

**New Testament Backgrounds**

**Singapore Bible College**

**Rick Griffith, ThM, PhD**



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*Singapore Bible College*

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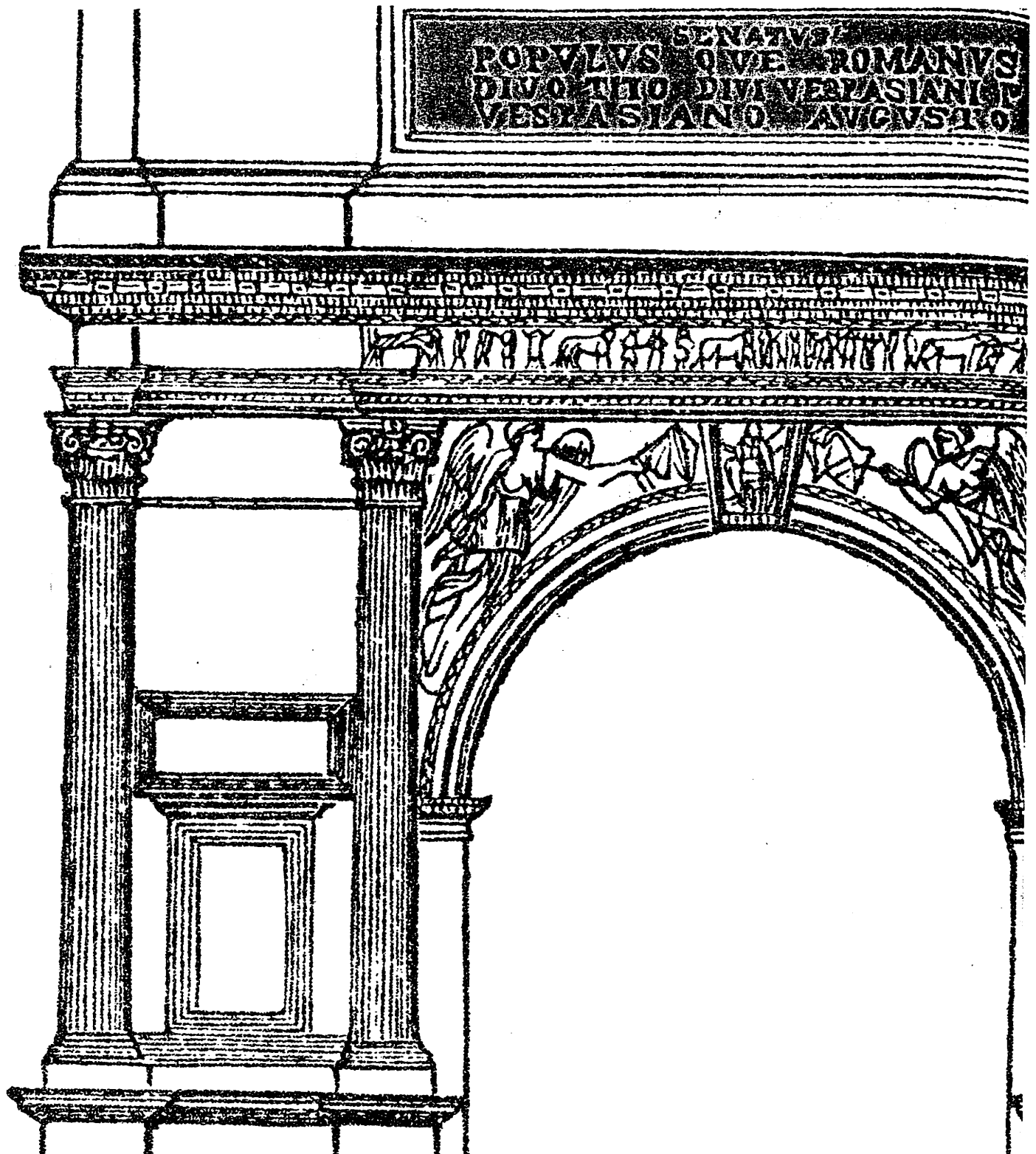
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# Introduction







# Syllabus

## I. Catalogue Course Description

A survey of biblical geography and political, socio-economic, religious, and literary developments of the intertestamental period which prepared for Christ's coming as well as factors in the first century which influenced the ministry of the early church and affect us in our world mission today.

## II. Course Objectives

By the end of the course the student should be able to...

- A. Show how the geography of Israel and the Roman world enables a better comprehension of the NT and the modern church's world mission.
- B. Place the NT writings in their historical mould, which includes political, sociological (esp. economic), religious, and linguistic backgrounds for interpreting the NT and present society.
- C. Show how cultural values and practices in Roman, Hellenistic, and Jewish societies aid understanding of the NT and find parallels in the church and society today.

## III. Course Requirements

- A. A Research Paper (30%) on literature (MA, MCM) or marriage (BTh, DTh, BCM) is required:

1. *Literature Paper*: Explain in one or two paragraphs each how the following passages help interpret the New Testament. Do not simply list *which* NT texts relate to each extra-biblical passage, but show *how* the passages below aid the hermeneutical process. Include the specific NT passages addressed with their Scripture references. Consult Craig Evan's work.

	<u>Books on Reserve*</u>	<u>SBC Library Call #</u>	<u>Notes</u>
a. Josephus	<i>Wars of the Jews</i> 2.8.1-14	933 JOS	171
b. Josephus	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i> 18.1.1-6	933 JOS	171
c. Philo	<i>Allegorical Interpretation</i> 3.79-82	880.1 PHI I (pp. 352-55)	168
d. Philo	<i>De Vita Mos.</i> 2.134	880.1 PHI VI (p. 515)	168
e. <i>Mishna</i>	Order Moed, Tractate Sabbath	Danby, 100-121	168-70
f. <i>Mishna</i>	Order Nashim, Tract. Nedarim 1.3; 8.7; 9.1, 4-6	Danby, 264-80	168-70
g. <i>Select Papyri</i>	88, 89, 91, 97	880 HUN I (pp. 268-75, 282-85)	185
h. <i>Select Papyri</i>	172-176	880 HUN I (pp. 400-403)	185
i. <i>Nag Hammadi</i>	Treatise on Resurrection (1.4)	299.932 (R) ROB (pp. 52-57)	185
j. <i>Nag Hammadi</i>	Gospel of Thomas (2.2)	299.932 (R) ROB (pp. 124-38)	185

2. *Marriage Paper*: Show how the order of first century marriage customs paralleled the sequence of these texts about Christ and the Church: 1 Pet. 1:18-19; Luke 22:20; 2 Cor. 11:2; John 14:1-3; 1 Thess. 4:14-18; Eph. 5:26-27; Rev. 19:7-9. Don't give a biblical view of marriage; show how *intertestamental literature* (not OT backgrounds!) helps us understand the NT theology here (esp. eschatology). Some of these texts may not seem to relate to marriage at first, but further study will show they do. Consult Craig Evan's work. No papers without interaction with intertestament sources will receive an "A."

Either paper should be 6-8 pages in length, typed, double-spaced, and written in Turabian style. See Dr. Baldwin's guidelines in the Singapore Bible College School of Theology (English) Required Format for Writing Papers (2002 Revised). See also my grade sheets and checklist at the end of this syllabus. Include a title page, table of contents, bottom page footnoting, and bibliography of 6-8 sources (none of these included in page count). Students may do both papers for a possible 5 extra points to the final semester grade. The paper has a 10% grade penalty per class day late. Points may be lost for not meeting or exceeding the page limit (no 9 page papers will be an "A"), misspelling my name (!), omitting your box #, and bad grammar or spelling.

- B. Readings (20%) since the previous quiz will be reported on each quiz. Students will be asked on Quiz 1 if they have purchased Barry Beitzel's *The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands* and Elwell and Yarbrough's *Readings from the First-Century World*.
- C. Quizzes (20%) over readings since the last quiz will be given at the beginning of class about every two weeks. Half of the quiz grade will report on the readings since the last quiz (50 points per quiz and 10% of the semester grade) and half will generally comprise five questions (10 points each or 50 points total; also 10% of the semester grade). A bonus question may be included for up to 5 points. The first two quizzes depart from this norm as they cover the Israel map (p. 2) and the Roman Empire map (p. 5). There are no makeup quizzes.
- D. The Final Exam (30%) will cover only New Testament Backgrounds (not NT Survey). This exam will have multiple choice, fill-in, short answer, and essay questions which will be derived only from the course notes. The class readings (Beitzel, *Readings*, Coleman) and maps will not be addressed as students will have already been tested on these in the quizzes.
- E. Fun night at my home is required of all diligent students (that's you :-). We'll also have the NT Survey class come this night. I'll pass out maps closer to the date. Spouses and kids can come too for this potluck meal at our place on Saturday, 12 March, 6:30-8:30 PM.

#### IV. Course Bibliography

\* An asterisk indicates books on reserve in the library (this includes those books needed for the literature paper on the previous page)

† A cross designates helpful books for this course in the reference section of the library

##### A. Recommended Reading

†Aharoni, Yohanan, and Avi-Yonah, Michael. *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. 3d. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1968, 1977, 1993.

The authors are professors of archaeology at Tel Aviv University and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, respectively. As such they provide a Jewish perspective on geography and Israel's history. This used to be the best non-evangelical Bible atlas until James Pritchard wrote *The Harper Atlas of the Bible* in 1987.

\*Backhouse, Robert. *The Student Guide to the Temple*. Tim Dowley, ed. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1996. 32 pp. Formerly *The Kregel Pictorial Guide to the Temple*.

Stunning, full-colour. close-up pictures of Herod's temple from a beautiful model built by Alec Garrard of England. Research is based on the Bible, Talmud, Mishnah and latest archaeological discoveries. Includes many photos and helpful drawings as well.

\*Barrett, C. K. *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*. New York: Harper Collins, 1989. 361 pp.

Actual sources selected by a noteworthy scholar to aid understanding of the NT.

BAGD: Bauer, Walter. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 5th ed., 1957. Trans. by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Rev. F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker, 2d ed. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1979.

The standard Greek lexicon, also known as "BAG"; includes the most up-to-date archaeological findings in determining the meanings of Greek words.

†Beers, V. Gilbert. *The Book of Life*. 24 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980.

A guide for reading through both OT and NT narrative literature, supplemented by numerous photos, application sections, and background articles. Organized into 500 reading

units of about 8-10 pages each. Unfortunately, it costs about US\$700. Several line drawings used in this course are taken from this work.

\*Benware, Paul N. *Survey of the New Testament*. Chicago: Moody, 1990. 304 pp.

A popular-level, concise, clear, conservative treatment of the NT by a professor at Moody Bible Institute; helpful NT historical and religious background (23 pp.) and brief presentations of the NT books around the New Covenant theme. Contains many helpful charts and maps.

\**The Bible Visual Resource Book: for Do-It-Yourself Bible Scholars*. By Keith Kaynor (?). [no author given.] Ventura, CA: Regal Books of Gospel Light, 1989. 332 pp.

This contains copyright-free reproducible maps, charts, time lines and graphics for group or individual study. An excellent resource for teaching!

\*Bruce, F. F. *New Testament History*. England: Nelson, 1969; reprint, Garden City, NY: Anchor Books (Doubleday), 1971. 462 pp.

The best evangelical book on NT backgrounds, insightful, but sometimes difficult for those new to the subject and poorly outlined and illustrated.

\*Charlesworth, James H. *Jesus Within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1988. xvi+265.

Charlesworth teaches NT at Princeton and is an expert on extra-biblical writings. This volume revises his 1985 Gunning (Victoria Jubilee) lectures delivered at New College, the Univ. of Edinburgh, Scotland. It shows the Jewish roots of many of Christ's sayings and practices recently discovered in archaeological finds.

† \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985. li+995 pp. 1+1006 pp.

The standard, annotated work on these extra-biblical writings written from 200 BC to AD 200. These were not included in the Septuagint (Greek translation of the OT ca. 250 BC) or Roman Catholic Bibles (which do include the Apocrypha).

\*Coleman, William L. *Today's Handbook of Bible Times and Customs*. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1984. 303 pp.

Many cultural insights on both OT and NT. Content is similar to Wight's book. Many photographs but no drawings. Three of his chapters are in these notes.

\*Connolly, Peter. *The Jews in the Time of Jesus: A History*. Previously published under the title *Living in the Time of Jesus of Nazareth*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983, 1994; Bnei Brak, Israel: Steimatsky, 1993. 96 pp. \$15.00 hb. Avail. from Blackwell Pub.

Historical summary of Herod the Great, Pontius Pilate, and the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70. Stunning colour drawings of maps, key events and cultural customs.

Cornell, Tim, and Matthews, John. *Atlas of the Roman World*. New York & Oxford: Facts on File, 1982. 240 pp.

A beautifully done atlas of 80,000 words in text and 30,000 in captions to over 500 maps and illustrations (257 in colour!) by experts on the Roman world at Christ's College, Cambridge and Queen's College, Oxford (respectively).

\*Danby, Herbert, trans. *The Mishna: Translations from the Hebrew with Introductory and Explanatory Notes*. Oxford, 1933. 876 pp.

The standard translation of this authoritative collection of the rabbis' writings in the first three centuries AD with the legal and procedural practices of the intertestamental and first century oral tradition followed by the Pharisees (cf. contents on p. 170).

Deary, Terry. *The Groovy Greeks*. Horrible Histories. New York: Scholastic, 1996. 128 pp.  
Humorous cartoons and interesting stories on Greek culture and history.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Rotten Romans*. Horrible Histories. New York: Scholastic, 1996. 128 pp.  
Humorous cartoons and interesting stories on Roman culture and history.
- \*Elwell, Walter A., and Yarbrough, Robert W. *Encountering the New Testament: A Historical and Theological Survey*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998. 448 pp. US\$45.00 hb. w/ CD.  
The nicest layout of NT surveys in its use of colour and supplemental CD with more pictures, quizzes, etc. However, it tries to do too much by covering background and survey in a single volume so that neither is treated in enough detail, though it is good at a popular level. This may be compensated, though, by also using the companion volume, *Readings from the First-Century World* (see below).
- \*Evans, Craig A. *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992. 281 pp.  
The only one-volume (concise) work on the Dead Sea Scrolls, OT and NT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, OT Versions, Philo, Josephus, Targums, and writings of the rabbis, early church fathers, Gnostics, etc. Good bibliographies and indexes of parallels to the NT. Evans teaches Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University in Vancouver, BC.
- \*Ferguson, Everett. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987; 2d ed. 1993. 612 pp.  
A standard text analyzing Greek, Roman, and Jewish political, social, literary, and religious backgrounds to the NT. Detailed treatment of Roman-Hellenistic philosophies and religions (236 pp.) and well documented (bibliographies, footnotes, pictures).
- Fleming, Jim. *The World of the Bible Gardens, Ein Karem, Jerusalem: A Journey Through Full-Scale Replicas Which Help Interpret the Scriptures*. Israel & USA: Biblical Resources, 1999. 56 pp.  
This extensive brochure of the Archaeological Garden & Biblical Resources site adjacent to Jerusalem has 175 photos and 80 diagrams of the lives of shepherds, farmers, and village people in biblical times. Christ's era is portrayed in seating for the Last Supper, types of actual crosses used in the Roman era, tombs, etc.
- Garrard, Alec. *The Splendour of the Temple: A Pictorial Guide to Herod's Temple and Its Ceremonies*. Carlisle, England: Candle, 2000. 96 pp. S\$21.50 Life Bookstore.  
Stunning, full-colour. close-up pictures of Herod's temple from Garrard's beautiful model (expanded from Backhouse's book). He is a farmer, former builder and lay preacher in Norfolk, England who took 18 years building this model based on the Bible, Talmud, Mishnah and recent archaeology. Includes many photos and helpful drawings.
- \*Gower, Ralph. *The New Manners and Customs of Bible Times*. Chicago: Moody, 1987. 408 pp.  
Updates and expands upon Fred Wight's similar book published in 1953 (see entry below). Part 1 addresses "The Individual in Family Life" (e.g., family, education, work) and Part 2 concerns "National Institutions and Customs" (e.g., hospitality, travel, leisure, social/political groupings). Excellent colour photographs.
- Grassmick, John D. "New Testament Introduction." Unpublished class notes for the course NT 207: New Testament Introduction, Dallas Theological Seminary, Fall, 1985.  
My indebtedness to Prof. Grassmick cannot be overstated. These notes originally expanded upon and summarized his notes, though he is not cited within the notes as quotations would be too extensive.
- Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. 2 vols. in 1. 2d ed. Trans. John Bowden. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1973; English ed., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.  
A scholarly treatment of how the Greek way of life affected the Jews politically, economically, culturally, and hermeneutically, including the clashes between them.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Zealots*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989. 487 pp.  
Here's the best work on this sect of Jewish revolutionaries.
- Hoehner, Harold W. "A Chronological Table of the Apostolic Age." ThD Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964, rev. 1972.  
Provides very exact dates for NT events backed by scholarly research. This course follows his chronology with minor variations (summarized on pages 42-43).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977.  
Shows dates for Christ's birth, ministry, and crucifixion, plus Daniel 9. His conclusions are summarized on the page "Chronology of the Life of Christ" (p. 40).
- Horsley, Richard A., and Hanson, John S. *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985. 271 pp.  
A brilliant portrayal of the complex Jewish social culture during Christ's day. Emphasizes historical background and how bandit forces (incl. Zealots, sicarii), apocalyptic prophets, and false messiahs affected the masses.
- \*House, H. Wayne. *Chronological and Background Charts of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981.  
Very helpful overhead transparencies used in this course.
- Jagersma, H. *A History of Israel from Alexander the Great to Bar Kochba*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986. xiv+224 pp. Paper, US\$13.95.  
Here's one of the few up-to-date books on the intertestamental period, covering 334 BC—AD135. The text is but 161 pages for a 475 year period (rather skimpy), but good for a basic grasp (though Christ and the early church take up only 7 pages). The translation from the Dutch is also brief, choppy, and repetitive.
- \**The Works of Josephus*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Trans. William Whiston. N.p., 1737; reprint, Lynn, MA: Hendrickson, 1980, 1987. 930 pp.  
The traditional, classical, unabridged translation of this 1<sup>st</sup> century Jewish historian who wrote for the Romans on Judaism's history from creation to the Jewish revolt (AD 66-70). This edition translates and updates the text type of Josephus' six works in contrast to Maier's abridgement of only his two most popular works (see below). The English is old but E. J. Brill has commissioned Steve Mason of York Univ. (Ontario) to update it and include a commentary on Josephus (see *BAR*, [Sept./Oct 1997], 71; cf. pp. 58-68).
- de Lange, Nicholas. *Atlas of the Jewish World*. New York & Oxford: Fact on File [distributed by Thomas Nelson], 1984. 240 pp.  
Impressive maps, texts, drawings, and photographs of worldwide Jewish migration in history. Includes historical and cultural background and the Jewish world today.
- Langley, Andrew. *The Roman News*. Consultant: Philip de Souza. Cambridge, MA: Candlewick Press, 1997. 32 pp. Published and distributed by Scholastic, Inc., 555 Broadway, New York, NY 10012.  
Roman history and culture shown in a newspaper format with many colour drawings.
- †Lightfoot, J. B., trans. *The Apostolic Fathers*. 2d ed. Ed. Michael W. Holmes. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989. 347 pp.  
The standard, annotated translation of these thirteen letters of the late first and early second century AD. While these writings appear *after* the time of the NT, they nonetheless help us understand the practices of the early church.
- †NBD: Marshall, I. Howard; Millard, A. R.; Packer, J. I.; and Wiseman, D. J., eds. *New Bible Dictionary*. 3d ed. Leicester, England: InterVarsity and Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1962, 1982; Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 1996. 1326 pp. US\$40 hb.

Many helpful articles for NT backgrounds. A highly acclaimed Bible dictionary originally edited by one of SBC's former lecturers, Dr. J. D. Douglas.

McCarter, P. Kyle, Jr. *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World*. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996. 180 pp. US\$30 for book alone and US\$140 for book and slides. SBC Library 411 (R) McC.

Contains the story of how writing came into being, starting from Mesopotamian cuneiform and ending in the Roman period at the time of Christ by tracing the evolution of the alphabet from pictographs to symbols which each represent a single sound. Includes 97 drawings cross-referenced to 140 separately available slides. McCarter teaches at John Hopkins Univ.

\*Metzger, Bruce M., ed. *A Concordance to the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books of the Revised Standard Version*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans & London: Collins Liturgical, 1983. 479 pp.

Very helpful for looking up verses in the Apocrypha (see entry under required reading) given that most Bible students are unfamiliar with these books.

\*Niswonger, Richard L. *New Testament History*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988. 332 pp.

A sequential history of The land of Israel from the Greek era (332 BC) to the end of the first century. Chronologically addresses Roman, Jewish, and pagan issues and their influence upon Jesus and the early church.

Packer, James I.; Tenney, Merrill C.; and White, William, eds. *The Land of the Bible*. Nashville: Nelson, 1980, 1985. 170 pp.

A small, handy resource for Palestinian geography, minerals and gems, animals and insects, plants and herbs, and agriculture.

Powell, Anton, and Steele, Philip. *The Greek News*. Cambridge, MA: Candlewick Press, 1997. 32 pp. Published and distributed by Scholastic, Inc., 555 Broadway, New York, NY 10012.

Greek history and culture shown in a newspaper format with many colour drawings.

†Pritchard, James B., ed. *The Harper Atlas of the Bible*. New York: Harper & Row, 1987. 254 pp. CBD for \$34.95.

Most of the 134 maps are two pages and complemented by smaller maps, charts, diagrams, photographs, drawings and text; comprehensive (covers from 10,000 BC to AD 600, though only one map addresses Genesis 1–11); maps and detailed full-colour paintings of terrain have a three dimensional look, appearing as if viewed from the ground or on larger maps taking into account the curvature of the earth's surface; probably the best atlas for backgrounds (other ancient peoples, pagan temples, writing, commerce, archaeology, practices of everyday life, etc.); indexes include summaries of events in the lives of significant biblical characters and a map index which includes variant, Arabic, Palestinian Grid Reference numbers, and Modern Hebrew names for cities. However, some maps are difficult to read due to lack of compass directions and excess supplementary material; mostly conservative, but the 50 contributors from varied perspectives (Christian, Jewish, liberal, etc.) tend to be moderately critical in the narrative and hold to late date for the Exodus. The book is also difficult to fit upright on most bookshelves due to its enormous size (nearly 11" x 14 1/2" or 27.5 cm. x 37 cm.).

†Rasmussen, Carl G. *The Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible*. Regency Reference Library. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989 and Jerusalem: Carta, 1989. 256 pp. CBD for \$30.00?

Similar in features to Beitzel with a comprehensive geographical section (57 pp.) and historical section (131 pp.), so purchasing both Beitzel and Rasmussen will have much overlapping. However, they are not the same. This is better than Beitzel in its topological overview of The land of Israel, extra graphs and diagrams, and its inclusion of excellent regional maps but worse in that the maps throughout are poorly colored and not tied into the text with coordinates as is true of Beitzel; too few color photographs (Beitzel's weakness too but strengths in Rogerson and Pritchard).

\*Rengstorf, K. H., ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1973-83.

Extensive treatment of all four books of Josephus by the words he used.

\*Rogers, Jr., Cleon L. *The Topical Josephus*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992. 238 pp.

A brief summary of historical accounts told by Josephus (fall of Galilee, Jerusalem, and Masada), important people (Herod the Great, Archelaus, John, Jesus, etc.), and institutions (Jewish sects, Roman army). Helpful insights into the NT and a brief Scripture index. Rogers is an evangelical missionary teaching in Germany (ThD, Dallas).

†Rogerson, John. *Atlas of the Bible*. New York: Facts on File [distributed by Thomas Nelson], 1986. 237 pp. CBD for US\$32.50.

Visually stunning, includes regional maps and many full color photographs (Beitzel's weaknesses), but weak in physical geography and too-brief summaries of biblical events (Beitzel's strengths).

†Schürer, Emil. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC-AD 135)*. 4 vols. (incl. index) Rev. ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1886-90; rev. 1973-87, reprint of 1st ed., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995(?). 2144 pp. \$239.80 (\$155.95 CBD). Orig. ed. \$199.95 hb. (\$49.95 CBD). SBC call # 933 (R) SCH

The standard and exhaustive work on NT backgrounds, covering history, Jewish sects, messianic movements, and pertinent Greek and Jewish literature. Unfortunately, the revised edition does not have an index yet. Too expensive for most students, but CBD has a bargain in the original edition with an extra index but is more difficult to read and without modern updates in archaeology, language (e.g., Ugaritic) and history.

Walton, John H. *Chronological and Background Charts of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984.

Very helpful overhead transparencies used in this course.

\*Wight, Fred H. *Manners and Customs of Bible Lands*. Chicago: Moody, 1953. 336 pp.

Older than Coleman's work but very readable and interesting with short chapters on subjects such as marriage customs, dress, education, music, etc. Helpful line drawings but no photographs.

Wilkinson, Bruce. *Walk Thru the New Testament Bible Survey Seminar Notebook*. Atlanta, GA: Walk Thru The Bible Ministries, 1979.

Very helpful charts and maps. May say "do not reproduce," but copying approval has been granted as they are not for profit and noted to be by Walk Thru.

Wise, Michael; Abegg, Martin, Jr.; and Cook, Edward. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. New York, NY: HarperCollins (HarperSanFrancisco), 1996. 513 pp. US\$20 pb.

All but the most minute of the previously unknown nonbiblical DSS texts. Its 300 texts are 200 more than the previous standard by Geza Vermes. This volume from a new generation of evangelical Dead Sea Scroll scholars is the most comprehensive yet—and at an affordable price. It contains never-before-seen stories about Abraham, Jacob, and Enoch—including one showing why God demanded Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. Also included are twelve texts not included in the Bible that claim Moses as their author and new data on biblical history and the roots of Christianity.

Woodrow, Ralph. *Babylon Mystery Religion: Ancient and Modern*. 2d ed. Riverside, CA 92502: Ralph Woodrow, P.O. Box 124), 1966, 1981. 177 pp.

Traces false religion from Babylon into NT times and especially in the Catholic church.

†*The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*. 5 vols. Ed. Merrill C. Tenney. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975, 1976. Abbreviated ZPEB.

Perhaps the best evangelical Bible encyclopedia. Clear, comprehensive articles.

## B. Required Reading

\*†Beitzel, Barry J. *The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands*. Chicago: Moody, 1986. xviii+234 pp. CBD for US\$27.95.

Probably the best evangelical atlas available. Excellent in both physical geography (70 pp.) and historical geography (119 pp.) with maps superior to Rasmussen's *NIV Atlas*, maps nicely tied in with an interesting text; weak in that it lacks regional maps, often lacks Scripture references on the maps themselves (though cited in supporting material), and has few full colour photographs. One advantage of this atlas is that 44 of its maps are available as color transparencies available from CBD for US\$130.

\*Elwell, Walter A., and Yarbrough, Robert W. *Readings from the First-Century World: Primary Sources for New Testament Study*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998. 223 pp. US\$20.00 pb.

The companion volume to their *Encountering the New Testament*. Ancient writings from AD 30-600 illuminate the NT and are arranged parallel to the NT canonical order. Includes Scripture, subject, and readings indices.

\**Josephus: The Essential Writings*. Trans. Paul Maier. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1988. 413 pp.

A new, condensed version of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and *The Jewish War*. Much more readable than Whiston's translation. Many maps, charts, and drawings.

\*May, Herbert G., and Metzger, Bruce M., eds. *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version*. Expanded ed. with 3-4 Maccabees and Psalm 151. Revised edition of New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977; also Baker, 1998. 340 pp. + xxii.

An easy-to-read revision of the 1977 RSV translation of the 18 uninspired books (but very helpful for background information) written between 250 BC and AD 100. Includes an excellent but brief (11 page) introduction to the Apocrypha, numerous annotations, and an index to the annotations. This edition may be more easily obtained with the RSV Bible in the *RSV New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1977) or the more recent *NRSV New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha*. The NRSV is also distributed by Baker as the *Cambridge Annotated Study Bible and Study Apocrypha* (US\$40) or one without annotation used in this course called *The Apocrypha: NRSV* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), also available from Baker (247 pp. for US\$13). The readings are in these notes on pages 188-98.

\*Vermes, Geza. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 4th ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962, 1975, 1987, 1995. 320+ pp.

The standard translation of 42 non-biblical Qumran scrolls with three introductory chapters (57 pp.) explaining the significance of this massive literary discovery that has aided biblical studies; very readable. SBC call #220.93 VER. The readings are in these notes on pages 252-65.



**V. Course Schedule (2005)**

Note: Quizzes are based on the maps (quizzes 1-2 on pp. 2 and 5, respectively), Coleman's article in the notes (quiz 4), and the Apocrypha with class readings since quiz 4 (quiz 5). You will not be quizzed on Beitzel. Each session is a double session.

Session	Date (Tue)	Subject	Assignment
1	4 Jan	Syllabus; Geography Part 1 (Israel)	No assignments
2	11 Jan	Quiz 1; Geography Part 2 (Jerusalem)	Study for Quiz Beitzel, 156-65 <i>Readings</i> , 17-23 Buy all texts by today (on quiz!)
3	18 Jan	Political Context: Part 1	Beitzel, 150-53 <i>Readings</i> , 25-30
25 Jan		Lecturer teaching in Myanmar	No classes or assignments
4	1 Feb	Quiz 2; Political Context: Part 2	Study for Quiz Beitzel, 154-55, 166-68 <i>Readings</i> , 30-42
8 Jan		Chinese New Year	No classes or assignments
5	15 Feb	Political Context: Part 3	Beitzel, 185-87 <i>Readings</i> , 42-55
6	22 Feb	Quiz 3; Political Context: Part 4	Coleman, 181-91 (notes, 73-78)
7	1 Mar	"A.D." Video	No assignments
8	8 Mar	Socio-Economic Context: Part 1	<i>Josephus</i> , 329-85 (notes, 280-308) Note: This is your longest reading!
15 Mar		Mid-Semester Break	No classes or assignments
9	22 Mar	Socio-Economic Context: Part 2	Coleman, 248-55 (notes, 101-104) <i>Readings</i> , 65-75; Notes, 137a-b
10	29 Mar	Quiz 4; Religious Context: Part 1	<i>Readings</i> , 57-65
11	5 Apr	Religious Context: Part 2	Coleman, 212-29 (notes, 127-35) <i>Readings</i> , 77-87
12	12 Apr	Religious Context: Part 3	<i>Readings</i> , 87-95
13	19 Apr	Quiz 5; Literary Context: Part 1 MT, LXX, Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha Literary Context: Part 2 Josephus, Philo, Rabbis	May/Metzger (Apocrypha: Tobit, Susanna, and Bel & the Dragon) found in notes, 188-98 Research paper due
14	26 Apr	Literary Context: Part 3 Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), NT Apocrypha, Archaeology	Vermes, 61-80, 103-27 (DSS <i>War Scroll, Manual of Discipline</i> ) copied in notes, 252-65
15	3-6 May	Final Exam	Study :-)

**VI. Other Matters**

- A. **Contacting Me:** You can contact me at SBC by box L19 or by phone (6559-1555 ext. 7130). Also, my home address is 49 Lentor Crescent, Singapore 786716 and home phone number is 6458-6158 (email griffith@sbc.edu.sg). My office hours are from 11:00-3:00 on Tuesdays, 9:00-10:00 on Wednesdays, and 1:00-3:00 on Fridays. Let's have lunch too!
- B. **Copying Class Notes:** Allowed when you give credit where credit is due (unless it makes you rich). You may also copy the course PPT CD and translate it into other languages.
- C. **Course Load:** For a 2-hour course of 28 sessions work should comprise 56 hours.
- Readings total 305 pp ÷ 28 sessions. = 11 pp./session. 305 x 3 min./pp. = 915 min. ÷ 60 = 16 hours.
  - Quiz study should be about 2.5 hours per quiz x 4 = 10 hours
  - The research paper should take about 20 hours.
  - The final exam study should be about 10 hours.

## Research Paper Grade Sheet

Student \_\_\_\_\_ Topic \_\_\_\_\_ Paper Grade \_\_\_\_\_ Box \_\_\_\_\_

The first four parts below concern the paper's *content* (70% of the grade). The Form grade (30%) is based on Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996). See also the Research Paper Checklist.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Poor	Minimal	Average	Good	Excellent
<b><u>Introduction</u></b>					
<b>Purpose</b> (the paper addresses what issue?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Scope</b> of the issue defined/narrowed down	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Procedure</b> for addressing the issue introduced	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b><u>Body</u></b>					
<b>Wide research</b> (other views, good sources)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Individual work</b> (not excessive quotations)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Key passages/issues</b> addressed adequately	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Development</b> (proves points, not just lists verses)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Interpretation</b> of passages accurate (exegesis)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b><u>Conclusion</u></b>					
<b>Solution</b> given to issue raised in introduction	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Main points</b> reviewed and/or restated	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Length</b> (1/2 to 1 page, w/o unnecessary info.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b><u>Miscellaneous</u></b>					
(These can be addressed anywhere in the paper)					
<b>Application</b> (shows why the topic is important)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Depth</b> leaves no key questions unanswered	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Overall content</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b><u>Form</u></b>					
<b>Format</b> (typed, title page, length, pages numbered)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Spelling</b> and typographical errors, punctuation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Grammar</b> (agreement of subject/verb and tenses)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Footnoting</b> (better than endnoting; biblio. incl.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Arranged logically</b> (not a collection of thoughts)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Sections</b> clearly stated without orphan headings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b><u>Summary</u></b>					
Number of ticks per column	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Multiplied by point values of the column	x 1	x 2	x 3	x 4	x 5
Equals the total point value for each column	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Net points _____ minus 10 points per day late (_____ points) equals % grade of _____%					

**Comments:**

## Research Paper Checklist

\* Asterisks show the most common mistakes SBC students make on research papers. Give special attention to these areas!

### 1. General Format

- 1.1 Obtain your own copy of the handout "Why Write Papers?" by Dr. Henry Baldwin.
- 1.2 The most complete and widely used format guide is Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed. rev. by John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago & London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937, 1955, 1967, 1973, 1987, 1996). 308 pp.
- 1.3 Questions not answered by Turabian can probably be found in *The Chicago Manual of Style*.
- 1.4 Staple the pages in the upper left corner rather than using report folders or attaching the paper at the top centre.

### 2. Preliminaries

- 2.1 The title page should follow the typical format in Turabian.
  - 2.1.1 Only "SINGAPORE BIBLE COLLEGE" and the TITLE should be in capital letters.
  - 2.1.2 Please include your mail box number after your name.
  - 2.1.3 The same size type (and font) should be used throughout the paper.
- 2.2 The margins should not change (e.g., should not be in outline form) but should be 2.5 cm on all sides.
- 2.3\* Include a Table of Contents.
  - 2.3.1 The Contents page should include only the first page number of each section.
  - 2.3.2 Subtitles within the Contents page should be indented.
  - 2.3.3 Note this is called a "Table of Contents" and not a "Table of Content."
  - 2.3.4 "Table of Contents" should not be an entry on the Table of Contents.
- 2.4 Page numbers should be at the top right in the preliminaries (except no number on Title Page and Table of Contents) and at the bottom centre from the first page to the end.

### 3. Body & Style

- 3.1\* Provide an introduction that summarizes the problem(s) your paper aims to answer.
- 3.2\* Check your grammar for confusion of tense, plural, verb/noun, etc. (cf. section 9)
- 3.3 Use a spell checker if you have one on your computer to avoid careless spelling mistakes.
- 3.4 Double-space the paper throughout in prose form (not outline form).
- 3.5\* Write in the third person rather than the first person ("This author..." and not "I" or "we" or "us").
- 3.6 Follow these guidelines for headings within the text:
  - 3.6.1 Headings should match your Contents page.
  - 3.6.2 Headings should not have periods (full stops or colons) after them.
  - 3.6.3\* Headings should not be in outline form (no "I," "II," "A," "1," "a," "-", etc.).
  - 3.6.4 Avoid widow headings (at the bottom of a page without the first sentence of a paragraph).
  - 3.6.5 Don't repeat a heading on the next page even if it covers the same section of the paper.
  - 3.6.6 Each research paper should have at least 2-3 headings or divisions.
  - 3.6.7 As an exception to 3.6 above, in short papers (6-8 pages) which do not have chapters, (1) main headings should be centred capitals, followed by (2) subheadings which are underlined centred small letters, (3) underlined left column small letters, (4) non-underlined left column small letters, and finally (5) underlined small letters which begin an indented paragraph. If only two levels are needed then (2) above may be skipped.
- 3.7\* Do not clutter your paper with unnecessary details that do not contribute to your purpose.
- 3.8\* Make every statement a full sentence within the text (the exception is headings).
- 3.9 Critically evaluate your sources; do not believe a heresy just because it's in print!
- 3.10 Make sure your reasoning is solid and logical.
- 3.11\* Provide a conclusion which solves/summarizes the problem addressed in the introduction

### 4. Abbreviations

- 4.1\* Do not use abbreviations in the text or footnotes (except inside parentheses).
- 4.2 Cite from 1-3 verses inside parentheses in the text but 4 or more verses in the footnotes.
- 4.3\* Use proper biblical book abbreviations with a colon between chapter and verse.
- 4.4 Do not start sentences with an Arabic number. Write "First Kings 3:16..." (not "1 Kings 3:16...").
- 4.5 Write out numbers under ten in the text (e.g., "three"); abbreviate those over ten (e.g., "45").
- 4.6 "For example" (e.g.) and "that is to say" (i.e.) are abbreviated only within parentheses.

### 5. Quotations

- 5.1\* When quoting word-for-word use quotation marks and footnote the source. Do not plagiarise!
- 5.2 Use proper quotation formats with single quotation marks within double ones.
- 5.3 Use indented single-spaced block quotations (no quotation marks) when three or more lines.
- 5.4\* Avoid citing long texts of Scriptures or other sources so the paper mostly reflects your own thinking.
- 5.5 Provide biblical support for your position rather than simply citing your opinion.
- 5.6 If your source quotes a more original source, then quote the original in this manner: R. N. Soulen, *Handbook*, 18 (cited by Rick Griffith, *New Testament Backgrounds*, 7th ed. [SBC, 1999], 165).

## Research Paper Checklist (2 of 2)

**6. Punctuation**

- 6.1 Periods & commas go *before* quote marks and footnote numbers (e.g., “Marriage,” not “Marriage”.)
- 6.2 Periods & commas go *outside* parentheses (unless a complete sentence is within the parentheses). For example: “Jesus wept” (John 11:35), but never “Jesus wept.” (John 11:35)
- 6.3 A space should not precede a period, comma, final parenthesis, semicolon, apostrophe or colon.
- 6.4 A space should not follow a beginning parenthesis or beginning quotation mark.
- 6.7 A space should always follow a comma and two spaces always follow a period.

**7. Footnotes**

- 7.1\* The first reference to a book includes (in this order) the author's *given* name first then family name, title (in *italics* or underlined but not in quotes), publication data in parentheses (place, colon, publisher, comma, then year), volume (if more than one), and page number. For example: Ralph Gower, *The New Manners and Customs of Bible Times* (Chicago: Moody, 1987), 233. Notice that in footnotes a full stop (period) is used only *once* at the end of the citation. Indent the first line of each footnote entry.
- 7.2\* Cite later references to the same book but a different page number with only the author's family name (not given name) and new page number. For example: Gower, 166.
- 7.3 If the next citation has the same book and same page number, then type “Ibid.” (Latin abbreviation for “in the same place”). For example: *Ibid.* However, if a different page number is referred to, then “*Ibid.*” should be followed by a period and comma. For example: *Ibid.*, 64.
- 7.4 If the next citation is by the same author but a different work, type “Idem” (Latin abbreviation for “by the same author”) before the new book. For example: *Idem*, *Marriage and Family*, 221.
- 7.5\* Encyclopedia, Bible dictionary, or other books with multiple authors under an editor should first cite the article's author, then article title within quotes, book, editor, publication data in parentheses, volume, and page. For example: P. Trutza, “Marriage,” *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 5 vols., ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975, 1976), 4:92-102. (If needed, look up the author's name after the Contents page by tracing the initials at the end of the article.)
- 7.6 Footnote numbers are raised with no parentheses and go *after* a quotation's punctuation (e.g., period).
- 7.7 Always cite your footnote numbers in sequence rather than using a former number again.
- 7.8 Use only numbers as footnotes references (don't use letters or \*#@^% etc.).
- 7.9 Cite translations in parentheses within the text rather than the footnotes—for example, “trust” (NIV).
- 7.10 Cite book, chapter, and paragraphs of primary (ancient) sources with Arabic numerals and full stops (e.g., “Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 18.1.3,” not “Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Book XVIII, Chapter 1, Section 3”).
- 7.11 Page numbers may be added to primary sources in parentheses. For example: *War* 2.1 (Whiston, 44).

**8. Bibliography**

- 8.1 Alphabetize all sources by family name without numbering the sources.
- 8.2 Make entries single spaced with the second line indented and with a double space between entries.
- 8.3 Do not cite an author's title in a footnote or the bibliography (no “Dr.,” “Rev.” etc.).
- 8.4 Cite book references differently than in the footnotes by including the author's *family* name first (not given name), title (in *italics* or underlined but not in quotes), publication data *without* parentheses (place, colon, publisher, comma, then year), and volume (if more than one). For example: Gower, Ralph. *The New Manners and Customs of Bible Times*. Chicago: Moody, 1987. Use full stops (not commas) after each first name, title, and date; don't use parentheses (but do use them in footnotes). Indent each line after the first line in an entry.
- 8.5\* Encyclopedia, Bible dictionary, or other books with multiple authors under an editor should first cite the article's author, then article title within quotes, book, editor, publication data, volume, and page. Cite these articles as follows: Trutza, P., “Marriage,” *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*. Ed. Merrill C. Tenney. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975, 1976. 4:92-102. (You may need to find the author's name after the Contents page by tracing the initials at the end of the article.)
- 8.6 Put the bibliography on a separate page rather than tagging it on to the conclusion.
- 8.7 Consult as many sources as you have pages in your paper (e.g., 8 sources for an 8-page paper).
- 8.8\* Include the bibliography even if the lecturer has assigned the sources.
- 8.9 Primary sources should be listed under the ancient author's name, followed by the translator's name. For example: Josephus. *The Works of Josephus*. Translated by William Whiston...
- 8.10 Primary sources with several or unknown authors should be listed by editor and/or translator's name. For example: Danby, Herbert, trans. *The Mishnah*. Oxford: University, 1933.

**9. Common Grammatical and Spelling Mistakes**

- 9.1 “Respond” (verb) is used for “response” (noun). “The respond” should be “The response.”
- 9.2\* Events in biblical times should be noted in the past tense.
- 9.3 Write “BC” dates *before* “BC” but “AD” dates *after* “AD” (“AD 70” and “70 BC” but never as “70 AD” or “BC 70”).
- 9.4 Always capitalize the words “Christian,” “Bible,” “Christ,” “Word of God,” and “Scripture(s).”
- 9.5 The current trend is to *avoid* capitalization, especially in the adjectives “biblical,” “scriptural,” etc.
- 9.6 Avoid words in all CAPITALS in the text (except acronyms and 3.6.7).

## Key Sources for Both Research Papers

### Primary Sources (Original):

Most, if not all, of these are on reserve in the library (see bibliography for details):

Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols.

Danby, *The Mishna* (296.12 (R) DAN or 296.12 (R) BLA)

Josephus, *War of the Jews and Jewish Antiquities* (933 JOS)

Philo of Alexandria (880.1 PHI)

May, Herbert G., and Metzger, Bruce M., eds. *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: NRSV*

*Nag Hammadi Codices* (880 HUN I)

*Select Papyri* (299.932 (R) ROB)

### Secondary Sources (Modern):

Aune, D. E. "Bride of Christ." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. 4 vols. Ed. G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986. 1:546-47.

Clements, Roland E. *The World of Ancient Israel*. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1989.

Edersheim, Alfred. *The History of the Jewish Nation*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1895.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. Originally printed 1883; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984. 828 pp.

Evans, Craig A. *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*.

Lohse, Eduard. *The New Testament Environment*. USA: Parthenon, 1976.

Metzger, Bruce M., ed. *A Concordance to the Apocrypha/Deuterocanonical Books of the RSV*

Oaks, Linda. "A First-Century Wedding," *Biblical Illustrator* 20 (Winter 1994).

Rops, Daniel. *Daily Life in Bible Times*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson LTD, 1962. 447 pp.

Thompson, J. A. *Handbook of Life in Bible Times*. IVP, 1986. 384 pp.

de Vaux, Roland. *Ancient Israel*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

Walker, P. W. L., ed. *Jerusalem: Past and Present in the Purposes of God*. Cambridge: Tyndale House, 1992. 210 pp. S\$24.00 pb.

A collection of essays by British lecturers who discuss biblical (OT and NT), historical, and contemporary perspectives on Jerusalem. (A theology of its future significance is not offered in any detail, presumably because the contributors see no scriptural support for this.) Interaction with Judaism and Islam offer some impractical suggestions (e.g., Jews should rebuild the third temple next to temple mount, p. 149).

Yamauchi, Edwin. *The World of the First Christians*. Lion, 1981. 128 pp.

## My Biographical Sketch



**Rick and Susan Griffith**  
**Kurt, Stephen, and John**

### Background

“Never say never.” Rick and Susan Griffith both learned this age-old tip the hard way.

Rick recalls sitting in his elementary school classes thinking, “If there’s one thing I’ll *never* become it’s a *teacher*. Imagine saying the same stuff over and over, year after year!”

Yet after trusting Christ in junior high and acquiring a taste for teaching the Word of God, Rick’s attitude began to change. After his business degree at California State University, Hayward, and Master of Theology degree (Pastoral Ministries) and the Doctor of Philosophy degree (Bible Exposition) from Dallas Theological Seminary in Texas, Dr. Griffith soon found himself on the other end of the classroom—and loving it!

Susan, from Yucaipa, California, also learned not to say “never.” As she earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in piano at Biola University, several friends married and worked to put their husbands through three more years of seminary training. “I’ll never do that!” she exclaimed. Soon afterwards she invested three years (1981-1983) singing together with her future husband in the Crossroads, Campus Crusade’s traveling music team in Asia. This nine member Philippines-based group shared Christ in the Philippines, China, Hong Kong, Korea, Japan, Macau, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore.

In December 1983 Susan's "never" became a reality. She and Rick were married and like Jacob and Rachel of old, Susan also worked for her mate. During these seven seminary years Rick served as a pastor, corporate chaplain, and International Students church consultant. Susan taught women's Bible studies and often ministered through her singing. Their primary church in Texas is Christ Chapel Bible Church in Fort Worth.

The Griffith family now includes three sons: Kurt (18 yrs.), Stephen (15 yrs.), and John (12 yrs.). During home assignment they minister mainly from the First Baptist Church of Yucaipa, California.

## **Ministry**

However, since 1991 the Griffiths' home has been Singapore where Rick serves with 31 other full-time faculty at Singapore Bible College. SBC has 503 full-time students from 23 countries and 25 denominations, as well as over 300 professionals in the non-degree Evening School. During his first term he taught a variety of courses: Old Testament Survey, New Testament Survey, New Testament Backgrounds, Eschatology (the study of future things), Evangelism, Pastoral Epistles, Psalms, Homiletics (preaching), Hebrew Exegesis, and four Old Testament exposition courses. Now he teaches mostly Bible Exposition classes, including OT and NT Backgrounds & Survey, Eschatology (theology of the future), Ecclesiology (theology of the church), and Pneumatology (theology of the Holy Spirit).

Dr. Griffith loves the variety and strategic nature of his teaching. He invests his life into Anglicans from Sri Lanka, Lutherans from Singapore, Presbyterians from Korea, Conservative Baptists from the Philippines, and missionaries from Campus Crusade, OMF, and Operation Mobilization—sometimes all in one class! A survey of one of his courses revealed that 17 of the 20 students were training for ministry outside of Singapore. Nearly all SBC graduates enter pastoral or missionary ministries due to Asia's shortage of trained leaders.

Ministry opportunities abound. Rick and Susan have conducted premarital counseling for students and their home has an open door to students and guests traveling through Singapore. They have sung in evangelistic thrusts and in 1992 also participated in founding International Community School, an expatriate Christian primary and secondary school in Singapore. The Griffith family is attached to CBInternational and attends International Baptist Church in Singapore.

## **Field**

Singapore Bible College is strategically located at the "ministry hub" of Southeast Asia, the Republic of Singapore. A small island of only 14 by 26 miles, Singapore is a city-nation located on the tip of the Malayan Peninsula in southeast Asia. The population of this multi-cultural society is 75 percent Chinese, 15 percent Malay and 8 percent Indian. Other groups include Filipinos, Thais, Japanese, Americans, and Europeans. This beautiful island nation, with dynamic growth in churches and missionary force, has been called the "Antioch of Asia." Recently the Singaporean cross-cultural missionary force has grown tremendously from 140 (1988) to 321 (1992) overseas missionaries.

## Differences Between Our Cultures

(Classroom etiquette in light of our cultural differences)

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Singaporeans</u>	<u>Americans</u>
The teacher is...	“Pretty close to God” “Knows all”	“Just one of the guys” “Fellow learner”
Perspective of teacher	Lofty (teacher as respected)	Lowly (teacher as equal)
Age of Teacher	Older are more respected Age = Wisdom	Younger teachers more liked Youthful = Energetic
Losing face is...	A big concern (for both teacher and student)	Not so big a deal (but insults are!)
Content concern	Pragmatic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What works in life</li> <li>• What’s on the test</li> <li>• Short-term</li> </ul>	Theoretical <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If it doesn’t apply now it will later</li> <li>• What you’ll need for your life</li> <li>• Long-term</li> </ul>
Learning style	Formal harmony (teacher gives only his view)	Confrontational (teacher responds to other views)
Learning preference	Rote memory of facts	Correlation between facts
Responsibility for effectiveness of learning	Teacher’s	Teacher’s <i>and student’s</i>
Disagreeing with teacher	Taboo (shows disrespect)	Okay (shows insight)
Speaking up is okay...	When called on individually	When a general invitation is given
Will speak up in...	Small groups only	Large and small groups
Communication	One way (teacher to student)	Two way dialogue
Asking questions	Uncomfortable	Comfortable

*American Rule of Thumb: “The only dumb question is the one which is never asked”*

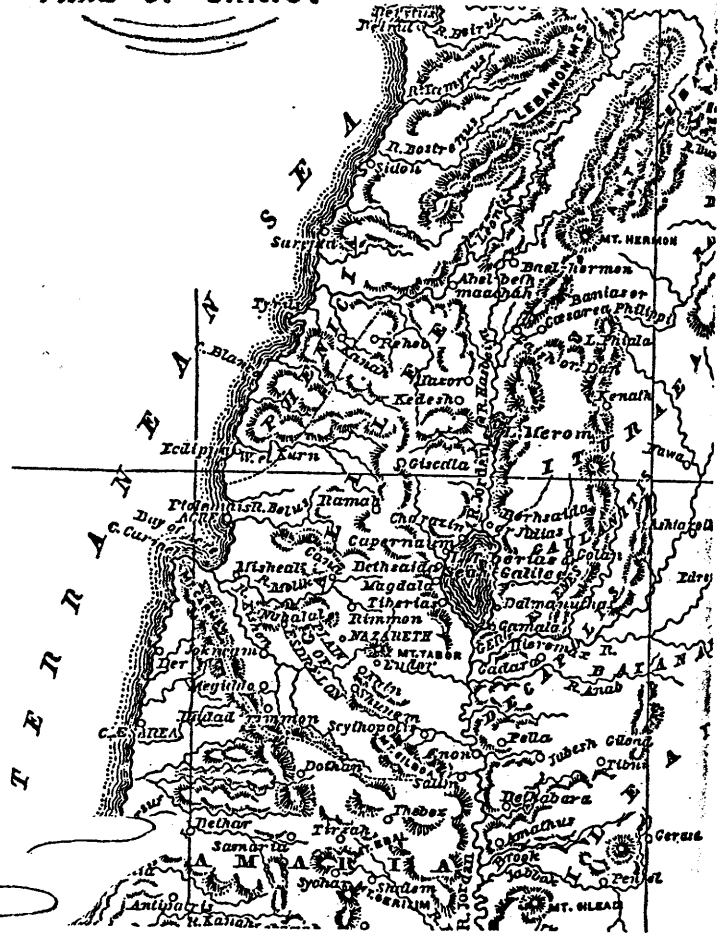
### Implications:

1. **For Me:** I’ll try my best to teach in a manner in which Singaporeans better learn (column 1), but since I’ve lived almost 30 years in America and only 14 years in Asia I will unavoidably lapse into an American style (column 2). Please forgive my lack of cultural sensitivity!
2. **For You:** You can feel free to be “a bit more American” in this class since I don’t yet feel that column 2 is inappropriate for Asians. Relax, loosen up, and enjoy our differences! But I don’t expect too many of you to follow this principle (thus implication 1 above)!



# New Testament Geography

## MAP OF THE **HOLY LAND** in the TIME OF CHRIST

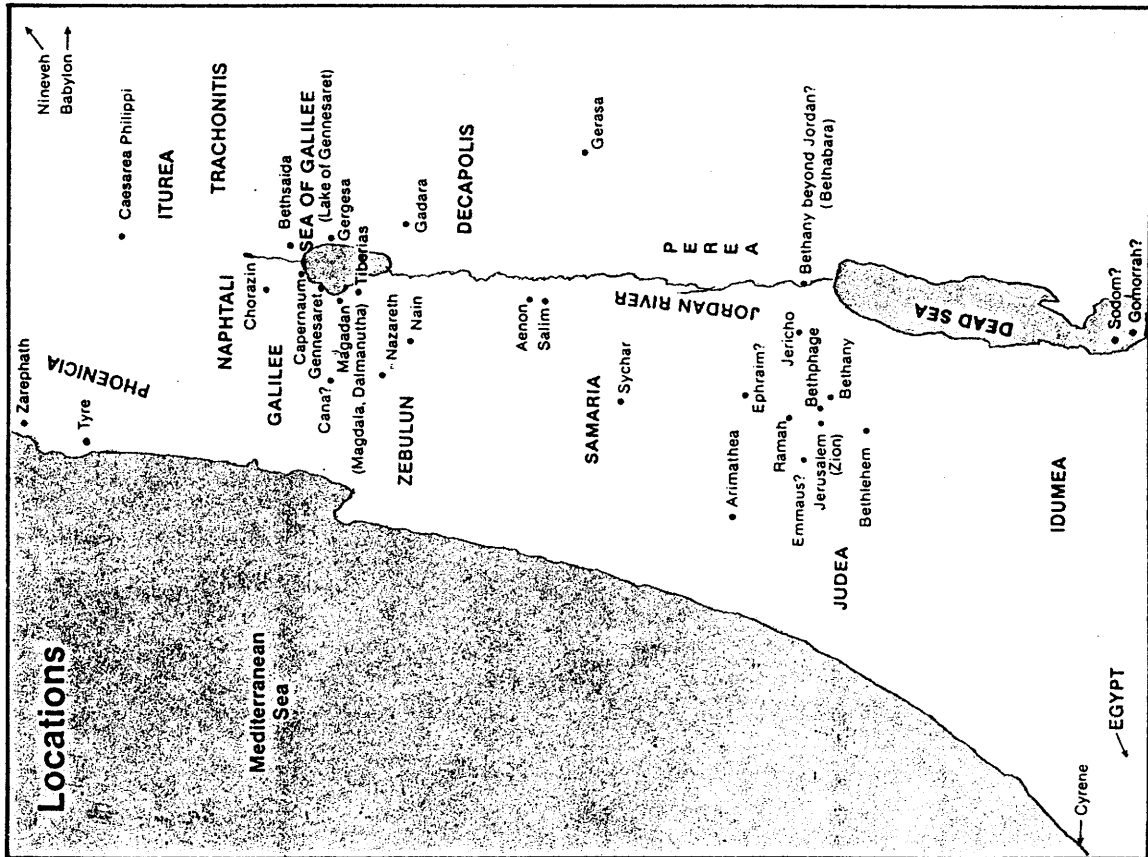




Every Geographical Location in the Gospels (Quiz 1)

# Every Geographical Location in the Gospels

Walk Thru  
the New  
Testament



## Distances

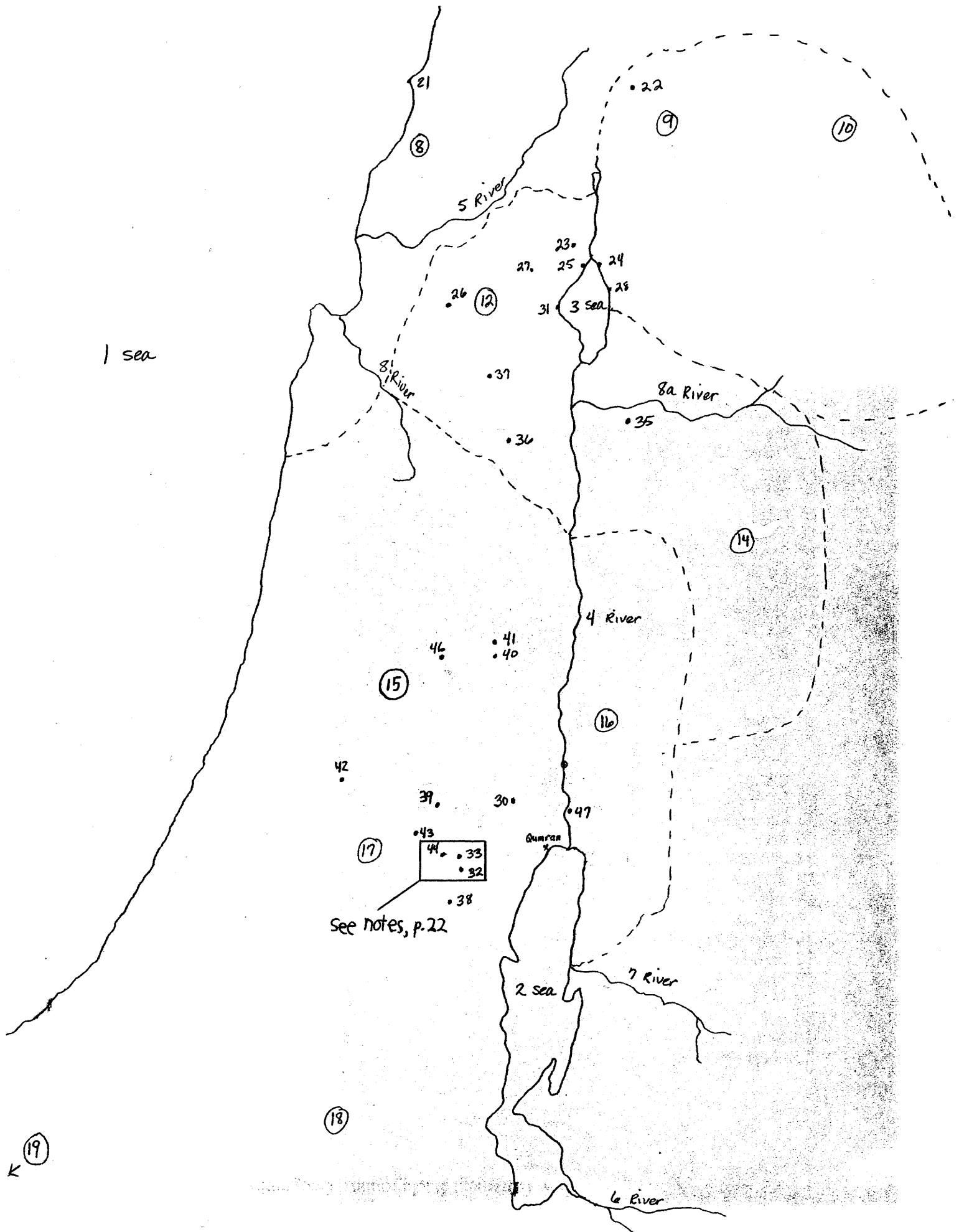
From Jerusalem:	Miles
Bethany .....	2
Bethlehem .....	6
Caesarea Philippi .....	105
Cana .....	69
Capernaum .....	85
Emmaus .....	7
Jericho .....	15
Jordan .....	21
Mediterranean .....	40
Sidon .....	130
Sychar .....	31
Tyre .....	106
Zarephath .....	118

From Capernaum:	Miles
Bethsaida .....	6
Caesarea Philippi .....	27
Cana .....	16
Nain .....	22
Mediterranean .....	32
Nazareth .....	23
Zarephath .....	45
Tyre .....	37



Geographical Locations in the Gospels (Numbers)



## Geographical Locations in the Gospels Answer Key

### Seas

- 1 Mediterranean (Great Sea)
- 2 Dead Sea
- 3 Sea of Galilee

### Rivers

- 4 Jordan
- 5 Leontes
- 6 Brook Zered
- 7 Arnon
- 8 Kishon
- 8a Yarmuk

### Provinces

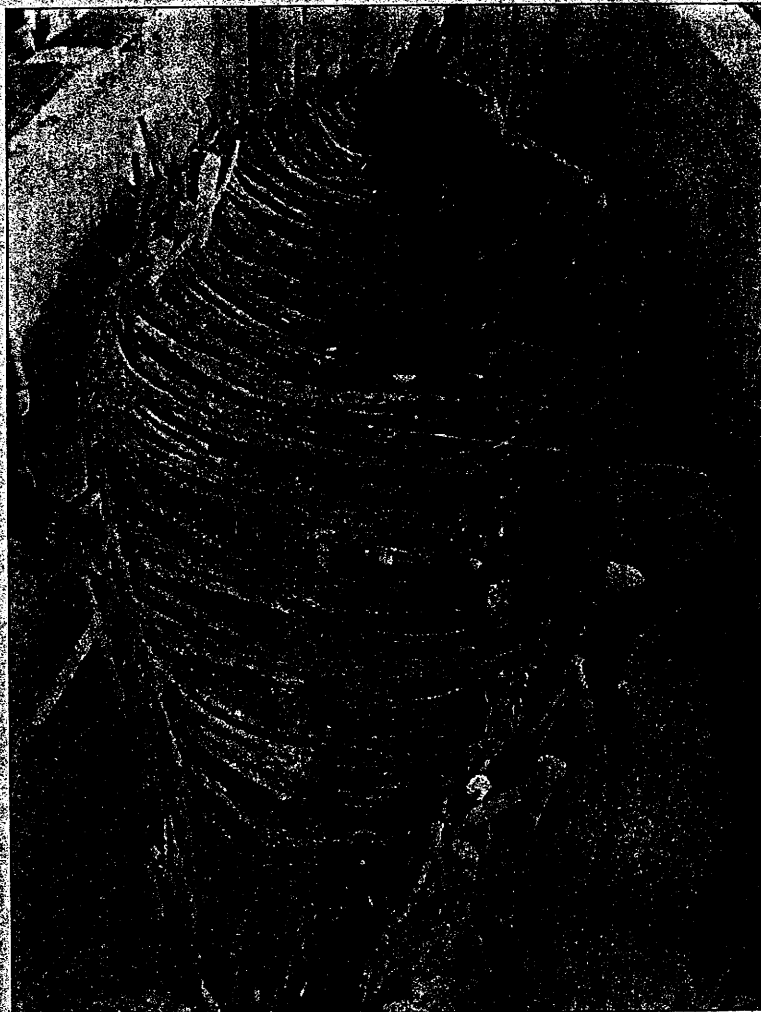
- 8 Phoenicia
- 9 Iturea
- 10 Trachonitis
- (11 Naphtali)
- 12 Galilee
- (13 Zebulun)
- 14 Decapolis
- 15 Samaria
- 16 Perea
- 17 Judea
- 18 Idumea
- 19 Egypt

### Cities

- 20 Zarephath
- 21 Tyre
- 22 Caesarea Philippi
- 23 Chorazin
- 24 Bethsaida
- 25 Capernaum
- 26 Cana
- 27 Gennesaret
- 28 Gergesa
- ~~29 Aenon~~
- 30 Jericho
- 31 Magadan (Magdala)
- 32 Bethany
- 33 Bethphage
- 34 Gerasa
- 35 Gadara
- 36 Nain
- 37 Nazareth

- 38 Bethlehem
- 39 Ramah
- 40 Salim
- 41 Aenon
- 42 Arimathea
- 43 Emmaus
- 44 Jerusalem
- 45
- 46 Sychar
- 47 Bethany beyond Jordan (?)

## ‘Jesus Boat’ revealed



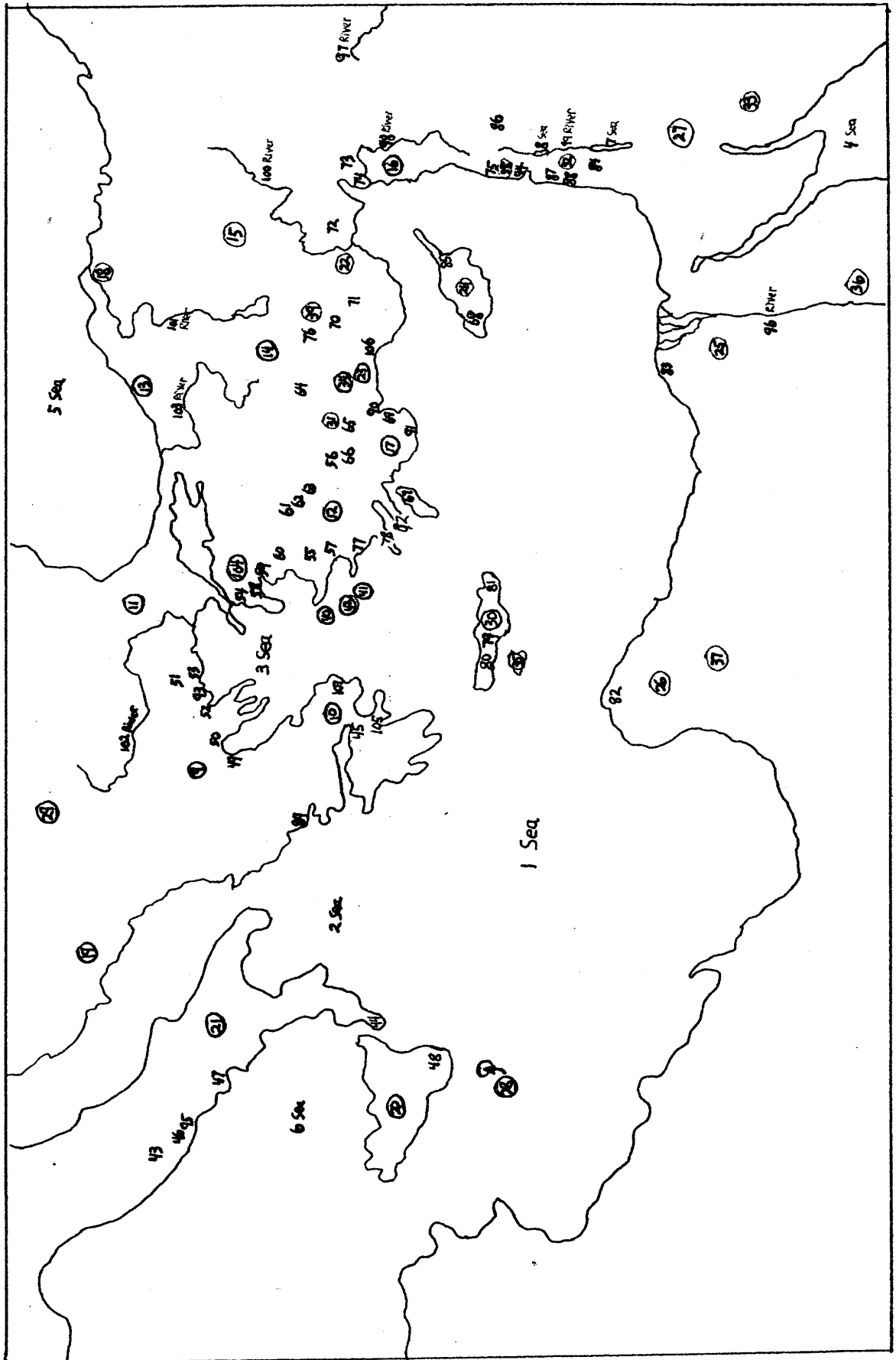
THIS 2,000-year-old fishing boat, made of seven types of wood, is seen for the first time after preservation treatment in Kibbutz Ginosar, Israel, on Monday near its 1986 discovery site on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The boat, dating back to the time of Jesus and called the "Jesus Boat", had been submerged in preservation fluid for the past three years. — Reuter picture.

ST. 28 June 1995



# Every Geographical Location in Acts/Epistles (Numbers)

## Every Geographical Location in Acts/Epistles





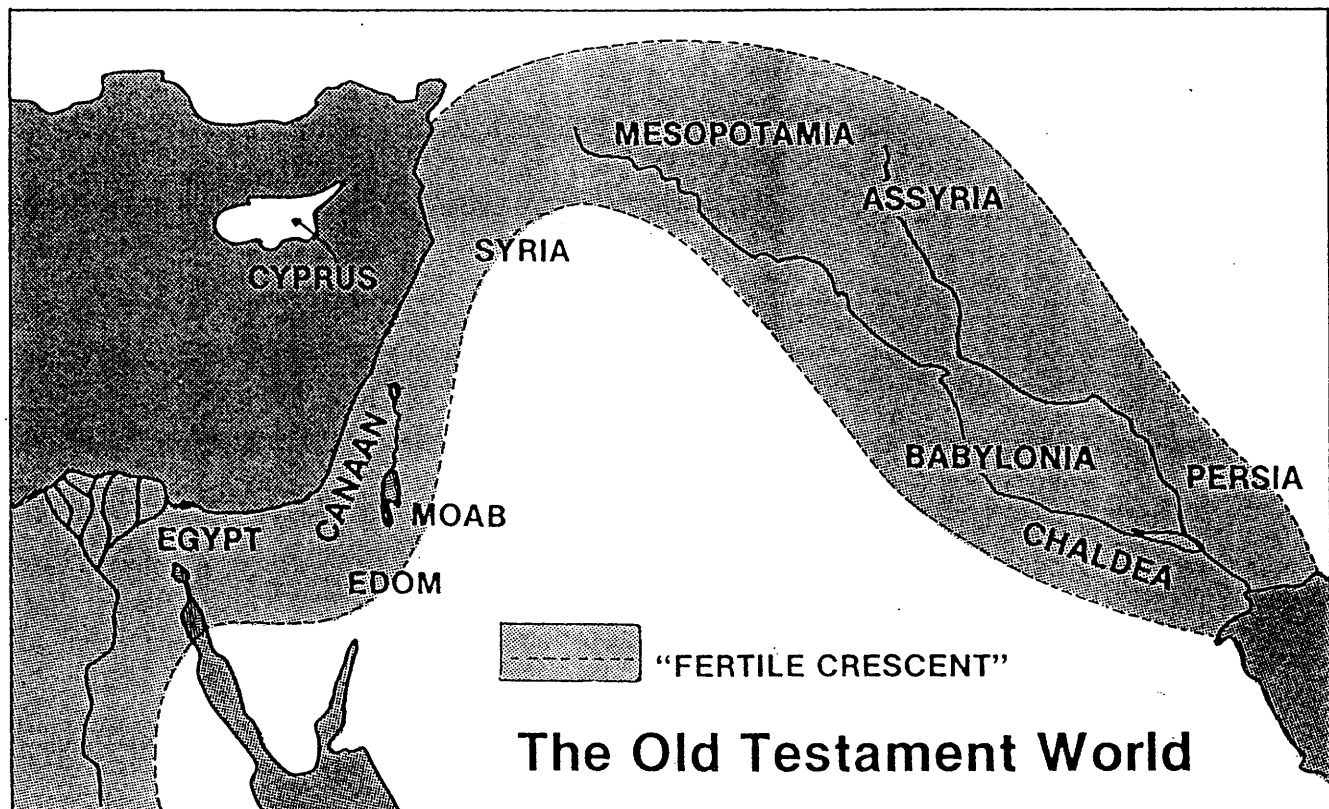
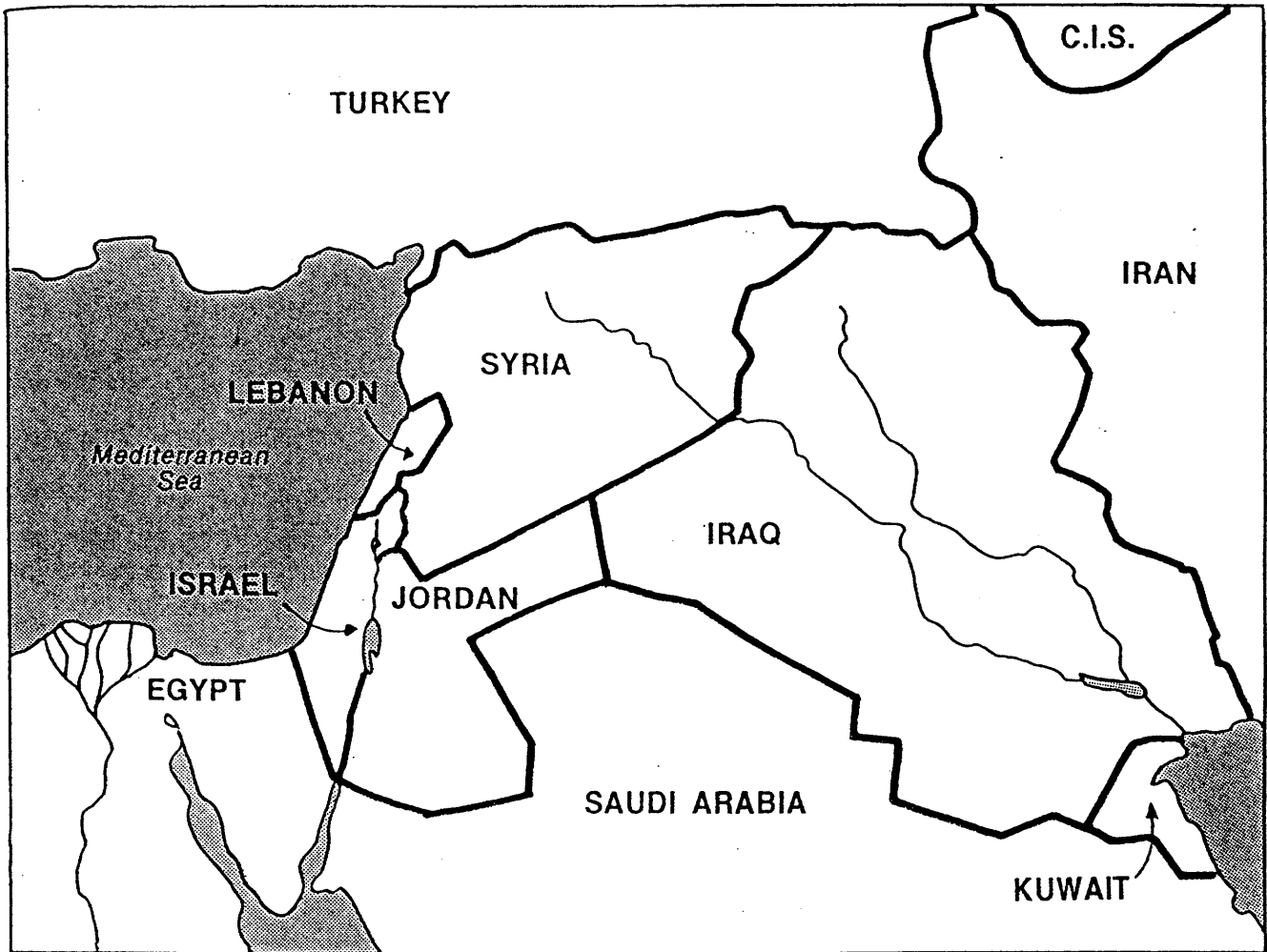
## Every Geographical Location in Acts/Epistles Answer Key

<u>Seas</u>		<u>Cities</u>		<u>Cities (cont'd)</u>	
1	Mediterranean	43	Rome	88	Caesarea
2	Adriatic	44	Rhegium	89	Nicopolis
3	Aegean	45	Corinth	90	Attalia
4	Red	46	Three Taverns	91	Patara
5	Black	47	Puteoli	92	Cnidus
6	Tyrrhenian	48	Syracuse	93	Amphipolis
7	Dead	49	Berea	94	Tyre
8	Galilee	50	Thessalonica	95	Forum of Appius
		51	Philippi	105	Cenchrea
		52	Apollonia	106	Perga
		53	Neapolis	107	Athens
		54	Troas		
		55	Smyrna	<u>Rivers</u>	
		56	Hierapolis	96	Nile
		57	Ephesus	97	Euphrates
		58	Assos	98	Orantes
		59	Adramyttium	99	Jordan
		60	Pergamum	100	Pyramus
		61	Thyatira	101	Holys
		62	Sardis	102	Hebrus
		63	Philadelphia	103	Sangarius
		64	Antioch (west)		
		65	Colossae		
		66	Laodicea		
		67	Rhodes		
		68	Paphos		
		69	Myra		
		70	Lystra		
		71	Derbe		
		72	Tarsus		
		73	Antioch (east)		
		74	Seleucia		
		75	Sidon		
		76	Iconium		
		77	Miletus		
		78	Cos		
		79	Fair Havens		
		80	Phoenix		
		81	Salomone		
		82	Cyrene		
		83	Alexandria		
		84	Jerusalem		
		85	Salamis		
		86	Damascus		
		87	Ptolemais		
<u>Provinces/Islands</u>					
9	Macedonia				
10	Achaia				
11	Thrace				
12	Asia				
13	Bithynia				
14	Galatia				
15	Cappadocia				
16	Syria				
17	Lycia				
18	Pontus				
19	Dalmatia (Illyricum)				
20	Sicily				
21	Italy				
22	Cilicia				
23	Pamphylia				
24	Cyprus				
25	Egypt				
26	Cyrenaica				
27	Arabia				
28	Malta				
29	Moesia				
30	Crete				
31	Phrygia				
32	Israel				
33	Midian				
34	Pisidia				
35	Cauda (Clauda)				
36	Ethiopia				
37	Libya				
38	Phoenicia				
39	Lyconia				
40	Chios				
41	Patmos				
42	Samos				
104	Mysia				



# Maps of the OT. and Modern Mid-East

Terry Hall, *Bible Panorama*, 49, adapted



# Regions and Elevations of Israel

LaSor, *Old Testament Survey*, 44, 47, and Hill & Walton, *A Survey of the Old Testament*, 51

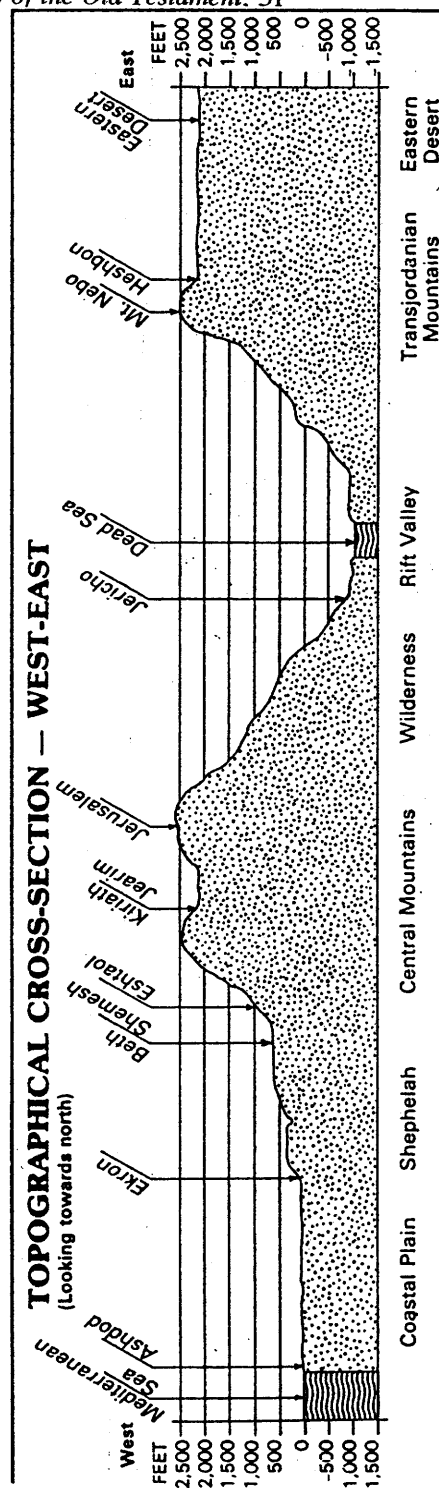
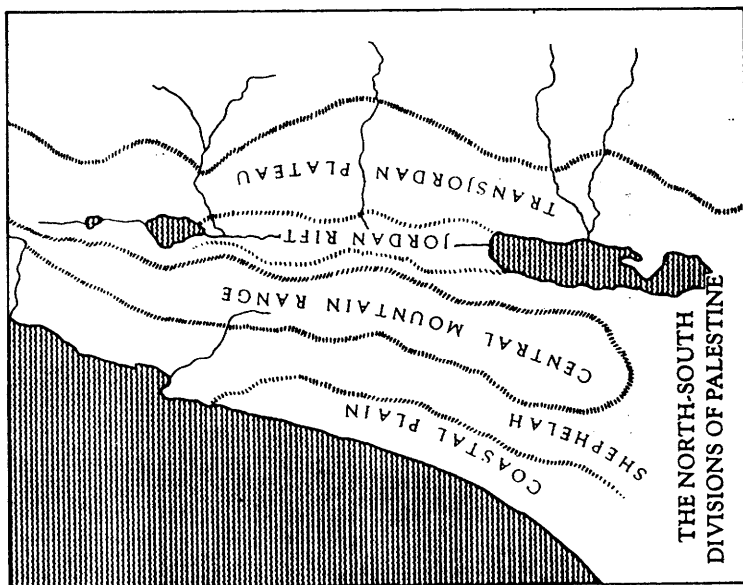
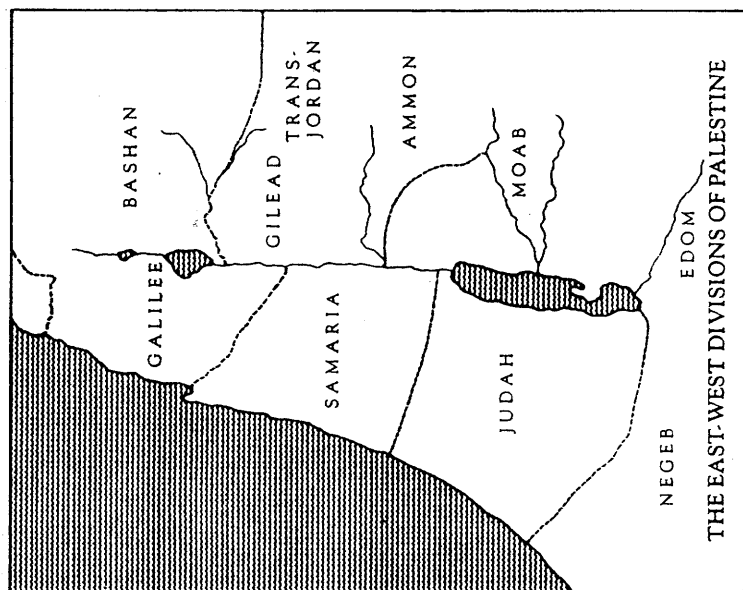
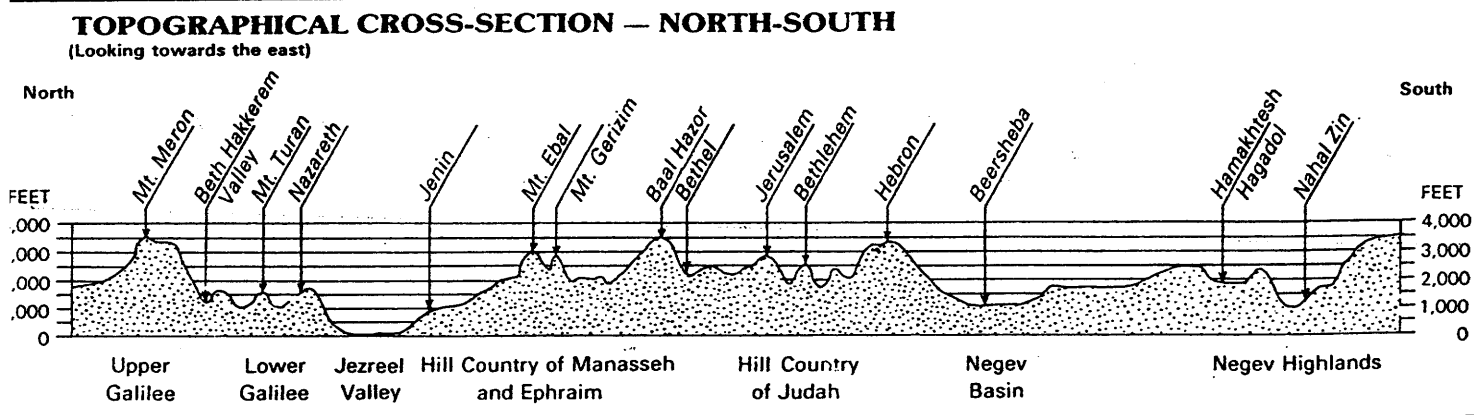


Figure 4.1. Geological Features of Palestine



# Cross-Sectional Map of Israel

Barry Beitzel, *Moody Atlas of Bible Lands*, 28-29

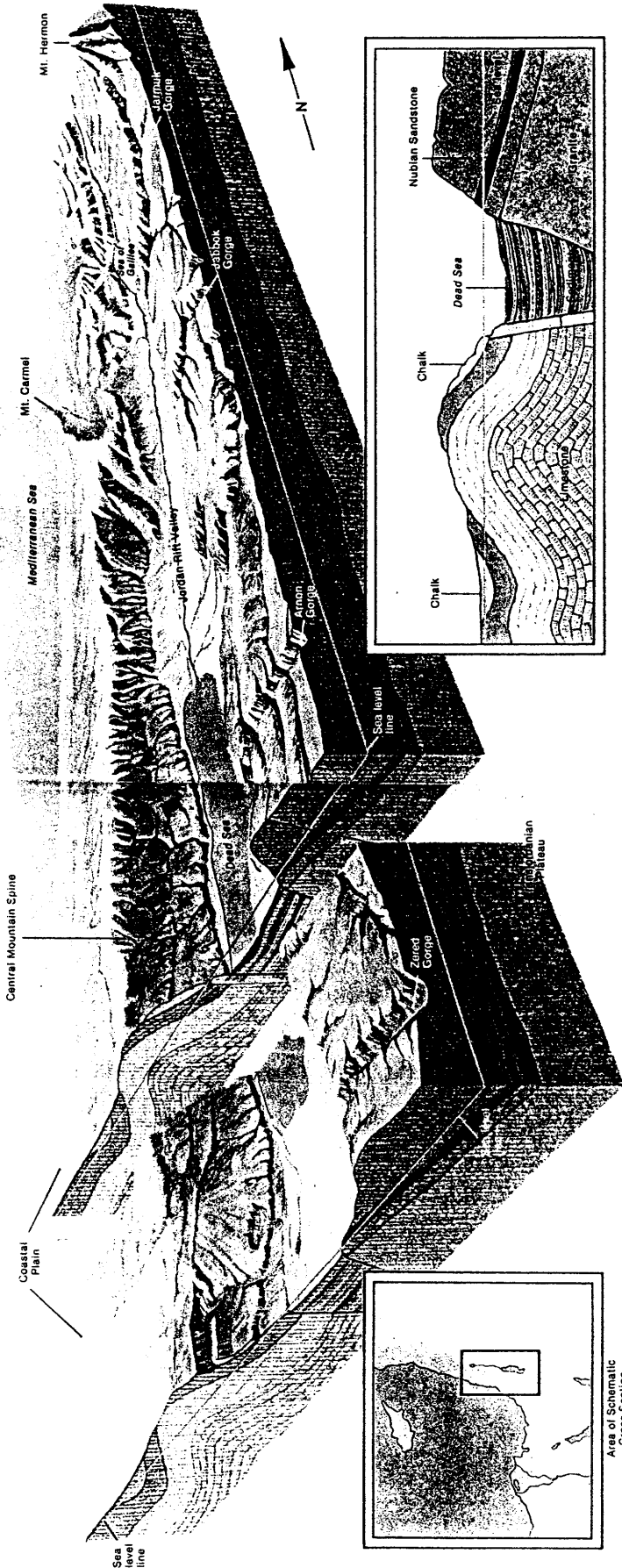


Figure 2 Cross-Sectional Schematic of Palestine.



Figure 3 Mountains of Galilee along to the Sea of Galilee at Turehove, Magdala, and Tiberias.



Figure 4 Jordan Rift Valley with the mountains of the Transjordanian Plateau covering in the background.

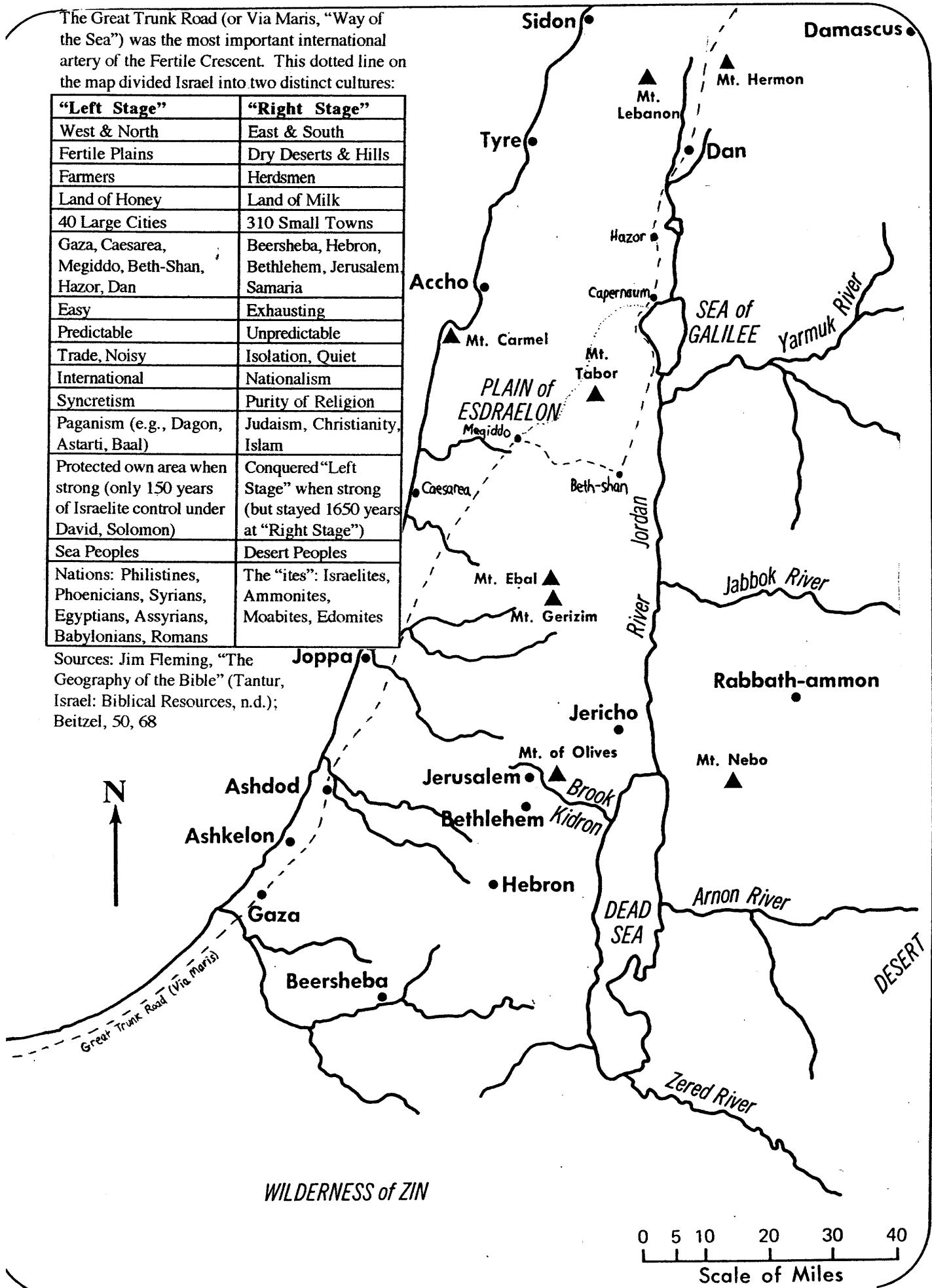
# Travel in Ancient Israel

Marjie Mehlis, *Maps of the Holy Land for Overhead Projection* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook Pub. Co., 1973)





The Great Trunk Road (or Via Maris, "Way of the Sea") was the most important international artery of the Fertile Crescent. This dotted line on the map divided Israel into two distinct cultures:

"Left Stage"	"Right Stage"
West & North	East & South
Fertile Plains	Dry Deserts & Hills
Farmers	Herdsmen
Land of Honey	Land of Milk
40 Large Cities	310 Small Towns
Gaza, Caesarea, Megiddo, Beth-Shan, Hazor, Dan	Beersheba, Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Samaria
Easy	Exhausting
Predictable	Unpredictable
Trade, Noisy	Isolation, Quiet
International	Nationalism
Syncretism	Purity of Religion
Paganism (e.g., Dagon, Astarti, Baal)	Judaism, Christianity, Islam
Protected own area when strong (only 150 years of Israelite control under David, Solomon)	Conquered "Left Stage" when strong (but stayed 1650 years at "Right Stage")
Sea Peoples	Desert Peoples
Nations: Philistines, Phoenicians, Syrians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Romans	The "ites": Israelites, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites

Sources: Jim Fleming, "The Geography of the Bible" (Tantur, Israel: Biblical Resources, n.d.); Beitzel, 50, 68



# Development of Modern Israel

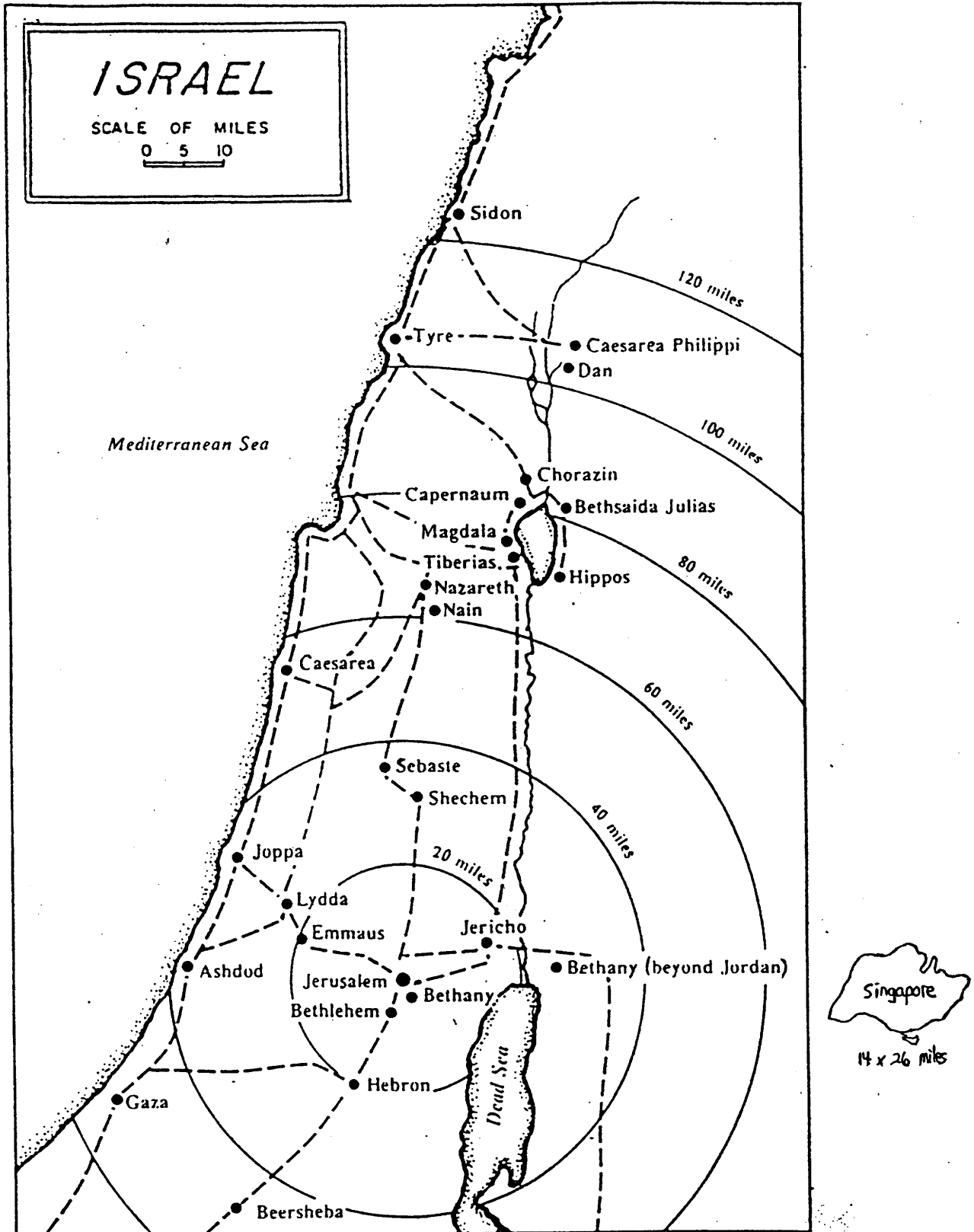
-  Territory allotted to Israel by the United Nations Partition Accords (November 1947) and augmented in the 1948 War and 1949 Agreements (Jerusalem was a divided city)
-  Territory occupied by Israel after the 6-Day War (June 1967)—not fundamentally altered after Separation of Forces Agreement following the Yom Kippur War (October 1973)
-  Territory occupied by Israel after the 6-Day War (June 1967) but returned to Egypt under the Camp David Accord (September 1978) and completed almost four years later (April 1982)
-  Territory occupied temporarily in southern Lebanon by Israel's forces (March 1978-June 1978)



Adapted from Marjie Mehlis, *Maps of the Holy Land for Overhead Projection* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook Pub. Co., 1973), 8; Barry J. Beitzel, *The Moody Bible Atlas* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1985), 191

# Sizes of Israel vs. Singapore

Source Unknown





# Road Distances and Temperatures in Israel

*Israel: A Visitor's Companion* (Jerusalem: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1993)  
 and "Landface Pictorial Four in One Map" (Herzliya: Landface Co. Ltd., 1994)

## Average Temperatures

		Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Jerusalem	C	6-11	7-14	8-16	12-21	15-25	17-27	19-29	19-29	18-28	16-26	12-19	8-14
	F	43-53	44-57	47-61	53-69	60-77	63-81	66-84	66-86	65-82	60-78	54-67	47-56
Tel Aviv	C	9-18	9-19	10-20	12-22	17-25	19-28	21-30	22-30	20-31	15-28	12-25	9-19
	F	49-65	48-66	51-69	54-72	63-77	67-83	70-86	72-86	69-89	59-83	54-76	47-66
Haifa	C	8-17	9-18	8-21	13-26	15-25	18-28	20-30	21-30	20-30	16-27	13-23	9-18
	F	46-63	47-64	47-70	55-78	58-76	64-82	68-86	70-86	68-85	60-81	56-74	48-65
Tiberias	C	9-18	9-20	11-22	13-27	17-32	20-35	23-37	24-37	22-35	19-32	15-26	11-20
	F	48-65	49-67	51-72	56-80	62-89	68-95	73-98	75-99	71-95	65-89	59-78	53-68
Elat	C	10-21	11-23	13-26	17-31	21-35	24-37	25-40	26-40	24-36	20-33	16-28	11-23
	F	49-70	51-73	56-79	63-87	69-95	75-99	77-103	79-104	75-98	69-92	61-83	51-74
Dead Sea	C	114-20	132-22	162-253	199-293	236-338	268-373	282-389	286-383	272-356	236-32	183-266	132-215
	F	53-68	56-72	61-78	68-85	75-93	80-99	83-102	83-101	81-96	75-90	65-80	56-71

## Road distances (In KM).

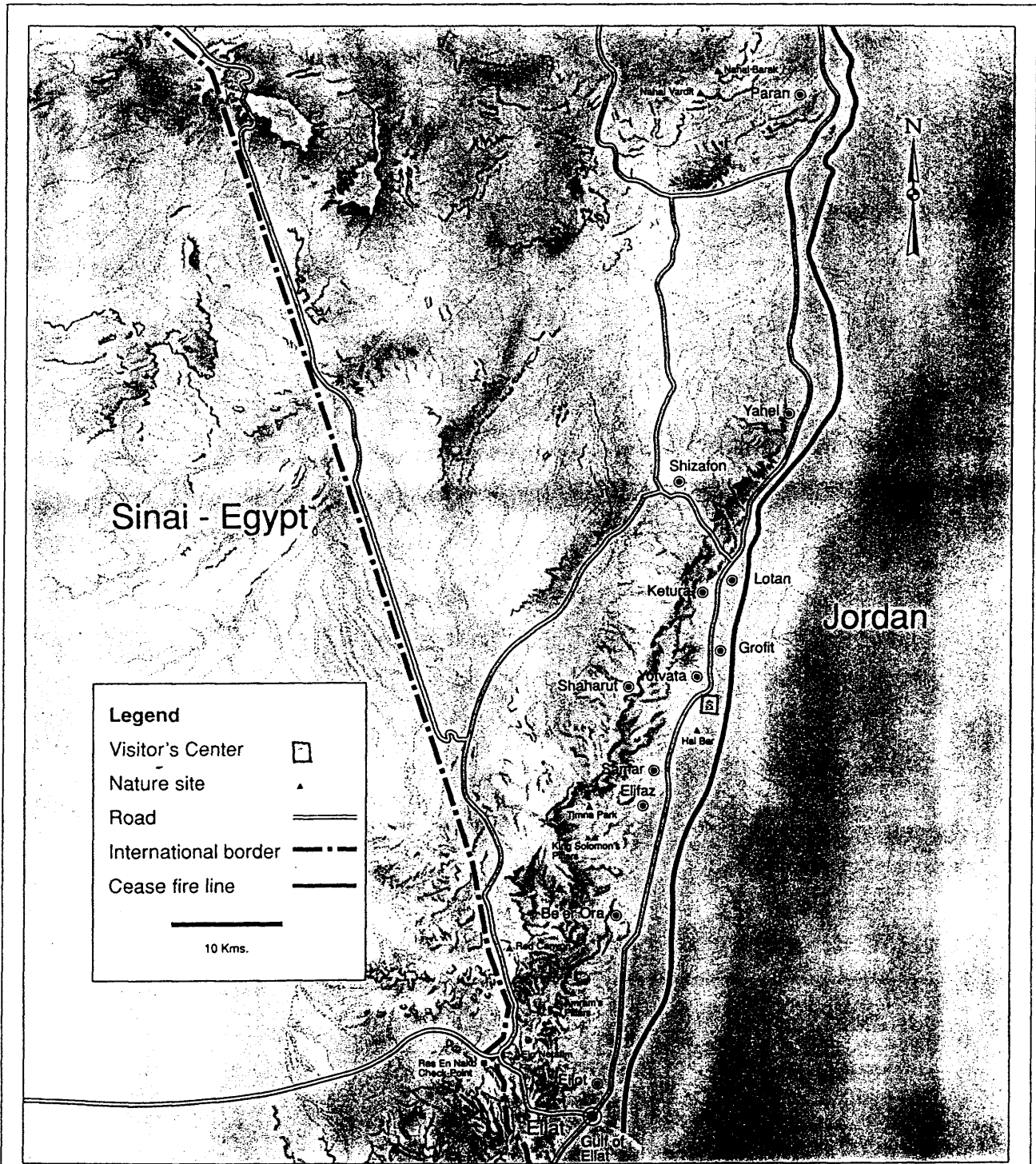
1 MILE = 1.61 KMS; 1 KM = 0.62 MILES

	Eilat	Beer Sheva	Ashkelon	Jerusalem	Massada	Rehovot	B.G. Airport	Tel - Aviv	Netanya	Zichron Yaakov	Afula	Nazareth	Tiberias	Haifa	Safed	Metula
<b>Eilat</b>		241	307	307	214	320	351	354	385	403	432	444	473	427	439	471
<b>Beer Sheva</b>	241		66	81	105	85	110	115	144	176	191	217	246	200	269	293
<b>Ashkelon</b>	307	66		71	166	48	49	49	78	107	139	151	180	134	200	255
<b>Jerusalem</b>	307	81	71		90	55	45	59	93	110	120	131	176	131	194	214
<b>Massada</b>	214	105	166	90		145	141	153	171	190	220	230	242	213	225	257
<b>Rehovot</b>	320	85	48	55	145		16	22	56	88	114	127	156	120	191	221
<b>B.G. Airport</b>	351	110	49	45	141	16		15	44	62	85	109	137	115	157	199
<b>Tel - Aviv</b>	354	115	49	59	153	22	15		29	61	90	102	131	85	162	195
<b>Netanya</b>	385	144	78	93	171	56	44	29		34	59	72	100	58	135	166
<b>Zichron Yaakov</b>	403	176	107	110	190	88	62	61	34		44	40	75	21	106	140
<b>Afula</b>	432	191	139	120	220	114	85	90	59	44		12	41	48	72	103
<b>Nazareth</b>	444	217	151	131	230	127	109	102	72	40	12		29	37	70	91
<b>Tiberias</b>	473	246	180	176	242	156	137	131	100	75	41	29		57	35	62
<b>Haifa</b>	427	200	134	131	213	120	115	85	58	21	48	37	57		74	115
<b>Safed</b>	439	269	200	194	225	191	157	162	135	106	72	70	35	74		46
<b>Metula</b>	471	293	255	214	257	221	199	195	166	140	103	91	62	105	46	

# The Negev Eilat Mountains Map

*Sculptured Wilderness: Touring the Negev Desert* (Beersheba: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1995)

• Petra



## History of the Negev

*Sculptured Wilderness: Touring the Negev Desert (Beersheba: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1995)*

Nabatean traders plied its trails and fought with the Romans and the people of Judea for control of the Spice Route.

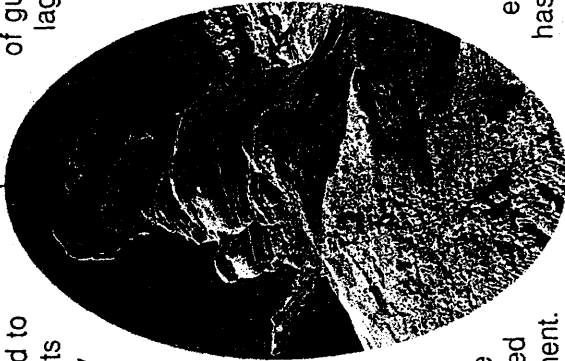
This history left a strong archaeological imprint on the Negev: it is marked out with ancient highways and contains the ruins of guard posts, way stations, monasteries, farming villages, and towns that grew up around caravan stops.

After the Arab conquest in 636, settlement in the Negev declined. By the ninth century, it was inhabited only by a few nomads.

A thousand years later, settlers returned to the Negev. The Zionist movement considered settlement of the Negev one of the most important tasks in the revival of the land of Israel. Following the War of Independence, settlement in the northern Negev was intensified. Beersheba grew from a town of 5,000 inhabitants to a city of 120,000.

The Negev is still virtually unknown to most travelers to Israel. Its hidden wadis and canyons, clear blue skies, and stark mountains are still off the beaten track. But in the past few years, its tourism potential has finally been recognized. Its weather is good all year round, and it is situated only a two-hour drive from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Touring facilities and services are being developed, ancient sites have been restored, natural treasures are being preserved, and hiking trails have been marked. It is a land waiting to be discovered.

The Negev sprawls over the southern part of Israel, from Beersheba to the Gulf of Eilat. This triangular expanse of land, situated between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Dead Sea, is an arid to semiarid desert; its 12,000 square kilometers comprise over half of the State of Israel. Compared to other deserts, however, the Negev is not very large. Its next-door neighbor, Sinai, is six times its size, to say nothing of vast deserts like the Sahara, or Arabia. But in its small area it encompasses all of the varied landforms that make up a desert: desert flats, badlands, sand dunes, desert pavements, cliff faces that stretch for dozens of kilometers, cuestas, deep canyons, and landforms that can be found only in the Negev.



Besides its natural beauty, the Negev can lay claim to a long and interesting human history. Ten thousand years ago, hunters were already roaming the area. Egyptians, Israelites, Edomites, Amalekites, and other biblical peoples made their way through the wilderness. Abraham, Hagar, Moses, and Elijah walked along its dusty paths. David orchestrated its development. Herod adorned it with magnificent palaces and towering fortresses.

From the area north of the Dead Sea, John the Baptist called upon the people of Israel to repent, and ascetics sought out God in the secluded caves of the Judean wilderness and northern Negev.

## The Spice Route History

*Sculptured Wilderness: Touring the Negev Desert* (Beersheba: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1995)

# The Spice Route

Nabatean traders and farmers continued to service the Spice Route.

As the Roman civilization in the East expanded, the Nabateans shifted their efforts to raising thoroughbred horses for the racetracks of the Roman world.

When Christianity became the state religion in the third century, the Negev became an important Christian center. Ascetics sought spiritual fulfillment in its caves, monasteries formed, and Christian pilgrims filled the Negev roads.

Spices were a highly prized commodity in ancient times. In a world without refrigeration, the only way to preserve perishable goods was to salt them heavily, and spices made the salted food bearable.

The most important spices were grown in Arabia and Somalia, and transported across the deserts to the urban centers along the Mediterranean shore. Hauling the spices along the dusty desert routes was an expensive proposition, and by the time they reached their destination, their price had increased by 600%. It is hardly surprising that kingdoms battled each other for control of the shipping routes.

In the third century BCE, a remarkable people began to dominate the spice trade: the Nabateans, nomads who founded a prosperous civilization with the fortunes they made leading camel caravans on secret routes in the desert. Their empire stretched across the Middle East, in cities carved out of the rocks of the wilderness.

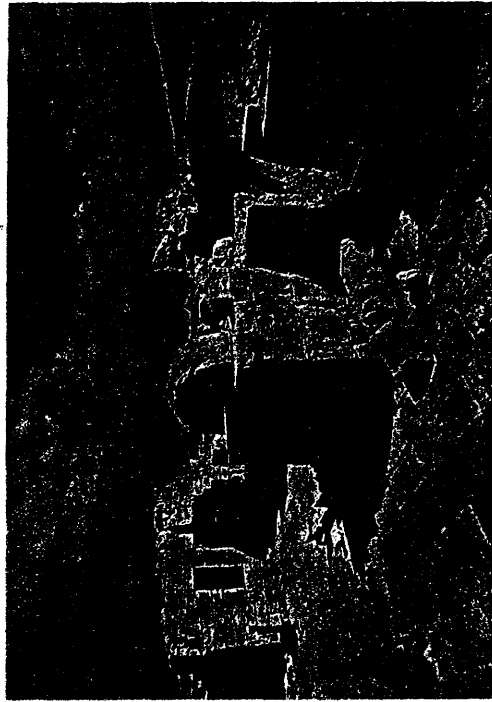
The Nabatean kingdom flourished in the Negev for a thousand years. Eventually, the Nabateans developed a unique desert agriculture. In 106, the Negev was incorporated into the Roman Empire. It was a peaceful take-over, and the

After the Arab conquest of the Negev in the seventh century, the roads to the West and the centers of the Byzantine Empire were blocked. The thoroughbred horses no longer had access to the Roman racetracks, and wine, which had been a major source of income for the desert-dwellers, could not be sold.

Gradually, the Negev was abandoned. But the towns, fortresses, and farms were not destroyed, and they still dot the Negev landscapes. Six Nabatean cities stand intact.

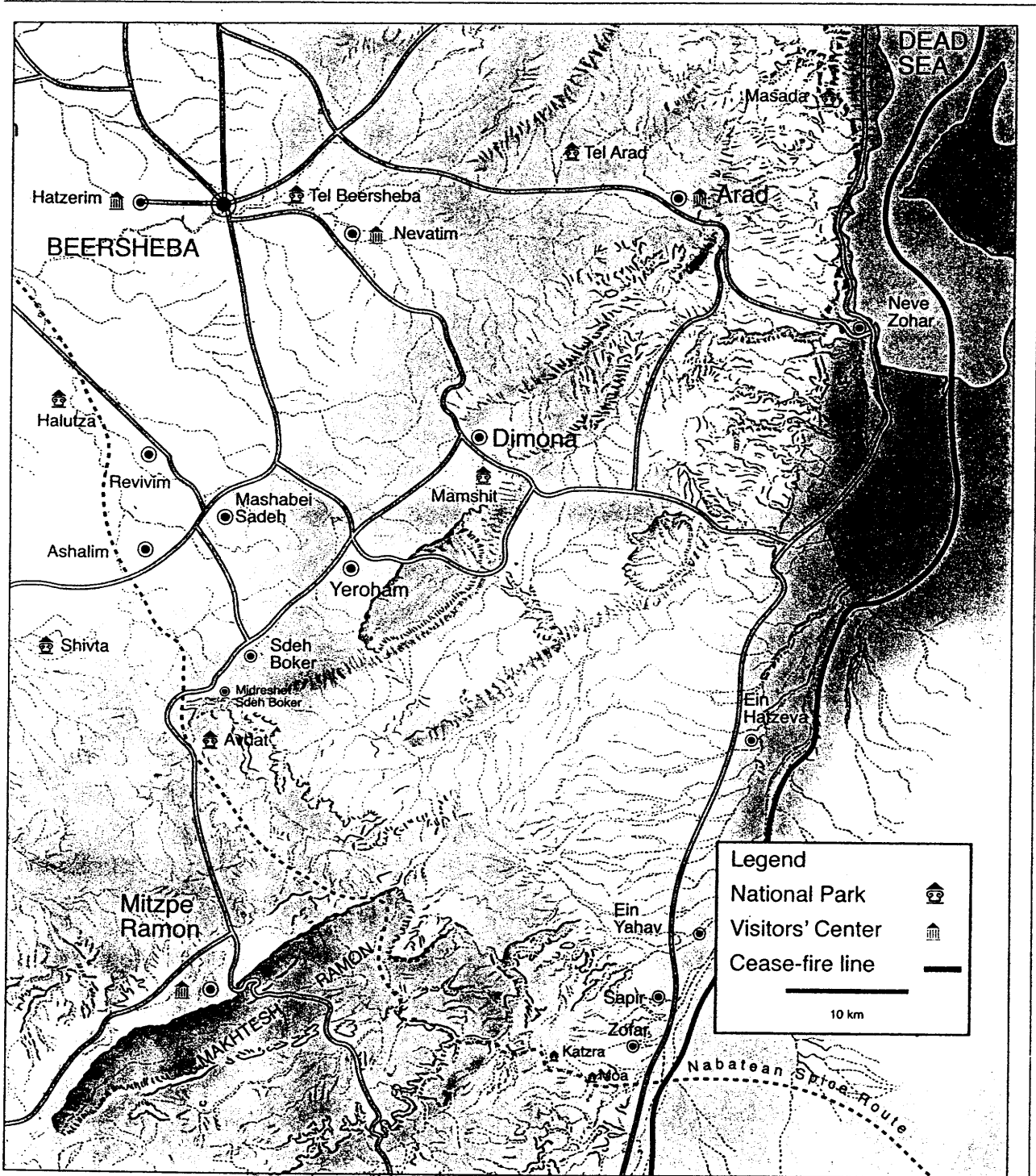
The secret Nabatean camel route that crossed the Negev has been rediscovered. On its way from Arabia to the Mediterranean shore, the 1,600-kilometer-long route passes through Petra, a city carved in the red rock of the mountains of Edom, and descends the serpentine Wadi Mussa to the Arava Valley. After crossing the Arava, it enters the canyon of Nahal Nekarot and climbs through the passes hewn out of the rocky cliffs to the Nabatean city of Avdat. Here, the camels and their drivers rested before completing the last leg of the trek.

The Spice Route and the Nabatean cities are well worth exploring on any Negev trip.



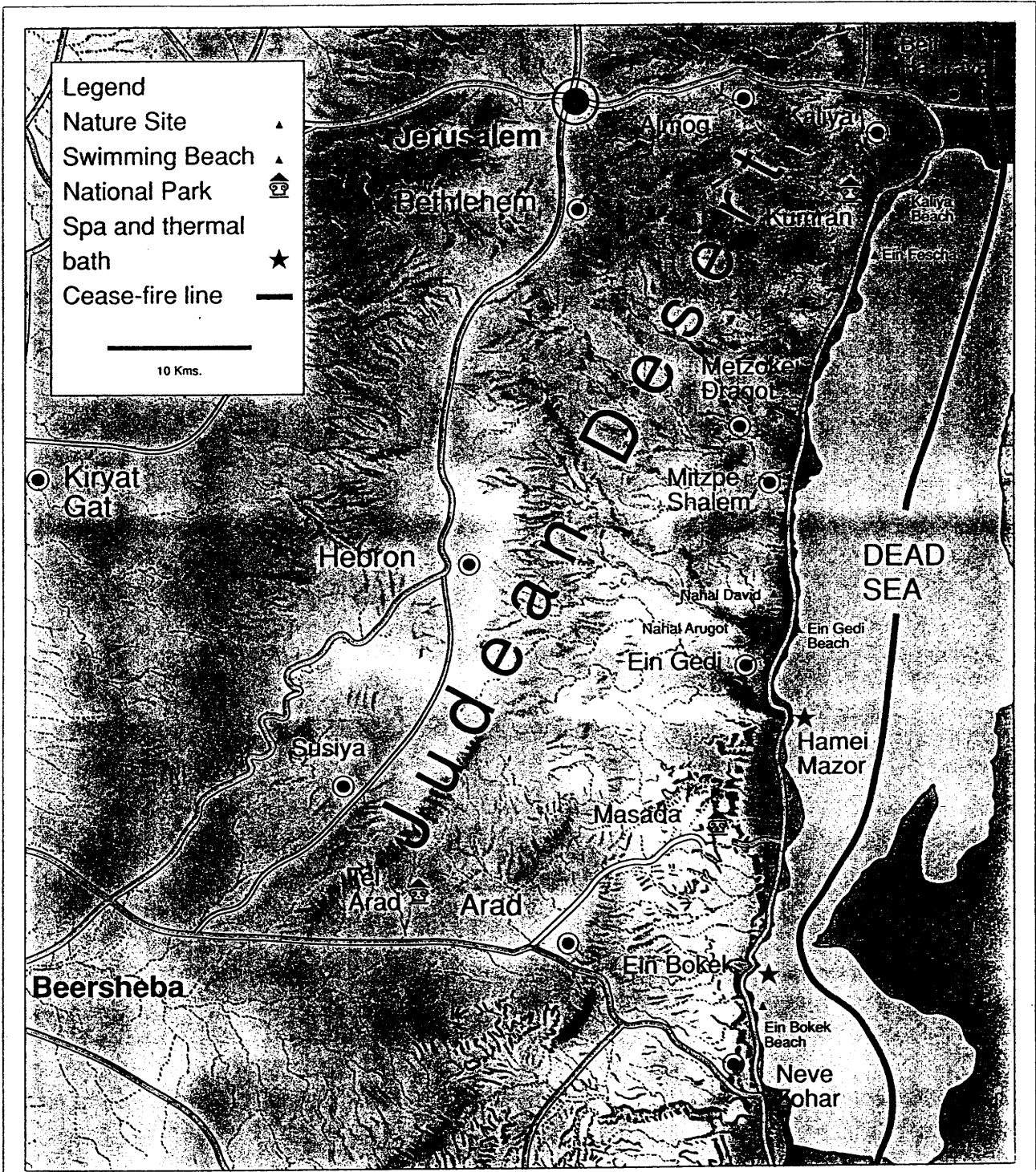
# The Spice Route Map

*Sculptured Wilderness: Touring the Negev Desert* (Beersheba: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1995)



# Judean Desert Map

*Sculptured Wilderness: Touring the Negev Desert (Beersheba: Israel Ministry of Tourism, 1995)*





# Jerusalem

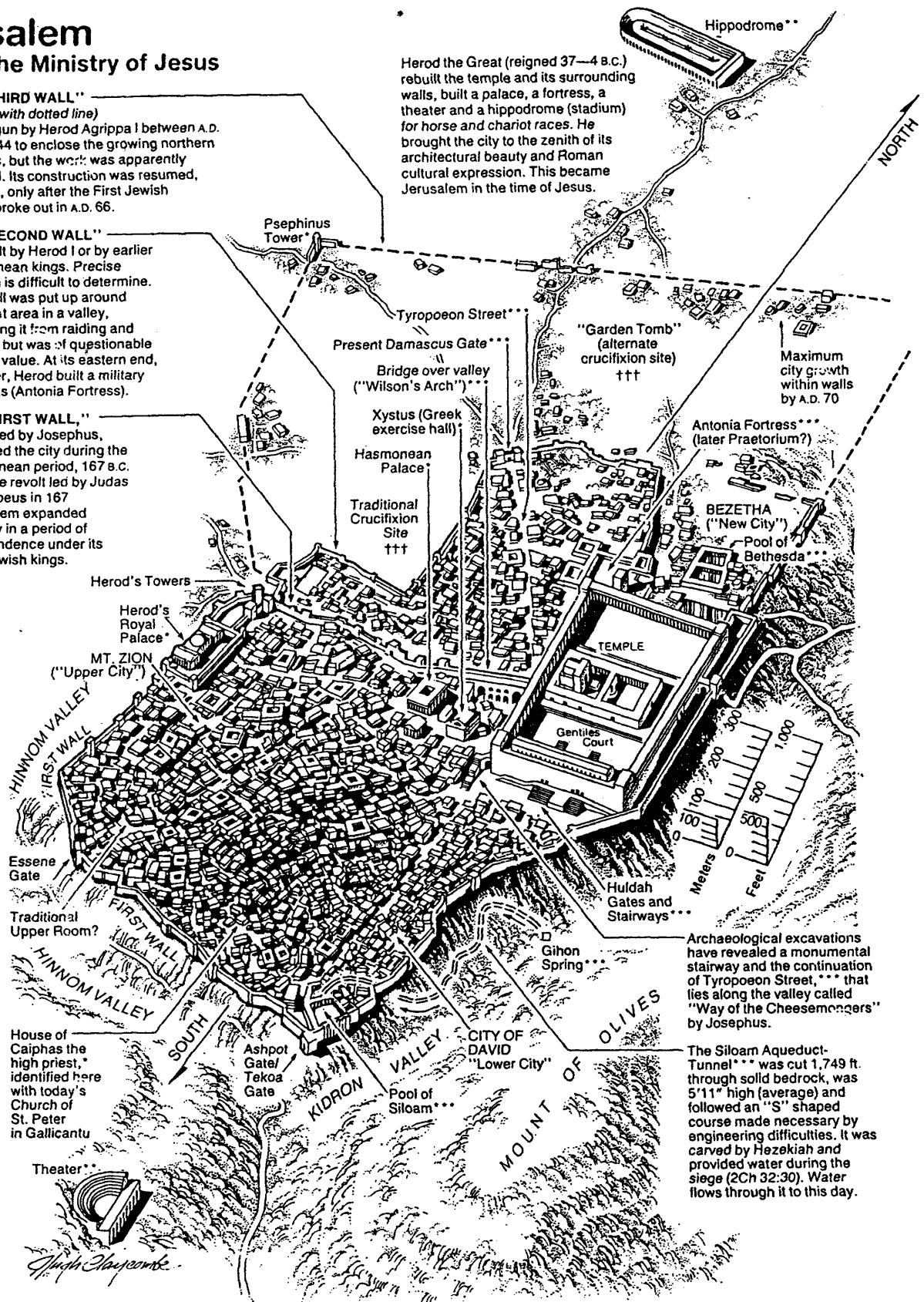
## During the Ministry of Jesus

The "THIRD WALL" (shown with dotted line) was begun by Herod Agrippa I between A.D. 41 and 44 to enclose the growing northern suburbs, but the work was apparently stopped. Its construction was resumed, in haste, only after the First Jewish Revolt broke out in A.D. 66.

The "SECOND WALL" was built by Herod I or by earlier Hasmonean kings. Precise location is difficult to determine. This wall was put up around a market area in a valley, protecting it from raiding and looting, but was of questionable military value. At its eastern end, however, Herod built a military barracks (Antonia Fortress).

The "FIRST WALL," so named by Josephus, encircled the city during the Hasmonean period, 167 B.C. After the revolt led by Judas Maccabeus in 167 Jerusalem expanded steadily in a period of independence under its own Jewish kings.

Herod the Great (reigned 37-4 B.C.) rebuilt the temple and its surrounding walls, built a palace, a fortress, a theater and a hippodrome (stadium) for horse and chariot races. He brought the city to the zenith of its architectural beauty and Roman cultural expression. This became Jerusalem in the time of Jesus.



Archaeological excavations have revealed a monumental stairway and the continuation of Tyropoeon Street, \*\*\* that lies along the valley called "Way of the Cheesemongers" by Josephus.

The Siloam Aqueduct-Tunnel\*\*\* was cut 1,749 ft. through solid bedrock, was 5'11" high (average) and followed an "S" shaped course made necessary by engineering difficulties. It was carved by Hezekiah and provided water during the siege (2Ch 32:30). Water flows through it to this day.

\* Location generally known, but style of architecture is unknown; artist's concept only, and Roman architecture is assumed.

\*\* Location and architecture unknown, but referred to in written history; shown here for illustrative purposes.

\*\*\* Ancient feature has remained, or appearance has been determined from evidence.

Buildings, streets and roads shown here are artist's concept only unless otherwise named and located. Wall heights remain generally unknown, except for those surrounding the Temple Mount.

DEEP VALLEYS on the east, south and west permitted urban expansion only to the north.

© Hugh Claycombe 1982

# Passion Week

## Bethany, the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem

# Passion Week

## Bible Visual Resource Book, 193

**4. Clearing of the temple** **MONDAY**  
 Mt 21:10-17  
 Mk 11:15-18  
 Lk 19:45-48

The next day he returned to the temple and found the court of the Gentiles full of traders and money changers making a large profit as they gave out Jewish coins in exchange for "pagan" money. Jesus drove them out and overturned their tables.

**5. Day of controversy and parables**  
**TUESDAY** Mt 21:23-24:51  
 Mk 11:27-13:37; Lk 20:1-21:36

Jesus evaded the traps set by the priests. **ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES (OVERLOOKING JERUSALEM)** (Tuesday afternoon, exact location unknown) He taught in parables and warned the people against the Pharisees. He predicted the destruction of Herod's great temple and told his disciples about future events, including his own return.

**6. Day of rest** **WEDNESDAY**  
 Not mentioned in the Gospels

The Scriptures do not mention this day, but the counting of the days (Mk 14:1; Jn 12:1) seems to indicate that there was another day concerning which the Gospels record nothing.

**7. Passover Last Supper** **THURSDAY**  
 Mt 26:17-30; Mk 14:12-26;  
 Lk 22:7-23; Jn 13:1-30

In an upper room, Jesus prepared both himself and his disciples for his death. He gave the Passover meal a new meaning. The loaf of bread and cup of wine represented his body soon to be sacrificed and his blood soon to be shed. And so he instituted the "Lord's Supper." After singing a hymn they went to the Garden of Gethsemane, where Jesus prayed in agony, knowing what lay ahead for him.

**8. Crucifixion**—**FRIDAY** Mt 27:1-66; Mk 15:1-47; Lk 22:66-23:56; Jn 18:28-19:37

Following betrayal, arrest, desertion, false trials, denial, condemnation, beatings and mockery, Jesus was required to carry his cross to "The Place of the Skull," where he was crucified with two other prisoners.

**9. In the tomb**

Jesus' body was placed in the tomb before 6:00 P.M. Friday night, when the Sabbath, began and all work stopped, and it lay in the tomb throughout the Sabbath.

**10. Resurrection**—**SUNDAY** Mt 28:1-13; Mk 16:1-20; Lk 24:1-49; Jn 20:1-31

Early in the morning, women went to the tomb and found that the stone closing the tomb's entrance had been rolled back. An angel told them Jesus was alive and gave them a message. Jesus' resurrection was established as a fact.

**3. The Triumphal Entry** **SUNDAY**  
 Mt 21:1-11; Mk 11:1-11;  
 Lk 19:28-44; Jn 12:12-19

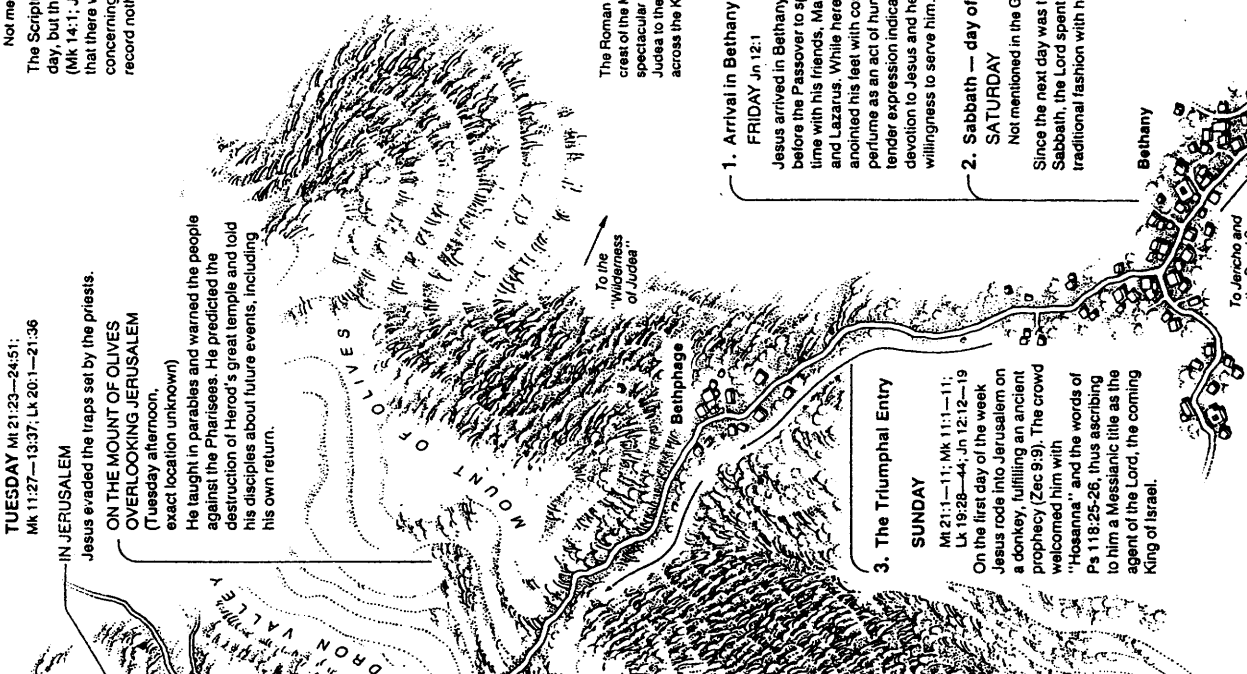
On the first day of the week Jesus rode into Jerusalem on a donkey, fulfilling an ancient prophecy (Zec 9:9). The crowd welcomed him with "Hosanna" and the words of Ps 118:25-26, thus ascribing to him a Messianic title as the agent of the Lord, the coming King of Israel.

**1. Arrival in Bethany** **FRIDAY** Jn 12:1

Jesus arrived in Bethany six days before the Passover to spend some time with his friends, Mary, Martha and Lazarus. While here, Mary anointed his feet with costly perfume as an act of humility. This tender expression indicated Mary's devotion to Jesus and her willingness to serve him.

**2. Sabbath — day of rest** **SATURDAY**  
 Not mentioned in the Gospels

Since the next day was the Sabbath, the Lord spent the day in traditional fashion with his friends.



© Hugh Claycombe 1982



The Old City  
**JERUSALEM**  
 Produced by the Cartographic Division

**NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY**  
 GILBERT M. GROSVENOR, PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN  
 WILLIAM L. ALLEN, EDITOR, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE  
 JOHN F. SHUPF, CHIEF CARTOGRAPHER  
 Washington, D.C., April 1996



Church of St. Stephen (Dominican)

**WHERE WAS JESUS BURIED?**  
 In a crypt within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, say most Christians. Some, though, maintain he was buried in the Garden Tomb.

Rockefeller Museum

**CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE**  
 Traditional site of Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection, this church today is physically and spiritually divided among Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, Syrians, and Copts. Since the mid-1800s Ethiopians have lived on the roof of the church to press their claim to part of the sanctuary.

Church of St. Anne (White Fathers)

Church of Our Lady of the Spasm (Armenians)

Monastery of St. Anne (White Fathers)

El Bakariya School (Boys)

Church of St. Verome (Greek Catholic)

St. Anne's Seminary (White Fathers)

Monastery of the Flagellation

El Bakariya School (Boys)

Shakar Ha-Haravani

Solomon's Throne

OUBBAT AL-SAKHRA (DOME OF THE ROCK)

TEMPLE MOUNT

'Al-Kas' (The Cup)

Mosque al-Maghāriba

AL-AQSA MOSQUE

Robinson's Arch

Dung Gate

MT. OPHEL

KIDRON VALLEY

Gihon Spring

Church of the Holy Archangels (Armenian)

Armenian Museum

Armenian Library

St. Tarkmanchats School

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## History of Jerusalem

The history of Jerusalem is a long and complicated one. Since the city has been one of the most destroyed and rebuilt cities in the world, deciphering the various layers of civilizations has proven a challenge for even the best archaeologists.

Jerusalem is divided into two general sections: the New City (developed largely since 1967) and the Old City (surrounded by a wall built by the Muslim Turks in AD 1530). The eastern part of Jerusalem includes the Mount of Olives and Kidron Valley and has a large Arab population whereas western Jerusalem is entirely Jewish.

Jerusalem means “City of (the god) Salim,” for it originally was a Canaanite city. This Egyptian, West Semitic, and Akkadian “Salim” in Hebrew sounds much like “Shalom,” or “peace.” Thus it has been called the “City of Peace,” but perhaps no other city has been fought over more! The Bible also calls this city Salem, Jebus, Zion, Ariel, and the City. Other names include Aelia Capitolina (Roman name after the AD 132 Jewish revolt to fourth century) and El-Quds (Muslim).

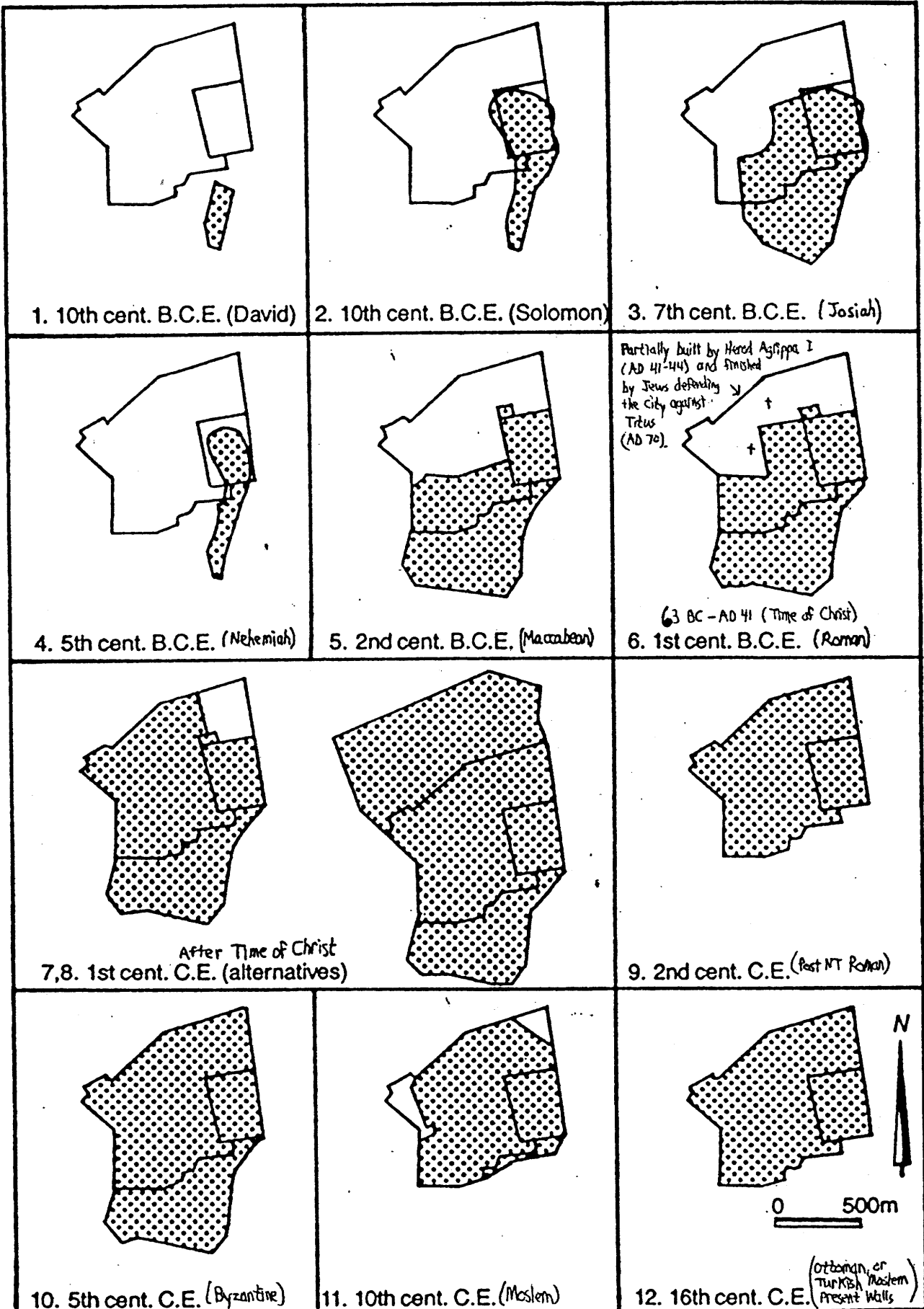
Jerusalem remains the largest populated city in Israel (600,000). Tel Aviv is larger when the outside metropolitan areas are included and most nations consider Tel Aviv the capital. However, Israel regards Jerusalem the “real” capital. Every foot walks with a sense of history. Just look at the history of the 14 periods of control over this incredible city:

Dates	Period
3150-1006 BC	Canaanite/Jebusite (not conquered by Joshua)
1006-586 BC	Israelite (David until Nebuchadnezzar's destruction)
586-538 BC	Babylonian (Judah's exile)
538-331 BC	Persian (Judah's return)
331-143 BC	Hellenistic (Greek)
143-63 BC	Hasmonean (limited Jewish self-rule under Greeks)
63 BC-AD 324	Roman (time of Christ and early church)
AD 324-638	Byzantine (“Christian” Roman Empire—i.e., Eastern Orthodox control)
AD 638-1099	Early Moslem (Dome of Rock built)
AD 1099-1187	Crusader (“Christian”)
AD 1187-1517	Mamluk (Moslem)
AD 1517-1917	Ottoman (Turkish Moslem, built present walls)
AD 1917-1948	British Rule (under League of Nations mandate)
AD 1948-1967	State of Israel (but Jordan controlled East Jerusalem)
AD 1967-1993	East Jerusalem, West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan controlled by Israel
AD 1993-now	Gaza Strip, Jericho, Bethlehem conceded to Palestinian self-rule

# Jerusalem in Various Periods

Charlesworth, *Jesus Within Judaism*, 113

Note that "B.C.E." below means "Before Common Era" which most of us generally refer to as B.C. ("Before Christ"). It follows, then, that "C.E." means "Common Era" or A.D. ("Anno Domini—the Year of Our Lord"). Many scholars use these alternate abbreviations to show sensitivity to Jewish scholars who take offense at dating based on Jesus' life.



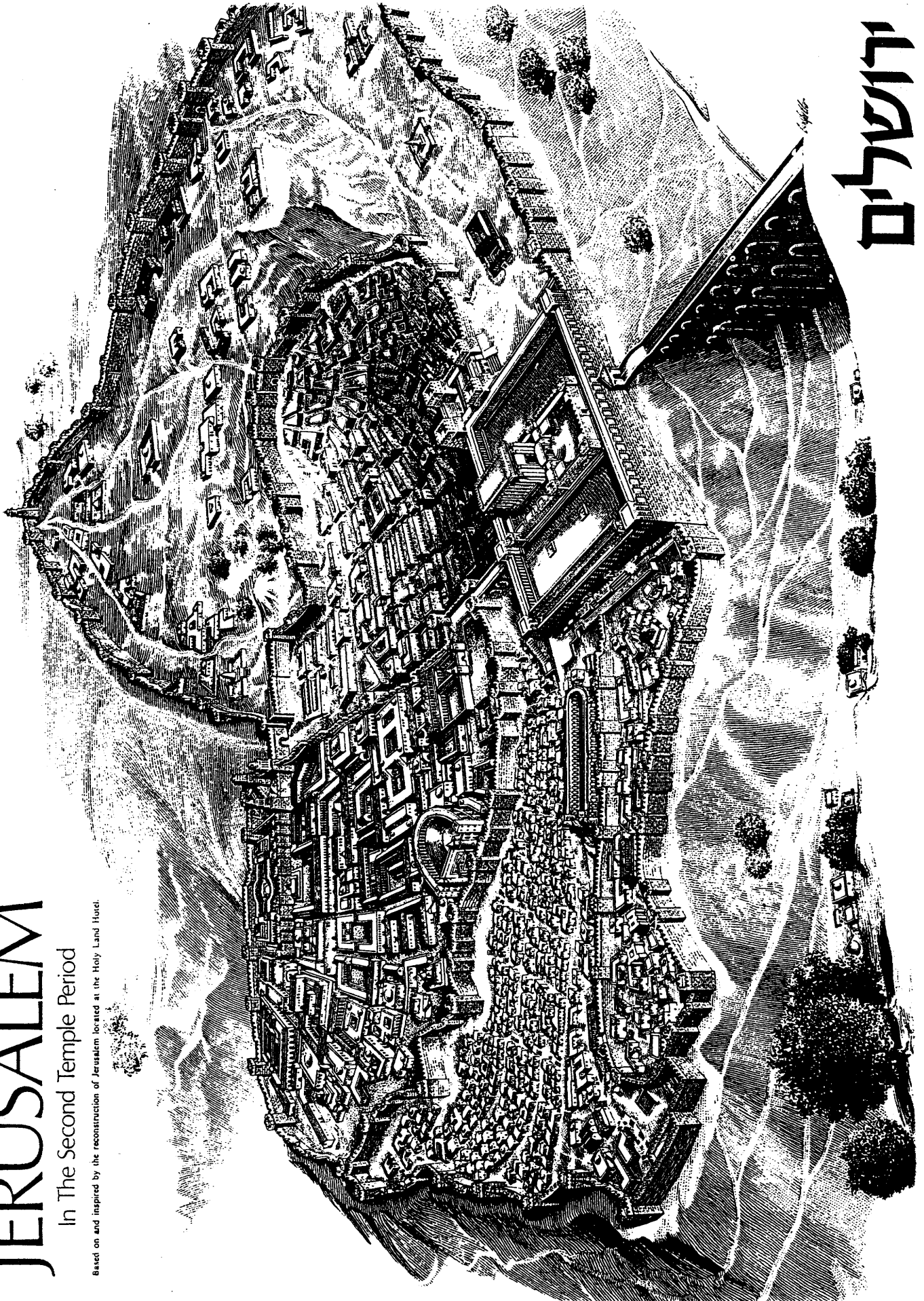


# Jerusalem at AD 66

# JERUSALEM

In The Second Temple Period

Based on and inspired by the reconstruction of Jerusalem located at the Holy Land Hotel.



# ירושלים

בתקופת הבית השני

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# Jerusalem's Water System

BAR (July/August 1994): 23-24 (1 of 2)

Why did they follow such a circuitous route when it could have been easier—and shorter—to tunnel in a straight line? From the Gihon Spring to the Pool of Siloam in a straight line is only 1,050 feet; the actual length of the tunnel, however, is 1,748 feet, more than 66 percent longer than necessary.

Ever since these subterranean waterworks were discovered, the majority of scholars have regarded them as man-made and have tried to explain the puzzles about them in terms of human intent or error. Thus, for example, to explain why Hezekiah's tunnel follows such a circuitous route, some scholars have argued that the southern bend in the tunnel was necessary to avoid the desecration of passing underneath what may be royal tombs above.<sup>1</sup> The northern bend of the tunnel was supposedly planned to meet a well within the city<sup>2</sup>—but no well was encountered anywhere along the tunnel. Another scholar has suggested that the frequent meandering near the meeting point was due to "false echoes" from the axes, which misled the workmen, and to their "nervous haste" to achieve the imminent meeting.<sup>3</sup>

Or take the semicircular course of the horizontal

and stepped tunnels at the top of Warren's Shaft: The straight-line distance between the semicircle's ends is only 82 feet; the length of the tunnels, however, is 136 feet, an unnecessary 66 percent of additional tunneling. This curved route has been explained on the basis of the need to moderate the slope.<sup>4</sup> If this was so, how can we explain the fact that the slope of the stepped tunnel is so steep, averaging about 3.3 degrees? There is a scarp nearly 9 feet high at the bottom of the stepped tunnel, which obviously would require a ladder to traverse; even then, the climb would be very inconvenient, especially when carrying buckets of water. This scarp between the stepped tunnel and the horizontal tunnel has been explained as a defense measure. An exit from the horizontal tunnel emerges on the eastern slope at a point outside the city wall. This tunnel (see the plan on p. 24) was supposedly made for the disposal of excavation waste.<sup>5</sup> However, since it required substantial extra labor and, in addition, compromised the security of the city, this explanation is rather weak.

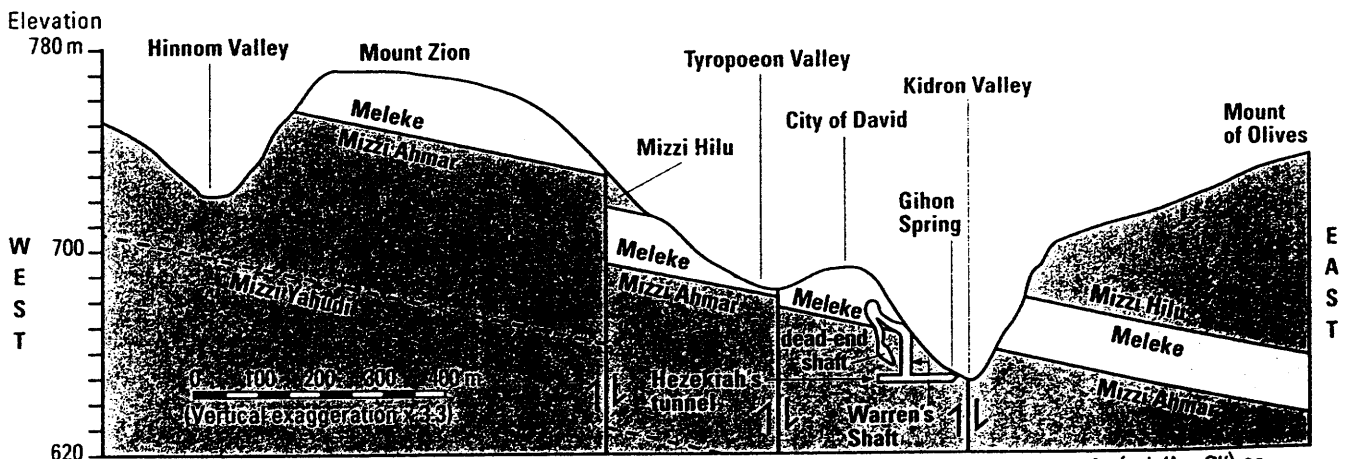
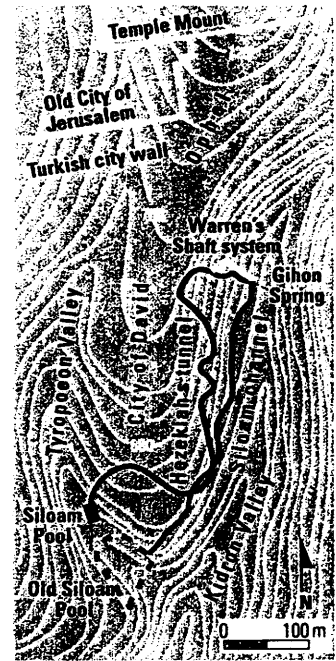
Or look at the dead-end shaft on the plan. This

THREE WATER SYSTEMS have sprung from the Gihon Spring at various times in Jerusalem's history (right). The oldest, shown in yellow, is known as Warren's Shaft after its modern discoverer, Captain Charles Warren. Probably dating to at least the eleventh century B.C.E., it gave the city protected access to the water of the spring, which lay outside the city wall. Because the Gihon Spring lies low on the slope, the Jebusites (and the Israelites later) could not include it within their city wall. Had the walls been built low on the slope, the city would have been exposed to attack from the high slope across the Kidron Valley.

The Siloam channel, shown in red, was built next. This aqueduct irrigated adjacent fields through openings in the channel wall. The channel's position outside the city wall indicates that it served during times of peace. Archaeologists suggest that the Siloam channel may date to Solomon's time (965-928 B.C.E.).

The third water system, Hezekiah's tunnel, appears in brown. Threatened with siege by the Assyrian forces of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., the Judahite king Hezekiah ordered the construction of the tunnel to divert water from the Gihon Spring, outside his city walls, to the Siloam Pool, safely within the walls. Hezekiah's idea succeeded (2 Kings 20:20 and 2 Chronicles 32:30), and Sennacherib failed to capture Jerusalem.

The geological profile below presents a view to the north, as if looking at a vertical slice from east to west through the side of the hills. It shows the Warren's Shaft system and Hezekiah's tunnel in relation to prominent features and the underlying rock types. The vertical lines mark geological faults, cracks in the ground that have caused vertical displacement of the layers. Here we can see that while the uppermost portion of the Warren's Shaft system lies in the porous Meleke layer, the rest of the system, all of Hezekiah's tunnel and the Gihon Spring itself lie in the hard Mizzi Ahmar dolomite layer.





**ORIENTATION**

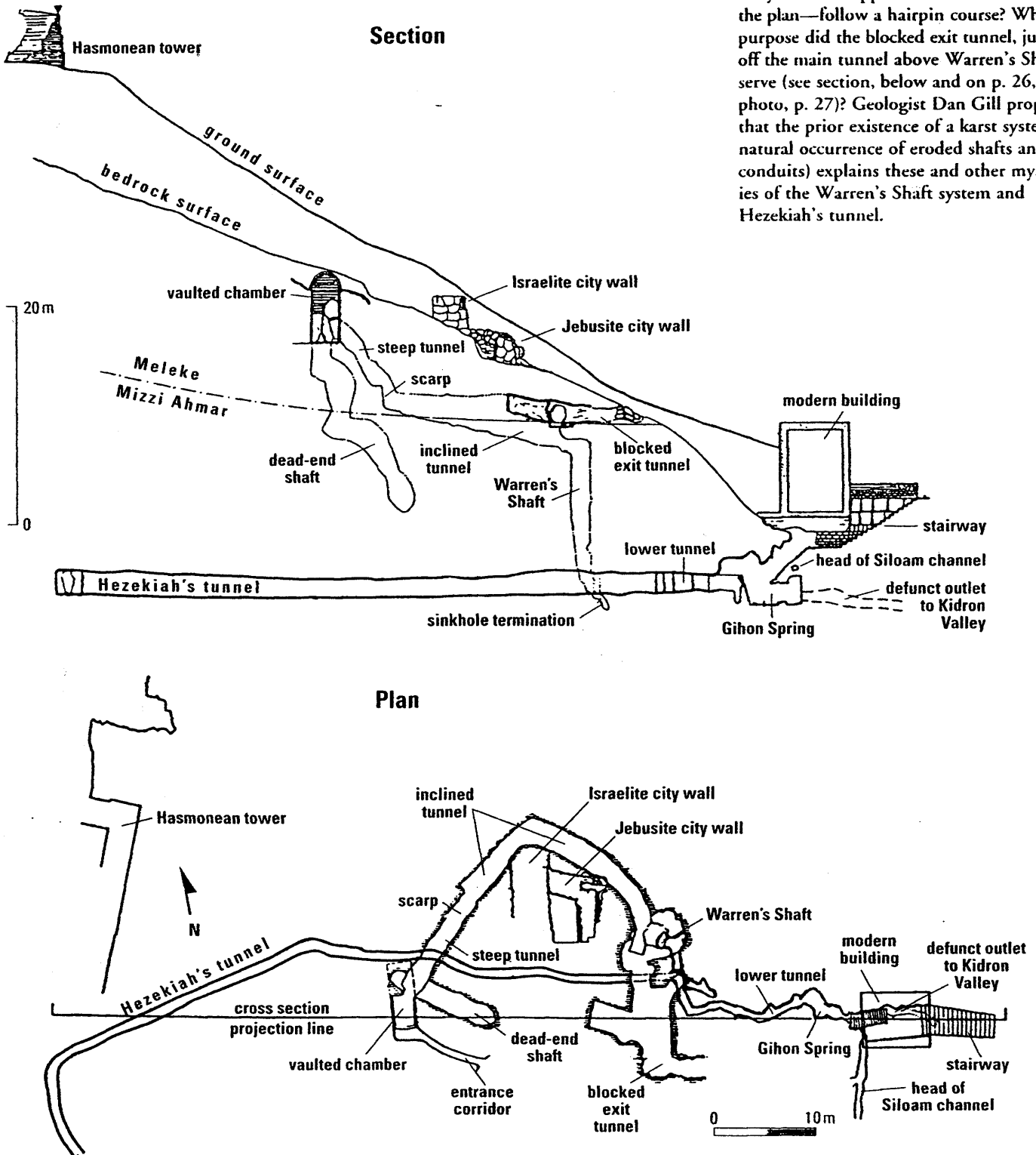
### Mysteries of the Warren's Shaft System

These drawings show the Warren's Shaft system as viewed in section, as though we could look at a vertical cutaway of the hill, and in plan, as if seen from above. The construction of the system required blockage of the outlet to the Kidron Valley (originally a natural drain for the Gihon Spring) and the engineering of the lower

tunnel to bring the water into the "water chamber" at the foot of Warren's Shaft. This allowed Warren's Shaft to function as a well. Even during a siege, people within the city (note the position of the Jebusite and Israelite city walls) could walk down the steep upper tunnel, then through the more moderately sloped tunnel to the top

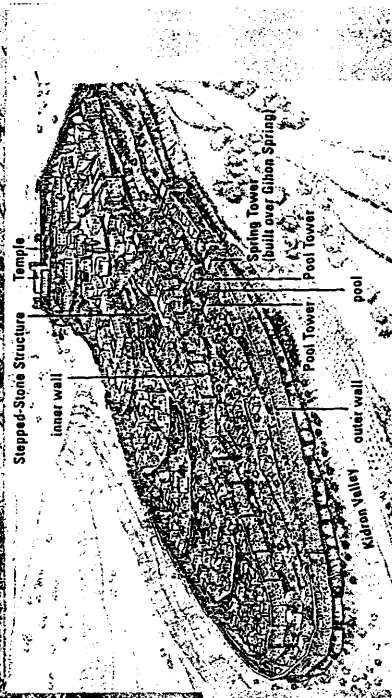
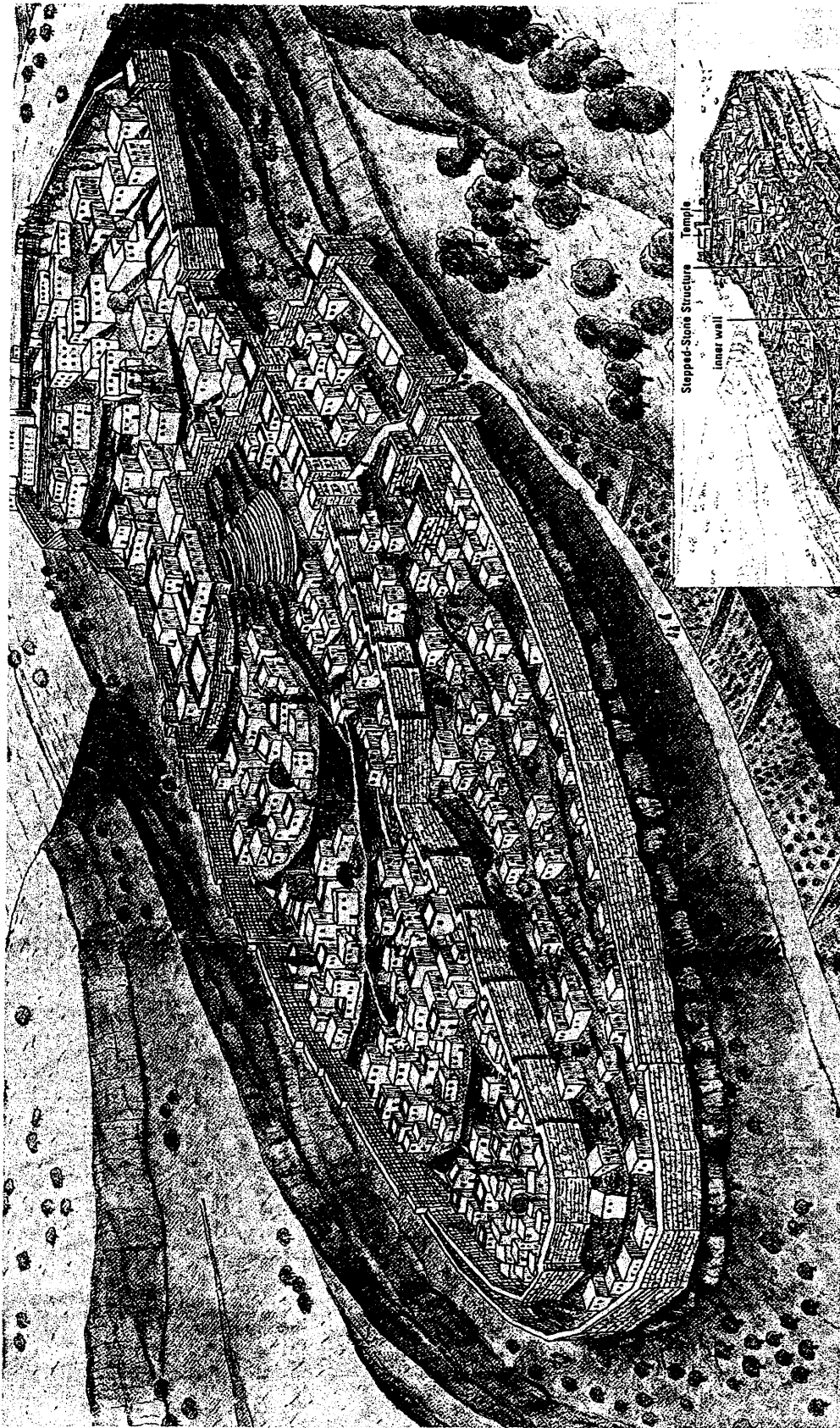
of Warren's Shaft, from which they could lower a bucket to raise water from the water chamber, 37 feet below.

Anomalies in the system have long mystified scholars, however. What is the dead-end shaft? Why does Warren's Shaft extend below the level of the lower tunnel (see section, below, and photo, p. 26)? Why does the upper tunnel—seen clearly in the plan—follow a hairpin course? What purpose did the blocked exit tunnel, jutting off the main tunnel above Warren's Shaft, serve (see section, below and on p. 26, and photo, p. 27)? Geologist Dan Gill proposes that the prior existence of a karst system (a natural occurrence of eroded shafts and conduits) explains these and other mysteries of the Warren's Shaft system and Hezekiah's tunnel.



# A Revised Jerusalem Wall

Hershel Shanks, *Biblical Archaeology Review* (Nov-Dec. 1999): 22-23 (1 of 2)



**HOW TO TELL RIGHT (above) FROM WRONG (left).** Several years ago Lloyd Townsend created the rendition at left of the City of David in its heyday. Representing the city from the east, he incorporated the latest archaeological discoveries then being made by excavator Yigal Shiloh. A single wall surrounded the city, perched on a hill. At the crest of the hill (far right) stood the Jerusalem Temple, facing east. The Gihon Spring, the city's only natural water source, was located in the dark cave just outside the open city gate. channel (called Channel II or the Siloam Channel) running south (left) from the spring.

New finds, however, have forced us, literally, to redraw this picture. Above, architectural draftsman Leon Ritmeyer presents the latest view of ancient Jerusalem. The Temple still stands on the highest crest, but not much else looks the same. Two walls, not one, guarded the city, at least on the east. In between were houses, built as the city expanded down the slope. The Gihon Spring was not in an open cave but was protected by a massive 30-foot-tall tower (the Spring Tower), which may have been part of the city gateway (as shown in the drawing) or (the Pool Towers). Channel II, which had no windows, lay inside the outer city wall; it did not irrigate the adjacent fields, but conducted water to a second pool at the southern end of the city.

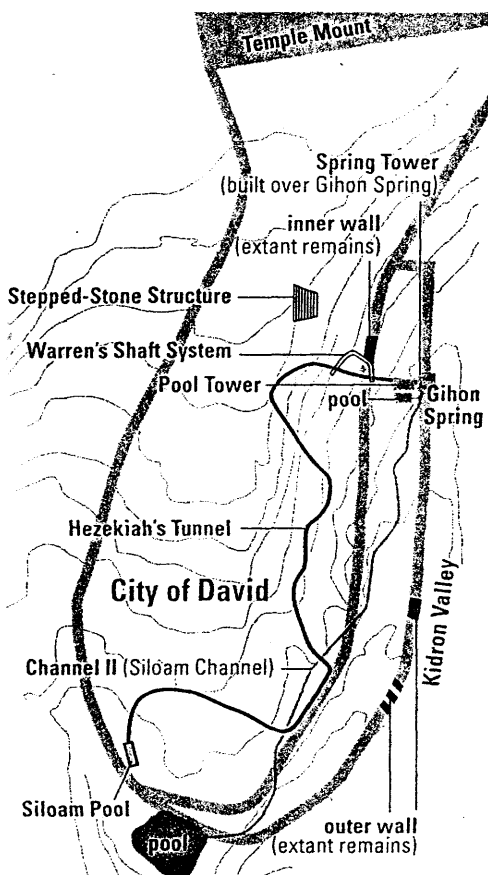
LLOYD TOWNSEND



# Jerusalem's Kidron Wall & Gate

*Biblical Archaeology Review* (Nov-Dec. 1999): 24, 27 (2 of 2)

**BUILT BY HEZEKIAH?**  
 The Book of Chronicles details King Hezekiah's preparations for Sennacherib's attack: "Hezekiah set to work resolutely and built up the entire wall that was broken down ... and outside he built another wall" (2 Chronicles 32:5). Are these courses of stones—16 feet tall in places—the remains of Hezekiah's outer wall? (The wall appears in the foreground of the photo at left, which looks up the eastern slope of the City of David. The photo below shows the wall straight on.) Discovered this past spring by archaeologists Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, the wall runs along the eastern flank of the City of David, about 120 feet below the earlier, eighth-century city wall discovered by Kathleen Kenyon and Yigal Shiloh (see plan). Also dating to the eighth century, the newly discovered wall enclosed the Gihon Spring.



AN UNDYING THIRST for a safe water supply inspired the construction of ancient Jerusalem's water system beside the Gihon Spring, the city's only natural water source, located low on the eastern slope of the City of David. Three years ago archaeologists Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron discovered the remains of a massive complex of towers, built in the Middle Bronze Age II (18th to 17th century B.C.), that protected the spring and its waters. The system, as shown in the plan below, included the Spring Tower, located directly above the Gihon Spring (excavated remains from the Middle Bronze Age appear in deep red; reconstructed remains are in pink). Channel II (upper left photo) shunted water south from the spring. The top of the channel was sealed with huge boulders, dropped from above and trapped by the channel's slightly convex walls. A subsidiary tunnel (Tunnel III) deflected the water into a 22- by 10-foot pool, which was protected by at least one tower. In the bottom photo, a man stands before the cyclopean stones (measuring up to 6 feet tall) that formed the 30-foot-tall northern Pool Tower; the edge of the pool can be seen in the shadowy shaft at left. Reich and Shukron speculate that a matching tower stood on the southern side of the pool and that water was drawn by standing on a platform suspended between the two towers. A series of tunnels (outlined in red) led from inside the city wall to the pool. (This tunnel, according to Reich and Shukron, has long been misidentified as part of Warren's Shaft System; see plan, p. 35, and the following article.)

One thousand years later, in the eighth century B.C., King Hezekiah of Judah constructed a tunnel (upper right photo) that diverted the waters from the spring to a pool on the western side of the city—probably to safeguard the water supply in the event of an Assyrian siege. The beginning of his 1,750-foot tunnel appears in blue in the plan, below. Around the same time, a second city wall was built outside the spring, in line with the Spring Tower.

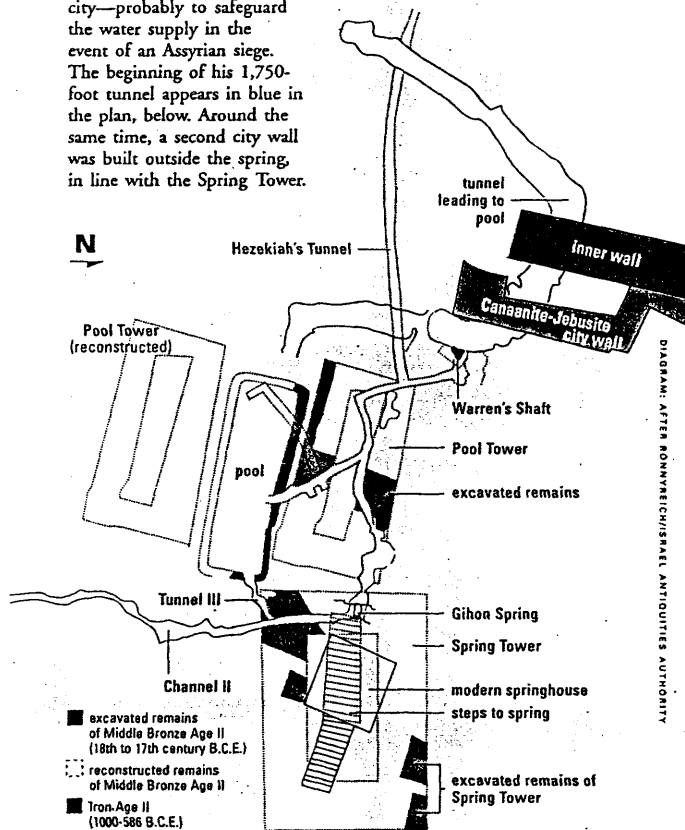
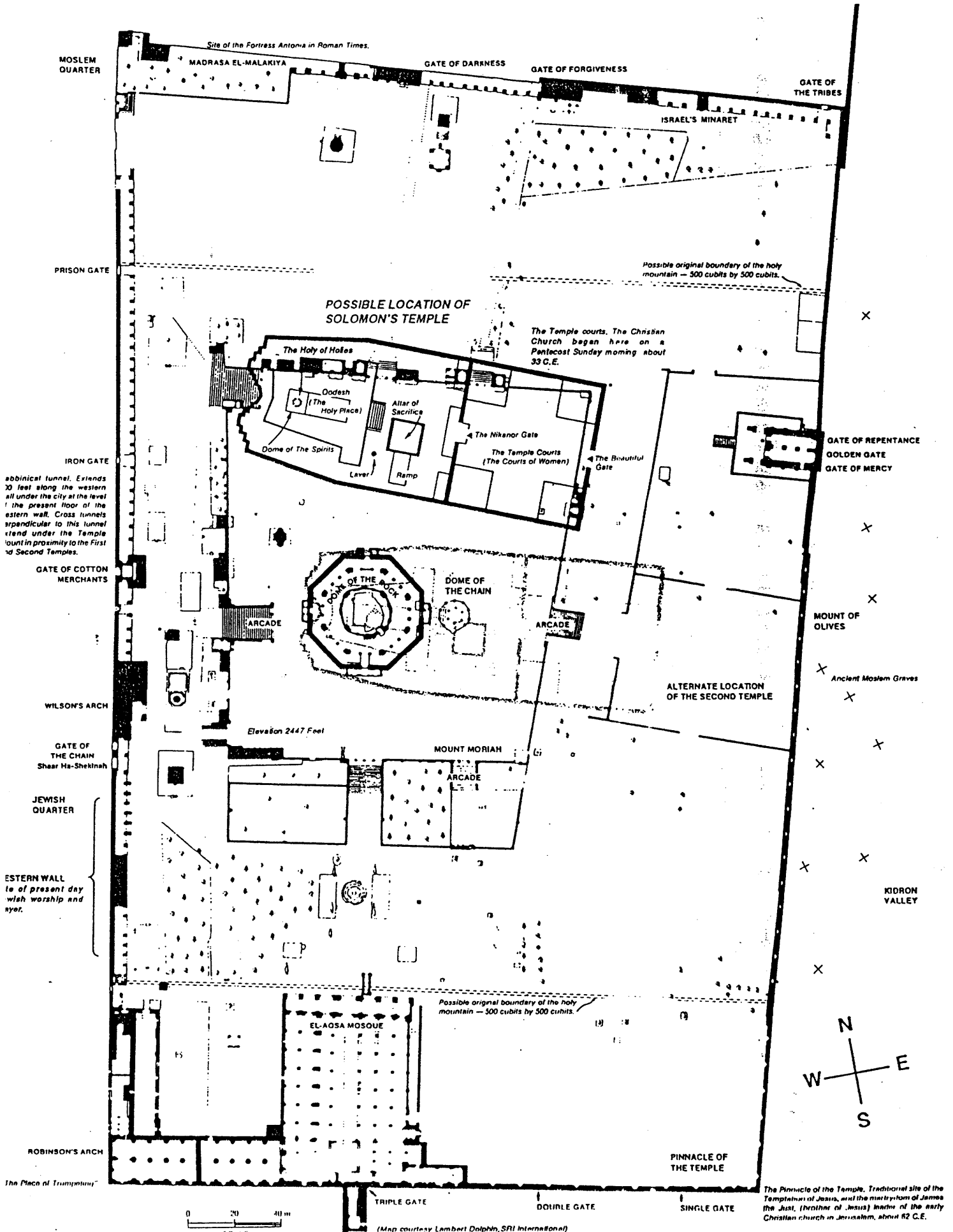


DIAGRAM: AFTER RONNY REICH/ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY

# The Temple Mount



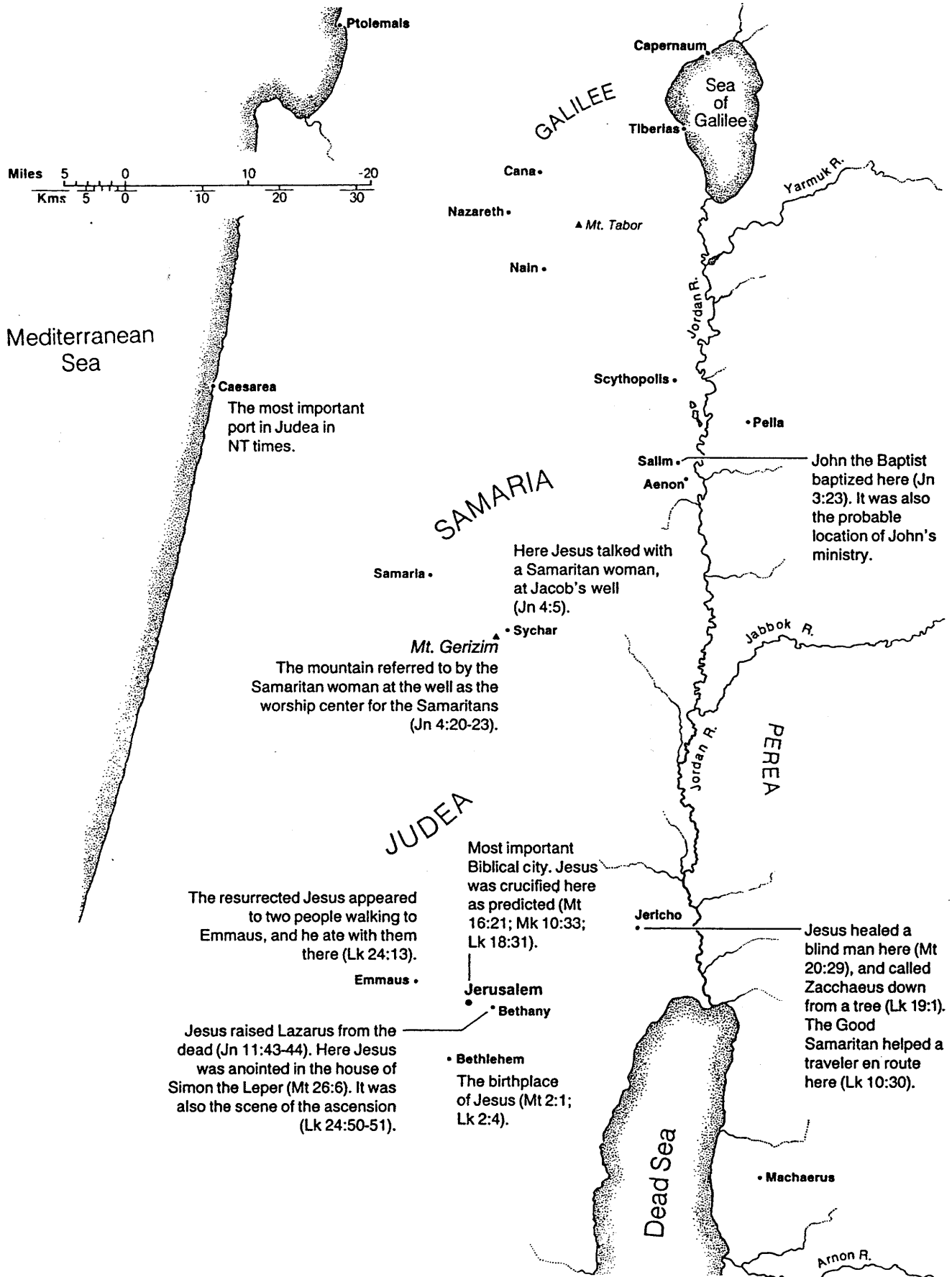
The Temple courts. The Christian Church began here on a Pentecost Sunday morning about 33 C.E.

abbincal tunnel. Extends 30 feet along the western all under the city at the level of the present floor of the eastern wall. Cross tunnels perpendicular to this tunnel stand under the Temple Mount in proximity to the First and Second Temples.

The Pinnacle of the Temple. Traditional site of the Temple of Jesus, and the ministry of James the Just, (brother of Jesus) leader of the early Christian church in Jerusalem, about 62 C.E.

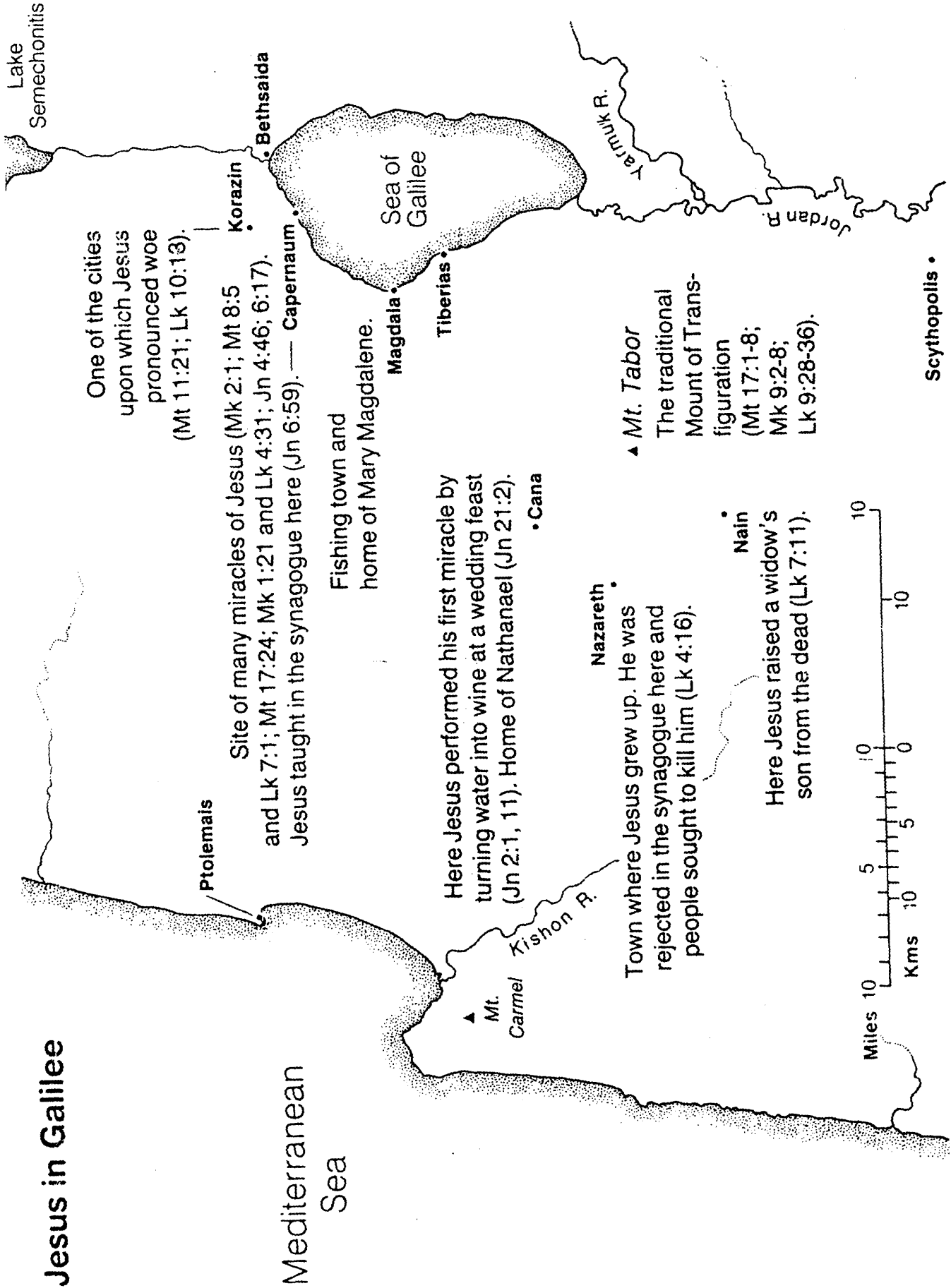
(Map courtesy Lambert Dolphin, SRI International)

# Jesus in Judea and Samaria



# Jesus in Galilee

Bible Visual Resource Book, 207



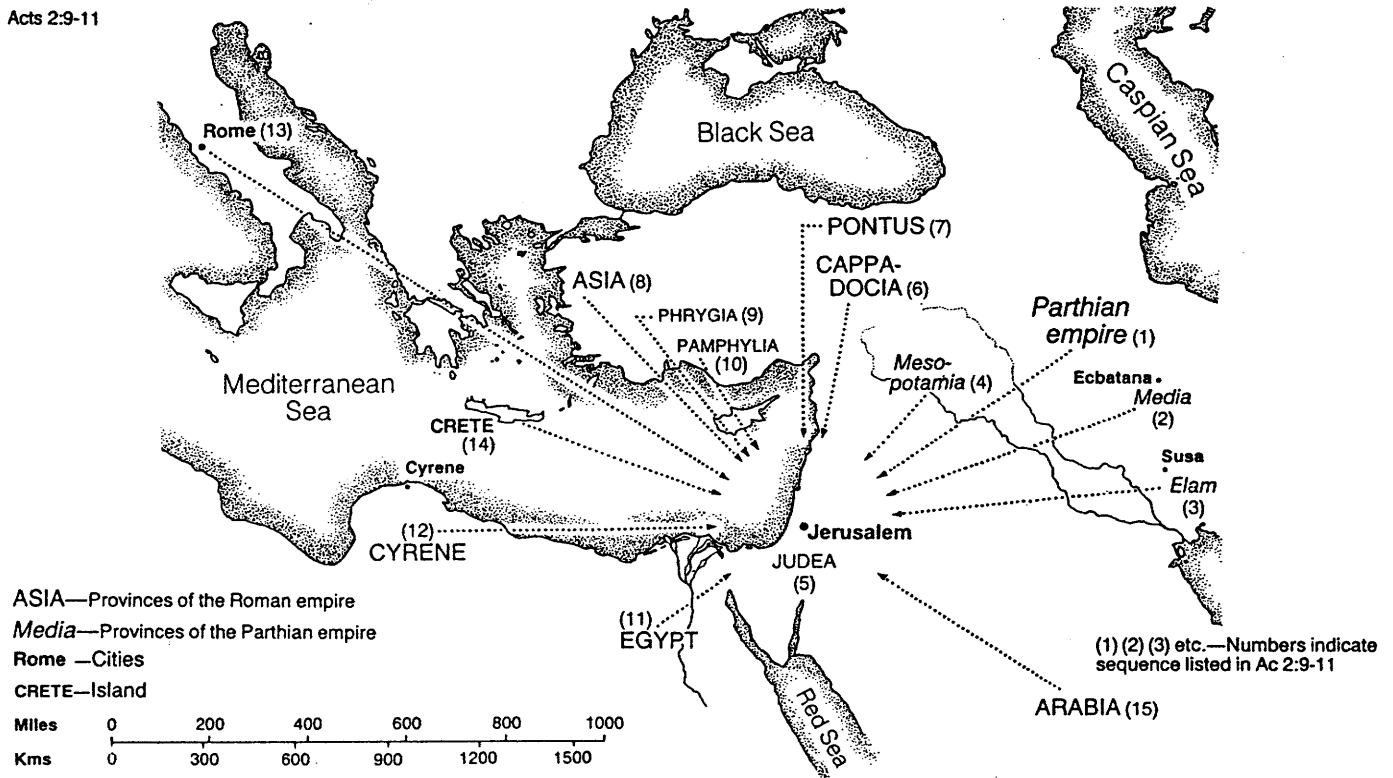
Reproduce this Sheet for class purposes only.

Pentecost Countries & Damascus  
Bible Visual Resource Book, 215

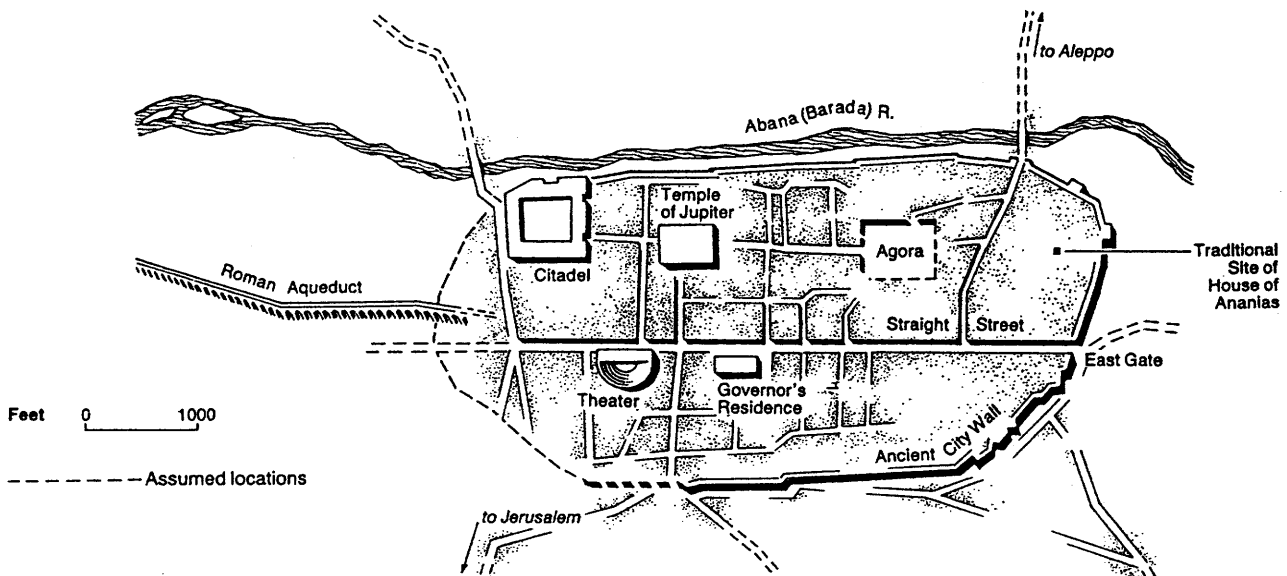
Acts

# Countries of People Mentioned at Pentecost

Acts 2:9-11



## Roman Damascus



Damascus represented much more to Saul, the strict Pharisee, than another stop on his campaign of repression. It was the hub of a vast commercial network with far-flung lines of caravan trade reaching into north Syria, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Persia and Arabia. If the new "Way" of Christianity flourished in Damascus, it would quickly reach all these places. From the viewpoint of the Sanhedrin and of Saul, the arch-persecutor, it had to be stopped in Damascus.

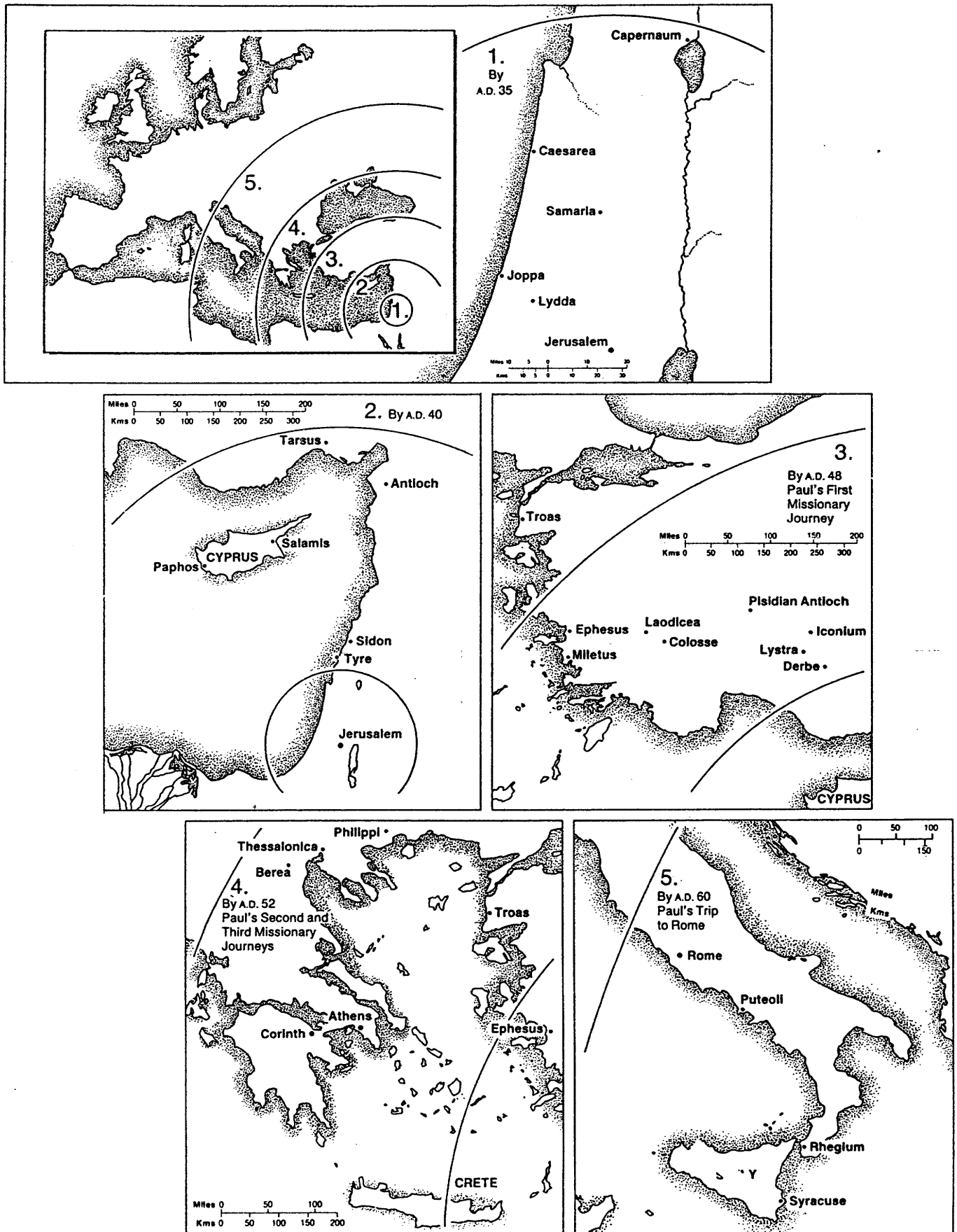
The city itself was a veritable oasis, situated in a plain watered by the Biblical rivers Abana and Pharpar.

Roman architecture overlaid the Hellenistic town plan with a great temple to Jupiter and a mile-long colonnaded street, the "Straight Street" of Ac 9:11. The city gates and a section of the town wall may still be seen today, as well as the lengthy bazaar that runs along the line of the ancient street.

The dominant political figure at the time of Paul's escape from Damascus (2 Co 11:32-33) was Aretas IV, king of the Nabateans (9 B.C.-A.D. 40), though normally the Decapolis cities were attached to the province of Syria and were thus under the influence of Rome.

Acts

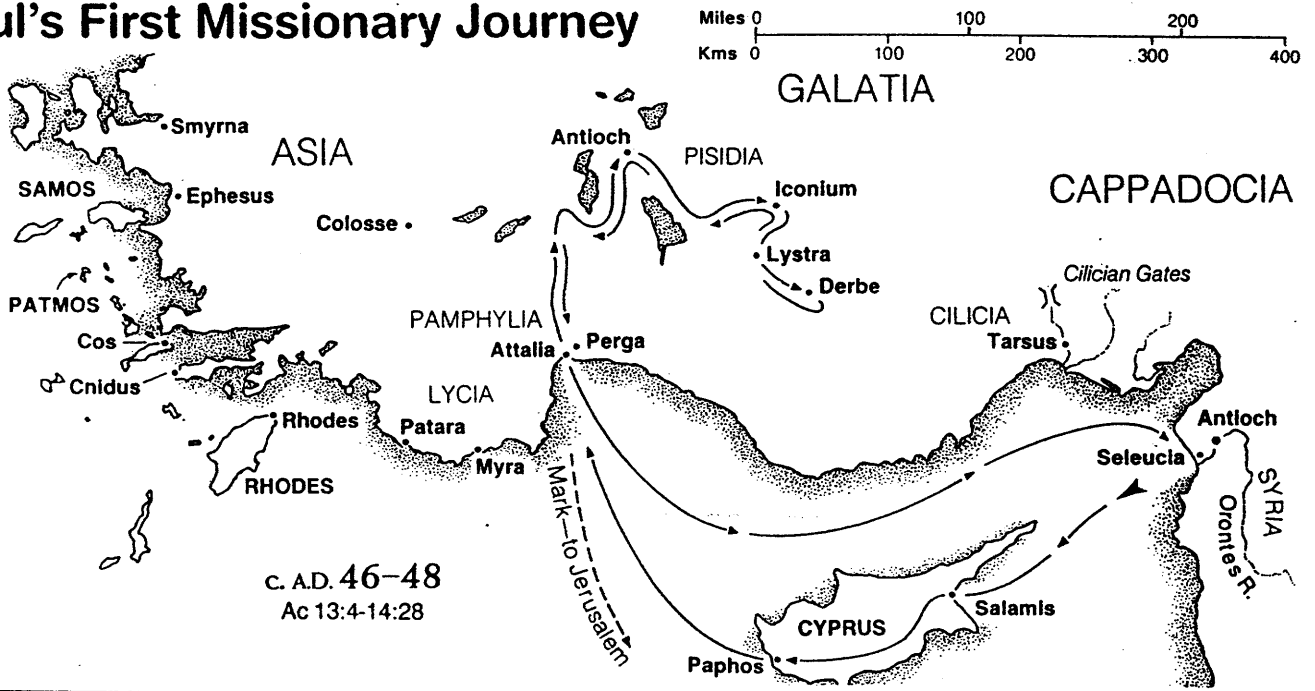
# The Spread of the Gospel



Paul's First and Second Missionary Journeys  
Bible Visual Resource Book, 219

Acts

### Paul's First Missionary Journey



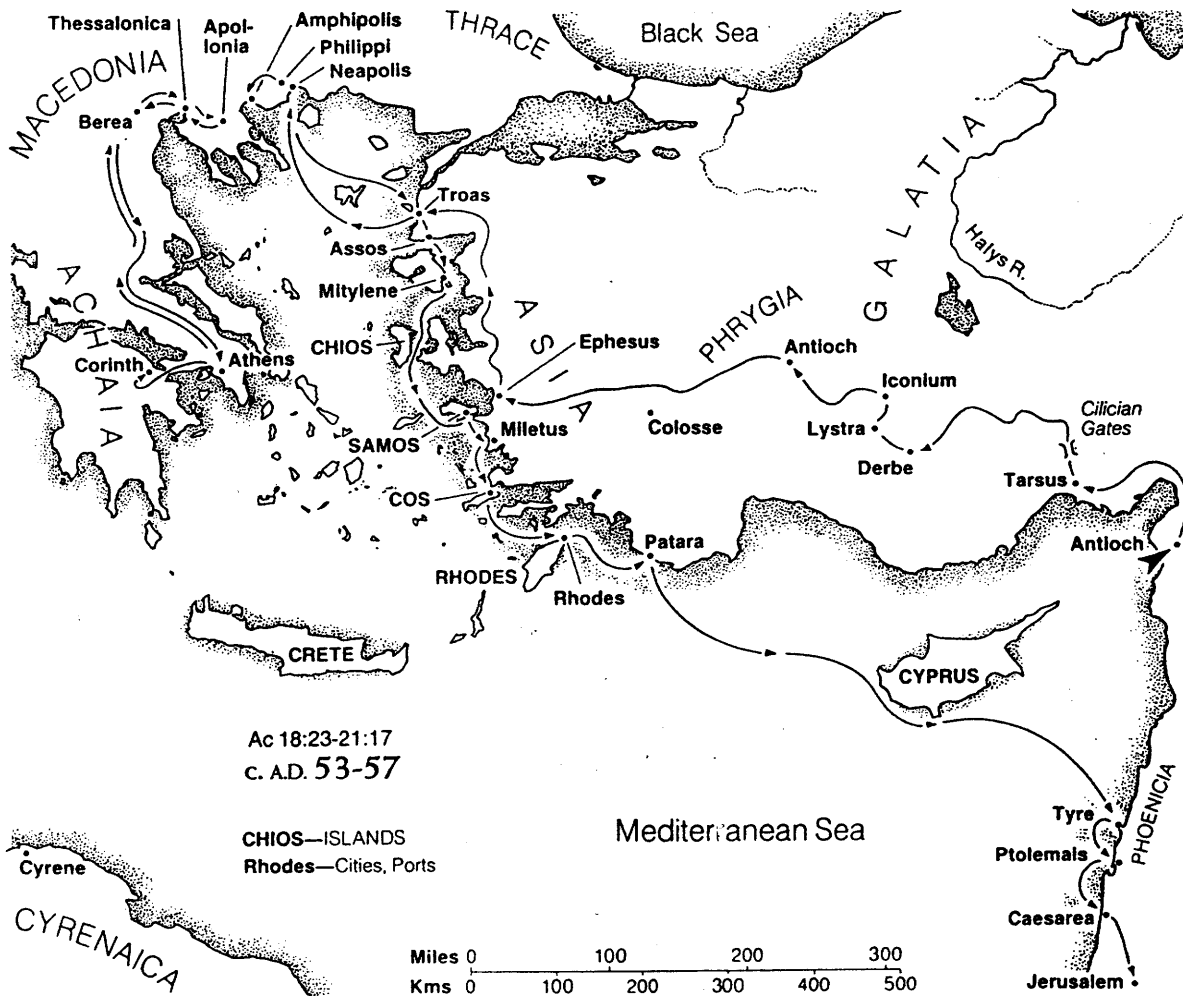
### Paul's Second Missionary Journey



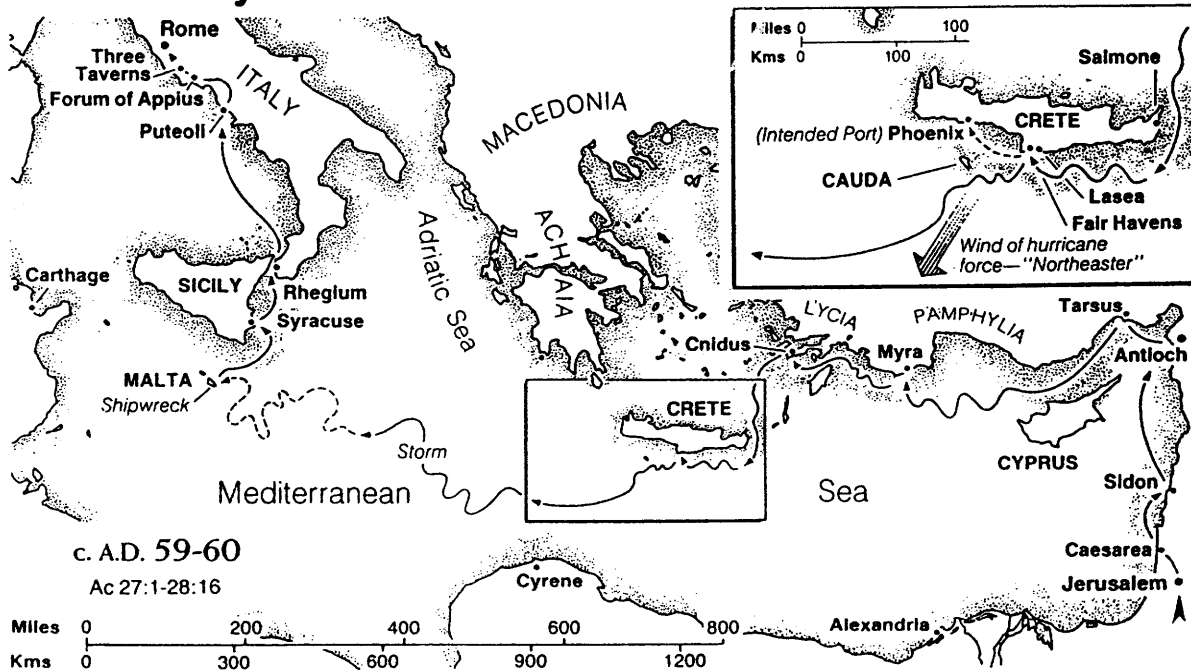
Paul's Third Missionary Journey and Journey to Rome  
Bible Visual Resource Book, 221

Acts

### Paul's Third Missionary Journey



### Paul's Journey to Rome

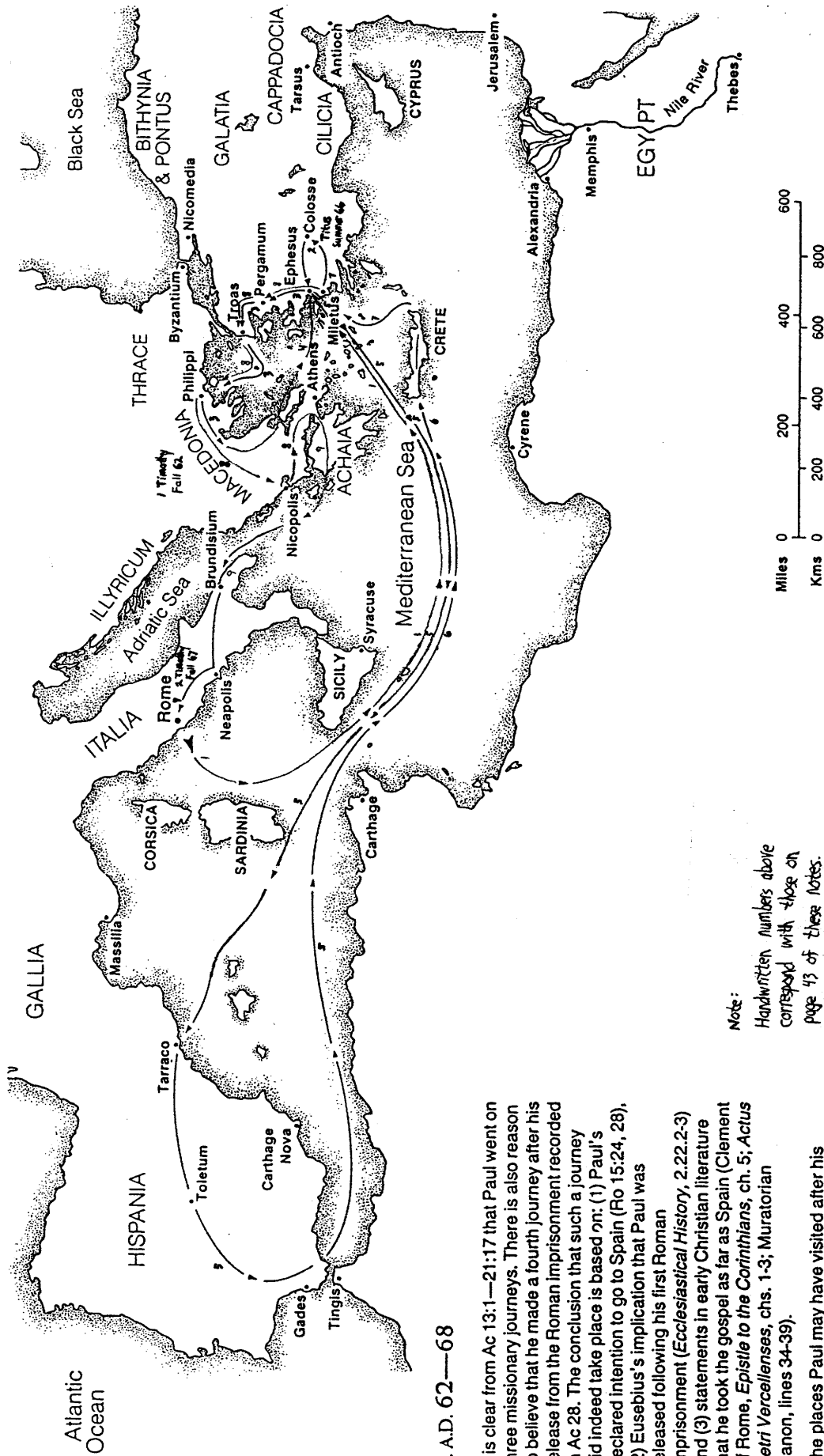




Paul's Fourth Missionary Journey  
*Bible Visual Resource Book, 259, adapted significantly*

1 Timothy

Paul's Fourth Missionary Journey

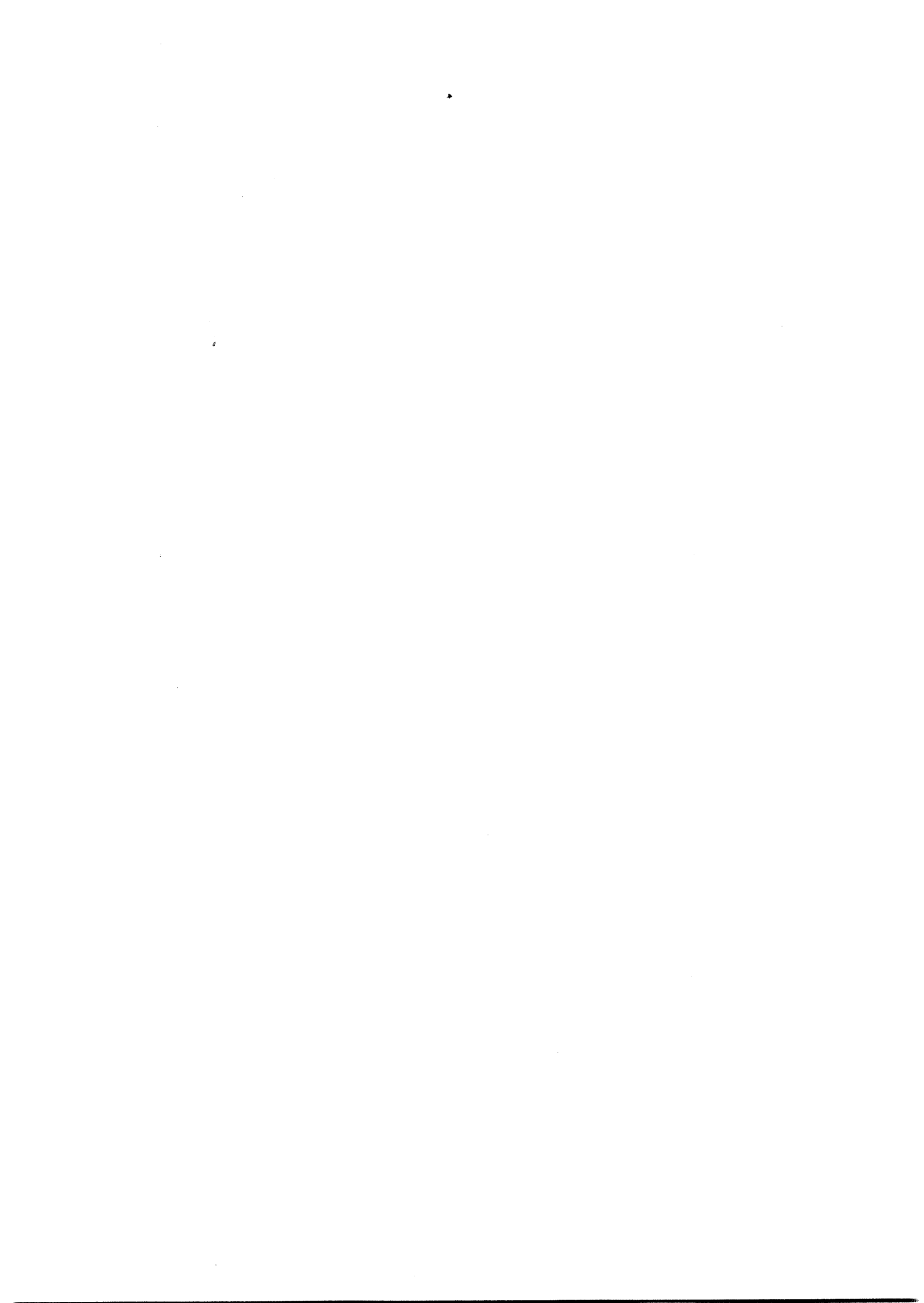


c. A.D. 62—68

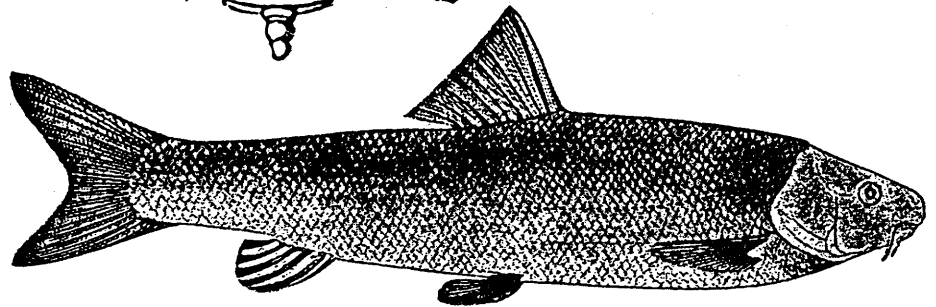
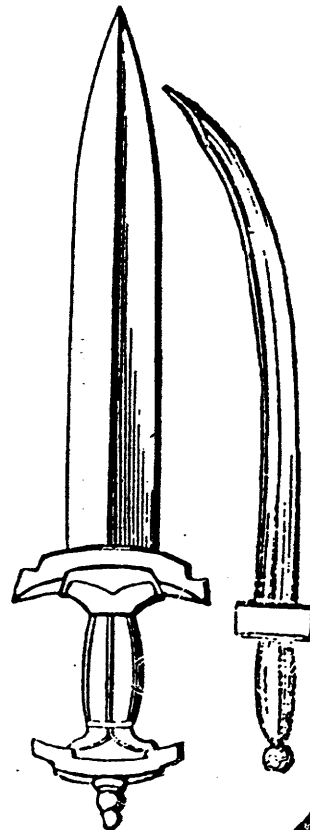
It is clear from Ac 13:1—21:17 that Paul went on three missionary journeys. There is also reason to believe that he made a fourth journey after his release from the Roman imprisonment recorded in Ac 28. The conclusion that such a journey did indeed take place is based on: (1) Paul's declared intention to go to Spain (Ro 15:24, 28), (2) Eusebius's implication that Paul was released following his first Roman imprisonment (*Ecclesiastical History*, 2.22.2-3) and (3) statements in early Christian literature that he took the gospel as far as Spain (Clement of Rome, *Epistle to the Corinthians*, ch. 5; *Actus Petri Verceilenses*, chs. 1-3; Muratorian Canon, lines 34-39).

The places Paul may have visited after his release from prison are indicated by statements of intention in his earlier writings and by subsequent mention in the Pastoral Letters.

Note:  
 Handwritten numbers above correspond with those on page 43 of these notes.



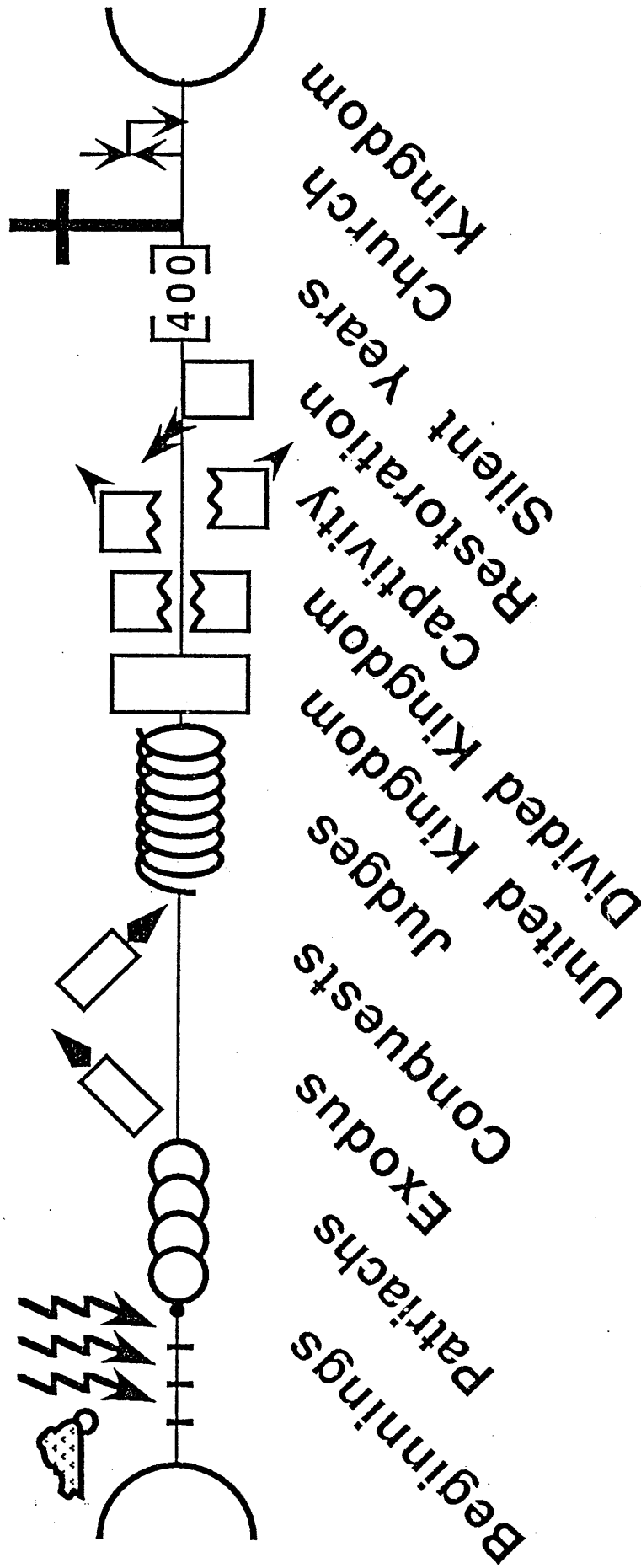
# Reference Materials





Stages of God's Plan in History  
Dr. Max Anders

# Stages of God's Plan in History



Source:  
Dr. Max Anders  
Dallas Theological Seminary  
Course 725, Summer 1984

# The Intertestamental Era

**Q: Why should we study NT backgrounds?**

**A: One reason is because so much happened between the testaments that we can't understand the NT without understanding the intertestamental period. Just look at all the changes that took place in these 400 years...**

(425 BC—5 BC)

Issue/Time Period	Malachi (end of OT)	Intertestamental	Advent of Christ
Rulers Over Israel	Persia (208 yrs.)	Greeks (188 yrs.) Hasmoneans (80 yrs.)	Rome (58 yrs.)
Political Stability	Peace/autonomy	Many wars	Peace (but through Rome's "iron hand"!)
Expectation of Messiah and Restored Kingdom	Moderate (Zechariah)	Increasing "Two Messiahs"	High
Language in Israel -Ability to Evangelize	Hebrew/Aramaic Limited	Greek (Septuagint) Increased	Aramaic/Greek/Latin Extensive
Road System	Very Limited	Expanded	Extensive & Quality
Places of Worship	Temple (Jerusalem) Synagogues (Babylon)	Rise of Synagogues in Israel	Synagogues/Temple
Religious Leaders	Priests/Levites	Rise of Jewish Sects	Pharisees/Sadducees
-Achieved office by...	Genealogy	Fighting illegitimate high priest	Bribes/Executions
-Extent of Power	Local Jurisdiction	Rise of Sanhedrin	Corrupt Sanhedrin
-Hermeneutic	Literal	Unstable + Apocalyptic	Letterism
Authority for Living	OT Law	Rise of Oral Law	Pharisees

**The “Kingdom Stage” is Set!**

**Galatians 4:4-5** “But when the time had fully come, God sent His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those under the law, that we might receive the full rights as sons”

**The time was right:**

politically

linguistically

religiously

prophetically (Dan. 9:25-26)

emotionally

transportationally

**Gospel of Matthew** (probably written in the 40s) answers the two questions *all* Jews were asking:

1. Q: Non-Christian Jews asked, “How do we know *Jesus is the Messiah?*” (Matt. 1—10)
  - A: His advent (1—2) and approvals (3:1—4:11) show Jesus fulfilled OT *Messianic* prophecies
  - His early ministry (4:12-25) and Sermon on Mount (5—7) reveal He has the *prophetic* office
  - He shows *Messianic power* by healing (8:1—9:34) and authority by delegation (9:35—11:1)
  
2. Q: Christian Jews asked, “He’s Messiah, but *where’s the promised kingdom?*” (Matt. 11—28)
  - A: Israel rejected Christ as Messiah so He now has authority over the church (11:2—16:12)
  - Jesus prepared the disciples for church issues since kingdom is postponed (17:14—20:34)
  - Israel rejected Him as Messiah but God sovereignly used this to pay for man’s sin (21—27)
  - Christ conquers death to prove His messianic authority & ability to bring in the kingdom (28)

Application:           So how has God prepared your background for you to minister effectively?

## The Parables of Christ

J. Dwight Pentecost, *A Harmony of the Words and Works of Jesus Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 587-88

Parable	Section	Page
1 The Physician	39	140
2 The Three Parables Concerning Christ's Relation to Pharisaism	48	156-157
3 Two Parables on Judging	55	185-186
4 The Wise and Foolish Builders	56	188
5 The Children in the Market	60	200
6 The Two Debtors	62	203
7 The Parables Concerning Satan's Kingdom	64	206
8 The Cleansed House	65	209,306
9 The Parable of the Soils	67	214-215
10 The Seed Growing of Itself	67	215
11 The Tares	67	215-217
12 The Mustard Seed	67	217-218,321
13 The Leaven Hidden in Meal	67	218,321
14 The Hidden Treasure	67	218
15 The Pearl of Great Price	67	218
16 The Net	67	218-219
17 The Householder	67	219
18 The Merciless Servant	94	269-270
19 The Good Shepherd	103	294-295
20 The Good Samaritan	105	300-301
21 The Persistent Friend	107	304
22 The Rich Fool	111	314
23 The Servants	112	316
24 The Wise Steward	113	316-317
25 The Fig Tree	116	319-320
26 The Seats at the Feast	122	329-330
27 The Great Supper	122	330-331
28 The Lost Sheep	124	333ff.
29 The Lost Coin	124	333ff.
30 The Searching Father (The Prodigal Son)	124	333ff.
31 The Unrighteous Steward	125	338-339
32 The Rich Man and Lazarus	125	340-341
33 The Unprofitable Servants	127	342
34 The Persistent Widow	131	350ff.
35 The Pharisee and the Publican	131	352ff.
36 The Laborers in the Vineyard	134	362
37 The Pounds	137	367-368
38 The Two Sons	143	383-384
39 The Wicked Husbandman	143	384
40 The Rejected Stone	143	385
41 The Marriage Feast	143	385-386
42 The Fig Tree	150	405-406
43 The Watching Servants	150	405
44 The Master and the Thief	150	406
45 The Wise Servant	150	406
46 The Ten Virgins	150	407-408
47 The Talents	150	408-409
48 The Sheep and the Goats	150	409-410



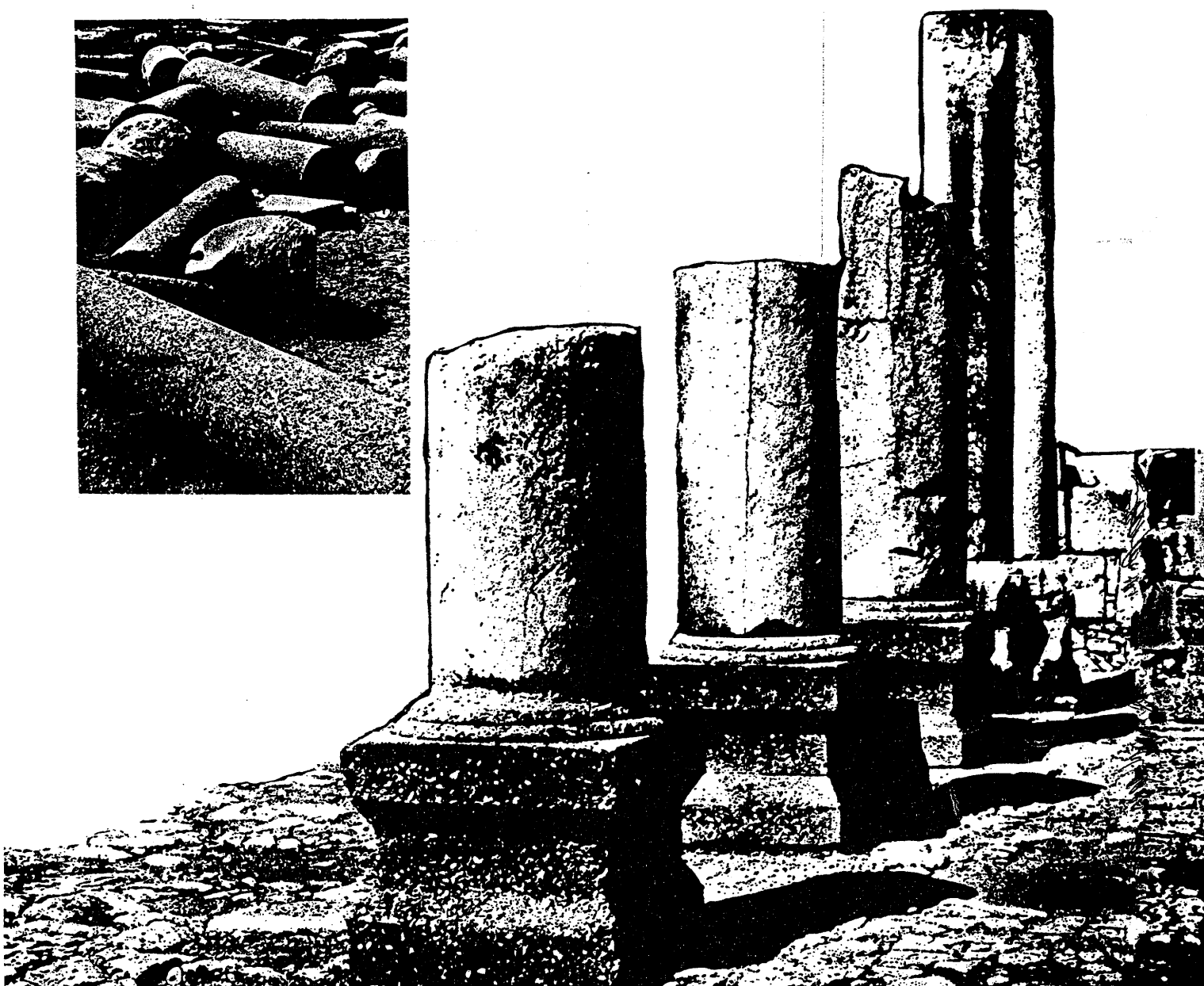
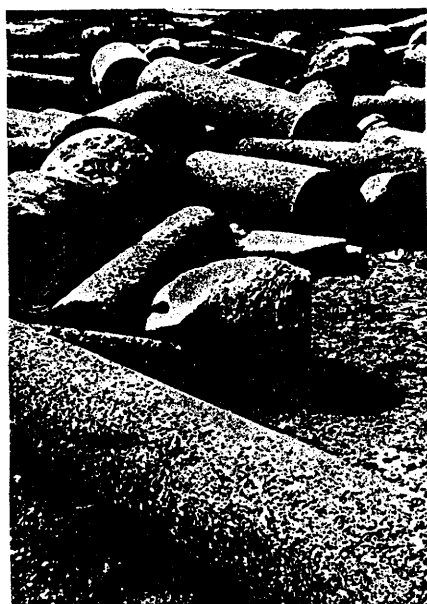
## The Miracles of Christ

J. Dwight Pentecost, *A Harmony of the Words and Works of Jesus Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 588-89

Miracle	Place	Section	Page
1 The Turning of Water Into Wine	Cana	29	113ff.
2 The Healing of the Nobleman's Son	Capernaum	38	138-139
3 The Draught of Fishes	Sea of Galilee	41	142-143
4 The Demoniac in the Synagogue	Capernaum	42	145-146
5 The Healing of Peter's Wife's Mother	Capernaum	43	146
6 The Cleansing of the Leper	Galilee	45	148ff.
7 The Healing of the Paralytic	Capernaum	46	152ff.
8 The Healing of the Cripple at Bethesda	Jerusalem	49	160-161
9 The Healing of the Withered Hand	Galilee	51	167-168
10 The Healing of the Centurion's Servant	Capernaum	57	190-191
11 The Raising of the Widow's Son	Nain	58	191-192
12 The Stilling of the Storm	Sea of Galilee	68	220-221
13 The Deliverance of the Demoniac of Gadara	Gadara	69	221ff.
14 The Healing of the Woman	Capernaum	70	223ff.
15 The Raising of Jairus's Daughter	Capernaum	70	223ff.
16 The Healing of the Two Blind Men	Capernaum	71	225-226
17 The Casting Out of a Dumb Spirit	Capernaum	71	226
18 The Feeding of the 5,000	Near Bethsaida	74	231ff.
19 The Walking on the Water	Sea of Galilee	76	234-235
20 The Healing of the Daughter of the Syrophenician Woman	Phoenicia	80	244-245
21 The Healing of the Deaf Man With a Speech Impediment	Decapolis	81	245-246
22 The Feeding of the 4,000	Decapolis	81	246
23 The Healing of the Blind Man	Bethsaida	83	248
24 The Deliverance of the Epileptic Boy	Mt. Hermon	89	260-261
25 The Money in the Fish's Mouth	Capernaum	92	262ff.
26 The Healing of the Man Born Blind	Jerusalem	102	288ff.
27 The Casting Out of the Blind and Dumb Spirit	Galilee	108	305-306
28 The Healing of the Woman	Perea	117	320-321
29 The Healing of the Man With Dropsy	Perea	122	329
30 The Raising of Lazarus	Bethany	128	345-346
31 The Cleansing of the Ten Lepers	Samaria	129	347-348
32 The Healing of Bartimeus	Jericho	136	364
33 The Cursing of the Fig Tree	Jerusalem	140	377-378
34 The Second Draught of Fishes	Sea of Galilee	195	506-507



# New Testament Chronology

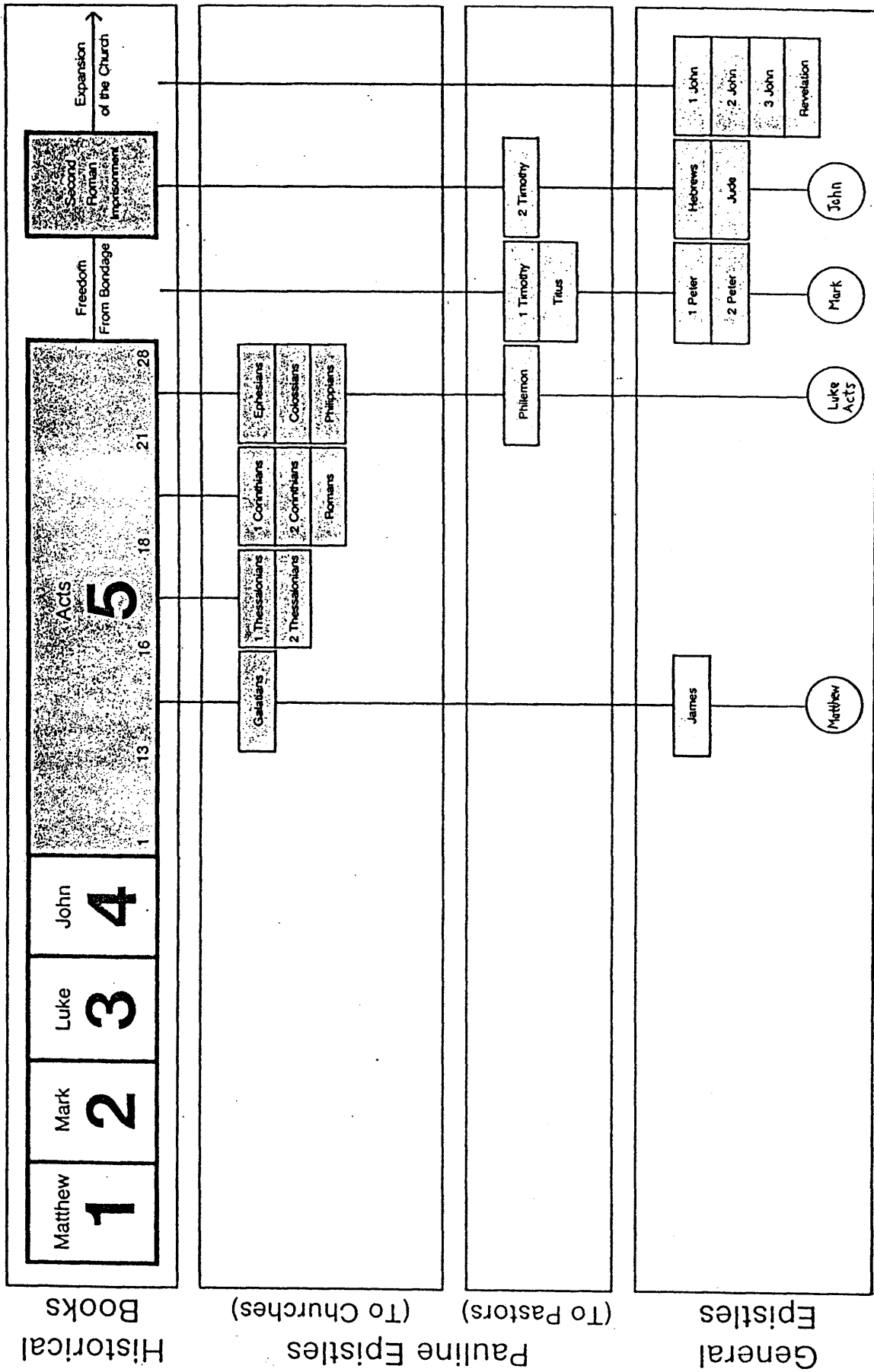




# Integration of the New Testament

## Integration of the New Testament

Walk Thru  
the New  
Testament



## New Testament Chronology

Adapted from Harold W. Hoehner, "A Chronological Table of the Apostolic Age," ThD Diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1964, rev. 1972

Book	Date	Paul's Life	Church/Jews/Rome	Acts
	30 BC-AD 14	Birth of Paul	Augustus emperor in Rome	
	25 Dec. 5 BC		Birth of Christ	
	AD 14-37	Jerusalem Training	Tiberius emperor in Rome	
	fall 29-3 April 33	Cilicia Training	Christ's 3.5 yr. ministry	1:1
	Monday, 30 March 33		Triumphal Entry	
	Friday, 3 April 33		Crucifixion (36 yrs. old)	1:3a
	Sunday, 5 April 33		Resurrection	1:3b
	Thursday, 14 May 33		Ascension	1:4-11
	Sunday, 24 May 33		Pentecost (Church Born)	2:1-41
	24 May 33-April 35		Evangelize Jews only	2:1-8:1
	summer 33		Peter with Sanhedrin #1	3:1-4:31
	33-34		Ananias & Sapphira die	4:32-5:11
	34-35		Peter with Sanhedrin #2	5:12-42
	late 34-early 35 <sup>1</sup>		"The Seven" selection	6:1-7
	April 35	Assists Stephen's death	Stephen martyred	6:8-7:60
	<b>April 35-April 48</b>		<b>Evangelize Samaritans</b>	<b>8:1-12:25</b>
	April-summer 35	Persecutes church	Persecution by Paul	8:1, 3; 9:1a
	summer 35	Conversion	Church fears Paul	9:1b-19a; Gal. 1:15
	summer 35-37	Damascus <sup>2</sup> & Arabia		9:19b-25; Gal. 1:17
	summer 37	Jerusalem visit #1 <sup>3</sup>	Barnabas introduces Paul	9:26-29; Gal. 1:18
	fall 37-43	Tarsus, Syria, Cilicia		9:30; Gal. 1:21
	37-41		Caligula emperor in Rome	
Matthew	40's		Church still Jewish	
	40-41		Peter & Gentile Cornelius	10:1-11:18
	41		Antioch church planted	11:19-24
	41-54		Claudius emperor in Rome	
	43 <sup>4</sup>	Antioch	Barnabas recruits Paul	11:25-26
James	44-47		Jewish church is carnal	
	spring 44		Agrippa I kills James	12:1-2 <sup>5</sup>
	spring 44		Peter escapes prison	12:3-19a
	late 44?		God kills Agrippa I	12:19b-24
	fall 47 <sup>6</sup>	Jerusalem visit #2	Antioch's famine relief	11:27-30; Gal. 2:1
	Fall 47-April 48	Antioch		
	<b>April 48-Sept. 49</b>	<b>Missionary journey #1</b>	<b>Evangelizes Galatia</b>	<b>13:1-14:26</b>
	Sept. 49-April 50	Antioch furlough #1		14:27-28
Galatians	fall 49	Antioch: rebukes Peter	Still "anti-Gentile"	Gal. 2:11-16
	fall 49	Writes from Antioch	Galatian heresy stopped	
	fall 49	Jerusalem visit #3	Jerusalem Council	15:1-29
	winter 49-50	Returns to Antioch	Antioch Gentiles rejoice	15:30-35
	April 50	Barnabas disagrees	Barnabas disciples Mark	15:36-39

<sup>1</sup>A tilde (~) means *one* point within a range of dates, but a hyphen (-) means *all* the dates between dates noted.

<sup>2</sup>Galatians 1:17 implies that the Arabia visit was brief so most of this time Paul ministered in Damascus.

<sup>3</sup>This first Jerusalem visit was to establish contact with Peter and lasted only 15 days (Gal. 1:18-19). However, a problem exists here: did he see only Peter and James (Gal. 1:18-19) or all the apostles (Acts 9:27)?

<sup>4</sup>Paul was ministering in Antioch for an entire year (Acts 11:25-26) prior to the famine visit (vv. 27-30).

<sup>5</sup>Luke uses the general statement "It was about this time..." (12:1) as he does not follow a strict chronology here. Chronologically, Acts 12 (in Jerusalem) actually precedes Acts 11 (the famine visit from Antioch to Jerusalem).

<sup>6</sup>A problem with this chronology is reconciling Paul's 14-year lapse from visiting Jerusalem a second time (Gal. 2:1). If this second visit is the famine visit (Acts 11:27-30), this would be either: (a) 13 years since his conversion in AD 35 (more likely) or (b) 10 years since his first post-conversion Jerusalem visit in AD 37. Neither case adds up to 14.

## New Testament Chronology

Book	Date	Paul's Life	Church/Jews/Rome	Acts
	<b>April 50-Sept. 52</b>	<b>Missionary journey #2</b>	<b>Evangelizes west</b>	<b>15:40—18:22</b>
	April 50-May 51	Antioch to Athens	Macedonia church planted	15:40—17:34
1 Thess.	early summer 51	Writes from Corinth	Corinthian church planted	18:1-17
2 Thess.	summer 51	Writes from Corinth		18:1-17
	mid Sept. 52	Cenchrea, Ephesus		18:18-21
	late Sept. 52	Jerusalem visit #4		18:22
	winter 52-53	Antioch furlough #2		18:23a
	<b>spring 53-May 57</b>	<b>Missionary journey #3</b>	<b>Evangelizes Asia</b>	<b>18:23b—21:16</b>
	spring-Sept. 53	Antioch to Ephesus	Apollos at Ephesus	18:23b-28
	Sept. 53-May 56	Ephesus	School of Tyrannus	19:1-41
	October 54-June 68		Nero emperor	
1 Cor.	early spring 56	Writes from Ephesus	Corinthians divided	19:1-41
	May-June 56	Troas to Macedonia	Corinthian visit #2	20:1; 2 Cor. 2:1
2 Cor.	fall 56	Writes from Macedonia	Minority unrepentant	20:2a
	mid-late Nov. 56	Macedonia to Corinth	Corinthian visit #3	20:2b
Romans	winter 56~57	Writes from Corinth		20:3a
	late Feb.-27 May 57	Corinth to Caesarea		20:3b—21:16
	27 May-5 June 57	Jerusalem visit #5	Jerusalem Church	21:17—23:32
	28 May 57	Meets with James	is still ethnocentric	21:17-25
	29 May-1 June 57	Purification rites done	Church satisfied	21:26-32
	<b>2 June 57-Feb. 60</b>	<b>Pre-Rome Imprisonments</b>		<b>21:33—28:31</b>
	2-4 June 57	Jerusalem Imprisonment		21:33—23:22
Luke	June 57-August 59	Caesarean Imprisonment	Luke collects data	23:23—26:32
	4-5 June 57	Jerusalem to Caesarea		23:23-32
	5-9 June 57	Waiting for accusers		23:33-35
	9 June 57	Trial by Felix		24:1-23
	late June 57	Trial by Felix and Drusilla		24:24-26
	June 57-July 59	Waiting for Felix's verdict		24:27
	July 59	Trial by Festus		25:1-12
	early August 59	Trial by Agrippa		25:13—26:32
For numbers below see the map on p. 142 ↓	Aug. 59-late Feb. 60	Voyage to Rome to evangelize Nero (27:24)		27:1—28:29
	<b>Feb. 60-March 62</b>	<b>First Rome Imprisonment</b>		<b>28:30-31</b>
Ephesians	fall 60	House arrest letter	Jew-Gentile conflict	28:30-31
Colossians	fall 61	House arrest letter	Syncretistic heresy	28:30-31
Philemon	fall 61	House arrest letter		28:30-31
Philippians	early spring 62	House arrest letter		28:30-31
Acts	62		Luke finishes Acts	
	<b>spring 62-fall 67</b>	<b>Missionary journey #4</b>	<b>Evangelizes West</b>	<b>After Acts</b>
	1 spring 62	Ephesus	James (Lord's bro.) killed	
	62		Peter goes to Rome	
	2 spring-summer 62	Ephesus and Colosse	Timothy left at Ephesus	Philem. 22
	3 summer-winter 62/63	Macedonia (Philippi)		Phil. 2:23-24
1 Timothy	fall 62	Writes from Macedonia	False teaching	1 Tim. 1:3
	4 spring 63-spring 64	Asia Minor		
1 Peter	early 64	Asia Minor	Christians despised in	
2 Peter	early spring 64	Asia Minor	Rome for separatism	
	spring 64	Asia Minor	Peter crucified in Rome	
	5 spring 64-spring 66	Spain with Titus	Church reaches Spain	Rom. 15:24, 28

## New Testament Chronology

Book	Date	Paul's Life	Church/Jews/Rome	Acts
Mark	19 July 64-9 June 68		Nero burns Rome, persecutes, dies	
	66-73		Jewish revolt in Israel	
Titus	6 summer-fall 66	Crete then Asia Minor	Titus left at Crete	Tit. 1:5
	7 summer 66	Miletus	False teaching	2 Tim. 4:20
	winter 66/67-fall 67	Macedonia, Nicopolis, Corinth	Tit. 3:12	
	<b>fall 67-spring 68</b>	<b>2nd Rome Imprisonment</b>		
2 Tim.	8-9 fall 67	Arrested, prison letter	Heresy/apostasy increasing	
Hebrews	67-68		Persecution in Israel	
	spring 68	Death by beheading		2 Tim. 4:6
	<b>68-96</b>	<b>After Paul's life</b>	<b>Late First Century Events</b>	
	68-69		Galba, Otho, Vitellius emperors	
	69-79		Vespasian emperor (no persecution)	
John	before 2 Sept. 70	(cf. John 5:2; Jos. War 6.10.1)	Jerusalem destroyed & false teaching	
	April~May 73		Jews commit mass suicide at Masada	
Jude	75		False teaching intensifies	
	79-81		Titus emperor (no persecution)	
	81-96		Domitian emperor (persecution later)	
1-3 John	85-95		Itinerant teachers amid false teaching	
Revelation	95-96		External persecution by Domitian; Internal compromise and heresy	
	96-100?		John dies a natural death in Ephesus	

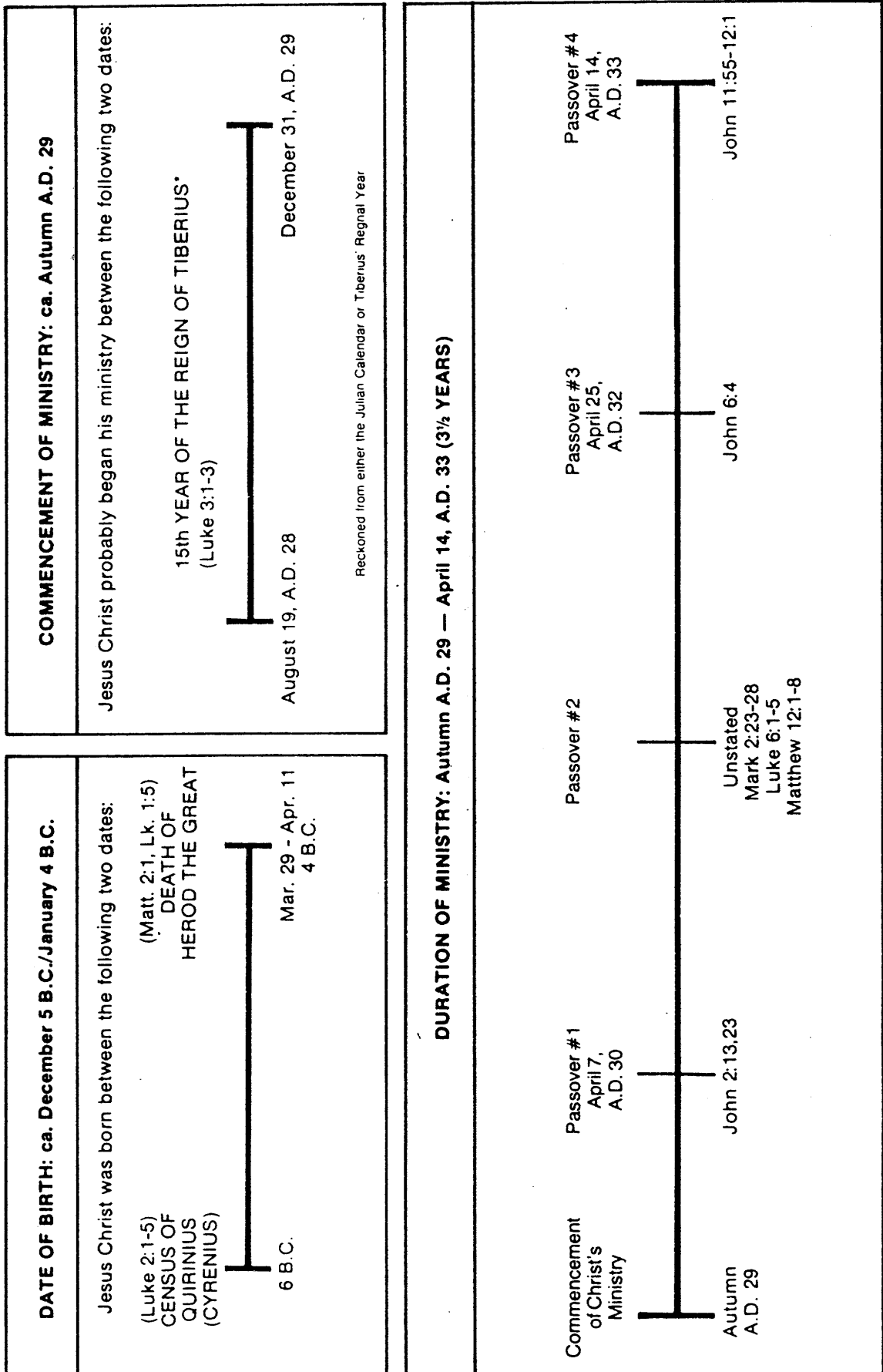


# Chronology of the Life of Christ

Walk Thru the New Testament

## Chronology of the Life of Christ

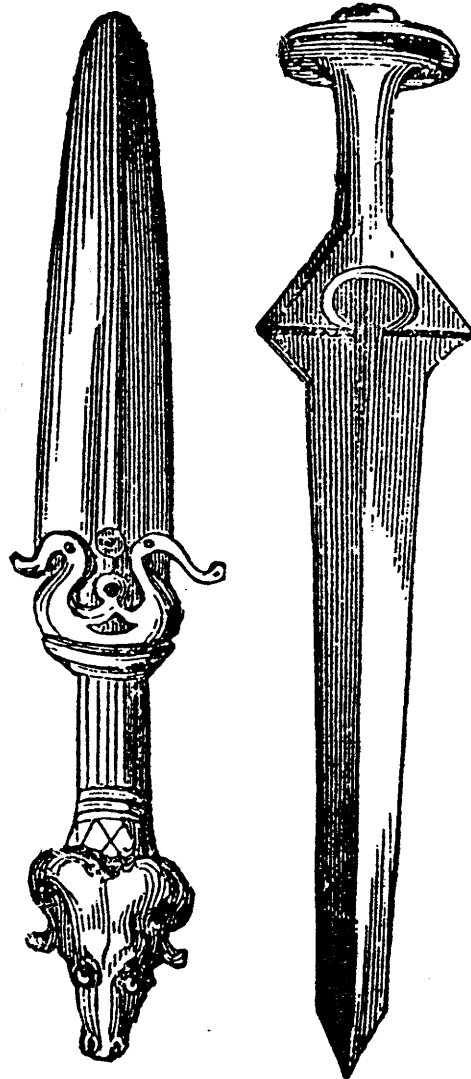
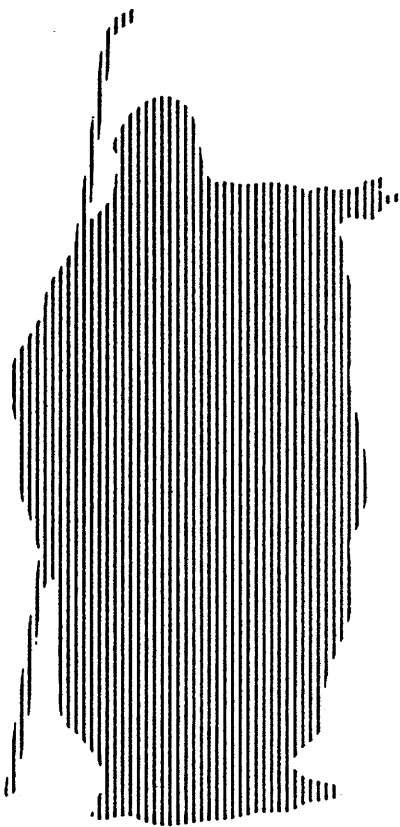
Walk Thru  
the New  
Testament



\*Basic Dating: Harold W. Hoehner, "Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ," Bibliotheca Sacra, Volume 130 and 131.

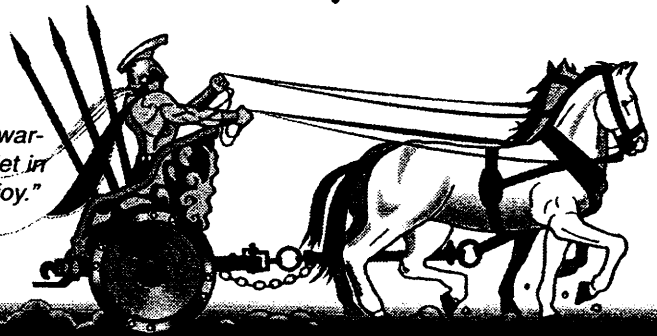


# The New Testament Context



*"The Lord your God is in your midst, a victorious warrior. He will exult over you with joy, He will be quiet in His Love, He will rejoice over you with shouts of joy."*

*Zephaniah 3:17*





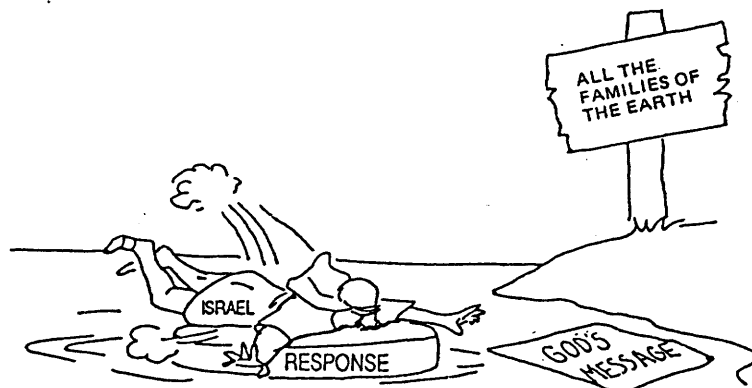
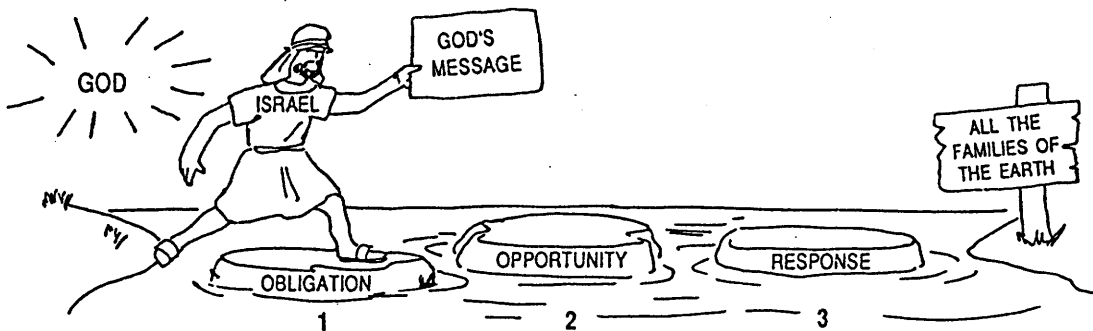
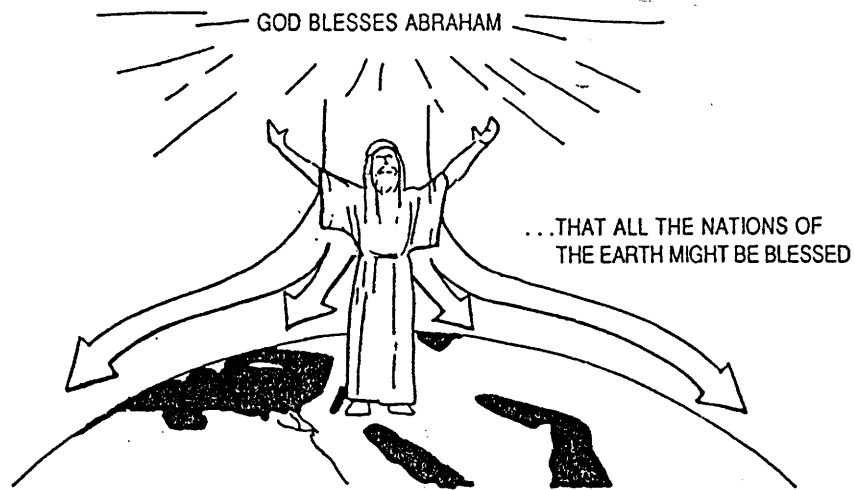
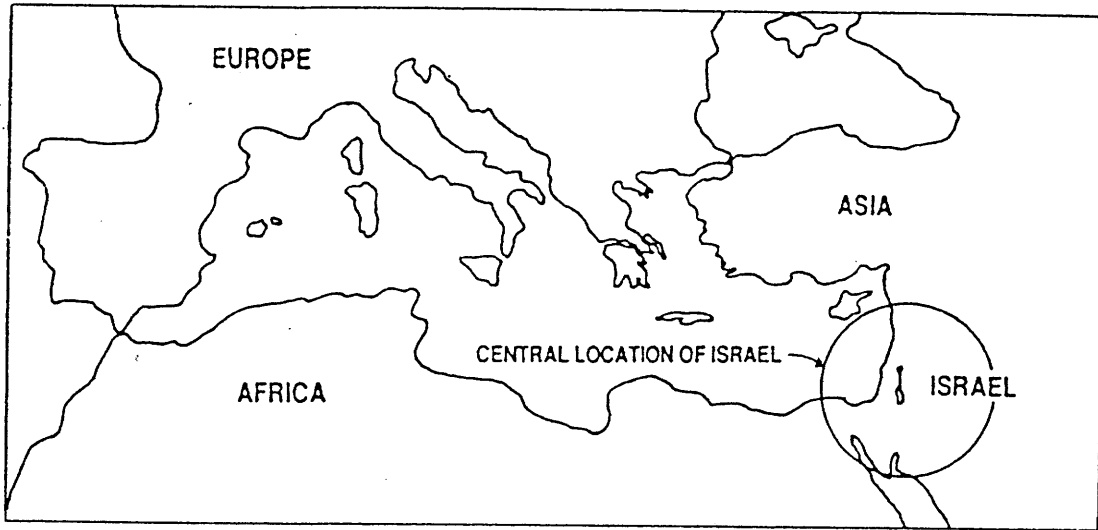
Historical Background  
Dr. Chuck Lowe

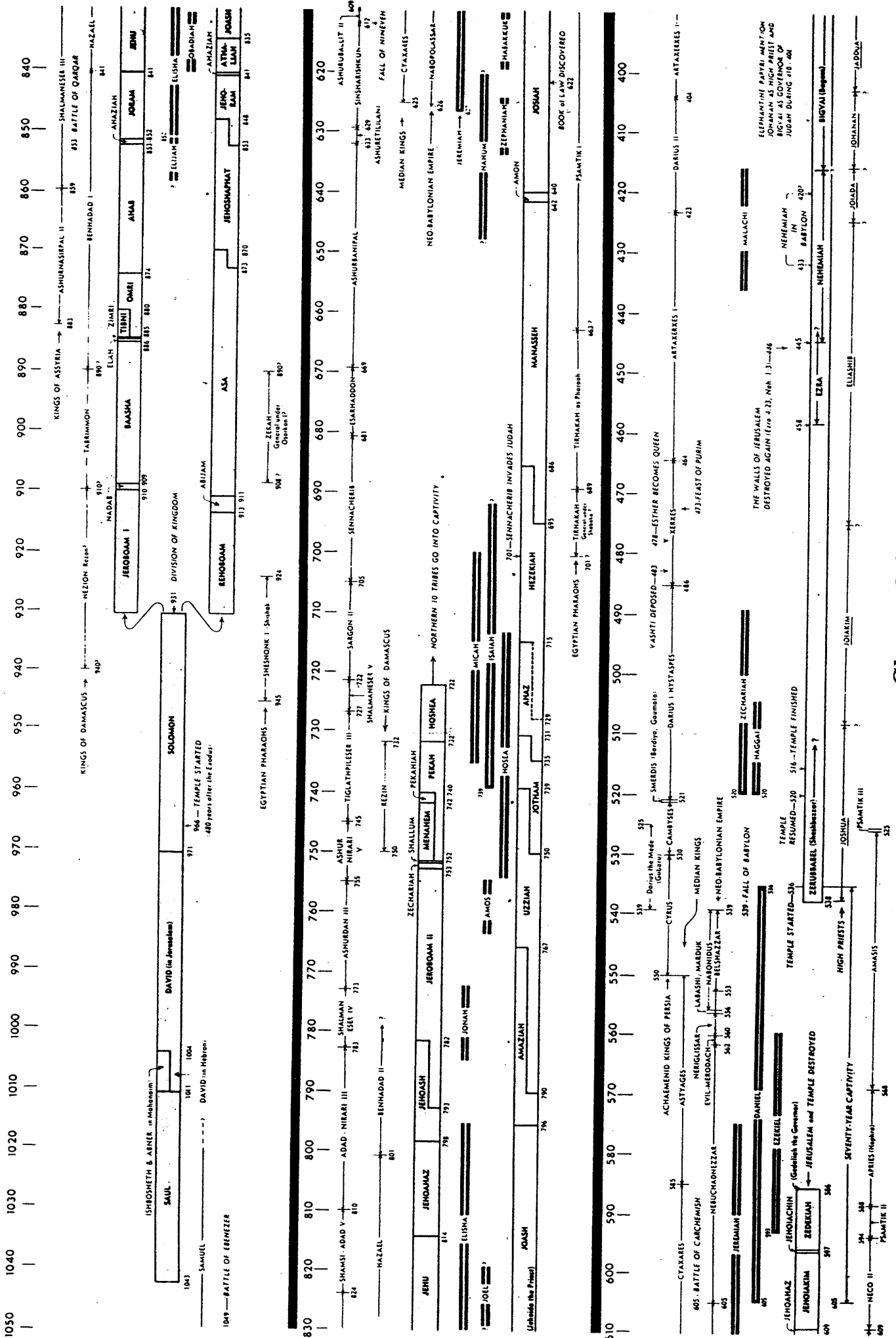
THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL AND THE PROBLEM IT POSED

- A. The Basis for Hope: Promise to the Patriarchs
  - 1. Promise given Gen 12 (vv 1-9)
  - 2. Promise remembered Ex 33 (vv 1-14)
  - 3. Promise conditioned Lev 26
  - 4. Promise retained Num 27 (vv 12-23)
  - 5. Promise renewed Deut 29 & 30
- B. The Fulfillment of Hope: Early History
  - 1. Preliminary fulfillment Josh 24
  - 2. Persistent fulfillment Judg 3 (vv 1-11)
  - 3. Perpetual fulfillment 2 Sam 7
- C. The Presumption of Hope: Later History
  - 1. The ruined king 1 Kg 11 (vv 1-13)
  - 2. The ruined northern kingdom 2 Kg 17      722/721 B.C.
  - 3. The ruined southern kingdom 2 Kg 25      597/586 B.C.
- D. The Punishment and the Promise Renewed: Exile
  - 1. Pre-exilic north Amos 9 Hos 14
  - 2. Pre-exilic south Isa 9 Jer 31
  - 3. Exilic Exek 36-37
- E. Hope Rekindled: Return from Exile    539 B.C.  
Haggai and Malachi
- F. Hope Disappointed: Alexander and the Seleucids
  - 1. Alexander and Hellenism    332 B.C.
  - 2. Antiochus Epiphanes    168 B.C.
  - Jub 23 (vv16-32)
- G. Hope Misplaced: Maccabean Revolt and the Hasmoneans
  - 1. Judas Maccabeus
  - 2. Hasmonean corruption
  - 3. Roman intervention: Pompey 63 B.C.
  - Ps. Sol. 2
- H. Hope Destroyed: Roman Rule
  - 1. Herod the Great    37 B.C.    Assum Mos 5-6, 10
  - 2. Herod Antipas: Galilee
  - 3. Pontius Pilate: Judea
- I. Hope Dies: Jewish Revolutionary War    A.D. 70, 132/135

# Israel's Privileges and Responsibilities

(from Jonathan Lewis, ed., *World Mission: Part One*, Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1987)





**Chart of Old Testament Kings and Prophets**  
 (John C. Whitcomb, 4th rev. ed., Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 1962, 1968, p. 2)





# The New Testament Political Context

## I. Sources for Political History

### A. Primary Sources (Ancient Writings)

1. Old Testament Scriptures: Exilic and Post-exilic historians and prophets
2. Greek Historians: Polybius (ca. 203-120 BC), Strabo (63 BC-AD 21), Plutarch (AD 50-ca. 120), and Cassius (AD 155-ca. 230).
3. Roman Historians: Cicero (160-43 BC), Livy (59 BC-AD 17), Tacitus (AD 55-ca. 120), Suetonius (AD 69-ca. 121), and Pliny the Younger (ca. AD 62-ca. 113).
4. OT Apocryphal Books: 1 Esdras (ca. 200 BC), 1 and 2 Maccabees (ca. 100 BC).
5. Jewish Historian: Josephus (AD 37-ca. 100), *The History of the Jewish War Against the Romans* (AD 77); *The Antiquities of the Jewish People*, 20 vols. (AD 93).
6. New Testament Scriptures: Luke-Acts.

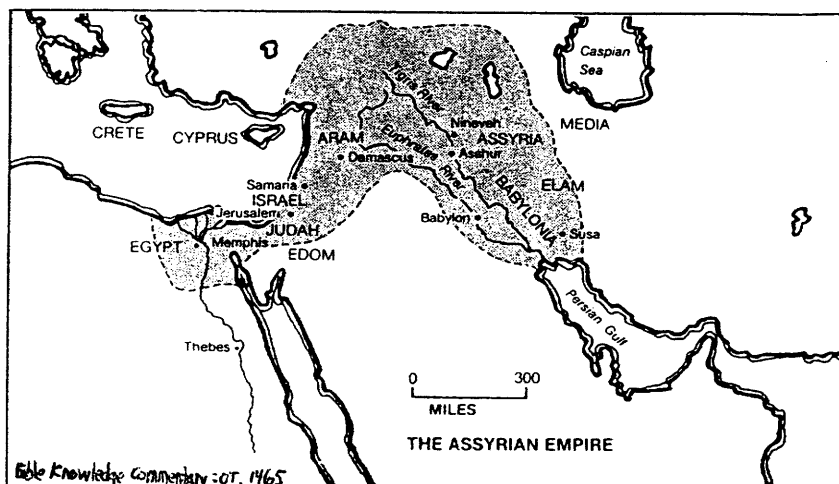
### B. Secondary Sources (Modern Writings; see also the bibliography on the course syllabus)

1. Bruce, F. F. *New Testament History*. England: Nelson, 1969; reprint, Garden City, NY: Anchor Books (Doubleday), 1971. 462 pp.
2. Hoehner, Harold W. *Herod Antipas*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 1972.
3. Jeremias, J. *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969.
4. Schürer, E. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC—AD 135)*. Revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973-79.
5. Richard L. Niswonger. *New Testament History*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988.

## II. Prophecies in Daniel

### A. Context: The exile (605-536 BC)

1. *Fall of Israel*: Assyria had conquered the northern kingdom of Israel (capital, Samaria) over 100 years before Daniel's time due to Israel's sin (722 BC). These Jews were exiled (transplanted) to Assyria (northern Iraq today) and intermarried with pagan peoples (2 Kings 17:1-6, 24-26). Assyria brought other conquered peoples into Israel who married the few poor Israelites that remained. Their mixed-breed offspring were called Samaritans (cf. p. 59).



2. *Fall of Judah:* Judah also sinned greatly, and Daniel was taken away from the southern kingdom of Judah (capital, Jerusalem) into exile in 605 BC by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (southern Iraq today). About 20 years later (586 BC) Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed and most of the population deported to Babylon.

The prophecies Daniel received came to him while waiting in Babylon wondering whether he or his people would ever see the land of Israel again (cf. “Chart of Old Testament Kings and Prophets,” p. 47).

B. Content: Several times in the book Daniel sees revelations of the future kingdoms (cf. “Identification of the Four Kingdoms,” p. 50, and “Between the Testaments,” p. 51).

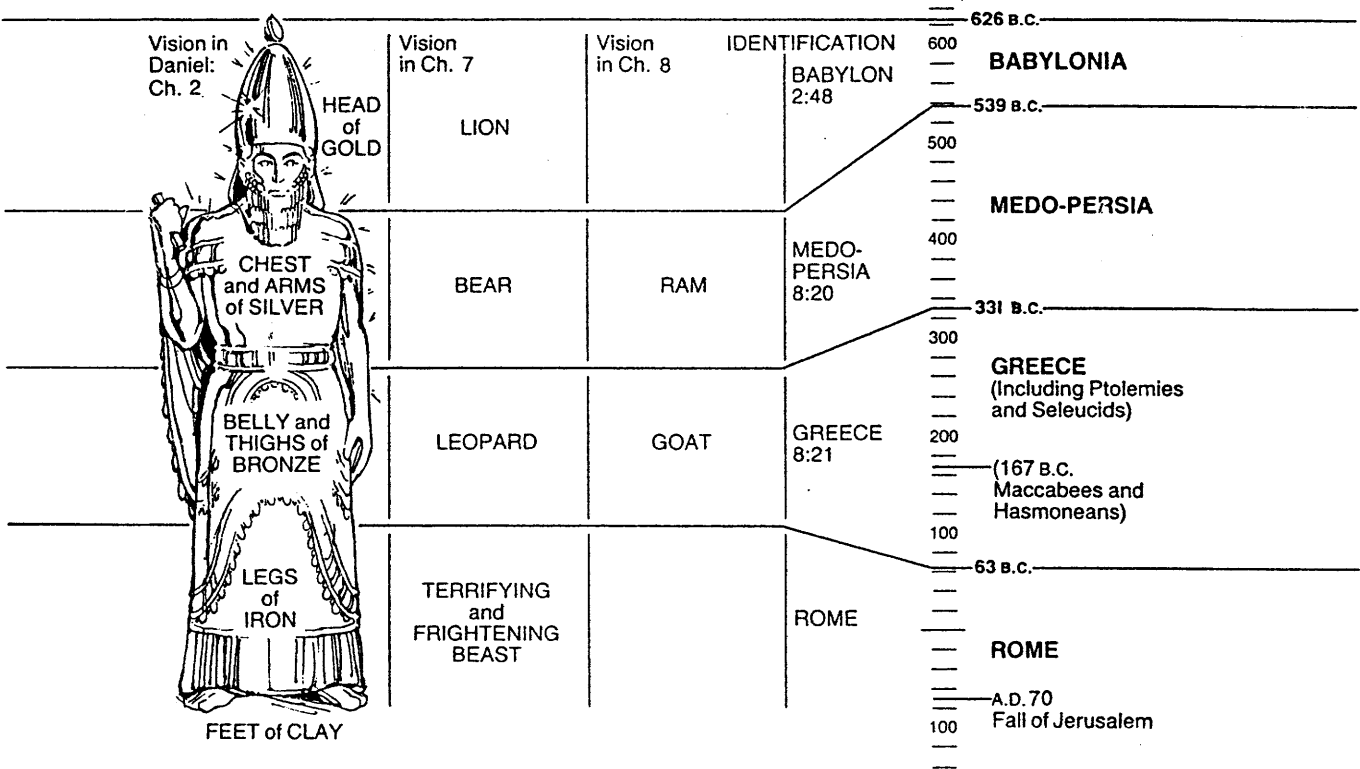
1. Daniel 2: The multi-material image (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome)
2. Daniel 7: The four beasts (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome)
3. Daniel 8: The ram (Medo-Persia) and he-goat (Greece)
4. Daniel 9: The “Seventy Sevens” prophecy predicts Israel’s Millennial Kingdom (v. 24). Also, it includes an incredibly accurate prophecy (vv. 25-27) that 483 years after Artaxerxes’ decree to rebuild Jerusalem (444 BC) the Messiah will die (AD 33). This is perhaps the most remarkable prophecy in the history of mankind as it came true to the very day—whether one uses the Jewish or Gregorian calendar! This is shown in Harold Hoehner’s *Chronological Aspects of the Life of Christ*, 115-39, and on the chart below:

<b>The 483 Years in the Jewish and Gregorian Calendars</b>	
<b>Jewish Calendar</b> (360 days per year*)	<b>Gregorian Calendar</b> (365 days a year)
$(7 \times 7) + (62 \times 7) \text{ years} = 483 \text{ years}$	$444 \text{ B.C. to A.D. 33} = 476 \text{ years}^\dagger$
$\begin{array}{r} 483 \text{ years} \\ \times 360 \text{ days} \\ \hline 173,880 \text{ days} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 476 \text{ years} \\ \times 365 \text{ days} \\ \hline 173,740 \text{ days} \\ + 116 \text{ days in leap years}^\ddagger \\ + 24 \text{ days (March 5-March 30)} \\ \hline 173,880 \text{ days} \end{array}$
<p>*See comments on Daniel 9:27b for confirmation of this 360-day year.                      †Since only one year expired between 1 a.c. and a.d. 1, the total is 476, not 477.                      ‡A total of 476 years divided by four (a leap year every four years) gives 119 additional days. But three days must be subtracted from 119 because centennial years are not leap years, though every 400th year is a leap year.</p>	

Bible Knowledge Commentary-OT, 1363

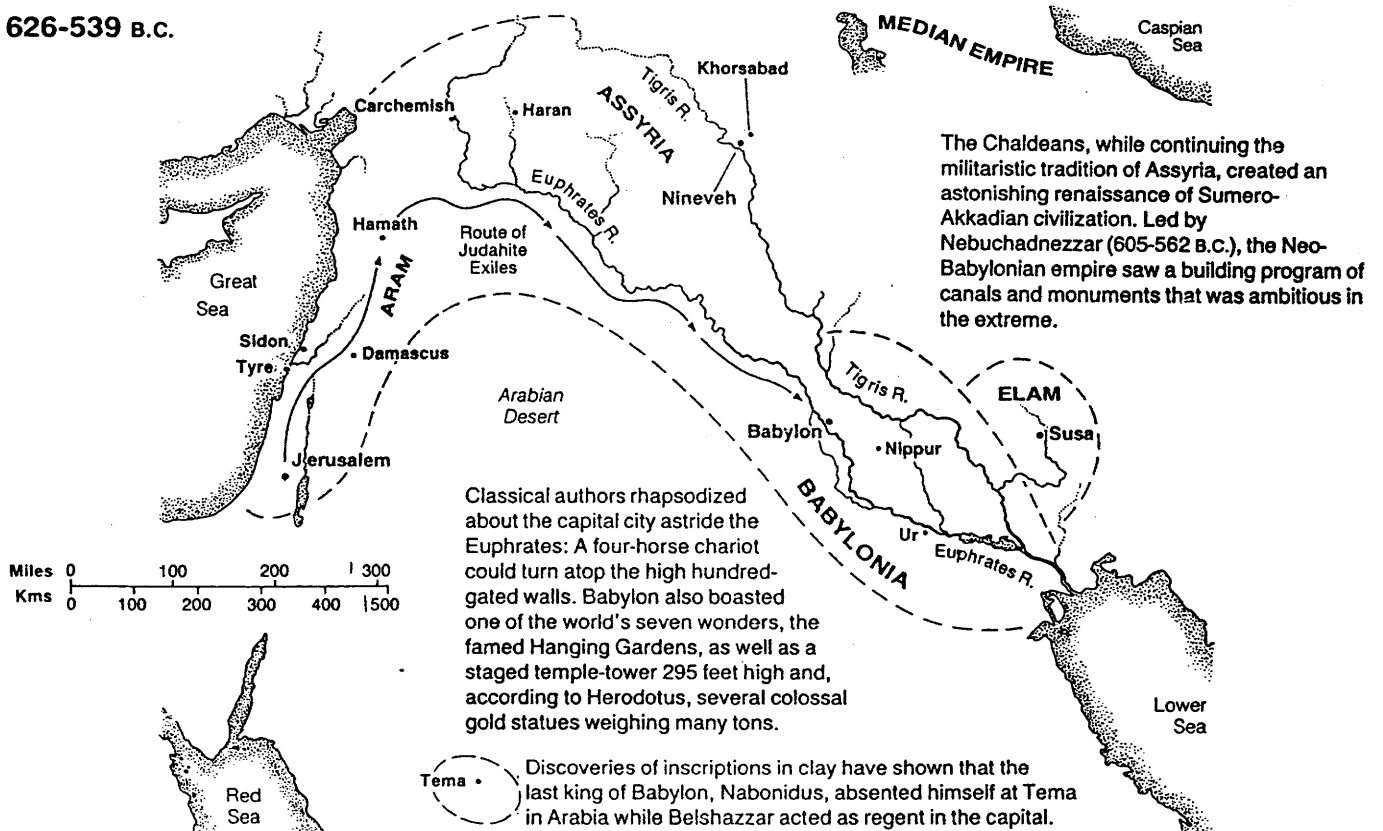
# Identification of the Four Kingdoms

Chronology of Major Empires in Daniel



# The Neo-Babylonian Empire

626-539 B.C.



# Between the Testaments

## THE PERSIAN PERIOD 539-331 B.C.

For about 200 years after Nehemiah's time the Persians controlled Judah, but the Jews were allowed to carry on their religious observances and were not interfered with. During this time Judah was ruled by high priests who were responsible to the Jewish government.

## THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD 331-143 B.C.

In 333 B.C. the Persian armies stationed in Macedonia were defeated by Alexander the Great. He was convinced that Greek culture was the one force that could unify the world. Alexander permitted the Jews to observe their laws and even granted them exemption from tribute or tax during their sabbath years. When he built Alexandria in Egypt, he encouraged Jews to live there and gave them some of the same privileges he gave his Greek subjects. The Greek conquest prepared the way for the translation of the OT into Greek (Septuagint version) c. 250 B.C.

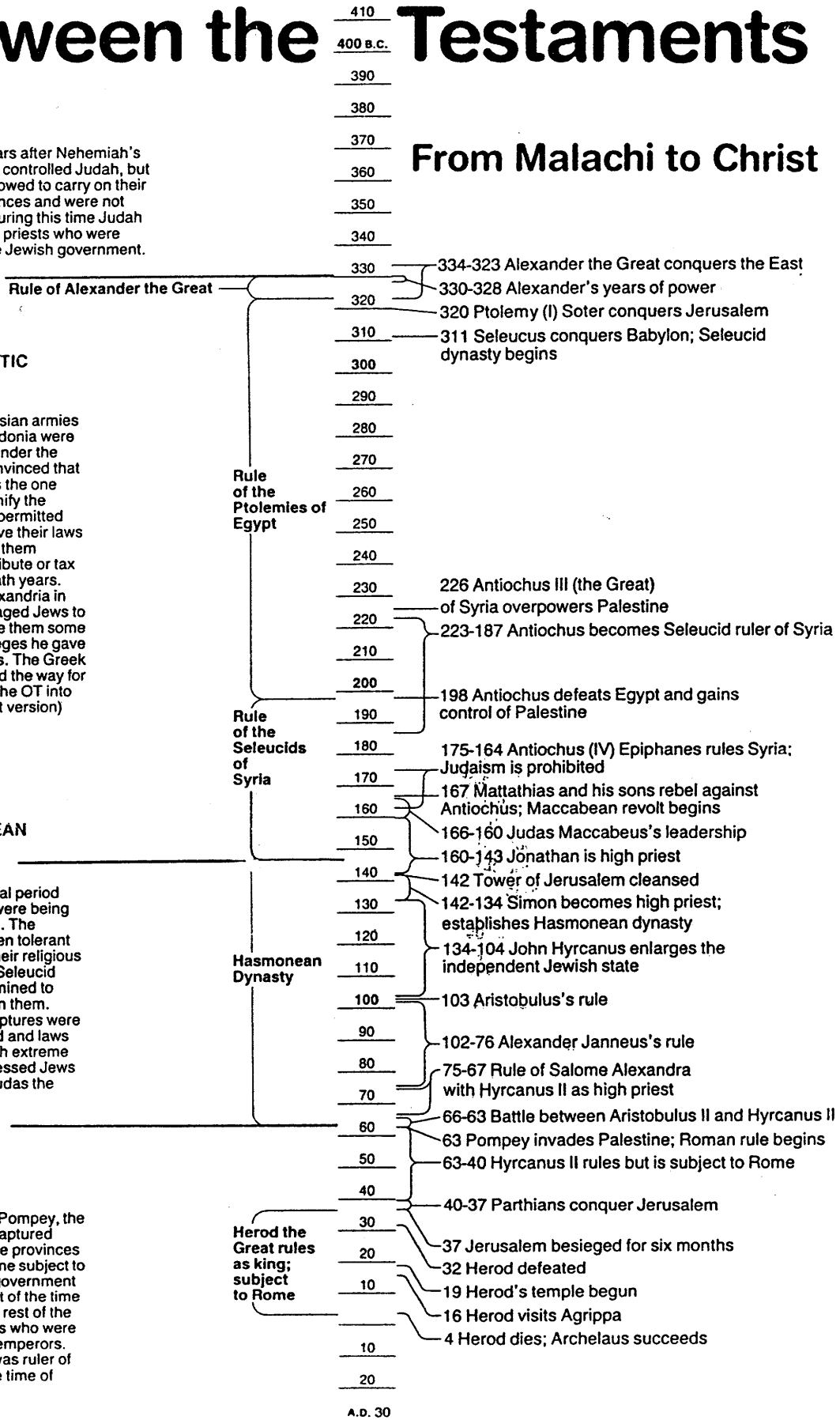
## THE HASMONEAN PERIOD 143-63 B.C.

When this historical period began, the Jews were being greatly oppressed. The Ptolemies had been tolerant of the Jews and their religious practices but the Seleucid rulers were determined to force Hellenism on them. Copies of the Scriptures were ordered destroyed and laws were enforced with extreme cruelty. The oppressed Jews revolted, led by Judas the Maccabee.

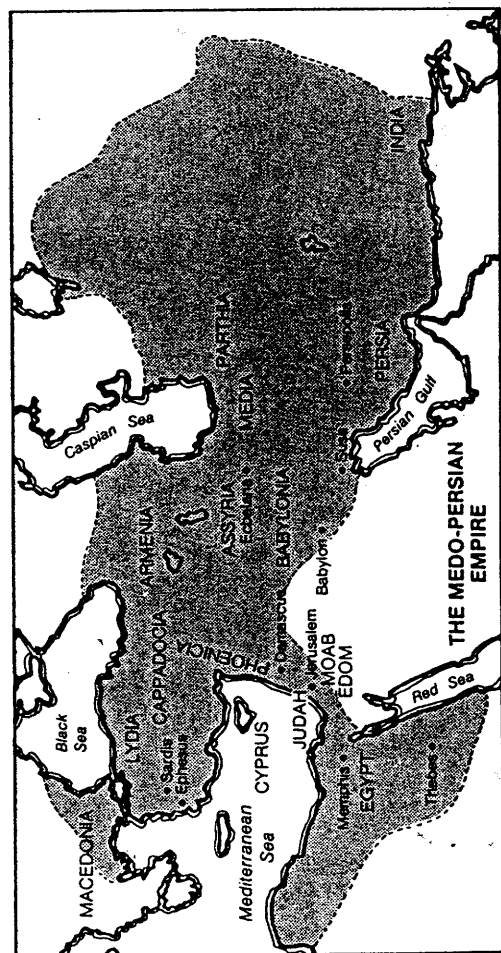
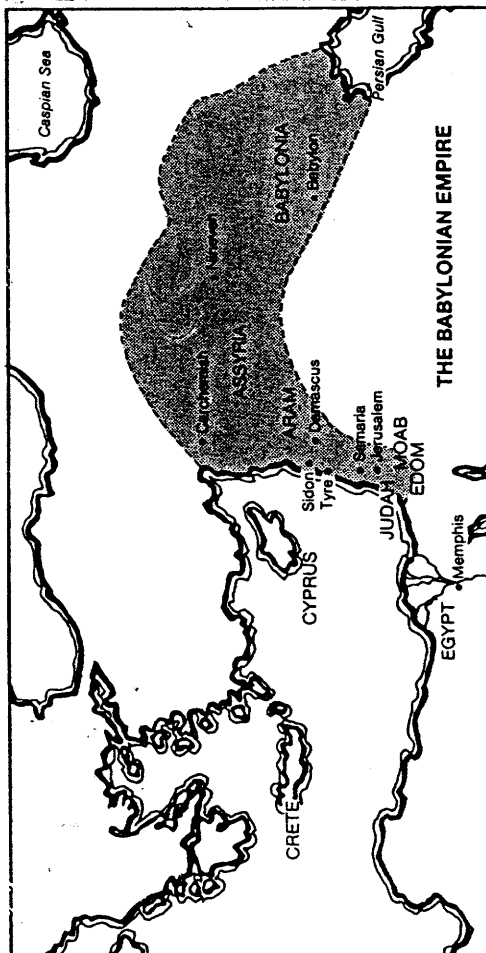
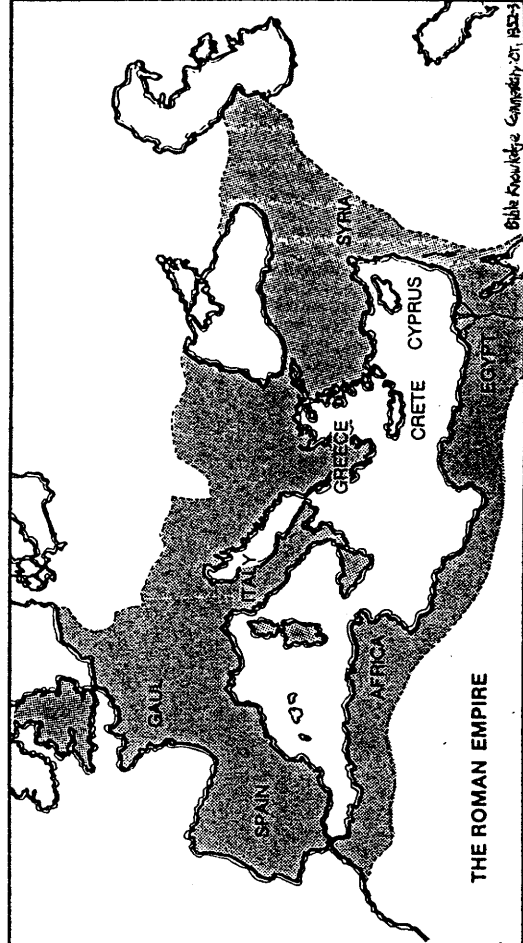
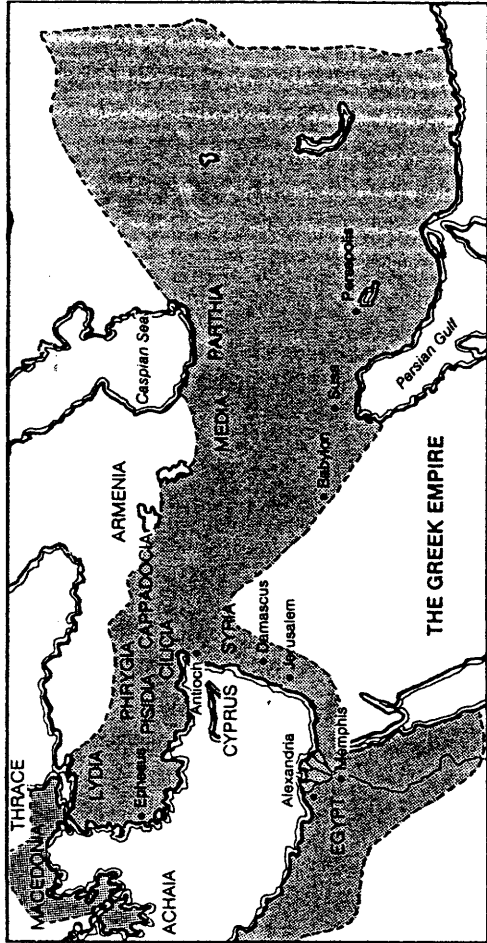
## THE ROMAN PERIOD 63 B.C. ....

In the year 63 B.C. Pompey, the Roman general, captured Jerusalem, and the provinces of Palestine became subject to Rome. The local government was entrusted part of the time to princes and the rest of the time to procurators who were appointed by the emperors. Herod the Great was ruler of all Palestine at the time of Christ's birth.

Malachi c. 430 B.C.



# Maps of Intertestamental Empires



# Intertestamental Chronology (dates B.C.)

SELEUCIDS	PTOLEMIES	MACCABEANS
Seleucus I 312-281	Ptolemy I Soter 323-285	Mattathias 168-166
Antiochus I 281-261	Ptolemy II Philadelphus 285-247	Judas Maccabeus 166-160
Antiochus II 261-246	Ptolemy III Euergetes 247-222	Jonathan Maccabeus 160-143
Seleucus II 246-226	Ptolemy IV Philapator 222-205	Simon Maccabeus 143-135
Seleucus III 226-223	Ptolemy V Epiphanes 205-182	John Hyrcanus I 135-104
Antiochus III 223-187	Ptolemy VI Philometer 182-146	Aristobulus I 104-103
Seleucus IV Philapator 187-175	Ptolemy VII Euergetes II 146-116	Alexander Jannaeus 103-76
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 175-163	Ptolemy VIII Soter II 116-108	Hyrcanus II and Alexandra 76-67
Antiochus V Eupator 163-162	Ptolemy IX Alexander 108-89	Hyrcanus II and
Demetrius I Soter 162-150	Ptolemy VIII Soter II 88-80	Aristobulus II 67-63
Alexander Balas 150-145	Ptolemy X Alexander II 80	Pompey called in 63
Demetrius II Nicator 145-139	End of Legitimate Ptolemaic Line	Antipater 55-43
Antiochus VII 139-129		Herod the Great 40-4

- Walton



## A Chronological History of Palestine (continued)

DATES	EVENTS	PERSONS
1 B.C.- A.D. 1	<p>Pompey's conquering of Jerusalem (63)  Hyrchanus II installed as ruler (63)  Antipater procurator of Judea (47)  Herod governor of Galilee (47)  Herod crowned king of the Jews (40)  Invasion of Syria and Palestine by Parthians (40)  Parthians driven out; Herod's assumption of kingdom (37-34)  Rebuilding of temple begun by Herod (20)  Building of Caesarea completed by Herod (10)  Death of Herod the Great (4)  Archelaus, ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea (4 B.C.-A.D. 6)</p> <p>Judea made a Roman imperial province  Jewish uprising (7)  Founding of Tiberias (18)  Pilate's arrival in Judea (26)  Pilate dismissed as procurator of Judea (36)  Birth of Josephus (37)  Anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria (38)  Herod Antipas exiled (39)  Anti-Jewish riots in Antioch (40)  A group of Alexandrian Jews led by Philo to Caligula  Death of Herod Agrippa I (44)  Rise of the Zealots and Sicarii(?) (50-52)  Josephus's pleading of Jewish interests before Nero (64)  Jewish revolt against Rome (66-70)  Josephus's surrender to Vespasian (67)  Fall of Jerusalem (70)  Fall of Masada (73)  Josephus's completion of <u>Jewish War</u> (76-79)  Josephus's completion of <u>Antiquities</u> (93-94)  Synod of Jamnia (100?)  Jewish revolt of Bar-Cochba (132-135)  Final Jewish revolt against Rome put down and Jerusalem made a Gentile city (135)  Martyrdom of Rabban Akiba (135?)</p>	<p>Pilate (26-36)  Josephus (37-c. 95)</p> <p>Paul (d. 64)  Peter (d. 64)</p> <p>John (d. 100)</p>

- Walton



### III. Babylonian Rule over Israel (605—539 BC)

#### A. Three Deportations (cf. OTS, 370)

Note: Babylon's philosophy was to *bring* captive peoples to their own land.

1. 605 BC Babylon (Nebuchadnezzar II) defeated Egypt at the Battle of Carchemish (p. 50) at the headwaters of the Euphrates. King Jehoiakim of Judah had been subject to Egypt for its sin, but then became subject to the victor, Babylon. However, then Jehoiakim rebelled.

First Deportation: Nebuchadnezzar plundered the Jerusalem temple treasures and took captive prominent citizens such as Daniel (2 Kings 24:1-7; 2 Chron. 36:5-8; Dan. 1:1-4).

2. 597 BC Jerusalem (under King Jehoiachin) revolted and came under a brief siege again.

Second Deportation: Nebuchadnezzar exiled to Babylon 10,000 captives—all the leading men such as Jehoiachin, Ezekiel, and Mordecai, as well as the skilled craftsmen (2 Kings 24:10-16; Ezek. 1:1-2).

3. 586 BC Jerusalem (under King Zedekiah) revolted again.

Third Deportation: This time Nebuchadnezzar took no chances and began a devastating two and a half year siege, ending in 586 BC with the destruction of the temple, the walls, and the entire city. All but the poorest people (left under governor Gedaliah) were exiled to Babylon (2 Kings 25:1-12).

- B. After Nebuchadnezzar's reign (605-562 BC = 43 years!) the Babylonian empire quickly crumbled with five kings in only 23 years. The last was Belshazzar (544-539 BC), whose demise is in Daniel 5:30.

#### C. Key Developments under Babylonian Rule of Israel

1. Preservation of National Heritage: The Babylonian policy of deportation required conquered countries to follow their pagan cult (cf. Dan. 2, 6). In contrast to the ten northern tribes that merged into Assyrian society, the Judean Jews in exile successfully resisted this.
  - a. Separation: They were forbidden to carry on sacrifices, but they held fast to the *law of God, the Sabbath, and circumcision*—all ways that kept them a distinct people.
  - b. Rise of the Synagogue: With the Jerusalem temple destroyed, local Jewish places of worship sprung up throughout Babylon.
  - c. Elimination of Idolatry: The people finally learned the lesson that idols are abhorred by God (Exod. 20:3-6) and that idolatry had caused the devastation of Jerusalem.
2. Prophets such as Ezekiel and Daniel ministered in exile. They anticipated and prayed for the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. Ezek. 34:13; 36:38; Dan. 6:10; 9:16, 25). Previously Jeremiah had limited the time of captivity to 70 years (Jer. 25:11-12; 29:10).

All this prepared the people intellectually and spiritually for a new beginning in Israel.

### IV. Persian Rule over Palestine (539—331 BC)

Note: Persia's philosophy was to *return* captive peoples to their own land.

- A. **Cyrus the Great** of Persia (559-530 BC) conquered Babylon (Belshazzar) in 539 BC and became ruler over Israel (cf. Isa. 13:14; 21:1-10; 44:48; 45:1; 47:1-5; Jer. 50—51; Dan. 8:1-4; Herodotus 1.190ff.).

- B. **Three Returns** (see "Returns from Exile" chart on the following page)

# Returns from Exile

RETURN	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD
Reference	Ezra 1-6	Ezra 7-10	Nehemiah 1-13
Date	538 B.C.	458 B.C.	444 B.C.
Leaders	Sheshbazzar Zerubbabel Jeshua	Ezra	Nehemiah
Persian King	Cyrus	Artaxerxes Longimanus	Artaxerxes Longimanus
Elements of the Decree	As many as wished to could return. Temple could be rebuilt, partially financed by royal treasury. Vessels returned.	As many as wished to could return. Finances provided by royal treasury. Allowed to have own civil magistrates.	Allowed to rebuild the wall
Number Returning	42,360 <u>7,337</u> (servants) 49,697	1,500 men 38 Levi <u>220</u> helpers 1,758	Unknown
Events, Accomplishments, and Problems	Temple begun; sacrifices made and Feast of Tabernacles celebrated. Samaritans made trouble, and work ceased until 520. Temple completed in 516.	Problems with inter-marriage	Wall rebuilt in 52 days, despite opposition from Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem. Walls dedicated and Law read.

# Chronology of the Persian Period

PERSIAN KING	DATES	BIBLICAL CORRELATION	GREEK CORRELATION
CYRUS	539-530	Return of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezra 1-3)	
CAMBYSES	530-522	Rebuilding at Jerusalem stopped (Ezra 4)	
DARIUS I	522-486	Haggai and Zechariah prophesy (520) Temple completed (516) (Ezra 5 & 6)	Greeks defeat Persians at Marathon (490)
XERXES	486-464	Story of Esther (Esther 1-9)	Greeks defeat Persians at Thermopolae (480) and Salamis (479) Herodotus 485-425
ARTAXERXES I	464-423	Return of Ezra (458) (Ezra 7-10) Return of Nehemiah (445) (Neh. 1-2) Prophecy of Malachi (433)	Golden Age 461-431 Pericles 460-429 Athens rules.
DARIUS II	423-404	B I B L I C A L  S I L E N C E	Peloponnesian Wars 431-404 Athens falls (404) Sparta rules.
ARTAXERXES II	404-359		Socrates 470-399 Plato 428-348 Aristotle 384-322
ARTAXERXES III	359-338		Philip II of Macedon defeats Greeks at Chaeronea in 338
ARSES	338-335		
DARIUS III	335-331		Alexander the Great overthrows Persian Empire
ALEXANDER	336-323		Establishment of Greek Empire

Persian  
Greek

Persian  
Greek

### C. Key Developments under Persian Rule of Israel

1. Restoration of Temple Worship (first return under Zerubbabel): Initially only the sacrifices were reestablished, but following the completion of the temple rebuilding came the reinstatement of the entire temple system.
2. Law of Moses Reestablished as the Law of the Land (second return under Ezra): Ezra the priest and scribe (1 Chron. 6:3-15; Ezra 7:6-7) taught the law and enforced it by order of the king (Ezra 7:14, 25-26), especially in respect to prohibiting intermarriage (Ezra 9—10; Neh. 10:30; 13:23-31). This led to copying scrolls of the OT used even in the time of Jesus.
3. Economic and Spiritual Life Revived (third return under Nehemiah): The restoration of the walls, repopulating of Jerusalem, reinstatement of the sabbath, spiritual revival among the people, and renewal of the intermarriage prohibition under Nehemiah all contributed to the placing of Israel more firmly in the land.
4. Rise of the Temple State: Though Judah was still a vassal state, Persia allowed the people a great deal of local autonomy (especially in cultural and religious matters) to win their allegiance. This resulted in peace, prosperity, and security. Eventually the Persian governor was replaced by a council of elders closely allied with the leading priestly families and directly accountable to the Persian king. The *Temple* was the place of power, the *Mosaic Law* was “the constitution,” and the *High Priest* (from the ancient line of Zadok) was the highest official. However, there still was no Jewish king on the throne of Israel.
5. Aramaic Language: This became the official language of the empire so that Hebrew began to die out as the everyday language of the Jews. By the time of Christ few Jews knew Hebrew and Aramaic was the common language of Palestinian Jews.
6. Jewish Diaspora: Although Persian policy allowed the Jews to return to Israel and reestablish their religion and customs, very few did so. Those remaining in foreign lands became known as the Diaspora so that many Jewish settlements could be found around the empire. Paul later used the synagogues of these groups as points of contact in evangelising the Roman world.
7. Samaritans, the inhabitants of Samaria to the north of Jerusalem, had earlier resulted from intermarriage with pagan peoples who occupied the land during Israel’s Assyrian exile. Jews would not recognize them as true Israelites due to their “mixed blood” (2 Kings 17). Therefore, the Jerusalem community separated from them (Ezra 4:1-2) and this alienation and rivalry finally led to two political provinces (Samaria and Judea) and two sanctuaries of worship (Mt. Gerizim and Jerusalem) later under Alexander the Great. Years later the Samaritan woman spoke with Jesus at the well about these two sanctuaries (John 4:20).
8. Purim was added to the feasts of Israel during the reign (486-465 BC) of the Persian monarch Xerxes I (Ahasuerus). The story is recorded in the Book of Esther how Haman, Xerxes’s prime minister and an enemy of the Jews, sought to annihilate all Jews on a certain day (14th of Adar), but his plot was foiled by the courage and intervention of Queen Esther, a Jewess. Xerxes reversed Haman’s diabolical scheme and permitted the Jews to defend themselves on that day and the day after. Because Haman had selected the day by the throwing of *purim* (“lots”), the 14th and 15th of Adar (Feb./March) was chosen for a memorial festival called the Feast of Purim (cf. also 2 Maccabees 15:36; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 11.6.13).
9. Close of the OT Canon: The prophet Malachi preached during the Persian rule (ca. 432—425 BC). Being the last of the OT prophets, the conclusion of his ministry began what is now known as the “400 silent years” (425—5 BC) when no prophets spoke until the time of John the Baptist.
10. Judaism became the term depicting the Jewish way of life in both its cultural and religious aspects from the post-exilic period onward. Orthodox Judaism strictly resisted outside influences that would seek to absorb or change it.

## V. Greek Rule over Israel (331—143 BC)

### A. Alexander the Great (356-323 BC)

1. Birth: 356 BC into a royal family that was Macedonian but heavily influenced by Greeks
2. Education: by Aristotle (a Greek) from age 13
3. Succession to the Throne (336 BC): At age 20 he succeeded his father, Philip II, king of the Macedonians—a people closely related to but distinct from the Greeks (they adopted many cultural developments of the Greeks).
4. Colonization (336-335 BC): Alexander consolidated the politically divided Greek city-states by crushing the rebellious city of Thebes. By assuming political leadership of Greece (south of his homeland), he and his followers became heirs of the Greek way of life and took responsibility for sharing it with the world. This imposing of Greek values, worldview, or way of life was called Hellenization.
5. Conquest (334-325 BC): In only 12 years he conquered the entire Persian Empire from Asia Minor to modern Pakistan! These conquests with only 35,000 soldiers included Israel, which capitulated to him with the exceptions of Tyre and Gaza while Alexander was en route to conquer Egypt (332-331 BC). One tradition says Jerusalem surrendered without a fight as he was shown by the high priest that he was fulfilling Daniel's prophecies about him (Dan. 8:5-7; Jos. *Ant.* 11.325-339; cf. Niswonger, 20-21). Before he could reach the Ganges River, his army forced him to turn back (cf. "The Route of Alexander's Conquests," p. 61).
6. Consolidation (325-323 BC): The task then came to reorganize his immense empire, but this failed due to Alexander's personal excesses (self-indulgence, unpredictability) and poor policies (e.g., placing Greeks and Macedonians in the old Persian administration).
7. Death (323 BC): His final years seem to involve the beginnings of desiring worship by his subjects, which is consistent with the Greek notion that divinity rests in extraordinary persons. Finally Alexander, only 32 years old, fell ill and died in Babylon, the chosen capital of his new empire (Dan. 8:8a). He left no heir and/or successor.
8. Significance: Politically, Alexander's empire lasted only 11 years (334-323 BC), yet culturally, it endured nearly 1000 years until the rise of Islam and the Arab conquests of the seventh century AD (cf. p. 62 Hellenization and Greek language).

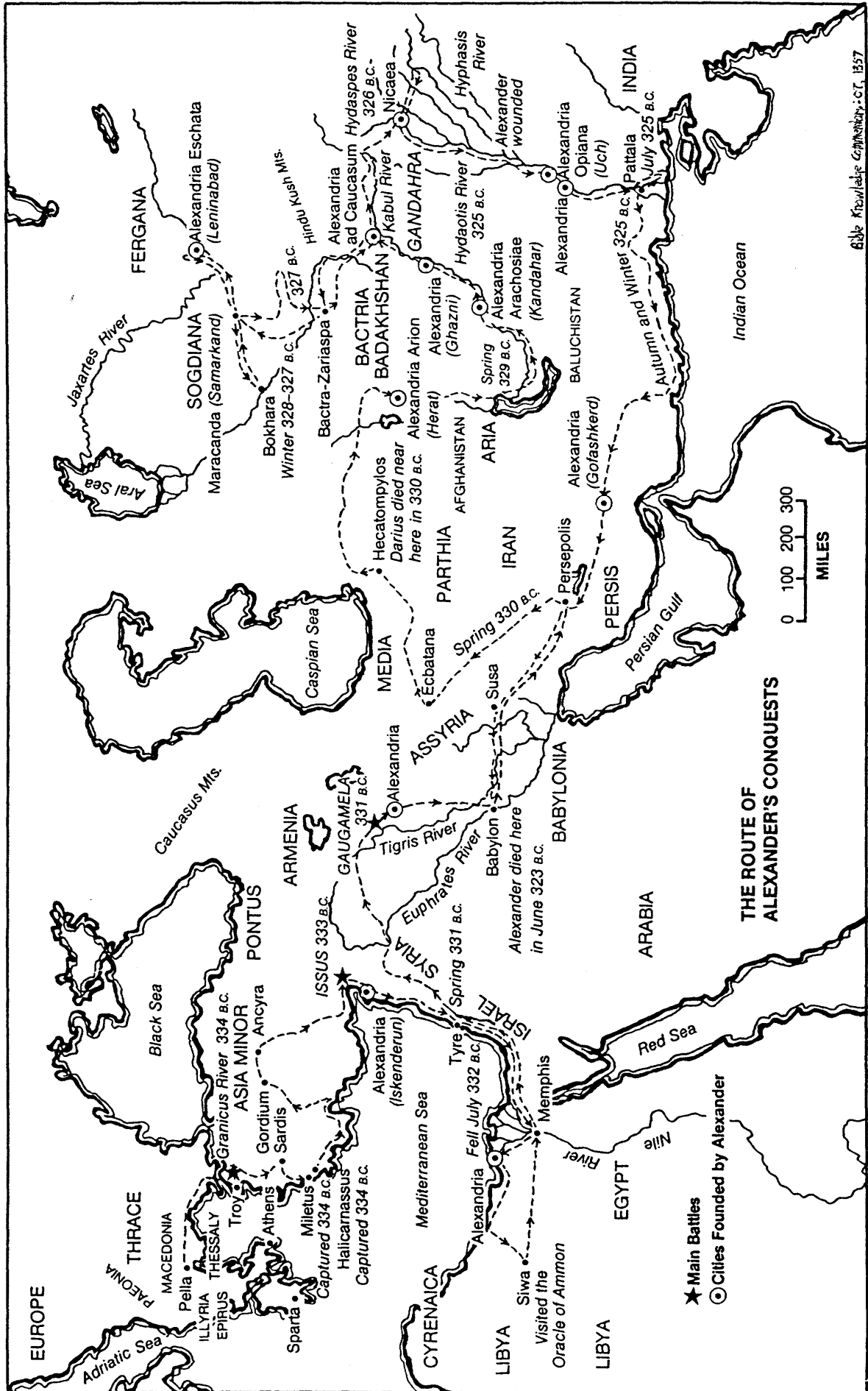


### B. Struggle for Supremacy (323-301 BC)

1. After unsuccessful attempts to preserve the vast empire by the Diadochi (first generation of Alexander's successors), a coalition of four of Alexander's generals crushed their opposition at the Battle of Ipsus, Phrygia (301 BC).
2. The four generals then broke the empire into four empires in fulfillment of prophecy (Dan. 8:8, 21-22; 11:4): Ptolemy (Egypt), Seleucus (East Asia Minor & Syria to India), Lysimachus (West Asia Minor), and Cassander (Macedonia). See "The Greek and Roman Empires," p. 64).
3. During this unstable period (323-301 BC) Israel changed hands six times! (It was located in the middle of the action at the crossroads between Asia, Europe, and Africa.) In the following years (301-143 BC) the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires exercised the greatest control over Israel so only they will be addressed in the following discussion.



# The Route of Alexander's Conquests



**MOVIE REVIEWS** Friday, December 31, 2004


## Alexander

ONLINE EDITOR'S NOTE: THIS FILM FEATURES GRAPHIC VIOLENCE AND LEWD SEXUAL CONTENT. THIS REVIEW REFERENCES THAT CONTENT AND IS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR CHILDREN.

How could the son of a relatively minor king in a minor backwater province of ancient Greece go on to change the course of history? Alexander of Macedon earned his moniker "Great" through personal magnetism, audacity and sheer courage.

**RATED R**
**DISTRIBUTED BY**

Warner Bros. Pictures

**DIRECTED BY**

Oliver Stone (*Any Given Sunday, Nixon, JFK, Platoon, Born on the Fourth of July*)

**STARRING**

Colin Farrell as Alexander; Angelina Jolie as Olympias; Val Kilmer as King Philip II; Jared Leto as Hephaestion; Anthony Hopkins as Old Ptolemy; John Kavanagh as Parmenion; Gary Stretch as Cleitus; Rosario Dawson as Roxane; Raz Degan as Darius III; Francisco Bosch as Bagoas

**REVIEWED BY**

Tom Neven

The story starts by establishing the relationships among Alexander; his scheming mother, Olympias; and his brutal and unpredictable father, King Philip II of Macedon. Alternately doted upon or derided by his father (depending on how drunk he was), Alexander grows up with a need to prove himself. His mother introduces him to palace intrigue and whatever-it-takes ambition. Add a natural intelligence and keen interest in learning all he could about the world, instilled by his tutor, Aristotle, and Alexander is destined to become a bright star set to do great things—or burn out early. He winds up doing a bit of both.

This three-hour biopic barely mentions Alexander's early conquest of Asia Minor and the biblical lands of Israel, Assyria and Egypt, including his great victories at Granicus, Issus and Tyre, which established his reputation as a military genius. The first battle shown is the decisive victory at Gaugamela, in what is today northern Iraq, which breaks the back of the Persian army under Darius III and allows Alexander to take Babylon.

Alexander then takes his army deep into the Hindu Kush mountains (today's Afghanistan) and on into India, driven both by ambition and an addictive need to know what lay beyond the next river. Along the way, he takes a wife, Roxane of Bactria, and becomes increasingly arrogant and distant from his loyal generals.

After the only battle he ever lost, in India, Alexander marches his army toward home. But he never makes it. Alexander the Great, conqueror of the known world, dies of a mysterious disease (or is poisoned) in Babylon.

**POSITIVE ELEMENTS**

Despite being injured himself, Alexander insists that his wounded men be treated first. He never asks his soldiers to do anything he's not willing to do himself, including being at the very front of a cavalry charge. And he honors a fallen foe by covering the body with his own cape. Upon capturing the wife and family of King Darius, Alexander shows mercy and allows them to continue to live in the palace. He later asks his men to forgive him for his anger and pride.

**THIS MONTH'S**


ONLINE G

**THIS WEEK'S**

**ABC Takes a New Tack**  
Scrambling to s ratings, and convinced it could grow by following familiar family-f strategy, ABC t long, hard look, brave new world TV...

**THIS MONTH'S F**

**More Naught Than Nice**  
Why the PG-13 rating continues frustrate familie:

**THIS MONTH'S RES**


CONTINUING

**The 10 Commandments of Dating**

Don't lose your in the search for desire of your h



Alexander comes to see his mother's scheming as a bad thing. He denounces the racism of his generals, who object to having to mix with "barbarians." Alexander's lifelong friend, Ptolemy, says, "Excess in all things is the undoing of men." (Alexander does not follow the advice.) Aristotle tells his students, including young Alexander, "When men lie together in lust, it is an excess of passion and leads to destruction," but when men "lie together," or join their minds in knowledge and virtue, "this strengthens them and leads to excellence." (Alexander ignores this advice, too. See Sexual Content below.) King Philip says, "No man can be too powerful or too beautiful without disaster befalling him."

#### SPIRITUAL CONTENT

Old Ptolemy, in looking back on Alexander's life, says, "He was a god, or as close to one as I've ever seen." Olympias convinces young Alexander that he is the son of Zeus. Later, it's said that a sycophantic soothsayer in Egypt "confirms" this. Conversely, Aristotle expresses skepticism toward the existence of the gods and says only the uneducated believe in them.

Olympias is called a sorceress. Numerous scenes feature statues of the various Greek gods. Men frequently invoke the names of these gods, often before a fight. Alexander whispers to a horse afraid of its own shadow, "It is just Apollo [sometimes referred to as the sun god]. His shadows are a trick." King Philip, a drunkard, is said to worship Dionysus, the god of wine and ecstasy, and he takes young Alexander on a tour of a cave in which walls are engraved with images of Greek mythology, including that of Medea, who murdered her children in revenge for her husband's abandonment of her. The myth of Prometheus [the Titan who stole fire from the gods and gave it to mankind] is mentioned several times.

The night before a big battle, a man toasts, "Let's feast tonight, for tomorrow we will dine in Hades [in Greek mythology, the realm of the dead]." Alexander looks up at the night sky and says he is praying to Phobos [the god of fear and terror]. Before a battle, Alexander sacrifices a bull to the gods. Later, a seer looks through the entrails of the animal to try to predict the outcome of the fight.

Hallucinating, Alexander sees his mother as the snake-haired Medusa. (Olympias is frequently seen holding serpents.) Alexander is told a ring is "from a time when men worshipped the sun and stars."

#### SEXUAL CONTENT

Before *Alexander's* release, The online news world was abuzz with rumors that it contained heavy homosexual and/or bisexual content. And history pretty much confirms that Alexander had a voracious appetite for *both* sexes. In the final print, however, much of the bisexual content is confined to innuendo and assumption. Significant glances and whispers of affection are exchanged between Alexander and Hephaestion, his lifelong friend and probable homosexual lover. Alexander hugs Hephaestion lingeringly, says to him, "Stay with me tonight," expresses a longing for growing old together, and assures him, "It's you I love." Olympias tells Alexander, "You love Hephaestion more. I understand. It's natural for a young man." Alexander also kisses a very effeminate male dancer full on the mouth—in front of his wife. (Interestingly, a group of Greek lawyers is threatening

to sue director Oliver Stone and Warner Bros. over this portrayal of Alexander. In true Seinfeldian manner, they say they have no problem with homosexuality; they just don't want to see their cultural hero portrayed that way.)

King Philip, in a drunken rage, attempts to rape Olympias. He slaps her, chokes her and throws her upon the bed that young Alexander lies in, ripping at her clothing. (Palace guards eventually pull him off as Alexander pleads with him to stop.) In a like-father, like-son echo, Alexander later violently attempts to force his "rights" on his wife, Roxane. (During the struggle, she's seen nude from the front; shadows obscure the lower portion of her body.) After he has beat her and wrestled her down, she seizes a knife and puts it to his throat. Then, the two turn their anger and acts of violence into a means of summoning sexual attraction. What follows includes explicit motion and sounds, seen in flashes of flesh and in silhouette. Elsewhere, in low light, we see Alexander briefly expose part of his sexual anatomy to the camera.

During one of Philip's drunken orgies, men drag women off, apparently to have their way with them. Upon viewing King Darius' harem in captured Babylon, Alexander is told there's a woman for every night. But while his generals ogle the women, Alexander exchanges looks with Bagoas the eunuch. At various times men and women dancers perform sexualized dances—one of them homoerotic. A Greek general denigrates "barbarians" by saying, "They mate in public." Roxane, jealous of Hephaestion's hold on Alexander, is told by Alexander, "There are many different ways to love." Nude statues and paintings are on display.

#### **VIOLENT CONTENT**

The battle scenes are intense, violent and gory. The Greek phalanx featured rows of soldiers with 15-foot pikes, and we see Persian warriors run through with the spears. Limbs are severed with huge gushes of blood. Men vomit blood when they are stabbed in the chest. Arrows hit bodies with sickening thuds. Soldiers are covered with the spattered blood of their victims.

Darius outfitted his war chariots with large scythes on the wheels. Soldiers are sliced open and lose limbs as the chariots race through their ranks. After the battle, a field is littered with hundreds of bloody bodies.

A man is executed by a spear thrown into his chest, and later, in a drunken rage, Alexander kills his friend Cleitus by running him through. We see the bloody bodies of torture victims tied to tree trunks. Two men are assassinated by having daggers rammed into their abdomens. As already discussed, Alexander and Philip both rough up their wives. Roxane pulls a knife and holds it to Alexander's throat. (He dares her to kill him.) Mercy killing involves driving a spike into the base of a man's skull.

Alexander slits the throat of a bull, whose blood splashes all over him. Elephants crush soldiers beneath them; one explicit scene shows an elephant's foot flattening a man, another shows an elephant's trunk being lopped off. A man's head is stuck on the end of a pike. Lightning kills a group of men. A man dies after a snake bites his neck.

**CRUDE OR PROFANE LANGUAGE**

Three uses of "d---," two of "bastard" and one of "a--."

**DRUG AND ALCOHOL CONTENT**

King Philip was a drunkard, and he's frequently seen guzzling wine and quite drunk. He explains his drunkenness: "I want to drink this sadness away." Once he tells an aide, "Make sure the wine flows freely. I want them to like me." Alexander is also fond of drink, and in one scene—as if he were presiding over an out-of-control frat party—he downs a large goblet of wine in one go. (It's the same thing he saw his father do earlier in his life.)

**OTHER NEGATIVE ELEMENTS**

Declining to buy a spirited horse, King Philip quips, "Why would I want such a beast? I already have a wife." A man spits in King Philip's face, and later Olympias spits in Alexander's face. It's implied that Olympias is behind the assassination of King Philip, although history also points to Alexander as a possible culprit. It's noted that Olympias orders the second wife and child of King Philip murdered.

**CONCLUSION**

There is no doubt that Alexander the Great rerouted the flow of history, and not necessarily for the worse. His conquests set the stage for the rapid spread of Christ's gospel (300-some years afterwards) by establishing a common language, Greek, for a large swath of mankind. He even shows up in the Bible as the shaggy goat referred to in Daniel 8, and his kingdom is represented by the bronze belly and thighs in Daniel's dream interpretation documented in Daniel 2.

It is possible to call a man *great* without approving of what he does. (It's the dilemma faced by *Time* magazine when it names its annual Person of the Year; to nominate Osama bin Laden is not to praise him.) Alexander was without a doubt a courageous, bold and brilliant military commander who had conquered most of the known world in his 20s. He was, at times, a selfless and inspiring leader. He was also, among many other dreadful things, a murderer and adulterer—with both sexes—and was prone to drunkenness and fits of rage. As a king, he was willing to kill thousands to feed his own ambition.

To adequately capture the intricacies of the life of such a man is beyond difficult, and Oliver Stone can't quite pull it off here. He glosses over many of the events that earned Alexander his historical title and tries to show us instead his inner life of turmoil, but uses an actor, Colin Farrell, who just doesn't seem cut out for the job. (Ragged pacing and an amalgam of forced European accents don't help matters much, either—Angelina Jolie, for instance, sounds like she just got off the boat from Russia.)

What the film does a good job of is showing audiences how easily the sins of fathers are passed on to their sons. Many of Alexander's actions are reflections of what his dad taught him, not with words but with base behavior. It also aptly illustrates Solomon's assertions in Ecclesiastes 1 and 2 that a life spent pursuing riches, sex, conquest and power is *always* a life filled with futility.

## C. The Hellenistic Empires (301-143 BC)

1. Ptolemaic Rule (301-198 BC) was a long Period of Peace lasting over a century. Key developments during this time including the following:
  - a. Non-Interference Religiously: The Ptolemies refrained from meddling in internal affairs, following the example of the Persians and Alexander the Great. Jerusalem remained a "temple state" with the high priest ruling under the consent of the Ptolemies.
  - b. Rise of the Sanhedrin: Ruling with the high priest over both secular and spiritual affairs was the Sanhedrin, which apparently came into being at this time and comprised priests and leading men (elders) in Jerusalem.
  - c. Peaceful Hellenization: Greek communities sprang up in parts of Israel (e.g., the Decapolis, *deca* "ten" + *polis* "city"). This brought with it Greek influences such as manner of life, culture (theatre, art, science, sports), intellectual ideas, religion, and trade. However, traditional Jewish practices and thinking was jealously preserved.
  - d. Greek Language: Alexander also encouraged his soldiers to marry local women and have their children speak Greek. Jews in Israel interested in profiting financially from Greek influences learned Greek, the trade language (anyone unable to do so was regarded as barbarian!), and Jews adopted some appealing Greek customs. This adoption of the Greek language paved the way for the New Testament to be written in a much more precise language than Hebrew.
  - e. Septuagint: Many Jews moved to Alexandria, Egypt, where they learned Greek and gained appreciation for Greek literature (Alexandria had a large, famous library). They were accorded civil rights with Greeks. It was here during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 BC) that the OT was translated into Greek and called the Septuagint or LXX, owing to its translation by 70 scholars.

Note: This period is predicted with amazing accuracy by Daniel, containing over 100 prophecies about the Ptolemies (Greek rulers of Egypt) and Seleucids (Greek rulers of Syria), who continually exchanged power over the land of Palestine:

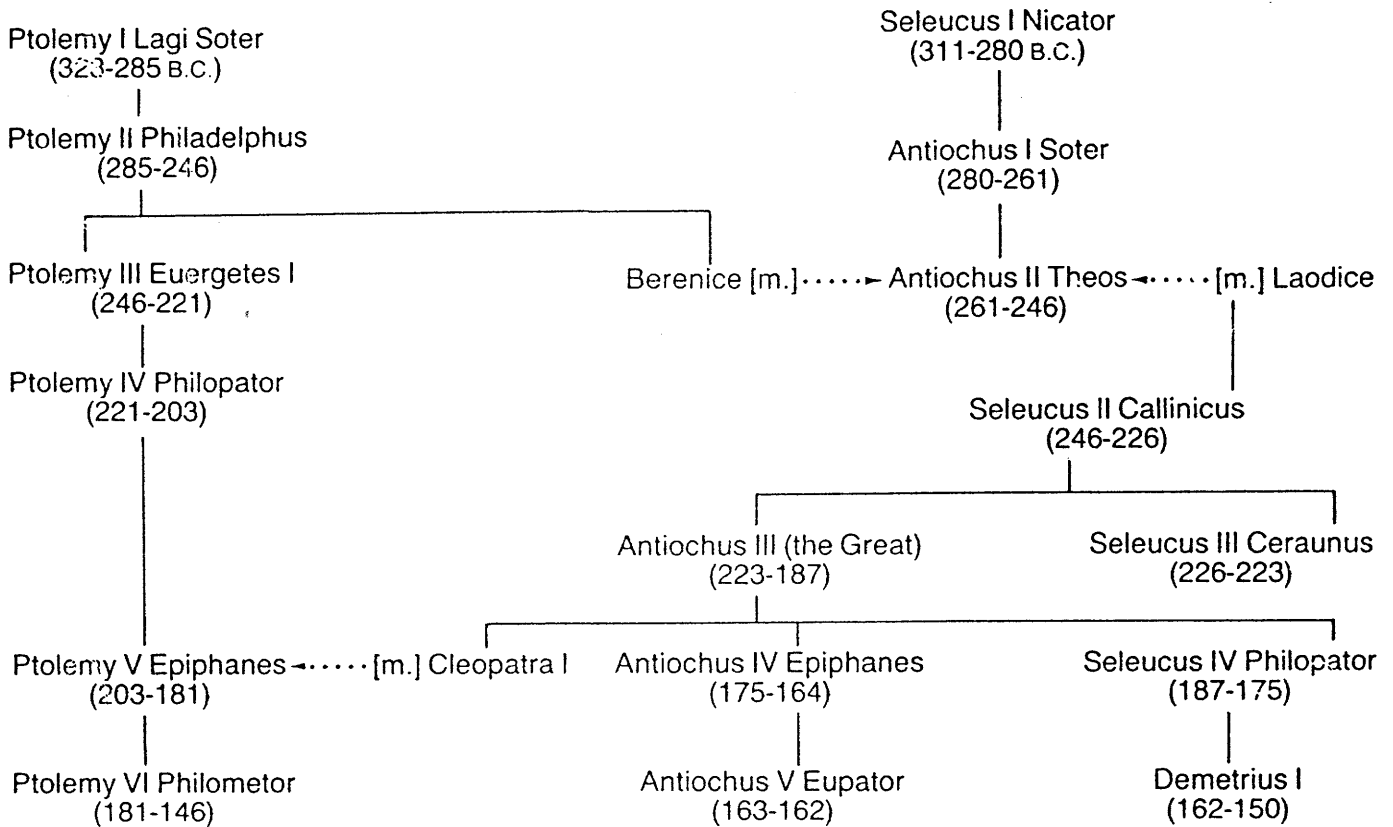
### The Ptolemies and the Seleucids in Daniel 11:5-35

Ptolemies (Kings "of the South," Egypt)		Seleucids (Kings "of the North," Syria)	
Daniel 11:5	Ptolemy I Soter (323-285 B.C.)*	Daniel 11:5	Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.)
11:6	Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246)		Antiochus I Soter† (281-262)
11:7-8	Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221)	11:6	Antiochus II Theos (262-246)
11:11-12, 14-15	Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204)	11:7-9	Seleucus II Callinicus (246-227)
11:17	Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204-181)	11:10	Seleucus III Soter (227-223)
11:25	Ptolemy VI Philometer (181-145)	11:10-11, 13, 15-19	Antiochus III the Great (223-187)
		11:20	Seleucus IV Philopator (187-176)
		11:21-32	Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163)

\*The years designate the rulers' reigns.

†Not referred to in Daniel 11:5-35.

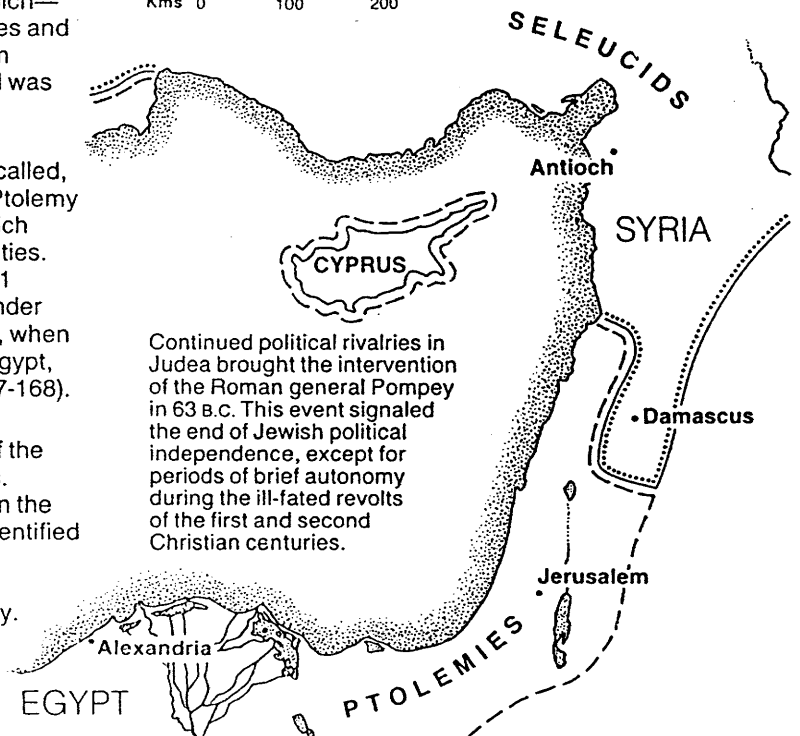
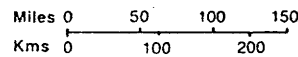
# Ptolemies and Seleucids



Soon after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., his generals divided his empire into four parts, two of which—Egypt and Syria—were under the rule of the Ptolemies and Seleucids respectively. Palestine was controlled from Egypt by the Ptolemaic dynasty from 323 to 198, and was subsequently governed by the Seleucids of Syria from 198 to 142.

The Diadochi, as the successors of Alexander were called, struggled bitterly for power over his domain. At first Ptolemy I seized his own satrapy, Egypt and North Africa, which had splendid resources and natural defense capabilities. Seleucus gained Syria and Mesopotamia, and by 301 Lysimachus held Thrace and Asia Minor and Cassander ruled Macedonia. The situation changed again by 277, when only three major Hellenistic kingdoms stabilized in Egypt, in Syria, and in Macedonia under the Antigonids (277-168). Each continued until the eventual triumph of Rome.

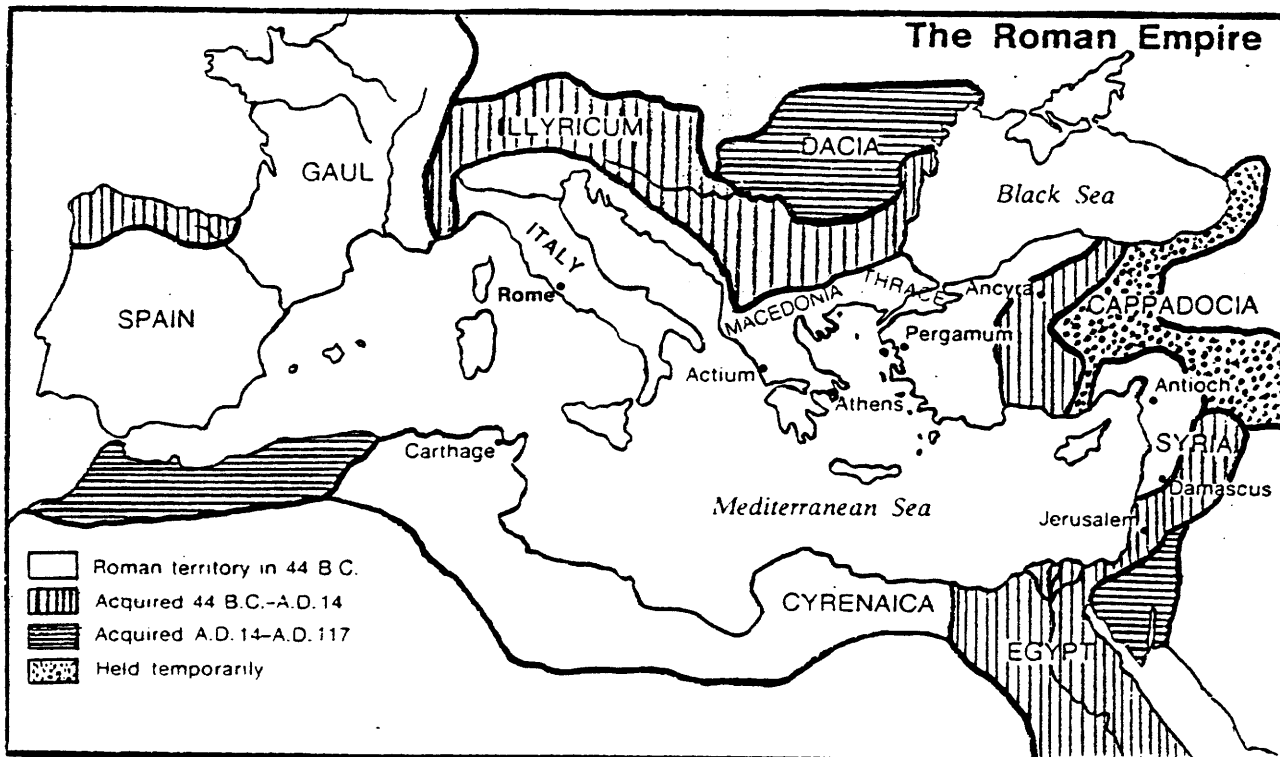
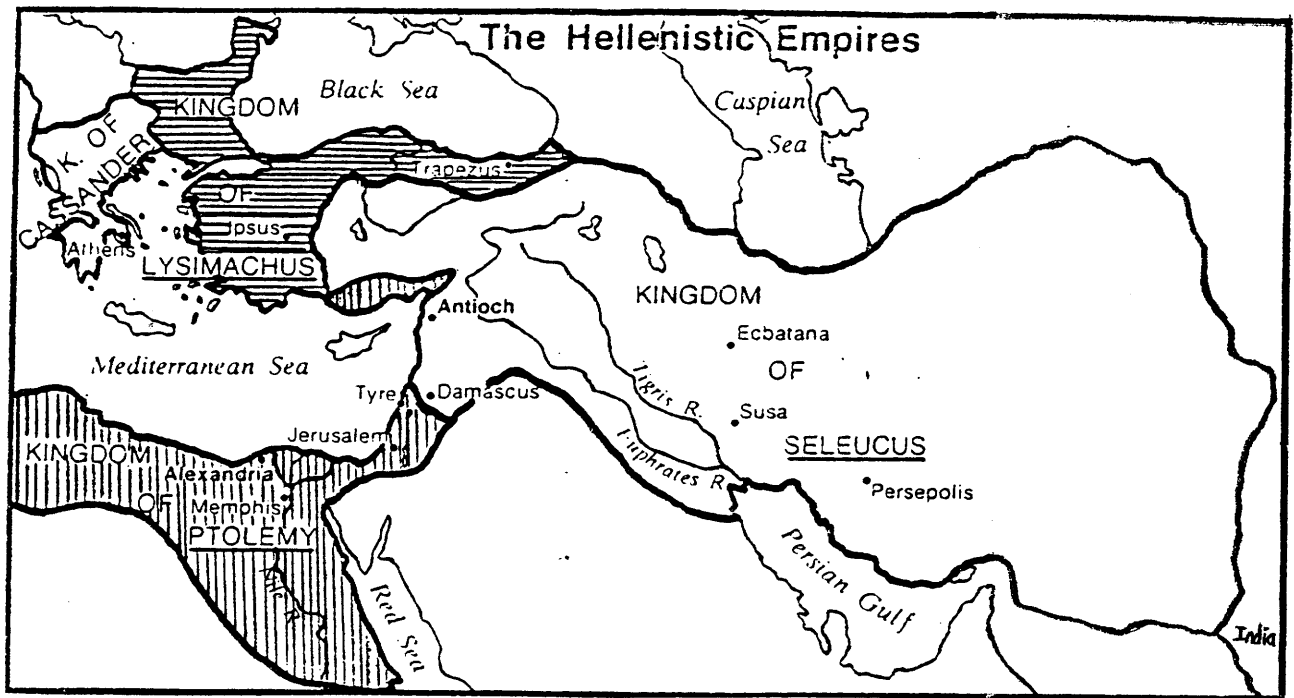
Da 11 treats the “king of the South” and the “king of the North,” describing their conflicts, wars and alliances. Their hostility toward the people of God culminated in the “abomination that causes desolation” (Da 11:31), identified historically with the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164). The Maccabean revolt followed, leading eventually to the founding of the Hasmonean dynasty.



Continued political rivalries in Judea brought the intervention of the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C. This event signaled the end of Jewish political independence, except for periods of brief autonomy during the ill-fated revolts of the first and second Christian centuries.

Borders shown } PTOLEMIES — — — — —  
 c. 240 B.C. } SELEUCIDS ·········

# The Greek and Roman Empires



2. Seleucid Rule (198-143 BC) was a shorter Period of War which began with the victory of Antiochus III (the Great) over Ptolemy V at Caesarea Philippi in 198 BC, which transferred Palestine from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule. This turbulent time prepared the way for a clash which led to the following period of self-rule by Jews (the Hasmonean era).
  - a. Onias III, a legitimate high priest (i.e., a Zadokite), lost his position to his hellenized brother Joshua (who took the Greek name Jason) when Jason offered Antiochus IV Epiphanes (“manifestation of Zeus”) a large sum of money to pay Rome (175 BC).
  - b. Jason pledged to turn Jerusalem into a Greek city with a city council, voting privileges for citizens, a gymnasium, and Greek educational system. Most significantly, he intended to include some hellenization of the Jewish religion (Bruce, 3).
  - c. Menelaus (a non-Zadokite, 2 Macc. 4:23; 3:4), replaced Jason as high priest by bribing Antiochus with an even larger sum of money (171 BC). Thus the high priesthood became a power position secured by bribery rather than priestly lineage.
  - d. Hasidim, meaning “pious” adherents to the Law, organized themselves in opposition to the abuses of the priestly aristocracy and the encroachments of hellenism on their religious life. The family of the Maccabees belonged to this group and their later adherents included both Pharisees and Essenes (to be discussed later).
  - e. Antiochus IV led two campaigns against Egypt in 170-168 BC (Dan. 8:9-14, 23-25; 11:21-35). While returning from the first campaign he replenished his own treasury by looting the Jerusalem temple treasury. Twice (ca. 173 and 169 BC) he minted on coins his full title, “King Antiochus, God Manifest.” These two actions outraged Jews who up to this point had not resisted the Hellenistic emperor cult (Hengel, 285).
  - f. Hasidim members put Menelaus in prison after Antiochus left and they took over the city. This action signaled the beginning of a revolt.
  - g. Antiochus IV took revenge after the Romans humiliated him on his second Egyptian campaign by requiring him to relinquish all his Egyptian conquests (Dan. 11:29-30):
    - 1) On his return he captured Jerusalem, destroyed its walls, and reconstituted it as a Greek city (167 BC).
    - 2) By royal edict he abolished the Temple constitution (the “laws of the fathers”).
    - 3) He banned distinctive practices of Judaism (Sabbath observance, circumcision, sacrifices). Josephus (*Ant.* 12.242) notes that those who resisted “were mutilated, strangled, or crucified, with their children hung from their necks” (Maier, 210).
    - 4) He destroyed copies of the Torah.
    - 5) He turned the Jerusalem temple into a place of worship for the Hellenized Syrian god, Zeus Baal Shamayin, and his consorts “Athena” and “Dionysus.” He even polluted the altar by offering a swine on it (Dan. 11:31).
    - 6) He also persecuted faithful, devout Jews. The eating of pork became the test of loyalty to Antiochus (Dan. 11:32). Those who refused were killed (Dan. 11:33-35).

This enforcement of hellenization from Kislev (Dec.) 167 BC to Kislev (Dec.) 164 BC was abhorrent to the Jews. Many saw these appalling events as signs of the last days. Others fled to the mountains of Judea to join guerrilla bands and embark on a campaign of armed resistance. All this set the stage for the Maccabean revolt.

Daniel also accurately foresaw these events about 500 years earlier (Dan. 11:29-35). (Many scholars believe that Daniel 9:27 also refers to this period but only *as history after it occurred*, for these scholars deny predictive prophecy and date Daniel’s book centuries later during the 167-164 BC period.)

## 3. The Maccabean Revolt (166-143 BC)



Note: Periods of control in parentheses (cf. Beitzel, 154-55)

- a. Mattathias (166 BC) was an old priest and head of a family called the Hasmoneans (named after their ancestor Hasmon). He had five sons: Simon, Judas, Jonathan, Eleazar, and John (see genealogical chart, p. 68).

Mattathias, angry with Antiochus' hellenization efforts, killed a Jew who was about to offer a pagan sacrifice on their local altar and also killed the royal official who demanded this to be done. This incident sparked open revolt and guerrilla warfare.

The Hasidim ("pious") Jews supported Mattathias and his sons in the revolt. Guerrilla bands destroyed pagan altars, punished apostate Jews (Hellenistic reformers), and exhorted faithful Jews to join their crusade. But Mattathias soon became ill and died.

- b. Judas (166-160 BC), Mattathias' son, took the leadership of the revolt. He acquired the surname Maccabeus, which means "hammer-like one." Thus Mattathias' sons became known as "the Maccabees" within the Hasmonean family line.

While Antiochus IV was preoccupied fighting the Parthians in the East, Judas found success in large-scale attacks on Syrians who had controlled Jerusalem. He recaptured Jerusalem (except the Syrian occupied citadel), reestablished the worship of Yahweh, and in December 164 BC reconsecrated the altar. Since then Jews have celebrated this event annually in the Feast of Dedication (Hebrew Hanukkah) or Lights. Tradition says that while only one day's purified oil was available for the temple, it miraculously lasted eight days until new oil could be pressed. For this reason, Jews light an eight-branched menorah (hanukkiah) each evening until all eight are lit. It was at this feast that Christ proclaimed Himself to be the light of the world (John 10:22-23; cf. p. 131).

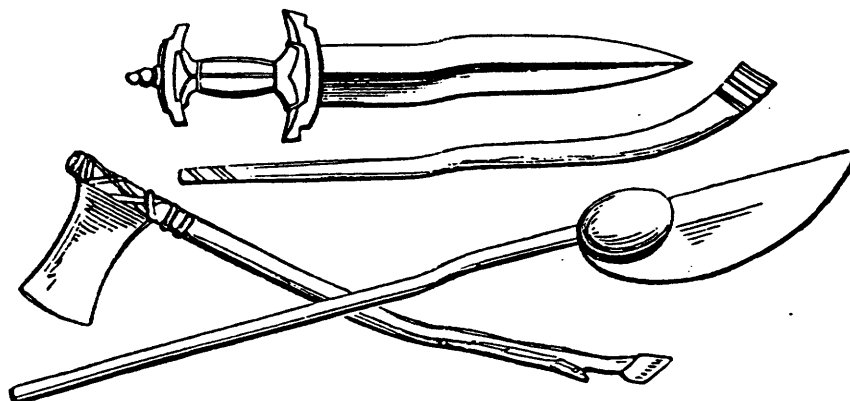
The Hasidim rejoiced to see religious freedom restored and chose Alcimus as the new, legitimate high priest (a member of the Aaronic family but not a Zadokite). These Hasidim became a key Jewish party known as Pharisees. They despised politics.

Yet Judas and his followers also wanted political freedom—even without support from the Hasidim. In a series of battles Judas was defeated and killed (160 BC), but supporters of the Maccabean priest-princes became a very political, second party called Sadducees.

- c. Jonathan (160-143 BC), Judas' brother, became the leader of the freedom fighters. He exploited the Syrian power disputes and when Alcimus died (160 BC) the high priest's office was unfilled until Jonathan finally obtained Syrian approval to assume this office himself (153 BC). He reigned until he was tricked and killed by Trypho in 143 BC.

Thus Jonathan was the military, civil, and religious leader of the Jews. This combination of offices in a single individual set the stage for the Hasmonean state.

Jews at this time were both religiously and politically divided. Religiously, some were willing to make concessions with the Greeks (pro-hellenic party) while others remained strictly Jewish (anti-hellenic party). Politically, some accepted political overlordship (Pharisees) while others sought total political freedom (Sadducees).





## VI. Hasmonean Rule over Palestine (143-63 BC)

- A. Simon (143-135 BC), the second oldest and last surviving son of Mattathias, made a treaty with the Seleucid ruler Demetrius II which resulted in Jewish independent rule for the first time since before the exile (586 BC). Demetrius recognized him as independent ruler of Judea, exempted the Jews from taxes, and permitted the expulsion of Syrian forces from the citadel (Acra) in Jerusalem (142-141 BC). Simon gained access to the Mediterranean coast, minted his own Jewish coins, and established diplomatic ties with Rome which ruled the western empire, including the Aegean area where it had beaten the Seleucids in 190 BC (Bruce, 3). Thus the Hasmonean dynasty was founded (1 Macc. 14).

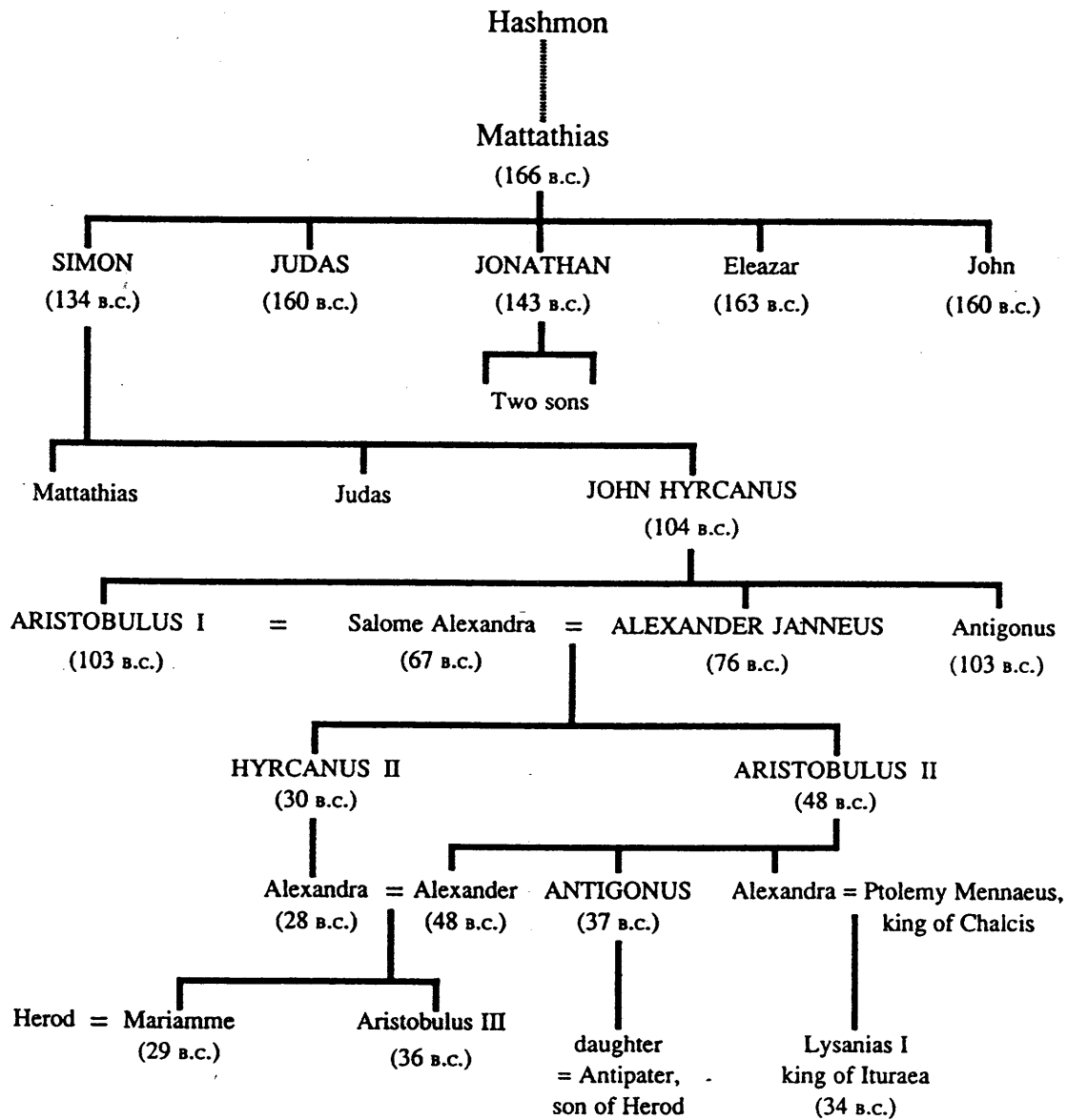
Despite this note of optimism, some ultra-conservative Jews were unhappy that Simon, a non-Zadokite, ruled as high priest. These strict Jews, the Essenes, went into exile at this time and established a religious community in the desert near the shores of the Dead Sea (Khirbet Qumran). Their leader was a Zadokite known as the "Teacher of Righteousness" in contrast to Simon, the "evil priest."

- B. John Hyrcanus (135-104 BC), Simon's son and successor, went beyond his father's ambitions. He had three **Key Developments** (goals) under Hasmonean Rule of Palestine:
1. *Expansion*: He conquered the areas around Palestine. This included the coast from the Greeks, Idumea (ancient Edom), and he destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerazim.
  2. *Alliance with Rome*: The Seleucid empire had lost its military power and was no longer a threat, so he renewed his father's alliance with Rome.
  3. *Enforced Judaism*: Greeks (e.g., in Decapolis) had to emigrate or convert to Judaism. This effort was supported by the priestly aristocracy called the Sadducees but found opposition by the Pharisees, who felt Hasmonean leaders did not qualify for the high priesthood.
- C. Aristobulus I (104-103 BC), Hyrcanus' eldest son, seized power after his father's death and was the first Jewish ruler to be called king. However, he died suddenly.
- D. Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BC), Hyrcanus' third son, continued the policies of expansion and enforced Judaism. In his lust for power he finally gained control over an area nearly the size of that which Solomon ruled (ca. 950 BC). This was the golden age of post-exilic Judaism (cf. p. 69 boundaries and Beitzel, 155), although a six year revolt (94-86 BC) was supported by the Pharisees and others tired of enforced Judaism. Jannaeus crucified 800 of these defeated leaders near Jerusalem. His unprincipled manners also wiped out entire Greek cities and exhausted the nation's wealth.
- E. Alexandra Salome (76-67 BC), Jannaeus' wife, took control after his death and continued Israel's golden age. As queen she directed the land with wisdom and appointed her eldest son, Hyrcanus II, as high priest. Although up to this time only Sadducees were members of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish ruling council, she also allowed the Pharisees to become members as well, and thus created rivalry between the two groups.
- F. Aristobulus II vs. Hyrcanus II (67-63 BC). After Alexandra died, Hyrcanus II, the rightful king and high priest, was forced outside of Palestine by his younger brother, Aristobulus, so that Hyrcanus had to seek refuge from the Nabateans in Petra (ancient Moab).

Hyrcanus II soon returned to besiege Jerusalem. Both sides appealed to the Roman general Pompey who was approaching from the north. Aristobulus wanted to defend the city, but Hyrcanus and most of the people opened the gates to the Romans (63 BC). In his arrogance, Pompey even entered the holy of holies. His assassination 15 years later was seen by the Jews as God's judgment for this unlawful act (Bruce, 12).

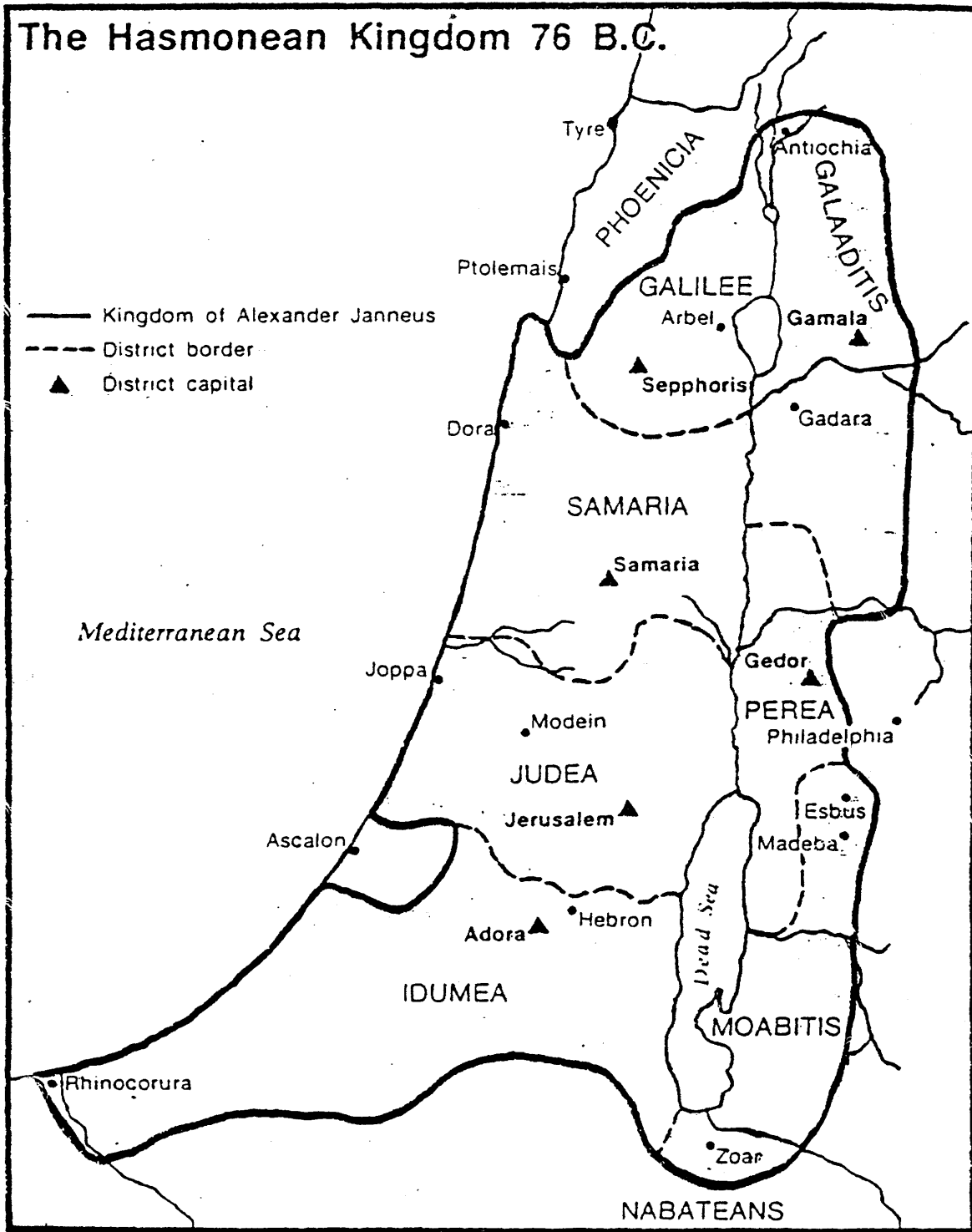
Thus Judea became formally subject to Rome. Heavy tribute was imposed. Hyrcanus II was reinstated as high priest (63-40 BC), but the era of Jewish national independence was over.

## THE MACCABEES (HASMONEANS)



Names in capitals denote those Hasmoneans who were rulers.  
 The dates following (unless otherwise indicated) are the dates of death.  
 The symbol “=” denotes “marriage to.”

from Paul L. Maier  
*Josephus*, p. 370



**Cleopatra Restaurant**  
(MIDDLE EASTERN CUISINE)

A small piece of Arabia located in the heart of Singapore.

## VII. Roman Rule over Palestine (63 BC—AD 330)

A. Roman Emperors (over the entire empire) See p. 72. Evil ones in *italics*.

1. Julius Caesar (64-44 BC) was appointed *pontifex maximus* in 64 BC, a life-long office which gave him supervision of all aspects of religion in the Roman state. With Crassus (the wealthiest man in Rome) and Pompey (the general who conquered much of the empire, including Palestine), these three formed an alliance called the *First Triumvirate*.

However, the Parthians killed Crassus (53 BC) and Caesar killed Pompey in the Roman civil war (48 BC), leaving Caesar master of the world. Key developments included these:

- a. His generosity and pardon towards conquered foes followed the ideal of the Hellenistic "divine" ruler, which paved the way for later emperors to claim divinity.
  - b. The conquered lands used many different calendars, so he adopted the Julian calendar—a solar year of 365 days including leap year every four years. July was named after him.
  - c. He desired to make the Roman empire into an ideal international commonwealth of nations, but this met opposition by traditional Roman society (led by Brutus and Cassius), leading to their assassination of Julius Caesar on 15 March 44 BC.
  - d. The years 43-31 BC were turbulent years mostly ruled by the *Second Triumvirate*—Mark Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus (Cornell & Matthews, *Atlas of Roman World*, 73).
2. Augustus (31 BC—AD 14), grandson of Caesar's sister Julia, was named heir in his will. Augustus was Rome's first real emperor and began with the name Octavius (Octavian). He was initially supported by Antony, who became Augustus' brother-in-law by marrying Octavia (Octavian's sister). However, Antony divorced her and married Cleopatra of Egypt and the two traveled the eastern provinces as the New Dionysus (Greek god) who had been united with the New Isis, or Aphrodite (Egyptian goddess). Octavian saw this as an attempt to split up the empire and defeated them in war (31 BC). Key developments included these:
    - a. Shortly after his victory the Senate conferred on Octavian the title Augustus (27 BC), an ancient sacral title attributing to him *felicitas*, the manifestation of supernatural ability. Thereafter he was known as *Imperator Caesar divi filius Augustus*.
    - b. Augustus brought peace to the empire and enjoyed a long rule lasting half-way through Christ's life (27 BC—AD 14). The month of August was named after him.
    - c. God used his census to enable the Nazareth-grown Messiah to be born in Bethlehem (Luke 2:1). Though venerated, Augustus refused worship as a deity (Niswonger, 86).
  3. Tiberius (AD 14-37) was Augustus' adopted son of his third wife's previous marriage. (Augustus, although "God," wasn't able to bear a son of his own!) Interestingly, he did not permit divine honors to be given to him and Jesus Christ conducted and completed His entire earthly mission during Tiberius' reign (Luke 3:1). However, he was a student of the occult and his death was generally welcomed as a great relief (cf. picture on p. 92).
  4. Gaius ("Caligula," AD 37-41), Tiberius' great nephew, claimed divinity as an incarnation of the Roman high-god Jupiter. He demanded that his statue be set up to receive divine worship—even in the temple of Jerusalem! Imperial guard officers assassinated him.
  5. Claudius (AD 41-54), Caligula's uncle, conducted the state well as a learned historian and able administrator until his wife and niece (Agrippina) poisoned him. Key developments:
    - a. An empire-wide famine during his reign gave Gentile believers the chance to help Jewish Christians in Jerusalem to show their unity in Christ (Acts 11:27-30).
    - b. Claudius exercised religious tolerance. This allowed Paul to embark upon his first two missionary journeys during his reign (Acts 13:1–18:23; AD 48-52; cf. p. 30).
    - c. He expelled all Jews from Rome, bringing Aquila and Priscilla to Corinth (Acts 18:2).

6. Nero (AD 54-68) was Claudius' stepson who began well by leaving state affairs to the poet and Stoic philosopher, Seneca, and to Burrus, a financial expert. However, later several horrible incidents took place:
- Insanity: Moral corruption of the Roman nobility and Nero himself changed his policies. He became jealous of any rivals to power. Thus, he had his stepbrother Britannicus (Claudius' son) poisoned, murdered his own mother (Agrippina), divorced his wife for a friend's wife and then killed her when she was pregnant by kicking her in the stomach, and finally he murdered all the remaining members of the imperial family and forced many old friends (e.g., Seneca) to commit suicide.
  - Hypocrisy: In public Nero appeared quite the opposite from the above. He gave performances as a singer, poet, and athlete. He promoted outlandish games to increase his popularity among the people.
  - Persecution of Christians: In AD 64, while Nero was away from Rome, a terrible, week-long fire burned much of Rome—especially the old city and Nero's old palace. He soon rebuilt the city lavishly but rumors circulated that he himself was the arsonist. Looking for a scapegoat, he settled upon the Christians who were martyred in horrendous ways.
  - Palestinian Jewish Revolt (AD 66-70) began during his reign and eventually resulted in the fall of Jerusalem (AD 70) and the fortress of Masada (AD 73).
  - Death: Within four years of the fire Nero had spent all of the state's finances on rebuilding Rome and a vacation in Greece. He fled from Rome and committed suicide.

At Nero's death no possible successor was left among the descendants of Augustus. Three men (Galba, Otho, and Vitellius) unsuccessfully sought to be emperor from AD 68-69.

7. Vespasian (AD 69-79) had been the Roman general fighting the Jewish uprising in Palestine since AD 66. Upon a summons to become emperor he made calculated moves (e.g., he left the siege of Jerusalem to his son Titus) and successfully overthrew Vitellius. He was a thrifty, competent administrator and soon ended the Jewish war (AD 70).
8. Titus (AD 79-81) had conquered Jerusalem and proved an exemplary ruler. During his reign Mt. Vesuvius erupted and buried the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum (AD 79) as well as another major fire in Rome and a plague which decimated its population.
9. Domitian (AD 81-96), Titus' brother, initially had many accomplishments. But his demand to be called "Lord and God" and severe paranoia led to a reign of terror—rivals were executed, philosophers expelled from Rome, and Christians suffered martyrdom. John wrote the Book of Revelation near the end of his reign while in exile on the Island of Patmos. Finally Domitian was assassinated. Thus ends the NT era of Roman emperors.

\* Observations

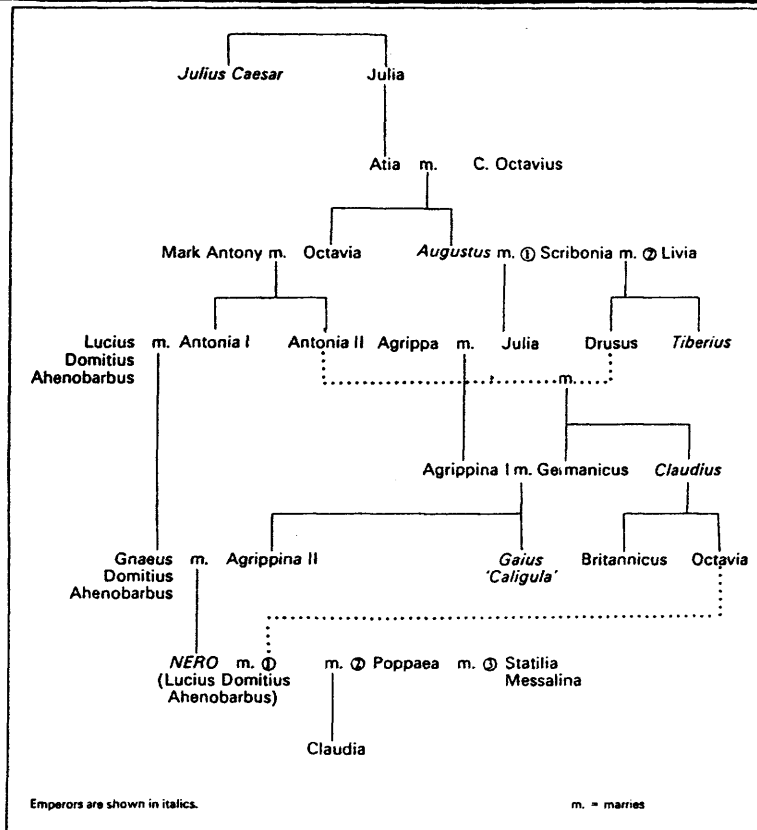
- The emperors as a whole were immoral, power hungry men. Someone has calculated that 13 of the 16 emperors were homosexuals (although I have not been able to verify this as true or not). To such men Scripture admonishes believers to be subject (Rom. 13:1-7; 1 Peter 2:13-17).
- Although the emperors from Augustus to Nero were all related, never once did a direct succession from father to son ever occur.
- God sovereignly allowed the rule from Rome to alternate from bad to good and then back to bad to good again. This allowed the early church to be purified under persecution, then expand under freedom, and see the cycle occur again and again.

# Charts of Roman Emperors

Top chart: source unknown; Bottom chart: *New Bible Dictionary*, 2d ed., 826

Date	Name	Events	Reference	Attitude towards Jesus & Christians
30 B.C.– A.D. 14	Augustus	Birth of Christ	Luke 2:1	Freedom Called deity after his death
A.D. 14-37	Tiberius	Ministry and death of Jesus Christ	Luke 3:1	Freedom
A.D. 37-41	Caligula (Gaius)			claimed deity
A.D. 41-54	Claudius	Famine Expulsion of Jews from Rome missionary journeys	Acts 11:28 Acts 18:2 Acts 13-28	tolerance
A.D. 54-68	Nero	Trial of Paul Persecution at Rome	Acts 25:10-12 Acts 27:24 II Tim. 4:16, 17	claimed deity
A.D. 68	Galba			
A.D. 69	Otho			
A.D. 69	Vitellius			
A.D. 69-79	Vespasian	Destruction of Jerusalem	Matt. 24:1-2; cf. Dan 9:27	Eight Jewish War
A.D. 79-81	Titus			
A.D. 81-96	Domitian	Persecution		claimed deity
A.D. 96-98	Nerva			
A.D. 98-117	Trajan			
A.D. 117-138	Hadrian			Bar Kochba Revolt of Jews Put Down

Inconsequential



limits of Jerusalem during the time of Christ. Some laws restricted their location because there was concern over their habit of scratching. Officials did not want the ground dug up so insisted they be confined and provided scratching areas. Chickens could be bought at the local meat markets.

Eggs were collected from several sources, including wild fowl or reptiles (Deut. 22:6) and were a normal part of the diet by New Testament times (Luke 11:12). Jesus used imagery of the chicken in His teaching (Matt. 23:37), and a rooster played a sad role in Peter's life (John 18:27).

**SWINE** □ The Jews had strict laws and strong feelings against eating pork, as did several of the nations around them. Nevertheless, some farmers did raise and sell swine. We must not assume that because there was a law against something that it was not done. Swine were well known to the Jews and some proverbs were written about them (Prov. 11:22). Some of the pigs were wild (Ps. 80:13), but others were bred and raised in captivity. At Gadara a herd of the latter type rushed to their death in the Sea of Galilee (Matt. 8:30ff.). The swine's owners went into town to protest. When the prodigal son became destitute, he found a job caring for pigs (Luke 15:11ff.). This was in a far country, but is evidence of how low he had sunk.

**BUTCHERING** □ Farmers probably did their own butchering, but so many people lived in the city that there were many butchers by trade. By the time of Christ a butchers' guild and a butcher's street existed in Jerusalem. A meat market existed in Corinth as it did in most cities. Great controversy arose over whether Christians should buy meat there after it had been offered to idols (1 Cor. 10:25). Later a butchers' guild in Rome put pressure on Christians because the spread of their religion caused a decline in the need for sacrificial animals.

**DOGS** □ Most of the dogs in Israel were wild and unwanted. The very term is normally used in contempt. Notable exceptions were watchdogs and sheep dogs. Shepherds as early as Job's time used dogs to protect their flocks (Job 30:1). Other nations may have appreciated dogs more since many dog faces are carved in pottery and some religions sacrificed them. They were used by royalty and other elite in hunting. Except for shepherds who probably cared about their dogs, there probably was not as much affection for dogs in Israel's society as there is in ours.

It would be enlightening to know the tone in Jesus' voice when He commanded not to give that which is holy to dogs (Matt. 7:6). Jesus does use an affectionate term for dog in Matt. 15:26. The Greek word means "little dog" and suggests the status of a pet (Lenski, p. 598; Robertson, p. 125).

## CHAPTER 16

## THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

The small nation of Israel was frequently a victim of the major powers which marched across its territory. Too often an empire would settle among the Jews, take control and stay for centuries. Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks and Romans occupied, exploited and mistreated Israel and its people. Thousands were conquered, restrained and assimilated into the enemy culture. However, many others fought to maintain their independence and identity, causing a great deal of bloodshed.

Despite difficult odds, the Jewish people did maintain their identity.

The Jews possessed too many distinctives to be homogenized with other cultures. Some of these marks were cultural, others spiritual. Their traditions were deep and strong, tied irrevocably to their faith in God. This was their key to survival. They were convinced they could not abandon their past. Foreign occupation has always been a terrible trauma, but the Jews' need for purity was fanatical. Though they had been invaded and the strong arm of force resided over them, they were determined to persevere, and still do.

In spite of the negative aspects, the Roman Empire may have been good for Israel's economy. Its presence brought commerce, transportation, leisure, military security, education and other opportunities.

The one thing Rome did not provide was the thing most important to the Jew: his freedom. This lack placed the two peoples on a collision course.

**ROMAN CAPTIVITY** □ The expanding Roman Empire devoured Judea in 63 B.C. Josephus tells us that in October, on the Day of Atonement, they captured the temple. Suspicious of such a dramatic story, other historians disagree and place its fall in August.

Israel was not unaccustomed to occupation by a foreign power. Previously they had been subjugated for 250 years by the Greeks. In recent years there had been much bloodshed as the Jews tried to oust their invaders. The conflict was so severe that many Jews welcomed the Roman invasion.

Pompey led the Roman forces into Jerusalem and angered many Jews by his ruthless tactics. Large numbers of priests were murdered as they carried out their duties, and Pompey himself had the

audacity to enter the sacred Holy of Holies. The Jews were outraged.

Fifteen years later Julius Caesar forced Pompey out of a shared leadership role. Pompey escaped to Egypt seeking refuge, only to be assassinated there. The Jews received the news joyfully, viewing the murder as an act of God. Julius Caesar then assumed his position as the most powerful figure in Rome. These early atrocities and insensitivities against the Jews set in motion hostility and friction which continued until A.D. 70 when Rome crushed Jerusalem.

The Israel into which Jesus was born was under the oppressive rule of a pagan power. Many of the Jewish authorities retained their positions by seeking to please their captors. Often offices were acquired and maintained by bribery and extortion. These conditions were important factors in the life, ministry, and death of Jesus Christ. ■

**ROMAN EMPERORS** □ During the life of Christ and the early years of the church, five men reigned successively as emperors of Rome. A brief look at each will help us understand the times.

1. *Augustus Caesar* (29 B.C. to A.D. 14). Under his leadership Egypt was defeated along with Antony and Cleopatra in 31 B.C. It was his decree to enroll all the world for tax purposes which sent Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem (Luke 2:1). Augustus levied no great hardship on the Jews and generally allowed the people of Judea to govern themselves through the Sanhedrin.

2. *Tiberius* (A.D. 14-37). This man would have been emperor during the ministry of Jesus Christ. When Jesus asked whose face was on the coin (Matt. 22:17-21), it was Tiberius' profile. An insecure man, Tiberius may have suffered mental illness late in life. An unpopular emperor, he was noted as a libertine of excessive sexual appetite in an age of excess.

3. *Gaius* (A.D. 37-41). Better known as Caligula, this emperor was most likely insane. Imagining himself divine, he expected others to recognize him accordingly. He even ordered that a statue of himself be placed in the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem. However, one official cunningly delayed the project and thus prevented terrible bloodshed in Israel. Fortunately, Gaius died before the decree could be fulfilled.

4. *Claudius* (A.D. 41-54). During his first years of rule, Claudius displayed some benevolence toward the Jews. Later, however, he seemed to grow suspicious and began to restrict their movements. The Bible tells us some Jews moved to Corinth because they were commanded by Claudius to leave Rome (Acts 18:1, 2). Historical records show Claudius prohibited the Jews from gathering and thus, in effect, forced them to abandon Rome.

The terrible famine which Agabus predicted would cast its horror across the world came during the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:28).

5. *Nero* (A.D. 54-68). Though the early years of Nero's reign,

under Seneca's counsel, were laudable, there is little to commend this madman who had his own mother murdered. His persecution of Christians is as famous as it was gruesome. Nero had many Christians arrested, tortured and even burned alive, partly to divert attention from his political problems (e.g. the burning of Rome) and partly to amuse himself.

Paradoxically, it was to Nero's justice that Paul appealed (Acts 25:10-12); when Festus told Paul that to Caesar he would go, Nero was that Caesar. And when Paul called for obedience to the government because all authority comes from God (Rom. 13:1-7), it was Nero's government that was in power. Under Nero the apostle Paul was executed, as was Peter. ■

**EMPEROR WORSHIP** □ A Roman emperor was usually considered a god. A much misunderstood concept, its fulfillment depended greatly on the emperor as well as the opinion of the population. There were three ways that an emperor might be worshiped.

First, the people supposedly worshiped spontaneously. Once the precedent had been set, the acceptable thing was to join in and worship him. Resistance could be dangerous.

Second, an emperor could be declared a deity after he died and worshiped thereafter. This was done by a vote of the Senate and happened occasionally.

Third, an emperor might appoint himself as a god while he was still alive. This was considered unacceptable and subjected



This ancient Roman figurine was used as a household god (Gen. 31:19). Under King Josiah's reform (640-609 B.C.) use of these images among Hebrews was officially outlawed (2 Kings 23:24).

EHLE



him to much antagonism—even murder.

Emperor worship left the Jews and early Christians in an awkward position. They could have no part in elevating men as gods, and their disdain for the practice was noticed by government officials. Romans had no trouble adding new deities into their theological arena.

Christian theology blatantly contradicted Roman religion; they conflicted most severely as schools of thought rather than as practices of worship. The converted Jews knew they could not approach God as the pagans addressed their deities. But of more importance, could they think the same way the Romans thought? Consequently, the heated issues concerned philosophies such as Hedonism, Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Cynicism rather than actual worship procedures. The dichotomy rested in values, and their consequent priorities and attitudes, instead of sacramental debates.

Efforts to impose images on coins and flags met direct conflict from Jews. Yet, with Paul the issues were of a cerebral nature (Acts 17). Sacrifices, circumcision, holy days, and temples were no longer of paramount importance to Christians. ■

**SIGNIFICANT LOCAL RULERS** □ *Pilate*. The appointment of men such as Pilate (A.D. 26–36) to govern the Jews was a particularly hard pill to swallow. His powers not only undermined Jewish law but also affected their religious practice. For the average Jew it was cruel enough to have opportunistic, and sometimes marauding, Herods reigning; the added misery of Roman governors was nearly intolerable.

Pilate had final authority over affairs at the temple. If he did not approve of activities there, he could disband or cancel them. He kept the vestments of the high priest in his possession. When Pilate visited Jerusalem for holidays, he brought them along and loaned them to the Jews. This served as a constant reminder that the Jews were not totally free to worship God as they deemed necessary.

The governor did not live in Jerusalem but only visited from his residence at Caesarea. A cornerstone has been found in that city which bears the name of Emperor Tiberius and Pilate.

His callous attitude toward the Jews revealed itself in several acts which aggravated them and eventually weakened his position. His most famous mistake concerned the banners he displayed in Jerusalem early in his appointment. These banners, bearing the image of Emperor Tiberius, were a terrible shock to the Jews who believed images were an insult to God. Governors before him were aware of this sensitive issue and avoided displaying them. Evidently Pilate was either ignorant, which is unlikely, or attempting to show his power. Whichever the case it was a dreadful error, and Pilate was forced to withdraw them. A week later the banners were returned to their places, minus the images.



Another act of Pilate incited huge riots in the streets of Jerusalem. Since he had control over the temple funds, Pilate boldly confiscated a sizable amount to build an aqueduct. The Jews were predictably outraged. Luke tells us Pilate ordered some Galileans killed while they were sacrificing in the temple (13:1, 2). Reportedly, Roman guards dressed in robes slipped in behind the Galileans as they worked, drew clubs from their sleeves and beat them to death. Not only were the deaths reprehensible, but to kill them during worship was horrendous.

The tensions created by these tactics weakened Pilate's position, and citizens' complaints were being carried to Rome. Consequently, at the trial of Jesus Christ, Pilate was forced to treat the Jews carefully. This probably accounts for his attempt to transfer the case to King Herod (Luke 23:6–7) and his willingness to condemn an innocent man. Pilate's past errors had boxed him into a hopeless political situation. His fears were well founded, as later history tells us Pilate was recalled to Rome after mounting complaints by the Jews.

*Felix*. During the ministry of Paul a new governor represented Rome. Antonius Felix had moved to Caesarea to take up residence there Felix ruled the area, including Judea.

There is little good to say about Felix, either by Scripture or other historical accounts. A ruthless man, he resorted to murder whenever it served his purposes or tightened his control. Tacitus describes him unglamorously as exercising "the power of a king and the mind of a slave." Because of his character and barbaric mentality, the region was in almost continuous upheaval and revolt.

This fragment of a Roman inscription was unearthed at Caesarea. It is the first archaeological evidence of Pontius Pilate, under whose rule (A.D. 26–36) Jesus' crucifixion took place. It also mentions Emperor Tiberius. TW

His encounter with Paul does nothing to alter this sordid picture. While feigning an interest in the gospel, his devious mind fished for ways to extract a bribe from Paul (Acts 24:26). Felix toyed with Paul's future for two years without resolving the predicament. Finally Nero relieved him of his responsibility as governor. Therefore, instead of reaching a decision concerning Paul, Felix left him in prison in order to please the Jews (Acts 24:27).

Festus. After Felix's regime, Festus was a welcome relief. He made sincere attempts to correct the deteriorating situation which he inherited. Festus arrested many common criminals and partially restored a sense of order.

It was the mental alertness of Festus which prevented the Jews from killing Paul; they had recommended he be sent to Jerusalem for trial, but were plotting to murder the apostle as he traveled (Acts 25:3).

When Festus asked Paul about the charges against him, the prisoner appealed to Caesar. After wisely consulting his council, Festus agreed to send Paul to Rome (Acts 25:12). ■

**TAX COLLECTORS** □ An empire as large as Rome's required huge sums to finance its many functions as well as its multiplied dreams. Highways, amphitheaters, harbors and armies all cost money. Even with the use of inexpensive slave labor, they were a financial burden.

To fill its ravenous coffers, the Romans devised a franchise system for tax collection which, by the time of Christ, had been in operation for 200 years and served the empire well. It did not, however, always serve the local citizen with equal benefit. Oppressive taxation was intolerable, and doubly so when the taxes were being levied by a foreign power.

The Jews of the first century appear to have had a valid complaint about high taxes. In addition to the Roman taxes, King Herod demanded revenues to feed his lavish appetite for buildings to enhance his comfort and glory. The temple also demanded taxes to support its operation. Under the best conditions these taxes would have been heavy, but they became all the more burdensome because of the franchise system. This method allowed a tax collector to purchase an area of jurisdiction from the Roman censor. His contract, which had a duration of several years, specified a quota which the collector was to fulfill each year and give to the government. The purchaser of the franchise in turn made a profit by collecting more than required for his quota. How much more he collected depended on his conscience and ingenuity. He was also free to sublet his area to others (for a fee) who collected for him. Resultantly, the taxes collected from the average citizen were outrageous. These unscrupulous men frequently charged far beyond a fair amount and were not averse to receiving a bribe for the purpose of alleviating the tax burden of a rich man and shifting it to the

poor. Tax collectors were commonly despised by the general public. It would have been difficult to accept a member of their nationality exacting taxes for an occupying force. It would have been similar to a French tax collector working for the Nazis in occupied France.

Considering their reputation, it is startling that Jesus would become involved with tax collectors, thus leaving himself wide open to criticism, suspicion and hostility. It is interesting that Jesus not only ministered to tax collectors but also took the initiative in seeking them out. For instance, Matthew, a booth attendant who collected taxes from those who used the highways, was approached by Jesus and called to become a follower (Matt. 9:9). Matthew responded by serving a feast at his home and inviting his tax collector friends to attend (Matt. 9:10). In another instance, Zacchaeus, a chief tax collector, was viewing Jesus from a tree when the Messiah announced He was coming to Zacchaeus' house. As a result of this encounter the wealthy tax collector gave half his goods to the poor and reimbursed fourfold anyone he had cheated (Luke 19:1-10). Jesus received strong rebuke for pursuing such unseemly relationships (Luke 7:34). ■

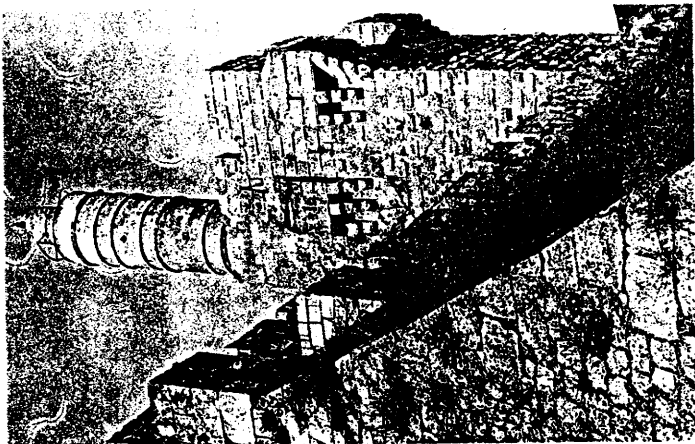
**CITIZENSHIP** □ The number of people who could claim Roman citizenship was on the increase during the life of Paul. Over four million claimed the rights and privileges it guaranteed. Rather than a mere title, Roman citizenship endowed a person with several practical advantages, including a trial. If under trial for a capital crime, he could, after a verdict, appeal to Caesar. It was then his right to be delivered to the emperor for a personal trial (Acts 16:37; 25:11).

A Roman citizen could not be beaten. Since Paul was beaten, we surmise there either were exceptions to this rule (i.e., those under Jewish authority) or Paul was beaten illegally. Also, citizens, though they could be executed, could not be crucified. Any violation of these protections might result in the harshest of punishments.

Most people became citizens by being born into that state. Paul was one who fit that category. We are not told if his father or grandfather had acquired the privilege, but we do know it was inherited (Acts 22:28). Others gained their citizenship by purchase (Acts 22:28). Some emperors actually had membership drives in which they attempted to make more people feel they were part of the empire.

It may be out of Paul's understanding of Roman citizenship that he made reference to spiritual citizenship in God's kingdom. He assured believers that they are "fellow citizens with God's people" (Eph. 2:19). ■

**HEROD'S REIGN (37-4 B.C.)** □ This infamous king of Israel was placed on the throne by the Romans and bowed to their whims. Previously, Herod, while reigning as king of Galilee, had proven a



David's Tower, an outstanding Jerusalem landmark, was part of Herod's great palace. It was rebuilt in 1537 by a Turkish sultan. LB

valuable ally to the coalition of Cassius and Brutus who murdered Julius Caesar on March 15, 44 B.C. Herod raised money for Cassius and moved against Judea when it revolted. After Antony defeated Cassius, he distrusted Herod and brought charges against him. Herod proved a survivor and emerged as a tetrarch of Judea. Later Antony, Octavius and the Roman Senate bestowed the title of King of Judea on Herod, but his throne did not come easily. Herod then had to fight to gain the throne and finally ousted his opposition in 37 B.C.

Because of the Roman involvement and his questionable Jewish lineage, many Jews did not trust him. Others, however, were drawn to his lifestyle and flamboyant changes, and thus supported him.

### THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EMPIRE

□ From the beginning Jesus made no attempt to put himself or His ministry in opposition to Rome. Some of His followers may have expected Jesus to declare war on the occupation forces, but He would have none of it. Many seemed disappointed that He would not violently establish the kingdom of Israel. There were a number of movements afoot (Zealots) who strongly advocated violence.

On occasion Jesus' enemies tried to corner Him by making Him choose sides in this issue. In one such instance, spies were sent to find grounds for accusations they could make against Christ. Consequently, they asked if Jews should pay taxes to Caesar (Luke 20:20-26). He replied that Caesar's likeness was on the coin so they should give to Caesar what belonged to him.

Christianity and the Roman Empire were diametrically opposed in matters of religion, its values and practices. Nevertheless, Paul describes government as ordained by God, its officers as ministers of God and its laws to be obeyed (Rom. 13:1-7). The once volatile Peter echoed this viewpoint, insisting that kings and governments were instituted by God (1 Pet. 2:13, 14).

Even in the face of death, Jesus affirmed the fact that Rome maintained its power by the authority of God (John 19:11). He did not hold Rome responsible for His mistreatment but those who handed Him over.

However, we do see serious clashes between the apostles and Jewish officials over the question of preaching the gospel. When ordered to cease preaching, the early Christians flatly refused (Acts 4:19-20). ■

### THE ROMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD CHRISTIANITY

□ At first the empire saw Christians as little more than a nuisance. This may explain why Nero faced little resistance in persecuting them. Although Roman law protected the Christians' freedom, there was no one of consequence to defend this sect of Judaism, leaving them extremely vulnerable. Any insane emperor would find them easy victims.

Specifically, Romans had several reasons for disregarding Christianity.

First, the Christians were foreign and Jewish. Why take seriously something that is different?

Second, the Christian refusal to worship more than one god led to accusations of atheism. The polytheistic could not imagine a religion so exclusive as to have only one god.

Third, because of its foreignness and exclusiveness, Christianity fell victim to gossip. Rumors of cannibalism and offensive sexual practices were widespread and readily believed by suspicious non-believers.

Fourth, although there was no basis for the opinion, the church's loyalty to the empire and the emperor was highly suspect. References to a kingdom and a returning king did much to antagonize Roman authorities.

Nevertheless, the empire did at times show benevolence to the fledgling church. Paul's life was saved more than once by Romans who cared about fairness. The apostle would have been murdered during a shipwreck had not a centurion defended him (Acts 27:42-43). Earlier Paul's life had been rescued in a similar manner. At that time the Romans called out 470 men to guard the missionary (Acts 23:23). The New Testament accounts are generally kind to Roman centurions. Yet, the distrust of and even dislike for such an odd sect left the Christians virtually defenseless when Nero went shopping for a scapegoat. ■

**THE CLASH BETWEEN JESUS AND ROME** □ It probably never occurred to the Romans that a carpenter from Galilee was a threat to their power. Jesus had no ambition to physically dislodge the iron grip of the empire. However, several of Jesus' followers may have entertained visions of violent revolt (i.e., Judas, Simon and maybe Peter).

“The Roman Occupation” in *Today’s Handbook of Bible Times and Customs*, Coleman (6 of 6)

This was not a confrontation with the government which Jesus sought. The enemies plotting His execution manipulated the issue to their particular advantage. ■

**THE FALL OF ISRAEL** □ The rebel fires which flamed high during the time of Pilate and rose again during the governorship of Felix were not to die easily. Pockets of resistance began to appear frequently enough to greatly concern King Herod Agrippa II and the Roman government. Unfortunately the Jews’ bickering among themselves only made their efforts more difficult, thus making their hope for freedom even more improbable.

In A.D. 67 and 68, Vespasian, at the command of Nero, recaptured Galilee and Samaria and marched on Jerusalem. The death of Nero sent Vespasian back to Rome to become emperor. After he took firm control of the empire, he sent his son Titus to complete the conquering of Jerusalem. In A.D. 70 Jerusalem fell, though at some outposts such as Masada patriots fought on for three more years.

Israel did not begin recovery from this disastrous war until it became a nation again in 1948. ■

The supposed clash was also born in the imaginations of Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin. It was they who suggested to Pilate and the Roman officials that Jesus wanted to overthrow the government. Pilate was incredulous from the beginning (John 18:33), and if, in fact, Jesus claimed to be king of the Jews, that was of little concern to the Romans. After all, a king without a kingdom was no threat to the Roman Empire.



The bust of Vespasian, emperor of Rome, appears on this bronze Judea Capta coin, a sesterius struck in Rome in A.D. 71 to commemorate the Roman victory over Judea.

Uneasy with the situation and feeling he could not ignore the issue, Pilate tried to turn it into a nervous joke. He asked the crowd if they wanted him to release the “king of the Jews” (John 18:39). The crowd insisted Jesus be executed, but Pilate later ridiculed them by saying, “Here is your king” (John 19:14). To complete his mockery, Pilate had written on the cross, “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews” (John 19:19).



From atop the fortress Masada, the visitor can look down on remains of one of the siege camps of the Roman general Silva who finally conquered the fortress in A.D. 73.

## B. The Herodian Dynasty (ruling only Palestine)

### 1. First Generation: Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.)

a. Herod's first years of consolidation of his rule (37-25 B.C.) were involved in gaining the throne by overcoming three problems:

- 1) Rome: He aligned himself with the more powerful ruler in Rome (he wisely selected Augustus who defeated Antony and conferred upon Herod the title of king).
- 2) Hasmoneans: He executed the remaining Hasmonean aristocracy (including his wife Mariamme, her two sons, and Hyrcanus II, the only remaining Hasmonean claimant to the throne).
- 3) Jews: He needed popular support from the Pharisees and common people (which he never really got) and so supported the institutions of the Jewish religion. However, the people never forgot that he was an Idumean (people who were forcibly "converted" to Judaism by the Hasmoneans) and that his rule relied upon the support of the hated Romans.

b. Herod's middle years of prosperity (25-14 B.C.) saw:

- 1) the "tight rope" promotion of both Greco-Roman culture and Jewish demands
- 2) extensive building projects, such as rebuilding Samaria (renamed "Sebaste" to honor of Augustus), Caesarea, the Masada palace/fortress (pp. 82-84), a mountain (p. 86), and the Jerusalem temple (20 B.C.—A.D. 63 only to be totally destroyed seven years later in A.D. 70; see p. 85). He also built pagan temples outside Palestine (Bruce, 21).
- 3) promotion of trade (Caesarea artificial harbor) and commerce over a vast kingdom (see p. 81)
- 4) a raised level of public education

c. Herod's last years of decline (14-4 B.C.) were those of a madman:

- 1) His ten wives and seven sons lead to incredible domestic suspicion, intrigue, and violence. He murdered Mariamme (29 B.C.) and her sons (7 B.C.; p. 90).
- 2) His cruel, arbitrary rule were increasingly resisted by the people. After Jewish youths tore down the offensive Roman golden eagle over the Temple door he had these burned alive.
- 3) As he approached 70 years old he was in poor physical and mental health, leading to virtual insanity. His order to massacre all Bethlehem infants (Matt. 2:1-16) is completely consistent with the paranoia and pain of his final months (cf. p. 86).
- 4) Five days before his death (April, 4 B.C.) he altered his will a *sixth* time by appointing three of his sons (each who had a different mother) as rulers over various parts of his kingdom. See p. 89 (column 2).

d. Key Developments under Herod the Great:

- 1) Internal peace and economic prosperity due to his diplomatic skills
- 2) Fortified the country and made many social improvements
- 3) Began restoration of the Temple
- 4) Alienated his dynasty from the Pharisees and masses by arbitrary policies

## 2. Second Generation: Herod's Sons (4 BC—ca. AD 69) See pp. 88-90.

a. Archelaus the ethnarch (4 BC—AD 6) ruled Judea, Samaria, and Idumea and was promised by Caesar Augustus that he would be king if he ruled well. However, his gross misrule provoked the Jews to have Augustus remove him within ten years. He was banished to Gaul (France). His significance for NT studies:

- 1) Archelaus is the “king” whom Joseph feared when he, Mary, and Jesus came back from Egypt (Matt. 2:22). See p. 87.
- 2) The tribute census (AD 6) caused an uprising under Judas the Galilean which gave birth to a radical Jewish nationalistic movement which was probably the origin of the Zealot movement of later years (Acts 5:37).

\* Non-Herodian Interlude: After Archelaus his areas were put under the jurisdiction of a prefect (procurator) ruling from Caesarea—not Jerusalem. Most notable of these were:

- 1) Pontius Pilate (AD 26-36), who had Jesus crucified (AD 33)
- 2) M. Antonius Felix (AD 52-59), who tried Paul (Acts 23—24)
- 3) Porcius Festus (AD 59-61), who also tried Paul (Acts 25—26)

b. Philip the tetrarch (4 BC—AD 34) ruled over the northern regions of Iturea, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis. Most of his subjects were Gentile, he was well liked, and he built two cities: Caesarea Philippi (his residence) and Julias (a rebuilt Bethsaida). He had no children and thus after his death in AD 34 his territory was ruled by Roman governors (Syrians) until Herod Agrippa I received it from Caligula in AD 37.

c. Herod Antipas the tetrarch (4 BC—AD 39) ruled over Galilee and Perea but retained the dynastic title “Herod.”

- 1) The people of Palestine called him “king” (which he liked!). He was cunning and cruel like his father but not as great. Jesus called him “this fox” (Luke 13:32).
- 2) He had John the Baptist imprisoned and murdered (Matt. 14:3-12; Mark 6:17-29; Luke 3:19-20) at the instigation of his second wife, Herodias (cf. Josephus *Antiquities* 18.116-119).
- 3) His recorded contact with Jesus occurred on three occasions:
  - a) He heard reports of Jesus' ministry (Mark 6:14-16)
  - b) He allegedly threatened to kill Jesus (Luke 13:31-33)
  - c) Jesus appeared before him at His trial (Luke 23:6-12)
- 4) He wanted the title of “king” from Caligula himself so went there personally (AD 39). However, Agrippa I (Antipas' nephew) accused him of misrule resulting in Antipas' banishment to Gaul (France). Thus Agrippa I received Antipas' territories.

## 3. Third Generation: Herod Agrippa I (AD 37-44)

- a. In three successive stages he acquired the entire territory of Philip (AD 37), Antipas (AD 39), and the procurators (AD 41) so that he ruled all of Palestine until his death by worms in AD 44 (Acts 12:20-23).
- b. Agrippa I persecuted the early church (including killing James and imprisoning Peter) in order to curry favor with the Jews (Acts 12:1-19).
- c. At his death (AD 44) his son, Agrippa II was still a minor, so Roman governors ruled temporarily (AD 44-50).

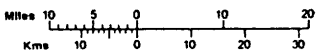
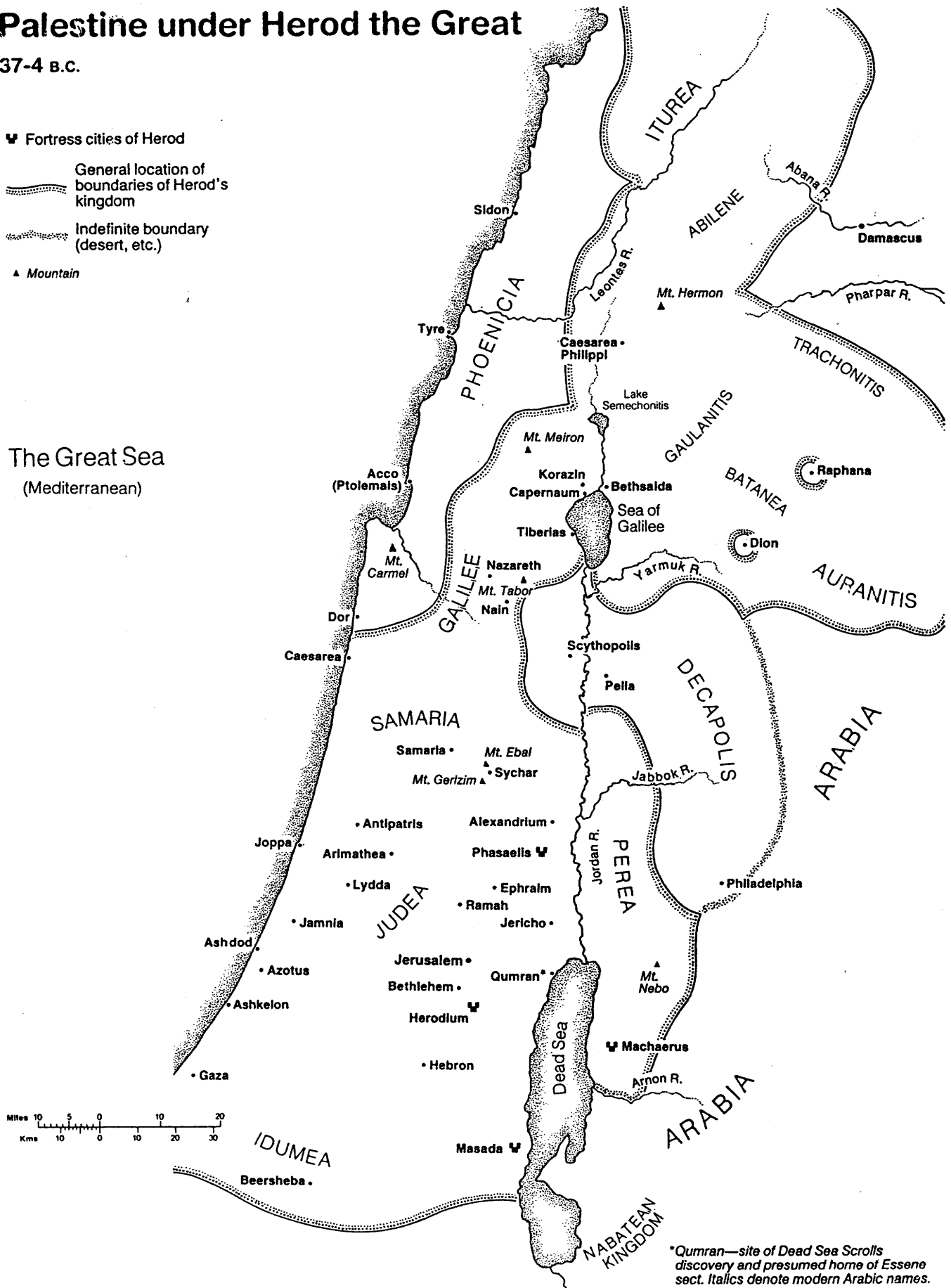
## 4. Fourth Generation: Herod Agrippa II (AD 48-70 or 53-66?) was consulted by Festus during the trial of Paul in Caesarea (Acts 25:13—26:32).

# Palestine under Herod the Great

37-4 B.C.

- ☞ Fortress cities of Herod
- General location of boundaries of Herod's kingdom
- - Indefinite boundary (desert, etc.)
- ▲ Mountain

The Great Sea  
(Mediterranean)



\*Qumran—site of Dead Sea Scrolls discovery and presumed home of Essene sect. Italics denote modern Arabic names.



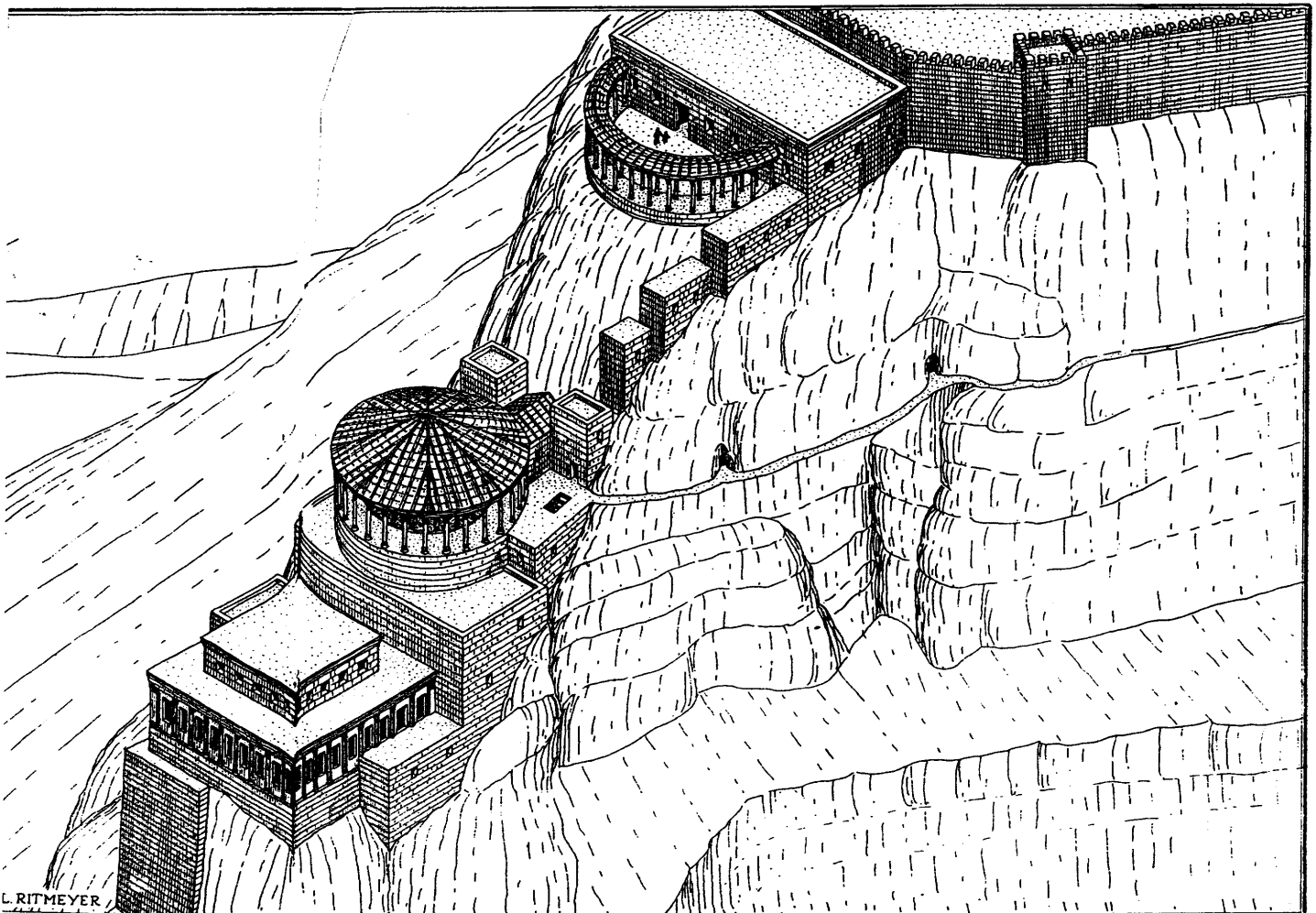
## Herod's Masada Palace/Fortress

Charlesworth, *Jesus Within Judaism*, 110

Herod the Great ruled all Palestine from 37-4 BC and his tyrannical rule incurred the hatred of nearly all the people. To guard against a public revolt which might overthrow him, he built several fortresses throughout the land. These included the western Jerusalem palace/fortress, the artificial hill just south of Bethlehem called the Herodium, another fortress on the east side of the Dead Sea (where John the Baptist was executed), and the Masada palace/fortress on the western side of the Dead Sea which is partially pictured below.

One advantage of the Masada fortress was its great height above the otherwise flat Dead Sea. (In fact, "Masada" means "fortress.") Steep walls provide a natural barrier to attack. Ironically, even the top of this huge desert plateau still lies below sea level. Another advantage was that it possessed a tremendous system for capturing and retaining water in a large cistern. This provided more water for those in the fortress than for anyone below, for any invaders needed to travel 16 kilometers north to obtain fresh water in the desert oasis of En Gedi. The food storage capacity was incredible as well, providing defenders ten years of food while their attackers below had to bring in supplies!

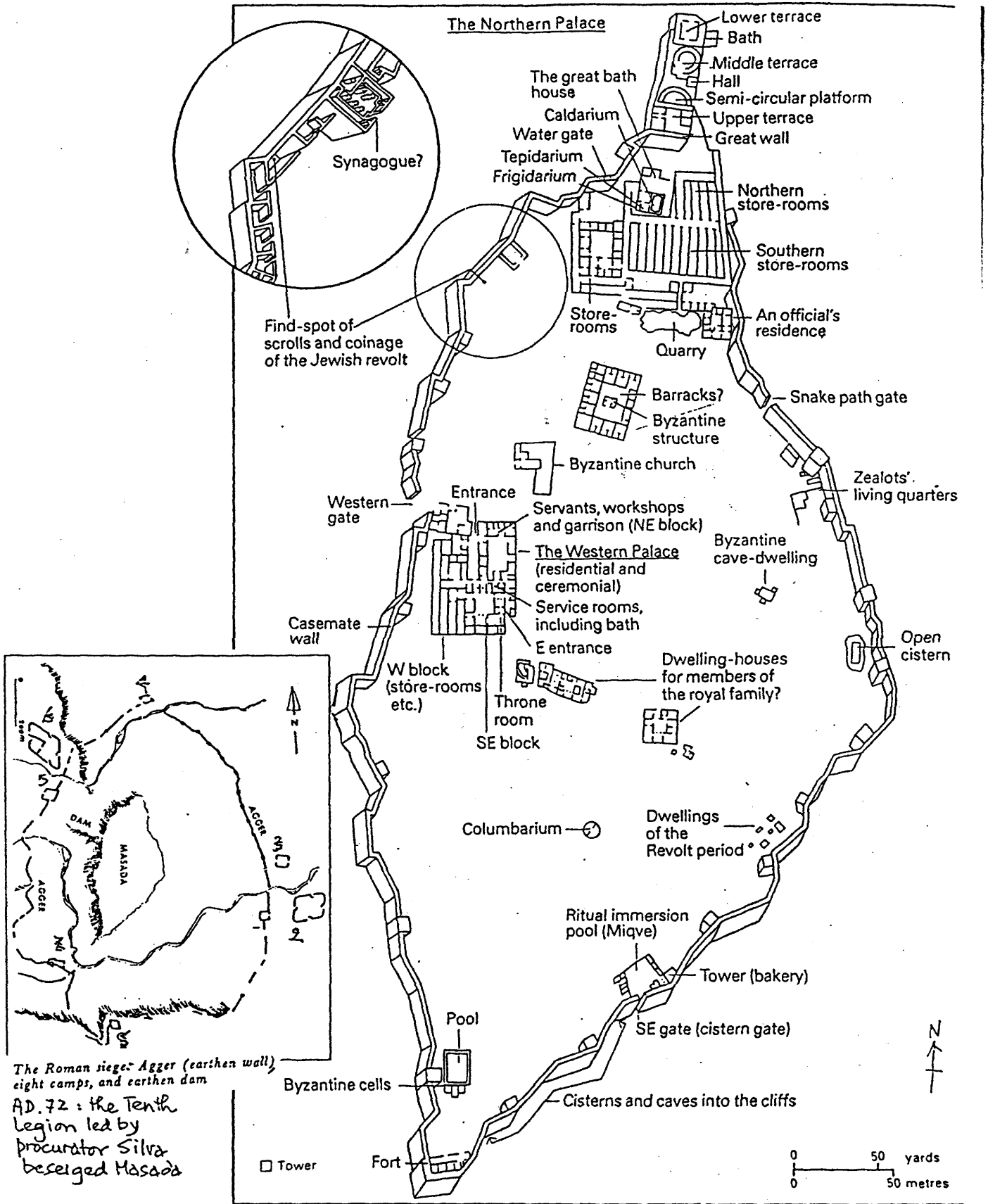
In AD 66 at the beginning of the Jewish revolt, Jews wondered how to capture the fortress until they saw a Roman soldier at the top accidentally drop his helmet. They carefully noted the path by which he descended and ascended the steep wall, then they soon used this same path to conquer the fortress in a surprise attack. Jews held Masada for seven years until the Romans completed a siege ramp up the side with battering rams. Although Jews had built another (wood) wall inside, this was soon destroyed by fire. By the time the Romans penetrated the wall in AD 73 the nearly 1000 Jews (including many women and children) committed mass suicide rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. Only five persons (two women and three children) hid themselves and lived to tell the tale.





# Masada Map

Source Unknown

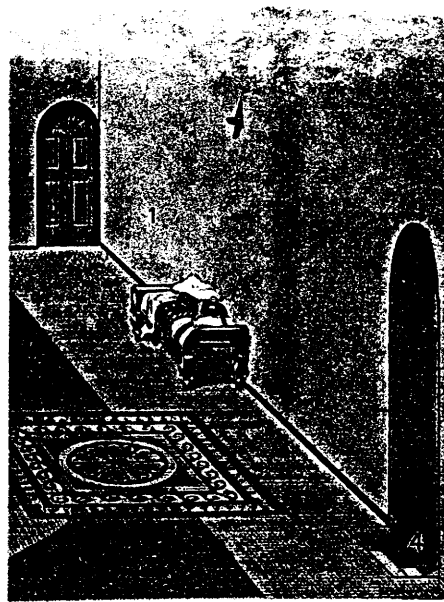


The Roman siege: Agger (earthen wall), eight camps, and earthen dam.  
 AD. 72: the Tenth Legion led by procurator Silva besieged Masada

Masada is perched 1,300 feet above sea-level on a plateau some 1,000 x 2,000 feet in area.

# Great Bath House at Masada

Peter Connolly, *Living in the Time of Jesus of Nazareth* (Bnei Brak: Steimatzky, 1983), 27



### Herod's private bath

In the royal quarters of the Western Palace the archaeologists uncovered Herod's private bathrooms. These are of Graeco-Roman type. They are the best preserved rooms in the palace. Their mosaic floors are almost intact.

The bathrooms contain a changing room with a fine mosaic in it. This leads off to a small warm room, which in turn leads into a hot room. This has a bath set in an alcove at the far end. The room and the water are heated by a furnace behind the bath. On the other side of the changing room steps lead down to a cold plunge bath.

### The public bathhouse

Just behind the Hanging Palace is a public bathhouse. This is a typical Graeco-Roman installation with cold, warm and hot rooms. It was probably built primarily for Herod's foreign visitors. There are similar baths at the palaces at Jericho and Herodium.

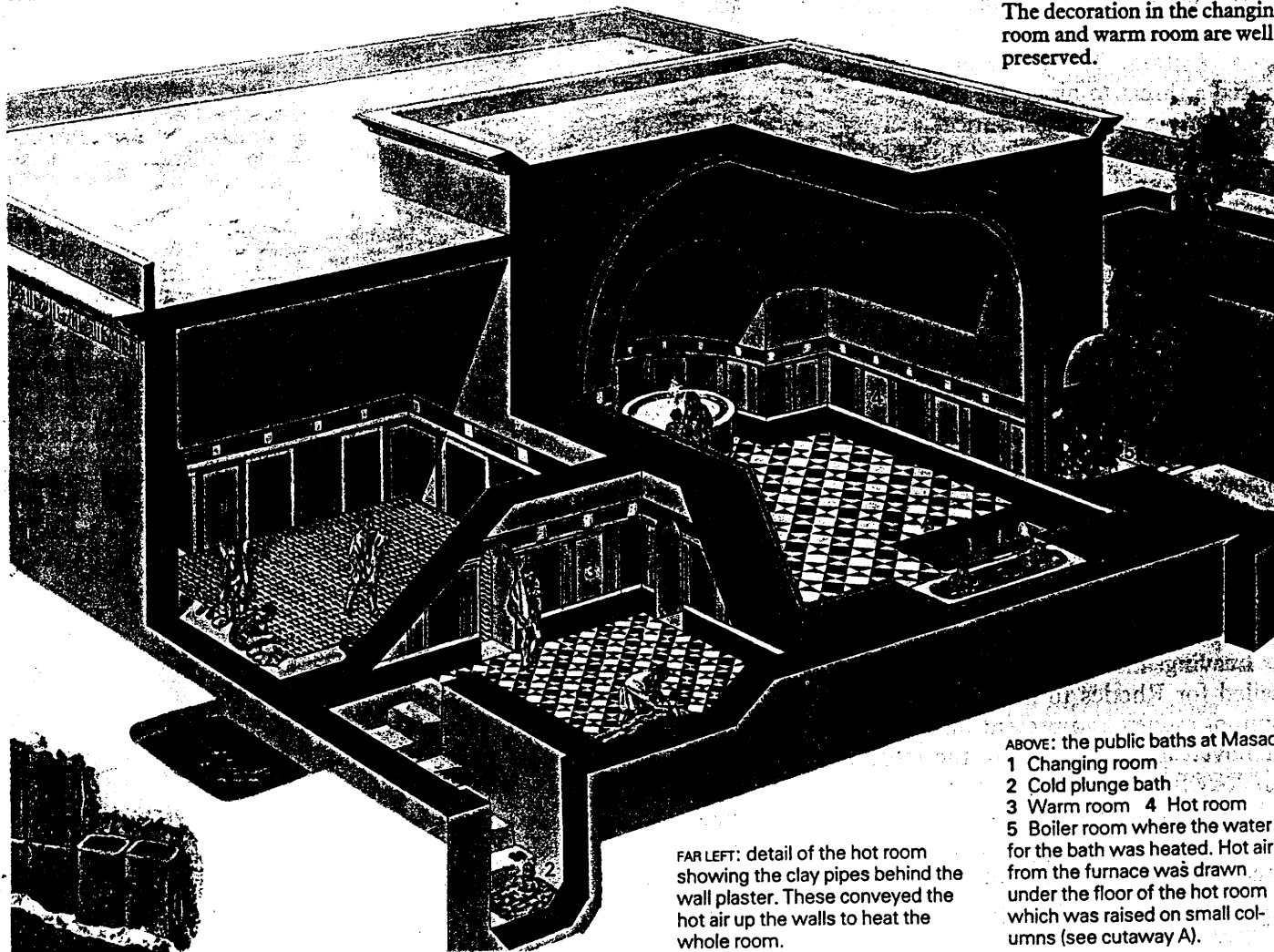
The decoration in the changing room and warm room are well preserved.

ABOVE: Herod's private bathrooms in the Western Palace.

- 1 Changing room
- 2 Warm room
- 3 The hot room with bath
- 4 Stairs leading down to the cold bath



LEFT: bathhouse utensils from Pompeii. The hot room made the bather perspire. The curved strigils were used to scrape the skin down. The little jar contained oil which was used to massage the bather.



ABOVE: the public baths at Masada.

- 1 Changing room
- 2 Cold plunge bath
- 3 Warm room
- 4 Hot room
- 5 Boiler room where the water for the bath was heated. Hot air from the furnace was drawn under the floor of the hot room which was raised on small columns (see cutaway A).

FAR LEFT: detail of the hot room showing the clay pipes behind the wall plaster. These conveyed the hot air up the walls to heat the whole room.

## Herod's Final Illness and Death

Maier, *Josephus*, 252-53

... was taken with sudden illness, Antipater thought his father had died and urged the jailor to release him, promising large rewards. The jailor went to the king and told him of Antipater's intentions. Herod cried out, beat his head, and ordered his bodyguard to kill Antipater at once and bury him at Hyrcanium. He then amended his will, appointing Archelaus, his eldest son, to succeed him; Antipas, his brother, as tetrarch of Galilee and Perea; Philip was appointed as tetrarch of Trachonitis and neighboring territories. To Caesar he left ten million pieces of silver, and to his wife Julia [Livia] and others, five million.

Herod survived his son's execution by five days. He had reigned 34 years since the execution of Antigonus, when he became master of the state, and 37 years from when he had been declared king by the Romans.

Upon his death, Salome liberated the Jewish leaders whom Herod had summoned to the hippodrome. Herod's will was then read to the people, and Archelaus was declared king. He



The fortress Herodium, southeast of Bethlehem, which Herod artificially heightened at the expense of a neighboring hill. Somewhere below the recently excavated citadel, Herod himself is buried.

parricide. Herod told him to prepare his defense and appear the next day before Varus, the visiting governor of Syria, and himself, as well as friends and relatives on both sides. When the council had convened, Antipater made a clever defense, couched in such touching language that he evoked compassion from Varus and all those present except Herod. Nicolas of Damascus, at the king's command, then completely refuted everything Antipater had said, supplying proofs of the culprit's guilt. The poison kept by Pheroras' wife was then given to another criminal under sentence of death, who died immediately. Varus drafted his report for Caesar and then departed, while Herod put Antipater in irons and dispatched messengers to the emperor with news of the disaster. It was later discovered that Antipater had forged letters against others in the royal household, including Salome.

### Herod's Final Illness

Herod's health now declined rapidly. Age and grief increased his ailments, for he was almost 70 years old. And he was now further distressed by an uprising against him. Judas and Matthias, two educated doctors of the law, incited a band of young men to tear down a large golden eagle which Herod had placed over the gate of the temple. This was put there in defiance of Jewish law, which forbade the image of any living thing to be introduced into the temple. The men were arrested in the act and brought before Herod, who ordered the ringleaders to be burned alive. And on the same night, there was an eclipse of the moon.\*

After this, Herod grew rapidly worse and suffered horrible torments. He had a terrible craving to scratch himself, his bowels were ulcerated, and his privates gangrenous and wormy. He tried in vain to relieve his gasping and convulsions in the warm springs at Callirhoe, and returned to Jericho. Here he assembled the men of distinction from all parts of the nation and ordered them shut inside the hippodrome. He told his sister Salome that as soon as he died, all these men were to be killed, so that there would be grief throughout the country at his death rather than joy!

While he was giving these orders, a letter arrived from Rome, in which Caesar left it up to Herod to either exile or execute his son. Herod was now suffering such terrible agony that he tried to stab himself, but was prevented by his cousin. When the

xvii.146  
w1.647

\* March 13, 4 B.C., according to astronomers. This is the only eclipse mentioned by Josephus.

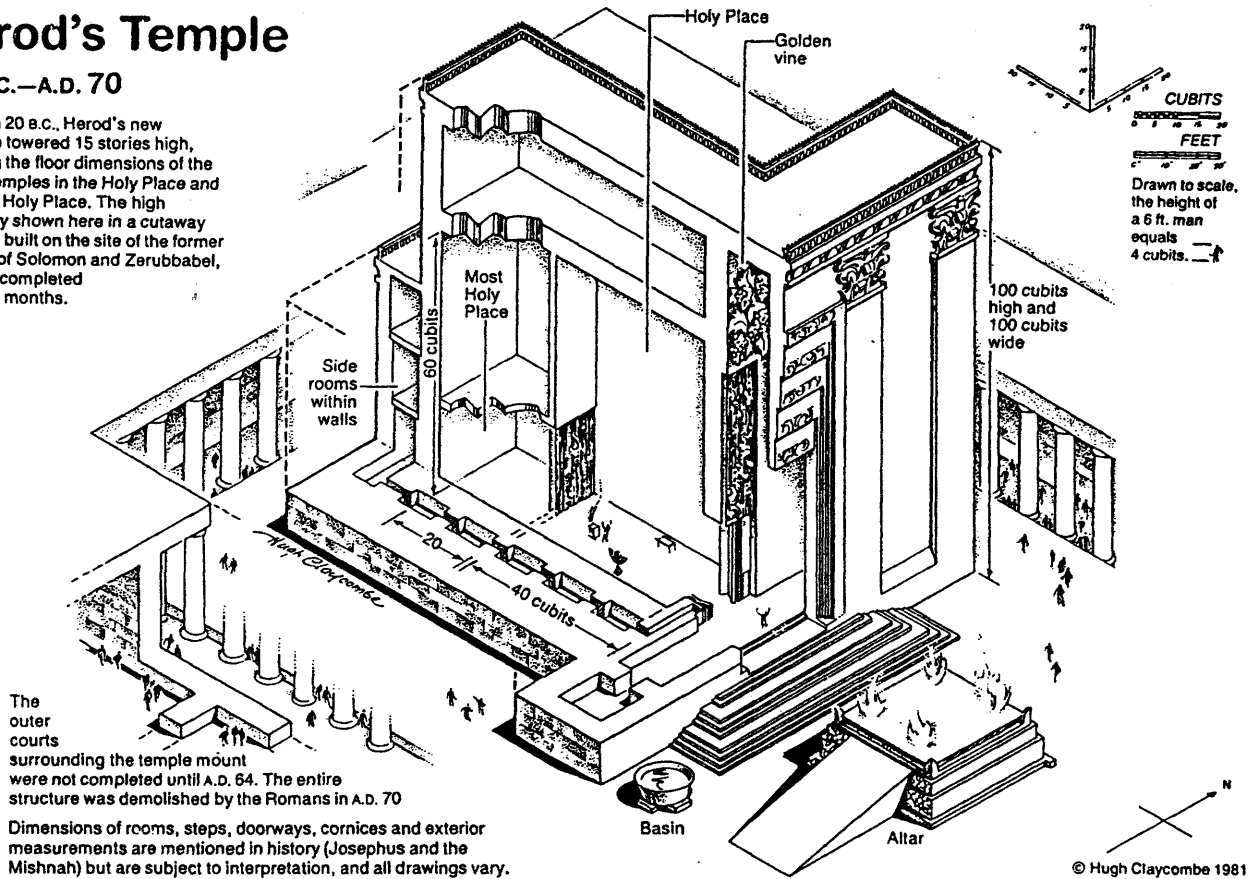
# Herod's Temple and Temple Mount

*Bible Visual Resource Book, 185 and Charlesworth, Jesus Within Judaism, 110*

## Herod's Temple

20 B.C.—A.D. 70

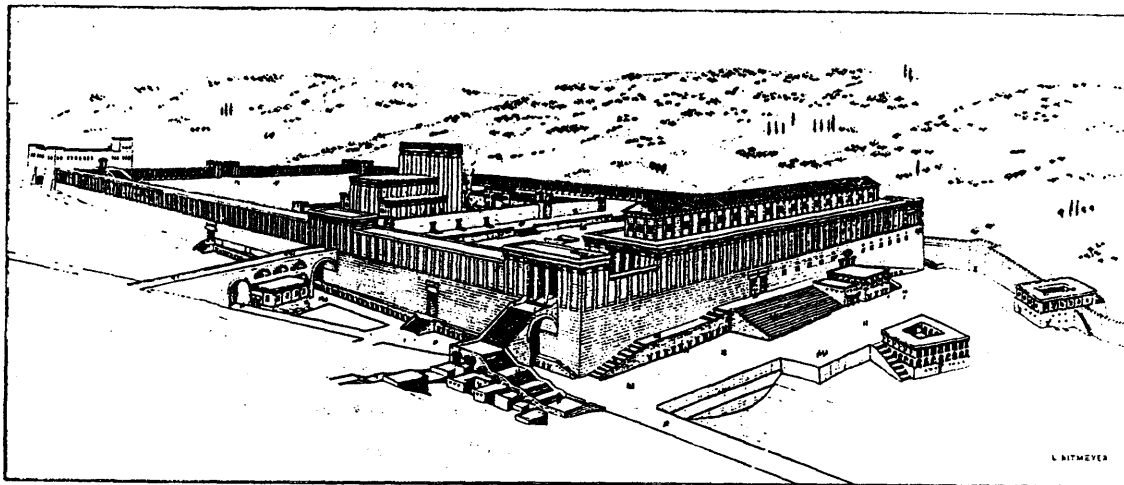
Begun in 20 B.C., Herod's new structure towered 15 stories high, following the floor dimensions of the former temples in the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place. The high sanctuary shown here in a cutaway view was built on the site of the former temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel, and was completed in just 18 months.



The outer courts surrounding the temple mount were not completed until A.D. 64. The entire structure was demolished by the Romans in A.D. 70

Dimensions of rooms, steps, doorways, cornices and exterior measurements are mentioned in history (Josephus and the Mishnah) but are subject to interpretation, and all drawings vary.

© Hugh Claycombe 1981



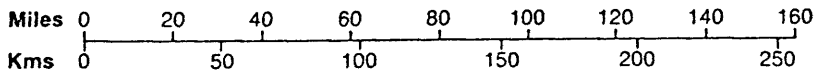
One of the wonders of the ancient world was the Jerusalem Temple, especially with Herod's majestic expansion of the Temple Mount. From the western, upper city in Jerusalem, Jesus and his disciples would have seen something similar to this artist's rendering.

*Lane Ritmeyer*

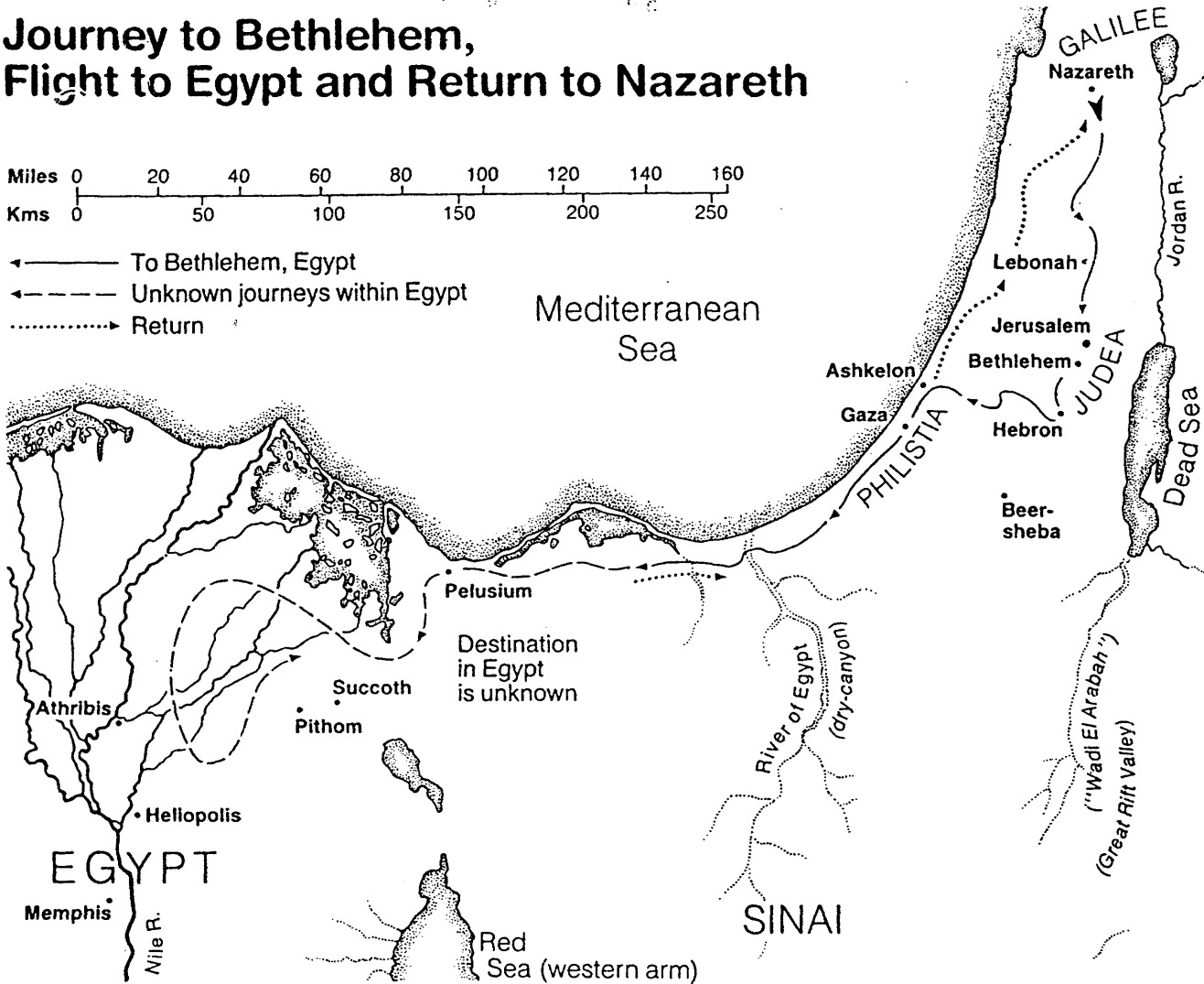
# Jesus' Infant Journeys, Baptism & Temptation

Bible Visual Resource Book, 184

## Journey to Bethlehem, Flight to Egypt and Return to Nazareth



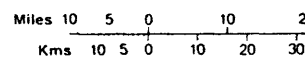
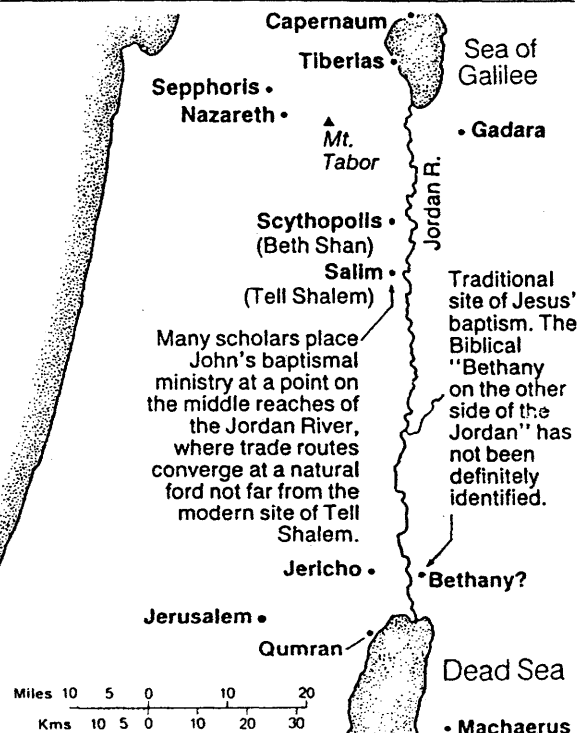
- ←———— To Bethlehem, Egypt
- ←----- Unknown journeys within Egypt
- ..... Return



## Jesus' Baptism and Temptation

Events surrounding Jesus' baptism reveal the intense religious excitement and social ferment of the early days of John the Baptist's ministry. Herod had been rapacious and extravagant; Roman military occupation was harsh. Some agitation centered around the change of procurators from Gratus to Pilate in A.D. 26. Most of the people hoped for a religious solution to their low political fortunes, and when they heard of a new prophet, they flocked out into the desert to hear him. The religious sect (Essenes) from Qumran professed similar doctrines of repentance and baptism. Jesus was baptized at Bethany on the other side of the Jordan (see Jn 1:28). John also baptized at "Aenon near Salim" (Jn 3:23).

The temptation took place in (1) the desert region of the lower Jordan Valley, (2) a high mountain (possibly one of the abrupt cliffs near Jericho that present an unsurpassed panorama) and (3) the pinnacle of the temple, from which the priests sounded the trumpet to call the city's attention to important events.



# Chronology of the Herodian Dynasty (37 B.C.-A.D. 70)

John Grassmick, Dallas Seminary

<u>37 B.C.</u>	<u>All Palestine under HEROD THE GREAT as King</u>		<u>37 B.C.</u>
<u>4 B.C.</u>	Judea, Samaria, Idumea  under <u>ARCHELAUS</u> as ethnarch	Iturea, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis  under <u>PHILIP</u>  as tetrarch	<u>4 B.C.</u>
<u>A.D. 6</u>	under <u>ROMAN Governors</u> (prefects/ procurators)	<u>A.D. 34</u>	
		<u>A.D. 37</u>	
			<u>A.D. 39</u>
<u>A.D. 41</u>	under <u>HEROD AGRIPPA I</u> as King		
<u>A.D. 44</u>	<u>ROMAN Governors</u>		
	<u>A.D. 53</u>		
	under <u>HEROD AGRIPPA II</u> as King	<u>A.D. 56</u>	
			In part under <u>HEROD AGRIPPA II</u>
<u>A.D. 66</u>	<u>Jewish Rebellion Against Rome</u>		
<u>A.D. 70</u>	Conquest of Jerusalem and Destruction of the Temple by <u>Titus</u> , Aug. 5, A.D. 70		



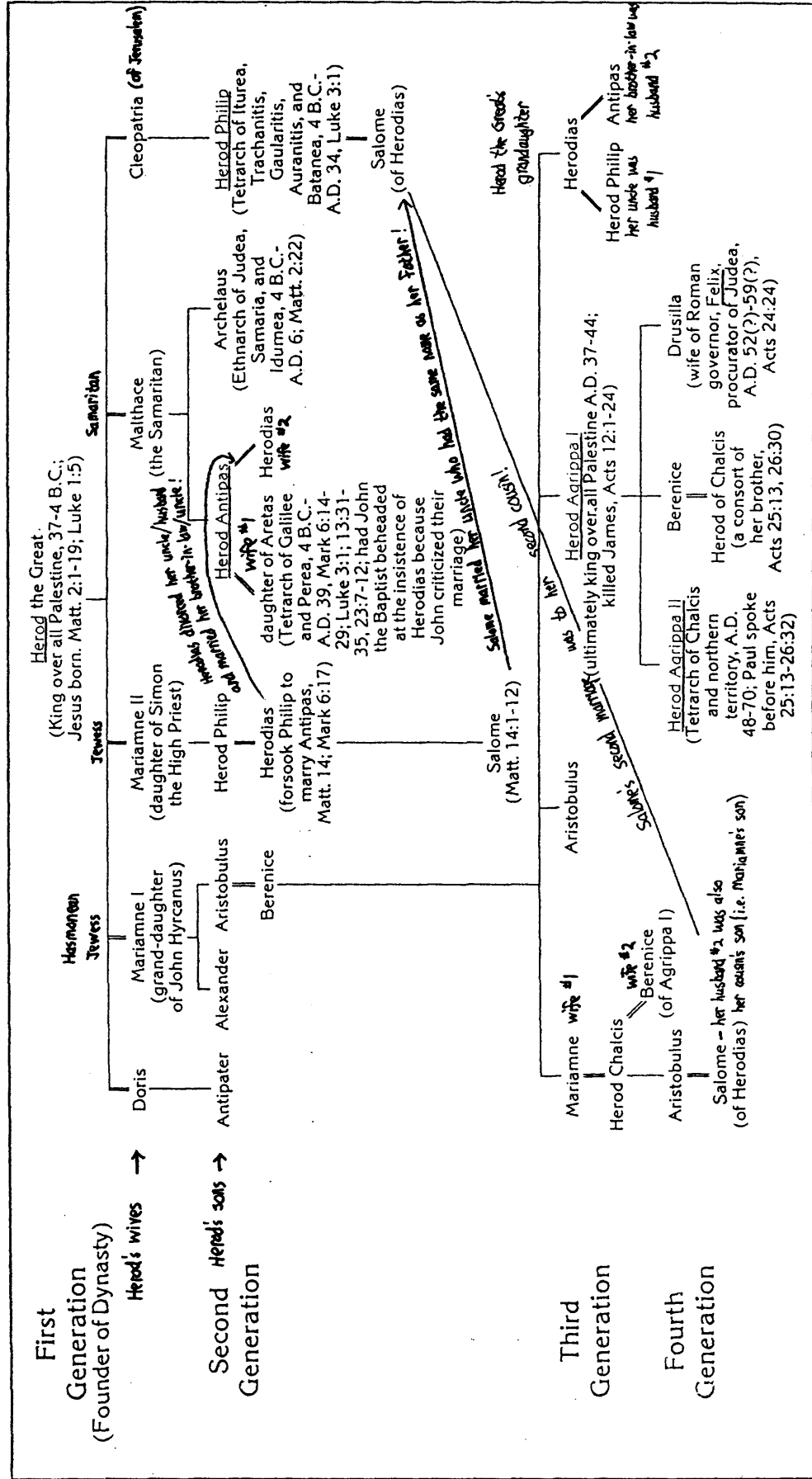
# Genealogical Chart of the Herodian Dynasty

H. Wayne House

KEY

— Son or daughter  
= wife or husband

# A Genealogical Chart of the Herodian Dynasty



Reigning kings of New Testament times are ~~underlined~~. This is only a partial genealogy. Source: House, 7



## Roman and Jewish Leaders

Horsley & Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, & Messiahs*, 260-61

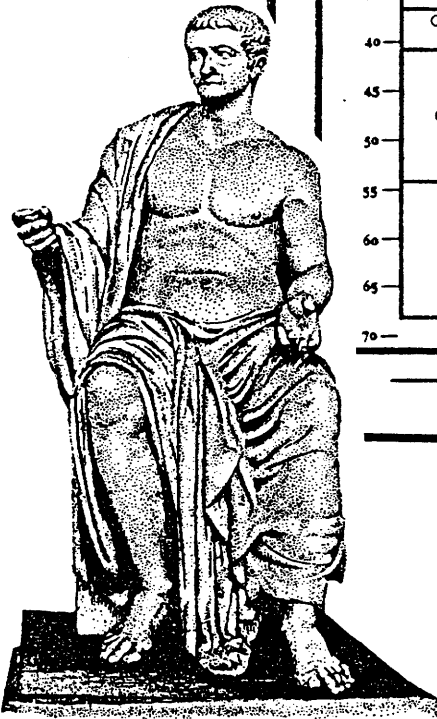
ROMAN EMPERORS	HIGH PRIESTS	OFFICIAL RULERS & PROCURATORS IN PALESTINE			BANDITS	MESSIAHS	PROPHETS
Augustus (30 BCE-14 CE)	Joazar son of Boethus (4 BCE) Eleazar son of Boethus (4-? BCE) Jesus son of See (?) Ananus son of Sethi (6-15 CE)	Herod the Great (37-4 BCE)			Hezekiah (c. 47-38 BCE)	Judas son of Hezekiah [Ezekias] (c. 4 BCE) Simon (c. 4 BCE)  Athronges (c. 4-2? BCE)	
		Herod Archelaus <i>Ethnarch of Judea</i> (4 BCE-6 CE)  Coponius (6-9 CE) Marcus Ambibulus (9-12 CE) Annius Rufus (12-15 CE) Valerius Gratus (15-26 CE)	Herod Philip <i>Tetrarch of Iturea</i> (4 BCE-34 CE)	Herod Antipas <i>Tetrarch of Galilee</i> (4 BCE-39 CE)			
Tiberius (14-37 CE)	Ismael son of Phiabi (15-16 CE) Eleazar son of Ananus (16-17 CE) Simon son of Camithus (17-18 CE) Joseph Caiaphas (18-36 CE) Jonathan son of Ananus (36-37 CE)	Pontius Pilate (26-36 CE) Marcellus (36-37 CE)	[Iturea, Batanea, Trachonitus and Auranitis attached to Province of Syria (34-41 CE)]	Galilean Cave Brigands (30s CE)	Jesus Christ (5 BC - AD 33)	John the Baptist (late 20s CE) The "Samaritan" (c. 26-36 CE)	
Gaius Caligula (37-41 CE)	Theophilus son of Ananus (37-? CE)	Marullus (37-41 CE)	Herod Agrippa I (40 CE)	Eleazar ben Dinai (30s-50s CE)			
Claudius (41-54 CE)	Simon Cantheras son of Boethus (41-? CE) Matthias son of Ananus (41-44 CE) Elionaeus son of Cantherus (44?-46? CE) Joseph son of Camei (46-48 CE) Ananias son of Nedebaeus (c. 47-59 CE)	Herod Agrippa I (41-44 CE)			Tholomaus (early 40s CE)		
Nero (54-68 CE)	Ismael son of Phiabi (59-61 CE) Joseph Cabi son of Simon (61-62 CE) Ananus son of Ananus (62 CE) Jesus son of Damnaeus (62-63 CE) Jesus son of Gamaliel (63-64 CE) Matthias son of Theophilus (65-?)	Fadus (44-46 CE)	Tiberius Alexander (46-48 CE)	Ventidius Cumanus (48-52 CE)	Felix (52-60 CE)	Porcius Festus (60-62 CE)	
		Albinus (62-64 CE)	Gessius Florus (64-66 CE)	Zealot Coalition (68-69 CE) Simon bar Giora (69-70 CE)	Jesus son of Sapphias (60s CE)	John of Gischala (66-? CE)	The "Egyptian" (c. 56 CE)  Jesus son of Hananiah (62-69 CE)
Galba (68-69 CE)	Phanni son of Samuel (68-70 CE)				Jesus son of Sapphias (60s CE)		
Otho (69 CE) Vitellius (69 CE) Vespasian (69-79 CE)					John of Gischala (66-? CE)	Menahem son of Judas the Galilean (c. 66 CE)	
Titus (79-81 CE) Domitian (81-96 CE) Nerva (96-98 CE) Trajan (98-117 CE) Hadrian (117-135 CE)						Simon bar Giora (68-70 CE)	
						Bar Kochba (132-135 CE)	

# Emperors, High Priests & Local Rulers

X. Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of NT*, 31

THE EMPERORS OF ROME, THE HIGH PRIESTS OF ISRAEL,  
THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF PALESTINE,  
THE LEGATES OF SYRIA

Years	Emperors	Legates of Syria	Kings and Governors of Palestine	High Priests	Historical Occurrences
45					33 Death of Julius Caesar
43-36	The Triumvirate			Hananel Aristobulus III Hananel	
37-4			HEROD THE GREAT	Jesus	
30	OCTAVIAN AUGUSTUS -30 to +14			Simon	
6-3		Varus		Joseph Yozzar	
4-6			ARCHELAUS	Eleazar	4 Revolt
6-11		Quirinius	Coponius 6-9 Ambibulus 9-12 Rufus 12-15	Jesus	6 Census
15-26			V. Gratus	Annas 6-15	
14-37	TIBERIUS		P. Pilate 26-37	Caiaphas 18-36	33 Crucifixion of Jesus
35-39		Vitellius	HEROD ANTIPAS - 4 to +19	Jonathan 36-37	
37-41	CALIGULA	Petronius 39-42 Marsus 42-44	Marcellus 36-37 Marullus 37-41	Theophilus 37-41	42 Martyrdom of James
41-54	CLAUDIUS	Longinus 44-50	AGRIPPA I 41-44 C. Fadus 44-46 T. Alexander 46-48 V. Cumanus 48-52	Simeon 41-44 Matthias Elionaios	45 Theudas 46 Famine
50-60		Quadratus	A. Felix 52-60	Ananias 48-58	57 Felix tries Paul (Acts 23-24)
54-68	NERO	Corbulo 60-63 Gallus 63-66	P. Festus 60-62 L. Albinus 62-64 G. Florus 64-66 Titus	Ishmael Joseph Annas II Jesus Joshua Matthias Pinhas	59 Festus tries Paul (Acts 25:1-12) 66 Jewish Revolt 70 Fall of Jerusalem



—X. Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of NT*, p. 31

Drawing of a statue of Tiberius Caesar.  
Courtesy Carta, Jerusalem.

C. **The Fall of Jerusalem** (Bruce, *NT History*, 377-83 and Josephus, *War of the Jews*, in Maier, 329-85).

1. In Caesarea in the mid-60s Gentiles sacrificed a bird in front of the Jewish synagogue.
2. The Jews appealed to Florus, the procurator of Palestine at this time (AD 64-70). Knowing he was unscrupulous, they added eight talents of silver to their appeal.
3. Florus gladly took the money, ignored the appeal, then raided the temple in Jerusalem and took 16 more talents, saying it was owed by the Jewish community in "back taxes."
4. When the Jews revolted at this desecration, Florus crucified several leading Jews in the community, then handed over part of Jerusalem to his troops to plunder.
5. The Jewish people responded by breaking down the colonnades which connected the Roman headquarters (Antonia fortress) and the Temple. Eleazar, captain of the temple guard, persuaded the priests to stop offering the daily sacrifice for Nero's welfare. This was seen as a declaration of revolt against Rome.
6. Nero in Rome acted quickly by sending Vespasian, the commander-in-chief of the entire Roman guard, to bring order to Jerusalem.
7. However, the Jews felt that God was on their side and they fought at great odds and with tremendous bravery. They believed that victory was assured by OT prophecies and that God was using them to bring in the kingdom.
8. Nero died on 9 June AD 68 and civil war broke out in Rome. Vespasian suspended operations against Jerusalem for a year to see the result. When Rome was won in his honor he left immediately for Rome, giving his son Titus authority to siege Jerusalem.
9. In April AD 70 the siege began and lasted five months. After terrible atrocities and even cannibalism to survive the famine, on 2 September the Temple itself fell to the Romans.
10. Jewish Zealots fled to the fortress plateau of Masada near the Dead Sea and fought the Roman army for almost three more years. In April-May AD 73, with all hopes of victory shattered, they committed mass suicide rather than fall into the hands of the Romans.

D. **Key Developments Under Roman Rule of Palestine**

1. **Judaism** after the destruction of Jerusalem centred on the Law rather than the Temple.
    - a. Lack of Sources: Very little information is known of late first century and all of second century Judaism until the oral tradition was written down in the Mishna (ca. AD 200). Even Josephus, a Pharisee himself, provides little information.
    - b. Rabbis before the fall of Jerusalem: Two rabbis were prominent:
      - 1) The most influential rabbi of NT times was R. Hillel (60 BC—AD 20), who is regarded as the father of rabbinic Judaism. He lived in Babylon and practiced legal OT interpretation (*halachah*, "rules of conduct") in the Babylonian synagogue.
      - 2) While Hillel was very liberal in his interpretations, his oft-quoted opponent was R. Shammai, who represented a branch of the Pharisees closely related to the Jerusalem temple. Shammai was aristocratic, strict, and nationalistic.
- \* The differences between these two men can be seen in the Pharisees' testing of Jesus' views on grounds for divorce. They asked Christ if He held to the prevailing Hillel view that divorce for any cause was permissible (Matt. 19:3ff.). Shammai said that divorce was allowable only in the case of adultery. Hillel also argued against the Song of Songs in the canon while Shammai argued for it.

c. Rabbis after the fall of Jerusalem: Three rabbis were prominent:

- 1) Judaism owed its new start to R. Yohanan ben Zakkai, a young student of Hillel and colleague of Gamaliel's son, Simeon. He risked his life in the Jewish War (AD 68) by entering Vespasian's army camp and requesting to settle peacefully in Jamnia near the Mediterranean coast. There he began a new rabbinic school founded upon Hillel's methods of interpretation and rules of conduct (*halachah*). At this site the famous Synod of Jamnia (ca. AD 100) discussed the OT canon.
- 2) R. Aqiba ben Joseph, a literalist, was another of the most important teachers of this time from the death of Hillel (AD 20) to the redaction of the *Mishnah* (AD 200) which is called the time of the Tannaites (the Tannaim), meaning "transmitters" or "teachers" of oral tradition. His time saw Bar Kochba's rebellion against Rome (AD 132-133).
- 3) R. Ishmael ben Elisha modified and expanded Hillel's rules into the vernacular.

2. **Roman Empire Unity**: Rome's genius for law and governmental administration achieved what previous empires had failed to fully accomplish—the fusion of many nationalities and peoples into a unified whole. This was accomplished through several means:

- a. The Emperor was the dominant force in the Roman empire. He was the political, military, judicial, and religious leader. The republican government which ruled via the Senate in earlier days was replaced by a dictator (Julius Caesar) and finally evolved into an absolute monarchy (under Augustus). This was efficient and brought much peace. The problem was that when emperors overstepped their bounds there was no constitutional way to remove them—so assassination became the practical means used!
- b. The provinces were organized into two types to support Rome—the political centre:
  - 1) *Imperial* provinces required troops as they were newer, unruly areas. Smaller ones (e.g., Judea) were governed by a prefect or procurator and larger ones (e.g., Egypt, Syria) were governed by a legate or military governor.
  - 2) *Senatorial* provinces were older, richer, peaceful territories (e.g., Asia, Achaia) administered by a governor (proconsul) attended by tax collectors (quaestors), which were also in the imperial provinces as well.

\* *Semi-independent kingdoms* were annexed territories (e.g., Galilee) ruled whenever possible by their own native rulers (tetrarch, ethnarch, king) who reported to Rome.

\*\* *Roman colonies* governed by two principal magistrates (duoviri, better known as praetors) characterized certain cities (e.g., Philippi, Corinth). Such cities were modeled after Rome itself and had settlements of Roman citizens (e.g., retired soldiers). In fact, all free inhabitants of the colonies had citizenship (Acts 16:12, 20ff.). These cities generally lay on principal roads to guard Rome's interests and paid no taxes (Ephesus also was a free city). See F. F. Bruce, 17-18.
- c. Roman citizenship became a prized possession. Only 4 million (7%) of the empire's 55 million inhabitants were Roman citizens in NT times, but it was granted to all free inhabitants in AD 212. It was either purchased or inherited at birth (Acts 22:28) and made one exempt from corporal punishment (Acts 16:37) and forced labor (Matt. 5:41).
- d. Roman law contributed to the advance of civilization (and the gospel too, as it protected Paul and Silas; cf. Acts 16:38-40). The law was clear, brief, impartially interpreted and enforced, supported by the Emperor, and widely circulated (people knew their rights).
- e. Roman roads made transportation much easier than previously. Many of these roads are still used today. The Romans built excellent roads for the apostles to use!
- f. Roman peace (*Pax Romana*), inaugurated a new era of stability and socio-economic progress in the Mediterranean world. The socio-economic results of this peace are discussed in the next section of these notes.
- g. The Julian calendar was established which eventually became the world standard.

3. **Jesus Christ** bore the sin of the world upon Himself and established the early church.

## Roman Achievements

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN ALPHABET			
Phoenician	Greek	Etruscan	Roman
𐤀	Α	𐌆	A
𐤁	Β		B
𐤂	Γ	𐌆	C
𐤃	Δ		D
𐤄	Ε	𐌆	E

While the Phoenicians ruled the seas before the Romans and they invented the phonetic alphabet, it was the Romans who adapted it into the alphabet that western countries use today. Latin became the base language of modern languages called Romance languages as they stem from Rome (e.g., Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Romanian, etc.).

However, we owe our numeric system (1, 2, 3, etc.) to the Arabs since the Roman numbering system is too complicated and long (try reading the page numbers of the syllabus with ease in these notes).

This chart shows how each civilization that borrowed this alphabet changed it.

- Which letters of the Greek alphabet did the Romans change?

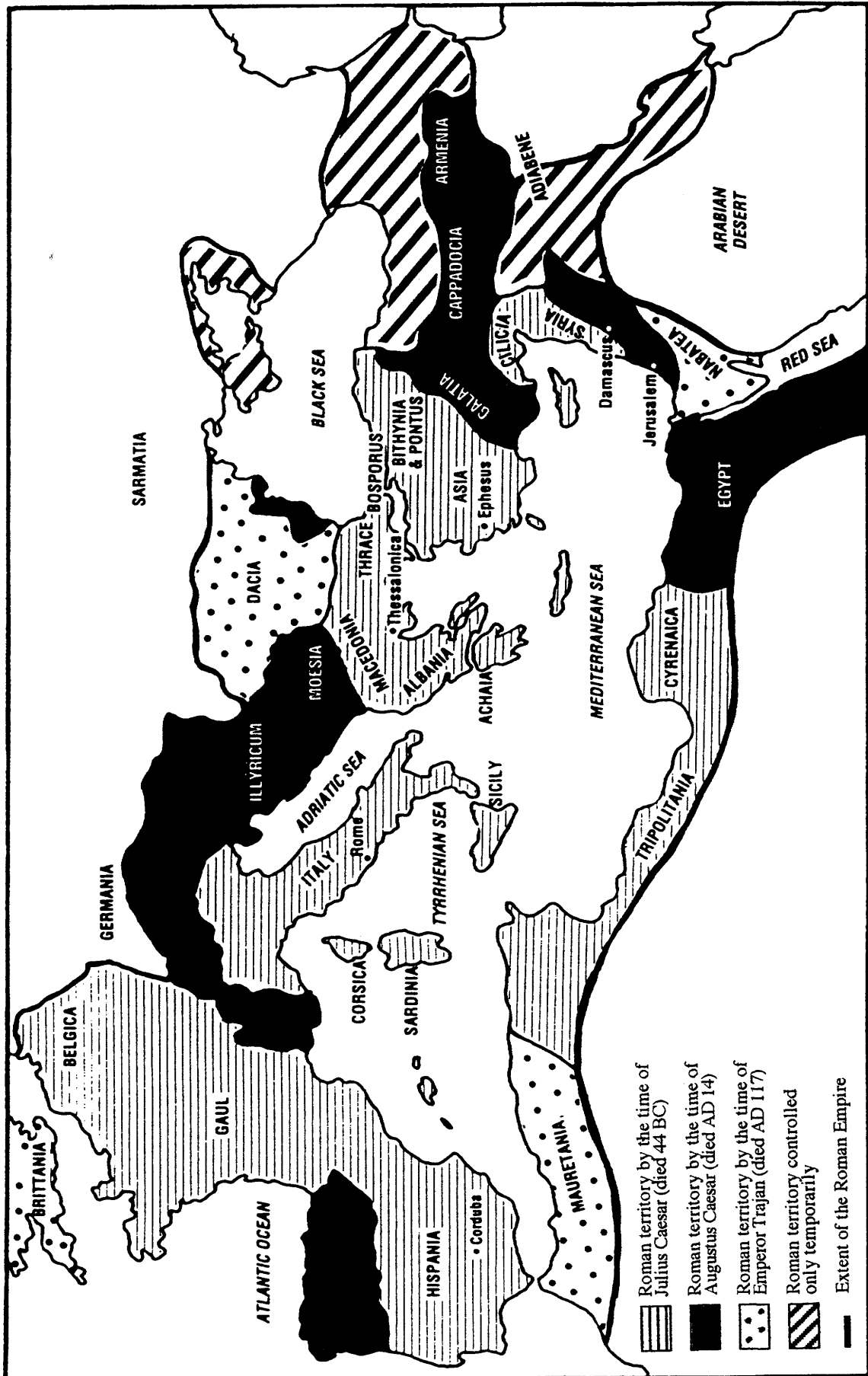




# Roman Territories

Adapted from Robert G. Clouse, Richard V. Pierard, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Two Kingdoms* (Chicago: Moody, 1993), 25

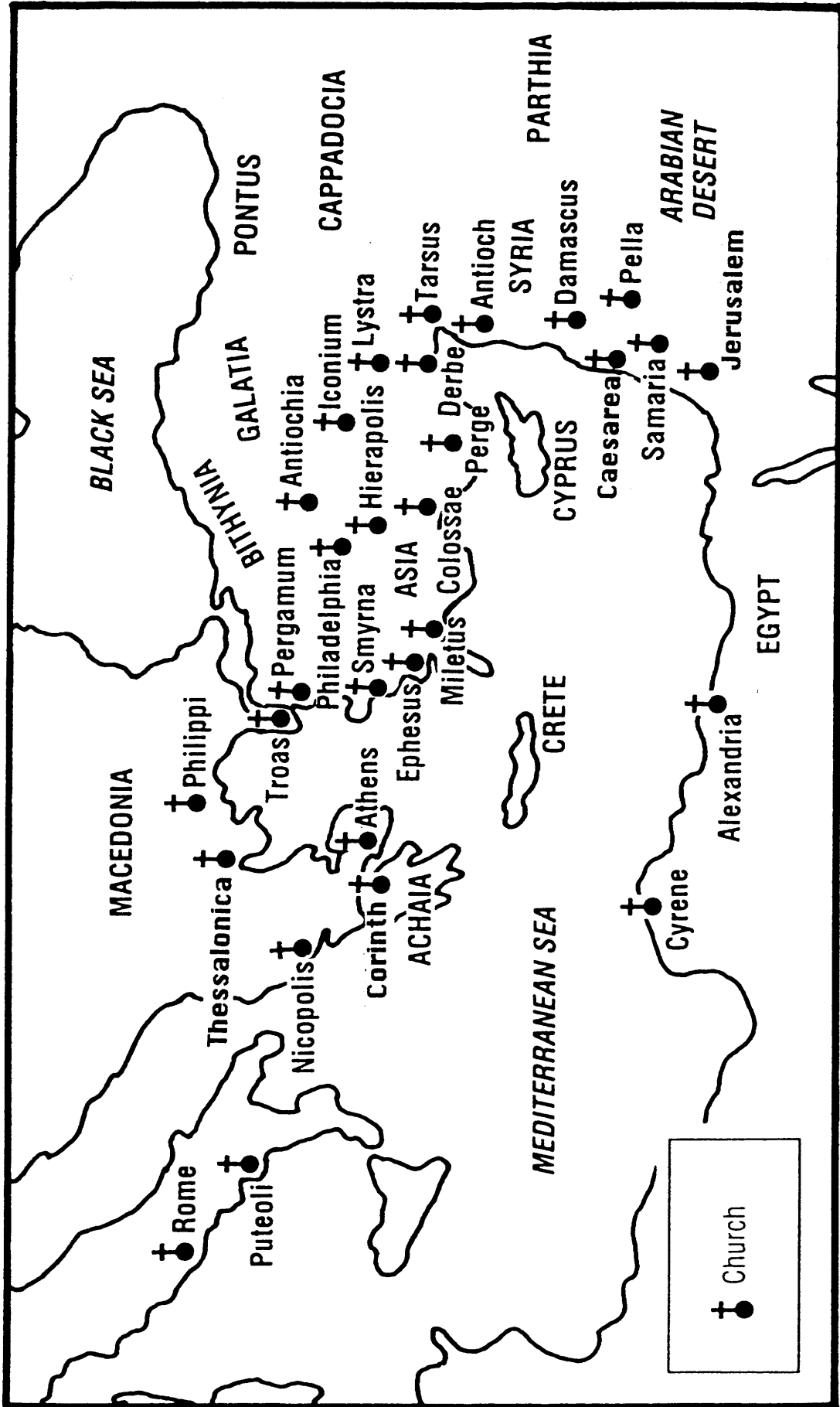
## ROMAN TERRITORIES (50 BC-AD 100)



# Early Churches

Adapted from Robert G. Clouse, Richard V. Pierard, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Two Kingdoms* (Chicago: Moody, 1993), 31

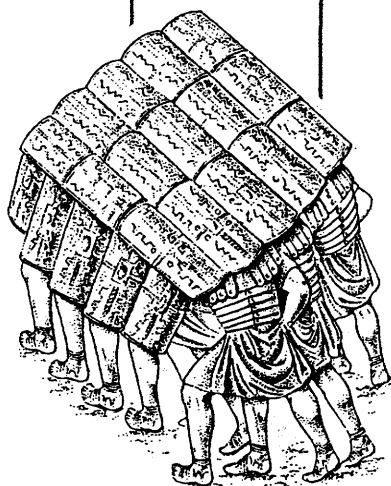
## Early Churches





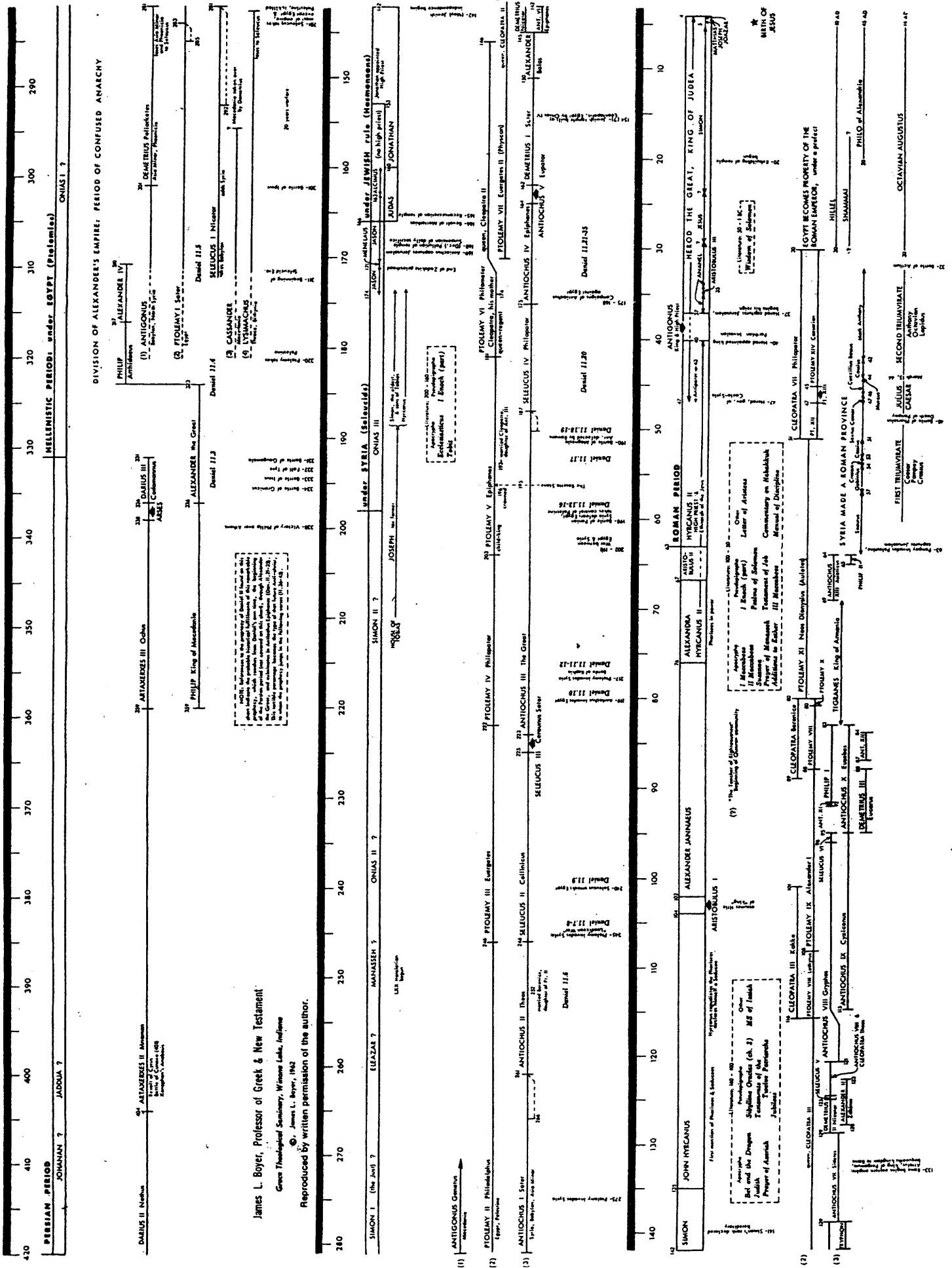
## Summary of the Political Rule Over Palestine

<b>Powers</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Key Rulers</b>	<b>Key Developments</b>
Assyrians	722-605	Tiglathpileser III Shalmanesar V Sargon II Sennacherib	Tribute paid to Assyria Siege of Samaria Fall of Samaria (722 BC) Rise of Samaritans
Babylonians	605-539	Nebuchadnezzar Belshazzar	Destroyed temple (586 BC) → Synagogues Separation (law, sabbath, circumcision) Idolatry eliminated
Persians	539-331	Cyrus Darius the Mede Xerxes Artaxerxes I	Restoration of Law of Moses/spiritual life Rebuilt temple (516 BC) Diaspora Aramaic popularized Purim Rise of temple state "Judaism" term Separation from Samaritans Close of OT canon
Greeks	331-143	Alexander the Great Seleucus I Nicator Ptolemy I Soter Antiochus III the Great Antiochus IV Epiphanes	<u>Ptolemies (301-198)</u> <u>Seleucids (198-143)</u> Religious freedom    High priest bartered Rise of Sanhedrin    Temple desecration Hellenization    Rise of Hasidim Alexandria migration    Maccabean Revolt Greek language/LXX    Rise of Sadducees
Hasmoneans	143-63	Simon Maccabeus John Hyrcanus I Alexander Jannaeus	Political independence    Rise of Essenes Religious independence    Enforced Judaism Expansion of borders    Alliance w/ Rome Priest/king in one person
Romans	63 BC- AD 330	<u>Emperors</u> <u>Local Leaders</u> Julius    Herod the Great Augustus    Philip Tiberius    Archelaus Caligula    Antipas Claudius    Pilate Nero    Felix Vespasian    Festus Titus    Agrippa I Domitian    Agrippa II	Temple destroyed (AD 70) Judaism based on law—not temple -Rise of rabbinic schools (Hillel/Shammai) -Synod of Jamnia (OT canon, ca. AD 100) Unity of Empire: -Emperor                    -Peace -Administration            -Law -Citizenship                -Transportation -Julian calendar            -Language -Building



Above the most famous of all Roman military formations, the *testudo* or "tortoise," used for approaching the walls of an enemy in siege warfare.

# INTERTESTAMENTAL CHRONOLOGICAL CHART



James L. Boyer, Professor of Greek & New Testament

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# The New Testament Socio-Economic Context

## I. Introduction

- A. The NT world was basically agrarian (agricultural).
- B. This affected its social structure, economy, and (though to a lesser extent) religious life.

## II. Population

- A. Probably the total population of the Roman world was about 55 million. This was broken down into the following sub-groupings:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of the Empire</u>	<u>% of Palestine</u>
<i>Entire Empire</i>			
Gentiles	51,000,000	93	
Jews	4,000,000	<u>7</u>	
		100	
Roman citizens	4,000,000	7	
Slaves	27,500,000	50	
<i>Palestine (Jews &amp; Gentiles)</i>			
Palestine Gentiles	1,750,000	3	
Palestine Gentiles	1,050,000	2	60
Palestine Jews	700,000	1	40
Jerusalem Jews	25,000-95,000		

- B. Jews lived in pockets throughout the empire. Most Palestinian Jews lived in Judea while Galilee was predominantly Gentile.

## III. Languages

- A. Palestine was a cosmopolitan country in which several languages were spoken due to several factors (e.g., location, foreign powers).
  1. Latin was the common language of the West. It served as the official, legal language of the Roman Empire though it was the least used language in Palestine. Mostly only governors and soldiers of the occupation forces spoke Latin. Few Palestinian Jews knew more than the most common Latin words (e.g., *legion*, *centurion*, and *denarius*). Jesus' trial before Pilate probably required the use of an interpreter unless they both could speak Greek.
  2. Greek was the common language of the East. Most Palestinians understood it as a second language similar to how Chinese Singaporeans understand either English or Mandarin (or a Chinese dialect). The Gentiles in Galilee of course spoke most of the Greek in Palestine.
  3. Aramaic was the common language of Palestine and most first century Jews—even of Jews living in the Diaspora.
    - a. This language had replaced Hebrew as the mother tongue after the exile in Babylon six centuries before the NT era since Persian had become the language of trade.
    - b. At least two dialects of Aramaic were current in Palestine. Peter's northern (Galilean) dialect was recognizably distinct from other Jews living in Judea who spoke with a "southern accent" (cf. Matt. 26:73).
    - c. In the synagogues the OT was read not only in Hebrew but also in an Aramaic paraphrase called a targum.



4. **Hebrew** probably was spoken and read only by rabbis (teachers) and scribes (copyists of OT Scriptures), just as only full-time Christian workers today read Greek and Hebrew. However, recent studies challenge this and say most NT Jews spoke Hebrew.

B. Jesus was probably trilingual. He taught the common people (Jews) in Aramaic, spoke with the Gentiles in Greek, and read in the synagogue and debated with the scribes in Hebrew (?).

#### IV. Social Life

A. **Social Classes:** Roman society was roughly divided into four groups:

	<b><u>Equestrians</u></b> <b><u>(Patricians)</u></b>	<b><u>Plebian</u></b>	<b><u>Freedman</u></b>	<b><u>Slaves</u></b>
Class	Upper	Middle	Middle-lower	Lowest
Nature	Aristocracy	Freeborn common people	Former slaves (a new class) also called "Friends"	Property -no rights (not even marriage)
How attained	Inheritance	Birth	Religious ransom Freed by master	Prisoners of war Debtors Criminals
Roman Occupations	Administrators Businessmen Landowners High gov. officials	Merchants Craftsmen Lawyers Low gov. officials Educators Orators	(Same as equestrians and plebians) e.g., Felix (Jos. Wars 2.247; cf. Bruce, 343)	Varied: some were Doctors Teachers Accountants (many were more educated and skilled than their masters)
	Publicans (taxes) fit between Romans & Jews			
Jewish Occupations	Chief priests Pharisees Sadducees Herodians	Ordinary priests Small businessmen Artisans Farmers	(same as plebians)	Few Jews owned slaves: they were to free them every 7th year (Ex. 21:2-11)
How many?	Very few	90% of Palestine "people of the land" or "the multitudes"	Some	50% of Empire as Romans declined in birthrate and death through wars
Scripture	Matt. 26:57 Matt. 23 Heb. 4:14-16	Matt. 9:36	Acts 6:9 John 15:13-15	Gal. 4:1-7; Eph. 6:5; Col. 3:22-25; Letter to Philemon

#### B. Roman Social Institutions

1. **Voluntary associations** (*κοινωνία koinonia*) were clubs which one could join at will. This term *koinonia* has become a word used of Christian fellowships which are also voluntary in nature and which imply a common purpose.
2. The **city community** (*πολιτεία politeia*) literally means the "citizenship," "political activity," "constitution," "the state" as such, and "conduct" (*TDNTabr.*, 907). This word occurs only twice in the NT: Paul's appeal to his status as a Roman citizen to prevent scourging (Acts 22:28) and membership in the Jewish state (Eph. 2:12).

3. The household community (οἰκονομία *oikonomia*) functioned as the primary social institution of the Roman Empire. (For additional study on households see Floyd Filson, "The Significance of the Early House Churches," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58 [1939]: 105-112; Ronald D. Runyon, "Principles and Methods of Household Evangelism," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 142 [January-March 1985]: 64-74).

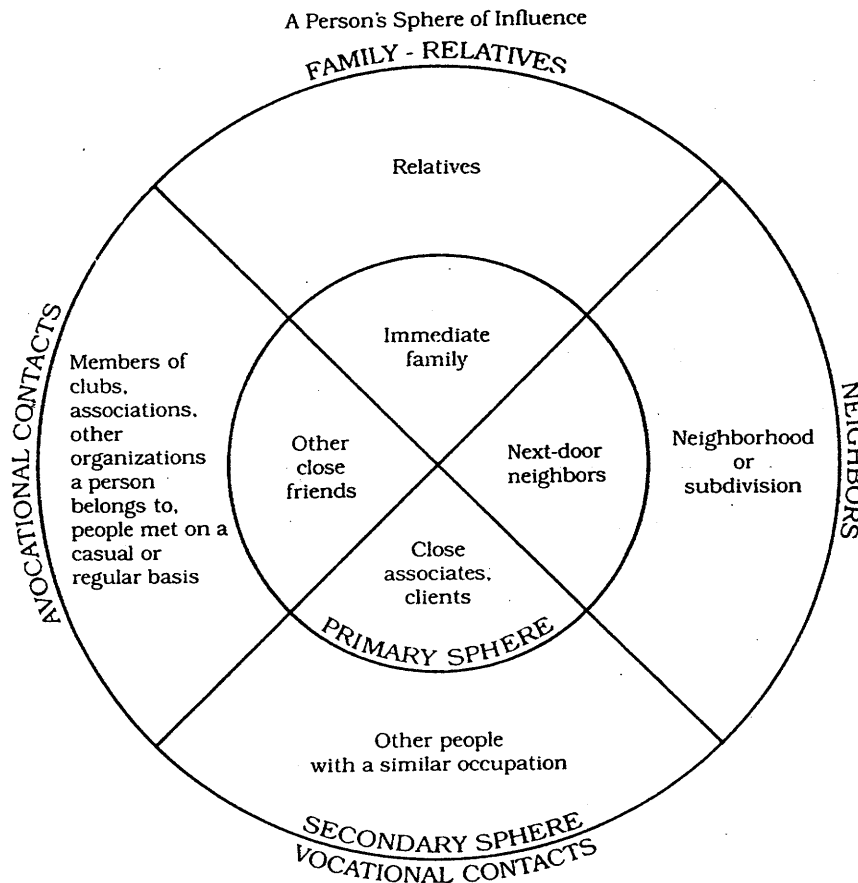
a. Characteristics of the household community

- 1) This was a community composed mostly of extended families (and some singles) of the *same biological source* who lived on the *same estate*.
- 2) A *hierarchy of authority* under the father of the key family (and his eldest son) provided order as "head of the house" (Matt. 10:25; Luke 8:3). If he had no son he would adopt one. Paul drew upon this concept of adoption for illustrative purposes (Eph. 1:5; Rom. 8:23; 9:4).
- 3) In addition to the biological family were *freedmen* and *slaves*. The first group (also called "friends" or "clients") were former slaves who had been set free but committed themselves to the master of the household in personal loyalty. Slaves in the household were not trusted as much as friends nor shared the more intimate matters of the community (cf. John 15:13-15; Matt. 24:45f.).
- 4) The binding factor among these many classes in the household community was their *common religion* (Matt. 10:25, 36; 12:25; Acts 10:2).

b. Implications of the household community for NT studies

- 1) This united religious structure enabled the *conversion of the entire households* such as those of the official whose son Jesus healed (John 4:53), Cornelius (Acts 11:14), Lydia (Acts 16:15), the Philippian jailer (Acts 16:31), Crispus—the Corinthian synagogue ruler (Acts 18:8), Aristobulus (Rom. 16:10), Narcissus (Rom. 16:11), Chloe (1 Cor. 1:11), Stephanus (1 Cor. 1:16; 16:15), and Onesiphorus (2 Tim. 1:16; 4:19). An exception would be Caesar's household (Phil. 4:22), which was obviously not all Christian!
- 2) Paul drew upon the household analogy to point out the unity of the body of Christ despite its diverse members (Eph. 2:19; 1 Tim. 3:15). Similarly, this household unity could be misled as a group (Titus 1:11).
- 3) Household structures allowed Christians to meet in a community structure (house churches) from the beginning, bringing about differing methods of meeting, worship, etc. This argues against one, specific "Christian" ecclesiastical structure.
- 4) The household community explains the NT emphasis on husband-wife, master-slave, and other relationships (Eph. 5:21—6:9; Col. 3:18—4:1).
- 5) Few churches could all meet in one place in a city (Rom. 16:23; 1 Cor. 1:11-13; 3:4f.; 1 Thess. 5:27) so the household community provided larger meeting places than would be possible in single family dwellings.
- 6) The structure shows how early Christians crossed social barriers. Each household had people of various social classes who functioned as one body. However, the socialism of Acts 2, 4 & 5 was a failed experiment (Niswonger, 189-90).
- 7) It implies that church leadership was provided by the homeowners (Philemon 1-2). This structure gave a training and testing ground to develop leaders (1 Tim. 3:12).
- 8) Household evangelism was the most common form of NT lay evangelism. "With only two exceptions (Philip and Stephen), the primary target of New Testament laymen was their οἶκος (people in their sphere of influence)" (Runyon, 65).



c. Diagram of spheres of influence in both NT and modern times (Runyon, 67):

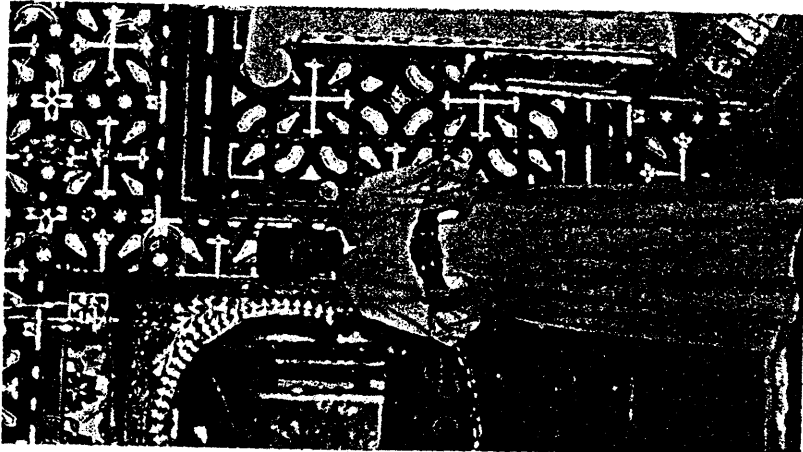
In summary, a Christian's *oikos* or personal sphere of influence includes his family, friends, and associates in his neighborhood, work, and recreational activities. This personal sphere of influence is to be a primary target of a believer's personal evangelistic outreach.

d. Applications of the household community for evangelism today (cf. Runyon, 67-71)

How can we be as effective in evangelism and discipleship as the early church?

- 1) Share a transformed life: just tell others how Jesus has changed you
- 2) Pray for those within your sphere of influence
- 3) Proclaim the Word
- 4) Use a variety of methods to reach your natural contacts:
  - a) Simple presentation for prepared people
  - b) Repeated exposures for secularized people
  - c) Share Christ especially to those in *life transitions* as they are more open
- 5) Use your home as a centre for evangelism
  - a) Individual activities: meals, attending an event together, sports and recreation, neighborhood activities
  - b) Group activities: evangelistic home Bible study, entertainment, dinners, high tea, seasonal parties (Christmas), videos, discussion groups

## "Social Conflicts and Prejudice" Coleman (1 of 4)



The Ethiopian eunuch was probably from Cush in northern Africa and was not necessarily very dark skinned (Acts 8:26ff.).

While there may have been cases of bigotry on the basis of race, there is no clear case of it in the Bible. There also is no definite example of segregation on the grounds of color. ■

**RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES** □ When Israel invaded Canaan, they had specific instructions to kill everyone because of the terrible practices of the pagan religions there (Josh. 8:24-27; 10:28; 23:6-13). During this time, war and religion were tightly intertwined. If the Israelites were to survive as a nation, they had to eliminate the pagan nations that would destroy them.

This worked for the Jews as long as they could keep themselves fairly isolated. However, the continued contact with other countries and invasion by conquering empires made attempts at purity nearly impossible. During the major captivities, Israel suffered a great amount of religious mixture. Many who were carried away to Assyria and Babylon intermarried and did not return, adopting the religions of their new lands. Likewise, many who were not carried off intermarried with those who came to Israel and inhabited it (their offspring are known as the Samaritans). Consequently, by the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and the return to the land (459 B.C.), religious and physical purity were hot issues. Ezra tore his tunic in despair over the large number of intermarriages (Ezra 9:1-3). These strong feelings against interreligious marriage were to create hardship and even bloodshed for many centuries. Even today it is an uncomfortable subject for many.

It is important to appreciate these deep-rooted feelings in order to understand the resentments that came later. Some groups, such

## SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND PREJUDICES

When Jesus lived in Israel, He was surrounded by bigotry and was himself slandered by others. Often when a Jew in Bible times heard the word Gentile, an ugly feeling stirred inside him. The word Samaritan also could make a Judean's blood boil. Similarly, when Caiaphas heard the name Jesus, his heart probably raced from the adrenaline of hate.

It is important to try and comprehend the prejudices that controlled people's emotions. A person's prejudices indicate how he feels, what are his impulses, what he might do if free to do it. It is impossible to know fully the feelings of someone in Bible times, but we can attempt to understand what thoughts went through his mind.

The prophet Jonah is a prime example of a man operating on the basis of his bigotry. Called by God to preach repentance to Nineveh, the prophet refused because he hated to see God's grace extended to his bitter enemies (Jon. 4:1-3).

**EXCLUSIVISM** □ Many Jews felt they were not only God's chosen people but also His only people. Naturally this led to feelings of undue pride and superiority, rather than humility and gratitude. Some Jews became insufferable because of this. Not all Jews developed such attitudes. Some realized that God was also working among others and that often His blessing spilled over into other nations. They remembered that God had promised to bless all nations through Abraham (Gen. 12:2, 3). The ageless problem has been that a concern for godliness too frequently results in spiritual pride rather than humility. ■

**RACISM** □ There is amazingly little said in the Bible about color or racial distinctions. Even less mention is given to questions of prejudice based on skin color. There is hardly any reference to the subject. We therefore cannot be certain how light or dark an Israelite's complexion might have been. It is generally assumed to be a medium color.

A few people in the Bible seem to have had a dark complexion but most cases would be difficult to prove (e.g., Song of Sol. 1:5, 6). One of the clearest references to black skin is found in the description of a Christian at Antioch (Acts 13:1). Simeon is called Niger, which is Latin for black. It may be that he was from Africa.



as Samaritans, and Gentiles in general, were never completely acceptable to Jews because of this. Jesus and the apostles fought these feelings. However, many Jews and early Christians were operating with these historic emotions and found prejudice difficult to eliminate. ■

**TERRITORIES** □ *Samaritans*. The Jews had maintained a high degree of purity, but were surrounded by a cosmopolitan mix. Jesus was born into this world where Jews were often intolerant of that mixture. Consequently, He began to minister in the midst of icy cold prejudices, constantly addressing those prejudices in word and action.

One of the most serious tensions existed inside Israel's borders. Directly to the north of Judea were the much hated people of Samaria. Samaritans were the objects of prejudices held by Jews from centuries past. It was generally believed that Samaritans were descended from the people brought into Israel by the king of Assyria. They intermarried with Israelites and set up idols in the Jewish places of worship (2 Kings 17:24-29). Years later the Samaritans opposed Ezra when he tried to reestablish and rebuild the nation (Ezra 4).

When Jesus began His ministry, the relationship between the Jews and the Samaritans had continued in open hostility. Jews traveling through Samaria were frequently attacked. A hundred years before Christ, the Jews destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. During the night a group of Samaritans strewed human bones over the porch of the Jerusalem temple. Soon after Christ's ascension, raids were conducted on Samaritan villages in retaliation for the murder of a Jewish traveler.

We need to appreciate the heated emotions involved when the Jews called Jesus Christ a Samaritan and demon-possessed (John 8:48). They were insulting Him as severely as they knew how.

Christ's disciples were willing to perpetuate the old prejudices. Their solution to Samaritan hostility was for God to pour fire on their enemies (Luke 9:52-54). Jesus, on the other hand, risked His reputation by associating with Samaritans (John 4:7) and telling a story in which a Samaritan was the hero and the Jews the villains (Luke 10:30-37).

Christ directly addressed the question of prejudice during His lifetime. By association, by word and by action Jesus placed a hated people in a good light, even though His contemporaries were bound to be angered.

*Greeks and Romans*. Of even greater magnitude was the Jews' resentment toward Gentiles in general. There was usually a mutual feeling of distrust. Many Greeks and Romans cared little for this small nation of people with an eccentric, monotheistic religion, whose value system was at considerable odds with most pagan practices. However, Judaism's morality attracted many sensitive,

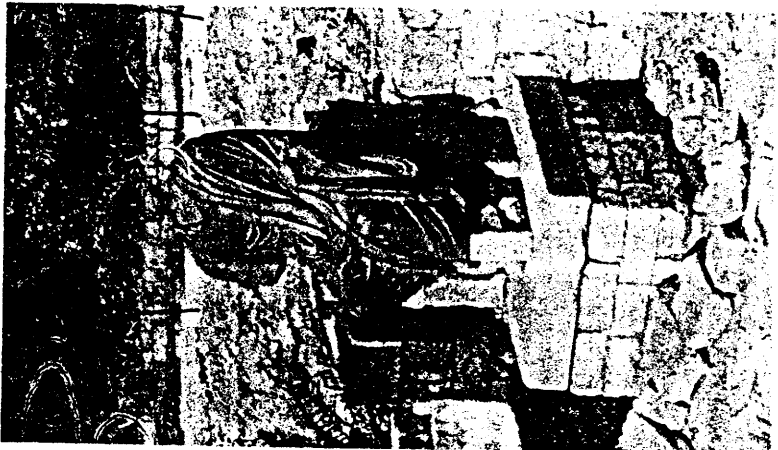
upright Gentiles, and especially Romans who longed for a return to the virtues upon which Rome was founded.

Jewish feelings had been intensified by the centuries of Greek and Roman military occupation. Not only had the Jews been denied their freedom as a nation, but their religious practices had often been denounced and insulted. Men such as Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) slaughtered Jews, sold others into slavery, stole from the temple, and sacrificed pigs on the altar. Pontius Pilate serves as another example of a leader who offended the Jews; as Roman procurator of Judea, Pilate angered the Jews by using standards with images, an affront to most Jews, and reportedly used temple money to build an aqueduct. The result was an uprising of tens of thousands of Jews. Pilate retaliated and killed many demonstrators. "Greek" and "Roman" were unpleasant sounds in the ears of most Jews.

Strangely enough, this animosity did not prevent the Pharisees from attempting to convert the Gentiles (Matt. 23:15). However, this very act of evangelism caused strain. Some Jews were reluctant to accept these new believers as full Jews, or to accept Gentiles who had married Jews (and the resulting offspring).

The latent and often visible Jewish disdain for Gentiles surfaced in the early days of the church; a large number of Christians had carried ugly emotional baggage into their new faith. One of the first serious divisions in the church was over the question of nationality and prejudice. The Greek Jews complained that their widows were not receiving their fair share of the distributions (Acts 6:1). Their accusation was against the "full" Jews.

The problem never completely disappeared during the time of the New Testament. There was frequent debate over whether a Gentile had to become a Jew in order to become a Christian (Acts



This Roman statue stands near a road unearthed in Caesarea in 1954. The statue dates from the second and third century and is of white marble and reddish porphyry. TW

15; Gal. 6:12-16). Jews found it hard to accept Gentiles as equals. Frequently, it was just as difficult for Gentiles to believe that Jews were their equals. Some modern commentators argue that the book of Romans was written to correct Gentiles who felt that Jews, because of their rejection of Christ, had no place in the kingdom of God.

**Galileans.** Jesus grew up in Galilee, an area known for its feisty independence. The people there were different than their traditional cousins south in Judea. Their interpretations of Jewish law and practice marked them as only slightly better than apostates.

Out of Galilee came some of the most tenacious resistance to Roman occupation, and Pilate even killed some as they worshiped (Luke 13:1). The Zealots were founded by a Galilean, Judas, who repeatedly revolted against foreign presence (Acts 5:37). He eventually was killed and his followers dispersed. Pilate had frequent clashes with this underground movement.

Jesus selected at least one Zealot (Simon) as one of His disciples, and he remained faithful to Christ even after the resurrection (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13).

Not only were Galileans distasteful to the Romans, but the Jerusalem Jews found them extremely repugnant. Galileans were strong willed and determined to worship God as they understood the Scriptures. This may help explain Christ's immediate dislike for the Pharisees. The Galileans battled these moral policemen on practically every detail. They fought over the use of olive oil, dietary habits and over the celebration of festivals. Some Galileans considered their hate for the Pharisees practically a birthright.

Not only were the Galileans' activities considered repugnant but also their personal habits. They were popularly viewed as ignorant, uncultured, earthy and crude. Once prejudice reigns, it seems that its victims can do little that is commendable. These feelings were only intensified by the difference in accent (Mark 14:70). Jesus most likely spoke not only Aramaic but the distinctive brogue of Galilean Aramaic.

These differences are important when we consider Christ and His disciples. Some of the hate they received was based, not on religious or practical considerations, but on the basis of their regional origin. Jesus, Peter, James and others were the victims of whatever prejudices were directed toward Galileans during this time.

Early Christianity was so closely tied to Galilee that it was sometimes called a Galilean religion. Julian demanded that Christ be called the "Galilean God." Indeed, the angel which addressed the disciples at Christ's ascension called them "men of Galilee" (Acts 1:11).

**NAZARETH** □ When Philip told Nathanael that Jesus was from Nazareth, Nathanael scoffed, doubting that anything good could come from there (John 1:46). In all likelihood Nathanael was not

voicing a widely held prejudice against people from that town, but reflecting a prejudice against small towns. He did not expect a person of the Messiah's magnitude to come from a remote village which was not a theological or philosophical center. ■

**RICH AND POOR** □ As in other societies, there was a strong feeling of division between the wealthy and the poor. The poor often spoke harshly of those who had money, and at the same time treated the prosperous with special care. Both attitudes speak to a sense of inequality. Wealth was a status symbol and often people held respectable positions in the community solely on that basis. Christianity addressed these feelings and tried to correct them.

Jesus spoke often against showing deference to the wealthy. He said their money was not an advantage and could even prove to be a curse. Therefore we need not envy or hate the rich, for few of the wealthy would be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to enter the kingdom of God (Matt. 19:23). Indeed, those who followed Christ had to be willing to sell everything (Matt. 19:21).

Jesus did not see wealth as a sign of God's blessing. Quite the contrary, He seems to have at least a skeptical attitude toward riches. Primarily He discusses the subject in terms of warnings and suspicions rather than praise.

Despite Jesus' refusal to be impressed with wealth, several people of means became His followers. It appears that Joseph of Arimathea and probably Nicodemus were men of means, and the women who contributed to Jesus' ministry possibly had greater finances than the average. Zacchaeus appears to have accumulated a substantial fortune. It may be that some of the wealthy were attracted to Jesus because he relieved them of the burden of possessing money. He was willing to deal with them outside the realm of prejudice for or against their wealth.

The apostle James gave clear warning against showing prejudice for the wealthy (James 2:1-7). His attitude toward the rich was based on his assertion that the wealthy exploited the poor and worsened their condition. ■

**ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN** □ Throughout Israel's history, a child born out of wedlock received cold, even hostile treatment. The term "bastard," which is used in the KJV and other versions, could refer to one whose parents were not married to each other or to the offspring of a union with a foreigner. A child of a foreign marriage or illegitimate union was forbidden entrance into the assembly (Deut. 23:2). However, some feel the original intent of the passage may have been to exclude the children born of encounters with Philistine prostitutes. Whatever the purpose, extreme bigotry was shown against many hapless children.

Later rabbis created rules to govern such children's lives. Some forbade them from marrying except to proselytes, freed slaves or Jews with severe deformities. Bastards could not hold offices except

under limited conditions. Some people felt that bastards had no part in redemption.

It is out of this context that the term bastard received such an ugly connotation and left lifelong scars on a child. The word carried such coarseness that anyone inaccurately calling someone a bastard could be beaten with 39 stripes. ■

**WOMEN** □ In a patriarchal society, it was easy to discriminate against women. Women could therefore fall into a position of inferiority and some men were eager to put them there.

We have discussed this problem in chapter seven. These attitudes prevailed over the centuries of Jewish history. Generally women were discouraged from seeking much education, attempting a career or venturing into business. However, some made successful ventures into the world of men. ■

**OCCUPATIONS** □ Frequently a person was considered inferior purely on the basis of his job. The types of such jobs and the degree with which they were disliked changed with the times.

Some of the hated professions may not surprise us. Dung-collectors, tanners, animal drivers and usurers were social outcasts. Tax collectors were despised and butchers were sometimes considered on the fringe of proper society. Pigeon trainers, herdsman, weavers, and goldsmiths appear on lists compiled by Jeremias. One such list includes doctors as a despised vocation. ■

**JEWISH PROSELYTES** □ When a Gentile converted to Judaism, the results were not always ideal. Many Jews, highly suspicious of proselytes, added burdensome religious luggage on the unsuspecting newcomers. Christ's accusation that Pharisees made life difficult for converts is far from hyperbole (Matt. 23:4, 15).

Some converts were rejected by Jewish leaders as unacceptable because of their background or the means of their conversion. They were considered genetically blemished (Deut. 23:2, 3) and hence unqualified for religious leadership. Proselytes were counted by some Jews as bastards. It was falsely assumed that all heathen women engaged as prostitutes; therefore no Gentile child could be sure who his father was. Consequently he was to be treated as fatherless.

In theory the convert was to be welcomed into the faith as if he were being born for the first time. In actuality his past was frequently held against him. This is not to say that all converts were made to feel uncomfortable. However, it is to suggest that many proselytes did not understand the full implications of becoming a Jew, including having to face the anti-Gentile attitude that existed. ■

**JEWIS** □ The Israelites were not strangers to prejudice. They had broad experience both as victims and perpetrators of bigotry. There

is no single reason why so many nations and individuals have hated the Jews. Some have despised them even though they have never met a Jew. Such is the nature of prejudice. Others used the Jews as scapegoats for their ills much as the Nazis did in our century.

Two Jewish characteristics have often brought them trouble, as they did in the time of Jesus. First was their blunt rejection of paganism and the culture that accompanied it. Daniel was a prime example of a Jew persecuted for refusal to compromise. Second, they were despised because they were not understood. It is the problem of being different. Since people did not know what they were like, they hated them.

Haman typified the insane rage that has been poured out against Israel (Esther 3-5). He wanted to execute all Jews because one of them refused to bow to him. ■

**CHRISTIANS** □ Christianity was born out of prejudice and hate. Jesus was persecuted and "legally" murdered as was John the Baptist before Him. They were despised because what they did and taught antagonized the Jewish establishment.

The apostle Paul experienced wearing both suits of prejudice. He first hounded Christians because of their faith (Acts 8:1-3), and later became the prime target of many Jewish leaders because of his new faith.

Tradition indicates many of the early church leaders were martyred. Stephen, James, Peter and Paul were each believed to have been killed for their faith and John was exiled to Patmos. He may have been the only one of the original twelve to die a natural death.

At first Christianity was considered a sect of Judaism, and because of the size of the movement and its peculiarities, it was open game to hatemongers. Christians were vulnerable because of the same general difficulties the Jews faced: their refutation of paganism and distorted knowledge about their beliefs. One early rumor charged that Christians ate flesh and drank blood during communion.

The Romans soon set out to destroy the Christian Church in several famous persecutions. Under Nero, the Flavian rulers, Trajan and Diocletian, the church was attacked for over 50 years, costing many lives. ■

C. Ethnic Groups

1. These ethnic groups, in their most basic sense, fell into two groups: Jews and Gentiles.
2. In your small groups explore what you think would be some of the differences between how these two groups viewed each other, how they varied in perspectives, what their religious, cultural, political, monetary, and other values were, etc.

These verses may help to start you thinking: Acts 10 (Cornelius and diet differences); Rom. 14:1-5; 1 Cor. 8; Gal. 3:28; Eph. 2:11-22 (Jew-Gentile unity in the church).

Put your contrasts between these groups on the following chart below and think through what would have been some of the *first century* implications and some *modern* parallels. For example, what may have happened in the early church when Gentiles joined a Jewish church (or vice versa) and what happens today in ethnically mixed churches? The first few contrasts are provided as examples but you should be able to add several other areas of difference on your own as well.

<u>Areas in Difference</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Gentiles</u>	<u>Implications/Parallels</u>
Religious viewpoint before salvation	One God	Many gods	New believing Gentiles needed much more nurture than new Jewish Christians
Number of taboos (Sensitivities)	Many	Few	Believers today need to be understanding of Christians from different backgrounds

#### D. Racial Prejudice

Points 1-7 are adapted from William L. Coleman, *Today's Handbook of Bible Times and Customs*, 248-55 (copied on class notes, 101-4).

Prejudice and bigotry were commonplace:



##### 1. Gentiles hated Jews

- a. Gentiles were repulsed by Jewish bigotry, pride, and superiority that prevented Jews from viewing Gentiles as equals (p. 254).
- b. The “Gentile tradition” inherited from other Gentiles was to despise Jews (p. 255).
- c. Even Gentiles who converted to Judaism did not receive equal treatment (p. 251).
- d. Jews rejected polytheism which characterized the Gentile religions (p. 250).
- e. Gentiles did not understand the Jewish ways or moral value system (p. 250).
- f. Gentiles resented the nationalistic spirit of Jews who had sometimes revolted against Roman rule (p. 252; cf. Judas the Galilean in Acts 5:37).
- g. Gentiles did not appreciate the narrow, exclusive traditions of Jews.
- h. Haman typifies the anti-Semitism of all ages (Esther 3:5).

##### 2. Jews hated Gentiles

- a. Gentiles were polytheistic (p. 250).
- b. Gentile rulers were the occupying powers (e.g., Romans) who had repeatedly offended Jewish sensitivities—especially through military force (p. 251).
- c. In OT times Jews had wiped out many Gentile peoples (p. 249).
- d. “Many Jews felt that they were not only God’s *chosen* people but God’s *only* people” (p. 248).
- e. Gentiles hated them and the feeling was reciprocated (p. 250).
- f. Gentiles ate food prohibited by the OT law (cf. Acts 10:9f.).
- g. Jewish law prohibited Jews from associating or visiting a Gentile (Acts 10:28).
- h. Gentiles freely intermarried without concern for purity of race (a high Jewish priority).

##### 3. Judean Jews hated Galilean Jews (p. 252)

- a. Judean Jews saw Galileans as independent and strong-willed (e.g., Zealots).
- b. Judean Jews despised the different accent of Galileans (Matt. 26:73).
- c. Judean Jews considered Galilean habits as ignorant, uncultured, earthly, and rude.
- d. Jesus and his Galilean disciples may have been discriminated against for their regional affiliation as much as for their message. These Galilean disciples (Acts 1:11) included both a Zealot (Luke 6:15) and a tax man (Matt. 9:9-10). Jesus was even from Nazareth, “the worst of the worst” (John 1:46) place in Galilee as it housed the Roman garrison.

#### 4. Galilean Jews hated Judean Jews.

- a. Galileans fought against long-held Judean traditions (e.g., on the use of olive oil, dietary habits, and celebration of festivals).
- b. Galileans despised Pharisees, who had the favor of the Judean Jews.
- c. Galileans resented the collaboration of the Herodians (in Jerusalem) with the Romans.
- d. God sovereignly had Christ mostly minister in the north (Galilee) but the church begin in the south (Jerusalem). These two areas clashed when Hebrew-speaking widows were favored over Hellenistic ones, causing the Galileans to complain (Acts 6:1).

#### 5. Jews hated Samaritans

- a. Samaritans had come about through intermarriage of Israelites and pagans (2 Kings 17:24) contrary to OT law (Exod. 34:16; Ezra 9; Neh. 10).
- b. Samaritans had opposed the rebuilding of the Jewish nation under Ezra (Ezra 4).
- c. Samaritans had set up idols in the Jewish places of worship following the fall of Samaria (2 Kings 17:29-41).
- d. Samaritans often attacked Jews traveling in Samaria (but see Jesus' action in John 4:4).
- e. When some Jews destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim (ca. 100 BC), Samaritans retaliated by strewing human bones over the porch of the Jerusalem temple.
- f. Pharisees called Christ a "Samaritan and demon-possessed man" (John 8:48).

#### 6. Does God allow intermarriage of Jews or Christians with those of different races (p. 249)? Why or why not?

- a. It is allowed. Moses married a Cushite (probably a black woman). His sister Miriam and brother Aaron disapproved, but God judged their racial prejudice (cf. Num. 12).
- b. What Scripture prohibits is not *interracial* marriages but marriages with those of other *religions* (cf. Ezra 9; Neh. 10; cf. 2 Cor. 6:14). Ethnically, in the church there exists no difference between Jew and Gentile (Gal. 3:28). By implication, it would seem that distinctions between *types* of Jews or *types* of Gentiles also are of no account.

#### 7. Jesus did not follow the prejudices of the times.

- a. He used Samaritans as examples of piety (cf. Luke 10:30-37; p. 250).
- b. He traveled through Samaria rather than go around the region, thus risking his reputation and life by associating with them (John 4:4-9; p. 250).
- c. He spoke to a Samaritan woman (John 4).
- d. He accepted Gentiles and praised their faith (Luke 7:9).
- e. He wouldn't let James & John call down fire on unbelieving Samaritans (Luke 9:52-54).
- f. He selected Simon the Zealot as one of His disciples (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13; p. 252).
- g. He selected Matthew the tax collector as one of His disciples (Luke 6:15).
- h. He ate with tax collectors and prostitutes (Luke 15:1-2).
- i. He did not show favoritism towards the rich (Matt. 19:21, 23; p. 253).

- c. The Church at Rome had several Jew-Gentile conflicts which Paul addressed: God's choice of Israel and Gentiles (Rom. 9-11), matters of diet (Rom. 14:1-4, 6, 14-16), celebration of special days (Rom. 14:5), etc.

"The Jew-versus-Gentile issue looms large in this letter. Paul did not take sides, but he carefully set forth both sides of the question. On the one hand he emphasized the historical and chronological priority of the Jews—'first for the Jew, then for the Gentile' (Rom. 1:16; cf. 2:9-10). He also stressed the 'advantage . . . in being a Jew' (3:1-2; 9:4-5). On the other hand he pointed out that 'since there is only one God' (3:30), He is the God of the Gentiles as well as the God of the Jews (3:29). As a result 'Jews and Gentiles alike are all under sin' (3:9) and alike are saved by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ..." (John Witmer, *BKC*, 2:437).

For a full analysis of the Jew-Gentile conflicts in the church at Rome, see this journal article: Walter B. Russell III, "An Alternative Suggestion for the Purpose of Romans," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 145 (April-June 1988): 174-84.

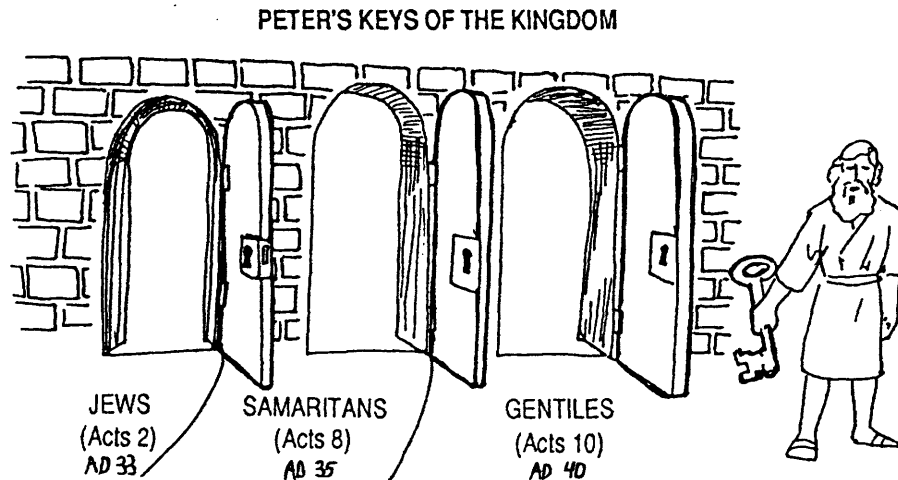
- d. The Church at Colosse was composed of Gentile believers with another problem: a key leader of the church named Philemon was a slave owner whose runaway slave named Onesimus had been won to Christ through Paul (cf. Letter to Philemon).
9. How is the church in Singapore (and *you* specifically) doing in this area of racial prejudice? Some thought questions:
- a. Do you treat Filipina, Thai, Indonesian, Sri Lankan, Burmese, and other maids with the same dignity as you treat Christians of your own social standing and race?
  - b. Should the various churches be ethnically mixed or separate as is the present case?
  - c. How evangelistic is the predominantly middle to upper class Singaporean church to groups which are lower in class structure and not English speaking? What should be done about it? (Note that 40% of Singaporean professionals claim to be Christians but only 4% of Mandarin-speaking factory workers are believers.)
  - d. When was the last time you ate a meal with a non-Chinese? or even someone who is Chinese, but a non-Christian?



8. Despite Jesus's positive example, the early church struggled with the issue of prejudice.

a. The Church at Jerusalem was composed almost entirely of racially biased Jews.

- 1) Peter was a church leader (Acts 2–6) but still characterized by the traditional Jewish exclusiveness (Acts 10:9-15, AD 40).
- 2) Nevertheless, God chose Peter to be given the “keys” (authority, opportunity; cf. Matt. 16:18-19) to introduce the gospel to all three major groups of new believers (*World Mission I*, Wm. Carey Library):



- 3) After Gentiles came to Christ, the Jerusalem Church was suspicious and sent Peter and John, but the Spirit came on these Gentiles so that Peter had to defend his actions (Acts 11:1-18, AD 41). That God would accept Gentiles amazed these Jewish Christians but they finally accepted it (v. 18)!
- 4) However, eight years later the first Gentile church at Antioch was established. Here Paul still had to publicly rebuke Peter for his prejudice (Gal. 2:11-16, AD 49).
- 5) Worse than this, the issue of whether Gentile converts needed to “become Jews” (i.e., be circumcised) was hotly debated at the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15, AD 49). Once again, orthodoxy and fairness prevailed (vv. 23-29).
- 6) In addition to racial prejudice, the Jerusalem church also favored the rich with special attention and places to sit (James 2:1-13).
- 7) To balance the picture, when the Jerusalem Church had its first prejudice problems (AD 34-35), it wisely selected Greek speaking Jews to handle the matter (Acts 6:1-7). Notice that all the names in verse 6 are Greek.

b. The Church at Antioch was composed mostly of non-prejudiced Gentile believers.

- 1) It readily accepted Barnabas, a Jew (Acts 11:19-24), and these believers even welcomed the former persecutor of the church called Paul (Acts 11:25). This stands in stark contrast to Paul's rejection by the Jerusalem church (Acts 9:26f.). How odd—Paul the Jew was rejected by the Jews but accepted by the Gentiles!
- 2) Not surprisingly the Antioch Christians were the first to show a missionary concern which reached both Jews and Gentiles outside of their locale (Acts 13). Notice the multi-racial mix of their prophets and teachers (v. 1)!



# Length and Distance

MEASURE	SYSTEM EQUIVALENT	METRIC	U.S. EQUIVALENT	KJV	NIV	NASB	SCRIPTURE EXAMPLE
PĒCHYS	(forearm)	c. .45m	18 in (Hellenistic measurement)	200 cubits	100 yards	100 yards	John 21:8
			21.6 in (Jewish)	one cubit  cubits	single hour  cubits	cubit  yards	Matt. 6:27  Rev. 21:17
ORGYIA	4 pēchys (arms out- stretched horizontally)	c. 1.8m	c. 6 ft	20 fathoms	120 ft	20 fathoms	Acts 27:28
STADION	100 orgyiai (length of ancient Greek race course)	c. 190m	c. 600 ft	midst of the sea	consider- able distance	many stadia	Matt. 14:24
				three score furlongs	7 miles	7 miles	Luke 24:13
				race	race	race	1 Cor. 9:24
				12,000 furlongs	12,000 stadia	1500 miles	Rev. 21:16
MILION	8 stadia. Roman mile (Roman mille passuum, "thousand paces"-5 Roman ft to the pace)	c. 1500m	c. 4800 ft	mile	mile	mile	Matt. 5:41
	Jewish 1/2 of parasang, Persian measure or 7 1/2 stadia	1.38km	4500 ft				
KALAMOS	measuring rod 6 long cubits	c. 3m	c. 10 ft	rod	measuring rod	measuring rod	Rev. 11:1
				reed	measuring rod	measuring rod	Rev. 21:15
Sabbath day's journey (based on rabbinical exegesis of Ex. 16:29 and Josh. 3:4)	c. 2000 cubits (Josephus said it was 6 stadia)  (little over half a mile)	c. 900m	c. 3000 ft	sabbath day's journey	sabbath day's walk	sabbath day's journey	Acts 1:12

Taken from Chronological and Background Charts of the New Testament by H. Wayne House, Zondervan, 1981.

# Liquid and Dry Measures

MEASURE	SYSTEM EQUIVALENT	METRIC	U.S. EQUIVALENT	KJV	NIV	NASB	SCRIPTURE EXAMPLE
<b>XESTĒS</b> (Probably a corruption of Latin <u>sextarius</u> )	$\frac{1}{16}$ of a <u>modius</u>			pots	pitchers	pitchers	Mark 7:4
Dry		c. .55 lit	c. 1 pt				
Liquid		c. .55 lit	c. 1 pt				
<b>CHOINIX</b>							
Dry	2 <u>sextarii</u>	c. 1.1 lit	c. 1 qt	measure	quart	quart	Rev. 6:6
<b>MODIOS</b> (Latin <u>modius</u> )	16 <u>sextarii</u> 8 <u>choinikes</u>	c. 8.8 lit	c. $\frac{1}{4}$ bu	bushel	bowl	peck-measure	Matt. 5:15
Dry			c. 1 pk				
<b>SATON</b> (Hebrew <u>seah</u> ).							
Dry	$1\frac{1}{2}$ <u>modii</u> according to Josephus	c. 13.2 lit	c. 12 qts c. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pks	measures	large amount	pecks	Matt. 13:33
<b>BATOS</b> (Hebrew <u>bath</u> )							
Liquid	72 <u>sextarii</u> $4\frac{1}{2}$ <u>modii</u> according to Josephus	c. 39.6 lit	c. 9 gal c. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gal	measures	gallons	measures	Luke 16:6
<b>METRĒTĒS</b>							
Liquid	c. equal to <u>batos</u> or Hebrew <u>bath</u>	c. 39.6 lit	c. 9 gal	firkins	gallons	gallons	John 2:6
<b>KOROS</b> (Hebrew <u>kor</u> , also known as <u>homer</u> )				measures	bushels	measures	Luke 16:7
Dry	c. 10 <u>metretai</u>	c. 396 lit	10-12 bu				
Liquid	c. 10 <u>metretai</u>	352-422 lit	90-112 gal				

## Weights<sup>1</sup>

MEASURE	SYSTEM EQUIVALENT	METRIC	U.S. EQUIVALENT	KJV	NIV	NASB	SCRIPTURE EXAMPLE
<u>litra</u> (Roman <u>libra</u> , 1 lb = 12 oz troy)		c. .373kg	c. 12 oz	pound	pounds	pounds	John 19:39
<u>talanton</u> <sup>2</sup>	c. 125 Roman <u>librae</u>	c. 34kg	c. 75 lbs	talent	100 pounds	100 pounds	Rev. 16:21

<sup>1</sup> Weights are avoirdupois rather than troy.

H. Wayne House

<sup>2</sup> Words referring to sums of money were also used in referring to weight.

# Money



COINAGE	SYSTEM EQUIVALENT	U.S. EQUIVALENT <sup>1</sup>	KJV	NIV	NASB	SCRIPTURE EXAMPLE
Greek: drachma ( <u>drachmē</u> )	day's wage	\$.16	pieces of silver	silver coins	silver coins	Luke 15:8
two drachmas ( <u>didrachmon</u> )	2 days' wages	\$.32	tribute	two drachmas	two drachmas	Matt. 17:24
four drachmas ( <u>statēr</u> )	4 days' wages	\$.64	piece of money	four drachmas	stater	Matt. 17:27
Roman: denarius ( <u>dēnariion</u> )	day's wage	\$.20	pence  penny	denarius  silver coins day's wage	denarii  denarii denarius	Matt. 18:28  Luke 10:35  Rev. 6:6
<u>assarion</u>	$\frac{1}{16}$ of a denarius or of a drachma	c. \$.01	farthing	penny	cent	Matt. 10:29
<u>kodrantes</u> ( <u>quadrans</u> ) <small>LATIN</small>	$\frac{1}{64}$ of a denarius or of a drachma	c. $\frac{1}{4}$ of \$.01	farthing	penny	cent	Matt. 5:26
<u>lepton</u> (Jewish?)	$\frac{1}{128}$ of a denarius or of a drachma	$\frac{1}{8}$ of \$.01	mite	very small copper coins	small copper coins	Mark 12:42
<u>argyriion</u> (silver)	day's wage shekel, 4 drachmas or Attic silver, 1 drachma	\$.16	pieces of silver	penny  silver coins  drachma	cent  pieces of silver  pieces of silver	Luke 12:59  Matt. 26:15  Acts 19:19
<u>chrysos</u> (gold)	aureus (Roman coin) 25 denarii	\$5.00	gold	gold	gold	Matt. 10:9
<u>talanton</u>	240 aurei (value of one silver talent)	\$1200.00 <sup>2</sup>	talents	talents	talents	Matt. 18:24
mina ( <u>mina</u> )	$\frac{1}{60}$ of a talent	\$20.00 <sup>2</sup>	pounds	minas	minas	Luke 19:13-25

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<sup>1</sup> Since inflation continually changes the equivalent of U.S. value, the current rate of exchange with the first century has been used rather than (let's say) the current minimum wage, e.g., 1981,  $\$3.35 \times 8 = \$26.80$ . For the current earning power equivalent, one need only use a computation as given before in view of minimum wage in force.

<sup>2</sup> Talent and mina also refer to weight. When monetary amount is intended, the value depends on whether the coins are silver or gold. Chrysos is the Greek word for gold, not for a specific coin; but in Matthew 10:9 it probably refers to money, either to the Roman aureus mentioned above, or to the half aureus, which Rome also circulated.

## Testimony of Onesimus

Thomas L. Constable (1 of 3)

- Setting: Onesimus, dressed as a first century slave with a scroll in hand, enters the room in view of the audience.
- Teacher: Can I help you?
- Onesimus: Yes. I seem to have lost my way. I was walking along the main highway from Rome to Colosse with my friend Tychicus when we met this traveling magician. We got to talking and he told us he had this new trick he had been wanting to try out. He said he could transport us directly, instantaneously, to our destination and he asked if we would be willing to let him try it out. We said, "Sure." So he stretched out his arms like this, said some strange rhyming words, and the next thing I knew I was standing outside this building. Obviously there are a few bugs he still has to work out.
- Teacher: You wouldn't happen to know a man named Paul, would you?
- Onesimus: Yes, I do.
- Teacher: How about someone named Philemon?
- Onesimus? The one that lives in Colosse?
- Teacher: Yes.
- Onesimus: I used to be his slave! In fact, Tychicus and I were on our way back to see him when that magician fouled us up. This scroll is a letter from Paul to him. I'm delivering it for Paul. Do you have any idea how I could get back where I came from, and what happened to Tychicus?
- Teacher: No, I don't. But as long as you are here, would you tell us about yourself? We have all read about you.
- Onesimus: (With great amazement:) You have?! How did you do that?
- Teacher: Well, maybe I'll tell you about that later. But for now, tell us about your background and what it was like, or is like, to live where you come from.
- Onesimus: It's entirely different than this. (Looking around) I can't believe this. This is wild!
- Well, I come from a poor Phrygian family. Our whole family was split up and we were all sold as slaves when I was very young. My father couldn't pay his taxes. We were put on the block and I was sold to Philemon.
- I can still remember that day. I thought I was going to die! I mean, really die! You see, Philemon was known all over our

## Testimony of Onesimus (Thomas L. Constable) 2 of 3

2

area as a very severe man. When he bought me I thought I was a goner. And for about a dozen years I wished I was dead. Every day was horrible. He shouted at me constantly. He was never satisfied with my work, and I lived in constant fear of the man. I thought about running away many times, everyday. But the thought of being crucified if I were caught was enough to keep me from trying that.

Then something amazing happened. A group of Christians came through our area. They began preaching their gospel in several of the neighboring towns, first at the Jewish synagogues, then in the marketplaces. Well, my master Philemon, who was visiting one of our neighboring towns, heard Paul, who was the leader of the group, preaching, and he got converted.

You wouldn't believe the change that came over him after that! Instead of being hateful and unhappy, he became more gentle and pleasant. Everybody in town noticed the difference.

Well, as time went by, Philemon kept getting nicer and nicer. He even opened his home for the Christians to meet in. They are very unusual people. They were even interested in me!

It didn't take me long to discover that I could get away with quite a bit with Philemon. He gave me a lot of liberties. He often sent me to the market with a bag of money to buy food. I usually kept some of the money and told him the food cost more than it really did.

I got to thinking, "I'll bet if I ran away, Philemon wouldn't crucify me." Then one day when I was down at the wool market I heard two merchants talking about Rome. From what they said it sounded like I could escape to Rome and probably never be discovered. There are millions of slaves in Rome.

So that's what I decided to do. Once when Philemon was out of town on business for several days I ran away. I was pretty scared until I got to Rome. You know, slaves traveling alone are viewed with a lot of suspicion. I got some strange looks.

I remember one night in Philippi I almost got caught. There's a ring of kidnapers working in Philippi. They kidnap slaves, give them drugs, and then use them to do their dirty work. I just missed getting captured by them by the skin of my teeth.

When I finally arrived in Rome I felt safe for the first time. No one would find me there; there were just too many people. But I was wrong.

One day I was stealing an orange in the market, which is how I used to eat. Before I could take two steps this huge gorilla of a soldier grabbed me by the neck. The shop owner wanted my hide, and I was sent to prison. But it was only a minor offense, so I was put in with other relatively harmless prisoners.

## Testimony of Onesimus (Thomas L. Constable) 3 of 3

It was there that I met Paul. The other prisoners used to call him Shorty. He's a strange looking character. He's short and thin, and he has a massive head with little beady eyes that flash with fire. He's kind of bowlegged, too. Paul liked to sing a lot especially at night. That really used to aggravate the guards. And he would talk to everybody, I mean everybody, about Jesus Christ.

That wasn't the first time I had heard about Jesus Christ. Philemon had told me all about Him. And frankly I was impressed, especially since Philemon gave Jesus the credit for the change in his life.

Well, Paul and I had a lot of long talks. He was especially interested in me when he learned I had belonged to Philemon. He remembered Philemon, and had kept in touch with him after Philemon became a Christian. After a while I became a Christian, too.

I was released shortly after that. But I went back to see Paul, and brought things to him in prison quite often.

Then one day he said, "Onesimus, I think you should go back to Colosse. You have an obligation to Philemon." I was afraid of that. At first I didn't want to do it. But then I realized that I really had to. Paul promised to write a letter for me to take with me. That's what this is (holding up scroll). Paul read it to me before I left Rome. I sure hope Philemon will receive me back like Paul has asked him to. He gave Tychicus, who was with me, another letter for the whole church that meets in Philemon's house.

We were just leaving Ephesus on the last leg of our journey, when we met that stupid magician. How am I going to get back there?

Teacher: I don't know, Onesimus. But maybe if you go back to the same spot outside this building something will happen if you say, "Beam me up, Scotty."

Onesimus: Well, ok. I'll try that. I sure hope everything works out all right.

Teacher: Somehow I know it will. See you again some day, brother.

Onesimus: Goodbye.

Instructions: Onesimus leaves by the same door through which he entered.

Thomas L. Constable  
February 9, 1986  
Dallas Theological Seminary

## The New Testament Religious Context

**Issue:** What is spirituality? (i.e., What makes a person godly? Is it internal or external?)

### I. Jewish Religious Life

#### A. Judaism in Israel

Judaism was not a unified, theologically homogeneous religion during NT times. There were many diverse spiritual movements and religious parties. The following religious groups stemmed mainly from the loss of Solomon’s temple for 70 years nearly six centuries previously (586-516 BC), which gave rise to different interpretations of the Torah (the OT law and prophets in its wider meaning than “law”) and to different synagogues.

1. **Samaritans** constituted the only religious group within Judaism that was considered heretical and repudiated by Jews.
  - a. They had a *mixed ancestry* through intermarriage with the surrounding nationalities.
  - b. They *withdrew from Yahweh worship* at Jerusalem in favor of a patriarchal shrine on Mt. Gerizim in Samaria (cf. John 4:20-22).
  - c. They regarded *only the Pentateuch* as authoritative Scripture.

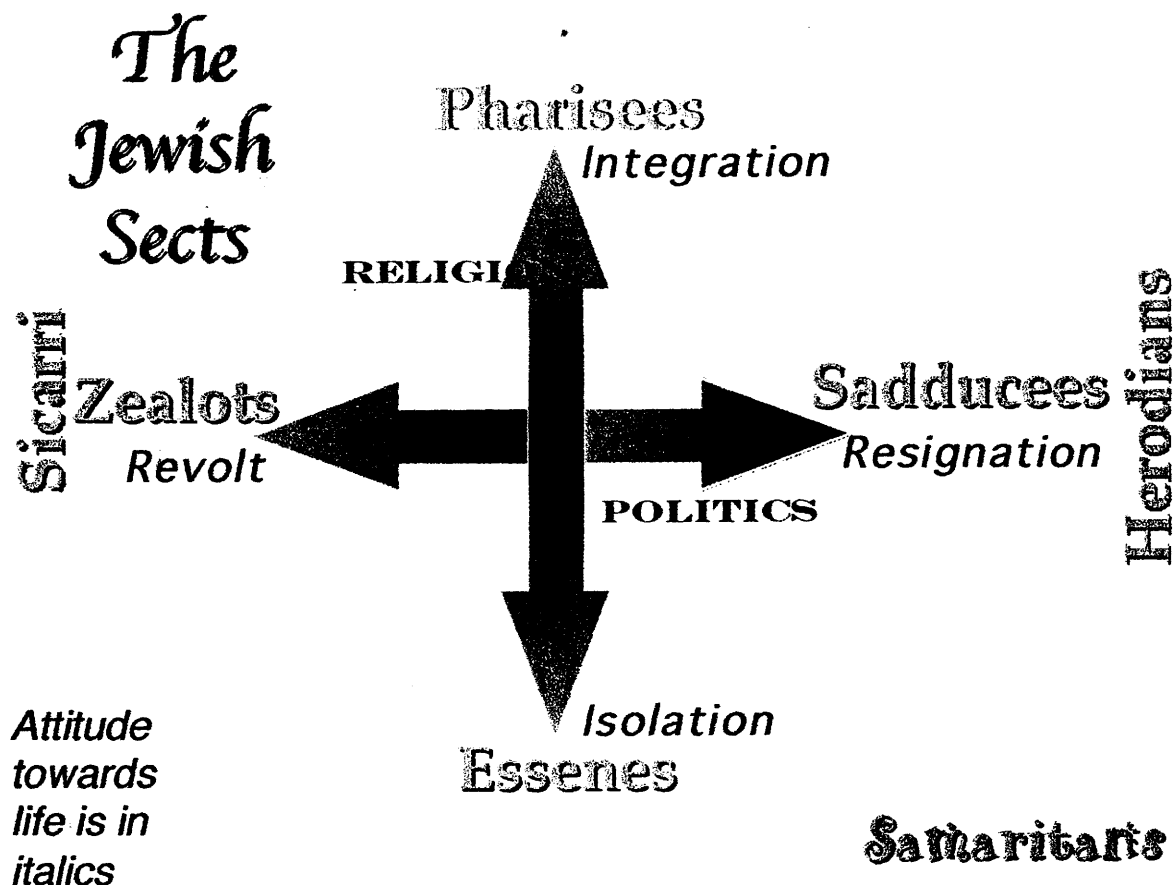
#### 2. Jewish Sects

Note: Only about 1 person in 20 was an active member of a sect.  
(For characteristics of each sect see the charts on pages 121-23.)

	<b>Key Traits</b>	<b>Christian Parallels Today</b>
<b>a. Pharisees</b> (Matt. 22–23)		
<b>b. Sadducees</b>		
<b>c. Essenes</b>		
<b>d. Zealots</b>		







**The four Jewish sects of the first century AD fell into two broad divisions: political and religious. Each lay on opposite poles of their respective spectrum.**

**Religiously, the Pharisees integrated with the common people in almost every dimension. Yet at the other end of the religious spectrum were the Essenes, who were aloof and separate.**

**The political arena also had their diametrically opposing groups. Sadducees could hardly be farther away from the political views of the radical Zealots—except for two very small political extremists [Herodians and Sicarii].**

**In contrast to the four major sects, Samaritans lay outside the mainstream. They were rejected by all of the above groups.**

## Religious and Political Groups

(Coleman 1 of 5)

The Zealot party came into prominence during the time of Christ. As a resistance movement they caused great frustration for the Roman government. Their movement was crushed in A.D. 70 when Rome invaded Jerusalem and decimated Israel. Today the Zealots are best remembered for their final stand at Masada, which ended in May, A.D. 73.

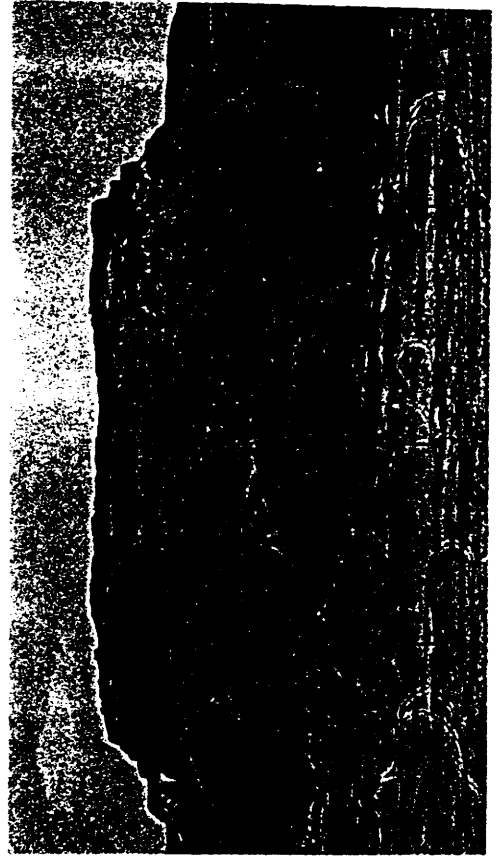
Despite their terrible losses to the Romans, pockets of Zealots were found later, still defiantly resisting foreign, Gentile influence.

The influence of two groups can be seen in the Zealots. The first is the militant and often respected Maccabean movement which had met such horrid bloodshed. The second is the Pharisees. Force was not espoused by the Pharisees; consequently, most would have rejected the Zealot's philosophy. However, the political-religious sentiments of the two groups were similar, and it is possible that a few Pharisees broke rank and became closet Zealots.

The Zealots, rather than being one official political-military organization, were most likely many little groups scattered around the country who called themselves Zealots and took up the cause in their own way.

The most famous Zealot in the New Testament is Simon, who became one of the original 12 disciples (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). It is assumed that he was a former member of the group, for he could not in good conscience belong to both simultaneously. However, it would be safe to say that the disciples did envision some form of removal of the Roman government. Several of the disciples may initially have followed Christ, because they considered a messianic

Masada, an immense brown crag about 2½ miles from the Dead Sea, means "fortress" in Hebrew and was the site where 960 Jewish patriots, under the leadership of Eleizer Ben Yair, chose to commit suicide in A.D. 73 rather than be captured by the Romans. TW



### CHAPTER 18

## RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL GROUPS

When Jesus began His ministry, many diverse, self-seeking groups were in place and none was willing to give way to His leadership. Opposed to change, they were threatened by an outsider making claims that He had a kingdom and that He had come from God.

Political and religious structures had become rigid in an effort to survive. Jews were frequently slaughtered, and those in leadership roles were prone to be exterminated first. They did not take lightly to anyone who might enter the scene and cause chaos.

Those in power served for various reasons. Some were corrupt, either seeking wealth and security, or the power and prestige that went with their office and title, or both.

Some Jewish leaders held tenaciously to their positions because they genuinely wanted what was best for the Jews and Israel. They even craved to serve God. However, their sights had become so narrow that they could not accept Jesus as the Messiah. Wanting what was good, they rejected what was best.

To the Jews, Jesus' great sin was that He was "other." If He were right, they felt He should have been one of them. How could He have been sent from God and not identify with their causes? They had paid tribally to attain their position; they would not now surrender their titles to follow someone else.

Jesus arrived without acceptable credentials. He fit into none of the pigeonholes already established. Without an established identity, He had little hope of winning over those who already "belonged." Although Jesus convinced some organizational people, most scarcely gave Him hearing.

**ZEALOTS** □ A few religious groups were deeply entrenched in their beliefs and were willing to both kill and die for them. The Zealots fit this category. Their name comes from the Hebrew words for "zeal" and "jealous." They refused to tolerate the foreign societies which polluted their religion and controlled their government. Zealots willingly risked their lives in combat to serve their God and restore their nation.

Historically the term "zealot" was used in two senses: to describe an official party or to explain the attitude of a person, whether or not he was part of the group.

movement a resistance movement. Many of them came from Galilee which was noted for its rebellious residents, whom the Roman government viewed as troublemakers (Luke 13:1).

The apostle Paul exhibited some characteristics of a Zealot; however, it does not appear he belonged to the party. Paul was a Pharisee and he was willing to kill for his Jewish faith—the persecution of the early church was passionate and ruthless (Acts 8:1-3). Although this does not demonstrate that Paul was an official member of the Zealot party, it does show he was an advocate of that spirit. Several times in describing his desire to persecute the church, Paul uses the word "zeal" (Gal. 1:13, 14; Phil. 3:5, 6).

Paul takes care to denounce unbiblical "zeal" because it is often held by people who have no true knowledge of God (Rom. 10:1-4). Those same Jews who were zealous for God tried to murder the apostle because of his Christian faith (Acts 23:12-14). ■

**ESSENES** □ The Essenes felt just as strongly as the Zealots about the adulteration of their religion. As purists they longed for the "good old days" which they imagined to be better and truer to God's laws.

Although of kindred spirit to the Zealots, they drastically disagreed concerning their methods. The Essenes believed that withdrawal and seclusion, not violent confrontation, were the best relief from an oppressive, pagan society.

This group is not directly mentioned in the Bible, but their influence may have been felt by men such as John the Baptist. We have no evidence that he lived with such a group, but his lifestyle would have lent itself to that thinking and surroundings. They had tremendous impact on the 20th-century church when the Dead Sea scrolls, produced by an Essene community, were discovered in Qumran.

One of their reasons for retreating to an austere desert life (though some lived in the city) was to escape worldly contamination and cleanse themselves. By striving for holiness they hoped to prepare a society which would welcome the Messiah, to fulfill the scriptures of Isa. 40:3-5 and thus hasten the presence of the Messiah.



Cave Number 4 at Qumran contained more of the Dead Sea Scrolls than any other cave. They were discovered in 1948 by a young Bedouin goatherder, Muhammad Adh-Dhib. TW

The concept of Messiah was important in the minds of many Jews during the first century.

The Essenes did not welcome an outsider readily. Only after observing him closely for a year did they consider accepting someone as a novice. Once a person gained membership, he was expected to sell his property and donate the proceeds to the group. He had to promise to love everyone in the community and hate those outside. If he failed the rigors of this highly regimented life, he could be banished without friends or compensation.

The group at Qumran remained intact over 200 years, from about 200 B.C. through the time of Christ. Other Essene communities existed, but the one at Qumran is the best documented. ■

**MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS** □ Jesus was not the first or last person who claimed to be God's anointed. The Jews were longing for a deliverer to restore the days of glory their ancestors had known under David and Solomon. Since then they had suffered a thousand years of division, exile, and occupation. Many were holding firmly to the promises of the Scripture and looking eagerly for the Messiah.

However, the culture was replete with a variety of theories concerning His arrival, His appearance, and His actions. Some felt that they had to prepare the way with either a call for a return to holiness, military action, or both. Others insisted that nothing could be done until after the Messiah revealed himself. It is noteworthy

Qumran, at the northwest corner of the Dead Sea, is the site of ruins from a monastic sect called Essenes who copied the Sacred Scriptures on large parchments during the first century A.D. Above and to the left of these ruins of the Essenes' living quarters can be seen the Dead Sea. TW



that these same diverse opinions exist among some Jews and Christians today.

This is a recurring theme in the ministry of Jesus. Not only was messiahship an important subject to Him, but it was vital to those He met. When Andrew went to find his brother Peter, the first thing he told him was, "We have found the Messiah" (John 1:41). The woman at the well asserted she knew the Messiah was coming (John 4:25). Jews at the Feast of Dedication asked Jesus bluntly if He was the Messiah (John 10:24).

Messianic hope may never have been at a higher pitch than when Jesus was on earth. At least once the crowds were ready to take Him by force and make Him their king (John 6:15). Such anticipation of the Messiah left many Jews wide open to deception. Many self-appointed prophets declared themselves to be the Messiah and frequently attracted large followings. Whoever promised the deliverance of Israel (Luke 1:68) guaranteed himself a hearing.

History records a few of the early false Messiahs. Theudas attracted a large following and asked them to join him as he parted the Jordan as Moses had done. The Jordan did not part but Theudas' crowds did.

An Egyptian claiming to have messianic identity called for a huge meeting at the Mount of Olives. He had advertised that those in attendance could see the walls of Jerusalem collapse at his command. The walls stood firm. This is probably the same Egyptian that Luke mentions (Acts 21:38); he says the man had a following of 4,000, but Josephus claims it reached 30,000.

Even in the final days of Jerusalem, as the Roman soldiers prepared to set the torch to the temple, 6,000 people gathered under another prophet's leadership. They fully expected deliverance into heaven at that very hour.

When Jesus arrived, His claim to messiahship was not a new or absurd concept. The hour was right and expectation was high. Jesus was aware of the public mood and therefore warned His followers against the claims of false messiahs to come (Matt. 24:23, 24).

**HASIDIM** □ This was not an official party but an attitude held by many Jews some centuries before Christ. They believed strongly in keeping the Jewish laws but opposed bloodshed in attaining their freedom. While they do not appear in biblical accounts, their influence can be seen in the Pharisee and Essene postures of nonviolence. As "pious ones" the Hasidim kept their traditions regardless of the consequences. During the Maccabean period, a thousand such Jews refused to move from their city on the Sabbath. As a result the Syrians murdered them and no Hasidim resisted. ■

**MACCABEANS** □ Fighting heroically, the Jews tried desperately to overthrow Greek and Syrian dominance during the Maccabean revolt, which began under the leadership of an elderly priest named

Mattathias. At his death in 166 B.C., his sons continued the revolt. Of the five, Judas proved the best leader and soon was called Judas Maccabeus, Maccabeus meaning "to hammer."

The Maccabean rebels organized full-fledged armies and battled the Syrians successfully. Forced to negotiate, the Syrians allowed the Jews to control Jerusalem and restore worship services. Peace was short-lived, however. Judas was killed in 160 B.C. and the revolt was soon crushed.

The Maccabean rebellion remains as one of the great patriotic memories in Jewish history. The word *Maccabeans* became a symbol of self-assertion, bravery, and hope. During the time of Christ, many longed to initiate a similar military revolution. ■

**SADDUCEES** □ Out of the Maccabean experience arose the Sadducees, a party which confronted Jesus Christ. They emerged from the turmoil of war with a firm grip on some important parts of Jewish life. First, they controlled the temple, the heart of the Jewish faith on earth. As its guardians they exercised tremendous power over its religious practices. By the time of Christ, however, the synagogue had gained centrality. Second, after a series of corrupt transactions, they were able to purchase the office of high priest. For years they were able to hold the position by the sheer power of money. Third, they managed to secure the leadership of the ruling Sanhedrin through their monopoly on the office of high priest. This gave them control far exceeding the number of people who supported their position.

*Their beliefs.* The people of this group held to rigid biblical interpretations, which included the denial of parts of the Old Testament because they were non-Mosaic. Therefore, there were certain widely held doctrines they could not accept. Generally, they denied the likelihood that God was concerned with their daily lives. The will of God was something broad, having little specific personal application.

They refused any doctrine of a physical resurrection (Matt. 22:23; Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27). They felt because the doctrine was not declared in the books of Moses, it was unacceptable. This also applied to the possibility of an eternal soul. Josephus says they believed the soul perished with the body. Therefore, any concept of spiritual beings, other than God himself, was totally rejected (Acts 23:8). Under this system angels were merely poetic expressions or figments of the imagination. The Hebrew word translated "angel" has, as its primary meaning, "messenger."

Their theology led them to a deistic position which saw God as a great Creator and Lawgiver who virtually divested himself of interest in this world. Therefore the Sadducees were predisposed to reject any claims to deity by Jesus Christ. Since God seldom thought about the earth, it was doubtful that He would bother sending His Son to live here.

*Their influence.* Most of the Sadducees came from the monied,

influential class, so even if their numbers were not great their power was considerable. Headed by an aristocratic, priestly element they appear to have balanced a formidable mixture of power, corruption and Jewish tradition that allowed them to remain in office.

When Jerusalem fell in A.D. 70, the Sadducee party collapsed, but the Pharisees still wielded influence among the Jews.

*Their corruption.* The Sadducees would not have appreciated the label, "corrupt." They believed themselves to be facing the political realities and employing the most logical response—cash. It was difficult to hold on to the office of high priest. From the beginning of Herod's reign to the fall of Jerusalem (108 years), there were 28 high priests, their average term being less than four years. During the Greek period, money often changed hands to secure the office of high priest. We are not certain of the exact prerequisites under Herod, but we do know that one acquired the office only if he were useful to the king.

*Their confrontation with Jesus.* The conflict between Jesus and the Sadducees' high priest was inevitable, for almost no common ground existed between the two; Caiaphas could accept almost none of Jesus' theology. However, this was not the heart of the problem, for normally, Caiaphas was impervious to the claims of prophets and messiahs. Nor were the miracles of particular concern. He had doubtless seen similar displays of the supposed supernatural.

The crux of the clash rested in the threat of the crowds that followed the Galilean. If those crowds became a menace, the Romans might act with force to suppress them. The situation could quickly get out of hand and result in widespread destruction of Jews. Caiaphas' fears were not totally groundless. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 70, the Roman government did crush Israel and disperse its remaining population. The uneasy issue came to a head when Jesus brought Lazarus back from the dead (John 11:48).

Caiaphas therefore formulated the axiom that demanded the death of Jesus: It was better for one man to die than for the entire nation to perish (John 11:49, 50).

Caiaphas' plan, however, did not work. After the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ, the following only grew, much to the high priest's frustration (Acts 5:4-17). It is ironic that resurrection, the very idea which the Sadducees rejected, was the factor which caused their consternation. ■

**PHARISEES** □ The Sadducees locked horns with Jesus over the question of pragmatism; the Pharisees opposed Jesus because of His interpretation of the law and claim to deity. The Pharisees could not tolerate His adherence to the spirit, rather than the letter, of the law. He in turn refused to go along with their strict, nit-picking concept of the law.

At the core of their conflict was a drastically different concept of God. The Pharisees saw Him as easily angered and unforgiving. Jesus saw His Father as loving and compassionate. The two ideas could not coexist.

*Their popularity.* The Pharisees were a party or society which probably never numbered more than 6,000. However, their real strength came from their support from the common man. While most people did not belong to the group, many were very sympathetic to their ideals.

*Their strengths.* Throughout hundreds of years of defeat and deportation, the Pharisaic position had served Israel well. Even before they were an official group, their exacting views of the law held the nation together. The Pharisees were more nationalistic than the Sadducees and quicker to defy foreign elements. They accepted the entire Old Testament as the Word of God, not just the Books of Moses. When Israel had trouble maintaining its identity, men of Pharisaic persuasion began schools to educate their young and prevent a falling away into pagan faiths. The Pharisees carried the banner of evangelism and converted Gentiles to Judaism. Jesus, however, was not impressed with those missionary ventures (Matt. 23:15).

Tithing was such an important rule that they meticulously offered ten percent of every small object in their lives (Matt. 23:23). However, in doing so they failed to practice the things that were really important to God: justice, mercy and faith.

They joined in the enthusiasm for the coming Messiah. Unfortunately, they were so confident in their own preconceptions that they could not recognize the Messiah when He came.

Despite their admirable efforts to maintain exactitude in Jewish practice, they did not fare well in the New Testament writings, especially in the gospel record.

*Paul the Pharisee.* The famous apostle is good evidence of both the strength and the weakness of Pharisaism. The Pharisees helped Paul gain a zealous love for God. However, his resultant fanaticism led him to destroy God's people.

After Paul had become a Christian, he looked back at the balance of his experience as a Pharisee as good. Before the Sanhedrin he proclaimed loudly and proudly that he was a member of the esteemed Pharisees (Acts 23:6).

*Fence builders.* As protectors they felt responsible to define the boundaries which would allow Jews to live safely before God. Thus their teachers built fences which would corral believers snugly within the borders of biblically acceptable behavior. For instance, the Bible told them to fast once a year (Lev. 23:27-29), but by the time of Christ the Pharisees were ceremoniously fasting twice a week (Matt. 6:16-18). In their attempting to outdo the Old Testament, the Pharisees perverted the ceremony of the washing of hands. Instead of a simple ceremony believers were expected to perform the ritual before each meal. They specified an exact amount of water; it was to run down to the wrists or be nullified. They were aghast that Jesus would not comply to this rule (Mark 7:5).

Repeatedly they insisted on improving on God's laws. They

thought obedience to God consisted mostly in details and not in love.

*Conflict with Jesus.* Not every Pharisee fit into this distorted mold. Some vigorously complained about these petty practices and refused to keep the multiplicity of laws. It seems most of the ones who encountered Jesus were not of this variety. ■

**SANHEDRIN** □ Under certain periods of the Roman occupation, the Jews were allowed much latitude in governing themselves. It worked to the empire's advantage to have local people direct their own affairs. As long as their actions did not conflict with Roman laws and goals, there remained an uneasy truce.

The supreme council which governed Jewish religious matters was the Sanhedrin. The extent of its power depended greatly on the personality and courage of the council in session and the current attitude of Rome. At times its decisions influenced Judaism all over the world. On other occasions its pronouncements were taken seriously only by the people living in Judea. When Jesus entered the province of Judea, the council exercised its authority over Him. When He was in Galilee, its opinions were of little import.

The council tried to pattern itself after the group of elders formed by Moses when he was governing Israel—as a practical consideration he appointed elders to share the burden of ruling the people (Ex: 18:25). Although its origin probably goes back farther in history, it probably met for the first time during the Greek rule before Christ. When the Romans conquered they allowed the council to continue. Herod the Great, appointed by Augustus, decided to reorganize the Sanhedrin when he came to power, so he had all of its members executed. The king felt more secure appointing a council that was amenable to his administration.

Both Sadducees and Pharisees were represented in the council, its membership comprised of high priests, former high priests, members of the high priests' families, and heads of families or tribes called elders and scribes (legal authorities).

A total of 70 or 71 made up the body, depending on how they were counted. The reigning high priest served as its chairman. It is believed that once a member of the council, the individual could serve for life.

*Council meetings.* The council sat in a semicircle in order to see each other and converse. Two clerks stood in the room to record votes.

Only 23 of the 70 had to be present to hold court. Of those, 12 votes could acquit a prisoner. If he was convicted, more council members could be summoned to hear the case further.

An accused man was expected to appear before the court wearing mourning clothes. His behavior was to be contrite out of respect for the authority of the court.

*Conflict with Christ.* There can be no doubt that the Sanhedrin

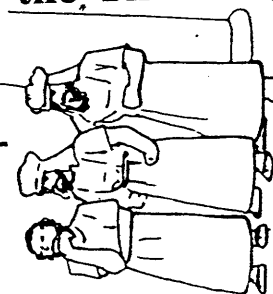
exercised rightful jurisdiction over Jesus when He was tried. Because Jesus' "crimes" were of a religious nature, the council had the authority to call Him into account and to render a verdict.

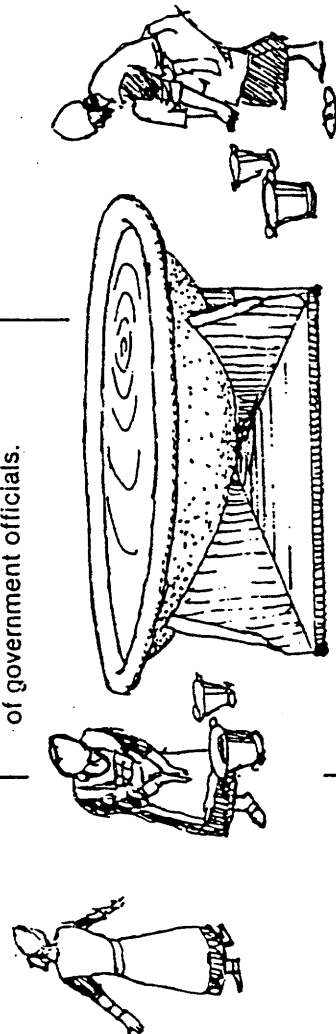
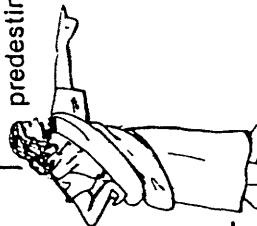
Whatever technical rules may have been violated during the trial of Jesus, one breach is inescapable: there was no fair attempt to ascertain His guilt or innocence. The leaders initiated the trial for the purpose of finding a way to convict the Galilean (John 11:53).

The guilty verdict against Jesus was rendered without a single dissenting voice (Mark 14:64; Luke 23:1). This means that Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrin, either was absent when the vote was taken or voted for the execution of Jesus. In light of his defense (John 7:50-52), it is likely that Nicodemus was absent. Joseph of Arimathea, also a member of the Sanhedrin, must not have voted either (Luke 23:50, 51). It may be that not every council member had been invited to the trial. ■

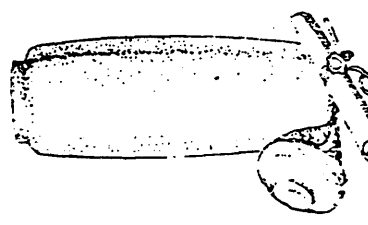
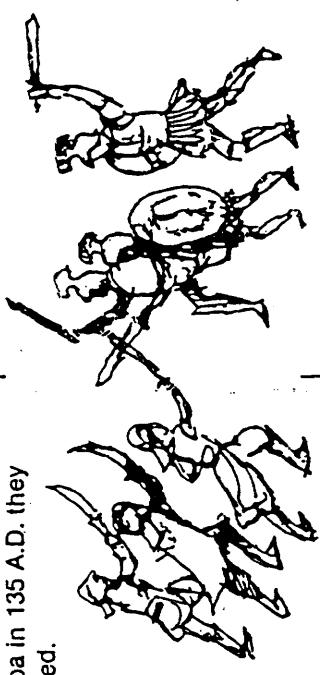
# Jewish Sects in the Time of Jesus

STUDY CHART

Representative Individuals in the New Testament	Origins and History	Social Distinctives	Characteristic Doctrine & Emphasis
<p><b>PHARISEES</b> - Nicodemus (Jn. 3) Gamaliel (Acts 5) Paul -- raised as a Pharisee (Acts 22:3 and 26:5)</p>	<p>They were 2nd Century B.C. <i>Hasidim</i> (pious Jews) who broke ranks with the Hasmoneans (the Maccabees) over the latter's abandonment of certain traditions and over the legitimacy of the Hasmonean priesthood.</p>	<p>Though they were a minority group, they attracted the common people because they came from the lower middle and artisan classes. Though rigorous, they interpreted their religion with the public interest in mind.</p>	<p>Stressed individual fulfillment of the Law in addition to Temple worship; emphasized ethics over theology. Held that rabbinic tradition (later called the "oral law") was as valid as the written Law of Moses. Believed in bodily resurrection, reward and punishment in an afterlife, and existence of angels and demons. Believed in the sovereignty of God and predestination.</p>
<p><b>NOTE:</b> The New Testament condemnation of the Pharisees must be read in light of the fact that they did lead more ethical lives than many of their contemporaries. Their traditions were intended as a means of helping Jews to keep the Law. Nevertheless, as leaders in teaching the Old Testament to their contemporaries, they had a greater responsibility, and sitting in Moses' seat, (Mt. 23:2) they fell under the provision of James 3:1 that teachers "shall receive the greater judgment." Generally, the teaching of the Pharisees was good; the problem was that they didn't practice what they preached (Mt. 23:3). Groups like the Essenes were even more strict than the Pharisees in their interpretation of the Law. Where Pharisaic teaching was in question, it was sometimes linked with that of the Sadducees as well (Mt. 16:6-12; compare also Mt. 3:7).</p>			
<p><b>SADDUCEES</b> Caiaphas and Annas (Jn. 18:13).</p>	<p>Origins are obscure. They first appear as supporters of the Hasmoneans. It has been variously suggested that they originated as a political party, a religious party, a rural aristocratic group, or a group of government officials.</p>	<p>They came from the wealthy aristocrats and had little popular following. Most priests were Sadducees. They predominated in the Sanhedrin, but because of the pressure of popular opinion often agreed with the Pharisees.</p>	<p>Stressed Temple worship as the center of the Law. Accepted only the written Law as binding. Denied bodily resurrection, reward and punishment in an afterlife, angels and demons. Believed in free will over predestination. Regarded themselves as the old-line believers without the "new" Pharisaic doctrines.</p>



**Jewish Sects in the Time of Jesus (continued)**

Representative Individuals in the New Testament	Origins and History	Social Distinctives	Characteristic Doctrine & Emphasis
<p><b>ESSENES</b> John the Baptist may have spent time with the Essenes, or with a similar group. The following discussion assumes that the Essenes were the Qumran group, which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls.</p>	<p>Another outgrowth of the 2nd Century B.C. <i>Hasidim</i>. Unable to accept the rule of Hasmonean power, they retreated to a monastic type of existence. They flourished from the 1st Century B.C. to the 1st Century A.D., and, as already mentioned, may well have been the group that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. During the war against Rome in 66-73 A.D., they apparently abandoned their headquarters. Subsequent history is obscure.</p>	<p>They practiced a communal lifestyle away from the cities and with an emphasis on ceremonial purity. Some practiced celibacy. They were outside of the mainstream of Jewish life.</p> 	<p>Interpreted the Law more strictly than the Pharisees. Expected the imminent arrival of a new era of spiritual light in which they would participate by executing God's judgment on the unrighteous; expected the rise of the Prophet like Moses, the Davidic Messiah, and a priest of the Aaronic line. Their leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, had received divine insight, whereby OT prophecies could be seen as being fulfilled in their own days and in their own community.</p>
<p><b>ZEALOTS</b> Simon the Zealot (also called Simon the Canaanite) who was one of the twelve apostles.  (Since "zealot" was also a more general term, Simon's name may possibly refer merely to his temperament, rather than to the party of the Zealots.)</p>	<p>Founded by Judas of Galilee in 6 A.D. during the revolt referred to in Acts 5:37. Organized to protest paying tribute to a Gentile ruler. The Zealots were the defenders of Masada. After the defeat of Bar Kochba in 135 A.D. they disappeared.</p> 	<p>The Zealots were hostile both to foreigners and to the Jewish establishment. They were admired by the common people.</p>	<p>Theocratic in outlook, they believed it unlawful to acknowledge the rule of a Gentile. This was the underlying issue involved in the question posed in Mark 12:14-15. In general, they shared Pharisaic belief, but unlike the Pharisees, believed in taking immediate action to free their compatriots from the burden of Gentile domination.</p>



Jewish Sects (*Bible Visual Resource Book*, 185)

## Jewish Sects

### PHARISEES

Their roots can be traced to the second century B.C.—to the Hasidim.

1. Along with the Torah, they accepted as equally inspired and authoritative, all material contained in the whole or and within the oral tradition.
2. On free will and determination, they held to a mediating view that made it impossible for either free will or the sovereignty of God to cancel out the other.
3. They accepted a rather developed hierarchy of angels and demons.
4. They taught that there was a future for the dead.
5. They believed in the immortality of the soul and in reward and retribution after death.
6. They were champions of human equality.
7. The emphasis of their teaching was ethical rather than theological.

### SADDUCEES

They probably had their beginning during the Hasmonean period (166-63 B.C.). Their demise occurred c. A.D. 70 with the fall of Jerusalem.

1. They denied that the oral law was authoritative and binding.
2. They interpreted Mosaic law more literally than did the Pharisees.
3. They were very exacting in Levitical purity.
4. They attributed all to free will.
5. They argued there is neither resurrection of the dead nor a future life.
6. They rejected a belief in angels and demons.
7. They rejected the idea of a spiritual world.
8. Only the books of Moses were canonical Scripture.

### ESSENES

They probably originated among the Hasidim, along with the Pharisees, from whom they later separated (1 Maccabees 2:42; 7:13). They were a group of very strict and zealous Jews who took part with the Maccabees in a revolt against the Syrians, c. 165-155 B.C.

1. They followed a strict observance of the purity laws of the Torah.
2. They were notable for their communal ownership of property.
3. They had a strong sense of mutual responsibility.
4. Daily worship was an important feature along with a daily study of their sacred scriptures.
5. Solemn oaths of piety and obedience had to be taken.
6. Sacrifices were offered on holy days and during sacred seasons.
7. Marriage was not condemned in principle but was avoided.
8. They attributed all that happened to fate.

### ZEALOTS

They originated during the reign of Herod the Great c. 6 B.C. and ceased to exist in A.D. 73 at Masada.

1. They opposed payment of tribute for taxes to a pagan emperor, saying that allegiance was due only to God.
2. They held a fierce loyalty to the Jewish traditions.
3. They were opposed to the use of the Greek language in Palestine.
4. They prophesied the coming of the time of salvation.

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# Chinese Pharisees

Tan Huay Peng, cartoonist, *Fun with Chinese Characters: The Straits Times Collection 2* (Singapore: Federal Pub., 1982), 121

假

JIǎ

false

假

IN THE seal form, 二 (two) added to 𠂔 (skin) produces 𠂔𠂔, two skins or double skin — a borrowed skin over one's true skin — suggesting a disguise, a falsehood. Clarified by the radical for man (亻), the character has special application to man, the one most guilty of falsehood: 假人. Truth exaggerated becomes a falsehood, and when "one man tells a falsehood, a hundred repeat it as truth."

丿
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假扮	jiǎ bàn	disguise oneself	假设	jiǎ shè	suppose
假充	jiǎ chōng	pretend to be	假面具	jiǎ miàn jù	mask; false front
假定	jiǎ dìng	suppose	假惺惺	jiǎ xīng · xīng	hypocritically; unctuously
假想	jiǎ xiǎng	imagination	假公济私	jiǎ gōng jì sī	use public office for private gain
假如	jiǎ rú	if	假仁假义	jiǎ rén jiǎ yì	hypocrisy

*Example*

假如我忘了，请提醒我一下。  
 Jiǎ rú wǒ wàng · le, qǐng tí xǐng wǒ yī xià.  
 Please remind me if I forget.

3. **Jewish Political Parties** (these are not major “sects”)

	<b><u>Sicarii</u></b>	<b><u>Herodians</u></b>
Nature:	Zealot extremists who carried concealed daggers (Gr. “scar” = “dagger-men”) the Herods	Wealthy Jews with political influence who supported the Herods
Origin:	AD 50-70: bands of these “assassins” terrorized Judea	37 BC—AD 66: during the Herodian dynasty
Political Stance:	Hated Rome, <b><u>terrorists</u></b> : would stalk a Roman or Roman sympathizer in a crowd, stab him, melt back into the crowd and escape	Liked Rome, <b><u>collaborators</u></b> : accepted foreign domination and promoted Hellenization
Beliefs:	Orthodox like Pharisees but militant like Zealots, apocalyptic	Not a religious party; beliefs probably crossed party lines ( <i>ZPEB</i> , 3:145c)
Stance towards Jesus:	Unknown, though one of His disciples was still called “Simon the Zealot” even after following Jesus	Opposed Him with Pharisees by trying to kill Him (Mark 3:6) and trap Him regarding paying taxes (Matt. 22:16; Mark 12:13)

## B. Diaspora Judaism

1. **Population**: About 83% of all Jews in the Roman world lived outside of Palestine (p. 97).
2. **Hellenization**: Diaspora Jews had much greater contact with Greek culture and language so they were more receptive to it than Palestinian Jews.
3. **Influence**: Diaspora Judaism exercised a strong influence on its environment.
  - a. Their emphasis on monotheism, divine revelation, opposition to idolatry, and high morality made Judaism attractive to many Gentiles. God used this to pave the way for the gospel since the apostles initially went to the synagogue in Gentile cities and many of the first Christians were Jewish. They in turn shared Christ with the God-fearing Gentiles who also came to Christ (Acts 10:2, 22; 13:26, 50; 17:4, 17).
  - b. Judaism gained the status of an approved religion throughout the Roman Empire and the rights granted to Jews favored the expansion of Judaism and Christianity as well—at least initially when the Romans thought that it was a sect of Judaism.
4. **Persecution**: However, the separatistic practices of the Jews fostered persecution from their alien environment from time to time. Nevertheless, God used even this (e.g., Acts 18:2).
5. **Alterations**: Diaspora Jews maintained their ethnic and religious identity though modified:

<b><u>Palestinian</u></b>		<b><u>Diaspora</u></b>
a. The temple	was replaced by	the synagogue.
b. Sacrifices	were replaced by	instruction and observance of the Law.
c. Religious rituals	were replaced by	ethical rules.
d. The priest	was replaced by	the rabbi.

## C. Judaism in Israel and the Diaspora

1. Rabbinic Discipleship: Jesus often assumed roles of the rabbis (teaching in the synagogue, Mark 6:2; reading the Torah, Luke 4:16; sitting while teaching, Matt. 5:1) and was even called “Rabbi” (e.g., Matt. 26:25; Mark 10:51). However, there were some distinct differences between the methodologies of the two:

<u>Rabbis</u>	<u>Jesus</u>
a. Were <i>sought out</i> by disciples —passive discipleship	<i>Looked for</i> disciples & called them —active discipleship (John 15:16, 19)
b. Bound disciples to <i>the Law</i>	Bound disciples to <i>Himself</i>
c. <i>Quoted other rabbis</i> for authority	<i>Taught with authority</i> : quoted only the OT
d. Taught to <i>impress</i>	Taught in simple terms and stories to <i>inspire</i>
e. Taught the original language, Hebrew	Didn't teach Hebrew (as far as we know)
f. More impersonal	More personal

2. The Sabbath: From sunset Friday to sunset Saturday Jews rested (“Sabbath” means “cease”) from their work and worshipped in the home and synagogue.

- a. Importance: Since this was the most “portable” of the institutions and since the Pharisees legislated this institution more than any other (cf. Mishna), the Sabbath became *the most important* of the various institutions in Israel.

- b. Purposes:

- 1) Memorial of creation (Exod. 20:8-11) and redemption from Egypt (Deut. 5:12-15)
- 2) Sign of the Mosaic Law (Exod. 31:17; Ezek. 20:12, 20)
- 3) Humanitarian Rest Provision (Exod. 16:30; 20:9; 23:12; Deut. 5:14)
- 4) Worship (it appears in the feasts summary in Lev. 23:1-3)

- c. The Sabbath Dilemma:

- 1) The Deficiency of Specific Sabbath Laws (The Issue: What is work?)
- 2) Divergent Opinions (cf. rabbinic options in the Mishna)

- d. Christian Adaptations

- 1) Early Jewish Christians still observed the Sabbath. However, Paul said this should not be enforced on people (Col. 2:16-17; cf. Rom. 14:5; Gal. 4:10).
- 2) Even though it was still a work day, Sunday became the weekly day of worship for believers in celebration of Christ's Sunday resurrection (Acts 20:7; Rev. 1:10).
- 3) Sunday did not become a rest day until Constantine's reign (fourth century AD).

3. Special Days (see the charts and article on the following pages)

## Feasts, Festivals, and the Synagogue (Coleman 1 of 9)

### CHAPTER 20

## FEASTS AND FESTIVALS

The long, rich history of Israel gave rise to many occasions for celebration. Often these took a week to vent deep and sincere feelings.

Festivals in Israel had several good purposes. Some were moving worship experiences. Here penitent sinners reached out for forgiveness and the blessing of God. Here was opportunity to cleanse the soul and start again. Other festivals were just as worshipful but geared toward robust thanksgiving. When crops were good and flocks had multiplied, the people had extremely grateful hearts. They expressed this to God by dancing in the streets. Their singing and playing of musical instruments were offerings to a God who had blessed in abundance. Some of their festivals had times to fold hands or meditate. But more often their style was to rejoice with music, food and laughing hearts.

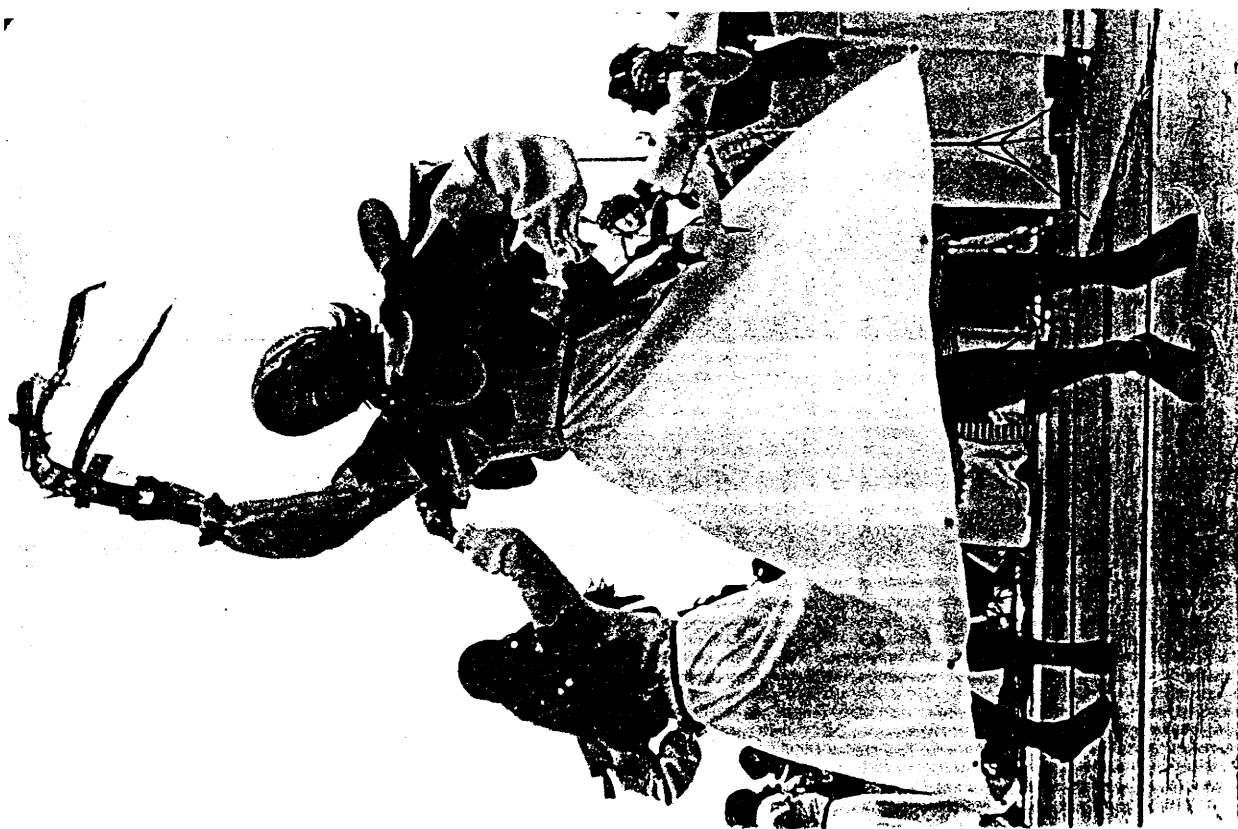
Always the festivals were educational. Each of their seven or more annual feasts taught something about their history, their victories, hopes, despair. The festivals gave a glimpse of a God who performed miracles, who produced lush fields, who loved and forgave. Often celebrating left a greater impression on one's mind than many books and classes.

Festivals have become teaching tools in the Christian experience as well. The communion service is a lesson based on the Passover ceremony. Christmas and Easter have become festivals with the potential to remind, humble and express gratitude. ■

**PASSOVER** □ This extremely important feast has its origins deeply rooted in Jewish history. It spanned Old Testament history and spread into Christianity as part of the foundation of worship among believers in the early church.

*When?* This was an annual feast celebrated on the 14th of Nisan. On our calendar this is March–April.

*Why?* Its great historical significance is found in the Exodus, the great redemptive act by which Israel became God's people. That they might escape the plague of the death of the firstborn, God had instructed the Jews to put blood on the sides and tops of their doorframes (Ex. 12:7). Very careful instructions were given concerning how the sheep or goats were to be eaten. That night God



Community dances and festivals (here during Feast of the Tabernacles) provided one of the socially-acceptable ways for young Jewish men and women to mix and to get to know each other.



The Passover lamb, according to instructions in Exodus 12, is to be a male yearling, to be slaughtered between evenings, and roasted over a fire without having a bone broken. The Samaritans, who annually offer sacrifices on Mt. Gerizim, pour hot water over the carcass, strip off the fleece, extract the fat, and clean and salt the sacrificial lamb before spitting it on a rod and roasting. Fat smeared on the doorframes and the lintel of the house (a lintel is the board over the top of the door). Without breaking any of its bones, the lamb was to be roasted over a fire with its head, legs and entrails intact. The meal was to be eaten that night with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and any meat not eaten that night was to be destroyed in the morning by burning.

The meal was to be eaten quickly, and the participant was to be dressed in sandals, with walking stick in hand and loins girded. This was a reminder of God's swift deliverance.

2. *Festival of Unleavened Bread.* Part of the Passover celebration was the Feast of Unleavened Bread. This was an agricultural celebration which may have existed long before the first Passover. It was scheduled to last for one week, beginning on the fourteenth of Nisan. The Passover feast took place on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

The Passover feast was a mixture of joy and solemnity, celebrated in the home. The Feast of Unleavened Bread was a community festival.

*The New Testament Passover.* Time and social change had their effect on all of Israel, and the Passover was no exception. By the time of Christ, certain revisions in the feast had become firmly established.

Now huge crowds were expected to journey to Jerusalem to celebrate at the temple. This caused considerable strain on the city as well as on the pilgrims. Jerusalem responded by becoming an even larger commercial center. Great supplies of vegetables and

spices were gathered into the marketplaces, including dandelions, snakeroot, lettuce and peppercorn. Likewise, large stocks of fruit and wine were necessary. Wine was expected to be drunk in large amounts, each adult consuming four cups with the Passover. The festivities consumed much from the olive, grape and grainfields in the surrounding areas.

The city also needed to furnish enormous numbers of animals to be used for feeding the throngs and as sacrifices. Josephus claims that as many as a quarter of a million animals were needed for sacrifice. Although his numbers were probably exaggerated, we are certainly justified in assuming that the actual number was immense.

This represented one of the important changes in the Passover. For 600 years before Christ, the Passover lamb was expected to be slain in Jerusalem. Consequently, this turned the event into a public pilgrimage rather than a family celebration. Such a sudden influx of people put a heavy strain on the housing facilities in Jerusalem. Inns were scarce so homes were opened to relatives, friends and even strangers. Campsites were crowded with tents.

All who could travel were expected to be in Jerusalem for the Passover. This explains why Jesus' family made the trip every year to celebrate the Passover (Luke 2:41). It is worth noting that Jesus attended, though it was not required by the original Mosaic law to celebrate at Jerusalem. The rabbis said a Jew had to start attending at the age of 13, but Jesus was there at least by the age of 12 (Luke 2:42). Laws exempted many of the handicapped, aged and children.

1. *Celebration.* Some of the proceedings at Jerusalem were solemn and worshipful, such as the first part of Passover, but the rest of the week was dedicated to joyful celebration. The best in foods and drinks were bought and consumed with great pleasure. Like modern conventioners, the travelers spent money freely, spurred on by the fact that the law encouraged them to buy freely on such an occasion (Deut. 14:26).

A robust business was conducted in perfumes, and ladies were



These men are making *matza shmura* (watched *matza*), an unleavened bread. The process must be completed in under 18 minutes so that no leavening may occur. The Book of Exodus mentions "uggot" *matzot*. WB

treated lavishly to beautiful cloth and white linen. Some of this party spirit may have come from the Greek and Roman influence. The Talmud calls the Passover "as savory as an olive."

2. *Jesus as the Lamb.* From the beginning of His ministry, Jesus was described as the Lamb of God who would take away the sin of the world (John 1:36). He fulfilled that role when He was led to the cross and offered as a sacrifice.

There are some difficulties in harmonizing the crucifixion and possibly the Last Supper with the Passover feast. Whatever the struggles in paralleling the dates, it is obvious that as Paul taught, Jesus died as our Passover lamb (1 Cor. 5:7). Jesus did meet some of the qualifications for the Passover lamb such as not having a bone broken (Ex. 12:46; Num. 9:12; Ps. 34:20; John 19:36). However, it is possible to accept that Jesus died for the sins of the world without the details dovetailing all the criteria of the Passover. ■

**PENTECOST** □ Fifty days after the barley harvest celebration of Passover came the wheat harvest, which was celebrated at Pentecost, also called the Feast of Weeks.

*When?* The 50 days from Passover have been calculated several ways, the method being a source of disagreement between Pharisees and Sadducees. Many counted from the last day of the Passover feast.

*Why?* Because of their dependence on agriculture, the Jews were thankful for the grain of the fields. The practice carried over from the time of Moses (Ex. 34:22).

*How?* The Old Testament specified several components of the offering made at this time (Lev. 23:15-22). They were (1) a morning and evening sacrifice of grain; (2) an animal offering of seven lambs, one bullock, and two rams; (3) loaves of bread baked with yeast; (4) a goat for a sin offering; and (5) two lambs for a peace offering.

After the Exile, Jews were expected to observe this festival in Jerusalem at the temple. It became the second of three great annual pilgrimages to that city. Besides its religious ceremonies, this was another festive occasion with much eating, drinking and music.

*Christian significance.* This day has special meaning in Christian history because it marked the launching of a new phase in the history of the gospel. After the ascension of Jesus Christ, the believers returned to Jerusalem to await further instructions. As they were meeting in one place, the Holy Spirit filled them, and the Christians began to speak in other tongues (Acts 2:1-4). Many scholars contend that this was the official birth of the Christian Church.

The ancient festival of Pentecost worked to the advantage of the Christians because Jerusalem was packed with pilgrims. Consequently Jews from throughout the world saw a manifestation of the power of God and heard the Good News (Acts 2:5ff.). Three thousand of that crowd believed in Jesus Christ and received bap-



This booth, built for the celebration of the Feast of Booths, is on a modern home in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem. JJ

tism (Acts 2:41). They then returned to their homelands with the message they had accepted. ■

**FEAST OF BOOTHS** □ This was the third agricultural feast that sent hundreds of thousands of pilgrims pouring into Jerusalem. Over the centuries it carried many titles, including Feast of Tabernacles, Feast of Tents, Feast of Ingathering and the Feast of the Lord.

*Why?* In the early fall, the harvest of the grapes and olives was commemorated with this special feast. Of all of Israel's festivals this one most resembles the American Thanksgiving Day. During possibly the most carefree of the seasons, it was an opportunity to have the greatest fun.



The Feast of Booths most closely approximates the American Thanksgiving Day celebration. Pilgrims stream to Jerusalem for the celebration. This booth is built near the Wailing (Western) Wall in Jerusalem, which can be seen in the background. JJ

## Feasts, Festivals, and the Synagogue (Coleman 4 of 9)



Shofarim usher in the New Year at Jerusalem's Wailing (Western) Wall, part of the celebration of Rosh ha-Shanah. WZPS

A second highlight of the celebration was the celebrating. At night throngs joined in dancing, singing, marching with torches, and eating. It was a time to show gratitude by enjoying life and togetherness (Lev. 23:33-43).

**Christian significance.** This was the feast which Jesus' brothers and sisters dared Him to attend (John 7:1-9). After rejecting their taunts, He later went secretly into Jerusalem for the celebration. Jesus taught during the festival and received heated opposition from the Pharisees. It was during this time that Jesus called the thirsty to come to Him and drink (John 7:37). This may have been in reference to water sacrifice made during the feast. ■

**THE NEW YEAR** □ Did the Israelites of the Old Testament celebrate the beginning of a new year? There appears to be no easy answer to that question. The major biblical historians make no mention of it as a feast or an observance, but there is some evidence that it became a celebration shortly after the New Testament period.

Originally, the year was probably begun in the month of Tishri, which is our September-October. At the time of the Exodus the new year was changed to Nisan, our March-April (Ex. 12:2).

The fall date seems to have returned to official use during the Exile, under the influence of the Babylonian calendar. It was probable that the Jews eventually adopted the Babylonian reckoning for their new year and celebrated it at the September-October date. *Rosh ha-Shanah*, the Hebrew name for this comparatively new festival, means "the head of the year." It is unlikely that it was celebrated during biblical times, but later Judaism grouped it with *Yom Kippur* which followed nine days later and called them the "Days of Awe." ■



Young Israeli women carry palm branches through the streets of Jerusalem in a modern-day observance of the ancient Feast of Booths. CD

**When?** The date fluctuated depending on weather conditions and the completion of the harvest—harvest was not considered finished until the pressing was completed. A standard date was finally set on the 15th of Tishri, comparable to our September-October.

**Where?** When efforts were made to centralize the festivals the Feast of Booths was also moved to Jerusalem. These festivals were so well attended that many of the cities around Judea were left practically empty. Jeremiah tells of one city that had a mere 50 inhabitants during this season. Many participants brought booths, huts or tents from their fields to spend the cool nights in Jerusalem.

**How?** This feast had two distinct aspects. Part of it was for worship and thanksgiving. Trumpets were blown to assemble the crowds who would then watch a procession of priests travel to the Pool of Siloam and each dip from it a pitcher of water, then march back to the temple and pour the water on the altar. The purpose of this ritual may have been to thank God for water and to ask for more during the winter season, for rain was essential to bountiful spring and summer crops. Many of the celebrants carried palm trees or branches in recognition of a good harvest.

Reportedly the priests during the New Testament period took this opportunity to denounce the worship of the sun, for at one time priests had bowed with their backs to the temple and faced the sun in worship (Ezek. 8:16). In repudiation of this abomination, the priests now bowed facing the temple with their backs to the sun.



**YOM KIPPUR** □ This observance has special significance both in Jewish and in Christian theology. The Bible describes Jesus Christ as fulfilling the function of the high priest during this religious rite. It was a spiritual event of such magnitude that all one had to say was "that day," and the average Jew knew what was meant. Also known as the "Day of Atonement" it was a time of introspection, national repentance and cleansing from sins. After deep feelings of remorse and solemnity, the celebrants soon gave themselves to the Feast of Booths.

*When?* It took place in October just prior to the Feast of Booths. The author of Acts uses this observance as a point of reference when he describes Paul's sailing trip as coming after the Fast (Acts 27:9). Jewish readers would have instantly placed the trip in October.

*Why?* The purpose was to pause and consider one's sinful condition. A person did this also in the greater context of Israel's general spiritual state, for he considered himself part of the whole, a nation as well as persons before God.

Having inventoried his soul before God, he then had his sins taken away and accepted the forgiveness of YAHWEH.

*How?* There were both personal and priestly responsibilities in the ceremony. The personal aspect included a day of fasting. No one was allowed to work. A serious countenance was expected and anyone who refused to comply faced possible execution.

On this occasion the high priest made his appearance in the Holy of Holies, the only time during the year he entered that part of the temple. Once there he made a sacrifice of the mixed blood of a bull and a goat.

The priest then administered the amazing rite of the scapegoat, which had been selected by lot. According to the Old Testament, the goat was called Azazel, which means scapegoat (Lev. 16:8-10). Placing both hands on the goat's head, the priest then confessed the sins of Israel. Symbolically, the priest transferred Israel's transgressions onto the goat, then prayed for forgiveness. When the ceremony was complete the goat was led, by another man, into a part of the desert where no one lived. As a symbol, the scapegoat carried away the sins of Israel and its people, to be remembered no more (Lev. 16:21, 22). No one was allowed to care for the goat in any way. It was gone and to be forgotten. The priest then washed his hands and cleansed himself. The act was complete and Israel's sins were forgiven.

*Christian significance.* The outward exercise of sacrificing animals could not in itself bring the forgiveness of sins. Forgiveness was a spiritual act and could be initiated only by God. The unpentant could not be cleansed by fasting or sacrifices.

At best the sacrifices were only shadows or symbols of what was to come (Heb. 10:1ff.). We become holy, forgiven, only through the sacrificial body of Jesus Christ himself (Heb. 10:10), and are therefore free to approach God because of the blood which Christ

has offered (Heb. 10:19).

Christ not only eternally fulfilled the role of the sacrifice, but He also served as the high priest, for He made the offering which has paid for our sins. Since He was a priest as no other could have been, and a sacrifice as none other could have been, there is no need to repeat the sacrifice. It has been accomplished once and for all (Heb. 7:27). Jesus was the only priest who did not need to sacrifice for His own sins. He was the perfect priest (Heb. 7:28). When His work was finished as high priest, He then sat at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven (Heb. 8:1). Christ became a high priest because God named Him high priest after the order of Melchizedek (Heb. 5:5, 6). Consequently, the symbol is no longer necessary. The perfect has come and the act of atonement has been fulfilled completely in Jesus Christ. ■

**HANUKKAH** □ This happy celebration appears under names such as Feast of Dedication, Feast of Lights, Feast of Maccabeus, Feast of Illumination, and Festival of Rededication.

*Why?* The festival dates back to 167 B.C. when Judas Maccabeus cleansed and rebuilt the temple. Antiochus Epiphanes, a Syrian ruler, had desecrated the temple by attacking it and setting up his own form of worship. He had outlawed the Jewish religious laws and insisted that the Jews abandon their religion or die. He had called the temple "Jupiter Olympus," used the altar for a pagan sacrifice, then demanded that such a sacrifice be offered every month on the 25th to correspond with the date of his birth.

While Antiochus was away fighting other battles, the Jews revolted under Judas Maccabeus. The war ended in a stalemate so the two sides negotiated for peace and the Jews regained the temple. Soon it was cleansed and worship was restored.

*When?* Normally it was observed on the 25th of Chisley, which is comparable to our November-December.

*How?* It was not necessary to travel to Jerusalem for this feast, so most people observed it in the local towns. The emphasis was on joy, happiness and a good time with one's family. Actual formulas for celebrating differed widely. Many of the families displayed extra lights in their windows. They sang, danced in the streets, and played musical instruments long into the evening. It was a victory party and well worth celebrating with great energy.

Tradition says Judas Maccabeus found a cruse of oil with one day's supply and the oil miraculously lasted for eight days. This explains the extensive use of light in their homes and synagogues. Consequently, the lights were kept burning for eight days during the celebration. Later, a custom of lighting one new candle a day was established.

Mourning during this time was strictly forbidden. It was a happy season to remember a joyful occasion.

*Christian significance.* This celebration has not been carried over

## Feasts, Festivals, and the Synagogue (Coleman 5 of 9)

into the Christian faith, and except for one instance (Jesus in Solomon's Colonnade during the time of the Feast of Dedication—John 10:22) is not mentioned in the New Testament. ■

**PURIM** □ During the post-exilic period, the Jews added this joyous celebration to their list of festive occasions. Another history lesson, it reminded the Jews of their miraculous deliverance from a planned genocide.

*Why?* During the time of Esther, Haman the Agagite, prime minister of Persia, developed a vicious hatred toward the Jews residing in that nation. Haman had taken himself a bit too seriously and had demanded that everyone bow down to him (Esther 3:2). Mordecai, a Jew, refused to bow and thus infuriated Haman against the Jews. He thus conspired to have Mordecai executed by hanging him and having a general slaughter of the Jews authorized. To his surprise Queen Esther turned the tables and Haman was hanged on his own gallows (Esther 7:9, 10).

Mordecai, who was named prime minister, sent out letters encouraging the Jews to celebrate this deliverance regularly (Esther 9:20ff.).

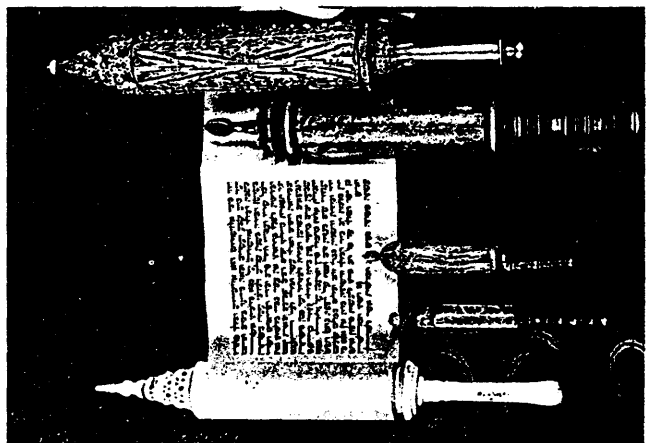
*When?* Mordecai instructed the people to celebrate on the 14th and 15th days of Adar (Esther 9:20–22). This corresponds to February–March.

*Where?* This feast could be celebrated anywhere and did not call for a journey to Jerusalem.

*How?* As with all Jewish holidays, this is a religious festival, but it is primarily a time of mirth and solemnness. It focuses on liberty and freedom and often is celebrated with singing, plays, food and music.

Even the formal services are joyful and animated. The book of Esther is read in the synagogue

Cases for Esther scrolls used in the festival of Purim (from left): Yemen, eighteenth century; Turkey, nineteenth century; Iraq, nineteenth century; Morocco, nineteenth century; Persia, nineteenth century; Turkey, eighteenth century. JLAT



with a generous supply of hisses and derogatory remarks whenever Haman's name is read. Some will groan, "Let his name be blotted out." Even the children join in by blowing noisemakers and shaking rattles.

*Christian significance.* This celebration has not carried over into the Christian experience. Some scholars have speculated that the "feast of the Jews" mentioned in John 5:1 refers to Purim, but this is very improbable. ■

## SIMCHAT TORAH

Jews in Israel and everywhere also celebrate the holiday of Simchat Torah ("Rejoicing in the Torah"), also known as Shemini Atzeret ("The Eighth Day of Assembly").

Simchat Torah immediately follows the last day of Succot (the Feast of Tabernacles). Its observance is mandated by Leviticus 23:36.

The day's prayer services at synagogues include special memorial prayers for the deceased, as well as a prayer for plentiful rainfall during the coming winter.

The day centres around special scriptural readings: the yearly cycle of weekly Torah (Genesis to Deuteronomy) reading is completed, and begins again. This is accompanied by dancing and singing which—in religious neighbourhoods—often spill out into the streets.

Although Leviticus 23:36 commands an offering on this day, since no temple is present, such a command is not possible. Therefore, the reading of the Torah is substituted instead.

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## Feasts, Festivals, and the Synagogue (Coleman 7 of 9)

they forget and be swallowed up by the pagan religions around them. Over a long period of time these educational facilities became more effective, more sophisticated and eventually matured into the synagogue. To the credit of the Pharisees, they led in the development of Jewish education and became strong forces behind the synagogue movement.

A few notable historians disagree with this premise. They argue that the synagogue was born in the bosom of Moses. However, it is far more likely that it evolved as an answer to specific needs and then became part of the fabric of Judaism.

When Jesus began His ministry, the synagogue could not be ignored as a force in Israel. Other than the temple in Jerusalem, no religious institution in Israel held such importance. The advantage of a synagogue was that it was in close proximity to the common person. Consequently much of the early church's initial impact was felt in synagogue services.

**DIVERSITY** □ Synagogues might be compared with the present diversity among Christian churches. While there were similarities between most synagogues, there were also notable differences between congregations and between regions. Ten Jewish males were necessary to form a synagogue, but beyond this standard they were free to establish their own structure and format.

The Synagogue of the Libertines or Freedmen (Acts 6:9) may have been comprised of former Roman slaves. Consequently they had their own background and perspective. Some synagogues allowed meetings concerning political intrigue and insurrection against Rome. Others were very traditional, staid and noncontroversial.

A synagogue, especially outside of Israel, might have people from diverse backgrounds. Often, converted Gentiles made up part of the congregation.

Architecture of the buildings could differ drastically. Large buildings as well as small were popular. Square buildings, rectangular ones, huge columns, or simple decor were all common. Attempts by Jewish leaders to standardize the sizes, shapes of (even doors), and behavior in synagogues were unsuccessful. The decorations, designs and layout of many synagogues suggest a blending with foreign artistic ideas.

Although there was no guarantee that any two synagogues would look exactly alike, there were a few basic features that could be found in most. Four items of furniture, in particular, were usually standard in a synagogue:

**Chest.** Called the Torah shrine, its purpose was to hold the scrolls of Scripture. If portable, the chest could be brought into the room when meetings were scheduled. In this case a special place was marked and reserved for the chest. There is debate over whether or not the chest ever stayed permanently in the synagogue. The New Testament makes no mention of the chest.

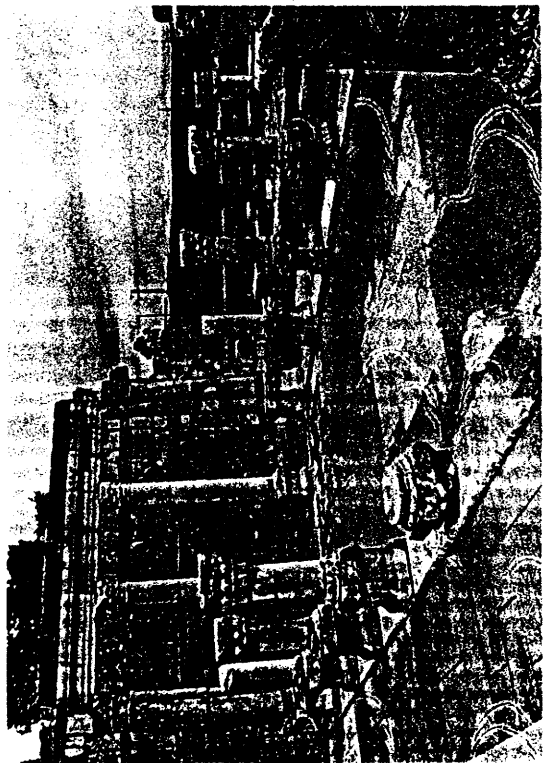
## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SYNAGOGUE

The synagogue was extremely important in the time of Christ, serving as the center of religious education and the spiritual lighthouse of Jewish community life.

We do not know when the first synagogue began, but we are fairly certain as to why the concept was initiated. The Jews faced many serious threats to their existence. Over the centuries they had been murdered, deported and infiltrated by people who held only contempt for Jews. If they were to survive and maintain their spiritual identity, some form of educational and religious center had to develop.

Most likely the synagogue began when some of the Jews in exile decided to organize and teach their children about God, lest

Capernaum, a busy fishing port on the Sea of Galilee in the time of Christ, is where Jesus spent much of His time in ministry. This handsome synagogue at Capernaum, dating from the third century A.D., is typical of the many synagogues where Jesus read the Scriptures and taught.



The *benin*. Scriptures were read from this elevated platform, often equipped with a reading stand, and even elaborately detailed with a wooden canopy and rails. Ezra apparently stood on one of these when he read the scrolls (Neh. 8:4, 5).

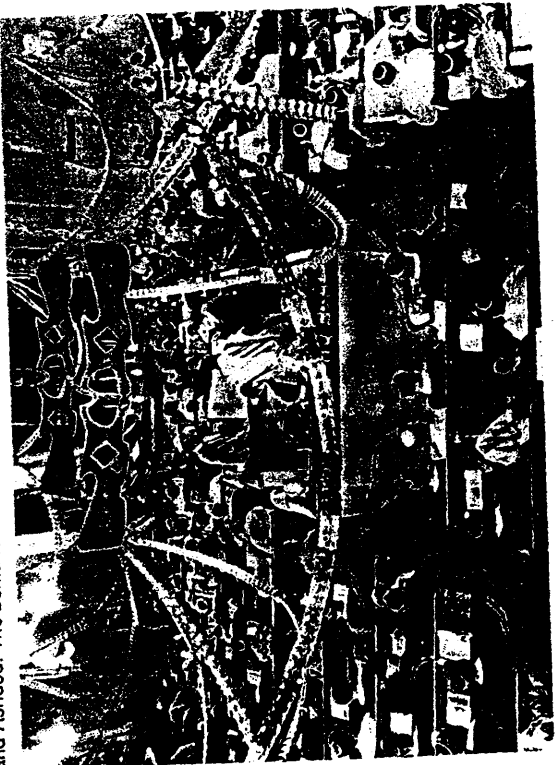
A *benin* may not have been found in every synagogue; indeed it is seldom mentioned and then not treated with particular sacredness. The only New Testament reference which might be construed to refer to this is found in Matt. 23:2: "Moses' seat" could have been part of a local *benin*.

This word is used elsewhere to indicate an elevated platform or judgment seat (John 19:13; Acts 12:21). The apostle Paul tells us that we must all appear before the judgment seat, the *benin*, of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 5:10), but it probably has no direct reference to the synagogue item. The word was commonly used to suggest an elevated position or a place to put a throne.

*Benches*. Seating arrangements in synagogues varied, but most had benches lining two or three of the walls. In the center there may have been mats for sitting and at times possibly chairs. Ancient writers, as did Jesus, mention chairs, which may have resembled benches. Jesus spoke of the Pharisees who loved the most important seats in the synagogues (Matt. 23:6). Participants were separated according to sex.

*Lamps of menorah*. Lights were prominent in the synagogue, both for practical use and as a symbol of the presence of God. There was no one specified place where they had to be located, so they were doubtless arranged differently in each place. ■

Israeli Purim service in the synagogue of Yavneh, a religious kibbutz between Gedera and Ashdod. The *berma* is in the center of the photo.



**LEADERSHIP** □ Most of a synagogue's affairs were managed by a committee of ten elders. It was their job to oversee synagogue life and select those who would be in charge of the activities. Two officials were expected to provide the main leadership, though this number often varied.

*Ruler of the synagogue*. This general overseer is found in the New Testament. He was expected to maintain smooth order in the services or other meetings. He needed to assign people to read the Scriptures and lead in prayer. When a visitor came to the synagogue, the ruler invited him to address the congregation, as was done at Pisdian Antioch (Acts 13:15). Jesus was invited to speak in synagogues as He traveled about (Luke 4:14, 15). Such a ruler objected to Christ's audacity to heal on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14).

*Attendant of the synagogue*. Called a *hazzan*, this was the person who worked in the synagogue and received a salary. When the Scriptures were to be read, he removed the appropriate scrolls from the chest and afterward returned them. Jesus handed the Isaiah scroll to the attendant after reading to the congregation (Luke 4:20).

The attendant's job included teaching the children, especially if the congregation was small. He also blew the trumpet three times at the beginning and ending of the Sabbath. His duties extended to funerals and mourning feasts as well. When the synagogue levied a punishment, it was his job to carry it out. In some cases he actually administered the beating, but at other times he may only have read the Scriptures during the scourging (Mark 13:9).

It was not uncommon for the attendant to live in part of the synagogue.

Not every attendant was a godly person. Some were known to save the prestigious seats for those who offered a small gift. Such men may be the objects of James' scorn when He condemned the practice of selective seating. In some congregations the wealthy were given the best benches, and the poor had to stand at the back or sit on the floor at someone's feet (James 2:1-4). ■

**SERVICES** □ Considering the pluralism that existed among Jews, it is impossible to define a standard order of service. Nevertheless, there were certain ingredients that would have been found in most.

*Sherma*. As an affirmation of their faith in one God, the congregation recited a passage from the writings of Moses (Deut. 6:4, 5). The *shema* is the central credal statement of the faith. Monotheism was the cornerstone of Judaism and conflicted with the polytheistic religions that surrounded Israel.

Several prayers of thanksgiving also were used, interspersed with hearty "Amens."

*Reading the scrolls*. The Scriptures were at the heart of the synagogue services. Jews believed God had revealed His will in written form; consequently literacy and the scrolls were paramount. Those who recorded their experiences in the synagogue, especially around the New Testament era, noted the centrality of the Scriptures.

Often someone would then explain the Scriptures. Occasionally young people were invited to render their interpretations. If an honored or respected visitor was in their midst, he was invited to speak.

Paul, with his gifts and training, was able to use the visitor policy to great advantage. In his travels Paul was often invited to speak in a synagogue (Acts 13:14-41). The apostle accepted these opportunities readily, for to the new believers Christianity was a natural growth out of Judaism; Jesus was the fulfillment of the promises given to Moses, David and the prophets. Therefore, the first people to hear about this good news should be the Jews, and the best place to tell them would be in the synagogues.

The Jews were quite liberal in allowing people to interpret the Scriptures. They did not look to a select few gifted, trained or anointed leaders. Most any Jewish man was eligible to present his insights concerning the Word of God. ■

**CELEBRATIONS** □ Feasts and festivals were celebrated with great enthusiasm in the same buildings where sermons and prayers resounded. Some of these observances corresponded to celebrations in the temple. However, others were instituted in local synagogues in accordance with the local culture and interests. Since many of the synagogues were located in agricultural areas, their festival themes centered on thanksgiving and harvests. ■

**OTHER USES** □ Synagogues were often used for meetings which had little to do with Scripture and celebration. Jesus told His disciples that they would be taken before men to judge their actions; those judges would frequently hold court in the synagogues (Luke 12:11), and the guilty could be beaten by the rulers of those synagogues (Matt. 10:17).

Josephus tells us that political rallies were held in the synagogue of Tiberias. In some ways they resembled the black churches of America which became strong political bases as well as spiritual centers. ■

**CHRISTIAN USE OF SYNAGOGUES** □ At first the Christians had difficulty finding their niche in the contemporary religious structure. They met extensively at the temple but were repeatedly harassed for their teachings and practices (Acts 4:1), even though they considered themselves the logical conclusion of dedicated Judaism. That logic escaped most Jews, however.

Much of the teaching of Jesus was done inside synagogues. He not only explained the Scriptures there but also healed the sick (Matt. 4:23; 9:35). The healing of the shriveled hand on the Sabbath and its resulting debate occurred inside the synagogue (Matt. 12:9-14). In Jesus' hometown synagogue, they questioned His identity and ability (Matt. 13:53-58); consequently He chose not to perform many miracles there.

As the church formed, the strength of the synagogue worked both in its favor and against it. Before his conversion, Paul used the synagogues as a vehicle to persecute Christians (Acts 9:2). After his encounter with Christ, Paul stood in the same institutions to announce the gospel (Acts 9:20). Paul preached in a synagogue in Thessalonica for three Sabbaths and gained converts. Unbelieving Jews responded by inciting a riot (Acts 17:1-5).

Two rulers of synagogues played prominent roles in the ministry of Paul. The two possibly succeeded each other at Corinth. One was Crispus, who with his entire family came to believe in Jesus Christ (Acts 18:8). Sosthenes, the other ruler, attempted to have Paul's case heard by Gallio, proconsul of Achaia. When he failed, the Greeks turned on him and beat him (Acts 18:17). ■

**Major Jewish Holidays: Discussions & Recipes**  
 Dallas, TX: Dallas Jewish Society, n.d. (approx. 1985), pp. 51-56 (1 of 6)

# MAJOR JEWISH HOLIDAYS

## Discussions and Recipes

### SHABBAT (SABBATH)

Shabbat is a period of timelessness set off from the week, when our moving, frantic activities come to a slow halt and a sense of unutterable peace, soul-calm and tranquility can be felt. This period, from twilight on Friday to Saturday evening, gives us the opportunity to feel intense love and joy and appreciate that which we are often too busy to notice during the week. We can let our emotions come out — acknowledge them, examine them, know them so intensely that each moment becomes a complete experience.

To help us achieve this state of tranquility, tradition forbids us to engage in many of our everyday activities. Refraining from these activities frees us for other activities and a day of rest can then say to us: you can slow your life down; you can have the time to rediscover your family, friends, your environment and yourself.

Much work is done Erev Shabbat. The house is cleaned and the food cooked. If you do not use electricity, the lights are set — some to be left on, some possibly to be regulated by a timer. Challah is baked or bought along with any other special Shabbat foods. The table is set, the candlesticks are polished and set up. Finally, toward evening, it is time to put on fresh Shabbat clothes, to unwind and to enjoy the Shabbat meal.

Spiritual preparation on Friday is as important as physical preparation. To enter fully into Shabbat, the mind should be empty of all "weekday" thoughts; we should be at ease with ourselves and with others. All pressing "matters of consequence" are left behind.

### APPLE STRUDEL For Shabbat

½ cup of cornflake crumbs or unseasoned bread crumbs  
 Generous ½ cup light brown sugar  
 6½ tablespoons unsalted margarine, melted  
 5 medium apples (Cortland, Granny Smith or greening)  
 ½ cup seedless golden raisins  
 ¼ cup walnuts, chopped coarse  
 1 teaspoon ground cinnamon  
 4 16-by-22-inch sheets strudel dough

- 1) Preheat oven to 400° F. Mix cornflake or bread crumbs with 3 tablespoons of brown sugar.
- 2) Brush a cookie sheet with some melted margarine.
- 3) Have ready the melted margarine, a pastry brush, 2 damp towels and a cookie sheet.
- 4) Peel, core, quarter and cut apples into thin slices. Combine with raisins, walnuts and cinnamon. (Do not add sugar until just before filling the leaves; if added earlier, sugar will melt and make strudel dough soggy.)

5) Spread a damp, not wet, towel on a work surface. Unwrap one of the strudel sheets and place on towel. Keep the rest of the sheets covered with another damp towel. Brush dough lightly with margarine and sprinkle with some of the crumb-sugar mixture. Place a second sheet on top and repeat brushing and sprinkling.

6) Add remaining ½ cup sugar to apple mixture and place half of the resulting mixture along the edge closest to you, leaving a 1-inch margin and fold the shorter sides. With the help of the towel, roll loosely, jelly roll fashion, away from you to the end.

7) Slide strudel onto the prepared cooking sheet and brush generously with margarine. Mark portions with a serrated knife. Repeat in the same fashion with remaining two sheets of dough.

8) Bake in center of oven for 25 to 30 minutes or until golden. Serve warm.

Note: Have all the utensils and ingredients ready before uncovering the dough; it is delicate and dries out very quickly.

(If you like, you can slice apples and chop walnuts in a food processor. Strudel leaves can be found in specialty stores. Do not confuse them with phyllo dough.)

Makes two strudel strips, each serving 6-8. (M)

### ROSH HASHANAH (NEW YEAR)

In the month of Tishri, the first month of the new year, the first 10 days are set aside as the Ten Days of Penitence. They begin with Rosh Hashanah (New Year) on the first and second of Tishri and end with Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) on the tenth of the month. Reform Jews celebrate Rosh Hashanah one day, while Conservative and Orthodox Jews celebrate it for two days.

There is some ambiguity as to the mood of Rosh Hashanah. On one hand, it is the Day of Judgement — a solemn time of reconciliation and confronting the year past. On the other hand, it is New Year's Day and, although not as frivolous as January 1, it is still Yom Harat Olam — the Birthday of the World — a joyous remembrance of the creation.

The High Holy Days and the days in between are a time for gentleness, for reflection and for personal stock-taking. Have the children had a long-standing quarrel? This is the time for them to "make-up." Has a neighbor been offended? This is the time for a gesture of friendliness. Is there a relative who has been neglected? This is the time for a telephone call.

This is a time, too, for religious rededication. The moral and ethical teachings of Judaism and its aspirations for universal

\*Note: Sources for holiday information are *The Jewish Catalog*, edited by Siegel, Strassfeld and Strassfeld and *Guide for the Jewish Homemaker*, written by Levi and Kaplan. The source for recipes is *The Jewish Holiday Kitchen* by Nathan and *The Art of Jewish Cooking* by Grossinger.

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brotherhood themes present in every Jewish observance are especially stressed in the prayers, the ceremonies and the mood of these Holy Days.

Preparation for the sacred season traditionally starts 30 days in advance, at the beginning of the month of Elul, the last month of the old year. The shofar (ram's horn) sounds in the synagogue throughout that month. On the Saturday night immediately preceding Rosh Hashanah, a special penitential service, called Selihot, is held at the synagogue at midnight or sometime before dawn.

The woman of the house ushers in the Holy Days by lighting the festive candles as she recites the blessings special to the occasion. The table is set as for the Sabbath, with one additional feature - a plate of sliced apples and a dish of honey, symbolic of the hope that "the year may be a sweet one."

Rosh Hashanah services are impressive. Because there are so many additional prayers for the Holy Days, it is necessary to use a special prayer book commonly called a Mahzor. The shofar is sounded at designated points during Rosh Hashanah services.

Beginning with Rosh Hashanah and continuing throughout the following 10 days, the following blessing is often offered when greeting or taking leave of another person: "Shanah tovah tikkatevu, le-shanah tovah umetukah — may you be inscribed for a good (or sweet) year."

### CARROT TZIMMES For Rosh Hashanah

10 medium carrots  
3 tablespoons unsalted margarine  
About 3 tablespoons honey  
3 tablespoons brown sugar  
3 tablespoons fresh lemon juice, strained  
Kosher salt  
Black pepper, freshly ground

- 1) Rinse, peel and trim carrots. Cut into rounds in a food processor fitted with the slicing attachment.
- 2) Place in a saucepan with margarine, honey, brown sugar and lemon juice. Bring to a boil and simmer, covered, for about 1 hour or until carrots are soft, but still crunchy. Season to taste. Serves 8.

### YOM KIPPUR

Yom Kippur, the tenth day of Tishri, is the holiest day of the year. It is a day completely devoted to spiritual needs.

Before all holidays, it is good to give tzedakah (charity), but it is particularly important to do so before Yom Kippur.

Tzedakah, along with prayer and repentance, represents a central theme and the moral/spiritual quality for the day.

The meal immediately preceding Yom Kippur should be big and joyous. In fact, it is often regarded as an obligation.

During Yom Kippur, no food or drink is to be taken. Fasting helps us concentrate on our prayers and self-examination. The Mahzor (High Holiday prayer book) urges us to reflect on G-d's majesty and on human weakness, and to reflect frankly on our personal shortcomings. What is stressed is our capacity to improve our conduct and live a better life.

The Maariv Service, during which Kol Nidre is chanted, is begun before sunset. Unlike any other Maariv Service, the tallit is worn. The rabbi, cantor and some others may be wearing the long white robe that symbolizes purity and innocence.

Services continue in the synagogue throughout the next day. During the day, memorial prayers (yizkor) are said for the deceased relatives of individual families and for members of the congregation. Special prayers are sometimes included for Jews who lost their lives because of persecution or while fighting in various wars.

The final element — the ultimate culmination of the entire reflection process — is the loud, long piercing shofar blast which comes at the end of Neilah, the closing service. This marks the final sealing of the heavenly gates.

Following the closing service, a light "break the fast" meal is eaten. Friends and family often visit. In many homes, at this time, the first nail is driven in the sukkah in preparation for the joyous holiday of Sukkot, which is next in the Jewish calendar.

### LOKSHEN KUGEL For Yom Kippur

½ pound broad noodles  
4 eggs, separated  
½ cup margarine  
½ pound cottage cheese  
½ pint sour cream  
½ cup sugar  
¼ cup graham-cracker crumbs

- 1) Cook noodles according to directions on package. Drain.
- 2) Preheat oven to 350°
- 3) Beat the egg whites until stiff peaks form. Combine the remaining ingredients, except the crumbs, and fold in the egg whites.
- 4) Transfer to greased 1-quart soufflé dish and sprinkle with graham-cracker crumbs.
- 5) Bake 45 minutes, or until golden brown. Serves 4-6. (M)

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## SUKKOT

Sukkot, also called the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles, is actually a composite of several holidays. It begins two weeks after Rosh Hashanah on the same day of the week and lasts nine days (eight for Reform Jews and in Israel). This festival falls on the 15-22 of Tishri.

As with many holidays, Sukkot has dual origins — being both a historical and agricultural festival. Historically, it represents the journey of Israel through the desert after the exodus from Egypt — during which time the people lived in booths of an obviously impermanent nature. Agriculturally, the holiday celebrates the final gathering of the fruit and produce of the year. In this aspect, it is referred to as Hag ha-Asif, the Holiday of the In-Gathering.

Preparation for Sukkot begins immediately after Yom Kippur, with the construction of the sukkah (a temporary booth). The sukkah can be any size but must have at least three walls. It is decorated with hanging fruits and flowers. The roof is sparse so that the sun and stars can be seen.

During Sukkot we make use of four species of Biblical vegetation: the etrog, the lemon-like fruit of the citron tree; the lulav, the long and stiff palm branch; the haddassim, the three multi-leaved twigs of the myrtle branch; and the aravot, two twigs of the willow tree. The myrtle and willow branches are bound together to the lulav. We hold the etrog in our left hand with its stem upright and the lulav in our right. Holding our two hands together, we pronounce the appropriate blessing. We then turn the etrog upside down and wave the lulav in all directions, signifying the omnipresent G-d. The rabbis offer many explanations for the four species. The etrog is Abraham, beautiful yet wrinkled. The lulav is Isaac, as both are bound. The haddassim are Jacob, thick with leaves as he was with children. The aravot are Joseph; they dry up quickly as Joseph died before his 11 brothers.

The four species are used each day of the Sukkot in a procession around the synagogue and on the seventh day of Sukkot (Hoshana Raba), seven such processions are made. The lulav and etrog are not used on the Shabbat.

## STUFFED CABBAGE ROLLS

### For Sukkot

1 head of cabbage, about 5 pounds

Kosher salt

#### FILLING:

1 small onion

1 clove garlic

1 medium potato

1 egg

¾ pound lean veal, ground, and 1 pound lean chuck,

ground, then ground together twice

¼ bunch Italian flat-leaf parsley

3 tablespoons long-grain rice (Uncle Ben's converted brand)

2 tablespoons tomato paste

1 tablespoon black Chinese soy sauce

Kosher salt

Black pepper, freshly ground

#### SAUCE:

2 carrots

2 onions

1 tart apple (Granny Smith or greening)

¼ to 1 bunch Italian flat-leaf parsley

¼ cup seedless dark raisins

2 ounces dried apricots, cut into small pieces

2-pound, 3-ounce can peeled Italian plum tomatoes, undrained

8 ounce can tomato sauce

2 tablespoons tomato paste

About 2 tablespoons dark brown sugar

Juice of about ½ lemon

6 medium meaty beef bones

Kosher salt

Black pepper, freshly ground

¼ ounce Kosher beef-flavored bouillon cube dissolved in ¼ cup boiling water (optional)

#### To prepare the cabbage leaves:

1) Remove and discard bruised and discolored outer cabbage leaves. With a pointed knife, cut out some of the hard center core. Boil cabbage for a few minutes in a large pot of boiling water to which 2 tablespoons salt have been added.

2) Turn cabbage as it cooks. Lift out by piercing core with a large fork, then refresh with cold water to make it easier to handle.

3) To peel off leaves without damaging them, first cut them at the core, then remove. (When leaves are wilted, they are easy to remove. If not wilted, they will tear.) Return cabbage to boiling water and repeat in the same fashion; you may do this several times. The center cabbage leaves will be too small for stuffing, so shred them and save for the sauce.

#### To make the filling:

1) Peel and quarter onion, garlic and potato. Place in a food processor fitted with the steel blade. Add egg and puree until smooth.

2) Place chopped meat in a large bowl and add puree.

Remove bottom half of parsley stems; wash the rest and spin dry. Chop coarsely in food processor. Add to meat along with the rice, tomato paste and soy sauce. Mix with your hands to combine well. (If you mix in one direction, it makes the filling fluffier.) Season with salt and pepper.

#### To make the sauce:

1) Peel, trim and quarter carrots and chop coarsely in a food processor. Do the same with the onions. Peel, core and chop apple. Remove bottom half of parsley stems; rinse the rest and chop coarsely in food processor.

2) Place all but last three sauce ingredients in medium saucepan and bring to a boil slowly so that the sauce does not burn. Simmer sauce, covered, while you fill cabbage leaves. Season with salt and pepper.

#### To fill the cabbage leaves:

1) Preheat oven to 325°F. Spread a cabbage leaf and place about 2 tablespoons filling in the center. Roll halfway, fold the sides toward the center and continue to roll tightly to the end.

2) Place rolls, seam side down, close to each other in a large sauce pan. Pour sauce over them, cover with shredded cabbage and bring to a boil. Cover saucepan with a sheet of heavy foil, then a lid. Cook in oven for about 2 hours, turning rolls from time to time. Reduce heat to 300° and cook for another 30 minutes. Season to taste. If there is too little sauce, add dissolved bouillon until it is right. Makes 20 cabbage rolls. (F)



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### THE EIGHTH DAY, SHEMINI ATZERET

Shemini Atzeret is a holiday in itself although its contemporary function is unclear. It is essentially a conclusion and is primarily marked by the insertion of the prayer for Rain-Tefilat Geshem as this is the beginning of the season which determines the fertility of the land in the year to come. Geshem is recited in the manner of a supplication. Having lived through the past year, we are able to rejoice. About to live another, we already face the fear and uncertainty and hopes which the future engenders.

### SIMCHAT TORAH

Simchat Torah, the Rejoicing with the Torah, is associated with Sukkot but is actually an independent holiday falling on the day after. In the Diaspora this occurs on the ninth day, while in Israel it is combined with Shemini Atzeret. Although this is basically a synagogue festival, some of its customs should be noted.

Simchat Torah is a joyous occasion involving the entire community, young and old. On this day, we conclude the cycle of the reading of the Torah and immediately begin again. During the synagogue service, all the Torah scrolls are taken out and are carried around the synagogue in a series of processions — Hakkafot — accompanied by singing and dancing with the scrolls of law.

### HANUKKAH

Hanukkah, the Hebrew word for dedication, reminds us of the cleansing of the Temple and the rededication to the religious and moral principles of Judaism. The holiday is also called the Festival of Lights. It begins on the 25th day of Kislev, usually in December, and continues for eight days.

As with other festivals in the cycle of the Jewish year, there seems to be a dual origin to Hanukkah — seasonal and historical. The historical story is quite well known. Judah the Maccabee led a revolt against the Hellenistic Syrians who occupied the land of Israel around 165 B.C.E. There is a miracle associated with this victory. Some say that when the Temple was to be rededicated only one cruse of sacramental oil was found. Although this was only supposed to burn for one day, it miraculously lasted for eight full days, during which time other oil was prepared. Others maintain that the victory in itself constitutes the miracle.

The central motif of Hanukkah is light. The only special mitzvah related to the holiday is to kindle the lights each night. There are nine places on the menorah — one candle for each night, plus the shamas (the work candle) which is used to light the others. The candles are placed in the menorah beginning from the right side and moving to the left with each day. However, the candles are lit from left to right so that we can light the new candles first.

A widespread custom is to give Hanukkah gifts to children and students. The intentions behind this include spreading light and joy and giving incentive to study. The custom is actually quite old and is independent of the parallel custom of giving presents at Christmas.

### SOFGANIYOT For Hanukkah

(SOUR CREAM DOUGHNUTS)

2 ½ cups of self-rising flour  
2 eggs  
1 ¼ cups sour cream  
2 tablespoons sugar  
¼ teaspoon salt  
½ teaspoon vanilla  
oil for frying

- 1) Combine all ingredients in a mixing bowl. Batter will be soft.
- 2) Drop by tablespoonfuls into hot oil and fry, turning once.
- 3) Drain on absorbent paper and sprinkle with confectioners' (icing) sugar. Serve warm. Makes about 24 doughnuts.

### PURIM

Purim, which is celebrated on the 14th day of Adar, is ostensibly purely historical in origin; however, it bears striking resemblances to holidays of other folk cultures held at about the same time which commemorate the emergence of spring. The history, as written in Megillat Esther — the scroll of Esther — involves a plot by wicked Haman against the Jews and his eventual defeat and demise through the efforts of that great uncle/niece team of Mordechai and Esther. The Jews were saved, wrong was righted and everyone joined together in jubilation. In commemoration of this event, we similarly gather to read the story and to celebrate.

Purim festivities begin with the Maariv Service. This service is often done as a spoof or parody of the other services of the year, using melodies particular to the various holidays and exaggerating them or putting them in unexpected places. It is customary to collect half a shekel (50 cents) either before the service or before the Megillah reading. This money is then given to charity and serves as a remembrance of the half-shekel tax collected in biblical times from every adult male for support of the Temple.



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### HAMANTASHEN DOUGH

#### For Purim

**(cookie dough base)**

- ½ cup parve margarine or butter
- ¼ cup sugar
- 1 egg
- 3 tablespoons milk or water
- ¼ teaspoon vanilla
- 2½-3 cups sifted all-purpose unbleached flour

- 1) Cream the shortening with sugar. Add egg and continue creaming until smooth.
  - 2) Add the milk and vanilla. Stir in the sifted flour until a ball of dough is formed (a food processor is excellent for this).
  - 3) Chill for 2-3 hours or overnight.
  - 4) Preheat oven to 375°.
  - 5) Taking one-fourth of the dough, roll out on a lightly floured board to thickness of 1/8". Cut into 2" circles. Fill with 1 teaspoon of poppy-seed or nut filling and fold into three-cornered cookies. (Press two sides together and then fold the third side over and press the ends together.)
  - 6) Bake on a well-greased cookie sheet 10-15 minutes until the tops are golden.
- Makes about 36. (M or P)

**Fillings for Hamantashen**

The following two fillings will make enough for the entire dough recipe. A quarter of each will fill the hamantashen dough.

**Nut Filling**

- 2 cups walnuts, ground
- 1¼ cups sugar
- 1 teaspoon vanilla
- Rind and juice of 1 lemon
- Rind and juice of 1 orange
- 2 tablespoons rum
- ½ cup raisins
- 4 figs, chopped
- 1 teaspoon cinnamon, or to taste
- 1 cup orange marmalade or apricot jam
- ½ cup unsalted butter or parve margarine, creamed or melted
- 2 large egg whites

Combine all of the above ingredients and mix well.  
(M or P)

**Poppy-Seed Filling**

- 1 pound sugar
- ½ cup water
- 1 pound poppy seeds
- 2 egg whites
- 1 teaspoon vanilla
- Rind and juice of 1 lemon
- Rind and juice of 1 orange
- 2 tablespoons rum
- 4 ounces raisins
- 2 ounces figs, chopped
- Cinnamon to taste
- 2 cups apricot or raspberry jam
- ½ cup unsalted butter or parve margarine

- 1) Combine the sugar and water and simmer while stirring over a low heat.
  - 2) Grind the poppy seeds in a food processor or blender.
  - 3) Add the egg whites, vanilla, lemon rind and juice, orange rind and juice, rum, raisins, figs and cinnamon. Simmer over a low heat for about 5 minutes. Add the jam and butter and continue simmering until the butter is melted and all the ingredients are combined. Use as is or put in the refrigerator for a few minutes until the filling becomes a bit firmer.
- (M or P)

### PESACH (PASSOVER)

As with all major festivals, Pesach has both agricultural and historical origins. Agriculturally, spring was the time of grain harvest in Palestine. Historically, Pesach commemorates the Exodus from Egypt and the release from slavery.

There is a powerful midrashic-Hasidic understanding of Pesach which has become almost normative. We are told that each one of us is to regard himself as if he personally had gone out of Egypt. Thus, to say that we must leave Egypt is to say that each one of us must struggle to break out of his narrowness, free himself to attain his full potential — spiritually, emotionally and psychologically.

This inspiring festival, commencing the fifteenth day of Nisan and lasting eight days, is unique in a number of ways. Its principal ceremony, the family Seder, belongs to the home rather than the synagogue; its effect on the household is greatest because of the special Passover food requirements (the absence of leaven). And so the preparations for this festival are more elaborate than any other.

The Seder (and by extension the whole Pesach) is a time when the entire extended family and other guests come together. The story of the Exodus is explained in detail in the Haggadah, the text for the Seder. The feast is given religious and spiritual significance by the intriguing symbols on the table. The symbols are:

**MATZOT** — three whole matzoh (unleavened bread) are placed between three napkins or in a specially sectioned cover. This reminds us of the bread made in haste by the Israelite women on their hurried departure from Egypt. The three matzot also represent the three traditional groups of Jews — Kohen, Levi and Yisrael.

**ROASTED BONE (zero'a)** — remembrance of the sacrificial lamb offered by the Israelites and eaten on the eve of their departure from Egypt.

**ROASTED EGG (beitzah)** — recalls the individual festival offering of Temple Days, known as the hagigah.

**MOROR** — bitter herbs (horseradish is usually used) as a reminder of the bitterness of the bondage in Egypt.

**KARPAS** — celery or parsley or any other green vegetable suggests the first green of spring. It is also said to represent a first course in the meal, which in ancient times only free men could enjoy.

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**SALT WATER** — into which the greens are dipped, described as the tears shed for the suffering and persecution.

**HAROSET** — a mixture of chopped apples, nuts, cinnamon and wine, suggesting the bricks that the Israelites made for Pharaoh.

**WINE** — (four cups) when the Israelites were in Egypt, G-d made four promises, all of which were kept immediately:  
"I will free you from the burdens of the Egyptians and deliver you from their bondage: I will redeem you with an outstretched arm...and I will take you to be My people." (Exodus 6:6-7)

In remembrance of this fourfold redemption, we fill our cups four times, give blessing to G-d and partake of the wine.

**CUP OF ELIJAH** — the cup of Elijah has come to demonstrate both our firm trust that this age will come and determination to work for it. As we reach the third section of the Seder, revealing the vista of the future, we open the door for Elijah. Perhaps he will come tonight, since tradition tells us he will arrive on Passover.

### HAZELNUT-CHOCOLATE LOAF

#### For Passover

1 cup hazelnuts  
6 ounces semisweet chocolate  
5½ tablespoons unsalted margarine, at room temperature  
½ tablespoon potato flour  
4 eggs, at room temperature, separated, plus 1 egg white  
½ cup sugar  
1 teaspoon almond extract

- 1) Preheat oven to 350°F. Roast hazelnuts in oven in a baking pan for about 15 minutes. Rub in a dish towel to remove skin. (Some skin will remain.) Let nuts cool but keep oven hot. Coarsely chop in a food processor fitted with the steel blade; set aside.
- 2) Chop 2 ounces of chocolate into small chips in food processor and set aside.
- 3) Grease a 9X5 inch pan with ½ tablespoon of the margarine and dust with potato flour. (If you are not making the cake on Passover, use regular flour.) Invert pan and tap to shake off excess.
- 4) Place remaining 4 ounces of chocolate, broken into small pieces, in top part of a double boiler. Cover and set over simmering water until melted. Remove top and whisk in margarine, 1 tablespoon at a time, until smooth and well combined; set aside.
- 5) Beat egg yolks in an electric mixer at medium speed, adding sugar gradually, until pale and thick, about 10 minutes.
- 6) Lower speed and pour in cooled chocolate and almond extract, beating until thoroughly combined; set aside.
- 7) Beat the 5 egg whites at high speed until stiff.
- 8) With a rubber spatula, fold half the nuts, the chocolate chips and a quarter of the whites into the chocolate mixture. Repeat with another quarter of the whites and remaining nuts.
- 9) Now reverse the process, pouring chocolate over whites. Gently fold the two mixtures together, making a motion like a figure eight, until all the whites have disappeared.
- 10) Pour batter into the prepared pan and bake in center of oven for about 55 minutes. Test with a cake tester in the center; it should come out dry. (P)

## SHAVUOT

Shavuot has a two-fold significance. The Bible describes it as an agricultural festival - the Hag Hakatzin, the Harvest Festival, and the Yom Habikkurim, the Day of the First Ripe Fruits. But the significance of Shavuot, ascribed to the festival by tradition, is of even greater importance than its agricultural meaning. Shavuot has long been observed by our people as a Torah festival, the anniversary of receiving the Ten Commandments at Sinai. Shavuot has universal implications as the Zman Mattan Toratenu, the Season of the Giving of the Torah.

This festival occurs exactly seven weeks after the second day of Passover, hence, its name Shavuot, which is the Hebrew term for "weeks". It begins the sixth day of Sivan. Reform Jews and the Jews of Israel celebrate Shavuot only one day, while others observe two days as holy days.

It is customary to stay up an entire night of Shavuot, studying and discussing Torah.

To remind us of the agricultural meaning of Shavuot, it is customary to decorate the home or synagogue with plants, flowers and foliage for the festival. This is an expression of our gratitude for the beauties and bounties of nature.

Honey and milk are also Shavuot symbols. According to the rabbis, the Torah is as sweet as honey and as nourishing as milk to those who study it and live according to its precepts. Dairy foods are therefore characteristic Shavuot dishes. Blintzes, honey, cheesecake and a variety of other dairy dainties dominate the Shavuot menu.

### LOX, SOUR CREAM AND CAVIAR MOLD For Shavuot

1 tablespoon (1 envelope) unflavored kosher gelatin  
¼ cup cold water  
½ cup heavy cream  
8 ounces of cream cheese  
1 cup sour cream  
1 tablespoon Worcestershire sauce  
Dash of Tabasco sauce  
2 tablespoons freeze-dried or fresh chopped chives  
1 teaspoon lemon juice  
1 tablespoon chopped parsley  
1 tablespoon horseradish  
½ pound smoked salmon (lox), coarsely chopped  
4 ounces red salmon caviar

- 1) Soak the gelatin in cold water. Add the heavy cream.
- 2) Combine the cream cheese and sour cream in a food processor or electric mixer.
- 3) Add the gelatin mixture, Worcestershire sauce, Tabasco, chives, lemon juice, parsley and horseradish to the cream-cheese mixture and combine well.
- 4) Blend in the lox and caviar.
- 5) Rinse a 1-quart mold with cold water. Dry, then rub some vegetable oil inside. Fill with the mixture and chill at least 12 hours.

# Synchronized Jewish Calendar

*NIV Study Bible*, 101; J. Lilly, "Calendar," *ZBPE*, 1:687-92; Nicholas de Lange, *Atlas of the Jewish World*, 89

We all use different calendars today—the civil calendar begins in January, the school calendar begins at SBC in July, the fiscal calendar begins when company books are cleared, and the lunar calendar begins at Chinese New Year in late January or February.

In like manner, the Israelites had three systems of naming months.

1. **Civil**—Abib, Bul, etc. were Canaanite names designating the secular calendar beginning in our present September-October. This was likely the calendar the patriarchs used.
2. **Sacred**—At the Exodus a new, sacred calendar was employed identifying months by number (beginning at Passover in March-April). Later Nisan, Tishri, Kislev, etc. became adapted Babylonian names attached to these religious months. These names are still used today though the modern Jews begin the new year according to the civil reckoning (September-October).
3. **Numbered**—First, second, third, etc. designated months of the sacred calendar (Lev. 23:5, 24)

Each calendar had twelve months of 30 days each. Thus they were all approximate to the actual solar (astronomical) calendar of 365.24219879 days (see the extra month needed below for accuracy).

Hebrew Calendar and Selected Events						
NUMBER of MONTH	HEBREW NAME	MODERN EQUIVALENT	BIBLICAL REFERENCES	AGRICULTURE	FEASTS	
1 Sacred sequence begins	7	Abib; Nisan	March-April	Ex 12:2; 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Dt 16:1; Ne 2:1; Est 3:7	Spring (later) rains; barley and flax harvest begins	Passover; Unleavened Bread; Firstfruits
2	8	Ziv (Iyyar)*	April-May	1Ki 6:1,37	Barley harvest; dry season begins	
3	9	Sivan	May-June	Est 8:9	Wheat harvest	Pentecost (Weeks)
4	10	(Tammuz)*	June-July		Tending vines	
5	11	(Ab)*	July-August		Ripening of grapes, figs and olives	
6	12	Elul	August-September	Ne 6:15	Processing grapes, figs and olives	
7	1 Civil sequence	Ethanim (Tishri)*	September-October	1Ki 8:2	Autumn (early) rains begin; plowing	Trumpets; Atonement; Tabernacles (Booths)
8	2	Eul (Marcheshvan)*	October-November	1Ki 6:38	Sowing of wheat and barley	
9	3	Kislev	November-December	Ne 1:1; Zec 7:1	Winter rains begin (snow in some areas)	Hanukkah ("Dedication")
10	4	Tebeth	December-January	Est 2:16		
11	5	Shebat	January-February	Zec 1:7		
12	6	Adar	February-March	Ezr 6:15; Est 3:7,13; 8:12; 9:1,15,17,19,21	Almond trees bloom; citrus fruit harvest	Purim
		(Adar Sheni)* Second Adar	— This intercalary month was added about every three years so the lunar calendar would correspond to the solar year.			

\*Names in parentheses are not in the Bible

## Eschatology of Israel's Feasts (Leviticus 23)

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Length</u>	<u>Feast</u>	<u>Significance (Past)</u>	<u>Typology (Future)</u>
1.	Weekly	1 day	Sabbath* (Shabbat)	• Creation rest of God • Deliverance from Egypt • Sign of Mosaic Covenant (Exod. 20, 31; Deut 5)	Millennial rest (Heb. 4:1-11)
2.	1-14 (Nisan)	1 day (Read Song of Songs)	Passover*† (Pesach)	Redemption from Egypt by blood of the sacrificial lamb (Exod. 12)	Redemption from sin by Christ's death as Lamb (1 Cor. 5:7b)
3.	1-15 to 1-21 (Nisan)	7 days	Unleavened Bread*†	Separation/break from dependence upon Egypt to dependence upon God	Separated life of the redeemed for God (1 Cor. 5:7a, 8)
4.	1-16 (Day after Harvest Sabbath)	1 day	Firstfruits (barley sheaf ceremony)	Anticipation of God's <i>future</i> material provisions -begins grain harvest	Resurrection of Christ (1 Cor. 15:20)
5.	3-6 (Sivan)	1 day (Read Ruth)	Pentecost† (Shavuoth) (Weeks) (Harvest)	Thanksgiving for God's <i>past</i> material provisions -ends grain harvest (Deut. 16:9-12)	Coming of the Holy Spirit to complete Christ's resurrection (Acts 2)
—	Spring-Summer	no feasts	—	Enjoyment of the harvest	Church Age
6.	7-1 (Tishri)	1 day	Trumpets (New Year) (Rosh Hashanah)	Preparation for national redemption and cleansing on Day of Atonement	Rapture (1 Thess. 4:13f.) Revelation (Matt. 24:31) — Kingdom preparation
7.	7-10 (Tishri)	1 day	Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur)	National repentance and cleansing from sins of the people (Lev. 16)	National repentance of Israel in the Tribulation (Rom. 11:26-27; Zech. 12)
8.	7-15 to 7-21 (Tishri)	7 days (Read Eccles.)	Tabernacles*† (Booths/Tents) (Succot) (the Lord) (Ingathering)	Remembered wilderness wanderings in tents (Lev. 23:42-43; Neh. 8:13-18) & celebrated final harvest of the year (Deut. 16:13)	Fulfillment of the Abrahamic Covenant in Millennium — Judgment (Matt. 13:30, 39; Rev. 14:15) — Kingdom (Matt. 17:4)
9.	7-22 (Tishri)	1 day	Shemini Atzeret (Simchat Torah)	"Eighth Day of Assembly" "Rejoicing in the Torah"	
The following days are not commanded in Scripture and probably have no eschatological significance:					
10.	5-9 (Ab)	1 day (Read Lam.)	9th of Ab (Tish'ah be'ab)	Destructions of Jerusalem: 586 BC & AD 70	↑
11.	9-25 (Kislev)	1 day + 7 more days of candle lighting	Hanukkah (Dedication) (Lights) (Illumination) (Maccabees)	Saving of the nation under Judas Maccabeus in 164 BC (cf. John 10:22)	<p><i>This Typology column shows that the order of Israel's annual feasts prophetically parallels her experience as a nation throughout history!</i></p>
12.	12-14/15 (Adar)	2 days (Read Esther)	Purim (Lots)	Saving of the nation under Esther (9:21)	<b>Note: 10% of the year was for celebrations!</b>

\* Feasts celebrated in the Millennium (Isa. 66:23; Ezek. 45:21; 46:1; Zech. 14:16-19; Luke 22:16)

† Feasts celebrated in three annual Jerusalem pilgrimages by all male Israelites (Exod. 23:14-17)

## Key Characters in the A.D. Video

Religious life was complex during the time Paul wrote his epistles. Probably the most extreme differences came in the contrast between Roman religion and Judaism (and those Jews who had embraced Christ as Messiah). The conflicts are well portrayed in the film viewed in class entitled "A.D." This 12-hour Vincenzo LaBella production cost US\$30 million to produce and was filmed on location in Tunisia, Pompeii, Herculeneum, and Rome. It was broadcast in the USA during the 1984-85 television season. Gospel Films, Inc. (PO Box 455; Muskegon, Michigan 49443-0455) edited the version seen in class to a 6-hour series that I purchased from Christian Book Distributors ([www.christianbook.com](http://www.christianbook.com)). The following characterizations are taken from the study guide that accompanies this 3-tape set on pages 7-9.

A.D. mixes historic characters who we know from the New Testament, leaders mentioned by the Jewish historian Josephus, figures that appear in the works of Roman historians Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, and characters who have been created by the script writers to advance the story.

### BIBLICAL CHARACTERS

Peter, Paul, Barnabas, James the Greater, James the Lesser, Luke, Stephen, Philip and Thomas are all disciples and apostles who appear in the narratives of the Four Gospels and The Acts of the Apostles. Much of their dialog is drawn from the words of Scripture and should be checked in the cross-referencing in the Study Guide.

Priscilla and Aquila, mentioned in The Acts of the Apostles and in Paul's letters, have a greatly expanded role in A.D. Their presence as leading members of Rome's small Jewish community, their migration to Corinth during the expulsion of Claudius, and their important connection with Paul can be traced through Acts. The additional program material given to them is in character and context, but is the creation of the scriptwriters.

Gamaliel, the teacher and leading Pharisee in the Jerusalem Temple appears in Acts 5 and is also mentioned in the work of Josephus. His moderate views and tolerance of the new Christian teachings is based in history and makes him an important character as the small band of believers come to terms with their Jewish heritage.

The Ethiopian servant of Candace, who is baptized by Philip, is an important character in Acts, Chapter 8. Not only does his search of the Scriptures lead him to a decision of faith, but he represents an important expansion of the Gospel message to all people.

Pilate and Festus, the Roman provincial governors who attempted to maintain the Roman rule over Judea are both mentioned in the New Testament. Roman historians mention that Pilate was removed from office, though the reason for the removal is obscure.

### Thought Questions:

1—Contrast the reactions of Nero and his advisor with that of the senators and common people on the burning of Rome.

2—What are your feelings and thoughts about the Christians dying in the arena?

3—Valerius states after seeing the slaughter of Christians, "I am not a Roman soldier anymore. I will not serve a butcher and a pack of wolves... I renounce my rank. I renege my service to the Emperor, this city!" How did hearing this strike you? Have you ever heard something similar in your own experience or that of others?

## Key Characters in the A.D. Video (2 of 2)

### FICTIONAL CHARACTERS

Two of the three couples who play key roles in the developing story of A.D. (the third couple is Aquila and Priscilla) are (1) Caleb, (the Jewish zealot freedom fighter) and Corinna, (daughter of a Senator and female gladiator) (2) Valerius, (the Roman soldier) and Sarah, (sister of Caleb). Aside from being interesting characters, they represent four important social and cultural perspectives that had great effect on the Roman world of A.D.

Caleb bridges the Judean resistance fighters who sought to overthrow the Roman government and bring in the Messianic Age by force with the violent world of the gladiators - people trained to fight and die for the supposed entertainment of the Emperor and the citizens. Since the excesses of the Emperor often left the public treasury without any money, the games were created to take the people's minds off the unemployment, poverty and hunger that gripped Rome during these years.

Although Caleb's character does not end the program with a confession of faith, it is clear that the words, teachings and lives of the Christians has made a dramatic impact on his life.

His early relationship with the various groups within Jewish culture gives an introduction to the following:

**Pharisees** - a strict and legalistic group that studied the Torah and spent much of its time debating the implications of the Law.

**Saducees** - a group that drew its heritage out of the Wisdom books in the Scriptures and had very different views of life, death and resurrection.

**Nazarenes/Essenes** - members of reclusive, monastic communities that pulled away from the rest of Jewish society and spent most of their time in rites of purification, study, and prayer.

**Zealots** - Jewish freedom fighters who fought as guerilla bands, attacking the Romans where they could and working for the overthrow of the government.

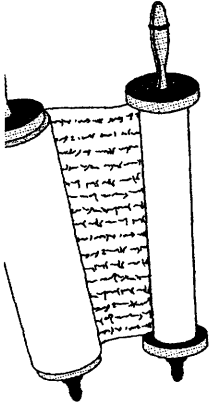
Corinna, who becomes Caleb's wife, represents a small but active part of Roman society. Although history concentrates on the male gladiators, Roman historians make the point that women were also involved in the gladiatorial training and struggles. Because she is a Roman, Corinna's character is much more reliant on the superstition and mysticism that were a major part of Roman religion.

Valerius represents the side of Roman life that was most stable through the tumult of the various Emperors. The military, carefully organized into units that were highly disciplined, represented the strength and presence of Rome. Being a career soldier was considered an honor and the military had great status in the community. The character of Valerius presents a uniting thread between Roman history and the growth of the faith. His presence with Emperors and governors and with Paul and Aquila and Priscilla pulls the narrative together and, in a believable way, bridges the two worlds.

Sarah brings the Jewish tradition into her slavery, represents the struggle that the Jews had under Claudius, and through her marriage to Valerius, shows not only the traditional Roman wedding, but also the process through which slaves could become free.

## C. Judaism in Palestine and the Diaspora (continued from p. 126)

4. Synagogue (from Coleman, 212-17; Bruce, 143-48; Pritchard, *Harper Atlas*, 152)

- 
- a. **Definition:** the center of Jewish religious education in which Jews gathered on Sabbaths and other days for worship, prayer, and instruction from the Old Testament. The Greek *syn* “together” with *agoge* “way of life, conduct” has the idea of bringing together for a common way of life (BAGD 14) and literally refers to a “gathering-place” or “place where something collects” (BAGD 782).
- b. **Origin:** During the Jewish exile in Babylon six centuries before Christ (605-538 BC) the first synagogues were established—probably to teach Hebrew children to maintain their distinct (e.g., monotheistic) religion amidst pagan (polytheistic) surroundings.
- c. **Diversity:** No typical synagogue existed. Since only ten Jewish men were required to establish one, this ease of “synagogue planting” led to great variety. Synagogues had differing architecture, political views, and congregations (e.g., the Synagogue of the Libertines or Freedman in Acts 6:9, found in the City of David—cf. p. 206 #14).
- d. **Furniture:** While there was great diversity, still four basic items of furniture were standard in all synagogues:
- 1) *Chest:* This “Torah shrine,” as it was often called, held the sacred scriptural scrolls.
  - 2) *Bema:* Scriptures were read from this elevated platform with a reading stand (“pulpit”) as a sign of respect for the Word of God and so that all could see the reader. Sometimes the bema had a wooden canopy and rails.
  - 3) *Benches* lined two or three walls around the edge of the room with mats for many to sit in the center (cf. James 2:1). Chairs were added at times and the Pharisees or important (“rich?”) guests took the more important seats (Matt. 23:6). Men and women were separated.
  - 4) *Lamps of menorah:* Lights provided light and symbolized the presence of God.
- e. **Leadership:** Three types of leaders were common:
- 1) *Elders:* Ten were required to begin the synagogue and it is presumed that they had a continuing influence.
  - 2) *Ruler of the synagogue:* This general overseer maintained order in the services by assigning men to read the Scripture, pray, or speak (Acts 13:15). A synagogue ruler objected to Christ’s healing on the Sabbath (Luke 13:14), probably because it caused a disturbance! The ruler Crispus in Corinth believed in Christ (Acts 18:8; cf. Luke 8:41).
  - 3) *Attendant of the synagogue:* He was the “religious professional” who received a salary for taking care of the scrolls (Luke 4:20), teaching the children, blowing the trumpet to start and end the Sabbath, presiding over funerals and mourning feasts, and administering punishments—even beatings (Mark 13:9). He often lived at the synagogue and sometimes was not godly.
- f. **Celebrations:** Feasts and festivals were celebrated in the same building where prayers and sermons were delivered. Some celebrations corresponded to those at the Jerusalem temple whereas others were in line with local culture and interests.



g. Contrasting the Synagogue and Early Church

	<u>Synagogue</u>	<u>Church</u>
<i>Membership</i>	Jews & proselytes	Christians (Jews & Gentiles together)
<i>Separation</i>	Gentiles & women apart	Men and women together (1 Cor. 11-14)
<i>Meeting Place</i>	Building	Homes/Household communities
<i>Spontaneity</i>	Structured (book prayers)	Spontaneous (non-memorized prayers)
<i>Political Use</i>	Yes	Probably not
<i>Discipline</i>	Beatings (Mark 13:9)	Expelling towards restoration (1 Cor. 5:13)
<i>Worship Day</i>	Sabbath (Friday night)	Lord's Day (Sunday PM or early AM) — Sabbath too for early Jewish believers
<i>Miniature of...</i>	Jerusalem temple (except sacrifices)	Heaven (except angels and many other things!)

h. Comparing the Synagogue and Church

	<u>Synagogue</u>	<u>Church</u>
<i>Distribution</i>	One per town (though Jerusalem had seven!)	One per town (though in house churches)
<i>Leadership</i>	10 elders	Multiple elders (Acts 11:30; 14:23; 20:17f.) — sometimes deacons too (Phil. 1:1)
<i>Furniture</i>	Chest, bema, benches, lamps	Probably none initially (in house churches) Later a pulpit and benches (in buildings)? Lamps (Acts 20:7-8)
<i>Order of Service</i>	Call to worship Shema (Deut. 6:4-5) Prayers and amens Scripture reading — Torah and Prophets Exposition/exhortation Blessing (Num. 6:22-27)	Call to worship (invocation) Creed (Phil. 2:6-11) Prayers Scripture reading — OT plus NT gospels and letters Preaching Benediction (Jude 24-25)
<i>Open Meetings</i>	Jews and Gentiles (Acts 18:4)	Believers and unbelievers (1 Cor. 14:22-25)

i. Lessons & Questions

- 1) Since the first Christians were Jews, the early church adopted several synagogue patterns. The NT records (describes) these, but does it require (prescribe) them? What guidelines determine if a practice noted in Scripture is described versus prescribed? For example, how should we deal with issues such as plurality of elders, footwashing, head coverings, and orders of service? (By the way, Jewish men didn't cover their heads in synagogue worship until the fourth century AD as a response to Christianity.)
- 2) We should adopt amoral patterns (cultural, without moral overtones) similar to those of new believers in an area. For example, if recent converts from Islam, Buddhism, or Hinduism do not feel comfortable worshipping sitting in chairs, these should be removed from the room! The same can be said for a pulpit and other items which are amoral.

## 5. Christian Ordinance Backgrounds

- a. Baptism has *identification* as its basic meaning. Through baptism persons became identified as belonging to a particular religious community.

### 1) Old Testament

- a) Baptism was not practiced in OT times as far as we can tell at present.
- b) Although the word for “ritual washing” (*baptismos* βαπτισμός) sounds similar to that for “baptism” (*baptisma* βάπτισμα), they are very different. These ceremonial hand washings were common in Christ’s day (Mark 7:3f.) but technically cannot be deemed baptism since: (1) they took place repeatedly and (2) they had no meaning of identification attached. Thus a different word is used to describe a different practice with a different meaning.

### 2) Intertestamental Era

- a) Jewish self-immersion proselyte baptism began at some time between OT washings and the NT practice (Bruce, 156). This enabled Gentiles to publicly identify with the Jewish community as converts to Judaism.
- b) The new member of the community would baptise himself/herself.
- c) Besides baptism, proselytes to Judaism also needed to be circumcised and offer sacrifices. Baptism may have especially been employed for women since they could not be circumcised (“βάπτω, βαπτίζω” by A. Oepke, *TDNT*, 1:535-36).



### 3) John the Baptist

- a) John broke with the prevailing (intertestamental) self-immersion by immersing others as a sign of what God does for us when we repent (i.e., forgives us).
- b) Thus John’s baptism was called a baptism of repentance, teaching that a person must first repent before being immersed (Matt. 3:2, 6, 8, 11).

### 4) Early Church

- a) The first Christians continued the practice of baptising believers only, signifying their identification with the church as their new community. This is why the Greek noun *baptisma* (βάπτισμα, baptism) is specifically Christian, never used in other Greek literature before its NT occurrences (noted by Anglican vicar David Watson, *I Believe in the Church*, 227).
- 1] All subjects of baptism in the NT are clearly believers; one must have very good reason to deviate from this norm (Acts 2:38, 41; 8:12, 36-38; 9:18; 10:47; 16:14-15, 33; 18:8; 19:5). These texts show that repentance preceded baptism in a sequence of “hearing...believing...being baptised.”
- 2] Some have claimed that entire households were baptised in the NT, which almost certainly included infants (Acts 10:47-48; 16:15; 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:16). However, each of these household texts declare that the households believed before baptism; that infants were baptised is an assumption that is counter to the stated fact that people believed before baptism.
- 3] The earliest non-scriptural baptism instructions (early 2nd century) requires fasting of 1-2 days prior to baptism, thus implying only adult baptism (*Didache* 7:4 in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 153).

- 4] The Great Commission order is first to make disciples, *then* to baptise them (Matt. 28:19-20). So only believers were baptised, which excludes infants.
- 5] Baptism is a sign of the believer's salvation (Rom. 6:1f.). It is not a sign of the covenant (*contra infant view*), for the Lord's Supper is the sign of the new covenant (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25).
- b) NT baptism also seems to have been performed by immersion, in line with the practice inherited from John the Baptist.
- 1] The lexical meaning of the only verb used for NT baptism (βαπτίζω) means "dip, immerse...wash, plunge, sink, drench, overwhelm...soak" (BAGD 131c). Besides baptism, other literal uses include "to dip" (Luke 16:24; cf. LXX Jud. 2:14; Josh. 3:15; Lev. 4:6; 11:32) and "to dye" (Rev. 19:13). Also, baptism is likened to the Flood (1 Pet. 3:21). From the lexical data even Luther and Calvin both admitted immersion to be the biblical mode.
- 2] Immersion best signifies:
- identification with Christ's death and resurrection by going under the water and out again (Rom. 6:3-5; Col. 2:12)
  - subjection to Christ's authority (Matt. 28:18-19; Acts 19:3-5; 22:16)
  - obedience and a good conscience before God (1 Pet. 3:2)
- 3] Some cite verses with the claim that baptism by *pouring* is mentioned often in the NT (e.g., 1 Cor. 6:11; Eph. 5:26; Heb. 9:10; 10:22; Tit. 3:5). However, none of these verses refer to baptism and none refer to pouring. They refer in each case to *spiritual* cleansing from sin by faith in Christ ("washing") or to *Jewish* ceremonial washings which were performed numerous times on the same persons (cf. Heb. 9:10). Hebrews 10:22 refers not to baptism but to "having our *hearts sprinkled* to cleanse us from a guilty conscience and having our bodies washed with pure water." Pouring is first stated in the early second century—and only as an exception when immersion in running water or cold water should/could not be used (*Didache* 7:1-3 in J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 153).
- 4] It is also claimed that baptism by *sprinkling* is mentioned often in the Bible (Exod. 24:6-8; Num. 8:7; Ezek. 36:24-26; Heb. 9:13-14; 10:22). Yet none of these verses refer to baptism. They refer to purifying priests with sprinkled water (Num. 8:7), sprinkling vessels with blood (Exod. 24:6-8; Heb. 9:13-14), or the saving work of the Spirit (Ezek. 36:24-26; Heb. 10:22).
- 5] All NT examples of baptism best allow for immersion: "plenty of water" (John 3:23), "coming up out of the water" (Mark 1:10), "went down into the water" (Acts 8:38). This last case concerns the Ethiopian eunuch who could have easily been baptised by pouring or sprinkling anywhere along the journey by using water in the caravan.

## 5) Questions About Baptism

- a. Should those who take the Lord's Supper be required to have been baptised?

Response: The issue here is whether a person can take the Lord's Supper in a "worthy manner" (cf. 1 Cor. 11:27-32) without baptism. Since baptism is one of the first signs of obedience after salvation, it seems that one who resists baptism also resists Christ. Baptism was required of those partaking the Lord's Supper as early as the second century (*Didache* 10:5 in J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 154).

- b. Should those who were baptised *as infants* later be rebaptised following confession of salvation?

Response: The difference between infant baptism and adult baptism relates to more than simply the *time* of baptism. The whole *purpose* of baptism differs significantly in these two types of baptism. Infant baptism signifies the recipient's initiation into the community of God (Presbyterian view) and even serves as a means of saving grace in the Catholic and Lutheran views. However, as Scripture relates to baptism a symbolic purpose of looking back at one's salvation, it would seem that one who has been saved would welcome the opportunity to testify to his or her salvation through a rebaptism.

- c. Should those baptised by sprinkling *as believing adults* be rebaptised by immersion once they see the biblical support for immersion?

Response: Many Baptist churches will not admit persons for membership who have not been immersed after placing their faith in Christ, even if they have been sprinkled following salvation. This is not as serious of an issue as question #2 above, but it is more difficult to answer!

Perhaps Acts 19:1-7 can be instructive here. In this passage Paul visited Ephesus and found twelve "disciples" (v. 1) of Jesus, though only through John the Baptist. John had baptised these believers because of their repentance from their sin in anticipation of the Messiah. However, for whatever reason, these people were unlike the majority of John's disciples who eventually met and followed Christ. Since they had a baptism under John which was incomplete in picturing their faith in Christ, Paul rebaptised them in the Christian manner (presumably immersion). Paul felt it important that their baptism accurately picture their faith in Christ.

The Acts 19 situation did not concern *sprinkling* supplemented by immersion as in question "c" above. It is not presumptuous to think that John's baptisms were by immersion since he performed them in the Jordan River and since the Jewish proselyte baptism which preceded him was also by immersion. Certainly if Paul felt it necessary to supplement one form of immersion (John's baptism of repentance) with another form of immersion (Christian baptism), it would be appropriate to supplement post-conversion sprinkling with post-conversion immersion. As in question "b" above, this ceremony gives believers another opportunity and privilege to testify of their faith in Christ.

### Summary of Early Church Baptism vs. Baptisms Preceding It

<b>Contrasts</b> (Preceding vs. NT/Christian)	<b>Comparisons</b> (Points in Common)
No formula vs. "Father, Son, & Holy Spirit"	Signified identification with a religious community
Self-immersion vs. performed by another	Practised only on believers
Circumcision prerequisite vs. none	Immersion only in both cases (BC & 1st century)
To Judaism/John vs. to Christianity	Common in both instances
Immersion vs. mode varied (in 2nd century)	Water used



b. The Lord's Supper

1) Jewish Passover (OT and NT)

- a) There exist over 1200 versions of this celebration, making it difficult to explain fully! But in its basic form, the meal reminded Jews annually of their release (exodus) from Egyptian bondage by the death angel who "passed over" (thus the name) the houses of Jews who applied their lamb's blood on the doors of their homes. Those who did not suffered the death of their firstborn son (Exod. 12).
- b) Passover is not a community (synagogue or temple) commemoration but a family one (in contrast to the Christian Lord's Supper). However, associated with Passover is the Feast of Unleavened Bread which was communal as the men went up to Jerusalem (Exod. 23:14-15).
- c) Passover also has a future element, for it looks forward to the messianic age in which Messiah has returned and rules the world from Jerusalem. This is reflected in the close of each celebration with a statement such as...

"This year we are here. Next year in Jerusalem (or 'in the land of Israel')! This year we are slaves. Next year free men!"

2) The Agape (Love) Feast was referred to as the "breaking of bread" among the early Jewish believers in Jerusalem (Acts 2:42). This was essentially a church pot-luck in which each family brings food to share with others (1 Cor. 11:17-22, 33-34). The Lord's Supper would then be separate and possibly added on at the end (vv. 23-32; cf. David Watson, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*, 237).

3) New Testament Lord's Supper

- a) Christ initiated the Lord's Supper the night before His death as the sign of the new covenant (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25) noted often in the OT (Jer. 31:31-34; Ezek. 16:60-62). This covenant promises Israel and Judah (v. 31) a still future national and spiritual redemption (when "they will all know me," v. 34), but certain elements have present application to the church as well:
  - 1] indwelling of the Holy Spirit (Jer. 31:33 with Ezek. 36:27)
  - 2] new nature, heart, and mind (Jer. 31:33; Isa. 59:21)
  - 3] forgiveness of sins (Jer. 31:34b)
- b) The Lord's Supper shares much in common with the Passover celebration as well. After all, it was during this celebration that Christ announced the Lord's Supper for the first time. Both commemorations call participants to look in four directions (adapted from David Watson, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*):

	<i>Passover (Jewish)</i>	<i>Lord's Supper (Christian)</i>
<b>Look outward</b>	<b>Whole family involved</b> (Exod. 12:3-4, 16)	<b>Fellowship and unity</b> (1 Cor. 11:17-22; 10:16-17)
<b>Look back</b>	<b>Deliverance from Egypt</b> (Exod. 12:31-42)	<b>Deliverance from sin</b> (1 Cor. 11:23-25)
<b>Look forward</b>	<b>Wait for messianic age</b> (Ezek. 45:21)	<b>Anticipate return of Christ</b> (1 Cor. 11:26; Mark 14:25)
<b>Look inward</b>	<b>Purify house of leaven/evil</b> (Exod. 12:8, 15)	<b>Examine sin in yourself</b> (1 Cor. 11:27-32; cf. 5:6-8)

c) Other parallels between the Lord's Supper and the Passover continue...

	<u>Passover (Jewish)</u>	<u>Lord's Supper (Christian)</u>
Sorrow under...	Pharaoh	Sin (1 Cor. 11:27-32)
Symbols of sinlessness	Unleavened bread symbolizes breaking from the evil in Egypt	Bread symbolizes our freedom from sin in a unified community (1 Cor. 5:6-8; 10:16)
Redemption in...	Passover lamb	Christ's death (1 Cor. 5:7b)

d) The order of the two celebrations themselves have many similarities:

<b>Passover</b>	<b>Lord's Supper</b>
Light candles	Assumed (not recorded)
<b>1st Cup:</b> Blessing/Sanctification, saying, "I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians" (1st of 4 "I wills" of Exod. 6:6-7)	"Take this and divide it among yourselves... I will not drink again of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes" (Luke 22:17b-18)
Washing of one's own hands	Washed <i>disciples feet</i> during meal (John 13:2, 4)
Parsley dipped in salt water (bitterness), middle matzah (bread) made visible and broken and 1/2 called "afikomen" (Gr. "he who comes later") wrapped with napkin and hidden	Son of God (second member of the Trinity) made visible, broken, body wrapped, and buried in a tomb (this tradition was added to the Passover by first century AD Jewish believers)
Passover story read (Exod. 12:1-13), 4 Questions, 4 sons, 10 Plagues	Assumed (not recorded)
<b>2nd Cup:</b> Plagues/Judgment, saying, "I will rid you of their bondage"	
Washing hands, eat upper and 1/2 middle matzah and bitter herbs with bottom matzah (bondage)	
Passover Supper begins	
Eat bitter herbs with <i>charoseth</i> of dates, honey, & almonds (sweetness of life with God's redemption), roasted egg (temple offerings & destruction, grief and new life), shankbone	Jesus dips the sop with Judas and Judas leaves (?)
Eat afikomen—"This is the bread of affliction..."	"This is my body..." (Luke 22:19)
<b>3rd Cup:</b> Redemption, saying, "I will redeem you with an outstretched arm"	"This is my blood..." (Luke 22:20) Jesus dips the sop with Judas and Judas leaves (?)
<b>4th Cup:</b> Praise/Regathering, saying, "I will take you to me for a people" & read Pss. 113-118	"For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes"
Declaration ("Next year in Jerusalem!"), hymn (Ps. 118), poem, or national anthem	Sang hymn & went to Mt. of Olives (Matt. 26:30)
<b>Cup of Elijah:</b> Filled but untouched, symbolizing his return before Messiah (Mal. 4:5-6; Matt. 11:13-14; 17:11-12; Rev. 11:3-12; 19:11-21), youngest child opens front door "for Elijah"	Assumed (not recorded)

### Passover Excerpts

Harold A. Sevener, ed., *Passover Haggadah: for Biblical Jews and Christians*, Orangeburg, NY: Beth Sar Shalom, 1980

means "to tell" the story of Passover.  
(cf. Exod. 13:8 "You shall tell your son...")

# Passover Haggadah





Passover Excerpts (2 of 5)

First Cup (Sanctification)

The mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs.  
What ailed thee O thou sea,  
that thou fleddest? thou Jordan,  
that thou wast driven back?  
Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams;  
and ye little hills, like lambs?

LEADER

Tremble, thou earth,  
at the presence of the Lord,  
at the presence of the God of Jacob;  
Which turned the rock into a standing water,  
the flint into a fountain of waters.

The second cup is raised, and all recite the following:

Truly, we can say Hallelujah for the great redemption which God has wrought on our behalf; redemption at a terrific price; in Egypt, the death of the firstborn; Redemption from sin, the death of God's Son. "For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Leader continues:

"Bo-ruch Attah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Boh-ray Prec Ha-gaw-fen."

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הָעוֹלָם, בּוֹרֵא פְרֵי הַיַּיִן:

*Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the Universe, Creator of the fruit of the vine.*

All drink together of the second cup while reclining to the left.

⌣ Cup of Plagues/Judgment

*The Rachatz*

(washing of the hands)

Hands are washed before the meal and the following blessing is recited in unison:

"Bo-ruch Attah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Asher Kid-sha-nu B'mits-vo-sov Vitsi-va-nu Al N'Tee-las Yaw-daw-yecm."

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הָעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו  
וְצִוָּנוּ עַל נְטִילַת יָדַיִם.

*Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, Ruler of the world, Who made us holy by His commandments and commanded us concerning the washing of hands.*

*Motzi, Matsot*

Trinity?

The three matzahs, "unity," are held and the following blessing is recited by all:

"Bo-ruch Attah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Ha-mo-tzee Le-chem Min Haw-aw-reiz."

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הָעוֹלָם, הַמוֹצִיא לֶחֶם מִן הָאָרֶץ:

*Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who brings forth bread from the earth.*

Passover Excerpts (3 of 5)

After placing the container back on the table, the master of the Seder breaks olive size pieces from the upper and middle matzahs and distributes them. All recite the following benediction:

“Bo-ruch Artah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Asher Kid-sha-nu B'mits-vo-sov Vitsi-va-nu Al A-chec-las Ma-tzav.”

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הַעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו  
וַיְצַוֵּנוּ עַל אֲכִילַת מַצָּה:

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of unleavened bread.

All eat together of the matzah.

Maror

(eating of the bitter herbs)

The leader of the Seder breaks the bottom matzah into olive size pieces and dips into bitter herbs. The following blessing is recited by all:

“Bo-ruch Artah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Asher Kid-sha-nu B'mits-vo-sov Vitsi-va-nu Al A-chec-las Maw-for.”

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הַעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו  
וַיְצַוֵּנוּ עַל אֲכִילַת מָרוֹר:

Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, Who sanctified us with His commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of bitter herbs.

All eat together of the maror.

cf. שמות  
of Christ

The bitter herb speaks of the sorrow, the persecution and the suffering of our people under the hand of Pharaoh; and as horseradish brings tears to the eyes, so also did the great affliction of our people bring tears to their eyes.

Korekb

(eating of the bitter herbs with charoseth)

The leader of the Seder takes two pieces from the bottom matzah and puts between them the charoseth, in a sandwich-like fashion. (It is optional to eat the charoseth with some bitter herbs.)

All eat together the matzah and charoseth.

AS THE BITTER HERB IS A SYMBOL OF SUFFERING, the salt water a symbol of tears, the greens a symbol of hyssop, the wine a symbol of blood, so the charoseth is a symbol of mortar, representing the clay bricks which were made by our people in Egypt.

This concludes the first portion of the Seder.

Dinner is now served and we will continue the Seder after the meal. During the meal, the leader of the Seder hides the afikomen.

cf. Luke 21:30

"after dinner He took the cup..."

Judas/Jesus interaction  
dipping, Judas departs

Shulchan Orech

THE PASSOVER SUPPER

Passover Excerpts (4 of 5)

# Tzaphun (eating of the afikomen)

The afikomen is our substitute for the Paschal Lamb, which in days of old, was the final food of the Seder feast.

The children search for the afikomen. The leader redeems it by giving the child a coin. The matzah is broken and distributed, in olive size pieces, to each of the guests.

found = Resurrection?  
Leader: "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers ate when they came out of Egypt"

**C**ONCERNING THE AFIKOMEN, IT IS written: And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it and gave to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me (Luke 22:19): Concerning the Messiah, it is written: Jesus therefore said unto them, Verily, I say unto you, It was not Moses that gave you bread out of heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world. They said therefore unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.

**I** AM THE BREAD OF LIFE. YOUR FATHERS I ate the manna in the wilderness, and they died. This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven; if any man eat of this bread he shall live forever; yea, and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world (Jn. 6:32-35,48-51).

Is it not significant that it is this middle matzah, which was broken and then hid away, finally to

be brought back, broken and distributed, that Jesus points to and says, "this is MY body which is given for you"? Is it not significant that Afikomen means — "I have come"?

Remember, the matzah is unleavened, it is striped, and it is pierced. Even so, the Messiah was unleavened; that is, sinless. Even so the Messiah was striped; that is, by way of the Roman whip. Even so, the Messiah was pierced; that is, by the nails in His hands and His feet, and by the spear in His side. If you are a believer tonight in the Messiah, you can eat this piece as in a communion service, reminding yourself of what happened in the upper room at the Last Supper. Also, as you eat, it will remind you of what the Messiah did for you, in that He came and gave Himself for your sins.

All eat of the Afikomen.

# Cup of Redemption (third cup: the cup of redemption) Ha-Geulah

The third cup is filled and elevated and the leader of the Seder begins:

**T**HIS CUP REPRESENTS THE THIRD "I will" — "I will redeem you." This is God's promise that He would redeem His people from slavery, meaning He would buy them back. It is this cup after supper in the Upper Room which Jesus raised and stated, "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you" (Luke 22:20). Our Messiah came, He died, shedding His blood, even as the Passover Lamb of old, to provide for all who will place their faith and trust in Him, redemption from sin.



Passover Excerpts (5 of 5)

“Bo-ruch Artah Ah-doh-noy Elo-he-nu Me-lech Ha-olom Boh-ray Pree Ha-gaw-fen.”

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ  
הָעוֹלָם, בּוֹרֵא פְרֵי הַיָּבֵשׁ:

*Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the Universe, Who createst the fruit of the vine.*

All drink the third cup of wine while reclining.

*Elijah's Place*

Elijah's cup is filled with wine and the door is opened.

**Y**OU WILL NOTE THAT ONE PLACE setting has not been touched throughout the meal. This is the traditional place for Elijah. This door is opened to see if the prophet Elijah will come,— John, the baptiser, who Jesus spoke of as the forerunner of Himself, was indeed the prophet Elijah — had he been accepted by his people. It was the same John who looked upon Jesus and said, “Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.”

The door is closed.

**Y**OU WILL ALSO NOTE SOME items on the Seder plate which have not been touched. One, the Betzah, or roasted egg; and two, the shankbone of the lamb.

The roasted egg speaks of sacrifice, which can no longer be made because the Temple was destroyed. Is it not strange that an egg is used to represent sacrifice? But one must remember that

sacrifice not only means death; it also means life.

The shankbone of the lamb is untouched, because lambs are no longer sacrificed. As believers in the Messiah, we recognize that sacrifice is no longer necessary, because the death of our Messiah satisfied the need for sacrifice. In His death there is life. In the shedding of His blood there is remission of sin.

Cup of Praise

HALLEL = "praise"

Fill the fourth cup and recite:

LEADER

The Eternal hath remembered us,  
He will bless us, He will bless the house of Israel,  
He will bless the house of Aaron.  
He will bless those who revere the Eternal, the small as well as the great:  
May the Eternal increase you, more and more, you and your children.

Ye are blessed of the Lord, the maker of heaven and earth.

The heavens are the heavens of the Eternal, but the earth hath He given to the children of men.

The dead praise not the Eternal, nor do they who descend into the silent grave.

But we will bless the Eternal, from henceforth until evermore. Hallelujah!

ALL

Praise the Eternal, all ye nations; praise Him, all ye people;

## II. Pagan Religion

Introduction: The earliest followers of Christ were Jews in Israel. However, after 15 years (AD 33-48) of establishing the church within the context of Judaism, Paul took the gospel to the Gentiles in his missionary journeys (cf. p. 41). In the many cities and towns of the Mediterranean world he encountered a broad spectrum of pagan philosophies (cf. Acts 17:18; 19:23-41).

### A. Traditional Pagan Religion

1. Basis: gods and goddesses of classical Greek and Roman mythology, some named in the NT:

Greek Name	Roman Name	Responsibility	Reference in Acts	City	Event
Hermes	Mercury	god of heralds	14:12	Lystra	Paul healed cripple, called Hermes
Zeus	Jupiter	ruler of the gods (high god of every nation), god of sky (thunderbolt)	14:12-13	Lystra	Barnabas called Zeus as he was the leader
Ares	Mars	god of war and thunder	17:22	Athens	Paul's evangelistic Mar's hill message (Aeropagus means "hill of Ares")
Artemis	Diana	goddess of fertility/childbirth	19:24, 27-28, 35	Ephesus	Riot instigated by Demetrius' greed & "concern for Diana"

2. The quest of pagan man was fourfold:
  - a. Health
  - b. Prosperity
  - c. Protection
  - d. Victory in battle
3. The promise of pagan salvation was that it would...
  - a. fulfill man's quest
  - b. give a sense of community
  - c. provide some hope for immortality
4. The failure of pagan deities became obvious:
  - a. They repeatedly failed to fulfill their claims (e.g., Artemis revered as a profit maker).
  - b. The gods were not viewed as superior to man in morality (they were all too human).
  - c. Deities became a civil religion in one's locality with no sense of personal involvement and expression for the people (similar to Dagon vs. YHWH in the OT).
  - d. Detachment through migration resulted—moving to a new town meant adjustments to the new localized deity (the "you can't bring your god with you" problem).
5. The result of these repeated failures was few adherents except in certain cities (Lystra, Athens, Ephesus, etc.).

**B. Schools of Philosophical Thought**

1. General Characteristics (Distinction from Traditional Pagan Religion)

<p><u>Traditional Pagan Religion</u> (vertical)</p> <p>polytheistic</p> <p>corporate and local</p> <p>strategies of appeasement (theological)</p> <p>akin to a religion (like Buddhism)</p>	<p><u>Philosophical Schools</u> (horizontal)</p> <p>monotheistic (though inconsistent)</p> <p>individualistic and universalistic</p> <p>philosophies of conduct (behavioral)</p> <p>akin to a philosophy (like Confucianism)</p>
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2. The Various Philosophical Schools  
*(The order below is in historical development—not in influence)*

School	Founder and date	Development of perspective	Reality is...	Basic Viewpoint
Pythagoreanism	Pythagoras of Samos; latter 6th cent. BC	Material and spiritual worlds are antithetical (he was both a philosopher & mathematician!)	Dualistic (what you can't see)	Influenced Gnostics in their dualism (spiritual = good, material = bad)
Platonism	Plato 429-380	Learned the dialectical method (challenge assumptions) from Socrates; ethical goodness in life; spirit is all important	Mental ideas (what you think)	Reality is not in tangible objects but in the mental ideas behind them
Cynicism	Antisthenes; Diogenes of Sinope 412-323	Anti-establishment, simple lifestyle (e.g., Diogenes lived in a bathtub and talked back to Alexander the Great who visited him!)	Asceticism (what you deny)	Virtue consists in living according to nature (don't let any philosophy influence you)
Aristotlianism	Aristotle 384-322	Proof by syllogism; deductive logic as the means for sound reasoning and the standard for measuring truth	Material world (what you can touch)	Reality corresponds to the material world and vice versa
Epicureanism Acts 17:18	Epicurus 341-271	Distrusted Plato's dialectical method; the gods have nothing to do with us and there is no afterlife ("eat, drink, & be merry, for tomorrow we die")	Physical sensations (what you enjoy)	Happiness is gained by the pursuit of pleasure since this life is all there is
Stoicism Acts 17:18, 28	Zeno of Citium 336-264  upper class (Seneca)	Rejected Epicureanism because he felt it fostered atheism and self-indulgence; neither the universe nor man is meaningless; strong ethical teachings/moral maxims	Natural reason (what you reason)  Lead to materialism	Cause & effect pervade all so man must adjust himself for tranquillity = Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism? (Niswonger, 81)
Skepticism	Pyrrho of Elis 365-275	No-one is good and all are contradictory so just "go with the flow" in life	Not attainable (impossible)	Knowledge is unattainable
Eclectics		No philosophy has all the answers, so we'll take the best of each (similar to new age thought or "free thinkers")	Partly seen by all (what you invent)	Hard to determine or summarize (too varied)

### C. The Emperor Cult (cf. *ZPEB*, 2:301; Niswonger, 86-88)

1. Ruler veneration originally began from the east (e.g., Asia Minor, Syria). Egyptians venerated Pharaohs, which was adopted by Ptolemies, and then was adopted by Rome after the death of Caesar Augustus (30 BC-AD 14). However, soon some emperors (Caligula, Nero, Domitian) claimed deity for themselves while still alive—Domitian demanded public worship as “Lord and God” (cf. p. 71). Trajan also demanded worship (cf. p. 160a).
2. The purpose of this veneration was to establish political unity (patriotism) and accountability or loyalty to Rome, especially on the frontiers of the empire. It filled no religious need, but only provided flattery, gratitude, and subjection to Rome (cf. Ben Hur vs. Masalla).
3. This public, state religion posed a threat to Christians, who could not acknowledge any human as a god (especially deifying depraved humans such as the emperors, most of whom were homosexuals). This was particularly true of Pergamum, the Asian centre of emperor worship, “where Satan has his throne” (Rev. 2:13)—a city which by the second century had three pagan temples, including one to Emperor Hadrian. During Domitian’s reign the book of Revelation was written, clearly showing Jesus as superior (Rev. 1, 4–5).

### D. Mystery Religions

1. These local and imported religions from the east had secret, strange rites that promised:
  - a. Direct revelation from the deity
  - b. Personal approach through rites across racial or cultural lines
  - c. Symbolic identification with the deity led to an elimination of fallenness (immortality)
2. The chief mystery cults
  - a. The Eleusinian cult from Eleusis (a small Greek town near Athens) worshipped Demeter (the Greek goddess of grain). This agrarian fertility cult taught that nature symbolized the death and life (resurrection) of the body.
  - b. The Mithraic cult venerated Mithra, a *Persian* god, during the first four centuries AD. Only *men* were admitted, so this cult was popular among soldiers. Similarities between Mithraism and Christianity made it one of Christianity’s chief rivals in the Roman era:
    - 1) Both appealed to the masses instead of an intellectual elite
    - 2) Both had a kind of baptism
    - 3) Both had a practice similar to the Lord’s Supper
    - 4) Both practiced abstinence & self-discipline (freedom from sex frenzies of other cults)
    - 5) Both taught a cosmic struggle with good over evil, an early deluge, immortality, resurrection, a final conflagration, heaven, hell, and (later) a December 25 observance.
  - c. The Isiac cult focused on Osiris and Isis, an *Egyptian* god and goddess. It identified with the sorrows of motherhood and thus attracted women.
  - d. The Dionysiac cult, after Dionysus (Greek god of wine and animals), was a forerunner of the New Age movement. It taught “orphyic” doctrine—the soul as the divine element of man trapped in the body. This teaching appealed to many influential Greeks (e.g., Plato).
  - e. The Cybelen cult, named after Cybele, goddess of Asia Minor, was officially recognized by Rome (200 BC).
    - 1) Its rites included sacred prostitution. Perhaps a form of this cult lowered the scruples of the Corinthian believers by leading them into temple prostitution (1 Cor. 6:12-20).
    - 2) This cult practiced bizarre forms of ecstasy, including many hollow sounds of musical instruments (cf. 1 Cor. 13:1; Gordon Fee, *1 Corinthians*, NICNT, 632, n. 30).

### E. Astrology and Superstition (cf. *ZPEB*, 1:393)

1. Astrologers thought external forces (not self) caused success and failure. Thus divination became the means of predicting future events. They even greeted one another by saying τύχη ("fortune, chance"). They also resorted to magic as an attempt to win release.
2. Paul fought astrology in Ephesus, resulting in the burning of many magic books (Acts 19:19).

### F. Gnosticism

1. Gnostics taught that saving truth is in knowledge. Disillusioned with rationalism and philosophy, it was more concerned with salvation of the body than with ethics.
2. Gnosticism had a syncretistic nature. By the second century AD it had blended Christian ideas (esp. redemption) with speculations from Judaism, Hellenism (belief that the body and matter is evil while the spirit is good), and eastern oriental religions.
3. Although not fully developed until the 2nd century, an incipient (beginning) form of Gnosticism is evident in 1 John (Gnosticism was popular in Ephesus where John lived in AD 90). Gnosticism had two basic heresies: the exaltation of intellect (*gnosis*) and the belief that matter is inherently evil. John combats these two Gnostic teachings in his first epistle:
  - a. "Matter is Evil": Docetic Gnosticism couldn't believe that a sinless man could have a body, and thus denied the *humanity* of Christ (4:2-3), saying that he only *seemed* to be human (cf. *dokeo*, "to seem"), so John wrote that he actually touched Jesus (1:1).
  - b. "Exaltation of Intellect": Cerinthian Gnosticism denied the *deity* of Christ. Cerinthus, who lived near John in Asia Minor, claimed special knowledge that Jesus was only a man upon whom "the Christ" descended at His baptism but left before His crucifixion. John replied that Jesus Christ came both by water (His baptism) *and* by blood (His death), thus refuting Cerinthus (5:6).
4. The practical outworking of Gnosticism also fell into two camps:
  - a. Some Gnostics reasoned that since matter is evil, one should avoid it at all costs, resulting in asceticism. (Asceticism is the attempt to remove oneself from all possible temptations to sin by withdrawing from society—some forms are called monasticism.) Paul fought this type of heresy in Colosse (Col. 2:20-23).
  - b. Other Gnostics took a more fatalistic attitude and thought that since one cannot change the fact that matter is evil, any type of immoral aberration is acceptable. John specifically responded to this latter philosophy (1:6, 8, 10; 3:4-10). His letter shows that obedience to God's commands, especially through loving others, is the best rebuttal to the practices of Gnosticism. Another refutation of Gnosticism was the Apostle's Creed (cf. p. 153a).

In his letter John attempts to defeat asceticism by encouraging fellowship among believers (1:7) and to defeat immorality by exhorting obedience and righteousness (2:28-29).

### G. The Challenge of Pagan Beliefs

1. The many pagan ideas throughout the Roman Empire posed a challenge to Christianity: how to minister effectively to these various religious groups while maintaining a godly lifestyle and proper theology. Corinth failed both in lifestyle and theology. Ephesus (Epistles of John) and Colosse faced severe opposition theologically from these groups.
2. Believers today face similar obstacles in this pluralistic society. In Singapore paganism abounds—much like it did in the early church. We must face the task in the power and wisdom of the Spirit of God, with our feet anchored to His unchangeable, inerrant Word.



## The Apostle's Creed vs. Gnosticism

As Christians we often recite the Apostle's Creed, which is the earliest Christian statement of faith outside of the New Testament. This creed dates from the first or second century and is a response mostly to the early heresy called Gnosticism.

Notice how the creed begins:

*I believe in God the Father Almighty,  
maker of Heaven and Earth.*

Why does it affirm God as Creator? Because Gnostics said everything that's spiritual is good but all that's material is evil, so the physical universe is evil and God didn't make it. Perhaps today as we recite this we can remind ourselves that we believe in creation—not evolution.

Gnostics also denied the humanity of Christ, saying he just *appeared* to be human, so early Christians affirmed that He really was born a man...

*And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord,  
who was conceived by the Holy Spirit,  
born of the Virgin Mary,*

You see, Gnostics then and now distinguish between the "divine Christ" and the "human Jesus," saying that Jesus didn't become "the Christ" and receive the Spirit until His baptism. No, we affirm that the Spirit conceived Jesus *before He was born!*

We also affirm that Jesus Christ died and rose again in this next section...

*[suffered under Pontius Pilate,  
was crucified, dead and buried;  
he descended into Hades.  
The third day he rose from the dead,  
he ascended into heaven,  
and is seated at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.  
From thence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.]*

Gnostics then, and many people now, say the story about Christ's death is false—that he really didn't actually die—and that his resurrection was only a myth symbolic of the coming of spring after the dead of winter. No, we affirm, Jesus died when Pontius Pilate ruled over Judea (AD 26-36).

*I believe in the Holy Spirit,  
the holy Christian church.*

"Gnostic" means "knowledge." They held that the key Christian doctrines were reserved for the select few with this knowledge. In contrast, orthodox belief is that the entire church holds truth.

*the communion of saints,  
the forgiveness of sins,*

Gnostics, like New Agers, say we need *enlightenment*—not forgiveness. No, we affirm that our problem is not *ignorance* that needs to be enlightened but *sin* that needs to be forgiven.

Gnosticism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and other "isms" say only our spirits can be with God after death. They deny heaven as a physical place but we teach physical bodies there through...

*the resurrection of the body  
and the life everlasting. Amen.*

## The New Testament Literary Context

### I. Inspired Writings

#### A. Old Testament

##### 1. Hebrew: The Masoretic Text (MT)

- a. The Hebrew Bible contains the exact same books as our present OT except in a different order under different classifications:

Hebrew Bible		Christian Old Testament	
<b>The Law</b> (Pentateuch)	Genesis	Genesis	<b>The Law</b> (Pentateuch)
	Exodus	Exodus	
	Leviticus	Leviticus	
	Numbers	Numbers	
	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	
<b>The Prophets</b>	<i>Joshua</i>	Joshua	<b>Historical Books</b>
	<i>Judges</i>	Judges	
	<i>Samuel</i>	Ruth	
	<i>Kings</i>	Samuel (1 & 2)	
	Isaiah	Kings (1 & 2)	
	Jeremiah	Chronicles (1 & 2)	
	Ezekiel	Ezra	
	Hosea	Nehemiah	
	Joel	Esther	
	Amos	Job	
	Obadiah	Psalms	
	Jonah	Proverbs	
	Micah	Ecclesiastes	
	Nahum	Song of Solomon	
	<b>The Writings</b> (Hagiographa)	Habakkuk	Isaiah
Zephaniah		Jeremiah	
Haggai		Lamentations	
Zechariah		Ezekiel	
Malachi		Daniel	
<b>Psalms</b>		Hosea	
<b>Proverbs</b>		Joel	
<b>Job</b>		Amos	
<b>Song of Solomon</b>		Obadiah	
<i>Ruth</i>		Jonah	
<b>Lamentations</b>		Micah	
<b>Ecclesiastes</b>		Nahum	
<i>Esther</i>		Habakkuk	
Daniel		Zephaniah	
<i>Ezra</i>		Haggai	
<i>Nehemiah</i>	Zechariah		
<i>Chronicles</i>	Malachi		

Note differences in the Hebrew Bible column which designates those classified by Christians as historical writings (*italics*) and wisdom writings (**bold**).

The twofold designation of "Law and the Prophets" (Matt. 5:17; 7:12; 22:40) was used in New Testament times, probably as a reference to the entire OT. At one resurrection appearance (Luke 24:44) Jesus used this threefold designation: "Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms" (this first book of the Writings was used as representative of the whole section)

- b. The Hebrew text circulated for over 1000 years with only the consonants, but about AD 600-1000 a family of Hebrew scholars (the Masoretes) copied the text in both Babylon and Tiberias (the latter became the standard). They also added the vowels (actually, vowel pointing), accents, and masora (notations), leaving us the Masoretic Text (MT). Thus ancient Hebrew texts look different from present Hebrew Bibles as they lack vowel points under each letter. Modern Hebrew also contains no vowels.
  - c. The Hebrew Scriptures were revered by Jews in NT times. Even though most Jews did not have their own copy of the scrolls due to their size and expense, one wonders whether Jews then knew it better from hearing it read than Christians do today from having their own copy to collect dust on their shelves!
2. Greek: The Septuagint (LXX)
- a. *History*: The LXX (Roman numeral 70) was a translation of the Hebrew OT into Greek by 72 scholars in Alexandria, Egypt (c. 250 BC) for Ptolemy II (285-247 BC). This provided an OT for many diaspora Jews who couldn't read Hebrew or Aramaic.
  - b. *Content*: 39 OT books and added 15 Apocryphal books later (all but 2 Esdras and Additions to Esther), including differences in the text and the order of the books.
  - c. *Value*: Why does the LXX merit study? (from Melvin K. H. Peters, "Why Study the Septuagint?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 49 [September 1986]: 174-81; cf. review of this article by Walter R. Bodine in *Bibliotheca Sacra* 144 [April-June 1987]: 219-220):
    - 1) It is the earliest translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Since each translation is in reality an interpretation, this earliest interpretation of the text helps us better understand the meaning attached to texts by very early scholars (pp. 235-36).
    - 2) It was valued highly by most Hellenistic Jews & Jewish converts to Christianity.
    - 3) In some form it constitutes the parent text from which several early Bible versions derive (Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, etc.).
    - 4) It provides the Jewish intertestamental history since it includes the Apocrypha.
3. OT Canonicity: The term "canon" comes from the Greek *kanon*, for "rule" or "standard." Thus "canonicity" refers to the authoritative list of books in the OT or NT. Our present list of 39 OT books formalised in AD 90-100 in the city of Jamnia, where these books were identified as the inspired OT. This may seem to be a late date given that the final book (Malachi) was completed almost 500 years previously.
- 1) Why did it take until the first century AD to record the official list of OT books?
    - a) Apocrypha: Until the emergence of the Apocrypha in the intertestamental era, no other Jewish writings besides the MT had received widespread circulation. In fact, no extant Jewish documents exist from before the Apocryphal books! It is easy to see from this vast and recent literature that the orthodox Jews would see the need to list those books that had long been considered sacred.
    - b) Many LXX manuscripts mixed Apocryphal books among the canonical, confusing the issue as to which books were indeed authoritative.
    - c) Antilegomena ("spoken against") designate the five disputed books below which may have encouraged the compilers at Jamnia to officially affirm them as inspired. It was not that these books were *added* to the canon then; more probable was that the synod met to discuss if these should be removed or not. "The 'Council' was actually confirming public opinion, not forming it" (R. K. Harrison, "The Canon of Scripture," in *Young's Analytical Concordance*).
      - 1] Ezekiel was thought to contradict Solomon's temple (cf. Ezek. 40-43)
      - 2] Esther did not mention God's name, prayer, or anything religious

3] Ecclesiastes appeared Epicurean (advocating indulgence of the flesh)

4] Proverbs had supposed contradictions (e.g., 26:4-5)

5] Song of Songs was disputed due to its sensuality

d) Samaritans considered only the five books of Moses as inspired, so perhaps the rabbis felt they must distinguish themselves from this limited tradition.

e) Pharisaical tradition had become equal in authority to many, so perhaps the council at Jamnia met in part to clarify the non-authoritative nature of these rabbinical writings.

2) What criteria was used to determine which OT books were inspired?

a) History of Authoritative & Enduring Usage: Note that these rabbis did not *decide* which books were scriptural. They only put into an official list the OT writings that had been revered as Scripture by Jews for centuries.

b) Doctrinal Suitability: The 39 OT books teach no doctrinal inconsistencies (truthfulness and harmony with progressive revelation). While Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal writings were considered valuable as historical literature, they did not read like Scripture due to doctrinal inconsistencies.

c) Prophetic Authorship (Samuel, David, etc.)

d) Claim to be the Word of God (“The word of the Lord came to me...”)

e) Dynamic Character (Heb. 4:12): God’s Word is alive and changes lives. This cannot be said of other so-called inspired writings.

Note: The NT repeatedly refers to the OT as inspired. Jesus often referred to OT books as the word of God (e.g., Luke 18:31-33; 24:25-27; John 10:35; etc.), and so did others such as Peter (Acts 1:16), Stephen (Acts 7:38), Paul (Rom. 3:2), and James (Jas. 4:5). While this was not influential at Jamnia due to the rabbinic (non-Christian) makeup of the council, nevertheless, it does confirm for Christians the authority of the 39 OT books. In contrast, only one Pseudepigraphal book is quoted in the NT (1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude 14-15), and this quote does not imply inspiration.

## B. New Testament

1. Dates: For the purposes of this class, NT writings were composed between the AD 40s (James) to AD 94-95 (Revelation). For details, please see pages 41-43.

2. Canonicity: How did the early church identify which letters were inspired?

a. Apostolic Authority: Each NT book was either written by an apostle or else under the guidance of one (Luke under Paul, Mark under Peter).

b. Early & Widespread Acceptance: The Apostle Peter noted in about AD 64 that this literature was considered inspired very early (2 Pet. 3:15-16).

c. Consistency of Doctrine: Nothing in the NT writings contradicts the OT corpus.

\* These books were not all recognized at the same time. Some took longer to establish such credibility due to particular problems (e.g., the authorship of Hebrews and 2 Peter, the supposed discrepancy between James and Paul’s doctrine of justification by faith, etc.). The next page shows that by Irenaeus’ time (AD 130-202) most were already accepted, and all 27 were accepted by the Council of Hippo (AD 393).

The New Testament Canon During the First Four Centuries  
H. Wayne House

The New Testament Canon  
During the First Four Centuries

BOOK	INDIVIDUALS										CANONS				TRANSLATIONS				COUNCILS									
	PSUEDO-BARNABAS (c. 70-130)	CLEMENT OF ROME (c. 95-97)	IGNATIUS (c. 110)	HERMAS (c. 115-40)	DIDACHE (c. 110-50)	PAPAS (c. 130-40)	DIOMEDES (c. 150)	JUSTIN MARTYR (c. 150-202)	TERTULLIAN (c. 150-220)	CRIGEN (c. 185-254)	EUSEBIUS OF JERUSALEM (c. 315-86)	JEROME (c. 340-420)	AUGUSTINE (c. 400)	MARCION (c. 140)	MURATORIAN (c. 170)	BARCOCCEO (c. 206)	APOSTOLIC (c. 300)	CHELTENHAM (c. 360)	ATHANASIUS (367)	TATIAN DIATESSARON (c. 170)	OLD LATIN (c. 150-170)	OLD SYRIAC (c. 200)	NICA (c. 325-40)	HIPPO (393)	CARTHAGE (397)	CARTHAGE (419)		
Matt.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mark	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Luke	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Acts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rom.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 Cor.	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Cor.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gal.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Eph.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Phil.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Col.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 Thess.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Thess.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 Tim.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Tim.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Titus	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Philemon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Heb.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
James	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 Peter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Peter	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3 John	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jude	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rev.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

X = Citation or allusion  
O = Named as authentic  
? = Named as disputed

Taken with adaptation from William E. Nix and Norman L. Geisler, Introduction to the Bible (Chicago: Moody, 1968). Used by permission.

# Chronological Literature Chart

## (Biblical and Extrabiblical)

Dates below relate to the time of writing (not birth to death)  
Names of works appear in *italics*

400    300    200    100    BC/AD    100    200    300    400    500    600    700

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**GREEK**

*LXX*  
(Greek OT)  
Polybius  
Diodorus  
Strabo  
Plutarch  
----- Hermetica -----

Philo  
(Jewish/Greek)

**JEWISH**

*OT*  
(completed)

("Council" at Jamnia)

----- *OT Apocrypha* -----

----- Pseudepigrapha ----- (some extended to 7th century)

----- Dead Sea Scrolls -----

----- Rabbinic Literature -----

----- Midrash (oral tradition) -----

*Talmud = Mishnah 200 + Gemara 500*

----- Tosefta -----

*MT*  
600-1000

**ROMAN**

Josephus 77-94  
(Jew writing for Rome)

Cicero  
Livy  
Pliny 113  
Tacitus 115

**CHRISTIAN**

*New Testament* 40s-95  
Apostolic Fathers 95-150  
Most notable:  
• *Didache* 95-120  
• *Epistle of Barnabas* 70-132

----- NT Apocrypha -----

- *Nag Hammadi Codices* (Gnostic)
- *Gospel of Thomas*

**MISCELLANEOUS**

----- *Select Papyri* -----

## II. Uninspired Writings



### A. Pagan Literature

\*Only those with helpful background to the NT are noted, and even these are selected. This section is adapted from John D. Grassmick, NTI Class notes, DTS, 1985.

#### 1. Greek Historians

- a. Herodotus (484–420 BC) wrote the first surviving Greek prose history (5 works). His story of the Greek victory over Persia shows how Greek became the key NT tongue.
- b. Polybius (ca. 203–120 BC) went to Rome in 167 BC and wrote a 40 volume history of Rome's development and destiny (only 5 extant)
- c. Diodorus of Sicily (died ca. 21 BC), a contemporary of Julius Caesar, wrote a treatise on the career of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
- d. Strabo (63 BC—AD 21), a Greek historian and geographer, wrote 47 volumes of history (none extant) and 17 volumes of geography in which he describes Palestine. Josephus used him as a source.
- e. Plutarch (AD 50—ca. 120) wrote *Vita* (The Parallel Lives) which paired biographies of Greeks and Romans. Sir Thomas North's translation (AD 1579) profoundly affected English literature by supplying the material for Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*.

#### 2. Roman Historians

- a. Cicero (106—43 BC) wrote a history of Syria.
- b. Livy (59 BC—AD 17) wrote a complete Roman history in 35 volumes (all extant), which is particularly helpful for the early Maccabean Era (cf. p. 160 #10).
- c. Pliny the Younger (ca. AD 62—ca. 113), is not technically a historian. However, as governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, his letters to Emperor Trajan provide many historical insights (cf. pp. 160 #14). In one letter he asks advice on how to treat Christians who had been growing in his province (p. 160a):
  - 1) He notes that the believers gathered regularly on a certain day (Sunday?) “to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as if to a god” (*Epistle* 10.96).
  - 2) This is *the earliest Roman (Latin) reference to Jesus Christ* (AD 113). The Jewish historian Josephus is the earliest reference from all sources (AD 93–94; cf. p. 172).
- d. Tacitus (AD 55—ca. 120) was one of the most reliable Roman historians.
  - 1) His histories are *The Annals* (AD 115; cf. p. 160 #13) on emperors Tiberius (AD 14) to Nero (AD 68) and *A History* which continues until Domitian (AD 96).
  - 2) Tacitus makes the second earliest Roman reference to Christ (AD 115) concerning the persecutions of Christians under Nero: “Their name comes from Chrestus [sic], who, in the reign of Tiberius as emperor was condemned to death by the procurator Pontius Pilate” (*Annals* 15.44).
- e. Suetonius (AD 69—ca. 121) served as beneficiary to Emperor Trajan and secretary to Hadrian, which provided him access to official archives (cf. p. 160 #15).
  - 1) His *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (AD 120) traces the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar (44 BC) to Domitian (AD 96), including history, customs, and chronology.
  - 2) He gives the third earliest Latin reference to Jesus (AD 120), noting (inaccurately) Claudius' expulsion of Jews from Rome “who had been continually stirring up trouble under the influence of Chrestus” (cf. Acts 18:2).

### 3. Extant Copies of Pagan Writings

How reliable are the NT manuscripts in comparison to other ancient sources? Compare the following secular manuscript dates to the time of their original autographs, as well as the few copies available. This stands in stark contrast to the NT writings which number 24,772 manuscripts (5,488 Greek and 19,284 other). Some of these Greek manuscripts are within 100-200 years of the original autographs. One fragment from John's gospel even dates from AD 135, which is only 40 years after the original (assuming the most commonly held AD 95 date for John)! (For more information, see Josh McDowell, *Evidence That Demands a Verdict*, 40).

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Seminary

NT Introduction 205  
John D. Grassmick

#### ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR RELIABILITY

AUTHOR	WHEN WRITTEN	EARLIEST COPY	TIME SPAN	NUMBER
1. Sophocles	496-406 B.C.	A.D. 1000	1400 yrs.	100
2. Herodotus (History)	480-425 B.C.	A.D. 800	1300 yrs.	8
3. Eripedes	480-406 B.C.	A.D. 1100	1500 yrs.	9
4. Thucydides (History)	460-400 B.C.	A.D. 900	1300 yrs.	8
5. Aristophanes	450-385 B.C.	A.D. 900	1200 yrs.	10
6. Plato (Tetralogies)	427-347 B.C.	A.D. 900	1200 yrs.	7
7. Aristotle (Poetics)	384-322 B.C.	A.D. 1100	1400 yrs.	5
8. Demosthenes	383-322 B.C.	A.D. 1100	1300 yrs.	200*
9. Caesar (Gallic Wars)	100-44 B.C.	A.D. 900	1000 yrs.	10
10. Livy (History)	59 B.C.-A.D. 17	A.D. 900	1000 yrs.	20
11. Lucretius	55-53 B.C. (?)		1100 yrs.	2
12. Catullus	54 B.C.	A.D. 1550	1600 yrs.	3
13. Tacitus (Annals)	A.D. 55-120	A.D. 1100	1000 yrs.	20
14. Pliny the Younger (History)	A.D. 61-113	A.D. 850	750 yrs.	7
15. Suetonius (De Vita Caesarum)	A.D. 75-160	A.D. 950	800 yrs.	8

\* all from one copy



## Pliny and Trajan

Pliny the Younger was governor of Pontus/Bithynia from AD 111-113. We have a whole set of exchanges of his letters with the emperor Trajan on a variety of administrative and political matters. These two letters are the most famous, in which Pliny encounters Christianity for the first time.

### **Pliny, Letters 10.96-97**

Pliny to the Emperor Trajan.

It is my practice, my lord, to refer to you all matters concerning which I am in doubt. For who can better give guidance to my hesitation or inform my ignorance? I have never participated in trials of Christians. I therefore do not know what offenses it is the practice to punish or investigate, and to what extent. And I have been not a little hesitant as to whether there should be any distinction on account of age or no difference between the very young and the more mature; whether pardon is to be granted for repentance, or, if a man has once been a Christian, it does him no good to have ceased to be one; whether the name itself, even without offenses, or only the offenses associated with the name are to be punished.

Meanwhile, in the case of those who were denounced to me as Christians, I have observed the following procedure: I interrogated these as to whether they were Christians; those who confessed I interrogated a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment; those who persisted I ordered executed. For I had no doubt that, whatever the nature of their creed, stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy surely deserve to be punished. There were others possessed of the same folly; but because they were Roman citizens, I signed an order for them to be transferred to Rome.

Soon accusations spread, as usually happens, because of the proceedings going on, and several incidents occurred. An anonymous document was published containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, when they invoked the gods in words dictated by me, offered prayer with incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for this purpose together with statues of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ—none of which those who are really Christians, it is said, can be forced to do—these I thought should be discharged. Others named by the informer declared that they were Christians, but then denied it, asserting that they had been but had ceased to be, some three years before, others many years, some as much as twenty-five years. They all worshipped your image and the statues of the gods, and cursed Christ.

They asserted, however, that the sum and substance of their fault or error had been that they were accustomed to meet on a fixed day before dawn and sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by oath, not to some crime, but not to commit fraud, theft, or adultery, not falsify their trust, nor to refuse to return a trust when called upon to do so. When this was over, it was their custom to depart and to assemble again to partake of food—but ordinary and innocent food. Even this, they affirmed, they had ceased to do after my edict by which, in accordance with your instructions, I had forbidden political associations. Accordingly, I judged it all the more necessary to find out what the truth was by torturing two female slaves who were called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing else but depraved, excessive superstition.

I therefore postponed the investigation and hastened to consult you. For the matter seemed to me to warrant consulting you, especially because of the number involved. For many persons of every age, every rank, and also of both sexes are and will be endangered. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only to the cities but also to the villages and farms. But it seems possible to check and cure it. It is certainly quite clear that the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented, that the established religious rites, long neglected, are being resumed, and that from everywhere sacrificial animals are coming, for which until now very few purchasers could be found. Hence it is easy to imagine what a multitude of people can be reformed if an opportunity for repentance is afforded.

### **Trajan to Pliny**

You observed proper procedure, my dear Pliny, in sifting the cases of those who had been denounced to you as Christians. For it is not possible to lay down any general rule to serve as a kind of fixed standard. They are not to be sought out; if they are denounced and proved guilty, they are to be punished, with this reservation, that whoever denies that he is a Christian and really proves it—that is, by worshiping our gods—even though he was under suspicion in the past, shall obtain pardon through repentance. But anonymously posted accusations ought to have no place in any prosecution. For this is both a dangerous kind of precedent and out of keeping with the spirit of our age.

## B. Jewish Literature

(This section is also adapted from John D. Grassmick, NTI Class notes, DTS, 1985.)

### 1. OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

#### a. *Definitions*

- 1) The OT Apocrypha (“hidden, secret”) is a collection of 15 extrabiblical Jewish writings mostly composed from 250 BC—AD 100 (cf. list on p. 164).
  - a) *Acceptance*: None of these 15 were included in the Hebrew Masoretic Text (MT) though all but 2 Esdras were appended to the Septuagint (LXX). The Catholic Church has accepted 12 of these as Scripture since the Council of Trent (1546) and called them the “deuterocanonical” books (“second canon”).
  - b) *Terms*: Don’t confuse *apocrypha* with the similar-sounding *apocalypse* (“revelation, disclosure”) which has the opposite meaning! Apocalyptic writing denotes a style characterised by symbolic imagery about future events such as that found in the books of Revelation, Daniel, and Zechariah. To further confuse things, two books of the Apocrypha are apocalyptic in style (p. 162)! Also, note that there exists a huge body of literature called the NT Apocrypha that was penned in the centuries following NT times (cf. pp. 186-87).
- 2) The Pseudepigrapha (“falsely ascribed”) is a collection of 63 or more extrabiblical Jewish writings mostly composed from 200 BC—AD 200. Some were written in Hebrew/Aramaic (Palestinian origin) and others in Greek (non-Palestinian, most from Alexandria, Egypt).
  - a) *Acceptance*: None of these 63 are included in the MT, LXX, or Catholic Bibles. They are used simply as background literature to better understand Scripture.
  - b) *Names*: Some Pseudepigraphal writings bear the names of key OT persons such as Enoch, Moses, etc. These books were not written by these men (thus the name meaning “falsely ascribed”), but sometimes these names were used to add authenticity to the books (yet some make no such claim and are anonymous). As noted above, Catholics call the Apocrypha the “Deuterocanonical” writings, but they also call the Pseudepigrapha “the Apocrypha”! No kidding.

#### b. *Literary Categories*

(Only 14 of the 78 Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal writings are listed here. Each is in the Apocrypha unless otherwise noted.)

#### 1) HISTORY

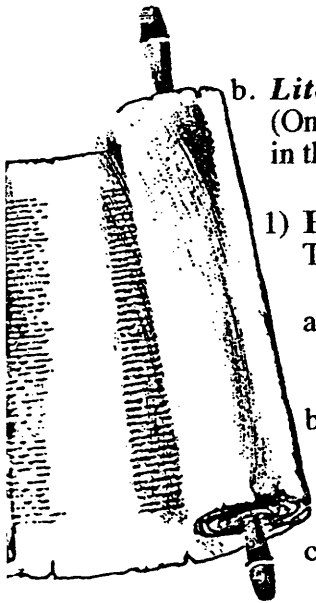
These works provide invaluable information on the intertestamental period.

- a) 1 Esdras (ca. 150 BC) contains portions of Ezra-Nehemiah and 2 Chronicles (“Esdras” is Greek for the Hebrew “Ezra”). It was referred to by Josephus.
- b) 1 Maccabees (ca. 100 BC) is the best historical source between the testaments as it provides very accurate information on the Sabbath, wars, etc.—especially the discussion of Antiochus IV and the Maccabean Revolt (167-164 BC).
- c) 2 Maccabees (ca. 100 BC) is a theological, less historically accurate work.

#### 2) FICTION (romances or novels or apologies)

These works extol the virtues of the Jews and their way of life. They contend that God blesses and rewards His people who are faithful to Him.

- a) Tobit (ca. 200 BC) chronicles the story of how God rewards the faith of the man Tobit who is dedicated to the Torah in the midst of Babylonian idolatry.



- b) Judith (ca. 150 BC) is a historical romance of how Judith, the heroine, delivers Judah from the Babylonians by beheading the commander of Babylon.
- c) Letter of Aristeas (ca. 150 BC) is a Pseudepigraphal work about how the 72 scholars came together to translate the LXX in Alexandria for Ptolemy II's library. Unfortunately, only one verse describes the actual translation process.
- d) Susanna (ca. 100 BC) records how this virtuous wife of a Babylonian Jew is accused of adultery but vindicated by Daniel's wisdom. He questions her accusers separately, showing their conspiracy and leading to their deaths.
- e) Bel & the Dragon (ca. 100 BC) provides two stories as an addition to the book of Daniel. In the first account Daniel proves that the Babylonian idol "Bel" does not actually eat food and in the second Daniel refuses to worship a dragon, kills it, then is rescued from the lions' den—both stories depicting how God sustains those who worship Him in the face of idolatry.
- f) 3 Maccabees (ca. late first cent. BC) has a misleading name as it records struggles of Alexandrian Jews who suffered under Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204 BC), events which occurred a half century before the Maccabees. Both 3 & 4 Maccabees are noncanonical to Catholics and Protestants, though they are accepted as canonical by Eastern Orthodox churches.
- g) Sibylline Oracles (300 BC to AD 700) depict aged women (Sibyls) uttering ecstatic prophecies. These did not have reliable or factual data as they were continually changed and used for political propaganda. Some contain allusions to Christianity as well as paganism (Charlesworth, 1: vi, 317).

### 3) WISDOM LITERATURE (didactic)

These books read very much like the book of Proverbs. Jewish sages (wise men) were held almost in as high regard as the priest and prophet.

- a) Ecclesiasticus—also called Sirach (ca. 190 BC) contains two-line proverbs and is very helpful in providing Greek parallels to NT Greek constructions.
- b) Wisdom of Solomon (ca. 50 BC) is deemed the "Gem of the Apocrypha" due to its emphasis on encouraging Jews to live wisely to please the LORD. It is written in Greek by a Hellenistic Jew who tried to impersonate Solomon.

### 4) APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

This highly symbolic literature claims to reveal the future. It views human history in two ages: the "present evil age" which will grow worse until God intervenes to establish the "age to come" (Messianic age). Such writings served to encourage Jews to endure persecution with the promise of the soon coming of the Messiah and the kingdom. It was extremely popular during Israel's period of foreign domination (intertestamental and NT era) but quickly faded after Jerusalem's destruction revealed that the kingdom was not indeed at hand.

- a) 1 Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch (ca. 150 BC) is a Pseudepigraphal work which seeks to answer riddles such as why the angels fell (due to cohabiting with women in Genesis 6:1-4), the meaning of "son of man" (a preexistent heavenly Messiah), and especially eschatological themes such as the coming of Messiah and the kingdom, which is quoted in Jude 14-15. This book was well-known in NT times and likely influenced NT theology (Charlesworth, 1:10).
- b) 2 Esdras (ca. AD 90) is a theodicy, or explanation of some of the great mysteries of the moral world (how a good God can be reconciled with a sinful world), including why Jerusalem fell to the Romans. This apocalyptic apocryphal writing provided hope for salvation and restoration for the Jews.

c. ***Canonicity: Why was the Apocrypha/Pseudepigrapha rejected as inspired?***

- 1) **Not Recognized as Authoritative by the Early Church:** Although the Apocrypha was added to the LXX, various LXX editions contain different books and most do not claim inspiration for them. Both Jews and Christians limited the OT canon to the present 39 books (e.g., Josephus *Against Apion* 1.8)
- 2) **False Theology:** Teachings incompatible with Scripture are numerous, such as...
  - a) *Purgatory* is taught in the Apocrypha. Judas Maccabeus in 2 Maccabees 12:41-46 discovered that some of his men killed in battle were wearing pagan amulets. Judas took up a collection from his surviving soldiers and sent it to Jerusalem as an “expiatory sacrifice,” with the result, “And thus he made atonement for the dead that they might be freed from their sin” (v. 46).
  - b) *Salvation by works* is taught in the Pseudepigrapha. In one account, two angels each record sins and good deeds, respectively, then place these records on a balance to determine if a person goes to heaven or hell (Testament of Abraham 13:9-14 in Charlesworth, 1:890).
- 3) **Lack of Claim to be the Word of God:** Since it never makes a “thus saith the Lord” claim, why should we make such a claim on its behalf?
- 4) **Lack of Dynamic Character:** It does not read like an inspired writing.
- 5) **Suspicious History of Acceptance by the Roman Catholic Church:** Catholics did not affirm inspiration for the Apocrypha until the Council of Trent (AD 1546) in a counter-offensive to Protestant claims (that faith alone is sufficient for salvation and prayers for the dead are meaningless). While Pope Gregory I developed the purgatory idea much earlier (AD 593), indulgences were added to reduce purgatory time (AD 1190), and purgatory was elevated from doctrine to dogma in AD 1438 (Council of Florence), the Catholic Church obtained the “best” support for purgatory by canonising the Apocrypha in AD 1546 so that 2 Maccabees 12:41-46 (above) would be considered authoritative.

d. ***Value of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha***

How has the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha enabled better interpretation of the NT?  
This literature provides...

- 1) History of the Jewish intertestamental era—the dashed hopes and disillusionments of the returning from the exile
- 2) Origins of Jewish sects and institutions—the shift from a covenant nation to a mix of conflicting religious communities
- 3) Development of theological beliefs—God’s dealings shifting from direct revelation to intermediaries (angels), emphasis on bodily resurrection, salvation resulting from obeying the written Torah
- 4) Lexical background to many NT terms (e.g. “son of man”), images (e.g. apocalyptic imagery), and ideas (e.g., doctrine of the two ages)
- 5) Backdrop for new literary forms (e.g. letters)
- 6) Balance to rabbinical writings in understanding Judaism

## e. List of Apocrypha Books and Acceptance by Various Groups...

**Terminology of Authoritative Writings**

Jews and those claiming to be Christians differ widely on which books are considered Scripture, as well as what to call them. Below is a summary to try to clear up some of the confusion.

	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Protestants &amp; Anglicans</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Eastern Orthodox</i>
39 OT Books	Bible	Scripture	Scripture	Scripture
27 NT Books	New Testament (uninspired)	New Testament (inspired)	New Testament (inspired)	New Testament (inspired)
4 Apocryphal Books (Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus)	Apocrypha (uninspired; not in MT but in LXX)	Apocrypha (uninspired)	Deuterocanonical (confirmed as canonical in 1546)	Apocrypha (confirmed as canonical in 1673)
8 Apocryphal Books (Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Additions to Esther, Song of Three Young Men, Susanna, Bel & the Dragon, 1-2 Maccabees)	Apocrypha (uninspired; not in MT but in LXX except Additions to Esther)	Apocrypha (uninspired)	Deuterocanonical (confirmed as canonical in 1546)	Apocrypha (not confirmed as canonical in 1673 but generally accepted as authoritative now)
3 Apocryphal Books (1-2 Esdras, Prayer of Manasseh)	Apocrypha (uninspired; not in MT but in LXX except 2 Esdras)	Apocrypha (uninspired)	Non-canonical (but often in the appendix since 1592, except Jerusalem Bible)	Apocrypha (not confirmed as canonical in 1673 but generally accepted as authoritative now)
3 Pseudepigraphal Books (Psalm 151, 3-4 Maccabees)	Pseudepigrapha (3-4 Maccabees only in LXX?)	Pseudepigrapha (uninspired)	Apocrypha (but in the appendix of the NRSV New Oxford Annotated Bible, 1977)	Apocrypha (not confirmed as canonical in 1673 but generally accepted as authoritative now)
60+ Pseudepigraphal Books (1 Enoch is the largest and most influential work)	Pseudepigrapha (uninspired, not in any OT editions)	Pseudepigrapha (uninspired, not in any Bible editions)	Apocrypha (uninspired, not in any Bible editions)	Pseudepigrapha (uninspired, not in any Bible editions)

f. "Apocrypha" in Soulen's *Handbook* (from John D. Grassmick, DTS, 1985)

## THE OT APOCRYPHA

250 B.C. - A.D. 100

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**Apocrypha, The** (Greek: "hidden things"). The books and portions of books present in the LXX (or its Old Latin translation) and accepted by Hellenistic Judaism and by the early Church as sacred scripture but not found in the Hebrew OT.

In preparing his edition of the Bible in Latin (called the Vulgate), Jerome (ca. 400) chose to follow the Hebrew canon rather than the LXX, separating the writings found therein into a distinguishable corpus, which he then termed "apocrypha." These he also described as "ecclesiastical books" in contradistinction to the "canonical books" of the Hebrew OT.

Since Jerome, the theological and physical place of the Apocrypha in the Christian canon has continued to be a matter of dispute, with the Orthodox, the Roman Catholics, and the Protestants accepting differing solutions as indicated below.

### 15 Jewish Writings:

The Apocrypha comprise:

(A) Tobit; Judith; The Wisdom of Solomon; and Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach—and of the apocrypha these alone were accepted as canonical by the Eastern Church at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.

(B) Baruch; the Letter of Jeremiah (or Baruch, ch. 6; in the LXX these two writings appear as additions to the book of Jeremiah); the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men (or Holy Children); the History of Susanna; and Bel and the Dragon (in the LXX these last three appear as additions to the book of Daniel; see that book in the Jerusalem Bible, chs. 3:24-90; 13; and 14 respectively); and, 1 and 2 Maccabees—these writings, plus (A) above, were confirmed as canonical by the Council of Trent in 1548, though called "Deuterocanonical" because they do not appear in the Hebrew Bible.

(C) 1 Esdras (called Esdras A [Greek for Ezra] in the LXX, III Esdras in the Vulgate where Ezra and Nehemiah are called I & II Esdras); contains portions of 2 Chron. (Ezra and Nehemiah plus other material); 2 Esdras (called IV Esdras in the Vulgate, also known as "The Ezra Apocalypse" [specif. chs. 3-14]; chs. 15-16, in some MSS called V Esdras, are a composite work, and do not appear in the LXX); and, the Prayer of Manasseh, a brief penitential prayer—these writings were not confirmed as canonical by the Council of Trent and consequently appear in Catholic Bibles in an appendix or not at all (so Jerusalem Bible). Also included are Additions to Esther.

In modern Protestant editions of the Apocrypha (RSV, NEB), all of the above (A-C) are included.

(D) In the LXX and in the Appendix to the Greek canon are Ps. 151 and III & IV Maccabees. These are considered pseudepigraphal books by Protestants.

← This is an erroneous statement. The Jewish synagogue considered them uninspired. Though they were read by the early church (their "Bible" was the LXX), they were never directly quoted by Jesus or the apostles.

Eastern Orthodox - A, although A → D generally accepted now.

Roman Catholic - A+B only

Roman Catholics call the Apocrypha the "deuterocanonical books" and they call the pseudepigrapha "the Apocrypha."

Protestants - A, B+C.

- (A) Tobit (250-175 B.C.)  
Judith (175-110 B.C.)  
Wisdom of Solomon (150-100 B.C.)  
Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) (190 B.C.)
- (B) Baruch (200 B.C.-A.D. 70)  
Letter of Jeremiah (317 B.C.)  
Song of the Three Children (167-163 B.C.)  
Susanna (ca. 100 B.C.)  
Bel and the Dragon (150-100 B.C.)  
1 Maccabees (103-63 B.C.)  
2 Maccabees (ca. 100 B.C.)
- (C) 1 Esdras (ca. 150 B.C.)  
2 Esdras (A.D. 70-135)  
Prayer of Manasseh (150-50 B.C.)  
Additions to Esther (180-130 B.C.)
- (D) Psa. 151  
3 Maccabees  
4 Maccabees

- R.N. Soulen, Handbook, pp. 18-19

In 1977 an expanded edition of the New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha (RSV) was published. It contains 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psa. 151 ("D" above) in addition to the customary Apocryphal books. Thus, for the first time an edition of the English Bible provides all of the books regarded as "authoritative" by Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and (ecumenical) Protestant churches.

g. "Pseudepigrapha" in Soulen's *Handbook* (from John D. Grassmick, DTS, 1985)

## THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

200 B.C. — A.D. 200

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**Pseudepigrapha** (Greek: "falsely entitled"). In Protestant tradition since the 17th cent., the term P. has been used to designate those ancient Jewish and Hellenistic-Jewish writings not in the OT canon or in the Apocrypha. P. writings are often attributed to a Patriarch or prophet and are therefore pseudonymous; others are anonymous. Some are psalms, others are apocalypses, legendary histories, or Wisdom-type literature. If, or to what degree, any of the P. is the work of a Christian author or redactor is a point at issue, i.e., to what extent do these writings reflect later Christian interpolations.

Since the term is prejudicial and misleading, scholars have urged its replacement, but for want of a substitute it remains. (In rabbinic tradition, the P. are called "outside books.") In spite of its infelicity, the term will probably be kept as an open category, since both the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Apocrypha are essentially closed as distinct categories—the latter by ecclesiastical tradition.

There is no firm list of P. R. H. Charles, for example, included *Pirkē Aboth* in his edition of *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), even though it is one of the sixty-three treatises of the Mishnah! The following is based on Albert-Marie Denis' *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).

### Selected:

- Life of Adam and Eve  
(1<sup>st</sup> C. A.D.)
- 1 Enoch (200-63 B.C.)
- Testament of the 12 Patriarchs  
(ca. 130 B.C.)
- ms of Solomon  
(ca. 40 B.C.)
- Letter of Aristeas  
(170-130 B.C.)
- Book of Jubilees  
(150-100 B.C.)
- 3 Maccabees (1<sup>st</sup> C. B.C.)
- 4 Maccabees (?)
- Sibylline Oracles  
(ca. 80 B.C. - A.D. 130)
- Lives of the Prophets  
(1<sup>st</sup> C. A.D.)
- Assumption of Moses  
(A.D. 1-30)
- 2 Baruch (A.D. 70-100)
- Ascension of Isaiah  
(2<sup>nd</sup> C. A.D.)

(A) Texts complete or in major part: (1) The Life of Adam and Eve (erroneously titled The Apocalypse of Moses); (2) Ethiopic Enoch (1 Enoch); (3) The Testament of Abraham; (4) Joseph and Asenath, or The Confession and Prayer of Asenath; (5) The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs; (6) The Songs of Solomon; (7) The Paralipomena of Jeremiah; (8) The (Greek) Apocalypse of Baruch (III Baruch); (9) The Lives of the Prophets; (10) The Apocalypse of Esdras (II Esdras or IV Ezra; chs. 1-2 and 15-16 are Christian additions sometimes called V Ezra, or V and VI Ezra); (11) The Apocalypse of Sedrach; (12) The Testament of Job; (13) The Letter of Aristeas; (14) The Sibylline Oracles; (15) The Apocalypse of Abraham. Some listings include also III and IV Maccabees, although they are found in the LXX and in the Additions to the Greek Orthodox canon.

(B) Fragmentary texts: (1) The Prayer of Joseph; (2) The Assumption of Moses; (3) The Book of Eldad and Medad; (4) The Penitence of Jannes and Jambres; (5) Jubilees or the Little Genesis; (6) The Apocalypse of Elijah; (7) The Martyrdom of Isaiah; (8) The (Syriac) Apocalypse of Baruch (II Baruch); (9) The Apocryphal Ezekiel; (10) The Apocalypse of Zephaniah; (11) The Apocalypse of IV Ezra (in Greek citations); (12) The Story of Ahikar; (13) Pseudo-Phoclidēs; (14) The Letters of Pseudo-Heraclitus; (15) Pseudo-Philo: (a) Biblical Antiquities (*Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum*), (b) On Jonah.

— R.N. Soulen, *Handbook*, pp. 135-136.

Along with the Apocrypha and the Dead Sea Scrolls, these writings constitute an important background for understanding the history of the Jews between the Old and New Testaments; the developments of religious sects (e.g. Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes); the growth of interest in the coming of the Messiah; and the growth of theological beliefs which were merely alluded to in the OT but are widely accepted in the NT.

*1 Enoch is the largest and most influential of the existing pseudepigraphal texts.*

h. List of Pseudepigraphal Writings (Charlesworth inside flap)

3 Enoch	* Jubilees
* Eupolemus	* 3 Maccabees
* Pseudo-Eupolemus	* 4 Maccabees
Apocryphon of Ezekiel	* Prayer of Manasseh
* Ezekiel the Tragedian	* Syriac Menander
Fourth Book of Ezra	Testament of Moses
Greek Apocalypse of Ezra	* Orphica
Questions of Ezra	* Philo the Epic Poet
Revelation of Ezra	* Pseudo-Philo
Vision of Ezra	* Pseudo-Phocylides
* Fragments of Pseudo-Greek Poets	* The Lives of the Prophets
* Pseudo-Hecataeus	* History of the Rechabites
* Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers	Apocalypse of Sedrach
* Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah	Treatise of Shem
* Ladder of Jacob	Sibylline Oracles
* Prayer of Jacob	* Odes of Solomon
* Jannes and Jambres	* Psalms of Solomon
Testament of Job	Testament of Solomon
* Joseph and Aseneth	* Theodotus
* History of Joseph	Testaments of the Three Patriarchs
* Prayer of Joseph	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs
	Apocalypse of Zephaniah

<h1>THE OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA</h1>	
<p>VOLUME 1                  APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE AND TESTAMENTS</p>	
<p>VOLUME 2 * <i>Marked with an asterisk</i>                  EXPANSIONS OF THE "OLD TESTAMENT" AND                  LEGENDS, WISDOM AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE,                  PRAYERS, PSALMS, AND ODES, FRAGMENTS                  OF LOST JUDEOHELLENISTIC WORKS</p>	
Apocalypse of Abraham	3 Baruch
Apocalypse of Adam	* 4 Baruch
Testament of Adam	* Cleodemus Malchus
* Life of Adam and Eve	Apocalypse of Daniel
* Ahikar	* More Psalms of David
* Letter of Aristeas	* Demetrius the Chronographer
* Aristeas the Exegete	* Eldad and Modad
* Aristobulus	Apocalypse of Elijah
* Artapanus	1 Enoch
2 Baruch	2 Enoch



## i. Sources

## 1) Apocrypha

Anchor Bible Series (a volume of text and commentary on each Apocryphal book)

Brockington, L. H. *A Critical Introduction to the Apocrypha*

May, Herbert G. and Metzger, Bruce M. eds., *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Edition* (text and commentary expanded from the 1977 ed. of the RSV) distributed by Baker, 1998

Mays, James L. ed., *Harper's Bible Commentary* (commentary only)

Metzger, Bruce M. *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (commentary only)

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (London: SCM, & USA: Fortress, 1981) covers Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha

Harrison, R. K. *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 1175-1278 (commentary)

## 2) Pseudepigrapha

Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985. li+995 pp. l+1006 pp.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (London: SCM, & USA: Fortress, 1981) covers Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha

2. **Philo of Alexandria** (20 BC—AD 45) or “Philo Judeus” was a diaspora Jew in Egypt who followed Alexandria’s allegorical method of interpretation in his commentaries. Although some claim Christian interpretations in his writings and he was contemporary to the early NT era, he probably never heard of Jesus or was influenced by Christian writings (G. H. Clark, “Philo Judeus,” *ZPEB*, 4:773). He sought to convince the Greco-Roman world of the superiority of Judaism’s world-view (Evans, 81).
  - a. *Allegorical Method*: Philo’s OT commentaries borrow heavily from Greek philosophy and the spiritualising hermeneutic, so his exegesis was horrible. For example, he notes that the Jews left Egypt in the Exodus with some of Egypt’s jewels means that Jews may make use of Greek philosophy (Egyptians = Greeks, jewels = philosophy)!
  - b. *Influence*: Unfortunately, Philo’s type of OT eisegesis (where there exists no logical or necessary relation between the text and the interpretation) was borrowed by Christian interpreters for centuries. Christian scholars who followed his allegorical method include Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ambrose. Philo also fed the minds of Gnostics such as Basilides and Valentinus as well as the pagan philosophers such as the Neoplatonics.
3. **Rabbinic Literature** (ca. 100 BC—AD 500)
  - a. *Dates*: Most of the writings of the Jewish rabbis came *after* the NT era. However, they reflect oral traditions that were certainly in effect at the time of Christ and earlier. Thus we can find much background information to the NT on subjects such as history, Sabbath practices, and Jewish customs to aid our understanding of the NT.
  - b. *Sources*:
    - 1) See the next four pages for a helpful outline of this material and abbreviations which you may come about in your readings.
    - 2) The most helpful rabbinic writing for purchase and consultation is the Mishna. This authoritative collection of the rabbis’ writings contains the Pharisees’ practices of the intertestamental period up until about AD 200, providing extremely helpful material for preaching and teaching concerning the Sabbath and other Jewish practices. The standard translation of the Mishna is by Herbert Danby (cf. p. 170).

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## RABBINIC LITERATURE

c.a. 100 B.C. - A.D. 500

### 1. Midrash - oral tradition (100 B.C. - A.D. 300)

The exposition of the OT in running commentary.

Halakah - legal material using OT texts as support.

Haggadah - non-legal material, narratives and sermons on the OT and other subject

This was done by the Tannaim "repeaters" - teachers of the Oral Law before the completion of the Mishnah.

### 2. Talmud

Palestinian edition (ca. A.D. 400)  
Babylonian edition (ca. A.D. 500)

a. Mishnah (A.D. 200)  
"repetition"; an authoritative collection of rabbinic halakic material

b. Gemara (A.D. 500)  
"completion"; commentary on the Mishnah completing the Talmud. This was done by Amoraim - Jewish sages/expositors.

3. Tosefta (A.D. 100-300).  
"supplement"; contains teachings of the Tannaim not found in the Mishnah.

- R. N. Soulen,  
Handbook,  
pp. 71, 106, 128, 159.

→ **Mishna** (fr. Heb.: *shanah*: to repeat, i. e., to learn). An authoritative collection of rabbinic halakic (legal and procedural) material developed within the oral traditions of pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism, and arranged and revised by Judah ha-Nasi in the first decades of the 3rd cent. The M. provides the foundation for and the structure of the Talmud. It is divided into six orders (or *sedarim*) containing a total of sixty-three tractates: ① *Zeraim* (seeds), ② *Moed* (set feasts), ③ *Nashim* (women), ④ *Nezikin* (damages), ⑤ *Qodashim* (holy things), and ⑥ *Tahoroth* (cleannesses). The most interesting of the tractates for Christians perhaps is the tractate *Pirkē Aboth* in *Nezikin*, but all are of great significance for understanding Judaism of the intertestamental and early Church period.

→ **Talmud** (fr. Hebrew: *lamad*, "study," *limmah*, "instruction"). The word T. is the comprehensive term for the Mishna and its accompanying commentary, called the Gemara (here meaning "teaching"). The Gemara contains a wide variety of material bearing directly or remotely on the subjects of the Mishna (proverbs, tales, customs, folklore, etc.) as well as strict exposition on the text. The structure of the T. is therefore that of the Mishna, having six orders divided into sixty-three tractates, which is the form it had obtained by the 3rd cent. The Gemara, being the work of the rabbis known as Amoraim (expounders), developed primarily in two centers, Babylon and Palestine (Tiberias), from the 3rd to the 5th cent.

The two editions of T., though similar in form, differ greatly in content. The Babylonian T., being 5894 pages of standard pagination, is four times the length of the Palestinian, since the latter was in large part lost in antiquity. For this reason, the Babylonian T. has in past centuries been the authoritative document. According to some authorities, the halakic portions of the Palestinian T. are more irenic and temperate, the haggadic portions purer and more rational than the corresponding material in the Babylonian T. Of the sixty-three tractates in the Babylonian T., only thirty-six contain Gemara (commentary).

N.B.  
Two editions of the Talmud.

→ **Midrash** (pl. *Midrashim*; fr. Heb.: *darash*: to search, inquire). In its generic sense, M. refers to the exegesis and interpretation of Scripture; more specifically it refers to a particular instance of Scriptural interpretation; and, more precisely still, to a literary work of Scriptural commentary, known in the plural as *Midrashim*. (See, e. g., 2 Chron. 24:27 and 13:22 in the Jerusalem Bible; cf. RSV). A M. may be either halakic (legal, procedural) or haggadic (nonlegal, illustrative, etc.) in content; exegetical, homiletical, or narrative in form.

However, it is always, explicitly or implicitly, commentary on Scripture and hence constitutes a literary genre. Examples of pre-rabbinic M. are the M. of the Passover Haggadah (see the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ad loc.), the several "pesherim" or commentaries in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Wisdom of Solomon (chs. 11-19), and perhaps Jn. 6.

→ **Pesher** (pl. *pesherim*; Heb.: interpretation, commentary). A t.t. from Hebrew meaning commentary and applied as a descriptive designation to certain documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls: the *pesherim* on Habakkuk (1QpH), Nahum (4QpNah), Isaiah (1QpIsa), etc. The P. of the DSS are haggadic midrash, that is, Scriptural commentary of a non-legal nature; they are, however, commentaries of a special character in that they view the prophetic books of the OT as containing divine mysteries which pertain to the last days in which the Qumran sectarians believed themselves to be living and which therefore call for divinely illuminated interpretation. The Aramaic equivalent, *peshar*, is used 31 times in the Aramaic portions of the book of Daniel, the great apocalyptic interpretation of history of the 2nd cent. B.C.

→ **Halakah** (or *Halacha*; fr. Hebrew: *Halak*: to go, to walk). In rabbinic tradition, H. is a t.t. which may refer either to a that part of rabbinic literature which contains rules for the daily conduct of the individual's and the community's life, or to b) the rules and decisions themselves as handed down by the rabbis to be the authoritative interpretation of the written and/or oral Torah. The plural form, *Halakoth* (meaning "rules" or "decisions"), is used as a name for the various collections of these decisions. H. is preserved in two forms: as Midrash or as Mishna. As a descriptive term referring to the legal content of rabbinic literature H. stands in contrast to haggadah (plural: *haggadoth*; Aramaic: *aggadah*, meaning "narrative").

→ **Haggadah** (or *Haggada*).

Haggadah is rabbinic material which seeks to illustrate the Torah, thereby enhancing its narratives with the general aim of winning adherence to its regulations. Haggadah varies widely in form (stories, anecdotes, parables, legends, etc.) and in subject matter, with subjects ranging from astrology to mysticism.

# Rabbinic Writings

## Torah-Written Law

WRITING	SECTIONS	DATES	CONTRIBUTORS	CONTENTS
MIDRASH	Halakah	100 B.C. to A.D. 300	Tannaim*	Legal sections commenting only on Torah
	Haggada			Narratives, homilies, and parables on whole Old Testament
BABYLONIAN TALMUD	Mishnah	A.D. 200	Tannaim	Digest of oral laws; interpretations of Torah by the Great Rabbis
	Gemara	A.D. 500	Amoraim	Commentary on the Mishnah by later Rabbis
PALESTINIAN TALMUD	Gemara	A.D. 200	Amoraim*	Commentary on the Mishnah
TOSEFTA		A.D. 100 to A.D. 300	Tannaim	Teachings omitted from Mishnah

\*Tannaim: from Ezra, through Hillel, Akiba, and Meir, to Judah Hanasi  
 \*Amoraim: The later Rabbinic scholars



*Mishna Contents Page*

Translated from the Hebrew by Herbert Danby (Oxford, 1933)

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*Orders and Tractates in the Mishna and Related Literature*NTI  
205

ABBREV.	NAME	COMMON ALTERNATE SPELLING
'Abot	'Abot	'Aboth
'Arak.	'Arakin	'Arakin
'Abod. Zar.	'Aboda Zara	'Abodah Zarah
B. Bat.	Baba Batra	Baba Bathra
Bek.	Bekorot	Bekoroth
Ber.	Berakot	Berakoth
Besa	Besa	Bezah
Bik.	Bikkurim	Bikkurim
B. Mes.	Baba Meši'a	Baba Mezi'a
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma	Baba Kamma
Dem.	Demai	Demai
'Erub.	'Erubin	'Erubin
'Ed.	'Eduyyot	'Eduyyoth
Git.	Giṭṭin	Giṭṭin
Hag.	Hagiga	Hagigah
Hal.	Halla	Hallah
Hor.	Horayot	Horayoth
Hul.	Hullin	Hullin
Kelim	Kelim	Kelim
Ker.	Keriotot	Kerithoth
Ketub.	Ketubot	Kethuboth
Kil.	Kil'ayim	Kil'ayim
Ma'as.	Ma'aserot	Ma'aseroth
Mak.	Makkot	Makkoth
Makš.	Makširin (= Mašqin)	Makshirin
Meg.	Megilla	Megillah
Me'il	Me'ilā	Me'ilah
Menah.	Menahot	Menahoth
Mid.	Middot	Middoth
Miqw.	Miqwa'ot	Mikwa'oth
Mo'ed	Mo'ed	Mo'ed
Mo'ed Qat.	Mo'ed Qatan	Mo'ed Kaṭan
Ma'as. Š.	Ma'aser Šeni	Ma'aser Šeni
Našim	Našim	Nashim
Nazir	Nazir	Nazir
Ned.	Nedarim	Nedarim
Neg.	Nega im	Nega im
Nez.	Neziqin	Nezikin
Nid.	Niddah	Niddah
Ohol.	Oholot	Oholoth
'Or.	'Orla	'Orlah
Para	Para	Parah
Pe'a	Pe'a	Pe'ah
Pesah.	Pesahim	Pesahim
Qinnim	Qinnim	Kinnim
Qidd.	Qiddušin	Kiddushin
Qod.	Qodasin	Kodashin
Roš. Haš.	Roš Haššana	Rosh Hashanah
Sah.	Sanhedrin	Sanhedrin
Šabb.	Šabbat	Shabbath
Šeb.	Šebi'it	Shebi'ith
Šebu.	Šebu'ot	Shebu'oth
Šeqal.	Šeqalim	Sheqalim
Sota	Sota	Sota
Sukk.	Sukka	Sukkah
Ta'an.	Ta'anit	Ta'amith
Tamid	Tamid	Tamid
Tem.	Temura	Temurah
Ter.	Terumot	Terumoth
Tohar.	Toharot	Toharoth
Ṭ. Yom	Ṭebul Yom	Tebul Yom
'Uq.	'Uqšin	'Ukzin
Yad.	Yadayim	Yadayim
Yebam.	Yebamot	Yebamoth
Yoma	Yoma (= Kippurim)	Yoma
Zabim	Zabim	Zabim
Zebah.	Zebahim	Zebahim
Zer.	Zera'im	Zera'im

Note: Since these names are also used for tractates in the Tosefta (Tosefta), Babylonian Talmud, and the Jerusalem Talmud, they are often preceded by abbreviations designating these works, such as Mish., M., or m. for Mishna; Tos., T., or t. for Tosefta; Bab. Talm., B.T., or b. for Babylonian Talmud; and Jer. Talm., Jer., or y. for Jerusalem Talmud.

— R. N. Soulen,  
Handbook  
pp. 189-190.

#### 4. **Josephus** (AD 37—ca. 100) is the key Jewish historian and apologist of the NT era

##### a. **Life**

- 1) Josephus's father was a Jewish priest (Mattathias) and his mother a Hasmonean descendant. He joined the Pharisee party at age 19 but remained a nominal member.
- 2) At age 27 he visited Rome (AD 64), but upon returning to Judea he reluctantly led a Jewish force in Galilee against the Romans. This lasted only six months during the first part of the Jewish Revolt against Rome (AD 66-73), but at his capture he prophesied that the Roman general Vespasian would become emperor. After this episode he saw the war from the Roman ranks, acting as a translator and mediator to convince Jews to lay down their arms in view of Rome's military superiority. When his prophecy came true he was freed from his chains. His eyewitness account of Jerusalem's fall was seen from outside the walls.
- 3) After Jerusalem's fall he joined the Emperor Vespasian in Rome as a friend under lifetime pension of the Empire (he took on the emperor's family name, "Flavius"). This gave him the time and money to write as a historian and apologist of the Jews. However, most Jews continued to view him as a traitor living in luxury (in the late Vespasian's mansion) with the victorious enemy until his death soon after AD 100.

##### b. **Writings** (all from Rome)

- 1) *The History of the Jewish War Against the Romans* (AD 77) is often abbreviated as *Jewish War* or simply *War*. This work chronicles the bravery of both the Jews and the Romans in the Jewish Revolt (AD 66-73).
- 2) *The Antiquities of the Jewish People* (AD 93-94) records the history of the Jewish people from creation to AD 66 in a massive 20 volumes. Josephus intended to complete the missing history (AD 73-93) but died before he could do so.
- 3) *Vita* means *Life*, as it is his own autobiography. This seeks to rebut accusations by rival historian Justus of Tiberias that he encouraged the Jewish rebellion. It emphasizes his six months as commander in Galilee.
- 4) *Against Apion* is a two-volume defense of the Jews against the scholarly accusations of the Gentile critic Apion. Actually, volume 1 is mistitled *Against Apion* for it defends *Antiquities* against Greeks and Egyptians who disbelieved it while only volume 2 addresses Apion.

Sources: The standard English version of Josephus has been William Whiston's since AD 1737. Whiston believed Josephus became a Christian (even Bishop of Jerusalem!) at the end of his life, but few if any hold this to be true. The Loeb Classical Library (10 vols. with Greek text, 1926-65) has re-translated Josephus into more modern English, but this is too expensive for most people. Paul Maier abridged and updated the language of *Wars* and *Antiquities* in the edition assigned in this course and E. J. Brill has commissioned Steve Mason of York Univ. (Ontario) to update Whiston and even include a commentary on Josephus (see bibliography). See also the standard concordance by K. H. Rengstorf, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (4 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1973-83) and a brief historical introduction to Josephus by Cleon L. Rogers, Jr., *The Topical Josephus* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1992).

##### c. **Evaluation**—Josephus was a reliable historian with some exceptions:

- 1) **Roman bias**: He paints the Zealots as insurrectionists while the Romans enjoyed God's favor due to the Zealot apostasy.
- 2) **Exaggerations**: His accounting of numbers is unreliable. (Yet this is typical of ancient works; some think he didn't want Romans to look small in comparison!)
- 3) **Egotism**: He ends his *Antiquities* saying, "No one else, either Jew or gentile, would have been equal to this task" (*Ant.* 20.11.2 in Maier, 277; cf. Whiston, 4:148).
- 4) **Digressions** from a theme plague his writings but provide valuable backgrounds.

d. **Significance**

- 1) Josephus gives the earliest non-Christian witnesses to the historicity of Jesus Christ (AD 93-94) in two separate statements, one short and one long:
  - a) Short: His account of how James, the brother of Jesus, was killed by the high priest Ananus (Annas) mentions Jesus: “Convening the judges of the Sanhedrin, he [Annas] brought before them a man named James, the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ, and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law, and condemned them to be stoned to death” (*Ant.* 20.9.1 in Maier, 276; cf. Whiston, 4:140). Josephus inaccurately refers to James as the brother of Jesus (cf. Acts 12:1-2).
  - b) Long: This statement has two versions, the later Christian one due to interpolation (*Ant.* 18.3.3 in Maier, 264; cf. Whiston, 4:11):

Jewish Version	Christian Version
Likely the original based on 10th cent. Arabic MSS of the Melkite historian Agapius, for Josephus almost certainly did not become a Christian ( <i>contra</i> Whiston, 4:427)	Likely interpolated in the <i>italic</i> statements by a well-meaning Christian before the time of Eusebius (AD 324)
“At this time there was a wise man called Jesus, and his conduct was good, and he was known to be virtuous. Many people among the Jews and the other nations became his disciples. Pilate condemned him to be crucified and to die. But those who had become his disciples did not abandon his discipleship. <u>They reported that he appeared</u> to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive. Accordingly, <u>he was perhaps the Messiah</u> , concerning whom the prophets have reported wonders. And the tribe of the Christians, so named after him, has not disappeared to this day.”	“About this time lived Jesus, a wise man, <i>if indeed one ought to call him a man</i> . For he was the achiever of extraordinary deeds and was a teacher of those who accept the truth gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. <i>He was the Messiah</i> . When he was indicted by the principal men among us and Pilate condemned him to be crucified, those who had come to love him originally did not cease to do so; for <i>he appeared to them</i> on the third day restored to life, as the prophets of the Deity had foretold these and countless other marvelous things about him. And the tribe of Christians, so named after him, has not disappeared to this day.”

So don't let anyone convince you that the NT is the only ancient source which speaks of Jesus! Our faith is built on solid historical evidence.

- 2) Josephus is the most important background source for the New Testament:

Apart from the Bible itself, Flavius Josephus is by far the most important historical source illuminating the entire biblical era, and for some New Testament personalities, he is an even more comprehensive source. In terms of sheer quantity of data, Josephus provides probably 300 times as much information about Herod the Great as does the Gospel of Matthew, for example, or ten times as much about Pontius Pilate. He also furnishes fascinating perspectives on such other biblical figures as Archelaus, Herod Antipas, the two Agrippas, Felix, and Festus, as well as intriguing sidelights on John the Baptist, Jesus' half-brother James, and Jesus himself (Maier, 9).

- 3) Josephus highlights the best of Jewish life in contrast to the NT emphasis on the decadence of the Pharisees. This apologetic for the Jews thus balances the picture one could obtain from the NT alone.



what is to come, I will consent to live, but I call you to witness that I go, not as a traitor, but as your servant."

But when he was about to surrender, the Jews in the cavern pointed their swords at him and threatened to kill him as a traitor if he submitted. Josephus tried to persuade them that it was right to save one's own life when it could be done without dishonor, and it was a great sin to throw it away unless in open warfare against an enemy. But they ran at him from all sides, and, with their blades at his throat, he finally warded them off with his general's authority. "If we must die," he then said, "let it not be by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us draw lots, and the one who draws the first lot will be killed by him who draws the second, and so on through our entire number, so that no one escapes."

They readily agreed, and he drew lots with the rest. Each one in turn bared his throat to the next, until—should one say by fortune or by the providence of God?—Josephus and one other remained alone. Josephus persuaded this man to surrender along with himself to Nicanor, who brought him before Vespasian. The Romans crowded around him on all sides, those at a distance shouting that he should be killed, but those near him thought of his exploits and pitied him. Titus in particular was struck by Josephus' nobility in misfortune, and Titus' intercession with his father was the main reason the prisoner was spared. Vespasian ordered that he be closely guarded, however, intending to send him to Nero.

Josephus asked for a private interview with Vespasian, and all withdrew except Titus and two of his friends. "You think, Vespasian," Josephus said, "that you have a mere captive in Josephus, but I come to you as messenger of a greater destiny. Why send me to Nero? Do you think he will continue in office? You, Vespasian, will be Caesar and emperor—you and your son here. For you are master not only of me, but of sea and land, and of the whole human race."

Vespasian at first discounted this declaration of Josephus as flattery, but gradually came to believe it. One of the friends of Titus who was present expressed his surprise that Josephus had been unable to predict either the fall of Jotapata or his own captivity, but Josephus replied that he had predicted both these things. Vespasian privately questioned the prisoners regarding these statements, and finding them true, began to believe that Josephus really was a prophet. Although he kept him in chains, he presented him with clothes and other articles, and treated him with kindness.

\* One should probably say, "by the manipulation of Josephus." His veracity here is open to question.

sentinels were falling asleep at their posts from sheer exhaustion, and that would be the time to attack.

Vespasian doubted the deserter because of the faithfulness of all the other Jews to their cause. But what he said appeared probable, and no serious harm could come from making the attack. So he marshaled his army for the assault, and early in the morning the Romans approached in silence and under cover of a dense fog. Titus was the first to mount the wall, followed by a tribune and a few soldiers who killed the sentries, and then Placidus and Cerealis came over with their troops. The citadel was taken and the city captured before the inhabitants knew it, for most were asleep or enveloped in the thick mist. Remembering what they had suffered during the siege, the Romans showed no mercy to the defenders. They ruthlessly slaughtered the Jews, and many of Josephus' men chose suicide to capture. On the following days, the Romans searched the hiding places, butchering all but women and children, of whom 1,200 were taken prisoner. The capture and siege had claimed 40,000 Jewish lives, and Vespasian ordered Jotapata razed, reducing all its forts to ashes.

### The Capture of Josephus

The Romans instituted a search for the body of Josephus, but during the massacre he had slipped away into a deep pit, in the side of which was a large cavern invisible from above. Here he found 40 distinguished people in hiding, with considerable provisions. During the day he lay hidden, but at night he attempted to escape from the city. Since every exit was closely guarded, however, he had to return to the cavern. For two days he escaped detection, but on the third a woman who had been in the cave was captured and betrayed the secret.

Vespasian at once sent two tribunes with orders to offer Josephus protection and induce him to come up. They failed to persuade him, and Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicanor, who was a friend of Josephus. Nicanor assured Josephus that because of his valor he was rather an object of admiration than of hatred to the commanders. Vespasian, he said, would never have sent a friend for the purpose of deceiving him, and wanted to save a brave man.

While Josephus was hesitating, the Roman troops in their rage tried to throw fire into the cavern, but their commander, anxious to take the Jewish general alive, restrained them. Josephus suddenly recalled those nightly dreams in which God had foretold to him the fate of the Jews and the destinies of the Romans. He now silently prayed, "Since you have chosen me to announce

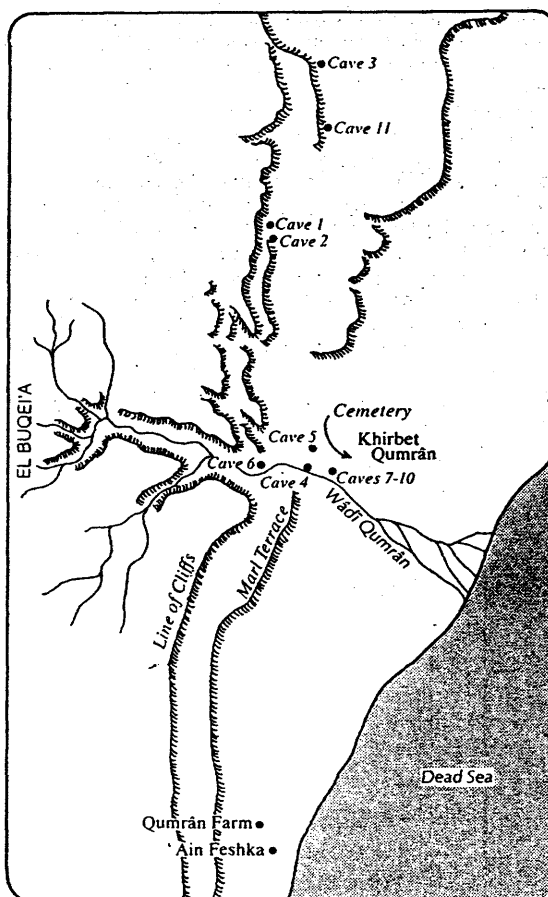
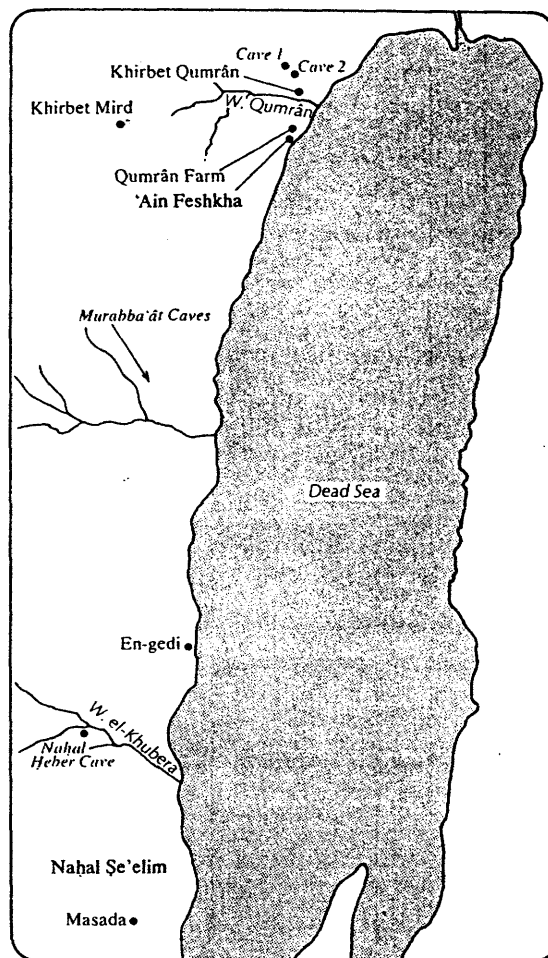


## 5. Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS)

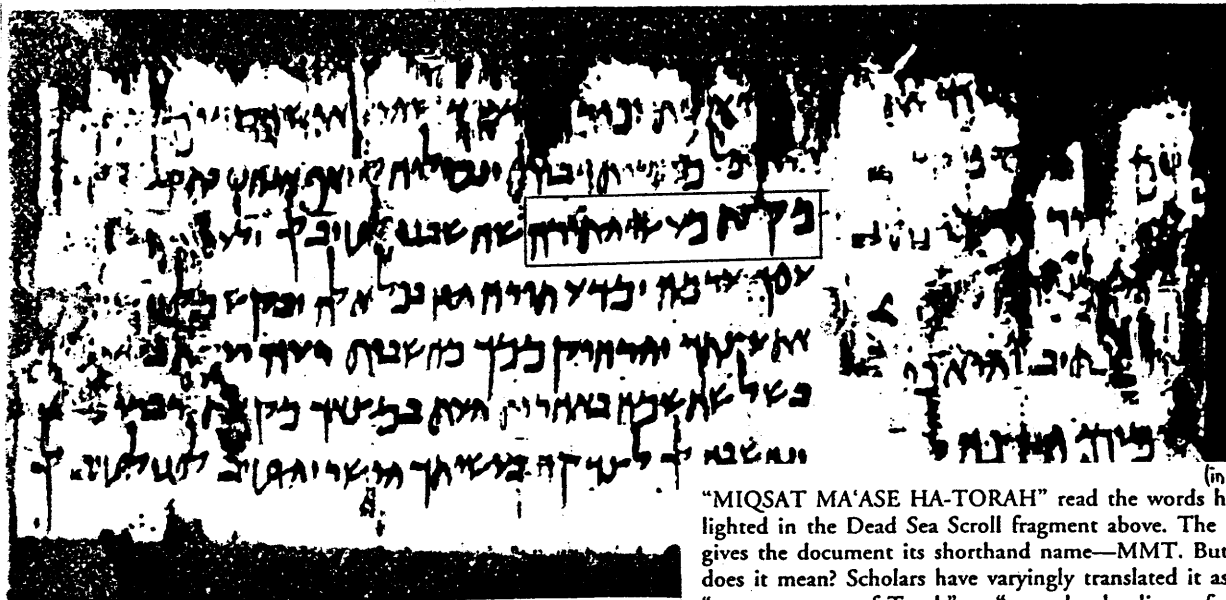
### a. History

#### 1) The Discovery

- a) In 1947 some Bedouin shepherds were looking for a lost sheep in the Wadi Qumran (seasonal stream) in the very arid, deserted NW shoreline of the Dead Sea. One threw a stone into a cave hoping to scare a sheep out, but then heard the sound of shattered pottery. Climbing into this cave the next day, they discovered seven ancient scrolls, which they took to Bethlehem. The scrolls went through a series of episodes until finally they came into the hands of a distinguished team of scholars (none Jews by Arab edict) who published most of them.
- b) Second century letters of Bar Kochba revolt (AD 132-35) were also found in caves at Wadi Murabaat (excavated in 1952) and Nahal Hever (1960-61). These are on display at the Shrine of the Book museum in Jerusalem.
- c) From 1947-1956 numerous scrolls were discovered in ten other caves in the area, each one being labeled by number. Cave 4 had the largest find—over 15,000 fragments from over 500 different documents! These had to be brought out, however, from 2000 years of bat dung and dust two meters deep! The most significant of the 11 caves were caves 1, 4, and 11.
- d) Only about ten of the hundreds of documents are well preserved (such as the scrolls of the Book of Isaiah). Most are fragments which have had to be put together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The complexity of the task and the desire of the DSS team to publish them first caused the team to have a very tight grip on the material. This brought much criticism in recent years in particular. Hundreds of scholars waited nearly a half century for their release. Critical articles from *BAR* (*Biblical Archaeology Review*) magazine particularly exposed and embarrassed the team led by John Strugnell. Problems with Strugnell climaxed in November 1990 when he denounced Judaism and the State of Israel in an interview. He was sacked after this.



- e) Finally, in August 1991, Jewish scholar Ben Zion Wacholder at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio and especially his evangelical graduate student named Martin Abegg constructed the remaining unpublished fragments on a Macintosh (yeah!) computer. The Huntington Library of San Marino, California then released these to all qualified scholars in September. The “cat was out of the bag,” breaking a 40-year monopoly in only two weeks. Since then access has been granted to the documents (see the whole story in Edward M. Cook, *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 71-76).
- f) However, an unpublished letter yet remained called MMT (Hebrew abbreviation usually translated “some rulings pertaining to the Torah”). Strugnell had this document in his possession for 25 years but never let anyone know about it. What makes this unique is that none of the DSS documents is a letter, so MMT is the only one. In fact, it is so important that at least six copies of it were kept at Qumran and have survived at least in part. Strugnell enlisted help from Elisha Qimron to write a 600 page commentary on this 120-line text, but Strugnell has since died. Finally, *BAR* caused quite a storm by printing the entire letter with the title “For This You Waited 35 Years” (November/December 1994, 56-61). With lawsuits following, the end of the story hasn’t yet been told...
- g) One significant victory for evangelicals recently emerged due to MMT. Although Paul insisted that salvation is not by “works of the law” (*ergon nomou* ἐργον νομου; Rom. 3:20, 28; Gal. 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10), the “works of the law” for salvation concept has never appeared in any rabbinic writings. For years liberals have accused Paul of either misunderstanding Jewish teachings of his day or else inventing opponents who taught works-righteousness to bolster his claim of justification by faith. But now Abegg suggests a better translation of MMT (*Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah*) is “pertinent works of the law.” The letter thus contains practices Qumran thought necessary for salvation.<sup>7</sup> This is the first evidence of salvation by law in NT times, showing Paul to be responding to a genuine belief of his day. Abegg includes this picture (note that the MMT clause appears in the box):



(in the box)  
 “MIQSAT MA’ASE HA-TORAH” read the words highlighted in the Dead Sea Scroll fragment above. The phrase gives the document its shorthand name—MMT. But what does it mean? Scholars have varying translations it as “some precepts of Torah” or “some legal rulings of Torah.” Both translations miss the mark, writes Martin Abegg, who suggests the proper rendering is “pertinent works of the law.” If Abegg is right, MMT casts important new light on the thinking of Paul, who uses the expression “works of the law” in his letters to the Galatians and the Romans.

<sup>7</sup> Martin Abegg, “Paul, ‘Works of the Law’ and MMT” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 [Nov/Dec 1994]: 52-55. Abegg later changed his view to practices enabling Qumranites to remain in the covenant (“4QMMT C 27, 31 and ‘Work’s Righteousness,’” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6 [1999]: 139-47; reviewed in *BibSac* [Jan-Mar 2000]: 101).

## The Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Three shepherds were looking after their goats near the edge of the Dead Sea. Behind them were the crags of the desert cliffs. One of the Arabs saw a small hole in the cliff, and threw a stone into it. He was surprised to hear a sharp clattering noise. It was too late to explore that day, but he told the others about it. After a while, the youngest of them went off on his own and wriggled through a hole next to the first one. He dropped into a small cave, and saw what the stone had hit. An old pot was lying smashed on the floor. More pots stood in the cave. Lifting the lid off one, he found it full of red earth. In another were two small bundles wrapped in cloth, and one not wrapped. Each was a long roll of leather with small black letters all over the inside. The leather was thin and crumbly, not much use for anything. It was the winter of 1946-47 when they found the scrolls. During March 1947 they decided they might be worth some money. They took them to Bethlehem, to a carpenter who also bought and sold antiquities. He kept them for a while, then the shepherds came back.

'How much will you pay for them?'  
'Nothing, they're not old!'

They took the scrolls away and arranged with another dealer to try to sell them. They agreed he could take a third of the price as his commission. A few weeks later he was able to give them their money: the three scrolls brought them £16—\$65 at that time.

One of the shepherds had gone back to the cave meanwhile, and found some more scrolls buried under stones fallen from the roof. A different dealer bought these, for £7 (\$28). For the effort of throwing a stone into a cave, the shepherds found themselves with more money in their pockets than they'd ever had from breeding sheep and goats. Yet that was not the end of the story for them: they had struck a gold mine, without knowing it!

An archbishop belonging to the Syrian Jacobite Church in Jerusalem had bought the first group of scrolls. Fighting in Jerusalem caused him to move to America. There he exhibited the scrolls at museums and universities, trying to find a buyer for them. Seven years after he had obtained them, he advertised them in *The Wall Street Journal*. They were for

sale at a price to be agreed.

Someone showed the advertisement to Yigael Yadin, a leading archaeologist from Jerusalem who was visiting New York. He contacted a rich American friend who put up the money to buy them—a quarter of a million dollars. So it was that these scrolls returned to Jerusalem in 1954. There they were reunited with the second group, which Yadin's father, Professor Sukenik, had bought for £80/\$324.

By the end of 1948 newspaper reports had told the world about the discovery and its importance—Hebrew books from the time of Christ had never been found in Palestine before. News that the scrolls were very valuable reached the shepherds and their friends. They went hunting for more caves with scrolls in them until, by 1956, they had located eleven with the same sorts of books in them. One cave, Cave 4, had had about 400 scrolls in it. Falling stones, wind-blown dust, insects, and possibly enemies, had torn them into 40,000 fragments. Each one had to be bought from the Arabs who found them, at an average price of £1/\$4 per square centimetre.

Museum funds were soon exhausted in Jordanian Jerusalem. The government of Jordan produced a considerable sum of money, and more was raised from museums and academies and wealthy benefactors abroad. In 1967 the last of the scrolls to come to light was confiscated from the shepherds' Bethlehem agent by Israeli authorities. Afterwards they paid him compensation of \$105,000. He and the tribesmen for whom he acted had grown rich because of one idly thrown stone!

The scrolls recovered in modern times fall into three categories. About 220 scrolls are books of the OT in Hebrew; all the OT books are represented except Esther. These biblical MSS are 1,000 years older than the oldest copies previously available, and their discovery has greatly increased our knowledge.

See  
Shrine  
of  
the  
Book!

The oldest manuscript of a complete book of the Old Testament dates from c. 100 BC and was found at Qumran (Cave 1) in 1947. It is the scroll of Isaiah (1Q Is<sup>a</sup>) and measures 27 cm × 7.26 m (c. 10½ ins × 23 ft 10 ins).

The  
Story  
of  
the  
DEAD  
SEA  
SCROLLS

With the secrecy over the Dead Sea Scrolls lifted, scholars are locked in mortal combat over the m

# Debate rages over hol

The Sunday Times, Jan. 3, 1993

**T**HE "freeing" of the Dead Sea Scrolls a year ago from the restrictive control of a few scholars has unleashed a storm of new controversy among the warring factions of biblical researchers.

As more scholars have access to the ancient texts, they are challenging some of the reigning assumptions about who wrote them, when and how they fit into the volatile history of Judaism from about 250 BC to AD 70.

"Everything about the scrolls is being re-examined and rethought," Dr Michael Wise, a scrolls scholar at the University of Chicago, said in an interview last month at a conference on the manuscripts at the New York Blood Center in Manhattan.

One of the conference organisers, Dr Norman Golb, professor of Near East Languages at Chicago, said: "We are back to square one with regard to the scrolls - who wrote them, where and why? They're all open for debate in a way they have not been for years."

Although the new debates are largely over interpretations of the substance of the texts, echoes of old disputes still reverberate among the scholars over the publication of a book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Element Books), by Dr Wise and Dr Robert Eisenman of California State University at Long Beach.

Last month, leading scholars accused the authors of using the research of others without proper credit. The authors and their allies contended that their accusers were merely trying to maintain the old monopoly in which the scrolls were held by a few international editors whose tight control since 1947 had stifled independent research and publication.

The two sides appeared to settle their differences at the conference, but only after hours of acrimony. Then it was back to the scrolls themselves, and a resumption of many early arguments fueled by new findings. There was also a widening division among scholars over scrolls interpretations, especially regarding their significance for the history of Judaism and early Christianity.

A major dispute involves the authorship of the scrolls. Among the first documents found in caves near the Dead Sea was a Manual Of Discipline, which outlined rules governing the group of scribes who presumably wrote the scrolls.

These rules were remarkably similar to those of a Jewish separatist sect known as the Essenes, as recorded by Josephus, the Jewish historian of I AD. The Roman geographer Pliny described an Essene "city" in the wilderness near the shore of the Dead Sea.

Since the caves are near the site of Qumran, crumbling ruins from that period, scholars generally agreed that members of the Essene sect had a monastery at Qumran, where they lived celibate lives, wrote their precious scrolls and stored them in the nearby caves.

Dr James Charlesworth, editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls Project at Princeton Theological Seminary, has noted "the vast amount of commonality" between the ideas and practices of Jesus and the Essenes. The scrolls, many scholars say, underscore the Jewishness of Jesus.

At the centre of controversy over the Eisenman-Wise book was the publication of texts known as MMT, for the Hebrew words meaning, "Some rulings pertaining to the Torah".

The text contains about 22 religious laws and a defence of the sect's action in breaking away from the Jewish establishment, the Pharisees and Sadducees in



A sample of the Dead Sea Scrolls which shows the text of Leviticus scriptures of the Old Testament

Jerusalem, because of differences involving these laws. Scholars believe the MMT text should shed new light on the identity of the sect. An examination of this text and other manuscript and archeological evidence has led several scholars to challenge the Essene hypothesis.

Dr Lawrence Schiffman, a professor of Judaic studies at New York University, said a close reading of MMT showed "beyond question that either the sect was not Essene, but was Sadducean, or that the Essene movement must be totally redefined as having emerged out of Sadducean beginnings".

As the two principal branches of Judaism of the period, the Sadducees were a sect dominated by a priestly aristocracy that opposed the Pharisees, a conservative sect led by lay teachers with strict views of religious laws.

Dr Eisenman has made a more radical proposal. He said the newly available scrolls from Qumran support his thesis that the sect's writings coincide in many ways with life and teachings of Jesus, known in the New Testament as the brother of Jesus.

James headed the Jerusalem Jesus

Movement, a proto-Christian organisation that eventually subsided in history and was replaced by the followers of St Paul, whose more Hellenised version of Christianity was to prevail. Dr Eisenman's hypothesis has gained few adherents.

Dr Golb, on the other hand, doubts that the scrolls can be attributed to any one sect, but reflect the thinking of a wide spectrum of Palestinian Jews in those tur-

bulent times. He had hypothesised that the Qumran ruins are of a fortress, not a monastery, and that the scrolls came from the libraries of Jerusalem, stored in the caves for safekeeping during the Jewish revolt against Rome between AD 66 and 70.

the cemetery at the site. What, for example, were the skeletons of women doing there, if this was the monastery of a celibate sect? Why is the cemetery placed so close to the buildings, contrary to Jewish laws of purity?

In one of the opening reports at the conference, Dr Pauline Donceel-Voute, an archeologist at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, said a more de-

*'One scholar claims newly available scrolls support his theory that the Dead Sea documents are inspired by the teachings of James, known in the New Testament as the brother of Jesus.'*

But Dr Donceel-Voute said further analysis of the ruins cast doubt on the assumption that one of the large rooms was the "scriptorium", but suggest that it could have been a dining or meeting hall for soldiers.

Dr Golb called her findings "a breath

of fresh air" and said she was "excited" by her findings. She said she was "excited" by her findings. She said she was "excited" by her findings.

lifted, scholars are locked in mortal combat over the meaning of the documents, reports John Wilford

# rages over holy papers



Fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls which shows the text of Leviticus scriptures of the Old Testament of the Bible.

involvement, a proto-Christian organisation that eventually subsided in history and was replaced by the followers of St Paul, whose more Hellenised version of Christianity was to prevail. Dr Eisenman's hypothesis has gained few adherents.

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*'One scholar claims newly available scrolls support his theory that the Dead Sea documents are inspired by the teachings of James, known in the New Testament as the brother of Jesus.'*

The Qumran buildings were presumably destroyed during that war. Archeologists may learn more about its occupants and fate by expanding their excavations of

the cemetery at the site. What, for example, were the skeletons of women doing there, if this was the monastery of a celibate sect? Why is the cemetery placed so close to the buildings, contrary to Jewish laws of purity?

In one of the opening reports at the conference, Dr Pauline Donceel-Voute, an archeologist at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, said a more detailed study of ceramics, glassware and other artifacts found in the Qumran ruins disclosed that the inhabitants did not seem to lead lives of "monastic simplicity".

But Dr Donceel-Voute said further analysis of the ruins cast doubt on the assumption that one of the large rooms was the "scriptorium", but suggest that it could have been a dining or meeting hall for soldiers.

Dr Golb called her findings "a breath

of fresh wind" supporting his fortress hypothesis, but adherents of the Essene theory subjected her to tough questioning in accusatory tones.

"I am upset by the atmosphere of aggression throughout scrolls research," Dr Donceel-Voute said in an interview recently. "I went in with an open mind to look at the archeology of the site. It shows that Qumran was part of the general society."

Dr George Brooke of the University of Manchester in England said: "We are still a long way from firm historical knowledge of the origin of the scrolls."

Yet traditional scholars like Dr James VanderKam of the University of Notre Dame insisted that the old consensus around the Essene hypothesis, though not as rock solid as before, was in no danger of crumbling.

In the immediate future, debate may focus on the recurring issue of publication rights.

Can the original editors and their assigned scholars continue to maintain control over certain documents? Can they claim copyright protection on documents they have worked on? The questions will

be central in two court cases, one in Israel and the other in the United States.

Earlier this year, Dr Elisha Qimron, a professor at the University of the Negev in Beersheba, Israel, who is currently a visiting scholar at the Annenberg Research Institute in Philadelphia, brought a US\$250,000 damage suit against the editors of *A Facsimile Edition Of The Dead Sea Scrolls*, a complete set of photographs of the scrolls. An appendix of the book included a 120-line portion of the reconstructed text of MMT.

Dr Qimron contended that this was his original work and an infringement of his copyright on the document. Mr Hershel Shanks, president of the Biblical Archeology Society, which published the two volumes, said the case had broad implications for all scholarship of ancient documents.

Such texts, he argued, cannot be copyrighted. Moreover, he said that other scholars besides Dr Qimron had helped prepare the text and it had already been widely circulated among scholars.

The lawsuit is scheduled to be tried in Jerusalem on Feb 1. A countersuit by Mr Shanks has been filed in the US District Court in Philadelphia.

Mr Shanks said the statements issued mid-December in settling the controversy over *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* appeared to support his position. One statement, issued by a group of scholars who have long had access to the scrolls, affirmed the right "of all scholars to publish Qumran texts and make properly acknowledged use of the work of others".

"Here the scholarly community is saying you can use it," Mr Shanks said of his publication of the MMT document. Dr Qimron was one of the scholars who approved the statement, some of his associates said.

Nothing has divided and inflamed the field more than the issue of open access to the scrolls. Until a year ago, when a library in California opened its collection of scrolls photographs to all scholars and a book of the photographs was published, an international editing team had exercised autocratic control over the research.

The team has now been expanded from a dozen to 50, headed by Dr Emanuel Tov of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and has promised to complete publication of the remaining texts in 1996.

Only the well-preserved texts were prepared and published soon after discovery. Although the editors who exert primary control over research of the scrolls occasionally published interpretations of other texts, including MMT, most of the documents themselves were withheld from publication.

Scholars who were outsiders before last year's opening of the scrolls still suspect the former insiders of trying to rule the roost, and the incident over the Eisenman-Wise book was not reassuring.

Dr Golb questioned the motives behind the protest, noting that the 19 scholars who complained "were either themselves involved in the lengthy and unsuccessful effort to prevent release of the scrolls, or beneficiaries of that policy".

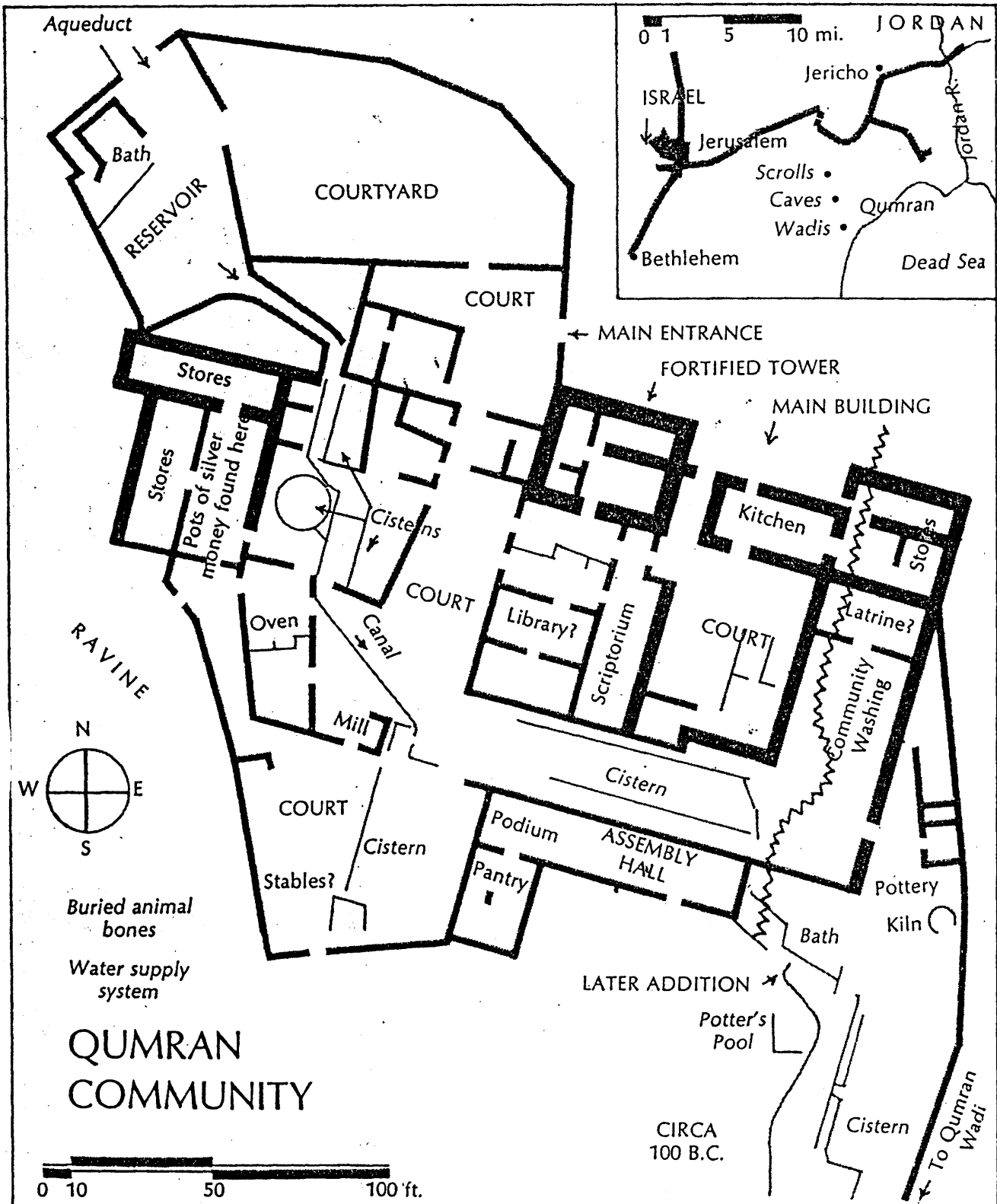
One of the complaints against the book was that it contained errors of interpretation. "What they would like us to believe," Dr Golb said, "is that they have 'true' interpretations of the Qumran manuscripts in contrast with those they collectively label false, and by this assertion they degrade the scholarship that they claim to represent." - NYT





# Map of the Qumran Community

R. K. Harrison, "Dead Sea Scrolls," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, 2:60



2) **The Qumran Community:** The findings of the scrolls motivated the excavation of the ruins next to the caves by Rolánd de Vaux, a Dominican monk in Jerusalem. A big problem here concerns the identity of the people who lived in this remote place.

a) **Essenes** were a Jewish monastic group in this area during the time of the scrolls (200 BC—AD 68). Most scholars have held that Essenes copied the scrolls at Qumran and then deposited them into the caves when the Jewish revolt against Rome began in AD 66 (e.g., James VanderKam, E. L. Sukenik, John Allegro, André Dupont-Sommer). Within two years the Essene community itself was wiped out. Several lines of evidence support this theory:

1] *Pliny the Elder* was a Roman scholar who apparently had visited this area and described the Essenes in these words:

On the west side of the Dead Sea, but out of the range of the noxious exhalation of the coast, is the solitary tribe of the Essenes, which is remarkable beyond all the other tribes in the whole world, as it has no women and has renounced all sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm trees for company. Day by day the throng of refugees is recruited to an equal number by numerous [additions] of persons tired of life and driven thither by the waves of fortune to adopt their manners. Thus through thousands of ages (incredible to relate), a race in which no one is born lives on forever; so prolific for their advantage is other men's weariness of life! Lying below them [Essenes] was formerly the town of Engedi (Pliny, *Natural History* 2, trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library [London: Heinemann/Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969], 5.15, 73).

Thus Pliny describes Essenes in this spot and with the same characteristics depicted in the ruins (see below). Qumran is the only archaeological site in this area north of Engedi with buildings large enough for a community.

2] *Josephus* says the Essenes did not marry (*Ant.* 18.1.5; *War* 2.8.2), which is consistent with the burial findings in the area. All corpses dug up were of men, except two women and one child. (Some believe the women were cooks.) In any event, if marriage was practiced in the community, the ratio of women to men would certainly have been much higher and the skeletons of more children would seem to be more prominent in the burial plots.

3] *Excavations* of the site revealed a long room which the excavators dubbed the "scriptorium," believing that the long tables there enabled Essene scribes to copy manuscripts. In fact, two ink wells were dug up in this room.

4] *Sectarian writings* at the site indicate a religious community. These include the Manual of Discipline (describing their strict beliefs, initiation practices, and rules of daily life) and a newly discovered deed from a new community member who gave his property to the sect (*BAR* [Mar/Apr 98]: 48-53, 69).

b) **Sadducees** have also been considered to have occupied the ruins. Dr. Pauline Donceel-Voute, an archaeologist at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, holds this view. She teaches that the long room long believed to have been the "Scriptorium" where scrolls were copied was actually a banqueting table! Dr. Lawrence Schiffman, professor of Judaic Studies at New York University, says that a close reading of MMT showed "beyond question that either the sect was not Essene, but was Sadducean, or that the Essene movement must be totally redefined as having emerged out of Sadducean beginnings." Clearly there are some parallels between the Sadducees and those at Qumran, but since Sadducees did not believe in angels or predestination, these major emphases in the ruins are convincingly against this hypothesis.

c) **Pharisees** are also suggested to have lived at Qumran by scholars such as Saul Lieberman, Louis Ginzberg, and Chaim Rabin (cf. Edward M. Cook, *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 124, n. 1). This is a minority view.

d) **The Roman fortress hypothesis** has been advanced with little following.

- e) Zealots also have been supported as Qumran's inhabitants. This terrorist, fringe group of Jews who sought to overthrow Rome's rule has some similarities to the *War Scroll* contents found within the ruins. Arrowheads found within the ash layer of Qumran indicate a fiery end to the settlement. Would the peace-loving Essenes have fought the Romans with such fury? Scholars like Cecil Roth and G. R. Driver believe that the ruins resulted from a Roman attack of Qumran as a Zealot outpost. This view which attaches monastic tendencies to Zealots has not gained much of a following.
- f) The Christian hypothesis has also been put forth. This focuses on James the brother of Jesus as the Qumran sect's leader. This more radical theory, proposed by Dr. Robert Eisenman of California State University at Long Beach, has few adherents. That Christians wrote the scrolls is ludicrous in that the entire library makes not one mention of Jesus!
- g) The Jerusalem theory says that the Qumran writings cannot be attributed entirely to one sect. Dr. Norman Golb, professor of Near East Languages at the Univ. of Chicago, believes that Qumran was not a monastery but a fortress. His view claims that the scrolls came from the libraries at Jerusalem and were deposited in these caves in anticipation of the fall of Jerusalem between AD 66-70.
- h) Conclusion: While the identity of the sect still remains a mystery, it seems to me that the Essene view has not been sufficiently defeated to change from this traditional view. Therefore, I continue to hold to the Essene theory, especially considering the evidence of Pliny and Josephus.

## b. Contents of the Qumran Library (DSS manuscripts)

The 870 different scrolls and 100,000 fragments comprise many types of documents:

- 1) OT Books (220 scrolls, as opposed to the 650 non-biblical scrolls)
  - a) At least a fragment has been found of every OT book except Esther (which only later was considered authoritative). The most common were Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Isaiah (two entire scrolls of Isaiah were discovered).
  - b) Finds have been labeled by the cave number and name of book. For example, 11QPs denotes the Psalms scroll in cave 11 at Qumran and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> designates the first Isaiah scroll found in cave 1.
  - c) The DSS even include Targum fragments (Aramaic paraphrases of the OT; Evans, 98; cf. p. 97 of these notes).
- 2) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha texts
  - a) Finds include Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs.
  - b) The abbreviation for these is similar to that of OT books: 4QTobit means the Tobit scroll found in Qumran cave 4.
- 3) Commentaries on OT books
  - a) The most complete commentary is on Habakkuk, with Genesis, 2 Samuel, Isaiah, Hosea, Nahum, and Zechariah also prominent.
  - b) A small letter "p" for *peshar* ("commentary") identifies these manuscripts. So 1QpHab designates the commentary on Habakkuk found in cave 1.
- 4) Collections of OT passages on a theme
  - a) Messianic passages were collected by Essenes in a volume called "Testimonia."

- b) The sect struggled to reconcile seemingly contradictory OT messianic texts on the Messiah's lineage. Was he a priest (Ps. 110:4) who descended from Levi, or a king who descended from Judah via David (Ps. 89:3-4, 35-37)? The result was an expectation of *two* messiahs: a priestly Messiah and a Davidic Messiah.

5) Sectarian writings of the Qumran Community (designated with "S")

- a) The Manual of Discipline (1QS), Community Rule (1QSa), and Damascus Document (CD) outline very strict rules of behaviour for the monastic community, including death for sabbath-breaking. (As an example of referring to this scroll, 1QS3.5-7 indicates column 3, lines 5-7 of the scroll.)
- b) The Temple Scroll (11QTemple) contains an elaborate plan how to make a new temple, anticipating that Herod's temple would soon be judged by God. (They were right, but little did they realize that they too would be destroyed.)
- c) The War Scroll (1QM) was originally published under the title "The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness." It is an eschatological text depicting the community's instructions and prayers to be offered at different times in battle. It is unknown whether the community had in mind an actual military battle or an apocalyptic Armageddon.
- 6) Note that no NT manuscripts or fragments have been found in Qumran (nor does the NT ever mention Qumran or the Essenes). Some articles try to connect Jesus and Qumran (or Christianity and Qumran), but this is very speculative; these were contemporaneous yet independent movements with similar goals at some points.

**c. Beliefs and Characteristics of the Qumran (Essene) Community**

- 1) Commitment to intense study of the Torah and a devout life: extensive water cisterns and baths were used for ritual cleansing
- 2) Sovereignty of God: strict predestinarian views similar to Pharisees
- 3) Eschatological Emphases: believed they were living in the end times and held strong messianic expectations that God would judge the impure priesthood
- 4) Communal life: Josephus is probably right that Qumran inhabitants were all men (except possibly a few women cooks?)
- 5) Legalism: possible given that Essenes separated from the normal pressures of everyday life (e.g., *War* 2.8.2 says no defecation was allowed on the sabbath!)

**d. Significance of the DSS**

- 1) Information on the life, customs, history, and beliefs of the Qumran community.
- 2) Knowledge the Pseudepigrapha (Jewish writings from 200 BC to AD 100) has been enhanced significantly. This has aided our understanding of Jewish history, religion, and culture in the NT era and afterwards.
- 3) Greatly advanced the study of Hebrew manuscripts, script, and orthography (system of spelling correctly) from the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century AD. Prior to this discovery these years were represented by only one scrap of papyrus!
- 4) Extended our knowledge of the Masoretic (Hebrew) text back by 1000 years: 4QSam dates to 225 BC, but before this discovery the oldest extant Hebrew MSS of an OT book was from the AD 800's.

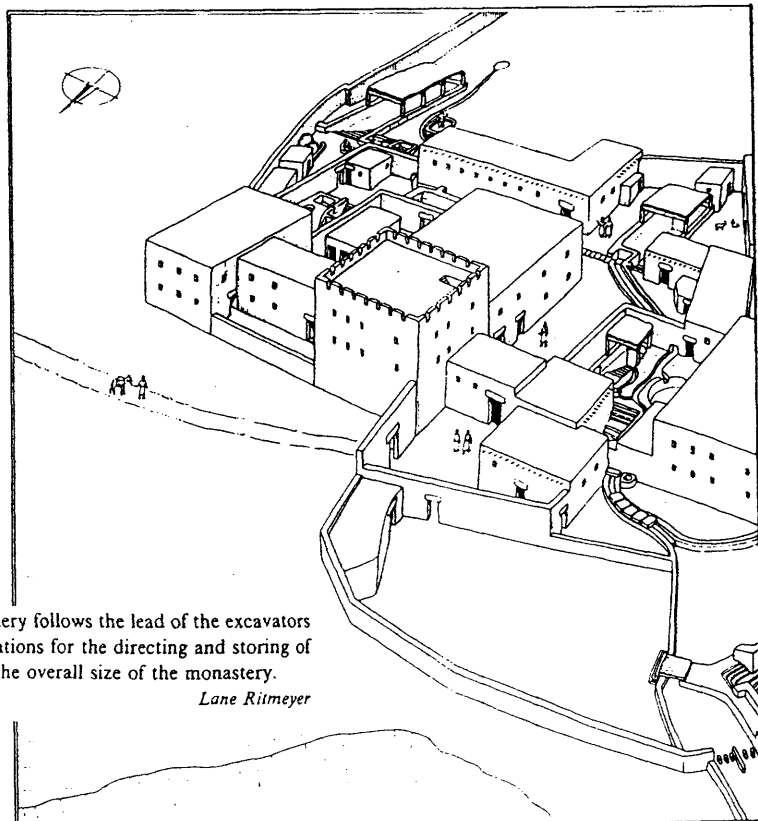
Before 1948, the earliest complete extant copies of the Hebrew Bible were dated around AD 1000! Finding copies of books of the Hebrew Bible in whole or in part, to be dated around the

time of Christ, was indeed phenomenal. In addition new light was cast on the religious situation of this time, since the Scrolls contain much extrabiblical material related to the beliefs and conduct of a Jewish sect (Homer Heater, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 145 [Oct.-Dec. 1988]: 454).

- 5) Proves the accuracy of conservative dating of OT books: Liberals have long held that Daniel was written in Babylon around 164 BC whereas conservatives date it in Daniel's lifetime (c. 560 BC). The discovery of a second century BC Daniel scroll at Qumran defeats this erroneous liberal teaching, for copies of Daniel would not have traveled to a fringe sect in the desert of Palestine so quickly.
- 6) Proves the accuracy of transmission of the OT text: Comparing the DSS Isaiah scroll with one copied in AD 800's shows minimal differences. The Jewish scribes over the centuries showed extreme care to produce reliable copies of their sources.
- 7) MMT shows that Paul's opponents who taught salvation by the law were indeed real people (Rom. 3:20, 28; Gal. 2:16; 3:2, 5, 10; see page 175).

### e. Sources

- 1) The best older introductions to Qumran are Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Biblical Studies* (New York: Doubleday, 1961; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) and especially the standard DSS text: Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962, 4th ed. 1995). But recently Martin Abegg, Edward Cook, and Michael Wise edited *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (HarperCollins, 1996) which includes all but the most minute of the previously unknown nonbiblical DSS texts. Its 300 texts are 200 more than the previous standard by Geza Vermes.
- 2) See also an older but brief symposium at the Smithsonian Institute by Hershel Shanks, James C. VanderKam, P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., and James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Forty Years* (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991 in SBC library 220.93 SHA). Also see Edward M. Cook, *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994).
- 3) The best way to stay current on the DSS is in *BAR* (*Biblical Archaeology Review*), a magazine published since 1975. It is edited by Hershel Shanks, a Harvard Law School graduate who turned his interest in Israel into a new profession (though the "BAR" acronym and controversial nature of the publication which continues to get sued for publishing sensitive material shows that Shanks hasn't yet given up law!).



This artist's rendering of the Qumran monastery follows the lead of the excavators of the Qumran ruins. Note the extensive installations for the directing and storing of water, the entrance by the massive tower, and the overall size of the monastery.

Lane Rittmeyer

## Were John and Jesus with the Essenes at Qumran?

Craig A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation*, 67-68

*John the Baptist and Qumran.* The discovery of the Qumran scrolls has raised again the question of John's possible relationship with the Essenes. There are at least six important parallels between the Baptist and Qumran: (1) Both John and Qumran appealed to Isaiah 40:3 ("The voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Prepare the way of the Lord'") for their rationale for retreating to the wilderness (cf. IQS 8:12-16; 9:19-20; Matt 3:1-3; Mark 1:2-4; Luke 3:2-6; John 1:23). John's upbringing in the wilderness (cf. Luke 1:80) allows for the possibility of his association with the wilderness community (cf. Josephus *J.W.* 2.8.2 §120: "The Essenes . . . adopt the children of others at a tender age in order to instruct them"). Essenes and Christians may have called their respective faiths "the Way" (IQS 9:17-18; Luke 20:21; Acts 9:2; 16:17; 18:26; cf. John 14:6) because of Isa 40:3. (2) Both John and Qumran called for repentance and practiced baptism (cf. IQS 5:7-15; Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 5.17.4; Matt 3:5; Mark 1:4-5; Luke 3:7; John 1:25). (3) Both John and Qumran anticipated the imminent appearance of the kingdom of God (IQS 8:13-14; Matt 3:2; Mark 1:7). (4) John and Qumran employ similarly the words "water, spirit, and fire" (cf. IQS 4:11-21; Matt 3:11-12; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:26; Isa 5:24). (5) John's strange diet may reflect the strict *kashruth* observed by the Essenes (cf. Josephus *J.W.* 2.8.8 §143 ["he cannot share the food of others . . . he eats grass"]; 2.8.10 §152; CD 6:17; Matt 3:4 ["locusts and wild honey"]; 11:18 ["John came neither eating nor drinking"]; Mark 1:6; Luke 1:15). (6) John's harsh criticism of the religious leaders (Matt 3:7-9; "You brood of vipers . . .") coheres with harsh epithets frequently found in the writings of Qumran (1QpHab 2:1-2 ["Man of Lies"]; 8:8 ["Wicked Priest"]; 10:9 ["Preacher of Lies"]; IQS 9:16 ["men of the Pit"]; 9:17 ["men of perversity"]; IQM 1:1 ["sons of darkness"]; 15:2-3 ["host of Belial"]).

The possibility that John was at one time an Essene is important, since Jesus in all likelihood had himself been a disciple or an associate of John. The writings of Qumran, therefore, in all probability are vital for understanding the ministry of John and perhaps aspects of the ministry of Jesus.

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*Jesus and Qumran.* There are five suggestive similarities between the teachings and ministry of Jesus and those of Qumran. (1) Jesus was critical of an avaricious and oppressive temple establishment (Mark 12:38-13:2). So were the members of Qumran (1QpHab 8:11-12; 9:4-5; 10:1). (2) Both Jesus and Qumran apparently opposed the annual half-shekel temple tax (Matt 17:24-27; 4QOra\* 2:6-8), which, much to the consternation of some rabbis, the priests themselves did not pay (*m. Šeqal.* 1:4). Jesus may also have questioned the temple establishment's role in assisting Rome in the collection of imperial taxes (Mark 12:13-17; Luke 23:2). (3) Both Jesus and Qumran interpreted Gen 1:27 in such a way as to forbid divorce and remarriage (Matt 19:4; Mark 10:6; CD 4:20-5:2). (4) Both Jesus and Qumran spoke in terms of spiritual offerings, as opposed to literal animal offerings (Matt 9:13; 12:7 [cf. Hos 6:6]; Mark 12:28-34; 4QFlor 1:6-7; cf. Philo *Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit* 12 §75; Josephus *Ant.* 18.1.5 §19). Compare also Paul's statement in Rom 12:1: "present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship." (5) Both Jesus and Qumran thought of God's people as constituting a "spiritual temple" (Matt 12:6; Mark 14:58; John 2:19-21). Jesus' teaching probably underlies Paul's description of Christians as the "temple of the Holy Spirit" (2 Cor 6:16; cf. 1 Pet 2:4-5; 4QFlor 1:6).

Bibliography: L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* (NovTSup 23; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 127-28; 164; W. S. LaSor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972) 206-46; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 84.

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**WHY THE QUMRAN INHABITANTS WERE NOT ESSENES**

**Essene Characteristics**

**Qumranite Characteristics**

**Evidence from Ancient Texts**

**Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls**

**Archaeological Evidence from Qumran**

**Peace-loving**

vs.

**War-like**

"The Essenes hate war and love peace. They will not fight." Epidorus, *Historia Palestina* 6.7.

"When you approach a city to fight it, [first] offer it peace.... If it does not make peace but is ready to fight a war against you, besiege it and I will deliver it into your hands." Temple Scroll (11QT) 62.6-9.

Partial destruction of the fortified tower. Suggests that Qumran residents fiercely resisted attack.

**Celibate**

vs.

**Married**

"[They live]... without women, renouncing love entirely." Pliny, *Natural History* 5.15.73.

"A man may marry a beautiful captive woman, but he must first let her mourn a month for her parents." Temple Scroll (11QT) 63.11-15.

Women's and children's skeletons in the Qumran cemeteries.

**Opposed to Slavery**

vs.

**Owning Slaves**

"They acquire no slaves;... they consider slavery an injustice." Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.21.

"[H]e shall not sell them [the Gentiles] his manservant or his maidservant." Damascus Rule (CD) 12.10.

**Scorned Wealth**

vs.

**Wealthy**

"They despise riches." Josephus, *War* 2.122.

High-quality stoneware from Jerusalem, luxurious glassware and a hoard of coins were found.

**Refused to Swear Oaths**

vs.

**Oath-takers**

"They refrain from swearing, considering it worse than perjury." Josephus, *War* 2.135.

"When a man makes a vow to me or swears an oath to take upon himself a binding obligation, he must not break his word." Temple Scroll (11QT) 53.14-16.

**Held No Private Property**

vs.

**Private-Property Holders**

"It is the law that those who enter the sect shall surrender their property to the order." Josephus, *War* 2.122.

"They shall place the earnings of at least two days out of every month into the hands of the guardian... and from it they shall succour the poor and the needy...." Damascus Rule (CD) 14.13.

**Agricultural**

vs.

**Failed to Farm**

"There are farmers among them, experts in the art of sowing and cultivating plants, shepherds leading every sort of flock, and beekeepers." Philo, *Apologia pro Judaicis* 8.

Qumran residents did not farm nearby lands.

**Isolated Community,**

vs.

**Busy Commercial Center**

"[The Essenes] have only palm-trees for company." Pliny, *Natural History* 5.15.73.

Community located on major trade route. Hoards of coins at Qumran indicate participation in commerce.

cation of Qumran as an Essene settlement. And it is true that we find a general similarity between the doctrines preached by the Essenes as recorded by Philo, Josephus, Solinus, Hippolytus, Porphyry and Epiphanius, on the one hand, and the traditions described in the scrolls found in the 11 Qumran caves, on the other. But it is not the similarities between Essene ideas and the ideas in the scrolls that matter; it is the differences that are significant. Everything we know from the ancient sources tells us that there must have been basic similarities between all the "philosophies" of Judaism at the time, because they were all branches of a common trunk, the Biblical precursor of Judaism. Thus, the similarities between the scrolls and the teachings of any of the philosophies are meaningless because they show only that they relate to the common trunk. It is the details in which the "philosophies" differ from each other that matter. And in these details we find that Essene and Qumran traditions differ significantly, as a result of which we must conclude that the scrolls are

not the products of the Essenes.

If we were to consider only similarities, we might conclude that the scrolls were produced by the Rechabites, Samaritans, Ebionites or Sadducees. The name Essenes, incidentally, never appears in any of the scrolls.

Let us look at some of the Essene characteristics as reflected in the ancient literature about them, on the one hand, and what we find in the scrolls and in their alleged settlement at Qumran, on the other:

► The Essenes are depicted as peace-loving<sup>11</sup> and are said not to have manufactured weapons. The ruins of Qumran, however, include a fortified tower, burnt, mined and partially destroyed in what must have been a siege, fiercely resisted by fighting men.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the Qumran scrolls do not reflect peace-loving traits, but warlike characteristics,<sup>13</sup> with their many references to war (albeit at a future date), the particulars of army organization and detailed descriptions of weapons.<sup>14</sup> From the accounts in the scrolls, it can be inferred that their writers included skilled tradesmen and

# THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

250 B.C. - A.D. 70

# NTI

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(John Grassnick, Dallas Seminary)

**Dead Sea Scrolls** (abbrev.: DSS). The name given to mainly parchment and papyrus scrolls written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, and discovered in eleven caves along the northwestern coast of the Dead Sea between 1947 and 1956, generally dating from 250 B.C. to A.D. 68 and assigned to an Essene community located at the archaeological site known as Khirbet Qumran. The term is also used more broadly for texts found during the same and more recent years at Masada, Nahal Hever, Wadi Murabba'at, Nahel Se'elim, Khirbet Mird, Nahal Mishmar, and, occasionally, includes texts from the Cairo Geniza. These MSS are of inestimable value in understanding sectarian Judaism and Christianity of the 1st cent. In addition to the books of the OT (excepting Esther) and portions of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the principal scrolls discovered (here listed with their present sigla followed by the older abbreviations) were the Manual of Discipline (1QS = DSD), the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), and the Manual of Benedictions (1QSB) (together constituting one scroll); The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness (1QM = DSW); Commentaries (peshirim) on portions of Habakkuk (1QP<sup>H</sup> = DSH), Nahum (4QP<sup>Nah</sup>), Micah (1QP<sup>Mi</sup>), also on small sections of Isaiah (4QP<sup>Isa</sup>), Psalms (4QP<sup>Ps</sup>37), Hosea (4QP<sup>Hos</sup>) and Zephaniah (4QP<sup>Zeph</sup>); The Vision of the New Jerusalem (also called The Temple Scroll, since it describes the ideal temple; 1-5QJN); The Damascus Document (closely related to 1QS, it was previously known from fragments found in a Cairo synagogue in 1896 and called the Zadokite Document; CD = CDC); The Copper Scroll (3Q<sup>Treasure</sup> or 3Q<sup>15</sup>—thought to be unrelated to Qumran); The Thanksgiving Psalms (also known by the modern Hebrew term Hodayot, meaning thanksgiving; hence the siglum 1QH = DST); and, The Genesis Apocryphon (written in Aramaic; 1Qap<sup>Gen</sup> = DSL); and the Florilegia consisting of The Eschatological Midrashim (4Q<sup>EschMidr</sup>), The Patriarchal Blessings (4QP<sup>Bless</sup>), and The Testimonia (4Q<sup>Testim</sup>). Early translations of the major, non-canonical scrolls are available in paperback: Theodore H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956; revised and enlarged 1964); Géza Vermès, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962; rev. ed., 1970; London: Penguin, 1970). Countless additional fragments remain to be assembled and published, e. g., about 95 percent of the texts from Cave #4 at Qumran alone are presently unpublished.

Note: Each siglum above contains the number of the cave in which the scroll was found (1-11), the location of the cave, (Qumran), and an initial(s) for the name of the document (p meaning peshir or commentary); superscribed letters indicate the copy of the work at a given site (e. g., 4QP<sup>Isa</sup>). In some listings the siglum has prefixed to it an abbreviation of the material from which the text is made (papyrus [p, pap], copper [cu], ostrakon [o, os, ostr], wood [lign], parchment [perg], or skin [no abb.]); and an appended abbreviation indicating the language in which the text is written (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Greek, Latin, or Nabatean). For advanced study see: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S. J., The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study (Missoula, Montana: The Scholar's Press, 1975).

**Khirbet Qumran** is the name given to the ruins of an Essene community (fanatic Jewish monastics) on the northwestern coast of the Dead Sea, first occupied around 150 B.C. and destroyed in A.D. 68-70 during the suppression of the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66-70) by Rome. In its vicinity the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in 1947-56.

The DSS include:

1. Portions of all the OT books except Esther. The three favorite books are Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Isaiah — the three OT books most often cited by NT author
2. Portions of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.
3. Commentaries on OT books. The largest, most complete one is on Habakkuk.
4. Collections of passages on given themes, such as:
  - The Testimonia — passage relating to the Messiah.
  - Florilegium — passages portraying a Davidic Messiah and an interpretation of the Law.
5. Sectarian writings of the Qumran community, such as:
  - The Manual of Discipline
  - The Rule of the Congregation
  - The War Scroll
  - The Damascus Document (the Zadokite Fragments)

— R. N. Soulen, Handbook, pp. 44-45, 88



**Hermetic Literature** (also: *Hermetica*) arose in the 1st cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D. within Greek theosophical circles superficially enamored with the gods and environs of Egypt. In content, HL is essentially Greek. The term comes from Hermes Trismegistus (meaning Thoth thrice greatest), who is (in the main) the reputed author of the various treatises. The standard edition of the literature is the *Corpus Hermeticum* by A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1945-54; 1962<sup>1</sup>), which contains:

① the *Corpus Hermeticum*, also known as *Poimandrès* (18 tractates, poorly preserved), ② a Latin recension of a speech by Hermes T. to Ascepius (the latter being the name by which it is known), and ③ 29 extracts of the writings of Stobaeus (23-27 recount the teachings of Isis to Horus; the 23rd extract is known as *Kore Kosmou*). In addition to this collection and also belonging to the *Hermetica* are the Coptic *Hermetica* from Codex VI of the Nag Hammadi texts, various Hermetically influenced letters, and other papyri. (Note: A new edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum* is in preparation by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of Claremont, California.)

These tractates, essentially devotional and occult in character, have the common themes of God, world, and humankind, their setting is mythical and fantastic, their symbolism dualistic (light-darkness, height-depth, birth-death), and in their dialogical character resemble the *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* of Plato, hence their characterization as "proletarian Platonism." For their relationship to the NT see esp., C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1953).

**Oxyrhynchus Papyri.** A treasure trove of ancient papyrus fragments, numbering in the thousands, first discovered by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (1897-1907) at Oxyrhynchus, near Behnesa in Upper Egypt. The papyri, dating from 2nd cent. B.C. to 7th cent. A.D. and written in Greek, Latin, Egyptian, Coptic, Hebrew, and Syriac, contain all varieties of texts, including fragments of the OT and NT and apocryphal literature, such as the Gospel of Thomas, the last being found intact at Nag Hammadi in 1947.

**Nag Hammadi Codices** (abbrev.: NHC; older abbrev.: CG: Cairensis Gnosticus). A collection of Gnostic and other writings dating from the 4th cent. A.D. reportedly discovered in 1945-46 in an ancient tomb-cave near the modern town of Nag Hammadi, located on the Nile some forty air miles northwest of Luxor in Upper Egypt. Of the original library, consisting today of eleven codices (bound volumes), one tractate, and the fragments of a twelfth codex, somewhat less than 90% is intact, numbering over 1100 inscribed pages. Although some of the tractates were previously known in whole or in part, the find provides primary documentation of Gnosticism in late antiquity and is therefore of great importance for understanding a strand of religious development which was divergent from and competitive with both orthodox Christianity and Judaism.

The Facsimile Edition of the NHC is published by E. J. Brill (Leiden) 1972ff., under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO, James M. Robinson, Secretary to the Editorial Board. For a bibliography of texts, translations, and secondary literature, see: David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), supplemented each year in *Novum Testamentum* (1971ff.).

**Chenoboskion** is the name of the site of the first Christian monastery, founded by Pachomius ca. A.D. 320 and located on the Nile river in Egypt, approximately forty miles northwest of Luxor near the modern town of Nag Hammadi. For reasons of historical interest primarily, the name C. was attached to the Coptic Gnostic MSS discovered near there in 1945-46; these MSS are now commonly referred to as the Nag Hammadi Codices.

NTI

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(John Grassmick, Dallas Seminary)

HERMETICA

100 B.C. - A.D. 150

Basically Greek Literature

-ascribes to magic

Papyri

200 B.C. - A.D. 700

NAG HAMMADITEXTS

ca. A.D. 300-400

-R.N. Soulen,

Handbook,pp. 34, 76-77,  
108-109, 116.

**Apocryphal NT** (Greek: adj., hidden; also called "The NT Apocrypha" in contradistinction to the [OT] Apocrypha, that is, Jewish writings of the inter-testamental period). Uncanonical writings dating from the second to the sixth centuries, written in the form or carrying the name of gospels, acts (histories), letters, and apocalypses, and purporting to tell of events, teachings, and prophecies (apocalypses) related to Jesus and the early apostles but not recorded in the canonical Scriptures. These writings contain little of historical value in terms of the subjects with which they deal (the birth of Mary, the childhood of Jesus, etc.), but they are of inestimable value in understanding the mind of both orthodox and heterodox Christianity of the early centuries.

For the English texts of the following, see M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924; rep. 1950), or Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963; London: SCM Press, 1974); the latter includes writings not listed below.

Gospels: Arabic Gospel of the Infancy; Armenian Gospel of the Infancy; Assumption of the Virgin; Gospel of Bartholomew; the Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew; Gospel of Basilides; Gospel of Cerinthus; Gospel of the Ebionites; Gospel According to the Hebrews; Protoevangelium of James; History of Joseph the Carpenter; Gospel of Marcion; Gospel of the Birth of Mary; Gospel of Philip; Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew; Gospel of Thomas.

Acts: Apostolic History of Abdias; Acts of Andrew; fragmentary Story of Andrew; Acts of Andrew and Matthias; Acts of Andrew and Paul; Acts of Barnabas; Ascent of James; Acts of James the Great; Acts of John; Acts of John by Prochorus; Martyrdom of Matthew; Acts of Paul; Passion of Paul; Acts of Peter; Acts of Peter and Andrew; Acts of Peter and Paul; Passion of Peter and Paul; Acts of Philip; Acts of Pilate; Acts of Thaddaeus; Acts of Thomas.

Epistles: Epistles of Christ and Abgarus; Epistle of the Apostles; Third Epistle to the Corinthians; Epistle to the Laodiceans; Epistle of Lentulus; Epistles of Paul and Seneca; Apocryphal Epistle of Titus.

Apocalypses: Apocalypse of James; Apocalypse of Paul; Apocalypse of Peter; Revelation of Stephen; Apocalypse of Thomas; Apocalypse of the Virgin.

**Apostolic Fathers** is the title given by general consent to those Christian authors of the 1st and 2nd cent. whose works, though ultimately deemed non-canonical, were often read and valued by the early Church. The term, first used in the 17th cent., designates no firm corpus, varying from eight to twelve in number, viz.: I Clement (ca. 95), II Clement (ca. 150), the Epistle of Barnabas (2nd cent.), Epistle of Diognetus (late 2nd or 3rd cent.), the (seven) Epistles of Ignatius (ca. 115), the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (ca. 150), the Shepherd of Hermas (ca. 145), the Didache or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (late 1st or early 2nd cent.); the Martyrdom of Ignatius and the Martyrdom of Clement are sometimes included. (See: *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. R. M. Grant [New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965].)

**Didache; The Didache** (Greek: teaching; cf. English: didactic). A common t.t. for the instructional material of the early Church in contrast to *kerygma* or preaching; for example, cf. 1 Cor. 7:1-40 (esp. vs. 10 containing a teaching of Jesus) with the kerygmatic passage in Acts 2:22-24.

The D., or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is usually described as an early 2nd cent. manual of church instruction, although its first section (chs. 1-6), known as "The Two Ways" (one of life and the other of death), may go back to a 1st cent. Jewish document. These chapters, however, appear to be related in some way to the Epistle of Barnabas, a 2nd cent. Christian writing, the direction of dependence being disputed. The second section (chs. 7-15) contains a series of instructions and admonitions on baptism, worship, the Eucharist, the treatment of apostles and prophets, etc. The only extant Greek copy, dating from A.D. 1056, was discovered in 1875 by P. Bryennios in the library of the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople.

— R. N. Soulen, Handbook, pp. 19-20

NTI

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(John Grassmick, Dallas Seminary)

THE NT APOCRYPHA  
A.D. 100 - 600

No church group regards any of these works as canonical.

APOSTOLIC FATHERS  
A.D. 95 - ca. 150

THE DIDACHE  
A.D. 95 - 120 ?

NTI  
205Gospel of Thomas (Greek Text B)The Apocryphal New Testament, Trans. by  
Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1924).

(John Grassmick, Dallas Seminary)

The Writing of the holy Apostle Thomas concerning the conversation of the Lord in his childhood.

I. I. Thomas the Israelite, have thought it needful to make known unto all the brethren that are of the Gentiles the mighty works of childhood which our Lord Jesus Christ wrought when he was conversant in the body, and came unto the city of Nazareth in the fifth year of his age.

II. 1 On a certain day when there had fallen a shower of rain he went forth of the house where his mother was and played upon the ground where the waters were running: and he made pools, and the waters flowed down, and the pools were filled with water. Then saith he: I will that ye become clean and wholesome waters. And straightway they did so. 2 But a certain son of Annas the scribe passed by bearing a branch of willow, and he overthrew the pools with the branch, and the waters were poured out. And Jesus turned about and said unto him: O ungodly and disobedient one, what hurt have the pools done thee that thou hast emptied them? Thou shalt not finish thy course, and thou shalt be withered up even as the branch which thou hast in hand. 3 And he went on, and after a little he fell and gave up the ghost. And when the young children that played with him saw it, they marvelled and departed and told the father of him that was dead. And he ran and found the child dead, and went and accused Joseph.

III. 1 Now Jesus made of that clay twelve sparrows: and it was the sabbath day. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying: Behold, thy child playeth about the brook, and hath made sparrows of the clay, which is not lawful. 2 And he when he heard it went and said to the child: Wherefore doest thou so and profanest the sabbath? But Jesus answered him not, but looked upon the sparrows and said: Go ye, take your flight, and remember me in your life. And at the word they took flight and went up into the air. And when Joseph saw it he was astonished.

IV. 1 And after certain days, as Jesus passed through the midst of the city, a certain child cast a stone at him and smote his shoulder. And Jesus said unto him: Thou shalt not finish thy course. And straightway he also fell down and died. And they that were there were amazed, saying: From whence is this child, that every word which he speaketh becometh a perfect work? 2 But they also departed and accused Joseph, saying: Thou wilt not be able to dwell with us in this city: but if thou wilt, teach thy child to bless and not to curse: for verily he slayeth our children: and every thing that he saith becometh a perfect work.

V. And as Joseph sat upon his seat, the child stood before him; and he took hold upon his ear and pinched it sore. But Jesus looked upon him earnestly and said: It sufficeth thee.

VI. 1 And on the morrow he took him by the hand and led him to a certain teacher, Zacchaeus by name, and said unto him: Take this child, O master, and teach him letters. And the other said: Deliver him unto me, my brother, and I will teach him the scripture, and I will persuade him to bless all men and not to curse them. 2 And when Jesus heard that he laughed and said unto them: Ye speak that ye know, but I have knowledge more than you, for I am before the worlds. And I know when the fathers of your fathers were begotten, and I know how many are the years of your life. And every one that heard it was amazed. 3 And again saith Jesus unto them: Marvel ye because I said unto you that I know how many are the years of your life? Of a truth I know when the world was created. Behold, now ye believe me not: when ye shall see my cross, then will ye believe that I speak truth. And they were astonished when they heard all these things.

VII. 1 Now Zacchaeus wrote the alphabet in Hebrew, and saith unto him: Alpha. And the young child said: Alpha. And again the master said: Alpha, and the young child likewise. Then again the third time the master said: Alpha. Then Jesus looked upon the teacher and said: Thou that knowest not the Alpha, how canst thou teach another the Beta? And the child beginning at the Alpha said of his own accord the two and twenty letters. 2 And thereafter saith he: Hear, O master, the ordinance of the first letter, and know how many incomings and lines it hath, and marks, common, going apart, and coming together. And when Zacchaeus heard such designations of the one letter he was amazed and had nothing to answer; and turning about he said unto Joseph: My brother, this child is of a truth not earthly born: take him away therefore from me.

VIII. 1 And after these things one day Jesus was playing with other boys upon the top of an house of two stories. And one child was pushed down by another and thrown down to the ground and died. And the boys which were playing with him, when they saw it, fled, and Jesus was left alone standing upon the roof whence the boy was thrown down. 2 And when the parents of the boy that was dead heard of it they ran weeping, and when they found the boy lying dead upon the earth and Jesus standing alone, they supposed that the boy had been thrown down by him, and they looked upon him and reviled him. 3 But Jesus, seeing that, leaped down straightway from the upper story and stood at the head of him that was dead and saith to him: Zeno, did I cast thee down? Arise and tell. For so was the boy called. And with the word the boy rose up and worshipped Jesus and said: Lord, thou didst not cast me down, but when I was dead thou didst make me alive.

IX. 1 And a few days after one of the neighbours was cleaving wood and did cut off the sole of his foot with the axe, and by loss of blood was at the point to die. 2 And much people ran together and Jesus came thither with them. 3 And he took hold on the foot of the young man that was smitten, and healed him forthwith, and saith unto him: Arise, cleave thy wood. And he arose and worshipped him, giving thanks, and cleft the wood. Likewise also all they that were there marvelled and gave thanks unto him.

X. Now when he was six years old, Mary his mother sent him to fetch water from the spring: and as he went his pitcher was broken. And he went to the spring and spread out his upper garment and drew water out of the spring and filled it and took it and brought back the water to his mother. And she, when she saw it, was amazed and embraced him and kissed him.

XI. 1 And when he came to the eighth year of his age Joseph was required by a certain rich man to build him a bed, for he was a carpenter. And he went forth into the field to gather wood, and Jesus also went with him. And he cut two beams of wood and wrought them with the axe, and set one beside the other and measured and found it too short; and when he saw that he was vexed and sought to find another. 2 But Jesus seeing it saith unto him: Set these two together so that the ends of both be even. And Joseph, though he was perplexed concerning this, what the child should mean, did that which was commanded. And he saith again unto him: Take firm hold of the short beam. And Joseph took hold on it, marvelling. Then Jesus also took hold of the other end and pulled the [other] end thereof and made it also equal to the other beam, and saith unto Joseph: Be no more vexed, but do thy work without hindrance. And he when he saw it was exceedingly amazed, and said within himself: Blessed am I for that God hath given me such a son. 3 And when they departed into the city Joseph told it to Mary, and she when she heard and saw the wonderful mighty works of her son rejoiced, glorifying him.

## Apocrypha Readings

51 Therefore do not be like her or her works. 52 For behold, just a little while, and iniquity will be removed from the earth, and righteousness will reign over us. 53 Let no sinner say that he has not sinned; for God's will burn coals of fire on the head of him who says, "I have not sinned before God and his glory." 54 Behold, the Lord knows all the works of men, their imaginations and their thoughts and their hearts. 55 He said, "Let the earth be made," and it was made; "Let the heaven be made," and it was made. 56 At his word the stars were fixed, and he knows the number of the stars. 57 It is he who searches the deep and its treasures, who has measured the sea and its contents; 58 who has enclosed the sea in the midst of the waters, and by his word has suspended the earth over the water; 59 who has spread out the heaven like an arch, and founded it upon the waters; 60 who has put springs of water in the desert, and pools on the tops of the mountains, to send rivers from the heights to water the earth; 61 who formed man, and put a heart in the midst of his body, and gave him breath and life and understanding 62 and the spirit of Almighty God; who made all things and searches out hidden things in hidden places. 63 Surely he knows your imaginations and what you think in your hearts! Woe to those who sin and want to hide their sins! 64 Because the Lord will strictly examine all their works, and will make a public spectacle of all of you. 65 And when your sins come out before men, you shall be put to shame; and your own iniquities shall stand as your accusers in that day. 66 What will you do? Or

16.51-57: The impossibility of hiding sin from God.

16.68-78: Though persecuted, God's elect will be delivered. 73: Zech.13.9; 1 Pet.1.7.

<sup>e</sup> Literally he  
<sup>f</sup> Literally consent to them shall be for these in  
<sup>g</sup> The Latin is uncertain  
<sup>h</sup> Another reading is seed

## Final warnings and promises

how will you hide your sins before God and his angels? 67 Behold, God is the judge, fear him! Cease from your sins, and forget your iniquities, never to commit them again; so God will lead you forth and deliver you from all tribulation.

68 For behold, the burning wrath of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall carry off some of you and shall feed you what was sacrificed to idols. 69 And those who consent to eat shall be held in derision and contempt, and be trodden under foot. 70 For in many places and in neighboring cities there shall be a great insurrection against those who fear the Lord. 71 They shall be like mad men, sparing no one, but plundering and destroying those who continue to fear the Lord. 72 For they shall destroy and plunder their goods, and drive them out of their houses. 73 Then the tested quality of my elect shall be manifest, as gold that is tested by fire.

74 "Hear, my elect," says the Lord. "Behold, the days of tribulation are at hand, and I will deliver you from them. 75 Do not fear or doubt, for God is your guide. 76 You who keep my commandments and precepts," says the Lord God, "do not let your sins pull you down, or your iniquities prevail over you." 77 Woe to those who are choked by their sins and overwhelmed by their iniquities, as a field is choked with underbrush and its path<sup>a</sup> overwhelmed with thorns, so that no one can pass through! 78 It is shut off and given up to be consumed by fire.

## TOBIT

Source: May/Metzger, *New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: NRSV* (Fr. notes, xii, 161)

A fascinating amalgam of *Arabian Nights* romance, kindly Jewish piety, and sound moral teaching, Tobit is one of the most popular of the books of the Apocrypha. Originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, probably sometime during the second century B.C., its author is unknown, as is also the place where he wrote it, although Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria have all been suggested as possibilities.

Besides the intrinsic interest of the tale, which is compounded in large part of themes derived from ancient folklore, the book's principal value lies in the picture it gives of Jewish culture and religious life in an age not too remote, either in time or temper, from that of the New Testament.

The ostensible setting of the story is the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, where the people of Northern Israel had been taken captive in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. (2 Kg.17.1-6). There, it is said, dwelt the pious Tobit, who, despite his many charitable deeds, became blind and poor (chs. 1-2). But God heard his prayer, as well as the prayer of demon-haunted Sarah in faraway Media, and sent the angel Raphael to save them both (ch. 3). When Tobit commissioned his son Tobias to collect a deposit of money he had made long before in Media, the angel accompanied him and revealed magic formulas which would heal his father's blindness and exorcise Sarah's demon-lover, Asmodeus (chs. 4-6). Tobias successfully completed his mission and married Sarah (chs. 7-14).

The book exists in numerous recensions and versions which differ considerably from one another in matters of detail.

THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF TOBIT  
the son of Tobiel, son of Ananiel, son of Aduel, son of Gabael, of the descendants of Asiel and the tribe of Naphtali, 2 who in the days of Shalmaneser, 3 king of the Assyrians, was taken into captivity from Thibce, which is to the south of Kedesch Naphtali in Galilee above Asher.

3 I, Tobit, walked in the ways of truth and righteousness all the days of my life, and I performed many acts of charity to my brethren and countrymen who went with me into the land of the Assyrians, to Nineveh. 4 Now when I was in my own country, in the land of Israel, while I was still a young man, the whole tribe of Naphtali my forefather deserted the house of Jerusalem. This was the place which had been chosen from among all the tribes of

Israel, where all the tribes should sacrifice and where the temple of the dwelling of the Most High was consecrated and established for all generations for ever.

5 All the tribes that joined in apostasy used to sacrifice to the calf<sup>a</sup> my forefather. 6 But I alone went often to Jerusalem for the feasts, as it is ordained for all Israel by an everlasting decree. Taking the first fruits and the tithes of my produce and the first shearings, I would give these to the priests, the sons of Aaron, at the altar. 7 Of all my produce I would give a tenth to the sons of Levi who ministered at Jerusalem; a second tenth I would sell,

<sup>a</sup> Gk words

<sup>b</sup> Gk *Enemessarius*

<sup>c</sup> Other authorities read *heifer*

1.1-2: Title. 2: *Shalmaneser* (or rather Sargon; see v. 15 n.) took Samaria, the capital of Israel, in 722 B.C. and transported a large part of the population to Assyria (2 Kg.17.1-6). *Thisbe* is unidentified. *Kedesch Naphtali*, 2 Kg.15.29. *Asher* is probably Hazor.

1.3-3.6: Tobit's own account of his virtuous life and unhappy fate.

4: Since the rebellion of the northern tribes against Jerusalem (1 Kg.12.19-20) occurred about 922 B.C., Tobit could not have been *still a young man*, or even born, when it happened. Such chronological, and other historical, difficulties make it clear that the story is fiction (compare v. 15 n., 6.1 n., 9.2 n., 14.15 n.). 5: *Calf*, 1 Kg.12.28-29. 6-8: During the apostasy, Tobit alone remains loyal to the divinely-appointed temple in Jerusalem. 6: *An everlasting decree*, Dt.12.11,

## Apocrypha Readings (2 of 11)

TOBIT 2

Tobit's deeds of charity

and I would go and spend the proceeds each year at Jerusalem; <sup>8</sup>the third tenth I would give to those to whom it was my duty, as Deborah my father's mother had commanded me, for I was left an orphan by my father. <sup>9</sup>When I became a man I married Anna, a member of our family, and by her I became the father of Tobias.

<sup>10</sup>Now when I was carried away captive to Nineveh, all my brethren and my relatives ate the food of the Gentiles; <sup>11</sup>but I kept myself from eating it, <sup>12</sup>because I remembered God with all my heart. <sup>13</sup>Then the Most High gave me favor and good appearance in the sight of Shalmaneser, <sup>14</sup>and I was his buyer of provisions. <sup>15</sup>So I used to go into Media, and once at Rages in Media I left ten talents of silver in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias. <sup>16</sup>But when Shalmaneser died, Sennacherib his son reigned in his place; and under him the highways were unsafe, so that I could no longer go into Media.

<sup>16</sup>In the days of Shalmaneser<sup>b</sup> I performed many acts of charity to my brethren. <sup>17</sup>I would give my bread to the hungry and my clothing to the naked; and if I saw any one of my people dead and thrown out behind the wall of Nineveh, I would bury him. <sup>18</sup>And if Sennacherib the king put to death any who came fleeing from Judea, I buried them secretly. For in his anger he put many to death. When the bodies were sought by the king, they were not found. <sup>19</sup>Then one of

13-14. 10-12: Even in captivity among Gentiles Tobit refuses to violate the dietary laws. 14: Media is the northern part of modern Iran, east of Assyria. Rages was an important city whose ruins are located about five miles southeast of modern Teheran. Ten talents, at least \$10,000. 15-20: Tobit arouses Sennacherib's wrath and flees the country. 15: Shalmaneser actually died before the fall of Samaria, which was taken by Sargon. Sennacherib succeeded his father Sargon in 705 B.C. 17: It was for the Jews a great calamity that a dead body should lie unburied. 21-22: Under a new king, Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.), Tobit is able to return. 21: Ahikar was a legendary ancient wise man whose story survives in several oriental languages. An Aramaic version of his adventures, dating from the fifth century B.C., was found among the Jewish papyri at Elephantine in upper Egypt (see also 14.10 n.).

2.1-14: Another act of charity results in Tobit's blindness and impoverishment. 1: Pentecost... seven weeks, approximately, after Passover (Lev.23.15-21; Dt.16.9-11). 2: Generosity toward the poor is one of the virtues taught by this book (4.7-11.16). 3: Strangled, presumably executed (compare 1.18). Leaving the body unburied was intended as additional punishment, so

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Tobit becomes blind

place." <sup>4</sup>So before I tasted anything I sprang up and removed the body<sup>c</sup> to a place of shelter until sunset. <sup>5</sup>And when I returned I washed myself and ate my food in sorrow. <sup>6</sup>Then I remembered the prophecy of Amos, how he said,

"Your feasts shall be turned into mourning,  
and all your festivities into lamentation."  
And I wept.

<sup>7</sup>When the sun had set I went and dug a grave and buried the body.<sup>d</sup> <sup>8</sup>And my neighbors laughed at me and said, "He is no longer afraid that he will be put to death for doing this; he once ran away, and here he is burying the dead again!" <sup>9</sup>On the same night I returned from burying him, and because I was defiled I slept by the wall of the courtyard, and my face was uncovered. <sup>10</sup>I did not know that there were sparrows on the wall and their fresh droppings fell into my open eyes; and white films formed on my eyes. I went to physicians, but they did not help me. Ahikar, however, took care of me until he went to Elymais.

<sup>11</sup>Then my wife Anna earned money at women's work. <sup>12</sup>She used to send the product to the owners. Once when they paid her wages, they also gave her a kid; <sup>13</sup>and when she returned to me it began to bleat. So I said to her, "Where did you get the kid? It is not stolen, is it? Return it to the owners; for it is not right to eat what is stolen." <sup>14</sup>And she said, "It was given to me as a gift in addition to my wages." But I did not believe her, and told her to return it to the owners; and I blushed for her. Then she replied to me, "Where are your charities and your righteous deeds? You seem to know everything!"

<sup>b</sup> Gk him / Other authorities read I. / Gk they / Other authorities read have not borne the name of  
Tobit's act of charity was an act of defiance toward the king. 5: Washed myself, ceremonially, after touching a corpse (Num.19.11-13). 9: Defiled, from handling the corpse. 10: Elymais, a city, or possibly a region, in Persia (1 Macc.6.1).

3.1-6: Tobit's prayer.

3.7-17: God hears the prayer of Tobit, and also of Sarah, plagued by a demon-lover. From this point on the story is told in the third person. 7-10: Sarah contemplates suicide. 7: Ecbatana,

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TOBIT 3

<sup>3</sup>Then in my grief I wept, and I prayed in anguish, saying, <sup>2</sup>"Righteous art thou, O Lord; all thy deeds and all thy ways are mercy and truth, and thou dost render true and righteous judgment for ever. <sup>3</sup>Remember me and look favorably upon me; do not punish me for my sins and for my unwitting offenses and those which my fathers committed before thee. <sup>4</sup>For they disobeyed thy commandments, and thou gavest us over to plunder, captivity, and death; thou madest us a byword of reproach in all the nations among which we have been dispersed. <sup>5</sup>And now thy many judgments are true in exacting penalty from me for my sins and those of my fathers, because we did not keep thy commandments. For we did not walk in truth before thee. <sup>6</sup>And now deal with me according to thy pleasure; command my spirit to be taken up, that I may depart and become dust. For it is better for me to die than to live, because I have heard false reproaches, and great is the sorrow within me. Command that I now be released from my distress to go to the eternal abode; do not turn thy face away from me."

<sup>7</sup>On the same day, at Ecbatana in Media, it also happened that Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, was reproached by her father's maids,<sup>e</sup> because she had been given to seven husbands, and the evil demon Asmodeus had slain each of them before he had been with her as his wife. <sup>8</sup>So the maids' said to her, "Do you not know that you strange your husbands? You already have had seven and have had no benefit from any of them. <sup>9</sup>Why do you beat us? If they are dead, go with them! May we never see a son or daughter of yours!"

<sup>a</sup> Gk him / Other authorities read I. / Gk they / Other authorities read have not borne the name of

Tobit's act of charity was an act of defiance toward the king. 5: Washed myself, ceremonially, after touching a corpse (Num.19.11-13). 9: Defiled, from handling the corpse. 10: Elymais, a city, or possibly a region, in Persia (1 Macc.6.1).

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Apocrypha Readings (3 of 11)

TOBIT 4

The mission of Raphael

10 When she heard these things she was deeply grieved, even to the thought of hanging herself. But she said, "I am the only child of my father; if I do this, it will be a disgrace to him, and I shall bring his old age down in sorrow to the grave."<sup>11</sup> So she prayed by her window and said, "Blessed art thou, O Lord my God, and blessed is thy holy and honored name for ever. May all thy works praise thee for ever."<sup>12</sup> And now, O Lord, I have turned my eyes and my face toward thee.<sup>13</sup> Command that I be released from the earth and that I hear reproach no more.<sup>14</sup> Thou knowest, O Lord, that I am innocent of any sin with man,<sup>15</sup> and that I did not stain my name or the name of my father in the land of my captivity. I am my father's only child, and he has no child to be his heir, no near kinsman or kinsman's son for whom I should keep myself as wife. Already seven husbands of mine are dead. Why should I live? But if it be not pleasing to thee to take my life, command that respect be shown to me and pity be taken upon me, and that I hear reproach no more."

16 The prayer of both was heard in the presence of the glory of the great God.<sup>17</sup> And Raphael was sent to heal the two of them; to scale away the white films from Tobit's eyes; to give Sarah the daughter of Raguel in marriage to Tobias the son of Tobit, and to bind Asmodeus the evil demon, because Tobias was entitled to possess her. At that very moment Tobit returned and entered his house and Sarah the daughter of Raguel came down from her upper room.

capital of Media, in Persia. 8: The name *Asmodeus* means "destroyer." 11-15: Sarah's prayer. 11: *Blessed art thou* is the traditional beginning of a Jewish prayer (compare 8.5; 15 and see Jdt.13.17 n). 16-17: The angel Raphael is sent in answer to both the prayers. 17: The name *Raphael* means "God heals." *Entitled to possess her*, 6.11. The phrase *at that very moment* is a dramatic device which heightens the interest of the story.

4.1-21: Preparing to send his son for the trust-money, Tobit imparts his philosophy of life, moral teaching of the book. There are many close parallels with other books of wisdom, such as Proverbs and Sirach. 6: Morality guarantees prosperity; a dogma of orthodox Hebrew wisdom (Ps.1.1-3, Pr.10.27-30). 7-11: The value of almsgiving; the emphasis is typical of the period (12.8-9; 14.10-11; Sir.3.30; 35.2; Mt.6.2-4). 12-13: One should marry within his own

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Tobit sends Tobias for his money

First of all take a wife from among the descendants of your fathers and do not marry a foreign woman, who is not of your father's tribe; for we are the sons of the prophets. Remember, my son, that Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers of old, all took wives from among their brethren. They were blessed in their children, and their posterity will inherit the land.<sup>13</sup> So now, my son, love your brethren; and in your heart do not disdain your brethren and the sons; and daughters of your people by refusing to take a wife for yourself from among them. For in pride there is ruin and great confusion; and in shiftlessness there is loss and great want, because shiftlessness is the mother of famine.<sup>14</sup> Do not hold over till the next day the wages of any man who works for you, but pay him at once; and if you serve God you will receive payment.

"Watch yourself, my son, in everything you do, and be disciplined in all your conduct."<sup>15</sup> And what you hate, do not do to any one. Do not drink wine to excess or let drunkenness go with you on your way.<sup>16</sup> Give of your bread to the hungry, and of your clothing to the naked. Give all your surplus to charity, and do not let your eye begrudge the gift when you make it.<sup>17</sup> Place your bread on the grave of the righteous, but give none to sinners.<sup>18</sup> Seek advice from every wise man, and do not despise any useful counsel.<sup>19</sup> Bless the Lord God on every occasion; ask him that your ways may be made straight and that all your paths and plans may prosper. For none of the nations has understanding; but the Lord himself gives all good things, and

family group; this is a keynote of the book (1.9; 3.15; 6.11-12); 13: *Pride*, Pr.16.18. *Shiftlessness*, Pr.19.15; Sir.22.1-2. 14: Lev.19.13. 15: *What you hate, do not do*, the Golden Rule (Mt.7.12) in negative form, which was enunciated also by the great Jewish teacher, Hillel, (flourished in the time of Herod the Great, 37-4 B.C.). *Write*, Pr.23.29-35; Sir.31.29-31. 16: Compare vv. 7-11. 17: Placing food on graves was a pagan practice, forbidden in the Old Testament (Dt.26.14) and deprecated by many Jews (compare Sir.30.18). Some interpret the verse as a reference to the meals provided the mourners at funerals (compare Jer.16.7; Ezek.24.17). 19: A sound moral life needs to be sustained by prayer.

5.1-21: Raphael, in the disguise of Azarias, is employed as Tobias' guide. 5: Tobias did not know it, as frequently in folklore, where angels (or gods) traveling in disguise are a favorite

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TOBIT 5

according to his will he humbles whom-ever he wishes.

"So, my son, remember my commands, and do not let them be blotted out of your mind.<sup>20</sup> And now let me explain to you about the ten talents of silver which I left in trust with Gabael the son of Gabrias at Rages in Media.<sup>21</sup> Do not be afraid, my son, because we have become poor. You have great wealth if you fear God and refrain from every sin and do what is pleasing in his sight."

5 Then Tobias answered him, "Father, I will do everything that you have commanded me; but how can I obtain the money when I do not know the man?" Then Tobit gave him the receipt, and said to him, "Find a man to go with you and I will pay him wages as long as I live; and go and get the money." "So he went to look for a man; and he found Raphael, who was an angel, but Tobias did not know it. Tobias said to him, "Can you go with me to Rages in Media? Are you acquainted with that region?" The angel replied, "I will go with you; I am familiar with the way, and I have stayed with our brother Gabael." Then Tobias said to him, "Wait for me, and I shall tell my father." "And he said to him, "Go, and do not delay." So he went in and said to his father, "I have found some one to go with me." He said, "Call him to me, so that I may learn to what tribe he belongs, and whether he is a reliable man to go with you."

9 So Tobias invited him in; he entered and they greeted each other. Then Tobit said to him, "My

know it, as frequently in folklore, where angels (or gods) traveling in disguise are a favorite

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## Apocrypha Readings (4 of 11)

TOBIT 6

*Tobias and the angel journey together*

brother, to what tribe and family do you belong? Tell me." <sup>11</sup>But he answered, "Are you looking for a tribe and a family or for a man whom you will pay to go with your son?" And Tobit said to him, "I should like to know, my brother, your people and your name." <sup>12</sup>He replied, "I am Azarias the son of the great Ananias, one of your relatives." <sup>13</sup>Then Tobit said to him, "You are welcome, my brother. Do not be angry with me because I tried to learn your tribe and family. You are a relative of mine, of a good and noble lineage. For I used to know Ananias and Jathan, the sons of the great Shemaiah, when we went together to Jerusalem to worship and offered the first-born of our flocks and the tithes of our produce. They did not go astray in the error of our brethren. My brother, you come of good stock." <sup>14</sup>But tell me, what wages am I to pay you—a drachma a day, and expenses for yourself as for my son? <sup>15</sup>And besides, I will add to your wages, if you both return safe and sound." So they agreed to these terms.

<sup>16</sup>Then he said to Tobias, "Get ready for the journey, and good success to you both." So his son made the preparations for the journey. And his father said to him, "Go with this man; God who dwells in heaven will prosper your way, and may his angel attend you." So they both went out and departed, and the young man's dog was with them.

<sup>17</sup>But Anna, <sup>9</sup>his mother, began to weep, and said to Tobit, "Why have you sent our child away? Is he not the staff of our hands as he goes in and out before us? <sup>18</sup>Do not add money to money, but consider it rubbish as com-

<sup>9</sup> Other authorities omit Anna  
<sup>7</sup> Other authorities read Rages

theme (compare Gen. ch. 18; Heb. 13.2). <sup>12</sup>: In Hebrew *Azarias* means "God helps." <sup>14</sup>: A *drachma* was the normal day's wage for an artisan, about sixteen cents. <sup>16</sup>: The *dog* is a surprising feature of the story, but plays no special role (see 1.4 n.). <sup>21</sup>: Pleasing irony; Tobit does not know that Raphael is the *good angel*.

<sup>6, 1-8</sup>: On the journey, Raphael instructs Tobias in obtaining magical medicines from a man-eating fish. <sup>1</sup>: *The Tigris* is actually west of Nineveh, so they would not have crossed it going to Persia (see 1.4 n.). <sup>6-8</sup>: Belief in the healing properties of the fish's organs is typical of folklore. <sup>6, 9-17</sup>: Raphael prepares Tobias to seek the hand of Sarah. <sup>12</sup>: *According to the law of Moses*,

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*Tobias and the angel reach Ecbatana*

an only daughter named Sarah. I will suggest that she be given to you in marriage, <sup>11</sup>because you are entitled to her and to her inheritance, for you are her only eligible kinsman. <sup>12</sup>The girl is also beautiful and sensible. Now listen to my plan. I will speak to her father, and as soon as we return from Rages we will celebrate the marriage. For I know that Raguel, according to the law of Moses, cannot give her to another man without incurring the penalty of death, because you rather than any other man are entitled to the inheritance."

<sup>13</sup> Then the young man said to the angel, "Brother Azarias, I have heard that the girl has been given to seven husbands and that each died in the bridal chamber. <sup>14</sup>Now I am the only son my father has, and I am afraid that if I go in I will die as those before me did, for a demon is in love with her, and he harms no one except those who approach her. So now I fear that I may die and bring the lives of my father and mother to the grave in sorrow on my account. And they have no other son to bury them."

<sup>15</sup> But the angel said to him, "Do you not remember the words with which your father commanded you to take a wife from among your own people? Now listen to me, brother, for she will become your wife, and do not worry about the demon, for this very night she will be given to you in marriage. <sup>16</sup>When you enter the bridal chamber, you shall take live ashes of incense and lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish so as to make a smoke. <sup>17</sup>Then the demon will smell it and flee away, and will never again return. And when you approach her, rise up, both of you, and cry out to the

presumably Num. 36.6-8, although there is no mention of a death penalty. <sup>14</sup>: *To bury them*, one of the chief concerns of this book (see 1.17 n.; 4.3-4; 14.10). <sup>17</sup>: *Cry out . . . to God*, magic is not enough, prayer is necessary too. *From eternity*, "marriages are made in heaven" (compare Gen. 24.14).

<sup>7, 1-8a</sup>: Tobias and Raphael arrive at the home of Sarah's father. <sup>1</sup>: *Ecbatana*, 3.7. The following conversation implies that Sarah and her family had not previously been aware of Tobias' existence. <sup>4-5</sup>: The Syriac and Latin Vulgate omit the conversation about Tobit's health, probably on account of his blindness.

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TOBIT 7

merciful God, and he will save you and have mercy on you. Do not be afraid, for she was destined for you from eternity. You will save her, and she will go with you, and I suppose that you will have children by her." When Tobias heard these things, he fell in love with her and yearned deeply for her.

When they reached Ecbatana and arrived at the house of Raguel, Sarah met them and greeted them. They returned her greeting, and she brought them into the house. <sup>2</sup>Then Raguel said to his wife Edna, "How much the young man resembles my cousin Tobit!" <sup>3</sup>And Raguel asked them, "Where are you from, brethren?" They answered him, "We belong to the sons of Naphtali, who are captives in Nineveh." <sup>4</sup>So he said to them, "Do you know our brother Tobit?" And they said, "Yes, we do." And he asked them, "Is he in good health?" They replied, "He is alive and in good health." And Tobias said, "He is my father." <sup>5</sup>Then Raguel sprang up and kissed him and wept. <sup>6</sup>And he blessed him and exclaimed, "Son of that good and noble man!" When he heard that Tobit had lost his sight, he was stricken with grief and wept. <sup>7</sup>And his wife Edna and his daughter Sarah wept. They received them very warmly, and they killed a ram from the flock and set large servings of food before them.

Then Tobias said to Raphael, "Brother Azarias, speak of those things which you talked about on the journey, and let the matter be settled." So he communicated the proposal to Raguel. And Raguel said to Tobias, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for it is your right to take my child. But let me

Apocrypha Readings (5 of 11)

TOBIT 8

Tobias marries Sarah

explain the true situation to you. <sup>11</sup>I have given my daughter to seven husbands, and when each came to her he died in the night. But for the present be merry." And Tobias said, "I will eat nothing here until you make a binding agreement with me." <sup>12</sup>So Raguel said, "Take her right now, in accordance with the law. You are her relative, and she is yours. The merciful God will guide you both for the best." <sup>13</sup>Then he called his daughter Sarah, and taking her by the hand he gave her to Tobias to be his wife, saying, "Here she is; take her according to the law of Moses, and take her with you to your father." And he blessed them. <sup>14</sup>Next he called his wife Edna, and took a scroll and wrote out the contract; and they set their seals to it. <sup>15</sup>Then they began to eat. <sup>16</sup>And Raguel called his wife Edna and said to her, "Sister, make up the other room, and take her into it." <sup>17</sup>So she did as he said, and took her there; and the girl began to weep. But the mother comforted her daughter in her tears, and said to her, "Be brave, my child; the Lord of heaven and earth grant you joy in place of this sorrow of yours. Be brave, my daughter." <sup>18</sup>When they had finished eating, they escorted Tobias in to her. <sup>2</sup>As he went, he remembered the words of Raphael, and he took the live ashes of incense and put the heart and liver of the fish upon them and made a smoke. <sup>3</sup>And when the demon smelled the odor he fled to the remotest parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him. <sup>4</sup>When the door was shut and the two were alone, Tobias got up from the bed and said, "Sister, get up, and let us pray that the

<sup>2</sup> Gk she  
<sup>3</sup> Other authorities read /avor  
<sup>7</sup> 8b-18: Tobias proposes and the wedding takes place. <sup>13</sup>: Taking her by the hand, like a modern father "giving away the bride," he marries her to Tobias. <sup>14</sup>: Signing the contract was the only other ceremony required.  
<sup>8</sup> 1-9e: On the wedding night, Tobias routs the demon. <sup>3</sup>: Egypt was the traditional home of magic and witchcraft (compare Ex.7.11). <sup>4</sup>: See 6.17 n. 5-8: Tobias and Sarah join in prayer before consummating the marriage. <sup>5</sup>: Blessed art thou, see 3.11 n.  
<sup>8</sup> 9b-21: Raguel's fears are happily disappointed and he provides an extended wedding feast. <sup>9</sup>b: Dig a grave, because he did not, of course, know that Tobias was provided with an effective means to drive away the demon. <sup>19</sup>: For joy Raguel doubles the usual length of a wedding

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Raphael gets the money for Tobias

<sup>16</sup>Blessed art thou, because thou hast made me glad. It has not happened to me as I expected; but thou hast treated us according to thy great mercy. <sup>17</sup>Blessed art thou, because thou hast had compassion on two only children. Show them mercy, O Lord; and bring their lives to fulfillment in health and happiness and mercy." <sup>18</sup>Then he ordered his servants to fill in the grave. <sup>19</sup>After this he gave a wedding feast for them which lasted fourteen days. <sup>20</sup>And before the days of the feast were over, Raguel declared by oath to Tobias that he should not leave until the fourteen days of the wedding feast were ended, <sup>21</sup>that then he should take half of Raguel's property and return in safety to his father, and that the rest would be his "when my wife and I die." <sup>9</sup>Then Tobias called Raphael and said to him, "Brother Azarias, take a servant and two camels with you and go to Gabael at Rages in Media and get the money for me; and bring him to the wedding feast. <sup>3</sup>For Raguel has sworn that I should not leave; but I father is counting the days, and if I delay long he will be greatly distressed." <sup>5</sup>So Raphael made the journey and stayed over night with Gabael. He gave him the receipt, and Gabael brought out the money bags with their seals intact and gave them to him. <sup>6</sup>In the morning they both got up early

feast (11.19; Jg.14.12). The oath complicates Tobias' affairs and makes necessary Raphael's solitary mission in the next chapter.  
<sup>9</sup> 1-6: Raphael goes to Rages and obtains the money from Gabael. <sup>2</sup>: From Ecbatana to Rages was a journey which, according to the ancient historian Arrian (*Anabasis*, iii. 19-20), took Alexander's army eleven days of forced marches; the author evidently supposed it to be much shorter (see 1.4 n.). <sup>3</sup>: *Hes sworn*, 8.20. <sup>4</sup>: Tobias' tender concern for his father is typical of the spirit of the book. The son's unwillingness to prolong his visit is thoroughly justified by the touching description of his parent's uneasiness in 10.1-7.  
<sup>10</sup> 1-7e: Tobias' father and mother grow anxious at their son's absence. <sup>1</sup>: In counting each day, Tobit had naturally made no allowance for a two-week wedding celebration. <sup>4</sup>: *The lad has perished*, the mother's feminine tendency to suspect the worst and her husband's courageous attempts to console her illustrate the author's fine sensitivity to human feeling.

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TOBIT 9, 10

and came to the wedding feast. And Gabael blessed Tobias and his wife. <sup>10</sup>Now his father Tobit was counting each day, and when the days for the journey had expired, and they did not arrive, he said, "Is it possible that he has been detained?" Or is it possible that Gabael has died and there is no one to give him the money?" <sup>2</sup>And he was greatly distressed. <sup>4</sup>And his wife said to him, "The lad has perished; his long delay proves it." <sup>5</sup>Then she began to mourn for him, and said, "Am I not distressed, my child, that I let you go, you who are the light of my eyes?" <sup>6</sup>But Tobit said to her, "Be still and stop worrying; he is well." <sup>7</sup>And she answered him, "Be still and stop deceiving me; my child has perished." And she went out every day to the road by which they had left; she ate nothing in the daytime, and throughout the nights she never stopped mourning for her son Tobias, until the fourteen days of the wedding feast had expired which Raguel had sworn that he should spend there. <sup>8</sup>At that time Tobias said to Raguel, "Send me back, for my father and mother have given up hope of ever seeing me again." <sup>9</sup>But his father-in-law said to him, "Stay with me, and I will send messengers to your father, and they will inform him how things are with you." <sup>9</sup>Tobias replied, "No, send me back to my father." <sup>10</sup>So Raguel arose and gave him his wife

<sup>10</sup> Gk him  
<sup>11</sup> Gk his  
<sup>12</sup> Gk he  
<sup>13</sup> Gk: Gk And Tobias blessed his wife  
<sup>14</sup> One Gk Ms Lat: Gk they are put to shame or they are disappointed



Apocrypha Readings (6 of 11)

TOBIT 11, 12

Sarah and half of his property in slaves, cattle, and money. <sup>11</sup>And when he had blessed them he sent them away, saying, "The God of heaven will prosper you, my children, before I die." <sup>12</sup>He said also to his daughter, "Honor your father-in-law and your mother-in-law; they are now your parents. Let me hear a good report of you." And he kissed her. And Edna said to Tobias, "The Lord of heaven bring you back safely, dear brother, and grant me to see your children by my daughter Sarah, that I may rejoice before the Lord. See, I am entrusting my daughter to you; do nothing to grieve her."

After this Tobias went on his way, praising God because he had made his journey a success. And he blessed Raguel and his wife Edna.

So he continued on his way until they came near to Nineveh. <sup>2</sup>Then Raphael said to Tobias, "Are you not aware, brother, of how you left your father? <sup>3</sup>Let us run ahead of your wife and prepare the house. <sup>4</sup>And take the gill of the fish with you." So they went their way, and the dog went along behind them.

<sup>5</sup>Now Anna sat looking intently down the road for her son. <sup>6</sup>And she caught sight of him coming, and said to his father, "Behold, your son is coming, and so is the man who went with him!"

<sup>7</sup>Raphael said, "I know, Tobias, that your father will open his eyes. <sup>8</sup>You therefore must anoint his eyes with the gill; and when they smart he will rub them, and will cause the white films to fall away, and he will see you." <sup>9</sup>Then Anna ran to meet them, and embraced her son, and said to him, "I

Tobias heals Tobit's blindness

have seen you, my child; now I am ready to die." And they both wept. <sup>10</sup>Tobit started toward the door, and stumbled. But his son ran to him <sup>11</sup>and took hold of his father, and he sprinkled the gall upon his father's eyes, saying, "Be of good cheer, father." <sup>12</sup>And when his eyes began to smart he rubbed them, <sup>13</sup>and the white films scaled off from the corners of his eyes. <sup>14</sup>Then he saw his son and embraced him, and he wept and said, "Blessed art thou, O God, and blessed is thy name for ever, and blessed are all thy holy angels. <sup>15</sup>For thou hast afflicted me, but thou hast had mercy upon me; here I see my son Tobias!" And his son went in rejoicing, and he reported to his father the great things that had happened to him in Media.

<sup>16</sup>Then Tobit went out to meet his daughter-in-law at the gate of Nineveh, rejoicing and praising God. Those who saw him as he went were amazed because he could see. <sup>17</sup>And Tobit gave thanks before them that God had been merciful to him. When Tobit came near to Sarah his daughter-in-law, he blessed her, saying, "Welcome, daughter! Blessed is God who has brought you to us, and blessed are your father and your mother." So there was rejoicing among all his brethren in Nineveh. <sup>18</sup>Ahikar and his nephew Nadab came, <sup>19</sup>and Tobias' marriage was celebrated for seven days with great festivity.

<sup>20</sup>Tobit then called his son Tobias and said to him, "My son, see to the wages of the man who went with you; and he must also be given more." <sup>21</sup>He replied, "Father, it would do me

<sup>10:7b-12:</sup> Tobias and Sarah start for home. <sup>11:</sup> The God of heaven was a favorite name for Israel's God in the Persian period and later (Jdt. 5:8; Ezra 1:2).

<sup>11:1-15:</sup> Tobias and Raphael precede Sarah into the city and heal Tobit's blindness. <sup>4:</sup> The dog appears again for the first time since 5:16; perhaps his presence in the story is a survival from an older folk tale, in which he had a real function. <sup>14:</sup> Blessed art thou, see 3:11 n.

<sup>11:16-19:</sup> Tobit meets his daughter-in-law and celebrates the marriage. <sup>18:</sup> Ahikar... Nadab, see 14:10 n. <sup>19:</sup> Seven days, apparently the normal period of a wedding celebration (see 8:19 n.).

<sup>12:1-22:</sup> Raphael, being offered his wages, gives good advice and discloses his true identity. <sup>1-5:</sup> Tobias generously wishes to reward Raphael far beyond the amount agreed upon (5:14).

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Raphael reveals his true identity

no harm to give him half of what I have brought back. <sup>3</sup>For he has led me back to you safely, he cured my wife, he obtained the money for me, and he also healed you." <sup>4</sup>The old man said, "He deserves it." <sup>5</sup>So he called the angel and said to him, "Take half of all that you two have brought back."

<sup>6</sup>Then the angel called the two of them privately and said to them: "Praise God and give thanks to him; exalt him and give thanks to him in the presence of all the living for what he has done for you. It is good to praise God and to exalt his name, worthily declaring the works of God. Do not be slow to give him thanks. <sup>7</sup>It is good to guard the secret of a king, but gloriously to reveal the works of God. Do good, and evil will not overtake you. <sup>8</sup>Prayer is good when accompanied by fasting, almsgiving, and righteousness. A little with righteousness is better than much with wrongdoing. It is better to give alms than to treasure up gold. <sup>9</sup>For almsgiving delivers from death, and it will purge away every sin. Those who perform deeds of charity and of righteousness will have fulness of life, <sup>10</sup>but those who commit sin are the enemies of their own lives.

<sup>11</sup>"I will not conceal anything from you. I have said, 'It is good to guard the secret of a king, but gloriously to reveal the works of God.' <sup>12</sup>And so, when you and your daughter-in-law Sarah prayed, I brought a reminder of your prayer before the Holy One; and when you buried the dead, I was like-

<sup>6-10:</sup> In the style of a Jewish teacher of wisdom, Raphael delivers a brief exhortation on the good life, similar to that of Tobit in ch. 4. <sup>8:</sup> Prayer... fasting, almsgiving, and righteousness ("piety") are mentioned together also in Mt. 6:1-18 (on almsgiving, compare 4:7-11 and see Sir. 3:30 n.). <sup>11:</sup> V. 7. <sup>12-15:</sup> Raphael reveals himself as an angelic intercessor who brings the prayers of men into the presence of God. From v. 15 we learn that there are six others. "Uriel" is named in 2 Esd. 4:1; "Gabriel" and "Michael," respectively, in Dan. 9:21 and 10:13. The growth of angelology was characteristic of the Judaism of the period; this was partly due to an increasing sense of God's transcendence and partly, perhaps, to Persian influences. <sup>17:</sup> Do not be afraid, compare Mt. 28:5, 10.

<sup>13:1-18:</sup> Tobit's hymn of praise. Some scholars believe that chs. 13 and 14 were added to the book much later in order to give substance to the words of 12:22a and to round out the account of Tobit's life. The hymn contains numerous echoes of Old Testament passages and has no particular appropriateness to Tobit's personal situation. <sup>1-6:</sup> Exhortation to the exiles. <sup>2:</sup>

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TOBIT 13

wise present with you. <sup>13</sup>When you did not hesitate to rise and leave your dinner in order to go and lay out the dead, your good deed was not hidden from me, but I was with you. <sup>14</sup>So now God sent me to heal you and your daughter-in-law Sarah. <sup>15</sup>I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One."

<sup>16</sup>They were both alarmed; and they fell upon their faces, for they were afraid. <sup>17</sup>But he said to them, "Do not be afraid; you will be safe. But praise God for ever. <sup>18</sup>For I did not come as a favor on my part, but by the will of our God. Therefore praise him for ever. <sup>19</sup>All these days I merely appeared to you and did not eat or drink, but you were seeing a vision. <sup>20</sup>And now give thanks to God, for I am ascending to him who sent me. Write in a book everything that has happened." <sup>21</sup>Then they stood up; but they saw him no more. <sup>22</sup>So they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and acknowledged that the angel of the Lord had appeared to them.

**3** Then Tobit wrote a prayer of rejoicing, and said:

"Blessed is God who lives for ever, and blessed is his kingdom. <sup>2</sup>For he afflicts, and he shows mercy; he leads down to Hades, and brings up again, and there is no one who can escape his hand."

a Gk. h

Apocrypha Readings (7 of 11)

TOBIT 14

Tobit's final counsel, and death

alms, and he continued to fear the Lord God and to praise him. <sup>3</sup>When he had grown very old he called his son and grandsons, and said to him, "My son, take your sons, behold, I have grown old and am about to depart this life. <sup>4</sup>Go to Media, my son, for I fully believe what Jonah the prophet said about Nineveh, that it will be overthrown. But in Media there will be peace for a time. Our brethren will be scattered over the earth from the good land, and Jerusalem will be desolate. The house of God in it will be burned down and will be in ruins for a time. <sup>5</sup>But God will again have mercy on them, and bring them back into their land; and they will rebuild the house of God, though it will not be like the former one until the times of the age are completed. After this they will return from the places of their captivity, and will rebuild Jerusalem in splendor. And the house of God will be rebuilt there with a glorious building for all generations for ever, just as the prophets said of it. <sup>6</sup>Then all the Gentiles will turn to fear the Lord God in truth, and will bury their idols. All the Gentiles will praise the Lord, and his people will give thanks to God, and the Lord will exalt his people. And all who love the Lord God in truth and righteousness will rejoice, showing mercy to our brethren. <sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup>So now, my son, leave Nineveh, because what the prophet Jonah said will surely happen. <sup>9</sup>But keep the law

and the commandments, and be merciful and just, so that it may be well with you. <sup>10</sup>Bury me properly, and your mother with me. And do not live in Nineveh any longer. See, my son, what Nadab did to Ahikar who had reared him, how he brought him from light into darkness, and with what he repaid him. But Ahikar was saved, and the other received repayment as he himself went down into the darkness. Ahikar gave alms and escaped the deathtrap which Nadab had set for him; but Nadab fell into the trap and perished. <sup>11</sup>So now, my children, consider what almsgiving accomplishes and how righteousness delivers. As he said this he died in his bed. He was a hundred and fifty-eight years old; and Tobias gave him a magnificent funeral. <sup>12</sup>And when Anna died he buried her with his father. Then Tobias returned with his wife and his sons to Ecbatana, to Raguel his father-in-law. <sup>13</sup>He grew old with honor, and he gave his father-in-law and mother-in-law magnificent funerals. He inherited their property and that of his father Tobit. <sup>14</sup>He died in Ecbatana of Media at the age of a hundred and twenty-seven years. <sup>15</sup>But before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which Nebuchadnezzar and Anasuerus had captured. Before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh.

<sup>6</sup> Gk. house.  
<sup>7</sup> Other authorities read *Aman*  
<sup>8</sup> Other authorities read *Manasses*  
<sup>9</sup> Gk. he

<sup>14,1-12</sup>: Tobit's final counsel, and death. 3-8: He advises his son to leave Nineveh, which is to be destroyed, and predicts the future course of Israel's history. 4: *What Jonah the prophet said*, Jon.3.4 (Jonah's prophecy, however, was not fulfilled, Jon.3.10). 6: *That the Gentiles will turn to Judaism* was a characteristic belief of the post-exilic age (e.g. Zech.8.20-23). 10: *Bury me properly*, see 6.14 n. *Nadab* (also *Nasbas* or *Nadin*) is the villain of the *Ahikar* story (see 1.21 n.). *Gave alms*, 4.7-11. 15: *Nebuchadnezzar* . . . *Anasuerus*, i.e. Xerxes (Est.1.1). Both names are anachronistic; Nineveh's conquerors were Nabopolassar and Cyaxares (see 1.4 n.).

Tobit's prayer of thanksgiving

May he cheer those within you who are captives, and love those within you who are distressed, to all generations for ever. <sup>11</sup>Many nations will come from afar to the name of the Lord God, bearing gifts in their hands, gifts for the King of heaven. Generations of generations will give you joyful praise. <sup>12</sup>Cursed are all who hate you; blessed for ever will be all who love you. <sup>13</sup>Rejoice and be glad for the sons of the righteous; for they will be gathered together, and will praise the Lord of the righteous. <sup>14</sup>How blessed are those who love you! They will rejoice in your peace. Blessed are those who grieved over all your afflictions; for they will rejoice for you upon seeing all your glory, and they will be made glad for ever. <sup>15</sup>Let my soul praise God the great King. For Jerusalem will be built with sapphires and emeralds, her walls with precious stones, and her towers and battlements with pure gold. <sup>17</sup>The streets of Jerusalem will be paved with beryl and ruby and stones of Ophir; all her lanes will cry 'Hallelujah!' and will give praise, saying, 'Blessed is God, who has exalted you for ever.'

**14** Here Tobit ended his words of praise. <sup>2</sup>He was fifty-eight years old when he lost his sight, and after eight years he regained it. He gave that his tent may be raised for you again with joy.

<sup>6</sup> Gk. *house*  
<sup>7</sup> Other authorities read *we*  
<sup>8</sup> Gk. *praise*  
<sup>9</sup> Other authorities read *we*  
<sup>10</sup> Gk. *praise*

TOBIT 14

<sup>3</sup>Acknowledge him before the nations, O sons of Israel; for he has scattered us among them. <sup>4</sup>Make his greatness known there, and exalt him in the presence of all the living; because he is our Lord and God, he is our Father for ever. <sup>5</sup>He will afflict us for our iniquities; and again he will show mercy, and will gather us from all the nations among whom you have been scattered. <sup>6</sup>If you turn to him with all your heart and with all your soul, to do what is true before him, then he will turn to you and will not hide his face from you. But see what he will do with you; give thanks to him with your full voice. Praise the Lord of righteousness, and exalt the King of the ages. I give him thanks in the land of my captivity, and I show his power and majesty to a nation of sinners. Turn back, you sinners, and do right before him; who knows if he will accept you and have mercy on you? <sup>7</sup>I exalt my God; my soul exalts the King of heaven, and will rejoice in his majesty. <sup>8</sup>Let all men speak, and give him thanks in Jerusalem. <sup>9</sup>O Jerusalem, the holy city, he will afflict you for the deeds of your sons, but again he will show mercy to the sons of the righteous. <sup>10</sup>Give thanks worthily to the Lord, and praise the King of the ages, that his tent may be raised for you again with joy.

1 Sam.2.6-8; Lk.1.52-53. 4: *Our Father*, Is.63.16; 64.8; Sir.23.1,4; Mt.6.9. 7: The psalmist offers his own praise. 8-18: God's favor to Jerusalem. 10: *Tent*, temple. 16-18: *That Jerusalem will be built with precious stones* is an echo of Is.54.11-12 (compare Rev.21.18-21).

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Apocrypha Readings (8 of 11)

SUSANNA

Of the cycle of traditions concerning Daniel which were added to the book of Daniel when it was translated into Greek the story of Susanna is undoubtedly the gem. One of the finest short stories in world literature, it is based on the familiar motif of the triumph of virtue over villainy, the narrow escape from death of an innocent victim. While inculcating lessons of morality and trust in God, the story is a model of artistic fiction. Plot, surprise, struggle, and unfolding character are present in just the right proportion, and the whole is told succinctly and pungently. In Hebrew the name Susanna means "a lily," and the name Daniel means "God has judged." Both are obviously appropriate names for the heroine and hero in a story that tells how Susanna was cleared of a false charge of adultery through the timely intervention of a sagacious and brave youth.

The position of this addition in the book of Daniel varies in the manuscripts. In the Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate the account of Susanna follows the last chapter of Daniel (which in Hebrew is ch. 12), and is numbered ch. 13. In the Greek text of Theodotion, however, as well as the Old Latin, Coptic, and Arabic versions the story of Susanna forms the introduction to the book of Daniel, being prefixed to ch. 1. It may be that this latter position was thought more appropriate because the addition describes Daniel as "a young lad" (v. 45).

Concerning date and original language, see the first part of the Introduction to the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men.

HERE WAS A MAN LIVING IN BABYLON whose name was Joakim. And he took a wife named Susanna, the daughter of Hilkiah, a very beautiful woman and one who feared the Lord. Her parents were righteous, and had taught their daughter according to the law of Moses. Joakim was very rich, and had a spacious garden adjoining his house; and the Jews used to come to him because he was the most honored of them all.

In that year two elders from the people were appointed as judges. Concerning them the Lord had said: "Iniquity came forth from Babylon, from elders who were judges, who were supposed to govern the people." These men were frequently at Joakim's house, and all who had suits at law came to them.

When the people departed at her alone.

1-4: Introduction. The setting of the story is Babylon during the exile. 1: The name *Joakim* means "the Lord will establish." 2: The names *Susanna* and *Hilkiah* mean respectively "lily" and "the Lord is my portion." 4: Some Jews prospered during the exile (Jer.29.5).

5-14: The two lustful elders. 5: *In that year*, apparently the year of Joakim's marriage (v. 2). The two elders are identified by Jewish tradition to be the two false prophets mentioned in Jer. 29.21-23. The quotation ("Iniquity . . . people") is either an unwritten prophetic saying or an allusion to Jer.23.14-15. 9: *Heaven*, a metonym for God (see 1 Macc.3.18 n. and compare Lk.15.18).

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SONG OF THE THREE YOUNG MEN

"Give thanks to the Lord"

- 61 Bless the Lord, O Israel, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever.
- 62 Bless the Lord, you priests of the Lord, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever.
- 63 Bless the Lord, you servants of the Lord, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever.
- 64 Bless the Lord, spirits and souls of the righteous, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever.
- 65 Bless the Lord, you who are holy and humble in heart, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever.
- 66 Bless the Lord, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever; for he has rescued us from Hades and saved us from the hand of death, and delivered us from the midst of the burning fiery furnace; delivered us.
- 67 Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endures for ever.
- 68 Bless him, all who worship the Lord, the God of gods, sing praise to him and give thanks to him, for his mercy endures for ever."

61-62: Ps.135.19. 63: Ps.134.1. 65: *Holy and humble in heart*, Pss.18.25,27; 86.1-2; Zeph.2.3. 67-68: Pss.106.1; 136.1-2.

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## Apocrypha Readings (9 of 11)

15 Once, while they were watching for an opportune day, she went in as before with only two maids, and wished to bathe in the garden, for it was very hot. <sup>16</sup>And no one was there except the two elders, who had hid themselves and were watching her. <sup>17</sup>She said to her maids, "Bring me oil and ointments, and shut the garden doors so that I may bathe." <sup>18</sup>They did as she said, shut the garden doors, and went out by the side doors to bring what they had been commanded; and they did not see the elders, because they were hidden.

19 When the maids had gone out, the two elders rose and ran to her, and said: <sup>20</sup>"Look, the garden doors are shut, no one sees us, and we are in love with you; so give your consent, and lie with us." <sup>21</sup>If you refuse, we will testify against you that a young man was with you, and this was why you sent your maids away."

22 Susanna sighed deeply, and said, "I am hemmed in on every side. For if I do this thing, it is death for me, and if I do not, I shall not escape your hands. <sup>23</sup>I choose not to do it, and to fall into your hands, rather than to sin in the sight of the Lord."

24 Then Susanna cried out with a loud voice, and the two elders shouted against her. <sup>25</sup>And one of them ran and opened the garden doors. <sup>26</sup>When the household servants heard the shouting in the garden, they rushed in at the side door to see what had happened to her. <sup>27</sup>And when the elders told their tale, the servants were greatly ashamed, for nothing like this had ever been said about Susanna.

28 The next day, when the people gathered at the house of her husband Joakim, the two elders came, full of

15-27: The attempted seduction. 17: Oil and (perfumed) ointments were used after bathing. 22: The Mosaic law prescribed death as punishment for the unfaithful wife (Lev.20.10; Dt.22.22). 23: Compare Joseph's reply to his tempter (Gen.39.9).

28-43: Susanna falsely accused and condemned to death. 34: The judges play the part of toward heaven, appealing her cause to a higher tribunal (vv. 42-43). 41: Since, according to Jewish law, a witness could not be the judge, the sentence of death is passed by the credulous assembly. 42: God, who dost discern what is secret, Ps.33.13-15; Pr.15.11; Heb.4.13.

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done none of the things that they have wickedly invented against me!"

44 The Lord heard her cry. <sup>45</sup>And as she was being led away to be put to death, God aroused the holy spirit of a young lad named Daniel; and he cried with a loud voice, "I am innocent of the blood of this woman."

47 All the people turned to him, and said, "What is this that you have said?" <sup>48</sup>Taking his stand in the midst of them, he said, "Are you such fools, you sons of Israel? Have you condemned a daughter of Israel without examination and without learning the facts? <sup>49</sup>Return to the place of judgment. For these men have borne false witness against her."

50 Then all the people returned in haste. And the elders said to him, "Come, sit among us and inform us, for God has given you that right." <sup>51</sup>And Daniel said to them, "Separate them far from each other, and I will examine them."

52 When they were separated from each other, he summoned one of them and said to him, "You old relic of wicked days, your sins have now come home, which you have committed in the past, <sup>53</sup>pronouncing unjust judgments, condemning the innocent and letting the guilty go free, though the Lord said, 'Do not put to death an innocent and righteous person.' <sup>54</sup>Now then, if you really saw her, tell me this: Under what tree did you see them being intimate with each other?" He answered, "Under a mastic tree."<sup>a</sup> <sup>55</sup>And Daniel said, "Very well! You have lied against your own head, for the angel of God has received the sen-

tence from God and will immediately cut<sup>b</sup> you in two."

56 Then he put him aside, and commanded them to bring the other. And he said to him, "You offspring of Canaan and not of Judah, beauty has deceived you and lust has perverted your heart. <sup>57</sup>This is how you both have been dealing with the daughters of Israel, and they were intimate with you through fear; but a daughter of Judah would not endure your wickedness." <sup>58</sup>Now then, tell me: Under what tree did you catch them being intimate with each other?" He answered, "Under an evergreen oak."<sup>b</sup> <sup>59</sup>And Daniel said to him, "Very well! You also have lied against your own head, for the angel of God is waiting with his sword to saw<sup>b</sup> you in two, that he may destroy you both."

60 Then all the assembly shouted loudly and blessed God, who saves those who hope in him. <sup>61</sup>And they rose against the two elders, for out of their own mouths Daniel had convicted them of bearing false witness; <sup>62</sup>and they did to them as they had wickedly planned to do to their neighbor: acting in accordance with the law of Moses, they put them to death. Thus innocent blood was saved that day.

63 And Hilkiah and his wife praised God for their daughter Susanna, and so did Joakim her husband and all her kindred, because nothing shameful was found in her. <sup>64</sup>And from that day onward Daniel had a great reputation among the people.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek words for mastic tree and oak are so similar that the use of cut is ironic wordplay.  
<sup>b</sup> The Greek words for saw and saw are so similar that the use of saw is ironic wordplay.

44-59: Susanna acquitted. 50: Here the elders are obviously not the two who had testified, but their colleagues on the bench. 53: Ex.23.7. 54-59: The wordplay of the original (see notes a and b) may be represented in English by the paraphrase, "Under a clove tree . . . the angel will cleave you", "under a yew tree . . . the angel will Hew you asunder."

60-62: The two elders condemned to death. 62: The law of Moses, concerning false witnesses (Dt.19.16-21).

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## Apocrypha Readings (10 of 11)

*Daniel vindicated*

set forth the food for Bel. Then Daniel ordered his servants to bring ashes and they sifted them throughout the whole temple in the presence of the king alone. Then they went out, shut the door and sealed it with the king's signet, and departed. <sup>15</sup>In the night the priests came with their wives and children, as they were accustomed to do, and ate and drank everything.

<sup>16</sup>Early in the morning the king rose and came, and Daniel with him. <sup>17</sup>And the king said, "Are the seals unbroken, Daniel?" He answered, "They are unbroken, O king." <sup>18</sup>As soon as the doors were opened, the king looked at the table, and shouted in a loud voice, "You are great, O Bel; and with you there is no deceit, none at all."

<sup>19</sup>Then Daniel laughed, and restrained the king from going in, and said, "Look at the floor, and notice whose footsteps these are." <sup>20</sup>The king said, "I see the footsteps of men and women and children."

<sup>21</sup>Then the king was enraged, and he seized the priests and their wives and children; and they showed him the secret doors through which they were accustomed to enter and devour what was on the table. <sup>22</sup>Therefore the king put them to death, and gave Bel over to Daniel, who destroyed it and its temple.

<sup>23</sup>There was also a great dragon, which the Babylonians revered. <sup>24</sup>And the king said to Daniel, "You cannot deny that this is a living god; so worship him." <sup>25</sup>Daniel said, "I will worship the Lord my God, for he is the living God. <sup>26</sup>But if you, O king, will

<sup>16-22</sup>: The fraud detected (compare Dan.2.12; 6.24). <sup>22</sup>: According to ancient historians it was Xerxes who destroyed Bel's temple.

<sup>23-42</sup>: The story of the dragon. <sup>23</sup>: A great dragon, that is, a live serpent worshiped as a god (compare Num.21.8-9; 2 Kg.18.4). <sup>26</sup>: Permission was granted because the king believed in the immortality of the serpent-god. <sup>31-32</sup>: The second time that Daniel is put in the lions' den (Dan.6.16-24).

<sup>33-39</sup>: The intervention of Habakkuk. <sup>33</sup>: The author intends to identify this Habakkuk with the Minor Prophet of that name; chronologically, however, such an identification is impossible. <sup>36</sup>: Hair, Ezek.8.3. <sup>37</sup>: 1 Kg.17.4.

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## BEL AND THE DRAGON

This addition to the Greek text of the book of Daniel comprises two popular tales, both designed to ridicule the folly of idolatry and to discredit heathen priestcraft. The first story tells of the great statue of Bel, the patron deity of Babylon, which every night devours huge quantities of food and drink and thus proves itself to be a living god. By clever detective work Daniel unmasks the chicanery of Bel's priests. The second story tells of Daniel's refusal to worship a monstrous dragon as a god, and his killing it with a ridiculous concoction of pitch, fat, and hair. The Babylonians, enraged by the death of their god, demand that Daniel be thrown into the lions' den. He is kept safe among the lions for six days, and is provided with food brought from Judea by the prophet Habakkuk. On the seventh day, the king removes Daniel and throws into the den his enemies, who are immediately devoured.

The religious teaching of these stories, bizarre and fantastic as they appear to us today, is that those who worship the true and living God will be sustained in every kind of trial.

In the Greek manuscripts of Daniel the account of Bel and the Dragon is added at the close of ch. 12 of Daniel. In the Latin Vulgate it forms ch. 14, the story of Susanna being ch. 13. Concerning date and original language, see the first part of the Introduction to the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men.

**WHEN KING ASTYAGES WAS LAID** with his fathers, Cyrus the Persian received his kingdom. <sup>2</sup>And Daniel was a companion of the king, and was the most honored of his friends.

<sup>3</sup>Now the Babylonians had an idol called Bel, and every day they spent on it twelve bushels of fine flour and forty sheep and fifty gallons of wine. <sup>4</sup>The king revered it and went every day to worship it. But Daniel worshiped his own God.

<sup>5</sup>And the king said to him, "Why do you not worship Bel?" He answered, "Because I do not reverence man-made idols, but the living God, who created heaven and earth and has dominion over all flesh."

<sup>6</sup>The king said to him, "Do you not think that Bel is a living God? Do you not see how much he eats and drinks every day?" <sup>7</sup>Then Daniel laughed, and said, "Do not be deceived, O king; for this is but clay inside and brass outside, and it never ate or drank anything."

<sup>1-2</sup>: Introduction. <sup>1</sup>: Cyrus the Persian (Dan.6.28) became king of Babylon in 538 B.C. <sup>3-22</sup>: The story of Bel. <sup>3</sup>: Bel, or Bel-Marduk (compare Merodach, Jer.50.2), was the chief god in the Babylonian pantheon. Several ancient sources testify to the enormous quantities of sacrifices presented to Marduk in the daily ritual. <sup>7</sup>: Daniel ridicules the king's argument: clay and brass do not eat (Sir.30.19). <sup>11</sup>: Dan.6.17. Archaeologists have found great numbers of Babylonian signets.

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## BEL AND THE DRAGON

give me permission, I will slay the dragon without sword or club." The king said, "I give you permission."

<sup>27</sup>Then Daniel took pitch, fat, and hair, and boiled them together and made cakes, which he fed to the dragon. The dragon ate them, and burst open. And Daniel said, "See what you have been worshipping!"

<sup>28</sup>When the Babylonians heard it, they were very indignant and conspired against the king, saying, "The king has become a Jew; he has destroyed Bel, and slain the dragon, and slaughtered the priests." <sup>29</sup>Going to the king, they said, "Hand Daniel over to us, or else we will kill you and your household." <sup>30</sup>The king saw that they were pressing him hard, and under compulsion he handed Daniel over to them.

<sup>31</sup>They threw Daniel into the lions' den, and he was there for six days. <sup>32</sup>There were seven lions in the den, and every day they had been given two human bodies and two sheep; but these were not given to them now, so that they might devour Daniel.

<sup>33</sup>Now the prophet Habakkuk was in Judea. He had boiled pottage and had broken bread into a bowl, and was going into the field to take it to the reapers. <sup>34</sup>But the angel of the Lord said to Habakkuk, "Take the dinner which you have to Babylon, to Daniel, in the lions' den." <sup>35</sup>Habakkuk said, "Sir, I have never seen Babylon, and I know nothing about the den." <sup>36</sup>Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown of his head, and lifted him by his hair and set him down in Babylon, right over the den, with the rushing sound of the wind itself.

<sup>37</sup>Then Habakkuk shouted;

<sup>16-22</sup>: The fraud detected (compare Dan.2.12; 6.24). <sup>22</sup>: According to ancient historians it was Xerxes who destroyed Bel's temple.

<sup>23-42</sup>: The story of the dragon. <sup>23</sup>: A great dragon, that is, a live serpent worshiped as a god (compare Num.21.8-9; 2 Kg.18.4). <sup>26</sup>: Permission was granted because the king believed in the immortality of the serpent-god. <sup>31-32</sup>: The second time that Daniel is put in the lions' den (Dan.6.16-24).

<sup>33-39</sup>: The intervention of Habakkuk. <sup>33</sup>: The author intends to identify this Habakkuk with the Minor Prophet of that name; chronologically, however, such an identification is impossible. <sup>36</sup>: Hair, Ezek.8.3. <sup>37</sup>: 1 Kg.17.4.

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Apocrypha Readings (11 of 11)

BEL AND THE DRAGON

“Daniel! Daniel! Take the dinner which God has sent you.”<sup>38</sup> And Daniel said, “Thou hast remembered me, O God, and hast not forsaken those who love thee.”<sup>39</sup> So Daniel arose and ate. And the angel of God immediately returned Habakkuk to his own place.

<sup>40</sup> On the seventh day the king came to mourn for Daniel. When he came

40-42: Daniel’s liberation. 41: Compare Dan. 6.26-27.

*Daniel liberated*

THE PRAYER OF MANASSEH

One of the finest pieces in the Apocrypha is the little classic of penitential devotion known as the Prayer of Manasseh. Constructed in accord with the best liturgical forms and full without being protracted, this beautiful prayer breathes throughout a spirit of deep and genuine religious feeling.

According to 2 Chr. 33.11-13, Manasseh, the wicked king of Judah, while in exile composed a prayer entreating divine forgiveness for his many sins. The Old Testament account also refers to two literary works that contained Manasseh’s prayer (2 Chr. 33.18-19). Since neither of these has survived, it is not surprising that some devout Jew undertook to remedy the loss by drawing up such a prayer as might have been used by the wicked though now repentant king. Henceforth the name Manasseh was associated in Jewish tradition not only with the grossest acts of idolatry (2 Chr. 33.1-9), but also with the efficacy of genuine repentance in securing divine forgiveness. It may be that the unknown author also had in mind the practical use of the prayer in providing a suitable penitential devotion for those of his countrymen who, having fallen into idolatry, could be reclaimed from the error of their way.

The date of composition of the Prayer is difficult to determine. Though there is no positive evidence, many scholars place it sometime during the last two centuries B.C. Whether it was composed originally in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek is disputed; today it survives in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic. The Latin translation of the Prayer in the Vulgate Bible (which since the Council of Trent has been put into an Appendix) is entirely different from the Old Latin translation, and is of much more recent origin.



LORD ALMIGHTY,

God of our fathers,  
of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob  
and of their righteous posterity;  
<sup>2</sup>thou who hast made heaven and earth  
with all their order;  
<sup>3</sup>who hast shackled the sea by thy word of command,  
who hast confined the deep and sealed it with thy terrible and glorious name;  
<sup>4</sup>at whom all things shudder,  
and tremble before thy power,  
<sup>5</sup>for thy glorious splendor cannot be borne,  
and the wrath of thy threat to sinners is irresistible;  
<sup>6</sup>yet immeasurable and unsearchable is thy promised mercy,  
<sup>7</sup>for thou art the Lord Most High,  
of great compassion, long-suffering,  
and very merciful,

and repentest over the evils of men.

Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness  
hast promised repentance and forgiveness  
to those who have sinned against thee;  
and in the multitude of thy mercies  
thou hast appointed repentance for sinners,  
that they may be saved.  
<sup>8</sup>Therefore thou, O Lord, God of the righteous,  
hast not appointed repentance for the righteous,  
for Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who did not sin against thee,  
but thou hast appointed repentance for me, who am a sinner.

1-8: Invocation and ascription of praise to God, whose majesty is displayed in creation (vv. 1-4), and whose mercy grants repentance to sinners (vv. 6-8). 1: God of our fathers, Ex. 3.15-16; Dan. 2.23; Acts 3.13. 2: All their order, splendor and orderly array. 3: Shackled the sea, Job 38.8-11. 7: The second part of this verse (Thou, O Lord . . . may be saved) is preserved in the later Greek manuscripts and in the Latin and Syriac versions. 8: Not . . . for the righteous, Lk. 5.32. For me . . . a sinner, Lk. 18.13.



Apocrypha Readings (11 of 11)

BEL AND THE DRAGON

"Daniel! Daniel! Take the dinner which God has sent you." <sup>38</sup>And Daniel said, "Thou hast remembered me, O God, and hast not forsaken those who love thee." <sup>39</sup>So Daniel arose and ate. And the angel of God immediately returned Habakkuk to his own place.

<sup>40</sup> On the seventh day the king came to mourn for Daniel. When he came

to the den he looked in, and there sat Daniel. <sup>41</sup>And the king shouted with a loud voice, "Thou art great, O Lord God of Daniel, and there is no other besides thee." <sup>42</sup>And he pulled Daniel out, and threw into the den the men who had attempted his destruction, and they were devoured immediately before his eyes.

<sup>a</sup> *Gk him*

40-42: Daniel's liberation. 41: Compare Dan.6.26-27.

*Daniel liberated*

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LORD ALMIGHTY,  
 God of our fathers,  
 of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob  
 and of their righteous posterity;  
<sup>2</sup>thou who hast made heaven and earth  
 with all their order;  
<sup>3</sup>who hast shackled the sea by thy word of command,  
 who hast confined the deep  
 and sealed it with thy terrible  
 and glorious name;  
<sup>4</sup>at whom all things shudder,  
 and tremble before thy power,  
<sup>5</sup>for thy glorious splendor cannot be borne,  
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 Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness  
 hast promised repentance and forgiveness  
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 and in the multitude of thy mercies  
 thou hast appointed repentance for sinners,  
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# New Testament Archaeology

## I. Definitions

### A. Archaeology

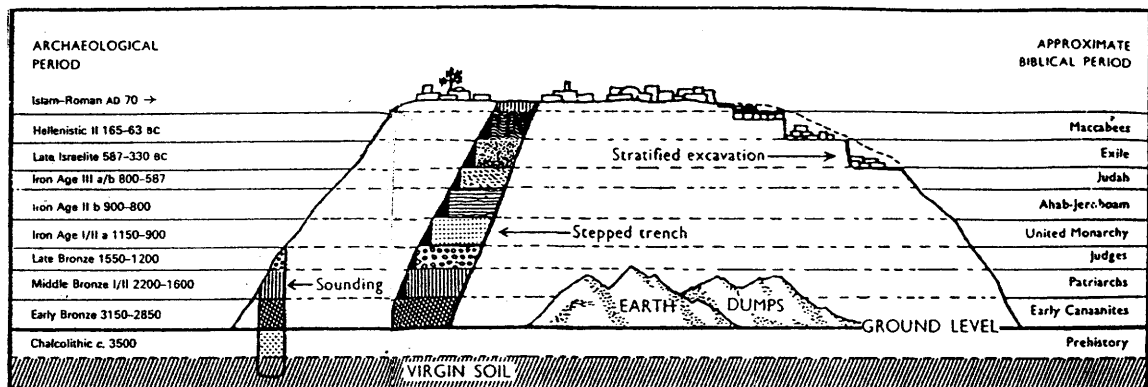
1. "The science or study of history from the remains of early human cultures as discovered chiefly by systematic excavations" (*Funk & Wagnalls*)
2. "The scientific study of material remains (as fossil relics, artifacts, monuments) of past human life and activities" (*Webster's*)

### B. Biblical Archaeology

1. "'Biblical Archaeology' selects those material remains of Palestine and its neighboring countries which relate to the biblical period and narrative. These include the remains of buildings, art, inscriptions and every artifact which helps the understanding of the history, life and customs of the Hebrews and those peoples who, like the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Syrians, Assyrians and Babylonians, came into contact and influenced them" (D.J. Wiseman, "Archaeology," *New Bible Dictionary*, 2d ed. [Wheaton: Tyndale, 1982], 70).
2. Notice that none of the three definitions above specifically include literature.

## II. Periods of Biblical Archaeology

- A. Most biblical archaeological sites appear on levels (strata) on a tel (mound of successive layers of destruction and rebuilding). Here's a typical example summarizing the various periods (Wiseman, 72-73):



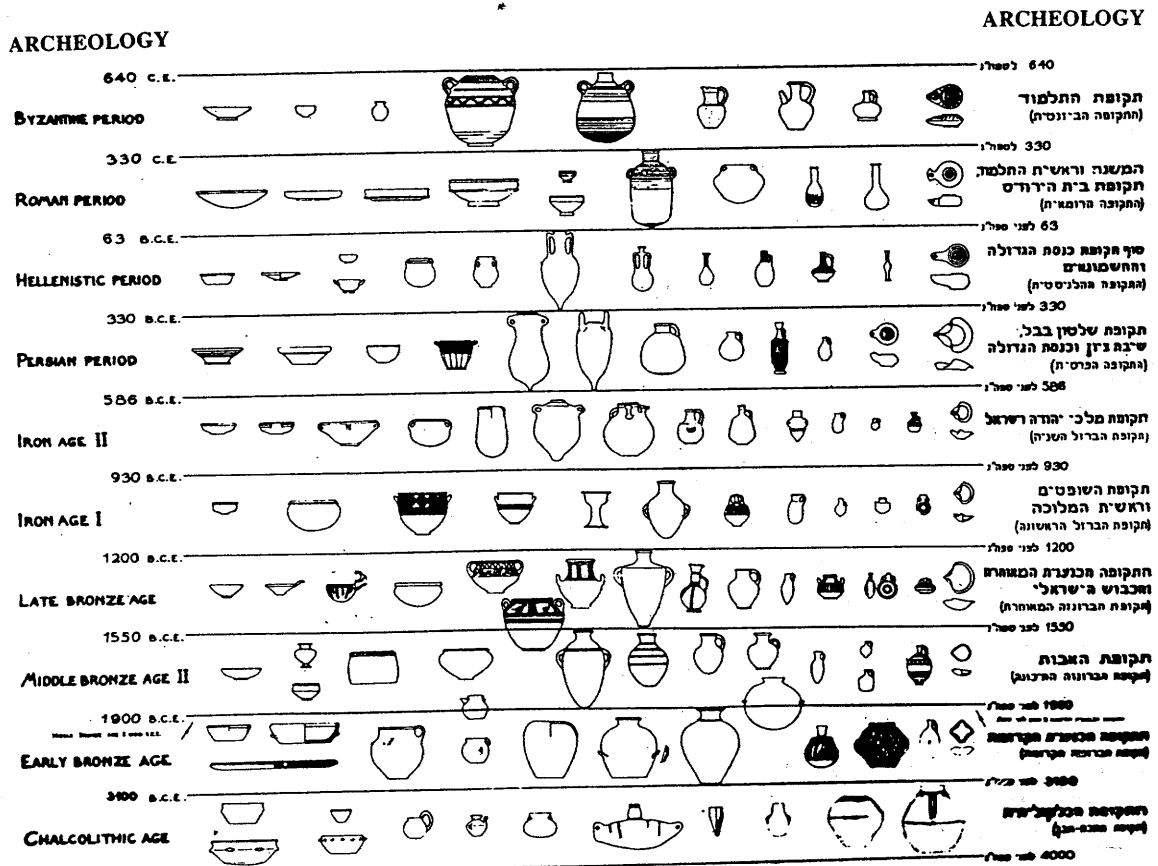
Schematic drawing of an ancient Palestinian site showing methods of excavation and levels (strata) of occupation

- B. How can archaeologists tell the age of a tel?

1. Biblical archaeology perhaps began in 1799 with the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in Egypt (a trilingual inscription which unlocked Egyptian hieroglyphics), but this was an accidental discovery during Napoleon's conquests.
2. Americans Edward Robinson and Eli Smith were the first to explore the surface of Palestine (1838), but the first excavations took place by the Frenchman De Saulcy near Jerusalem in 1863. Yet for nearly a century no-one could decipher the dates of any artifacts or strata.
3. Finally in 1890 Flinders Petrie discovered at Tell el-Hesi that pottery changed over the years but had a distinctive style for each age. By comparing styles with those of Egypt (for which dates are certain) the ages can be determined. Now pottery within strata is the chief means of determining dates all the way back to about 4000 BC (Wiseman, 71).
4. Note the various pottery types in each age (William S. LaSor, "Archaeology," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* rev. ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979], 1:241):



## Pottery Types in Various Biblical Ages



Sequence of pottery types from the Chalcolithic to the Byzantine periods (Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums) - W.S. LaSor, "Archeology," *International Standard Bible Ency.*, 1:241

### III. Dangers and Limits of Biblical Archaeology

- A. Supremacy of Archaeology over Scripture: Too often archaeologists pit their own findings against the Bible in order to "prove the Bible wrong." But we must make a choice: an inerrant Bible, and inerrant archaeologist, or neither!
- B. Many Biblical Accounts cannot be Proven by Archaeology. Of course, they can't be disproved either (e.g., miracles)! Since we will always have insufficient proof, each individual must choose whether to believe the Bible until disproved or to believe archaeologists until disproved.
- C. Biblical Archaeology is the Oldest Archaeology in the World: This makes it the most complicated, with more strata than any other branch of archaeology and with the least amount of supporting literary sources.

### IV. Value of Biblical Archaeology

- A. Confirmation of Biblical History
- B. Insight into Interpretation of Scripture
- C. Source of Revenue for Israel and Neighbor Nations
- D. Evangelistic Results: Sometimes people with an interest in archaeology in general volunteer on digs and end up coming to know the God of the soil!

**V. Archaeological Periods**John H. Walton, *Chronological & Background Charts of the Old Testament*, 2d ed., 78

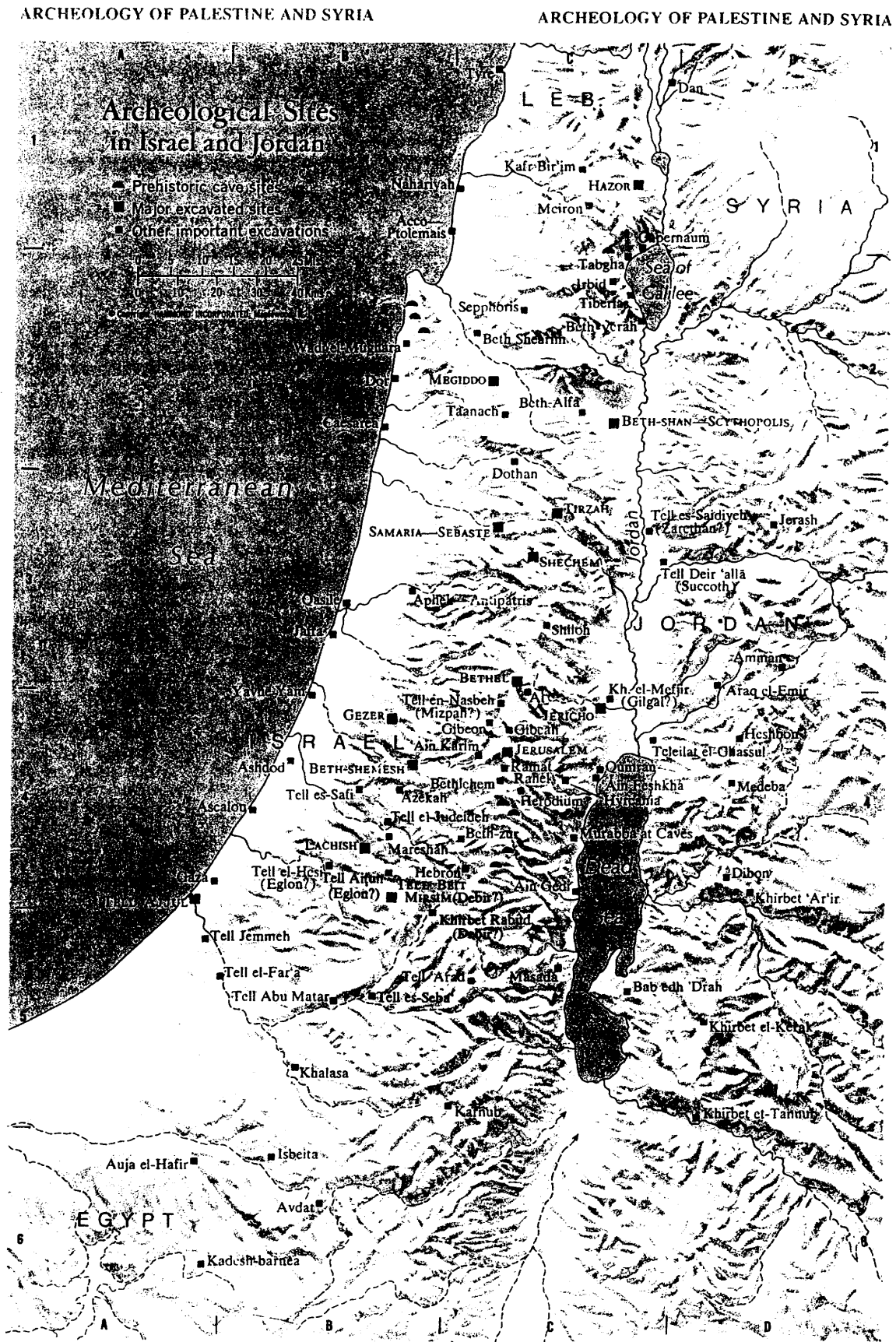
ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS IN PALESTINE	APPROXIMATE DATES B.C.	EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES	APPROXIMATE DATES B.C.	BIBLICAL CORRELATIONS	APPROXIMATE DATES B.C. (early chronology)
Neolithic Pre-pottery Neolithic Pottery	8000-6000 6000-4300				
Chalcolithic	4300-3300	Badarian, Nagada	3900-3300		
Early Bronze I Early Bronze II Early Bronze III Early Bronze IV	3300-2900 2900-2600 2600-2300 2300-2100	I and II III to V (Pyramid Age) First Intermediate Period (VII-X)	3000-2700 2700-2350 2190-2010	Post Flood	
Middle Bronze I Middle Bronze IIA Middle Bronze IIB Middle Bronze IIC	2100-1900 1900-1700 1700-1600 1600-1550	XII Second Intermediate Period Hyksos	1963-1786 1786-1550 1648-1540	Patriarchs  Sojourn in Egypt	2150-1850 1876-1446
Late Bronze I Late Bronze IIA Late Bronze IIB	1550-1400 1400-1300 1300-1200	New Kingdom XVIII Empire Age XIX	1550-1295 1295-1186	Conquest  Judges	1406-1400 1400-1050
Iron IA Iron IB Iron IC	1200-1150 1150-1000 1000-918	XXI	1069-945	United Monarchy	1050-930
Iron IIA Iron IIB	918-800 800-586	XXII XXVI	945-715 664-525	Divided Monarchy	930-586
Iron III	586-332			Captivity	586-539

**VI. Major Finds in NT Archaeology***NIV Study Bible*, 10th ann. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 1642

<b>Major Archaeological Finds Relating to the NT</b>		
<b>SITE OR ARTIFACT</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>RELATING SCRIPTURE</b>
<b>ISRAEL</b>		
Herod's temple	Jerusalem	Lk 1:9
Herod's winter palace	Jericho	Mt 2:4
The Herodium (possible site of Herod's tomb)	Near Bethlehem	Mt 2:19
Masada	Southwest of Dead Sea	Cf. Lk 21:20
Early synagogue	Capernaum	Mk 1:21
Pool of Siloam	Jerusalem	Jn 9:7
Pool of Bethesda	Jerusalem	Jn 5:2
Pilate inscription	Caesarea	Lk 3:1
Inscription: Gentile entrance of temple sanctuary	Jerusalem	Ac 21:27-29
Skeletal remains of crucified man	Jerusalem	Lk 23:33
Peter's house	Capernaum	Mt 8:14
Jacob's well	Nablus	Jn 4:5-6
<b>ASIA MINOR</b>		
Derbe inscription	Kerti Hüyük	Ac 14:20
Sergius Paulus inscription	Antioch in Pisidia	Ac 13:6-7
Zeus altar (Satan's throne?)	Pergamum	Rev 2:13
Fourth-century B.C. walls	Assos	Ac 20:13-14
Artemis temple and altar	Ephesus	Ac 19:27-28
Ephesian theater	Ephesus	Ac 19:29
Silversmith shops	Ephesus	Ac 19:24
Artemis statues	Ephesus	Ac 19:35
<b>GREECE</b>		
Erastus inscription	Corinth	Ro 16:23
Synagogue inscription	Corinth	Ac 18:4
Meat market inscription	Corinth	1Co 10:25
Cult dining rooms (in Asklepius and Demeter temples)	Corinth	1Co 8:10
Court ( <i>bema</i> )	Corinth	Ac 18:12
Marketplace ( <i>bema</i> )	Philippi	Ac 16:19
Starting gate for races	Isthmia	1Co 9:24,26
Gallio inscription	Delphi	Ac 18:12
Egnatian Way	Kavalla (Neapolis), Philippi, Apollonia, Thessalonica	Cf. Ac 16:11-12; 17:1
Politarch inscription	Thessalonica	Ac 17:6
<b>ITALY</b>		
Tomb of Augustus	Rome	Lk 2:1
Mamertime Prison	Rome	2Ti 1:16-17; 2:9; 4:6-8
Appian Way	Puteoli to Rome	Ac 28:13-16
Golden House of Nero	Rome	Cf. Ac 25:10; 1Pe 2:13
Arch of Titus	Rome	Cf. Lk 19:43-44; 21:6,20

### VII. Major Sites of Palestinian Archaeology

E. M. Yamauchi, "Archeology of Palestine and Syria," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1:271

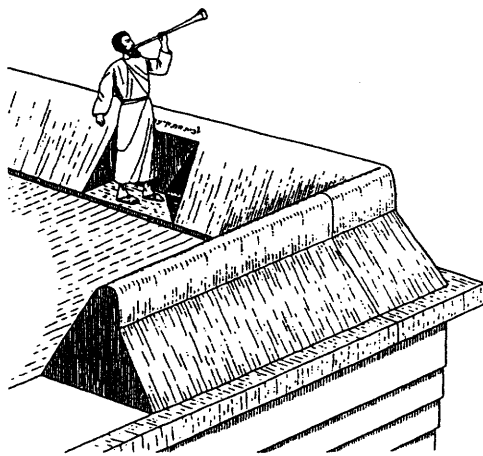


## VIII. Other Archaeological Finds Illuminating the NT

- A. Caesarea: Pilate Inscription
- B. Galilee: The Jesus Boat (p. 4; cf. "Bible Geography" notes, 69)
- C. Jerusalem (periods of history are on page 23)
  - 1. Western Wall & Arches (p. 25)
  - 2. Cave of Gethsemene (cf. "Bible Geography" notes, 112-14)
  - 3. Pavement (cf. "Bible Geography" notes, 89)
  - 4. Garden Tomb (cf. "Bible Geography" notes, 116-18)
  - 5. Warren's Shaft (pp. 24b-c)



Jerusalem  
Slide Set



לְבֵית חֲתָקִי עַל חֲכַרִּי

Reconstruction of "The Place of Trumpeting"  
and Inscription

### "PLACE OF TRUMPETING" INSCRIPTION

Beginning in 1968, Israeli archaeologist Benjamin Mazar conducted excavations at the southwest corner of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, exposing the lower portions of the massive walls built by Herod (see Slides 52–56 in the Jerusalem Archaeology Slide Set). The huge stone shown here—which is about eight feet wide, 3.4 feet high and 3.3 feet wide—was found lying on the Roman period street that ran beneath the southern wall of the Temple Mount. It apparently fell from the parapet some 130 feet above the street when the walls were tumbled by Titus's soldiers during the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The stone bears an incomplete Hebrew inscription, which reads, "Of the place of trumpeting...." The meaning of this text is elucidated by a reference made by the first-century C.E. historian Josephus to a place atop the Temple "opposite the lower city" (that is, at the southwest corner), "where it was the custom for one of the priests to stand each seventh day and announce with the trumpet the arrival [of the Sabbath] in the afternoon and [its] ending on the following evening, in order to give the people notice of the times for both leaving off and resuming work" (*Jewish War* 5.582). It seems clear that the place referred to by Josephus is the same identified in this inscription as the "place of trumpeting," where the priests blew the shofar to announce the arrival of the Sabbath in the days before the destruction of the Temple. — *Ancient Inscriptions*, 130

## The Archaeology of Jerusalem from David to Jesus

Hershel Shanks, narrator (two video series, Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995)

### Part 2: From the Return of the Exiles to the World of Jesus

23. Introduction
24. The wall built by returnees from the Babylonian exile
25. Hellenistic tombs in the Kidron Valley include Absalom's Tomb (built 1000 yrs. after his birth)
26. Mattathias Tomb Inscription
27. Herod the Great (cf. NTB, 79, 81-85)
28. Herod's Temple Mount (cf. NTB, 85)
29. Herodian masonry
30. Eastern wall of Herod's Temple Mount, including the Straight Joint (cf. NTB, 24) and the southeast corner tower which divides Solomon's Temple Mount from Herod's extension of it.
31. Solomon's Stables is the area built by Herod the Great under his southern extension of temple mount but named after Solomon by Crusaders who used them as horse stables (AD 1000).
32. "Keep Off" inscription warned Gentiles not to enter the temple courts
33. Southern wall of Herod's Temple Mount included Double Gate and Triple Gate (cf. Hulda's gates of NTB, 21, 24, 25)
34. Robinson's Arch (cf. NTB, 25 lower left) was named after American scholar who thought it was a bridge; now we know it was a huge staircase (cf. NTB, 21, 24a).
35. Tower at the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount includes Trumpeting Inscription (cf. NTB, 25 lower left, 204 bottom).
36. Theodotus Inscription inscribed in Greek shows evidence of a Jerusalem synagogue (cf. Acts 6:9 synagogue of the freedmen).
37. Wilson's Arch supported a bridge from the western wall (cf. NTB, 25); it was named after Charles Wilson (British explorer).
38. Herodian mansion and artifacts
39. Earliest depiction of menorah is 7 branched
40. Roman destruction of Herodian temple and Jerusalem (AD 70)
41. Gethsemene—this was a cave within a garden (cf. my "Bible Geography," 115-16)
42. Golden Gate and gate beneath the Golden Gate discovered by Jim Fleming
43. "Lithostratus" disproved—couldn't be the Roman soldiers' game board since the stones were not laid until AD 41.
44. Site of Jesus' burial: Holy Sepulchre Church or Garden Tomb (cf. NTB, 24)? The tradition surrounding the Church goes back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, it was a cemetery in Jesus' time, and it was outside the city wall in AD 33.
45. Pilgrim Ship in the Holy Sepulchre Church
46. Roman emperor Hadrian (ca. AD 132) renamed Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina to removed any Jewish influence; Aelia was his second name and Capitolina reflected the three gods of Capitolina Hill in Rome.
47. The Roman Gate below the Damascus Gate
48. The Jerusalem Cardo (Roman main street in Byzantine era) is depicted on the Madaba map in a church in Jordan (cf. NTB, 218).
49. Isaiah Inscription: In the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD Julian the Apostate began rebuilding the temple but died and the work stopped.
50. The Dome of the Rock (cf. NTB, 25) was built by Muslims over the Holy of Holies (ca. AD 690) to "outshine" the dark Holy Sepulchre dome; King Hussein of Jordan covered the aluminum bronze alloy with gold in 1994.

## The Archaeology of Jerusalem from David to Jesus

Hershel Shanks, narrator (two video series, Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995)

### Part 1: From the Beginning to the Babylonian Destruction

1. Introduction
2. Jerusalem topography (cf. NTB [New Testament Backgrounds], 21-24a)
3. Jerusalem's water source (cf. NTB, 21, 24b-c)
4. The Jebusite (Canaanite) wall built about 1800 BC
5. Israel's emergence in Canaan: Shanks says in 1200 BC but see my OT Survey, 99-100, 108-110
6. David's capture of Jerusalem & renaming it the City of David about 1000 BC (cf. NTB, 23 #1)
7. Solomon's expansion to the north (cf. NTB, 23 #2)
8. Jerusalem in the Divided Kingdom (cf. NTB, 23 #3)
9. Hezekiah's reign and Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (cf. NTB, 23 #3)
10. Hezekiah's Tunnel (cf. NTB, 24 lower right)
11. The Siloam Inscription (cf. NTB, 24 lower right)
12. Hezekiah's Tunnel, again (cf. NTB, 24 lower right)
13. Warren's Shaft and its relation to David's conquest of Jerusalem (cf. NTB, 24c)
14. The Stepped-Stone Structure
15. The returning exiles build a new eastern wall (cf. NTB, 23 #4)
16. Israelite houses of the 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC
17. Tombs in the City of David
18. The Ivory Pomegranate from Solomon's Temple
19. The Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem—the tower and arrowheads
20. Tombs at the Shoulder of Hinnom and contents (cf. NTB, 21 far left)
21. Silver amulet with oldest biblical quotation (cf. NTB, 216)
22. Evidence that Jewish life in Jerusalem continued during Babylonian Exile

Klaus Issler  
Campus Crusade for Christ

Old Testament Survey  
Institute of Biblical Studies, January 1980

### GLOSSARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERMS

Archaeology- the systematic recovery, analysis and interpretation of the surviving evidence of human activity

#### → 2 Principles of Archaeology (the basis of all modern scientific research)

##### \* Stratigraphical method of excavation:

the careful excavation by levels or strata of a tell and the examination of all objects found within the strata

##### \* Typology or Pottery Analysis:

the classification and study of the stylistic changes in pottery-- its composition, decoration, and particularly its forms--as it occurs in a mound from the earliest levels to the latest. The science of typology makes it possible to establish a pottery chronology. Pottery is the most profuse artifact recovered by archaeologists in the lands of the Bible.

#### Classification of objects

Artifacts- man-made objects (e.g. pots, jewelry, tools)

Epigraphs- materials which have writing on them (e.g. inscribed stones, ostraca, clay tablets, coins)

#### Excavation terminology

\*Tell- a mound containing the debris of human occupation that has accumulated at a site, built up in successive layers over the centuries through a sequence of habitation, destruction and reconstruction.

Field- a particular spot selected for excavation which is laid out in squares, usually 5 meters in dimension.

Square- a marked out division of a field

Bench Mark (datum point)- a permanent reference point (in relation to sea level) with which all measurements must ultimately correlate.

Locus- a "relative" reference point based on any distinct and recognizable feature which appears in the course of excavation (e.g. surface of a floor, wall, an oven)

Stratum (plural, strata)- a layer of debris which consists of occupational phases which have a common cultural association and are distinguishable from earlier and later strata by evidence of major destructions, gaps in occupation, or other clear stratigraphical features.

Balk surface or wall- the vertical face of the side of a square which allows visual examination of the excavated stratum

"In situ" (Latin)- in its original position. Photographs are taken in situ.

Dump- the location where the unwanted excavated material is disposed of.

--adapted from Biblical Archaeology in Focus,  
K. Schoville, Baker, 1978



Klaus Issler  
Campus Crusade for Christ

Old Testament Survey  
Institute in Biblical Studies, January 1980

### SIGNIFICANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

1. Rosetta Stone (1798 by an officer of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition)  
It is a slab of black basalt, 3 ft. 9 in. high by 2 ft. 4 in. wide. It was set up by the priests in honor of a decree issued by the king about 195 B.C. conferring certain honors upon them and exempting them from the payment of taxes. The stone was divided into 3 registers and written in 2 languages. The top most register gave the inscription in the old hieroglyphic; the middle in demotic, the ordinary Egyptian handwriting; and the third in Greek, which was the language of the government at that time. It was the key to deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics (picture writing).
2. Behistun Inscription (1835; translated primarily by an English officer Henry Rawlinson, 1810-1895)  
The inscription is located on Mount Behistun in Persia, 300 feet above the plain. It is a 3 language record of Darius I the Great (522-486 B.C.) and his triumph over all enemies in the revolt following his coronation. One of the inscriptions was in Old Persian, another was a translation into Elamite, and the third was a translation into Babylonian (Akkadian). It was the key to deciphering Assyrian and Babylonian literature.
3. Moabite Stone (or Mesha Stone) (1868 by F. Klein at Dibon east of the Dead Sea.)  
It was set up by King Mesha of Moab (II Kings 3:4ff) about 830 B.C. to commemorate his victory over Israel. It was written in the Phoenician (Tyrian) alphabet.
4. Royal Library of King Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669-627 B.C.) (1848-1876 by Englishmen Layard and Rassam in Ninevah)  
The king ("Osnappar" of Ezra 4:10) collected and had copied thousands of documents of all sorts and stored them away in two palaces at Ninevah. They dealt with practically every field of learning and science known to scholars of the time. (Included were the Babylonian accounts of the creation (Enuma Elish) and the flood (Gilgamesh Epic).)
5. Armana Tablets (1887 in Egypt near the Nile River)  
About 350 letters were discovered in the archives of the palace of Pharaoh Amenophis IV (1377-1360 B.C.). They are records of the diplomatic correspondence between the Armana pharaohs (1550-1200 B.C.) and the rulers of the major power centers of Asia. They provide insights into the social and political situation in the land of Canaan during that period of time. They also provide valuable information about the nature of the Canaanite language. They are written in Akkadian with Canaanite "glosses". There are numerous references to the activity of the "Habiru" as a disruptive social element in Canaan. (There is a strong relationship between "Habiru" and "Hebrew".)
6. Law Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (1792 B.C. -?) (1901 by French archaeologists in Susa, though (presumably) it was originally in the temple of Shamash at Sippar, near Babylon.)  
A collection of common laws and court decisions, very similar in form to those in the Pentateuch.

Klaus Issler

-2-

Significant Archaeological Discoveries, cont'd.

IBS, 1980

7. Elephantine Papyri (1903 near Aswan, Egypt)  
It provides historical evidence for the situation in Judah around 400 B.C.
8. Hittite Monuments (1906 by Hugo Winkler, German Assyriologist, near Boghazköy, Turkey)  
Confirmed the existence of the Hittites, a major power in the Middle East in the second millennium B.C. Some of the tablets were written in Akkadian, the rest were written in Hittite hieroglyphics, unknown up to this point in time.
9. Tomb of King Tutankhamun (1346-1337 B.C.) (1922 by Howard Carter, near Thebes, Egypt)  
This is the only tomb of the pharaohs of Egypt that has been found intact. It was filled with fabulous artifacts including a solid gold coffin.
10. Sarcophagus of King Ahiiram of Byblos (stone coffin) (1923 by Pierre Montet in Lebanon). A famous early Phoenician funerary inscription appears on the lid. It provides invaluable information of early Phoenician orthography and grammar. Dated about 1000 B.C.
11. Nuzi tablets (1925 by Edward Chiera in Iraq)  
From the house of a wealthy businessman, 1000 cuneiform tablets were discovered depicting the family's business affairs. They are written in Akkadian but with a generous sprinkling of Hurrian words. They record social customs that are very similar to those recorded in the Bible in connection with the Patriarchs.
12. Dead Sea Scrolls or Qumran Scrolls (1947-48 in caves near Qumran northwest of the Dead Sea)  
Discovered there were parts of some 400 manuscripts, including Biblical books. Every book in the Hebrew Bible, except the book of Esther, is included. The scrolls were written in Hebrew and Aramaic, and some were written in ancient Hebrew (Phoenician). Some of the scrolls bring us closer to the originals of some of the books of the Old Testament than do any other Biblical writings in existence. Before this discovery, the oldest known Biblical manuscript was dated between 900 - 1000 A.D.
13. Ebla Tablets (1974 by Paolo Matthiae, 40 miles south of Aleppo in northern Syria)  
After 10 years of work, 42 clay tablets were discovered. (16,000 additional tablets were unearthed in the next 2 years.) It is the largest archive from the ancient Near East thus far discovered that dates to the third millennium B.C. 80% were written in Sumerian and the remainder are written in a hitherto unknown Semitic language, Eblaite (or Paleo-Canaanite). Names such as Abram and Israilu. This discovery holds promise of illuminating the Biblical accounts of the Patriarchs and the pre-patriarchal period of Genesis 1-11.

--compiled from Biblical Archaeology in Focus  
K. Schoville, Baker 1978.

# Sunken Cleopatra isle yields secrets

## French explorer finds ancient statues and shipwreck in waters around Antirrhodes isle in Alexandria harbour

**ALEXANDRIA (Egypt)** — A 2,000-year-old shipwreck and ancient statues, probably from a temple, have been found in waters around a sunken Egyptian island where Cleopatra lived.

"During searches begun in June, our team discovered a 30-m-long, 10-m-wide shipwreck in excellent condition," said explorer Franck Goddio.

Carbon dating showed the ship dated back to between AD 90 and 130 BC, said the Frenchman, whose team began making the first scientific map of the area's ruins in 1996.

"The ship's hull is near an ancient jetty in Antirrhodes isle's private port," he said. Cleopatra had a palace on the isle, which sank more than 1,600 years ago after a series of earthquakes.

"The presence of a hole in the ship's hull shows that it probably sank after it was rammed by another boat," Mr Goddio said.

"Ceramic shards and remnants of food and jewellery, including gold rings, were in-

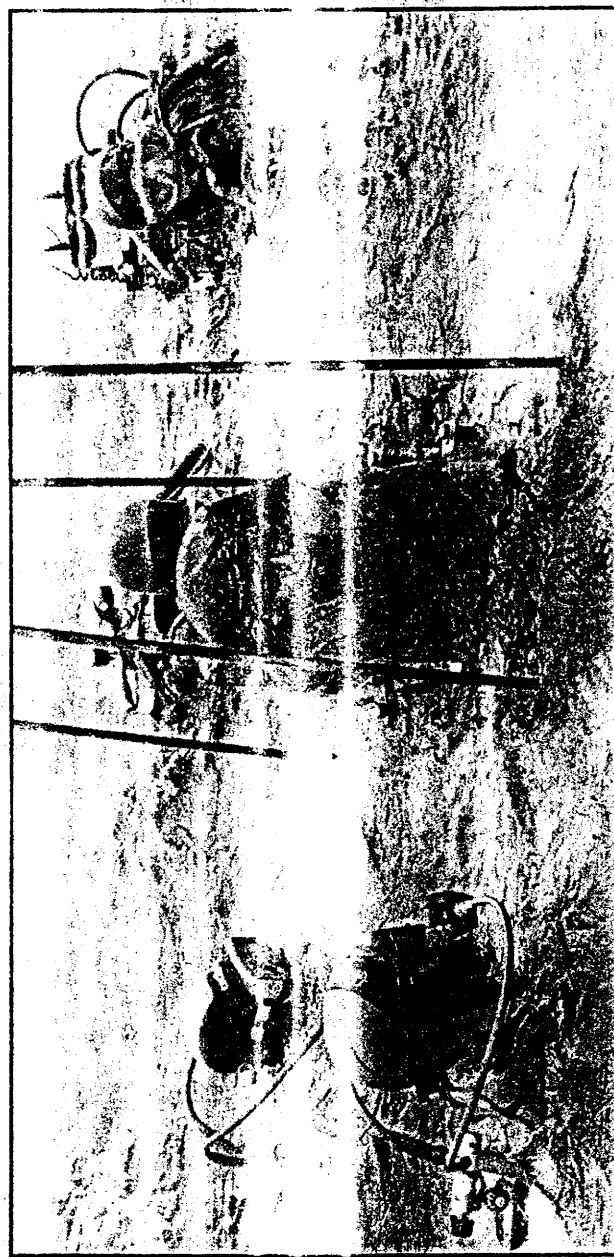
side the wreck," he said. On the isle itself, the team discovered statues, columns and rose granite blocks, some of which were lifted out of the sea on Wednesday.

Greek inscriptions and hieroglyphics from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD were also found.

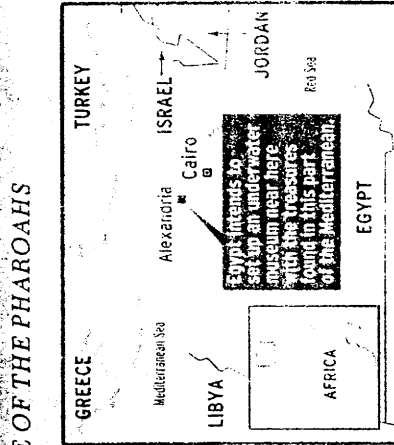
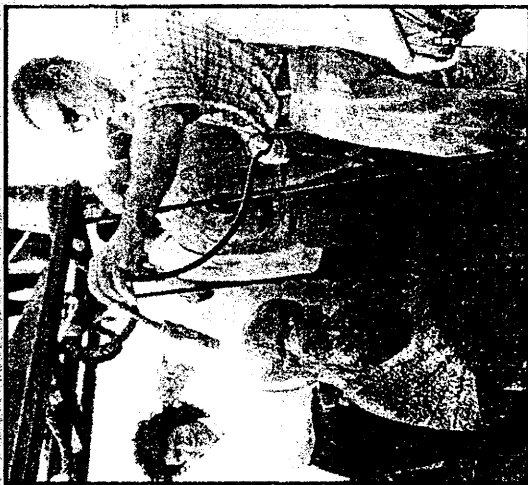
"Among the most remarkable objects are a 1.7-m-high granite statue of the grand priest of Isis and a canopic jar flanked by two intact sphinxes, which leads us to believe that this was a small Isis sanctuary," said Mr Goddio, who founded the European Underwater Archaeology Institute in 1987.

His work is sponsored by the private, Lichtenstein-based Hilti Foundation and comes under the auspices of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities.

The council's secretary general Gaballah Ali Gaballah said Egypt intends to set up an underwater museum in the port area east of Alexandria with all the treasures found in that section of the Mediterranean. — AFP



**Pieces of history** from the depths of Alexandria bay. A granite sphinx (above) believed to portray King Ptolemy XII, father of Cleopatra, is hauled out of the sea, while the statue of a priest of Isis (below) gets a hosing down.



◆ **CLEOPATRA**, born in 69 BC, was 17 when her father died.

She became the Queen in 51 BC and when she took her own life in 30 BC, Egypt came under direct Roman imperial rule.

◆ She had a palace on Antirrhodes isle, in what is present-day Alexandria harbour. It was here that the lives of the Egyptian queen, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony were intertwined.

◆ The isle sank over 1,600 years ago after a series of earthquakes and flood waves.

◆ Statues, columns and rose granite blocks were found on the isle, some of which were lifted out of the sea on Wednesday. Greek inscriptions and hieroglyphics from the Fifth Century BC to the Third Century AD, during the reign of the Roman emperor Caracalla, were also found.

### PARADISE OF THE PHAROAHS

## Biblical Archaeology's "10 Great Finds"

Michael D. Coogan, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (1 of 12)

# 10 Great Finds

MICHAEL D. COOGAN

When BAR's editors invited me to prepare a list of significant finds for the 20th anniversary issue, I thought the task would be easy. I had already been developing the forthcoming BAS Slide Set on the Hebrew Bible and archaeology, so I figured I could easily cull 10 slides from these. But as I began to work, I realized that reducing the number from 140 to 10 would be difficult, especially when the chronological horizon was extended to include material later than the time of the Hebrew Bible.

Necessarily, this list is arbitrary and subjective. I selected ten discoveries that give a geographical overview of the lands of the Bible—illustrating how exploding knowledge of ancient cultures has enhanced our understanding of the contexts in which Biblical traditions emerged—and that make arresting and informative pictures.

The most significant discoveries are often texts. But texts seldom provide striking photographs, so I have chosen one—Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic—to stand for all the fascinating texts from Mari, Ugarit, Amarna, Qumran and Nag Hammadi, and many other tablets, inscriptions and manuscripts that transmit to us the words of ancient peoples. These silent

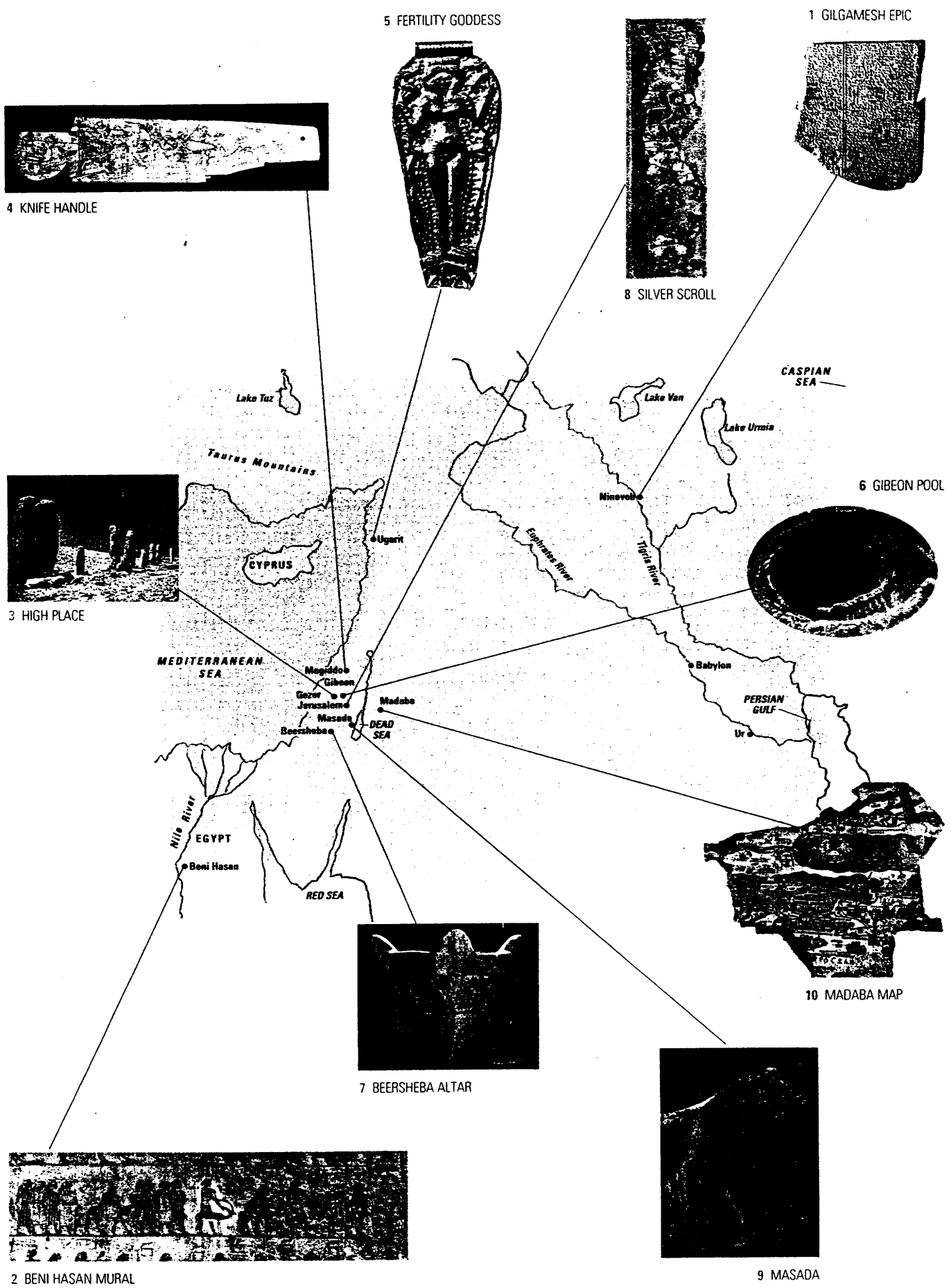
witnesses have transformed our understanding of the Bible over the last century and a half.

I've left out important sites such as Jericho, because neither the mound itself nor its stratigraphic sequences are especially photogenic.

As for Jerusalem, where there's an embarrassment of riches, I have chosen the exquisitely detailed sixth-century depiction of Jerusalem on the mosaic map from Madaba (in modern Jordan) to stand for all the excavations there since Biblical archaeology began.

This then is my list, arranged in chronological order. Remember that each, in one way or another, stands for many more. You may want to make your own list—perhaps we can update this selection for the 25th anniversary!

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (2 of 12)



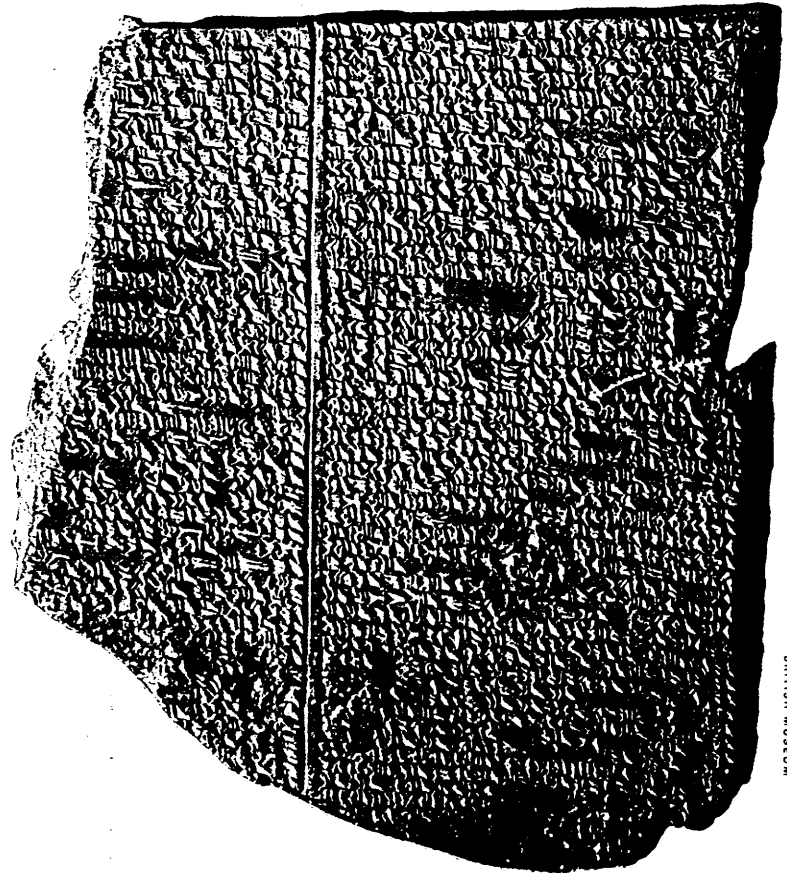
Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (3 of 12)

## GILGAMESH EPIC, TABLET XI

Nineveh, modern Iraq

7th century B.C.E.

clay tablet with cuneiform script



BRITISH MUSEUM

**1** Digging in northern Mesopotamia, with techniques too primitive to be called archaeology, the British explorer Austen Henry Layard uncovered tons of monumental sculptures and tens of thousands of inscribed clay tablets, many of which Layard shipped back to London. Among these finds are the famous Black Obelisk of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.E.)\* and the library of King Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.E.), which Layard discovered at Nineveh. After he returned to England in 1851 to pursue a diplomatic career, his work was carried on by Hormuzd Rassam, one of his assistants, who continued to uncover tablets and ship them to London.

After the rapid decipherment of Akkadian (the Semitic language of Mesopotamia, whose two principal dialects are Babylonian and Assyrian), scholars at the British Museum began to catalogue and translate the clay tablets. In 1872, George Smith, an assistant in the museum's Assyrian Department, discovered on one of the tablets a story about a flood, written down in the seventh century B.C.E., that was strikingly similar to the Biblical story of Noah in Genesis 6-9:

When the seventh day arrived,  
I put out and released a dove.  
The dove went; it came back,  
For no perching place was visible to  
it, and it turned round.

I put out and released a swallow.  
The swallow went; it came back,  
For no perching place was visible to  
it, and it turned round.

I put out and released a raven.  
The raven went, and saw the waters  
receding.  
And it ate, preened, lifted its tail, and  
did not turn round.\*\*

\* See Tammi Schneider, "Did King Jehu Kill His Own Family?" *BAR*, January/February 1995.

\*\* From Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), p. 114.

Smith had happened upon Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic, one of the most popular literary works in the ancient Near East. He announced his discovery at a meeting in London of the recently founded Society of Biblical Archaeology on December 3, 1872, where his paper created a sensation. Because the tablet was broken, some of the flood narrative was missing, and Smith went to Nineveh to find the rest; on May 14, 1873, after only five days at the huge, largely untouched site, he succeeded in finding another tablet with the missing lines to the flood story.

The initial reaction was that the Biblical flood story was confirmed as historical—for here was another account of the same event. But subsequent discoveries and analysis demonstrated that Mesopotamian versions of the flood were significantly older than the Biblical accounts, suggesting that the story of Noah and the flood was, in part, a borrowed tale. Moreover, Biblical writers had access to the Gilgamesh epic, as the discovery in 1956 of another part at Megiddo in Israel dramatically proved.†

Gilgamesh's flood story is one of many texts that parallel and

supplement Biblical traditions, strengthening our grasp of the cultural contexts in which the Bible was written, and often forcing us to reconsider traditional views of it.

† See Tikva Frymer-Kensky, "What the Babylonian Flood Stories Can and Cannot Teach Us About the Genesis Flood," *BAR*, November/December 1978.



ERICH LESSING

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (4 of 12)

## BENI HASAN MURAL

150 miles south of Cairo, Egypt

19th century B.C.E.

8 feet by 1½ feet



About 150 miles south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile, at a village called Beni Hasan, stands a large necropolis cut into the rock cliffs. In one of the tombs, dating to the early 19th century B.C.E., is a large painting (below) 8 feet long by 1.5 feet high, showing eight men, four women and three children in a procession led by two Egyptian officials. The first official, a scribe, holds a tablet that supplements the hieroglyphic text at the top right of the scene, stating that 37 Asiatics are coming to trade in eye-makeup, which they apparently want to import. Their leader, Abishai, is "the chief of a foreign land." The Asiatics are equipped with weapons, something that seems to be a musical instrument and a bellows. They are accompanied by donkeys, an ibex and a gazelle; the men are bearded, and all the adults wear garments with elaborate designs.

Although the mural has been frequently used to illustrate the lifestyles of the Israelites' ancestors—as described in Genesis—many details of this scene remain unclear. Does it depict a caravan of traders, or Asiatics coming to negotiate a

mining agreement (suggested by the bellows)? Where are they from—Moab, Sinai or somewhere else? What are they doing over 100 miles south of the Delta, where Egyptian and Asiatic contacts were centered? They certainly are not famished refugees seeking safe harbor in Egypt, like Jacob and his extended family in Genesis. And while it is tempting to link the Asiatics' clothing to Joseph's "coat of many colors" (Genesis 37:3; see also 2 Samuel 13:18), the precise meaning of the Hebrew phrase is unknown.

Still, these Asiatics are a vivid portrayal of what some groups traveling from the Levant looked like to the Egyptians, and can serve as a generic illustration of the ancestral traditions in Genesis.

The presence of Asiatics in Egypt increased during the Hyksos period (17th and 16th centuries B.C.E.), the probable time of the migration of Jacob's family. These contacts have been well documented by archaeological work in the Nile delta, especially recent excavations at Tell el-Mas-khuta and Tell ed-Dab'a.\*

Economic and political contacts

with Egypt continued throughout the Biblical periods, as archaeological finds attest.\*\* The Joseph story in Genesis, Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter (1 Kings 9:16), and the campaigns of the pharaohs Shishak (1 Kings 14:25-26) and Neco (2 Kings 23:29-35) into Israel are just a few examples of such interaction. And though ancient Israel was more closely connected to the culture of the Canaanites, indirect Egyptian influence is evident in the iconography of Solomon's palace and Temple, in the love poetry of the Song of Songs, and in the adaptation of an Egyptian saying in Proverbs 22:17-24:22.

After the Exodus, Egypt continued to play an important if subsidiary role in Israel's history, and the discoveries of Egyptologists continue to shed light on the Biblical world.

\* See Frank Yurko, "3,200-Year-Old Picture of Israelites Found in Egypt," *BAR*, September/October 1990; and "Can You Name the Panel with the Israelites?" with responses from Yurko and Anson F. Rainey, *BAR*, November/December 1991.

\*\* See Charles R. Krahmalkov, "Exodus Itinerary Confirmed by Egyptian Evidence," *BAR*, September/October 1994.



Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (5 of 12)

### GEZER HIGH PLACE

near Tel Aviv

1600 B.C.E.

6 to 11 feet in height

3

This open-air monumental configuration was discovered by the Irish archaeologist R.A.S. Macalister during his first season of work at Tel Gezer in 1902. (For Biblical references to Gezer, see Joshua 10:33; Judges 1:29; 1 Kings 9:15-17; 1 Chronicles 4:16.) It consists of a row of ten stones ranging from about 5 feet to 11 feet in height; the stones are oriented north-south and extend nearly 55 feet from the first to the tenth. To the west of the fifth and sixth stones is a large rectangular basin, made from a block of stone, with a rectangular depression cut into its top. The stones and basin rest in a large plaza that was once plastered and demarcated by a low stone wall. Beneath the installation Macalister found a two-chambered cave containing an infant's skeleton.

Macalister wrongly concluded that the high place was constructed in the second half of the third millennium B.C.E., with the pillars and other features added later and the final touches made in about the 14th century B.C.E. Macalister believed—again, probably wrongly—that an elaborate series of ceremonies, including child sacrifice; took place there: Oracles were given from caves as at Delphi in Greece; priests perched atop the largest pillar; and people came to kiss the stones.

Most of Macalister's conclusions have since been abandoned, although his designation of the Gezer complex as a "high place" (a term whose precise meaning still eludes Biblical scholars) has stuck. William Dever's careful stratigraphic excavation of the high place, in 1968, established that the entire complex dated to the end of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1600 B.C.E.), and remained in use perhaps into the Late Bronze Age.

The most convincing explanation is that the installation memorialized the

making of a covenant, in which each participating group erected a standing stone as a symbolic "witness" to its commitment to a coalition or a suzerain. This would account for the different origins and treatments of the stones. The use of stones as witnesses to a covenant is also mentioned in Genesis 31:43-54, where Jacob sets a stone on a pillar to act as witness to his pact with Laban, and in Joshua 24:25-27, where Joshua sets up a stone to witness the people's pact with God.\*

The purpose of the large basin,

\*For information on ancient Near Eastern covenants, see Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Patriarchal Age: Myth or History?" *BAR*, March/April 1995.

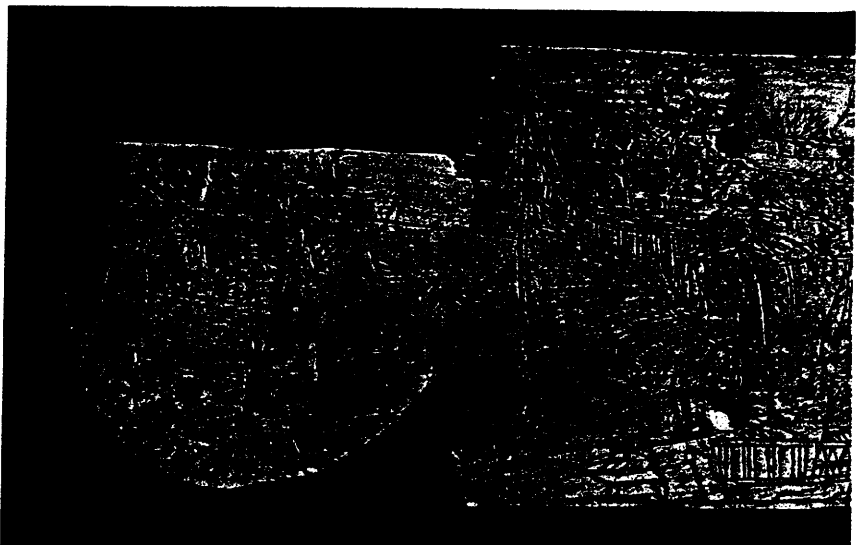
however, remains unclear. Some have speculated that it functioned as a socket for a stone or wood object, a laver for ablutions or an altar.

In the ancient world, politics and religion were intertwined. Despite the tendency of archaeologists to attribute a religious function to any unknown feature, a religious interpretation seems most plausible here. Biblical terminology and practices have unquestionably helped shape our understanding of the Gezer high place.\*\*

\*\*For information on the deterioration of the Gezer high place, see two articles in *BAR*: "The Sad Case of Tell Gezer," July/August 1983, and "Memorandum: Re Restoring Gezer," May/June 1994.



HERSHEL SHANKS



ERICH LESSING



Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (6 of 12)



The University of Chicago Expedition at Megiddo (1925-1939) was the most extensive archaeological project in Palestine up to that time. Among its many finds was a collection of nearly 400 ivories, discovered in 1937 in a cellar attached to a palace dating to the end of the Late Bronze Age (12th century B.C.E.). The hoard included combs with carved handles, a cosmetic bowl shaped like a duck and another shaped like a nude woman, small caskets and game boards, illustrating the sophistication and eclectic nature of Canaanite art of the Late Bronze Age: Cypriot, Mycenaean, Hittite, Canaanite and Egyptian motifs and styles are represented.

As the collection also included gold, alabaster and jewelry, the combs were probably a treasury of sorts, where valuable items were kept. Ivory pieces are difficult to date unless they are inscribed.\* This collection may have been acquired over several generations. Although one piece in the Megiddo hoard contained the

\* See Richard D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East*, *Qedem* 14 (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 1982); and "Ancient Ivory: The Story of Wealth, Decadence and Beauty," *BAR*, September/October 1985.

name of Pharaoh Ramesses III (1182-1151 B.C.E.), scholars have dated other pieces considerably earlier.

One of the most intricately carved ivories (below) is a knife handle ten inches long. Most likely, two scenes are represented. In the first, from the right, the king returns triumphantly from battle driving a chariot drawn by a horse that is led by two bound, nude, circumcised captives (occasionally identified as Shosu, a semi-nomadic people thought by some scholars to be the ancestors of the early Israelites\*\*). The captives are preceded by a warrior carrying a spear and a shield. Behind the king is a warrior, or armor-bearer, with a sickle sword, and over the king's horse floats a stylized winged sun-disk. The king himself apparently wears a coat of mail on his torso and lower arms.

Immediately to the left of this scene and partially separated from it by three plants, is the second scene, in which the king is sitting on a winged-sphinx throne, drinking from a small bowl. He is being attended

\*\* See "Can You Name the Panel With the Israelites?" and responses by Anson F. Rainey and Frank J. Yurko, in *BAR*, November/December 1991.

## KNIFE HANDLE

Megiddo, Israel

13th or 12th century B.C.E.

ivory, 10 inches long

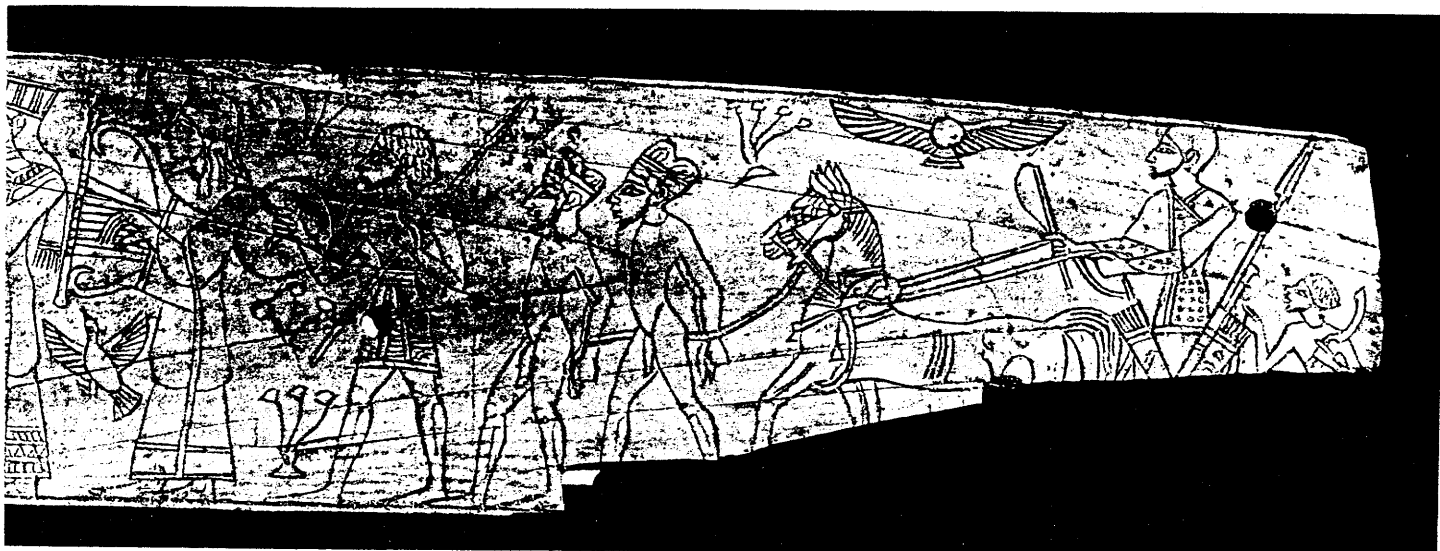


by two women; closest to him, the queen presents him a lotus blossom and a towel; behind her is a musician strumming a nine-stringed lyre. Behind the throne are two attendants serving drinks from a large tureen, above which, apparently on a shelf or table, are two rhytons, drinking cups with animal heads, one a lion and the other a gazelle. Three birds are whimsically placed in this scene, one beneath the throne and two in the air before and behind it.

The scenes may present a narrative sequence: The king returns victorious from battle and then celebrates the victory. This ivory probably dates to the late 13th century B.C.E., when Megiddo was under Egyptian control.

The Megiddo ivory portrays the luxury of Canaanite royal courts—not very different from life in Solomon's court in Jerusalem. The royal throne in the ivory is often cited as a parallel to the throne of Yahweh in the Solomonic Temple (see 1 Kings 6:23-28 and Exodus 25:17-22).†

† See two articles in *BAR*, January/February 1994: Israel Finkelstein and David Ussishkin, "Back to Megiddo," and Graham I. Davies, "King Solomon's Stables—Still at Megiddo?"



Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (7 of 12)

### FERTILITY GODDESS PENDANT

Ras Shamra, Syria (ancient Ugarit)

14th or 13th century B.C.E.

gold, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches long



5

Like many significant discoveries, ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra in Syria) was found not by professional archaeologists but by a sharp-eyed local resident. In 1928, a farmer plowing his field accidentally opened a tomb; a year later, French archaeologists led by Claude F.A. Schaeffer began excavations on a nearby mound called Ras Shamra (Cape Fennel), and within a few weeks found the first of thousands of inscribed clay tablets that would reveal much about the history of the western Levant, including the religion and culture of the Canaanites in the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 B.C.E.).

Among the languages on the tablets was a dialect of Northwest Semitic, known as Ugaritic and closely related to Hebrew and Phoenician. This linguistic kinship points to deeper connections among Near Eastern peoples. The ancient inhabitants of the modern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel shared a culture that was continuous in time and space. There were, to be sure, local differences, but what the discoveries from Ugarit and other sites show is that the commonalities, as between Canaanites and Israelites, were pervasive, so that many features of Biblical Israel that were once thought unique now prove to be variations of underlying Canaanite traditions.\*

This gold pendant (right) was found in a princess's tomb in Minet el-Beida, Ugarit's port city. It resembles the many thousands of nude goddesses in diverse forms and media found throughout the Levant.\*\* The pendant depicts a female figure facing the viewer and standing on a lion. Her hair is in the "Hathor" style (from the conventional depiction of the Egyptian goddess). In each hand she holds an ibex; two snakes crossed behind her waist extend downward on either side. The background is a stylized starry sky.

Inscribed Egyptian examples of the

\*See Michael D. Coogan, "Canaanites: Who Were They and Where Did They Live?" *Bible Review*, June 1993.

\*\*See Oded Borowski, "Not All That Glitters Is Gold—But Sometimes It Is," *BAR*, November/December 1981.

same goddess identify her as Qudshu ("Holiness"). This deity was worshipped under various names (Ashtart, Anat) in different places and at different times. She was the principal goddess of the Canaanites, and probably of the Israelites as well.

One element of popular religion in ancient Israel is the worship of a goddess known in the first millennium as Asherah. As with her manifestations elsewhere, she is the consort or wife of the chief deity—in Israel's case, Yahweh. She is known not only from archaeological discoveries, such as inscriptions from Kuntillet Ajrud in the northern Sinai, but also from the prophets: Jeremiah (7:18 and 44:17-19) calls her the "queen of heaven," which may explain the starry background of the pendant. There are traces of the goddess elsewhere in the

Bible and the Apocrypha, notably in the figure of Wisdom, who is variously described as Yahweh's partner in creation (Proverbs 8:15-16; Wisdom of Solomon 8:1), a member of his council (Sirach 24:2), and even his lover (Wisdom of Solomon 8:3; Proverbs 8:30).†

Discoveries such as this pendant remind us that Israel was very much a part of the Levant, rather than a separate entity. As Ezekiel put it, "By origin and birth you are of the land of the Canaanites" (Ezekiel 16:3).

† See the following articles in *BAR*: J. Glen Taylor, "Was Yahweh Worshipped as the Sun?" May/June 1994; Ruth Hestrin, "Understanding Asherah—Exploring Semitic Iconography," September/October 1991; Andre Lemaire, "Who or What Was Yahweh's Asherah?" November/December 1984; and Ze'ev Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort?" March/April 1979.

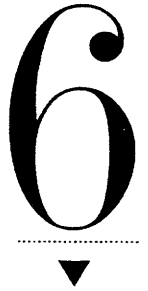
Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (8 of 12)

**GIBEON POOL**

6 miles north of Jerusalem

11th century B.C.E.

37 feet in diameter, 82 feet deep



In 1833, the American geographer and Bible scholar Edward Robinson recognized that the Palestinian village of el-Jib—located where the Bible suggests ancient Gibeon stood—preserved its name. Though not all scholars agreed, James B. Pritchard's excavations (1956-1962) settled the matter by finding 31 jar handles inscribed with the Hebrew word *gb'n* (Gibeon) in a winery at the site. In the late Iron Age (1200-586 B.C.E.), Gibeon was an important producer and exporter of wines that bore its name on the ancient equivalent of a label.

Among Pritchard's other discoveries was a complex water system. In the ancient Levant, the lack of rainfall in the summer months required large settlements to make special provisions to procure water. Often there were springs at the bases of the hills on which the ancient cities were built; in other cases, cities arose on sites with relatively high water tables, with the inhabitants sometimes devising elaborate methods to gain access from within the city walls to these sources of water—as was done at Gezer, Hazor, Megiddo and Jerusalem.\*

At Gibeon, Pritchard found two separate water systems (see section drawing, below right). The first system, shaded light blue, consists of two connected tunnels. One tunnel slopes down from just inside the city wall to a water chamber outside of the city at the base of the hill on which the city was built. This chamber was filled by a spring located under the hill, almost directly beneath the entrance to the sloping tunnel. Another, feeder tunnel was built by Gibeonite engineers to enhance the flow of water from the spring to the chamber.

The second system (shaded light green in the section drawing, and shown in the top photo) consists of a large, round shaft 37 feet in diameter. This shaft, located near the entrance to the sloping tunnel of the first system, was cut into the

limestone bedrock to a depth of over 82 feet. Also cut into the limestone are a staircase and railing, which wind down to a level floor about halfway to the bottom of the shaft. From there, the stairs drop straight down another 45 feet—to the level of the water table.

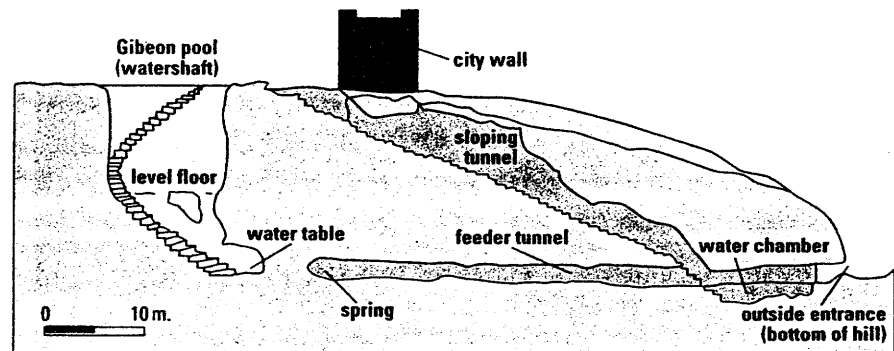
There is considerable disagreement among scholars about the dating of the Gibeon water systems: Was the shaft built before the sloping tunnel?

Were the two phases of the shaft—one leading down to the level floor, and the other dropping to the water table at the bottom of the shaft—a single project? And when were the two systems built?

The Bible may give some answers. References to the "pool of Gibeon" in 2 Samuel 2:13 and Jeremiah 41:12 suggest that the larger circular shaft may have been in use as early as the 11th century B.C.E.



RICHARD T. NOWITZ



\*See Dan Cole, "How Water Tunnels Worked," *BAR*, November/December 1982.

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (9 of 12)

## BEERSHEBA ALTAR

near Beer-Sheva, southern Israel

8th century B.C.E.

sandstone cube, 63 inches tall, wide and long



In Biblical tradition, Beersheba is the southern limit of ancient Israel ("from Dan to Beersheba"). Beersheba is mentioned in the ancestral narratives of Genesis, where it is associated with Abraham, Hagar, Isaac and Jacob; in King Josiah's religious reform of the late seventh century B.C.E.; and, in passing, in Amos (5:5 and 8:14). The site of Tell es-Seba' appears to preserve the ancient name (Beersheba means "well of the oath" [Genesis 21:31], "well of the seven" [Genesis 21:28-30] or "well of abundance" [Genesis 26:32-33]), and was the focus of eight seasons of extensive excavation by Yohanan Aharoni starting in 1969.\* Not all scholars, however, accept this identification of Biblical Beersheba

\*See Anson F. Rainey, "Yohanan Aharoni: The Man and His Work," *BAR*, December 1976.

with Tell es-Seba' (4 miles east of modern Beer-Sheva), in part because there is no evidence that the site was occupied between the fourth millennium B.C.E. and the 12th century B.C.E.\*\*

Among the most dramatic discoveries at the site were several large, carefully dressed stones found incorporated into the walls and fill under a rampart dating to the late eighth century B.C.E. When gathered together, these stones formed a cubical altar (below) with four tapered projections or "horns" (see, for example, Exodus 29:12; 1 Kings 1:51, 2:28). Though horned altars have been found elsewhere in Israel, this one, when reconstructed, was remarkably large: roughly 63 inches

\*\*See Volkmar Fritz, "Where is David's Ziklag?" *BAR*, May/June 1993.

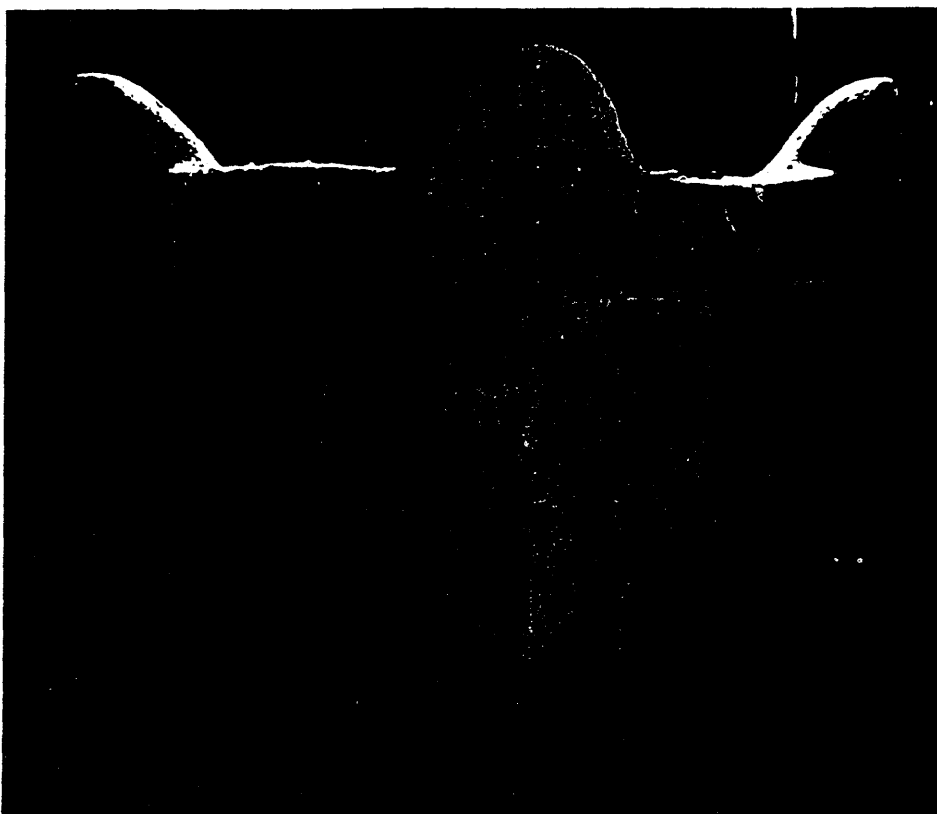
high by 63 inches wide by 63 inches long (though stones found later suggest the length may have been closer to nine feet).

Contrary to Biblical law (Exodus 20:25), the altar was built of hewn stones and had a serpent incised on one of its blocks. Sacrifices had apparently been burnt on the altar, for the top stones were blackened. The Beersheba altar, then, provides rare evidence of religious rituals carried out in a Judahite city other than Jerusalem.

Considerable controversy has arisen over the location of the altar within the city, since its stones were dismantled long ago. Aharoni proposed that a temple, analogous to the one he had found earlier at Arad, once stood at Beersheba and was completely obliterated during King Hezekiah's religious reform in the late eighth century B.C.E. and by subsequent building. Shortly after Aharoni's death in 1975, Yigael Yadin proposed an equally hypothetical reconstruction—that the altar was located in a *bamah*, a raised place where priests burned sacrifices, inside the city gate.† Yadin's view was attacked by Aharoni's students and colleagues, in one of the bitterest rivalries in the history of Israeli archaeology. Given the lack of stratigraphic evidence, neither proposal can be proven, but there is a growing consensus that Aharoni's association of the dismantling of the altar with Hezekiah's reform is correct. There was later some minor rebuilding of the city prior to its destruction by the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E.

The Beersheba altar reminds us how little we know. Although archaeology often sheds light on Biblical traditions, almost every excavation raises more stratigraphic, interpretive and historical questions than it answers.

† See Hershel Shanks, "Yadin Finds a Bama at Beer-Sheva," *BAR*, March 1977. See also Beth Alpert Nakhai, "What's a Bama? How Sacred Space Functioned in Ancient Israel," *BAR*, May/June 1994.



ZEV RADOVAN

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (10 of 12)**SILVER SCROLL AMULET****Ketef Hinnom, near Jerusalem****7th century B.C.E.****silver, 1½ inches by ½ inch**

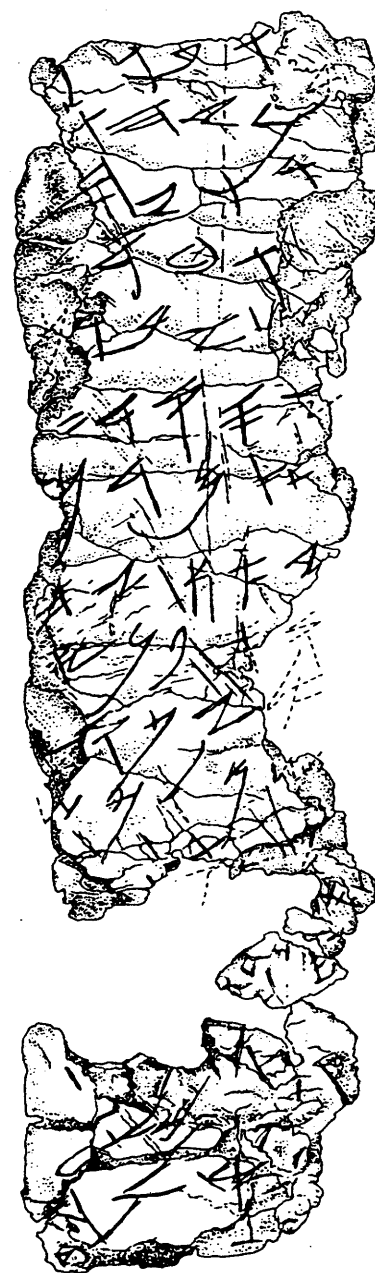
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On an escarpment known as Ketef Hinnom overlooking the Hinnom Valley (Gehenna) opposite Mt. Zion, southwest of the Old City of Jerusalem, Gabriel Barkay excavated seven burial caves from the late seventh century B.C.E., the last days of the Davidic monarchy. Like other ancient cemeteries, this one was located outside the inhabited city because of the association between death and ritual impurity.

In design, these family tombs, cut into the limestone cliff, are typical of the period. Most consist of a single chamber with burial benches on three sides. In one cave, the benches have headrests, and in four caves there are spaces under the benches for burial goods and offerings, as well as for the bones of the deceased once the flesh decomposed. Most of the caves had been plundered or destroyed, but in Cave 4, exposed in 1979, the repository was found undisturbed. It contained the bones of at least 95 people, along with over 250 complete pottery vessels from the late seventh to the fifth centuries B.C.E.—attesting to a continuity of use after the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E.—and some from the first century B.C.E. Among other finds in the repository were over 40 arrowheads, incised pieces of bone and ivory, and over 100 pieces of gold and silver jewelry.

The most significant objects in the repository of Cave 4 were two small cylindrical scrolls of pure silver (the smaller scroll, with a drawing, is shown above).<sup>\*</sup> When rolled, these scrolls have a hole running lengthwise through the center, allowing them to be hung around the neck as amulets. The larger one measures 4 inches by 1 inch, and the smaller one only 1.5 by .5 inches, when unrolled: Inside, they are both inscribed with about 18 lines of writing, including the following:

<sup>\*</sup>See Gabriel Barkay, "The Divine Name Found in Jerusalem," *BAR*, March/April 1983; see also Barkay, "The Priestly Benediction on Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem," in *Tel Aviv* 19 (1992).



"May Yahweh bless and keep you;  
May Yahweh cause his face to  
shine upon you and grant you  
peace."

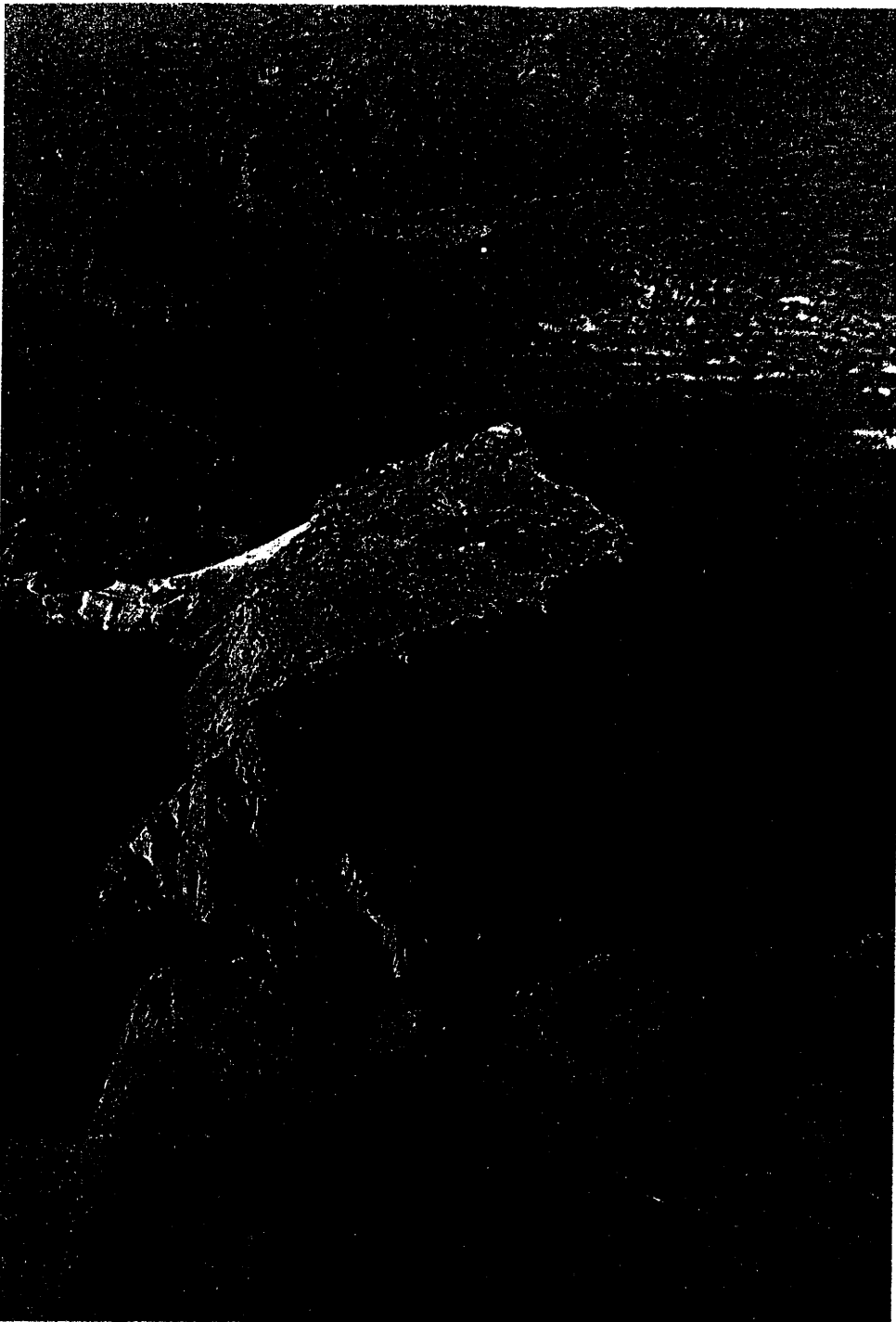
These familiar words are also found in the "Priestly Blessing" in Numbers 6:24-26, still used today by Jewish parents to bless their children on the Sabbath and in synagogue ritual.

The scrolls from Ketef Hinnom are the earliest inscriptions containing a text also found in the Bible. The text is not necessarily a quotation from the Bible; it is probably a popular blessing that was later incorporated into the Bible in a somewhat expanded form. But the two amulets

are evidence of the antiquity of traditions preserved in the Bible; it also provides indirect evidence, as do the Dead Sea Scrolls and other manuscripts from the Second Temple period, of the accuracy of scribes who for centuries copied sacred texts

It is tempting to speculate on why these amulets were included among burial goods. They may simply have been prized possessions of the deceased; or, as some have suggested, they may have been placed in the tomb as a plea for divine protection of the deceased in the afterlife. In any case, the amulets' significance is inversely proportionate to their size, for they are our earliest witnesses to the text of the Bible.

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (11 of 12)



GARO NALBANDIAN

## MASADA

southwest shore of the Dead Sea

2nd century B.C.E.

4593 feet in circumference

built on three terraces at the northern tip of the cliff. Masada was one of several citadels Herod built as refuges from his potential enemies; if need arose, he could live in luxury approximating that of his capital in Jerusalem.

During the First Jewish Revolt, Masada was the last stronghold of Jewish rebels fighting against Rome, often called the "Zealots." Roman camps surrounding the site, and the massive earthen ramp built by the Romans to attack the fortress's western wall, have been uncovered by excavators. The defenders built one of the earliest known synagogues, and also had a small library containing Biblical and non-Biblical manuscripts, including the best preserved early text of part of the apocryphal Hebrew Book of Ben Sirach. Among other intriguing finds at the site were eleven ostraca (pieces of pottery) inscribed with names—including the name of "Ben Yair," perhaps Eleazar Ben Yair, the leader of the defenders. According to Josephus, Ben Yair and ten others killed their compatriots, their families and themselves once defeat was inevitable, preferring death to capture by the Romans. Josephus relates that the ten were chosen by lot, and Yadin tentatively proposed that this ostrakon was in fact one of the lots.\*

Masada has become a symbol of Israeli independence; it also illustrates the interplay of archaeology and history with nationalism and politics that has long characterized the Middle East.

\* See Ehud Netzer, "The Last Days and Hours at Masada," *BAR*, November/December 1991; and Jodi Magness, "Masada—Arms and the Man," *BAR*, July/August 1992.

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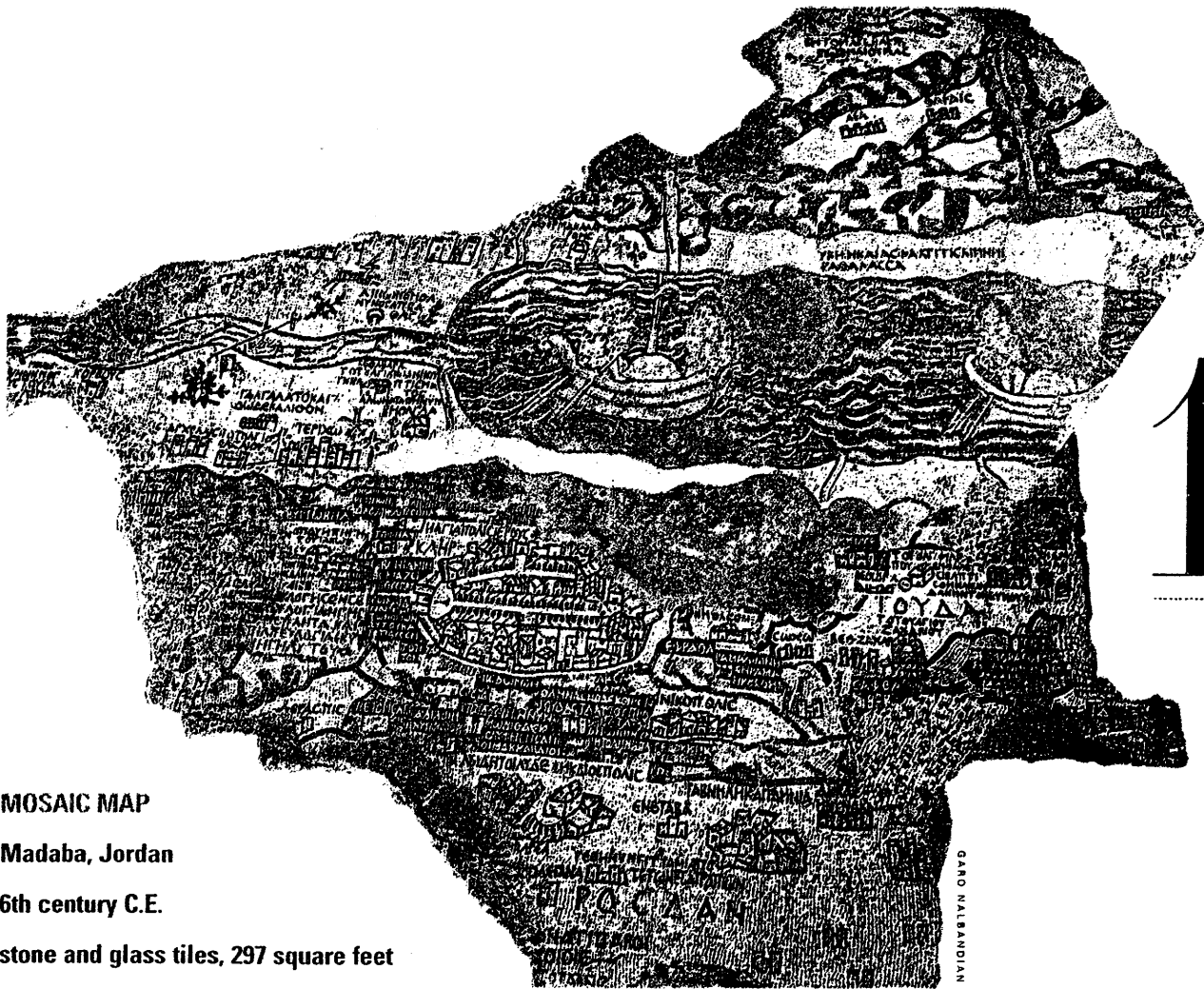
Excavations at Masada provide us with a précis, as it were, of the history of Roman Palestine from the Maccabees in the second century B.C.E. to the Byzantine period in the sixth century C.E. Led by Yigael Yadin between 1963 and 1965, these excavations give especially important information about the reign of Herod the Great (40-4 B.C.E.) and the First Jewish Revolt (66-73 C.E.).

Isolated in the rugged wilderness along the western shore of the Dead Sea, Masada was identified in 1838 by Edward Robinson and Eli Smith. Yadin excavated there mostly during two winters, the best season for

working along the Dead Sea, where summer temperatures are brutally hot. Yadin made use of thousands of volunteers from around the world and from the Israeli army, which set a pattern for subsequent excavations in Israel and, recently, elsewhere in the Middle East as well.

Herod the Great gave the site most of its distinctive features: the case-mate (double) wall surrounding the crest of the hill, an elaborate system for diverting and storing runoff from winter rains, a storehouse complex covering about 2,200 square yards, a large bathhouse of Roman design, and a sumptuously decorated villa

Michael D. Coogan, "10 Great Finds," *BAR* 21 (May/June 1995): 36-47 (12 of 12)



## MOSAIC MAP

Madaba, Jordan

6th century C.E.

stone and glass tiles, 297 square feet

The oldest surviving map of the Holy Land, this mosaic is preserved on the floor of a sixth-century church at Madaba in Jordan, about 18 miles south of Amman. The map was discovered in December 1884 during the construction of a modern church in the village, and was restored in 1965 by Herbert Donner.\*

What survives of the map covers about 33 square yards of the nave of the ancient church. It is estimated, however, that originally it was more than three times as large. Composed of more than two million stone cubes (*tesserae*) and pieces of glass in a variety of colors, the map depicts the Holy Land as known by pilgrims and scholars in late antiquity—from Tyre in Lebanon to the Nile Delta, and from the Mediterranean to the Jordanian desert.

Numerous sites are identified in

\* Donner's *The Mosaic Map of Madaba: An Introductory Guide* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992) describes the map and summarizes its significance. Michael Avi-Yonah's *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1954) is still valuable.

Greek on the map. Just to the north of Jerusalem is a text taken from Deuteronomy 33:12: "Benjamin, God shields him and dwells in between his mountains." The map's orientation is to the east, rather than to the north as in most modern cartography: This was ancient Semitic practice (the Hebrew word for east, *qedem*, literally means "what is in front"). Early Christian churches were also oriented to the east. Empty spaces on the map are filled with flora and fauna, often designed in charming detail. In the Jordan River, fish are swimming; and just east of the river, a lion chases a gazelle.

Jerusalem lies at the center of the map because it was thought to be the center of the world (see Ezekiel 5:5, 38:12). As the focal point of the map, Jerusalem is disproportionately large, measuring about 3 feet by 2 feet. It is depicted as a walled city fortified by towers. At the north (or left) side of the city is the Damascus Gate, just inside of which is a large open plaza with a column in its center seen as if lying on its side; the modern Arabic name for the Damascus Gate, *Bab el-'Amud* ("the gate of the pillar") recalls

this feature. Running south (left to right) from the Damascus Gate through the center of the city is the ancient *cardo maximus*, a colonnaded street that leads to Zion Gate. At the far right in the oval of Jerusalem, just inside Zion Gate, is the "Nea" church with its peaked roof and double door, the "new" church of the mother of God, consecrated by the emperor Justinian in 542—one piece of evidence for the map's date. At the center of the city, on the west side of the *cardo* (at the bottom of Jerusalem) is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the traditional site of the death and burial of Jesus. The church appears upside down. It is entered by steps from the *cardo*; a roof covers the church, and a golden dome (appearing inverted) sits above the tomb itself.

Many of the details of the ancient city's topography in the Byzantine period as shown in the map were confirmed by the excavations of the late Nahman Avigad in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City. Avigad exposed nearly 220 yards of the *cardo*, as well as the extensive foundations of the Nea church.



## Recent Jerusalem Tomb Discoveries

THE STRAITS TIMES, SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1992

### Family tomb of priest who delivered Jesus to the Romans found

In John 11:49-50: "Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people and that the whole nation perish not."

Like many such discoveries, this one came by accident, when workers widening a road in Jerusalem's Peace Forest in 1990 stumbled across an unusually large burial site.

Researchers have taken until now to assure themselves, through the writings on the walls of the tomb and artifacts found with the bones, that the remains are indeed those of the priestly family.

"I can hardly imagine a more significant discovery from that period," said Dr. Bruce Chilton, a professor of religion at Bard College and an expert on early Christianity and Judaism, who has written widely on Calaphas.

"The type of writing, the method of burial, the names used, their location — all those things will bring to light important historical information about the era in which Jesus lived.

"Such a pristine site is incredibly rare." — NYT.

NEW YORK — Israeli archaeologists have discovered the family tomb of Calaphas, the Jewish High Priest who presided at the trial of Jesus and delivered him to the Romans to be crucified.

Buried in an ancient cave on the outskirts of Jerusalem, the family's bones were sealed in ornate and elaborately-carved ossuaries, ceremonial boxes used widely by the Jews of the late first century.

Archaeologists say no comparable evidence exists for the remains of any other such major figure mentioned in the New Testament.

And after 2,000 years, the presence of Calaphas' bones in the tomb cannot be verified finally either.

But the age of the bones, the inscriptions on the ossuaries and the artifacts that surround them all point directly towards his influential family.

One of history's most reviled and enigmatic men, Calaphas has often been portrayed by historians as malevolent, mad for power and blindly eager to please Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor.

The Gospel describes Calaphas' condemnation of Jesus

A10/ The Sun FRIDAY, November 17, 1995  
Yukon, California, USA

## WORLD

### Maccabean burial tombs discovered in Israel

By HILARY APPELMAN  
The Associated Press

MACCABIM, Israel — A tractor leveling ground for a new highway broke open a 2,000-year-old burial cave believed used by the Maccabees, a tribe of Jewish warriors whose revolt is celebrated in the festival of Hanukkah.

Excited archaeologists showed off their dusty find Thursday — the first physical evidence of the Maccabees, known until now only from ancient Jewish writings.

"This is the first time that archaeologists have evidence that there really was this family," said site director Shimon Riklin, as workers in hard hats cleared away sand that has covered the cave for nearly two millennia.

The cave was discovered Monday by workers building a highway 19 miles northwest of Jerusalem. It includes an entrance courtyard and three small burial chambers built of chalk blocks, in which archaeologists found 24 stone boxes, or ossuaries, containing the bones of the dead.

The ossuaries are inscribed in

Hebrew with Jewish names, Riklin said. The inscription on one is missing several letters, but is believed to read "Hasmonean," another name for the clan.

"This is the first time the word Hasmonean has been found on archaeological evidence," Riklin said. Coins and oil lamps were also found in the cave, helping to establish its age.

Riklin said the cave may contain the remains of three generations of Hasmoneans, perhaps even its most famous members, Judah Maccabee and his brothers.

The Maccabees lived in what is now central Israel. In the second century B.C. they rebelled against Syria's King Antiochus IV, who had stripped the Temple in Jerusalem and persecuted the Jews. Led by Judah, they conquered Jerusalem and reconsecrated the Temple in 165 B.C., a feat celebrated by the Jewish Hanukkah festival, which begins Dec. 17 this year.

The successful rebellion, which led to the establishment of an autonomous Jewish state, assured the continued existence of Judaism and brought about a re-



AP WIREPHOTO

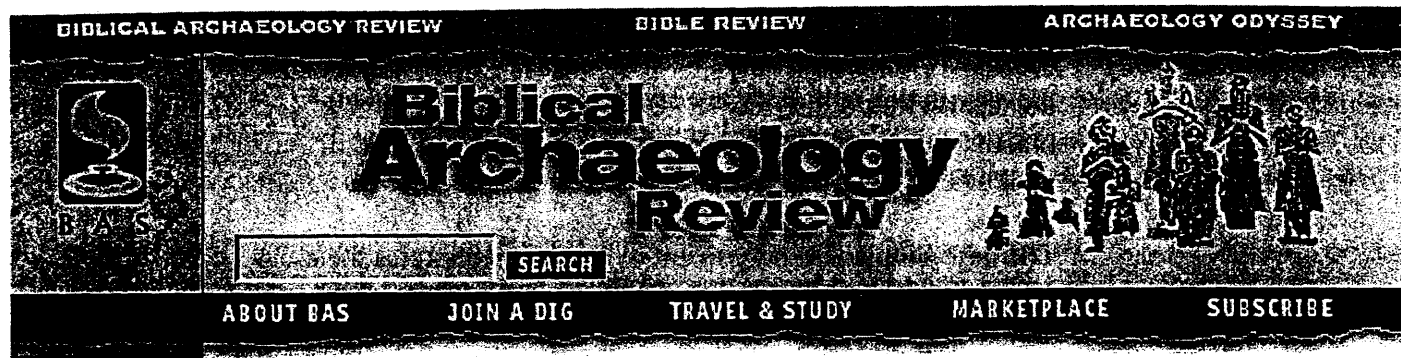
Archaeologists search a burial cave of the Maccabees.

vival of Jewish political and religious life.

The Maccabean era ended in 37 B.C., when the tribe was defeated by the Romans. Their exploits are chronicled in the Talmud, a collection of Jewish legal commentary, and in accounts by

the first-century Jewish historian Flavius Josephus.





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Evidence Of Jesus Written In Stone

Ossuary Of Jesus' Brother Backs Up Biblical Accounts

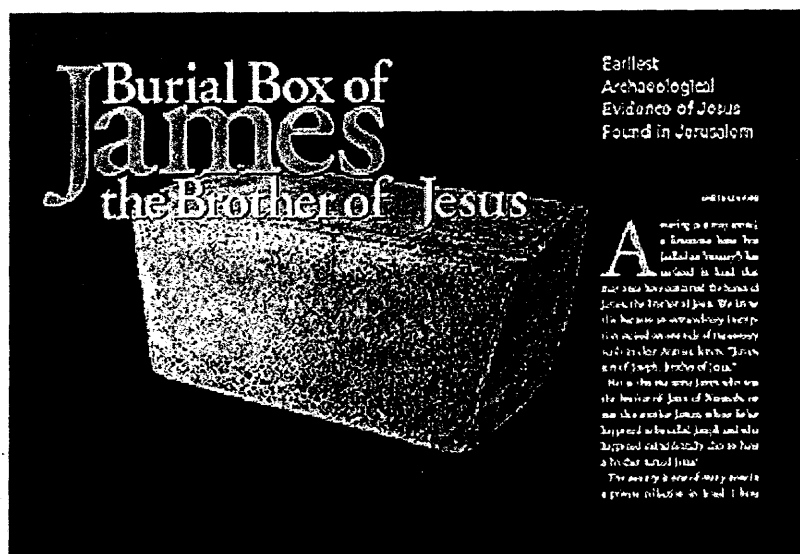


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After nearly 2,000 years, historical evidence for the existence of Jesus has come to light literally written in stone. An inscription has been found on an ancient bone box, called an ossuary, that reads “James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus.” This container provides the only New Testament-era mention of the central figure of Christianity and is the first-ever archaeological discovery to corroborate Biblical references to Jesus.

The Aramaic words etched on the box’s side show a cursive form of writing used only from about 10 to 70 A.D., according to noted paleographer André Lemaire of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (popularly known as the Sorbonne University) in Paris, who verified the inscription’s authenticity. The ossuary has been dated to approximately 63 A.D. Lemaire details his full investigation in the November/December 2002 issue of Biblical Archaeology Review, the leading popular publication in its field.

Ancient inscriptions are typically found on royal monuments or on lavish tombs, commemorating rulers and other official figures. But Jesus, who was raised by a carpenter, was a man of the people, so finding documentation of his family is doubly unexpected.

In the first century A.D., Jews followed the custom of transferring the bones of their deceased from burial caves to ossuaries. The practice was largely abandoned after the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 A.D. No one knows for certain why the practice started or stopped, but it provides a rare period of self-documentation in which commoners as well as leaders left their names carved in stone.

The new find is also significant in that it corroborates the existence of Joseph, Jesus' father, and James, Jesus' brother and a leader of the early Christian church in Jerusalem. The family relationships contained on the new find helped experts ascertain that the inscription very likely refers to the Biblical James, brother of Jesus (see, for example, Matthew 13:55-56 and Galatians 1:18-19). Although all three names were common in ancient times, the statistical probability of their appearing in that combination is extremely slim. In addition, the mention of a brother is unusual--indicating that this Jesus must have been a well-known figure.

Laboratory tests performed by the Geological Survey of Israel confirm that the box's limestone comes from the Jerusalem area. The patina--a thin sheen or covering that forms on stone and other materials over time--has the cauliflower-type shape known to develop in a cave environment; more importantly, it shows no trace of modern elements.

The 20-inch-long box resides in a private collection in Israel. Like many ossuaries obtained on the antiquities market, it is empty. Its history prior to its current ownership is not known.

The container is one of very few ancient artifacts mentioning New Testament figures. One such object is the ossuary of Caiaphas, the high priest who turned Jesus over to the Romans, according to the Biblical account. Caiaphas's tomb was uncovered in 1990. Also, some 40 years ago, archaeologists discovered an inscription on a monument that mentions Pontius Pilate.

"The James ossuary may be the most important find in the history of New Testament archaeology," says Hershel Shanks, editor of *Biblical Archaeology Review*. "It has implications not just for scholarship, but for the world's understanding of the Bible."

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## Jerusalem Street & Caesarea Police Finds

The San Bernardino County Sun  
WEDNESDAY, August 28, 1996

# Old Jerusalem street unveiled

■ Excavation reveals money-changers' shops and boulders from ruined temple.

By **KARIN LAUB**  
The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — A moment frozen in time: Roman soldiers topple the chariot-sized limestone blocks of the Jewish Temple, burying the shops that line Jerusalem's main street.

Digging along the western side of the Temple complex two millennia later, archaeologists have uncovered that scene on a 70-yard stretch of the road that served as Jerusalem's main street in the time of Jesus.

The heap of chiseled beige boulders, the stone-walled shops no bigger than ticket booths, the ancient coins that could have been used by moneychangers — all were unveiled Tuesday in an archeological park.

"This is the drama here. When you see these stones, you can imagine them being rolled down from the Temple Mount," said Israeli archaeologist Ronny Reich, director of the dig.

The dozen stalls excavated so far have yielded hundreds of small bronze coins, called prutot,

including two found Tuesday by workers dusting the site in preparation for the opening ceremony.

Reich and his colleague, Jacob Billig, said some stalls may have been used by moneychangers who exchanged pilgrims' foreign currency for local silver shekels. Pious Jews were required to pay half a silver shekel a year in "temple tax."

But Billig said the episode of Jesus overturning the tables of moneychangers — described in the gospels of Mark, Matthew and John — probably took place inside the Jewish Temple, not outside its walls.

"Down here, money changing was legitimate because it was a center for shopping," Billig said, standing on the ancient street and looking up at the Western Wall, the only remaining portion of the Temple complex.

The excavation of the ancient street began about two years ago and was partially funded by William Davidson, a Detroit businessman. The site is at the southwest corner of the Temple Mount — south of the plaza used by Jews to pray before the Wall.

Archaeologists sifted through six yards of soil to reach the street, which was paved with

boulders.

Heaps of limestone blocks — testament to the temple's destruction in A.D. 70 — covered the whole 70-yard stretch. Archaeologists left one pile in place to illustrate the havoc wreaked by Rome's 10th Legion, and in the other areas removed the blocks with cranes to reveal the shops underneath.

At the time of Jesus, Jerusalem was a major metropolis with a population of about 100,000, said Ian Stern, director of Jerusalem's Archaeological Seminars.

During major Jewish holidays, tens of thousands of pilgrims flocked to the temple, easily doubling the city's population, he said.

The Second Temple, rebuilt by King Herod a few years before the birth of Jesus, was one of the largest holy places of its time. The builders used 10,000 workers and hundreds of carts to transport and lift stones weighing dozens of tons.

The park displays reconstructions of two devices probably used by Herod's workers. Carpenters from Israel's Antiquities Authority used the manuscripts of Roman master builder Vitruvius to reconstruct the contraptions.

## Israeli archaeologists find Roman secret police office

The Associated Press Sept 97

JERUSALEM — Israeli archaeologists excavating Caesarea, the Roman seat of government in the Holy Land, have found offices probably used by the Romans' secret police, the director of the dig said Tuesday.

One recently uncovered room had a floor mosaic with the Latin inscription "Adiviorb(us) Offici Custodiar," translated as "I came to this office — I shall be secure."

The trial of the Apostle Paul by the Roman governor likely took place nearby, archaeologist

Yosef Porath of the Israel Antiquities Authority said.

"St. Paul was tried at Caesarea, but Caesarea is a huge place. Now we know the location of the campus of the governor, and it is logical that he was tried on this campus," he told The Associated Press.

Excavations at the 15,000-square-yard complex near the Mediterranean resort of Caesarea began in 1974.

Porath said about half the area has now been uncovered.



S08

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Richard Miles Seefried "The Use of Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament in Support of Protestant Biblical Interpretation" Th.D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1979.

TABLE 6  
SUMMARY OF NUMBERS AND FREQUENCIES OF OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS  
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1 Genesis	2	3		1	6	8	3		4	1			23
2 Exodus	7	4	3	1	9	4	1	4	2				33
3 Leviticus	4	1	2			3		1					13
4 Numbers	1	1				3	1						3
5 Deuteronomy	9	5	9		4	5	4	1	2	1			40
6 1 Samuel			1					1					1
7 2 Samuel					1	2							1
8 1 Kings			1										1
9 2 Kings													1
10 Job							1						3
11 Psalms	15	10	12	8	12	15	4	2	1	4	1	1	84
12 Proverbs						2		2		1			5
13 Isaiah	13	6	11	6	5	17	6	2	2	4	1	1	74
14 Jeremiah	3	2	1			1	1	1					9
15 Ezekiel													1
16 Daniel	3	2	2			2	1						7
17 Hosea	3	1	1										7
18 Joel					1		1						3
19 Amos					2	1							2
20 Jonah	1												1
21 Micah	2		1	1									4
22 Habakkuk					1	1			1				3
23 Haggai	4	1	2	2						1			8
24 Zechariah	1	1											5
25 Malachi													
Totals	68	37	46	19	41	63	22	15	12	12	2	2	339

TABLE 6 - Continued

OT BOOKS	NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS											Total	Grand Total	
	1 Thess.	2 Thess.	1 Tim.	2 Tim.	Titus	Heb.	James	1 Pet.	2 Pet.	Jude	Rev.			
1 Genesis						11	3	1					16	44
2 Exodus						4	1	1					7	40
3 Leviticus						3	1	1					5	18
4 Numbers				1		1							2	5
5 Deuteronomy			2			7							9	49
6 1 Samuel						1							1	1
7 2 Samuel													1	2
8 1 Kings													3	3
9 2 Kings													1	1
10 Job						<del>25</del>							25	28
11 Psalms				1	1	257	1	4	2		1		35	<del>84</del> 119
12 Proverbs						3	1	3	1		1		9	14
13 Isaiah	1					9	3	7	2		1		26	100
14 Jeremiah						2							2	11
15 Ezekiel					1								1	2
16 Daniel											3		3	10
17 Hosea								1			1		2	9
18 Joel											1		1	3
19 Amos											1		2	3
20 Jonah													2	2
21 Micah													1	1
22 Habakkuk													4	4
23 Haggai						1							1	1
24 Zechariah						1						1	2	10
25 Malachi											1		2	5
Totals	1	3	2	2	2	68	10	18	6	1	9		122	461

I have edited the chart above where Hebrews quotes Psalms since the preceding study (notes, 225-26) notes that Hebrews quotes Psalms 41 times. Furthermore, Hebrews never quotes the book of Job.



Horne, Thomas H. An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Philadelphia: J. Whetham & Son, 1841.

Sect. I. § 2.]

CLASSIFICATION OF QUOTATIONS.

§ 2. CLASSIFICATION OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures in the New Testament may be arranged under the nine following classes: viz. I. Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew;—II. Those which agree nearly with the Hebrew;—III. Quotations, agreeing with the Hebrew in sense, but not in words;—IV. Such as give the general sense;—V. Quotations, which are taken from several passages of Scripture;—VI. Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint;—VII. Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different reading in the Hebrew, or that the apostles understood the words in a sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons;—VIII. Passages, in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted;—and, IX. Passages which are not properly citations, but mere references or allusions.

I. Quotations exactly agreeing with the Hebrew.

Table with 3 columns: No., Chap. and Verse of O. T., Chap. and Verse of N. T. Lists various biblical references such as Hos. xi. 1, Deut. viii. 3, etc., and their corresponding New Testament citations.

II. Quotations nearly agreeing with the Hebrew.

These correspond nearly with the Hebrew, though not so literally as those in the preceding class, to which they are almost equal in number: Thus,

Table with 3 columns: No., Chap. and Verse of O. T., Chap. and Verse of N. T. Lists references like Isa. vii. 14, Jer. xxxi. 15, etc., and their NT citations.

Table with 3 columns: No., Chap. and Verse of O. T., Chap. and Verse of N. T. Lists references like Deut. vi. 5, Zech. xiii. 7, etc., and their NT citations.

III. Quotations agreeing with the Hebrew in sense, but not in words.

Table with 3 columns: No., Chap. and Verse of O. T., Chap. and Verse of N. T. Lists references like Isa. xl. 3-5, Isa. xlii. 1-4, etc., and their NT citations.

IV. Quotations that give the general sense, but which abridge or add to it.

Table with 3 columns: No., Chap. and Verse of O. T., Chap. and Verse of N. T. Lists references like Psal. xxii. 6, Jer. xix. 9, etc., and their NT citations.

V. Quotations that are taken from several Passages of Scripture.

Sometimes there is such a change made in the quotation, that it is not easy to ascertain from what particular passage of the Old Testament it is taken. The instances of this description, however, in which the citation is made from several passages of Scripture, are very few. Dr. Randolph has mentioned only three, to which we have added two others.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
63.	(See Psalms) lxxxix. 20. and 1 Sam. xiii. 14.	Acts xiii. 22.
91.	Isa. xxviii. 16.	Rom. ix. 33.
95.	Isa. viii. 14.	Rom. xi. 8.
104.	Isa. xxix. 10. (and see Isa. vi. 9. and Ezek. xii. 2.)	Matt. xxi. 5.
22.	Zech. ix. 9. (and see Isa. lxi. 11.)	Acts i. 20.
49.	Psal. lxxix. 26.	
50.	Psal. cix. 8.	

To this head also we may perhaps refer the quotation, No. 5. p. 294. relative to the Messiah being called a Nazarene.

VI. Quotations differing from the Hebrew, but agreeing with the Septuagint.

18.	Isa. xxix. 13. compared with	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
52.	Psal. xvi. 8-11.	Acts ii. 25-28.
60.	Amos v. 25-27.	Acts vii. 42, 43.
65.	Isa. lv. 3.	Acts xiii. 34.
99.	Psal. xix. 5. (4. of English Version)	Rom. x. 18.
171.	Prov. iii. 34.	James iv.

VII. Quotations in which there is reason to suspect a different Reading in the Hebrew, or that the Apostles understood the Words in a Sense different from that expressed in our Lexicons.

2.	Micah v. 2. compared with	Matt. ii. 6.
14.	Mal. iii. 1.	Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
35.	Isa. lxi. 1, 2.	Luke iv. 18, 19.
62.	Isa. liii. 7, 8.	Acts viii. 32, 33.
66.	Hab. i. 5.	Acts xiii. 41.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 16, 17.
77.	Psal. x. 7.	Rom. iii. 14.
99.	Psal. xix. 5.	Rom. x. 18.
106.	Isa. lix. 20, 21.	Rom. xi. 26, 27.
107.	Deut. xxxii. 35.	Rom. xii. 19.
112.	Deut. xxxii. 42.	Rom. xv. 10.
117.	Isa. lxiv. 3.	1 Cor. ii. 9.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.	Heb. x. 37, 38.
174.	Isa. xxviii. 16.	1 Pet. ii. 6.

VIII. Passages in which the Hebrew seems to be corrupted.

2.	Micah v. 2. compared with	Matt. ii. 6.
11.	Mal. iii. 1.	Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
52.	Psal. xvi. 8-11.	Acts ii. 25-28.
68.	Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 16, 17.
161.	Psal. xi. 7-9.	Heb. x. 5-7.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.	Heb. x. 37, 38.

IX. Passages which are not properly Citations, but mere References or Allusions.

39.	Isa. xii. 3. alluded to in	John vii. 38.
97.	Deut. xxx. 12-14.	Rom. x. 6-8.
123.	Deut. xxxii. 17.	1 Cor. x. 20.
130.	Hos. xiii. 14.	1 Cor. xv. 55.
138.	Deut. xix. 15.	2 Cor. xiii. 1.
169.	Hos. xiv. 3.	Heb. xiii. 15.

To this class also we may most probably refer the allusions in 2 Cor. vi. 18. See p. 306. and note.

§ 3. CLASSIFICATION OF THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

ALTHOUGH the sacred authors of the New Testament have in many instances quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures, as the preceding tables have shown; yet it is equally certain that they have very frequently made their citations from the Greek version usually denominated the Septuagint, even where this translation from the Hebrew is inaccurate, but where the errors are of such a nature as not to weaken the proofs for which they were alleged. In fact, as the apostles wrote for the use of communities who were ignorant of Hebrew, it was necessary that they should refer to the Greek version, which was generally known and read. Had they given a new and more accurate translation according to the Hebrew, citing as they often did from memory, the reader would not have known what passage they intended to quote: and if, on the other

hand, while they retained the words of the Septuagint, they had taken notice of each inaccuracy, they would have diverted the reader's attention from the main object to the consideration of trifles. It must, however, be remarked, that the writers of the New Testament appear to have been so careful to give the true sense of the Old Testament, that they forsook the Septuagint version, whenever it did not give that sense, so far as they had occasion to cite it, and these citations often correspond with the present Hebrew text. The quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament may be classed under the five following heads:—I. Such as agree verbatim with the Septuagint, or only change the person, number, &c.;—II. Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some variation;—III. Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in sense, but not in words;—IV. Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly, or nearly, with the Hebrew;—and, V. Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other translation or paraphrase.

I. Quotations agreeing verbatim with the Septuagint, or only changing the Person, Number,

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
7.	Deut. viii. 3. agrees with	Matt. iv. 4. Luke iv. 4.
9.	Deut. vi. 16.	Matt. iv. 7.
13.	Hos. vi. 6.	Matt. ix. 13. xii. 17.
20.	Exod. xx. 12-16.	Matt. xix. 18, 19.
21.	Lev. xix. 18.	Matt. xix. 19. xxii. 39.
23.	Psal. viii. 2.	Matt. xxi. 16.
24.	Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.	Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
25.	Exod. iii. 6.	Matt. xxii. 32. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37.
27.	Psal. cx. 1.	Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42.
28.	Zech. xiii. 7.	Matt. xxvi. 31.
30.	Psal. xxi. 18. (xxii. 18. of English Bible)	Matt. xxvii. 35. John xix. 24.
36.	Psal. lxxviii. 9. (lxxix. 9. of English Bible)	John ii. 17.
40.	Psal. lxxxii. 6.	John x. 34.
42.	Isa. liii. 1.	John xii. 38.
50.	Psal. cix. 8.	Acts i. 20.
52.	Psal. xix. 8-11.	Acts ii. 25-29.
55.	Psal. ii. 1, 2.	Acts iv. 25, 26.
58.	Gen. ii. 1, 2.	Acts vii. 14.
64.	Psal. ii. 7.	Acts xiii. 33.
67.	Isa. xlii. 6.	Acts xiii. 47.
69.	Exod. xlii. 28.	Acts xiii. 5.
72.	Psal. li. 4.	Rom. iii. 4.
75.	Psal. v. 9.	Rom. iii. 13.
76.	Psal. cxxxix. 3. (cxl. 3. of English Bible)	Rom. iii. 13.
77.	Psal. x. 7.	Rom. iii. 14.
79.	Psal. xxxv. 1. (xxxvi. 1. of English Bible)	Rom. iii. 18.
80.	Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.	Rom. iv. 7, 8.
81.	Gen. xviii. 5.	Rom. iv. 17.
82.	Gen. xv. 5.	Rom. iv. 18.
83.	Psal. xlii. 22.	Rom. viii. 36.
84.	Gen. xxi. 12.	Rom. ix. 7.
85.	Gen. xxv. 3.	Rom. ix. 12.
87.	Mal. i. 2, 3.	Rom. ix. 13.
88.	Exod. xxxiii. 19.	Rom. ix. 15.
91.	Hos. i. 10.	Rom. ix. 26.
93.	Isa. i. 9.	Rom. ix. 29.
96.	Lev. xviii. 5.	Rom. x. 5.
99.	Psal. xix. 4.	Rom. x. 18.
100.	Deut. xxxii. 21.	Rom. x. 19.
101.	Isa. lxx. 1, 2.	Rom. x. 20, 21.
108.	Prov. xxv. 21, 22.	Rom. xii. 20.
110.	Psal. lxxix. 9.	Rom. xv. 3.
111.	Psal. lxxviii. 49.	Rom. xv. 9.
112.	Deut. xxxii. 43.	Rom. xv. 10.
113.	Psal. cxvii. 1.	Rom. xv. 11.
115.	Isa. lii. 15.	Rom. xv. 21.
121.	Deut. xxv. 4.	1 Cor. ix. 9.
122.	Exod. xxxii. 6.	1 Cor. x. 7.
124.	Psal. xxiv. 1.	1 Cor. x. 26.
126.	Psal. viii. 6.	1 Cor. xv. 27.
127.	Isa. xxii. 13.	1 Cor. xv. 32.
131.	Psal. cxvi. 10.	2 Cor. iv. 13.
132.	Isa. xlii. 8.	2 Cor. vi. 2.
137.	Psal. cxli. 9.	2 Cor. ix. 9.
142.	Isa. li. 7.	Gal. iv. 27.
146.	2 Sam. vii. 14.	Heb. i. 5.
147.	Deut. xxxii. 43.	Heb. i. 6.
148.	Psal. civ. 4.	Heb. i. 7.
149.	Psal. xiv. 6, 7.	Heb. i. 8, 9.
150.	Psal. cii. 25-27.	Heb. i. 10-12.
151.	Psal. viii. 4-6.	Heb. ii. 6-8.
156.	Gen. ii. 3.	Heb. iv. 4.
156.	Psal. cx. 4.	Heb. v. 6.
157.	Gen. xxii. 16, 17.	Heb. vi. 13, 14.
162.	Deut. xxxii. 36.	Heb. x. 30.
163.	Hab. ii. 3, 4.	Heb. x. 37, 38.
164.	Gen. xlvii. 31.	Heb. xi. 21.
165.	Prov. iii. 11.	Heb. xii. 5.
166.	Deut. xxxi. 8.	Heb. xii. 5.
167.	Psal. cxviii. 6.	Heb. xiii. 6.
169.	Hos. xiv. 2.	Heb. xii. 16.
175.	Exod. xix. 6.	1 Pet. ii. 9.
177.	Isa. liii. 5.	1 Pet. ii. 24.
178.	Psal. lxxiv. 12-16.	1 Pet. iii. 10-12.

§ 4.]

SEPTUAGINT VERSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

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II. Quotations taken from the Septuagint, but with some Variation.

These variations, however, are immaterial, consisting occasionally,—1. Of additions of words, to render the sense more explicit to the Gentiles;—2. Of omissions of words, where the insertion of them was not necessary to prove the point for which they were adduced;—3. Of synonymous changes, substituting other words of the same import for the exact words of the Septuagint,—which might easily be done, citing, as the apostles sometimes did, from memory;—4. Of transpositions of words;—5. Of changes of proper names into appellatives;—and, 6. Of occasional alterations in the divisions of sentences. But in all these sentences the sense is invariably given.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
1.	Isa. vii. 14. compared with	Matt. i. 23.
2.	Psal. xci. 11, 12	Matt. iv. 6.
10.	Deut. vi. 13.	Matt. iv. 10.
16.	Isa. vi. 9—11.	Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Acts xxviii. 26, 27.
18.	Isa. xxix. 13.	Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10.
19.	Gen. ii. 24.	Matt. xv. 8, 9.
21.	Zech. xi. 13.	Matt. xix. 5.
35.	Isa. lvi. 1, 2.	Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
37.	Psal. lxxviii. 24.	Luke iv. 18, 19.
47.	Exod. xii. 46.	John vi. 31.
61.	Joel ii. 28—32.	John xix. 36.
54.	Gen. xxiii. 19.	Acts ii. 17—21.
56.	Gen. xii. 1.	Acts iii. 25.
60.	Amos v. 25, 26.	Acts vii. 3.
62.	Isa. liii. 7.	Acts vii. 42, 43.
65.	Isa. lv. 3.	Acts viii. 32, 33.
70.	Hab. ii. 4.	Acts xiii. 34.
71.	Isa. lii. 5.	Rom. i. 17.
74.	Psal. xiv. 1—3.	Rom. ii. 24.
80.	Exod. ix. 15.	Rom. iii. 10—12.
94.	Isa. viii. 44.	Rom. ix. 17.
95.	Isa. xxviii. 16.	Rom. ix. 33.
104.	Psal. lxxix. 22, 23.	Rom. xi. 9, 10.
106.	Isa. lix. 30, 21.	Rom. xi. 25, 27.
114.	Isa. xi. 10.	Rom. xv. 12.
116.	Isa. xxix. 14.	1 Cor. i. 19.
118.	Isa. xl. 13.	1 Cor. ii. 16.
120.	Psal. xciv. 11.	1 Cor. iii. 20.
123.	Deut. xxxii. 17.	1 Cor. x. 20.
128.	Gen. ii. 7.	1 Cor. xv. 45.
130.	Hos. xiii. 14.	1 Cor. xv. 55.
133.	Lev. xxvii. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 16.
136.	Exod. xvi. 18.	2 Cor. viii. 15.
138.	Deut. xix. 15.	2 Cor. xiii. 1.
139.	Gen. xii. 3. (and see xviii. 18.)	Gal. iii. 8.
143.	Gen. xxi. 10.	Gal. iv. 30.
145.	Exod. xx. 12.	Eph. vi. 2, 3.
152.	Psal. xxxii. 22.	Heb. ii. 12.
153.	Isa. viii. 17, 18.	Heb. ii. 13.
154.	Psal. xc. 7—11.	Heb. iii. 7—10.
157.	Exod. xxv. 40.	Heb. viii. 5.
161.	Psal. xl. 6—9.	Heb. x. 5—7.
171.	Prov. iii. 34.	James iv. 6.
173.	Isa. xl. 6—8.	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
174.	Isa. xxviii. 16.	1 Pet. ii. 6.
176.	Isa. liii. 9.	1 Pet. ii. 22.
179.	Isa. viii. 12, 13.	1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

III. Quotations agreeing with the Septuagint in SENSE, but NOT in Words.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
1.	Jer. xxxi. 15. { agrees in sense, but not in words, with }	Matt. ii. 18.
6.	Isa. xl. 3—5.	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
17.	Psal. lxxviii. 2.	Matt. xiii. 35.
26.	Deut. vi. 5.	Matt. xxii. 37. Mark xiii. 30. Luke x. 27.
32.	Isa. liii. 12.	Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
33.	Exod. xiii. 2.	Luke ii. 23.
34.	Lev. xii. 8.	Luke ii. 24.
38.	Isa. liv. 13.	John vi. 45.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.	John xii. 15.
44.	Psal. xli. 9.	John xiii. 13.
45.	Psal. cix. 3.	John xv. 25.
48.	Zech. xii. 10.	John xix. 27.
49.	Psal. lxxix. 25.	Acts i. 49.
53.	Deut. xviii. 15, 19.	Acts iii. 22, 23.
57.	Gen. xv. 13, 14.	Acts vii. 6, 7.
61.	Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.	Acts vii. 49, 50.
64.	Amos ix. 11, 12.	Acts xv. 16, 17.
73.	Isa. lix. 7, 8.	Rom. iii. 15—17.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
90.	Hos. ii. 23.	Rom. ix. 25.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23.	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
102.	1 Kings xix. 14.	Rom. xi. 3.
104.	Isa. xlix. 10.	Rom. xi. 8.
109.	Isa. xiv. 23.	Rom. xiv. 11.
119.	Job v. 13.	1 Cor. iii. 19.
134.	Isa. liii. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 17.
140.	Deut. xxvii. 27. { 26. of Eng- } lish Version)	Gal. iii. 10.
141.	Deut. xxi. 23.	Gal. iii. 13.
159.	Jer. xxxi. 31—34.	Heb. viii. 8—12.
160.	Exod. xxiv. 8.	Heb. ix. 20.
168.	Hag. ii. 6.	Heb. xii. 26.
181.	Psal. ii. 9.	Rev. ii. 27.

IV. Quotations differing from the Septuagint, but agreeing exactly, or nearly, with the Hebrew.

There are several instances of an evidently intentional renunciation of the Septuagint version, in order to adhere to the Hebrew original: these instances occur when the Septuagint so materially differs from the Hebrew, as to render the passage unsuitable to the purpose for which the sacred writer produced the quotation, or where it is palpably erroneous. The number of these departures from the Septuagint is eleven; viz.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
3.	Hos. xi. 1.	cited in Matt. ii. 15.
4.	Jer. xxxi. 15.	Matt. ii. 18.
12.	Isa. liii. 4.	Matt. viii. 17.
22.	Zech. ix. 9.	Matt. xxi. 5.
31.	Psal. xxii. 1.	Matt. xxvii. 46.
98.	Isa. lii. 7.	Rom. x. 15.
103.	1 Kings xix. 18.	Rom. xi. 4.
119.	Job v. 13.	1 Cor. iii. 19.
129.	Isa. xxv. 3.	1 Cor. xv. 54.
172.	Lev. xi. 44.	1 Pet. i. 16.
180.	Prov. x. 12.	1 Pet. iv. 18.

V. Quotations which differ both from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew, and are probably taken from some other Translation, or Paraphrase, or were so rendered by the sacred Writers themselves.

No.	Chap. and Verse of O. T.	Chap. and Verse of N. T.
2.	Micah v. 2.	cited in Matt. ii. 6.
6.	Isa. xl. 3—5.	Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
11.	Isa. ix. 1, 2.	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
14.	Mal. iii. 1.	Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
15.	Isa. xliii. 1—4.	Matt. xii. 18—21.
41.	Zech. ix. 9.	John xii. 15.
53.	Deut. xviii. 15, 19.	Acts iii. 22, 23.
66.	Hab. ii. 5.	Acts xiii. 41.
85.	Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
90.	Hos. ii. 23.	Rom. ix. 25.
92.	Isa. x. 22, 23.	Rom. ix. 27, 28.
97.	Deut. xxx. 12—14.	Rom. x. 6—8.
102.	1 Kings xix. 14.	Rom. xi. 3.
107.	Deut. xxxii. 35.	Rom. xii. 19. (and see Heb. x. 30.)
117.	Isa. lxiv. 4.	1 Cor. ii. 9.
125.	Isa. xxviii. 11, 12.	1 Cor. xiv. 21.
140.	Deut. xxvii. 26.	Gal. iii. 10.
144.	Psal. lxxviii. 19.	Eph. iv. 8.
160.	Exod. xxiv. 8.	Heb. ix. 20.

§ 4. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PROBABLE CAUSES OF THE SEEMING DISCREPANCIES IN THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.

On a comparison of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, it is obvious that in the *Epistles*, which were addressed generally to churches consisting of converted Hellenists (that is, Greek Jews), or Gentiles, or of both, the quotations are uniformly made from the Septuagint version, or with express reference to it, except where some important reason induced the sacred writer to deviate from it; for the Septuagint was the only version generally known in those churches, whose members were mostly strangers to the Hebrew. There are, however, some apparent contradictions in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, the reconciliation of which has much engaged the attention of learned men, who have assigned various causes to account for, or explain, such discrepancies. These it may be useful briefly to consider, before we discuss the mode in which the sacred writers of the New Testament apply their quotations from the Old Testament. The causes of the differences in these quotations may be reduced to three, viz. 1. Sophistications or corruptions of the Hebrew text;—2. Various Readings, or differences in copies;—3. Our ignorance of the correct meaning of particular texts;—and, 4. The different designs with which they were quoted.

1. The instances of probable **SOPHISTICATION, or CORRUPTION** of the Hebrew text, are comparatively few, and are only six in number, as we have already seen: the comparison of manuscripts and versions alone can enable the critic to determine the true reading.

2. **VARIOUS READINGS** in the manuscript copies of the Greek Bible, used by the sacred writers of the New Testament, and also various readings in different manuscripts of the New Testament (some of which have been specified in the notes in the preceding pages of this section), are another cause of the apparent contradictions in the quotations made in it from the Old Testament. Professor Michaelis likewise thinks it possible that, in those cases where the quotations are mate-

See § VIII. p. 312. *supra*.

rially different, another translation might have been added in the Septuagint as a marginal note, in the same manner as we find in the Hexapla of Origen, under the name of *καλας*. The Proverbs of Solomon, he observes, present instances where the same Hebrew words are twice translated; which can be explained on no other supposition, than that one of them was originally a marginal note, which has insensibly crept into the text itself.<sup>1</sup>

3. Another cause of the apparent discrepancy occurring in the quotations from the Old Testament in the New may arise from our IGNORANCE OF PARTICULAR HEBREW TEXTS OR WORDS: a few such instances have already been noticed.<sup>2</sup> But this is only a temporary cause—the researches of commentators and critics (which the preceding tables have tended to confirm) have shown that the writers of the New Testament express the true sense, though not the sense generally attributed to the Hebrew; and in proportion as such researches are more diligently prosecuted, and our knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures is increased, these difficulties will gradually and certainly diminish.

4. It is further to be observed that the very same quotations are often *contradicted* by some of the evangelists, and as often enlarged by others. This difference in quoting may be accounted for by the different occasions on which they are introduced, and the DIFFERENT DESIGNS which they were intended to serve. Thus Luke, who wrote his Gospel for the instruction of *Gentile* converts, quotes (iii. 4—6,) not less than *three* verses from the prophet Isaiah; while Matthew (iii. 3.) and Mark (i. 3.) quote only the *first* of them. But it was necessary to Luke's purpose that he should proceed so far, in order to assure the Gentiles, that they were destined to be partakers of the privileges of the Gospel, and to see the *salvation of God*. On the other hand, Matthew (xiii. 14, 15.) and Paul (Acts xxviii. 26, 27.), when reproving the Jews for their incredulity, which Isaiah had long before predicted, introduced the prophecy at full length, whereas Mark (iv. 11, 12.) and Luke (viii. 10.) only refer to it briefly. Mark, whose Gospel was written for a mixed society of Jewish and Gentile converts, has many peculiarities belonging to him, which are not specified by the other evangelists. Of these peculiarities, we have an instance in his manner of citing the passage of Isaiah just noticed. The verse in his Gospel runs thus:—

Τοις ἴσθαι ἐν παραβολαῖς ταῦτα γινώσκοντες ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι, καὶ μὴ συνίησι, μήποτε ἰσχυρῶσιν, καὶ ἀσθεύωσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. *Unto them that are without all these things are done in parables: That seeing, they may see and not perceive; and hearing, they may hear and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.*

In order to engage the Jews the more effectually to adopt and obey his Gospel, Mark has not only inserted in it more Hebrew or rather Syro-Chaldaic phrases than all the other evangelists together; but in the verse here given, he has forsaken both the Hebrew and Greek of Isa. vi. 11. (in our translation truly rendered *and I will heal them*),<sup>3</sup> and has quoted the Chaldaic Paraphrase, which he translated for himself, καὶ ἀσθεύωσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, *and their sins should be forgiven them*; and which thus probably became more intelligible to the Gentiles also. Now these particular variations are so far from being disparagements to the Gospels, that they are in reality the excellencies and ornaments of them. They are such variations only, as these different converts, of different conceptions, required to have made, for their obtaining a true and right knowledge of the Old Testament prophecies.<sup>4</sup> A similar mode of citation is pursued by the illustrious apostle Paul, who does not mention or allege the law and the prophets in one and the same manner to Jews and Gentiles. Thus, to Felix the Roman governor, he says of himself (Acts xxiv. 14.), *Believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets*. But to king Agrippa (xxvi. 22.), *Saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come*. And thus he distinguishes in his Epistles. In that to the Hebrews are many passages from the Old Testament, but not a single instance in which it is quoted as *written*. But in his other Epistles he rarely uses

any other form than, *It is written*, or *The Scripture saith*. Thus he cites it to the Romans; the chief variations from which mode to that of *He saith* are in the three chapters, ix. x. xi. which principally relate to the Jews; and even there he seldom fails to name the prophet whose words are adduced. To the Galatians, and in both Epistles to the Corinthians, with one or two exceptions, he urges the words of the Old Testament as *written*. To the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, if we mistake not, he makes no direct quotation from it. In the Epistle to the Ephesians he refers to it twice, and there indeed in both places under the form of *He saith*. But he himself had spent above two years in teaching them with the utmost diligence and attention (Acts xix. 9, 10.), and wrote his Epistle to them some years after; when he might have full assurance that he spoke to those *who knew the law*. A passage in this epistle, compared with a similar one in that to the Colossians, seems to prove that he made a difference between them, and judged the Ephesians to be better versed in the sacred books. To these he proposes the precept of obedience to parents with a view to the Mosaic promise (Eph. vi. 1—3.): *Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. HONOUR THY FATHER AND MOTHER; WHICH IS THE FIRST COMMANDMENT WITH PROMISE*. But he omits this reference to the words of the Decalogue, in giving the same precept to the Colossians; with whose proficiency in the Scriptures he was less acquainted, as having never been among them. He says only (Col. iii. 20.), *Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord*.

Thus we see that Saint Paul has one mode of citing the Old Testament to the Hebrews, and another to the churches of which the Gentiles were members; that in the former case he agrees with Matthew, in the latter with Mark and Luke. And in this respect there is so much uniformity in the apostle and two evangelists, that we may justly conclude it was not accidental, but designed by him and them, for the same purpose of suiting their style to the small measure of scriptural knowledge which they might well suppose many of their readers to possess. By which means the unlearned or newly-converted Gentiles were instructed, that what was offered to them as the word of God *which came in old time*, was to be found in the books of Scripture; and, if Judaizers crept in and perplexed them with doctrines of an oral or traditionary law, they were furnished with this reply to such teachers:—"When the apostles and evangelists, who have been our more immediate guides, propose to us any part of the Mosaic economy, they allege only what is *written*, and what they carefully inform us to be so."<sup>5</sup>

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, not only on account of its importance in illustrating the external form of the quotations of the Old Testament by the evangelists and apostles, but also because it furnishes us with an additional instance of those simple notes of authenticity with which the New Testament abounds, and which the genius of forgery could never have devised.

Upon the whole, then, as it respects the external form of quotations from the Old Testament, it may be observed that the writers of the New Testament did not make it a *constant* rule to cite from the Greek version, because there are many places in which their quotations differ from that version, and agree with the Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> And as their quotations now correspond with the Hebrew, very frequently in express words,<sup>7</sup> and generally in the sense,<sup>8</sup> so it is highly probable that they uniformly agreed at first, and that, where the Hebrew was properly expressed in the Greek version, they used the words of that version. But where it materially varied from the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, they either gave the sense of the passage cited in their own words, or took as much of the Septuagint as suited their purpose, introducing the requisite alterations. Hence several passages are neither direct quotations from the Hebrew text, nor quotations from the Septuagint;<sup>9</sup> and some, as we have already seen, agree with the latter even where it varies from the former, but only where the deviation does not so affect the meaning of the passage as to interfere with the pertinency of the quotation for the purpose intended. "All this accords to what ordinary writers, in similar circumstances, would have done, and, in

<sup>1</sup> Marsh's Michaels, vii. i. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> See § 2. VII. p. 312. *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See the passages of Isaiah and Luke at length, in p. 294. No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See the passages of Isaiah and of the Evangelists, cited in p. 296. No. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Owen, on the Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers, p. 25—27.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Townson's Discourses on the Four Gospels, disc. 4. sect. II. (Works, vol. i. pp. 101, 102.)

<sup>7</sup> See § 3. IV. p. 312. *supra*.

<sup>8</sup> See § 2. I. and II. p. 311. *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> See § 3. III. IV. p. 311. *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> See § 3. V. p. 312. *supra*.

fact, have been authorized to do: but the sacred penmen, being themselves divinely inspired, might take liberties which we must not; because their comments were equally the Word of God with the texts commented on."

SECTION II.

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS, OR THE MODE IN WHICH CITATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT ARE APPLIED IN THE NEW.

General observations on the rabbinical and other modes of quoting the Old Testament—Classification of the quotations in the New Testament:—I. Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the predictions are literally accomplished;—II. Quotations in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have not spoken in a literal but in a spiritual sense;—III. Quotations made by the sacred writers in the way of illustration;—IV. Quotations and other passages from the Old Testament which are alluded to in the New.

In considering the passages of the Old Testament, which have been introduced by the apostles and evangelists into the writings of the New, "there is often a difficulty with respect to the application of such quotations; when they are applied to a purpose to which they seem to have no relation, according to their original design. This difficulty arises from the writers of the New Testament making quotations from the Old with very different views; and it can be removed only by attending to their real view in a particular quotation." An accurate distinction, therefore, must be made between such quotations as, being merely borrowed, are used as the words of the writer himself, and such as are quoted in proof of a doctrine, or the completion of a prophecy.

Michaelis has remarked, that whenever a book is the subject of our daily reading, it is natural that its phrases should occur to us in writing—sometimes with a perfect recollection of the places whence they are taken, and at other times when the places themselves have totally escaped our memory. Thus, the lawyer quotes the maxims of the law; the scholar, his favourite classics; and the divine, the precepts of the Gospel. It is no wonder, therefore, if the same has happened to the writers of the New Testament; who being daily occupied in the study of the Old Testament, unavoidably adopted its modes of expression, and especially of the Greek Septuagint, which they have borrowed, and applied to their own use in various ways and for various purposes.

The quotations from the Old Testament in the New are generally introduced by certain formulæ, such as, That it might be fulfilled—As it is written—Isaiah prophesied, &c.; and various rules have been framed in order to account for their application. It has been observed by the same great philologist, that the writers of the New Testament quote in general like the Rabbins, without mentioning the place whence the quotation is taken; as they presuppose the reader to be so well acquainted with the Old Testament, as to be able to find it without particular direction. The Rabbins select some principal word out of each section, and apply that name to the section itself, in the same manner as the Mohammedans distinguish the suras or chapters of their Koran saying, in Eli, in Solomon, when they intend to signify the sections where those names are mentioned. For instance, Rashi, in his remarks on Hosea ix. 9. (They have deeply corrupted themselves, as in the days of Gibeah), says—"Some are of opinion that this is Gibeah of Benjamin in the concubine," that is, is mentioned in the chapter of the concubine, or Judges xix. And in this manner quotations are sometimes made in the New Testament. Thus, in Mark xii. 26. and Luke xx. 37. οτι τας βουκας (in or at the bush) signifies, "in the section relating to the burning bush," which, according to the modern division, is the third chapter of Exodus. Again, in Rom. xi. 2. ο Ηλιας (in Elias) signifies, "in the section in which the actions of Elias are recorded," which at present forms the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters of the first book of Kings.

1 The Rev. T. Scott, on the authority of the Septuagint, in the Christian Observer for 1810, vol. ix. p. 102. 2 Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 200-203. 3 Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 243, 244, 133, 134, 492. Upon the same rule, Michaelis thinks the supposed contradiction between Mark ii. 26. and 1 Sam. xxi. i. may be explained "in the chapter of Abiathar," or, in that part of

Another very frequent practice of the Rabbins was, to produce only the initial words of a quoted passage, while those, are omitted in which the force of the argument consists, or the absence of which destroys the connection. Of this description are the quotations in Rom. vii. 7. and xiii. 9. (Thou shalt not covet), in which the apostle leaves us to supply the following words contained in Exod. xx. 17. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, &c. Similar instances are to be found in Rom. xi. 27. and Heb. ii. 13.

The formulæ (as it is written, that it might be fulfilled, it hath been said, &c. &c.) with which the quotations in the New Testament are generally introduced, have been supposed by Surenhusius (to whose learned researches biblical students are most deeply indebted) to be the indications of the modes in which they are expressed: so that by attending to these formulæ, we may easily know why the evangelists allege the subsequent words in one certain manner rather than in another; and why they depart more or less from the Hebrew text. Agreeably to this hypothesis, Surenhusius has, with infinite labour and industry, collected a great variety of rules out of the Talmud and the Rabbinical writings, and has illustrated them with numerous extracts, in order to explain and justify all the quotations made from the Old Testament in the New. But what militates against this hypothesis is, that we find, that the very same quotations, expressed in the same words, and brought to prove the very same points, are introduced by different formulæ in different gospels. A further objection to the rules adduced by Surenhusius is their number and their complexity, which render it difficult to refer all the quotations accurately to them. It is therefore not only more convenient, but more intrinsically useful, to refer the citations from the Old Testament in the New to the four following classes, which have been adopted, with some alteration, from Rosenmüller, after Gusset and Wolfius. According to these critics, the phrases, that it might

the books of Samuel in which the history of Abiathar is related. This explanation, Rosenmüller very justly remarks, would be preferable to any other, if Mark had added the expression it is written, or the Scripture saith. Scholia in N. T. tom. i. p. 573. edit. 1801. See also Kuinöl on Mark ii. 26. Comm. in Libros N. T. Historicus, tom. ii. p. 32.

1 Michaelis, vol. i. pp. 241-246. 2 In the preface to his Βιβλος Καταλλαγης: in quo, secundum veterum Theologorum Hebræorum Formulæ allegandi et modos interpretandi, conciliantur loca ex Veteri in Novo Testamento allegata." 4to. Amst. 1713. The words of Professor Surenhusius are as follow:—"Etenim omni in loco ex V. T. in N. allegato recte conciliando, videndum est prius, quæ allegandi formulæ utantur Apostoli; ex quâ statim dignoscere licet, quare sequentia verba hoc, et non alio modo, allegaverint, atque ad veterem Scripturam Hebræam plures minusve attenderint. Sic alium sensum involvit illa allegandi formulæ Ερηνη; alium ΕΥΡΕΤΑΙ; alium ΙΑ ΠΑΡΟΙΟΙ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΙΟ; alium ΕΠΑΡΕΘΗ Η ΓΥΡΑΦΗ, &c.

3 The following are the principal theses or rules laid down by Surenhusius, whose work, it may be proper to remark, deserves a place in the library of every biblical student, on account of its learned illustration of many passages of Scripture not immediately connected with the quotations from the Old Testament:—

- 1. Sometimes the words are read, not according to the regular vowel-points, but agreeably to others substituted for them. Instances of this sort, Surenhusius is of opinion, are to be found in Acts iii. 22, 23. and vii. 32, &c. 1 Cor. xv. 54. and 2 Cor. vii. 15.
- 2. Sometimes letters are changed, as in Rom. ix. 33. 1 Cor. ix. 9, &c. Heb. viii. 9. and x. 5.
- 3. Sometimes both letters and vowel-points are changed, as in Acts xiii. 40, 41. and 2 Cor. viii. 15.
- 4. Sometimes words are added from a parallel passage, or are changed in the quotation, which words appear as if the whole occurred in the cited text, as in Rom. xi. 3. xv. 10. 1 Cor. xv. 45. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 14. and Heb. xii. 12, 13.
- 5. Sometimes additional words are inserted to complete the sense, as in Matt. iv. 10. xxi. 5. John vi. 49. xii. 34. and Rom. x. 6.
- 6. Sometimes several passages are abridged together, in order to make the subject more clear, as in Matt. xxi. 5. Luke iv. 18. 19. John vii. 5. &c.
- 7. Sometimes the beginnings of verses are only added, for the sake of brevity, although the sacred writer refers to the whole passage which he paraphrases. Instances of this sort occur in Acts i. 20. Rom. xi. 27. Heb. iii. and iv. and x.
- 8. Some passages are cited, either allegorically, or by way of simple proof, in which case the subject cannot be proved unless the passage cited be compared with others, and illustrated, as in Rom. ix. 12, 13. x. 8. and Heb. iv. 5, 6.
- 9. Sometimes one and the same passage is cited to prove many things, and is applied to many persons, as in Matt. xiii. 14. compared with John xii. 40. Rom. ix. 33. and x. 11. compared with 1 Pet. ii. 6.
- 10. Sometimes a subject is intended to be proved by several passages, though one only is adduced, the reader being left to find them out, as in Acts xv. 15, 16.
- 11. The first and last clauses of a verse only are sometimes cited, the intermediate clauses being omitted. See Eph. v. 14. and 1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
- 12. Sometimes a passage is simply adduced without any formulæ of quotation, and then another intervenes parenthetically; which being cited, the sacred writer returns to the first quoted passage, which is illustrated in a variety of particulars. Thus Saint Paul, in Heb. iii. 7. first cites Psal. xcvi. 7; then he interposes references to Exod. xvii. 2. Num. xx. 13. xiv. 23. and Deut. i. 31; and at length, in the fifteenth verse, he returns to Psalm xcvi. 7; which he explains, as if it all the intermediately quoted passages were contained in one and the same text. Similar instances occur in Heb. iv. 15. and 1 Cor. iii. 7. Surenhusius Βιβλος Καταλλαγης, pp. 1-36.
- 1 Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 25.

be fulfilled, as it is written, &c. &c. may be properly applied in the New Testament,—

- I. *When the thing predicted is literally accomplished.*
- II. *When that is done, of which the Scripture has spoken, not in a literal, but in a spiritual sense.*
- III. *When a thing is done, neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures; but is similar to that fact. The passages thus cited may, briefly, be termed quotations in the way of illustration.*
- IV. *When the sacred writers have made simple allusions to passages in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>*

In the following tables, the quotations are arranged under each class, to which they appear respectively to belong. Some of the references, perhaps, may be disputable; and in some, it is possible that the author may be mistaken: but as they are the result of a laborious and patient comparison of every prophecy or citation, in classifying which he could have but little assistance, he trusts he may be allowed to say, that he has exerted the best of his judgment, and to indulge the hope that he has not misapplied the quotations in any essential point.

I. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which the things predicted are literally accomplished.*

Direct prophecies are those which relate to Christ and the Gospel, and to them alone, and which cannot be taken in any other sense; and the Scripture is said to be fulfilled in the literal sense, when that event which it foretells is accomplished. The quotations from the Old Testament in the New, which belong to this class, are both numerous and highly important. Such are those which mention the calling of the Gentiles and the everlasting kingdom of Messiah: such also is the 110th Psalm, which, it has been well remarked, is as plain as a prophetic description ought to be. It is applicable to Christ alone, and it sets forth his exaltation, his royal dignity, his priestly office, the propagation of his Gospel, the obedience of his subjects; the destruction of his enemies, and of the Roman emperors who persecuted his church.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of this description will be found in the following quotations, the references in which are made to the authorized English version of the Bible.<sup>3</sup>

Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xli. 18.	quoted in	Acts iii. 25. Gal. iii. 8.
Gen. xvii. 7. 19. xxii. 16, 17.		Luke i. 55. 72, 73, 74.
Deut. xviii. 15. 19.		Acts iii. 22, 23.
Psal. ii. 1, 2.		Acts iv. 25, 26.
Psal. ii. 7.		Acts xiii. 33. Heb. i. 5. v. 5.
Psal. viii. 2.		Matt. xxi. 16.
Psal. viii. 4—6.		Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. xvi. 8—11.		Acts ii. 25—23. 31.
Psal. xvi. 10.		Acts xiii. 35.
Psal. xxii. 1.		Matt. xxvii. 16. Mark xv. 34. Luke xxiii. 34. John xix. 24.
Psal. xxii. 18.		Heb. ii. 12.
Psal. xxii. 22.		Luke xxiii. 46.
Psal. xxxi. 5.		John xiii. 18. Acts i. 16.
Psal. xli. 9.		Heb. i. 8, 9.
Psal. xlv. 6, 7.		Eph. iv. 7, 8.
Psal. lxxviii. 18.		John xix. 23, 29. Matt. xxvii. 48. Mark xv. 36. and Luke xxiii. 36.
Psal. lxxix. 21.		Acts i. 21.
Psal. lxxxix. 25. cix. 8.		Heb. iii. 7—11; iv. 3. 5—7.
Psal. xc. 7—11.		Heb. i. 10—12.
Psal. cii. 25—27.		Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 42. Acts ii. 34, 35. Heb. i. 13.
Psal. cx. 1.		Heb. v. 6.
Psal. cx. 4.		Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10, 11. Luke xx. 17. Acts iv. 11.
Psal. cxviii. 22, 23.		Matt. xxi. 9. Mark xi. 9. John xii. 13.
Psal. cxviii. 25, 26.		Luke i. 69. Acts ii. 30.
Psal. cxviii. 41. 17.		Matt. i. 23.
Isa. vii. 14.		Matt. iv. 15, 16.
Isa. ix. 1, 2.		Luke i. 32, 33.
Isa. ix. 7. (with Dan. vii. 14. 27.)		Rom. xv. 12.
Isa. xi. 10.		1 Cor. xv. 54.
Isa. xxv. 8.		Rom. xi. 25, 27.
Isa. xxvii. 9. and lix. 20, 21.		Rom. ix. 31. and 1 Pet. ii. 6.
Isa. xxviii. 16. (with Joel ii. 32.)		Matt. iii. 3. Mark i. 3. Luke iii. 4—6.
Isa. xl. 3—5.		Matt. xii. 17—21.
Isa. xlii. 1—4.		Acts xiii. 47, 48. and xxvi. 23. Luke ii. 32.
Isa. xlix. 6.		

<sup>1</sup> The fourth class mentioned by Rosenmüller, Gueset, and Wolfus, is as follows:—When that which has, in the Old Testament, been mentioned as formerly done, is accomplished, in a larger and more extensive sense, in the New Testament. But as the citations which appear to belong to this class may be referred to the first and third, we have substituted the preceding in lieu of it.

<sup>2</sup> Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 121. 2d edit. The best critical illustration of the prophetic sense of Psalm cx. is, perhaps, that given by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his "Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, taken from the ancient Prophecies," pp. 275—311.

<sup>3</sup> As the passages from the prophetic writings have already been given as full length, they are here designedly omitted.

Isa. liii. 1.	quoted in	John xii. 38. Rom. x. 16.
Isa. liii. 3—6.		Acts xxvi. 22, 23.
Isa. liii. 4—6. 11.		1 Pet. ii. 24, 25.
Isa. liii. 4.		Matt. viii. 17.
Isa. liii. 9.		1 Pet. ii. 22.
Isa. liii. 12.		Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37.
Isa. liv. 13.		John vi. 45.
Isa. lv. 3.		Acts xiii. 34.
Jer. xxxi. 31—34.		Heb. viii. 9—12. x. 16, 17.
Hosea i. 10.		Rom. ix. 25.
Hosea ii. 23.		Rom. ix. 25. 1 Pet. ii. 10.
Joel ii. 28—32.		Acts ii. 16—21.
Amos ix. 11, 12.		Acts xv. 16, 17.
Micah v. 2.		Matt. ii. 5. 6. John vii. 42.
Habak. i. 5.		Acts xiii. 40.
Haggai ii. 6.		Heb. xii. 26.
Zech. ix. 9.		Matt. xxi. 4, 5. John xii. 14. 16.
Zech. xi. 13.		Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.
Zech. xii. 10.		John xix. 37.
Zech. xiii. 7.		Matt. xxvi. 31. 56. Mark xiv. 27. 50.
Mal. iii. 1.		Matt. xi. 10. Mark i. 2. Luke vii. 27.
Mal. iv. 5, 6.		Matt. xi. 13, 14. xvii. 10—13. Mark ix. 11—13. Luke i. 16, 17.

II. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which that is said to have been done, of which the Scriptures have not spoken in a literal but in a spiritual sense.*

There are citations out of the Old Testament in the New in a mediate and typical or spiritual sense, respecting Christ and his mystical body the church. The Scripture is therefore said to be fulfilled, when that is accomplished in the antitype which is written concerning the type. Thus, in John xix. 36. we read, these things were done that the Scriptures should be fulfilled—"a bone of him shall not be broken." These words, which were originally written of the paschal lamb (Exod. xii. 46. Num. ix. 12.), are said to be fulfilled in Christ, who is the antitype of that lamb. Additional examples of the same kind will be found in the annexed passages.

Gen. xiv. 18. 20. cited and applied in	Heb. vii. 1—10.
Gen. xv. 5.	Rom. iv. 18.
Gen. xvi. 15.	Gal. iv. 22.
Gen. xvii. 4.	Rom. iv. 17.
Gen. xviii. 10.	Rom. ix. 9.
Gen. xxi. 1—3.	Gal. iv. 22, &c.
Gen. xxi. 12.	Rom. ix. 7.
Gen. xxv. 23.	Rom. ix. 10.
Exod. xvi. 13—15.	John vi. 31. 49. 1 Cor. x. 3.
Exod. xvii. 5. Num. xx. 11.	1 Cor. x. 4.
Exod. xix. 6.	1 Pet. ii. 9.
Exod. xxiv. 8.	Heb. ix. 20.
Levit. xxvi. 11, 12.	2 Cor. vi. 16.
Num. xxi. 8, 9.	John iii. 14.
Deut. xxi. 23.	Gal. iii. 13.
Deut. xxxii. 21.	Rom. x. 19.
2 Sam. vii. 14.	Heb. i. 5.
Psal. ii. 9.	Rev. ii. 27.
Psal. viii. 4—6.	Heb. ii. 6—8.
Psal. viii. 6.	1 Cor. xv. 27.
Psal. xviii. 49.	Rom. xv. 9.
Psal. xxxv. 19. lxxix. 4. and cix. 3.	John xv. 25.
Psal. xl. 6—8.	Heb. x. 5—
Psal. lxxix. 9.	John ii. 17.
Psal. civ. 4.	Heb. i. 7.
Isa. xl. 6, 7.	1 Pet. i. 24, 25.
Isa. lii. 7. and Nahum i. 16.	Rom. x. 15.
Isa. liv. 1.	Gal. iv. 27.
Isa. lxiv. 4.	1 Cor. ii. 9.
Jonah i. 17. li. 1. and lii. 5.	Matt. xii. 40, 41. Luke xi. 30. 32.
Habak. ii. 3.	Heb. x. 37.
Habak. ii. 4.	Rom. i. 17. Gal. iii. 11. Heb. x. 38.

III. *Of Quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in which a thing is done neither in a literal nor in a spiritual sense, according to the fact referred to in the Scriptures, but is similar to that fact,—in other words, where the passages referred to are cited in the way of illustration.*

The attentive reader of the New Testament cannot fail to observe, that many passages of the Old Testament are cited and adapted by the writers of the New Testament to an occurrence which happened in their time, on account of their correspondence and similitude. These citations are not prophecies, though they are said sometimes to be fulfilled; for any thing may be said to be fulfilled when it can be pertinently applied. This method of explaining Scripture by the way of illustration will enable us to solve some of the greatest difficulties relating to the prophecies.

For the better understanding of this important subject, it should be recollected, that the writings of the Jewish Prophets, which abound in fine descriptions, poetical images, and sublime diction, were the classics of the later Jews; and, in subsequent ages, all their writers affected allusions to them, borrowed their images and descriptions, and very often cited their identical words when recording any event or circumstance that happened in the history of the persons whose lives they were relating; provided it was similar and parallel to one that occurred in the times, and was described in the books of the ancient prophets. It was a familiar idiom of the Jews, when quoting the writings of the Old Testament, to say,—that it

<sup>4</sup> The Talmud and Rabbinical writers abound with instances, great numbers of which are quoted by Burenhusius. In the work already cited, in p. 315. note 6.



SECT. II.]

ON THE INTERNAL FORM OF QUOTATIONS.

might be fulfilled, which was spoken by such and such a prophet; not intending to be understood that such a particular passage in one of the sacred books was ever designed to be a real prediction of what they were then relating, but signifying only, that the words of the Old Testament might be properly adapted to express their meaning and illustrate their ideas.

Thus, our Lord speaking of the insurmountable prepossessions and perverseness of the Jews to whom he preached, says,—Seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand,—that is, their stupidity is so gross, and their prejudices are so numerous, that though they have capacities proper for understanding and receiving my doctrine, they will neither understand nor receive it; so that in their is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah,—his words are perfectly applicable to the present age, and descriptive of their moral character and condition:—Hearing ye will hear, and will not understand; and seeing ye will see, and will not perceive.

Again, the prophet Jeremiah, describing the miseries of captivity by a beautiful figure, represents Rachel as deploring the loss of her children, bathed in tears, piercing the air with loud lamentations, and indulging in inconsolable grief. When Herod imbrued his hands in the blood of the innocents in Bethlehem and its vicinity, how applicable were the prophet's words to such a cruel scene, and how happily are they cited by the evangelist, to exhibit to his reader the mourning and lamentation caused by that sanguinary tyrant!

Once more,—our Lord having delivered several parables, the sacred historian, after remarking that Jesus Christ chose to convey his religious and moral instruction to the Jews by means of parables, with which all his public discourses abounded, says,—That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world."

A similar instance occurs in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians (vi. 2); where he cites the saying of the prophet (Isa. xli. 8).—I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation I have succoured thee. In this passage the apostle does not mean to declare that the prophet had the Corinthians in view, but he cites it as a parallel case: intimating that they might collect from that saying that there was a certain accepted time, in which God would hear them, and which, therefore, it concerned them not to let pass without carefully improving it.

The following table presents a list of the passages thus quoted from the Old Testament by the writers of the New, in the way of illustration:—

Table with 3 columns: Old Testament reference, 'cited in', and New Testament reference. Includes entries like Gen. xv. 5, Rom. iv. 18; Gen. xv. 6, Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, and James ii. 23; Gen. xviii. 10, Rom. ix. 9; Gen. xix. 15, 28, Luke xvii. 28, 29, 32; Gen. xxi. 12, Rom. ix. 7; Gen. xxv. 33, Heb. xii. 16; Gen. xxvii. 28, &c., Heb. xi. 20, xii. 17; Exod. ix. 16, Rom. ix. 17; Exod. xxxiii. 6, 1 Cor. x. 7; Exod. xxxiii. 19, Rom. ix. 15; Lev. xi. 45, 1 Pet. i. 16; Lev. xviii. 5, Rom. x. 5, Gal. iii. 12; Deut. vi. 13, Matt. iv. 10, Luke iv. 3; Deut. vi. 16, Matt. iv. 7, Luke iv. 12; Deut. viii. 3, Matt. iv. 4, Luke iv. 4; Deut. xxv. 4, 1 Cor. ix. 9, 1 Tim. v. 18; Deut. xxvii. 26, Gal. iii. 10; Deut. xxxii. 35, Rom. xii. 19, Heb. x. 30; Deut. xxxiii. 26, Heb. x. 30; Deut. xxxiii. 43, Rom. xv. 10; Josh. i. 6, Heb. xiii. 5; 1 Sam. xxi. 6, Matt. xii. 3, 4, Mark ii. 25, 26, Luke vi. 3, 4; 1 Kings xix. 14, 18, Rom. xi. 3, 4.

This mode of quoting passages by way of illustration was not confined to the inspired penman. Pagan writers often cite passages from their old poets, to describe things of which these poets never thought; and this, Dr. Jortin remarks, is no fault, but rather a beauty in writing; and a passage, applied justly in a new sense, is ever pleasing to an ingenious reader, who loves to see a likeness and pertinency where he expected none. (Rem. on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 120.) In Ælian, Diogenes the Cynic philosopher is reported to have said, that "he fulfilled in himself all the curses of tragedy;" and Olympiodorus, in his life of Plato, has this expression, "that it might be true concerning him," and then cites the following verse from Homer:

Τὸ σὺν ὄντι γλυκύναι μελίτες γλυκύναι σὺν σὺν. Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd. Pops.

Which verse, however applicable to that great philosopher, is not to be considered as an oracle delivered by the poet, with a view to the particular use or accommodation of it by this biographer. (Sharpe's Second Argument in Defence of Christianity, p. 349.)

Table with 3 columns: Old Testament reference, 'cited in', and New Testament reference. Includes entries like Psal. v. 9 and cxi. 3, cited in Rom. iii. 13; Psal. x. 7, Rom. iii. 14; Psal. xiv. 1-3 and liii. 1-3, Rom. iii. 10-12; Psal. xix. 4, Rom. x. 13; Psal. xxiv. 1, 1 Cor. x. 26; Psal. xxxii. 1, 2, Rom. iv. 7, 8; Psal. xxxiv. 12-16, 1 Pet. iii. 10-12; Psal. xxxvi. 1, Rom. iii. 13; Psal. xli. 22, Rom. vii. 36; Psal. li. 4, Rom. iii. 4; Psal. lxi. 9, Rom. xv. 3; Psal. lxix. 22, 23, Rom. xi. 9, 10; Psal. lxxviii. 2, Matt. xii. 35; Psal. lxxxii. 6, John x. 34; Psal. cxii. 9, 2 Cor. ix. 9; Psal. cxvii. 10, 2 Cor. iv. 13; Psal. cxviii. 1, Rom. xv. 11; Psal. cxviii. 6, Heb. xiii. 6; Prov. i. 16, Isa. li. 7, 8, Rom. iii. 15-17; Prov. iii. 11, 12, Heb. xii. 5, 6; Prov. iii. 34, James iv. 6; Prov. x. 12, 1 Pet. iv. 8; Prov. xxv. 21, 22, Rom. xii. 20; Prov. xxvi. 11, 2 Pet. ii. 22; Isa. i. 9, Rom. ix. 29; Isa. vi. 9, 10, John xii. 40, Matt. xiii. 14, 15, Luke viii. 10, Rom. xi. 8; Isa. viii. 12, 13, 1 Pet. iii. 14, 15; Isa. viii. 17, 18, Heb. ii. 13; Isa. x. 22, 23, Rom. ix. 27, 28; Isa. xxviii. 16, Rom. x. 11; Isa. xxix. 10, Rom. xi. 8; Isa. xxx. 13, Matt. xv. 8, 9, Mark vii. 6; Isa. xxx. 14, 1 Cor. i. 19; Isa. xxxix. 16 and xlv. 9, Rom. ix. 20, 21; Isa. xlv. 23, Rom. xiv. 11, Phil. ii. 10; Isa. xlix. 8, 2 Cor. vi. 2; Isa. lii. 5, with Ezek. xxxvi. 20, Rom. ii. 24; Isa. lii. 7, and Nahum i. 15, Rom. x. 15; Isa. lii. 11, 12, 2 Cor. vi. 17; Isa. lii. 15, Rom. xv. 21; Isa. lvi. 7, (and Jer. vii. 11.), Matt. xxi. 13, Mark xi. 17, Luke xix. 46; Isa. lxi. 1, 2, Luke iv. 18, 19; Isa. lxi. 1, 2, Rom. x. 20, 21; Isa. lxi. 1, 2, Acts vii. 49, 50; Jer. xxxi. 15, Matt. ii. 17, 18; Jer. xxxi. 33, and xxxii. 38, (with 2 Sam. vii. 14.), 2 Cor. vi. 18; Hosea xi. 1, Matt. ii. 15; Hab. ii. 4, Rom. i. 17; Joel ii. 32, Rom. x. 13; Mal. i. 2, 3, Rom. ix. 13.

It cannot escape observation, that by far the larger portion of the preceding passages is cited and adapted to the purpose of illustration by the apostle Paul. Dr. John Taylor has some useful remarks (of which the following are an abstract) on the various designs with which St. Paul cited them:

- 1. Sometimes his intention goes no further than using the same strong expressions, as being equally applicable to the point in hand. Thus, in Rom. x. 6-8, he uses the words of Moses (Deut. xxx. 12-14.) not to prove any thing, nor as if he thought Moses spoke of the same subject; but merely as intimating that the strong and lively expressions, used by Moses concerning the doctrine he taught, were equally applicable to the faith of the Gospel. So, in Rom. x. 18, he quotes Psal. xix. 4, though it is not unlikely that those expressions were used by the ancient Jews in application to the Messiah, as the apostle applies them.
- 2. Sometimes the design of the quotation is only to show that the cases are parallel; or that what happened in his times corresponded with what happened in former days. See Rom. ii. 24, viii. 36, ix. 27-29, xi. 2-5, 8-10, and xv. 21.
- 3. Sometimes the quotation is only intended to explain a doctrinal point. See Rom. i. 17, iv. 7, 8, 18-21, ix. 20, 21, x. 15, and xv. 3.
- 4. Sometimes the quotation is designed to prove a doctrinal point. See Rom. iii. 4, 19-18, iv. 3-17, v. 12-14, ix. 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, x. 5, 11, 13, xii. 20, xiv. 11.

Lastly, when a passage of the Old Testament is quoted in the New, in order to prove a point of doctrine, the person or writer applies it, though not always in the precise words of the original, yet constantly according to its genuine sense as it stands there. Examples of such application will be found in Deut. viii. 3, compared with Matt. iv. 4.; Deut. vi. 16, compared with Matt. iv. 7.; Deut. xxxiii. 35, and Prov. xxv. 21, 22, compared with Rom. xii. 19, 20.—The expression in Hos. vi. 6., mercy and not sacrifice, is applied to different purposes in Matt. ix. 13., but to both properly.

In applying passages cited from the Old Testament by way of illustration, Turretin has suggested the three following rules, which claim the attention of the biblical student:—

In his Paraphrase and Notes on Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, p. 329. 4th edit. 1769.

- 1. In applications of this kind, we must not neglect the literal sense, which is the first and only genuine sense of Scripture.
- 2. Such applications ought not to be forced, or far-fetched; for those which were made by the apostles were simple and easy to be apprehended.
- 3. Too much stress ought not to be laid on these applications; which, it should be considered, are merely illustrations adduced by the sacred writers further to explain the subjects under their discussion.

Such being the nature of these illustrative quotations, it follows that no doctrines—at least such as are necessary to salvation—either can or ought to be deduced from them.<sup>1</sup>

IV. *Of Quotations, and other Passages from the Old Testament, which are alluded to in the New.*

Besides the passages mentioned in the preceding class as citations by the writers of the New Testament in the way of illustration, there is a fourth class, nearly allied to them, and comprising a few quotations, together with a larger number of other passages not distinctly cited from the Old Testament; but which, on comparing them with the New Testament, appear most evidently to have been present to the minds of the sacred writers, who have alluded to them without expressly quoting them. A careful inspection of such passages, with reference to their scope and context, together with an application of the rules above suggested by Turretin, will readily enable the student to judge of the allusions which he may meet with in the New Testament; and in addition to those rules, Dr. Gerard has remarked, that when the inspired writers quote a passage from the Old Testament, merely in the way of allusion, it is enough that the words which they borrow emphatically express their own meaning. It is not necessary that they be precisely the same with those of the passage alluded to, nor that they be there used, either of the same subject or of a similar subject.<sup>2</sup> The following table presents a list of the principal passages thus alluded to in the New Testament:—

Gen. i. 6, 9.	alluded to in	2 Pet. iii. 5.
Gen. i. 27.		{ Matt. xix. 4. Mark x. 6. 1 Cor. xi. 7.
Gen. ii. 2, 3.		{ James iii. 9.
Gen. ii. 7.		Heb. iv. 4.
Gen. ii. 21, 22.		1 Cor. xi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 13.
Gen. ii. 24.		{ Matt. xix. 5. Mark x. 7. 1 Cor. vi. 16.
Gen. iii. 6.		{ Eph. v. 31.
Gen. iii. 4, 13.		1 Tim. ii. 14.
Gen. iii. 16.		2 Cor. xi. 3.
Gen. iv. 4.		1 Cor. xiv. 34.
Gen. iv. 8.		Heb. xi. 4.
Gen. v. 24.		{ Matt. xxiii. 35. Luke xi. 51. 1 John iii.
Gen. vi. vii.		{ 12. Jude, verse 11.
Gen. xii. 1—4.		Heb. xi. 5.
Gen. xiii. 15.		{ Matt. xxiv. 37, 38. Luke xvii. 26, 27. Heb.
Gen. xv. 13, 14.		{ xi. 7. 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. 2 Pet. ii. 5. iii. 6.
Gen. xvii. 10.		Acts vii. 3. Heb. xi. 8.
Gen. xviii. 3, xix. 2.		Acts vii. 6, 7.
Gen. xviii. 10.		Acts vii. 8.
Gen. xviii. 12.		Heb. xiii. 2.
Gen. xix. 21.		Heb. xi. 11.
Gen. xxi. 12.		1 Pet. iii. 6.
Gen. xxi. 27.		2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude, verse 7.
Gen. xxvii. 31.		Heb. xi. 19.
Gen. l. 24.		Acts vii. 14.
Exod. ii. 2, 11.		Heb. xi. 21.
Exod. iii. 6.		Heb. xi. 22.
Exod. xii. 12, 18.		Heb. xi. 23—27. Acts vii. 20—29.
Exod. xiv. 22.		Mark xiii. 28. Acts vii. 31, 32.
Exod. xix. 12, 16, 18, 19.		Heb. xi. 28.
Exod. xx. 12—16. Deut. v. 16—20.		1 Cor. x. 2. Heb. xi. 29.
Exod. xxiii. 2. Num. viii. 16, 17.		Heb. xii. 18—20.
xviii. 15, 17.		{ Matt. xix. 18, 19. Mark x. 19. Luke
Lev. xiv. 3, 4, 10.		{ xviii. 20. Rom. xiii. 9. James ii. 11.
Lev. xix. 12.		Luke ii. 23.
Lev. xix. 18.		Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14.
Num. xi. 4.		Matt. v. 23.
Num. xiv. 23, 29, 37, and xxvi. 64, 65.		Matt. v. 43. Gal. v. 14.
Num. xxi. 4—6.		1 Cor. x. 6.
Num. xxii. 23, 39.		Heb. iii. 16, 17. Jude, verse 5.
Deut. xvii. 1.		1 Cor. x. 9.
		2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. Jude, 5, 11.
		1 Cor. ix. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Turretin, De Sacr. Script. Interpretatione, pp. 118, 119. see also pp. 107—117. The subject of Scripture quotations, which are made by way of illustration, is more fully discussed by Dr. Sharpe (Second Argument from Prophecy, pp. 317—366); Dr. Hey (Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 240, 262); Dr. Harwood (Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 279—290); Rimpnus (Comment. Crit. ad Libros Nov. Test. pp. 443, 449, 450); Bishop Kidder (in his Demonstration of the Messiah, chap. iii. Boyle's Lectures, vol. i. pp. 151—152); Dr. Nicholls (Conference with a Theist, part iii. vol. ii. pp. 10—13, ed. 1698); and especially by Dr. Sykes (On the Truth of the Christian Religion, chapters xiii. xiv. xv. pp. 206—226, edit. 1729). The reader will also find some excellent remarks on the different modes of quotation in Dr. Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, pp. 284—304.

<sup>2</sup> Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 422. § 136.

Deut. xiv. 1.	alluded to in	Mark v. 31. Mark x. i. Luke xvi. 16
Josh. ii. 1. vi. 22, 23.		Heb. xi. 31. James ii. 25.
Josh. vi. 30.		Heb. xi. 30.
Judges, the whole book, generally		Acts xvii. 20. Heb. xi. 32.
1 Sam. viii. 5. and x. 1.		Acts xiii. 21.
1 Sam. xiii. 14. xv. 23. xvi. 12, 13.		Acts xiii. 22.
1 Kings xvii. 1. and xviii. 42—45.		James v. 17, 18.
1 Chron. xxiii. 13.		Heb. v. 4.
Psal. xc. 4.		2 Pet. iii. 9.
Prov. xxvii. 1.		James iv. 13, 14.
Isa. xii. 3.		John vii. 38.
Isa. lxvi. 24.		Mark ix. 44.
Jer. vi. 16.		Matt. xi. 29.
Lam. iii. 45.		1 Cor. iv. 13.
Dan. iii. 23—25.		Heb. xi. 34.
Dan. ix. 27. xii. 11.		Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.
Hos. xiii. 11.		1 Cor. xv. 55.
Hos. xiv. 2.		Heb. xiii. 15.
Amos v. 25, 26, 27.		Acts vii. 42, 43.

SECTION III.

OF APOCRYPHAL PASSAGES, SUPPOSED TO BE QUOTED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.—QUOTATIONS FROM PROFANE AUTHORS.

It was a practice of the ancient Hebrew divines to cite, not only the Scriptures, as we have seen in the preceding sections, but also to quote histories, facts, and apophthegms or sayings of their early sages, which they had received by oral tradition from the time of Moses, in order to supply those passages which are wanting in the Pentateuch. Of this method of quotation we have three supposed instances in the New Testament. The first is 2 Tim. iii. 8. where we meet with the name of Jannes and Jambres as the two Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. Schickard and some other learned men are of opinion that Saint Paul, being deeply conversant in Jewish literature, derived his knowledge of these names from the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on Exod. vii. 11. But as there is reason to believe that this Targum is of too late a date to have been consulted by the apostle, it is most probable that he alluded to an ancient and generally received tradition relative to those men. What corroborates the latter conjecture is, that their names are mentioned by some ancient profane writers, as Numenius the Pythagorean,<sup>1</sup> by Artapanus,<sup>2</sup> and by Pliny.<sup>3</sup> The Jews affirm that they were princes of Pharaoh's magicians, and that they greatly resisted Moses.<sup>4</sup> Origen, who flourished in the second century, informs us, that there was extant, in his time, an apocryphal book concerning these magicians, inscribed *Jannes et Mambres Liber*.<sup>5</sup> The other two instances alluded to are the 9th verse of the Epistle of Jude, which cites the story of Michael the archangel, contending with Satan about the body of Moses, and the 14th verse of the same epistle, in which it has been supposed that he quoted an apocryphal prophecy of Enoch,<sup>6</sup> but both these instances are borrowed from traditional accounts then received by the Jews, with whom the apostle argues from their own authors and concessions.<sup>7</sup> If, however, it could be proved that the apostle had quoted a single passage from the apocryphal book of Enoch, such a quotation will no more prove his approbation of the whole book, than Paul's quotations from certain heathen poets prove that apostle's approbation of every part of the compositions to which he referred. On the subject of the supposed apocryphal quotations by Jude, see further, Vol. II. pp. 377, 378.

On a reference to the passages of the Old Testament, which are cited in the way of illustration by the evangelical writers,<sup>8</sup> it will be observed that by far the greater number of such quotations has been made by Saint Paul. But the same great apostle of the Gentiles, becoming all things to all men, and being deeply versed in the works of heathen authors, as well as in the sacred writings, did not confine himself exclusively to the inspired books; and, accordingly, we have three instances in the New Testament of the fine

<sup>1</sup> Apud Origen. contra Celsum, pp. 198, 199. edit. Spencer, and in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. l. 8. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> In Eusebius, l. 9. c. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Surenhusius, Bibles Kabbalæ, pp. 589, 590.

<sup>5</sup> Tract 35. in Matt. cited by Dr. Whaley on 2 Tim. iii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> See an account of the Apocryphal Book of Enoch the Prophet, in the Bibliographical Appendix to the second Volume, PART I. Chap. III. Sect. I. art. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Surenhusius (pp. 699—702) has given a long extract from the Jaikut Rubens, fol. 76. col. 2. which details the history of Michael's conflict with the devil. The same author (pp. 709—712) has also referred to many Rabbinical writers, who take notice of Enoch's prophecy.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 316—318. *supra*.

taste and ability with which he cited and applied passages from Pagan authors when contending with the Gentiles, or writing to Gentile converts. The first is in Acts xvii. 28., where he cites part of a verse from the *Phænomena* of Aratus.

..... τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἡμεῶν.

..... for we his offspring are.

The passage was originally spoken of the heathen deity Jupiter, and is dexterously applied to the true God by Paul, who draws a very strong and conclusive inference from it.

The second instance alluded to is in 1 Cor. xv. 33. in

which passage the apostle quotes a senary iambic, which is supposed to have been taken from Menander's last comedy of Thais,

Ἐπιπορευοῦντες ἐνὶ χριστῷ ἵμμενοι κακοῖς:

rendered, in our translation, *Evil communications corrupt good manners*.

The last instance to be noticed under this head is Titus i. 12., where St. Paul quotes from Epimenides, a Cretan poet the verse which has already been cited and illustrated in Vol. I. p. 81.; to which the reader is referred.



## *The Community Rule*

### 1. THE COMMUNITY RULE (1QS)



Discovered in cave 1, the eleven relatively well preserved columns of this manuscript were first published in 1951 by M. Burrows under the title, *The Manual of Discipline (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery II, New Haven)*. Important fragments of eleven other manuscripts of the Rule containing a certain number of variant readings were also found in caves IV and V. A list of these has been drawn up by J. T. Milik (*Revue Biblique*, 1960, pp. 412-15) and some of them have been adopted in the present translation.

The principal manuscript bears the stamp of editorial modification. For instance, in column X the original 'I will conceal knowledge with discretion' is corrected to 'I will impart knowledge with discretion'. The section covered by columns VIII-IX was particularly subject to alteration and is considerably abridged in one of the fragmentary manuscripts.

The Community Rule is probably one of the oldest documents of the sect; its original composition may date to around 100 B.C. It seems to have been intended for the Community's teachers, for its Masters or Guardians, and contains extracts from liturgical ceremonies, an outline of a model sermon on the spirits of truth and falsehood, statutes concerned with initiation into the sect and with its common life, organization and discipline, a penal code, and finally a poetic dissertation on the fundamental religious duties of the Master and his disciples, and on the sacred seasons proper to the Community.

There are, to my knowledge, no writings in ancient Jewish sources parallel to the Community Rule, but a similar type of literature flourished among Christians between the second and fourth centuries, the so-called 'Church Orders' represented by the Didache, the Didascalia, the Apostolic Constitution, etc.

The contents may be divided into three main sections, but further sub-headings appear in the text itself:

1. Entry into the Covenant, followed by an instruction on the two spirits (I-IV).
2. Statutes relating to the Council of the Community (V-IX).
3. Directives addressed to the Master, and the Master's Hymn (IX-XI).

I [The Master shall teach the saints to live [according to] the

*The Community Rule (2 of 11)*

Book of the Community Rule, that they may seek God with a whole heart and soul, and do what is good and right before Him as He commanded by the hand of Moses and all His servants the Prophets; that they may love all that He has chosen and hate all that he has rejected; that they may abstain from all evil and hold fast to all good; that they may practise truth, righteousness, and justice upon earth and no longer stubbornly follow a sinful heart and lustful eyes committing all manner of evil. He shall admit into the Covenant all those who have freely devoted themselves to the observance of God's precepts, that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may live perfectly before Him in accordance with all that has been revealed concerning their appointed times, and that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance.

All those who freely devote themselves to His truth shall bring all their knowledge, powers, and possessions into the Community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of God's precepts and order their powers according to His ways of perfection and all their possessions according to His righteous counsel. They shall not depart from any command of God concerning their times; they shall be neither early nor late for any of their appointed times, they shall stray neither to right nor to left of any of His true precepts. All those who embrace the Community Rule shall enter into the Covenant before God to obey all His commandments so that they may not abandon Him during the dominion of Satan because of fear or terror or affliction.

On entering the Covenant, the Priests and Levites shall bless the God of salvation and all His faithfulness, and all those entering the Covenant shall say after them, 'Amen, Amen!'

Then the Priests shall recite the favours of God manifested in His mighty deeds and shall declare all His merciful grace to Israel, and the Levites shall recite the iniquities of the children of Israel, all their guilty rebellions and sins during the dominion of Satan. And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall confess and say: 'We have strayed! We have [disobeyed!] We and our fathers before us have sinned and done wickedly in walking [counter to the precepts] of truth and righteousness. [And God has] judged us and our fathers also; II but He has bestowed His bountiful mercy on us from everlasting to everlasting.' And the Priests shall bless all the men of the lot of God who walk perfectly in all His ways, saying: 'May He bless you with all good

and preserve you from all evil! May He lighten your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge! May he raise His merciful face towards you for everlasting bliss!

And the Levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Satan, saying: 'Be cursed because of all your guilty wickedness! May He deliver you up for torture at the hands of the vengeful Avengers! May He visit you with destruction by the hand of all the Wreakers of Revenge! Be cursed without mercy because of the darkness of your deeds! Be damned in the shadowy place of everlasting fire! May God not heed when you call on Him, nor pardon you by blotting out your sin! May He raise His angry face towards you for vengeance! May there be no "Peace" for you in the mouth of those who hold fast to the Fathers!' And after the blessing and the cursing, all those entering the Covenant shall say, 'Amen, Amen!'

And the Priests and Levites shall continue, saying: 'Cursed be the man who enters this Covenant while walking among the idols of his heart, who sets up before himself his stumbling-block of sin so that he may backslide! Hearing the words of this Covenant, he blesses himself in his heart and says, "Peace be with me, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart" (Deut. xxix, 18-19), whereas his spirit, parched (for lack of truth) and watered (with lies), shall be destroyed without pardon. God's wrath and His zeal for His precepts shall consume him in everlasting destruction. All the curses of the Covenant shall cling to him and God will set him apart for evil. He shall be cut off from the midst of all the sons of light, and because he has turned aside from God on account of his idols and his stumbling-block of sin, his lot shall be among those who are cursed for ever.' And after them, all those entering the Covenant shall answer and say, 'Amen, Amen!'

Thus shall they do, year by year, for as long as the dominion of Satan endures. The Priests shall enter first, ranked one after another according to the perfection of their spirit; then the Levites; and thirdly, all the people one after another in their Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, that every Israelite may know his place in the Community of God according to the everlasting design. No man shall move down from his place nor move up from his allotted position. For according to the holy design, they shall all of them be in a Community of truth and virtuous humility, of loving kindness and good intent one towards the other, and (they shall all of them be) sons of the everlasting Community.

No man [shall be in the] Community of His truth who refuses to enter [the Covenant of] God so that he may walk in the stubbornness of his heart, for **III** his soul detests the wise teaching of just laws. He shall not be counted among the upright for he has not persisted in the conversion of his life. His knowledge, powers, and possessions shall not enter the Council of the Community, for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled (?). He shall not be justified by that which his stubborn heart declares lawful, for seeking the ways of light he looks towards darkness. He shall not be reckoned among the perfect; he shall neither be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by purifying waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor washed clean with any ablution. Unclean, unclean shall he be. For as long as he despises the precepts of God he shall receive no instruction in the Community of His counsel.

For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his sins shall be expiated that he may contemplate the light of life. He shall be cleansed from all his sins by the spirit of holiness uniting him to His truth, and his iniquity shall be expiated by the spirit of uprightness and humility. And when his flesh is sprinkled with purifying water and sanctified by cleansing water, it shall be made clean by the humble submission of his soul to all the precepts of God. Let him then order his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways commanded by God concerning the times appointed for him, straying neither to right nor to left and transgressing none of His words, and he shall be accepted by virtue of pleasing atonement before God and it shall be to him a Covenant of the everlasting Community.

The Master shall instruct all the sons of light and shall teach them the nature of all the children of men according to the kind of spirit which they possess, the signs identifying their works during their lifetime, their visitation for chastisement, and the time of their reward.

From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their whole design, and when, as ordained for them, they come into being, it is in accord with His glorious design that they accomplish their task without change. The laws of all things are in His hand and He provides them with all their needs.

He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed

for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light, but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness.

The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray, and until his end, all their sin, iniquities, wickedness, and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion in accordance with the mysteries of God. Every one of their chastisements, and every one of the seasons of their distress, shall be brought about by the rule of his persecution; for all his allotted spirits seek the overthrow of the sons of light.

But the God of Israel and His Angel of Truth will succour all the sons of light. For it is He who created the spirits of Light and Darkness and founded every action upon them and established every deed [upon] their [ways]. And He loves the one **IV** everlastingly and delights in its works for ever; but the counsel of the other He loathes and for ever hates its ways.

These are their ways in the world for the enlightenment of the heart of man, and that all the paths of true righteousness may be made straight before him, and that the fear of the laws of God may be instilled in his heart: a spirit of humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, and intelligence; (a spirit of) mighty wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and leans on His great lovingkindness; a spirit of discernment in every purpose, of zeal for just laws, of holy intent with steadfastness of heart, of great charity towards all the sons of truth, of admirable purity which detests all unclean idols, of humble conduct sprung from an understanding of all things, and of faithful concealment of the mysteries of truth. These are the counsels of the spirit to the sons of truth in this world.

And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit, it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light.

But the ways of the spirit of falsehood are these: greed, and slackness in the search for righteousness, wickedness and lies, haughtiness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds (committed) in a spirit of lust, and ways of lewdness

in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart, so that man walks in all the ways of darkness and guile. And the visitation of all who walk in this spirit shall be a multitude of plagues by the hand of all the destroying angels, everlasting damnation by the avenging wrath of the fury of God, eternal torment and endless disgrace together with shameful extinction in the fire of the dark regions. The times of all their generations shall be spent in sorrowful mourning and in bitter misery and in calamities of darkness until they are destroyed without remnant or survivor.

The nature of all the children of the men is ruled by these (two spirits), and during their life all the hosts of men have a portion of their divisions and walk in (both) their ways. And the whole reward for their deeds shall be, for everlasting ages, according to whether each man's portion in their two divisions is great or small. For God has established the spirits in equal measure until the final age, and has set everlasting hatred between their divisions. Truth abhors the works of falsehood, and falsehood hates all the ways of truth. And their struggle is fierce in all their arguments for they do not walk together.

But in the mysteries of His understanding, and in His glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for falsehood, and at the time of the visitation He will destroy it for ever. Then truth, which has walked in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of falsehood until the appointed time of judgement, shall arise in the world for ever. God will then purify every deed of man with His truth; He will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of falsehood from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of falsehood shall be put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood struggle in the hearts of men and they walk in both wisdom and folly. According to his portion of truth so does a man hate falsehood, and according to his inheritance in the realm of falsehood so is he wicked

and so hates truth. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the determined end, and until the Renewal, and He knows the reward of their deeds from all eternity. He has allotted them to the children of men that they may know good [and evil, and] that the destiny of all the living may be according to the spirit within [them at the time] of the visitation.

*V And this is the Rule for the men of the Community who have freely pledged themselves to be converted from all evil and to cling to all His commandments according to His will.*

They shall separate from the congregation of the men of falsehood and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of the men of the Community who hold fast to the Covenant. Every decision concerning doctrine, property, and justice shall be determined by them. They shall practise truth and humility in common, and justice and uprightness and charity and modesty in all their ways. No man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart so that he strays after his heart and eyes and evil inclination, but he shall circumsise in the Community the foreskin of evil inclination and of stiffness of neck that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the everlasting Covenant. They shall atone for all those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness, and for those in Israel who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth, and for those who join them to live in community and to take part in the trial and judgement and condemnation of all those who transgress the precepts.

On joining the Community, this shall be their code of behaviour with respect to all these precepts. Whoever approaches the Council of the Community shall enter the Covenant of God in the presence of all who have freely pledged themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will, and to the multitude of the men of their Covenant who together have freely pledged themselves to His truth and to walking in the way of His delight. And he shall undertake by the Covenant to separate from all the men of falsehood who walk in the way of wickedness.

him rebuke him on the very same day lest VI he incur guilt because of him. And furthermore, let no man accuse his companion before the Congregation without having first admonished him in the presence of witnesses.

These are the ways in which all of them shall walk, each man with his companion, wherever they dwell. The man of lesser rank shall obey the greater in matters of work and money. They shall eat in common and pray in common and deliberate in common.

Wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community there shall not lack a Priest among them. And they shall all sit before him according to their rank and shall be asked their counsel in all things in that order. And when the table has been prepared for eating, and the new wine for drinking, the Priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the first-fruits of the bread and new wine.

And where the ten are, there shall never lack a man among them who shall study the Law continually, day and night, concerning the right conduct of a man with his companion. And the Congregation shall watch in community for a third of every night of the year, to read the Book and to study Law and to pray together.

#### *This is the Rule for an Assembly of the Congregation*

Each man shall sit in his place: the Priests shall sit first, and the elders second, and all the rest of the people according to their rank. And thus shall they be questioned concerning the Law, and concerning any counsel or matter coming before the Congregation, each man bringing his knowledge to the Council of the Community.

No man shall interrupt a companion before his speech has ended, nor speak before a man of higher rank; each man shall speak in his turn. And in an Assembly of the Congregation no man shall speak without the consent of the Congregation, nor indeed of the Guardian of the Congregation. Should any man wish to speak to the Congregation, yet not be in a position to question the Council of the Community, let him rise to his feet and say: 'I have something to say to the Congregation.' If they command him to speak, he shall speak.

Every man, born of Israel, who freely pledges himself to join the Council of the Community shall be examined by the Guardian at the head of the Congregation concerning his understanding

For they are not reckoned in His Covenant. They have neither inquired nor sought after Him concerning His laws that they might know the hidden things in which they have sinfully erred; and matters revealed they have treated with insolence. Therefore Wrath shall rise up to condemn, and Vengeance shall be executed by the curses of the Covenant, and great chastisements of eternal destruction shall be visited on them, leaving no remnant. They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure Meal of the saints, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness: for all who transgress His word are unclean. Likewise, no man shall consort with him with regard to his work or property lest he be burdened with the guilt of his sin. He shall indeed keep away from him in all things: as it is written, *Keep away from all that is false* (Exod. xxiii, 7). No member of the Community shall follow them in matters of doctrine and justice, or eat or drink anything of theirs, or take anything from them except for a price; as it is written, *Keep away from the man in whose nostrils is breath, for whom is he counted?* (Isa. ii, 22). For all those not reckoned in His Covenant are to be set apart, together with all that is theirs. None of the saints shall lean upon works of vanity: for they are all vanity who know not His Covenant, and He will blot from the earth all them that despise His word. All their deeds are defilement before Him, and all their possessions unclean.

But when a man enters the Covenant to walk according to all these precepts that he may join the holy Congregation, they shall examine his spirit in community with respect to his understanding and practice of the Law, under the authority of the sons of Aaron who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to restore His Covenant and to heed all the precepts commanded by Him, and of the multitude of Israel who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to return to His Covenant. They shall inscribe them in the order, one after another, according to their understanding and their deeds, that every one may obey his companion, the man of lesser rank obeying his superior. And they shall examine their spirit and deeds yearly, so that each man may be advanced in accordance with his understanding and perfection of way, or moved down in accordance with the offences committed by him.

They shall rebuke one another in truth, humility, and charity. No man address his companion with anger, or ill-temper, or be accounted by the spirit of wickedness. Let no man have a wicked heart, but let

*The Community Rule (6 of 11)*

and his deeds. If he is fitted to the discipline, he shall admit him into the Covenant that he may be converted to the truth and depart from all falsehood; and he shall instruct him in all the rules of the Community. And later, when he comes to stand before the Congregation, they shall all deliberate his case, and according to the decision of the Council of the Congregation he shall either enter or depart. After he has entered the Council of the Community he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation until one full year is completed, and until he has been examined concerning his spirit and deeds; nor shall he have any share of the property of the Congregation. Then when he has completed one year within the Community, the Congregation shall deliberate his case with regard to his understanding and observance of the Law. And if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Priests and the multitude of the men of their Covenant, to enter the company of the Community, his property and earnings shall be handed over to the Bursar of the Congregation who shall register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation. He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community. But when the second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Congregation, to enter the Community, then he shall be inscribed among his brethren in the order of his rank for the Law, and for justice, and for the pure Meal; his property shall be merged and he shall offer his counsel and judgement to the Community.

*These are the Rules by which they shall judge at a Community (Court of Inquiry according to the cases)*

If one of them has lied deliberately in matters of property, he shall be excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance with respect to one quarter of his food.

Whoever has answered his companion with obstinacy, or has addressed him impatiently, going so far as to take no account of the dignity of his fellow by disobeying the order of a brother inscribed before him, he has taken the law into his own hand; therefore he shall do penance for one year [and shall be excluded].

If any man has uttered the [Most] Venerable Name VII even though frivolously, or as a result of shock or for any

other reason whatever, while reading the Book or praying, he shall be dismissed and shall return to the Council of the Community no more.

If he has spoken in anger against one of the Priests inscribed in the Book, he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded for his soul's sake from the pure Meal of the Congregation. But if he has spoken unwittingly, he shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately lied shall do penance for six months. Whoever has deliberately insulted his companion unjustly shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded.

Whoever has deliberately deceived his companion by word or by deed shall do penance for six months. If he has failed to care for his companion, he shall do penance for three months. But if he has failed to care for the property of the Community, thereby causing its loss, he shall restore it in full. And if he be unable to restore it, he shall do penance for sixty days.

Whoever has borne malice against his companion unjustly shall do penance for six months/one year; and likewise, whoever has taken revenge in any matter whatever.

Whoever has spoken foolishly: three months. Whoever has interrupted his companion whilst speaking: ten days. Whoever has lain down to sleep during an Assembly of the Congregation: thirty days. And likewise, whoever has left, without reason, an Assembly of the Congregation as many as three times during one Assembly, shall do penance for ten days. But if he has departed whilst they were standing he shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has gone naked before his companion, without having been obliged to do so, he shall do penance for six months. Whoever has spat in an Assembly of the Congregation shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has been so poorly dressed that when drawing his hand from beneath his garment his nakedness has been seen, he shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has guffawed foolishly shall do penance for thirty days. Whoever has drawn out his left hand to gesticulate with it shall do penance for ten days.

Whoever has gone about slandering his companion shall be



ing for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the Land and determining the judgement of wickedness, and there shall be no more iniquity. When they have been confirmed for two years in perfection of way by the authority of the Community, they shall be set apart as holy within the Council of the men of the Community. And the Interpreter shall not conceal from them, out of fear of the spirit of apostasy, any of those things hidden from Israel which have been discovered by him.

And when these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall separate from the habitation of ungodly men and shall go into the wilderness to prepare the way of Him; as it is written, *Prepare in the wilderness the way of . . . make straight in the desert a path for our God* (Isa. xl, 3). This (path) is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit.

And no man among the members of the Covenant of the Community who deliberately, on any point whatever, turns aside from all that is commanded, shall touch the pure Meal of the men of holiness or know anything of their counsel until his deeds are purified from all falsehood and he walks in perfection of way. And then, according to the judgement of the Congregation, he shall be admitted to the Council and shall be inscribed in his rank. This rule shall apply to whoever enters the Community.

*And these are the rules which the men of perfect holiness shall follow in their commerce with one another*

Every man who enters the Council of Holiness, (the Council of those) who walk in the way of perfection as commanded by God, and who deliberately or through negligence transgresses one word of the Law of Moses, on any point whatever, shall be expelled from the Council of the Community and shall return no more; no man of holiness shall be associated in his property or counsel in any matter at all. But if he has acted inadvertently, he shall be excluded from the pure Meal and the Council and they shall interpret the rule (as follows). For two years he shall take no

excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance. But whoever has slandered the Congregation shall be expelled from among them and shall return no more.

Whoever has murmured against the authority of the Community shall be expelled and shall not return. But if he has murmured against his companion unjustly, he shall do penance for six months.

Should a man return whose spirit has so trembled before the authority of the Community that he has betrayed the truth and walked in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall do penance for two years. During the first year he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation, and during the second year he shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation and shall sit below all the men of the Community. Then when his two years are completed, the Congregation shall consider his case, and if he is admitted he shall be inscribed in his rank and may then question concerning the Law.

If, after being in the Council of the Community for ten full years, the spirit of any man has failed so that he has betrayed the Community and departed from the Congregation to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall return no more to the Council of the Community. Moreover, if any member of the Community has shared with him his food or property which . . . of the Congregation, his sentence shall be the same; he shall be expelled].

**VIII** In the Council of the Community there shall be twelve men and three Priests, perfectly versed in all that is revealed of the Law, whose works shall be truth, righteousness, justice, loving kindness and humility. They shall preserve the faith in the Land with steadfastness and meekness and shall atone for sin by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction. They shall walk with all men according to the standard of truth and the rule of the time.

When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses to the truth at the Judgement, and shall be the elect of Goodwill who shall atone for the Land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall, that *precious corner-stone*, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place (Isa. xxviii, 16). It shall be a Most Holy Dwell-

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part in judgement or ask for counsel; but if, during that time, his way becomes perfect, then he shall return to the (Court of) Inquiry and the Council, in accordance with the judgement of the Congregation, provided that he commit no further inadvertent sin during two full years. IX For one sin of inadvertence (alone) he shall do penance for two years. But as for him who has sinned deliberately, he shall never return; only the man who has sinned inadvertently shall be tried for two years that his way and counsel may be made perfect according to the judgement of the Congregation. And afterwards, he shall be inscribed in his rank in the Community of Holiness.

When these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain lovingkindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering. At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness in order that it may be united to the most holy things and a House of Community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection. The sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property, and every rule concerning the men of the Community shall be determined according to their word.

As for the property of the men of holiness who walk in perfection, it shall not be merged with that of the men of falsehood who have not purified their life by separating themselves from iniquity and walking in the way of perfection. They shall depart from none of the counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their hearts, but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the Community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

*These are the precepts in which the Master shall walk in his commerce with all the living, according to the rule proper to every season and according to the worth of every man*

He shall do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age.

He shall measure out all knowledge discovered throughout the ages, together with the Precept of the age.

He shall separate and weigh the sons of righteousness according to their spirit.

He shall hold firmly to the elect of the time according to His will, as He has commanded.

He shall judge every man according to his spirit. He shall admit him in accordance with the cleanness of his hands and advance him in accordance with his understanding. And he shall love and hate likewise.

He shall not rebuke the men of the Pit nor dispute with them.

He shall conceal the teaching of the Law from men of falsehood, but shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the Way. He shall guide them all in knowledge according to the spirit of each and according to the rule of the age, and shall thus instruct them in the mysteries of marvellous truth that in the midst of the men of the Community they may walk perfectly together in all that has been revealed to them. This is the time for the preparation of the way into the wilderness, and he shall teach them to do all that is required at that time and to separate from all those who have not turned aside from all ungodliness.

*These are the rules of conduct for the Master in those times with respect to his loving and hating*

Everlasting hatred in a spirit of secrecy for the men of perdition! He shall leave to them wealth and earnings like a slave to his lord and like a poor man to his master.

He shall be a man zealous for the Precept whose time is for the Day of Revenge. He shall perform the will of God in all his deeds, and in all his dominion as He has commanded. He shall freely delight in all that befalls him and nothing shall please him save God's will. He shall delight in all the words of His mouth and shall desire nothing except His command. He shall watch always [for] the judgement of God, and shall bless his Maker [for all His goodness] and declare [His mercies] in all that befalls.

He shall bless Him [with the offering] of the lips X at the times ordained by Him: at the beginning of the dominion of light, and at its end when it retires to its appointed place; at the beginning of the watches of darkness when He unlocks their storehouse and spreads them out, and also at their end when they retire before the light; when the heavenly lights shine out from the dwelling-place of Holiness, and also when they retire to the place of Glory; at the entry of the (monthly) seasons on the days of the new moon, and also at their end when they succeed to one



*The Community Rule (9 of 11)**The Community Rule (1QS)*

I will bless His Name.  
 I will praise Him before I go out or enter,  
 or sit or rise,  
 and whilst I lie on the couch of my bed.  
 I will bless Him with the offering  
 of that which proceeds from my lips  
 from the midst of the ranks of men,  
 and before I lift my hands to eat  
 of the pleasant fruits of the earth.  
 I will bless Him for His exceeding wonderful deeds  
 at the beginning of fear and dread  
 and in the abode of distress and desolation.  
 I will meditate on His power  
 and will lean on His mercies all day long.  
 I know that judgement of all the living  
 is in His hand,  
 and that all His deeds are truth.  
 I will praise Him when distress is unleashed  
 and will magnify Him also because of His salvation.  
 I will pay to no man the reward of evil;  
 I will pursue him with goodness.  
 For judgement of all the living is with God  
 and it is He who will render to man his reward.  
 I will not envy in a spirit of wickedness,  
 my soul shall not desire the riches of violence.  
 I will not grapple with the men of perdition  
 until the Day of Revenge,  
 but my wrath shall not turn from the men of falsehood  
 and I will not rejoice until judgement is made.  
 I will bear no rancour  
 against them that turn from transgression,  
 but will have no pity  
 on all who depart from the way.  
 I will offer no comfort to the smitten  
 until their way becomes perfect.  
 I will not keep Satan within my heart,  
 and in my mouth shall be heard  
 no folly or sinful deceit,  
 no cunning or lies shall be found on my lips.  
 The fruit of holiness shall be on my tongue  
 and no abominations shall be found upon it.  
 I will open my mouth  
 in songs of thanksgiving,  
 and my tongue shall always proclaim  
 the goodness of God and the sin of men

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another. Their renewal is a great day for the Holy of Holies, and a sign for the unlocking of everlasting mercies at the beginning of seasons in all times to come.

At the beginning of the months of the (yearly) seasons  
 and on the holy days appointed for remembrance,  
 in their seasons I will bless Him  
 with the offering of the lips  
 according to the Precept engraved for ever:  
 at the beginning of the years  
 and at the end of their seasons  
 when their appointed law is fulfilled,  
 on the day decreed by Him  
 that they should pass from one to the other –  
 the season of early harvest to the summer time,  
 the season of sowing to the season of grass,  
 the seasons of years to their weeks (of years) –  
 and at the beginning of their weeks  
 for the season of Jubilee.  
 All my life the engraved Precept shall be on my tongue  
 as the fruit of praise  
 and the portion of my lips.  
 I will sing with knowledge and all my music  
 shall be for the glory of God.  
 (My) lyre (and) my harp shall sound  
 for His holy order  
 and I will tune the pipe of my lips  
 to His right measure.  
 With the coming of day and night  
 I will enter the Covenant of God,  
 and when evening and morning depart  
 I will recite His decrees.  
 I will place in them my bounds without return.  
 I will declare His judgement concerning my sins,  
 and my transgressions shall be before my eyes  
 as an engraved Precept.  
 I will say to God, 'My Righteousness'  
 and 'Author of my Goodness' to the Most High,  
 'Fountain of Knowledge' and 'Source of Holiness',  
 'Summit of Glory' and 'Almighty Eternal Majesty'.  
 I will choose that which He teaches me  
 and will delight in His judgement of me.  
 Before I move my hands and feet

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until their transgression ends.  
 I will cause vanities  
 to cease from my lips,  
 uncleanness and crookedness  
 from the knowledge of my heart.  
 I will impart/conceal knowledge with discretion  
 and will prudently hedge it within a firm bound  
 to preserve faith and strong judgement  
 in accordance with the justice of God.  
 I will distribute the Precept  
 by the measuring-cord of the times,  
 and . . . righteousness  
 and lovingkindness towards the oppressed,  
 encouragement to the troubled heart  
 XI and discernment to the erring spirit,  
 teaching understanding to them that murmur  
 that they may answer meekly  
 before the haughty of spirit  
 and humbly before men of injustice  
 and who point the finger and speak of iniquity  
 and who are zealous for wealth.

As for me,  
 my justification is with God.  
 In His hand are the perfection of my way  
 and the uprightness of my heart.  
 He will wipe out my transgression  
 through His righteousness.  
 For my light has sprung  
 from the source of His knowledge;  
 my eyes have beheld His marvellous deeds,  
 and the light of my heart, the mystery to come.  
 He that is everlasting  
 is the support of my right hand;  
 the way of my steps is over stout rock  
 which nothing shall shake;  
 for the rock of my steps is the truth of God  
 and His might is the support of my right hand.  
 From the source of His righteousness  
 is my justification,  
 and from His marvellous mysteries  
 is the light in my heart.  
 My eyes have gazed  
 on that which is eternal,  
 on wisdom concealed from men,

*The Community Rule (1QS)*

on knowledge and wise design  
 (hidden) from the sons of men;  
 on a fountain of righteousness  
 and on a storehouse of power,  
 on a spring of glory  
 (hidden) from the assembly of flesh.  
 God has given them to His chosen ones  
 as an everlasting possession,  
 and has caused them to inherit  
 the lot of the Holy Ones.  
 He has joined their assembly  
 to the Sons of Heaven  
 to be a Council of the Community,  
 a foundation of the Building of Holiness,  
 and eternal Plantation throughout all ages to come.

As for me,  
 I belong to wicked mankind,  
 to the company of ungodly flesh.  
 My iniquities, rebellions, and sins,  
 together with the perversity of my heart,  
 belong to the company of worms  
 and to those who walk in darkness.  
 For mankind has no way,  
 and man is unable to establish his steps  
 since justification is with God  
 and perfection of way is out of His hand.  
 All things come to pass by His knowledge;  
 He establishes all things by His design  
 and without Him nothing is done.

As for me,  
 if I stumble, the mercies of God  
 shall be my eternal salvation.  
 If I stagger because of the sin of flesh,  
 my justification shall be  
 by the righteousness of God which endures for ever.  
 When my distress is unleashed  
 He will deliver my soul from the Pit  
 and will direct my steps to the way.  
 He will draw me near by His grace,  
 and by His mercy will He bring my justification.  
 He will judge me in the righteousness of His truth  
 and in the greatness of His goodness  
 He will pardon all my sins.  
 Through His righteousness he will cleanse me  
 of the uncleanness of man

and of the sins of the children of men,  
that I may confess to God His righteousness,  
and His majesty to the Most High.

Blessed art Thou, my God,  
who openest the heart of Thy servant to knowledge!  
Establish all his deeds in righteousness,  
and as it pleases Thee to do for the elect of mankind,  
grant that the son of Thy handmaid  
may stand before Thee for ever.

For without Thee no way is perfect,  
and without Thy will nothing is done.  
It is Thou who hast taught all knowledge  
and all things come to pass by Thy will.  
There is none beside Thee to dispute Thy counsel  
or to understand all Thy holy design,  
or to contemplate the depth of Thy mysteries  
and the power of Thy might.

Who can endure Thy glory,  
and what is the son of man  
in the midst of Thy wonderful deeds?  
What shall one born of woman  
be accounted before Thee?  
Kneaded from the dust,  
his abode is the nourishment of worms.  
He is but a shape, but moulded clay,  
and inclines towards dust.  
What shall hand-moulded clay reply?  
What counsel shall it understand?

## 2. THE DAMASCUS RULE (CD)



Extensive fragments of the Damascus Rule have been recovered from three of the Qumran caves, but two incomplete medieval copies of this document had been found already many years earlier, in 1896-7, amongst a mass of discarded manuscripts in a store-room (*geniza*) of an old Cairo synagogue. Published in 1910 by S. Schechter (*Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge), they were reprinted with a new Prolegomenon by J. A. Fitzmyer in 1970, and re-edited by Chaim Rabin under the title, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, 1954).

Dating from the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively, the manuscripts found in Cairo - Manuscript A and Manuscript B - raise a certain number of textual problems in that they present two different versions of the original composition. I have settled the difficulty as satisfactorily as I can by following Manuscript A, to which the unpublished Qumran fragments correspond, and by inserting the Manuscript B variants in brackets or footnotes. At a certain point, as the reader will see, Manuscript A comes to an end and we then have to rely entirely on Manuscript B. Furthermore, following the suggestion made by J. T. Milik in *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London, 1959, pp. 151-2), I have rearranged the order of the pages and placed pages xv and xvi before page ix.

The title 'Damascus Rule' derives from the references in the Exhortation to the 'New Covenant' made 'in the land of Damascus'. The significance of this phrase is discussed in Chapter II (p. 32) together with the chronological data included in the manuscript. They suggest that the document was written in about 100 B.C. and this hypothesis is indirectly supported by the absence of any mention in the historical passages of the Kittim (Romans) whose invasion of the Orient did not take place until after 70 B.C.

The work is divided into an Exhortation and a list of Statutes. In the Exhortation, the preacher - probably a Guardian of the Community - addresses his 'sons' on the themes of the sect's teaching, many of which appear also in the Community Rule. His aim is to encourage the sectaries to remain faithful, and with this end in view he sets out to demonstrate from the history of Israel and the Community that fidelity is always rewarded and apostasy chastised.

During the course of his argument, the author of the Damascus Rule

*The Messianic Rule (1QS<sub>a</sub>)*

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and the Levites, each man in the [class] of his duty; these are the men of renown, the members of the assembly summoned to the Council of the Community in Israel before the sons of Zadok the Priests.

And no man smitten with any human uncleanness shall enter the assembly of God; no man smitten with any of them shall be confirmed in his office in the congregation. No man smitten in his flesh, or paralysed in his feet or hands, or lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or smitten in his flesh with a visible blemish; no old and tottery man unable to stay still in the midst of the congregation; none of these shall come to hold office among the congregation of the men of renown, for the Angels of Holiness are [with] their [congregation]. Should [one] of them have something to say to the Council of Holiness, let [him] be questioned privately; but let him not enter among [the congregation] for he is smitten.

[This shall be the assembly of the men of renown [called] to the meeting of the Council of the Community when [the Priest-]Messiah shall summon them

He shall come [at] the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all [his brethren, the sons] of Aaron the Priests, [those called] to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit [before him, each man] in the order of his dignity. And then [the Messiah] of Israel shall [come], and the chiefs of the [clans of Israel] shall sit before him, [each] in the order of his dignity, according to [his place] in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of [family of the congregation, and the wise men of [the holy congregation,] each in the order of his dignity.

And [when] they shall gather for the common [table], to eat and [to drink] new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine [poured] for drinking, let no man extend his hand over the first-fruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for [it is he] who shall bless the first-fruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first [to extend] his hand over the bread. Thereafter, the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread, [and] all the congregation of the Community [shall utter a] blessing, [each man in the order] of his dignity.

It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every me[al at which] at least ten men are gathered together.

## 4. THE WAR RULE (1QM, 4QM)



The nineteen badly mutilated columns of this manuscript from cave 1 first appeared in 1954 in a posthumous work by E. L. Sukenik, and were re-edited in 1955, with an English introduction, under the title *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem). Copious fragments of six further manuscripts were discovered in cave 4, and published in 1982 by M. Baillet in *DJD VII* (4Q491-496 or 4QM<sup>a-f</sup>). Some of these basically reflect the cave 1 text and help to complete its gaps: M<sup>a</sup>, M<sup>b</sup>, M<sup>d</sup> and M<sup>e</sup> have been used for this purpose, especially in columns 1, xiv and xix. On the other hand, M<sup>a</sup> and M<sup>e</sup> attest different recensions of the War Rule. Representative sections from these manuscripts will be translated separately.

The contents of the War Rule are as follows:

- Proclamation of war against the Kittim (col. 1)
- Reorganization of Temple worship (col. 11)
- Programme of the forty years' war (col. 11)
- The trumpets (col. 11)
- The standards (cols. 11-14)
- Disposition and weapons of the front formations (col. 15)
- Movements of the attacking infantry (col. 16)
- Disposition and movements of the cavalry (col. 16)
- Age of the soldiers (cols. 16-17)
- The camp (col. 17)
- Duties of the Priests and Levites (exhortation, trumpet signals) (cols. 17-19)
- Addresses and prayers of the battle liturgy (cols. 19-21)
- Prayer recited at the moment of victory (col. 21)
- Thanksgiving ceremony (col. 21)
- Battle against the Kittim (cols. 21-23)

Since the five last columns are more or less repetitious, there has been some doubt concerning the unity of the composition. Those who consider all nineteen columns to be the work of one writer find in column 1 an introduction, in columns 11-14 general rules, and in columns 15-19 a 'prophetic' description of the final battle fought according to those rules. Other experts explain that columns 15-19 are a Rule annexed dependent on the principal Rule (cols. 11-14).

I am myself inclined to follow the theory first advanced by J. van der

## The War Rule (1QM, 4QM)

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Ploeg (*Le Rouleau de la guerre*, Leiden, 1959, pp. 11–22). The primitive work, represented in the present composition by columns I and xv–xix, draws its inspiration from Daniel xi, 40–xii, 3, and combined with the content against the Kittim. This account was later combined with the battle of a holy forty years' war against the entire Gentile world, and was extended by the addition of a long series of Rules concerned with the military and religious preparation and with the conduct of the fighting (cols. ii–xiv). This appears to me to offer a more satisfactory explanation of the literary complexities of the manuscript than do the previous hypotheses. The text of the manuscripts from cave 4, especially 4QM<sup>a</sup> and M<sup>s</sup>, indicate that diverse redactions of the War Rule co-existed in the Qumran library.

The only certain pointer to the date of the compilation of the War Rule is that, since the author made use of the book of Daniel written in about 160 B.C., his own work must have been started after that time. But a more accurate dating may be attempted by studying the military strategy and tactics described in the Scroll. Scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether the sons of light modelled them on Greek or Roman custom, or whether they merely drew their ideas from the Bible. Scripture doubtless exercised a definite influence on the author of this Rule, but there is nevertheless a great deal of material completely foreign to it, and he must have possessed, in addition, at least some acquaintance with contemporary warfare.

With Y. Yadin and other archaeologists and historians, I believe that both the weapons and the tactics of the War Rule correspond to the art of war practised by the Roman legion rather than by the Greek phalanx. In particular, the square shield (*scutum*) of the foot-soldier, and the buckler of the horseman (*parma* or *clipeus*), the battle array of three lines (*acies triplex*), the openings between the units, viz. the 'gates of war' (*intervalla*), seem to be characteristically Roman. In addition, only the cavalry were to wear greaves – a custom introduced into the Roman army during the time of Julius Caesar in the middle of the first century B.C. This and similar details, as well as the general representation of the Kittim as masters of the world, lead one to conclude that the War Rule was written some time after the middle of the first century B.C., and as the reference to the 'king' of the Kittim points to the Imperial epoch (after 27 B.C.), the date of its composition should probably be placed in the last decades of the first century B.C. or at the beginning of the first century A.D.

This work should not be mistaken for a manual of military warfare pure and simple. It is a theological writing, and the war of which it treats symbolizes the eternal struggle between the spirits of Light and Darkness. The phases of its battle are fixed in advance, its plan established, and its duration predetermined. The opposing forces are equally matched and only by the intervention of 'the mighty hand of God' is the balance between them to be disturbed when he deals an 'everlasting blow' to 'Satan and all the host of his kingdom'.

1QM

I For the M[aster. The Rule of] War on the unleashing of the attack of the sons of light against the company of the sons of darkness, the army of Satan: against the band of Edom, Moab, and the sons of Ammon, and [against the army of the sons of the East and] the Philistines, and against the bands of the Kittim of Assyria and their allies the ungodly of the Covenant

The sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, the exiles in the desert, shall battle against them in . . . all their bands when the exiled sons of light return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem; and after the battle they shall go up from there (to Jerusalem?).

[The king] of the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt, and in his time he shall set out in great wrath to wage war against the kings of the north, that his fury may destroy and cut off the horn of [Israel].

This shall be a time of salvation for the people of God, an age of dominion for all the members of His company, and of everlasting destruction for all the company of Satan. The confusion of the sons of Japheth shall be [great] and Assyria shall fall unsuccoured. The dominion of the Kittim shall come to an end and iniquity shall be vanquished, leaving no remnant; [for the sons] of darkness there shall be no escape. [The sons of righteousness shall shine over all the ends of the earth; they shall go on shining until all the seasons of darkness are consumed and, at the season appointed by God, His exalted greatness shall shine eternally to the peace, blessing, glory, joy, and long life of all the sons of light.

On the day when the Kittim fall, there shall be battle and terrible carnage before the God of Israel, for that shall be the day appointed from ancient times for the battle of destruction of the sons of darkness. At that time, the assembly of gods and the hosts of men shall battle, causing great carnage; on the day of calamity, the sons of light shall battle with the company of darkness amid the shouts of a mighty multitude and the clamour of gods and men to (make manifest) the might of God. And it shall be a time of [great] tribulation for the people which God shall redeem; of all its afflictions none shall be as this, from its sudden beginning until its end in eternal redemption.

On the day of their battle against the Kittim [they shall set out for] carnage. In three lots shall the sons of light brace themselves

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and Hul and Togar and Mesha beyond the Euphrates; during the fourth and fifth, they shall fight against the sons of Arphakshad; during the sixth and seventh, against all the sons of Assyria and Persia and the East as far as the Great Desert; during the eighth year they shall fight against the sons of Elam; during the ninth, against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah. In the ten years which follow, the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham according to [their clans and in their ha]bitations; and during the ten years which remain, the war shall be divided against all [the sons of Japheth in] their habitations.

*[The Rule for the trumpets of Summons and the trumpets of Alarm according to all their duties*

... [the trumpets of Summons shall sound for disposal in] **III** battle formations and to summon the foot-soldiers to advance when the gates of war shall open; and the trumpets of Alarm shall sound for massacre, and for ambush, and for pursuit when the enemy shall be smitten, and for retreat from battle.

On the trumpets calling the congregation they shall write, *The Called of God.*

On the trumpets calling the chiefs they shall write, *The Princes of God.*

On the trumpets of the levies they shall write, *The Army of God.*

On the trumpets of the men of renown and of the heads of family of the congregation gathered in the house of Assembly they shall write, *Summoned by God to the Council of Holiness.*

On the trumpets of the camps they shall write, *The Peace of God in the Camps of His Saints.*

And on the trumpets for breaking camp they shall write, *The mighty Deeds of God shall crush the Enemy, putting to Flight all those who hate Righteousness and bringing Shame on those who hate Him.*

On the trumpets for battle formations they shall write, *Formations of the Divisions of God for the Vengeance of His Wrath on the Sons of Darkness.*

On the trumpets summoning the foot-soldiers to advance towards the enemy formations when the gates of war are opened they shall write, *Reminder of Vengeance in God's appointed Time.*

On the trumpets of massacre they shall write, *The mighty Hand of God in War shall cause all the ungodly Slain to fall.*

On the trumpets of ambush they shall write, *The Mysteries of God shall undo Wickedness.*

On the trumpets of pursuit they shall write, *God has smitten*

in battle to strike down iniquity, and in three lots shall Satan's host gird itself to thrust back the company [of God]. And when the hearts of the detachments of foot-soldiers faint, then shall the might of God fortify [the hearts of the sons of light]. And with the seventh lot, the mighty hand of God shall bring down [the army of Satan, and all] the angels of his kingdom, and all the members [of his company in everlasting destruction] . . .

... The priests, the Levites and the heads of [the tribes] . . . the priests as well as the Levites and the divisions of **II** the fifty-two heads of family of the congregation.

They shall rank the chief Priests below the High Priest and his vicar. And the twelve chief Priests shall minister at the daily sacrifice before God, whereas the twenty-six leaders of the priestly divisions shall minister in their divisions.

Below them, in perpetual ministry, shall be the chiefs of the Levites to the number of twelve, one for each tribe. The leaders of their divisions shall minister each in his place.

Below them shall be the chiefs of the tribes together with the heads of family of the congregation. They shall attend daily at the gates of the Sanctuary, whereas the leaders of their divisions, with their numbered men, shall attend at their appointed times, on new moons and on Sabbaths and on all the days of the year, their age being fifty years and over.

These are the men who shall attend at holocausts and sacrifices to prepare sweet-smelling incense for the good pleasure of God, to atone for all His congregation, and to satisfy themselves perpetually before Him at the table of glory. They shall arrange all these things during the season of the year of Release.

During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown, those summoned to the Assembly, together with all the heads of family of the congregation, shall choose for themselves fighting-men for all the lands of the nations. They shall arm for themselves warriors from all the tribes of Israel to enter the army year by year when they are summoned to war. But they shall arm no man for entry into the army during the years of Release, for they are Sabbaths of rest for Israel. In the thirty-five years of service, the war shall be fought during six; the whole congregation shall fight it together.

And during the remaining twenty-nine years the war shall be divided. During the first year they shall fight against Aram-Naharaim; during the second, against the sons of Lud; during the third, against the remnant of the sons of Aram, against Uz

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*Ungodly is ended by the Power of God, together with the name of the chief of the Fifty and the names of the leaders of its Tens.*

On the standard of the Ten they shall write, *Praised be God on the ten-stringed Harp*, together with the name of the chief of the Ten and the names of the nine men under his command.

When they march out to battle they shall write on their standards, *Truth of God, Justice of God, Glory of God, Judgement of God*, followed by the whole ordered list of their names.

When they approach for battle they shall write on their standards, *Right Hand of God, Appointed Time of God, Tumult of God, Slain of God*, followed by the whole list of their names.

When they return from battle they shall write on their standards, *Honour of God, Majesty of God, Splendour of God, Glory of God*, together with the whole list of their names.

*The Rule for the standards of the congregation*

When they set out for battle they shall write, on the first standard *Congregation of God*, on the second standard *Camps of God*, on the third standard *Tribes of God*, on the fourth standard *Clans of God*, on the fifth standard *Divisions of God*, on the sixth standard *Assembly of God*, on the seventh standard *The Called of God*, on the eighth standard *Hosts of God*; and they shall write the list of their names with all their order.

When they approach for battle they shall write on their standards, *War of God, Vengeance of God, Trial of God, Reward of God, Power of God, Retributions of God, Might of God, Extermination of God for all the Nations of Vanity*; and they shall write on them the whole list of their names.

When they return from battle they shall write on their standards, *Salvation of God, Victory of God, Help of God, Support of God, Joy of God, Thanksgivings of God, Praise of God, Peace of God*.

[The measurements of the standards.] The standard of the whole congregation shall be fourteen cubits long; the standard [of the three tribes,] thirteen cubits long; [the standard of the tribe,] twelve cubits; [the standard of the Myriad], eleven cubits; [the standard of the Thousand, ten cubits; the standard of the Hundred,] nine cubits; [the standard of the Fifty, eight] cubits; the standard of the Ten, [seven cubits] . . .

*all the Sons of Darkness; His Fury shall not end until they are utterly consumed.*

On the trumpets of retreat, when they retreat from battle to the formation, they shall write, *God has reassembled*.

On the trumpets of return from battle against the enemy when they journey to the congregation in Jerusalem they shall write, *Rejoicings of God in the peaceful Return*.

*The Rule for the standards of the whole congregation according to their levies*

On the great standard at the head of the people they shall write, *The People of God*, together with the names of Israel and Aaron, and the names of the twelve [tribes of Israel] according to the order of their precedence.

On the standards of the camp columns formed by three tribes they shall write, . . . of God, together with the name of the leader of the camp . . .

On the standard of the tribe they shall write, *Banner of God*, together with the name of the leader of [the tribe and the names of the chiefs of its clans].

[On the standard of the Myriad they shall write, . . . of God, together with] the name of the chief of the Myriad and the names of the [leaders of its Thousands].

[On the standard of the Thousand they shall write, . . . of God, together with the name of the chief of the Thousand and the names of the leaders of its Hundreds].

[On the standard of Hundred] . . .

IV On the standard of Merari they shall write, *The Votive Offering of God*, together with the name of the chief of Merari and the names of the leaders of its Thousands.

On the standard of the Thousand they shall write, *The Wrath of God is kindled against Satan and against the Men of his Company, leaving no Remnant*, together with the name of the chief of the Thousand and the names of the leaders of its Hundreds.

On the standard of the Hundred they shall write, *From God comes the Might of War against all sinful Flesh*, together with the name of the chief of the Hundred and the names of the leaders of its Fifties.

On the standard of the Fifty they shall write, *The Stand of the*



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V And on the sh[ield of] the Prince of all the congregation they shall write his name, together with the names of Israel, Levi and Aaron, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to the order of their precedence, with the names of their twelve chiefs.

*The Rule for the ordering of the battle divisions to complete a front formation when their host has reached its full number*

The formation shall consist of one thousand men ranked seven lines deep, each man standing behind the other.

They shall all hold shields of bronze burnished like mirrors. The shield shall be edged with an interlaced border and with inlaid ornament, a work of art in pure gold and silver and bronze and precious stones, a many-coloured design worked by a craftsman. The length of the shield shall be two and a half cubits and its width one and a half cubits.

In their hands they shall hold a spear and a sword. The length of the spear shall be seven cubits, of which the socket and spike shall measure half a cubit. The socket shall be edged with three embossed interlaced rings of pure gold and silver and bronze, a work of art. The inlaid ornaments on both edges of the ring shall be bordered with precious stones – patterned bands worked by a craftsman – and (embossed) with ears of corn. Between the rings, the socket shall be embossed with artistry like a pillar. The spike shall be made of brilliant white iron, the work of a craftsman; in its centre, pointing towards the tip, shall be ears of corn in pure gold.

The swords shall be made of pure iron refined by the smelter and blanched to resemble a mirror, the work of a craftsman; on both sides (of their blades) pointing towards the tip, figured ears of corn shall be embossed in pure gold, and they shall have two straight borders on each side. The length of the sword shall be one and a half cubits and its width four fingers. The width of the scabbard shall be four thumbs. There shall be four palms to the scabbard (from the girdle), and it shall be attached (to the girdle) on both sides for a length of five palms (?). The hilt of the sword shall be of pure horn worked by a craftsman, with patterned bands in gold and silver and precious stones . . .

VI seven times and shall return to their positions.

*The War Rule (1QM, 4QM)*

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And after them, three divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance and shall station themselves between the formations, and the first division shall hurl seven javelins of war towards the enemy formation. On the point of the javelins they shall write, *Shining Javelin of the Power of God*; and on the darts of the second division they shall write, *Bloody Spikes to bring down the Slain by the Wrath of God*; and on the javelins of the third division they shall write, *Flaming Blade to devour the Wicked struck down by the Judgement of God*. All these shall hurl their javelins seven times and shall afterwards return to their positions.

Then two divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance and shall station themselves between the two formations. The first division shall be armed with a spear and a shield, and the second with a shield and a sword, to bring down the slain by the judgement of God, and to bend the enemy formation by the power of God, to pay the reward of their wickedness to all the nations of vanity. And sovereignty shall be to the God of Israel, and He shall accomplish mighty deeds by the saints of his people.

Seven troops of horsemen shall also station themselves to right and to left of the formation; their troops shall stand on this (side) and on that, seven hundred horsemen on one flank and seven hundred horsemen on the other. Two hundred horsemen shall advance with the thousand men of the formation of foot-soldiers; and they shall likewise station themselves on both [flanks] of the camp. Altogether there shall be four thousand six hundred (men), and one thousand cavalymen with the men of the army formations, fifty to each formation. The horsemen, together with the cavalry of the army, shall number six thousand: five hundred to each tribe.

The horses advancing into battle with the foot-soldiers shall all be stallions; they shall be swift, sensitive of mouth, and sound of wind, and of the required age, trained for war, and accustomed to noise and to every (kind of) sight. Their riders shall be gallant fighting men and skilled horsemen, and their age shall be from thirty to forty-five years. The horsemen of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old. They [and their mounts shall wear breast-plates,] helmets, and greaves; they shall carry in their hands bucklers, and a spear [eight cubits] long. [The horsemen advancing with the foot-soldiers shall carry] bows and arrows and javelins



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of war. They shall all hold themselves prepared . . . of God and to spill the blood of the wicked . . .

VII The men of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old. The inspectors of the camps shall be from fifty to sixty years old.

The officers shall be from forty to fifty years old.

The despoilers of the slain, the plunderers of booty, the cleaners of the land, the keepers of the baggage, and those who furnish the provisions shall be from twenty-five to thirty years old.

No boy or woman shall enter their camps, from the time they leave Jerusalem and march out to war until they return. No man who is lame, or blind, or crippled, or afflicted with a lasting bodily blemish, or smitten with a bodily impurity, none of these shall march out to war with them. They shall all be freely enlisted for war, perfect in spirit and body and prepared for the Day of Vengeance. And no man shall go down with them on the day of battle who is impure because of his 'fount', for the holy angels shall be with their hosts. And there shall be a space of about two thousand cubits between all their camps for the place serving as a latrine, so that no indecent nakedness may be seen in the surroundings of their camps.

When the battle formations are marshalled facing the enemy, formation facing formation, seven Priests of the sons of Aaron shall advance from the middle gates to the place between the formations. They shall be clothed in vestments of white cloth of flax, in a fine linen tunic and fine linen breeches; and they shall be girdled with fine cloth of flax embroidered with blue, purple, and scarlet thread, a many-coloured design worked by a craftsman. And on their heads they shall wear mitred turbans. These shall be battle raiment; they shall not take them into the Sanctuary.

The first Priest shall advance before the men of the formation to strengthen their hand for battle, and the six other Priests shall hold in their hands the trumpets of Summons, and the trumpets of the Remainder, and the trumpets of Alarm (for massacre), and the trumpets of Pursuit, and the trumpets of Retreat. And when the Priests advance to the place between the formations, seven Levites shall accompany them bearing in their hands seven rams' horns; and three officers of the Levites shall walk before the

Priests and Levites. The Priests shall sound the two trumpets of Summons for the gates of war to open fifty shields (wide) and the foot-soldiers shall advance, fifty from one gate [and fifty from the other. With them shall advance] the officers of the Levites, and they shall advance with every formation according to all this Rule].

[The Priests shall sound the trumpets, and two divisions of foot-soldiers [shall advance] from the gate [and shall] station [themselves] between the two [formations]. . . VIII the trumpets shall sound to direct the slingers until they have cast seven times. Afterwards, the Priests shall sound for them the trumpets of Retreat and they shall return to the flank of the first formation to take up their position.

Then the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons and three divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance from the gates and shall station themselves between the formations; the horsemen shall be on their flanks, to right and to left. The Priests shall sound a sustained blast on the trumpets for battle array, and the columns shall move to their (battle) array, each man to his place. And when they have taken up their stand in three arrays, the Priests shall sound a second signal, soft and sustained, for them to advance until they are close to the enemy formation. They shall seize their weapons, and the Priests shall then blow a shrill staccato blast on the six trumpets of Massacre to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a mighty alarm to terrify the heart of the enemy, and therewith the javelins shall fly out to bring down the slain. Then the sound of the horns shall cease, but the Priests shall continue to blow a shrill staccato blast on the trumpets to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times against the enemy formation. And then they shall sound a soft, a sustained, and a shrill sound on the trumpets of Retreat.

It is according to this Rule that the Priests shall sound the trumpets for the three divisions. With the first throw, the [Priests] shall sound [on the trumpets] a mighty alarm to direct the battle until they have thrown seven times. Then] the Priests [shall sound] for them on the trumpets [of Retreat a soft, sustained, and a shrill sound, and they shall return] to their positions in the formation.

[Then the Priests shall blow the trumpets of Summons and the two divisions of foot-soldiers shall advance from the gates] and shall stand [between the formations. And the Priests shall then

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blow the trumpets of] Massacre, [and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound an alarm, a mighty blast, and there-with] IX they shall set about to bring down the slain with their hands. All the people shall cease their clamour but the Priests shall continue to blow the trumpets of Massacre to direct the battle until the enemy is smitten and put to flight; and the Priests shall blow to direct the battle.

And when they are smitten before them, the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons and all the foot-soldiers shall rally to them from the midst of the front formations, and the six divisions, together with the fighting division, shall take up their stations. Altogether, they shall be seven formations: twenty-eight thousand fighting men and six thousand horsemen.

All these shall pursue the enemy to destroy him in an everlasting destruction in the battle of God. The Priests shall sound for them the trumpets of Pursuit, and they shall deploy against all the enemy in a pursuit to destruction; and the horsemen shall thrust them back on the flanks of the battle until they are utterly destroyed.

And as the slain men fall, the Priests shall trumpet from afar; they shall not approach the slain lest they be defiled with unclean blood. For they are holy, and they shall not profane the anointing of their priesthood with the blood of nations of vanity.

*The Rule for changes in battle order to form the position of a square with towers,] a concave line with towers, a convex line with towers, a shallow convex line obtained by the advance of the centre, or [by the advance of] both flanks to terrify the enemy*

The shields of the towers shall be three cubits long and their spears eight cubits. The tower shall advance from the formation and shall have one hundred shields to each side; in this [manner,] the tower shall be surrounded on three sides by three hundred shields. And it shall also have two gates, [one to the right] and one to the left.

They shall write on all the shields of the towers: on the first, *Michael*, [on the second, *Gabriel*, on the third,] *Sariel*, and on the fourth, *Raphael*. *Michael* and *Gabriel* [shall stand on the right, and *Sariel* and *Raphael* on the left] . . . they shall set an ambush to . . .

. . . X our camps and to keep us from all that is indecent and evil.

Furthermore, (Moses) taught us, 'Thou art in the midst of us,

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a mighty God and terrible, causing all our enemies to flee before [us]. He taught our generations in former times saying, 'When you draw near to battle, the Priest shall rise and speak to the people saying, 'Hear, O Israel! You draw near to battle this day against your enemies. Do not fear! Do not let your hearts be afraid! Do not be [terrified], and have no fear! For your God goes with you to fight for you against your enemies that He may deliver you'' (Deut. xx, 2-4).

Our officers shall speak to all those prepared for battle. They shall strengthen by the power of God the freely devoted of heart, and shall make all the fearful of heart withdraw; they shall fortify all the mighty men of war. They shall recount that which Thou [saidst] through Moses: 'When you go to war in your land against the oppressor who oppresses you, [you] shall blow the trumpets, and you shall be remembered before your God and shall be saved from your enemies' (Num. x, 9).

O God of Israel, who is like Thee in heaven or on earth?

Who accomplishes deeds and mighty works like Thine?

Who is like Thy people Israel

which Thou hast chosen for Thyself

from all the peoples of the lands;

the people of the saints of the Covenant,

instructed in the laws

and learned in wisdom . . .

who have heard the voice of Majesty

and have seen the Angels of Holiness,

whose ear has been unstopped,

and who have heard profound things?

[Thou, O God, hast created] the expanse of the heavens

and the host of heavenly lights,

the tasks of the spirits

and the dominion of the Holy Ones,

the treasury of glory

[and the canopy of the] clouds.

(Thou art Creator of) the earth

and of the laws dividing it into desert and grassland;

of all that it brings forth

and of all its fruits [according to their kinds;]

of the circle of the seas

and of the gathering-place of the rivers

and of the divisions of the deeps;

of the beasts and birds

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*devour him* (Isa. xxxi, 8). For Thou wilt deliver into the hands of the poor the enemies from all the lands, to humble the mighty of the peoples by the hand of those bent to the dust, to bring upon the [head of Thine enemies] the reward of the wicked, and to justify Thy true judgement in the midst of all the sons of men, and to make for Thyself an everlasting Name among the people [whom Thou hast redeemed] . . . of battles to be magnified and sanctified in the eyes of the remnant of the peoples, that they may know . . . when Thou chastisest Gog and all his assembly gathered about him . . .

For Thou wilt fight with them from heaven . . . **XII** For the multitude of the Holy Ones [is with Thee] in heaven, and the host of the Angels is in Thy holy abode, praising Thy Name. And Thou hast established in [a community] for Thyself the elect of Thy holy people. [The list] of the names of all their host is with Thee in the abode of Thy holiness; [the reckoning of the saints] is in Thy glorious dwelling-place. Thou hast recorded for them, with the graving-tool of life, the favours of [Thy] blessings and the Covenant of Thy peace, that Thou mayest reign [over them] for ever and ever and throughout all the eternal ages. Thou wilt muster the [hosts of] Thine [el]ect, in their Thousands and Myriads, with Thy Holy Ones [and with all] Thine Angels, that they may be mighty in battle, [and may smite] the rebels of the earth by Thy great judgements, and that [they may triumph] together with the elect of heaven.

For Thou art [terrible], O God, in the glory of Thy kingdom, and the congregation of Thy Holy Ones is among us for everlasting succour. We will despise kings, we will mock and scorn the mighty; for our Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us together with the Holy Ones. Valiant [warriors] of the angelic host are among our numbered men, and the Hero of war is with our congregation; the host of His spirits is with our foot-soldiers and horsemen. [They are as] clouds, as clouds of dew (covering) the earth, as a shower of rain shedding righteousness on all that grows on the earth.

Rise up, O Hero!,  
Lead off Thy captives, O Glorious One!  
Gather up Thy spoils, O Author of mighty deeds!  
Lay Thy hand on the neck of Thine enemies  
and Thy feet on the pile of the slain!  
Smite the nations, Thine adversaries,  
and devour the flesh of the sinner with Thy sword!

and of the shape of Adam  
and of the gene[rations of] his [seed];  
of the confusion of tongues  
and of the scattering of the peoples,  
of the dwelling in clans  
and of the inheritance of lands;  
. . . of the sacred seasons  
and of the cycles of the years  
and of time everlasting.

**XI** Truly, the battle is Thine! Their bodies are crushed by the might of Thy hand and there is no man to bury them.

Thou didst deliver Goliath of Gath, the mighty warrior, into the hands of David Thy servant, because in place of the sword and in place of the spear he put his trust in Thy great Name; for Thine is the battle. Many times, by Thy great Name, did he triumph over the Philistines. Many times hast Thou also delivered us by the hand of our kings through Thy lovingkindness, and not in accordance with our works by which we have done evil, nor according to our rebellious deeds.

Truly the battle is Thine and the power from Thee! It is not ours. Our strength and the power of our hands accomplish no mighty deeds except by Thy power and by the might of Thy great valour. This Thou hast taught us from ancient times, saying, *A star shall come out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel. He shall smite the temples of Moab and destroy all the children of Sheth. He shall rule out of Jacob and shall cause the survivors of the city to perish. The enemy shall be his possession and Israel shall accomplish mighty deeds* (Num. xxiv, 17-19).

By the hand of Thine anointed, who discerned Thy testimonies, Thou hast revealed to us the [times] of the battles of Thy hands that Thou mayest glorify Thyself in our enemies by leveling the hordes of Satan, the seven nations of vanity, by the hand of Thy poor whom Thou hast redeemed [by Thy might] and by the fulness of Thy marvellous power. (Thou hast opened) the door of hope to the melting heart: Thou wilt do to them as Thou didst to Pharaoh, and to the captains of his chariots in the Red Sea. Thou wilt kindle the downcast of spirit and they shall be a flaming torch in the straw to consume ungodliness and never to cease till iniquity is destroyed.

. . . times Thou hast fore[told the hour] when the  
[re]vived) against the Kittim, saying,  
, . . . *and man shall*

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Fill Thy land with glory  
and Thine inheritance with blessing!  
Let there be a multitude of cattle in Thy fields,  
and in Thy palaces silver and gold and precious stones!

O Zion, rejoice greatly!  
O Jerusalem, show thyself amidst jubilation!  
Rejoice, all you cities of Judah;  
keep your gates ever open  
that the hosts of the nations  
may be brought in!

Their kings shall serve you  
and all your oppressors shall bow down before you;  
[they shall lick] the dust [of your feet].  
Shout for joy, [O daughters of] my people!  
Deck yourselves with glorious jewels  
and rule over [the kingdoms of the nations]!  
Sovereignty shall be to the Lord  
and everlasting dominion to Israel.

...

... **XIII** (The High Priest) shall come, and his brethren the Priests and the Levites, and all the elders of the army shall be with him; and standing, they shall bless the God of Israel and all His works of truth, and shall execrate Satan there and all the spirits of his company. Speaking, they shall say:

Blessed be the God of Israel for all His holy purpose and for His works of truth! Blessed be all those who [serve] Him in righteousness and who know Him by faith!

Cursed be Satan for his sinful purpose and may he be execrated for his wicked rule! Cursed be all the spirits of his company for their ungodly purpose and may they be execrated for all their service of uncleanness! Truly they are the company of Darkness, but the company of God is one of [eternal] Light.

[Thou art] the God of our fathers; we bless Thy Name for ever. We are the people of Thine [inheritance]; Thou didst make a Covenant with our fathers, and wilt establish it with their children throughout eternal ages. And in all Thy glorious testimonies there has been a reminder of Thy mercies among us to succour the remnant, the survivors of Thy Covenant, that they might [recount] Thy works of truth and the judgements of Thy marvellous mighty deeds.

Thou hast created us for Thyself, [O God], that we may be an

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everlasting people. Thou hast decreed for us a destiny of Light according to Thy truth. And the Prince of Light Thou hast appointed from ancient times to come to our support; [all the sons of righteousness are in his hand], and all the spirits of truth are under his dominion. But Satan, the Angel of Malevolence, Thou hast created for the Pit; his [rule] is in Darkness and his purpose is to bring about wickedness and iniquity. All the spirits of his company, the Angels of Destruction, walk according to the precepts of Darkness; towards them is their [inclination].

But let us, the company of Thy truth, rejoice in Thy mighty hand and be glad for Thy salvation, and exult because of Thy succour and] peace. O God of Israel, who can compare with Thee in might? Thy mighty hand is with the poor. Which angel or prince can compare with Thy [redeeming] succour? [For Thou hast appointed] the day of battle from ancient times . . . [to come to the aid] of truth and to destroy iniquity, to bring Darkness low and to magnify Light . . . to stand for ever, and to destroy all the sons of Darkness . . .

... **XIV** like the fire of His wrath against the idols of Egypt. And when they have risen from the slain to return to the camp, they shall all sing the Psalm of Return. And in the morning, they shall wash their garments, and shall cleanse themselves of the blood of the bodies of the ungodly. And they shall return to the positions in which they stood in battle formation before the fall of the enemy slain, and there they shall all bless the God of Israel. Rejoicing together, they shall praise His Name, and speaking they shall say:

Blessed be the God of Israel  
who keeps mercy towards His Covenant,  
and the appointed times of salvation  
with the people He has delivered!

He has called them that staggered  
to [marvellous mighty deeds],  
and has gathered in the assembly of the nations  
to destruction without any remnant.  
He has lifted up in judgement the fearful of heart  
and has opened the mouth of the dumb  
that they might praise [the mighty] works [of God].  
He has taught war [to the hand] of the feeble  
and steadied the trembling knee;  
he has braced the back of the smitten.

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Among the poor in spirit [there is power]  
 over the hard of heart,  
 and by the perfect of way  
 all the nations of wickedness have come to an end:  
 not one of their mighty men stands,  
 but we are the remnant [of Thy people.]  
 [Blessed be] Thy Name, O God of mercies,  
 who hast kept the Covenant with our fathers.  
 In all our generations Thou hast bestowed  
 Thy wonderful favours on the remnant [of Thy people]  
 under the dominion of Satan.  
 During all the mysteries of his Malevolence  
 he has not made [us] stray from Thy Covenant;  
 Thou hast driven his spirits [of destruction]  
 far from [us].  
 Thou hast preserved the soul of Thy redeemed  
 [when the men] of his dominion [acted wickedly].  
 Thou hast raised the fallen by Thy strength,  
 but hast cut down the great in height  
 [and hast brought down the lofty].  
 There is no rescue for all their mighty men  
 and no refuge for their swift men;  
 Thou givest to their honoured men a reward of shame,  
 all their empty existence [hast Thou turned to nothing].  
 But we, Thy holy people, will praise Thy Name  
 because of the works of Thy truth.  
 We will exalt Thy splendour because of Thy mighty deeds  
 [in all the] seasons and appointed times for ever,  
 at the coming of day and at nightfall  
 and at the departure of evening and morning.  
 For great [is the design of Thy glory]  
 and of Thy wonderful mysteries on high  
 that [Thou shouldst raise up] dust before Thee  
 and lay low the gods.  
 Rise up, rise up, O God of gods,  
 raise Thyself in [might]!  
 May all the sons of Darkness [scatter before Thee]!  
 The light of Thy greatness [shall shine forth]  
 [on 'golds' and men.  
 [It shall be like a fire bur]ning  
 in the dark places of perdition;  
 it shall burn the sinners in the perdition of hell,  
 in an eternal blaze  
 . . . in all the eternal seasons.

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They shall recite there [all the] war [hy]mns. Afterwards they  
 shall return to [their] camp[s]. . .

**XV** For this shall be a time of distress for Israel, [and of the  
 summons] to war against all the nations. There shall be eternal  
 deliverance for the company of God; but destruction for all the  
 nations of wickedness.

All those [who are ready] for battle shall march out and shall  
 pitch their camp before the king of the Kittim and before all the  
 host of Satan gathered about him for the Day [of Revenge] by  
 the Sword of God.

Then the High Priest shall rise, with the [Priests], his brethren,  
 and the Levites, and all the men of the army, and he shall recite  
 aloud the Prayer in Time of War (written in the book) of the Rule  
 concerning this time, and also all their Hymns. He shall marshal  
 all the formations there, as is [written in the Book of War], and  
 the priest appointed for the Day of Revenge by the voice of all  
 his brethren shall go forward to strengthen the [hearts of the  
 fighting men]. Speaking, he shall say:

Be strong and valiant; be warriors! Fear not! Do not be [con-  
 fused and do not let your hearts be afraid!] Do not be fearful;  
 fear them not! Do not fall back . . . for they are a congregation  
 of wickedness and all their works are in Darkness; they tend  
 toward Darkness. [They make for themselves] a refuge [in false-  
 hood] and their power shall vanish like smoke. All the multitudes  
 of their community . . . shall not be found. Damned as they are,  
 all the substance of their wickedness shall quickly fade, like a  
 flower in [the summer-time].

[Be brave and] strong for the battle of God! For this day is [the  
 time of the battle of] God against all the host of Satan, [and of  
 the judgement of] all flesh. The God of Israel lifts His hand in  
 His marvellous [might] against all the spirits of wickedness. [The  
 hosts of] the warrior 'gods' gird themselves for battle, [and the]  
 formations of the Holy Ones [prepare themselves] for the Day  
 [of Revenge] . . . **XVI** . . . For the God of Israel has called out  
 the sword against all the nations, and He will do mighty deeds by  
 the saints of His people.

*And they shall obey all this Rule [on] the [day] when they stand before the  
 camps of the Kittim*

The Priests shall afterwards sound for them the trumpets of  
 the Reminder, and the gates of war shall open; the foot-soldiers  
 shall advance and the columns shall station themselves between

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the formations. The Priests shall sound for them the signal, 'Battle Array', and at the sound of the trumpets the columns [shall deploy] until every man is in his place. The Priests shall then sound a second signal [for them to advance], and when they are within throwing distance of the formation of the Kittim, each man shall seize his weapon of war. Then the six [Priests shall blow on] the trumpets of Massacre a shrill staccato blast to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the blowers of rams' horns shall sound [a battle alarm], a mighty clamour; and with this clamour they shall begin to bring down the slain from among the Kittim. All the people shall cease their clamour, [but the Priests shall continue to] sound the trumpets of Massacre, and battle shall be fought against the Kittim. And when [Satan] girds himself to come to the aid of the sons of darkness, and when the slain among the foot-soldiers begin to fall by the mysteries of God, and when all the men appointed for battle are put to ordeal by them, the Priests shall sound the trumpets of Summons for another formation of the reserve to advance into battle; and they shall take up their stand between the formations. And for those engaged [in battle] they shall sound the 'Retreat'.

Then the High Priest shall draw near, and standing before the formation, he shall strengthen by the power of God their hearts [and hands] in His battle. Speaking he shall say:

... **XVII** He will pay their reward with burning [fire by the hand of] those tested in the crucible. He will sharpen His weapons and will not tire until all the wicked nations are destroyed. Remember the judgement [of Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron, by whose judgement God showed Himself holy in the eyes [of Israel. But Eleazar] and Ithamar He confirmed in an everlasting [priestly] Covenant.

Be strong and fear not; [for they tend] towards chaos and confusion, and they lean on that which is not and [shall not be. To the God] of Israel belongs all that is and shall be; [He knows] all the happenings of eternity. This is the day appointed by Him for the defeat and overthrow of the Prince of the kingdom of wickedness, and He will send eternal succour to the company of His redeemed by the might of the princely Angel of the kingdom of Michael. With everlasting light He will enlighten with joy [the children] of Israel; peace and blessing shall be with the company of God. He will raise up the kingdom of Michael in the midst of the gods, and the realm of Israel in the midst of all flesh.

Righteousness shall rejoice on high, and all the children of His truth shall jubilate in eternal knowledge.

And you, the sons of His Covenant, be strong in the ordeal of God! His mysteries shall uphold you until He moves His hand for His trials to come to an end.

After these words, the Priests shall sound to marshal them into the divisions of the formation; and at the sound of the trumpets the columns shall deploy until [every man is] in his place. Then the Priests shall sound a second signal on the trumpets for them to advance, and when the [foot-]soldiers approach throwing distance of the formation of the Kittim, every man shall seize his weapon of war. The Priests shall blow the trumpets of Massacre, [and the Levites and all] the blowers of rams' horns shall sound a battle alarm, and the foot-soldiers shall stretch out their hands against the host of the Kittim; [and at the sound of the alarm] they shall begin to bring down the slain. All the people shall cease their clamour, but the Priests shall continue to blow [the trumpets of Massacre and battle shall be fought against the Kittim.]

... and in the third lot . . . that the slain may fall by the mysteries of God . . .

**XVIII** [In the seventh lot] when the great hand of God is raised in an everlasting blow against Satan and all the hosts of his kingdom, and when Assyria is pursued [amidst the shouts of Angels] and the clamour of the Holy Ones, the sons of Japheth shall fall to rise no more. The Kittim shall be crushed without [remnant, and no man shall be saved from among them].

[At that time, on the day] when the hand of the God of Israel is raised against all the multitude of Satan, the Priests shall blow [the six trumpets] of the Reminder and all the battle formations shall rally to them and shall divide against all the [camps of the] Kittim to destroy them utterly. [And as] the sun speeds to its setting on that day, the High Priest shall stand, together [with the Levites] who are with him and the [tribal] chiefs [and the elders] of the army, and they shall bless the God of Israel there. Speaking they shall say:

Blessed be Thy Name, O God [of gods], for Thou hast worked great marvels [with Thy people]! Thou hast kept Thy Covenant with us from of old, and hast opened to us the gates of salvation many times. For the [sake of Thy Covenant Thou hast removed our misery, in accordance with] Thy [goodness] towards us. Thou hast acted for the sake of Thy Name, O God of righteousness . . . [Thou hast worked a marvellous] miracle [for us], and from

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ancient times there never was anything like it. For Thou didst know the time appointed for us and it has appeared [before us] this day . . . [Thou hast shown] us [Thy merciful hand] in everlasting redemption by causing [the dominion of] the enemy to fall back for ever. (Thou hast shown us) Thy mighty hand in [a stroke of destruction in the war against all] our enemies.

And now the day speeds us to the pursuit of their multitude . . . Thou hast delivered up the hearts of the brave so that they stand no more.

For Thine is the power, and the battle is in Thy hands! . . .  
**XIX** For our Sovereign is holy and the King of Glory is with us; the [host of his spirits is with our foot-soldiers and horsemen. They are as clouds, as clouds of dew] covering the earth, and as a shower of rain shedding righteousness on [all that grows there].

[Rise up, O Hero!  
 Lead off Thy captives, O Glorious One!  
 Gather up] Thy spoils, O Author of mighty deeds!  
 Lay Thy hand on the neck of Thine enemies  
 and Thy feet [on the pile of the slain!  
 Smite the nations, Thine adversaries],  
 and devour flesh with Thy sword!  
 Fill Thy land with glory  
 and Thine inheritance with blessing!  
 [Let there be a multitude of cattle in Thy fields,  
 and in] Thy palaces  
 [silver and gold and precious stones]!

O Zion, rejoice greatly!  
 Rejoice all you cities of Judah!  
 [Keep your gates ever open  
 that the] hosts of the nations  
 [may be brought in]!  
 Their kings shall serve you  
 and all your oppressors shall bow down before you;  
 [they shall lick the dust of your feet.  
 Shout for joy, O daughters of] my people!  
 Deck yourselves with glorious jewels  
 [and rule over the kingdom of the nations!  
 Sovereignty shall be to the Lord]  
 and everlasting dominion to Israel.

Then they shall gather in the camp that night to rest until the morning. And in the morning [they shall go to the place where the formation stood before the] warriors of the Kittim fell, and

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the multitudes of Assyria, and the hosts of all the nations [assembled] (to discover whether) the multitude of the stricken are dead (with none to bury them), those who fell there under the Sword of God. And the High Priest shall draw near, [with his vicar, and the chief Priests and the Levites] with the Prince of the battle, and all the chiefs of the formations and their numbered men; [they shall return to the positions which they held before the] slain [began to fall] from among the Kittim, and there they shall praise the God [of Israel] . . .

*The War Rule from Cave 4*

Of the two groups of fragments belonging to M<sup>a</sup>, the first echoes sections from columns II, VII, XVI and XVII of 1QM, but it contains also passages without parallels there. The second unit, a poem, entitled by the editor 'The Song of Michael and of the Just', is additional to 1QM.

As for the manuscript designated M<sup>c</sup>, its surviving lines recall 1QM VII, XVI, etc., but do not represent the same recension.

4Q491 frs. 1-3 = M<sup>a</sup>

. . . There shall be one thousand cubits between the [camp and the latrine and] no nakedness [whatever] shall be seen in their surroundings. And when they set out to prepare the battle [to cur]b [the enemy, there shall be] among them some exempted in the lot of each tribe according to their numbered men for [each] day's duty. On that day, some men from all their tribes shall set out from their camps towards the House of Meeting . . . the [Priest]s, the Levites, and all the chiefs of the camps shall go out towards them. They will pass there before . . . according to the Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties and Tens. Whoever shall not [be clean because of his 'fount' on] that [night], shall not go with them to the battle, for the holy angels shall be with their formations together. . . When the formation called up for that day's battle to pass to all . . . of the war, three formations shall stand, formations behind formations. They shall set a space between [all] the formations [and they shall go out] to battle in succession. These are the [foot-soldie]rs and beside them the [horse]men. [They shall stand between the forma]tions. And if they set up an ambush for a formation, the three ambushing formations shall be at a distance and shall not ri[se] . . . of the war and they [shall hel]p the trum-



*The War Scroll (13 of 13)*

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*The War Rule (1QM, 4QM)*

pets of Alarm and the [foot-] soldiers [will begin to bring down] the guilty dead. Afterwards the ambush shall rise from its hiding-place arranged in formations. The re-assembly: from the right and from the left, from behind and from the front, [four directions]. . . in the battles of annihilation. And all the formations engaged in combat with the ene[my will be in] one [place]. The first formation [will go out to the battle] and the second stand . . . on their post. With the completion of their time, the first shall return and rise . . . The second . . . When the battle is joined. And the second formation shall have completed its time and they shall return and stand on their post]. And the third . . .

And the chief Priest and his brethren, [the Priests, and] the Levites and the men of the order [shall stand]. And the Priests shall blow the trumpets continuously . . . and a girdle of fine cloth of flax embroidered with blue, purple and scarlet threads, a many-coloured design produced by a craftsman, and a fine linen tunic and fine linen breeches and a mitred turban [on their heads]. They shall not take them to the sanctuary [for] they are battle-ointments. According to all this rule . . .

4Q491 fr. 11 = M<sup>a</sup>*The Song of Michael and the Just*

. . . a throne of strength in the congregation of 'gods' so that not a single king of old shall sit on it, neither shall their noble men . . . my glory is incomparable, and apart from me none is exalted. None shall come to me for I dwell in . . . in heaven, and there is no . . . I am reckoned with the 'gods' and my dwelling-place is in the congregation of holiness. [My] desire is not according to the flesh, [and] all that I value is in the glory of . . . [the place of holiness. Whom do I count as despicable, and who is comparable to me in my glory? Who is like . . . the young (?) like me? Is there a companion who resembles me? I have . . .; and no instruction resembles [my instruction] . . . Who shall attack me when [I] open my mouth? And who can deal with the issue of my lips? Who shall summon me to be destroyed by my judgement? . . . [For] I am reckoned with the 'gods', and my glory is with the sons of the King. No pure gold or gold of Ophir . . .

*The War Rule (1QM, 4QM)*

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4Q493 = M<sup>c</sup>

. . . the battle. The Priests, sons of Aaron, shall stand before [the] formations and shall blow the trumpets of Reminder. After this, they shall open the gates for the foot-soldiers. The Priests shall blow the battle trumpets to [strike] the formations of the nations. The Priests shall depart from among the slain and stand on either side next to the . . . and they shall not profane the oil of their priesthood [by the blood of the slain]. They shall not approach any of the formations of the foot-soldiers. They shall sound a shrill blast with the trumpets of Massacre for the warriors to go out to fight between the formations. They shall begin to wage war. When their time is completed, the trumpets of Return shall sound for them (summoning them) to come to the gates, and the second formation shall set out. According to this rule, the Levites shall blow for them during (their) times (of action). When they go out, they shall blow for them the trumpets of Summons, and when (their time) is complete, the trumpets of Alarm, and when they return, they shall blow for them the trumpets of Return. According to [this] statute they will blow for all the formations . . .]



## Final Exam Study Guide

### **Description** (cf. page viii of the syllabus)

The Final Exam (20%) will have multiple choice, fill-in, short answer, and essay questions derived only from the course notes. The class readings (Beitzel, Niswonger, Coleman) and maps will not be addressed as students have already been tested on these in the quizzes.

### **Content** (numbers denote pages in class notes)

1. Discuss developments in the intertestamental era which made life different in NT times compared to OT times (35).
2. Know the order, dates, key rulers, and key developments (goals and achievements) of the foreign powers over Palestine (48-95, especially 95).
3. Know when and how the Roman emperors ruled, especially in relation to NT events (70-72).
4. Be familiar in particular with the Herodian dynasty and these rulers' relationship to NT events (79-80, 88-90).
5. Show knowledge of the social and economic life of Palestine in the NT era, including the population, languages, classes, key institutions, ethnic groupings and prejudices (97-99, 104-7).
6. Describe the basic characteristics of the various Jewish sects, including the religious group which was repudiated by Jews (115-115a, 121-24).
7. Differentiate Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism (125).
8. Understand the uniqueness of Jesus' method of discipleship (126).
9. Show familiarity with Israel's feasts and how they affect NT understanding (137).
10. Compare and contrast the synagogue with the church (138-39).
11. Be able to draw upon OT parallels to understand NT ordinances (140-43).
12. Address the background to the NT provided by pagan religions (150-53).
13. List key contributions of pertinent background literature such as the LXX, Roman historians, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, rabbinic literature, and Josephus (156-63, 168-72).
14. Be familiar with the contents and contributions of the Qumran (DSS) discoveries (180-83).



Permission is given to photocopy the following material and distribute as needed to church members and other interested individuals.

# The Bible Code

## Holy or Hoax?

by  
J. Paul Tanner, ThM, PhD

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### INTRODUCTION

The "Bible Code" . . . have you heard about it? One of the latest *fads* sweeping through churches is talk about the "Bible Code." I have been meeting people everywhere who want to know my opinion about the Bible Code. From pastors and seminary professors to the average man in the pew . . . everyone is *talking* about this thing called the Bible Code. Supposedly the Bible Code contains "secret messages" in the Old Testament predicting future events. Perhaps it would not have received such attention had it not been for the favorable remarks of leading mathematicians and statisticians at elite institutions such as Harvard and Yale (and even a senior code-breaker at the U.S. Dept. of Defense!). One newspaper article introduced the topic with this headline:

"Computers have discovered a hidden code in the Bible that has predicted every major event in history. The rise of Hitler, man's conquest of the moon, the Gulf War--all were foretold by the Bible Code. So does it predict doom for us all . . . or is it the key to man's survival?"

Astonishing claims are being made that things like Hitler and the holocaust, the assassinations of Kennedy and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the Gulf War and man's landing on the moon are all predicted in secret codes in the pages of the Old Testament of the Bible. What are we to make of this? Should Christians believe this? Does this *secret code* prove that the Bible is really from God?

### SOME BACKGROUND ON THE BIBLE CODE

A lot of the *hoopla* stems from the recent publication of a book by Michael Drosnin entitled *The Bible Code*. Drosnin, however, is not the one who discovered these "secret codes," but rather the one who has done so much to popularize the issue. Drosnin, in turns, credits a Jewish mathematician in Israel by the name of Eliyahu Rips as the real "brains" behind the discoveries. Yet, the origins of this scheme go back even further than Rips. Though traces of it can be found in the writings of medieval Jewish rabbis, it was the work of Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandl (a Czechoslovakian Jewish scholar in astronomy,

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Dr. Tanner is an instructor of Hebrew and Old Testament studies at Singapore Bible College. He majored in Hebrew and Old Testament at Dallas Theological Seminary, where he received the ThM degree (1981). He went on to receive a PhD in Hebrew studies at the University of Texas at Austin in 1990. While at the University of Texas, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on *Textual Patterning in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*, a study of literary techniques utilized in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament. He was awarded a Foreign Language Area Studies fellowship by the United States Dept. of Education. Dr. Tanner has taught at four graduate level seminaries, and has had several articles published in professional journals dealing with various Old Testament studies.

mathematics, and Judaic studies) in the early part of this century which really got the ball moving. Yet, Weissmandl was unable to take the study very far, because the whole procedure is completely dependent upon high-speed computers to detect the codes (something which Weissmandl obviously did not have access to in his time). Enter Rips and his friends in the later part of the 20th century with their modern technology, and presto--we can now crack the Bible codes. In 1988, Rips and his colleagues at the Hebrew University in Israel and the Jerusalem College of Technology published a paper in the *Royal Statistical Society* (a prominent mathematical and scientific journal) entitled "Equidistant Letter Sequences in the Book of Genesis." Drosnin, by background a reporter for the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal, picked up on the work of Rips and was able to bring it to the attention of the rest of the world. Though the origins of this technique are not in Christian circles but in Jewish, nevertheless a number of Christians have rushed to join the fascination. Furthermore, the same procedure has supposedly been used to find the name "Jesus" in the Old Testament. In 1996, a Hebrew Christian named Yacov Rambsel published his book, *Yeshua*, with the subtitle "The Name of Jesus Revealed in the Old Testament." Rambsel's work influenced a Christian prophecy advocate named Grant Jeffrey, who published *The Signature of God* in 1996. From this point, the trend seems to be snow-balling. Checking the Internet, one can find no shortage of material on this subject as well as numerous advertisements for more insights (such as James Harrison's *The Pattern & The Prophecy: God's Great Code*).

## SO, WHAT EXACTLY IS THE BIBLE CODE?

The Bible Code is not your ordinary Bible prophecy. As an evangelical Christian, I am quite aware of numerous prophecies in the Old Testament . . . and I fully believe in them. Take, for example, Micah 5:2 which is a prediction made about 700 BC that the Messiah would be born in Bethlehem: "But you, Bethlehem Ephrathah, though you are small among the clans of Judah, out of you will come for me one who will be ruler over Israel, whose origins are from of old, from ancient times" (*NIV*). This prophecy is based on a straight-forward statement. Not so the Bible Code!

The Bible Code is based on letters found in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. As most of us know, the Old Testament was originally written in the Hebrew language (though a few parts are in Aramaic). These "secret messages," however, are not simply in some obscure verse that we have failed to read or notice before. In fact, these "messages" don't involve any of the ordinary words of the Old Testament at all. According to the advocates of the Bible Code, these "secret messages" are buried *beneath the surface*. They can only be found by counting letters at certain intervals in the Hebrew text (and ignoring any spaces between words).

For instance, the word "TORAH" is an important biblical word. It basically means a *law*, but can also mean the Mosaic *Law*. Often, the first five books of the Old Testament are referred to as the Torah, since one of the primary themes was the *Law* that God revealed to Moses. A long time ago, someone discovered that in the first five verses of the Hebrew Bible, the word "TORAH" was secretly encoded. To understand this, one needs to realize that Hebrew is primarily a text of consonantal letters (the vowels were added later). Thus, the Hebrew spelling of "TORAH" has only four letters, תּוֹרָה (the first letter, by the way, is on the right side of the word since Hebrew is read from right to left). So, the first letter is תּ. Now, the first word in the Bible is בְּרֵאשִׁית (= "in the beginning") which ends with the letter תּ. If we start with this letter תּ in בְּרֵאשִׁית (= "in the beginning") and count fifty letters to the left, then the 50th letter would be א. Counting fifty letters more, we find ר, and then counting fifty more we find ה. Put them all together and you have תּוֹרָה (Torah)! Now it sounds quite amazing that at the very beginning of the section known as the *Law* (the first five books), we have the word TORAH spelled out for us. Coincidence or divine intention?

## IS THE NAME "JESUS" IN THE OLD TESTAMENT?

As Christians we believe that Jesus is the promised Messiah of the Old Testament. As Messiah, He has

many names and designations which are given in the Old Testament. For instance, He is *Immanuel*, which means "God is with us." About 700 years before Jesus was born in Bethlehem, there was a prediction in the Old Testament that a virgin would have a son named Immanuel. This is given to us in Isaiah 7:14, "Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: The virgin will be with child and will give birth to a son, and will call him Immanuel" (*NIV*). Now, scholars debate whether the word translated "virgin" really means a virgin (or "young woman"), but the point is that the New Testament quotes this passage from Isaiah in reference to the birth of Jesus from the virgin named Mary (see Matthew 1:22-23).

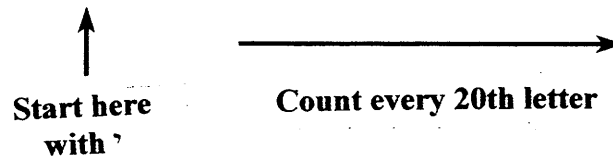
Yacov Rambsel, himself a Hebrew Christian (a Jew who believes that Jesus is the Messiah), has pointed out that within the writings of the prophet Isaiah the very name of Jesus is recorded. Furthermore, it is found in one of the most Messianic references of the entire Old Testament, namely, Isaiah 53. But the name is *encoded*, and one must follow the right sequence of letters to obtain the "secret message." According to Rambsel, the words "*Jesus is my name*" are encoded in Isaiah 53:8-10. This would be particularly interesting (if it were true) because these very verses describe the "suffering servant," and most Christians have rightly attributed the passage in reference to Jesus. Isaiah 53:10, for instance, states, "Yet it was the Lord's will to crush him and cause him to suffer" (*NIV*).

So, how is the name Jesus found in these verses? For starters, we must recognize that the Hebrew name for Jesus is Yeshua, which is spelled ישוע. The rest of the sentence is formed in Hebrew by only one word: שמי (which means "my name").<sup>1</sup> The sentence "Yeshua is my name" would then be ישוע שמי. Rambsel claims that we can find the first letter in the 11th word of verse 10. Then by counting backwards in the Hebrew text (from left to right!), we will find our letters at every 20th letter in the text. For those who wish to see for themselves, I include the Hebrew text of Isaiah 53:8-10:

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#### Isaiah 53:8-10

8 מעֲצָר וּמִמַּשְׁפָּט לֶקַח וְאֶת־דֹּרוֹ מִי יִשׁוּחַח כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֲרֶיךָ חַיִּים מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נִגַּע לְמוֹ:  
 9 וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־רִשְׁעֵים קִבְרוֹ וְאֶת־עֲשִׂיר בְּמַחְיוֹ עַל לֹא־חַמְסַ עָשָׂה וְלֹא מְרֻמָּה בְּפִיו:  
 10 וַיְהִיָּה חֶפֶץ נִפְאוֹ הַחֲלֵי אִם־תִּשִׂים אֶשְׁם נִפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יֶאֱרִיךְ יָמִים וְחֶפֶץ יְהוָה בְּיָדוֹ יִצְלַח:




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Rambsel offers many other examples, but they are similar in nature to the illustration above. Although I myself remain unconvinced of Rambsel's claim that the clause "Jesus is My name" appears in Isa 53, I find his case rather humorous in one way. The author and researchers of the original book *The Bible Code* (using the same methodology) would never affirm his claim, because they are by their own admission non-Christian Jews. Drosnin, in fact, openly admits that he does not believe in God, though he is Jewish.<sup>2</sup>

### HITLER IN THE BIBLE?

The greatest enemy that the Jews have had thus far has been Adolph Hitler. Grant Jeffrey provides an illustration in his book where Hitler's name is spelled out.<sup>3</sup> This is supposedly found in Deuteronomy 10:17-19. In this case, one must start with the first letter of the 9th word of verse 17 and then count every 22nd letter reading from right to left. This should give us היטלר, for what is claimed to be the Hebrew spelling of "Hitler."

**DEUTERONOMY****10:17-19**Start here  
with ה

Count every 22nd letter

17 כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֲדֹנֵי הָאָדָמִים הָאֵל  
הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשָּׂא פָנָיִם וְלֹא יִקַּח שָׂחָד:  
18 עָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט יְתוּם וְאֶלְמָנָה וְאָהֵב גֵּר לְחַתּ לּוֹ לֶחֶם וְשִׂמְלָה:  
19 וְאָהַבְתֶּם אֶת־הַגֵּר כִּי־גֵרִים הָיִיתֶם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:

Notice in this example that the counting is done in the opposite direction as had been the case for Isaiah 53. But that is precisely the point of the advocates of the Bible Code: the sequences can go either direction and will have varying intervals. Furthermore, they also claim that certain passages have several "codes" running through them, resulting in a combination of data. Hence, we can end up with a passage that spells out the name Yitzhak Rabin, the name of the killer (Amir), the date 1995/96 (5756 in the Jewish Calendar), and even the place where it happened (i.e., Tel Aviv). In fact, the combined data lends even greater weight to their argument, because the mathematical possibility of all these factors merging together in one place is nothing less than miraculous (so they say). We have, then, what amounts to a divine crossword puzzle in the Bible that can give the "believer" supernatural knowledge about the future. Drosnin even goes so far as to say about the Bible, "Now that we have computer technology it can be read as it was always intended to be read."<sup>3</sup>

**INSIGHT ABOUT THE FUTURE?**

Most of the discussion centers around known historical events of the past, or in Rambsel's case, revealing the name of Jesus in the Old Testament. But what about the future? Are there any claims being made about what is to come in the future? While it is easier to recognize the names and dates of past historical events, advocates of the Bible Code have not shied away from declaring to us secret messages about the future. According to Drosnin, the most significant event of history is just around the corner.<sup>4</sup> In the very near future, we are going to have a nuclear holocaust (Armageddon, if you please), triggered by terrorists launching a nuclear attack upon Jerusalem. Even Syria's leader, Hafez Asad, is "encoded." Drosnin says this will happen in 2000 or 2006! [That ought to help the sale of his books!]

Does this mean that our future is inevitable and that the world is going to be "fried *a la nuclear*" in less than 10 years? Not according to Drosnin, for according to him the words "code will save" appear right above "atomic holocaust." Is the "code," then, our great deliverer? In Drosnin's own words,

The Bible code is not a promise of divine salvation. It is not a threat of inevitable doom. It is just information. Its message is that we can save ourselves.<sup>5</sup>

**LET'S EVALUATE**

Hopefully, you now have a general idea what the "Bible Code" is all about. In evaluating this new *craze*, we should be aware that not all advocates are coming at it from the same angle. Many of these devotees are non-Christians (often Jewish) and make no profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ at all. Others are evangelical Christians who see the "code" as a bolster to their faith. Whether Christian or not, the bottom-line issue is simply this: does the Bible Code really exist? Is this really a valid use of the Old Testament Scriptures?

Before attempting to answer that question, I would like to clarify that I am an evangelical Christian. I

fully believe that Jesus Christ is the Messiah, and I have personally put my faith in Him as my Savior. So, at least for those Christians who advocate the Bible Code for its revelation of Jesus in the Old Testament, let me clarify that I do not write as one attacking Christianity or the person of Christ. However, I believe that this so-called "Bible Code" rests upon a number of significant fallacies which to me call the whole methodology into question. By the way, let me underscore that both Christians and non-Christians are using the same methodology (each being selective in what they choose to emphasize). I realize that the average Christian reading this paper will not have the expertise to evaluate this kind of approach to the Bible, and admittedly a serious evaluation must involve a certain amount of technical investigation. I will try as best I can to keep the discussion as simple as possible.

## 1. The Method Lacks Consistency

One of the first things that struck me in reading some of the literature is that the procedure is quite arbitrary. If you look back to the examples that I provided from the previous page, you will notice that sometimes the counting is done from right to left and at other times from left to right. Even more significantly, the intervals between letters can vary significantly. In the two examples I gave, the intervals were 20 and 22 letters respectively. Some of the codes may be found by examining every seventh letter, and others by much longer intervals. Notice how Rambsel finds *Yeshua* in Exodus:

In Exodus 25:5, starting with the second *ayin* (ע) in the Hebrew word for skin, or (עור), counting every 219th letter from left to right, spells, *Yeshua* ישוע. From the same *ayin* (ע), counting every 219th letter from right to left (in reverse), spells, *ha yorah emmet* הַיְרָה אֱמֶת הַיְרָה, which means, *teach the truth, or the early rain truth, Yeshua, ha yorah emmet* הַיְרָה אֱמֶת יֵשׁוּעַ.<sup>7</sup>

Rambsel goes on to draw the implication, "These insights should convince the most ardent of skeptics that the Word of G-D is Divinely Inspired and gematrically arranged to reflect His Glory and Truth."<sup>8</sup> While it is true that the Word of God is divinely inspired, skeptics are not convinced of this by such elaborate letter schemes. Skeptics are won over by the gospel, not crossword puzzles! Rambsel, however, does not stop there. As though every 219th letter were not enough, he even points out that we can start in the very first word of the Bible (with the first *yod* [י]), count every 521st letter, and spell out *Yeshua yahkol* (ישוע יכוֹל).<sup>9</sup> This means "Yeshua is able (i.e., to have power)."

Drosnin's example of Yitzhak Rabin is even more far-fetched. The letters making up the former Prime Minister's name are 4772 letters apart!<sup>10</sup> This is not too surprising since he had to find eight letters at equally spaced intervals to make the Hebrew name. He also claims that the words "assassin" and "Amir" (the assassin's name) *cross* this pattern. To the unsuspecting, this might imply that they are in very close context. In reality, they are not. The first letter of Yitzhak's name is 9,552 letters from the closest letter of Amir, and the name Amir is about 14, 324 letters from the word "assassin." Furthermore, Drosnin greatly misleads his readers with the claim that the word "assassin" is in the Hebrew text (it is not!).<sup>11</sup>

In the operation of the Bible Code system, the counting can be made from right to left or from left to right, and the interval between letters can be virtually any length. Also, the words can be spelled out beginning with the first letter of the word or with the last letter (i.e., either direction). Complex codes (passages with several coded words) will often be going different directions and at different intervals. In one example, Drosnin cited a case where the word "days" was used twice, but careful inspection shows that he accepted two different spellings for the same word (יָמִים and יָמִינִי).<sup>12</sup> Though such features do not necessarily disprove the methodology, they certainly make it suspect.

## 2. The Method Sometimes Involves a Deliberate Misrepresentation of the Data

In keeping with the title of his book, Rambsel has supposedly found scores of examples where *Yeshua* is spelled out in the Old Testament. I found it curious (to say the least) that he did not always rely on the same spelling of *Yeshua*.<sup>13</sup> In most of his examples, he assumed the spelling  $\text{ישׁוּע}$ . In one case, however, he presumed a spelling  $\text{ישׁ}$  (notice the letter  $\text{שׁ}$  is missing; hence, three letters instead of four). This was from the example of Genesis 4:4 where the Bible states that "The LORD looked with favor on Abel and his offering" (*NIV*). Notice how Rambsel finds *Yeshua* this time:

The word in Hebrew used for *looked* is *yishah*  $\text{ישׁה}$ , which means, *to look with compassion*. Also, it is another way of spelling, *Yeshua*.<sup>14</sup>

Not only does Rambsel rely on a different spelling of *Yeshua*, he actually misrepresents the data. The word in the Hebrew Bible is actually  $\text{ישׁוּע}$  (not simply the letters  $\text{ישׁ}$ ). The first letter is actually a conjunction, and the remainder is a verb derived from the root  $\text{שׁאח}$  ( $\text{שׁאח}$ ). My point is that Rambsel only used part of the word (omitting the first letter), which he chose not to inform the readers of his book. Furthermore, the verb  $\text{שׁאח}$  ( $\text{שׁאח}$ ) has nothing whatsoever to do with the word for *Yeshua*. The verb root means "gaze at, regard with favor."

By the way, Drosnin in his book *The Bible Code* does the very same thing. He attempts to argue that encoded in the text of Deuteronomy 12:11-17 is the message "The Bible code is sealed before God."<sup>15</sup> I have reproduced his work as an appendix to this paper (see following the endnotes). To understand his methodology, you need to realize that he derives this "message" by a combination of vertical words and horizontal words. The vertical words are the "encoded words" based on letter occurring at equal-distant intervals (i.e., each letter of the vertical words are actually 70 letters apart in the Hebrew text). The horizontal words, on the other hand, are true adjacent letters from Deut 12:12. The first horizontal word (on the right) is supposedly  $\text{סגור}$ , which Drosnin claims to mean "sealed." Now here is the fallacy to his scheme: what he does not tell the unsuspecting reader is that he has taken the last half of a Hebrew word and made an artificially new word from it. The word is not  $\text{סגור}$  but  $\text{שמחתם}$  (composed of six letters). The full word means "and you shall rejoice," because Deut 12:12 states "and you shall rejoice before the LORD." To take the last three letters from "rejoice" to make a new word "sealed" is a fraudulent methodology if ever there was one. Though convenient for Drosnin, this simply cannot be accepted as a valid literary approach.

What Drosnin does with Deut 12:12 is not merely an isolated case. I have found several other examples in his book. For instance, on page 161 of *The Bible Code* Drosnin claims to have discovered a message "the next war . . . will be after the death of the Prime Minister (in July)." He claims that this pertains to Netanyahu, who by delaying a trip to Jordan in July of 1996, actually avoided his own death. That is, the Bible Code predicted Netanyahu was to have died on that occasion, but his last-minute change of plans prevented this fate (from this observation, Drosnin concludes that the Bible Code is not *absolute*; situations can be avoided if the warnings are heeded). In any case, the message Drosnin claims to have found is composed of two parts. The first part--the vertical words forming the phrase "the next war"--is derived from equal-distant letters stretching from Genesis 36:15 to Numbers 12:8. The second part--the horizontal words forming the phrase "will be after the death of the Prime Minister (in July)"--are not encoded words at all (i.e., words formed by letters occurring at equal-distant intervals). Instead, this is what Drosnin refers to as "hidden text" (see p. 230). They are the actual letters occurring in Genesis 25:11, shortly before the encoded words. These letters are:

א	ב	ר	ה	מ	א	ח	ר	י	א
Abraham	(of)	death	after						

For sake of clarity, I have divided up the letters according to their natural word divisions. This



is a very simple sentence in Hebrew consisting of three words which translate "After the death of Abraham." What Drosnin does, however, is to take the third and final word for Abraham, divide it in two, and thus create *two new artificial words*:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת	א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת	א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת	א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת
Prime Minister	Av	death	after

Note the switch from one word אברהם to two words אב רהם. This involves the same letters, but gives the words an entirely different meaning [by the way, "Av" is the Hebrew name for one of the months of the year, approximately "July"]. This is a ridiculous technique, however, and totally illegitimate. There is not one translation of Genesis 25:11 in the universe that would read the text this way! Think what a ridiculous sentence this would make when read with the rest of the context: "After the death of the Prime Minister in July, God blessed Isaac his son."<sup>16</sup>

Another curious case offered by Rambsel stems from his presentation of Genesis 7:11. Supposedly by counting 130 letters six times from right to left (starting with the second letter ט), the word תושיעם would surface.<sup>17</sup> Rambsel correctly states that this would mean "you will save them" (from the Hebrew verb *yāša'* [אָשַׁע]). But then Rambsel makes the following incorrect statement, "The Hebrew word *toshiyah* תושיע, means, *Salvation by G-D through a Man; and Yeshua is that Man.*" The Hebrew verb *toshiyah* תושיע means "to deliver, save." This can be used in a spiritual sense, but most often in the Old Testament means to deliver someone from a threatening situation. To say that it means "salvation by G-D through a man," however, is not true. There may be some cases where this happens to be true in a particular context, but this is not the inherent meaning of the word itself. Furthermore, there are no grounds at all for making a messianic connection out of this ("Yeshua is that Man").

### 3. The Method is Not Really So Mathematically "Amazing" As We Are Led to Believe

As I mentioned early in this paper, a number of mathematicians (especially Eliyahu Rips) repeatedly point out in defense of this technique how mathematically *improbable* it would be for any of this to have happened by chance. In fact, the method is so elaborate that we would not have been able to find the coded messages apart from high-speed computers. However, I am not convinced that the method is so astonishing as they would have us believe. As I mentioned under point one, the intervals between letters can be tens and even hundreds of letters apart (Drosnin even claims *thousands!*). That means for every single letter in the Hebrew Bible (*and there are over 304,000!*), we could generate an almost endless number of possible combinations of letters. Keep in mind that for every single letter, we could count in either direction at every possible interval! Furthermore, we can allow words to be spelled forwards or backwards. Doing that for every letter in the Old Testament, we would have millions of possible letter formations. Given that many possibilities, there are bound to be a number of times when the combination ישוע (Yeshua) turns up. Also, the method basically rests on counting consonants rather than vowels.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the task is easier in Hebrew than in English. For example, the English word "truth" would require five letters in sequence. The Hebrew, however, would only require three (אמת). If one uses a computer to generate letter sequences, almost any desired word could be found. I suspect that an advocate of the Bible Code would reply at this point that it is not simply the finding of one word but often several from the same passage (hence, we can obtain not only a name but a date, etc.). I would rebut, however, that the situation involves working with the hypothetical words that are found and selecting ones that *spell something known to the researcher*. Take three verses from any part of the Old Testament, for example. Given that one letter can generate thousands of possible words, then three verses can produce millions of *letter sequences*. Out of that many possibilities, some are bound to resemble known words, and one can make out of these words what one wishes to find.

To give an example of what I am talking about, take the name "David" (as in King David). If we

don't count the vowels, then we are left with "dvd." Out of millions of possible three letter sequences that are possible, it is not difficult at all to find one that begins with "d" and is followed by "v" and "d." For modern words, the author sometimes uses transliterations of English words while at other times relies on Hebrew translations. Since Hebrew words are more "compact," this reduces the odds. For example, for the modern word "holocaust" with nine letters, the Hebrew word שואה is used (only four letters).<sup>19</sup> For Clinton, however, they simply transliterated as קליניטון.<sup>20</sup> Though the transliterated form has the same number of letters as the English, the average reader might not notice that the vowels have been included. Hence, they include vowels when it makes a word they need, but leave them out at other times. This arbitrary use of including vowels when convenient shows that the authors will bend the evidence to *force* their method to work and get the messages they want. For example, in *The Bible Code*, the word for holocaust is spelled with the long "o" vowel (ו) on page 107 (שואה), but without the vowel on page 134 (שואה).

I might add that those who claim "dates" in the text are not actually finding numbers at all, but are attributing numerical values to Hebrew letters to construct the dates.<sup>21</sup>

#### 4. The Method Falsely Assumes Manuscript Uniformity

One of the things that we must realize in examining the Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament is that we simply do not have any of the *original manuscripts* as they came from the authors themselves. What we do have are *copies* that were made and passed on from one generation to the next. In fact, most of what we have are copies of copies, etc. In examining the evidence that we do have, it is obvious that these manuscripts are not exactly alike. Most of the variations are of a minor nature, but nevertheless there are variations. The point that I am getting to is that a variation of even one letter can throw the whole method off!

Drosnin, however, falsely assumes *complete uniformity*. Notice his remarks: "There is a complete version of the Bible in the original Hebrew almost 1000 years old, the Leningrad Codex, published in 1008 AD. It is the oldest intact copy of the Old Testament. . . . All Bibles in the original Hebrew language that now exist are the same letter for letter."<sup>22</sup> This statement is blatantly untrue!

The manuscript known as the "Leningrad Codex" is one of several Hebrew manuscripts that we now have. This and the "Aleppo Codex" are two of the best (and most complete) Hebrew manuscripts. Actually the "Aleppo Codex" is slightly older and is generally regarded by Israeli scholars as the more superior manuscript (it resides in Jerusalem and is the basis for the Hebrew University Bible Project). Both of these manuscripts are very close in detail, *but there are differences between them!* During my doctoral studies, I did a major research paper comparing and analysing these two manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> Most of the differences are of a minor spelling nature, but they are relevant for our discussion here. For example, in Deuteronomy 28:18, the Leningrad manuscript spells "lambs" as ועשתרות, whereas the Aleppo Codex spells it as ועשתרת (notice the missing letter ך before the final letter in the latter case).<sup>24</sup> While such a variation makes no difference in meaning, it would make all the difference in the world if you were counting letters and intervals!

If we take into account the manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls (which have been discovered over the past 50 years), the situation is even more problematic. The Dead Sea Scrolls are actually the oldest Hebrew manuscripts that we have, and would predate the Leningrad Codex by some 1000 years. While they are remarkably close to the Hebrew manuscripts we already had, there are differences. Kutscher, in his book *A History of the Hebrew Language* points out a case in Isaiah 29:23.<sup>25</sup>

Leningrad Codex:	יקדישו	
Dead Sea Scroll <sup>26</sup> :	יקדשו	(notice the missing letter ך in the middle)

Early in the paper, I showed how Rambsel had found the phrase "Yeshua is my name" in Isaiah 53:8-10. In that very segment, however, there is a significant textual difference between the Leningrad Codex and the primary Dead Sea Scroll for Isaiah within verse 10:

Leningrad Codex:	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
Dead Sea Scroll <sup>15</sup> :	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ

So, there are differences between the manuscripts, and these differences would have a substantial bearing on the counting of letters and intervals.

## 5. The Method is Dangerously Used to Build Doctrine

Does the counting of letters to spell out words and phrases really do any great harm? The answer is "yes" if false teaching results from this. I have seen examples of this from both the Christian and non-Christian side.

Rambsel (a Hebrew Christian) engages in this in his discussion of Enoch and Methuselah:

In Genesis 5:22, starting with the *chet* (ח) in Cha'nok's name, counting 129 letters three times from right to left, spells, *Mashiach* מָשִׁיחַ. M'thushalach lived to a ripe old age of 969 years. According to tradition, he died seven days before the great flood of No'ach's times, when G-D poured out His wrath upon a sinful and rebellious world. . . . Could the believers be removed (resurrected), *one week* (seven years), before the Judgment of the nations? Hopefully.<sup>27</sup>

In essence, Rambsel is trying to suggest a pre-tribulational rapture from this (a removal of Christians prior to the dispensing of God's judgment on earth). Where is the validity in this? Is there a resurrection seven years prior to the Judgment of the nations (I assume he means at the 2nd Coming) because the name *Mashiach* (Messiah) is used in proximity to Methuselah who supposedly died seven days before the flood? Is "tradition" even reliable that Methuselah died seven days before the flood? Even if he did, why should "seven days" be a symbol of seven years?

Perhaps this particular example is not so *threatening*, but my concern is that the method itself may be used to establish biblical doctrine (something which I feel would be a speculative foundation for correct doctrine). This could easily give rise to false teachings in the church.<sup>28</sup>

Drosnin makes no secret about some of his blatantly unbiblical views. Listen to the testimony from his own mouth: "I told Rips that I could not believe in a supernatural salvation. I was certain that the only help that we were going to get was the Bible code itself."<sup>29</sup> From such a presupposition as this, Drosnin asserts the most preposterous views. Take, for example, the theory he endorses for the extinction of dinosaurs: "Sixty-five million years ago an asteroid bigger than Mount Everest struck the Earth, exploding with the force of 300 million hydrogen bombs, and killed all the dinosaurs."<sup>30</sup> Do you really want to trust a system from such a man as this?

At the secular level, the methodology has already given rise to prophetic speculation. As I pointed out on page four above, Drosnin is now using the Bible Code to conclude that we are going to have a nuclear holocaust in either the year 2000 or 2006, which he associates with the biblical Armageddon.<sup>31</sup> Here we go for another round of "date-setting"! Sadly, there will be Christians who place faith in this and end up causing embarrassment to themselves and the cause of Christ.

## 6. The Method Lacks Divine Validation

For me, the strongest argument against the so-called "Bible Code" *movement* is the total lack of biblical validation. Not once in the New Testament do Jesus or any of the apostles ever utilize

such a technique, despite the fact that the Old Testament is quoted or alluded to hundreds of times in the New Testament. This is not how the Old Testament was meant to be used! Surely, Jesus would have given us some sort of hint about it. Advocates of the Bible Code try to make the point that God was saving this discovery until this point in history when computers would make it possible for us to find these codes. I find it rather curious that most of the fulfilments highlighted pertain to persons and events in the latter part of this century. Drosnin mentions a few earlier historical references (e.g., Shakespeare), but the vast bulk pertain to known events over the past fifty years. Why not a more even distribution?

Drosnin even goes so far to say that the Bible even *refers* to this secret methodology. According to him, there is reference to it in Isaiah 29:11 which mentions a "sealed book."<sup>32</sup> Drosnin has completely used this reference out of context. The context of Isaiah twenty-nine is God's judgment that is going to fall upon Judah and Jerusalem because of their disobedience against God. Beginning in 29:9, the Lord points out the *spiritual blindness* of his people. The point is that the vision which God has revealed in *His written Word* is not able to be comprehended. For these Jews, His Word is like a sealed book (v. 11). This has nothing to do with a secret Bible code, but is a reference to their inability to understand what God has revealed in the Bible.

## CONCLUSION AND PASTORAL CONCERNS

In conclusion, I find that the "Bible Code" has no biblical warrant and does not hold up to a careful examination. Because of the unique nature of biblical Hebrew and the numerous and indiscriminate ways that *patterns* are accepted, these *coded words* are not so mathematically astonishing as the advocates of the code would have us believe. Is the assassination of John Kennedy or Yitzhak Rabin in the Bible? Is man's landing on the moon mentioned in a coded reference? I am confident they are not. This whole Bible Code trend is a false and misleading scheme, and ought to be rejected by the church of Jesus Christ.

What we need today is not some "biblical cross-word puzzle" to fantasize over, but for Christians to meditate upon the revealed truth of God's holy Word. We need to be engaged in Bible study and learn the marvellous truths that our Lord has revealed to us rather than being diverted by the speculative counting of letters (for which there is no validation). Our goal ought to be the pursuit of maturity in the Lord Jesus Christ, "no longer to be infants, tossed back and forth by the waves, and blown here and there by every wind of teaching and by the cunning and craftiness of men in their deceitful scheming" (Ephesians 4:14, *NIV*). My prayer is that every pastor and Bible study leader will call upon the church to shun such speculative endeavors, that you might rather "be diligent to present yourself approved to God as a workman who does not need to be ashamed, handling accurately the word of truth" (2 Timothy 2:15).

## ENDNOTES

1. Hebrew sentences do not always need an equative verb, so the verb "is" can be inferred. By placing the word יֵשׁוּעַ (Yeshua) with שְׁמִי (my name), the words can read "Yeshua is my name."
2. Drosnin writes, "But I don't know why I'm involved. I'm not religious. I don't even believe in God. I'm a total skeptic" (Michael Drosnin, *The Bible Code* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997], 181).
3. Grant R. Jeffrey, *The Signature of God* (Toronto, Ontario: Frontier Research Publications, Inc., 1996), 209.
4. Michael Drosnin, "The Bible Code," *Daily Mail*, May 28, 1997.
5. Michael Drosnin, "The Bible Code: Final Day," *Daily Mail*, May 30, 1997.
6. Ibid.
7. Yacov Rambsel, *Yeshua: The Name of Jesus Revealed in the Old Testament* (n.p.: Frontier Research Publications, Inc., 1996), 13.
8. Ibid. Rambsel spells *God* as "G-D" out of respect for the divine name (a Jewish custom).
9. Ibid., 1.
10. Drosnin, *The Bible Code*, 27.
11. On page 27 of *The Bible Code*, Drosnin gives the examples of Yitzhak Rabin. Supposedly, the letters of his name are constructed from eight letters appearing at intervals of 4,772 letters each. The word "assassin," however, is not constructed from an encoded word at equally spaced intervals (see page 28). Rather, the horizontal words of his example are straight out of Deuteronomy 4:42. The Hebrew text reads: רָצַח אִשָּׁר יִרְצַח. The Hebrew word *rāṣaḥ* (רָצַח) means "to kill," but in this context has nothing to do with assassination. Deut 4:41-42 reads, "Then Moses set aside three cities east of the Jordan, where anyone who had killed a person could flee and find refuge if he had unintentionally killed his neighbor without malice aforethought" (*NIV*; the underlined words reflect the three Hebrew words above in Drosnin's example). This is a typical example of how Drosnin *twists the data* to serve his own purposes.
12. Ibid., 93.
13. I am very much aware that ׀ can be an alternative spelling of ׁ. My point here is that it seems a bit too *convenient* for the Bible Code advocates to capitalize on variations in spelling to suit their purposes.
14. Rambsel, 14.
15. Drosnin, *The Bible Code*, 186.
16. For those acquainted with Hebrew, this would involve a blatant grammatical violation as well. The Hebrew words מוֹת אֶבְרָהָם form a "construct relationship." With Drosnin's proposal, the words מוֹת רָהֵם would be in construct, with the word אֶב stuck in between. Yet, Hebrew would not interrupt the construct relationship to insert the name of a month.
17. Ibid., 17.
18. Biblical Hebrew was originally written without vowels, and only the consonants were expressed. This would be like writing the word "Hebrew" as "Hbrw." At some point, a few of the consonants (particularly ׀, ׁ, and ׀) were used to indicate certain vowels. These letters were known as *maters*. Eventually, in the 8th-10th centuries AD, Jewish scribes added some *points* around the consonants to indicate what the vowels should be. This is what is known as a *pointed text* (or Masoretic text, since the Jewish scribes who added the pointing were known as Masoretes).

19. Drosnin, *The Bible Code*, 64.
20. *Ibid.*, 32.
21. While it is true that Hebrew letters can have numerical values (e.g., א = 1, ב = 2, etc.), my point is that these so-called "dates" do not exist *as numerals* in the text (as distinct from alphabetic letters). The same letters being used to form words are being used to calculate dates.
22. Drosnin, *The Bible Code*, 194.
23. J. Paul Tanner, "A Comparative Study of the Leningrad Codex and the Aleppo Codex," (paper submitted for Methods of Research in Hebrew Studies, The University of Texas at Austin, May 1987).
24. This is a minor spelling difference in Hebrew which represents the difference between *plene* and *defective* writing. Both are spelled with a long "o" as the last vowel, but one is with an "historically long o" while the other is with a "tone long o."
25. E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1984), 97. In this particular example, the difference can be accounted for as a contemporizing of verb usage, in which a verb in the Hiphil stem has been rendered in the Piel stem. [In Kutscher's opinion, in latter Hebrew (i.e., Mishnaic Hebrew) it is the Piel which is employed in this meaning of "sanctify."]
26. The Dead Sea Scroll referred to here is the Isaiah scroll taken from cave one at Qumran, otherwise known as 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>.
27. Rambsel, 17.
28. One can find numerous examples where Drosnin is guilty of propogating false doctrine. On page 95 of *The Bible Code*, he claims that encoded in the very verse describing the engraving of the 10 commandments on tablets of stone are the words "it was made by computer." Three pages later, he jumps to an even greater extreme when he asserts, "The Bible that 'God' dictated to Moses was really a computer program."
29. Drosnin, *The Bible Code*, 91.
30. *Ibid.*, 148.
31. Elsewhere, Drosnin claims that the "End of Days" started sometime in the period 1995-1996 (*The Bible Code*, 89).
32. Michael Drosnin, "The Bible Code: Final Day," *Daily Mail*, May 30, 1997.

**Drosnin's Claim That "The Bible Code"  
Is Mentioned in Deuteronomy  
and  
Said To Be "Sealed Before God"  
(The Bible Code, page 186)**

Evidence from Deut 12:11-17

א	ז	י	ט	מ	מ	ס	ב	י	ו	י	ש	נ	ה	
ש	ר	א	נ	ט	מ	א	ו	ה	א	ה	ט	מ	ש	ו
ו	ש	מ	ה	ח	ל	פ	נ	י	ה	ה	ו	ה	ל	
נ	ל	ו	ה	ק	ו	נ	ה	ל	ה	א	ה	ט	ה	
ש	ט	ש	י	ט	ש	ח	ה	ל	ש	ה	ל	ה	ט	
ל	ה	י	ט	א	ש	ר	נ	ה	נ	ט	ט	ט	ש	
מ	ע	י	מ	ל	א	ו	ל	ל	ל	א	ט	ט	ש	
נ	ה	ת	י	ט	ו	ה	ר	ו	ה	י	ט	ט	א	
ו	ע	ב	ד	ט	א	מ	ח	ט	ו	ה	ל	ו	א	

His Claim:

1    2	5    4    3	
אפנ + חנכ = Bible Code	חחמ + לפני + יהוה = Sealed Before God	

Problems:

- A. He claims that אפנ + חנכ means "Bible Code."  
 However: In modern Hebrew, the word for "code" is listed in the dictionary as צופנ (notice the extra letter י).
- B. The three horizontal words are from Deut 12:12 (not a code at all). However, word #3 is only listed in part. The Hebrew word is ושמחתי, not merely חחמ. The Hebrew text does not say anything about "sealed," but clearly means "And you shall rejoice before the LORD."





and they overcame the forces of Vitellius. Meanwhile, Vespa-  
sian's brother Sabinus seized the Capitol at Rome, but was  
executed by Vitellius; Primus arrived one day too late to save  
him. Vitellius emerged from a palace banquet, gorged and  
drunk, and was dragged through a mob and finally butchered,  
having ruled eight months. At last free from Vitellius' terrors,  
the Roman people acclaimed Vespasian emperor. He received  
the good news in Alexandria, from which he would sail to  
Rome. Meanwhile, he sent his son Titus with elite troops to  
crush Jerusalem.

Dec.,  
A.D. 69

*Josephus: The Essential Writings*

*Translated from Latin by Paul Moyer*

*Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1988*

*(The Jewish War was written by Josephus in AD 77)*

**24**

## TITUS BESIEGES THE CITY

After a desert march from Egypt, Titus arrived at Caesarea, where he organized his forces. Meanwhile, civil strife in Jerusalem had reached a new climax when another faction was bred within a faction, like some raving beast, preying on its own flesh. Eleazar, who had caused the Zealots to withdraw into the sacred precincts, could not stand submission to John [of Gischala], a tyrant younger than himself. And so he seceded with a considerable number of Zealots, seizing the inner court of the temple. They were well supplied, but with fewer numbers than John's, and they confined themselves to their retreat, where they could easily repel his attacks. Although he lost heavily, John, in his rage, made continual assaults on them, and the temple was defiled with the slaughter.

Then there was Simon, son of Giora, who was now master of the upper and a large part of the lower city. He attacked John with greater vigor, seeing that John was also assailed by Eleazar from above. But John had the same advantage over Simon that Eleazar had over John. From his superior height he easily repelled attacks from below with hand weapons, reserving his machines for hurling projectiles against the party above him.

The missiles shot by the catapults, stone-throwers, and "quick-firers"\* flew all over the temple, killing priests and worshipers at the very altar itself. For despite war, the sacrifices went on, and those who had journeyed from all over the world to worship there sprinkled the altar with their own blood.

The three warring camps regularly rushed out and burned

\* A special catapult for discharging arrows. The lithoboloi ("stone-throwers") in Greek equate to ballistae in Latin.

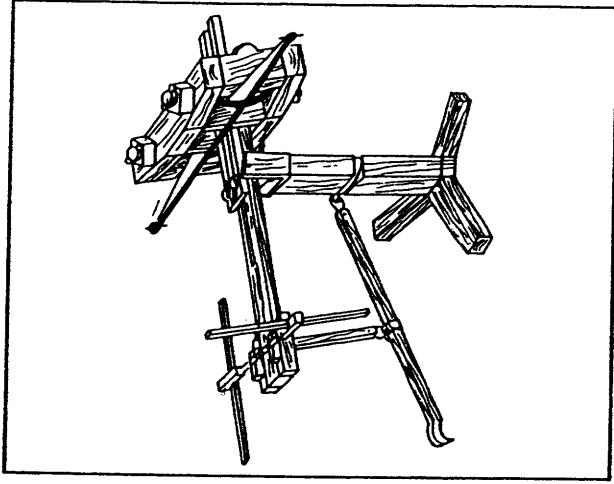
each others' food supplies. Thus the area around the temple became a mass of ruins, and great stores of grain, which would



Statue of Titus, who succeeded his father Vespasian both as commander in the Jewish War, and as Roman emperor (Capitoline Museum, Rome).

have supplied the besieged for years, were destroyed, and the city would fall to self-imposed famine. Terrorized by the bloody contentions of the three factions, many prayed that the Romans might come and deliver them from the internal strife. There was no other hope of escape, since the three parties, disagreeing on everything else, united in putting to death any who favored peace with Rome.

Day after day the factions fought, each party devising new



#### CATAPULT

The Roman catapult ("quick-firer") was used to shoot shafts of various kinds—arrows, pikes, fire missiles—but not stones, for which the ballista was used. The range of the catapult averaged 350 yards.

Agrippa had brought from Lebanon before the war to raise the sanctuary, and converted them into towers for attacking Eleazar's group. But before he put his impiously constructed towers into operation, the Romans appeared at the walls of Jerusalem.

Titus had marched from Caesarea with the three legions that his father had commanded, and also the Twelfth, which had formerly been defeated under Cestius and now burned for revenge. Besides these, he had troop contingents and auxiliaries from allied kings, as well as Tiberius Alexander, the former governor of Egypt, distinguished for his wisdom and loyalty, who would serve Titus as his military adviser.

Titus camped with his army about four miles from Jerusalem near Gibeah. Taking 600 horsemen with him, he rode forward to reconnoiter the city's strength and ascertain the mood of the Jews, for he had learned, as indeed was the fact, that the people wanted peace but were dominated by the rebels. While Titus was riding along the high road that led to the wall, no one appeared outside the gates. But when he diverged towards the tower Psephinus, the Jews suddenly rushed out in great numbers and broke through his ranks. Then the Jews placed themselves in front of the troops who were still advancing along the road and prevented their joining their comrades who had left the road, thus isolating Titus with only a handful of men.

Titus could not advance—the ground was cut by trenches for gardens and divided by walls and fences—nor could he rejoin his own men because the enemy intervened and his comrades were retreating, not knowing their prince's danger and assuming he had turned back with them. Titus wheeled his horse around, called to his companions to follow, and charged fiercely into the enemy, struggling to cut his way back to his own men. Although he wore neither helmet nor breastplate,

none of the hail of arrows aimed at him touched his body, while he slashed the Jews on all sides, riding his horse over fallen enemies. Titus' men formed around him as best they could, and finally they cut their way through to reach the camp safely. Two of their number, however, were killed, while the Jews were elated at the success of their first clash, and inspired with much confidence for the future.

Joined during the night by the legion from Emmaus, Titus advanced the next day to an elevation called Scopus [the Look out] where the first view of the city, a mile away, is afforded. Here he formed a camp for two legions,\* and stationed the Fifth to the rear. While the troops were entrenching, the Tenth legion arrived from Jericho and camped on the Mount of Olives, which rises to the east of the city and is separated from it by a deep intervening ravine called Kedron.

W V. 67



The Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem, site of one of the Roman camps as well as a very dangerous Jewish sally.

The factions in the city watched in dismay as the Romans formed the three camps unmolested, and started to feel the necessity of uniting against the common foe. "Are we courageous," they exclaimed, "only against ourselves, while the Romans, through our dissension, make a bloodless conquest of the city?" Uniting forces, they seized their weapons and suddenly burst out, racing across the ravine with a terrific shout, and attacked the Tenth legion while they were working on their fortifications. The Romans had laid aside most of their arms—they had no idea that the Jews would dare attack—and were therefore thrown into disorder. Some instantly retreated, while many, who ran for arms, were slaughtered before they could turn on their assailants.

The Jews, meanwhile, were continually reinforced by others who were encouraged by the success of the first assault. Accustomed to fight only in orderly ranks, the Romans were confused by this wild kind of warfare, and were finally driven from the camp. The entire legion would probably have been defeated had not Titus instantly come to their aid. Censuring their cowardice, he rallied his fugitives, and, falling on the Jewish flank with his elite fighters, drove them headlong down the ravine. Rallying on the other side of the brook, however, the Jews renewed the combat, and the battle raged on until about noon. Then Titus deployed his reinforcements to repel any further sallies, and dismissed the rest of the legion to resume their fortification on the ridge.

The Jews, however, mistook this movement for flight. A watchman on the battlements gave a signal, and a fresh crowd of Jews rushed from the city with the fury of wild animals. The Romans, as if struck by an artillery engine, broke their ranks and fled up the mountainside, leaving Titus with a few followers halfway up the slope. These implored him to retreat and not risk his valuable life against the mad courage of the Jews. But Titus seemed not even to hear them as he confronted and killed the Jews rushing at him, and drove them back down. Yet still the Jews rushed up the hill on both sides of him to pursue those who were fleeing. Meanwhile, the troops fortifying the camp above saw their comrades below in flight and scattered in panic. They assumed that Titus himself was among the fugitives, since they thought the rest would never have fled while he held his ground. Then, seeing the general in the thickest part of the fight, they shouted his danger to the whole legion. Shame at deserting their general rallied the Romans, and they drove the Jews down the hill into the valley. The Jews contested the ground as they retreated, but the Romans, having the advantage of a higher position, drove them all into the [Kedron] ravine.

\* The Twelfth and Fifteenth.

Titus, still pressing on those who opposed him, ordered the legion back to resume their fortifications, while he and his band kept the enemy in check. Thus Caesar\* twice personally rescued the entire legion from jeopardy and enabled them to entrench their camp unmolested.

### Jewish Stratagems

w.v.98  
A.D. 70

During a lull in the war, factionalism resumed inside the walls. On the day of Unleavened Bread, Eleazar and his party opened the gates to admit citizens who wished to worship in the temple, but John made the festival a cloak for his treachery. Arming his followers with concealed weapons, he got his men inside the temple, where they threw aside their garments and appeared in arms. Eleazar's party, knowing the attack was against them, scattered and took refuge in the vaults of the temple. The rest cowered around the altar, and some were killed over private grudges, while others were trampled underfoot or mercilessly clubbed. But while the innocent were brutalized, John's intruders granted a truce to the criminals as they emerged from the vaults. Now in possession of the inner temple and all its supplies, John and his partisans could challenge Simon. The three-part factionalism was thus again reduced to two.

Meanwhile, Titus leveled the ground from Scopus to the city walls, removing all garden fences and felling every fruit tree while filling in the gullies. At this time, the Jews contrived the following stratagem. A group of rebels came out of the gates, as if they had been expelled from the city by advocates of peace, and stood cowering alongside one another close to the wall, as if fearing an attack from the Romans. Others stationed themselves on the wall and shouted "Peace!" promising to open their gates to the Romans. They also pelted their own men outside the walls with stones, as if to drive them from the gate.

The Roman rank and file were taken in by this trick, and thinking the gates would be opened to them, they were about to charge in until restrained by the wary Titus. (Only the day before, through Josephus, he had invited the Jews to terms, but met with no reasonable response.) Some who were stationed in front, however, had already snatched up their arms and rushed towards the gate. The sham "outcasts" at first retreated, but when the Roman troops were between the towers of the gate the Jews turned on them, while others darted out and surrounded

\* Josephus uses this term proleptically for Titus, since his father was Caesar at this time.

them from the rear, and those on the wall threw stones on their heads. After many soldiers were killed and wounded, the Romans finally repelled the Jews and retreated.

The Jews jeered at the Romans for having become such easy dupes; flaunting their shields, they danced and shouted for joy. The Roman soldiers who had escaped were received with threats from their officers and a furious Caesar. "These Jews," Titus huffed, "who have no leader but Despair, do everything with foresight and precaution as they plot ambushes and stratagies, while Romans, whom fortune has always served because of their steady discipline, have become so rash as to venture into battle without command." He then threatened them with the law that punished such disobedience with death. But when the other troops pleaded for their fellow soldiers, Titus pardoned the offenders, warning them to be wiser in the future.

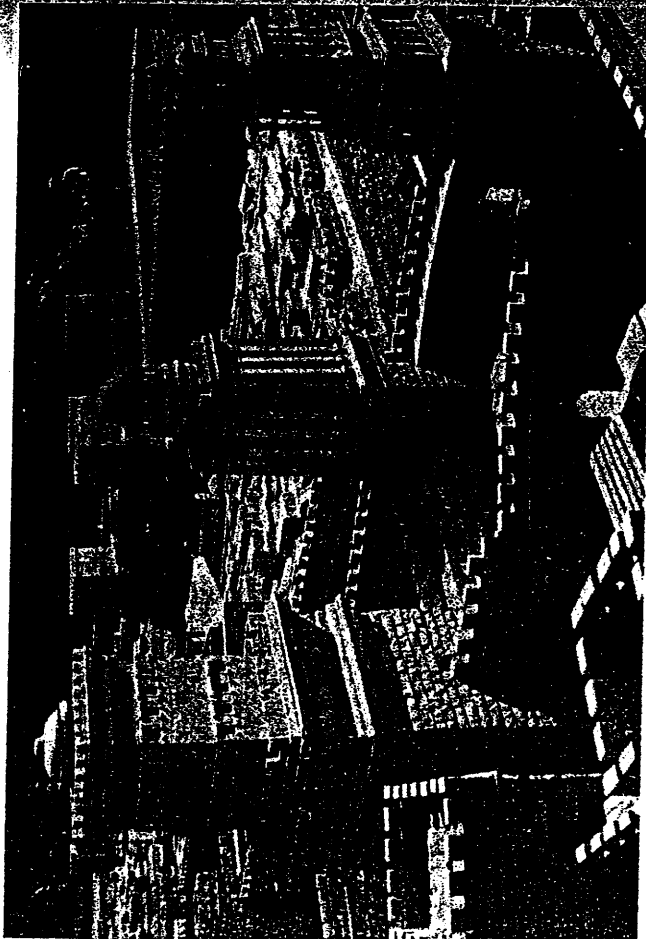
The approach to the city was now complete, and opposite the northern and western wall Titus arranged his forces seven ranks deep: three of infantry in front and of cavalry to the rear, with a line of archers in the middle. The Jewish assaults were held in check by this formidable array, and the beasts of burden with the camp followers arrived securely. Titus himself camped about a quarter mile from the ramparts, near the tower Psephinus. Another division entrenched at the tower Hippicus, while the Tenth legion continued to occupy its position on the Mount of Olives.

### Description of Jerusalem

Three walls fortified the city, except where impassable ravines bordered it. The first was erected by David, Solomon, and their successors, and the last by King Agrippa to enclose the northern additions to Jerusalem. The third wall boasted 90 towers, the middle wall 14, and the old wall 60, while the circumference of the city was about four miles. Inside were two hills, that of the [western] upper city was much higher, and was separated from the [eastern] hill or citadel of the lower city by the Valley of the Cheesemakers [Tyropoeon], which extends down to Silloam, a spring of sweet and abundant water. Deep ravines and steep cliffs render the city inaccessible.

The tower Psephinus at the northwestern corner was octagonal and 70 cubits high, providing a view as far as Arabia and the sea. Herod had built three towers near this into the old wall: Hippicus, named after a friend; Phasael, after his brother; and Mariamme, for his wife, each with reservoirs and opulent residential quarters. Phasael soared 90 cubits in altitude, resembling the Pharos lighthouse at Alexandria, and it had now

become the headquarters of Simon's tyranny. The towers were built of white marble blocks, each 20 cubits in length, 10 in width, 5 in depth, and so perfectly joined that each tower seemed like one natural rock.



The three great towers in western Jerusalem constructed by Herod the Great, which guarded his palace immediately to the south. They were named (l to r): Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamme (model by M. Avi-Yonah).

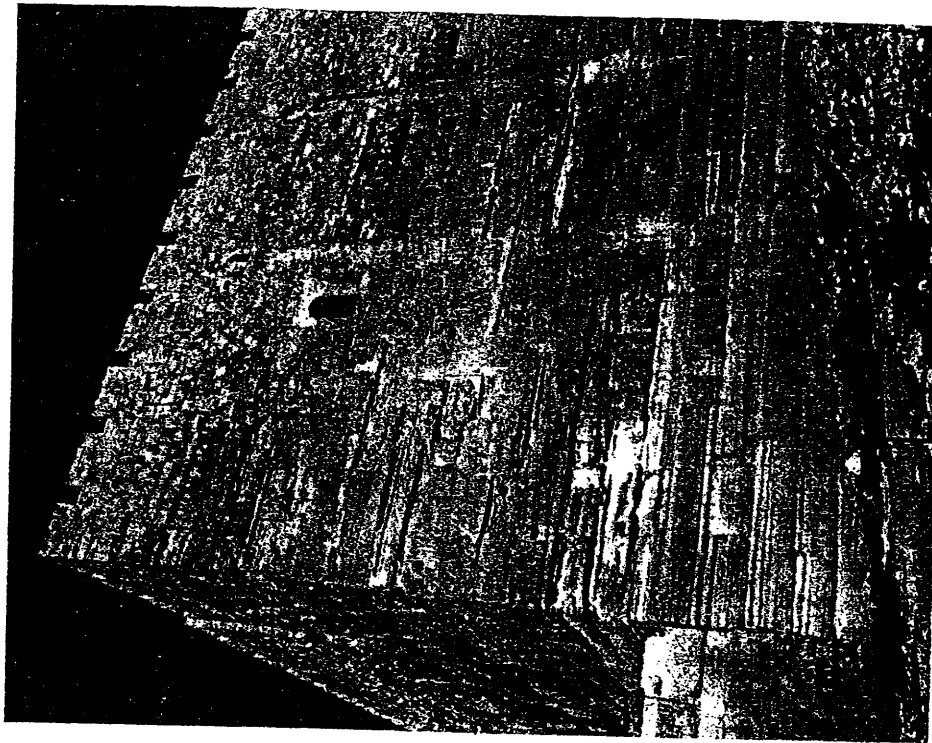
Adjoining these towers was the king's palace, which surpasses all description. A wall 30 cubits high completely enclosed it, broken by ornamental towers at equal distances. Inside were immense banquet halls and bedrooms furnished in gold and silver for 100 guests. Groves, promenades, colonnades, canals, ponds, and statuary surrounded it—all ravaged by the brigands' fire, for it was not the Romans who burned it to the ground but conspirators at the beginning of the revolt, as we have already noted.

W V.184

The platform for the temple and its courts required an immense amount of fill as well as massive foundations for the structure itself, some blocks of stone 40 cubits long. [Here

Josephus provides a detailed description of the porticoes, courts, gates, structure, facade, and veil of the temple, some of which appeared earlier in his *Antiquities*, as did his portrayal of the interior of the sanctuary and its chambers, altar, priests, and vestments.] The innermost recess of the temple measured 20 cubits and was screened from the outer portion by a veil. Nothing whatever stood here: it was called the Holy of Holy—unapproachable and invisible to all.

The exterior of the temple was covered with massive plates of gold which brilliantly reflected the sun. From a distance it



The southeast corner of the temple platform in Jerusalem, with great blocks of Herodian masonry nearly to the top. The walls also plummet underground in a vast substructure 24 meters below the present surface.



appeared like a snow covered mountain, since whatever was not plated with gold was of purest white. Sharp golden spikes protruded from its apex to prevent birds from alighting and polluting the roof.

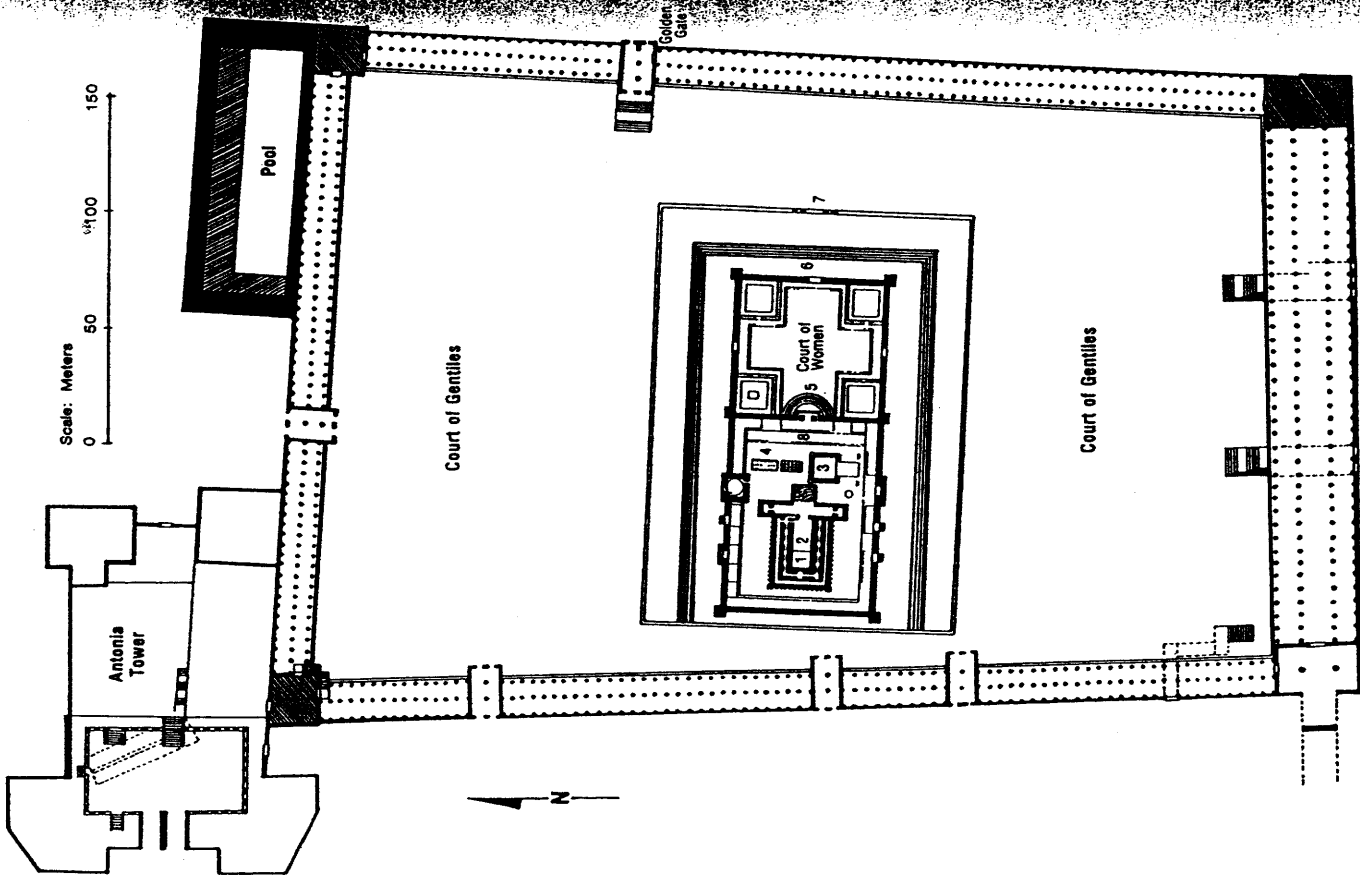
The Tower Antonia lay at the northwestern corner of the temple's outer court. Built by King Herod, it rose 40 cubits from a rock base 50 cubits in height, and its interior resembled a palace in its spaciousness and furnishings, with accommodations and broad courtyards also for troops. Towers rose at each of its four corners, the one at the southeast reaching 70 cubits in height and commanding a view of the entire temple area. Stairs led down to the temple porticoes where they impinged on the Antonia\*, by which the guards descended. A Roman cohort was quartered there permanently, and posted around the porticoes at the festivals to watch the people and repress any rebellions. For if the temple controlled the city, the Antonia dominated the temple, while the upper city had its own fortress: Herod's palace.

The number of combatants and rebels in the city was as follows: Simon, son of Giora, had an army of 10,000, not counting his allies, the Idumeans, who numbered 5,000. John had 6,000 when he seized the temple, but these were now joined by 2,400 led by Eleazar and his Zealots. The factions soon relapsed into their former hostilities, and it was this party strife that subdued the city, which suffered nothing worse from the Romans than what the partisans inflicted on each other.

Titus, meanwhile, rode around the wall to see where he could best attack. He determined to make the assault at a point opposite the tomb of John [Hyrchanus], the high priest, for here the outer wall was lower, and there was easier access to the two inner walls. While Titus was riding around the city, his friend Nicanor, who had approached too near to the walls with Josephus, was wounded by an arrow as they were trying to negotiate peace with those on the ramparts.

Angry at this, Titus gave the legions permission to destroy the suburbs and erect earthworks. He defended these with javelin-men and archers between the embankments, and artillery engines in front. Although John's partisans were impatient to clash with the enemy outside, John, through fear of Simon, did not stir. Simon, however, being nearer the besiegers, was not inactive. He mounted on the ramparts the artillery engines which had formerly been taken from Cestius or captured from the Antonia. But these weapons did little damage, since the

\* Paul stood here when he addressed the Jews after his arrest, Acts 21:40.



THE TEMPLE OF HEROD

- 1. Holy of Holies 2. Temple sanctuary 3. Altar 4. Court of the Priests 5. Nicanor Gate 6. The Beautiful Gate 7. Balustrade warning Gentiles not to enter the sacred precincts 8. Court of the Israelites.

Jews did not know how to work them well. However, they attacked the builders with stones, arrows, and raids, although the Romans were protected by wicker-work screens and artillery engines.

All the Roman engines were well built, but those belonging to the Tenth legion were most powerful. Their stone-projectors hurled boulders weighing a talent\* a quarter mile, and the Jews set lookouts on the towers to spot the fired stones which, being white, shone and whizzed as they flew. When they saw the stone discharged, these watchmen would call out, "Sonny's coming!"\*\* —at which those in the line of fire dropped down to let the stone pass through harmlessly. When it occurred to the Romans to blacken them, the stones were more effective, destroying many with a single shot.

When the embankments were completed, the battering rams were brought up, and the artillery moved closer to the walls to protect those working the rams. Suddenly, at three different sectors, they began their thundering, and a shriek rose from those inside. The factions themselves were alarmed, and the two parties shouted to each other that for the present, at least, they had to stop fighting and unite against the Romans.

Simon proclaimed an amnesty to all John's followers who wanted to leave the temple and man the wall. John, though still suspicious, gave his permission, and the two parties, burying their differences, fought side by side. They hurled showers of firebrands against the machines and kept those who worked the rams under constant fire. The more courageous dashed out in bands, tore the screens off the engines, and assaulted those who fired them off. Titus always came to relieve those who were hard pressed, placing horsemen and archers on either side of the engines, and beating back the raiders. The wall, however, did not yield to the battering rams except for the corner of one tower.

The Jews paused for a while in their attack, but when the Romans, who thought the Jews had withdrawn through fear and fatigue, were off guard, they suddenly dashed out through a hidden gate, carrying firebrands to burn the works. The daring of the Jews at first prevailed over the discipline of the Romans. They would soon have succeeded in burning the Roman engines had not the elite troops from Alexandria bravely held their ground until Titus, at the head of his cavalry, charged the enemy. With his own hand he killed a dozen of the Jewish leaders as the rest retreated, and then rescued the works from the flames.

\* c. 75-85 pounds.

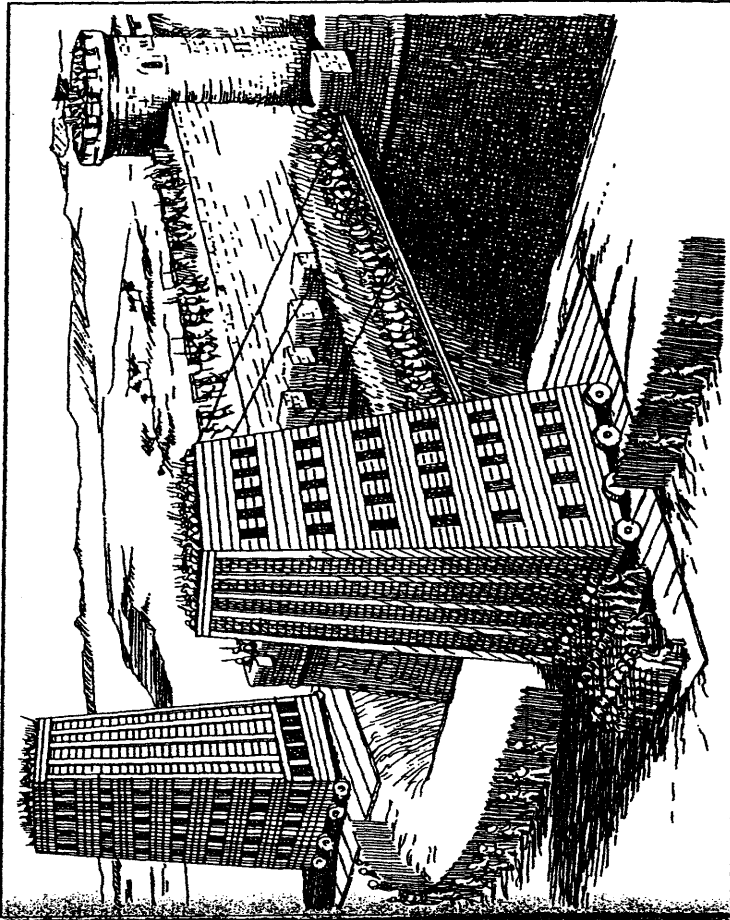
\*\* "The stone" in Hebrew is ha-eben, which is easily corrupted to ha-ben; "the son."

One of the Jews taken prisoner in this engagement was crucified before the walls, on Titus' orders, in the hope that this sight would lead the rest to surrender in horror. After the retreat, John, the general of the Idumeans, while talking with a soldier in front of the ramparts, was shot in the breast by an arrow and killed on the spot. His death caused much grief to the Jews, for he was a man of gallantry and sound judgment.

### The First Wall Breached

That night, the Romans were suddenly awakened by a crash, w v.291 which threw the troops into a panic, as they feared a Jewish assault. Titus had ordered three siege towers to be built on the respective embankments, and one of these fell accidentally in the middle of the night. But Titus quickly ordered this news generally spread, and so allayed the alarm.

The archers and stone-throwers placed in the towers did great damage to the Jews, while they themselves were high out of



A seventeenth-century reconstruction of the Siege of Jerusalem, illustrating the metal-plated siege towers used by the Romans (from the 1613 edition of Polybius' Greek and Roman Militia).

range. Nor could the Jews set fire to the towers because they were plated with iron. The battering rams, with their constant pounding, were gradually taking effect, and the wall began to totter before the largest ram, which the Jews themselves called Victor. Worn out with fatigue and having become somewhat careless, the Jews abandoned their posts and retreated to the second wall, while the Romans poured through the breach. Victor had made. The Romans demolished much of the outer wall and the northern quarter of the city. Titus now shifted his camp to a position before the second wall just out of bowshot. The Jews, dividing their forces, made a vigorous defense from the wall: John and his party fighting from the Antonia and the northern portico of the temple, while Simon guarded the rest of the wall as far as a gate through which an aqueduct passed to the tower Hippicus. The Jews made continual raids, which were driven back by the discipline of the Romans. Both sides spent the night armed, the Jews afraid to leave the wall defenseless, the Romans dreading a sudden attack.

Simon inspired his men with such awe and reverence that they were ready to take their own lives at his command. The Romans were also incited to valor by Titus, who always rewarded bravery. Once, when the Jews were preparing for a raid, Longinus, a Roman soldier, dashed into their phalanx, single-handedly broke their ranks, and killed two of their bravest before retreating in triumph to his own lines. He gained distinction for his valor, and many emulated his gallantry.

Titus now applied the battering ram against the central tower of the north wall, which the defenders abandoned except for a crafty Jew named Castor and ten others. When the tower began to totter, Castor stretched his hands out to Titus and begged for mercy in a pitiful voice. Titus stopped the ram, forbade the archers to shoot, and told Castor to speak his wishes. When he said that he wanted to come down under pledge of protection, Titus congratulated him and said he would gladly offer security to the whole city if it surrendered. Five of the ten Jews joined in the sham supplication, while the rest cried out that they would never be slaves of the Romans, and a dispute seemed to arise, during which the assault was suspended.

Castor, meanwhile, sent word to Simon that he had time to arrange his defense, since he could fool the Romans for some time longer. All the while he seemed to be urging the unwilling five to accept the proffered pledge until they "plunged" their swords into their breastplates and fell down as if dead. Castor was struck near his nose with an arrow, which he drew out and showed to Titus, complaining of unjust treatment. Caesar sternly rebuked the archer, and directed Josephus, who was at

W V.317

his side, to offer his hand to Castor. But Josephus, convinced that the petitioners meant no good, declined to go. Aeneas, a deserter, however, said that he would go, and when Castor called for someone to catch the money which he was bringing out, Aeneas ran forward with open robes to receive it. But Castor hurled a boulder at him, which Aeneas dodged, and it wounded a soldier instead. His eyes opened, Caesar angrily applied the battering ram more vigorously. The tower giving way, Castor and his companions set fire to it, and seemed to jump into the flames. The Romans were impressed with their courage, but in fact the Jews jumped into a vault below.

### The Romans Repulsed

On the fifth day after capturing the first wall, Caesar stormed the second, and, since the Jews had fled from it, he and his men entered the new town district. Without widening the breach in the wall, Titus gave orders to kill no one or set fire to any of the houses. He promised to restore their property to the people, for his goal was to preserve the city and the temple. The people indeed had long been ready for peace, but the rebels mistook the humanity of Titus for weakness, and assumed that his overtures proved his inability to take the rest of the city. Threatening death to any who mentioned surrender or peace, they attacked the Roman division that had entered both in the streets and from the houses. The Jews, at a great advantage because they knew the streets, drove the Romans back with their charges. Because the breach was so narrow, the Romans could not retreat at once, and all would probably have been annihilated had Titus not stationed his archers at the ends of the streets and kept the enemy at bay with a torrent of arrows until his soldiers had withdrawn.

Thus the Romans, after gaining possession of the second wall, were driven out. The spirits of the war party in the city soared at this success, but they did not know that the forces still available to the Romans far outnumbered those ejected, or that famine was slowly approaching. Many were already failing for lack of supplies, but the rebels considered it a good riddance. As for the breach, they walled it with their own bodies for three days, but on the fourth they were unable to withstand Titus' assault and fell back to their former refuge. Master of the wall a second time, Titus immediately razed much of it and laid plans for attacking the third wall.

Titus suspended the siege for a few days to see if loss of the second wall or famine might induce any to surrender. He used

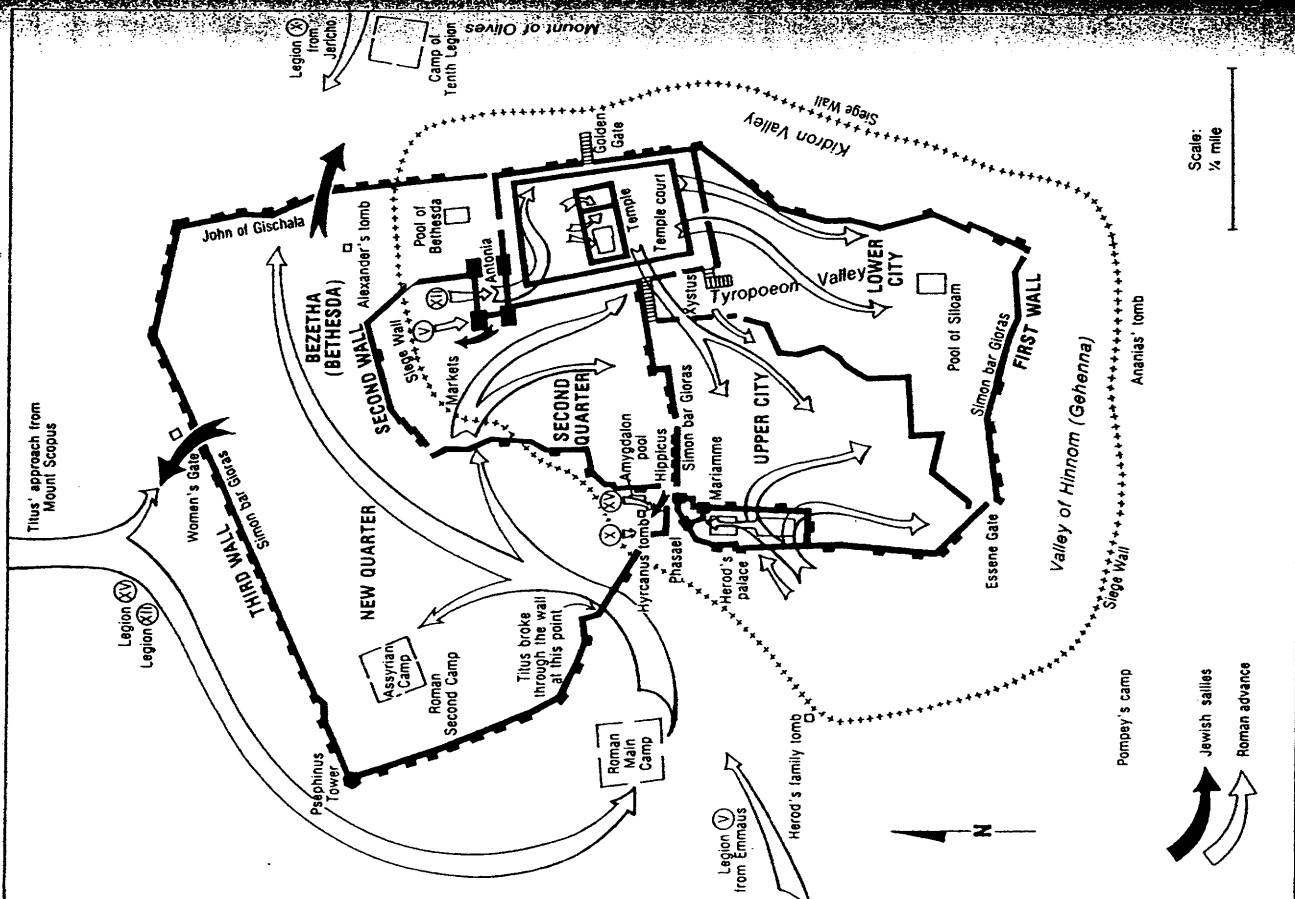
W V.348



the time to review his troops and pay them their salaries. They appeared as a gleaming parade of shining arms which filled the throats of Jewish observers with awe and dismay. In four days the Roman legions had all received their pay. On the fifth, since the Jews had not requested peace, Titus started raising embankments both at the Antonia and at John's monument in order to capture the temple and the upper city, respectively. Simon and his troops impeded those at work beside the monument by raids, while John and the Zealots obstructed those at the Antonia. With daily practice, the Jews had now become skilled in the use of artillery engines, and their 300 quick-firers and 40 stone-throwers seriously retarded the Roman earthworks.

Titus, anxious to preserve the city from destruction, sent Josephus to negotiate with the Jews in their native tongue. Josephus therefore went around the wall, keeping out of range of projectiles and yet within earshot, and implored the people to spare themselves, their country, and their temple. Their forefathers, men far superior to them, had yielded because they knew God was on the Roman side, and it was now hopeless to fight famine and the imminent conquest. [Here Josephus adds page after page of lessons his hearers should have learned from history, and then concludes with a final appeal.]

During his address, many on the ramparts derided and cursed Josephus, while others threw missiles at him, and they did not yield to his tearful appeal. The people, however, decided to desert. They would swallow gold coins to elude the rebels, and, after escaping to the Romans, they had ample supplies after discharging their bowels. Titus released most of them, which further encouraged desertion, but the partisans of John and Simon kept a sharp lookout for such refugees and slaughtered any suspects.



THE ROMAN SIEGE OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 70

# 25

## HORRORS AT JERUSALEM

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W.V.424

Famine now raged in the city, and the rebels took all the food they could find in a house-to-house search, while the poor starved to death by the thousands. People gave all their wealth for a little measure of wheat, and hid to eat it hastily and in secret so it would not be taken from them. Wives would snatch the food from their husbands, children from fathers, and mothers from the very mouths of infants. Many of the rich were put to death by Simon and John, while the sufferings of the people were so fearful that they can hardly be told, and no other city ever endured such miseries. Not since the world began was there ever a generation more prolific in crime than this bastard scum of the nation who destroyed the city.

Meanwhile, as Titus' earthworks were progressing, his troops captured any who ventured out to look for food. When caught, they resisted, and were then tortured and crucified before the walls as a terrible warning to the people within. Titus pitied them—some 500 were captured daily—but dismissing those captured by force was dangerous, and guarding such numbers would imprison the guards. Out of rage and hatred, the soldiers nailed their prisoners in different postures, and so great was their number that space could not be found for the crosses.

But the rebels dragged to the walls the relatives of the deserters and any who wanted peace and showed them how the Romans treated suppliants—not captives. Until the truth became known, this restrained many who wanted to desert. Titus then ordered the hands cut off several of the captives so they would not be mistaken for deserters, and sent them to John and Simon to urge them not to compel him to destroy the city, but to save their lives, their city, and the temple. But the Jews abused

Caesar from the ramparts, cursing him and his father, and saying that they preferred death to slavery, and that as long as they breathed they would continue to damage Romans in every way possible.

After seventeen days of continuous work, the Romans completed four huge embankments and brought up the engines. But John had secretly undermined the earthworks at the Antonia, and supported the tunnels with props to leave the embankments suspended. But now he set fire to the props, and the earthworks fell in on the collapsing tunnels with a tremendous crash, and the engines and embankments were either buried or burned up.

Two days later, three bold members of Simon's party rushed out against the machines in that sector and set them on fire although the Roman guards tried to prevent them. The flames spread, and the Romans rushed from their camp to the rescue while the Jews attacked them with great fury. The Romans tried to drag the rams away from the fire, but the Jews would not let go of them even though the iron was red-hot. From there the fire spread to the earthworks, overcoming the Roman defenders. Surrounded by flames, the Romans gave up any hope of saving the works, and retreated to their camp. Flushed with success, the Jews dashed forward, and, advancing to the very entrenchments, grappled with the sentries. These men bravely held their ground, because Roman sentinels were punished with death if they quit their posts, but so fierce was the Jewish attack that the Roman forces began to waver.

At this moment Titus arrived from the Antonia, where he had been inspecting a site for new earthworks, and he and his men charged the enemy in the flank. The Jews turned and faced him bravely, but blinding dust and deafening noise soon obscured friend from foe, and the Jews retreated into the city. Their earthworks demolished, the Romans were profoundly dejected because in one short hour they had lost the fruits of their long labor; many lost hope of ever taking the city by ordinary means.

### The Roman Siege Wall

Titus held a council of war, and some of his officers advised him to commit his entire army to take the wall by storm. Others were for rebuilding the earthworks, while still others proposed blockade to reduce the city by famine. Titus knew that it would be useless to fight against desperate men who would sooner destroy each other, and that it would be difficult to get enough materials to restore the earthworks. He thus decided to surround the city with a wall, blocking every possible exit, in order to compel the Jews to either surrender or starve.

W V. 481

Accordingly, he set his legions to work, and they built so enthusiastically and quickly that the project was finished in three days. This was an incredibly short time, considering that the wall was five miles long, and had thirteen forts attached to its outer side. In these Titus placed garrisons, while sentries patrolled the intervals between the forts throughout the night.

All hope of escape and all food supplies were now cut off from the Jews, and famine devoured thousands upon thousands. The alleys were choked with bodies, the survivors not having enough strength to bury the dead and even falling into graves with them. No mourning was heard in Jerusalem, for famine stifled all emotions, and an awful silence shrouded the city. The rebels at first ordered the bodies buried at public expense, finding the stench unbearable, but then flung them into the ravines when they became too numerous.

W V. 519

When Titus, as he made his rounds, saw these valleys choked with dead bodies oozing decay, he groaned, and, lifting up his hands, called God to witness that this was not his doing. His army, meanwhile, was in the highest spirits with plenty of food, and many of the Roman troops would approach the ramparts displaying these quantities to accentuate the enemy's hunger. Titus, pitying the people and anxious to save the survivors, ordered new earthworks raised. Timber for them was scarce and had to be brought from ten miles away, since all the trees around the city had been cut down for the previous embankments. The new mounds were raised at four points opposite the Antonia, and were much larger than before.

W V. 525

Even their own sufferings failed to make the outlaws feel any remorse, but, like dogs, they mauled the people even after death. Simon actually turned on Matthias, one of the chief priests who had persuaded the people to let Simon into the city to oppose John. Accusing him of Roman sympathies and without allowing him any defense, Simon condemned Matthias to death, along with three of his sons. Matthias begged that he might be put to death before his sons were, but Simon ordered the sons butchered before Matthias' eyes and in full view of the Romans, before Matthias himself was killed. After these, a priest named Ananias, and Aristeus, the secretary of the council,\* and fifteen other leaders were executed, while the father of Josephus was put into prison. The outlaws further forbade by edict any gathering in the city or any mourning in groups.

Judas, one of Simon's officers in charge of a tower, called ten of his most trusted subordinates and said, "How long will we tolerate these crimes? Or what prospect of saving ourselves do

\*The Sanhedrin.

we have by obeying this villain? The Romans are all but in the town, so let's surrender the ramparts, and save ourselves and the city!" The ten agreed, and the next morning Jews called to the Romans from the tower [in surrender], but they were suspicious. While Titus was advancing to the wall with some troops, Simon learned of the plot, seized the ten, and killed them in full view of the Romans, throwing them over the ramparts after mutilating their bodies.

W.V.541

As Josephus was making his rounds, urging surrender, he was struck on the head by a stone and knocked unconscious. The Jews rushed out and would have dragged him into the city had Caesar not sent a rescue party. During the conflict that followed, Josephus was carried away, hardly knowing what had happened. Assuming they had killed Josephus, the rebels shouted for joy. Rumors of his death spread through the city and reached his mother, who was in prison. But she was not long distressed for Josephus quickly recovered from the blow and shouted to his enemies that he would soon have his revenge.

Some of the deserters jumped from the ramparts, while others started out carrying stones, as if for a skirmish, then fled to the Romans. When they arrived, swollen with hunger, many of them gulped down so much that they burst, but some learned that they had to eat moderately at first for stomachs unused to food. But even these were doomed, because one of the refugees in the Syrian ranks was found picking gold coins out of his excrement. After this the Arab and Syrian rabble cut open the refugees and searched their intestines, and in one night 2,000 were cruelly ripped open.

On hearing of this outrage, Titus was on the point of putting his allies to death, but refrained because they far outnumbered their victims. However, he threatened with death any daring to repeat the crime, and ordered his legionaries to identify any such culprits in their ranks. Still, greed drove the barbarians rather than fear of punishment, so they now did their outrages in secret. They went forward to meet deserters and killed them where they could not be seen by the Romans, but few bowels contained any significant money. This disaster drove many of the deserters back.

When John had plundered the people of all they possessed, he began to strip the temple itself. He took its golden vessels—bowls, tables—some of them gifts of Augustus and his consort—and even the sacred wine and oil and gave them to his followers to use. But why do I need to describe the sufferings? One refugee, who had been in charge of a single gate, told Titus that 115,880 corpses had been carried out in an eleven-week period. Other leaders reported that 600,000 bodies of the lower classes

had been thrown out, and it was impossible to number the rest. A measure of wheat now sold for a talent, and when it was no longer possible to gather herbs after the city was walled in, some searched the sewers for offal or ate old cow dung. Yet the rebels were relentless.

### The Antonia Assaulted

W.VI.1

The Romans finished their earthworks in 21 days, having stripped the whole district of its trees for eleven miles around, and the once beautiful suburbs of the city looked like a wilderness. The new embankments caused anxiety to both the Romans and the Jews. Jews were afraid that if they failed to burn these too, the city would be taken. The Romans feared that if these mounds were also destroyed, they would never take the city, and they were depressed by the invincible Jewish spirit.

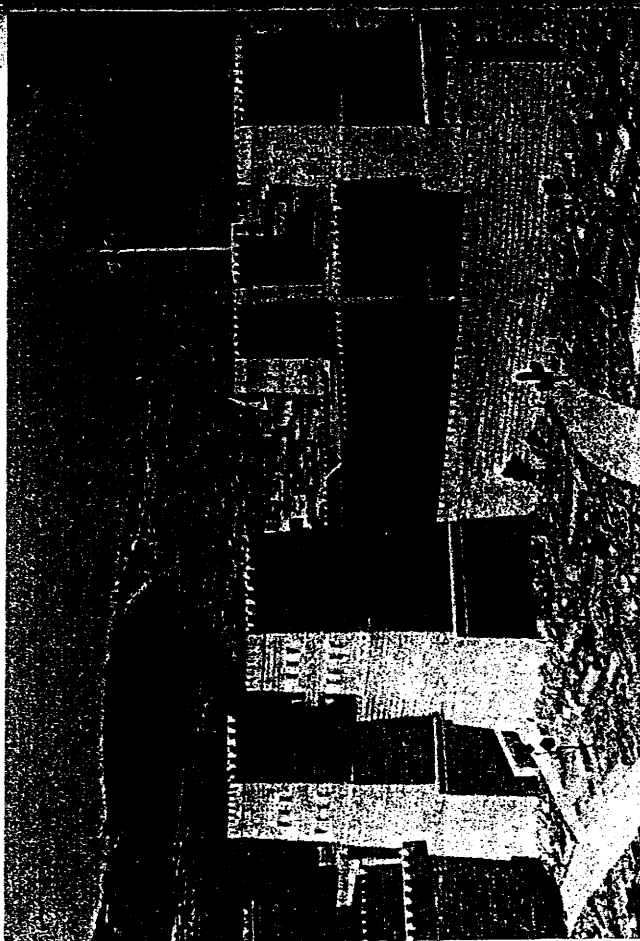
Before the rams were brought up, John and his party inside the Antonia tried to destroy the Roman works. But the attempt was unsuccessful, since they rushed out in small, unmotivated groups with no united plan. The Romans also screened the works and stood firmly at their posts, knowing that all their hopes would be cut off if they burned. The artillery engines helped them against the raiding parties, and, with each fallen Jew blocking the way for the man behind him, the Jews soon retreated.

July, A.D. 70

The Romans now brought up the siege engines, although they were attacked from the Antonia with stones, fire, iron [arrow-heads], and every kind of projectile the Jews could throw. But the wall of the fortress resisted battering. The Romans then locked their shields over their heads for protection against boulders and worked with hands and crowbars to undermine the foundations, and succeeded in dislodging four stones. Night suspended the labor, but in the course of it, the wall suddenly fell in, for it had been shaken by the rams at the point where John had dug beneath it while undermining the former earthworks. Yet the joy of the Romans was dampened by seeing a second wall, which John had built inside. Although this wall appeared to be weaker than that of the Antonia, no Romans ventured to mount it, for death surely awaited the first attackers.

W.VI.33

Titus called his bravest together and urged them to scale the wall, promising rewards to the man who led the assault. When they all hesitated, an auxiliary named Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, volunteered. His skin was black and emaciated, and anyone would have thought him unfit to be a soldier, but in that slender body lived a heroic soul. He rose and said, "I gladly



The Tower Antonia, constructed by Herod on a rise northwest of the temple area, and named in honor of his patron, Mark Antony (model by M. Avi-Yonah).

offer myself to you, Caesar. I am the first to scale the wall, and if I die, know that for your sake I willingly give up my life!"

He then lifted his shield over his head, drew his sword, and advanced towards the wall. Only eleven men had the courage to follow him. The defenders hurled their javelins from the ramparts, showered them with arrows, and rolled down enormous boulders which crushed some of the eleven. But Sabinus never slackened his pace until he had reached the summit and scattered the enemy, for the Jews, shocked at his boldness and thinking that more had followed him, turned and fled. But at the very moment of his triumph, Sabinus slipped and stumbled over a rock, falling headlong with a loud crash. The Jews turned around, seeing Sabinus alone and prostrate, attacked him from all sides. Rising on his knee and screening himself with his shield, he kept them at bay for a while, wounding many who approached, but was soon buried under the missiles. Three of his comrades were crushed by the stones, while the rest were carried back to the camp, wounded.

Two days later, twenty of the guards stationed at the earth-works, together with a standard-bearer, a trumpeter, and two auxiliaries crept silently toward the Antonia in the dead of night. They scaled the wall, killed the sentinels as they slept, and then ordered the trumpeter to sound. The other guards woke up from their sleep and fled before any had noticed the numbers of the enemy, for the trumpet led them to suppose they had mounted in force. Titus immediately ordered the troops to arms, and, with his group of elite men, was the first to mount. The Jews fled to the temple, where the forces of John and Simon made a desperate defense. The Romans pressed on to take possession of the temple, the Jews thrusting them back to the Antonia. Arrows and spears were useless to both sides. Drawing their swords, they resorted to hand-to-hand combat, and fought so closely and fiercely that the combatants found it hard to tell on which side they were fighting.

At length, after fighting from 3 A.M. to 1 P.M., the Jews succeeded in driving the Romans back. They had the advantage in numbers—only a portion of the Roman army had come to attack—and so the Romans were satisfied to hold the Antonia for the time being. But Julianus, a heroic Bithynian centurion, sprang forward and single-handedly drove the Jews back to the corner of the inner temple, killing all he overtook. The multitude ran away from him, regarding such strength and courage as supernatural. But, like any other soldier, his shoes were thickly studded with pointed nails, and while running across the pavement, he slipped and fell on his back. The loud clash of his armor made the fugitives turn and thrust him with spears and swords. Julianus defended himself gallantly, wounding many of his enemies, until he himself was hacked to pieces. Meanwhile, the Romans were again shut inside the Antonia, deeply moved by Julianus' heroism.

### The Antonia Destroyed

In order to prepare an easy ascent for his whole army, Titus ordered the fortress Antonia torn down to its foundations. Learning that the daily sacrifice in the temple had stopped for lack of men [or lambs], and that the people were therefore dejected, Titus sent Josephus to tell John that he would allow him to come out of the temple and fight somewhere outside, so they would no longer pollute the Holy Place. John also had Titus' permission to perform the interrupted sacrifices with the help of any Jews he might choose.

Josephus, standing where not only John but also the multi-

tude could hear him, delivered Caesar's message in Hebrew, urging the Jews to spare their country and their temple. But the tyrant John cursed Josephus repeatedly, and said that he did not fear capture, because the city was God's.

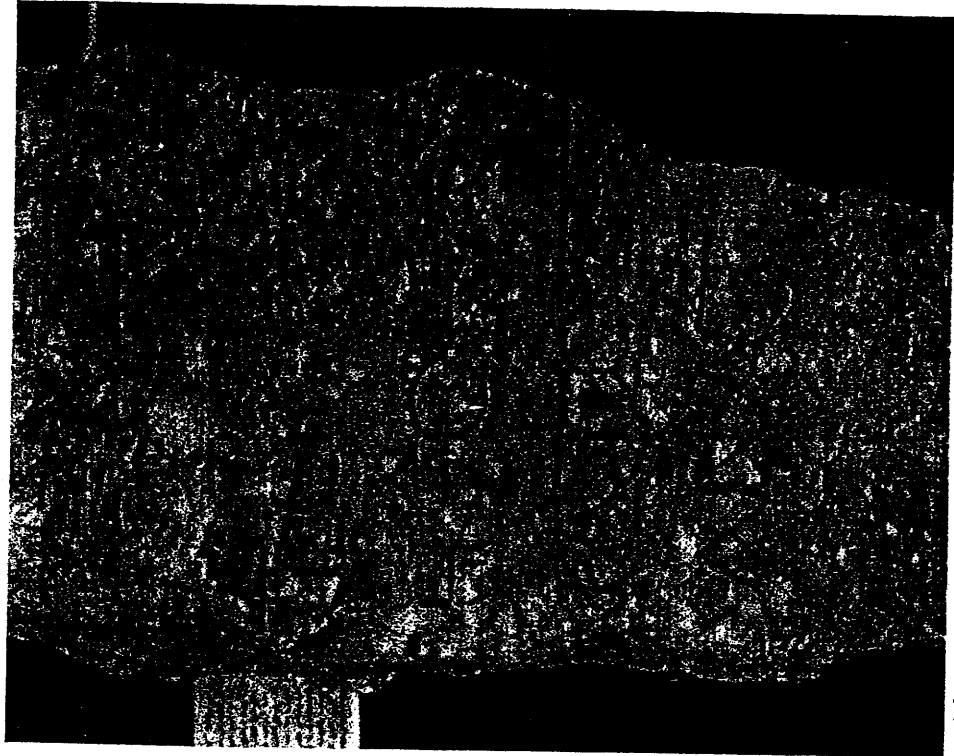
Josephus countered, "It is God Himself who is using the Romans to purge His temple with fire, and exterminate a city so choked with pollution!" As Josephus broke down in sobs, many of the upper class were moved by his words, and some chief priests and nobles deserted to the Romans. Caesar received them courteously and sent them to Gophna,\* promising to restore their possessions after the war. When these were happily secured at Gophna, the rebels spread a report that they had been slaughtered by the Romans, and this lie temporarily kept the people from deserting.

Titus, however, recalled the men from Gophna and ordered them to walk around the wall with Josephus to let the people see them, and great numbers fled to the Romans. Standing in front of the Roman line, the refugees implored the rebels with tears to surrender, or at least withdraw from the temple and save it from ruin, since the Romans would not set fire to the holy places unless compelled.

But the rebels only shouted curses on the deserters, and mounted their artillery engines over the sacred gates, so that the temple looked like a fortress. They rushed in arms around the holy places, and shocked even the Roman soldiers by their impiety. Again Titus rebuked John and his followers: "Wasn't it you, abominable wretches, who placed this balustrade in front of your sanctuary, with slabs in Greek and in your own language warning that no one may pass the barrier? And didn't we allow you to put to death any who passed it, even if he were a Roman? Why, then, do you now trample corpses underfoot within it? I call the gods of my fathers to witness, and any deity who once guarded this place—for now I believe there is none—I call on my army, the Jews within my ranks, and on yourselves, to witness that it is not I who force you to pollute these precincts. Fight in any other place, and no Roman shall profane your holy places. Rather, I will save the sanctuary for you, even against your will!"

Josephus translated this message for the Jews, but the rebels and their tyrant scorned it. Titus, therefore, reluctantly resumed hostilities. He could not make the assault with his whole army because the approaches to the temple were too narrow, and he selected the 30 best men out of each century, placing Cerealis in command, with orders to attack at around 3:00 A.M. He would

\* Twelve miles north of Jerusalem.



A fragment of one of the thirteen signs surrounding the inner temple area — cited in Titus' speech — which threatened death to any Gentile who penetrated the sacred precincts. Part of the Greek word for "death" appears near the bottom (Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem).

himself have led the attack had his officers not persuaded him that it would be wiser to watch and guide his troops from the Antonia, in order to reward the brave and punish the cowardly.

Before dawn, the Romans attacked, but they did not find the guards asleep as they had hoped, for they sprang to arms with a shout. The Romans at first had the advantage in the fight, because they remembered the password in the darkness, while the Jews often attacked each other in the confusion. But when morning broke, the Jews maintained their defence in



better order. The battle raged on until 11 A.M., with neither side victorious.

The rest of the army, meanwhile, overturned the foundations of the Antonia, and within a week prepared a broad ascent to the temple, where they erected embankments against four places in the outer court. These were built with great difficulty, because the Romans had to bring the timber from a distance of over twelve miles, and the Jewish attacks had become even more daring. Some of the Roman cavalry, when they went out to collect wood or food, turned their horses loose to graze while they were foraging, and the Jews often charged out in bands and stole them. Determined to make them more careful of their steeds by setting a severe example, Titus put to death one of his troops who had lost his horse. Man and beast were inseparable after that.

Suffering from famine, the rebels suddenly attacked the Roman wall on the Mount of Olives at supper time, hoping to find their enemies off guard. But the Romans saw them coming, hurried to the spot from adjacent forts, and prevented their attempts to scale the wall or cut through it. A fierce contest took place, but the Jews were finally repulsed and driven down the ravine.

The Jews now set fire to the portico leading from the Antonia to the temple, and then hacked away a 30-foot opening by hand. Two days later, the Romans set fire to the adjoining colonnade and burned about 20 feet more. The Jews then cut away the roof and destroyed all connection between themselves and the Antonia.

One day, a mean looking little Jew named Jonathan appeared across from the monument of the high priest John and challenged the best of the Romans to single combat. For some time he yelled his insults without the Romans taking any notice of him. But finally an auxiliary named Pudens, disgusted at his impudence and thinking he could easily whip so puny a fellow, came forward to accept the challenge. He was getting the best of the fight, when suddenly he slipped and fell down. Jonathan immediately ran him through with his sword and then danced in glee, jeering at his Roman spectators, until a centurion bent his bow and shot him with an arrow. Writhing with pain, he fell on the body of his foe, demonstrating that in war undeserved success brings instant vengeance on itself.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF TEMPLE AND CITY

# 26

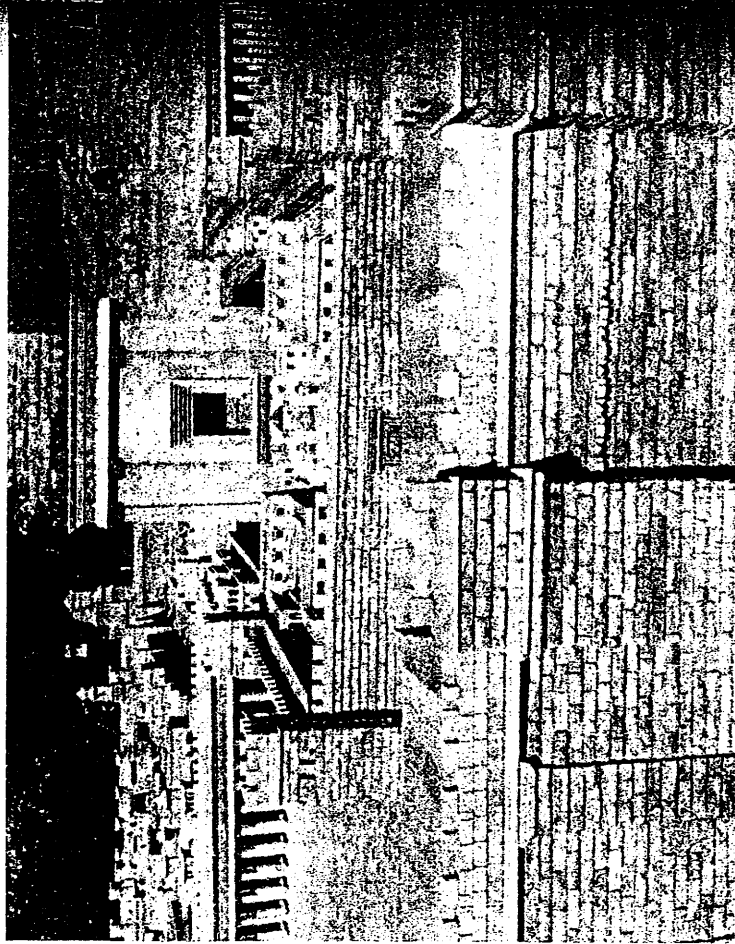
W VI, 177

The rebels in the temple, meanwhile, thought up the following trick. Along the western portico, they filled the space between the rafters and the ceiling with dry tinder, bitumen, and pitch, and then, as if worn out, they retreated. At this, many of the rash legionaries chased them, mounting the portico with ladders. The more prudent, however, suspicious of the withdrawal, remained. When the portico was filled with those who had climbed up, the Jews set fire to the whole structure. The flames roared up on every side, and some of the Romans jumped down into the city, others into the midst of the enemy, while many fractured their limbs jumping to friends. Most, however, died in the flames or committed suicide, anticipating the fire.

Caesar, although angry at all who had mounted the portico without orders, was still touched with pity when he saw them, and urged his men to make every effort to rescue them, though nothing could be done. A few got back to the wall of the portico, which escaped the flames, but they were surrounded by the Jews and killed after a valiant resistance. The last of them, a youth named Longus, was offered his life by Jews below if he would come down and surrender. But his brother called up to him not to tarnish Roman arms, so Longus raised his sword in view of both armies and killed himself.

Among those enveloped in flames, a certain Artorius saved himself by his cunning. He shouted to a comrade below with whom he shared a tent, "Lucius! I'll leave you heir to my property if you come and catch me." Lucius ran up, and Artorius threw himself down upon him and was saved. But Lucius was smashed against the pavement by Artorius' weight and killed on the spot.

The Romans were depressed by this disaster, but it made them all the more cautious against Jewish schemes. The Romans set fire to the northern portico, destroying it up to the northeast corner, which was built over the Kedron ravine.



Porticoes which surrounded the temple in Jerusalem, site of many encounters between Romans and Jews (model by M. Avi-Yonah).

### The Excruciating Famine

In the meantime, countless thousands of Jews died of hunger in every house where there was the least morsel of food, relatives fought over it. Gaping with hunger, the outlaws prowled around like mad dogs, gnawing at anything: belts, shoes, and even the leather from their shields. Others devoured wisps of hay, and then there was the incredible horror of Mary of Bethzuba.

Distinguished in family and fortune, Mary had fled to Jerusalem from Perea, but her property had been plundered by the tyrants during the siege, and her food by the daily raids of their followers. Maddened by hunger, she seized the infant at her

breast and said, "Poor baby, why should I preserve you for war, famine, and rebellion? Come, be my food—vengeance against the rebels, and the climax of Jewish tragedy for the world." With that, she killed her infant son, roasted his body, and devoured half of it, hiding the remainder.

Instantly the rebels arrived, sniffing the unholy smell and threatening her with death if she did not produce what she had prepared. She had reserved a fine portion for them too, she replied, uncovering the remnants of her baby. They stood paralyzed with horror. "This is my child and my action," she said. "Help yourselves, for I've had my share. Don't be weaker than a woman or more compassionate than a mother! But if you're squeamish and disapprove of my sacrifice, then leave the rest for me."

They left trembling, and the whole city rocked with this abomination, while the Romans were horrified, and Caesar declared himself innocent of this crime in the sight of God. He swore, however, to bury this atrocity of infant cannibalism beneath the ruins of the country.

When some of the earthworks were finished, Titus ordered the battering rams to be brought up opposite the western hall of the outer temple court. Others tried to undermine the foundations of the northern gate, but failed. Instead the Romans applied ladders to the porticoes, but as soon as they reached the top, the Jews threw them down headlong, or killed the Romans before they could defend themselves with their shields. They pushed aside, from above, several ladders filled with armed men, hurling all the soldiers to the ground. All who had mounted fell, and even the Roman standards were captured. Realizing that his effort to spare a foreign temple led only to the slaughter of his troops, Titus ordered the gates set on fire.

At this time two of Simon's lieutenants deserted to Titus, hoping for pardon because they surrendered at a moment of success. Titus was inclined to put them to death, because he thought that they had surrendered only to save themselves from the disaster they had brought on their city. Nevertheless, his good faith resulted in their release.

The Roman troops set the gates on fire, and the flames spread quickly to the porticoes. When the Jews saw the circle of fire surrounding them, they lost all spirit and stood gaping at the flames, without trying to put them out. Through the whole day and the following night the fire continued to burn.

The next morning Titus gave orders that the fire should be extinguished and a road made to the gates to facilitate entry of the legions. He then called his generals together to debate the fate of the temple. Some wanted to destroy it at once because it



would always be a focus for Jewish rebellion. Others advised that if the Jews would leave the temple it should be spared, but if they used it as a fortress, it should be burned. But Titus declared that, whatever happened, so magnificent a work as the temple ought to be spared, because it would always be an ornament to the empire. Three of his principal generals agreed with him, and the council was dissolved.

The next day the Jews made a furious raid against the guards posted in their outer court. The Romans closed up their ranks, locked their shields together like a wall, and withstood the attack. But the Jews poured in with such numbers that Titus, who was watching from the Antonia, hurried his elite cavalry to assist his troops. The Jews could not withstand their charge, and retreated to the inner court of the temple.

### Burning of the Temple

Titus then withdrew into the Antonia, intending the next dawn to attack with his entire force and overwhelm the temple. But on that day—the tenth of Lous [August 30]—the structure was doomed, the very day on which the former temple had been destroyed by the king of Babylon. When Titus withdrew, the rebels again charged the Romans, and conflict took place between the Jewish guards of the sanctuary and the Roman troops who were trying to put out the flames in the inner court. The Jews were scattered and pursued up to the sanctuary. At this moment, a soldier, neither waiting for orders nor awed by so dreadful an act, grabbed a burning brand. Hoisted up by one of his comrades, he threw the brand through a small golden door on the north side which gave access to chambers surrounding the sanctuary. As the flames caught, a fearful cry welled up from the Jews, who rushed to the rescue, caring nothing for their lives.

Titus was resting in his tent when a messenger rushed in with the news. Jumping up just as he was, he ran to the temple to stop the flames. But there was such noise and confusion that the soldiers either could not or would not hear the commands of their general, or obey the waving of his hand. Nothing could hinder the fury of the troops, and many were trampled by their own comrades at the entrances. Falling among the burning ruins, they shared the fate of their enemies.

Mad with rage and pretending not to hear the orders of their general, the soldiers rushed on, hurling their torches into the sanctuary. The rebels now were helpless, and made no attempt at defense, for on every side was slaughter and flight, civilians being butchered the most. Around the altar were heaps of

corpses, while streams of blood flowed down the steps of the sanctuary.

When Caesar could not restrain the fury of his soldiers, he and his generals entered the structure and viewed the Holy Place of the sanctuary, and all the splendors it contained. Since the flames had not yet reached the interior, but were still feeding on the chambers surrounding the temple, Titus made one last effort to save it. Rushing out, he appealed to his troops to put out the flames, ordering one of his centurions to club anyone disobeying his orders. But respect for their general and fear of punishment were overwhelmed by their raging hatred of the Jews and hope of plunder. Seeing that all the surroundings were made of gold, they assumed that the interior contained immense treasure. And when Titus ran out to restrain the troops, one of those who had entered with him thrust a firebrand into the hinges of the gate [of the inner temple], and flame shot up in the interior. Caesar and his generals withdrew, and thus, against his wishes, the sanctuary was burned.

While the temple was in flames, the victors stole everything they could lay their hands on, and slaughtered all who were caught. No pity was shown to age or rank, old men or children, the laity or priests—all were massacred. As the flames roared up, and since the temple stood on a hill, it seemed as if the whole city were ablaze. The noise was deafening, with war cries of the legions, howls of the rebels surrounded by fire and sword, and the shrieks of the people. The ground was hidden by corpses, and the soldiers had to climb over heaps of bodies in pursuit of the fugitives. The Jewish brigands forced their way through the Romans into the outer court of the temple, and then into the city. Some of the priests at first tore up spikes from the sanctuary and hurled them at the Romans, but afterwards, retreating from the flames, they withdrew to the wall.

### Prophets and Portents

The Romans now set fire to all the surrounding buildings, the remains of the porticoes and gates, and the treasury chambers, where vast sums of money had been deposited. They then moved on to the one surviving portico at the outer court, where 6,000 women and children had taken refuge. They had gathered there because of a false prophet, who had told them that God commanded them to go to the temple where they would receive guarantees of deliverance. Before Caesar had made up his mind what to do with these people, the soldiers set fire to the colonnade, and not a soul escaped.

Numerous false prophets deluded the people at this time. They were hired by the tyrants to urge the people to wait for help.

from God, and so keep them from deserting. Before the siege, however, portents had appeared, foretelling the impending devastation, but the Jews had disregarded these warnings of God. A star resembling a sword hung over the city, and also a comet which lasted a year. And just before the revolt, when the people were coming together for the feast of Unleavened Bread, a bright light shone around the altar during the night and brightened the sanctuary for half an hour. The people thought this a good omen, but the sacred scribes told them the contrary. A cow gave birth to a lamb in the temple court, and the eastern gate of the inner court, which was fastened with iron bars and so heavy that it took twenty men to move it, flew open on its own during the night. And at the feast of Pentecost, when the priests entered the inner court of the temple, they heard a great noise, and after that the voices of a multitude, saying, "We are leaving this place!"

But another portent was even more alarming. Four years before the war, while the city was enjoying prosperity and peace, a rude peasant named Jesus, son of Ananias, came to the feast of the Tabernacles. He stood up in the temple, shouting, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people!" Day and night he walked the streets with this cry. Some of the leaders arrested the fellow and beat him, but he only kept on shouting as before. The magistrates brought him before the Roman governor, who had him whipped to the bone, but he neither begged for mercy nor shed a tear, only crying at each stroke, "Woe to Jerusalem!" When Albinus, the governor, asked him who he was, where he came from, and why he uttered these cries, he did not reply, but only repeated his dirge, "Woe to Jerusalem!" For seven years and five months, continuing through the war, he maintained this cry, until, making his rounds on the wall during the siege, he shouted with his piercing voice, "Woe once more to the city, to the people, and to the temple!" Then he suddenly added, "And woe to me also!" and was immediately struck dead by a stone hurled from a ballista.

But what most incited the Jews to war was an ambiguous oracle, which predicted that someone from their country would become ruler of the world. This they interpreted as someone from their own race, but the oracle actually signified Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor on Jewish soil.\*\*

\* For a parallel account of these portents, indeed, of Titus' whole campaign, although in less detail, see Tacitus, *History*, v.11 ff.

\*\* So also Tacitus, *History*, v. 13. and Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 4.

### Titus Takes the Upper City

Now that the rebels had fled into the city, the Romans pitched their standards inside the temple court and offered sacrifice, acclaiming Titus as emperor. The troops were so glutted with spoils that gold was depreciated to half its former value throughout Syria.

From among the priests still perched on the walls of the sanctuary, a boy called to the Roman guards that he was suffering from thirst, and asked their protection while he came down and got a drink of water. Taking pity on him, they agreed, and so he came down, quenched his thirst, filled a jar with water, and raced back to the priests before the guards could catch him. When they cursed the priests for the boy's treachery, the boy replied that he had not broken his word, not having promised to stay with them. The Romans were astonished at having been outwitted by so young a boy.

Five days later, the priests became so hungry that they came down and surrendered to Titus, begging him to spare their lives. But he said that the time for pardon had passed: that for which he might have spared them was gone, and so he executed them, saying it was only fitting that they should perish with their temple.

Seeing that there was no hope of escape, the Jewish tyrants and their followers now invited Titus to a parley. Since he wanted to save the city, Titus spoke to them through an interpreter at the western gates of the outer courts of the temple, where they opened onto a bridge leading to the upper city. He reminded them in detail of all the past favors Rome had conferred on them, which were repaid only by rebellion, ingratitude, and a wretched cruelty that had led to the destruction of their temple. "However," Titus concluded, "I will not imitate your frenzy. Throw down your arms in surrender, and I grant you your lives. As a lenient master, I will punish only the unruly and spare the rest for my own use."

To this they replied that they could not accept his pledge because they had sworn not to do so. They asked for permission to pass through his lines, with their wives and children, and withdraw into the wilderness, leaving the city to him. Titus was furious that virtual captives were offering proposals as if they were victors. He warned them not to hope for terms any longer, but to fight to save themselves as best they could, because from now on he would be governed by the laws of war. He then gave his troops permission to burn and sack the city, and flames soon consumed the Archives, the Acra, the council chamber, and many homes.

W VI,358

The rebels now rushed to the royal palace [of Herod in the upper city] where many had deposited their wealth, beat off the Romans, and killed 8,400 people who had gathered there. Looting the money, they also captured two Roman soldiers, one a cavalryman, the other a foot soldier. The latter they slaughtered on the spot and dragged his body around the city. The horseman pretended to have a suggestion for their safety, and so was brought to Simon, but, having nothing to say, he was handed over to execution. The officer bound his hands behind his back, put a bandage over his eyes, and led him out to be beheaded in view of the Romans. But while the Jew was drawing his sword the prisoner managed to escape to the Romans. After such an escape, Titus could hardly put the officer to death for being taken alive, and dismissed him from the legion instead.

The next day the Romans drove the Jewish outlaws from the lower city, and set it on fire as far as Siloam. Cooped up in the upper city, the rebels dispersed themselves and lay in ambush amid the ruins, executing all who attempted to desert. As a last hope, they planned to find refuge in the underground passages, where they would hide until the city was entirely destroyed and the Romans had departed.

Because the ascent to the upper city was steep, Caesar ordered earthworks, even though the land for twelve miles around had been stripped of timber. But the legions raised one embankment on the west side of the city opposite the royal palace, while the auxiliaries and other units threw up another from the Xystus and bridge.

W VI,378

The Idumean chiefs now met secretly to discuss surrendering themselves, and sent five delegates to Titus to ask his protection. Titus, hoping that if the Idumeans defected the Jewish tyrants would also surrender, sent the men back, agreeing to spare them. But while the Idumeans were preparing to leave, Simon learned of the plot and immediately put to death the five emissaries and threw the chiefs into prison. The Idumean soldiers, helpless at the loss of their leaders, were watched by Simon, who stationed more vigilant sentries on the walls.

Still, these guards could not prevent desertion, for although many were killed trying to escape, a far larger number fled to the Romans. Mercifully disregarding his former orders, Titus received them all, freeing some 40,000 citizens and selling the rest as slaves.

At this time, one of the priests received a promise of protection on condition of delivering certain treasures of the temple which he had secured. And so he handed down from the wall of the sanctuary two candlesticks, tables, bowls, and platters—all

W VI,392

of solid gold—as well as the veils, vestments of the high priests with precious stones, and other articles. Another priest pointed out where similar treasures were hidden, and so obtained the pardon awarded refugees.

The earthworks were finished in eighteen days, and the siege engines were then brought up. Some gave up all hope and retired from the ramparts to the Acra. Others crept down into the caverns, yet many endeavored to repel the Romans from the walls, but were easily driven back. When part of the wall and some of the towers were battered down by the rams, the defenders fled and the tyrants themselves panicked. Those fierce Jewish leaders, previously so proud of their daring crimes, now stood trembling and afraid, or fell on their faces, mourning their fate and unable to flee. Then the tyrants, of their own accord, left the three towers [of Herod] which would have defied every siege engine and where they could have held out until reduced by famine. Abandoning these—or rather driven down from them by God—they took refuge in the ravine below Siloam. Afterwards, when Simon and his followers had recovered a little from their panic, they tried to break out of the wall the Romans had built around the city and escape. But when the guards beat them back, they crept down into the subterranean passages.

### Jerusalem is Destroyed

W VI,403

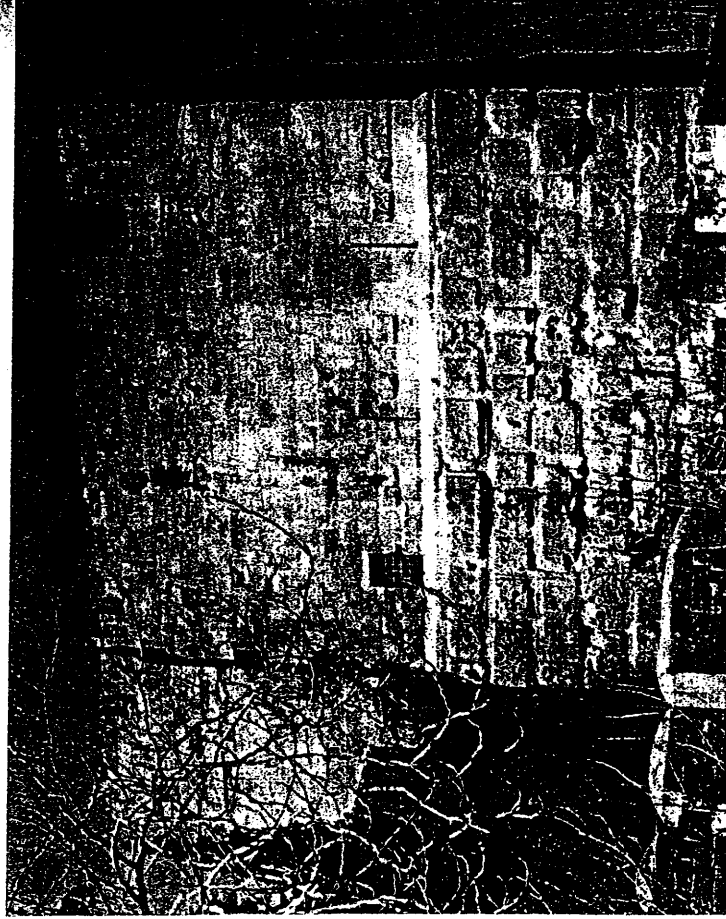
Now conquerors of the city wall, the Romans planted their standards on the towers in jubilation over their victory, finding the end of the war an easier task than its beginning. They could hardly believe they had surmounted the last wall with no bloodshed and had found no defenders inside. Pouring into the streets [of the upper city], they massacred everyone they found, burning the houses with all who had taken shelter in them. So great was the slaughter that in many places the flames were put out by streams of blood. Towards evening the butchery ceased, but all night the fires spread, and when dawn broke, all Jerusalem was in flames.

Sept. 28,  
A.D. 70

As Titus entered the city he was astonished at its strength, and especially the towers which the tyrants had abandoned. Indeed, when he saw how high and massive they were, and the size of each huge block, he exclaimed, "Surely God was with us in the war, who brought the Jews down from these strongholds, for what could hand or engine do against these towers?" Titus then freed all those imprisoned by the tyrants, and when he later

destroyed the rest of the city and razed the walls, he left the towers standing as monuments of his fortune.\*

Since the soldiers were growing tired of slaughter, Caesar ordered them to kill only those who were found armed and offered resistance, and to capture the rest. Still the troops killed



Base of the Tower Phasael in Jerusalem today, the largest of the three towers at the northern end of the Palace of Herod. The lower six courses of stone are original Herodian masonry, which were intentionally left intact by Titus to demonstrate how formidable Jerusalem's defenses were.

the old and feeble, but drove those in the prime of life and fit for service into the Court of the Women at the temple. Titus placed a guard over them, and ordered his friend Fronto to decide what should be done with them. While Fronto was sorting them out, 11,000 died of starvation, some because the guards, through hatred, would not give them food, others because they refused the food when offered. Fronto executed all the rebels, reserving the tallest and most handsome of the youths for the triumph. Of the rest, those over the age of seventeen were sent to the mines in

Egypt or presented to the provinces to be destroyed by sword or beast in the theaters. Those under seventeen were sold.

The total number of prisoners taken during the war was 97,000, and those who died during the siege 1,100,000. The greater part of these were of Jewish blood, but not natives of the city, because just before the siege, people had flocked into Jerusalem from all parts of the country for the feast of Unleavened Bread. They found themselves engulfed in the war and overcrowding that produced pestilence and famine. That the city could hold so many is clear from a count taken under Cestius, when the priests, during a Passover sacrifice, counted 255,600 animal victims. Allowing an average of ten diners per victim, we have a total of 2,700,000.\* All of these were pure and holy, since those afflicted with leprosy or gonorrhea, or menstruating women were not permitted to participate.

The Romans now went down into the subterranean passages and killed all they found, discovering 2,000 who had died from violence or famine. The stench was horrendous. John and his followers, dying of hunger in the caverns, begged the Romans for that protection he had so often spurned. He was condemned to life imprisonment. The Romans set fire to the outlying quarters of the city and demolished the walls to the ground.

Thus Jerusalem was taken in the second year of Vespasian's reign, on the eighth of Gorpiaeus.\*\* It had been captured five times before, and was now for the second time destroyed. Shishak, king of Egypt, Antiochus, Pompey, and then Sossius with Herod had taken the city but preserved it. Before then it had been laid waste by the king of Babylon, 1,486 years and six months from its foundation. Its original founder was a prince of Canaan, called Melchizedek, or "Righteous King," for such, indeed, he was. He was the first priest of God, and the first to build the temple; he named the city Jerusalem, which was previously called Solyma.

The Canaanites were driven from Jerusalem by King David, who established his own people there. The Babylonians destroyed it 477 years and six months later, and Titus 1,179 years after David, or 2,177 years since its foundation. So ended the siege of Jerusalem.

\* Because the total, obviously, should be 2,556,000, either the text or Josephus' arithmetic is faulty. In any case, the number is too large.

\*\* September 26, A. D. 70

\* The lower courses of Phasael, the largest tower, still stand in Jerusalem today.

# FROM 27 ROME TO MASADA

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Caesar ordered the entire city and the temple smashed to the ground, leaving only the tallest of the towers standing—Phasel, Hippicus, and Mariamme—and part of the western wall to show posterity the strong defenses which had yielded to the Romans. He now gathered his army in order to commend them for their achievements and confer rewards on those who had particularly distinguished themselves. A high tribunal was erected in the center of the camp, and Titus mounted it with his principal officers. He thanked the army for their magnificent efforts and praised them for their obedience and courage. The officers then read out names of those who had performed any noble feat during the war. Calling up each of them, Titus applauded as they came forward, placed crowns of gold on their heads, presented them with golden neckchains, little golden spears, and silver standards, as well as booty, and promoted each to higher rank. When all had been rewarded, he stepped down from the tribunal, receiving thunderous applause, and sacrificed a great number of oxen in thanksgiving for his victory, giving them to the troops for a banquet.

For three days Titus joined in celebration with his officers, and then dismissed his army. The Tenth legion, however, he left to guard Jerusalem. Because the Twelfth had been defeated under Cestius, he banished it from Syria altogether, and sent it to the Euphrates. The Fifth and the Fifteenth legions he retained until his arrival in Egypt. With them he descended to Caesarea-on-the-sea, where his prisoners were kept in custody, because the winter season prevented his sailing to Italy.



they then tried to dig their way beyond the walls and escape. But the mining went so slowly that the provisions gave out. Simon then decided to scare the Romans. Dressing himself in white tunics and purple mantle, he rose out of the ground at the very spot where the temple had stood. Bystanders were shocked at first, and then came nearer to ask him who he was. Simon refused to tell them, but had them call their general. When Terentius Rufus appeared, who had been left in command, Simon told him the whole truth. Rufus put him in chains and wrote Titus of Simon's capture, a surrender for which Simon himself had put many to death on false charges of desertion to Rome! On Titus' return to Caesarea-on-the-sea, Simon was sent to him in chains, and was kept prisoner for the triumph which Titus was planning to celebrate in Rome.

### Victory Games

While Titus remained at Caesarea, he celebrated his brother Domitian's birthday with great splendor, putting over 2,500 prisoners to death in games with beasts and flames. After this he moved to Berytus,\* a Roman colony in Phoenicia, where he celebrated his father's birthday by killing many more captives at elaborate exhibitions.

Nov.,  
A.D. 70

Titus had been overjoyed to learn of the excellent manner in which his father Vespasian had been received by all the Italian cities, and how the people of Rome poured out in crowds to hail him as their emperor. The city was hung with garlands, and the multitudes feasted, offering libations to their gods that the empire of Vespasian might long be preserved. Vespasian's son Domitian put down revolts in Gaul and Germany, while others did the same in Moesia.

Titus left Berytus and marched towards Antioch, passing through the cities of Syria, in which he gave more exhibitions, during which his Jewish captives acted out their own destruction. When he reached Antioch, the people hurried out to receive him enthusiastically and at the same time petitioned him to expel the Jews from town.

Now, there were many Jews in Antioch, who had enjoyed equal rights with the native Syrians. But at the time war had first broken out, hatred of the Jews was everywhere at its height. A Jew named Antiochus, son of the chief magistrate of the Jews in Antioch, falsely charged the Jews (among them his own father) with planning to burn the whole city by night. Furious, the

Beirut.

The base of the Western (or "Wailing") Wall of the temple platform in Jerusalem exhibits the ashlar used in its construction. Some have been eroded from many generations of weeping for the destruction of the temple and the city.

W VII.23

Titus and his troops now went to Caesarea Philippi and remained there for some time, staging a variety of exhibitions. Many of the prisoners were thrown to wild animals in these games, or were compelled to fight each other in combat. It was here that Titus learned of the capture of Simon, son of Giora, which was accomplished as follows.

During the siege of Jerusalem, Simon and his faithful friends along with some stonemasons and their tools, had descended into one of the subterranean passages, with provisions for many days. Advancing until they had reached the end of the passage

Antiochene massacred many Jews, after which Antiochus aided by Roman troops, lorded it over his fellow Jews, and would not even allow them to rest on the Sabbath.

Subsequently, a fire broke out in the marketplace, which burned down a number of public buildings, and Antiochus accused the Jews of setting it. The citizens again attacked the Jews maniacally until Gnaeus Collega, the deputy governor, intervened and investigated the affair. He found out that the Jews were not to blame, but rather some scoundrels who owed large debts and thought that if they could destroy the public records office they could escape having to pay them. Still, the inhabitants hated the Jews, and now begged Titus to drive them from the city. Titus, however, replied, "Jews ought to be banished to their own country, but this has been destroyed and no other land will receive them." Failing in this request, the Antiochenes then asked that the rights of the Jews be taken away from them. But this Titus also refused, leaving the status of the Jews in Antioch unchanged.

On his way to Egypt, Titus passed by Jerusalem, and, as he surveyed the ruins, he could not help thinking of the beautiful city that had formerly stood there. He felt sorry for its destruction and cursed the criminal authors of the revolt. He then hurried to Egypt, crossing the desert quickly, and soon reached Alexandria. Here he dismissed his two legions and set sail for Italy. The two Jewish leaders, Simon and John, with 700 of the Jewish captives selected for their height and appearance, were sent off immediately that they might grace Titus' triumph in Rome.

### A Roman Triumph

After a favorable voyage, Titus received as enthusiastic a welcome in Rome as Vespasian had. His father and [Domitian, his younger] brother came out to meet him, and the citizens were overjoyed to see the three princes united. They decided to celebrate their success by one common triumph, although the Senate had decreed a separate triumph for each. When the day arrived, the entire city poured out to view the pageant of victory.

Before sunrise, all the military forces marched out in companies and divisions under their officers, and gathered near the temple of Isis. When dawn broke, Vespasian and Titus appeared—crowned, laureled, and clothed in the traditional purple robes, and they ascended a tribunal which had been erected for them. Instantly, loud cheering erupted from the troops, which Vespasian acknowledged, and signaled for silence. He now rose, covered his head with his cloak, and, together with

Titus, recited the customary prayers. Vespasian then made a short speech to the soldiers, and dismissed them for a traditional breakfast the emperors provided.

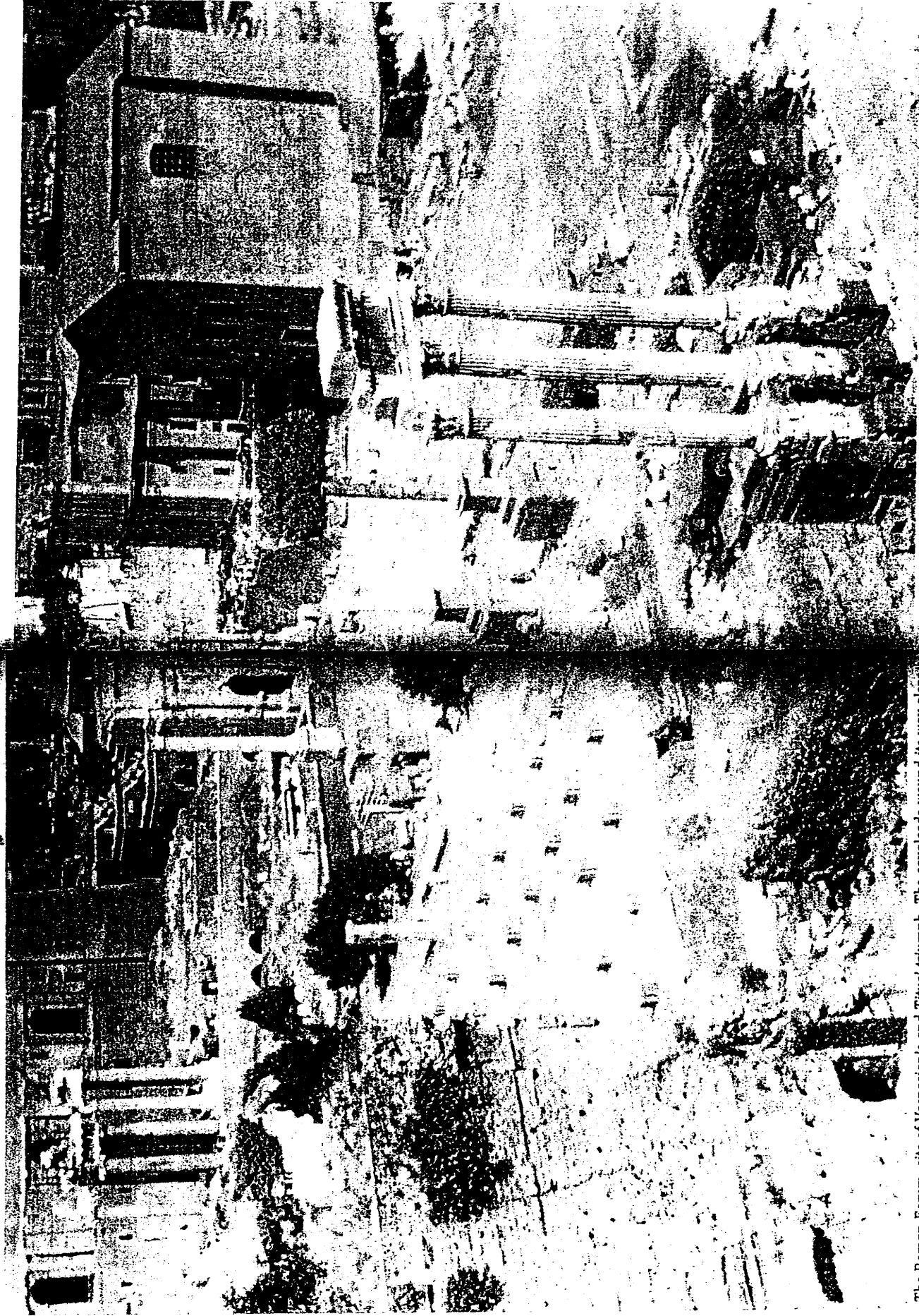
The princes then sent the procession on its way through the Triumphal Gate, driving via the theaters to give the crowds a better view. Words cannot describe the magnificence of the procession and the articles displayed: gold, silver, and ivory, all wrought in various forms; beautiful tapestries, worked in Babylon; jewels and crowns of gold; and images of gods made of costly materials. Animals of many species were led along by men clad in purple, and even the horde of captives was well dressed.

But nothing in the procession excited so much wonder as the moving stages, some of them three or four stories high, many enveloped in tapestries and each vividly representing some episode of the war. Here was to be seen a prosperous country laid waste, and there an enemy slaughtered. Others portrayed huge walls demolished by siege-engines; fortresses battered down; an army storming over ramparts; houses thrown down over their owners; hands of the defenseless raised in supplication; temples set on fire; and other scenes of blood and famine. On each of these floats was placed the general of one of the captured cities in the same posture in which he had been taken. A number of ships also followed.

Then the spoils were displayed in confused heaps, and above them all were those taken from the temple at Jerusalem, including a golden table, a candelabrum with seven branches, and a copy of the Jewish Law. Next came a large group carrying images of victory made of gold and ivory, and finally Vespasian himself, driving his chariot, followed by Titus, while Domitian rode beside him in magnificent apparel, mounted on a steed.

The procession ended at the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, where they waited until Simon, son of Giora, had been put to death. He had been part of the parade and now had a halter thrown over him, and he was whipped and executed at the spot adjoining the Forum where malefactors are executed. After the announcement that Simon was no more, the people gave a shout of joy, and the princes offered sacrifices, after which they withdrew to the palace for a banquet.

When the triumph was over, Vespasian decided to erect an elegant temple to Peace, adorning it with masterpieces of sculpture and painting taken from different countries. Here he placed also the golden vessels taken from the temple of the Jews, but the purple hangings of the sanctuary and their Law he kept in his own palace.



The Roman Forum, site of Vespasian's and Titus' triumph. The cavalcade wound its way along the Via Sacra, past the reconstructed squarish Senate house, under what (later!) would be the Arch of Septimius Severus to its left, and then up the Capitoline hill.



**The Fortress Machaerus**

w VII.163 Lucilius Bassus had been sent to Judea as legate, and, taking over command from Cerealis, had captured the fortress of Herodium. He now gathered the Roman forces throughout Judea together with the Tenth legion, and marched against Machaerus. It was absolutely necessary to destroy this, lest its very strength should induce the Jews to revolt.

It was built on a high crag, surrounded on all sides by deep ravines which could not be easily crossed and were impossible to climb. The valley to the west of it ends at Lake Asphaltitis, seven miles away. Noting the natural advantages of the site, Alexander [Janneus], king of the Jews, first erected a fortress there, but this was destroyed by Gabinus in his war with Aristobolus. When Herod became king, he founded a city there with ramparts and towers, and at the summit he raised a wall with high towers at each corner. In the center of the enclosure he built a spacious palace with cisterns to receive the rain and maintain a water supply in case of siege, for which he also stocked weapons and engines.

w VII.190 After Bassus had examined the place from every side, he decided to fill up the eastern ravine, and his men worked rapidly on the embankment. The Jewish inhabitants now separated themselves from the aliens there, compelling them to defend the lower town while they occupied the citadel. Daily the Jews raided those building the embankments, with much loss of life on both sides. These clashes, however, did not decide the fate of the town, but a surprising incident did.

Among the besieged was a bold youth named Eleazar, who participated in the raids and created havoc in the Roman ranks. Always the last to retreat, he remained alone outside the gates after one of the battles, chatting with some friends on the ramparts. Suddenly, an Egyptian called Rufus, who was serving in the Roman army, rushed up behind Eleazar, picked him up in armor and all, and succeeded in carrying him off to the Roman camp.

The Roman general ordered Eleazar stripped and taken to a spot where he would be most visible to onlookers in the town and whipped there. The Jews all burst into lament, and when Bassus observed this, he thought he could trick the town into surrendering. He ordered a cross erected, as if he were about to crucify Eleazar. Those in the fortress reacted with piercing shrieks, and Eleazar himself pleaded [with his compatriots] not to allow him to undergo so horrible a death but to yield to the Romans, who had conquered everyone else. Overcome by his appeals, the Jews quickly sent a delegation, offering to surren-

der the fortress if they were allowed to depart in safety and take Eleazar with them.

Bassus agreed to these conditions. When the people in the lower town heard of the agreement, they decided to steal away quietly during the night. But as soon as the gates were opened, the Jews informed Bassus, who attacked those intent on escaping. He killed 1,700 men and enslaved the women and children, although a few of the bravest managed to cut their way through the Roman forces and escape. According to the agreement, Bassus allowed those who had surrendered the fortress to depart, along with Eleazar.

Bassus then marched to a forest, called Jardes, and proceeded to surround it, for many of those Jews who had escaped from sieges in Jerusalem and Machaerus had gathered here. Bassus posted his cavalry around the forest, and then had the infantry begin chopping down the trees, among which the fugitives had taken refuge. Compelled to fight, the Jews concentrated their forces and attacked the troops hemming them in. But the Romans, well-armed and prepared, lost only twelve, while no Jew escaped and 3,000 died, including their general Judas, son of Ari.

At this time, Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to lease out the whole Jewish territory, for Titus reserved the country as his own private property, except that he assigned to 800 discharged veterans the town of Emmaus, about four miles [northwest of] Jerusalem. And on all Jews, wherever resident, he imposed an annual tax of two drachmas for the support of the Capitol, the amount they had formerly contributed to the temple in Jerusalem.

[Josephus here reports the unjustified attack on Antiochus, king of Commagene, by Paetus, the Roman governor of Syria, and the subsequent reconciliation of the king and his sons with Vespasian in Rome.]

**The Fortress of Masada**

Bassus died in Judea, and was succeeded as governor by Flavius Silva. Since the whole country was subdued except for one fortress, Masada, he collected all his forces and marched against it. Masada was occupied by sicarii and their commander Eleazar, a descendant of Judas [the Galilean]. Judas had induced many Jews to refuse to enroll themselves when Quirinius was sent as censor to Judea, and plundered the property of those who submitted to Rome for surrendering Jewish liberty. But this was only a pretext used by his successors to conceal their cruelty and



The fortress Masada, viewed from the Dead Sea plain in the east. The whitish line scaling the summit is the eastern "Snake Path."

greed, since the people did join them against Rome, only to suffer still worse atrocities from the rebels.\*

Flavius Silva immediately built a wall around Masada and guarded it with sentinels to prevent the besieged from escaping. Masada stood on a high rock, which was surrounded by deep ravines. It could be reached by only two narrow and difficult paths, from Lake Asphaltitis on the east and from hills to the west. The former path they call "the Snake," since it resembles a reptile in its narrow windings back and forth along breathtaking precipices, until it finally reaches a plain at the summit on which Masada stood.

\* Here, one last time, Josephus vents his fury against the sicarii and their successors: John of Gischala, Simon bar-Giora, the Idumeans, and the Zealots, all of whom suffered, yes, but much less than what they inflicted, in his estimation.



View northward across the Dead Sea from Herod's Northern Palace at Masada. The Corinthian capitals originally stood on columns here.



Flavius Silva, the Roman commander, stationed his camp to the northwest of Masada, just above a precipice. The walls of the camp, his own quarters within it, and the siege wall surrounding Masada all remain plainly visible after nineteen centuries.

The fortress was first built by the high priest Jonathan, but Herod later surrounded the summit with a high wall, fortified by 37 towers, and built a palace at the northwestern corner. He also cut in the rock a number of cisterns so that residents would never lack water. The fortress was nearly impregnable, since the eastern path could not be used by an attacking party, while that on the west was barred by a huge tower built at the narrowest point.

The fortress was well-stocked with provisions—enough grain, wine, oil, legumes, and dates to last for years—and enough arms for 10,000 men, along with unwrought iron, brass and lead. King Herod had provided this fortress as a refuge for himself in case of a revolt among his Jewish subjects, and also because he feared Cleopatra, since she was always asking Antony to kill him and give her the throne of Judea.

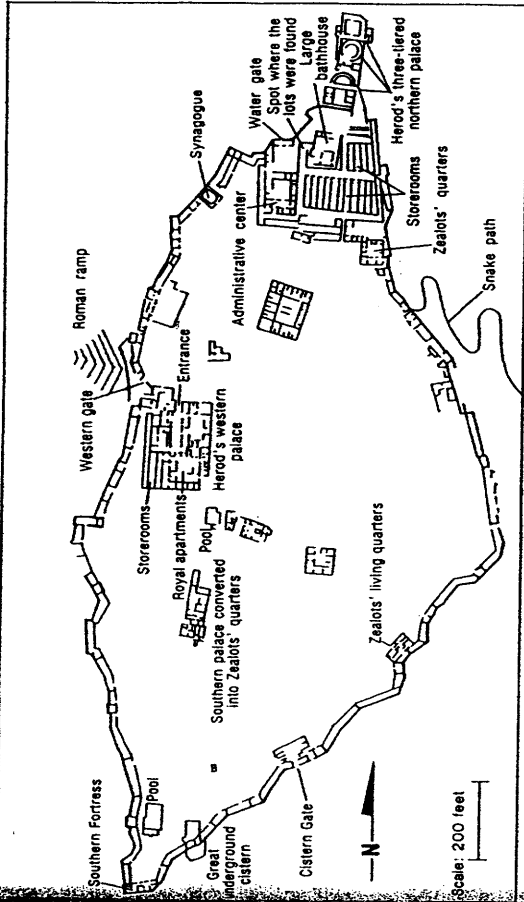
Silva now applied himself to the siege, and started to construct earthworks, 200 cubits in height, over a rock that jutted out below called "White [cliff]", which is behind the tower that barred the western path. He then covered this ramp with a second embankment, made of enormous stones, which was built as a platform. On this a high tower was raised and completely encased with iron, from which the Romans shot missiles and arrows by means of their artillery engines, clearing the ramparts of Masada.

Silva brought up a battering ram, which hammered against the wall until it made a breach. But in the meantime, the sicarii had erected another wall inside built of wood and earth, which being soft, cushioned the blows of the ram and even became firmer from the blows. Silva then ordered his soldiers to throw burning torches on it, and the wood soon caught fire. But before long, a north wind blew the flames in the faces of the Romans, and they were afraid that their siege engines would be burned. Yet suddenly the wind shifted and blew fiercely from the south,\* driving the flames against the wall and setting it ablaze from top to bottom. The Romans returned rejoicing to their camp, intending to attack the enemy on the following day. During the night they kept a tighter watch lest any of the besieged escape.

### The Fall of Masada

Eleazar, however, did not intend to flee, nor would he allow anyone else to do so. When he saw the wall in flames, he

\* Even though the western gate at the Masada excavations is somewhat angled to give these wind directions credibility, northeast and southwest wind systems seem far more likely for the effect Josephus describes.



EXCAVATIONS AT MASADA

thought it would be nobler for all to die than fall into Roman hands, and so he assembled his bravest comrades. "Long ago we decided to serve neither Roman nor anyone else except God," he said, "and now the time has come to verify that resolution by action. We, who were the first to revolt and are the last in arms against the Romans, must not disgrace ourselves by letting our wives die dishonored and our children enslaved. We still have the free choice of a noble death with those we hold dear. When they are gone, let us render a generous service to each other. But first we must destroy our property and the fortress by fire, sparing only our provisions, so that the Romans will know it was not hunger that subdued us, but that we preferred death to slavery."

Some of his hearers were eager to respond, but others could not bear the thought of putting their wives and children to death, and tears stole down their cheeks. Seeing them wavering, Eleazar addressed them again, asserting that "life, not death, is man's misfortune, for death liberates the soul from its imprisonment in a mortal body. Why, then, should we fear death who welcome the calm of sleep?" Indian philosophers happily greeted the purifying flames, he added, and then told of the tortures they could expect from the Romans, who would also

violate their wives. "Let us die as free men with our wives and children," he concluded, "and deny the Romans their joy of victory! Let us rather strike them with amazement at our brave death!"

While Eleazar was still speaking, he was cut short by his hearers, who were filled with zeal to comply. They rushed away like possessed men, and began the bloody work. While they embraced their wives and took their children in their arms clinging in tears to their parting kisses, they killed them.

When all were put to death, they gathered together their effects and set fire to them. Then they chose by lot ten of their number to kill the rest. They lay down beside their dead wives and children and, flinging their arms around them, offered their throats to those who slaughtered them all. The ten then cast lots and he on whom it fell killed the other nine. He then looked about to see that all were dead, set fire to the place, and finally drove his sword through his body, falling beside his family. Two women and five children, however, escaped by hiding in an underground aqueduct during the massacre. The victims numbered 960, and the tragedy occurred on the fifteenth of Xanthicus.\*

Early the next morning, the Romans advanced to the wall over gangways, expecting fierce resistance. But no enemy appeared and an awful silence hung over the place. They finally shouted in their perplexity, to arouse anyone. Hearing the noise, the two women who had saved themselves came out of hiding and informed the Romans of what had happened, one of the two lucidly reporting Eleazar's speech itself. At first they could hardly believe the story, until, putting out the flames, they cut their way into the palace and there found the mass of bodies. Instead of rejoicing over their enemies, the Romans admired the nobility of their determination.

The general left a garrison at Masada and departed with his army for Caesarea. Not an enemy remained in the country, all of it now subdued by this protracted war.

### The Temple in Egypt

Later, some of the sicarii, who had fled to Egypt, tried to incite a revolt among the Jews in Alexandria, claiming that they should assert their independence and regard God alone as their master. Some of the Jewish leaders in Alexandria opposed the sicarii and were murdered by them.



Looking eastward over Masada toward the Dead Sea. The Roman ramp still rises almost to the summit at the center of the fortress' western face.

Noting the fanaticism of the sicarii, the leaders of the council of elders among the Jews called the people together and exposed their madness. "These men," they said, "knowing they will be put to death by the Romans if recognized, want to make us all share their danger, who have not shared their crimes." They urged the people to turn the villains over to the Romans, and thus keep peace with them. The people then rushed on the sicarii, and 600 were captured. All the rest who escaped from the city were pursued and arrested. They were put under various tortures [by the Roman governor] to force them to acknowledge Caesar as lord, but not one submitted, astonishing everyone. Even their little children preferred to die rather than call Caesar lord.

Lupus, who was then in charge of Alexandria, reported this commotion to the emperor, who ordered him to destroy the temple of Onias, so that the Jews, with their penchant for revolution, would not collect there and raise another revolt. This

temple had been built in former times by Onias, one of the chief priests of the temple at Jerusalem, who had fled to Alexandria at the time that Antiochus, king of Syria, was at war with the Jews. Onias was well received by Ptolemy [VI Philometor], who hated Antiochus, and Onias promised to make the Jewish nation an ally of the Egyptian king if he gave his permission to build a temple in Egypt. Since Antiochus had destroyed the temple in Jerusalem, the Jews would flock to Egypt for freedom of worship, Onias claimed.

Ptolemy then gave Onias a tract of land 23 miles from Memphis in the nome of Heliopolis, where Onias built a fortress and temple that was not like the one in Jerusalem. Indeed, he represented the Jerusalem Jews for his exile, and hoped his rival temple would lure Jews away from them. The king also gave him extensive territory for revenue collection so that the priests might be sustained in the service of God.

When Lupus received Caesar's order, he went to this temple, took away some of the offerings, and shut the building up. When Lupus died, his successor Paulinus stripped the temple, forbade anyone from worshipping in it, and blocked up the entrance—243 years after its founding.\*

#### Sedition in Cyrene

Like a disease, the madness of the sicarii also infected the cities around Cyrene. A scoundrel named Jonathan, who had found refuge in that city, persuaded a multitude of the lower classes to follow him out into the desert, promising to show them great signs and wonders. But the men of rank among the Jews of Cyrene reported the exodus to Catullus, governor of the Libyan Pentapolis. Catullus dispatched a body of horse and foot soldiers that easily overpowered the unarmed crowd, the majority of whom were killed, and the rest brought back to Cyrene. Jonathan managed to escape capture for a while, but finally was taken. When brought before Catullus, he falsely claimed that the wealthiest of the Jews had ordered the scheme.

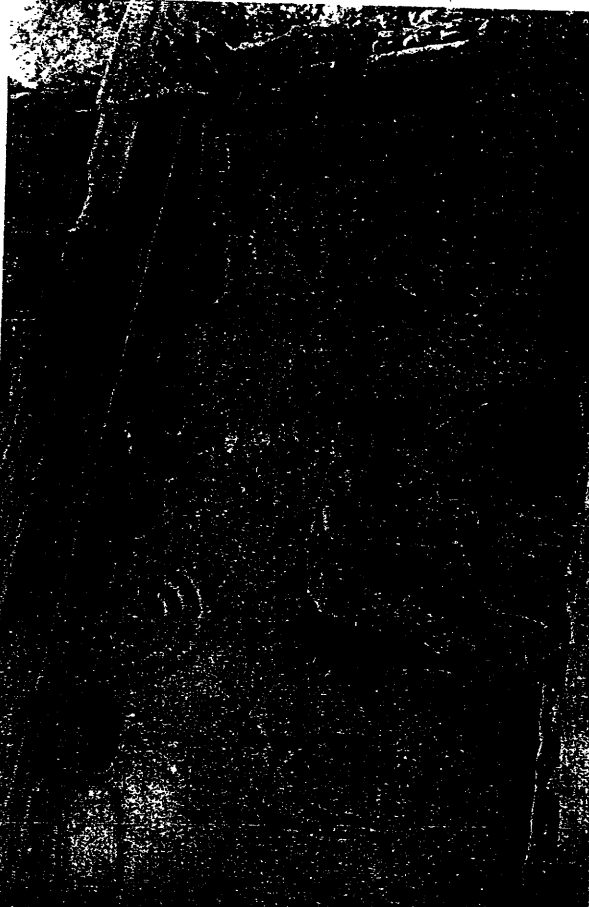
Catullus pretended to believe the charges, because he hated the Jews and wished to make the affair appear as dangerous as possible so that he too might seem to have won a Jewish war. He even made Jonathan name Alexander, a Jew with whom he had quarreled, and Bernice, his wife, as being in on the plot. He then killed 3,000 of the wealthiest Jews and confiscated their property for the imperial treasury.

\* The standard text is likely corrupt, claiming 343 years, or a century too long for the period c. 170 B.C. to A.D. 73.

To prevent Jews elsewhere from exposing his crime, Catullus had Jonathan and his associates charge the leading Jews in Alexandria and Rome with promoting the rebellion. Among those insidiously accused was Josephus, the author of this history. Catullus went to Rome with his "witnesses," but Vespaasian investigated the affair and discovered that all the charges were false. Jonathan was tortured and then burned alive. Catullus was reprimanded, but soon after was afflicted with a terrible disease that affected also his mind, which was haunted by ghosts of his murdered victims. When his bowels ulcerated and fell out, he died, another evidence of God's punishment of the wicked.

#### Conclusion of The Jewish War

Here we close the history, in which we promised to relate accurately how this war was waged by the Romans against the Jews. My readers may judge its style, but as to truth, this has been my aim throughout.



Upper relief of the Arch of Titus commemorates the destruction of Jerusalem. The seven-branched candelstick — the Menorah — and other items from the temple are paraded by the triumphant Romans.

