oct 1993): 76.

[68]Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls MMT as the Maltese Falcon," review of *Qumran Cave 4-V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert X, by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell et al., *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (Nov/Dec 1994): 49.

[69]Magnes, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 34.

[70]Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 5. Cf. Karl H. Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960); Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (New York: Scribner, 1995).

[71]Adam S. Van Der Woude, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After 50 Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Vol I.*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1–45.

# *The Significance of the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls*

*Peter W. Flint*
*Trinity Western University*
*Langley, British Columbia*
*flint@twu.ca*

## Brief Comments on the Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Importance

On 11 April 1948, the Dead Sea Scrolls were announced to the world by Millar Burrows, one of America's leading biblical scholars. Soon afterwards, famed archaeologist William Albright made the extraordinary claim that the scrolls found in the Judean Desert were "the greatest archaeological find of the Twentieth Century." A brief introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls and what follows will provide clear indications why Albright's claim is indeed valid.

Details on the discovery of the scrolls are readily accessible and known to most scholars,[1] so only the barest comments are necessary. The discovery begins with scrolls found by Bedouin shepherds in one cave in late 1946 or early 1947 in the region of Khirbet Qumran, about one mile inland from the western shore of the Dead Sea and some eight miles south of Jericho. By 1956, a total of eleven caves had been discovered at Qumran.

The caves yielded various artifacts, especially pottery. The most important find was scrolls (i.e. rolled manuscripts) written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, the three languages of the Bible. Almost 900 were found in the Qumran caves in about 25,000–50,000 pieces,[2] with many no bigger than a postage stamp. While a few scrolls are well preserved, almost all are damaged and most are very fragmentary.

In addition to the finds at Khirbet Qumran, several manuscripts were discovered at other locations in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, especially Wadi Murabba'ât (1951–52), Nahal Hever (1951–61), and Masada (1963–65). Thus the term "Dead Sea Scrolls" refers not only to scrolls discovered at Qumran (the main site), but also to scrolls from all the sites in the vicinity of the Dead Sea.

Scholars divide the Dead Sea Scrolls into two general categories of writings: Biblical and Non-Biblical. Of the 950 or so scrolls found in the

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[1]James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2002), 3–19.

[2]The number varies, depending on how the fragments are counted.

Judean desert, approximately 240 (about 25% of the total) are classified as "Biblical," which constitute our earliest witnesses to the text of Scripture. Many of the other (approximately) 700 documents are of direct relevance to early Judaism and emerging Christianity. They anticipate or confirm numerous ideas and teachings found in the New Testament and in later Rabbinic writings (the Mishnah and Talmud).[3] The earliest scrolls found at Qumran date from about 250 BC or a little earlier; the latest were copied shortly before the destruction of the Qumran site by the Romans in 68 AD.

With respect to the Biblical Scrolls, there are three reasons why Albright's claim that the scrolls are the greatest archaeological find of the twentieth century holds true:

**1. The Scrolls (including Biblical Scrolls) were Found in the Land of Israel Itself.**

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, virtually no writings dated to the Second Temple Period had been found in Israel. Even the Nash Papyrus, the oldest Hebrew manuscript fragment known before the discovery of the scrolls (see below), was discovered in Egypt.

**2. The Scrolls are Written in the Three Languages of Scripture.**

However important ancient languages such as Latin or Syriac may be, or modern languages such as English, French, and German, biblical scholars value manuscripts written in the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek above all. Most notable in the present context, the Dead Sea Scrolls include ancient biblical manuscripts in the original Hebrew and Aramaic (portions of Daniel) and ancient remnants of the Septuagint in the original Greek.

**3. The Scrolls Include Our Oldest Biblical Manuscripts.**

The antiquity of the Biblical Scrolls is of supreme importance for biblical scholars. Virtually all Hebrew copies of the Hebrew Bible used today are based on medieval manuscripts; the oldest Hebrew manuscript fragment known before the discovery of the scrolls was the Nash Papyrus,[4] which is dated at 150–100 BC. All the scrolls found at Qumran date from the Second Temple Period, from 250 BC or a little earlier to just before the destruction of the Qumran site in 68 AD.

### The Biblical Scrolls and the Content of Scripture

The Hebrew Bible consists of 24 books, in three sections: the Torah (Gen to Deut), the Nebi'im or Prophets ( Josh to the Minor Prophets), and the Kethubim or Writings (Pss to Chron). The Protestant Old Testament

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[3]The Non-Biblical Scrolls may be divided into five categories: Rules and Regulations (such as the *Community Rule*); Poetic and Wisdom Texts (such as the *Hodayot*); Reworked or Rewritten Scripture (such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*); Commentaries or Pesharim (such as the *Commentary on Habakkuk*); and Miscellaneous Writings (such as the *Copper Scroll*).

[4]This fragment contains text from Exod 20:2–17 and Deut 5:6–21.

contains exactly the same texts, but numbering 39 books[5] and in four groups: the Pentateuch (Gen to Deut), the Historical Books (Josh through Esth), Poetry or Wisdom (Job through Song), and the Prophets (Isa through Mal). Roman Catholic Bibles contain additional books known as the Apocrypha, for a total of 46 books and two additions,[6] and Orthodox Bibles include more books besides.[7]

Despite these differences, Jews and Christians believe that the books comprising the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament are of ancient origin, and that the medieval copies handed down over many centuries existed before the Common Era. However, before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it was very difficult to prove that Numbers, Samuel, Job, or Isaiah, actually existed before the early centuries BC, because virtually no texts survived from the Second Temple Period, which ended in 70 AD.

However, the scrolls found at Qumran and other sites in the Judean Desert include some 240 manuscripts (most very fragmentary) that are classified as "Biblical." This number has actually increased in recent years, with the emergence of several scrolls from Cave 4 at Qumran that lay in private hands for over 50 years and were known only to a handful of scholars. Some have been purchased by institutions and collectors in the U.S. and Europe:

- In 2006, the Institute for Judaism and Christian Origins in Princeton, New Jersey announced the acquisition of fragments of Deuteronomy, Nehemiah, and Jeremiah, all from Cave 4. These are being edited for publication by James Charlesworth.[8]
- In 2009, Azusa Pacific University acquired five Dead Sea Scroll fragments containing text from Leviticus and Daniel, two from Deuteronomy, and one possibly from Exodus. These were the main feature in a highly successful exhibit, "Treasures of the Bible: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Beyond," held 21 May–29 August 2010.[9]
- In January 2010, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas announced its acquisition of three fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls and an ancient pen used at Qumran. This collection contains biblical passages from Exodus, Leviticus, and Daniel; The purchase of three more Scrolls—two containing text from Deuteronomy and one with text from Psalm 22—was announced by the Seminary in October, 2010.

[5] The higher number is due to the fact that several books counted separately in the Old Testament are grouped together in the Hebrew Bible (notably 1–2 Sam, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chron, and the Minor Prophets).

[6] Tob, Jdt, Add Esth, 1–2 Macc, Wis, Sir, Bar with Ep Jer, and Add Dan.

[7] For example, 3 Macc and Pr Man.

[8] http://www.ijco.org/?categoryId=28681. Accessed 14 October 2010.

[9] http://www.apu.edu/deadseascrolls. Accessed 14 October 2010.

As indicated in the table below, the grand total of all the biblical scrolls from all sites in the Judean Desert is 238, comprising 221 from Qumran and 17 from other sites (5 from Nahal Hever, 5 from Murabba'at, 1 from Sdeir, and 6 from Masada). The numbers for Qumran include the Greek biblical scrolls and the three Aramaic Targums (4QtgLev, 4QtgJob, 11QtgJob).

| Book | Qumran | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Psalms | 37 | 3 | 40 |
| Deuteronomy | 36 | 3 | 39 |
| Genesis | 21 | 4 | 25 |
| Isaiah | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Exodus | 19 | 1 | 20 |
| Leviticus | 17 | 2 | 19 |
| Numbers | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| 12 Minor Prophets | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Daniel | 10 | 0 | 10 |
| Jeremiah | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Ezekiel | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| 1 & 2 Samuel | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Job | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| Ruth | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Song of Songs | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Lamentations | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Judges | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| 1 & 2 Kings | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Joshua | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Proverbs | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Ecclesiastes | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Ezra | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1 & 2 Chronicles | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Nehemiah | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Esther | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **227** | **19** | **246** |
| **Adjusted** | **221** | **17** | **238** |

For the Pentateuch, totals have been adjusted to read eight less, since six scrolls from Qumran[10] preserve parts of two books and so have been counted twice, and the Murabba'at scroll (Mur 1) preserves portions of three books (Gen, Exod, and Numb) and so has been counted three times.

A totally accurate count may not be possible, since the status of some manuscripts is not assured: (a) Some texts classified as "Biblical" may in fact be abbreviated or excerpted compositions.[11] (b) *4QReworked Pentateuch* most likely qualifies as an edition of the Pentateuch, in which case the five scrolls involved (4QRP[a–e]) should be added to the number of Pentateuch scrolls. (c) Two Genesis scrolls (4QGen[h1] and 4QGen[h2]) and three Jeremiah scrolls

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[10] 4QGen–Exod[a], 4QpaleoGen–Exod[l], 4QExod[b] 4QExod–Lev[f], 1QpaleoLev, 4QLev–Num[a].

[11] For example, 4QPs[g], 4QPs[h], 5QPs, 4QCant[a], 4QCant[b], and 4QDan[e].

(4QJerᵇ, 4QJerᵈ, and 4QJerᵉ) may be parts of two single manuscripts. (d) It is not clear whether the Deuteronomy and Exodus segments of 4QDeutʲ are part of the same scroll. (e) The text from Murabbaʿat listed as Mur 1 (MurGen, MurExod, MurNum) may constitute one, two, or three manuscripts.

The list is presented in descending order of manuscripts. Thus the books represented by the most scrolls are the Psalms (40, with 37 at Qumran), followed by Deuteronomy (37, with 34 at Qumran), Genesis (25, with 21 at Qumran), Isaiah (22, with 21 at Qumran), Exodus (20, with 19 at Qumran), and Leviticus (17, with 17 at Qumran). The only Old Testament biblical book not represented is Esther. (1 Chron is also absent; however, a piece of 2 Chron was found in Cave 4 at Qumran.)

The fragmentary state of most of the biblical scrolls means that the final form of many biblical books cannot be proved; however, they do indicate that text from every book of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament existed before the destruction of the Qumran site by the Romans in 68 AD. This confirms the belief of Jews and Christians that the Scriptures comprising the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament are of ancient origin, and that the ancestors of the medieval copies that were handed down over many centuries existed before the Common Era.

**The Scrolls Preserve Earlier or Preferable Readings of the Biblical Text**

Several hundred earlier or preferable readings are preserved in one or more biblical scrolls over against the traditional Masoretic Text. Two examples will be discussed:

**1. A Missing Verse from Psalm 145**

It is frequently observed that a verse seems to be missing from Psalm 145 in the Masoretic Text, since this is an acrostic Psalm, with every verse beginning with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Although there are 22 letters in this alphabet, Psalm 145 contains only 21 verses: a verse beginning with *nun* should come between verses 13 (the *mem* verse) and 14 (the *samek* verse):

| Psalm 145:13–14 (MT) | Psalm 145:13–14 (KJV) |
|---|---|
| מַלְכוּתְךָ מַלְכוּת כָּל־עֹלָמִים<br>וּמֶמְשַׁלְתְּךָ בְּכָל־דּוֹר וָדוֹר | Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations. |

[The verse beginning with *nun* is missing]

| | |
|---|---|
| סוֹמֵךְ יְהוָה לְכָל־הַנֹּפְלִים<br>וְזוֹקֵף לְכָל־הַכְּפוּפִים | The LORD upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all those that be bowed down. |

**The Traditional Explanation.** The traditional solution is to consider the missing *nun* verse as the result of divine inspiration. Thus tractate *Berakhot* of the Babylonian Talmud reads:

Rabbi Johanan says: "Why is there no *nun* in 'ašrě (= Ps 145)? Because 'the fall of Israel's enemies' begins with it. For it is written: 'Fallen is the virgin of Israel, she shall no more rise' (נפלה לא תוסיף קום בתולת ישראל, Amos 5:2)."
    —In the West this verse is thus interpreted: "She is fallen, but she shall no more fall. Rise, O virgin of Israel" (*y.Ber.* 5).
    —Rabbi Nahman B. Isaac says: "Even so, David refers to it by inspiration and promises them an uplifting. For it is written: 'The Lord upholds all that fall' (ה׳ לכל נופלים סומך, Ps 145:14)" (*b.Ber.* 4b).

In other words, David, "by the holy spirit" (ברוח הקדש), foresaw the prophecy of Amos concerning the exile, and thus excluded the *nun* stanza. This reasoning may be substantiated by the *samek* stanza that follows, which goes on to predict the return.

**How the Septuagint (Greek Old Testament) Translates this Verse.** However, the Greek Bible (Septuagint) supplies an additional verse following verse 13:

(13)   ἡ βασιλεία σοθ βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
        καὶ ἡ δεσποτεία σοθ ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.
(13b)  πιστὸς κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ
        καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.

(13)   Your kingdom is a kingdom of all the ages,
        and your dominion is through all generations.
(13b)  The Lord is faithful in all his words,
        and gracious in all his deeds.

**Psalm 145 in the Dead Sea Scrolls.** 11QPsª is the only scroll to preserve Psalm 145, including a recurring refrain. For verse 13 this scroll contains not only the *mem* verse but the missing *nun* verse as well, in lines 2–3 of column 17 (underlined in photograph below):

נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכול מעשיו
God is faithful in his words, and gracious in all his deeds.
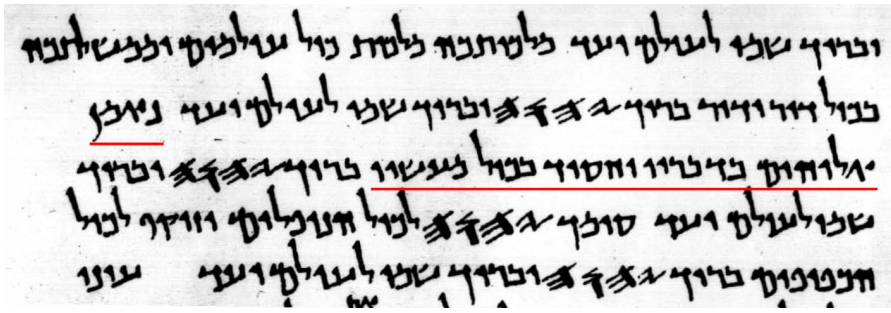
In addition to 11QPsᵃ and the Septuagint, the *nun* verse is also found in one medieval Hebrew manuscript and the Syriac, but with the second word as יהוה ("LORD").[12] Many scholars regard it as part of the original Psalm; it is thus included as v. 13b in most modern English Bibles, including the New American Bible, the New International Version, the Holman Christian Standard Bible, the Revised Standard Version, the New Revised Standard Version, and the English Standard Version (where it is bracketed).

**2. A Missing Section from 1 Samuel 10**

First Samuel 11 relates that—following Saul's less than successful appointment as Israel's King—Nahash the Ammonite besieged Jabesh-gilead. In verse 2 Nahash offers to make a treaty with the inhabitants of the city on condition that he gouge out their right eyes. This seems cruel and unusual punishment indeed because such treatment was reserved for those who had rebelled or committed insurrection. In the Masoretic Text there is no evidence that the inhabitants of the town had acted in this way:

> Saul also went to his home at Gibeah, and with him  went warriors whose hearts God had touched. But some worthless fellows said, "How can this man save us?" They despised him and brought him no present. But he held his peace (1 Sam 10:26–27).

> Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged Jabesh-gilead; and all the men of Jabesh said to Nahash, "Make a treaty with us, and we will serve you." But Nahash the Ammonite said to them, "On this condition I will make a treaty with you, namely that I gouge out everyone's right eye, and thus put disgrace upon all Israel" (1 Sam 11:1–2).

However, a much fuller picture emerges when we turn to this passage in 4QSamᵃ, which was copied about 50 BC. The relevant portion is from column 10:

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[12]Cf. the Apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*; and Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and The Book of Psalms*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997),
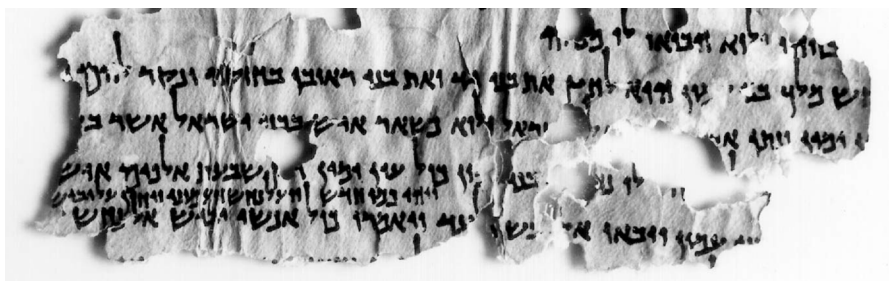
Here the Samuel scroll contains a longer text and provides two important pieces of information. First, it was Nahash's practice to gouge out people's right eyes. Second, we are told that 7,000 men who had fled from the Ammonites had actually sought refuge in Jabesh-gilead. These additional details provide a logical explanation for the otherwise strange and cruel behavior of Nahash in chapter 11.

So far, the longer passage from the Samuel scroll has been adopted by one set of translators (additional material from 4QSamᵃ printed here in italicized type):

> Saul also went to his home at Gibeah, and with him went warriors whose hearts God had touched. But some worthless fellows said, "How can this man save us?" They despised him and brought him no present. But he held his peace.
>
> *Now Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had been grievously oppressing the Gadites and the Reubenites. He would gouge out the right eye of each of them and would not grant Israel a deliverer. No one was left of the Israelites across the Jordan whose right eye Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had not gouged out. But there were seven thousand men who had escaped from the Ammonites and had entered Jabesh-gilead.*
>
> *About a month later,*
>
> Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged Jabesh-gilead; and all the men of Jabesh said to Nahash, "Make a treaty with us, and we will serve you." But Nahash the Ammonite said to them, "On this condition I will make a treaty with you, namely that I gouge out everyone's right eye, and thus put disgrace upon all Israel" (1 Sam 10:26–11:2, NRSV).

## The Biblical Scrolls Preserve Lost Readings with Messianic Implications

On occasion, one or more biblical scrolls preserve a reading that differs from the traditional Masoretic Text and has messianic or other implications that would interest Christian exegetes and scholars. Two examples will be presented:

## 1. The Original Reading of Psalm 22:16

Psalm 22 begins as follows: "My God, my God, why have You forsaken me? Far from my deliverance are the words of my groaning" (NASB). This familiar piece has proved significant in both Jewish and Christian exegesis, and is quoted several times by Jesus in the Gospels in relation to his sufferings and death. A difficult reading is found in verse 16 (Hebrew v. 17) of the Masoretic text:

יָבֵשׁ כַּחֶרֶשׂ כֹּחִי וּלְשׁוֹנִי מֻדְבָּק מַלְקוֹחָי וְלַעֲפַר־מָוֶת תִּשְׁפְּתֵנִי
כִּי סְבָבוּנִי כְּלָבִים עֲדַת מְרֵעִים הִקִּיפוּנִי כָּאֲרִי יָדַי וְרַגְלָי

Thus כָּאֲרִי ("like a lion") is translated from the traditional Masoretic Text of this Psalm:

My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and my tongue cleaves to my jaws; and you have brought me into the dust of death.

For dogs have surrounded me: the assembly of the wicked have encompassed me: like a lion are my hands and my feet.

The Septuagint—supported by the later Syriac—translates as ὤρυξαν χεῖρας μοθ καὶ πόδος ("They have pierced my hands and feet"). Some scholars suggest that the Septuagint reading represents a modification of the Hebrew "like a lion" (כָּאֲרִי), in order to make better sense of the verse. Another suggestion is that early Christian editors changed the Greek text in order to find evidence for Jesus' crucifixion in the Hebrew Bible.

The passage is not preserved in any Psalms scroll found at Qumran, but is in the Psalms scroll from Nahal Hever (5/6HevPs), which reads "They have pierced (or, dug) (כארו) my hands and feet."[13] Further confirmation of this as the preferred reading is found in a few Masoretic manuscripts from the Middle Ages, a few editions based on the Masoretic Text,[14] and two Masoretic manuscripts or editions that have a similar verbal form (כרו). This reading has been adopted by many modern English Bibles, including the New American Bible, the New American Standard Bible, the New International Version, the English Standard Version, the Revised Standard Version, the New Revised Standard Version, and the Holman Christian Standard Bible.

## 2. A Significant Reading in Isaiah 53

The Fourth Servant Song in Isaiah 52:13–53:12 is a fascinating passage, both for Judaism (which sees the Servant as Israel), and for Christianity (which identifies the Servant as Jesus Christ). Towards the end of the Fourth

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[13]Although the text is fragmentary, the crucial words are preserved: "[For] dogs are [all around me]; a gang of evil[doers] encircles me. They have pierced my hands and my feet."

[14]Cf. the Apparatus of BHS and Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls*.

Song, the traditional Masoretic Text, closely followed by the King James Version, reads:

| Isaiah 53:10–11 (MT) | Isaiah 53:10–11 (KJV) |
|---|---|
| וַיהוָה חָפֵץ דַּכְּאוֹ הֶחֱלִי אִם־תָּשִׂים אָשָׁם נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים וְחֵפֶץ יְהוָה בְּיָדוֹ יִצְלָח׃ | Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand. |
| מֵעֲמַל נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבָּע בְּדַעְתּוֹ יַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי לָרַבִּים וַעֲוֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֹּל׃ | He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many, for he shall bear their iniquities. |

**How the Septuagint (Greek Old Testament) Translates this Verse.**
The Greek Bible translates verse 11 in quite a free manner, but includes the additional word φῶς ("light"):

ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς καὶ πλάσαι τῇ σθνέσει δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δοθλεύοντα πολλοῖς καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει

from the pain of his soul, to show him light and fill him with understanding, to justify a righteous one who is well subject to many, and he himself shall bear their sins.

Verse 11 appears in three Isaiah scrolls found at Qumran, which significantly impact the meaning of the text. The word "light," not present in the Masoretic Text, is found 1QIsa[a], 1QIsa[b], and 4QIsa[d], which indicates that the very early Hebrew text used by the Septuagint translator actually contained it. The implications for exegesis are intriguing: in the Masoretic Text the Servant resigns himself to suffering and death, and is satisfied since he is justifying many and will bear their iniquities, but in the Isaiah scrolls he will also see "light," which implies new life or (in a Christian exegesis) resurrection. Verses 10–11 read as follows in the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]):

| Isaiah 53:10–11 (1QIsa[a]) | Isaiah 53:10–11 (NIV) |
|---|---|
| ויהוה חפץ דכאו ויחללהו אם תשים אשם נפשו וראה זרע ויארך ימים וחפץ יהוה בידו יצלח | Yet it was the LORD's will to crush him and cause him to suffer, and though the Lord makes his life a guilt offering, he will see his offspring |

and prolong his days, and the will of the Lord will prosper in his hand.

מעמל נפשוה יראה אור וישבע ובדעתו יצדיק צדיק עבדו לרבים ועוונותם הואה יסבול

After the suffering of his soul, he will see the light of life and be satisfied; by his knowledge my righteous servant will justify many, and he will bear their iniquities.

Many modern English translations have adopted this reading on the basis of the Isaiah scrolls and the Septuagint, including the New International Version, the New Revised Standard Version, and the New American Bible.

## Concluding Comments

Our brief survey and discussion of the biblical scrolls found in the Judean Desert has demonstrated the importance of these ancient texts for biblical studies, for affirming the ancient content of Scriptures, and for preserving earlier or preferable readings of the biblical text. Of special import for Christian scholars and exegetes are cases where the biblical scrolls preserve lost readings that have messianic implications. Two examples of earlier or preferable readings were examined, and two others that have possible messianic implications; several hundred more are preserved in various biblical scrolls. For scholars and students of the Scriptures, the Dead Sea Scrolls are indeed "the greatest archaeological find of the Twentieth Century."

# Second Temple Exegetical Practices: Extra-Biblical Examples of Exegesis Compared with Those in the Book of Hebrews[1]

*Herbert W. Bateman IV*
*Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary*
*Fort Worth, Texas*
*hbateman@swbts.edu*

Due largely to the discovery and subsequent work with the Dead Sea Scrolls, most people recognize that the New Testament is not only connected with the text and theological concepts of the Old Testament canon of Scripture but also with those evidenced in "extra-biblical documents" of the later Second Temple period (167 BCE–70 CE).[2] These connections are accentuated when one compares the interpretations of the Old Testament in extra-biblical documents with those in the New Testament. For decades, Geza Vermes and Joseph Fitzmyer have argued and demonstrated time and again the importance of early Jewish exegesis in the numerous manuscripts discovered at Qumran.[3] The recognizable methods of exegesis and subsequent

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[1]"Second Temple Exegetical Practices" was a featured paper presented and discussed at the Dispensational Study Group during the 55th and 56th Annual National Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society (November 2003 and 2004). It has been updated for this journal publication.

[2]Why use the term "extra-biblical"? Evans uses "noncanonical," but it seems too separational. Craig A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992). Vermes coined the term "inter-Testamental documents," which could refer to documents written "between" the canonical Old Testament and New Testament documents. Geza Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 361–76. I prefer "Second Temple documents" but it lacks the needed separation from canonical works. Thus, after some consideration, the description "extra-biblical" best communicates the auxiliary or supporting theological connections that exist within the later Second Temple Jewish texts (hence "biblical") and their importance for New Testament studies (hence "extra").

[3]Geza Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies during the Last Twenty-five Years," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice*, ed. W.S. Green (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 201–14; idem, "Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 31 (1980): 1–17; idem, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 361–76; idem, "Methodology in the Study of Jewish Literature in the Graeco-Roman Period," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985): 145–58; idem, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34 (1989): 493–508; idem, "Bible Interpretation at Qumran," *Eretz-Israel* 20 (Jerusalem, 1989): 184–91. J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960–61): 297–33,

interpretations within the scrolls have been deemed "a valuable yardstick for the study of the development of exegesis among Palestinian Jews" and they are considered "the greatest contribution to the study of the New Testament."[4] In fact, Charlesworth asserted in 1987, "We are in a totally new era in the study of biblical exegesis in Early Judaism."[5] Yet studies that synthesize early Jewish methods of interpretation linger in an embryonic stage.

Despite the countless publications that present, discuss, and evaluate extra-biblical documents, particularly concerning the Qumran scrolls, minimal attention has been given to the area of early Jewish exegesis in these documents.[6] Nitzan acknowledges that, "A comprehensive, systematic study of approaches and methods of biblical exegesis in Qumran remains to be done."[7] However, a need exists for examining, describing, and categorizing all Second Temple literature. Having demonstrated through numerous examples the importance of the Pseudepigrapha for early Jewish exegesis, Charlesworth concludes "the Pseudepigrapha, like all early Jewish religious writings, generally tended to be in some way exegetical."[8]

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reprinted in *Essays on Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Studies 5 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), 3–58; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years," *Theology Digest* 29 (1981): 351–66.

[4]Vermes, "Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 210; Fitzmyer, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament after Thirty Years," 365.

[5]James H. Charlesworth, "The Pseudepigrapha as Biblical Exegesis," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 139–52, particularly 140.

[6]There are, however, some recognized works published over the years. Daniel Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutics in Palestine*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 22 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975). George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 29 (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, 1985); Bilhah Nitzan, *The Habakkuk Commentary: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1986) [Hebrew]; David I. Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis Before 70 CE* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992); Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, eds., *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 28 (Leidon: Brill, 1998); Shalom M. Paul, et al., eds., *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[7]Bilhah Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis in Qumran Literature," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrews Bible Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 347–65, particularly 348.

[8]Charlesworth identifies five types of exegesis in pseudepigrapha: (1) Inspirational exegesis is when Old Testament passages serve as an inspiration for the author's own imagination (*Odes Sol.*, *Pr. Jos.*, *Pss. Sol.*, *Pr. Man.*). (2) Framework exegesis is when an Old Testament passage merely sets the framework for the author's own work (*4 Ezra* 3:1–2, *2 Bar.* 6:1–2; *T. Levi* 1:1–2, 5:1–2). (3) Launching exegesis is when the Old Testament serves as a "springboard" into a direction that abandons totally the original Old Testament's simple sense of meaning (*1 En.* and *2 En.* launch off from Gen 5:23–24). (4) Inconsequential exegesis is when an author merely borrows from the Old Testament the barest facts to compose an appreciably new story (*Sib. Or.*, *Apoc. Adam*, *Ahiqar*, *3 Macc.*, *4 Macc.*). Finally, (5) expansion exegesis is basically a re-writing of the biblical narrative (*Jub.*, Gen 1:1–Exod 12:50; *Mart. Isa.*,

Needless to say, an all-inclusive, systematic study of early Jewish methods of interpretation would be a daunting and long-term undertaking. Such a study would not only enhance our historical knowledge about Jewish exegetical practices of the later part of the Second Temple period, it would also broaden the cultural and theological sensitivities necessary for understanding and interpreting a New Testament author's use of the Old Testament. Julius Scott has put it this way: ". . . intertestamental books as those in the apocrypha, pseudepigrapha and [Qumran Literature] remain, individually and collectively, windows through which we may catch glimpses of various aspects of that bygone world and culture into which God sent his Son, 'when the fullness of time came' (Gal 4:4)."[9]

The purpose of this article, as limited as it must be due to time and space, is to peek through a few windows of an extremely long corridor to catch a glimpse of Jewish exegesis practiced during the later part of the Second Temple period. As we peer down this corridor of antiquity, our eyes will force us to travel back into time when the Old Testament canon of Scripture had yet to be formally fixed and the exegetical methods employed in interpretation were not like our own. Or were they? This historical study of Second Temple exegetical practices will first describe and exemplify six Jewish exegetical traditions shared by pseudepigrapha,[10] apocrypha,[11] and Qumran[12]

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1, 2 Kgs [esp. 2 Kgs 21:16]; *Jos. Asen.*, Gen 37–50; etc.). As this paper unfolds, there will be times I will build upon these categories and other times when I will nuance these categories. Charlesworth, "The Pseudepigrapha as Biblical Exegesis," 142–52.

[9]Julius Scott, "On the Value of Intertestamental Jewish Literature for New Testament Theology," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23 (1980): 315–23. Vermes more forcefully muses, "A good New Testament scholar will have to endeavour to become a citizen of that larger world to which his discipline belongs (and that means not only the Jewish, but also the Hellenistic world), so that he will be able to understand the arguments advanced by the experts in the various provinces of that world, but also, to think out new and pertinent questions and initiate fresh research likely to be beneficial to New Testament study." Vermes, "Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation," 16.

[10]Charlesworth divides the sixty-three Old Testament pseudepigrapha into five categories: 19 apocalyptic literature and related works; 6 testaments (often with apocalyptic sections); 13 expansions of the Old Testament and legends; 5 wisdom and philosophical literature; 7 prayers, psalms, and odes; 13 fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works. Some of these works, however, may be considered apocrypha (i.e. Pr Man; 3–4 Macc, etc.). See James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983–85). Cf. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*, 20–47.

[11]By apocrypha I mean the ten deuterocanonical books revered by the Roman Catholic Church (Add Esth and Dan are counted as one each). It also includes other works recognized as apocrypha by the Greek Orthodox Church, namely 1 Esd, Pr Man, Ps 151, 3 Macc, and their appended 4 Macc. Finally, 2 Esd is also included because it is part of the Slavonic Bibles approved by the Russian church. See Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: The New Revised Standard Version*, 3rd ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Cf. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*, 9–19.

[12]The number of documents from Qumran ranges anywhere from 800 to 931. Whereas VanderKam generalizes the number to be 800, Evans, Wise, Abegg, and Cook qualify their suggestion of 870, and Tov merely concludes that 931 manuscripts exist. Of these, two hundred are biblical manuscripts. However on 20 January 2010, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary announced the purchase of three additional biblical fragments

authors, and then compare them, in so far as possible, with the methods practiced by one New Testament author, namely *Auctor* in the book of Hebrews. Romans and 1 Peter also have an abundance of direct citations from the Old Testament. Hebrews, however, has been chosen due to the fact that it has the largest percentage of direct quotations from Hebrew Scriptures (Hebrews: circa 18%; 1 Peter: circa 16%; Romans: circa 15.5%).

## Theological or Thematic Exegesis

Theological or thematic exegesis is a collection of various verses from Hebrew Scripture, taken from their original literary context, woven and linked together purposefully, and recontextualized to reflect an author's or a community's perception of a biblical or theological issue in order to influence and/or affirm a community.[13] There are four Qumran documents that clearly epitomize thematic exegesis: 11Q13 (11QMelch), 4Q175 (4QTest), 4Q159 and 4Q513–14 (4QOrdinances[b–c]), and 4Q174 (4QFlor).

Of particular significance is 4Q174 in which the author recontextualizes numerous verses to direct the readers' attention to a specific theological theme about a coming Davidic messiah figure. Several conceptually related Scriptures are purposefully linked and woven together to support the author's theological conviction. Exodus 15:17c–18 and Deuteronomy 23:3–4 speak of a literal sanctuary and a previous Jewish community of that sanctuary.[14] They are linked together with 2 Samuel 7:10b, 11, 12b, 13b–14a, which originally spoke directly of David's son, Solomon, and Amos 9:11, which predicts the restoration of David's house via another Davidic king.[15] When

from cave 4 (Exod 23:8–9, Lev 18:27–29, and Dan 6:22–23) that are not included in the manuscript numbers above. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 31; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996), 5; Craig A. Evans, "The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 86; Emanuel Tov, "Foreword," in *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*, ed. James VanderKam and Peter Flint (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2002), ix; Eugene Ulrich, "An Index of Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Genesis–Kings)," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994), 113–29; idem, "An Index of Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Part 2: Isaiah–Chronicles)," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995), 86–107.

[13]Nitzan refers to this category as "free exegetical compositions" whereby "exegetical creativity" occurs. See Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis," 363. However, I prefer Brooke's designation of "thematic." See George J. Brooke's more extensive work, *Exegesis at Qumran* (note 6 above).

[14]Since "sanctuary" is mentioned three times in 4QFlor (i.e. "the sanctuary of the Lord" [1:3], "the sanctuary of Israel" [1:6a], and "a sanctuary of men" [1:6b]), a debate exists as to whether 4QFlor's eschatological sanctuary is limited to one made of stone, and whether it speaks of two or three sanctuaries. For a nice summation of the various views, see Michael O. Wise, "*4QFlorilegium* and the Temple of Adam," *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991) 103–32.

[15]Typical messianic terminology in the Qumran scrolls is "Messiah," "The Branch of David," "The Prince of the Congregation," and "son." For an extensive listing of these titles in extra-biblical material, see Herbert W. Bateman IV, "Expectations of Israel's King," in *Jesus*

recontextualized in 4Q174, the historical and original contextual meaning of these individual verses are redirected and even expanded to form a theological statement that echoes the author's and the Qumran community's eschatological perspective about a future Davidite who will come soon and rule over his sanctuary.

A less overt example of thematic exegesis exists within 4Q252.[16] A document considered to be "highly unusual in terms of the breadth of its exegetical methodology as well as in the range and sparseness of the texts which it treats,"[17] 4Q252 directs attention to specific units from Genesis 6:3–49:21. Unlike thematic documents, 4Q252 does not focus on one specific theme nor does it link and weave together various verses from Hebrew Scripture. Rather it skips, in sequence, from one group of verses to another in order to elucidate their meaning. Nevertheless, within the midst of this explanatory document, the literary style is interrupted with an example of thematic exegesis. In chronicling "The Blessings of Jacob," which begins in 4Q252 4:3b with Reuben, the text advances quickly to Judah where we read,

- "The scepter (שבט, [*sebet*]) shall [no]t depart from the tribe of Judah" (Gen 49:10a).
- While (or whenever) Israel has the dominion, "there [will not] be cut off someone who sits on the throne of David" (Jer 33:17).
- For "the staff" (מחקק, [*mᵉhôqeq*]) is the covenant of the kingdom, and the thousands of Israel are "the divisions"[18] until the messiah of righteousness comes, the branch of David.
- For to him and to his descendants (or "seed") has been given

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*the Messiah: Tracing the Coming, Expectations, and Coming of Israel's King*, Herbert W. Bateman IV, Gordon H. Johnston, and Darrell L. Bock (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2010).

[16]Although Bernstein argues that 4Q252 is a "'simple-sense' type commentary," I agree with Kister that it, or at least this portion of 4Q252, digresses and thereby reflects a thematic form of exegesis. See Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (Spring 1994): 1–27. Cf. Menaham Kister, "Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 287–89.

[17]Bernstein evaluates six exegetical issues within the document: (1) The identification of the 120 years of Gen 6:3, and their location within Noah's life; (2) the chronology of the flood story; (3) Noah's curse and blessing; (4) the chronology of Abrahams' life; (5) the superfluous reference to Amalek in Gen 36:12; (6) Jacob's blessing. Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (Spring 1994): 1–27.

[18]At this point, I do not follow Martínez and Tigchelaar's rendering of המלשות as "the royalty" nor of דהגלים as "the standard." (1) In a manner that is more in keeping with the parallel meanings of שבט and מחקק, I changed "the royalty" to "the kingdom," which is also evident among other translations of this text. See Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary," 18–19; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996), 277. (2) In a manner that is more in keeping with the computer enhancement of the reading of הדגלים (standards = divisions) over שעלנר ("the feet"), I agree with Martínez and Tigchelaar's rendering of "the standard," but merely follow Vermes' translation, "the divisions." Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Books, 1962), 463.

> the covenant of the kingship of his people for everlasting generations, which he observed [. . . ] the Law with the men of the Community, for [. . .] it is the assembly of the men of [. . .]

Whoever this first century Jewish exegete is, he obviously retains an element of the historical and literal sense of Jacob's blessing, but to what degree? Contextually, Jacob's blessing to Judah was a "general" blessing, namely, that someone from his tribe would have authority over the other tribes. Jacob's older brothers (Reuben, Simeon, and Levi) had systematically disqualified themselves from receiving tribal headship.[19]

Jacob's blessing, however, has been expanded to mean something more than the simple sense the passage initially intended. Seemingly, the exegete's own personal reflection on and his retrospective historical awareness of Nebuchadnezzar's dismantling of David's dynasty in 586 BCE, God's promise to David from 2 Samuel 7, and Jeremiah's subsequent reiteration of God's promise has entered into the author's interpretation of Genesis 49:10. Obviously, references to David's throne (line 2a) and the Messiah (line 3b) remain within the conceptual and theological boundaries of Hebrew Scripture due to the allusion to Jeremiah 33:17. Naturally, the synonymous parallel between "the scepter" (שבט, [*sebet*]) and "the staff" (מחקק, [*meḥôqeq*]) warrant an interpretation of "leadership." Regardless of whether his prevailing Second Temple messianic perspective drives this author's interpretation of Genesis 49:10, whoever this author is, his retrospective examination of Genesis 49:10 expands the historical and original contextual sense of Jacob's blessing and thereby qualifies quite specifically that "Jacob's blessing" speaks directly of a Davidic ruler from Judah.

Similar acts of thematic exegesis occur in the book of Hebrews. The most notable comparison, though not necessarily the only one, exists in Hebrews 1:5–13. As in the case of 4Q174, *Auctor* creates an artfully composed catena of citations from Hebrew Scripture. Like 4Q174, *Auctor* purposefully

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[19]Reuben had sexual intercourse with Jacob's concubine, Bilhah (Gen 35:22). As a result, when it came time for Jacob's blessing of Reuben, it was said of him that he "will not excel." Despite Reuben's recognized ability to excel in "honor" and "power," Jacob perceived that Reuben's character flaw would prevent his descendants from being able to lead the family (Gen 49:4–5). Years later, the violation of Jacob's honor was interpreted to be the event that excused Reuben from his honor as firstborn (1 Chron 5:1–2; cf. the supplemental material in *Jub.* 33:1–9 and harmonization of Hebrew Scriptures in *Jub.* 33:10–14). The deceitful and ruthless behavior which culminated in the bloodshed and ransacking of Shechem (Gen 34:24–29) disqualified Simeon and Levi from credible unified tribal power and prestige of leadership over the family. Jacob's initial disdain over the matter (Gen 34:30) is reflected in Jacob's blessing, at which time he gives his final reckoning of the situation (Gen 49:5–7; cf. however, *Jub.* 30:1–6, 18–20; 31:11–17). Simeon's descendants all but disappear and Levi's descendants are always fractured and dispersed among the tribes. See Gordon Johnston, "Messianic Trajectories in Genesis and Numbers," in *Jesus the Messiah: Tracing the Coming, Expectations, and Coming of Israel's King,* Herbert W. Bateman IV, Gordon H. Johnston, and Darrell L. Bock (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2010).

weaves together various verses from Hebrew Scripture initially directed to Yahweh (Deut 32:43; Pss 104:4, 102:26–27) and a first temple Davidite (2 Sam 7:14; Pss 2:7, 45:6–7, 110:1). Whereas 4Q174 postulates an eschatological expectation of a coming Davidic Messiah, who will build a temple, Hebrews 1:5–13 asserts a different Second Temple theological axiom. He identifies the Son as a divine Davidite, (1) presently ruling at the right hand of God over his kingdom as "king-PRIEST,"[20] and (2) presently awaiting the complete subjugation of his enemies.[21]

## Proof-Text Exegesis

Proof-text exegesis employs a verse or group of verses from Hebrew Scripture as the authoritative source for an author's theological premise. Taken from their original literary context, verses from sacred Scripture are re-contextualized, often with an expanded interpretation, and applied to a new historical situation. Generally speaking, proof-text exegesis is easy to recognize because introductory formulas are used to signal when proof-texting is taking place. In Russia, during the period of the Czars, the character Tevye signals proof-texting with "as the good book says."[22] In Palestine, during the period of the Roman Caesars, a Qumranite signals proof-texting in numerous ways; "it is written," "as it is written," and "what is written" are frequently employed.[23] Or, when referencing Yahweh, an author may use "as he says" or

[20]The Son's designation as "king-PRIEST" highlights his primary function in this present age. Prior to 586 BCE, the Davidite function was primary as King over Israel, though he also did some functions of a priest. See E.H. Merrill, "Royal Priesthood: An Old Testament Messianic Motif," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 150 (1993): 50–61; idem, *Kingdom of Priests* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1987), 263–67. Thus we might say he was "KING-priest." In this present age, the Son rules as king but functions primarily as priest. Thus, he is "king-PRIEST." This is not to suggest that Jesus has no authority (see Heb 1:5–14, 3:2–6; cf. Eph 5:23, Col 1:18–20). The designation, however, distinguishes the different emphasis between the first temple and this present age. Kurianal argues that in Heb 7:26–28 "the two titles of Jesus, High Priest and Son are inseparably connected as the identity of the new High Priest." James Kurianal, *Jesus Our High Priest* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 158. Eventually, the Son will rule as "KING-PRIEST."

[21]I deal more extensively with Heb 1:5–13 and 4Q174 in *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5–13* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 149–206; idem, "Two First Century Messianic Uses of the Old Testament: Hebrews 1:5–13 and 4QFlorilegium 1:1–19," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 38 (March 1995): 11–27. Cf. George J. Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 35–57.

[22]Joseph Stein, *Fiddler on the Roof,* dir. Norman Jewison (Culver City, CA: The Mirisch Production Company, 1971).

[23]Although far from being an exhaustive listing, I list here only some examples. For "It is written," see CD-A 1:13–14 [= 4Q266 f2i:17]; 5:1; 11:18 [= 4Q270 f6v:21; 4Q271 f5i:12], 11:20–21 [= 4Q271 f5i:14] (cf. CD-A 7:10–11); 1QS 5:15; 4Q174 f1 1:16; 2:3; 4Q177 3:7; 4Q265 f1 5:1; 4Q266 f11:3 & 4 [= 4Q270 7i:18 & 19]; 4Q396 f1 2iv:5 (cf. 4Q397 f6 13:11); 4Q397 f14 21:10–15 [= 4Q498 f14 17ii:2]. For "as it is written," see CD-A 7:19 [= 4Q266 f3iii:20]; 19:1; CD-B 19:1; 1QS 5:17; 8:14; 4Q174 f1 1:2, 3, 12, 15 (Abegg & Martínez

"as God swore," "what he says" or what "Yahweh declares," and "God said" or "God spoke." All are signals of proof-texting.[24] Such formulas are frequent and yet not limited to texts that are classified as thematic midrash (i.e., 11Q, 4Q175, 4Q174) and pesher (i.e., 1QpHab, 4QpNah, etc.). They are also employed in the *Damascus Document* (CD), the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), and the *War Scroll* (1QM). When an introductory formula is used, it signals that the authority of Hebrew Scripture continues on in its recontextualization, reinterpretation, and reapplication.

Pervasive throughout Second Temple literature, how proof-texting is employed differs from genre to genre. For instance, in thematic genre like 4Q174, when Hebrew Scripture is being interwoven and linked together during the exercising of thematic exegesis, proof-text exegesis tends to lend authority to the author's artfully presented thought process. It appears to be used as a means to support thematic exegesis. Subsequently, proof-text exegesis is joined together with thematic exegesis to signal to the reader when Hebrew Scripture is employed to bolster the author's critically structured and well-developed theological premise.

Another form of proof-text exegesis occurs in the *Damascus Document*, the *Rule of the Community*, and the *War Scroll*. In these documents, proof-text exegesis occurs in "tripartite units" of thought, which consist of (1) the stated doctrine, (2) an introductory formula, and (3) a Hebrew Scripture to support the theological or legal statement.[25] Hebrew Scriptures of a previous period of time, though viewed as divinely sanctioned, are recontextualized with a specific application that is relevant for a new group of God's people. Thus proof-text exegesis, when employed in tripartite units of thought, is much more visible and perhaps more crucial as it serves to bolster the author's less-developed yet more pointedly and directly stated position on a theological or legal statement.

The simple forms of a "tripartite" unit typically support or establish the viability of a doctrinal belief. For example, in CD-A 10:14–17a (= 4Q266 8 iii; 4Q270 6iv–v) a tripartite unit supports the legal teaching about the Sabbath at Qumran. We read,

- Concerning the Sabbath . . . No one should do work on the sixth day, from the moment when the sun's disc is at a distance of its diameter from the gate,

rendering of 1:15); 4Q177 1:2, 6, 11, [15]; 2:1, 13; 4Q182 f1:4; 4Q252 3:1; 4Q285 f5:1; 11Q13 2:23. For "what" or "which is written" (אשר כתוב), see 4Q163 f8 10:8; 4Q165 f1 2:2; 4Q174 f1 1:16; 4Q180 f5 6:2, 5.

[24]Although far from being an exhaustive listing, I list here only some examples. For "what he says," see CD-A 9:2, 9 [= 4Q266 8ii:8–9; 4Q267 f9:14; 4Q270 f6 3:16–17]; CD-A 10:16 [= 4Q266 8iii]; CD-A 16:15 [= 4Q266 8ii]; 4Q174 f1 1:7. For "as he said", see 4Q252 4:1; CD-A 7:8; CD-B 20:16. For "God said," see 4Q252 1:2; CD-A 6:13 [= 4Q f3ii:19] (cf. CD-A 9:7); CD-B 19:22. For "God spoke," see CD-A 3:7; 14:10. For "as God swore," see CD-A 3:21. For "Yahweh declares," see 4Q174 f1 1:10.

[25]Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," 496–97. Vermes provides numerous examples.

- For this is what he says,
- "Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy" (Deut 5:15).[26]

After first stating the legal teaching, "No one should do work on the sixth day," with a notable definition of what constitutes a "day," the introductory formula "he says" is given followed by a quotation from Deuteronomy 5:15. No further explanation is provided. Hebrew Scripture is employed to support the author's teaching for Sabbath observance. What then follows is a long list of Sabbath regulations or applications that further defines how to go about keeping a Sabbath day "holy."[27]

Some tripartite units employ a verse from Scripture first in order to provide the author a foundation for his theological conclusion. For example, we read in CD 8:14–16,

- As for that which Moses said,
- "You enter to possess these nations not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your hearts" (Deut 9:5).
- "But because God loved your fathers and kept the oath" (Deut 7:8).
- Thus shall it be with the converts of Israel . . . , because God loved the first . . . , so will he love those who come after them, for the Covenant of the fathers is theirs.[28]

Compared to the previous tripartite argument where a theological premise is first stated then supported with a biblical proof-text, here two passages from Hebrew Scripture serve as a prelude to the author's theological axiom. The author signals to his readers with the introductory formula "as for that which Moses said," which is immediately followed by two verses from Deuteronomy. Together, these verses lay the foundation for the author's teaching, namely that the Qumranites, like the past sons of Israel, have a special covenantal relationship with God. Once again, the stated citations from Scripture,

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[26]The translation is by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Vol 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 567.

[27]Immediately following the Scripture citation is the phrase "And on the day of Sabbath no-one should." Thus, I list some of the more notable regulations. Speech is regulated, particularly useless, or stupid speech (CD-A 10:17b–18a). Work is regulated, whether it be speaking about work, thinking about the work wished to be done, or planning the next day's work schedule (CD-A 10:19–20). Naturally, sending a foreigner to do what is wished to be done is equally prohibited (CD-A 11:2). Walking is regulated, particularly the amount of walking permitted beyond the city limits (CD-A 10:17b–22). Retrieving and assisting animals is regulated, particularly retrieving animals beyond 2,000 cubits (CD-A 11:5b–6a) and assisting an animal to give birth or assist those who have fallen into a pit (CD-A 11:12b–14a). In fact, if "any living man who falls into a place of water or into a reservoir, no one should take him out with a ladder or a rope or a utensil" (CD-A 11:16–17).

[28]Vermes, "Biblical Proof-Texts in Qumran Literature," 499. The translation is from Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996), 132–33.

spoken by Moses, stand alone to support their theological perspective.

Similar acts of proof-text exegesis occur in the book of Hebrews. Like his contemporaries, *Auctor* signals proof-texting in numerous ways. The most frequent occurrences are the various appeals to what "God says." Other introductory formulae, such as the "Holy Spirit says," "Moses says," and "someone has said," are also employed.[29] And though it is the Son through whom God speaks "in these last days" (Heb 1:2), it is God who does most of the speaking throughout the book of Hebrews.[30] Similarly, like the authors of extra-biblical documents, *Auctor* uses a variety of proof-text exegesis in Hebrews to bolster his arguments.

As it is in 4Q174, proof-text exegesis is used in conjunction with thematic exegesis in Hebrews 1:5–13.[31] When proof-text exegesis is joined with thematic exegesis, it signals to the reader when Hebrew Scripture is employed to bolster *Auctor*'s critically structured and well-developed theological premise about the Son. A second form of proof-text exegesis also exists in Hebrews. In a manner similar to that found in the *Damascus Document*, *Auctor* also employs tripartite units of proof-text exegesis at least twice. One example occurs in Hebrews 10:15–18.

- And the Holy Spirit also testifies to us; for after saying,
- "This is the covenant that I will make with them after those days, says the Lord: I will put my laws on their hearts, and write them on their minds," (Jer 31:33)
- Then he adds,
- "I will remember their sins and their misdeeds no more" (Jer 31:34b).
- Now where there is forgiveness of these things, there is no longer any offering for sin.

Granted, a larger and rather long citation from Jeremiah 31:31–34 exists in Hebrews 8:8–12. Yet it is a citation *Auctor* continually refers back to in chapters nine and ten and thereby offers a developing interpretation of this

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[29]Mention is made of "someone who has testified" and "Moses says" in 2:6 and 12:21 respectively. God speaks fourteen times (1:5, 13; 4:3, 4, 7; 5:5, 6; 7:9, 21; 8:8; 10:7, 30; 12: 5; 13:5), makes promises (12:26, 6:13), speaks through Scripture (cf. 7:17; 12:5), and speaks through his Spirit (3:7, 10, 15; 10:15, 17). See my discussion of *Auctor*'s use of Holy Spirit in "Response to Nathan Holsteen's 'The Trinity in the Letter to the Hebrews'" for the God and God Incarnate Study Group (Moderator: Douglas Blount) at the 61st Annual National Meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society (Nov 2009).

[30]Jesus may speak three times, though it is not exactly clear as to whether it is God or Jesus (2:12, 16; 10:5, 9). Thus Donaldson argues rightly that though Jesus may mediate the divine message to people, it is God who ultimately speaks throughout the Book of Hebrews. Amy M. Donaldson, "'In Many and Various Ways, God Spoke . . .' (Heb 1:1): Divine Communication in Hebrews," paper presented at the Midwest Regional Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

[31]For further discussion of *Auctor*'s comparative use of introductory formulas in Heb 1:5–13 and 4Q174, see my discussion in *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5–13*, 149–206.

significant passage for the Jewish community of believers. Hebrews 10:15–18 exemplifies one of those interpretations. In a manner similar to that in CD 8:14–16, the isolated verses from Jeremiah 31:33 and 34b serve as a prelude and foundation for *Auctor*'s theological axiom. *Auctor* signals his readers with the introductory formula "and the Holy Spirit also testifies," which is followed immediately by his selectively chosen and edited verses from Jeremiah 31:31 and 34b in order to teach about forgiveness and the subsequent termination of animal sacrifice. No further explanation is provided.

In addition, a tripartite unit is employed to promote a particular way of life for the Christian. In Hebrews 13:5–7 we read,

- Let your conduct be free from coveting and thereby be content with what you have.
- For he has said,
- "I will never leave you and I will never abandon you" (Deut 31:6, 8).
- So we can say with confidence, "The Lord is my helper, and I will not be afraid. What can man do to me?" (Ps 118:6).

After stating his expectation, "be content," *Auctor* provides an introductory formula, "he has said," followed by a quotation from Deuteronomy. Whereas in CD-A 10:14–17a (= 4Q266 8 iii; 4Q270 6iv–v), Qumran's teaching about Sabbath observance is supported from Deuteronomy 5:15, here *Auctor* links together Deuteronomy 31:6 and 8 as proof-texts to support *Auctor*'s teaching about the presence of God regardless of life's circumstances. No further explanation is provided.

## Harmonizing Exegesis

Harmonizing exegesis or complementary exegesis is the seamless integration or recontextualization of groups of verses or even a single verse from Hebrew Scripture. At least two types of harmonizing exist within Second Temple literature: (1) a rewritten biblical text, or (2) within the author's own work. In both cases, whether it is the seamless integration of Hebrew Scripture within a rewritten biblical text or within an author's own work, harmonizing exegesis recontextualizes Hebrew Scripture into a new literary work.[32] This form of exegesis differs from proof-texting and thematic exegesis in that no introductory formulas are employed to identify when Hebrew Scripture is being integrated into the text. Generally, extensive forms of harmonizing exegesis appear in documents that rewrite Hebrew Scripture. For example, some texts like 4Q364–67 harmonize

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[32]Tov speaks of this as "textual harmonization" and identifies various classifications and techniques employed. Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 31 (1985): 3–29; idem, "4QReworked Pentateuch: A Synopsis of its Contents," *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1995): 647–53.

Genesis through Deuteronomy "into a complete and coherent description of an event."[33] Another sort of harmonization occurs in the book of *Jubilees*, whereby the author constantly and seamlessly integrates Levitical Law with Genesis 1–Exodus 24:18.[34] Thus, the integration of the Law with rewritten biblical text demonstrates the authoritative status of the Law for the Jewish community.

Harmonizing exegesis also occurs in 4QpaleoExod[m] (4Q22) and its extremely close counterpart, the Samaritan Pentateuch.[35] Numerous examples could be cited. However, the following excerpt from 4QpaleoExod[m] provides a nice concise example.

- (. . . but I will make) you a great nation. But against Aaron
  the Lord was very angry, (enough) to destroy him;
- so Moses prayed on behalf of Aaron.
- Moses entreated the Lord his God and said,
  "Why, O LORD, does your anger burn
- against your people whom you have brought out of
  the land of Egypt with great power and a mighty arm?"[36]

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[33]Compare discussions in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 325–28; Emanuel Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked in some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QPParaGen–Exod," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eugene Charles Ulrich and James C. VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 127–29; M. Segal, "4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After their Discovery 1947–1997*, ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 391–99; and Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis," 353. Other examples may be found in 4Q158. Once again a comparison of discussions may be helpful here. See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 199–204; M. Segal, "Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques and Genre," *Textus* 19 (1998): 45–62; and Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis," 353–54. Still others exist in Jer. See Emanuel Tov, "Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," in *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le prophéte et son milieu les oracles et leur transmission*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 54, ed. P.M. Bogaert (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1981), 145–67.

[34]O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 38. Cf. James Vanderkam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977); idem, *Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 2 Vols. (Lovarii: E. Peters, 1989); idem, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

[35]For early discussions, see P.W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 182–87; Idem, "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1959): 21–25. Although she speaks of them as "expansions," Sanderson not only interacts with textual issues, she too provides numerous examples of harmonizing. Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition*, Harvard Semitic Studies 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 261–88, 200–05. See also Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 121–47.

[36]Ulrich, *The Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible*, 102–04. Although Ulrich views this as a "text variant," it seems possible harmonization occurs here (see 106–20). Regardless, other examples of harmonizing exegesis are detected easily in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*. Exod 18:25 is replaced with the fuller details of Deut 1:9–18 and the Ten Commandments in Exod 20:19

God's expressed anger against Aaron for his role in the Exodus community's sin of the golden calf is imported from Deuteronomy 9:20 and seamlessly integrated with Exodus 32:10–11. The added material is not created by the author but merely imported and seamlessly harmonized with another portion of Scripture with no introductory formula.

Another form of harmonizing exegesis occurs in texts where Hebrew Scripture is seamlessly integrated and thereby merged into the author's own writing. Although examples may be found in 11Q19–20 (*Temple Scroll*) and the *Damascus Document*, we will focus attention on one of several examples cited by Vermes from CD 4:10–12, which reads

- When the age is completed . . . , there shall be no more joining the house of Judah, but each shall stand on his watchtower.
- "The wall is built, the boundary far removed" (Mic 7:11).[37]

Here an edited version of Micah 7:11 has become an integral part of the text. No introductory formula exists. With this seamless integration of Hebrew Scripture into his own writing, the author puts forward his belief that there is "a point of no return" for those who do not join the community now.

Although harmonizing exegesis is limited, Hebrews 10:35–39 and 12:12–13 are two examples. In the former example, *Auctor*'s expectation for readers to be courageous and thereby receive their reward from God is reinforced with Habakkuk 2:3–4. In the later example, *Auctor* seamlessly integrates Isaiah 35:3 ("strengthen your listless hands and your weak knees") and Proverbs 4:11 ("make straight paths for your feet") as a way to summarize his own discourse on discipline. Thus, *Auctor* affirms his doctrinal assertion with a seamless integration of Scripture into his own writing.

## Already-Not Yet Exegesis

Already-not yet exegesis or fulfillment exegesis[38] is the interpretation and explanation of Hebrew Scripture as fulfilled in the present time and yet with an anticipated fulfillment in the very near future. Thus, Hebrew

is filled out with a more detailed account from Deut 5:24–27. See also 4QpaleoExod[m] (4Q22) and the reiteration of God's command in Exod 8:1–3 before Pharaoh. Martin Abegg Jr., Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 53, 55; cf. 35.

[37]Other examples are CD 5:13–17 and CD 8:12–13 = 19:24–26. See Vermes, "Biblical Proof-texts in Qumran Literature," 492–93. For examples of harmonizing exegesis in the *Temple Scroll*, see Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis," 356–59.

[38]Charlesworth refers to this sort of exegesis as fulfillment exegesis. James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 7–8, 14–16, 68–77. Kister also views fulfillment as a key element of pesher exegesis. Menaham Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implication" in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 103–04.

Scripture is interpreted as actualized and yet with something anticipated in the life and history of a community. Such exegesis permeates pesher texts[39] whereby the Righteous Teacher, through divine "inspiration" or "illumination," scrutinizes the words of the prophets and explains them for the "holy ones" of the Qumran community. Pesher's structure consists of three parts: (1) an excerpted text from a prophet (*lemma*), (2) an introductory formula (פשר, *pèsher*), and (3) the interpretation.[40] And though this oldest known set of Jewish commentaries are important for historical disclosures of the Second Temple period, particularly 1QpHab and 4QpNah,[41] pesher's greatest contribution lies in the area of understanding fulfillment exegesis practiced among those who lived at Qumran (ca. 100–04 BCE; 1–68 CE).

At Qumran, the prophetic writings of Hebrew Scripture were considered a "mystery" (*raz*). The prophet, the one who initially wrote God's revelation, was ignorant of God's intended meaning, and thus the prophetic word was in need of divine explanation. Since the prophecies were not "transparent,"[42] they were in need of a "key" to unlock their meaning. Thus, God raised up and revealed his meaning to the Righteous Teacher (cf. 1QpHab 2:1–3, 7–10; 7:3–8, 8:1–3; 1QpMic f8–10, 6–7). The Righteous Teacher's interpretation (*pesher*) was the key that unlocked the translucent mysteries of the prophets. His interpretations were eventually recorded so that (1) members of the community might be informed about the "last days" of God's divine plan in which they were living, (2) members might be loyal to the Righteous Teacher and his teachings about the "last days," and (3) members might be saved through faithful adherence to the Torah and the Righteous Teacher's teachings (1QpHab 7:17–8:3, CD-B 20:27b–34).

Typical of already-not yet exegesis within pesher texts is the equating of prophetic referents, whether they are people or groups of people, with some

[39]Horgan identifies eighteen pesher texts (1QpHab, 1QpMic, 1QpZeph, 1QpPs, 3QpIsa, 4QpIsa^a–e, 4QpHos^a–b, 4QpMic, 4QpNah, 4QpZeph, 4QpPs^a–b, 4QpUnid [unidentified fragment presumed to be of pesharim]), but only the fifteen mentioned above have been identified as pesher with certainty. Carmignac and others refer to these as "*péshèr continu*" as opposed to "*péshèr* thématique." Continuous pesharim interpret an Old Testament prophetic book section by section, whereas thematic pesharim have interpretations grouped around a general theme (e.g., 4QFlor). Thus, according to Carmignac, most if not all Qumran sectarian literature is pesher. Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 8 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979), 1; J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédeq," *Revue de Qumrân* 7 (1970): 343–78.

[40]See Bateman, *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5–13*, 79–116.

[41]Charlesworth argues most convincingly throughout his book that "the historical data mirrored in the pesharim can be recovered and understood only within a balance of delicate possibilities and probabilities." Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History.* Cf. Phillip R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Press, 1988).

[42]See Sandy's discussion of the transparency and translucence of prophecy. D. Brent Sandy, *Plowshares & Pruning Hooks: Rethinking the Language of Biblical Prophecy and Apocalyptic* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2002).

contemporaneous person or group.[43] The *I wills* of Habakkuk's prophecy became the *I dids and yet to comes* according to Qumran's own historical time frame.[44] For example, we read in 1QpHab 2:10b–15a

- "For see I will mobilize the Chaldeans, a cruel [and deter] mined people" (Hab 1:6a).
- Its interpretation concerns
- the Kittim, wh[o ar]e swift and powerful in battle, to slay many [. . .] in the kingdom of the Kittim; they will take possession [of many countries] and will not believe in the precepts of [Go]d . . . .[45]

The verbal reference to the Chaldeans, a typical sixth-century designation for the Babylonians in prophetic literature, is interpreted to speak directly of the "Kittim," a typical first century designation for Rome in Qumran literature.[46] Hebrew Scripture is actualized in that the Chaldeans refer to the Kittim and yet some future act is anticipated.[47] Mentioned nine times in 1QpHab,

[43]See my discussion in *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5–13*, 83–84; see also page 96 where I discuss how 1QpHab maintains the theological emphasis of Hab but through an already-not yet exegesis.

[44]I am playing off Sandy's statement concerning how prophecies have been fulfilled. He readily acknowledges that "The sovereign *I wills* have already become the *I dids*." Sandy, *Plowshares & Pruning Hooks*, 129–54. Although we view Hab to be fulfilled with the literal coming of Nebuchadnezzar and subsequent deporting of people, dismantling of the Davidic dynasty, and destruction of Solomon's temple, the Righteous Teacher looked for a contemporary fulfillment and future consummation of the prophet's words for the Qumran community.

[45]The translation is by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, *Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 13.

[46]Relying upon many of André Dupont-Sommer's arguments from "Le 'Commentaire d'Habacuc' découvert près de la mer Morte," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 137 (1950): 128–71, Detaye provides contextual evidence from 1QpHab to support his contention that "la description des Kittím fournie par le Midrash convient parfaitement aux Romains:" (1) they came from the islands; (2) they had commanders (i.e., imperator) and generals not kings; (3) they worshiped their standards; (4) they exacted tribute; and (5) the "house of expiation" was an offensive designation of the Roman senate. C.J. Detaye, "Le Cadre Historique du Midrash d'Habacuc," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 30 (1954): 323–43, esp. 323–30. Compare *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1971 ed., s.v. "Kittim"; *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1986 ed., s.v., "Kittim"; *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Kittim."

[47]This sort of interpretation may be characteristic of typology or allegory. If typological, one might argue that only seven of the nine "Chaldean" references shift to the "Kittim;" two do not. In 1QpHab 8:13b–9:7, the term "Chaldeans" refers to "the last priests of Jerusalem," and the phrase "the rest of the nations" refers to "the army of the Kittim." Thus, the point is not that "Chaldeans" always refer to "Kittim" but the term "Chaldeans" is applied to any "corrupt group of people, Jew or Gentile, who occupy Palestine." Thus, the underlying conceptual character traits of the Chaldeans, not the literal historical group of people, appear most important to the Qumranite; thus, it is these traits, symbolized by the term "Chaldeans," that shift from one group to another. Others might argue that it is a form of allegory. For instance, Hab 2:17 reads: "for the violence of Lebanon shall cover you and the violence against the animals (beasts) will terrify you" (NET: "For you will pay in full for your violent acts against Lebanon; terrifying judgment will come upon you"). The language may anticipate Nebuchadnezzar's utilization

the Kittim not only disregard God's Law, they, along with their leaders, are portrayed as a ruthless group of oppressors with whom the Qumranites anticipate battling.[48] Thus for the Qumranite, a contemporaneous already-not yet fulfillment has occurred.

Although already-not yet exegesis is predominate among the pesharim, it is not unusual to find elements of it mirrored in the book of Hebrews. Like the Qumranites, *Auctor* perceived himself as living in the "last days" (Heb 1:2). He also interprets and explains Hebrew Scripture as fulfilled in the present with an anticipated fulfillment in the very near future. Longenecker has put it this way, "The entire letter is structured according to an 'anticipation-consummation' motif."[49]

One example of an already-not yet exegesis, similar to that illustrated above from 1QpHab 2:10b–15b, exists in Hebrews 2:5–9. *Auctor* quotes four

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of trees from the Lebanon forest in building projects, and its animals probably represent the western Palestinian states conquered by the Babylonians. Nitzan, however, rightly recognizes "Lebanon" interpreted in 1QpHab 3:12 to be "men or members of the sect." Thus "Lebanon" = "Members of the Sect," or more specifically, the community council. "Beast" in the passage, according to Nitzan, speaks of the wild people of Judah who perform the Law (12:4). Based upon typical comparisons of a person who is ignorant and thereby a "beast" before God (Ps 73:22; cf. 49:21), the term "beast" serves as an allegorical way to refer to the "stupid" or the "simple" of Judah. "They were," according to Nitzan, "men who joined the sect and accepted their laws, or at least part of them, but had not attained expertise in the rules of the sect, hence they needed instruction and direction in keeping them." Bilhah Nitzan, *The Habakkuk Commentary*, 43–46. The point to be made here is not whether this is allegory or typology, but rather that it reflects an already-not yet exegetical practice.

[48]Kittim in General: In 1QpHab 3:9–14, "the Chaldeans who come to use violence (from Hab 1:9a) are the Romans who trample the land with their horses and their animals and come from far off, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the nations, like an eagle, insatiable." In 1QpHab 6:5b–12a, "The Chaldean tyrant who continually unsheathes his sword to kill peoples without pity" (from Hab 1:17) are the Romans who will cause many to die. Cf. 1QpHab 3:2–6a. Kittim Leaders: In 1QpHab 3:17–4:9a, "the Chaldean who laughs at every strong fortress, piles up earth and captures it" (from Hab 1:10b) refers to Roman leaders. They "despise the fortresses of the peoples and with derision laugh at them, they surround them with a huge army to capture them." In 1QpHab 4:9b–13a, "the wind changes and goes on" (from Hab 1:11) is interpreted to speak of Roman leaders who will come to raze the earth. Note the already-not yet actions of the Romans are described in both sets of references. Kittim Army: In 1QPHab 8:13b–9:7, the Scripture passage cited is Hab 2:8a. However, it no longer interprets the "Chaldeans" to mean the Kittim. The "Chaldeans" now speak to "the last priests of Jerusalem." Rather, "the rest of the nations" is interpreted to mean "the army of the Kittim." Thus the point is not that "Chaldeans" always refer to "Kittim" but that the term "Chaldeans" is applied to any contemporaneous corrupt group of people, Jew or Gentile, who occupy Palestine. Thus the underlying conceptual character traits of the Chaldeans, not the literal historical group of people, appear most important to the Qumranite and thus it is these traits, symbolized by the term "Chaldeans," that shift from one group to another. Cf. 1QpHab 6:1. In *War Scroll* (1QM), Qumranites foresee themselves in a future battle against the Kittim (1:2, 4, 6, 9, 12; 11:11; 15:2; 16:3, 6, 9; 17:12, 14, 15; 18:2, 4; 19:10, 13; cf. also 4Q161 3:7, 11, 12; 4Q491 f10 ii: 10, 12; f11 ii:20; f13:3, 5).

[49]Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 155. Many Old Testament passages are presented in an already-not yet manner (Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 in Heb 1:5; Ps 45:6–7 in Heb 1:7–8; Ps 110:1 in Heb 1:13; Ps 2:7 and Ps 110:4 in Heb 51–7:28; Ps 40:7–8 in Heb 10:7).

verses from Psalm 8, and then in the process of his interpretation equates the psalmist's reference from people in general to speak of Jesus in particular. In Psalm 8:4–6, David marvels at God's conferral of honor and dignity to people ("man") over all of the created order, so much so that people are ranked only slightly below God himself. In Hebrews, "man" is interpreted to speak directly of "Jesus." The "Man" refers to "Jesus." "The argument of Hebrews 2:5–9," according to Donald R. Glenn, "deals with God's intention to subordinate the world to man, an intention that is only realized in Christ."[50] And though the Psalm is redirected to find fulfillment in Jesus, as with the pesharim, there remains an element of anticipation concerning a subjection yet to be realized (2:8b). Thus, *Auctor* exhibits an already-not yet form of exegesis when interpreting Psalm 8 in Hebrews 2.

## Allegorical Exegesis

Allegorical exegesis begins with a preconceived notion that the words of Hebrew Scripture are symbols or veiled language given by God, through human agents, that have a meaning other than the human author's literal and/or historical meaning. Thus, words are not to be understood according to their literal and historical meaning but rather according to their deeper hidden meaning. Therefore, interpreters of Hebrew Scripture are to determine the true spiritual meaning hidden in these symbols. Philo's works, of course, are an excellent example of allegorical exegesis.[51] Yet, allegorical exegesis is not unique to Philo.

As we will see, it is not unusual to find scholars describing the exegesis at Qumran to be allegorical. (Although a better term might serve some of the examples often cited, we will maintain the term "allegorical exegesis" for our discussion.) In 1QpHab 4:7 the phrase "And will heap up earth and take it" from Habakkuk 1:10b is allegorized to mean "with a great army they will surround them in order to take (capture) them" (1QpHab 4:7). Granted, the interpretation of "a great army" remains within the boundaries of Hebrew Scripture because "dust" can be a figure of speech or symbol for "numerous people" (Gen 2:7, 3:9; cf. 2 Chron 1:9) or "numerous descendants" (Gen 13:16; 28:14; Num 23:10).[52] Thus, one could render 1QpHab's interpretation

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[50]Donald R. Glenn, "Psalm 8 and Hebrews 2: A Case Study in Biblical Hermeneutics and Biblical Theology," in *Walvoord: A Tribute*, ed. Donald K. Campbell (Chicago: Moody Press, 1982), 39–51. Cf. Sandy's similar comments about Ps 22 in Heb 2:12. Sandy, *Plowshares & Pruning Hook*, 34–37.

[51]Although Philo clearly favors allegorical exegesis, his allegorical approach has governing principles. He speaks of "canons of allegory" (*Somn.* I.73; *Spec.* I.287) and "laws of allegory" (*Abr.* 68). Cf. C. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger der Alten Testaments* (Jena: Dufft, 1975), 165–68. In addition, his disassociation from literal interpretation, according to Longenecker, was "both conscious and deliberate" (*Spec.* II.147; *QE* II.71; *Plant.* 74; *Fug.* 191; *Somn.* I.15). Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis,* 30–33.

[52]"Dust could also be a symbol for degradation (Gen 3:14). "For further discussion, see W.H. Brownlee, "The Habakkuk Midrash and the Targum of Jonathan," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 7 (1956): 169–86; idem, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979),

of "dust" as "a great army," "a great host," or "numerous people." Whatever interpretation we choose for this pesher text, however, it still reflects a move away from Habakkuk's "historical" and "literal" sense of meaning, namely that the heap of earth is a reference to a literal siege ramp. Thus, the literal siege ramp typically employed in war is redirected to reflect a "deeper meaning," namely that the Romans will come and make war on God's people.

Perhaps a better example of allegorical exegesis exists in the *Damascus Document*. Divided into two sections, "The Exhortation" and "The Laws,"[53] the CD's exhortation section describes how God judges the wicked yet rewards the faithful. The author cites Numbers 21:18, followed by what some may describe as a well-defined allegorical interpretation.

- "A well (באר, [*bᵉ'er*]) which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people dug with the staff" (מחוקק, [*mᵉhôqeq*]) (Num 21:18).
- The well (באר, [*bᵉ'er*]) is the law. And those who dug it are the converts of Israel, who left the land of Judah and lived in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes, for they sought him, and their renown has not been repudiated in anyone's mouth.
- And the staff (מחוקק, [*mᵉhôqeq*]) is the interpreter of the law, of whom Isaiah said: "He produces a tool for his labor." And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well with the staves that the Staff (מחוקק, [*mᵉhôqeq*]) decreed.[54]

Contextually, Numbers 21:10–20 recalls the Exodus community's journey toward Moab. Their need for water was a perpetual challenge (Exod 17:1–7, Num 20:2–13). Yet, unlike previous situations where complaints are followed by divine provision, here in Numbers 21:16–18 the absence of grumbling is out of character for this wilderness community. Regardless, when the people arrive at Beer and God instructs Moses to gather the people, he promises

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77–79; R.P. Gordon, "The Targum to the Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Texts: Textual and Exegetical Notes," *Revue de Qumran* 8 (1974): 425–29; Nitzan, "The Commentator's Habits of Literary Creation," in *The Habakkuk Commentary*, 42–43.

[53]Exhortations: 4Q266 f6; 4Q268 f1; CD-A 1:1–8:21; CD-B 19; Laws: 4Q266 f5, f6 1–2, f9 1–2, f12, f13, f18 1–2, 5; 4Q270 f6, f9, f11; 4Q271 f1 1–2; 4Q272 f1 1–2; CD-A 9:1–16–20. See the discussion and divisions of "The Damascus Document" (Geniza A = B, 4Q266–72) in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 49–74. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:551–625.

[54]Except for the two alterations, insertions of Hebrew terms, and italic for emphasis, the translation is from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:559. This account is also found in 4Q266 f3 ii:10–11; 4Q267 f2:9–11. A similar definition exists in CD 3:12–16. Abandoning "wells of living water" is a serious offense as observed in CD 19:34. "Thus all the men who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned and betrayed and departed from the well of living waters, shall not be counted in the assembly of the people, they shall not be inscribed in their lists, from the day of the gathering in [of the teacher]."

a provision of water, and the people well up and burst forth with a song of praise. It appears to be a spontaneous song of praise.

In keeping with allegorical exegesis, however, the interpretation of Numbers 21:18 in CD 6:3b–11a disregards the historical and literary context of Hebrew Scripture. Kister considers this to be one of only a few "bold allegorical interpretations of legal or narrative texts."[55] Not only does the interpretation make several referent shifts ("princes," "nobles of the people"), words are redefined. The literal "well" is viewed as veiled language for "the law," whereas "the staff" is personified to mean "the interpreter of the law." Philo offers a similar interpretation of Numbers 21:17:

> For "then," *he (Moses) said* (φησιν), "Israel sang this song *about the well*" and by the "well" I mean knowledge, which for long has been hidden, but in time is sought for and finally found— knowledge whose nature is so deep, knowledge which ever serves to water the fields of reason in the souls of those who desire to see.[56]

One less overt instance of allegorical exegesis occurs in *The Letter of Aristeas*. Supposedly written by an official in the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285–46 CE), this letter contends that Ptolemy's library director, Demetrius of Phaleron, convinced Ptolemy to secure a copy of the Jewish Law for the library at Alexandria. Knowing that the books of the Law existed only in the Hebrew language, Demetrius orders Aristeas to write a letter to the High Priest at Jerusalem and thereby arrange for the books to be translated into Greek. As a result, the High Priest, Eleazar, dispatches to Egypt 72 elders with a copy of the Law. After arriving at Alexandria, the elders went to the isle of Pharos for 72 days and translated the books of the Law into Greek.[57]

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[55]Kister cites two other examples. (1) The term "landmarks" in Deut 19:14, "you shall not remove your neighbour's landmarks, which those of old established," is allegorized to refer to the commandments in CD 1:16, Philo (*Spec. Laws* 4.149–50), and a late midrash (Midrash Mishlei 22). All share the same allegorical attitude of interpretations concerning the term "landmarks." (2) By connecting Isa 61:1–2 with Lev 25:10, 11QMelch interprets Lev 25:9–13 as well as Deut 15:2 as referring to the redemption of the righteous. Note, however, that the former defines a term, whereas the latter is a reference shift. Kister, "A Common Heritage: Biblical Interpretation at Qumran and Its Implication," 110–11.

[56]Philo, *Dreams*, 2.271 (F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker). The italic reflects my translation of φησιν (*fasin*), and my rendering of επι του φρέατος (*epi tou freatos*). Although a pure historical retelling of the Num 21:16–18 event exists in *Moses* 1:255–57, most of the time the "well" is redefined to be wisdom, knowledge, or the sacred word. In referencing Numbers 21:16–18 elsewhere, wisdom is likened to a well (*Drunkenness*, 112–13). For Philo, a well is knowledge, which, like well water, is hidden and can only be gained by hard work (*Dreams* 1:6–12; cf. *Post.* 130, 151; *Fug.* 212–13). At one point, Philo explains that the water of the well is as "the sacred word supplying streams of knowledge, but the well is particularly associated with memory" (*Post.* 153).

[57]Adapted from J.H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 7–11.

At one point in this letter, Eleazar defends, in a manner that illustrates a mild form of allegorical exegesis, the Jewish dietary laws, particularly the law which speaks of eating animals with a divided hoof (Lev 11:1–8; Deut 14:6–8).

- Everything pertaining to conduct permitted us toward these creatures and toward beasts has been set out symbolically.
- Thus the cloven hoof, that is the separation of the claws of the hoof, is a sign of setting apart each of our actions for good.
- The symbolism conveyed by these things compels us to make a distinction in the performance of all our acts, with righteousness as our aim. This moreover explains why we are distinct from all other men.[58]

Here the scriptural allusion to the dietary law dictating what kind of creature may or may not be eaten is allegorized to mean something other than the intended historical and literal meaning of Hebrew Scripture. Thus, the point to be made is simply this: later Second Temple authors looked for deeper meaning for words. Authors were not compelled to confine their interpretations of words to the historical or for that matter to a literal sense of meaning.

It has been argued that *Auctor* employs allegorical exegesis in the midst of his comparative discussion of Melchizedek with the Son in Hebrews 4:14–7:28, namely, his interpretation of Genesis 14:18–20 and its subsequent relationship to Psalm 110.[59] *Auctor* appeals to Genesis 14 for what is

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[58]*Let. Aris.* 150–51.

[59]See G.B. Caird, "Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Canadian Journal of Theology* 5 (1959): 44–51. Caird also suggests that the author's use of "rest" is a spiritual one (48). However, Jon Laansma rightly argues the "rest" in Hebrews is a place. Having argued that Heb 3–4 speaks of two situations, namely two "parallel" communities and their respective response to God's voice, Laansma moves on to define κατάπαυσις and σαββατισμός (276–83). On the one hand, σαββατισμός is a Sabbath celebration and not a quietistic ideal nor a locale. On the other hand, κατάπαυσις is a local reality, a place, similar to other eschatological, local realities (i.e., "the coming world" in 2:5; the heavenly city in 11:10, 16; 12:22; 13:14; the unshakeable kingdom in 12:28, etc.). Preliminaries completed, Laansma provides an exposition of Heb 4:1–11 (283–305). He presents and argues that God's resting place is where God holds his own Sabbath celebration, a place which was always intended for human entrance, promised to the "fathers," and is yet to be realized. Jon Laansma, *I Will Give You Rest: The Rest Motif in the New Testament with Special Reference to Mt 11 and Heb 3–4.* Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2 (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997). Hanson, like Longenecker, limits allegory to this one example. He argues "there is only one solitary example of allegorizing in Hebrews, and that is when he gives an allegorical etymology for the name Melchizedek (7:2), an allegorization so simple and obvious that though Philo reproduces it also we cannot call it characteristically Alexandrian, much less characteristically Philonic. Otherwise the Epistle gives no sign of allegory." R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (Richmond: John Knox, 1959), 86.

and what is not said about Melchizedek in order to redefine the term "forever" in Psalm 110:4 from figurative usage to a literal one when it is applied to the Son.[60]

What is said in Genesis 14, and repeated by *Auctor*, is that Melchizedek was a king of Salem. After defining what Salem means, "king of peace," *Auctor* then provides information not stated, and thereby not part of the historical and literary context of Genesis. *Auctor* presents a deeper meaning from the text when he claims that Melchizedek was "without father, without mother, without genealogy, he has neither beginning of days nor end of life but is like the son of God, and he remains a priest for all time." Longenecker argues rightly that *Auctor* "did not consider himself to be inventing a new interpretation or using a deviant exegetical procedure." As we have observed above, the procedure was one commonly practiced during the Second Temple period among his contemporaries. Thus it appears that *Auctor* got involved, as recognized by Longenecker, "in a mild allegorical-etymological treatment of the narrative in Genesis 14."[61]

## Supplemental Exegesis

Observable in numerous literary venues, supplemental exegesis, embellishments, or gap fillers reflect a Second Temple author's frequent desire to resolve the incomplete contents of a biblical text. Apocryphal books are a popular forum for supplemental exegesis. The Prayer of Manasseh,[62] for example, is rooted in and built upon 2 Chronicles 33:12–13, and thereby completes the contents of Manasseh's efficacious prayer of sincere repentance. Likewise, the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men, placed immediately after Daniel 3:23, serve to fill in the gap concerning what took place after Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego fell into the center of a blazing fiery furnace. (What would you do, if you were not consumed immediately? These three men sang hymns and prayed!) In his prayer, Azariah acknowledges God (3–4), confesses the nation's sin (5–7), declares God just (8–19), prays for God's deliverance (20–22), and finally, after a miraculous divine intervention (23–27), all three offer a psalm of

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[60]*Auctor* has already redefined "forever" once while quoting Ps 45:6–7 in Heb 1:5–13. Using the thematic and proof-text exegetical methods, the figurative usage of the term, when applied to the Son, is quite literal. See my "Psalm 45:6–7 and Its Christological contributions to Hebrews," *Trinity Journal* (2001): 3–21. Cf. Sandy's discussion of the term "forever" in *Plowshares & Pruning Hook*, 98–102. For my historical understanding of Ps 110, see "Psalm 110:1 in the New Testament," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 149 (1992): 438–53.

[61]Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 163.

[62]The Pr Man is one work where I nuance what is happening differently than Charlesworth. He views the work as inspirational exegesis whereby an Old Testament passage serves as an inspiration for the author's own imagination. This is not to say, however, that the author may have been inspired by the event. It just seems more reasonable to suggest that the book is more in keeping with supplemental exegesis. Similarly it might be argued that Jer 29 may have inspired the author to write Ep Jer. However, the content of the work appears to serve as a cross between thematic exegesis and harmonizing exegesis.

praise (28–68).[63] Perhaps the supplement also serves to imply a reason why a fourth person appears in the fire with them (Dan 3:24–25).

The artful elaboration of Sarah's beauty in 1QapGen, rooted in and built upon Genesis 12:14–15, evidences supplemental exegesis within a Qumran document. Pharaoh's advisers return and dazzle him with their poetic description of Sarah's awe-inspiring beauty, which is fleshed out in 1QapGen 20:2–8a.

> How . . . pretty is the shape of her face, and how [lo]vely and how smooth the hair of her head! How lovely are her eyes; how pleasant her nose and all the blossom of her face . . . How graceful is her breast and how lovely all her whiteness! How beautiful are her arms! And her hands, how perfect! How alluring is the whole appearance of her hand[s]! No virgin or wife who enters the bridal chamber is more beautiful than her. Above all women her beauty stands out; her loveliness is far above them all. And with all this beauty there is in her great wisdom. And everything she does with her hands is perfect.[64]

An even less extensive form of supplemental exegesis exists in 4Q158, where select portions of Genesis and Exodus are rewritten and combined with other biblical texts. Of particular interest here is the rewritten portion from Genesis 32:24–32, because it evidences added information about the angelic blessing made to Jacob. The author obviously supplements the content of the angelic blessing, because it is obscure in Genesis 32:29.

- • "And he blessed him right there" (Gen 32:29).

[63]Add Esth serves as another example for supplementary exegesis. Esth 3:12–13 mentions that letters written in various languages were sent by runners throughout the kingdom. Add Esth 13:1–7, however, fills the gap concerning the actual edict dictated by Haman. Esth 5:1–2 describes Esther's presence in the great king's throne room, but Add Esth 15:1–16's embellishment of the event, reflects a cultural awareness of Persian protocol and God's intervention on Esther's behalf. For a discussion concerning Persian protocol see Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, trans. Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 225–301, particularly 258–62. For references to Esther and her life as a royal concubine see 129, 279, 282–86. For other examples of embellishments in Esth, see David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 110–26.

[64]Translation by Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:41. Cf. Joseph A. Fiztmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, Biblica et orientalia, 18a (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 63, 119–24. Another sort of expansion exists in the two editions of Jeremiah where 4QJer[b], 4QJer[d], and the LXX display one short edition (some 13%) and 2QJer, 4QJer[a], 4QJer[c] and the MT display another more expanded edition that evidences minor explications, clarifications, lengthened titles, etc. See Emanuel Tov, "Some aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah," in *Le livre de Jéréémie: Le prophéte et son mulieu, les oracles et leur transmission*, 145–67; idem, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of its Textual History," in *The Greek & Hebrews Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 363–84. For an English translation, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 382–406.

- And he said to him: May YH[WH] make you fertile and [make] you [numerous . . . May he fill you with] knowledge and intelligence; may he free you from all violence and [. . .] until this day and for everlasting generations [. . .] And he walked on his way after having blessed him there.[65]

Other forms of supplemental exegesis are limited to a word or two within a translation or transmission of Scripture. Becoming ever-so-mindful that very few things were monolithic during the later Second Temple period, namely, there was no "authorized Judaism," no "authorized theology," no "authorized canon," and no "authorized text,"[66] determining what is and

[65]Translation by Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:200. Cf. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:199–204. For other examples, see Nitzan, "Approaches to Biblical Exegesis in Qumran Literature," 352–53.

[66]One might easily argue for three major centers of Judaism: Jerusalem, Samaria, and Alexandria. The existence of the Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians argue against a monolithic or "authorized Judaism" in Judea. Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

For example, no "authorized" theological position exists concerning resurrection. Whereas some groups and literary works maintain such a view (Pharisees: Acts 23:6–9; cf., Heb 11:35; Literary Works: 2 Macc 7:9, 11, 14, 23, 28–29; 12:43–45; 14:46; 4 Macc 15:2–3, 8, 27; *1 En.* 90:19–41), others do not (Samaritans: Mark 12:18–27; Sir 46:12; *T. Sim.* 6:2). The issue of resurrection appears less than clear at Qumran (1QS 11:8, 1QH 3:21–24). For discussions about resurrection in the apocrypha, see deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha*, 190–91, 277–78, 377. For discussions about resurrection at Qumran, see Maxell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1992), 169, 192–93. No "authorized" position exists concerning the coming Messiah. See Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest Frerichs, eds., *Judiasms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Bateman, "Expectations of Israel's King." No authorized position appears to exist concerning the powers behind idols (cf. Wis 13:1–15:17; Ep Jer; Bel; 1QpHab 12:10–13:3 with Bar 4:7; *T. Job* 2–5; 1 Cor 10:14–21).

Mindful that an "authorized Old Testament canon" is a post-Second Temple happening, which Hebrew Scriptures were "authorized" books during the later period of the Second Temple period? Certainly the Torah was. The books of Torah are well represented at Qumran, solely revered by the Samaritans (Samaritan Pentateuch), and are clearly the Old Testament texts translated into Greek (*Let. Aris.*; cf. Hengel's discussion, 19, 25–26, 76–77). Second Temple authors favored certain Old Testament books: Deut (Qumran: 32 mss, New Testament quotes 41 times), Isa (Qumran: 22 mss, New Testament quotes 45 times), and Pss (Qumran: 39 mss, New Testament quotes 55 times). Hengel estimates that 60% of the direct citations of the Old Testament come from these three texts (107). Broadly speaking the "Law, the Prophets, and the Writings" are highly regarded. The Qumranites believed, "to you we have [written] that you must understand the book of Moses [and] the book[s of the pr] rophets and Davi[id . . . (4Q397 f 14 21:10; Cf. Sirach's Prologue; Luke 24:44; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1:37–43; Philo, *Contempl. 25–29*; Justin, *Dial.* 30:1–2). What books, however, constituted the "Prophets" and what books constituted "David" or the "Writings"? In addition, *Jub.* is quoted as authoritative at Qumran (*Jub.* 23:11 in CD 10:8–10), *1 En.* is quoted as an authoritative source in Jude. See examples of possible conceptual allusions in Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002), 54–56, 70–74, 110–12.

Although equally concerned with issues of canon, Ulrich directs much attention to the "text" of the "canon in process" as opposed to the "text" of the canon that "represents a

what is not supplemental exegesis may not be as clear-cut as we might like. Nevertheless, intentional supplements within Hebrew Scripture are cited as a frequent occurrence in Second Temple translations, like the LXX and the simple transmissions of the text of Hebrew Scripture evident in Qumran documents. Using the Masoretic Text (MT) as a textual base, the following examples exhibit a variety of supplemental exegesis in extra-biblical documents that simply clarifies the "when," the "where," the "who," and the "what" of Hebrew Scripture.

Genesis 9:22   MT   וַיַּרְא חָם . . . וַיַּגֵּד לִשְׁנֵי־אֶחָיו בַּחוּץ
"and Ham saw . . . and told his two brothers outside"

LXX   καὶ εἶδεω Χαμ . . . καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀνήγγειλεν τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔξω
"and Ham saw . . . and when he went out he told his two brothers outside"

Exodus 32:26   MT   מִי לַיחוָה אֵלָי
"Who is on the Lord's side? To me!"

LXX   τίς πρὸς κύριον ἴτω πρός με
"Who is on the Lord's side? Let him come to me![67]"

reflexive judgment, denotes a closed list, and concerns biblical books" (53–73). He argues "the text was plurifiom" (3–16). "The Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and Josephus demonstrate bountifully that there were variant literary editions of the books of Scripture in the late Second Temple period" (9–10). Hengel's discussion of "The LXX as a Collection of Writings" in *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* (25–56) supports Ulrich's allusion to the LXX's "collection of disparate texts" (32). At Qumran, Ulrich acknowledges the stability of some texts (Gen, Lev, Isa, and the 12 minor prophets), whereas other books evidence at least two editions (Exod, Num, Jer, Pss, and Dan). Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999).

[67]Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. rev. and enl. ed., Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997). Although the aim of the LXX translation is to "transfer the message of the Hebrew Bible into Greek for the Jewish-Greek reader," literal (Judg [B text], Pss, Ezra, Neh, and Chron) and non-literal (Isa, Job, Prov, Esth and Dan) renderings exist in the LXX (17–29). In his evaluation of the LXX, however, Tov recognizes the "tendency, even among critical scholars, to depreciate the value of the LXX by ascribing most of its deviations to the translators' exegesis and techniques" (33). And though it is common knowledge that "all translations reflect exegesis," "these elements may be divided into linguistic and contextual exegesis." "Every translation reflects linguistic exegesis," he says. Nevertheless "contextual exegesis" involves the translator's wider context of text, history, and conceptual world. Such exegesis includes additions, omissions, and substitutions (see 45–50). The purpose here, however, is to focus attention on contextual exegesis, particularly the subcategory Tov calls "additions," and I, supplemental exegesis.

| 2 Samuel 11:3 | MT | אוּרִיָּה הַחִתִּי |
|---|---|---|
| | | Uriah the Hittite |

|  | 4QSam^a | אוריה החתי נושא כלי יואב |
|---|---|---|
| | | Uriah the Hittite, Joab's armor bearer[68] |

| Psalm 102:26 | MT | לְפָנִים הָאָרֶץ יָסַדְתָּ |
|---|---|---|
| | | "Long ago you laid the foundation of the earth" |

|  | LXX | κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς σύ κύριε τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας |
|---|---|---|
| | | "in the beginning, you Lord founded the earth" [69] |

| Numbers 6:24 | MT | יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ |
|---|---|---|
| | | The Lord bless you and protect you |

|  | 1QS | יברככה בכול טוב וישמורכה מכול רע |
|---|---|---|
| | | May he bless you with everything good, and may he protect you from everything bad.[70] |

Likewise, when biblical texts were quoted in extra-biblical literature, some transmissions may reflect witnesses of different recensions or textual traditions, but more often, they may evidence an exegetical reading or its result.[71] Such is the case in Hebrews where *Auctor* adjusts the text as a result

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[68]Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239. Ulrich identifies other examples of supplemental exegesis. A single word expansion occurs in 2 Sam 13:37, whereas MT reads נשרו, 4QSam^a reads נשרו בצרץ (247). A euphemistic insertion also occurs in 2 Sam 12:16, whereas MT reads ובא ולן ושכב ארצה, 4QSam^a reads ובא ולן וישכב בשק ארצה (242).

[69]Gen 9:22 and Exod 32:26 are just two of six examples cited in Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 46–47. The LXX translation of Gen 9:22 differs from Tov's. Ps 102:26 is discussed in my book *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5–13*, 136–38. For other examples see Emanuel Tov, *The Greek & Hebrews Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[70]For further discussion see Brook, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 295–301.

[71]Although my concern here is additions, Brooke rightly identifies at least three other groups of exegetical variants evident in Hebrew Scripture citations. (1) There are syntactical and grammatical variants like the change in person (Ps 37:10 in 4QPs^a 1–10 ii 7), a deliberate change in number (Nah 2:13b in 4QpNah 3–4 i 6), a difference in gender (Nah 3:13a in 4QpNah 3–4 i 4), and changes in tense (Hos 8:6b in 4QpHos^b 11–13:5). (2) Intentional omissions from Hebrew Scripture occur in 4Q162 (4QpIsa^b) in that it jumps from Isa 5:14 to

of his exegetical reading of it. They appear in Hebrews 1, particularly with regard to Psalm 45.[72]

## Conclusion

Peering through a few windows, our hands cupped around our eyes to see more clearly, we caught a glimpse of six exegetical conventions practiced during the later Second Temple period (167 BCE–70 CE). Obviously, the six exegetical traditions of the Second Temple period discussed are by no means exhaustive. I might even add that the list of examples for each exegetical convention from extra-biblical and biblical material is far from exhaustive. Much more could be said and should be presented concerning Second Temple exegetical studies. Nevertheless, I need to bring this tentative discussion to a conclusion. Let me begin by restating the obvious.

### Restating the Obvious

As we observed, the exegetical practices were on multiple levels within extra-biblical literature. On one level, exegetical practices are predominant in extra-biblical texts and may even serve as the means to define the genre. Thematic and proof-text exegesis characterizes thematic texts like 4Q174, 4Q175, and 11QMelch. Harmonizing exegesis is an undeniable style of some rewritten biblical texts like 4Q364–67 and *Jubilees*. Already-not yet exegesis tends to define pesher texts like 1QpHab and 4QpNah. Allegorical exegesis is a guiding principal of Philo's works. Supplemental exegesis appears foundational for apocryphal texts like the Prayer of Manassah and the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men.

On another level, however, exegetical conventions play supporting roles in extra-biblical material. In 4Q152, thematic exegesis interrupts the author's flowing commentary of Genesis 6:3–49:21 to explain a theological position about a future Messiah figure. Tripartite units of proof-text exegesis appear frequently in the *Damascus Document* to support or establish the viability of a doctrinal belief. Harmonizing exegesis evidences itself in several texts. The seamless integration and recontextualization of Micah 7:11 occurs in the *Damascus Document* to affirm the author's belief that there will come a point of no return for those who do not join the Qumran community. Although the allegorical category might need to be re-nuanced, one overt case of allegorical exegesis appears in the historical and literal referencing of a well in Numbers 21:18 to mean the "Law" in the *Damascus Document* as well as Philo. Supplemental exegesis, on the other hand, quite clearly fills in the gaps of any given text. It appears in greater and lesser degrees depending on

5:24b to identify the crowd in Jerusalem (Isa 5:14) with those who reject the Law (Isa 5:14). Finally, (3) George J. Brooke, "The Biblical Texts in Qumran" in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1987), 85–100.

[72]See my discussion in "Psalm 45:6–7 and Its Christological Contributions to Hebrews," *Trinity Journal* 22 (2001), 3–21.

the genre. Whereas obscure statements about Sarah's beauty and the angelic blessing to Jacob are lengthy embellishments in 1QapGen and 4Q158, respectively, other forms of supplemental exegesis are limited to a word or two in a given reproduction of the biblical text (Gen 9:22; Exod 32:26; Ps 102:26 in the LXX; Num 6:24; 2 Sam 11:3 in QL).

*Auctor* appears to employ all six of these exegetical practices. Lest I be accused of being overly zealous about early Jewish exegetical practices in the book of Hebrews, my presentation appears to support Longenecker's observation: "Hebrews represents in many ways a hybrid blending of traditional Christian theology, the ideological perspectives and concerns of a particular Jewish Christian community, and an anonymous author's own highly individualized exegesis of the Old Testament."[73] It is my contention that one of the ways that *Auctor*'s individuality manifests itself is in his use of Hebrew Scripture. In fact, *Auctor*'s use of the Hebrew text is "so unique as to prohibit fitting it into any category or identifiable pattern of early Christian exegesis."[74] Though it may seem somewhat puzzling that *Auctor* would employ so many exegetical conventions in this one work, perhaps in overt concern for this Hebrew Christian community, *Auctor* employs every first-century exegetical convention available to demonstrate from Hebrew Scripture the importance of remaining committed to God's exalted Son, the divine Davidic regal-priest, Jesus. The overwhelming variety of exegetical practices exhibited by *Auctor* may even sustain the seriousness of the problem. Having restated the obvious, let me now expand on it.

### Expanding on the Obvious

My intent has not been to justify how or why *Auctor* employs these exegetical practices in Hebrews but merely to show his parallel use of exegetical conventions with other authors of the later Second Temple period. In fact, it seems he employs them in a very natural and matter-of-fact manner. *Auctor* does not use the Old Testament in a manner counter to his Jewish-hellenistic culture, though he does use the Old Testament to counter and thereby move beyond a previous paradigm of God's program. Obviously, *Auctor* recognizes that a paradigm shift has taken place via the Son, Jesus, the divine King-Priest. *Auctor* thereby interprets, reapplies, and recontextualizes Hebrew Scripture from a Christocentric perspective via the Holy Spirit to influence and encourage the community of Jewish believers.

In addition, these exegetical connections betray at least four shared assumptions about Hebrew Scripture. First and foremost, Second Temple authors (biblical and extra-biblical alike) assume Hebrew Scripture to be the authoritative and sacred Word of God. Interpreters of the later Second Temple period believe Hebrew Scripture is divinely sanctioned, of divine provenance, and perhaps even divinely inspired (if they understood the term the same way we 21st century scholars define it). Evidence for this

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[73]Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis*, 140.
[74]Ibid., 140–41.

first assumption is clearly evident when Second Temple authors assert that the words of Hebrew Scripture come from God. The pervasive use of introductory formula employed within Second Temple literature to signal proof-text exegesis within thematic texts, tripartite unities of thought within the *Damascus Document*, and the book of Hebrews are undeniable support. Likewise, today's evangelicals assume that the Old and New Testament canon of Scripture is the authoritative Word of God. How often have we heard Billy Graham say, "and the Bible says," as the authority behind his message?

Second, Second Temple authors assume Hebrew Scripture forms a perfect harmony between its whole and its various parts (whatever the various Second Temple Judeans may have considered to be the whole). As a body of sacred writings, ancient interpreters sought to discover the basic harmony underlying apparent discordant words because they believed all Scripture must speak with one voice. As a result, it seems interpreters of antiquity were not so concerned with the contextual meaning of the word, the clause, the sentence, the paragraph, or the individual book. In addition and closely related to what has been said about viewing the sacred text holistically, the sacred text was treated with a certain degree of freedom. This is clearly observed in the use of thematic and proof-text exegesis within thematic texts like 4Q174 and harmonizing exegesis within texts like *Jubilees*. All three forms of exegesis occur in Hebrews (1:5–13, 10:15–18, 35–39; 12:12–13; 13:5–7). Whereas the former two are involved in the merging of Hebrew Scripture to present a developed theological premise, the latter harmonizes Hebrew Scripture for theological purposes. Likewise, today's evangelicals recognize the basic harmony underlying all of Scripture. Like later Second Temple interpreters, we are not always so concerned with the contextual meaning of every word, clause, sentence, paragraph, or book. Harmonies of the Gospels and presentations of the historical Jesus practice harmonization and even supplemental exegesis. Systematic theologies, theological sermons, and doctrinal statements of evangelical institutions are good examples of thematic, proof-text, and harmonizing exegesis. Often the concern is with a theological concept or statement and not so much the authorial intent of the human author for each and every verse employed to support a theological premise, whether it is of a person, a community, or an institution.

Third, Second Temple authors assume Hebrew Scripture constitutes one great book of instruction, and as such is fundamentally a relevant text for all time, for all cultures, and for all God's people. Thus, the interpretation of God's authoritative Word is to be relevant for life. Thematic, proof-text, harmonizing, already-not yet, and allegorical exegesis are employed to address the contemporary concerns of God's people. Sometimes they are employed to provide hope for a seemingly hopeless situation as is the case in Hebrews 10:35–39. Sometimes they are used to present a polemical argument for Diaspora Jews in order that they might avoid idolatry, as in the *Letter of Jeremiah*. Sometimes an exegetical tradition is employed to support a person's

or a community's legal teaching and subsequent regulations, as in the use of tripartite units of proof-text exegesis to support Sabbath rest (CD-A 10:14–17a). Thus, Hebrew Scripture serves to bolster the author's less developed yet more pointedly and directly stated position on a theological or legal statement. Likewise, today's evangelicals recognize that the sixty-six canonical books of Scripture constitute one great book of instruction relevant for all. Week after week, evangelical pastors strive to make culturally-relevant applications of the ancient text, which we customarily call, "the Bible."

Fourth, Second Temple authors recognize that the Hebrew Scripture is incomplete. That is, despite all that Hebrew Scripture reveals about God and his people, there are many gaps or incomplete information within the text. Thus, authors of the later Second Temple period overcome the challenges of the incomplete contents of a biblical text via supplemental exegesis. Sometimes, the information is fanciful imagination, as in the case of describing Sarah's beauty (1QapGen). Sometimes, gap fillers are extremely theologically reflective, as in the case of the Prayer of Manasseh. Other times, they exhibit statements of clarity within a citation of Hebrew Scripture as is often the case in the translations of LXX, the copying of Hebrew Scripture, and even in the citations in Hebrews 1:5–13. Similarly, today's evangelicals spin a tale or two in order to complete the contents of a scriptural event or person. Pastors performing monologues of a significant biblical figure, Christian novelists, and Christian and non-Christian film-makers practice supplemental exegesis. Moving beyond the obvious of Hollywood's example, "The Ten Commandments" with Charleton Heston, Philip Yancey exemplifies numerous film-makers exercising supplemental exegesis in his video for the *Jesus I Never Knew*. In it, he shows the various ways movie producers have portrayed Jesus.

Fifth, Second Temple authors assume that Hebrew Scripture is not always transparent. At times, the text appears cryptic. Though Scripture may say one thing, in the progress of revelation, what it really means is much more than we finite creatures ever expected. Hebrew Scripture is rich in content and translucent in many ways. Ancient interpreters recognized the differences between explicit and implicit statements in the text, scrutinized every detail in search of hidden or deeper meanings, spiritual meanings that were relevant to the interpreter as well as his listeners. Thus they employed allegorical exegesis. Even today, evangelicals are not beyond looking for a deeper meaning in the text. Who has not heard a pastor speak of Jesus calming the storm in order to speak of Jesus' ability to calm the storms of our lives? Or, how many of us have read a book written by a dispensationalist concerning the end times where expanded meanings of the text captivate and even stimulate the Christian reader's imagination?

Consequently, the exegetical methods employed during the Second Temple period by Jewish interpreters and by today's evangelical preachers have many things in common, including the conviction that God's Word is living, active, and penetrating (Heb 4:12–13).

# *The Origin of Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

*Ryan E. Stokes*
*Yale Divinity School*
*New Haven, Connecticut*
*ryan.stokes@yale.edu*

For those accustomed to thinking in terms of New Testament theology, to speak of the origin of sin is to bring to mind immediately the story of Adam, Eve, and the serpent. The Genesis 3 account of "the Fall," as the story has been labeled, traces a number of the world's problems, the most notable of which is death, back to the first human couple's fateful decision to disobey their Creator and to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It is to this story that the apostle Paul refers on more than one occasion to explain the human predicament (e.g., 1 Cor 15:21–22). For Paul, that act of rebellion perpetrated by Adam in the garden was the source of both death and sin: "Therefore, just as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin, and so death spread to all men, because all sinned" (Rom 5:12).[1] Paul argued that the solution to this problem for both Jews and Greeks was the righteousness and life that came through Jesus Christ.

Given how central the Genesis 3 story is to Christian explanations of the human situation, it is somewhat surprising that the story of Adam and Eve was only one among several explanations of sin and evil that Jews ascribed to in the first couple of centuries BC. While some Jews traced the origin of human sin back to the garden of Eden, many others looked elsewhere for the root of the world's problems and used scriptural passages other than Genesis 3 to explain how evil entered creation. After summarizing some of the explanations of sin that were available to Jews in the Second Temple period, this essay will consider explanations offered by two texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Finally, this essay will comment very briefly on Paul's approach to the matter in the context of early Judaism.

## Explanations of Sin in Early Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

### Genesis 3

Although other explanations of sin seem to have enjoyed a wider circulation in the first couple of centuries BC, one writing from this period

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[1] All quotations of the Old and New Testaments are taken from the New American Standard Bible (NASB). All quotations of the Apocrypha are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

hints at the impact of Adam and Eve's transgression on human morality. Writing early in the second century BC, the wisdom teacher Ben Sira states, "From a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die" (Ecclus 25:24).[2] This statement occurs in the midst of a series of sayings concerning the troubles that women can bring upon men. Ben Sira's comment attests to the belief that sin "had its beginning" in the Garden of Eden.

One should be aware, however, that this comment about Eve probably does not reflect any sort of systematic approach to the question of sin on the part of Ben Sira. Nor does it represent the totality of his thinking regarding the events that transpired in Eden.[3] Ben Sira compiled an anthology of wisdom teachings, some of which are inconsistent with one another. Elsewhere, for example, Ben Sira attributes death not to Eve's disobedience but to God's plan for humanity from the beginning:

> The Lord created human beings out of earth,
>     and makes them return to it again.
> He gave them a fixed number of days,
>     but granted them authority over everything on the earth.
> He endowed them with strength like his own,
>     and made them in his own image.
> He put the fear of them in all living beings,
>     and gave them dominion over beasts and birds.
> Discretion and tongue and eyes,
>     ears and a mind for thinking he gave them.
> He filled them with knowledge and understanding,
>     and showed them good and evil (Ecclus 17:1–7).

According to this passage, which clearly alludes to Genesis 1–3, human mortality (as well as the knowledge of good and evil!) were allotted to humankind by God. They are not said to be the unfortunate result of Adam and Eve's disobedience but are described simply as God's design for humans. Ecclesiasticus 25:24, nevertheless, expresses the idea that the first humans, Eve in particular, are responsible for the existence of sin and death.[4]

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[2]The book of *4 Ezra*, written near the end of the first century AD, also looks to Adam for an explanation of sin: "O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants" (7:118). See John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism from Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, 1988).

[3]John J. Collins suggests that Ben Sira's comment reflects his distrust of women more than it does an exegesis of Gen 1–2. John J. Collins, "Before the Fall: The Earliest Interpretations of Adam and Eve," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel,* ed. H. Najman and J.H. Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 298. Cf. Ben Sira's comment regarding women in Ecclesiasticus 42:14.

[4]On the guilt of Eve in introducing sin into creation, see also the somewhat later *Apoc. Mos.* 32:2.

**Genesis 6**

Other Jews found a more helpful account of how the world went awry later in Genesis in the enigmatic opening verses of chapter 6.

> Now it came about, when men began to multiply on the face of the land, and daughters were born to them, that the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were beautiful; and they took wives for themselves, whomever they chose. . . . The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. Those were the mighty men who were of old, men of renown (Gen 6:1–2, 4).

Just who these "sons of God" are is a question to which several answers have been proposed in the history of this perplexing passage's interpretation.[5] For the authors of the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 1–36), the sons of God in Genesis 6 were angelic beings called "watchers," who rebelled against God by having sexual relations with human women.[6] According to the *Book of Watchers*, these angels taught humans certain illicit arts, such as sorcery and divination. Also included among those things revealed to humans was how to manufacture jewelry, cosmetics, and weapons. With the knowledge of these crafts, humankind acquired the ability to commit acts of violence and sexual immorality on an unprecedented scale.

Unfortunately, the revelation of these forbidden crafts was only one part of the problem created by these rebellious angels. The watchers' half angel/half human offspring turned out to be a race of giants whose insatiable appetites drove them to devour humans as food. Although the giants eventually destroyed one another in battle, they continue to pose a grave threat to humanity. Their fleshly, human components perished, but their spiritual, angelic components survived and continue to dwell on the earth as "evil spirits" (*1 En.* 15:8–16:1). Evil spirits, according to the *Book of Watchers*, were not created by God, but came into existence as the result of angelic rebellion. These evil spirits afflict humans with various manners of illness. Furthermore, the angel Uriel tells Enoch, these spirits "bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods" (*1 En.* 19:1).[7] In this

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[5]For a discussion of the expression "sons of God" in this passage and in early Jewish literature, see Ryan E. Stokes, "Sons of God," *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); John H. Walton, "Sons of God, Daughters of Man," *Dictionary of the Old Testament Pentateuch*, ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2003), 793–98.

[6]The *Book of Watchers* is a composite document that appears to have arrived in its present form by the end of the third century BC. J.T. Milik dates two manuscripts of the work that were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls to the first half of the second century BC. One of these manuscripts (4QEnᵃ), according to Milik (141), was copied from a manuscript dating no later than the third century BC. J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 25, 140, 164.

[7]The identification of false gods as "demons" is based on the mention of שדים in Deut

way, the idolatrous worship of the gentile nations is traced back to the "sons of God" of Genesis 6.

The book of *Jubilees*, written sometime in the mid or late second century BC, further develops the belief that malevolent spirits spawned by the "watchers" before the flood are responsible for the world's evils.[8] According to *Jubilees*, these spirits are under the command of the Prince of Mastema, *Jubilees*' preferred name for Satan. The Prince of Mastema sends these spirits among the gentile nations to lead them into idolatry and into violent military aggression (*Jub.* 11:5). Israel, however, is God's chosen people, and God offers them protection from the spirits of Mastema. As long as Israel lives in accordance with the laws that God revealed to them through Moses, claims *Jubilees*, they will enjoy protection from the deception and destruction that the malevolent spirits work among the rest of humankind.

It is important to observe that for both the *Book of Watchers* and for *Jubilees*, evil spirits are not blamed for all human sin. Rather, the evils for which these spirits are said to be responsible are those of idolatry and military aggression, those sins of which the nations, not Israel, are guilty.

## Defenses of Human Free Will

With theologies that attributed human wickedness to superhuman influence gaining momentum, several Jewish thinkers formulated responses to these teachings, responses that defended the notion of human free will. For one example of such a counterargument, we return to Ecclesiasticus.

> Do not say, "It was the Lord's doing that I fell away;"
>     for he does not do what he hates.
> Do not say, "It was he who led me astray;"
>     for he has no need of the sinful.
> The Lord hates all abominations;
>     such things are not loved by those who fear him.
> It was he who created humankind in the beginning
>      and he left them in the power of their own free choice.
> If you choose, you can keep the commandments,
>     and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice.

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32:17 and Ps 106:37. All quotations of *1 En.* in this essay are from George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

   [8]There is as of yet no consensus regarding the precise date of the composition of *Jub*. James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1977), 207–85, dates the book between 160 and 150 BC. Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 50 (1983): 63–86, dates it between 169 and 167. Doron Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B.C. Claims to the Holy Land*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 15 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Seibeck], 1987), 57–88, locates the books composition in the period of 130–09. Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 72–77, places it in the last third of the second century BC.

> He has placed before you fire and water;
>    stretch out your hand for whichever you choose.
> Before each person are life and death,
>    and whichever one chooses will be given.
> For great is the wisdom of the Lord;
>    he is mighty in power and sees everything;
> his eyes are on those who fear him,
>    and he knows every human action.
> He has not commanded anyone to be wicked,
>    and he has not given anyone permission to sin
>    (Ecclus 15:11–20).

This passage defends God against any charge of complicity in immoral behavior, asserting that humans were created with "free choice." The Hebrew word translated as "free choice" in Ecclesiasticus 15:14 is יצר, which is often translated as "inclination." Later, the Mishnah will speak of two conflicting "inclinations" within a person's heart, a good inclination (טוב יצר) and a bad inclination (רע יצר).[9] Humans must choose to follow the good and deny the bad. According to Ben Sira, each individual has only one יצר. It may be that "free will" is not an entirely satisfactory translation of יצר in this passage, but Ben Sira unambiguously places responsibility for choosing between sin and obedience on the individual. Whether this translation of יצר is appropriate or not, Ben Sira certainly advocates a doctrine of free will.

As one might expect, Ben Sira is not entirely consistent on this matter. In another passage, the sage seems to say that God creates persons as either righteous or wicked.

> Good is the opposite of evil,
>    and life the opposite of death;
>    so the sinner is the opposite of the godly.
> Look at all the works of the Most High;
>    they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other
>    (Ecclus 33:14–15).

As with other complex matters, Ben Sira has preserved for us differing perspectives on the relationship between divine sovereignty and human freedom.

Another writing from the second century BC to weigh in on the free will side of this debate is the *Epistle of Enoch* (*1 En.* 92–105). Similar to Ecclesiasticus 15, the *Epistle of Enoch* asserts, "lawlessness was not sent upon the earth; but men created it by themselves, and those who do it will come to a great curse" (*1 En.* 98:4b). It is clear from Ben Sira and the *Epistle of Enoch* that not all Jews were comfortable with the teaching that God or other

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[9] E.g., *M. Ber.* 9:5.

superhuman forces manipulated the wills of human beings, leading them to sin.[10]

## Explanations of Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Dead Sea Scrolls are frequently hailed as the greatest archaeological discovery of the twentieth century. They are certainly the most significant discovery for biblical studies. The recovery of these ancient writings, which were deposited in eleven caves near Qumran nearly two millennia ago, has contributed enormously to discussions about the text of the Old Testament. It has vastly expanded our knowledge of the Jewish context of the New Testament. Scholars of rabbinic Judaism mine the scrolls as well for information pertaining to the origins of that form of Judaism.

A large number of the scrolls are copies of Old Testament books. Others are copies of previously known extracanonical Jewish works like the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees*. These works were of interest to a large number of Jews, including those who placed the scrolls in the caves. Also found among the Dead Sea Scrolls were the writings of a particular Jewish group, most of which were previously unknown to scholars. Over 60 years since the scrolls' discovery, many questions about these documents remain unresolved. Who exactly were the Jews who composed, copied, and read them?[11] What is the relationship of the scrolls to the site of Qumran, very near which the scrolls were discovered?[12] These important questions notwithstanding, this much is clear: Many of the Dead Sea Scrolls were produced by a group of Jews who believed that they alone of Abraham's descendants had rightly interpreted their Scriptures and were appropriately in a covenant with God. Two of the works produced by this group are considered here. The first is the *Damascus Document*. The second is the *Rule of the Community*, specifically that section of the *Rule of the Community* known as the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.

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[10]The closest parallel to Ben Sira's statement on free will is found in the New Testament book of James: "Let no one say when he is tempted, 'I am being tempted by God'; for God cannot be tempted by evil, and He Himself does not tempt anyone" (Jas 1:13). Another affirmation of human moral responsibility appears in *Pss. Sol.* 9:4–5:

> Our works (are) in the choosing and power of our souls,
>> to do right and wrong in the works of our hands,
>> and in your righteousness you oversee human beings.
> The one who does what is right saves up life for himself with the Lord,
>> and the one who does what is wrong causes his own life to be destroyed;
>> for the Lord's righteous judgments are according to the individual and
>> the household.

R.B. Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. ed. James Charlesworth (Doubleday, 1985), 2:660.

[11]On this question, see John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

[12]On this question, see the article by Steven Ortiz in this issue.

### *Damascus Document*

Although the *Damascus Document* is correctly regarded as one of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls, this work was actually known to scholars several decades before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the middle of the twentieth century. Solomon Schechter found two copies of this work in a genizah, a repository for damaged and otherwise discarded manuscripts, in a synagogue in Cairo. Schechter brought these two copies to Cambridge in 1896 and published them in 1910.[13] When several copies of this work turned up among the Dead Sea Scrolls, it was obvious to scholars that the work came from the same stream of Judaism that produced many of the scrolls.

With regard to the origin of sin, the *Damascus Document* exhorts its readers "to walk perfectly in all [God's] ways and not to stray in the thoughts of a guilty inclination (יצר אשמה) and licentious eyes" (CD 2:16).[14] The *Damascus Document* proceeds to give a number of examples of individuals who strayed from God's commandments because they succumbed to their guilty inclination. The first examples given, drawn from Genesis 6:1–4, are the watchers and their children (CD 2:18–19). The belief that a guilty inclination is the source of humanity's wickedness is derived from Genesis 8:21, where God resolves after the flood never again to curse the ground because of humankind, "for the intent (יצר) of man's heart is evil from his youth." The *Damascus Document*'s notion of the guilty inclination is different from Ben Sira's, which seems to be a more neutral concept. It also differs from the rabbinic teaching that humans have both a good and a bad inclination. For the *Damascus Document*, humans have only a guilty inclination, a proclivity for wickedness that must be resisted.[15] Very few people, according to the *Damascus Document*, do resist it.

Though humankind's guilty inclination might account sufficiently for the ubiquity of wickedness in the world, the *Damascus Document* takes things a step further and assigns God an active role in bringing about human sin. Regarding the sinful among Israel, the *Damascus Document* says,

> For God did not choose them primordially; before they were established he knew their works. And he despised the generations

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[13]Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries Edited from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection Now in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

[14]Unless otherwise noted, quotations of CD in the essay are from Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995). The abbreviation for the *Damascus Document* is CD, which stands for Cairo, where the work was discovered, and Damascus, a city of historical importance for the group whose origins the work recounts.

[15]Near the end of the first century AD, *4 Ezra* will speak similarly of an "evil heart" that humans must overcome if they are to be righteous (*4 Ezra* 3:20–26; 4:30; 7:92).

(in which) they [st]ood and hid his face from the land.... [T]hose whom he hated he caused to stray (CD 2:7–8, 13).

God chose certain members of Israel long ago, but other members he did not so chose. Those whom God hated, God caused to stray. This sort of predestinarian viewpoint is quite compatible with other sectarian writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls, most notably the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*, which will be considered below.

Other passages in the *Damascus Document* elaborate on the superhuman workings behind Israel's transgression. These passages claim that Israel is under the power of a deluding force.

> [D]uring all those years, Belial will be sent amidst Israel, as God spoke through the hand of the prophet Isaiah, son of Amoz, saying, "Fear and a pit and a snare are upon you, O inhabitant(s) of the land." This refers to the three nets of Belial, of which Levi, the son of Jacob, said that he (Belial) entrapped Israel with them, making them seem as if they were three types of righteousness. The first is unchastity, the second arrogance, and the third defilement of the sanctuary. He who escapes from this is caught by that and he who is saved from that is caught by this (CD 4:12–19).[16]

According to this passage, which is an interpretation of Isaiah 24:17, Belial has been sent, presumably by God, amidst Israel. (Belial is the preferred name for the Satan figure in several of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[17]) Belial has caught Israel in the "nets" of unchastity, arrogance, and defilement of the sanctuary. Those whom Belial has trapped in these nets are unaware that they have been duped. They do not think that they are behaving in an unchaste or arrogant manner and certainly do not intend to defile the sanctuary. While they suppose their conduct is righteous, the *Damascus Document* asserts that they are nonetheless sinning.

This text has much in common with *Jubilees*. Both the *Damascus Document* and *Jubilees* attribute the sins of those who do not keep the Torah to a superhuman deluding influence. *Jubilees*, however, speaks of only the gentile nations being led astray by the Prince of Mastema, not Israel. For the *Damascus Document*, on the other hand, all Israel, except for those within their sect, are under the power of Belial and unknowingly transgress God's commands.

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[16]The translation above is based on that of Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document." It deviates from Baumgarten and Schwartz's translation, however, in that it renders משולח in 4:13 as "be sent" rather than "run unbridled." But understanding the word in the sense of "sending" is preferable based on the parallels in *Jub*. 11:5 and *1 En.* 98:4.

[17]The Greek form of Belial, "Beliar," appears once in the New Testament (2 Cor 6:15). It also occurs frequently in *T. 12 Par.*

Also similar to the teaching of *Jubilees* is the *Damascus Document*'s pre-scription for protecting oneself from Belial's nefarious influence.

> And on the day when a man takes upon himself (an oath) to return to the Torah of Moses, the Angel of Mastema shall turn aside from after him, if he fulfills his words (CD 16:1–5).

In this text, one encounters yet another appellative for the Satan figure, the Angel of Mastema.[18] Just as *Jubilees* claims that by following the Torah one acquires protection from the forces of Mastema, so the *Damascus Document* teaches that by returning to the Torah, as interpreted by the *Damascus Document*, one is freed from the Angel of Mastema. The *Damascus Document* contains essentially the same understanding of sin as is found in *Jubilees*, except in the case of the *Damascus Document* this understanding has been adapted to suit a sectarian perspective.

One important thing to observe about the explanations of sin found in the *Book of Watchers*, *Jubilees*, and the *Damascus Document* is that these explanations are limited and exclusive. These teachings are limited in that they do not account for the existence of all sin, just for certain kinds of sin. And they are exclusive in that the infractions that they do explain are those that characterize only outsiders. The etiologies of the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees* pertain, for instance, to the idolatrous practices of the gentiles. The *Damascus Document*'s teaching deals with the sins of Jews outside of the sect, those who do not interpret the law according to sectarian standards. A more comprehensive and inclusive explanation of sin is found in the next document to be considered.

### Treatise on the Two Spirits

The text from the Dead Sea Scrolls that has probably received more attention than any other is that section of the *Rule of the Community* known as the *Treatise on the Two Spirits*.[19] The *Treatise* opens with a declaration of God's absolute sovereignty.

> From the God of knowledge comes all that is occurring and shall occur. Before they came into being he established all their

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[18]Baumgarten and Schwartz, *Damascus Document*, 23, translate מלאך המשטמה as "the angel Mastema."

[19]The *Treatise* appears in only two of the dozen or so copies of the *Rule of the Community* found among the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS and 4QSᶜ) and is probably an editorial addition to the work. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah 21 (New York: Brill, 1997), 145, says that it is likely that the two spirits passage existed independently of the *Rule of the Community* and was later made to address to the *maskil* in order to fit into its present context. Philip Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996): 437–56, based on the paleographical dating of the various manuscripts of the *Rule of the Community*, regards 1QS and 4QSᶜ (which contain the two spirits treatise) as the earlier form of the document, which, he argues, later editions abbreviated.

designs; and when they come into existence in their fixed times they carry through their task according to his glorious design. Nothing can be changed (1QS 3:14–15).[20]

For the author of this text, everything that exists does so by God's design and behaves exactly as God dictates, including humankind, good, and evil.[21] The *Treatise* continues,

> [God] created (ברא) the human for the dominion of the world, designing for him two spirits in which to walk until the appointed time for his visitation, namely the spirits of truth and deceit. In a spring of light (אור) emanates the nature (תולדות) of truth and from a well of darkness (חושך) emerges the nature (תולדות) of deceit (1QS 3:17–19).

These lines, from which the *Treatise* gets its name, claim that God created two spirits for humans, one of truth and the other of deceit. This account of creation is based on Genesis 1:1–2:4a. Note the terminological connections with the Genesis text: "created" (ברא), "light" (אור), "darkness" (חשׁוח), and "*toledoth*" (תולדות). Even the concepts of "spirits" (רוחות) and of watery origins have parallels in Genesis 1:1, where the רוח אלהים is said to hover over the waters. This is not to say, of course, that the two spirits teaching was derived purely from an exegesis of Genesis 1:1–2:4a, but that this portion of Genesis is the text that the *Treatise* employs to express its understanding of humankind, good, and evil.[22]

Scholars disagree over exactly what sorts of "spirits" the two spirits of the *Treatise* are supposed to be, whether they are supposed to be superhuman, personal beings or merely psychological dispositions within individual humans.[23] In favor of the superhuman interpretation is the fact that the *Treatise*

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[21]Compare the similarly deterministic statements in 1QH[a] 9:5–38; 18:1–12.

[22]Scholars disagree over whether the two spirits teaching has been influenced by Persian Zoroastrianism or can be explained entirely as a development within Jewish tradition. The two spirits teaching certainly contains some striking parallels between the teaching of the Persian Gathas. For a somewhat dated but helpful discussion of these parallels, see Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 10 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 84–98. Whatever the source of the Two Spirits teaching, one would expect a Jewish theologian to articulate this teaching with reference to the received texts of Judaism.

[23]For a brief summary of the two major views, see John R. Levison, "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, vol. 2 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 169–85.

goes on to speak of the "Prince of Lights" and the "Angel of Darkness," two superhuman figures who rule over humankind.

> In the hand of the Prince of Lights (is) the dominion of all the Sons of Righteousness; in the ways of light they walk. But in the hand of the Angel of Darkness (is) the dominion of the Sons of Deceit; and in the ways of darkness they walk (1QS 3:20–21a).

Elsewhere, however, the *Treatise* speaks of the two spirits struggling within the heart of a person, imagery which lends itself to a psychological understanding of the spirits.

> Until now the spirits of truth and deceit struggle in the heart of humans, and (so) they walk in wisdom or vileness. According to a man's share in truth shall he be righteous and thus hate deceit, and according to his inheritance in the lot of deceit he shall be evil through it, and thus loathe truth (1QS 4:23–25).

Whatever the precise meaning of "spirits" in this text, the *Treatise* clearly teaches that there is a superhuman dimension to the conflict between good and evil and that this conflict is played out to some degree within the human heart. More importantly for the present discussion, the *Treatise* states unequivocally that God created the spirit of deceit. To the question of where evil came from, the *Treatise* answers simply, "God created it."

Despite the *Treatise*'s claim that humankind is divided into two camps, the Sons of Righteousness and the Sons of Deceit, a more complex understanding of humanity emerges from this text. Although the Sons of Righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and the Sons of Deceit are ruled by the Angel of Darkness, the *Treatise* explains that even the Sons of Righteousness can on occasion be led into sin by the Angel of Darkness:

> By the Angel of Darkness comes the aberration of all the Sons of Righteousness; and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their iniquitous works (are caused) by his dominion (1QS 3:21b–23).

Furthermore, 1QS 4:23–35, which was quoted above, describes individuals as possessing a share of both truth and deceit. The *Treatise* explains that how righteous or wicked a person is depends on how much truth and deceit this person has been apportioned.[24] The *Treatise* envisions a graded scale between

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[24]This anthropology has often been compared to that of 4Q186, "4QHoroscope," where a person's behavior is related to how many parts of that person are in the "House of Light" as opposed to in the "House of Darkness." Cf., however, Mladen Popovic, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 172–208, who argues that the "light" and "darkness" language of 4Q186 does not pertain to makeup of a human being, but pertains to the quality of the

righteousness and wickedness along which humans fall. It is not quite as simple as being either good or evil. All humans are said to have some of both, though, to be sure, some individuals are more righteous than others.

Accordingly, the "deceit" that the *Treatise* has in mind is not merely the iniquity practiced by the outsiders, the Sons of Deceit. It also includes the sins of which even the insiders, the Sons of Righteousness, are at times guilty.

> But concerning the Spirit of Deceit (these are the principles): greed and slackness in righteous activity, wickedness and falsehood, pride and haughtiness, atrocious disguise and falsehood, great hypocrisy, fury, great vileness, shameless zeal for abominable works in a spirit of fornication, filthy ways in unclean worship, a tongue of blasphemy, blindness of eyes and deafness of ear, stiffness of neck and hardness of heart, walking in all the crafty ways of darkness, and evil craftiness (1QS 4:9–11).

The *Treatise* also offers a complementary list of virtues.

> [A] spirit of humility and patience, of great compassion and constant goodness, and of prudence, insight, and wonderful wisdom, which is firmly established in all the works of God, leaning on his great mercy; and a spirit of knowledge in all work upon which he is intent, zeal for righteous precepts, a holy intention with a steadfast purpose; and great affection towards all the Sons of Truth; and a glorious purity, loathing all unclean idols, and walking with reservation by discernment about everything, concealing the truth of the mysteries of knowledge. The (preceding) are the principles of the spirit for the Sons of Truth (in) the world (1QS 4:3–6).

Although this list of virtues includes some traditionally Jewish qualities, like "loathing all unclean idols," most of the items listed are not the exclusive property of Judaism or of a particular Jewish sect. Nor are the vices, which include "pride and haughtiness," necessarily the sins of gentiles or outsiders only. The *Treatise* offers not an explanation of some sins or of sins that only some people commit. The *Treatise* is concerned with all kinds of sin, including those of which all people are guilty to varying degrees. This explanation of sin is more comprehensive and inclusive than the explanations offered by the *Book of Watchers*, *Jubilees*, and the *Damascus Document*, which are intended to account merely for those sins committed by outsiders. For this explanation of sin, the *Treatise* looks not to the story of the sons of God in Genesis 6, but to the creation account in Genesis 1:1–2:4a.

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superhuman spirits associated with that human. Whichever interpretation is correct, 4Q186 is certainly relevant to a discussion of the *Treatise*.

## Conclusions

There is little evidence that the Genesis 3 story was widely held to recount the origin of sin among Jews of the first and second centuries BC. The one reference to the garden narrative as an explanation for sin in the literature from this period occurs in Ecclesiasticus 25:24. But it is difficult to know what to make of this verse that blames Eve for introducing sin and death into the world. This comment appears in the midst of a list of warnings about the problems that women can create for men, not within a discussion of the source of human sinfulness or of the meaning of Genesis 3. It also runs contrary to other statements made in Ecclesiasticus. The significance of the Genesis 6 story in literature from this period is much clearer. The *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees* blame the watchers for the existence of evil spirits. These evil spirits lead people to worship idols and (in *Jub.*) to shed human blood.

Several copies of the *Book of Watchers* and *Jubilees* were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In those Dead Sea Scrolls that appear to be sectarian in origin, however, the Genesis 6 story does not appear prominently as an etiology for sin. The *Damascus Document*, although it refers to the watchers, cites them only as an example of sinners succumbing to their guilty inclination, not as the origin of sin. In other regards, nonetheless, the work follows *Jubilees*. The *Damascus Document* teaches that Belial is behind the failure of those outside of the sect to walk according to its sectarian interpretation of the Mosaic Torah. The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* is the only text considered in this paper that attempts to explain the origin of all sin. Drawing on Genesis 1:1–2:4a, the *Treatise* teaches that God created deceit.

This essay began by noting Paul's use of Genesis 3 to explain the origin of sin. While a full exegesis of Romans 5:12 lies beyond the scope of this essay, one tentative suggestion is in order. The suggestion is this: Paul's selection of the Genesis 3 story as his starting point for human sin, as opposed to other etiologies that were circulating during the time that he wrote, was not arbitrary. Although other Jews looked to Genesis 6 as the explanation of sin, the sons of God story served only to explain the sins of the idolatrous nations. The iniquity with which Paul was concerned in his letter to Rome, however, was more comprehensive (Rom 1:28–32). And it was not simply the idolatrous gentiles who were guilty of it, but Jews as well (Rom 2:9–11). In this regard, Paul's general understanding of what constituted sin and of who was guilty of it was similar to that of the *Treatise*. Accordingly, both Paul and the *Treatise* look to the opening chapters of Genesis, to a time well before the sons of God descended, to deal with the issue. Paul disagreed with the *Treatise*, however, when it came to assigning blame for introducing sin into the cosmos. The *Treatise*, referring to Genesis 1, teaches that God created deceit. Paul, citing Genesis 3, traces it to Adam. For Paul, God did not create sin, nor did the watchers breed it into the world. One human is to blame, and one human has provided the solution.

# Qumran Quagmire: Recent Debates Regarding the Identification of the Site

*Steven M. Ortiz*
*Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary*
*Fort Worth, Texas*
*sortiz@swbts.edu*

## Introduction

The past decade has seen a flurry of publications associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls. This scholarly enterprise was also taking place among archaeologists. While the media was debating the nature of the "scholarly conspiracy," and textual scholars were debating who the scrolls belonged to, there was a rumbling in some parts of the archaeological community over the site of Qumran.

This current debate originated with the questioning of the Essene Hypothesis by a pair of scholars who were enlisted to assist in the publication of the archaeological data. The Donceels interpreted the site as a Villa Rustica (Roman-type villa associated with a rural estate).[1] This was the start of various questions and debates concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls and the identification of Qumran. I have isolated three major criticisms concerning Qumran. The first is the "myth" that has developed around Qumran. This is highlighted by a recent paper by Neil Silberman, where he states: "Thus the modern visions of the Dead Sea Scrolls now span the gamut from eschatology to spiritualism, iconoclasm, ecumenism, and patriotic attachments to the State of Israel."[2] Another example of popular culture using Qumran to support their particular story are the many literary works that have sprung up around Qumran. Brenda Levine, in an article covering several works of fiction centered on Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, notes:

> The idea that some shocking truth is to be found in these ancient
> texts which will change or alter present religious beliefs so

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[1]R. Donceel and P. Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. Michael O. Wise, et al. Annuals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 1–32.

[2]Neil Asher Silberman, "The Scrolls as Scripture: Qumran and the Popular Religious Imagination in the Late Twentieth Century," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 925.

drastically that church officials must suppress it is still offered by so-called legitimate scholars, as witnessed by some of the allegations during the recent controversy over the long delay in publication of all the scrolls.[3]

Media hype has also focused on conspiracy theories with the emphasis on power and access to the scrolls.

While these are entertaining trends in popular culture and Qumran, post-processual trends in archaeological research are asking questions such as: Who controls the interpretation of the past? Who tells the story? Is there more than one story? Lester Grabbe, an historian, notes that there is a lack of questions in Qumran studies,

> Much of the work on the scrolls has been of a literary nature. . . . As someone who attempts to be a historian, however, I see some dangers, not only in the present, but also in earlier studies, which can impede progress . . . : 1) an uncritical attachment to a past consensus, 2) a failure to make properly critical histori-cal judgments, and 3) the continued politicization of Qumran Scholarship.[4]

Some scholars note that Qumran theories (or stories) are not objective but are dependent on the religious or political position of the scholar.[5]

### History of Research

Ironically, most of the results and summaries of the Qumran site were made by textual scholars and not archaeologists. Today, we have the first excavation report by Humbert and Gunneweg. An earlier publication, by Humbert and Chambon in 1994, included a list of photographs and de Vaux's notes; German and English translations were produced in 1996 and 2003.[6]

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[3]Brenda Lesley Segal, "Holding Fiction's Mirror to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery,* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 906.

[4]Lester L. Grabbe, "The Current State of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Are There More Answers than Questions?" Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series 26 (1997): 54.

[5]Charlotte Hempelm, "Qumran Communities: Beyond the Fringes of Second Temple Society," Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series 26 (1997): 44–53.

[6]Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg, eds., *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha. Vol 2: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie.* Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 3 (Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2003); Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, eds., *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha. Vol 1: Album de photographies. Répertoire du fonds photographiques. Synthése des notes de chantier du Pére Roland de Vaux*, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 1 (Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2003); Roland de Vaux, *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feschcha. Die Grabungstagebücher. Deutsche Übersetzung und Informationsaufbereitung durch Ferdinand Rohrhirsch und Bettina*

Until these recent publications, the results of de Vaux's excavations were only published as articles in *Revue Biblique* and his Schweich lectures. These brief reports were the foundation for the dominant interpretation of the site. Along with G. Lankester Harding, de Vaux began excavations at the site of Qumran in 1951. Excavations continued by de Vaux from 1953 to 1956. The excavations revealed the remains of a well-planned settlement with a complex of buildings, cisterns, pools, canals, and ritual baths. This settlement was built on top of a marl terrace overlooking wadi Qumran. In addition to the settlement, de Vaux excavated at the spring of Ain Feshkah, his last season at Qumran, and then in 1958. This spring is located one and a half miles south of Qumran and served as the nearest source of water.

De Vaux divided the site into six main periods of occupation. The first was an Iron Age fort that he dated from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, when it was abandoned or destroyed. The site was not inhabited again until the Hellenistic Period (1a–b). De Vaux defined two stages. During the first (1b), the remnants of the fort were reused and some mikva'ot were built near the water installation—he dated this phase to the time of John Hyrcanus (134–04 BC). The next phase is the main phase of the settlement, when the central part was expanded to include auxiliary areas and building components: More mikva'ot and reservoirs, a pottery workshop and wine press, dining room and storeroom/pantry, kitchen, scriptorium and storeroom with benches, and a stable. The settlement of this period was destroyed by an earthquake. There was a gap in settlement and sometime around 4 BC the same occupants resettled the site (Roman Period, Period 2). This phase basically reused the settlement after cleaning out some rooms and having some features go out of use. A great quantity of pottery (evidence of the destruction by the Romans in 68 AD) was found. A small Roman garrison occupied the site until 73 AD and made some minor additions. Later, the abandoned buildings served a group of resistance fighters of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt (132–35 AD).

The most important periods were Ib and II—periods associated with the Essene settlement and the Dead Sea Scrolls. This archaeological and historical reconstruction has become solidified in the scholarly community for the past 50 years. This was the story of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls—taught at seminaries and universities throughout the western hemisphere. In some circles, albeit small, scholars are questioning whether this was an accurate portrayal. Since these scholars are very vocal, it has presented us with the impression that we are in a quagmire in regards to the identification of the site.

*Hofmeir*, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 1A, trans. and suppl. Ferdinand Rohrhirsch and B. Hofmeir (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); J.-B. Humbert and A. Chambon, *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumrân and Ain Feshkha: Synthesis of Roland de Vaux's Field Notes,* trans. and rev. Stephen J. Pfann, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 1B (Freiburg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2003).

The past decade saw two conferences on the archaeology of Qumran. One was at the University of Chicago (co-sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences) in 1992 and the other was held at Brown University in 2002.[7] The Brown conference was designed to discuss the latest research on the archaeology of Qumran. An outcome of this conference, as reported by Zangenberg and Galor, was that there needs to be a "sincere discussion on theory formation, on how we create, defend and revise concepts and methods of interpreting the archeological record of Qumran."[8] The authors suggested an incorporation of Hodder's work on interpretive archaeology or his reflexive archaeology.[9]

Zangenberg and Galor imply that the archaeological record is like a text with multiple meanings. I would qualify this statement and state that the archaeological record is not multivocal. There is only one voice. We do not find something that is both ceramic and glass, a stone that is worked and unworked. A building is not square-shaped and at the same time oval-shaped. What is multi-vocal are the interpretations of the archaeological record. Multiple interpretations come about because of the nature of the archaeological evidence (fragmentary) and the relationship between culture and the material correlates of society. This is where we find ourselves today in the Qumran quagmire.

While several interpretations of the site have been proposed over the years,[10] the debate has now coalesced around two recent books on the archaeology of Qumran. The first is by Jodi Magness,[11] in which she supports the Essene sectarian settlement hypothesis. The second is by Yitzhar Hirschfeld, who proposes that Qumran was a fortified estate in a complex settlement system.[12]

The questions before us today are, "Who is correct?" "Can we arrive at a consensus concerning the interpretation of the archaeological record?" My goal is to provide a synthetic overview of Qumran archaeology and propose

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[7]Wise, *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*; and Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran, The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57 (Boston: Brill, 2006).

[8]J. Zangenberg and K. Galor, "Qumran Archaeology in Transition," *Qumran Chronicle* 11 (2003): 1–6.

[9]Ian Hodder, *The Archaeological Process: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); Idem, ed., *Towards Reflexive Method in Archaeology: The Example at Çatalhöyük* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000).

[10]Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel, "Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Contention of Twelve Theories," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, ed. Doug R. Edwards (London: Routledge, 2004), 162–69.

[11]Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

[12]Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004).

that the original Essene hypothesis is supported by the archaeological record, but with some modifications.

## Archaeology of Qumran

Recent debates concerning the nature of the settlement at Qumran can be coalesced into four major arenas of data: 1) stratigraphy of the site, 2) Qumran's place in the Dead Sea region's settlement hierarchy (definition of the site), 3) interpretation of the various building components, and 4) nature of the material culture (plain pottery versus luxury artifacts).

### A. Stratigraphy and Periodization

De Vaux told the story of the site and this became the common interpretation of the excavations. While he was correct in defining the major periods, he did not excavate according to sections and a grid system that would have provided evidence of the subtle shifts in settlement history. Instead, each room received a locus number and this number was retained even when floors and fills were encountered.

|  | De Vaux | Magness | Humbert | Hirschfeld |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Iron Age | 8th–7th centuries | 8th–7th centuries | **Level 1**<br>680–580 BC | **I**<br>Late 7th–early 6th centuries |
| Abandonment | | | | |
| 130 | **Ia**<br>(130–100) | ? | 104 BC | **II**<br>(130–37) |
|  | **Ib**<br>(100–31 BC) | **Ib** | **Level 2**<br>**Phase A**<br>63 BC<br>**Phase B** | |
| Earthquake 31 BC | | **Ib**<br>9/8 BC (silt) | **Level 3**<br>**Phases**<br>**A & B** | **III**<br>(Herod) |
|  | Abandonment | | | |
|  | **II** | **II** | **Level 3**<br>**Phase C** | |
| Destruction 68 BC | | | | |
| 68–73 AD | **III** | **III** | **Level 4**<br>Roman Outpost | **IV**<br>Roman Detachment |
|  | Abandonment | | | |
|  | 2nd Revolt | | | |
| Earthquake 363/749 | | | | |

**Figure 1:** Proposed Stratification of Qumran

Stratigraphic redating has been suggested based on 1) new understanding of numismatic use (e.g. the Herodian period used coins from the Hasmonean period), 2) clearer historical reconstruction of the Hasmonean and Herodian Periods in the Holy Land, particularly in the Judean Desert/Dead Sea region, and 3) a more developed ceramic chronology and typology of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the Holy Land. Humbert has noted that we can define stratigraphy based on the expansion of various building components and additions to the main building at the site.

**Hasmonean and Herodian Period.** All scholars agree that there was a period when Qumran was an Hasmonean compound—either a fortress (Hirschfeld), Hasmonean aristocratic residence (villa rustica), or as de Vaux postulated and Magness supports, it was during this stage that the site was founded as a sectarian community. While I am convinced by Magness' analysis of the material culture that the site was solely a sectarian community, I am also convinced that there are distinct building phases of the site. Most visitors to the site quickly notice that there is an original square shaped building that is better constructed than an expansion of the settlement to the south and east. I think that Humbert's proposal best accounts for the sectarian nature of the material culture and the major phases of expansion. He suggests that the settlement was originally an aristocratic Hasmonean residence that was later resettled by a new group of people, the Essenes. The issue is whether or not there was a transformation of the site in the Herodian period.

## B. Settlement Hierarchy

Hirschfeld has proposed four major typological groups for settlements in the Dead Sea region during the Second Temple period.[13] He has also proposed that there was an extensive road system in the Dead Sea region that supported the commercial interests of these settlements. The first group of settlements are central towns or cities that served as administrative and economic centers of the region. They were established in well-watered oases that allowed for substantial settlements. These are Jericho, 'En-Gedi, and Zoar. The next set contains the palace complexes. These are large agricultural estates that belong to the upper echelon of society. These sites are Jericho, Masada, and Machaerus, as well as the smaller sites of Alexandrium, Cypros, and Callirrhoe. The third group consists of fortified estates that were a combination of living quarters and agricultural activity. These sites are 'Ein Feshkha, 'Ein el-Ghuweir, and 'En Boqeq—all located along the western coast road of the Dead Sea. The last group includes military forts providing security between these various settlement components. These forts are Rujum el-Bahr, Khirbet Mazin, and Qasr et-Turabeh.

Most scholars who propose that Qumran was a manor palace (villa rustica) place it within this third group of sites. The identification is based

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[13]Ibid., 221.

on a comparison of building and architectural features, and the nature of the material culture (e.g. interior decoration, pottery, and other finds).

## C. Buildings/Architectural Features: Comparison between Manors/ Villas and Qumran

Recent reevaluations (notably Hirschfeld and the Donceels) against the sectarian settlement definition focus on the similarities between Roman manor villas and Qumran. In the recent excavation report, Humbert also holds to this position, but he thinks that this was only during the first part of the Hasmonean settlement and that later it became a sectarian community.

The strongest evidence for a manor villa is the morphological similarities[14] and architectural elements of stone. Hirschfeld spends a large part of his book on an analysis of the architectural components and concludes that the site is the country estate of a wealthy city dweller, probably a permanent resident of Jerusalem.[15] He postulates that there were two parts to the settlement: a *pars urbana* which is the central part (western part) where the living quarters were located, and the rest of the settlement belonged to the *pars rustica*, or as he categorizes it, the working farm and industrial area.[16] What de Vaux interpreted as the scriptorium (locus 30) with tables for writing, is nothing more than benches, that is, instead of tables, they were probably part of the furniture for a triclinium. The inkwells are part of the writing associated with the commercial enterprises of the estate. The assembly room with a vestibule (locus 4) and the two rooms behind it (loci 1 and 2)[17] are storage rooms.

**1. Industry.** The *pars rustica* contains all the industrial elements of a working farm. These include the garden (the animal bone deposits are no longer cultic meals but are part of the fertilizer); balsam plant factory with soaking pools-balsam oil for the temple; metal factory (locus 105); a bakery and flour mill (loci 100 and 101); a stable (loci 96 and 97); a stone surface for drying dates; a pottery workshop (loci 64, 80, and 84); and, a wine press (locus 75). A second dining room (locus 77) with its storerooms (loci 86 and 89) served the laborers.

**2. Magness and Humbert.** Magness associates the architectural and material culture patterning with regions of purity and impurity. Humbert concludes that it is difficult, based on the nature of the archaeological evidence, to define a pattern. He postulates that we can discern horizontal stratigraphy, that is, additions to the settlement as it expanded, although he also concludes that there are visible patterns that should be associated with ritual purity. Basically, the site experienced many stages of additions

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[14]Humbert, *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha.*

[15]Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 242.

[16]Ibid., 93, 100, 143.

[17]Stegemann interprets these rooms as a library reading room with scroll storage. H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 39–40.

to the settlement with the addition of architectural units—especially water storage. Nevertheless, even with this "hodge-podge" of additions, there is still a pattern.

**3. Water System.** Qumran has over ten stepped pools at the site and an elaborate channel system that brings water through the center of the site, feeding the various installations. Even today, when visitors go to the site, they quickly notice the dominance of the mikva'ot and water storage.

When de Vaux originally excavated there were not many mikva'ot known, so he did not associate the stepped pools with this function. Ronny Reich, foremost expert on stepped water installations in the Hasmonean and Roman periods, catalogued approximately 306 in the 1990s; today this number has nearly doubled.[18] Hirschfeld notes that the amount of mikva'ot at Qumran is no longer unique and that the pattern is very similar to other desert fortresses and manor houses.

In the final excavation report, Galor provides a complete analysis of the plastered pools. She notes that the water system consisted of 60% mikva'ot and 40% water storage. At other sites in the region with large numbers of mikva'ot, the ratio is reversed. She concludes that the "uniqueness of the stepped pools at Qumran, compared with stepped pools found in other parts of the country, is mostly (1) the total volume of water stored in stepped pools against the volume of water stored in pools without steps, and (2) the individual size of the large-sized pools."[19]

**4. Cemetery.** I will not go into detail here concerning the cemetery. Many articles have been written concerning the osteological data.[20] A complete report is now available in Qumran II. It is clear that the cemetery served a settlement and not an extended family. The cemetery reflects simple interment unlike the rich family tombs found throughout the land in the Second Temple period. Even accounting for the grave goods—there is no evidence of wealth when the burials are considered in the context of Second Temple burial practices.

[18]K. Galor, "Plastered Pools: A New Perspective," in *Khirbet Qumrân and 'Aïn Feshkha*, 291–320,

[19]Ibid. 310–13.

[20]Zdzislaw Jan Kapera, "Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*, 97–113; Joseph Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000): 220–53; Idem, "Qumran Archaeology Skeletons with Multiple Personality Disorders and Other Grave Errors," *Revue de Qumran* 21 (2003): 83–98; Hanan Eshel, et al., "New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9 (2002): 135–65; Susan Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9 (2002): 199–248; Joan Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6 (1999): 285–323; Jürgen Zangenberg, "Bones of Contention: 'New' Bones from Qumran Help Settle Old Questions (and Raise New Ones)—Remarks on Two Recent Conferences," *The Qumran Chronicle* 9 (2000): 51–76; Zdzislaw J. Kapera and Jacek Konik, "How Many Tombs in Qumran?" *The Qumran Chronicle* 9 (2000): 35–49.

## D. Material Culture

**1. Stone Work.** Proponents of a manor house point to the evidence of interior decoration such as geometric tiles, stucco, number of column drums and bases, several vousoirs (stones from an arch or vault), a console (the springing stone of an arch), a frieze fragment (south of locus 34), a cornice, and flagstone and flooring in the opus sectile technique.

The architectural components that are described as indicative of wealth are common components found for the various supra structures. Column bases, columns, flagstones, and stones used in vaulting arches are needed elements for a multi-storied building. Hirschfeld makes an important distinction, when he states, **"On the other hand, some indications of wealth, such as frescoes, mosaic pavements, or a bathhouse are lacking at Qumran."**[21]

**2. Pottery.** Jodi Magness has analyzed the pottery from Qumran (unofficially), and has noted some major characteristics of the pottery. The first is the absence of imports. Qumran lacks several types found at contemporary sites in Judea (or they are rare). For instance, there is no eastern terra sigillata as is common in other wealthy estates. Qumran's assemblage is simple tableware of the late Roman period and the most noticeable feature of the assemblage is the scroll jars. The scroll jars are unique to Qumran (one found at Jericho) but they belong to a corpus of storage vessels (bag shaped) that were probably associated with purity (storage and liquid).

**3. Glass.** The Donceels focused on the glass and used this to define the wealth of the site. Those who hold to a view that Qumran was a wealthy estate and not a sectarian community have noted that de Vaux does not mention glass in his reports; evidence, they say, that de Vaux was biased in his interpretation of the site.[22] The Donceels are to be commended for alerting scholars to the presence of glass at Qumran. In their reports they note that there is an abundance of glass. None of the glass is published, but they note that there are 150 fragments.[23] This is used as an example of wealth in the Qumran community. Unfortunately, no one provides any model that determines how much glass separates a poor from a rich settlement.

Hirschfeld analyzed a settlement in the hills above ʿEn Gedi and concluded that this was a settlement of hermits.[24] He notes that "from the finds it is clear that the lifestyle of the site in both periods was a simple one lacking luxuries."[25] The site is a cluster of cells, possibly housing individuals, who worked the cultivated area of the village of ʿEn Gedi. Hirschfeld has also proposed that this is the site of the Essenes "located above ʿEn Gedi" as the Pliny account states. This site lacking luxuries contained "approximately one

[21]Interestingly, the Donceels and Hirschfeld mention opus sectile at the site, but in the excavation report, opus sectile was found only at Ein Feshka.

[22]Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*, 1–32.

[23]Ibid., 24–25.

[24]Yizhar Hirschfeld, "A Settlement of Hermits above ʿEn Gedi," *Tel Aviv* 27 (2000): 103–55.

[25]Ibid., 13.

hundred fragments of glass, 44 could be identified typologically." If a small settlement of hermits had 100 fragments, a larger and more extensively excavated site as Qumran with fifty (50) more fragments does not reflect a "richer" assemblage of glass.[26]

**4. Coins.** Coins found at the site are also used as a support by proponents of the wealthy estate model. Coin hoards have been found throughout the Levant, and coins are ubiquitous at all sites. The question is, "How many coins do we need to develop a typology between rich and poor?" Proponents of the wealthy estate model use the presence of coins at Qumran as evidence that these were not poor sectarian inhabitants. Archaeologists and historians need to determine at what point is a site considered wealthy, based on the presence or absence of coins. This is an important methodological point that needs to be addressed. Once an appropriate model is developed to determine the amount of coins to habitation and the identification of a site as wealthy, the coins of Qumran can properly be used for a reconstruction of the site. Another issue is that the settlement was almost completely excavated, a methodology that is not utilized by most field projects today. Any comparison between the site of Qumran and other sites needs to take into account that a majority of sites are no longer completely excavated.

### Summary of Archaeology

The debate centers on the definition of religious features versus commercial and/or industrial components on the site. Is Qumran a commercial site with religious components (e.g. balsam for the temple) or a religious community with household industry? Those scholars who interpret the archaeological data as evidence of an economic settlement—either as an economic entropot or as a wealthy patrician family capitalizing on the resources of the Dead Sea region—must show that this was the primary function of the site. In actuality all the finds associated with economic activity (agricultural plots and terraces, pottery kiln, metallurgy, etc.) are not the dominant features, but are commonly shared building elements and features found at all settlements. The major features of the settlement are cultic, such as the vast ritual bath system. The debate will continue over the scriptorium, a couple of ink wells, and these strange plastered benches. They are difficult to be used as writing tables, benches, or tables for trincliniums.

Scholars who identify the site as a wealthy aristocratic estate, instead of the "simple" impoverished Essene community, base their interpretation on the presence of glass, architectural components, and luxury ware pottery. Those who want to identify the material culture of Qumran as belonging to a wealthy manor need to provide the comparative analysis between the material culture assemblages of sites such as Jericho or Ramat Hanadiv with Qumran, not simple statements of the presence or absence of items. The supposed

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[26]The site was excavated by Aharoni in 1956, so the variable of collection strategies and archaeological method is null.

architectural components alluding to wealth have now been published (capitals, opus sectile, etc.) and are found to be minor when compared to other sites. The pottery that has been published demonstrates that there is no "smoking gun" of luxury ware that is going to reveal that the inhabitants were wealthy, such as the Herodian mansions excavated in the Jewish Quarter. Even the supposed "imported pottery" and luxury ware mentioned by the Donceels (surprisingly, not published) and the recent excavations by Magen and Peleg (as reported at the Brown conference) are not enough to change the interpretation of the material culture. Archaeologists no longer use the simple equation of the presence or absence of a diagnostic type to define an assemblage. They now look at the entire assemblage and statistical patterning to make inferences about the material culture.

Has anything changed? Will archaeology present a different picture? I would think not. Even with the material culture that has not yet been published, I do not think there will be any shift in the current association of this as a site of a religious community.

## Conclusion

While I disagree with Hirschfeld's identification of Qumran as a villa, he provides an important theoretical approach to the identification of the site. Qumran has always been interpreted within de Vaux's Sectarian Essene community. While much is made of de Vaux's catholic and priestly background in the interpretation of the site by recent post-processual critiques, it is fair to reevaluate the Essene-Monastic community hypothesis. Humbert addresses this issue in his introduction to Qumran II, where he notes that Qumran is one of the few archaeological sites that is interpreted by the textual record and not by the archaeological data.[27]

Hirschfeld does a service by placing the Qumran settlement in the context of other sites, and archaeologists need to evaluate and interpret the site as we do with all other sites: 1) typological and comparative methodology that is based on the material culture, and 2) define the site within its larger settlement context. But as Magness illustrates in her work, even putting Qumran in its context demonstrates that the site is unique. While there are several architectural components (aqueducts, fortifications, layout) that are similar at other sites, notably manor houses, these reflect the common technology and architectural knowledge of the Hasmonean-Early Roman period and not necessarily similar settlement type. Other factors—such as the large cemetery, the scroll caves, the large mikva'ot system, and the communal rooms—suggest a settlement that is more akin to a small communal group rather than a rich patrician house with an extended family.

Qumran is one of the best examples of using text, historical sources, and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the past. While the interpretation

[27]Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "Reconsideration of the Archaeological Interpretation," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha*, 419–38.

has been questioned recently, the consensus remains that this was a sectarian community. One of the problems with the recent debate is the nature of the discussion. Scholars have framed the question as to whether you accept or reject de Vaux's interpretation of the site. In the larger debate over the association of the site with the Essenes, the question is proposed the same way. The methodology of the discussion should not create an antithesis between text and archaeology, but use each dataset (text, archaeology, historical sources) to reconstruct the past. We conclude with some summary statements regarding past demonstrations and future avenues for investigation.

**What Has Archaeology Demonstrated?**

1. History of the site: Magness, based on the ceramic data, and Humbert, based on the stratigraphic analysis of the development of the site, have shown that there was no gap as de Vaux originally proposed.
2. Hasmoneans probably built a fort/settlement here.
3. During the Herodian period, the Essenes were able to take possession or occupy the "settlement." This implies some relationship between Herod and the Essenes.
4. As with any religious community, there is always a tension between orthodoxy and orthopraxy. While the community's writings shed light on their orthodoxy, their beliefs and assumptions about what is correct practice, archaeology provides a glimpse into what they were actually doing.
5. The caricature of the Essenes created by the sources (Josephus and Pliny) and "canonized" by scholars must be changed. This was not a community of celibates, forsaking society, poor vagabonds, but one of many groups. This group was probably a fundamentalist strand that rejected the status quo: Religious authority of the Pharisees and the Hellenization of the Sadducees and Herodians.

**Possible Avenues for Future Investigation**

Naturally, one of the questions is the identification of Qumran with a sectarian community living in the desert. We do not have any contemporary communities in the early Roman period (63 BC–135 AD). We do have several monastic communities in the Byzantine period to test the material culture of this type of community. Magness refers to this comparison in her discussion on women at the site (Chapter 8). I find it interesting that Hirschfeld, one of the foremost experts on the monastic communities of the Judean Desert, does not provide a comparative analysis of Qumran with late Roman-Byzantine desert settlements. If he did, I am confident that he would find similar architectural and settlement features as well as similar patterns in material culture.

Hirschfeld should have expanded his contextual-archaeology approach and placed Qumran in its regional and sociological context. The Judean Desert has always served as a retreat among cultists. Ever since the Chalcolithic period this region has served religious zealots. In the later period, this region becomes dominated by religious communities, the desert monasteries. Qumran in context demonstrates that the dominant interpretation of the site as a sectarian community is supported by the archaeological record. The desert is a region to escape the world and place your life in total devotion to God.

# *Book Reviews*

*Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary*. Edited By John H. Walton. 5 Vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009. 1,924 pages. Hardcover, $159.99.

True to its title, this is a backgrounds commentary, compiling and explaining a vast number of ancient cultural contexts and concepts (Egypt, Mesopotamia, etc) that will inform the biblical terms/concepts found in the Old Testament and may impact the interpretation of a text. The commentary offered is not trying to come up with the best biblical interpretation using backgrounds, but offers ancient background material as possible viewpoints to what the Bible text states. This work is easy to read and follow. John Walton is ideal as the editor as reflected in his well-considered methodology offered in the preface. As Walton indicates, ancient culture and texts, when presented correctly, inform the context of Scripture and aid in interpretation. In general, this work takes a high view of Scripture, but some issues such as the interpretation of "thousand" come from a more critical viewpoint. Some background material is not doctrinally orthodox, but that is the nature of this work (i.e. to present the views, culture, and context in which the Bible events and texts took place). The pictures, illustrations, charts, and maps are superb. Some caution must be noted on the graphic erotic nature of ancient religious art that occasionally exhibits itself in the pictures presented. More significantly everything is in color and on heavy paper making these five finely-bound volumes a great value. Each book of the Old Testament is presented by scholars who can elucidate the backgrounds of the text. The picture index in the back of each volume is helpful, but one wishes that these pictures would be offered as a part of a teaching slide set to go along with these volumes. Both topical and Hebrew word indices would make this work even more useful.

While backgrounds material is very helpful and can give a Bible teacher/preacher insight, care must be taken in the use of this information because background materials can be easily misunderstood or misused. One must always check the source of the information to ensure its validity and Scripture must take preeminence in interpretation. One error that is often spread in our pulpits is the issue of the "eye of the needle." When Jesus says in Matthew 19:24, "And again I say to you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." (NASB). It is often stated that there was a small door within the city gate and a camel could be stripped of its load and caused to pass through. However, Timothy Boyd, in an article entitled "The Needle's Eye" (*Biblical Illustrator* 20 (1994): 37–38), showed that this interpretation came about in the fifteenth century AD. There is no strong evidence for this type of small gate early. Even if there were, to understand Jesus as equating the "eye of the needle" to this small door in a city gate would lead to one teaching that through diligence and work a rich man could get into heaven. This would be a misuse of backgrounds material since the shocked response of the disciples to Jesus' words indicates that they understood Jesus as saying it was impossible for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God on his own.

This reference work is highly recommended. It is very easy to read with excellent content. Its doctrinal viewpoint is somewhat neutral, examining the evidence and not concerned with orthodox teaching—that is left to the teacher. This would make an excellent addition to a pastor's or Bible student's library.

Eric Mitchell
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*Zondervan Atlas of the Bible*, rev. ed. By Carl G. Rasmussen. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010. 304 pages. Hardcover, $39.99.

This excellent atlas is a revision of the 1988 book with a slightly different title: *The NIV Atlas of the Bible*. The revised edition still uses the New International Version of the Bible for its Scripture text, but "NIV" is no longer in the title.

Rasmussen, who authored both the original edition and this revision, is professor emeritus of Old Testament at Bethel University in St. Paul, Minnesota. He is also adjunct professor at the Jerusalem University College in Jerusalem. Having led numerous study groups in the Holy Land, Rasmussen is well familiar with the subject matter of this atlas.

Virtually all of the maps have the same titles and subject matter as the 1988 version, but the maps in the revised edition are far superior. The topography in the new maps is much more defined, and the maps in the old edition almost look cartoonish in comparison. This does not mean that the maps in the old edition were bad—they were made by the respected Carta cartographers—but the new three-dimensional maps by International Mapping, using information from Digital Elevation Modeling, are exceptional (e.g., 36, 38, 51, 69). They have an eye-popping appeal, especially the ones that are rotated for an angular view rather than the typical view of looking directly down at the map (22, 38, 43). The map color scheme is an excellent choice for highlighting elevations and other topographical features (11).

In addition to looking better and sharper, the maps also reflect up-to-date archaeological information, which has certainly changed in the last 22 years. For instance, there is much change in the proposed ancient international, interregional, and local trade routes (32, 34). Historical dating is also occasionally revised, and Rasmussen uses the dating system from the *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (13).

The excellent maps are the primary strength of this atlas, but there are other positive features as well. First, the 100+ pictures throughout the atlas are also much improved over the pictures in the first edition. They incorporate some recent important finds, such as the original Pool of Siloam (249) and Herod the Great's tomb at the Herodium (204). Second, the glossary, indices of Scripture and persons, and the geographical dictionary and index are very helpful (265–303). Third, the foldout map of New Testament Jerusalem is a nice bonus.

Here are some ways to improve this atlas. First, provide alternative dating schemes, such as for the exodus, with evidence for each proposal. Rasmussen purposely avoids doing this, but it weakens the atlas (13). Second, add a map giving the various possibilities of the route of the exodus. Third, clearly identify the Eastern Gate on the map of New Testament Jerusalem. Fourth, update the last chapter on disciplines of historical geography, which have certainly improved in the last 22 years (254–62). Fifth, restore the six pages of endnotes from the first edition that were

inexplicably dropped in this revised edition. Many of them were content endnotes. Sixth, darken the text. The text in the first edition is much easier to read.

Despite the suggestions for improvements listed above, this atlas is excellent. Its maps and pictures are its strong suit, and they make it well worth the purchase for university and seminary students, pastors, and any serious student of the Bible. After all, fine maps and pictures are what a person mainly needs and expects in an atlas.

James R. Wicker
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*Kingdom of Priests: A History of Old Testament Israel*, 2nd ed. By Eugene H. Merrill. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008. 560 pages. Paperback, $39.99.

Since the original edition in 1987, a myriad of books addressing the history of ancient Israel have been produced. In the 1980's, when Dr. Merrill's book was first published, most "history of Israel" textbooks were already debating the amount of historical reliability found in the Hebrew Bible. *Kingdom of Priests* was a welcome textbook that grappled with the archaeology and historical sources that were contemporary with the biblical texts. Popularly viewed as a conservative Bright (John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981]), *Kingdom of Priests* was an attractive textbook because Merrill provided a synthesis of current scholarship within an overall framework of Israel's history that was written well and accessible to students.

The same year *Kingdom of Priests* was published, Baruch Halpern's *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* was also published and became a catalyst for a protracted debate within the scholarly community. Up to this time, history of ancient Israel textbooks followed the same methodology of viewing the Hebrew Bible as a text that contained historical data—the debate was centered on the extent of historical data found in it. The past two decades saw a wind of revisionism sweeping through biblical studies—especially in regards to the history of ancient Israel. The issue of the historicity of the biblical narrative and the nature of Israelite historiography became central to the writing of Israelite history. Merrill has been an active participant in the field of Old Testament history and theology, various genres in the Hebrew Bible, and hermeneutics. He has brought this insight into the updated edition with a new chapter addressing the nature of Old Testament historiography and the field of historiography and biblical studies.

The text and format of the original edition has virtually remained the same. *Kingdom of Priests* introduces each phase of Israelite history (e.g. Patriarchs, sojourn, conquest, united kingdom, etc.). While critical scholars would accuse Merrill of mimicking the biblical text, a closer reading of the text will demonstrate that Merrill has provided a synthesis of the biblical narrative against the extra-biblical historical texts and archaeological data.

The strengths of *Kingdom of Priests* is that Merrill weaves together Old Testament Theology, literature, and history to provide a contextual-historical discussion of the Hebrew Bible. Merrill writes specifically for a conservative audience, avoiding bogging down the discussion with apologetic statements addressing critical scholarship. Nevertheless, students of Old Testament history will be cognizant of discussions that address critical issues. Students, pastors, and lay persons who are unfamiliar with the debates will be introduced to the wealth of insights that

previous generations have received. The weakness of the volume is that Merrill's incorporation of the over two decades of archaeological research and discoveries since the first edition is sporadic. In his defense, biblical archaeology has grown as a separate discipline with its own journals, academic meetings, and associations separate from biblical studies. The first edition incorporated the archaeological data up to the 1980's; it is unfortunate that this new edition does not.

*Kingdom of Priests* remains one of the books that will need to be read by any student of the Bible and a reference for any scholar's or pastor's library.

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Steven M. Ortiz
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

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*The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition and Interpretation*. **By John H. Sailhamer. Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2009. 610 pages. Paperback, $40.00.**

Nothing makes me more nervous than when I hear a preacher say that he has an interpretation of a biblical text that no one else holds. My heresy antennae come up quickly. Part of my fear is based on one of the fundamental values of orthodoxy. As a Christian concerned with orthodoxy, I value preservation over innovation. When I hear an interpretation that is novel, I fear the interpreter has abandoned the deposit of faith left by the prophets and apostles. Rarely can a work of interpretation both preserve what has been passed down and strike out in directions that seem provocative and innovative to the contemporary interpreter. John Sailhamer's *The Meaning of the Pentateuch* is such a work.

In the book Sailhamer takes the reader on a journey through the Pentateuch in order to understand its meaning, including its "big idea." The reader begins with the hermeneutical foundation for interpreting the Pentateuch. Sailhamer stresses revelation, that is, "the divine act of self-disclosure put into written form as Scripture by the prophets" (11). He argues that the Pentateuch is revelation rather than an artifact of ancient Israelite religion. In doing so, he also lays out his own approach to reading the Pentateuch, what he calls a "compositional approach" (48). As Sailhamer defines it, "An evangelical compositional approach to biblical authorship identifies Moses as the author of the Pentateuch and seeks to uncover his strategy in putting the book together" (48). By uncovering this strategy, Sailhamer claims that one also uncovers the "historical meaning" of the Pentateuch (100–01). He compares and contrasts this understanding of the "historical meaning" of biblical texts with critical and evangelical scholars. Finally, Sailhamer provides practical pointers for discerning the "big idea" of a work such as the Pentateuch.

In the second part of the book Sailhamer sets his attention specifically on the text of the Pentateuch. His first concern is to explain how the Pentateuch was made. By doing so, he hopes to shed light on the strategy that was used in making it. He describes the way in which many biblical books, including the Pentateuch, are made by placing together some source material along with commentary in order to construct a unified text. The sources for the Pentateuch consist primarily in "large blocks of narratives, ancient poems and the collections of laws" (279). Sailhamer locates the composition and interpretation of the Pentateuch within the process of making the entire Old Testament. Having described the way in which the Pentateuch was made, he lays out the rationale for the various parts of the Pentateuch, highlighting the structure of the Pentateuch, the placement of poetic material, and the interaction

between legal material and narrative framework. In this part of the book Sailhamer most clearly sets out his understanding of the "big idea" of the Pentateuch.

The third part of the book moves beyond the exegetical task to the theological task, specifically biblical theology. Sailhamer addresses significant issues of biblical theology to show the Pentateuch's point of view for these issues. He begins by critiquing the notion that the scheme of promise and fulfillment serves as the appropriate link between the two testaments. Then, he justifies the search for the "Biblical Jesus" in the Pentateuch and shows the result of such a search. Next, he discusses the significance of the Mosaic Law for Christians, especially how Christians are to apply the Mosaic Law. Finally, he describes the picture of salvation offered in the Pentateuch.

Throughout the book the reader will find much that reflects both preservation and innovation from a contemporary evangelical perspective. I offer three significant examples although there are many others. First, Sailhamer affirms Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, a clear case of preservation. At the same time he brings to light that certain brief portions of the Pentateuch do not appear to come directly from Moses, notably the account of his death in Deuteronomy 34. By exploring these "additions," Sailhamer notes that there is a consistent perspective that suggests that these additions are part of an intentional strategy to produce "an updated version of the Mosaic Pentateuch produced, perhaps, by the 'author' of the OT as a whole (Tanak)" (48). In other words, there was an effort on the part of the prophets who followed Moses to preserve what they had received, in part, by bringing it up-to-date with the rest of the Old Testament. Such a proposal is an innovation.

Second, in contrast to the "postmodern turn" in biblical studies, Sailhamer affirms the historical-grammatical method of interpreting texts. He preserves this method characteristic of evangelicals. At the same time, Sailhamer articulates the meaning of the historical-grammatical method that offers a critique of its contemporary usage. Here especially he looks at the understanding and role of history in the interpretation of biblical texts. His critique in large measure is that contemporary evangelicals have lost sight of the words of the Bible by focusing on the objects or events to which the words point. Sailhamer states that the aim of contemporary evangelical interpreters is "to view biblical events not merely through the eyes of biblical authors (as written accounts of those events), but also through the eyes of historians as if we were gazing upon the actual events through the words of the text" (101). Even though he preserves the historical-grammatical method, his explanation is an innovative critique of its contemporary use.

Finally, Sailhamer affirms that the Pentateuch is a Christological document, preserving a longstanding Christian understanding of the book. Yet, he articulates it in terms that are out of step with many contemporary evangelicals who are focusing on Christological readings or salvation-historical trajectories. Sailhamer argues that the intentional, historical meaning of the Pentateuch was Christological from the start.

Sailhamer's work is a case of preservation and innovation. As a result, he provides an insider's critique to contemporary evangelical biblical interpreters and theologians. This work provides a critique of current approaches to the biblical text, but also strikes out in new areas for future work. Sailhamer does not provide a comprehensive, detailed defense for each part of the portrait. Instead, he provides a provocative look forward.

The strength of Sailhamer's book is that it paints a wide-ranging portrait of

the Pentateuch: its origin, history, strategy, interpretation, and its place in biblical theology. The portrait provides an impressive synthesis of many seemingly disparate pieces. This strength will likely be its weakness as well because Sailhamer devotes such time to the larger portrait that he does not spend time defending his case for every detail. Many readers may want to see further justification of specific points only to find that Sailhamer does not provide it.

*The Meaning of the Pentateuch* is the result of decades of Sailhamer's reading, teaching, and publishing on the Pentateuch. It synthesizes much of the work that he has produced over the years, especially his *Introduction to Old Testament Theology*, *The Pentateuch as Narrative*, and his articles on the Pentateuch and hermeneutics. One might expect this book to be his *magnum opus*, but such a designation does not get at its heart. Its true character is found on the dedication page: "To my students." This book is a not a comprehensive, detailed defense of Sailhamer's work, but a roadmap forward for evangelical biblical theology. It is less of a *magnum opus* and more of a *magna carta*.

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Joshua E. Williams
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

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*An Old Testament Theology: An Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach*. **By Bruce Waltke. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007. 1040 pages. Hardcover, $44.99.**

This book is divided into three unequal parts. The first part consists of an introduction addressing the nature, task, and method of Old Testament theology. Waltke stresses that the basis for an Old Testament theology is the Old Testament texts themselves and that these texts are the revelation of God. Since the texts are revelation, his method focuses on the literary dimensions of them. He concludes the introduction by discussing the center of the Bible which serves as a recurrent touch-stone for his Old Testament theology.

The second part constitutes the bulk of the book. It is devoted to the exposition of and reflection upon the Primary History, Genesis through Kings, plus Chronicles, Esther, and Ezra-Nehemiah. As Waltke unfolds the shape and message of these books, he also leaves room for these texts to address classical and contemporary theological issues. Some of these chapters (e.g. Chapter 22 on 1 Sam) read more like a survey of a biblical book sprinkled with insightful exegetical comments. Other chapters focus upon a particular theme, providing an opportunity to approach a theological issue more systematically, using both Old and New Testaments.

The third part is devoted to the other writings of the Old Testament: the prophets, Psalms, Ruth, and Wisdom Literature. This third part is similar to the second in format; however, Waltke covers more introductory material and devotes less space to theological topics. Some of the introductory material covered includes the various characteristics of prophets throughout Israel's history and a description of interpretive approaches to the Psalms and the significance of their being edited into a psalter. Despite the limited space provided for theological themes, he concludes the book with a reflection on the biblical teaching about the afterlife.

The book's subtitle helps to capture the distinctive characteristics of this Old Testament theology. First, it is exegetical; that is, it is structured to follow the shape of the biblical texts and the way in which the texts develop certain themes. Waltke completes his exegetical work primarily in terms of literary analysis: poetics and

intertextuality. His exegetical work is a real strength of the book. One will quickly notice that he consistently devotes attention to the structure of passages at a macro- and micro-level as a means of identifying a passage's message as well as his insight in reading the contours of the narratives.

Second, it is canonical; that is, it focuses on the final canonical form of Old Testament books rather than attempting to reconstruct their compositional history even though he does not avoid discussions of compositional history "in those cases where there is convincing evidence and it is patently relevant to the [sic] explicating the Old Testament message" (55). On the other hand, his approach does not follow a particular shape of the Old Testament canon (i.e. tripartite Tanakh), but arranges the books into four major blocks: the Primary History, Prophetic Literature, Hymnic Literature, and Wisdom Literature. Despite this canonical emphasis, the book itself gives little attention to much of the Old Testament canon. The bulk of the book (ca. 580 pp.) is devoted to the Primary History. All of the Prophetic Literature occupies 45 pages; the Hymnic Literature, 27 pages; and Wisdom Literature, 50 pages.

Third, it is thematic; that is, it treats certain themes that arise from the text within the larger scope of the Bible. For instance, after explicating the creation narrative in one chapter, he devotes the following chapter to marriage. In the chapter, he does not limit his focus to the Genesis passage, but brings in questions raised in other biblical passages as well as contemporary discussions. However, it is also thematic by explicating the Old Testament books within the framework of a center, which Waltke describes as "the message that accommodates all [the Bible's] themes" (144). He defines this center as the following: "Israel's sublime God, whose attributes hold in tension his holiness and mercy, glorifies himself by establishing his universal rule over his volitional creatures on earth through Jesus Christ and his covenant people" (144), and uses the phrase "the irruption of God's kingdom" as a shorthand for it. At the same time, Waltke is aware of the danger that forcing disparate material to fit within this mold may warp the material itself. He states that the "proposed center accommodates the whole, but the whole is not systematically structured according to it" (144). For the most part, Waltke heeds his own advice; he allows each part of the Old Testament to speak for itself. However, the book falls prey to another danger: giving insufficient attention to other parts of the Old Testament. The majority of the book is devoted to the primary history where the irruption of God's kingdom is a prominent theme. Since Waltke devotes such little space to the other writings, he cannot show how this center naturally arises from them.

Along with the descriptors of the subtitle, there should be added another: it is confessional. Waltke approaches Old Testament theology as a spiritual exercise. It is a discipline of theology, not history or religion (39–40). As a result, throughout the book Waltke provides several devotional reflections with personal anecdotes. To illustrate, Waltke's final topic in the book is the New Testament's teaching about hell. In the last sentence of the entire book, Waltke recounts, "Spirit-filled preaching of the last passage cited [Revelation 20:10–15] convicted me to pray that God would have mercy on me a sinner" (969).

The book is of an academic style. Such is probably unavoidable given the author, subject, and aims. On occasion, the style leads to obfuscation. For example, Waltke writes, "The failure of paremiologists to grasp the significance of the restricted ability of epigrams to express the whole truth and the rectification of this problem by grouping them has bedeviled the discussion" (925). On the other hand, Waltke provides a pleasurable reading experience with colorful analogies and delightful turns

of phrase. As an example, Waltke describes the royal psalms and Israel's anticipation of the Messiah as follows: "Israel draped the magnificent royal psalms as robes on each successive king, but generation after generation the shoulders of the reigning monarch proved too narrow and the robe slipped off to be draped on his successor" (889). This type of picturesque analogy and turn of phrase is found throughout the book and provides quotable gems for any Bible teacher or preacher.

Because of Waltke's exegetical competence in dealing with Old Testament passages, his theological insight in bringing the various parts together, his firm grasp of contemporary critical and conservative scholarship, and his devotional sensitivity to the spiritual task of Old Testament theology, there is something for everyone is this volume: churchman, student, exegete, or theologian. The volume is especially helpful in providing an overview to the Bible (especially Chapter 6 on the Bible's center) and as a reference for individual Old Testament books and theological topics since it provides the necessary background discussion, exegetical interaction, and theological reflection that helps bring each book into focus within the larger biblical context. At the same time, the book proves woefully inadequate for certain Old Testament books, especially the prophets.

Joshua E. Williams
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels: Volume 2: The Gospel of Matthew*. **Edited by Thomas R. Hatina. Library of New Testament Studies. New York: T&T Clark, 2008. 256 pages. Hardcover, $130.00.**

This collection of essays addresses Matthew's extensive use of the Old Testament and the difficulties associated with it. The twelve contributors integrate narrative, social-scientific, and historical methods in their attempt to clarify how Matthew employs Scripture texts and comprehends them in light of Jesus and non-scriptural traditions.

M. Anthony Apodaca opens with a theoretical discussion on the use of Isaiah 7:14 in Matthew. He argues that the early Christian "community" used Isaiah 7:14 as a mythmaking agent, embedding the text into a new narrative to legitimize Jesus' origin and dual identity simultaneously with their identity in him (14–15, 24).

Warren Carter examines Jesus' Old Testament citations in Matthew 22:34–40 in view of the socio-political climate of the imperial world in Jerusalem and the "metonymic intertextuality" that was present in oral cultures (30–31). Carter reasons that Jesus proclaims God's "societal vision" from Deuteronomy 5–6 and Leviticus 19, which demands adherence to aggressive neighbor-love in opposition to the practice of Jerusalem's elite (41, 43).

J.R.C. Cousland utilizes Justin Martyr's scriptural citations as effective history to clarify Matthew's aim in his fulfillment quotations (45). Cousland finds that Justin's apologetic goals lead him to interpret the Old Testament with Jesus as his starting point whereas Matthew's starting point is not Jesus, but the Old Testament (59). For Cousland, Matthew's fulfillment quotations portray an inductive presentation of Jesus (60).

Craig Evans' chapter explores the contribution Matthew's "incipit" makes in identifying the purpose of his Gospel. By following his incipit with a genealogy likened to several scriptural antecedents in Genesis, Matthew presents the story of

Jesus as a new "beginning" in God's history of redemption (67).

Mark Goodacre responds to the guild's negative outlook on Matthew's reading of Mark. Goodacre classifies Matthew as a "successful reader" of Mark, who underscores the points Mark's Gospel develops (74). This he illustrates using Matthew's redactive clarification of Mark's Elijah theme (77).

Clay Alan Ham examines the relationship of Matthew's Olivet Discourse to Zechariah on two fronts. Allusion focuses on how antecedent texts relate to authorial intent (87). Intertextuality focuses on how later texts provoke the informed reader of the Old Testament regardless of authorial intent (88). For Ham, both connections enable Matthew's readers to recognize the parallel of Jesus' Parousia with the coming of Yahweh (97).

Hatina's contribution echoes Apodaca's. However, Hatina outlines the actual process of mythmaking, which involves moving from the historical event to the event's mythologization to the historical legitimization of the myth (110–11). The embedded texts of Matthew 2 reflect this latter transition for Hatina. The Matthean community, then, applies Old Testament texts to Jesus' infancy narrative in order to historicize a "hero myth" for their own social legitimization (112).

Michael P. Knowles demonstrates that God's voice, though seemingly silent in Matthew's Gospel, resounds via Scripture and the mouth of Jesus. Matthew's character and plot development clarifies this as all competing voices—like those of angels, scribes, or Moses—pale in comparison to the "divine voice" behind Scripture (122).

John Nolland explores the role Deutero-Zechariah plays in Matthew's development of Jesus as God's appointed shepherd-king (133). Using thematic similarities with, textual allusions to, and direct quotations from Deutero-Zechariah, Matthew argues that Jesus fulfills the Davidic-shepherding role and plays "counterpart" to the disastrous shepherds mentioned by the Prophet (134, 138, 145).

Lidija Novakovic challenges C.H. Dodd's thesis that the apostles remained faithful to the contexts of their Old Testament citations (147). By way of example, she argues that, unlike early Judaism, Matthew strips Isaiah 53:4 from its context of the Suffering Servant and applies it to Jesus' healing ministry atomistically (148). Matthew only cares to use a text relevant to Jesus' healing miracles, not his redemptive suffering (159).

Andries G. van Aarde investigates the texts that may inform Matthew's use of σῴζω in presenting Jesus as the Healer-Messiah (163). With Mark as his base text, Q as his intertext, and the Joshua story as his background text, Matthew's use of σῴζω reveals his orientation toward Jesus as the Davidic Messiah gifted with Joshua-like leadership to save Israel from their sins and establish God's kingdom (173, 177, and 179).

Lawrence M. Wills closes with a comparative study of Matthew's usage of religious traditions and that of *Pirkei Abot*. Wills finds that where Matthew appropriates statements of contrast from Mark and Q, he chooses also to reformulate them into a "precise antithetic parallelism" (183). Positive statements accompany negative ones repeated word for word to distinguish those included in the righteous community and those excluded (195).

Two of this volume's contributions also become reasons for concern. First, several essays stress the hermeneutical significance of viewing the Gospel as a complete narrative. With a whole-narrative approach, seeming contradictions or redundancies become intentional devices the author uses to communicate his

purpose, not warrant to divide his text according to reconstructed *Sitzen im Leben*. Nolland's essay exemplifies this well by tracing Matthew's narrative development of Jesus as the shepherd-king that so-called Deutero-Zechariah foresees.

However, some of the contributors' narrative emphases minimize the historicity of the Gospel's message and the controlling influences of its broader canonical context. Apodaca's notion, that the meaning of Jesus' virgin birth replaces concern for its historicity, ignores the historical question and is unfaithful to the nature of the object of his study (24). Matthew expects his readers to trust he is referring to real events, the real God-man, and the effects of his real work. Furthermore, both Apodaca and Novakovic argue that the meaning of Matthew's embedded texts depends solely on their place in the new narrative context (24, 158). If meaning lies solely in the new context without regard for the old, new and even contradictory meanings could evolve and eventually question the coherence of the canon's testimony. Novakovic approaches this claim by arguing Matthew separates the Suffering Servant's healing ministry from his redemptive suffering, when this is not the case at all (e.g., Matt 20:28 [Isa 53:10–12]; 26:28 [Isa 53:12]; 27:12 [Isa 53:7]).

Second, there is constant awareness among the contributors that the New Testament writers shared a common knowledge of particular texts with their readers. Furthermore, they recognize the need to refine how to speak rightly of the author, his readers, and their respective texts and pre-texts. They find these intertextual relationships also serve to emphasize the noticeable continuity between the Testaments. Carter's essay exemplifies these qualities, though on social-scientific grounds.

Nevertheless, aspects of Van Aarde's and Ham's intertextuality should raise concern for Christian interpretation at three levels. Ham's intertextuality minimizes authorial intent and allows for possible abandonment of determinate meaning. Van Aarde includes the author in his approach, but reconstructs the author's intent by distinguishing it from the "voices" of other text sources he used (167). The reconstruction closely resembles those of source criticism. For van Aarde, intertextuality is open-ended since every text is an inter-text (181). Identification of textual interdependence, then, is unlimited and does not truly consider the author's intent.

Other places worthy of more brief criticism could be mentioned, such as Apodaca's claim that any interpretation with distinctly Christian presuppositions restrains current New Testament scholarship from soaring to new heights of theoretical dialogue (16). He is correct in that Christian interpretation functions within its orthodox framework. He is wrong, however, in that belief in the exclusivity of Christ hinders understanding the Old Testament in the New Testament. The New Testament itself says just the opposite (e.g., John 5:39; 2 Cor 3:14–16).

Despite these shortcomings, this volume will still prove useful to scholars, teachers, and post-graduate students as they contemplate Matthew's use and understanding of the Old Testament. Its diverse scope will grant them a measure of exposure to an array of literary, historical, and sociological implications involved when Scripture interprets Scripture. Its openness to methodological integration will surely stimulate further reflection on the role of hermeneutics, linguistics, and theology in New Testament studies; however, let us hope it does not lead to any further fragmentation.

Bret A. Rogers
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*The Letters to Philemon, the Colossians, and the Ephesians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Captivity Epistles.* **By Ben Witherington III. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. 382 pages. Paperback, $38.00.**

It is typical for a scholar to write a commentary on his or her life's study of a biblical book, such as James R. Edward's commentary on Mark for the Pillar series. This person is an expert on that book, and the commentary reflects many insights from possibly decades of study and reflection. Some scholars effectively accomplish the herculean task of writing excellent commentaries on several books, such as F.F. Bruce, Gordon Fee, and others. Yet, how helpful can the writings be of a scholar who writes a commentary on almost every book of the New Testament? If the name is Ben Witherington III, who has written seven socio-rhetorical commentaries on the New Testament in the Eerdmans series, the answer is: quite valuable. In addition to this volume, this prolific scholar has authored commentaries in this series on Mark, Acts, Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, and 1–2 Thessalonians. He wrote a socio-rhetorical commentary on Titus, 1–2 Timothy, and 1–3 John for IVP, and he has written commentaries on every New Testament book except for Luke.

Professor of New Testament at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, Witherington has a penchant for pushing the scholarly discussion forward in a beneficial manner, especially in regard to ancient rhetoric. His research is judicial, fair, thorough, and thought provoking, and he gives a clear and balanced presentation. (Notice his kind handling of opposing views: e.g., 247, 274, 288, 298, 316–17, although this reviewer would like to have seen Witherington address more opposing views and contrast them with his than he did in this volume).

The vast majority of readers will be unfamiliar with the many Latin terms of Asiatic rhetoric, which Witherington argues Paul used in this trio of Captivity Epistles with an Asian destination (to churches in Asia Minor, called Turkey today; Philippians, the fourth Captivity Epistle, was written to Macedonia, called Greece today). Witherington usually gives a helpful description of each rhetorical term as well as an ancient example when he points out an example in one of these Pauline epistles (e.g., 137–38, 220, 229, 250). However, a short introductory chapter on Asiatic rhetoric would greatly benefit the reader. An appendix of key terms and definitions would also help. Since these helps are absent, consider reading Witherington's 2009 New Testament Rhetoric.

Witherington's strength in this commentary is his deft analysis of Asiatic rhetoric that gives a strong underpinning to the argument for Pauline authorship of all three epistles (2–3, 11–19, 25, 30, 239, 252, 355), each one an example of a different level of moral discourse (11, 282). Time after time he decimates the claims that pseudepigraphers wrote these New Testament books, showing they indeed fit Paul's theology and style as well as the Asiatic style of rhetoric with which these Christian recipients were likely well familiar (223–24). Another asset, the annotated bibliography (37–51), is very helpful, including French and German works as well as pertinent articles.

True gems are abundant in the "Bridging the Horizons" application chapters that follow the exegetical commentary on each book. For instance, here is his answer to a complaining student who questioned the need to do sermon preparation instead of just letting the Holy Spirit use him: "Yes, you can do that, but it is a shame that you are not giving the Spirit more to work with" (210). He replied thus to a person wanting to attend a church who desired to continue living in sin: "[E]veryone is

welcome to come as they are into the church, that is meant to be a hospital for sick sinners not a museum for saints. But equally no one is welcome to stay as they are" (211). One wishes these application chapters were longer—Witherington has much wisdom to share from his years in the pastorate.

Deficiencies in this commentary are few. Adding verse divisions in Witherington's personal translations of the biblical text would make it easier for the reader to find a specific verse, especially in the long sections (152–53, 251–52, 315). Although the indices for authors, Scripture, and other ancient writings are beneficial (366–82), an index of terms is lacking. Of course, this reviewer has disagreements with some interpretations, such as falling from grace (274, 300–02, 308, 360, 364), but he greatly appreciates his emphasis on free will involved in salvation (234). This is an excellent volume that offers much to Bible students, teachers, pastors, and scholars.

<div align="right">James R. Wicker<br>Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary</div>

*Jude & 2 Peter*. **By Gene L. Green. Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008. 448 pages. Hardcover. $39.99.**

The Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (BECNT) is shaping up to be an excellent commentary series, and the *Jude and 2 Peter* volume continues in the tradition of the volumes already in print. Both Jude and 2 Peter are among the most neglected books of the New Testament both in preaching and teaching, and they were among the group of last books to be canonized. However, starting with Richard Bauckham's commentary on these books in the Word commentary, there has rightfully been a renewed interest in these books, especially of late with Peter David's volume in the Pillar commentary.

One expects a thoughtful traditional approach to authorship and related elements of these two New Testament books, and Green does not disappoint. He gives good reasons for accepting Jude, the half brother of Jesus, as the author of Jude (1–9) and the apostle Peter as the author of 2 Peter (139–50). He also effectively deals with the dilemma of how to understand Jude and Peter's use of 1 Enoch and the Assumption of Moses. One can (1) discount their canonicity because of their use of noncanonical literature, (2) extend canonicity to the writings from which they quoted, (3) realize Jude and Peter cited them only because their opponents considered them authoritative, or (4) consider the parts they quoted true, but not extend that authority to the rest of the noncanonical works (26–33). This reviewer agrees with Green that the latter option is the only viable one.

As in all of the volumes in the BECNT series, this volume gives Hebrew or Greek references in the original language followed by a transliteration and translation. This helpful feature allows the reader who does not know Greek or Hebrew to follow the discussion, thus helping to reach their goal of a wide audience, from lay person to scholar (ix). However, the other convention from the series of marking questionable words in the translation using the right-angled siglum from the Nestle-Aland text ought to have some explanation for the novice to textual criticism (e.g., 43, 63, 101, 119, 171, 249).

Taking the most likely view that Peter used Jude as a source when writing

2 Peter (159–62), rather than Jude using 2 Peter, Green gives solid exegesis. He provides many relevant extrabiblical examples for both style as well as word meanings, from Josephus and Philo to pseudepigraphal writings to the Apocrypha (e.g., 227–28, 240, 243–45), all of which appear in a very helpful "Index of Scripture and Other Ancient Writings" (389–420).

Green offers valuable insights, such as the tendency to get caught up in trying to figure out what the "first letter" is that is mentioned in 2 Peter 3:1 that interpreters often miss the importance of that statement. The mentioning of a second letter or second statement not only affirms the importance of the first one, but it also draws attention to the importance and authority of the second, present teaching (310). He stresses the importance of Peter broadening the concept of Scripture to include Paul's writings in 3:16 (147, 340). Rather than causing doubt about Petrine authorship of 2 Peter (which, unfortunately, is the way most scholars react), this statement sheds light on the process of the canonization of the New Testament. Green wisely cautions that 2 Peter 3:8 is not an interpretive key for one to look for certain "days" in the Scriptures that are actually thousands of years. Rather, God looks at time differently from humans (325–26).

What is the genre of Jude and 2 Peter? There is a tendency today to examine the New Testament through the lens of ancient rhetoric. However, Green gives a good balance between appreciating the rhetorical elements in both epistles while understanding the basic structures of a Greco-Roman letter (33–42, 162–70).

Green gives conscientious conservative interpretation, careful attention to details, extensive extra-biblical examples, and thoughtful interaction with the interpretations of other scholars. Unfortunately, as with other volumes in this series, the "Additional Notes" sections are skimpy or nonexistent (e.g., 50, 111, 177, 268), and this reviewer would like to see them expanded. Nevertheless, this is an excellent volume for the BECNT series.

James R. Wicker
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and Other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity*. **By Richard Bauckham. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. 285 pages. Paperback, $34.00.**

This volume consists of eight essays exploring monotheism in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. The first essay, "God Crucified," was published ten years before this volume as a single work that explores the precedence of Jewish monotheism in connection with the Christology of the early church. Here, *God Crucified* further serves as the crucial thesis upon which the other seven essays coalesce.

Bauckham lays out two main approaches to understanding Jewish monotheism. One angle of approach posits that "Second Temple Judaism was characterized by a 'strict' monotheism that made it impossible to attribute real divinity to any figure other than the one God" (2). The strictness of monotheism inevitably leads to the unlikelihood of a Christ-figure having any divinity, hence dismissing the possibility of the New Testament texts speaking of Christ's divinity. The second angle of approach is contingent on revisionist interpretations of the Second Temple period, which, as Bauckham sees it, "in one way or another deny its strictly monotheistic character" (2). This second view looks for a precedent of early Christian Christology

in the intermediary figures, which are not completely divine, but have certain characteristics (e.g. angels, special humans, etc.).

Bauckham's thesis is that a "high Christology was possible within a Jewish monotheistic context, not by applying to Jesus a Jewish category of semi-divine intermediary status, but by identifying Jesus directly with the one God of Israel, including Jesus in the unique identity of this one God" (3). Bauckham proceeds with this thesis by establishing Jewish monotheism in God's unique identity, which shapes the life of the Jews in their adherence to his law and the worship of him that ensues. Bauckham provides evidence to show that the period of Second Temple Judaism is "self-consciously monotheistic" (5). In the discussion of intermediary figures like Michael the Archangel, which fall into two categories—angelic figures and exalted patriarchs, Bauckham observes that they are still subordinate to God and do not participate in his rule, despite their significant positions (15).

In the subsequent section, Bauckham posits that New Testament Christology is the highest possible Christology, as opposed to developmental gradations of Christology from low to high: "the inclusion of Jesus in the unique divine identity was central to the faith of the early church even before any of the New Testament writings were written" (19). The worship and exaltation of Christ place him over all things, an expression common in the rhetoric of Jewish monotheism (23). Jesus is the crucified God, in whom his identity is revealed. The Christian readings of Isaiah 40–55 and Psalm 110:1 reflect his nature: "Here God is seen to be God in his radical self-giving, descending to the most abject human condition and, in that human obedience, humiliation, suffering and death, being no less truly God that he is in his cosmic rule and glory on the heavenly throne" (50). The early church has carried on this tradition in its worship of Christ.

Bauckham's other essays are further explorations of the discussions that have arisen from *God Crucified*. "Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism" fields the challenges of a monotheistic view in biblical studies, and arrives at monotheism being "a claim about the God who defines himself by his covenant with Israel and the particular name YHWH that cannot be abstracted from his particular identity in his history with Israel" (81). "The 'Most High' God and the Nature of Early Jewish Monotheism" seeks to trace the usage of the designation "Most High" in Deuteronomy 32:8–9 as well as other early Jewish literature, along with temple cult practices. In "The Worship of Jesus in Early Christianity," Bauckham sees how the act of Christian worship is a continuation of Jewish monotheistic faith, not a break from it. "The Throne of God and the Worship of Jesus" finds the centrality of Scripture in the late Second Temple period to provide a connection to the uniqueness of the God of Israel and the exclusive worship rendered unto him. The imagery of the throne of God continues on to Jesus, who is worshiped and included as the one God of Israel.

"Paul's Christology in Divine Reality" looks at the ways in which Paul uses specific YHWH passages in connection to Christ. *Kurios*, commonly known to be a reverential title for Christ, is also the Greek divine name found in the Septuagint for the Tetragrammaton. Another article, "The Divinity of Jesus in the Letter to the Hebrews," also examines Christology in the attribution of Melchizedek the high priest to Christ.

The last essay, "God's Self-Identification with the Godforsaken: Exegesis and Theology," is an exegesis of Jesus' cry from the cross in their proper Gospel contexts (Mark 15:39, Matt 27:46). The words, "My God, My God, why have you forsaken

me?" underscore the "godforsakenness" of Jesus. Mark brings it to a dramatic climax that conveys the abandonment and suffering, which Jesus efficaciously experienced for all of humanity.

The series of essays presented here in this volume enters into various discussions on the topic of high Christology, from the precedence of Jewish monotheism to the divine language attributed to Christ by Paul and the Gospel writers. Bauckham takes the position that early Christology is high Christology, and offers a variety of perspectives that develop into a larger theological framework. Many of these papers have been published elsewhere either in full form or at least in some parts. They are what he calls "working papers" to a volume, which he had promised earlier in the first publication of *God Crucified* (xi). What can be appreciated in these papers is his earnest effort to weave together and synthesize the ongoing scholarly discussions concerning early Christology.

Donald Kim
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

***Basics of Biblical Greek: Grammar*, 3rd ed. By William D. Mounce. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009. 419 pages. Hardcover, $49.99.**

***Basics of Biblical Greek: Workbook*, 3rd ed. By William D. Mounce. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009. 223 pages. Softcover, $22.99.**

This volume represents the third edition of *Basics of Biblical Greek* by Bill Mounce. With a number of stylistic and aesthetic revisions, Mounce aims to make his grammar more accessible to students. The size of the book is much bigger than previous editions, with wider margins for note taking. The new layout is also designed to distinguish the various elements of each chapter with differing shades of blue. These features improve the readability of the material and make the grammar feel more like a traditional textbook. In an attempt to ratchet up the "fun factor," Mounce introduces a cartoon professor who shows up throughout the grammar. The professor gives the readers "helpful tidbits" and other things that are "fun to learn," such as phrases to say in conversational Greek (xiii). These stylistic revisions are surely intended to make the text more palatable to undergraduate students and other self-learners (e.g., high school and homeschool students). Some graduate level professors, though, might not be as enthusiastic about the intentionally casual tone of these changes. The price increase is also an unfortunate aspect of the new edition.

In order to make the material more manageable in this edition, Mounce has added "halftime reviews" to the middle of many of the chapters that highlight the subjects just covered. There are also now section overviews that summarize what will be presented in subsequent chapters. Additionally, chapter thirty-five has been split into two chapters with extended material on the definite article. Though small, these changes will surely help students maintain their bearings as they work through each new chapter. Mounce has also added an "exegesis" section at the end of some chapters that introduces syntactical concepts from second year Greek. These optional parts will likely encourage the disciplined student, but most beginners will be simply overwhelmed by this advanced material especially in the early chapters.

Regarding content, the strengths that made this grammar a widely used textbook remain in the new edition. Mounce's approach attempts to blend deductive

and inductive ways of learning the language. He tries to include only what is essential in order to lessen the mental burden on new students. He also helpfully focuses on the recognition of forms rather than the rote memorization of paradigms. Accordingly, he synthesizes the important morphological data into a few composite paradigms and then focuses on seeing the patterns that are present in the Greek of the New Testament. He is also keen on students understanding English grammar prior to analyzing grammatical concepts in Greek, a sometimes overlooked feature of learning the language. His overarching goal is to teach students Greek "not as an intellectual exercise but as a tool for ministry" (xiv–xv). To this end, Mounce includes "exegetical insights" at the beginning of most chapters. These features continue to make this grammar an attractive option for introductory Greek courses.

One element that was unfortunately not revised involves Mounce's presentation of Greek verbal aspect. Mounce describes aspect in a way that differs from most scholarly discussion on the topic. For example, he gives the two main aspects as "continuous" and "undefined" rather than "imperfective" and "perfective" (124–26). Further, he says that he will discuss a "third aspect" in relation to the perfect tense form, but his discussion there does not mention aspect and simply describes an "action that was brought to completion and whose effects are felt in the present" (223). Although his descriptions have some explanatory power, they might only add confusion for a student who pursues interaction with other works on the subject. He also does not associate individual aspects directly with certain tense forms, which is a departure from the scholarly consensus. Consequently, instructors wishing to integrate verbal aspect into their introductory Greek courses will need to supplement Mounce's grammar on this subject with a sampling of the standard works in the field (e.g., Campbell, Fanning, and Porter).

The workbook received only minor additions and a slight reordering of some of the example texts. Instructors who have used the workbook previously will want to consult Mounce's detailed list of specific changes to the exercises in the preface. One helpful addition is the text of 2 John at the end of the workbook. This option of translating an entire biblical book would be a fitting and encouraging capstone for a student who has completed the course. Along these lines, students will also appreciate that Mounce has integrated as much of the biblical text into the exercises as possible.

For the third edition, Mounce has replaced the CD-ROM that came with the second edition with significant improvements to the website that accompanies the grammar (http://teknia.com). The website features troves of helpful and easily accessed content. For every chapter, there are multiple online resources including video, audio, vocabulary helps, and quizzes. The grammar itself frequently references the website, which Mounce plans to continue updating regularly. Self-learners will probably benefit the most from the website, though it serves as an excellent complement to classroom instruction. As a beginning student of the language, I used Mounce's materials to learn elementary Greek independently before coming to seminary. The marked improvements to the website will only enhance the experience of someone using this grammar and workbook to pursue a similar task.

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Ched Spellman
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

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*Dispensationalism: Essential Beliefs and Common Myths.* **By Michael J. Vlach. Los Angeles: Theological Studies Press, 2008. 73 pages. Paperback, $8.45.**

*The Church as a Replacement of Israel: An Analysis of Supersessionism.* **By Michael J. Vlach. New York: Peter Lang, 2009. 221 pages. Hardcover, $43.95.**

Two recent publications by Michael Vlach, Assistant Professor of Theology at The Master's Seminary in Sun Valley, California, are worthy of special note. *Dispensationalism: Essential Beliefs and Common Myths* is a succinct, seventy-three page monograph, which poignantly illustrates the truth that it is not necessary to write 500 pages in order to fulfill a significant need. Dispensationalism has often been misrepresented by its opponents and in this slender volume Vlach sets the record straight. Having explained the nature of the problem in the introduction, the author provides a brief yet reasonably comprehensive history of dispensationalism followed by a chapter focusing on the essential content of dispensational thinking. Chapter three addresses myths about dispensationalism, while chapter four is devoted to questions often asked of dispensationalism. Finally, there is a conclusion as well as endnotes for the chapters.

There are three significant values of this book. First, contemporary dispensationalists—whether belonging to the classical, the revised, or the progressive schools—will all find themselves affirming what Vlach has said. In fact, Vlach succeeds in providing for dispensationalists themselves an understanding that they have much in common and little about which they should be seriously divided.

The second value of this volume lies in the cogent presentation of the most significant features of dispensationalism. Even if one does not agree with Vlach's six points comprising the essence of dispensational thought, he will nevertheless appreciate the thoroughness with which Vlach has treated the subject in so few pages.

Third, and perhaps most important of all, Vlach's handling of the calumnies often visited upon dispensationalism, such as that there is more than one plan of salvation in the Bible, are quickly shown to be misrepresentations of dispensational thinking. Dispensationalism is demonstrated to be thoroughly and completely orthodox in its theological foundation and superstructure.

The second volume, *The Church as a Replacement of Israel: An Analysis of Supersessionism*, is a much needed scholarly volume on the issue that most clearly sets apart dispensationalists from many other orthodox Christians relating to the interpretation of the New Testament documents. For many covenant theologians, as well as those who would simply prefer to allegorize New Testament and even Old Testament prophecies, making Israel and the church virtually synonymous, Vlach demonstrates in this volume that God's plan and purpose for ethnic Israel is not abrogated by His plan for the church. After providing an introduction to the problem, Vlach discusses supersessionism in church history and then makes a very fair presentation of the case of replacing Israel with the church. In chapter four, however, he presents the evidence for maintaining a future for ethnic Israel. The final chapter is an evaluation and critique of supersessionism and a final statement in favor of recognizing the significance of Israel as a part of God's future plan.

Citing Craig Blaising, Vlach notes optimistically that evidence of the history of supersessionism is sparse, and he acknowledges Blaising's hopefulness that it is virtually on its way out. Vlach seems less hopeful, and this reviewer would question the conclusion of both. In fact, this is exactly why this volume is critically important.

Theological schools have long needed a volume that discusses this issue in a scholarly but trenchant way. Vlach has produced that volume. These books together constitute a significant addition to contemporary eschatological discussion and should not be missed by anyone interested in biblical prophecy.

Paige Patterson
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*The Elder: Today's Ministry Rooted in All of Scripture.* **By Cornelis Van Dam. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2009. 283 pages. Softcover, $17.99.**

*The Elder* is one volume in P&R's new *Explorations in Biblical Theology* series that tries to find the middle ground between academic and semi-popular books. This "solidly reformed" series' target audience ranges from the seminarian to the "thoughtful lay reader." Van Dam does a good job at connecting with his target audience by writing a book that is easily read, full of Scripture references, and seasoned with a few footnotes and two bibliographies.

Van Dam's chief goal is to "enhance a biblical understanding and functioning of the office of elder" (xii). His central presupposition is that there is continuity between Old Testament elders and New Testament elders. This continuity "need not be doubted"; yet, his justification is not convincing. Add to this the presence of some contradictions and the blurring of some biblical categories, and one gets the feeling that Van Dam's system, rather than the text of Scripture, is driving his theology. To use N.T. Wright's analogy, it would seem that the roaring lion of Scripture is here often turned into a tame pet made to stand on its hind legs and dance a jig.

A prime example is the discussion about the typically reformed division between ruling and teaching elders. Van Dam uses his presupposition of continuity with the Old Testament to justify this division. While he claims that New Testament (ruling) elders are truly parallel with Old Testament elders, Van Dam claims a different parallel for the "minister of the Gospel," who is analogous to the Levitical office of the priest as an administrator of the Word and official spokesmen for God. Yet, according to Van Dam, he is "in essence a specialized elder" (117). So, besides the obvious question of what Van Dam does with the concepts of the priesthood of all believers and Christ being our only mediator with God, one wonders: if the "minister of the Gospel" is indeed a specialized elder, why is he paralleled to the Old Testament priests and not to the Old Testament elders? It seems that his theological system forces this two-step. A similar suspicion arises when ruling and teaching are presented as separate gifts to justify separate offices. Yet, only ten pages later, the pastor is declared to need multiple gifts. So, since a pastor should have multiple gifts, why does the differentiation of gifting force two separate offices?

The discussion on church discipline, while initially encouraging, is similarly affected by his system and also harmed by inconsistencies. While the initial phases of church discipline are enacted by the congregation, in Van Dam's view, the elders are the only ones who can move forward with the final step of church discipline and with re-admittance to the body due to true repentance. They are the gatekeepers who can shut the doors of the kingdom and separate the excommunicated one from "blessings such as forgiveness of sins" (174). In light of these strong statements, one is confused to learn that the elders cannot condemn the excommunicated one to hell. What then does it mean to exclude one from "blessings such as forgiveness of sins,"

and to shut the doors of the kingdom? The need for church discipline is also unclear: at times, the focus, driven by the Old Testament parallel, is on the purity of the body, and at times, the focus is on the repentance of the sinner.

In addition to major jigs, there are also several other smaller reels that continue to weaken this volume. Van Dam is not consistent with his understanding of the interrelation between office and authority. At times, Van Dam associates the authority of the elder with God or with the Word, but not with the office as such. At other times, he associates authority with the office itself. The distinction between spiritual gifts and church offices seems to be acknowledged when useful, but ignored when not. Passages teaching about apostles are applied to elders without justification, just to mention one example.

On a positive note, Van Dam reveals his pastor's heart when he exhorts elders to know the Bible and to know their flock. For him, the role of an elder "is not about getting something," but about giving (201). These biblical exhortations are much appreciated in an age of pastor-as-CEO. Also much appreciated is his stance that women should participate in the church, but that they do not need to be an elder in order to use their gifts in the body.

While this volume had a few good points, it was overall very disappointing. I would still strongly recommend it to all who wish to understand Presbyterian and Reformed theology with respect to the office of the elder. In a time when many Baptists are often more enamored with following systems of theology than the Bible itself, I hope that an attentive reading of this volume will douse their torrid love affair for manmade systems and bring them back to the careful study of the lion of Scripture.

Maël L. D. S. Disseau
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*Great Is the Lord: Theology for the Praise of God*. **By Ron Highfield. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. 467 pages. Paperback, $30.00.**

How would a Stone-Campbellite with neo-orthodox leanings who teaches at Pepperdine construct a theology of God within the parameters of his tradition? The answer is the valuable doxological theology, *Great Is the Lord*. Do not be fooled by the book's subtitle; this is not a theology of the praise of God. Rather, Highfield bases his work on the refreshing rule, "Good theology makes you want to praise God, and bad theology makes you want to jump off a bridge" (58). In *Great Is the Lord*, he summarizes the biblical and historically orthodox teachings about God for the purpose of inspiring worship. Campbellite biblicism may be expected, but Highfield's aligning of himself with the historic church (vis-à-vis the contemporary academy) may not be.

Highfield offers two primary parts with a minor third on ethics. The first is about knowing God, including the sources of knowledge of God, the philosophical importance of God's existence, and the fundamental importance of God as Trinity. The second is about the attributes of God, including love, righteousness, grace, freedom, eternity, and so on. Importantly, Highfield does not separate God from his attributes: God is not "just." God is "justice." Each individual section includes an overview of the biblical teachings on the subject and then fuses them into a short theology of the subject that leans heavily on the teachings of the historic church. He

tries to use language that a more casual reader would understand and also to be suc-cinct enough not to lose those readers. These are valuable techniques that occasion-ally prevent him from being as clear as needed.

The book is marked by three primary characteristics. First, Highfield con-stantly turns his insights to praise of God and he genuinely desires that his readers do the same. For example, he writes, "His knowledge is an aspect of his power, and his power is an aspect of his love. And his love is most worthy of praise" (313). Sec-ond, Highfield roots everything he says in the doctrine of the Trinity. For example, love is the "free, total, and unconditional self-giving, -receiving, and -returning that constitute the eternal life of the Trinity" (167). Third, Highfield does not prioritize God's attributes. God's glory is not a super-attribute; God does not love because it brings Him glory, God's mercy does not interfere with His righteousness or holi-ness, God's patience does not limit His freedom in any way (and neither does human freedom), and so on.

Highfield's perspective may create concerns for some readers in a few places, but hopefully that will not detract from their opinion of the book. First, he bases his entire theology on the doctrine of divine simplicity, defending himself very well. Second, he works backwards from contemporary English to biblical theology. In other words, he defines terms such as immutability and knowledge in modern lan-guage, then fits the biblical data into those definitions. Third, he considers sin to be ignorance rather than rebellion, a rather soft definition by many standards. Finally, he leans very heavily on Barth, but this does not seem to extend to his doctrine of revelation. These are real concerns, but the book can be appreciated even through them.

Matthew W. Ward
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*God in Dispute: "Conversations" among Great Christian Thinkers*. **By Roger E. Olson. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009. 302 pages. Softcover, $24.99.**

What might Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement have said to one another if they had met in a bathhouse in Rome? Or if Locke, Kant, and Hegel had met in pur-gatory? As a tool to help his students understand the primary beliefs of important figures in church history (especially their differences), Roger Olson has imagined these conversations and then recorded them in *God in Dispute*. On a number of lev-els, Olson succeeds in bringing these figures to life, so to speak, for a wide range of readers not limited to students of theology. Though interesting and entertaining, his approach also creates a number of difficulties.

It is a strange title. Very rarely is God Himself disputed, and not all of the thinkers are Christian. Beyond that, though, the structure of the book is quite re-freshing. Olson chooses forty different thinkers, groups them (roughly) by period and issue, putting their beliefs in dialogue. For example, Anselm and Abelard converse about the atonement, Wesley and Edwards about salvation, and Barth and Brunner about natural theology. Because Olson only covers the most basic beliefs of these thinkers—those most documented—there are not too many concerns with the basic content presented. It is an enjoyable way to be introduced to these concepts, and there are no questions as to what Olson wants his readers to know about the thinkers as they repeat their basic beliefs almost robotically throughout the dialogues.

That leads to the primary concern with this book as a teaching tool. In his classes, Olson has the luxury of explaining his interpretations in detail and answering questions. Not so in this book, though he tries to anticipate as many questions as possible in his chapter introductions and analysis.

Olson says he has left subtle clues as to which position he takes personally (some more subtle than others). For example, Tertullian "learns" Irenaeus' recapitulation theory, the Cappadocians discuss gender relations, Thomas Aquinas talks to the ghost of Francis of Assisi, Calvin and Arminius engage Servetus in heaven, Edwards admits some truth to purgatory, John Toland is sent on an errand from hell, and Kant, Hegel, and Locke make it to purgatory.

All in all, *God in Dispute* is an enjoyable book that covers a lot of material. Olson casts as wide a net as is reasonable not only on the issues themselves, which extend as far as evangelical theology, liberation theology, and postmodern theology, but also the conversation participants. (Baptists will appreciate Grebel, Hubmaier, and Henry appearing in various chapters). Olson's humor will keep even the most cynical student engaged. But readers and teachers who might consider using this book as a teaching tool need to be aware that Olson's personal beliefs come into play throughout.

Matthew W. Ward
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

*What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848*. **By Daniel Walker Howe. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. 904 pages. Hardcover, $35.00.**

"Like the people of 1848, we look with both awe and uncertainty at what God hath wrought in the United States of America" (855). So distinguished political and religious historian Daniel Walker Howe concludes his Pulitzer Prize-winning work, *What Hath God Wrought*. Howe takes his title from the first message sent over Morse's telegraph. Based on Numbers 23:23, he quite purposefully follows Morse's (accidental?) omission of the closing punctuation. Howe recognizes the phenomenal—even providential—multifaceted development and growth of America in the early decades of the 1800s, yet he does not hide the dark side of this era that leads to the lowest point in our country's history.

Wonderfully readable and accessible to a wide audience, Howe offers a true general history, covering political, economic, military, social, and religious themes. He tries to avoid a strong thesis as might be found in a history such as *America's God*, and for the most part succeeds. However, underlying this book is a very clear opinion: most of the government's actions—federal and state—in this period, as well as many by famous entrepreneurs, were driven by a desire to maintain white male superiority. While this approach may seem to downplay the heroic actions of antislavery Americans, the opposite is true. Racism so pervaded the American consciousness (against Africans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and many immigrants) that it took monumental events and monumental Americans to bring the incongruity between racism and the American dream, not to mention American Protestantism, to light and resolution.

Howe writes about much more than racial issues—importantly, he concludes his history of the era by describing the events that would eventually lead to women's

suffrage—but that tension helps drive his narrative through many historical themes. He uses it to help identify scoundrels (fans of Andrew Jackson and James Polk beware) and exemplars (Winfield Scott and a young Abraham Lincoln come to mind). But readers will appreciate his overall impartial treatment of social, religious, and philosophical developments.

Indeed, Howe's ability to weave complex yet divergent narratives together at both national and personal levels is a highpoint of the book. For students, however, the most valuable contribution is Howe's bibliographic essay in which he summarizes his opinion of the best secondary literature available on each of the subjects covered in the book. Of course, no one can completely master the primary and secondary literature of an era. For example, Howe's description of Alexander Campbell as "tolerant" indicates that he is not completely familiar with that polemicist's works, and his failure to connect the dots between Phoebe Palmer, the Five Points Mission, Charles Finney, and Oberlin College are seeds of a wider harvest he may have missed. Most disappointing is his failure to engage the theses of Tim Smith's *Revivalism and Social Reform* and Mark Noll's *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*.

*What Hath God Wrought* is a necessary read for students of American history, religious or otherwise, offering a valuable perspective to augment those of eminent religious historians such as Nathan Hatch, Brooks Holifield, and Mark Noll.

Matthew W. Ward
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

***Turning Points in Baptist History: A Festschrift in Honor of Harry Leon McBeth*. Edited by Michael E. Williams Sr. and Walter B. Shurden. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2008. 332 pages. Hardcover, $45.00.**

It has become exceedingly discouraging to open a volume on Baptist history only to discover that a number of its contributors have decided to use the occasion to air their grievances against the conservative resurgence in the Southern Baptist Convention. Unfortunately, that is precisely what has happened in the Mercer publication, *Turning Points in Baptist History*. Using charged words such as "capitulated," "regressive," "fundamentalists," and "devolution" with respect to the SBC, some contributors have blurred historiography with sermonizing. The fact that the editors promise an even-handed approach makes the final product that much more disconcerting . In this context, their decision not to include any chapters by current SBC seminary professors should not be surprising.

Billed as a *festschrift* to longtime Southwestern history professor Leon McBeth, *Turning Points* is designed to be an introduction to key moments in Western Baptist history, light on footnotes and technical jargon while heavy on historical accuracy—an unbiased presentation of the data that laypeople and students can use to draw their own conclusions. (Some of the articles seem to have missed the guidelines on footnotes and jargon.)

There are a few useful and well-written articles, most of them covering the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (including helpful overviews of the believers' church, free conscience, and believers' baptism). Other valuable chapters include those on early Baptist missions and Baptist racial tensions. More agenda-driven chapters include those on women in ministry, the Baptist World Alliance, and creedalism.

The chapter devoted to racial inclusion illustrates both the positives and negatives of the volume as a whole. It contains a meaningful survey of the Civil Rights movement—short, to the point, and very readable. Then it moralizes on certain Baptist responses to it: positively on the American Baptist Churches, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, and the Baptist General Convention of Texas; negatively on the Southern Baptist Convention. It suppresses the view that Americans around the country share the blame for the travesty of racism, and the data that is presented is stretched to exaggerate both the positive and negatives conclusions drawn.

Ultimately, the volume suffers from a primary confusion. The word "Baptist" gets thrown around much like the word "evangelical" in other contexts. There is a very important difference between characteristics that distinguish "Baptists" from other Christian traditions, characteristics that distinguish specific Baptist subgroups, and characteristics that individuals who refer to themselves as "Baptist" would like to see apply to all Baptists. For example, believers' baptism belongs in the first category, views on a specific theological system such as Calvinism in the second, and views on the ordination of women in the third. Unfortunately, the volume does not clarify those distinctions, significantly limiting its effectiveness. It presents itself as an enlightened Baptist ideal, something all Baptists should embrace. Many Baptists will disagree.

<div align="right">
Matthew W. Ward<br>
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
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*The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia—and How It Died*. **By Philip Jenkins. New York: HarperOne, 2008. 315 + ix pages. Hardcover, $26.95.**

In the modern era, it is common to think of Christianity as based in the West, namely, Europe and North America. Philip Jenkins, in his fascinating work *The Lost History of Christianity*, provides a detailed and thorough study of the first millennium of the church rooted in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Jenkins' work, while displaying high academic quality, is still suitable for the lay person. Jenkins not only reveals Christianity's lost history in the East, but also points out that the center of Christianity has not always been the West, correcting some standard interpretations, claiming that "anyone who knows the Christian story only as it developed in Europe has little inkling of the acute impoverishment the religion suffered when it lost these thriving, long-established communities" (47). Christians have not only lived outside Europe, but survived—even after the advent of Islam—and developed "their own distinct literature, art, liturgy, devotion, and philosophy" (71).

Jenkins introduces the Churches of the East, identifying and exploring significant groups such as the Copts, Surianis, Nestorians, and Jacobites. Failing to pay due attention to such different Christian groups by focusing only on the mainstream Catholics and Orthodox of the West provides a distorted picture of Christian history that misses significant and essential parts of the story. For example, in explaining the conflict with Islam, while many tend to think that the expansion of Islam came mainly through the sword and outright persecution that destroyed the Church of the East, Jenkins points out several other reasons for the spread of that religion during the few centuries after Muhammad's death. He also explains how the expansion of Islam affected Christianity, as well as how some Christian groups dealt with

it. In addition, the book describes how Christianity had a significant impact on Islam. Without a doubt, Islam retained many things from Christianity, not only in customs and some beliefs, but also in some Koranic stories and traditions, such as the month of Ramadan.

The book clarifies the powerful influence of the spiritual and cultural centers of Eastern Christianity: the monastic Coptic system in Egypt, the Syriac-speaking stronghold in Mesopotamia, and the Nestorian monks in China and India. Jenkins introduces great eastern figures, unique Coptic and Syriac literatures and manuscripts, and Christian customs that have been preserved since the first Christian-Jewish community arose during the early centuries of Christianity. Eastern churches taught some daring ideas about understanding and approaching God and Christians in the East experienced both an age of miracles, which elevated them above the rationalism of Islam, and a passionate commitment to learning, academics, and scholarship. There was still a considerable pressure applied by Islam and the Arabic language upon the Churches of the East during the Middle Ages, although some "Syriac Christian scholars continued to use thoroughly Semitic literary style and approaches to scripture" (87).

Jenkins analyzes, in a very balanced way, the persecution and violence of Muslim governments against Egypt's Christians, especially during the Mamluks' rule, pointing out that "the story of religious change [from Christianity to Islam] involves far more active persecution and massacre at the hands of Muslim authorities than would be suggested by modern believers in Islamic tolerance" (99). However, he still affirms that, in the early years of Islam's expansion, Muslim rulers did not encourage forcing Christians to convert, but, by the thirteenth century, after the Mamluk-Mongol wars, the situation "deteriorated sharply" (125). The book explains the effect of the spread of Islam on some regions in Africa, Armenia, and even China, in addition to how the scene in the Middle East changed dramatically upon the capture of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks in 1453. Many Christian communities barely survived in the following years, and "the largest single factor for Christian decline was organized violence, whether in the form of massacre, expulsion, or forced migration" (141). However, Jenkins believes that faiths are dynamic, and, if they weaken over time, they do not die because of violence, persecution, or some external pressure. Even if they disappear from some regions—no religion vanishes without leaving traces.

Concerning the role the state plays in the elimination of some communities, the book explains how, in some cases, Christians lived as second-class citizens under aggressive Islamic regimes where they were forced to abandon their icons and rituals. Jenkins analyzes what made the Muslim message stronger and more attractive, in addition to the real reasons behind the power of Islam. The book provides some reasons for the survival of the Egyptian Copts, comparing the fate of Christianity in Egypt and in the entire region of North Africa, emphasizing the importance of several factors such as the language of the ordinary people, the established church network, and the geography of the land. Jenkins concludes his masterpiece by reflecting on some lessons that today's church and community can learn from this history. He affirms that no one can just assume that, "the rise or fall of Christian communities is solely a matter of political and social circumstances. . . . [It is] God who intervenes in history, through many and diverse ways" (257).

*The Lost History of Christianity* is a well-written and well-researched book; it is interesting and readable. Some of Jenkins' claims need more careful analysis such

as his claim that, "[n]othing in Muslim scriptures makes the faith of Islam any more or less likely to engage in persecution or forcible conversion than any other world religion" (31). Nevertheless, he later claims that "as time went by, religious hostility became acute, so that Muslims increasingly targeted Christian sites and populations as a matter of systematic policy: persecution and massacre became an issue of faith" (119). Knowing that he speaks of history, not theology or Islamic doctrines, Jenkins should not make such a claim without further analysis of some Islamic verses such as Sura 9:29, 8:60, 4:91, and 5:33, 51. However, Jenkins' study is thought-provoking and eye-opening. He interacts with numerous valuable academic resources, mostly recent ones. He is careful when addressing Islamic violence and tolerance—he defends and critiques in a balanced way. This book is unique in telling the forgotten story of the Churches of the East. Not only would Christians find Jenkins' study interesting, but also Muslims, especially those from the Middle East and North Africa. This is a fascinating study; it is another masterpiece that Jenkins adds to his work on the history of Christianity.

<div align="right">
Ayman Ibrahim<br>
Fuller Theological Seminary
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***The Dumbest Generation: How the Digital Age Stupefies Young Americans and Jeopardizes Our Future [Or, Don't Trust Anyone Under 30]***. **By Mark Bauerlein. New York: Penguin, 2008, 264 pages. Softcover $24.95.**

John R. W. Stott underlines the role of Christian preachers and ministers as bridge-builders. In his interview, "Creating the Bridge" (1998), he states: "Any bridge, if it is to be effective, must be firmly grounded on both sides of the canyon. To build a bridge between the modern world and the biblical world, we must first be careful students of both. We must be engaged in careful biblical exegesis, conscientiously and continually, and yet also involved in careful study of the contemporary context. Only this will allow us to relate one to the other (27)." Christian ministers should be assiduous students of both ancient Scripture and present-day contexts in order to create a solid bridge between two worlds. For effective preaching and Christian education, Christian leaders who are faithful to the Scripture need to study their people, particularly each generation.

How can Christian ministers appreciate the current generation? Mark Bauerlein, a professor of English at Emory University who previously was a director of analytical study at the National Endowment for the Arts, critically surveyed the current, young American generation, specifically Generation Y (designated as Millennial, Generation DotNet, or Generation M). Admittedly, his book on the study, *The Dumbest Generation*, is not primarily written for Christian education; however, it provides an insight to grasp the particular features of this young generation. This work focuses only on intellectual components, not on "behaviors and values" among young Americans that are saturated in the digital age (7). He cites the declining intellectual ability of this current generation as evaluated by their knowledge of "history or civics, economics or science, literature or current events" (9). In this appraisal, Bauerlein employs divergent social scientific statistics such as NAEP, NSSE, Kaiser Family Foundation Program for the Study of Entertainment Media and Health, ATUS, and SPPA (14–15). Furthermore, he argues that this generation has a responsibility to preserve America's heritage in order to transmit

it to the next generation. Overall, Bauerlein is successful in the completion of his goal.

Bauerlein evaluates the intellectual life of Generation Y in his six units from a pessimistic perspective. In chapter one, "Knowledge Deficits," he surveys this generation's intellectual state. The people of this generation spend more time in education facilities and have better intellectual environments such as public libraries, bookstores, and galleries than previous generations had available. However, their knowledge of history, civics, and science is not sufficient. Bauerlein delineates this ironical situation as "material possessions vs. intellectual possessions, adolescent skills vs. adult skills" (35).

In chapter two, "The New Bibliophobes," Bauerlein argues that Generation Y has a tendency to "a-literacy (knowing how to read, but choosing not to)" (40). This anti-intellectual attitude stems from the peer group pressure that they should cling to social activities. This generation is afraid of separation from its friends, which results from a concentration on studying; therefore, these people may not invest much time in the "leisure reading" that is a considerable ingredient in academic advancement (51). In chapter three, "Screen Time," Bauerlein contrasts the average time Generation Y spends on screen media (58 minutes) with reading (39 minutes) in a day (75). Generation Y is exposed to television, VCR/DVD player, computer, video games, MySpace, YouTube, teen blogs, and Xbox. They are "technophiles" who are comfortable with learning through multimedia (94).

In chapter four, "Online Learning and Non-Learning," Bauerlein argues that Generation Y's academic capabilities are not high enough in their reading and math test results because of their computer online learning (123). Their hasty reading habit is a "F-Shaped Pattern for Reading Web content" (144). In chapter five, "The Betrayal of the Mentors," Bauerlein addresses the important role of mentors for this younger generation. This generation clings to a horizontal relationship with its peers rather than a vertical relationship with "teachers, employers, ministers, aunts, and uncles, and older siblings, along with parents" (136). Bauerlein argues that their mentors should censure them in this wrong direction and allow them to recognize another dimension of social life, such as family and teachers. In chapter six, "No More Culture Warrior," Bauerlein points out the intellectual privilege and responsibility of this young generation for the future of America. However, Bauerlein warns that the future of civic and liberal education is not optimistic in light of the careless academic attitudes of this young generation. This generation has an obligation to preserve the spirit of heritage and tradition in America in order to pass it to the next.

*The Dumbest Generation* is the result of a critical evaluation of Generation Y. Bauerlein elucidates successfully the deficiency of the intellectual capability of this digital Y generation. Particularly, this book has two strengths. First, Bauerlein emphasizes the importance of the intellectual life of the young generation. This young generation will nurture this country's spirit in its adulthood; therefore, it should comprehend and preserve the tradition of society. With the bold assurance of a prophet, Bauerlein attempts to awaken intellectual faithfulness among young generations. Second, this author convinces his readers by employing scientific statistics methods such as NAEP, NSSE, ATUS, and SPPA (14–15). These public data help readers grasp insufficient education channels, such as television, VCR/DVD players, and computers.

Even with these profitable achievements, this book has two improbable areas. First, Bauerlein's judgment has a tendency to lose balance. For example, with a strong

cynical connotation, he labels this young generation "The Dumbest Generation." Through the criteria of "history or civics, economics or science, literature or current events" (9), the intellectual competence of this young generation may not be high-quality; however, the knowledge of the internet and multimedia and the spirit of creativity are worthwhile for future society. Bauerlein overlooks these areas of strength in the young generation. Second, Bauerlein's concept of the role of mentors may not be suitable for younger generations. His negative assumption of the young generation leads mentors to correct and rebuke their wrong actions in a forceful manner. To be sure, former generations should address clearly the incorrect behaviors of the young; however, the young generation's desire is to possess genuine relationships with former generations. In authentic relationships of this kind, the younger generation will listen to the advice of members of former generations with open hearts. Even with these aforementioned weaknesses, this book is still a worthwhile read that will capture this young generation's mind.

How can lessons from this book apply to Christian ministry for the young generation? From a spiritual perspective, this young generation needs to make more spiritual effort intellectually. They tend to become not illiterate, but "a-literate" about the Scripture (deciding not to read the Bible). However, they search for authentic mentors as their life journey guides. Christian preachers and teachers should constantly study this younger generation and make efforts to connect with them through godly lives based on Scripture. As a result, this young generation will apprehend Scripture as the authentic spiritual resource; let them connect with the Word of God through their lives. It may have a spiritual impact on their families, churches, and societies. If this comes true, their spiritual future will shine.

Dokyun David Lim
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary