

WILDERNESS TRADITIONS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE,
SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of the wilderness traditions. In this thesis, I investigate how the different strands of the wilderness motif wend their way through the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature, and the New Testament. Also, I trace the development of the wilderness traditions on the basis of their treatment of various biblical and extra-biblical traditions: how the older traditions are interpreted and applied by future generations. I try to communicate the diverse ways represented in each text how the wilderness captured the imagination of people and served different theological purposes throughout time. By means of this study, I hope to demonstrate that the wilderness traditions are influential for a better understanding of the unity in the various parts of the Protestant Bible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. THESIS STATEMENT

It is fascinating how people can understand a thousand years of literature through a single, permeating motif. This is the premise of my thesis, “Wilderness Traditions in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature and the New Testament.” This study will involve comparative and diachronical research. We shall focus upon a particular tradition, the wilderness, and study it within contexts as possible. The purpose of the present thesis is to trace the concept of wilderness, examining its historical development as a tradition occurring in the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. By analyzing the concept of wilderness within the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature and the New Testament, we can begin to understand that the tradition of wilderness is a seminal biblical tradition. In addition, by tracing the development of the wilderness idea as a tradition from the Hebrew Bible through Second Temple Literature to the New Testament, we can discover how the older references to the wilderness traditions have been interpreted and applied in newer contexts. Moreover, the trajectory of the wilderness tradition maintains the continuity and the unity of Israel’s history.

Although the importance of the wilderness concept in Second Temple Judaism has been addressed by S. Talmon,¹ and W. M. Alston, Jr.,² and Hindy Najman,³ no study to date has

¹ S. Talmon, “The ‘Desert Motif’ in the Bible and in Qumran Literature,” in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-63.

² W. M. Alston, Jr., *The Concept of the Wilderness in the Intertestamental Period* (diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1968).

³ Hindy Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 99-113; repr, in *Past renewals: interpretative authority, renewed revelation, and the quest for perfection in Jewish antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

systematically examined the wilderness tradition from its origin to its later interpretation in the New Testament. Such a study is needed because of the prominence of this tradition, its presence in both Testaments, its various interpretations and applications, and its possible significance for understanding the continuity of the past with the present.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

The procedure of the thesis is simple. Our starting point is to look for the meaning of the term “wilderness” in each body of literature and to identify the prominent usages of the wilderness motif together with explanations of it. Our destination is to trace the trajectory of the historical development of the wilderness theme as a biblical tradition. Three main questions govern this study. First, which meanings of wilderness are used in each body of literature? Second, what are the prominent usages of “wilderness” in each text, and is there any explanation for these usages? Third, is there a development of “wilderness” as a tradition in Israel’s history from the Hebrew Bible through the Second Temple Literature to the New Testament?

These questions will be addressed in three steps:

- A. Categorizing the wilderness concepts used in each body of literature and grouping the main usages by meaning.
- B. Identifying the most frequent usages, changes in frequency, and their proportions through the texts.
- C. Correlating the trajectories of the usages and tracing the historical development of wilderness as a tradition through the texts.

This three-pronged methodology will provide a fuller understanding of the wilderness as primary

tradition permeating the history of ancient Israel.

The study is divided into seven major chapters. Chapter 1 is devoted to introductory matters, i.e., thesis statement, history of scholarship and methodology. Chapter 2 concerns the wilderness tradition and introduces six categories with two connotations. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 provide direction of the research on the wilderness tradition with the examination of the meaning of the term “wilderness” and its usages in each body of literature such as the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature, and the New Testament. In these sections the questions of the original interpretation of the wilderness motif are raised. Chapter 6 concerns the history of the wilderness tradition, examining how the original wilderness concept was developed and reinterpreted in later texts. Chapter 7 is the conclusion of the thesis with a summary of its findings and implications of the data.

The thesis examines these materials, moving from the earliest writings to the later ones, in order to understand better how the wilderness tradition was understood and applied later. We will see that various features of the wilderness tradition that are mentioned in the Pentateuch recur in a parallel way in other parts of the Hebrew Bible and are also prominent in the Second Temple Literature and the New Testament. Thus, we can plot a chart of these features in order to demonstrate visually the similarities and differences of the wilderness tradition in the hands of different authors’ writing in different times with different purposes in mind. However, this thesis will examine only references to the wilderness tradition that originated in the Hebrew Bible. We will begin with noting the most representative features of the wilderness tradition in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature and the New Testament. Thus, by the end, we will have a good idea of whether there is discontinuity or continuity among these bodies of literature. This thesis is interested in a particular tradition and the trajectory of its historical development. It is believed that the wilderness tradition is perhaps the most important witness to the continuity of scripture through

the prophecy and fulfillment/formation and renewal of scriptural tradition that lies at the heart of the Israel's history. For the convenience of readers, a summary of each of the following chapters will be given.

1.3. HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

This study aims at doing more than merely summarizing various usages of the wilderness motif in ancient texts; rather, it seeks to answer specific questions, make contributions, and argues a position. In order to clarify my position and methodology, I will survey the history of scholarship on the topic to uncover significant issues to be considered in the following chapters. It is important to understand the significance and meaning of both terms “wilderness” and “tradition” in order to indicate how these terms will be used in this thesis. We will deal with the concept “wilderness” and “tradition.”

1.3.1. WILDERNESS

In the history of Jewish tradition, the concept of wilderness has captured more attention from scholars of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Period than from New Testament scholars. This general lack of treatment on this motif by some scholars is probably due to the complexity of the wilderness concept and its development. In other words, the wilderness tradition potentially has tremendous value for a deeper understanding of particular periods in the history of Israel. The wilderness motif is seminal and essential, providing a crucial window of understanding into the development of theological perspectives during the Second Temple period.

K. Budde should be granted credit as the first scholar to begin the modern dialogue on the

desert/wilderness concept.⁴ His thesis is that the Rechabites are the followers of the pure Yahwistic religion in which the God of Israel is described as a typical god of the desert. Budde indicates that the crucial function of the desert in the prophet's message is to point to Israel's future purification.

Another prominent voice was W. F. Flight in 1923.⁵ He emphasizes the theory that in the Hebrew Bible the nomadic view of life was elevated to an ideal. According to Flight, the nomadic ideal represents spiritual simplicity of faith and life. In the New Testament, this ideal is revealed in the life and person of Jesus Christ. However, the "nomadic ideal" theory seems not to recognize the difference between the meaning of the nomadic way of life and the meaning of the wilderness itself. Proponents of this theory need to focus more on the meaning of the desert itself.

The first elaborate attempt to trace the historical development of the wilderness theme came in the book George H. Williams published in 1962.⁶ Unlike Budd and Flight, whose primary concern is the concept of the desert ideal, Williams does a comparative study on how the wilderness theme is developed throughout the diverse stages of biblical literature.

In 1966, one of the most prominent contributions to the research on the wilderness tradition emerged: Shemaryahu Talmon's article titled "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature."⁷ This essay is significant because it became the basis for modern wilderness motif research. In general, Talmon examines the association between the wilderness tradition in Hebrew Bible and the desert motif in Qumran Literature. He compares the literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls with the Hebrew Bible. The strength of his article lies in its survey of the various dimensions of the negative and positive characteristics of the desert.

⁴ K. Budde, "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament," *New World* 4 (1895): 235-79.

⁵ J.W. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament." *JBL* 42 (1923): 158-226.

⁶ George. H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought: the Biblical Experience of the Desert in the History of Christianity & the Paradise Theme in the Theological Idea of the University* (New York: Harper, 1962).

⁷ Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," 31-63.

In addition, he examines the function of the desert as a motif, which is reflected in biblical literature. In summary, he states, “the desert and the desert period are conceived in the Bible not as intrinsically valuable, but originally and basically as a punishment and a necessary transitory stage in the restoration of Israel to its ideal setting, which is an organized, fully developed society, with a deep appreciation of civilization, settled in the cultivated Land of Israel.” Also, he gives a summary of etymological suggestions related to the wilderness/desert and counter-arguments for the “nomadic ideal” theory.

His treatment of the wilderness as a biblical image pattern contributes a number of new ideas to the discussion. He stressed that to understand the “desert motif” it must be considered in conjunction with other biblical motifs due to its twofold significance. Talmon’s treatment is one of the earliest studies concerning the wilderness tradition as a biblical motif and he emphasized the reinterpretation/actualization of the desert motif in Israelite history. His essay defines many of the key features of the desert motif that would subsequently be discussed in almost every subsequent study on the wilderness. However, he does not follow the trajectory into the New Testament, although he compares other motifs with desert motifs from the Old Testament to the Qumran literature.

In 2004, Robert Barry Leal proposed a cosmological and ecological approach to the Bible.⁸ By introducing the eco-theology, he suggested rereading the biblical heritage from this perspective. Although his study seems to provide a fresh approach to the wilderness theme, it is not directly relevant to my investigation.

In 2005, James K. Hoffmeier examined how the origin of Israel was embodied within the

⁸ Robert Barry Leal, *Wilderness in the Bible: Toward a Theology of Wilderness*, (SBL 72; New York: P. Lang, 2004).

wilderness tradition.⁹ According to him, the wilderness tradition is defined as the body of literature that is set in the wilderness. In Exodus 14-15, after crossing the Red Sea, the Hebrews arrived in Sinai. This event marks the beginning of the wilderness tradition. Because of the centrality of the wilderness tradition to Israel's religious identity, Hoffmeier stresses that the events from the Sinai wilderness dominate the Torah, or Pentateuch, and left a lasting impression on Israel's history. The limitation of his research is that he focuses solely on the Pentateuchal materials that are set in Sinai, although he mentions the relationship with the so-called biblical historical books, prophets and psalms.

Hindy Najman is another voice that entered the conversation. In the 2006¹⁰ essay she characterized various usages of the concept of wilderness used in a particular period in the history of Judaism, the Second Temple period. She has defined many features of the wilderness, including "wilderness as suffering," "wilderness as purification," and "wilderness as a locus for revelation." However, her methodology was not focused on tracing the historical development of the wilderness, but to show the various thematic usages of the wilderness concept in the Second Temple period. She points out the powerful, seminal, and essential function of the wilderness concept in this formative period in the history of Jewish tradition.

Kenneth E. Pomykala's book on the studies on the significance of the wilderness in relation to the interpretation of the Biblical narratives in Jewish and Christian tradition was published in 2008. In her study of the wilderness motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Alison Schofield describes that the sectarian interpretation of the wilderness as simultaneously an ideal place and negative place.¹¹ The

⁹ James K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai: the Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Najman, "Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism," 99-113.

¹¹ Alison Schofield, "The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. Kenneth E. Pomykala; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37-53.

wilderness motif during the Second Temple Period was, therefore, complex.

1.3.2. TRADITION

As stated earlier, the goal of the present research is to examine the concept of wilderness in each text and to trace its historical development as a tradition; how the wilderness tradition was understood and applied through the centuries. One method often employed in this kind of study is to begin with the material in the Hebrew Bible. For example, James L. Kugel's study examined in great detail the traditions of the Bible.¹² Although his book focused only on materials within the Hebrew Bible, he has demonstrated the principles of interpreting and applying older materials in newer contexts.

Traditional materials are passed down from one generation to the next. It is a foundational factor of the community to connect between generations and to link the present with the past. In human history, tradition has played a fundamental role in the structure of knowledge and understanding. It is central to the general hermeneutical process, especially in biblical interpretation. Tradition can be formally divided into two aspects, traditional material (*Traditum*) and the process of transmission (*Traditio*). Mowinkel stresses the facet of the nature of a tradition as an organism, when he states that "tradition thus is not only the process of transmission, but also that of development and creation as well."¹³

Moreover, we can distinguish between the stipulated and the non-stipulated tradition. The former refers to the transmitted words and texts transmitted by oral and/or written means (*verbal tradition*). The latter is any part of the heritage from the past that is not necessarily fixed in a set

¹² James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹³ S. Mowinkel, "Tradition, Oral," *IDB* 4:683-85, esp. 684.

form in word or writing, e.g., practices, customs, habits, rules, experiences, social and religious institutions (*practical tradition*). It is hard to separate the boundary between these two types of tradition. However, since this study will focus on written texts, I need to draw distinctions between oral and written transmission of tradition. In this study, I am going to focus not on the oral stage of a tradition, but rather on written texts. In other words, my analysis will focus on the interpretation and the actualization of earlier textual traditions in new theological frames.

Several scholars' methodologies may usefully be applied to this research. I would like to mention two, Michael Fishbane and James L. Kugel. Fishbane¹⁴ is perhaps the most influential scholar to examine the relationship between *traditum* and *traditio*, particularly the processes of how earlier traditions were understood actualized in a new biblical context. His book is divided into four sections: parts such as Scribal Comments and Corrections, Legal Exegesis, Aggadic Exegesis and Mantological Exegesis. He emphasized the importance of authentic interpreters of the religions, in other words, the dignity of traditions and commentaries. In addition, he introduced two main groups involved in the transmission of a tradition, the scribes and the legists, who had different issues and duties. These groups provide clues to the reasons why particular traditions, laws, or oracles are reworked in the course of its *traditio*.¹⁵

Fishbane adapted the terminological distinction between the *traditum* and *traditio* from Douglas A. Knight,¹⁶ who has used the terms primarily with respect to examining oral traditions/texts. But in his methodology of intra-biblical exegesis, Fishbane has narrowed the terms and applied them merely to written materials, with necessary modifications. His methodology,

¹⁴ Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

¹⁵ Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. SBLEJL 26. (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 2. Refer to her notes about the term of the tradition and the theme: "'Noah tradition' normally describes a speech, action, event, or character trait associated with Noah in more than one text. A 'theme' recurs within a given text and may extend beyond Noah to formulations within the text."

¹⁶ Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel*. 3rd ed, SBL 16. (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

inner-biblical exegesis, is based on the received Scripture and he develops that approach.

Fishbane's main concern is to examine the dynamics between an authoritative *traditum* and its *traditio* in ancient Israel while pointing out the difference between inner-biblical exegesis and tradition-history: the study of tradition-history moves back from the written sources to the oral traditions. However, his inner-biblical exegesis starts with the written materials of the Bible, as an authoritative *traditum*. Moreover, he suggests that the heart of the phenomena of *traditum* and *traditio* is the master typology of inner-biblical exegesis and its analytical procedure. As a result, the relationship between *traditum* and *traditio* produced many literary and historical types in the Hebrew Bible, and their analysis reveals distinctive exegetical forms and features of ancient Israelite literature and culture.

In 1998 Kugel¹⁷ marks an important stage in the modern research of traditions, demonstrating how the earliest interpreters of the scriptures radically transformed the Bible and made it into the book (*Traditio*). He focused on twenty-four core stories in the Pentateuch, from the Creation to the Exodus from Egypt and finally to the journey to the Promised Land. In addition, he stresses the interpretive process of the Bible, even before the Bible had attained its final form in which he includes "being interpreted" stories, songs, commandments and prophecies.¹⁸

Although Kugel limits his scope to the Pentateuch, he also discusses the world of ancient Biblical interpreters, who compiled the Hebrew Bible. While regulating Hebrew Bible as the compilation of the interpreted texts, he accents that the scribes who did the work of copying were not mindless duplicating machines, nor did characters mentioned in the Bible merely read the texts. In the case of the book of Judges, they sought to apply the law's general prescriptions to specific

¹⁷ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, xvii-xix, 1-6.

¹⁸ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, xix.

situations and sometimes adopted fixed formulations to new circumstances. Moreover, Kugel gives evidence for these interpretive decisions in the book of Daniel and the entire book of Chronicles.¹⁹

Kugel points out that the crucial historical events that precipitated the age of interpretation was the Babylonian conquest and the Jews returning from exile to their homeland. After the historic turbulent period, the interpretation of ancient Scripture played a central role in the new society, which the Jews established after their return to Judea. As a result, the reinterpretation of Scripture and its ensuing re-actualization under newer circumstances began to develop. Biblical laws, stories, and prophecies slowly accumulated and coalesced into a great body of lore that came to be known widely throughout Israel.

Kugel asks the reason why the period following the return from Babylonian exile inaugurated a new interest in the interpretation of Scripture.²⁰ His answer is that the returnees desired to return to the place as well as to the way of life that had been formerly their ancestors'. They needed a foundation on which to restore their society. Moreover, there were political differences among different groups within the returning exiles, such as the descendants of the Davidic dynasty (Zerubbabel, Haggai, and Zechariah) and other political groups (the emperor Cyrus, Ezra, and Nehemiah). Generally, the returning Jews used the pre-existing stories, songs, prayers, and prophecies, which were known before the Babylonian exile, to support and develop their own ideas on different traditions.

In my opinion, the new interest in the interpretation of Scripture was related to a shift in theological focus. The returning Jews needed information that would provide them with a clue to the solutions to their problems, such as the meaning of the Babylonian exile, the reason for the

¹⁹ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 2.

²⁰ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 5.

destruction of the temple, the appropriateness of the Babylonian occupation of the Promised Land, the returnee and remnant, blessing and cursing, covenantal relationship with God. Kugel focuses only on the Hebrew Bible.

Regarding the bible in transmission, the main focus of this thesis will be to examine. The way in which biblical traditions were are transmitted, transformed, reused and given new creative interpretations by different communities of tradents.

CHAPTER 2

WILDERNESS: CATEGORIES AND CONNOTATIONS

2.1. INTRODUCTION

We begin with the Hebrew Bible, for the origin of the wilderness tradition. The Hebrew מִדְבָּר,²¹ is often translated “wilderness” and covers a wide semantic field. An analysis of the concept מִדְבָּר is a major factor in this study of the wilderness tradition in Judaism and early Christianity. This chapter introduces six categories of the meaning of wilderness as well as two connotations. As well, we will examine the Hebrew Bible, Dead Sea Scrolls, and New Testament and categorize the meanings of wilderness in chapters of 3, 4, and 5.

2.2. CATEGORIZING THE WILDERNESS

In order to define the concept of wilderness in the Hebrew Bible, DSS, and New Testament we begin with grouping its meaning into different categories in order to define the concept. In order to achieve this purpose, we will consider the work of three

²¹ The most frequently used word for the meaning of wilderness/desert in the OT is the term “מִדְבָּר” (271 times). It occurs four times more than the second frequent word “עֲרֵבָה” (59/60). The term “מִדְבָּר” is the most common (main) word for the meaning of wilderness/desert in OT. Cf “שְׂמוּן” (שְׂמוּן) occurs 13 times in the OT, the term “צִיָּה” (צִיָּה: n, f; צִיָּן: n, m) occurs 15 times in the OT, the term “שְׂמֹנֶה” (שְׂמֹנֶה) occurs 57 times in the OT, the term “חֲרָבָה” (חֲרָבָה) occurs 42 times in the OT. And also, there are some hapex legomena, which are synonyms for the emphasizing of the meaning of wilderness/desert. The term “חֲרָר” is the hapex legomenon in Jer. 17:6; “יִבְשָׁה” is the hapex legomenon in Isa. 44:3; “נִגְב” is the hapex legomenon in Isa. 21:1; “שָׂרֵב” is the hapex legomenon in Isa. 35:7; 49:10.

important scholars: Shemaryahu Talmon,²² Hindy Najman,²³ and G. Kittel.²⁴

Despite various etymological possibilities, Talmon suggests two fundamental meanings for **מִדְבָּר**: one has a negative connotation and the other positive.²⁵ He describes the negative connotation as referring to the wilderness's unsuitability for agriculture and farming, and as a result of divine punishment for human transgressions. In contrast, he mentions that the positive connotation refers to the wilderness as suitable for pastureland for livestock and as a sign of His love. Talmon suggests four prominent usages of **מִדְבָּר**: spatial dimension; ecological term; place of refuge; historico-spatial dimension between the Exodus and Conquest.²⁶

In order to understand the Second Temple Period, Najman focuses on the wilderness, which, according to her, is one of the powerful concepts of this period. She says that wilderness can be understood to signify suffering and destruction as well as punishment for transgression. At the same time, it can be used as the locus for healing and moral transformation for spiritual purification. In the ancient Jewish context, the term can also be understood as the place for revelation. She divides the wilderness concept into three categories “wilderness as suffering (exile)”, “wilderness as purification,” and “wilderness as a locus for revelation.”²⁷

²² S. Talmon, “**מִדְבָּר**,” *TDOT* 8:87-118.

²³ Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” 99-113.

²⁴ G. Kittel, “**ἐρημος**,” *TDNT* 2:657-60.

²⁵ Talmon, *TDOT* 8:111-114.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 87.

²⁷ Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” 100.

For the use of the term “wilderness” (ἔρημος)²⁸ in the New Testament, Kittel has discerned four meanings: ἔρημος as “abandonment,” ἔρημος as “empty,” ἔρημος as “waste,” and ἔρημος as “lonely place.” He adds supplementary information on ἔρημος and suggest that the term can be used as “a place without inhabitants,” “a wilderness wandering” (perishing caused by disobedience or grace, i.e. manna, the serpent), “the natural result of enemies’ attack,” “the consequence of the divine wrath.”²⁹

Adopting the research of these three prominent scholars I divided the meaning of wilderness in the Hebrew Bible into six categories: (1) spatial dimension (the geography of Palestine and the Near East),³⁰ (2) ecological term (scarcity of rainfall),³¹ (3) place of refuge (refuge for rebels and outlaws),³² (4) place of protection (provision),³³ (5) place of

²⁸ Equivalent for מדבר in Greek.

²⁹ Kittel, *TDNT* 2:657-60.

³⁰ **Gen 14:6**; And the Horites in the hill country of Seir as far as El-paran on the edge of the wilderness.

וְאֶת־הַחֹרִי בְּהַרְרֵם שְׁעִיר עַד אֵיל פָּאֲרָן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּדְבָּר :

³¹ **Prov 21:19**; It is better to live in a desert land than with a contentious and fretful wife.

טוֹב שִׁבַּת בְּאַרְץ־מִדְבָּר מֵאִשָּׁת מְדֹנִים [מְדֹנִים] וְכַעַס :

³² **Deut. 4:43**; Bezer in the wilderness on the tableland belonging to the Reubenites, Ramoth in Gilead belonging to the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan belonging to the Manassites.

אֶת־בֶּצֶר בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּאַרְץ חֲמִישָׁר לְרֵאוּבֵנִי וְאֶת־רָאֲמֹת בְּגִלְעָד לְגָדִי וְאֶת־גּוֹלָן בְּבָשָׁן לְמְנַשֵּׁי :

³³ **Gen 21:14**; So Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, along with the child, and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered about in the wilderness of Beer-sheba.

וַיִּשְׁכֶּם אַבְרָהָם בַּבֹּקֶר וַיִּקַּח־לֶחֶם וְחֶמֶת מַיִם וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הָגָר שָׁם עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ וְאֶת־תִּילָד וַיְשַׁלְחָהּ וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתֵּתֶנּה בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּאֶר שְׁבַע :

Gen 21:20; God was with the boy, and he grew up; he lived in the wilderness, and became an expert with the bow.

וַיְהִי אֵלֵיהֶם אֶת־חַנּוּכָּה וַיִּגְדַּל וַיִּשָּׁב בַּמִּדְבָּר וַיְהִי רֹכֵחַ קִשָּׁת :

wanderings (that is, between the Exodus and the Conquest),³⁴ and (6) prophecy of judgment/ restoration (warning of the divine judgment or the promise of the revival by God).³⁵

CATEGORIES	Spatial Dimension	Ecological Term	Place of Refuge	Place of Protection	Wilderness Wanderings	Prophecy of Judgment/Restoration
DESCRIPTION	Geography of the Palestine and the Near East	Scarcity of Rainfall	Refuge of Rebels and Outlaws	Provision	Dimension between the Exodus and the Conquest	Warning of the Divine Judgment or the Promise of the Revival by God

³⁴ *Deut. 8:2*; Remember the long way that the LORD your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, in order to humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether or not you would keep his commandments.

וְזָכַרְתָּ אֶת־כָּל־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר הִלְכָהְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ זֶה אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בְּמִדְבָּר לְמַעַן עֲנִתְךָ לְנִסְתָּךְ לְדַעַת אֶת־אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבְּךָ הִתְשַׁמֵּר מִצְוֹתָיו [מִצְוֹתָיו] אִם־לֹא:

³⁵ *Ezek 20:35-36*; And I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your ancestors in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so I will enter into judgment with you, says the Lord GOD.

וְהִבֵּאתִי אִתְּכֶם אֶל־מִדְבָּר הָעַמִּים וְנִשְׁפָּטְתִּי אִתְּכֶם שָׁם פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים: (v.35)
כֹּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁפָּטְתִּי אֶת־אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּמִדְבָּר אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם אֲשַׁפֵּט אִתְּכֶם נָא אֲנִי יְהוָה: (v.36)

IQS 9:19; the men of the Yahad, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what has been revealed to them. That will be the time of “preparing the way, *IQS 9:20*; in the desert” (Isaiah 40:3). He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself.

1QS 9:19 אֲנִשִּׁי הִיחָד לַהֵלֵךְ כְּתָמִים אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ בְּכֹל הַנִּגְלָה לָהֶם. {{ה'}} הִיאֵה עַת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ
1QS 9:20 לְמַדְבָּר. וְלַהֲשִׁיכִלֵם כֹּל הַנִּמְצָא לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּעַת הַזֹּאת וְהַבְדִּיל מִכֹּל אִישׁ וְלֹא הָסֵר דְּרָכֹוּ

4Q258 8:4; [his fellow in all that has been] revealed to them. This is the time to prepare the way into the wilderness (see Isaiah 40:3), by instructing them in all that has been discovered should be done. Vacat At [this] time.

[רֵעֵהוּ בְּכֹל הַ]נִּגְלָה לָהֶם. הִיא עַת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ לְמַדְבָּר לַהֲשִׁיכִלֵם בְּכֹל הַנִּמְצָא לַעֲשׂוֹת. [] בְּעַת

2.3. TWO CONNOTATIONS (NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE)

As stated earlier the term “מִדְבָּר”³⁶ covers a wide semantic field. Despite this variety, in this study the diverse aspects of the word and its synonyms will be summarized as suggesting either negative or positive connotations.

The Negative Connotation: The term “מִדְבָּר” refers to arid or semiarid regions, whose scarcity of water makes them unsuitable for agriculture and farming settlements. This isolated place evokes fear. It has the characteristics of the original state of chaos (Deut. 32:10) or divine punishment for human transgressions (Isa. 64:9,10; Jer. 2:6; Hos. 2:5; Zeph. 2:13; Mal. 1:3).

The Positive Connotation: The term “מִדְבָּר” is used to designate “grazing land,” a place of pasture for livestock like goats and sheep. It implies that pastoral romanticism and love (Song. 3:6; 8:5) can blossom in these remote pastoral settings (Jer. 9:1; Ps. 55:8).

CONNOTATIONS	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE
DESCRIPTION	Suffering, Chaos, Fear, Revulsion, Destruction, Punishment for Human Transgression, Divine Wrath, Abandonment, Empty, Waste, Lonely Place, Natural Result of Enemies' Attack, Perishing Caused by Disobedience.	Spiritual Purification, Moral Transformation, Locus for Revelation, Healing, God's Pastoral Romanticism and His Love, Grace (Manna, the Serpent)

³⁶ The etymology of “מִדְבָּר” is obscure. There are two main suggestions such as “מִדְבָּר” (n, m: word, thing, matter), “מִדְבָּר” (n, f: drift, pasture land). Usually, the latter is probably assumed as a better connection.

2.4. SUMMARY

The wide semantic field of this term becomes the basis for the study of the wilderness tradition, which is also reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in New Testament writings.

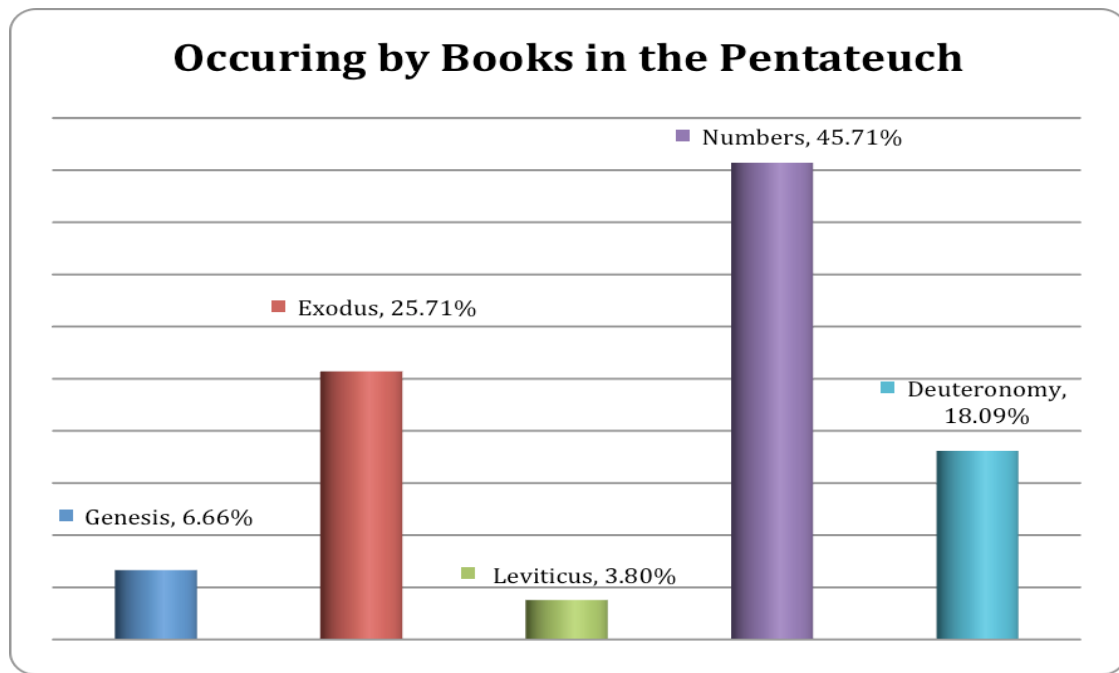
By using six categories and two connotations, we can analyze the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Literature, and New Testament for the most significant usages of wilderness.

CHAPTER 3

WILDERNESS TRADITION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

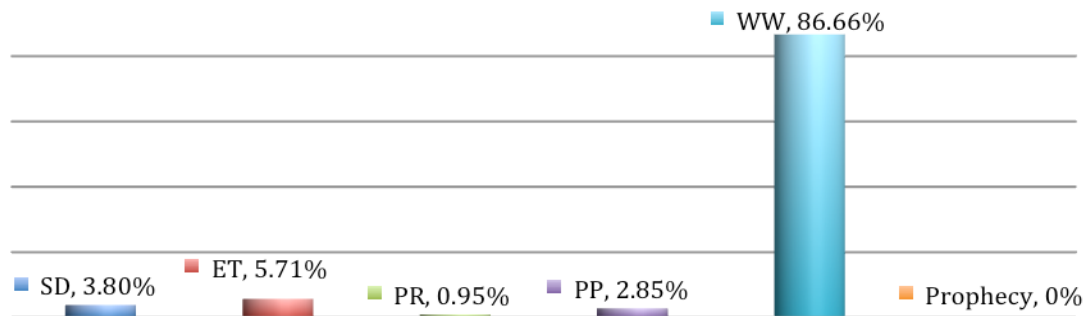
This chapter is concerned with the concept of the **מִדְבָּר** in the Hebrew Bible (Pentateuch, historical books, poetry, and prophets), although the relationship of the wilderness references to the Hebrew Bible in general will also be taken into consideration. This chapter is divided into six major parts: (1) Introduction; (2) **מִדְבָּר** in the Pentateuch; (3) **מִדְבָּר** in the Historical Books; (4) **מִדְבָּר** in the Poetry; (5) **מִדְבָּר** in the Prophets; and (6) assessment and conclusion.

3.2. מִדְבָּר in the PENTATEUCH³⁷

Of the 105 times מִדְבָּר is used in the Pentateuch, the most frequent usage is in the sense of wilderness wanderings. For example, in Numbers where מִדְבָּר appears most frequently in the Pentateuch, it is used only in this sense.

³⁷ Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

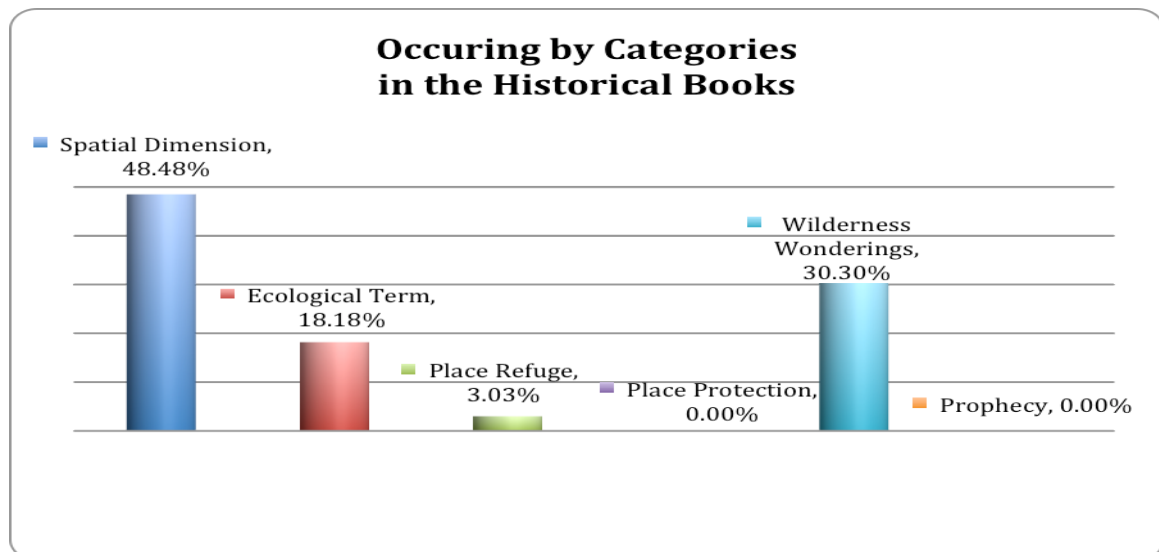
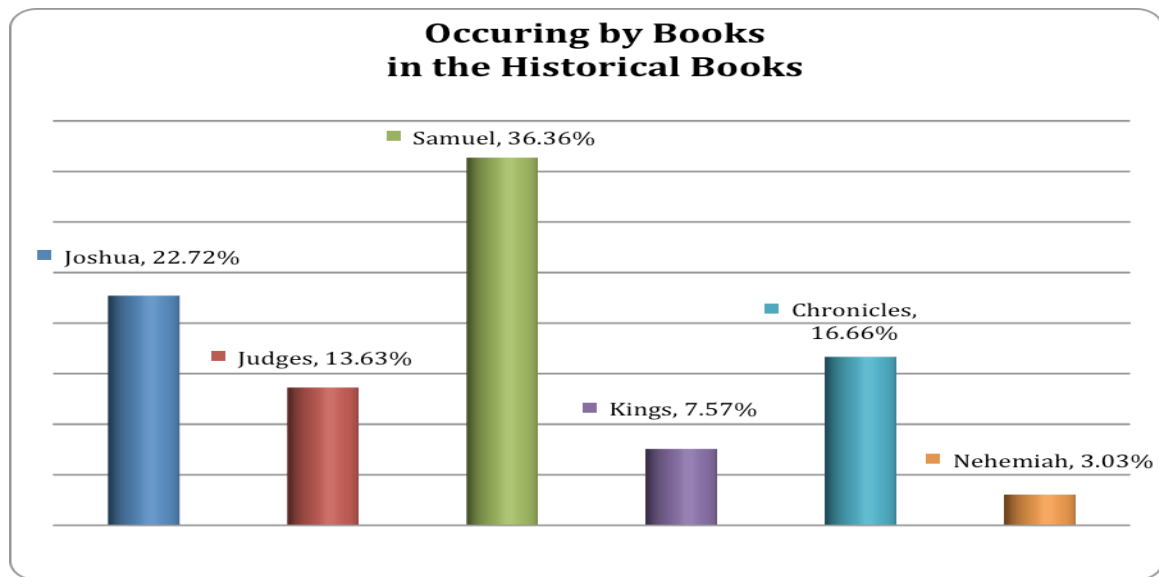
Occuring by Categories in the Pentateuch



	<i>Genesis</i>	<i>Exodus</i>	<i>Leviticus</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	<i>Pentateuch</i>
Spatial Dimension	2	2	0	0	0	4 (3.8%)
Ecological Term	2	1	3	0	0	6 (5.71%)
Place of Refuge	0	0	0	0	1	1 (0.95%)
Place of Protection	3	0	0	0	0	3 (2.85%)
Wilderness Wanderings	0	24	1	48	18	91 (86.66%)
Prophecy of Judgment/ Restoration	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Total	7 (6.66%)	27 (25.71%)	4 (3.8%)	48 (45.71%)	19 (18.09%)	105 (100%)

3.3. מַדְבָּר in the HISTORICAL BOOKS³⁸

In the historical books מַדְבָּר is mostly used to refer to the wilderness wanderings (historical period between the exodus and conquest) and is used a total of sixty-six times in the historical books.



³⁸ Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Nehemiah.

As the table shows, in the historical books **מִדְבָּר** is most often used to refer to the notion of space, which is composed of the spatial dimension and the ecological term, comprising about 66 % of the references (spatial dimension + ecological term). The remaining occurrences refer to the wilderness wanderings. Therefore, in the historical books, the semantic range of **מִדְבָּר** is more focused on the spatial dimension than the wilderness wanderings. In contrast, in the Pentateuch, 87 % of usages (91 times) refer to the wilderness wanderings. References to the wilderness wanderings appear the most frequently in the book of Joshua (73%, 11 times) because it records Joshua and the Israelites' conquest of the Promised Land, the description of which began in the Pentateuch. Historically, the conquest was not completed until the time of the judges. Not surprisingly, references to the wilderness wanderings in the book of Joshua as well as in Judges (33%, 3 times) occur at a relatively higher rate than in the historical books written after the conquest.

In the case of Chronicles, **מִדְבָּר** is used to refer to wilderness wandering (27%, 3 times) to show the historical basis for building the temple. **מִדְבָּר** is employed to remind the Israelites of significant historical events, for example, Moses making a tent in the wilderness. In addition, in the Nehemiah, **מִדְבָּר** is only used twice to refer to the wilderness wanderings (100%). While Nehemiah reads the law to the people, he mentions the wilderness wanderings, especially emphasizing the protection of God for the Israelites due to His unfailing love.

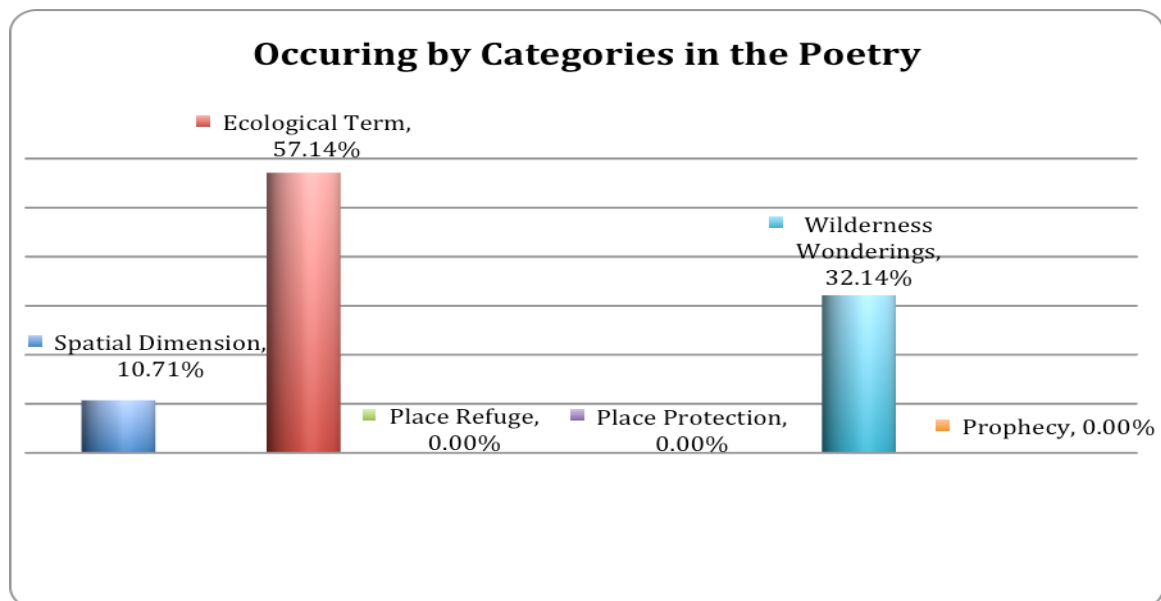
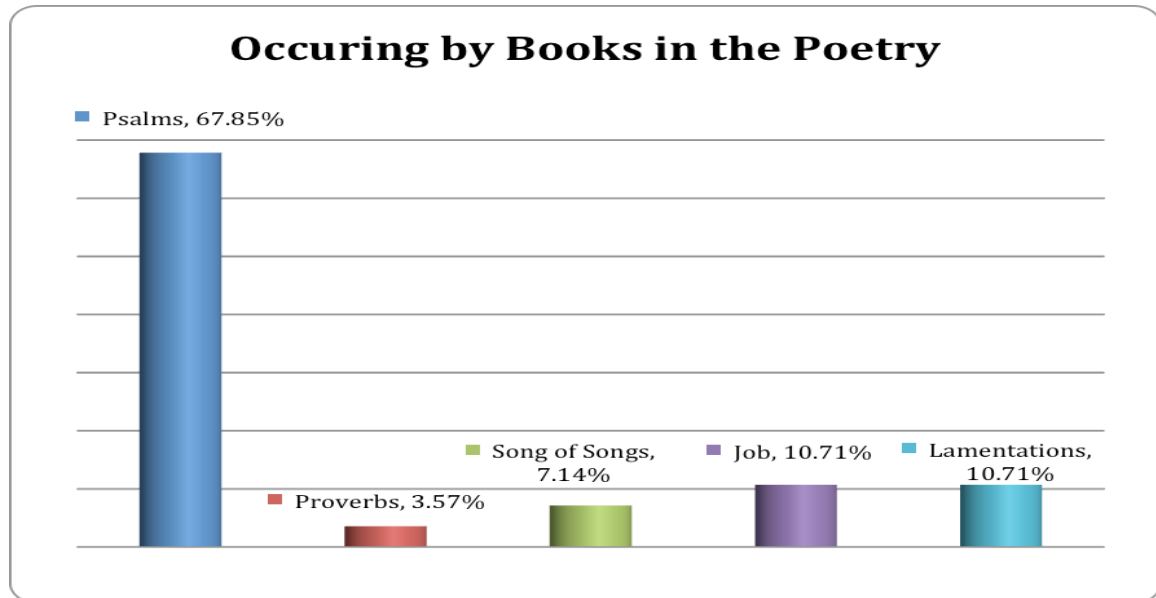
In the Historical Books, the main semantic range of **מִדְבָּר** is focused on the concept of space (66%, 44 times), with another important use related to the wilderness wanderings.

The wilderness wanderings are described as an ongoing event in the books of Joshua and Judges. In contrast, the rest of the historical books mention the wilderness wanderings as a historical event. This shift in emphasis demonstrates how the wilderness wanderings began to be used as an important biblical motif in Chronicles and Nehemiah.

	<i>Joshua</i>	<i>Judges</i>	<i>Samuel</i>	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Chronicles</i>	<i>Nehemiah</i>	<i>Historical Books</i>
Spatial Dimension	3	4	18	3	4	0	32 (48.48%)
Ecological Term	0	2	5	2	3	0	12 (18.18%)
Place of Refuge	1	0	0	0	1	0	2 (3.03%)
Place of Protection	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Wilderness Wanderings	11	3	1	0	3	2	20 (30.30%)
Prophecy of Judgment/ Restoration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Total	15 (22.72%)	9 (13.63%)	24 (36.36%)	5 (7.57%)	11 (16.66%)	2 (3.03%)	66 (100%)

3.4. מַדְבָּר in the books of POETRY³⁹

In the poetry books, מַדְבָּר is used a total of 28 times.



³⁹ Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Job, and Lamentations.

As the table indicates, in the poetry books, מִדְּבָר is most frequently used as the ecological term. It refers to the wilderness wanderings 32 per cent of the time, and to the spatial dimension 11 per cent.⁴⁰ Therefore, in the poetry the semantic range of מִדְּבָר is more focused on the notion of space than on the wilderness wanderings.

However, some psalms address the meaning of the wilderness wanderings using both positive and negative connotations. In a negative sense, the wilderness is the place where the rebellion and disobedience of the Israelites (Ps. 78:19; 78:40; 95:8; 106:14) and God's judgment (Ps. 106:26) occurred. In contrast, some Psalms also emphasize the love, grace, and caring of God. (Ps. 78:15; 78:52; 136:16).

Interestingly, the remainder of the poetry books do not mention the wilderness wanderings. Except for nine psalms, in most of the poetry books (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Job, and Lamentations) מִדְּבָר usually refers to ruins and a place of desolation.

	<i>Psalms</i>	<i>Proverbs</i>	<i>Song of Songs</i>	<i>Job</i>	<i>Lamentation</i>	<i>Poetry</i>
Spatial Dimension	3	0	0	0	0	3 (10.71%)
Ecological Term	7	1	2	3	3	16 (57.14%)
Place of Refuge	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Place of Protection	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Wilderness Wanderings	9	0	0	0	0	9 (32.14%)
Prophecy of Judgment/ Restoration	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)

⁴⁰ Cf) The case of different meaning 'mouth' appears 1 time.

Total	19 (67.85%)	1 (3.57%)	2 (7.14%)	3 (10.71%)	3 (10.71%)	28 (100%)
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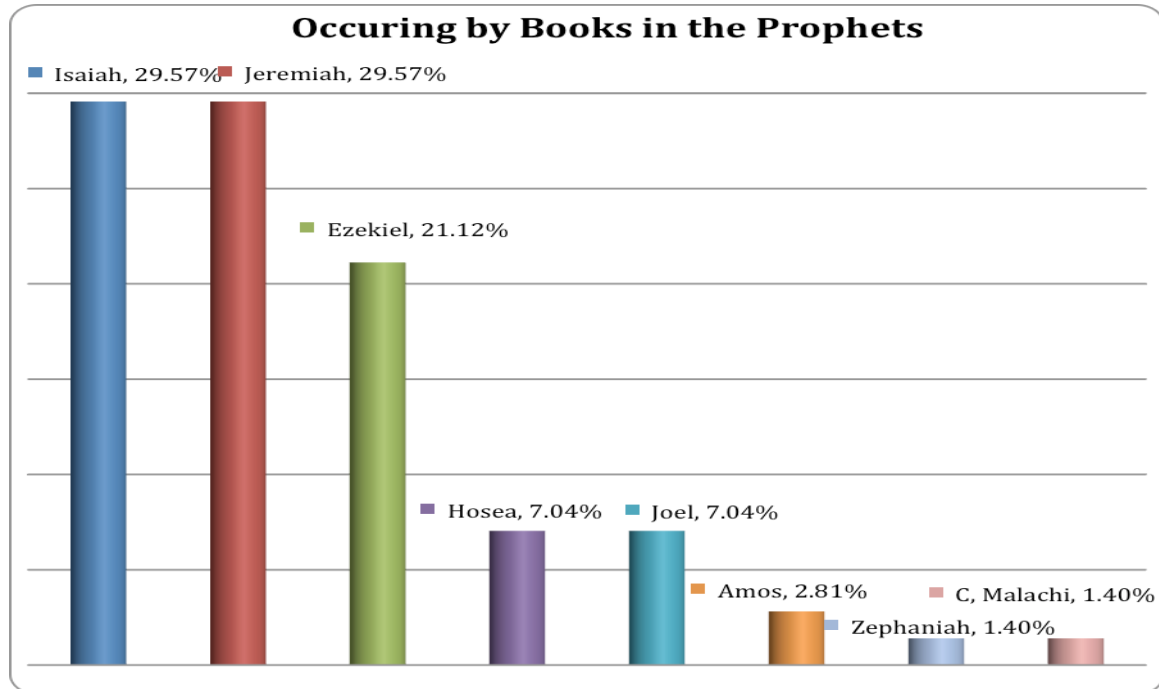
3.5. מִדְבָּר in the PROPHETS ⁴¹

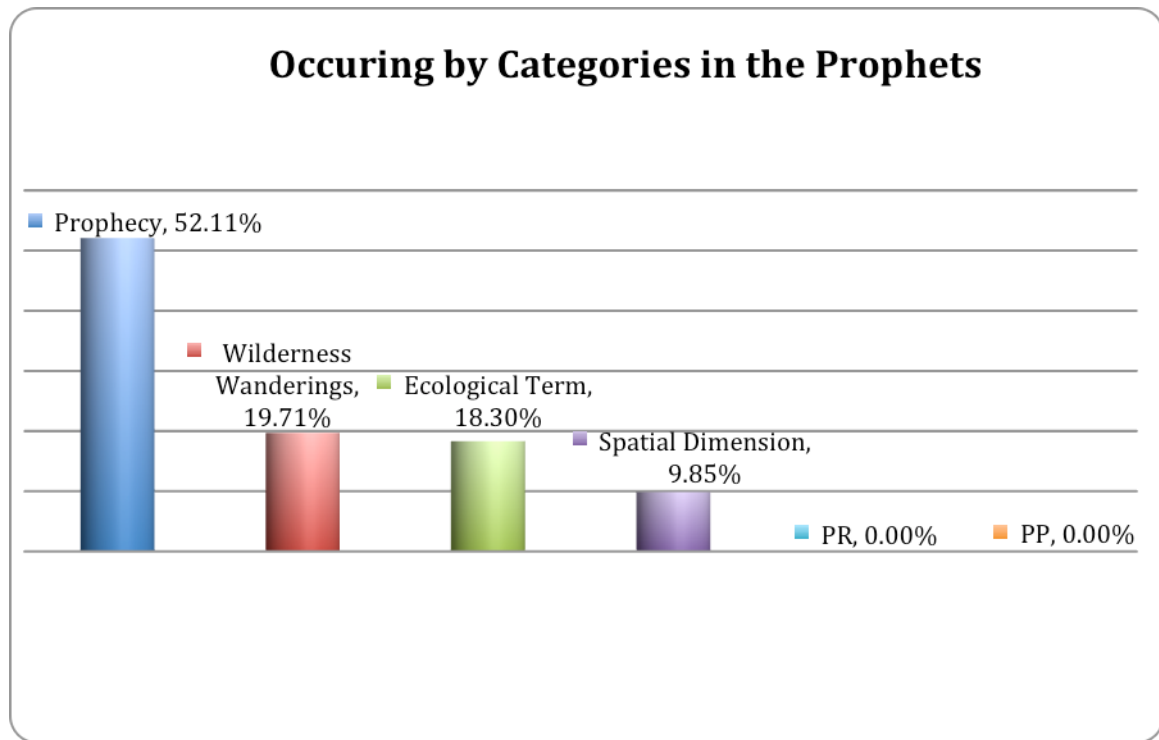
In the prophetic books, מִדְבָּר has various meanings, such as spatial dimension (the geography of Palestine and the Near East), ecological term (scarcity of rainfall), place of refuge (refuge of rebels and outlaws), place of protection (provision), wilderness wanderings (historical period between Exodus and the Conquest), and prophecy of judgment and restoration (warning of divine judgment or God's promise of revival).

	<i>Isaiah</i>	<i>Jeremiah</i>	<i>Ezekiel</i>	<i>Hosea</i>	<i>Joel</i>	<i>Amos</i>	<i>Zephaniah</i>	<i>Malachi</i>	<i>Prophets</i>
Spatial Dimension	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	7 (9.85%)
Ecological Term	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	1	13 (18.3%)
Place of Refuge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Place of Protection	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Wilderness Wanderings	0	2	9	1	0	2	0	0	14 (19.71%)
Prophecy of Judgment/ Restoration	15	7	5	4	5	0	1	0	37 (52.11%)
Total	21 (29.57%)	21 (29.57%)	15 (21.12%)	5 (7.04%)	5 (7.04%)	2 (2.81%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.4%)	71 (100%)

⁴¹ Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Zephaniah, and Malachi.

The term **נֶזֶר בַּר** is used a total of 71 times in the prophetic books: Isaiah 29.57% (21 times), Jeremiah 29.57% (21 times), Ezekiel 21.12% (15 times), Hosea 7.04% (5 times), Joel 7.04% (5 times), Amos 2.81% (2 times), Zephaniah 1.4% (1 time), and Malachi 1.4% (1 time).





As the table shows, מִדְבָּר is employed in the context of prophecy with both a positive connotation (promise for revival) and negative connotation (warning of judgment). In addition, all of the occurrences of this term are used as literary devices. For example, “wilderness” is used as a metaphor or simile for warnings about judgment or promises of restoration. Therefore, in prophecy, wilderness has both positive and negative characteristics. The positive connotation concerns the revival and salvation of the Israelites. In contrast, the negative facet refers to human beings’ disobedience, rebellion, and God’s divine judgment.

Therefore, in the prophetic books the semantic range of מִדְבָּר is more focused on judgment and restoration. In the context of prophecy, מִדְבָּר is used to represent the contrast between a place of desolation and a place of fertile soil. The wilderness functions as an image of isolation and ruin, a barren place that is, however, also waiting for life and renewal.

This use of the term “wilderness” points to both judgment and restoration and distinguishes the prophetic books from the rest of Hebrew Bible. However, in both its positive and negative connotations, the wilderness is described as a place of ruin and desolation.

When the prophetic books refer to judgment and restoration, some of them mention the wilderness wanderings, but others do not. Some references to the wilderness wanderings have a positive connotation, as in Jeremiah, (reference) where the reference functions as a positive memory. In other sections (of Jeremiah or the prophets), the motif has a negative connotation, for example, the Israelites’ disobedience in the wilderness. In addition, in the prophets, the exile is given the same significance as the wilderness wanderings are given in the Pentateuch. The wilderness wanderings become a model for the exile, and the meaning of exile is explained through the meaning of the wilderness wandering. In addition, the return from exile (Ezekiel 20:35, 36) and the renewal and restoration of Israel (Hosea 2:16, 17) function like a second Exodus (in both cases, מִדְבָּר is used in the context of the promise of restoration and revival of Israel that is related to the first Exodus). Chapter 6 will discuss the issue of the development of the wilderness tradition in more detail.

3.6. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS: THE HEBREW BIBLE

[SYNTHESIZING DATA IN THE HEBREW BIBLE]

	Pentateuch	Historical Books	Poetry	Prophets	Whole Old Testament
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	4 (8.69%) (3.80%)	32 (69.56%) (48.48%)	3 (6.52%) (10.71%)	7 (15.21%) (9.85%)	46 (100%) (17.03%)
<i>Ecological Term</i>	6 (12.76%) (5.71%)	12 (25.53%) (18.18%)	16 (34.04%) (57.14%)	13 (27.65%) (18.3%)	47 (100%) (17.4%)
<i>Place of Refuge</i>	1 (33.33%) (0.95%)	2 (66.66%) (3.03%)	0	0	3 (100%) (1.11%)
<i>Place of Protection</i>	3 (100%) (2.85%)	0	0	0	3 (100%) (1.11%)
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	91 (67.91%) (86.66%)	20 (14.92%) (30.30%)	9 (6.71%) (32.14%)	14 (10.44%) (19.71%)	134 (100%) (49.62%)
<i>Prophecy of Judgment/ Restoration</i>	0	0	0	37 (100%) (52.11%)	37 (100%) (13.7%)
<i>Total</i>	105 (38.88%) (100%)	66 (24.44%) (100%)	28 (10.37%) (100%)	71 (26.29%) (100%)	270 (100%) (100%)

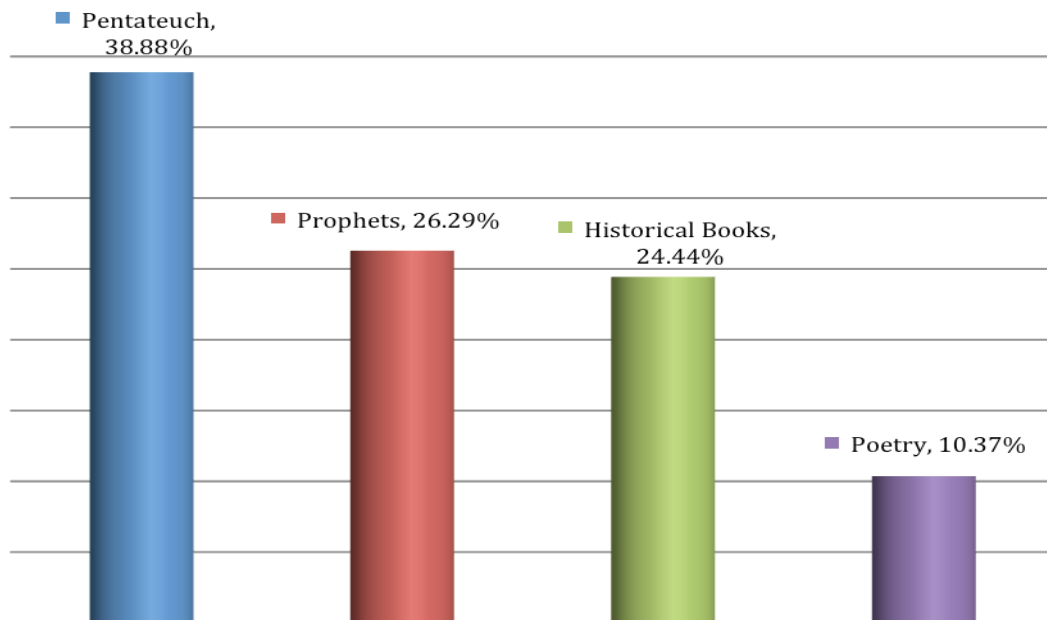
[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

As the meaning of wilderness/desert, מִדְבָּר appears 270 times in the whole Hebrew Bible:

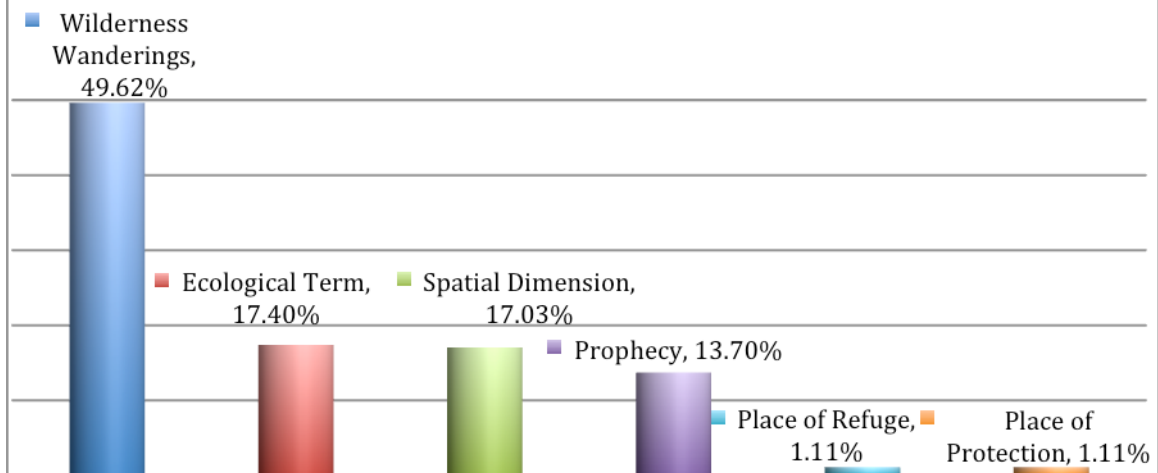
1. 105 times (38.88%) in the Pentateuch
2. 71 times (26.29%) in the Prophets
3. 66 times (24.44%) in the Historical Books
4. 28 times (10.37%) in the books of Poetry

[*Pentateuch* > *Prophets* > *Historical Books* > *Poetry*]

Occurrence by Books in the Old Testament



Occuring by Categories in the Old Testament

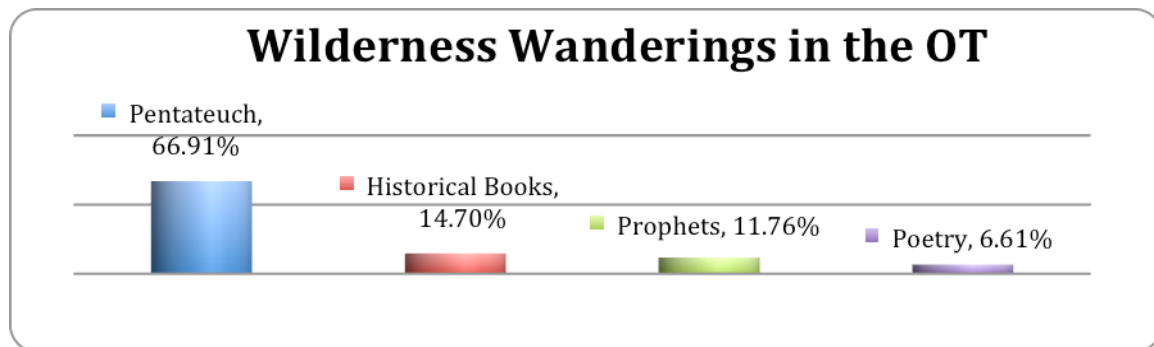


[Wilderness Wanderings > Ecological Term > Spatial Dimension >

Prophecy of Judgment/Restoration > Place of Refuge/ Place of Protection]

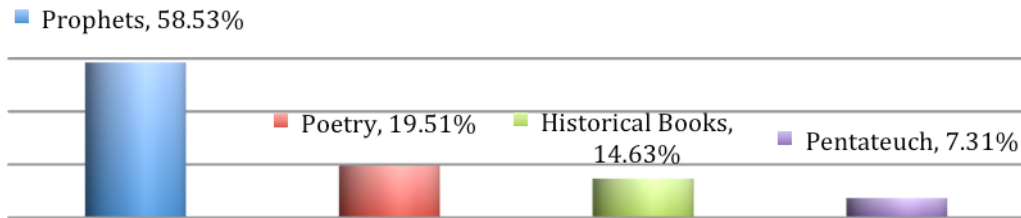
According to this analysis, “wilderness wandering” is the meaning most frequently employed in the Hebrew Bible. The second most common meaning is as an ecological term follows by the spatial dimension and prophecy of judgment/restoration. The place of refuge and protection are employed very infrequently.

The distribution of our findings across the Hebrew Bible is also noteworthy. The meaning “wilderness wanderings” appears the most frequently in the Pentateuch, followed by the Historical Books and the Prophets. This motif does not seem to have been important to the books of poetry.



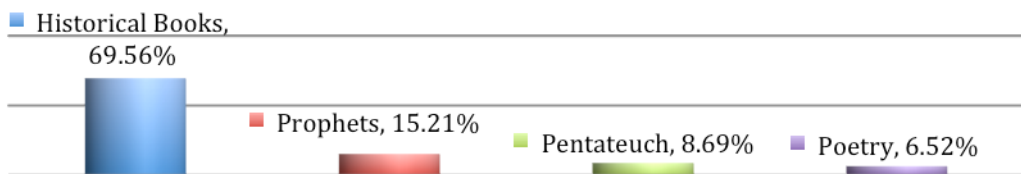
The ecological term is used the most frequently in the Prophets – 48 times (58.53%); in the Poetry – 16 times (19.51%); in the Historical Books – 12 times (14.63%); and in the Pentateuch – 6 times (7.31%).

The Ecological Term in the OT



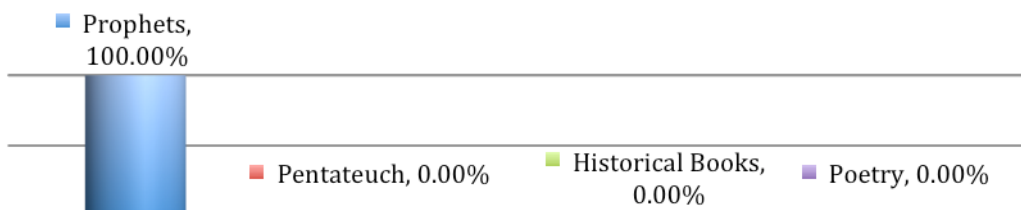
The spatial dimension is employed the most frequently in the Historical Books – 32 times (69.56%); in the Prophets – 7 times (15.21%); in the Pentateuch – 4 times (8.69%); and in the Poetry – 3 times (6.52%).

Spatial Dimension in the OT



The prophecy of judgment/restoration is only used in the Prophets – 37 times (100%).

Prophecy of Judgment/Restoration in the OT



The place of refuge and the place of protection appear each three times (1.11%) in the whole Hebrew Bible. In the Pentateuch the place of refuge is employed two times (66.66%) in the Historical Books; and in the Pentateuch – one time (33.33%). The place of protection is only used three times (100%) in the Pentateuch (in the case of Hagar and Ishmael).

Hence, in the Hebrew Bible the usage of the **מִדְבָּר** can be divided into six categories. Among these usages, the most frequently employed is wilderness wandering (almost half of all the occurrences). In the Historical, Poetry books, the word **מִדְבָּר** is mentioned within the context of the scene of recollection of the Israelites' history with both positive and negative evaluations. In addition, in the Prophets, the word **מִדְבָּר** is used to explain their contemporary historical situation in exile, with the experience of the exodus from Egypt in mind. Some of the prophets try to understand the exile in light of the wilderness wanderings. This emphasis demonstrates how one of the concepts of **מִדְבָּר** may have developed through the ages. It appears that the wilderness wandering in Pentateuch is closely connected with the exile in the Prophets.

In the case of the prophecy of judgment and restoration in the prophets, the **מִדְבָּר** is described as the desolated place and functions as a literary tool to warn either judgment or the promise of revival by God. Through the Hebrew Bible, I would like to search the function of the wilderness in the special relationship between God and Israel based on the salvation deeds of God

CHAPTER 4

WILDERNESS TRADITION IN THE SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will analyze the Second Temple Literature, with special emphasis on the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha.

4.2. DEAD SEA SCROLLS⁴²

In this section the term מִדְבָּר in the non-biblical scrolls will be surveyed.⁴³

4.2.1. Damascus Document (CD)

In the CD, מִדְבָּר appears only once and is used in the narrative concerning entering the Promised Land. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the CD covers only the wilderness wanderings (100%).

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	0%	
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	

⁴² A set of collections of manuscripts discovered in the area of the Judean Desert, roughly, eastern and southern Jerusalem, and the western shore of the Dead Sea. Thus, the assembling and reconstructing of the original texts is one of the most difficult tasks and fundamental issues for scholars. Through reconstruction and interpretation, the Dead Sea Scrolls give us more understanding of Biblical Studies (the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible), the history of Judaism (the evidence for the development of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism), and the rise of Christianity (the background for the New Testament and early Christianity).

⁴³ Scholars divide the DSS into two broad categories: “Biblical” scrolls (numbers of 222) and “Non-Biblical” scrolls (approximately 670). The standard of classification: contents and genre, manuscript site, and language. For example, due to the notion of canon (a later standard of judgment), some scholars divide the scrolls according to their contents and genres such as religious law, exegetical texts, parabiblical texts, calendrical and sapiential texts, poetic and liturgical texts, and additional genres and unclassified texts. Thus, each classification has a subjective nature.

Wilderness Wandering	100% (1 time)	CD 3:7
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	
Total	100% (1 time)	

4.2.2. Community Rule (1QS)

In the 1QS מִדְבָּר appears three times, all three appear in instructions for keeping the Torah. These instructions distinguish between the contemporary mainstream religious practices and the Qumran understanding of the Torah. The first reference belongs to the category “Spatial Dimension.” The remaining two refer to the fulfillment of prophecy (in this case Isaiah 40:3). Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the 1QS covers the fulfillment of prophecy and spatial dimension.

Spatial Dimension	33.33% (1 time)	1QS 8:13
Ecological Term	0%	
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	66.66% (2 times)	1QS 8:14(Isa 40:3); 1QS 9:20(Isa 40:3)
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	
Total	100% (3 times)	

4.2.3. War Scroll (1QM)

In the 1QM, מִדְבָּר appears five times in the context of the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of the Darkness, who have violated the covenant. One reference fit into the spatial dimension and one reference is an ecological term. The three other occurrences

refer to the exile in the wilderness. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the 1QM

covers the fulfillment prophecy, an ecological term, and a spatial dimension.

Spatial Dimension	20% (1time)	1QM 2:12
Ecological Term	20% (1time)	1QM 10:13
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	60% (3times)	1QM 1:2; 1QM 1:3; 1QM 1:3
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	
Total	100% (5times)	

4.2.4. *Hodayot* or Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH^a)

In the 1QH^a מִדְבָּר appears only once and is an ecological term. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the 1QH^a covers only an ecological term.

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	100% (1time)	1QH ^a 16:25
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	
Total	100% (1time)	

4.2.5. 1Q20

In the 1Q20 מִדְבָּר appears a total of five times, three times as a spatial dimension and twice as an ecological term. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the 1Q20 covers a spatial dimension and an ecological term.

Spatial Dimension	60% (3times)	1Q20 21:11; 1Q20 21:28; 1Q20 21:30
Ecological Term	40% (2times)	1Q20 11:9; 1Q20 11:16
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	
Total	100% (5times)	

4.2.6. 1Q22 and 1Q42

We cannot grasp the specific meaning of מִדְּבָר in these cases because they are in fragments.

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	0%	
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	100% (2times)	1Q22 fliii:10; 1Q42 f6:3
Total	100% (2times)	

4.2.7. Cave 4 Texts (4Q)

In the Cave 4 texts, מִדְּבָר appears thirty-seven times. Five occurrences are an ecological term, 15 belong to the wilderness wanderings, nine refer to the fulfillment prophecy, and eight cannot be categorized because they occur in fragments. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְּבָר in 4Q covers the wilderness wanderings, the fulfillment prophecy and an ecological term (13.51%).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Twenty-one percent of the occurrences are in texts that are fragmentary, and therefore it is difficult to determine the context.

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	13.51% (5 times)	4Q179 f1i,12; 4Q203 f8:13; 4Q206 f1xxvi:4; 4Q209 f23:9; 4Q530 f7ii:5
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	40.54% (15 times)	4Q269 f2:1; 4Q364 f18:1(Num 14:16); 4Q364 f19a-b:4(Num 33:36,37); 4Q364 f21a-k:5(Deut 1:19); 4Q364 f21a-k:22(Deut 1:31); 4Q364 f20a-c:2; 4Q364 f23a-bi:6; 4Q364 f26ai:5; 4Q364 f26c-d:4(Duet 9:29); 4Q365 f6ai:1(Exod 14:13); 4Q365 f6aii+6c:8(Exod 15:22); 4Q365 f26a-b:4(Num 1:1); 4Q365 f32:10(Num 13:21,22); 4Q392 f6-9:4; 4Q434 f7b:2(Hosea 2:15)
Fulfillment Prophecy	24.32% (9 times)	4Q161 f5-6:2 (Ezek 20:35); 4Q171 f1+3-4iii:1; 4Q176 f1-2i:7 (Isa 40:3); 4Q256 18:3(Isa 40:3); 4Q258 6:7(Isa 40:3); 4Q258 8:4(Isa 40:3); 4Q259 3:4(Isa 40:3); 4Q259 3:5(Isa 40:3); 4Q259 3:19(Isa 40:3)
Unable to figure out (Fragments)	21.62% (8 times)	4Q165 f5:6; 4Q226 f3:3; 4Q228 f2:3; 4Q286 f5:3; 4Q378 f19ii:6; 4Q454 f1:6; 4Q481b f1:4; 4Q504 f1-2Ri:10
Total	100% (37 times)	

4.2.8. 11Q

In the Cave 11 texts, מִדְבָּר appears two times both are cited from the Old Testament (Job 38:27 and Lev 16:22). Both occur as an ecological term. Therefore, the semantic range of מִדְבָּר in the 11Q covers an ecological term.

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	100% (2 times)	11Q10 31:4; 11Q19 26:13
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	0%	

Total	100% (2 times)	
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4.2.9. PAM

We cannot grasp the specific meaning of נִזְרָה in this case because it is in fragments.

Spatial Dimension	0%	
Ecological Term	0%	
Place of Refuge	0%	
Place of Protection	0%	
Wilderness Wandering	0%	
Fulfillment Prophecy	0%	
Unable to Figure Out (Fragments)	100% (1 time)	PAM43678 f 67:1
Total	100% (1 time)	

4.2.2. Assessment and Conclusion

Synthesizing DATA of DSS

	<i>CD</i>	<i>1Q S</i>	<i>1Q M</i>	<i>1Q Ha</i>	<i>1Q 20</i>	<i>1Q2 2</i>	<i>1Q4 2</i>	<i>4Q</i>	<i>11Q</i>	<i>PA M</i>	<i>DSS</i>
Spatial Dimension	0	1 20% 33.3 3%	1 20% 20 %	0	3 60% 60 %	0	0	0	0	0	5 (100%) (8.77%)
Ecological Term	0	0	1 9.09 % 20 %	1 9.09 % 40 %	2 18.1 8% 40 %	0	0	5 45.45 % 13.51 %	2 18.18 % 100%	0	11 (100%) (19.29%)
Place of Refuge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Place of Protection	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (0%)
Wilderness Wanderings	1 6.25 % 100 %	0	0	0	0	0	0	15 93.75 % 40.54 %	0	0	16 (100%) (28.07%)
Fulfillment Prophecy	0	2 14.2 8% 66.6 6%	3 21.4 2% 60 %	0	0	0	0	9 64.28 % 24.32 %	0	0	14 (100%) (24.56%)
Fragments	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	8	0	1	11

						9.09% 100%	9.09% 100%	72.72 % 21.62 %		9.09 % 100 %	(100%) (19.29%)
Total	1 <i>1.75</i> % 100 %	3 <i>5.26</i> % 100 %	5 <i>8.77</i> % 100 %	1 <i>1.75</i> % 100 %	5 <i>8.77</i> % 100 %	1 <i>1.75%</i> 100%	1 <i>1.75%</i> 100%	37 <i>64.91</i> % 100%	2 <i>3.5%</i> 100%	1 <i>1.75</i> % 100 %	57 <i>(100%)</i> (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

As the table has shown, in the DSS מדרבך is employed in the context of the wilderness wandering and the fulfillment prophecy. These texts may partially explain why the Qumran community had gone to the wilderness. They may have attempted to interpret their situation in the relation to the wilderness wandering and the Hebrew Bible's prophecies for a revival. At the same time, they may have tried to seek a solution to overcome their problem with being a tributary state. This issue is expressed in their literature as a conflict between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, which is a war against a heretic. Based on this, they can be defined as the community that desired to fulfill the specific prophecies of the Hebrew Bible, especially for the promise of the restoration of their nation through waiting for the coming messiah (for example, Isa 40:3, it is cited at least 7 times in DSS).

Therefore, we can conclude that the two themes, "the wilderness wandering" and "the fulfillment prophecy" are crucial elements to understanding the Qumran community. The wilderness was a significant place to the Qumran community because the wilderness wandering is the representative model of Yahweh's salvation. Additionally, some specific OT prophecies on which they were usually focusing are related with the wilderness, such as Isa 40:3.

4.3. APOCRYPHA⁴⁵

This section will explore the concept of ἔρημός⁴⁶ in the OT Apocrypha. In order to define the concept ἔρημός in the Apocrypha, I will use four categories: a spatial dimension (the geography of Palestine and the Near East), an ecological term (scarcity of rainfall), wilderness wanderings (the period between the Exodus and the Conquest), and desolation (description of a destroyed and ruined place/status). For coherence with the previous chapters, I will follow the same method of classifying the Apocrypha: Historical Books, Poetry/Wisdom, and Prophets.

The term ἔρημός is present in just ten books of the Apocrypha: 1 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the Additions to Esther, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch.

4.3.1. Historical Books (1 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions of Esther, and 1-3 Maccabees)

4.3.1.1. 1 Esdras

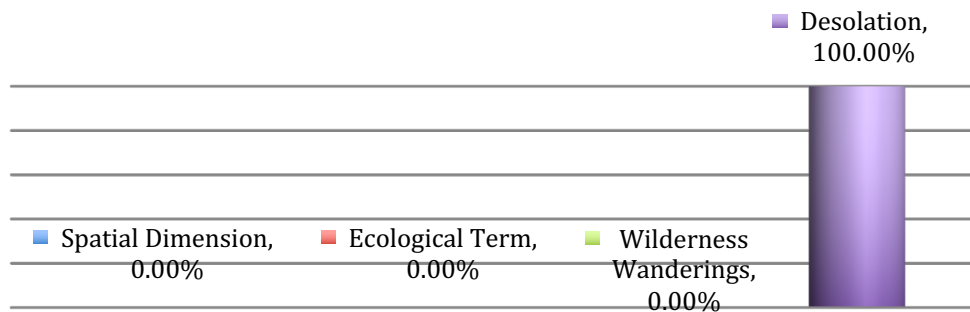
In 1 Esdras ἔρημός appears only one time. In the prayer of Ezra, it issued to describe the desolate/ruined status of Zion. This case belongs to the category of Desolation.

⁴⁵ It is not easy to define the books in this category. The word *Apocrypha* is the plural form of *Apocryphon*, which is derived from the Greek word *apokryfo*, meaning, “those having been hidden away.” They are texts of uncertain authenticity or writings of which the authorship is questioned. *Apocrypha* is an anachronistic.

⁴⁶ In the Greek, there are several words meaning wilderness, desert, and desolation. One of them, ἔρημός, is most equivalent to the meaning of מִדְבָּר, which is used in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	100%	1 time	1Esdr 8:78 (81)
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in 1 Esdras

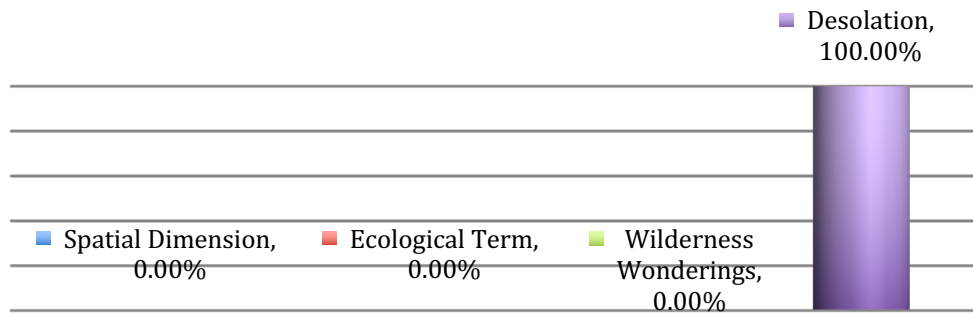


4.3.1.2. Tobit

In Tobit ἔρημός appears two times and both usages describe the land of Israel as the desolate/ ruined place. This case belongs to the category of Desolation.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	100%	2 times	Tobit 14:4; 14:4
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

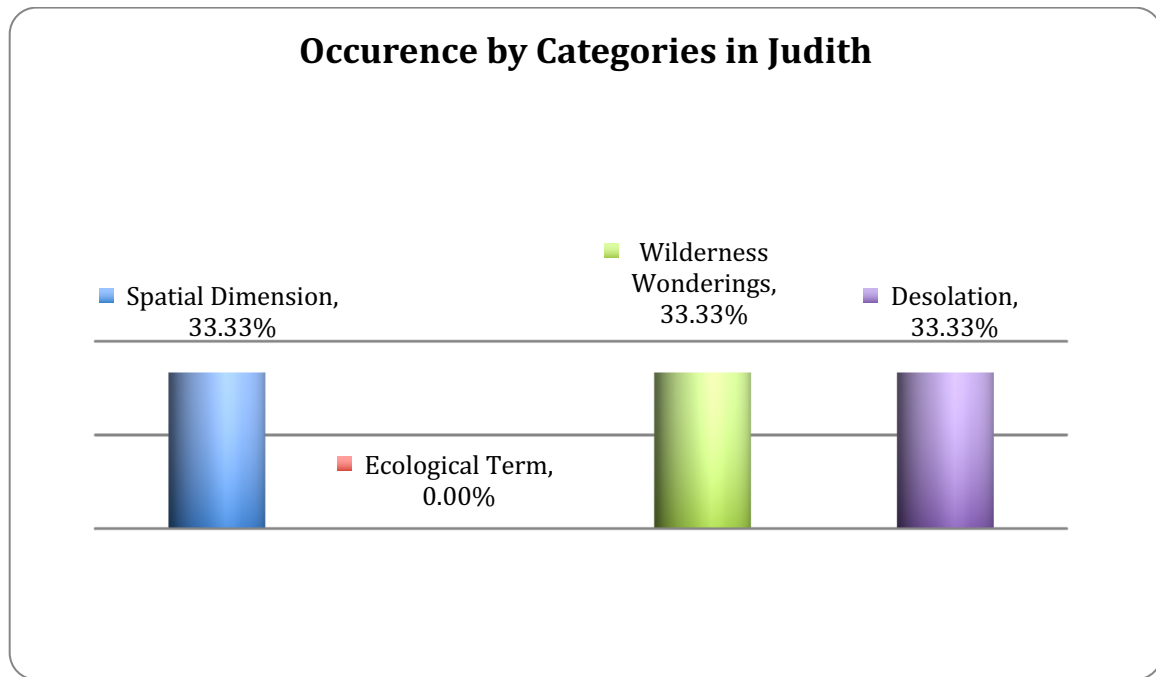
Occurence by Categories in Tobit



4.3.1.3. Judith

In Judith ἔρημός appears a total of three times. In one case, it designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East, and in one case the recollection of the history of Israel, the Wilderness Wanderings. The remaining case is used to describe the status of Jerusalem.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	33.33%	1 time	Judith 2:23
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	33.33%	1 time	Judith 5:14
<i>Desolation</i>	33.33%	1 time	Judith 5:19
<i>Total</i>	100%	3 times	

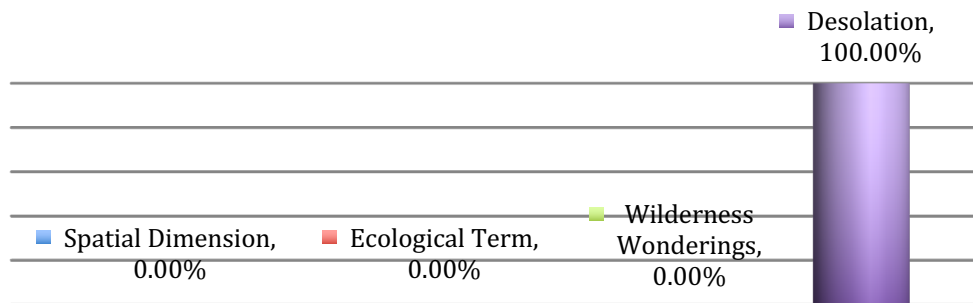


4.3.1.4. Additions to Esther

In the additions to Esther ἔρημός appears one time. In the excursus on the folly of idolatry, it is used to describe desolate and ruined status. This case belongs to the category of Desolation.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	100%	1 time	Esther 16:14
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in Esther

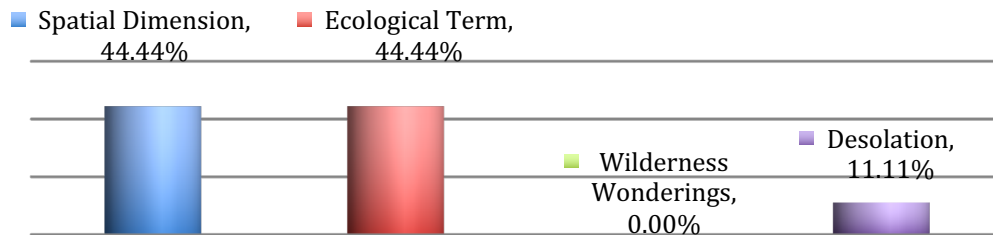


4.3.1.5. 1 Maccabees

In 1 Maccabees ἔρημός appears nine times. In four cases, it designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East, and in four cases it has a locative meaning, indicating which areas had a shortage of rain. The one remaining case it is used to describe the temple as the destroyed and ruined place.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	44.44%	4 times	1 Maccabees 5:28; 9:33; 9:62; 13:21
<i>Ecological Term</i>	44.44%	4 times	1 Mac 2:29; 2:31; 3:45; 5:24
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	11.11%	1 time	1 Mac 1:39
<i>Total</i>	100%	9 times	

Occurrence by Categories in 1 Maccabees

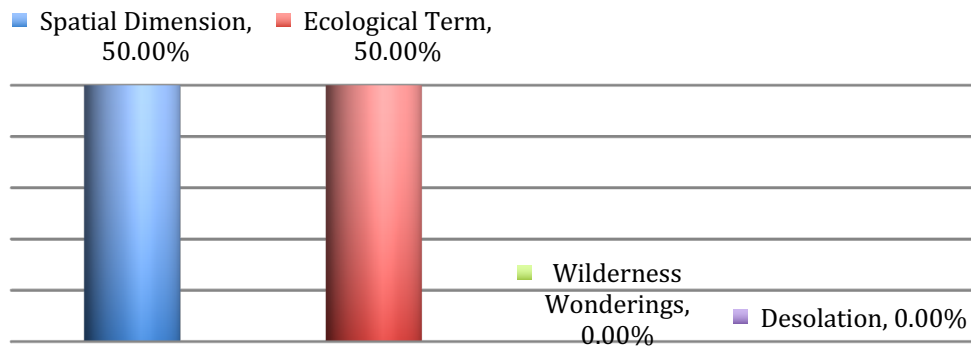


4.3.1.6. 2 Maccabees

In 2 Maccabees ἔρημός appears two times. In one case, it designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East, and in the one remaining case, it has the locative meaning, indicating areas that have a shortage of rain.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	50%	1 time	2 Maccabees 5:27
<i>Ecological Term</i>	50%	1 time	2 Mac 8:35
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

Occurrence by Categories in 2 Maccabees

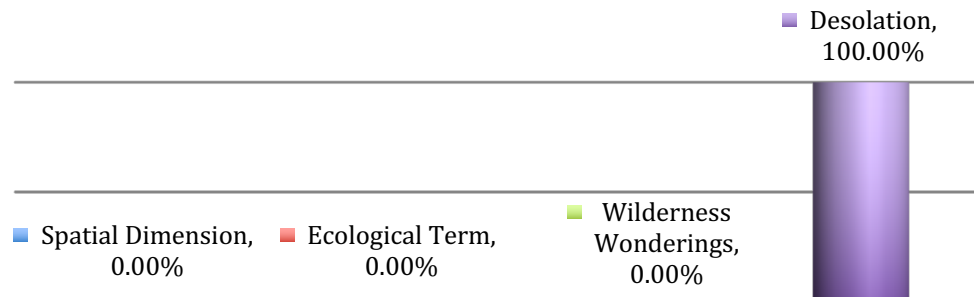


4.3.1.7. 3 Maccabees

In 3 Maccabees ἔρημός appears two times. In both cases, it describes the status of destruction and emptiness in the context of the confirmation of God's providential care.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	100%	2 times	3 Maccabees 5:6; 5:43
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

Occurrence by Categories in 3 Maccabees



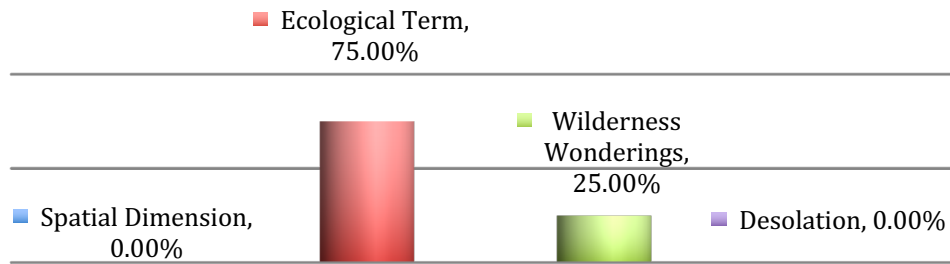
4.3.2. Poetry/ Wisdom (Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus)

4.3.2.1. Wisdom of Solomon

In the Wisdom of Solomon ἔρημός appears four times. In three cases, it has the locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rain. The one remaining case belongs to the recollection of the history of Israel, referring to the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	75%	3 times	Wisdom of Solomon 5:7; 11:2; 17:16(17); 18:20
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	25%	1 time	Wisdom of Solomon 18:20
<i>Desolation</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	4 times	

Occurrence by Categories in the Wisdom of Solomon

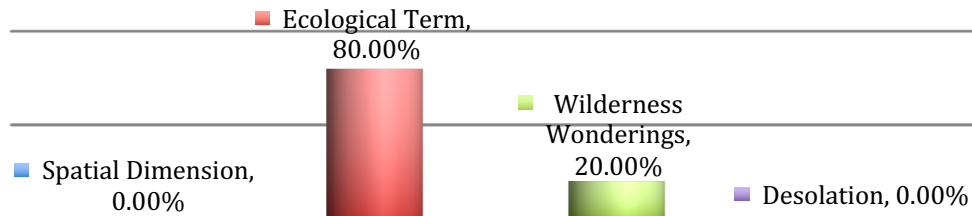


4.3.2.2. Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Ben Sira)

In Ecclesiasticus ἔρημός appears five times. In four cases, it has the locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rain. The one remaining case belongs to the recollection of the history of Israel, indicating the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	80%	4 times	Ecclesiasticus 8:16; 9:7; 13:19; 43:21
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	20%	1 time	Ecclesiasticus 45:18
<i>Desolation</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	4 times	

Occurrence by Categories in Ecclesiasticus



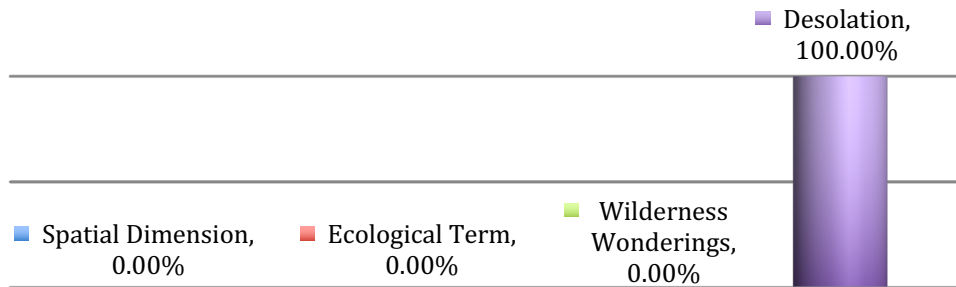
4.3.3. Prophets (Baruch)

4.3.3.1. Baruch

In Baruch ἔρημός appears two times. In both cases, it describes desolate and ruined status within the context of encouragement for Israel/ Jerusalem.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolation</i>	100%	2 times	Baruch 4:19; 4:33
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

Occurrence by Categories in Baruch



4.3.4. Assessment and Conclusions

[Synthesizing Data in the Apocrypha]

	Historical Books	Poetry/Wisdom	Prophets	Whole Apocrypha
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	6 (100%) (30%)	0	0	6 (100%) (19.35%)
<i>Ecological Term</i>	5 (41.66%) (25%)	7 (58.33%) (77.77%)	0	12 (100%) (38.7%)
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	1 (33.33%) (5%)	2 (66.66%) (22.22%)	0	3 (100%) (9.67%)
<i>Desolation</i>	8 (80%) (40%)	0	2 (20%) (100%)	10 (100%) (32.25%)
<i>Total</i>	20 (64.51%) (100%)	9 (29.03%) (100%)	2 (6.45%) (100%)	31 (100%) (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

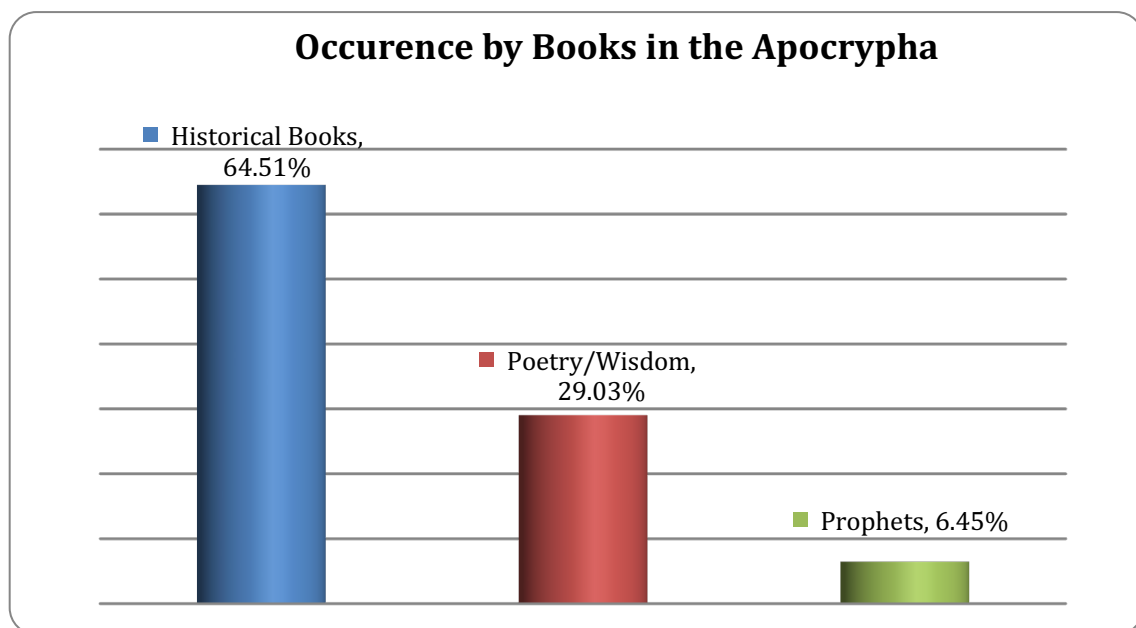
With the meaning of wilderness/desert, ἔρημός appears 31 times in the Apocrypha:

20 times in the Historical Books

9 times in the books of Poetry/Wisdom

2 times in the books of the Prophets

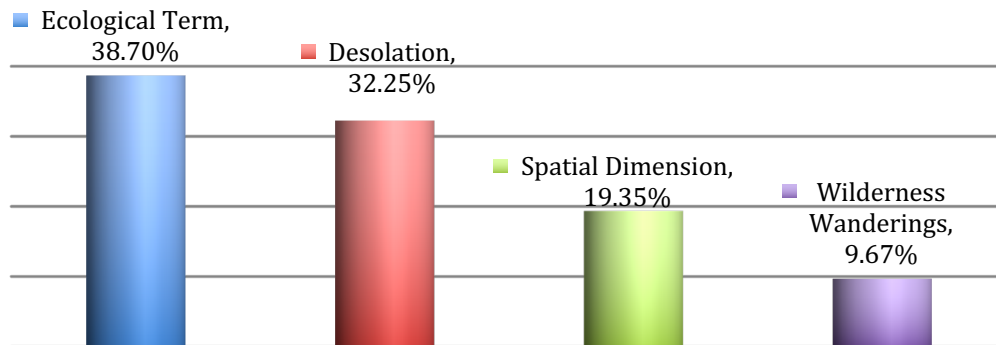
Historical Books > Poets/Wisdom > Prophets



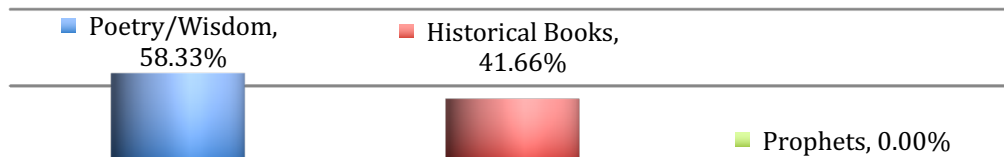
- A. 12 times in the category of Ecological Term
- B. 10 times in the category of Desolation
- C. 6 times in the category of Spatial Dimension
- D. 3 times in the category of Wilderness Wanderings

Ecological Term > Desolation > Spatial Dimension > Wilderness Wanderings

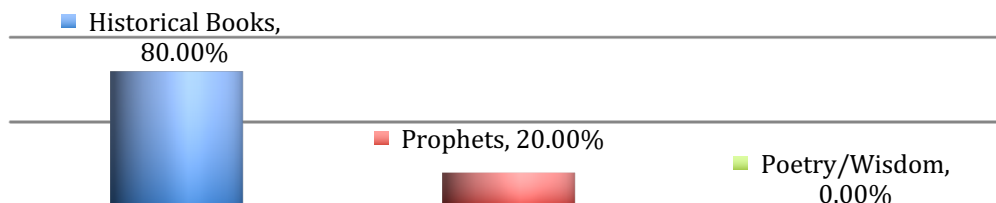
Occurrence by Categories in the Apocrypha



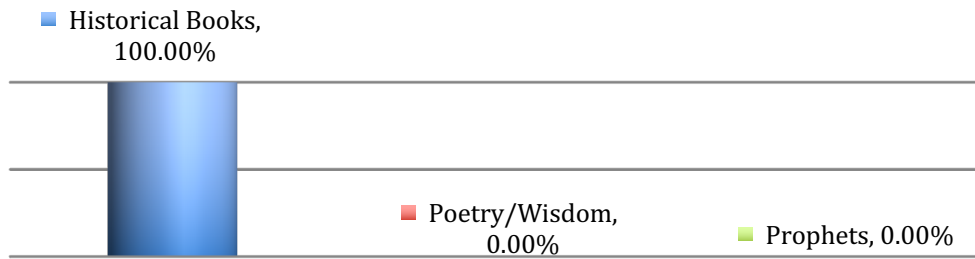
Ecological Term in the Apocrypha



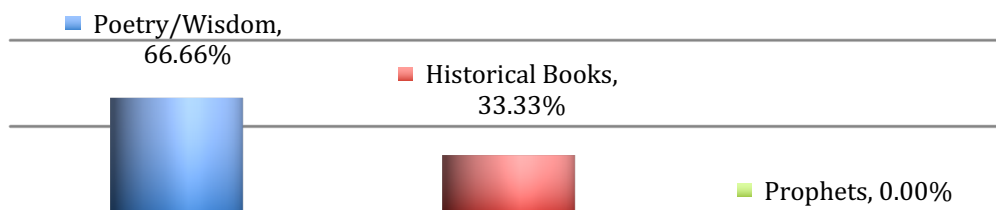
Desolation in the Apocrypha



Spatial Dimension in the Apocrypha



Wilderness Wanderings in the Apocrypha



In the Apocrypha, ἔρημός appears most frequently in Historical Books (64.51%) and second most frequently in Poetry/Wisdom (29.03%). Also, Ecological Term (38.70%) and Desolation (32.25%) are mainly used, while Wilderness Wanderings appears relatively less frequently. This could be said to imply that the expectation of God's salvation and the covenant relationship are not explained by the concept of wilderness.

4.4. PSEUDEPIGRAPHA⁴⁷

This section will explore the concept of ἔρημός⁴⁸ in the OT Pseudepigrapha. In order to define the concept ἔρημός in the Pseudepigrapha, I will use four categories: a spatial dimension (the geography of Palestine and the Near East), an ecological term (scarcity of rainfall), wilderness wanderings (the period between the Exodus and the Conquest), and desolation (description of a destroyed and ruined place/status).

4.4.1. Ἐρημός In the Pseudepigrapha

Enoch, Sibyl, Sedr, Levi, Abraham, Jub, Isaiah_B, Asen, Lives, 4Bar, Rechab, Eldad, 3Mac, Ps Sol, Ezekiel Trag, and Artapan.

4.4.1.1. Enoch

In Enoch ἔρημός appears three times. In two cases, it designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East. The one remaining case designates a place with a shortage of rainwater.

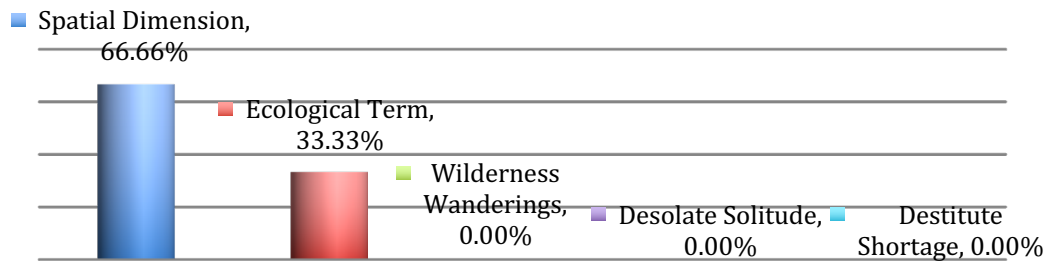
Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	66.66%	2 times	Enoch 10:4; 28:1
<i>Ecological Term</i>	33.33%	1 time	Enoch 18:12
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	

⁴⁷ The pseudepigrapha are the books that attempt to imitate Scripture but that were written under false names. The term pseudepigrapha comes from the Greek pseudo, meaning “false,” and epigraphēin, meaning “to inscribe,” thus, “to write falsely.” The pseudepigraphical books were written anywhere from 200 BC to AD 300. They are spurious works written by unknown authors who attempted to gain a readership by tacking on the name of a famous biblical character.

⁴⁸ In the Greek, there are several words meaning wilderness, desert, and desolation. One of them, ἔρημός, is most equivalent to the meaning of מִדְבָּר, which is used in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

<i>Total</i>	100%	3 times	
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Occurrence by Categories in Enoch

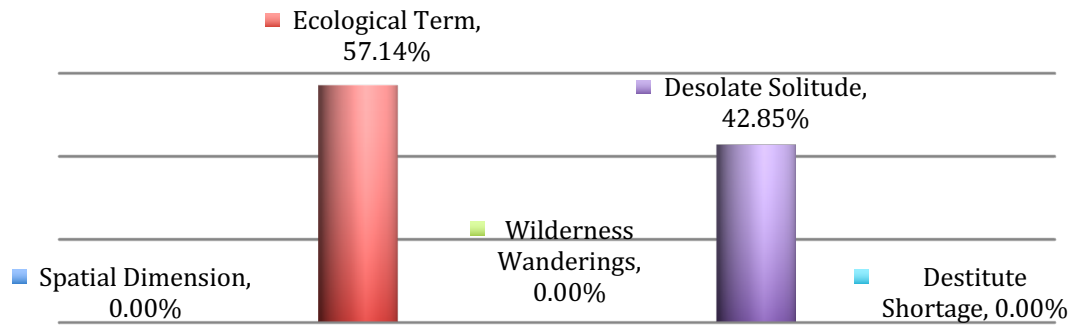


4.4.1.2. Sibylline Oracles (Sibyl)

In Sibyl ἔρημός appears seven times. In four cases, it has a locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall. The three remaining cases designate an empty place of desolation and solitude.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	57.14%	4 times	Sibyl 1:336; 3:333; 8:276; 14:170
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	42.85%	3 times	Sibyl 3:273; 3:281; 3:333
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	7 times	

Occurence by Categories in Sibyl

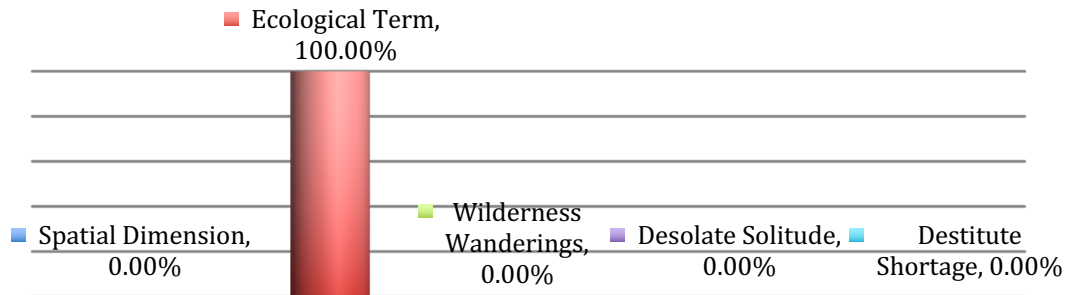


4.4.1.3. Sedr

In Sedr ἔρημός appears only one time. In this case, it has a locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	100%	1 time	Sedr. 1:22
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in Sedr

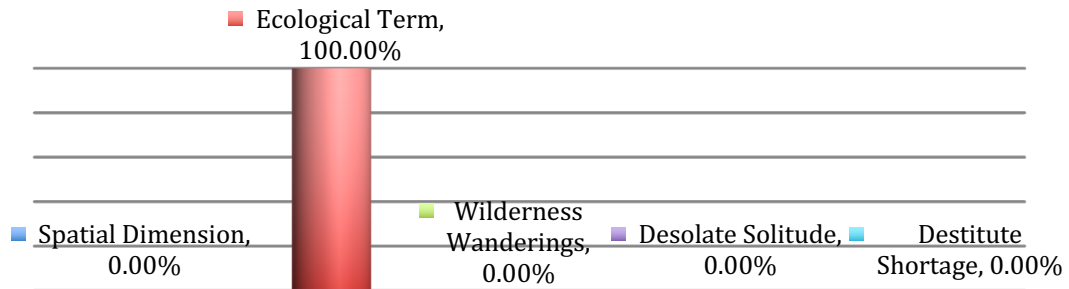


4.4.1.4. Testament of Levi

In Levi ἔρημός appears two times. In two cases, it has a locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	100%	2 times	Levi 15:1; 16:4
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

Occurrence by Categories in Levi

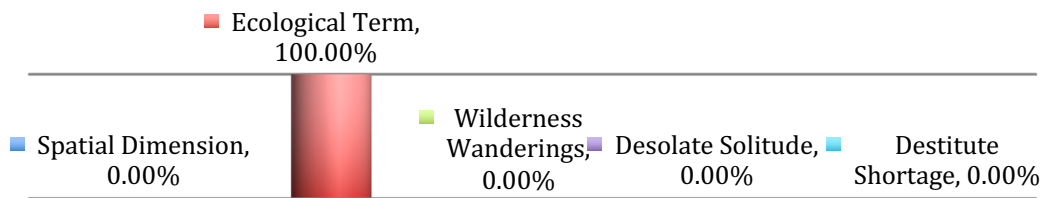


4.4.1.5. Abraham

In Abraham ἔρημός appears three times. In three cases, it has a locative meaning, indicating the shortage of rainfall.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	100%	3 times	Isaiah_B 12:9; 12:10; 12:11
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	3 times	

Occurence by Categories in Abraham

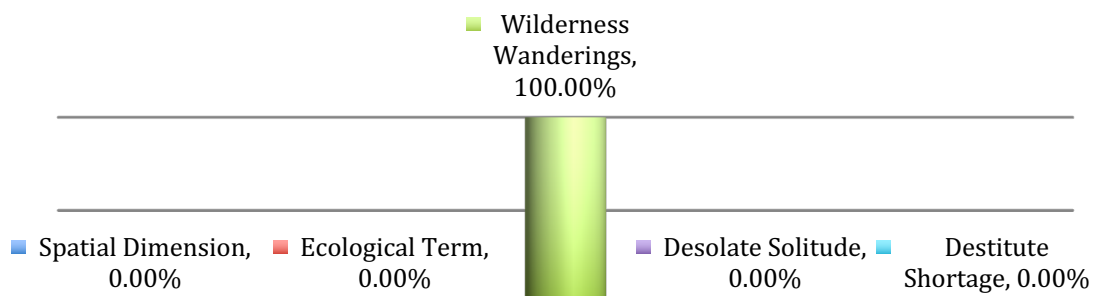


4.4.1.6. Jubilees

In Jub ἔρημός appears only one time. In this case, it used to denote the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	100%	1 time	Jub 48:1
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurence by Categories in Jub

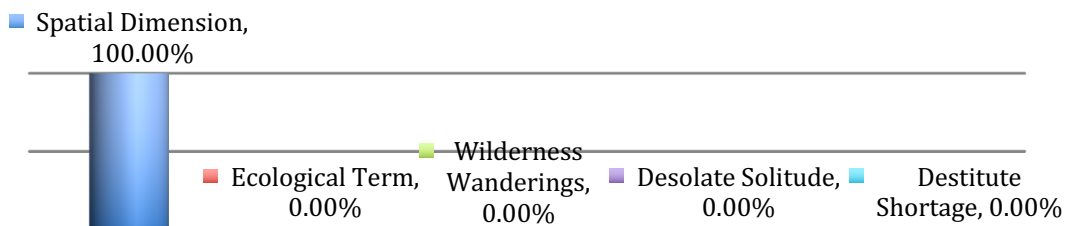


4.4.1.7. The Ascension of Isaiah

In the ascension of Isaiah ἔρημός appears only one time. In this case it designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	100%	1 time	Isaiah_B 2:8
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in Ascension of Isaiah

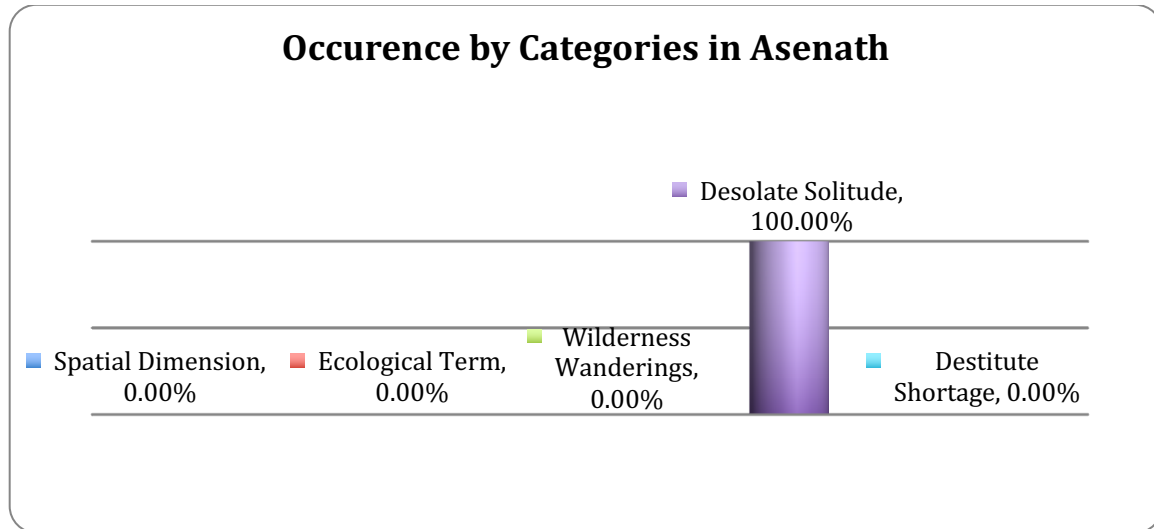


4.4.1.8. The Story of Asenath

In Asenath ἔρημός appears two times. In two cases, it designates an empty place of desolation and solitude.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	100%	2 times	Asen 12:11; 12:11

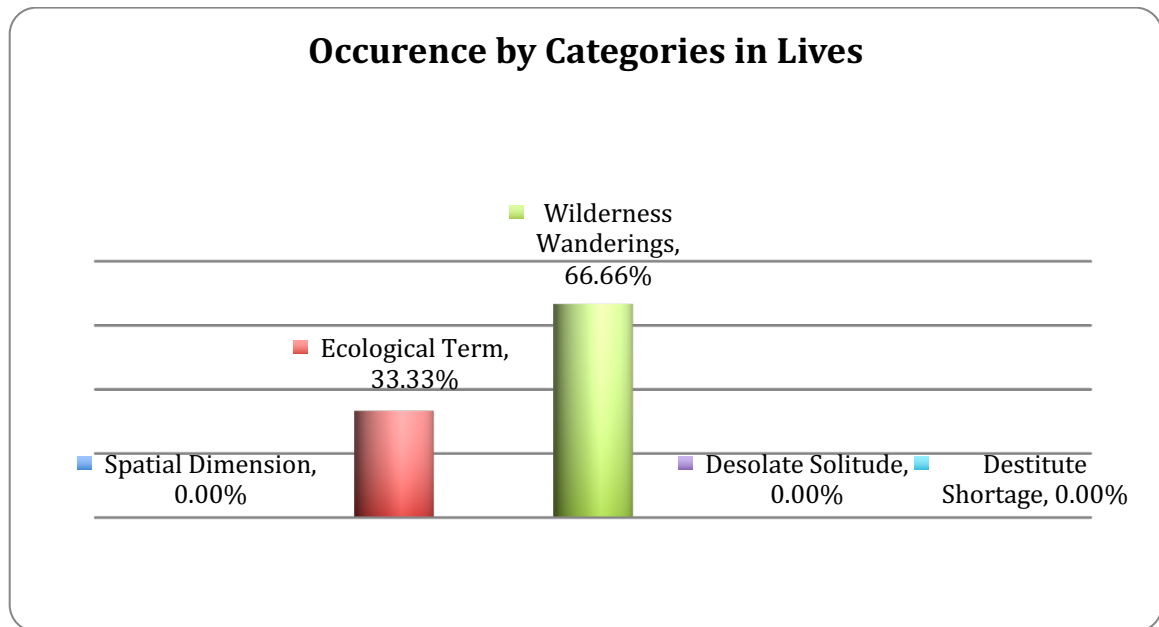
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	



4.4.1.9. Lives

In Lives ἔρημός appears three times. In two cases, it used to denote the Wilderness Wanderings. The one remaining case has locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall in particular areas.

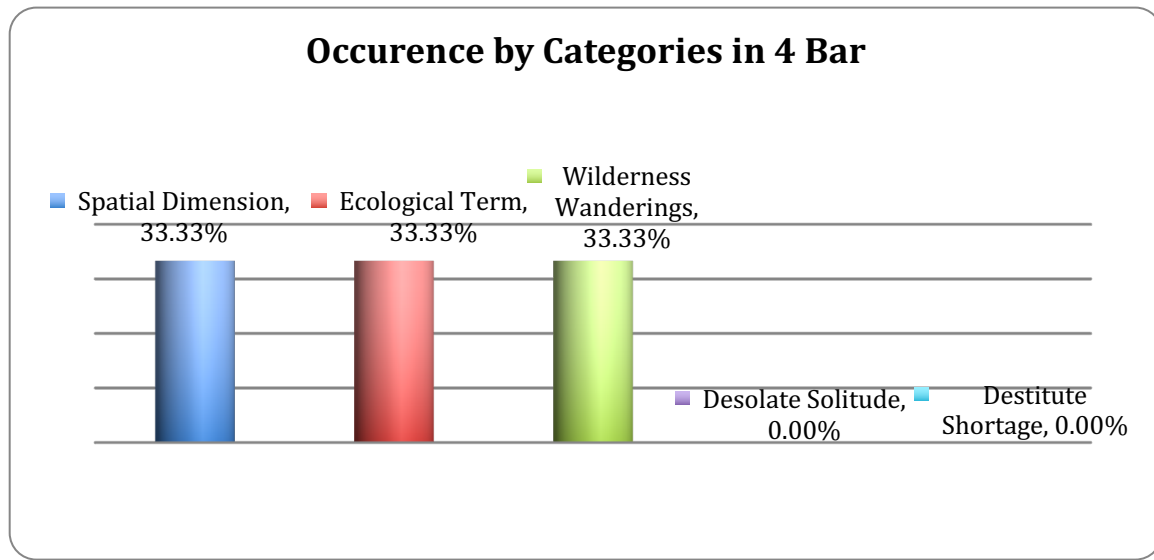
Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	33.33%	1 time	Lives 11:3
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	66.66%	2 times	Lives 2:14; 12:13
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	3 times	



4.4.1.10. 4 Baruch

In 4 Baruch ἔρημός appears three times. One case designates the wilderness in Palestine and the Near East. Another case has a locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall. The remaining case is used to denote the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	33.33%	1 time	4 Bar 8:11
<i>Ecological Term</i>	33.33%	1 time	4 Bar 7:12
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	33.33%	1 time	4 Bar 7:20
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	3 times	

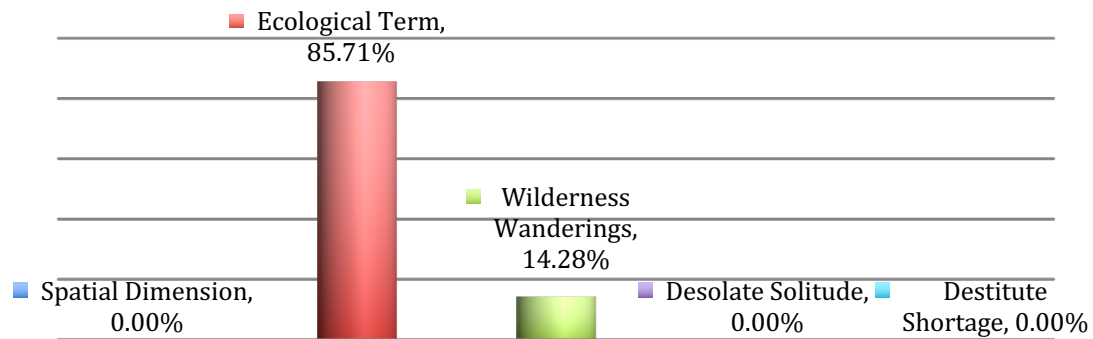


4.4.1.11. Rechab

In Rechab ἔρημός appears seven times. In six cases, it has a locative meaning, indicating the shortage of rainfall. The one remaining case denotes the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	85.71%	6 times	Rechab 1:1; 2:3; 2:3; 18:3; 19:5; 23:1
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	14.28%	1 time	Rechab 22:1
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	7 times	

Occurrence by Categories in Rechab

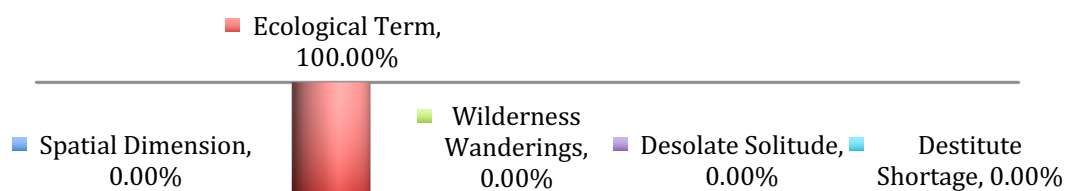


4.4.1.12. Eldad

In Eldad ἔρημός appears only one time. In this case it has a locative meaning, indicating the shortage of rainfall.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	100%	1 time	Eldad 1
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in Eldad

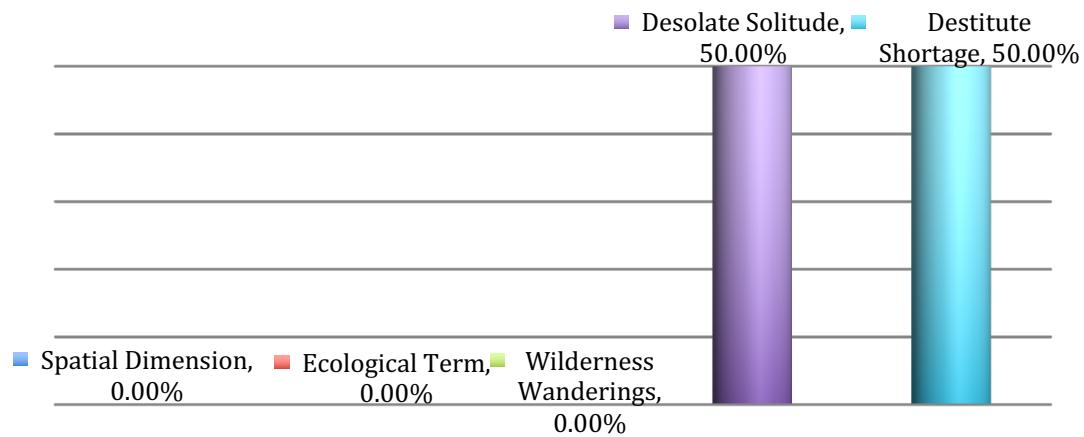


4.4.1.13. 3 Mac

In 3 Mac ἔρημός appears a total of two times (4.76% of occurrences in the Pseudepigrapha). One (50%) designates an empty place of desolation and solitude. The remaining case (50%) is used to express a destitute status.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	50%	1 time	3 Mac 5:43
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	50%	1 time	3 Mac 5:6
<i>Total</i>	100%	2 times	

Occurrence by Categories in 3 Mac

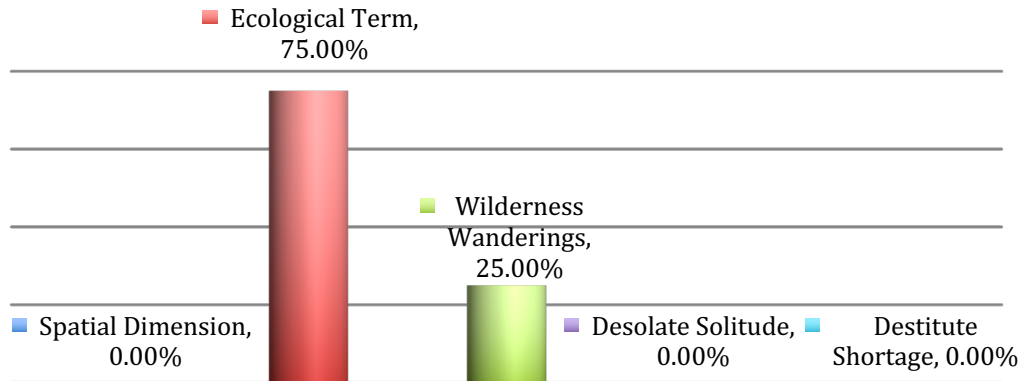


4.4.1.14. Ps Sol

In Ps Sol ἔρημός appears a total of four times (9.52% of occurrences in the Pseudepigrapha). Three cases (75%) have a locative meaning, referring to the shortage of rainfall. The remaining case (25%) denotes the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	75%	3 times	Ps Sol 5:9; 5:10; 8:2
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	25%	1 time	Ps Sol 17:17
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	4 times	

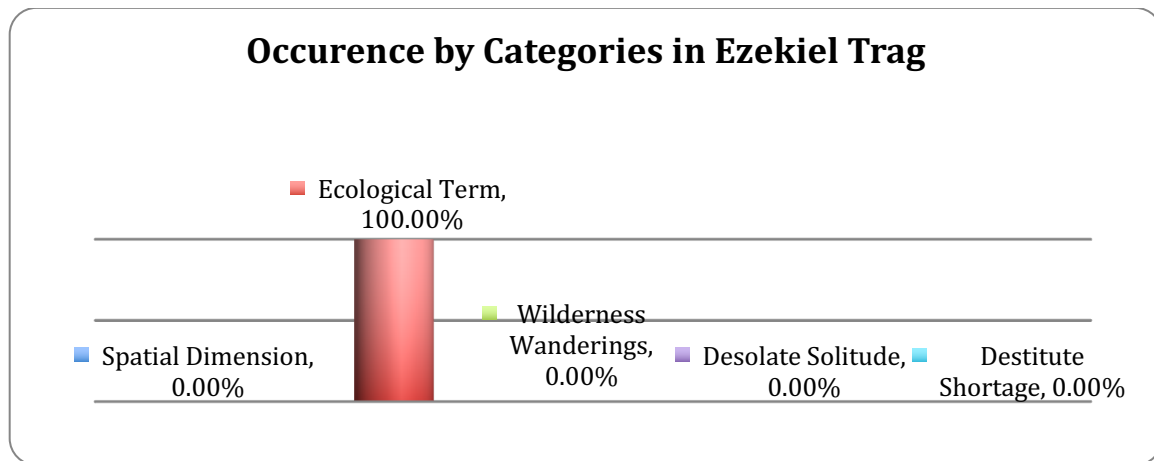
Occurence by Categories in Ps Sol



4.4.1.15. Ezekiel Trag

In Ezekiel Trag ἔρημός appears only one time (2.38% of occurrences in the Pseudepigrapha). In this case (100%), it has a locative meaning, indicating the shortage of rainfall.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	100%	1 time	Ezekiel Trag 44
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	0%	0	
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	
<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	



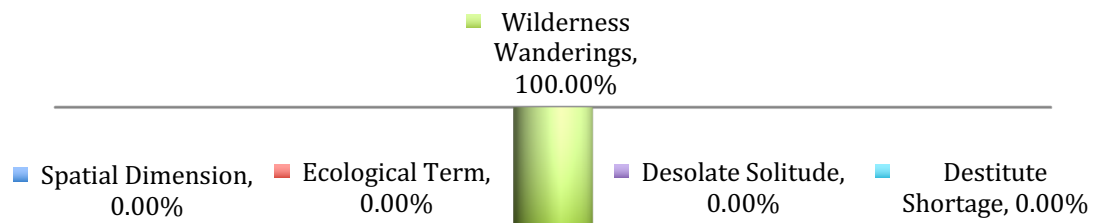
4.4.1.16. Artapan

In Artapan ἔρημός appears only one time (2.38% of occurrences in the Pseudepigrapha). In this case (57.14%), it denotes the Wilderness Wanderings.

Description	Percentage	Numbers	Scripture References
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	0	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	0	
<i>Wilderness Wanderings</i>	100%	1 time	Artapan 3:37
<i>Desolate/Solitude</i>	0%	0	

<i>Destitute/Shortage</i>	0%	0	
<i>Total</i>	100%	1 time	

Occurrence by Categories in Artapan



4.4.2. Assessment and Conclusion

	Spatial Dimension	Ecological Term	Wilderness Wanderings	Desolate/Solitude	Destitute/Shortage	Pseudepig-rapha
<i>Enoch</i>	2 (66.66%) (50%)	1 (33.33%) (4.16%)	0	0	0	3 (100%) (7.14%)
<i>Sibyl</i>	0	4 (57.14%) (16.66%)	0	3 (42.85%) (50%)	0	7 (100%) (16.66%)
<i>Levi</i>	0	2 (100%) (8.33%)	0	0	0	2 (100%) (4.76%)
<i>Abraham</i>	0	3 (100%) (12.5%)	0	0	0	3 (100%) (7.14%)
<i>Jub</i>	0	0	1 (100%) (14.28%)	0	0	1 (100%) (2.38%)
<i>Isaiah</i>	1 (100%) (25%)	0	0	0	0	1 (100%) (2.38%)
<i>Asenath</i>	0	0	0	2 (100%) (33.33%)	0	2 (100%) (4.76%)
<i>Lives</i>	0	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.66%)	0	0	3 (100%)

		(4.16%)	(28.57%)			(7.14%)
<i>4Bar</i>	1 (33.33%) (25%)	1 (33.33%) (4.16%)	1 (33.33%) (14.28%)	0	0	3 (100%) (7.14%)
<i>Rechab</i>	0	6 (85.71%) (25%)	1 (14.28%) (14.28%)	0	0	7 (100%) (16.66%)
<i>Eldad</i>	0	1 (100%) (4.16%)	0	0	0	1 (100%) (2.38%)
<i>3 Mac</i>	0	0	0	1 (50%) (16.66%)	1 (50%) (100%)	2 (100%) (4.76%)
<i>Ps Sol</i>	0	3 (75%) (12.5%)	1 (25%) (14.28%)	0	0	4 (100%) (9.52%)
<i>Ezekiel Trag</i>	0	1 (100%) (4.16%)	0	0	0	1 (100%) (2.38%)
<i>Artapan</i>	0	0	1 (100%) (14.28%)	0	0	1 (100%) (2.38%)
Total	4 (9.52%) (100%)	24 (57.14%) (100%)	7 (16.66%) (100%)	6 (14.28%) (100%)	1 (2.38%) (100%)	42 (100%) (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

In the Pseudepigrapha ἔρημος, which is the equivalent of Hebrew מִדְבָּר (wilderness, desert, lonely place), appears a total of 42 times: Enoch 7.14% (3 times), Sibyl 16.66% (7 times), Levi 4.76% (2 times), Abraham 7.14% (3 times), Jub 2.38% (1 time), Isaiah 2.38% (1 time), Asenath 4.76% (2 times), Lives 7.14% (3 times), 4Bar 7.14% (3 times), Rechab 16.66% (7 times), Eldad 2.38% (1 time), 3Mac 4.76% (2 times), Ps Sol. 9.52% (4 times), Ezekiel Trag 2.38% (1 time), and Artapan 2.38% (1 time).

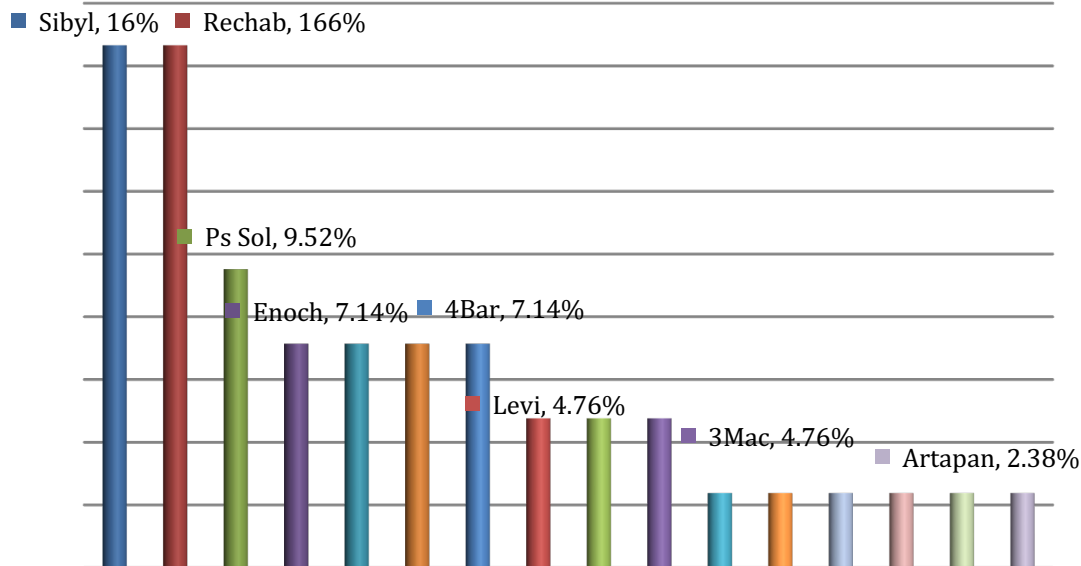
In addition, the most frequent usage of this word in the Pseudepigrapha is as an ecological term.

Meaning wilderness/desert, “ἔρημος” appears a total of 42 times in the Pseudepigrapha:

- 7 times (16.66%) in each of Sibyl and Rechab
- 4 times (9.52%) in Ps Sol.
- 3 times (7.14%) in each of Enoch, Abraham, Lives, and 4 Bar
- 2 times (4.76%) in each of Levi, Asenath, and 3 Mac
- 1 time (2.38%) in each of Jub, Isaiah, Eldad, Ezekiel Trag, and Artapan

Sibyl/Rechab > Ps Sol > Enoch/Abraham/Lives/4Bar > Levi/Asenath/3Mac > Jub/Isaiah/Eldad/Ezekiel Trag/Artapan

Occurrence by Books in the Pseudepigrapha



24 times (57.14%) in the category of Ecological Term

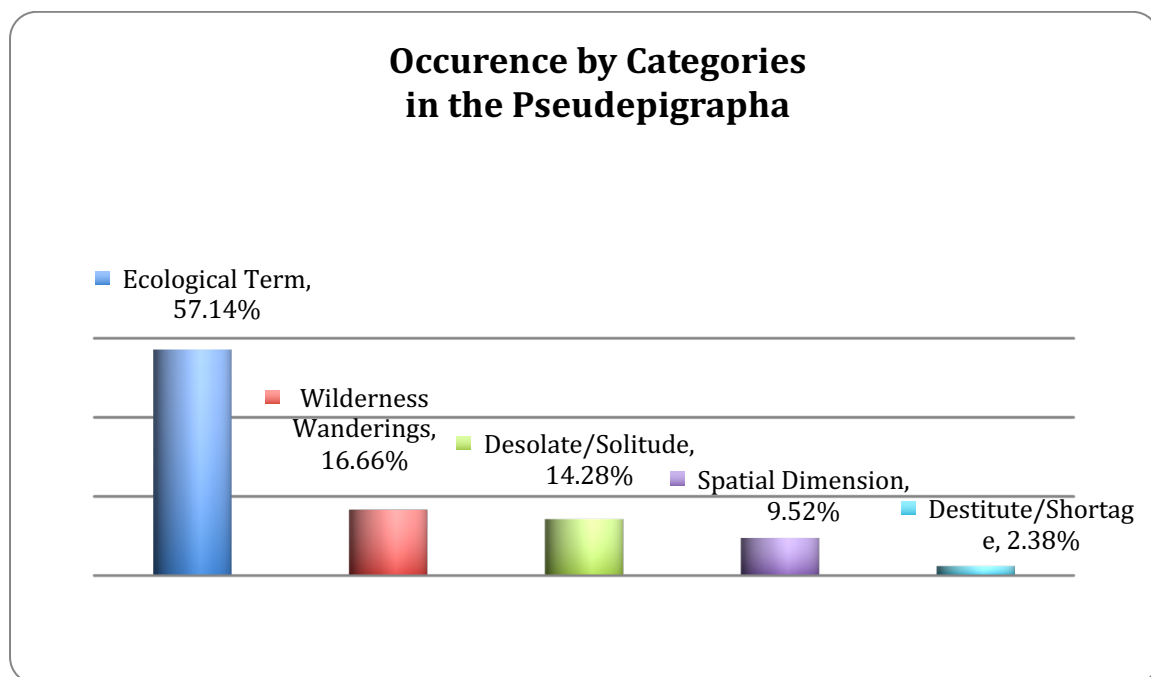
7 times (16.66%) in the category of Wilderness Wanderings

6 times (14.28%) in the category of Desolation/Solitude

4 times (9.52%) in the category of Spatial Dimension

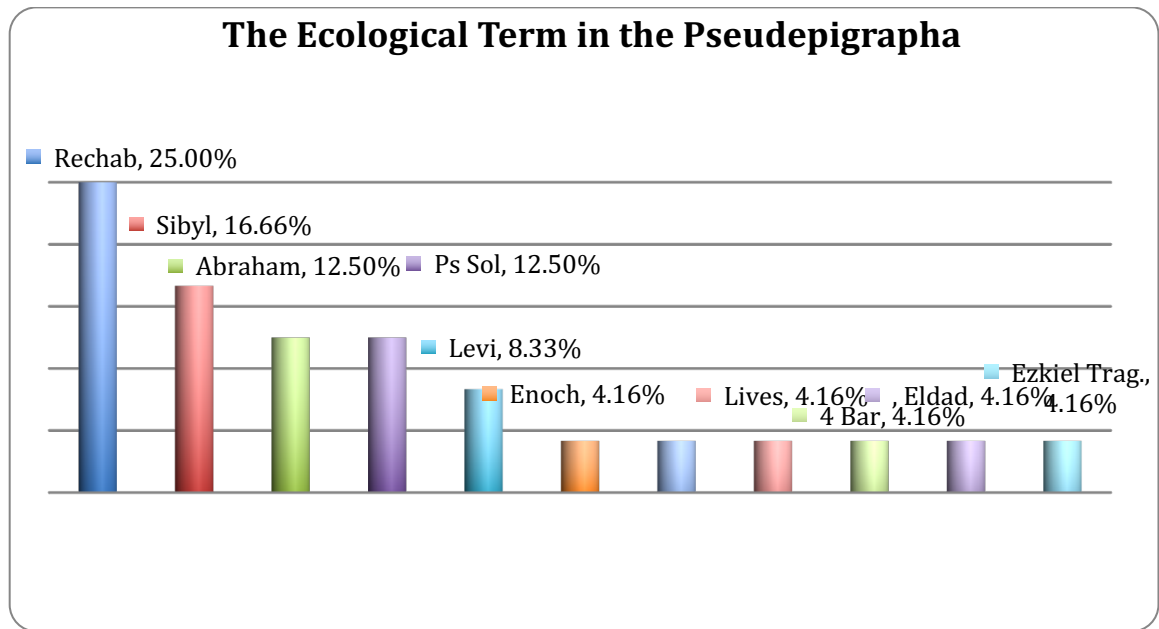
1 time (2.38%) in the category of Destitute/Shortage

***Ecological Term > Wilderness Wanderings >
Desolation/Solitude > Spatial Dimension > Destitute/Shortage***



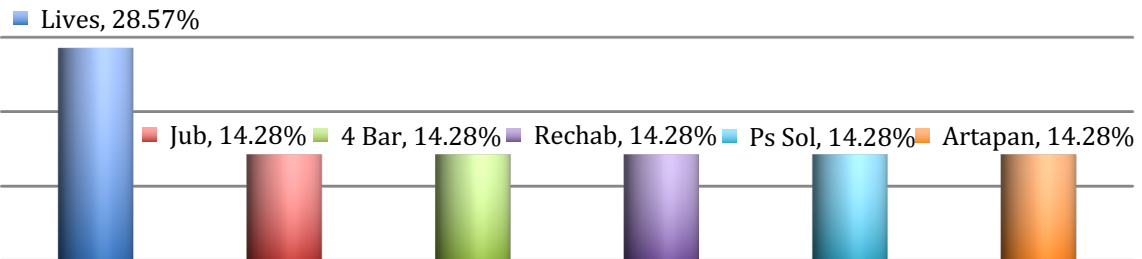
Ecological term is the most frequently employed category– 24 times (57.14%); the second one is the Wilderness wandering – 7 times (16.66%); the third is the desolate/solitude – 6 times (14.28%); the fourth is the spatial dimension – 4 times (9.52%); and the fifth is the destitute/shortage – 1 time (2.38%).

The ecological term is used most frequently in the following: Rechab – 6 times (25%); in Sibyl – 4 times (16.66%); in Abraham, Ps Sol – 3 times (12.5%); in Levi – 2 times (8.33%); and in each of Enoch, Lives, 4 Bar, Eldad, and Ezekiel Trag. – 1 time (4.16%).



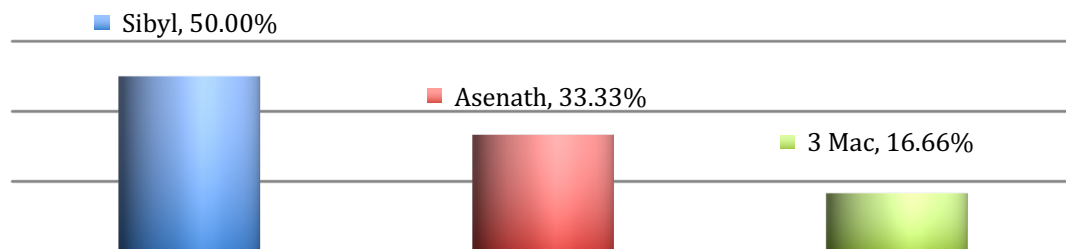
The meaning “wilderness wanderings” appears the most frequently in Lives – 2 times (28.57%); Jub – 1 time (14.28%); 4 Bar – 2 times (14.28%); Rechab – 1 times (14.28%); in Ps Sol – 1 time (14.28%); and Artapan – 1 time (14.28%).

Wilderness Wanderings in the Pseudepigrapha



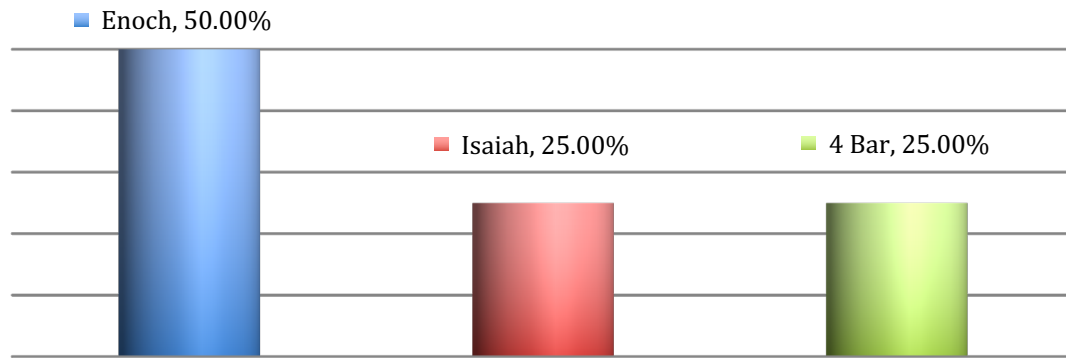
The category of desolation/solitude is employed most frequently in the following:
Sibyl – 3 times (50%); Asenath – 2 times (33.33%); and 3 Mac – 1 time (16.66%).

Desolation/Solitude in the Pseudepigrapha



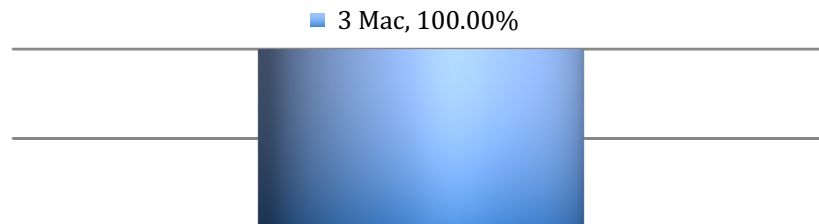
The spatial dimension is employed most frequently in Enoch – 2 times (50%); in Isaiah – 1 time (25%); and in 4 Bar – 1 time (25%).

Spatial Dimensioin in the Pseudepigrapha



The category of destitute/shortage appears only in the book of 3 Mac – 1 time (100%).

The Destitute/Shortage in the Pseudepigrapha



As the table has shown, we have found that the wilderness is considered as the Ecological Term and Wilderness Wanderings in the Pseudepigrapha. The Pseudepigrapha have applied God's redemptive intervention by means of the Exodus from Egypt to their

context. Also, they tried to understand their situation with reactualization of the wilderness tradition by reinterpreting and reapplying this motif.

4.5. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS: THE SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE

In case of DSS, we see that the two themes, “the wilderness wandering” and “the fulfillment prophecy” are crucial elements to understanding the Qumran community. The wilderness was a significant place to the Qumran community because the wilderness wandering is the representative model of Yahweh’s salvation. In the Apocrypha, ἔρημός appears most frequently in Historical Books (64.51%) and second most frequently in Poetry/Wisdom (29.03%). Also, Ecological Term (38.70%) and Desolation (32.25%) are mainly used, while Wilderness Wanderings appears relatively less frequently. This could be said to imply that the expectation of God’s salvation and the covenant relationship are not explained by the concept of wilderness. In the Pseudepigrapha, we also found that the wilderness is considered as the Ecological Term and Wilderness Wanderings in the Pseudepigrapha. The Pseudepigrapha have applied God’s redemptive intervention by means of the Exodus from Egypt to their context. Also, they tried to understand their situation with reactualization of the wilderness tradition by reinterpreting and reapplying this motif.

CHAPTER 5

WILDERNESS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

5.1. INTRODUCTION

We will study the New Testament (NT); first the four gospels and then the rest of the NT. In the NT ἔρημος, which is the equivalent to the Hebrew word מִדְבָּר (wilderness, desert, lonely place), appears 48 times.

5.2. FOUR GOSPELS

5.2.1. MATTHEW

In Matthew the word “ἔρημος” appears a total of eight times (16.66% in the New Testament). The four times (50%, half of eight times) are used to report the place that Jesus and his disciples stayed, and the two times are about John the Baptist and the two times are the saying of Jesus. Namely, all eight times are related with John the Baptist, Jesus, and his disciples (100% in the Matthew). Two times belong to the Spatial Dimension. Five times are the Ecological Term. One time is the fulfillment of the Prophecy (in the Matthew is the Isaiah 40:3). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Matthew covers the Ecological Term (62.5% in the Matthew) and the Spatial Dimension (25% in the Matthew) and the Fulfillment of Prophecy (12.5% in the Matthew).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	25% (2 times)	Mat. 3:1; 11:7
<i>Ecological Term</i>	62.5% (5 times)	Mat. 4:1; 14:13; 14:15; 23:38; 24:26
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0%	
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	12.5% (1 time)	Mat. 3:3

<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (8 times)	

5.2.2. MARK

In the Mark the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of nine times (18.75% in the New Testament). Seven times are used to describe the place that Jesus and his disciples stayed (77.77% in the Mark) and two times are about John the Baptist (22.22% in the Mark). Namely, all nine times are related with John the Baptist, Jesus, and his disciples (100% in the Mark). One time belongs to the Spatial Dimension. Seven times are the Ecological Term. One time is the fulfillment of the Prophecy (in this case is the Isaiah 40:3). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Mark covers the Ecological Term (77.77% in the Mark), and the Spatial Dimension (11.11% in the Mark) and the Fulfillment of Prophecy (11.11% in the Mark).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	11.11% (1 time)	Mark 1:4
<i>Ecological Term</i>	77.77% (7 time)	Mark 1:12; 1:13; 1:35; 1:45; 6:31; 6:32; 6:35
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0%	
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	11.11% (1 time)	Mark 1:3
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (9 times)	

5.2.3. LUKE

In the Luke the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of ten times (20.83% in the New Testament). Nine times are used related with the Jesus, his disciples, and John the Baptist (90% in the Luke). One time is used in the metaphor of Jesus (10% in the Luke). Namely, all ten times are related with Jesus, his disciples, and John the Baptist (100% in the Luke). One time belongs to the Spatial Dimension. Eight times are the Ecological Term. One time is the

Fulfillment of the Prophecy (in the Luke is the Isaiah 40:3). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Luke covers the Ecological Term (80% in the Luke) and the Spatial Dimension (10% in the Luke) and the Fulfillment of Prophecy (10% in the Luke).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	10% (1 time)	Luke 7:24
<i>Ecological Term</i>	80% (8 times)	Luke 1:80; 3:2; 4:1; 4:42; 5:16; 8:29; 9:12; 15:4
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0%	
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	10% (1 time)	Luke 3:4
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (10 times)	

5.2.4. JOHN

In the John the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of five times (10.41% in the New Testament). All these five times are related with the scene of the Jesus, his disciples, and the John the Baptist. One time belongs to the Spatial Dimension. Three times are the Wilderness Wandering. One time is the Fulfillment of the Prophecy (in this case is the Isaiah 40:3). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the John covers the Wilderness Wandering (60% in the John) and the Spatial Dimension (20% in the John) and the Fulfillment of Prophecy (20% in the John).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	20% (1 time)	John 1:54
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	60% (3 times)	John 3:14; 6:31; 6:49
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	20% (1 time)	John 1:23
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (5 times)	

5.2.5. TENTATIVE SUMMARY OF FOUR GOSPELS

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John	Four Gospels
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	2 (40%) (25%)	1 (20%) (11.11%)	1 (20%) (10%)	1 (20%) (20%)	5 (100%) (15.62%)
<i>Ecological Term</i>	5 (25%) (62.5%)	7 (35%) (77.77%)	8 (40%) (80%)	0	20 (100%) (62.5%)
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0	0	0	3 (100%) (60%)	3 (100%) (9.37%)
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	1 (25%) (12.5%)	1 (25%) (11.11%)	1 (25%) (10%)	1 (25%) (20%)	4 (100%) (12.5%)
<i>Allusion</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>	8 (25%) (100%)	9 (28.12%) (100%)	10 (31.25%) (100%)	5 (15.62%) (100%)	32 (100%) (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

As the table shown, in the New Testament the word “ἔρημος” usually appears in the four Gospel, over half (66.66%). In addition, in the four Gospel the word “ἔρημος” is used to describe the place that Jesus and his people (disciples, John the Baptist) stayed in (78.12%). The rest of them are both cases of the Fulfillment Prophecy (12.5%) and the Wilderness Wandering (9.37%). Namely, in the four Gospel the usage of the word “ἔρημος” can be summarized in the two cases. The First one is showing the scene in which Jesus and his people stayed (Spatial Dimension and Ecological Term). The other is the mentioning Old Testament (Fulfillment Prophecy and Wilderness Wandering).

5.3. REST IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

5.3.1. ACTS

In the Acts the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of nine times (18.75% in the New Testament). One time belongs to the Spatial Dimension. One time is the Ecological Term. Six times are the Wilderness Wandering. One time is the Fulfillment Prophecy, which is the fulfillment of the Psalm, the accident of Judas’ death (*Akeldama*). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Acts covers the Wilderness Wandering (66.66% in the Acts) and the Spatial Dimension (11.11% in the Acts) and the Ecological Term (11.11% in the Acts) and the Fulfillment Prophecy (11.11% in the Acts).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	11.11% (1 time)	Acts 8:26
<i>Ecological Term</i>	11.11% (1 time)	Acts 21:38
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	66.66% (6 times)	Acts 7:30; 7:36; 7:38; 7:42; 7:44; 13:18
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	11.11% (1 time)	1:20 (cf. Psalm 69:25; 109:8)
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (9 times)	

5.3.2. 1 CORINTHIANS

In the 1 Corinthians the word “ἔρημος” appeared only one time (2.08% in the New Testament), which appeared in the recollection of the Wilderness Wandering for the lesson from the Israel’s history. The one time belongs to the Wilderness Wandering. Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the 1 Corinthians covers the Wilderness Wandering (100% in the 1 Corinthians).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	100% (1 time)	1 Cor. 10:5
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	0%	
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (1 time)	

5.3.3. GALATIANS

In the Galatians the word “ἔρημος” appeared only 1 time (2.83% in the New Testament), which appeared in the Paul’s explanation of the meaning of the law to those who want to be under the authority of the law: We are the children of God based on His promise. The one time is the application of the word in the Prophecy (in this case is Isaiah 54:1). Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Galatians covers the Fulfillment of Prophecy (100% in the Galatians).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0%	
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	100% (1 time)	Gal. 4:27
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (1 time)	

5.3.4. HEBREWS

In the Hebrew the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of two times (4.16% in the New Testament), which appeared in the warning against unbelief. Two times are the Wilderness Wandering. Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Hebrew covers the Wilderness Wandering (100% in the Hebrew).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	100% (2 times)	Heb. 3:8; 3:17
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	0%	
<i>Allusion</i>	0%	
<i>Total</i>	100% (2 times)	

5.3.5. REVELATION

In the Revelation the word “ἔρημος” appeared a total of three times (6.25% in the New Testament), which appeared in the two allusions, such as the “Woman and the Dragon” and “the Woman and the Beast”. The 3 times belongs to an Allusion. Therefore, the semantic range of the “ἔρημος” in the Revelation covers the Allusion (100% in the Revelation).

<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	0%	
<i>Ecological Term</i>	0%	
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	0%	
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	0%	
<i>Allusion</i>	100% (3 times)	Rev. 12:6; 12:14; 17:3
<i>Total</i>	100% (3 times)	

5.3.6. TENTATIVE SUMMARY OF THE REST IN THE NT

	Acts	1 Corinthians	Galatians	Hebrews	Revelation	Rest of Them
<i>Spatial Dimension</i>	1 (100%) (11.11%)	0	0	0	0	1 (100%) (6.25%)
<i>Ecological Term</i>	1 (100%) (11.11%)	0	0	0	0	1 (100%) (6.25%)
<i>Wilderness Wandering</i>	6 (66.66%) (66.66%)	1 (11.11%) (100%)	0	2 (22.22%) (100%)	0	9 (100%) (56.25%)
<i>Fulfillment Prophecy</i>	1 (50%) (11.11%)	0	1 (50%) (100%)	0	0	2 (100%) (12.5%)
<i>Allusion</i>	0	0	0	0	3 (100%) (100%)	3 (100%) (18.75%)
<i>Total</i>	9 (56.25%) (100%)	1 (6.25%) (100%)	1 (6.25%) (100%)	2 (12.5%) (100%)	3 (18.75%) (100%)	16 (100%) (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

Except in the four Gospels, the word “ἔρημος” appears only in the five books in the New Testament (Acts, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Hebrews, and Revelation). It means that it takes place only in the nine books among the total 27 books (33.33%). In addition, in the five books it seems to be hard to find the appearance of the word “ἔρημος” except the case of the Acts (19%, 9 times). In addition, the mentioning of the Old Testament (Wilderness Wandering and Fulfillment Prophecy) takes the 62.5% (10times) in the five books.

In the book of Acts the word “ἔρημος” is usually used in the category of the Wilderness Wandering (66.66%, 6 times), which appeared in the preaching of the apostles. In the 1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Hebrew, the word “ἔρημος” is all related with the Old Testament (Wilderness Wandering and Fulfillment Prophecy). In the 1 Corinthians, the only one time the word “ἔρημος” appeared in the category of the Wilderness Wandering. In the Galatians, the only one time the word “ἔρημος” is used in the category of the Fulfillment Prophecy. In the Hebrew, the word “ἔρημος” belongs to the category of the Wilderness Wandering.

In the book of Revelation, the word “ἔρημος” is all used to describe the Allusion in the prophecy for future. It is the new category, which is only in the New Testament.

5.4. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS: THE NEW TESTAMENT

As the meaning of wilderness/desert, “ἔρημος” appears a total of 48 times in only nine books of the New Testament:

10 times (21%) in Luke

Each 9 times (19%) in Mark and Acts

8 times (17%) in Matthew

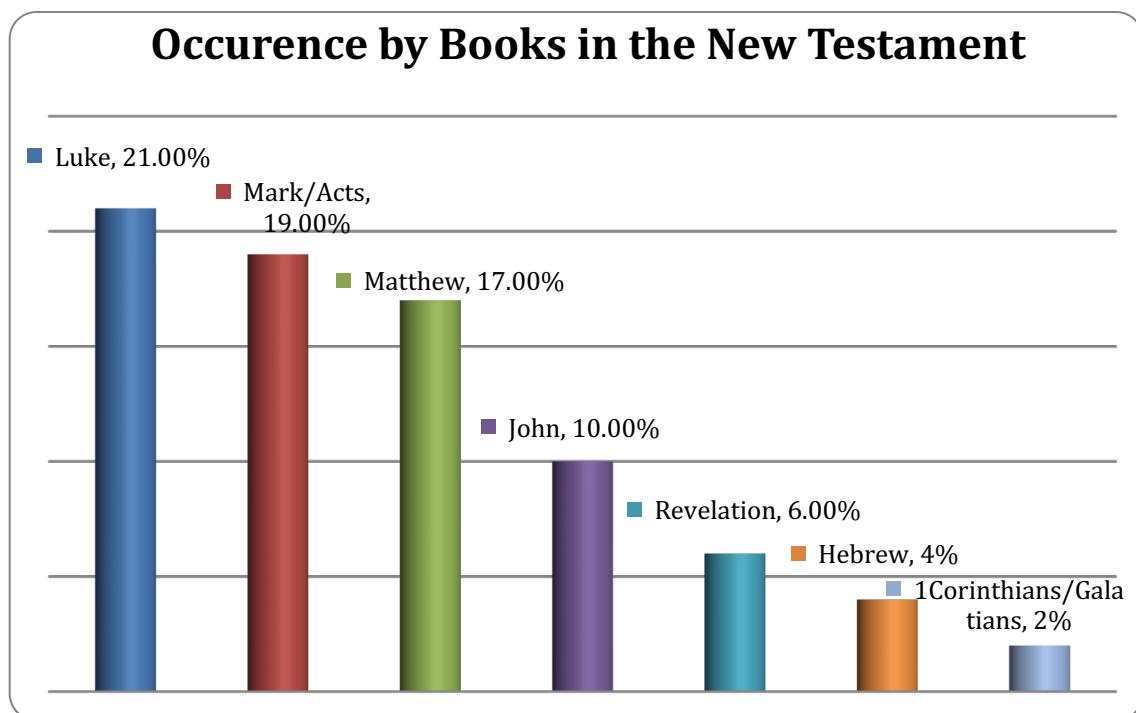
5 times (10%) in John

3 times (6%) in Revelation

2 times (4%) in Hebrew

Each 1 time (2%) in 1 Corinthians and Galatians

[*Luke > Mark/Acts > Matthew > John > Revelation > Hebrew > 1 Corinthians/Galatians*]



21 times (43.75%) in the category of Ecological Term

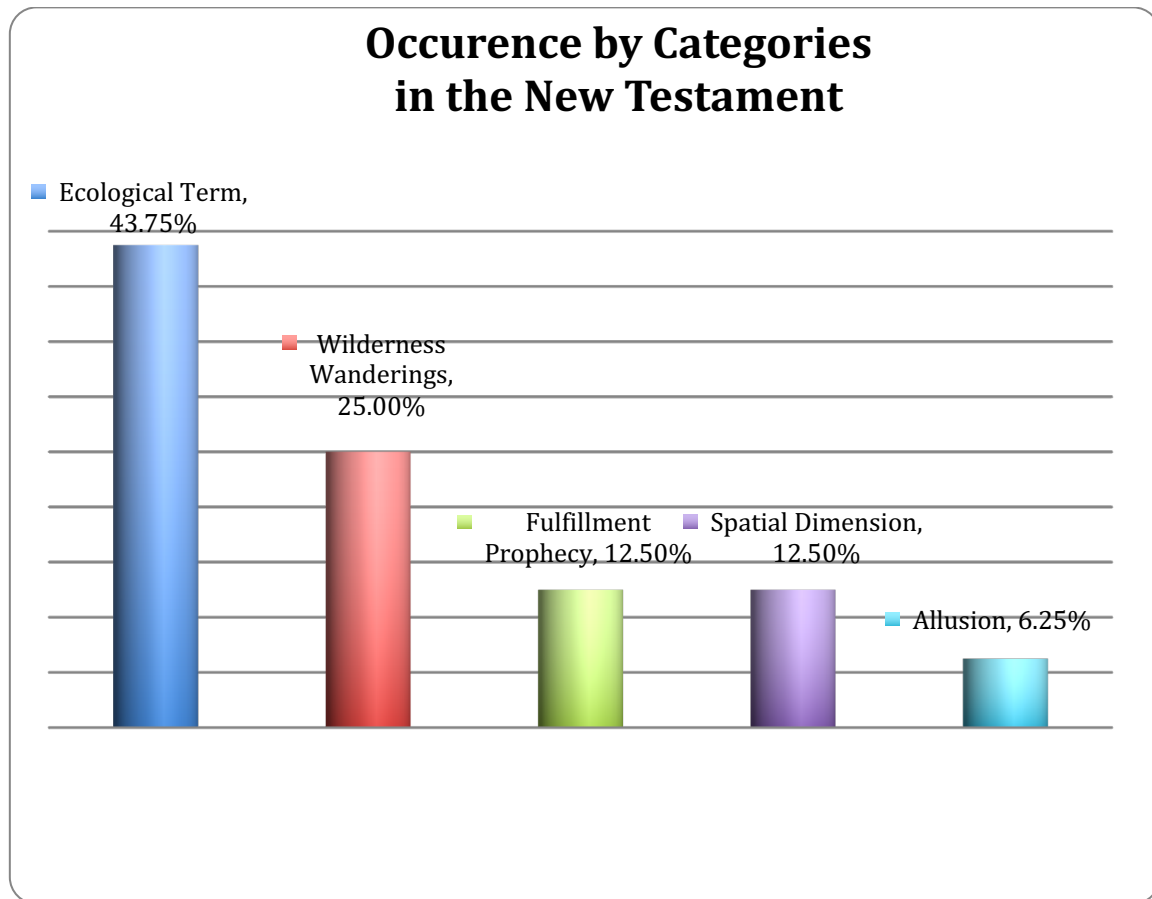
12 times (25%) in the category of Wilderness Wanderings

Each 6 times (12.5%) in the category of Fulfillment Prophecy and Spatial Dimension

3 times (6.25%) in the category of Allusion

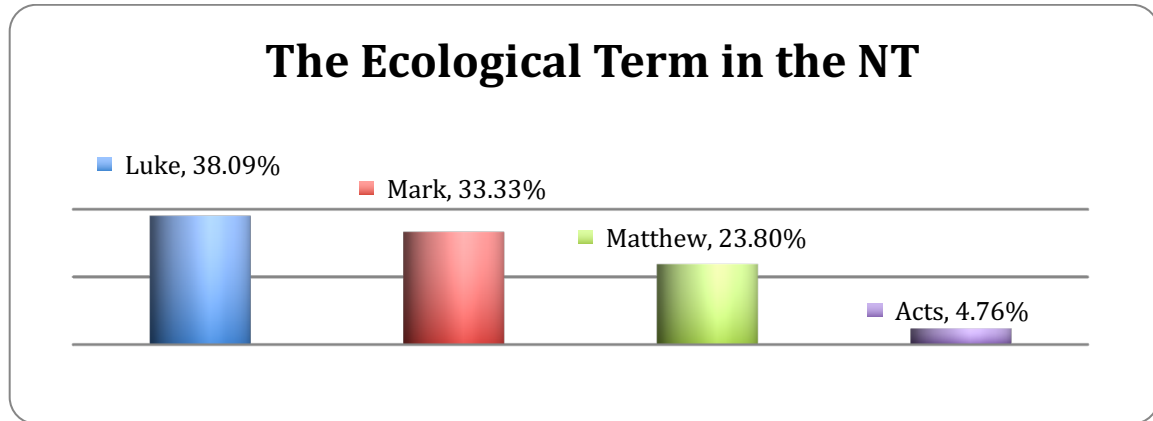
[*Ecological Term* > *Wilderness Wanderings* >

Fulfillment Prophecy/Spatial Dimension > *Allusion*]

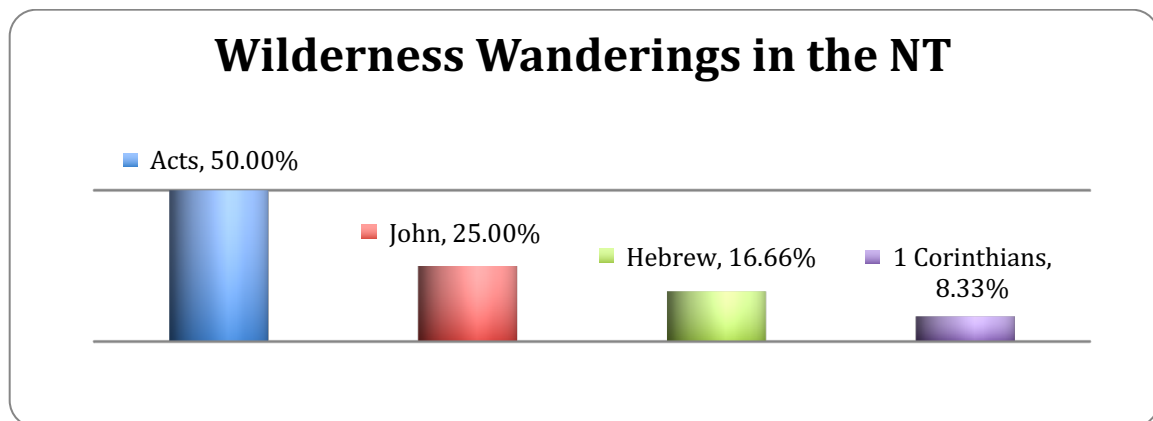


Ecological term is the meaning most frequently employed – 21 times (43.75%); the second one is the Wilderness wandering – 12 times (25%); the third one is both of the fulfillment prophecy and the spatial dimension – 6 times (12.5%); and the fourth one is the allusion – 3 times (6.25%).

The ecological term is used the most frequently in Luke – 8 times (38.09%); in Mark – 7 times (33.33%); in Matthew – 5 times (23.8%); and in Acts – 1 time (4.76%).

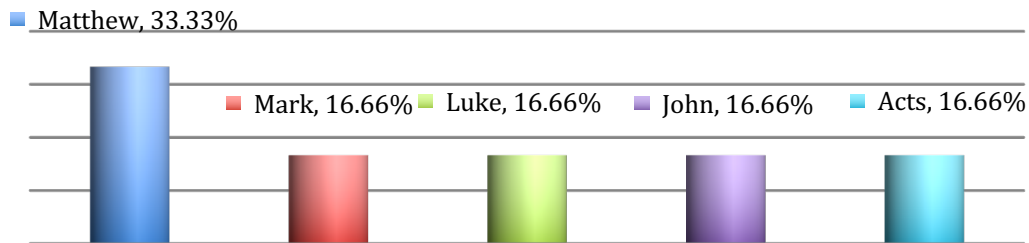


The meaning “wilderness wanderings” appears the most frequently appeared in Acts – 6 times (50%); in John – 3 times (25%); in Hebrew – 2 times (16.66%); and in 1 Corinthians – 1 time (8.33%).



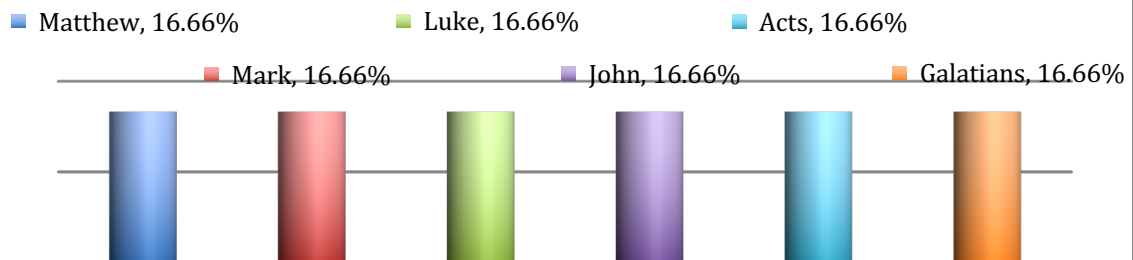
The spatial dimension is employed the most frequently in Matthew – 2 times (33.33%); and in each of Mark, Luke, John, and Acts – 1 time (16.66%).

Spatial Dimension in the NT



The fulfillment prophecy is only used in each one time in these books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, and Galatians – 1 time (16.66%).

Fulfillment Prophecy in the NT



The allusion appears only in the book of Revelation – three times (100%) in the New Testament.

[New Testament Chart]

	<i>Mat</i>	<i>Mark</i>	<i>Luke</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>Acts</i>	<i>1 Cor</i>	<i>Gal</i>	<i>Heb</i>	<i>Rev</i>	<i>New Testament</i>
Spatial Dimension	2 (33.3 3%) (25%)	1 (16.6 6%) (11.1 1%)	1 (16.6 6%) (10%)	1 (16.6 6%) (20%)	1 (16.6 6%) (11.1 1%)	0	0	0	0	6 (100%) (12.5%)
Ecological Term	5 (23.8 %) (62.5 %)	7 (33.3 3%) (77.7 7%)	8 (38.0 9%) (80%)	0	1 (4.76 %) (11.1 1%)	0	0	0	0	21 (100%) (43.75%)
Wilderness Wanderings	0	0	0	3 (25%) (60%)	6 (50%) (66.6 6%)	1 (8.33%) (100%) 8.33% 100%	0	2 (16. 66 %) (10 0%)	0	12 (100%) (25%)
Fulfillment Prophecy	1 (16.6 6%) (12.5 %)	1 (16.6 6%) (11.1 1%)	1 (16.6 6%) (10%)	1 (16.6 6%) (20%)	1 (16.6 6%) (11.1 1%)	0	1 (16.6 6%) (100 %)	0	0	6 (100%) (12.5%)
Allusion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3 (10 0%) (10 0%)	3 (100%) (6.25%)
Total	8 (16.6 6%) (100 %)	9 (18.7 5%) (100 %)	10 (20.8 3%) (100 %)	5 (10.4 1%) (100 %)	9 (18.7 5%) (100 %)	1 (2.08%) (100%)	1 (2.08 %) (100 %)	2 (4.1 6%) (10 0%)	3 (6.2 5%) (10 0%)	48 (100%) (100%)

[Cf. (8.69%) → : Italic is for the right side; (3.80%) ↓ : Shadow is for the downward]

In the New Testament the Term “ἐρημος” is used as the meanings: Spatial Dimension (geography of Palestine and the Near East), Ecological Term (scarcity of rainfall), Wilderness Wanderings (dimension between Exodus and Conquest + border/territory,

protection/unfailing love), Fulfillment Prophecy (Usually, Prophecies of the returning from the wilderness/ preparing the way in the wilderness), and Allusion (Prophecy for the future).

The word “ἔρημος” is used total 48 times in the New Testament: Matthew 17% (8 times), Mark 19% (9 times), Luke 21% (10 times), John 10% (5 times), Acts 19% (9 times), 1 Corinthians 2% (1 time), Galatians 2% (1 time), Hebrew 4% (2 times), and Revelation 6% (3 times). It takes place only in 9 books among the total 27 books (33.33%).

We can find this out from the usage of the word “ἔρημος” in the New Testament. The word “ἔρημος” has usually happened in the Narrative (four Gospels) and the Historical Book (Acts), 85.41% (41 times). Especially, it is used to show the scene in which Jesus and his people stayed (Spatial Dimension and Ecological Term), and it is related with the Old Testament (Wilderness Wandering and Fulfillment Prophecy). In contrast, relatively the Letters (1 Corinthians, Galatians, and Hebrews) seem not to be interested in the word “ἔρημος”, 14.58% (7 times). It employed in the only case of the mentioning the Old Testament (Wilderness Wandering and Fulfillment Prophecy).

CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPMENT OF WILDERNESS TRADITION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explore the trajectory of the development of the wilderness tradition, especially focusing on its interpretation and application through the history. Our purpose here is to discover how the wilderness tradition was reactualized during the stages of its development. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first, the reactualization of the wilderness tradition will be examined, including its interpretation and application. The second section will examine two prominent categories of wilderness terminology—the wilderness wandering and the fulfillment of prophecy—to create a stronger understanding of the development of the tradition.

6.2. REACTUALIZATION OF THE WILDERNESS TRADITION

In his article, “Canon as Dialogue,”⁴⁹ James A. Sanders introduces the methodology of Comparative Midrash, a system that overlaps with the methodology of contemporary intertextuality,⁵⁰ and its significance for the study of Scripture and other Jewish literature. He suggests pursuing the exercise in three steps: (1) Exegesis of a passage that is cited or echoed in other texts, noting carefully the earlier traditions; (2) Tracing the pilgrimage of the passage from Early Jewish Literature through the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Second Testament, while continually attempting to determine the receptor hermeneutics used by the various

⁴⁹ James A. Sanders, “Canon as Dialogue,” in *The Bible at Qumran* (ed. Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 7-26.

⁵⁰ George J. Brooke, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 72. He explains that the comparative Midrash indicates the arrival of intertextuality.

tradents all along the path; (3) Examining dialogue among the various tradents of the passage to discover which hermeneutics were appropriate in particular circumstances in reapplying the passage, while also considering the original meanings of the passage at its inception in the Hebrew Bible.⁵¹ Sanders stresses that the dialogue among passages causes the various tradents to process these texts in particular ways. The Jewish national crisis of discontinuity in tradition generated active dialogue among the exegetes.

In addition, Michael M. Fishbane indicates that this kind of exegesis arises out of a practical crisis of some sort: the incomprehensibility of a word or a rule, or the failure of a conventional tradition to engage its audience.⁵² It focuses on the importance of the role of scribes in the transmission of biblical literature concerning the dynamics between *Traditum* and *Traditio*.⁵³

William M. Schniedewind points out that tradition is caused by transition and context. The task of the Chronicler in the post-exilic period is rewriting and recontextualization of the written Torah and prophecies to resignify and revitalize the word of YHWH to a new generation, the post-exilic community.⁵⁴

The people of Israel had tried to interpret the wilderness tradition and to apply its meaning in their historical settings, even during national crisis. A major function of the Bible is explaining their defeats: why they experienced devastating defeats at the hands, first, of the Assyrians, and then, the Babylonians.⁵⁵ Revitalization of tradition was the mission of

⁵¹ Sanders, "Canon as Dialogue," 20-21.

⁵² Michael A. Fishbane, *The Garments of Torah* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 16.

⁵³ Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 23.

⁵⁴ William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 161.

⁵⁵ James A. Sanders, "The Exile and Canon Formation," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. James M. Scott; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 39.

the returnees from the Babylonian exile and the remnant in Israel. The post-exilic setting influenced changes such as the rewriting and recontextualization of the tradition. Within the post-exilic community, the older generation resignified the wilderness tradition for a new generation.⁵⁶

Both the Qumranites and the New Testament writers transformed the meaning of the wilderness tradition. First of all, they resignified the meanings of the term (מִדְבָּר). No longer does the term wilderness signify simply a waterless barren region; the Qumran and New Testament communities now also use the term to refer to judgment (the divine punishment for human transgressions) or restoration (the promise of revival by God). They not only expand the meaning of the term, but they also apply it to themselves. They actually alter and recontextualize the OT wilderness tradition. By reinterpreting this tradition, they give it new meaning in the context of their historical tragedies. These reinterpretations and recontextualizations obviously reflect the development of a tradition that transitions from the notion of a mere place to incorporate the divine deeds of God.

[Ezek 20:35-36]

And I will bring you into the *wilderness of the peoples*, and there I will enter into **judgment** with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your ancestors in the *wilderness of the land of Egypt*, so I will enter into judgment with you, says the Lord GOD.

וְחִבַּאתִי אִתְּכֶם אֶל-מִדְבָּר הָעַמִּים וְנִשְׁפָּטְתִּי אִתְּכֶם שָׁם פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים:
כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁפָּטְתִּי אֶת-אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בְּמִדְבָּר אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲשַׁפֵּט אִתְּכֶם נָא אֲדַגֵּי יְהוָה:

⁵⁶ Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 188.

Ezekiel 20:35-36 asserts that the wilderness of exile is related to God's judgment by of Israel's transgressions. As their ancestors had been judged in the wilderness, the Judeans would be sent to the *wilderness of peoples* (Babylonia) because of God's judgment. Ezekiel explains their exile in Babylonia by creating parallelism between "the wilderness in the land of Egypt" and "the wilderness in the peoples." This example emphasizes that the meaning of wilderness extends beyond the mere notion of space into the realm of God's judgment and purification of his people.

[1QS 9:19,20]

1QS 9:19 the men of the Yahad, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what has been revealed to them. That will be the time of "preparing the way. 1QS 9:20 in the *desert*" (Isa. 40:3). He shall **instruct them** in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and **teach them** to separate from every man who fails to keep himself.

(1QS 9:19)

אנשי היחד להלל כִּתְּמִים אִישׁ אֶת רֵעֵהוּ בְּכֹל הַנִּגְלָה לָהֶם. הִיא עַת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ

(1QS 9:20)

לְמִדְבָּר. וְלַחֲשִׁכִּים כֹּל הַנִּמְצָא לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּעַת הַזֹּאת וְהַבְדִּיל מִכֹּל אִישׁ וְלֹא הָסֵד דְּרֹכֹו

[4Q258 8:4]

[his fellow in all that has been] revealed to them. This is the time to prepare the way into the *wilderness* (see Isaiah 40:3), by **instructing them** in all that has been discovered should be done. Vacat At [this] time.

[רֵעֵהוּ בְּכֹל הַנִּגְלָה לָהֶם. הִיא עַת פְּנוֹת הַדֶּרֶךְ לְמִדְבָּר לַחֲשִׁכִּים בְּכֹל הַנִּמְצָא לַעֲשׂוֹת.] בְּעַת

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Qumran community re-contextualizes the concept of the wilderness as the locus for the teaching of their legal findings and of God's revelations, as

well as for the purification of the Qumran community, especially, through the learning of the Torah and keeping of their community rules.

[Acts 7:38]

(Acts 7:38) This is he, that was in the **church in the wilderness** with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, and with our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us.

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ **ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ** μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν,

In Stephen's speech, we can see that the author of the book of Acts describes the church as being in the wilderness. This passage demonstrates how the early Christian community related their church life to the Israelites' forty-years in the wilderness. Through the parallel between the chosen people's wilderness experience of being saved by God's grace through the leadership of Moses and the church's identity as a chosen people redeemed by Jesus, the Acts community reinterprets the wilderness tradition for its specific Christian context.

- Development of the Tradition through Reinterpretation and Reapplication -

	OT	DSS	NT
HISTORICAL SETTING	Israel, Judea	Exile (Returnee/Remnant)	Jesus, Church
ORIGINAL MEANING	Wilderness	Wilderness	Wilderness
TRANSFORMED MEANING (Reinterpreted /Reapplied)	Chaos (Dt. 32:10) or Divine Punishment (Isa. 64:9; Jer. 2:6; Hos. 2:5; Zeph. 2:13; Mal. 1:3). Pastoral Romanticism (Song. 3:6; 8:5), Remote Pastoral Settings (Jer. 9:1; Ps. 55:8)	Suffering, Purification, and Revelation (1QS 9:19,20), (4Q258 8:4)	Church in the Wilderness (Acts 7:38,44)

The primary purpose of this section has been to examine the active dialogue among the exegetes of the recurrent wilderness traditions that appear in passages from the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple Period literature, and the New Testament.

6.3. TRAJECTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF WILDERNESS TRADITION

James L. Kugel defines the Bible as a compilation of traditional interpretations by various interpreters, emerging from specific historical circumstances. He stresses that these transformations of the apparent meaning of the biblical texts caused the dynamics of the trajectory of the development of the Bible.⁵⁷ Also, the foundation of the development of the wilderness tradition was the reusing and evocation of earlier texts and traditions. The crucial biblical event of the Exodus from Egypt was re-contextualized by later generations for their own specific circumstances. Especially during times of national crisis and tragedy, the Israelites tended to pay attention to the redemptive intervention of God in their history. In order to solve serious problems, they reinterpreted and reapplied the wilderness tradition for their time. The trajectory of the development of the wilderness tradition was shaped by recurring patterns in the history of Israel.

⁵⁷ Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, xviii.

Wilderness Wanderings

The foundation of the wilderness tradition began with the Old Testament. During the Babylonian Exile, the Jewish people tried to understand their situation through the parallels between it and the Wilderness Wandering after the Exodus from Egypt. The Book of Ezekiel demonstrates the thematic connection between these two periods of Wilderness Wandering: [Ezekiel 20:35-36]

Wilderness of the peoples, אֶל־מִדְבָּר הָעַמִּים (v.35)

//

Wilderness of the land of Egypt, בְּמִדְבָּר אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם (v.36)

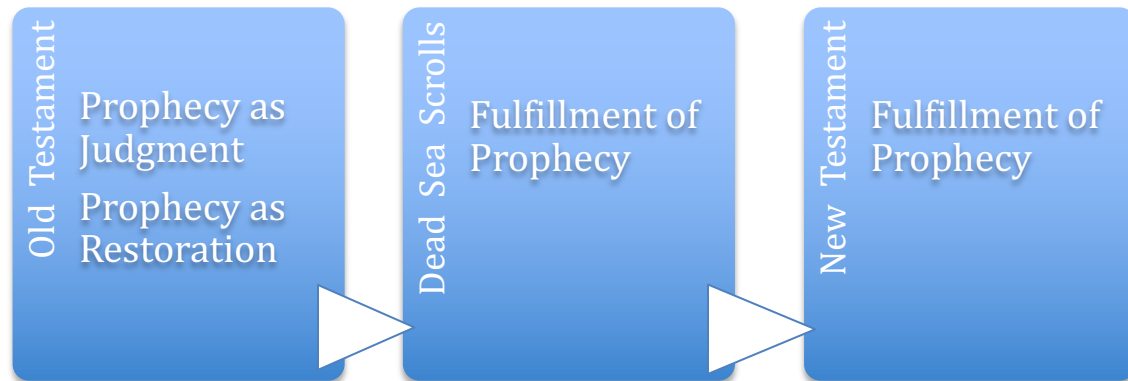
Moreover, in the Second Temple Period, the Qumran community considered the wilderness as the locus for the purification of Israel and for revelation from God. Finally, the New Testament community identified with God's salvation for His people during the Exodus from the Egypt, recontextualizing the Wilderness Wandering theme for their own context:

[Acts 7:38]

Church in the wilderness, ἐκκλησία ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

Therefore, we can see the trajectory of the development of the wilderness tradition through the Old Testament, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament.

Fulfillment of Prophecy



In the Old Testament, the wilderness tradition is closely linked to both Israel's divine punishment and revival by God. Through the wilderness experience, prophecies of God's judgment and the promise of revival would be fulfilled. In addition, we can see the prophetic expression of the Qumran community:

the sons of light will return from the wilderness of peoples to the wilderness of Jerusalem (1QM 1:3).

1QM 1:3

with [...] against all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the **Wilderness of the Peoples** to camp in the **Wilderness of Jerusalem**. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place

1QM 1:3

בְּ [] לְכֹל גִּדּוּדֵיהֶם בְּשׁוּב גּוֹלַת בְּנֵי אֹר

מַדְבָּר הַעַמִּים לַחֲנוּת בַּמִּדְבָּר יְרוּשָׁלַיִם.

ואחר המלחמה יעלו משם

The Qumran community had applied Isaiah 40:3 to its situation. However, in the New Testament, the coming John the Baptist is described as completing the prophecy of Isaiah 40:3. We can see the trajectory of the development of the wilderness tradition:

Development of the Wilderness Tradition



Matt. 3:3

For this is he who was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah when he said,

“The voice of one crying in the **wilderness**:

‘Prepare the way of the Lord;

make his paths straight.’”

Matt. 3:3

οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ῥηθεὶς διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος·

φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ **ἐρήμῳ**·

ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου,

εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ.

Mark 1:2

As it is written in Isaiah the prophet,

“Behold, I send my messenger before your face,
who will prepare your way,

Mark 1:3

the voice of one crying in the **wilderness**:

‘Prepare the way of the Lord,
make his paths straight,’”

Mark 1:2

Καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ
ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου,
ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου·

Mark 1:3

φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ·
ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου,
εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ,

6.4. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

The two significant features of Wilderness Wandering and the Fulfillment of Prophecy were crucial to the reinterpretation and the reapplication of the biblical Wilderness Tradition. Recontextualization of the wilderness tradition can be found throughout Old Testament prophecy, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament. Since the various tradents seemed concerned to develop a wilderness tradition (rather than merely a notion of place), they are likely to have been alluding to and reusing earlier texts and traditions to help them explain the God’s salvation for Israel. In the context of the Jewish national crisis, the wilderness tradition functioned as an explanation for the Babylonian exile. The wilderness tradition developed through active, ongoing dialogue among interpreters from various time periods. This dialogue freely quoted, paraphrased, and alluded to the Old Testament texts, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1. SUMMARY: IMPLICATIONS OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1 to 5 of this thesis examined all the relevant texts related to the Wilderness Tradition for the purpose of discovering the meaning of the biblical concept of the wilderness. Chapter 1 outlined my thesis statement and methodology and surveyed the history of scholarship on both wilderness and tradition. In Chapter 2, six categories and two connotations of wilderness derived from Old Testament usages were established as the standard for examining the concept of wilderness. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Wilderness Wandering, and the Prophecy of Judgment/Restoration are the most frequent meanings of wilderness terminology in the Hebrew Bible wilderness tradition, except for references that strictly refer to the notion of place (Spatial Dimension and Ecological Term). Chapter 4 explored the wilderness tradition in the various Second Temple literatures such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha, the two categories of Wilderness Wanderings and the Fulfillment of Prophecy also recur most frequently, apart from references to the notion of place (Spatial Dimension and Ecological Term). Finally, Chapter 5 examined the wilderness tradition in the New Testament.

In Chapter 6 the trajectory of the development of the wilderness tradition was traced, demonstrating the re-actualization of the tradition in each stage of the history of Israel by various tradents. Working within the larger context of Israel's historical tragedy, these interpreters reinterpreted and reapplied the wilderness tradition to their specific circumstances. This chapter concluded that two opposite aspects of the wilderness tradition,

the positive and the negative, complement each other well and together produce a double-sided perspective of God's salvation, judgment and restoration. The wilderness tradition is an important unifying motif permeating the Old Testament, Second Temple Period and New Testament literatures.

In conclusion, based on its analysis of these texts, this thesis asserts that the two main categories of the wilderness tradition, the Wilderness Wandering and the Fulfillment of Prophecy, made a major contribution to the hermeneutics of the wilderness tradition. Also, these two categories became the basis of the two connotations of the tradition, the negative and the positive.

The findings of this thesis may be tentative but have firmly established the tremendous potential and need for further study of the wilderness tradition, particularly in the Qumran texts. It is no longer possible to assume that the major components of the wilderness tradition can be properly assessed nor understood apart from a careful study of the Old Testament, Second Temple literature, and the New Testament.

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ABBREVIATIONS

In most instances, abbreviations and matters of style in this study follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*, edited by Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest, Shirley A. Decker-Lucke, and David L. Petersen (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

- Dictionary

- IDB* G. A. Buttrick, eds. *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.
- TDNT* Kittel, G., and G. Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76.
- TDOT* Botterweck, G. J., and H. Ringgren, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Translated by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970-95.

- Journal

- DSD* *Dead Sea Discoveries*
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- SBL Society of Biblical Literature
- SBLS Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
- SBLEJL Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature