

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

60

Lena Cansdale

Qumran and the Essenes



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

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60

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A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence

by

Lena Cansdale



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Preface

Early in 1991 when I started my researches into Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls I had little idea of the wealth of material available to a student of Palestine in the Second Temple era and the many problems, both political and religious, which emerge from the relevant sources. My PhD thesis, submitted to the University of Sydney in August 1994, was based on those researches and this book is a revision and up-date of the thesis. My cut-off point for inclusion from the ever growing number of publications dealing with the various aspects of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls available in Australia is April 1996.

During my postgraduate study years I was assisted by two Australian Postgraduate Research Awards, granted by the University of Sydney, which enabled me to attend and read papers at a number of conferences overseas and made it possible for me to see for myself the ruins of Qumran and the original scrolls in the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem.

A scholarship awarded by the University of Sydney Department of Semitic Studies took me for a month's study at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. This gave me the invaluable opportunity of meeting a number of academics involved in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and to benefit from their depth of learning. I would like to acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to the large number of scholars whose work I have consulted, to whom I listened to at a number of conferences or who have generously given their time in correspondence or in person.

My thanks also to my former supervisor, Dr Brian Croke, who established for me a set of firm guidelines for the writing my BA (Hons) thesis which has ruled my researches ever since, and who has continued to help me and take an interest in my work. Dr Marlene Norst has been an inspiration throughout the whole period with her constant encouragement and sound advice on the intricacies of the English language to someone whose mother tongue is not English. Many thanks also to Elizabeth Owen for her help in locating references. I am particularly grateful to Malcolm Goldfinch, computer guru since the 1950s, who first introduced me to computers and gave me much advice and support.

My most sincere appreciation and greatest thanks go to the two persons without whom this work would not have been possible. First is Professor Alan D. Crown, whose vast knowledge, remarkable memory and insight into the problems of the period have constantly been the inspiration which has fuelled my researches. He has unstintingly given me many hours of his precious time and has guided me patiently in the furthering of my work. Any errors and omissions which remain are of course my own.

The second person is my husband Tony, who has not only offered me constant emotional support and encouragement, but also became “computer literate” so that he could instruct me in the new technology. He has taken a great interest in my researches and has made most helpful suggestions for the improvement of the text, maps and plans.

This book is dedicated to him.

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Abbreviations¹

Sources

1 QH	Hodayoth or Thanksgiving Hymns
1 QM	War Rule (from Cave 1)
1 QpHab	Commentary on Habakkuk
1 QS	Community Rule
1 QSa	Messianic Rule
1 QSb	The Blessings
3 Q15	Copper Scroll
4 QFlor	Florilegium or Midrash on the Last Days
4 QM	War Rule (from Cave 4)
4 QMMT	Miqsat Ma'ase Hatorah (from Cave 4)
11 QT	Temple Scroll
CD	Damascus Rule (Cairo)
<i>De Abs</i>	Porphyry, <i>De Abstinencia</i>
<i>Ant</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>Apol</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Apologia pro Iudaeis</i>
<i>Bib Hist</i>	Diodorus, <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>
<i>Collectanea</i>	Solinus, <i>Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium</i>
<i>De Nupt</i>	Martianus Capella, <i>De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii</i>
<i>Geog</i>	Strabo of Amaseia, <i>Geographia</i>
<i>Hist Alex</i>	Curtius Rufus, <i>Historiae Alexandri Magni</i>
<i>Hist Ecc</i>	Eusebius, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>Historiae</i>	Tacitus, <i>The Histories</i>
<i>Life</i>	Josephus, <i>Life</i>
<i>M</i>	Mishnah
<i>Nat Hist</i>	Pliny the Elder, <i>Natural History</i>
<i>Q o p</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>Quod omnis probus liber sit</i>
<i>Ref</i>	Hippolytus of Rome, <i>Refutation of all Heresies</i>
<i>Tb</i>	Talmud Bavli
<i>Ty</i>	Talmud Yerushalami
<i>Vc</i>	Philo of Alexandria, <i>De vita contemplativa</i>
<i>War</i>	Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i>

Modern Works And Periodicals

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
BA	Biblical Archaeologist

¹ Biblical, Mishnaic and related literature according to abbreviations used in *JBL*.

BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (of Manchester)
BL	British Library
BR	Bible Review
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CC	The Christian Century (Chicago)
CR:BS	Currents in Research: Biblical Studies
EI	Eretz-Israel (Hebrew)
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IMJ	The Israel Museum Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JESO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHG	Journal of Historical Geography
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JS	Jewish Studies – Forum of the World Union of Jewish Studies
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LA	Liber Annus – Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PEFQS	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PJB	Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
QDAP	The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
QJE	The Quarterly Journal of Economics
REJ	Revue des études juives
RQ	Revue de Qumran
SA	Scientific American
SR	Studies in Religion (Canada)
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TRu	Theologische Rundschau
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
WA	World Archaeology
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Introduction

Established hypotheses dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls and the neighbouring settlement of Qumran have of late undergone a considerable amount of re-evaluation. This has resulted in a situation which appears to be in accord with Kuhn's hypothesis¹, that when a scientific theory no longer seems applicable, a new model or paradigm is created by "rebels". If the new paradigm or theory answers more questions or leaves fewer questions unanswered, it will, after a struggle with the holders of the original theory, become the accepted model. In Dead Sea Scroll research we appear to have reached this stage. More scroll fragments (mainly from Cave Four) have recently become available for study and publication and archaeologists have made new finds or have re-interpreted older discoveries; these developments have led to the obsolescence of prevailing theories. Some supporters of the original theories have tried to modify the traditional explanations, but they seem unable to fit the new evidence into the old theories which therefore must be rigorously re-examined.

The long held consensus, though from the earliest days not subscribed to by all scholars, is that the scrolls found in eleven caves close to the ruined settlement of Qumran belonged to a Jewish sect, the Essenes, who existed at the end of the Second Temple period. The Essenes, it is claimed, lived at Qumran in a type of "monastic" community and there wrote and copied the scrolls and hid them in adjoining caves in CE 68 when the Romans were about to capture the settlement. The "rebels" challenge this theory and they offer a number of alternative theories which will be examined later. This book will investigate the original and the alternative explanations for the provenance of the scrolls and the function of the Qumran settlement and will offer its findings in two separate parts.

In early research into the scrolls and the Qumran settlement literary evidence (by the ancient authors about the Essenes), textual evidence (the scrolls themselves), and archaeological evidence were used to support the theory that Qumran was an Essene settlement where the scrolls were written. The theory was so attractive to its proponents that their choice of evidence became selective and many anomalies and contradictions between written and archaeological data, or even within these categories, were ignored or at best speciously explained away. On re-examination of the evidence it appears that what was said by the ancient authors about the Jewish sect of the Essenes is by no means the same as what the scrolls have to say about the group or groups of people who are the

¹ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd edit. (Chicago 1974).

subject of the scrolls. The same may be said of the archaeological finds made at the ruined settlement of Qumran and in the neighbouring caves where the scrolls were discovered. What is attempted here is a re-examination of the evidence and the drawing of conclusions from archaeological, textual and literary sources without selectively choosing the separate parts to make them fit together.

Part One of this book will examine the theory which claims Essene authorship of the scrolls and will consider an hypothesis that the writers of the "Rule Scrolls"², who may have consisted of one or more groups, were not synonymous with the Essenes. To uncover evidence for the separate identity of each community a number of ancient authors, primarily Philo, Josephus and Pliny, will be examined and their reliability considered. What they had to say about the Essenes and about other Jewish sects will be ascertained and any contradictions between the different authors' reports will be discussed. Then the "Rule Scrolls" will be analysed to bring out particular themes dealt with by their authors, including the community's reliance on agriculture and the specific laws governing women in the sect. The significance of these factors in the context of the theory that a predominantly celibate sect lived in the desert environment of Qumran will be determined. Finally, writings found in the caves, i.e., the scrolls, will be compared with the literary evidence about the Essenes to discover whether the former appear to describe the Essene sect as depicted in the ancient sources or whether they could refer to a quite different community or communities within the Second Temple period.

It should be borne in mind that both the Essenes and the community for whom the scrolls were written, assuming for the sake of the argument that they were different, came from the same background, that is to say the Jewish people of the Second Temple Period. Therefore any similarities between the two groups, and other groups from the same background, cannot be taken as proof that they were one and the same, as common characteristics of various groups must be expected and are therefore of little use when trying to identify the writers of the scrolls. On the other hand the examination of diverging beliefs is of prime importance in determining whether or not these two groups were identical. Other Jewish groups of the period, as well as the Essenes, will be studied to see if the composers of the scrolls may be found among them. At this point a suggestion will be offered as to the possible identity of the people to whom the authors of the scrolls directed their writings and what may have been their background.

Part Two will examine the archaeological evidence from the contents of the caves and from the ruined settlements of Qumran and Ain Feshkha and will seek to find what connection, if any, there was between the settlements and the hidden scrolls. Further discoveries made in other caves near the shore of the Dead Sea, both in this century and in earlier times, will be considered to ascer-

² 1QS, 1QSa, 11QT, 1/4QM, CD, first so named in 1962 by Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth 1962).

tain if there are any basic differences between the Qumran scrolls and written material found in other caves.

The position of Qumran in relation to the geographic features and economic potential of the surrounding countryside will be examined. These include Qumran's situation on a well-used trade route, accessible both by water across the Dead Sea and overland along its western shore. A study will be made of the natural resources of the neighbourhood such as salt and bitumen, and agricultural products, among them balsam, dates and reeds. The manufacturing capabilities of Qumran and Ain Feshkha, for which more and more archaeological evidence is coming to light, will also be scrutinised.

The findings of Father Roland de Vaux, excavator of Qumran and the caves, and more recent archaeologists will be compared and their conclusions evaluated. The theory that Qumran was an "Essene monastic establishment" will be closely examined and the possibility that there was a close connection between Qumran and the priestly city of Jericho will be suggested. The nature of the Qumran and Ain Feshkha settlements in the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods and during the earlier pre-exilic Judaeen Monarchy will be studied in detail. Finally, an alternative explanation for the connection between the manuscripts found in the caves and the settlement at Qumran will be offered.

Two terms used in this book must be defined. The people for whom the scrolls were written will be referred to as the "Scroll Community", with the proviso that we may possibly be dealing with more than one such community. This designation is chosen rather than the name "Qumran sect", a name now, according to L. F. Schiffman, in use by "most scholars"³, because as will be suggested, there may not have been an immediate or close connection between the Scroll Community and the Qumran settlement. Another expression, the "Yahad Community", will only be used when discussing those scrolls in which this name appears, for example 1QS and 1QpHab and in a slightly different form in the Damascus Rule (CD); it will not be used as a name for the community as a whole. The expression "sectarians" is also avoided as it gives the impression of a community apart from the Jewish commonwealth of the Second Temple period, of which the Scroll Community was a branch forming one of the many strands which made up the Jewish people of that time.

The second term which needs definition is "The Bible" with its adjective "biblical". Although this word, from the Greek *Bιβλος* = book, is often used in everyday speech to refer to both the Old and the New Testaments, in this book "Bible" or "biblical" will be used only for the Old Testament or more precisely the Hebrew Bible, that is the *Tanach* תנ"ך. The New Testament will be referred to by its commonly used name.

There are many ways of transliterating Arabic and Hebrew place names, for instance עֵיִן גֵּדִי can be spelt En Gedi, Ein Gedi or Ain Gedi, but I have endeav-

³ Lawrence H. Schiffman, 'The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scroll Sect' in Hershel Shanks *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York 1992) 35–49, here 40.

oured to be consistent where place names occur in the text. In direct quotations and titles of articles or books however I have retained the original spelling of the author concerned.

Before the Essene question is posed, a short review of the history of the finding of the scrolls and the subsequent archaeological work at Qumran will be given and some of the literature arising from these discoveries will be briefly discussed.

Part One

The Community Of The Scrolls

Chapter One

Brief History of Scroll Finds and Literature Review

Dead Sea Scroll Discoveries and the Excavation of Qumran

When a young Bedouin shepherd followed a lost goat into a cave in the cliffs near Qumran and discovered bundles of inscribed leather hidden in a jar, a new era in Middle Eastern research began. This event was to bring great changes to the study of biblical and apocryphal texts, an improved understanding of the Jewish commonwealth before the destruction of the Second Temple and with it the clarification of the background of early Christianity. The boy's discovery also led to great advances being made in the study of palaeography and to our knowledge of the physical aspects of documents from Hasmonaean and Herodian times. Finally, the first scroll finds encouraged further investigation of the Dead Sea area resulting in a host of most important archaeological discoveries spanning thousands of years from Chalcolithic to early Islamic times.

At first the significance of the finds, made in late 1946 or early 1947, was not recognised as none of the persons who were asked to comment on the scrolls was sufficiently expert to realise the vital importance of what they were being shown. It was not until the end of 1947 that Professor Sukenik of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, saw a scroll fragment and identified it as dating back to the Second Temple period. He was able to purchase three of the scrolls (1QM; 1QH; 1QIsb) from an Arab dealer who had bought them from the Bedouin¹. A second collection of four scrolls, (1QS with 1QSa, 1QpHab, 1QapGen and 1QIsa) had been purchased by the Syrian Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius Samuel, who in early 1949 spirited them out of the country and endeavoured to sell them in America, eventually advertising them in the "For Sale" columns of the *Wall Street Journal*. In 1955 as a result of this advertisement the scrolls were bought by (General) Yigal Yadin, an eminent Israeli scholar, archaeologist and

¹ A number of slightly conflicting stories about some of the facts and the order of events exist. The version here is taken from the account by American journalist Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (London 1955).

son of Professor Sukenik, for the recently created State of Israel. Some years later in 1967 Yadin was able to obtain the Temple Scroll (11QT) from the Arab dealer who had had it in his possession for nearly twenty years. This scroll turned out to be the longest of all the scrolls, and it, together with the earlier scrolls were then installed in the newly built "Shrine of the Book" in Jerusalem. These scrolls (with the exception of some fragments) were studied, translated and published by Israeli and American scholars well within ten years of their having been acquired. Due to the Middle East political situation, this was the end of any Israeli physical involvement with the scrolls for many years and at this point it is necessary to examine the role played by the archaeologists of the Kingdom of Jordan, which had occupied the Dead Sea area and the Old City of Jerusalem following the 1948 war.

In 1949, when a measure of peace had come to the Middle East, G.L. Harding, Director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquity, with the help of Arab Legion soldiers, was able to identify the cave, subsequently named Cave One (1Q), from which the Bedouin had taken the first collection of scrolls. Harding, together with Father R. de Vaux, head of the Ecole Biblique, the French Archaeological Institute in Jerusalem which at that time was in the Jordanian sector of the city, excavated the cave and found additional scroll fragments and Hellenistic and Roman pottery. In the meantime the Bedouin continued looking for further caves containing scrolls and this spurred the official Jordanian team to do the same. Between 1951 and 1956 ten more caves which contained scrolls, or more usually fragments of scrolls, were discovered. The final tally was five caves found by the Bedouin and six by Harding and de Vaux.

The most important find, Cave Four (4Q), contained more than 1,500 fragments from up to 600 different documents. This cave, situated in the marl terrace nearest to the ruins of Qumran, had unfortunately been discovered and plundered by the Bedouin, so that much valuable archaeological data was lost. Among the remaining caves, Cave Eleven was also of great importance as it had contained the "Temple Scroll" (11QT) and a non-biblical psalm scroll (11QPs), among many other scroll fragments. Finally Cave Three must be mentioned, lying a little to the north of Qumran, where archaeologists discovered a scroll written on copper (3Q15), the only such inscribed metal scroll known from antiquity. When the document was opened with the greatest of difficulty, it was found to contain a list of treasures and their hiding places. Whether this was an actual treasure list or a folkloric document has perhaps engendered the greatest controversy among scroll scholars. More will be said about 3Q15 in later chapters. About forty other caves showed signs of occupation but no scroll material was found in any of them.

At the latest count the scrolls found in the eleven caves consist of over 800 separate works copied by no fewer than 500 scribes² and ranging in age from

² Norman Golb, 'The Qumran-Essene Hypothesis: A Fiction of Scholarship' *C C* 109:36 (9 Dec. 1992) 1138-1143, here 1139.

the end of the third century BCE to the first century CE. Most scholars agree with N. Golb that all the documents, except the Copper Scroll are scribal copies³, although G. Vermes considers that there are some original documents among the scrolls⁴. These works are mostly incomplete, indeed most remain only in a fragmentary form, nevertheless those that have been studied can be divided into three distinct groups. The first group contains biblical material, that is copies of every book of the Bible, except the book of Esther. These scroll fragments from biblical books were found mostly in multiple copies, the largest number belonging to the books of the Pentateuch. The second group contains copies of books that were already known, either belonging to the apocrypha or the pseudepigrapha. The third group contains works that were not known before the finds from the caves. To this last group belong the "Rule Scrolls" of one or more Jewish sects, interpretations (*peshet* פֶּשֶׁט) of biblical works and various miscellaneous documents such as horoscopes, curses and the unique Copper Scroll (3Q15). It is with the third group that this book is mainly concerned.

While the search for and excavation of the caves continued with reports being published in the *Revue Biblique*⁵, Harding and de Vaux decided to excavate Khirbet Qumran, the ruins situated in the neighbourhood of the caves, which had previously been considered by scholars to be the remains of a Roman fort⁶. The Qumran excavations took place from 1952 to 1956 and the neighbouring ruins of Ain Feshkha were investigated in 1958. Preliminary reports by de Vaux of these excavations also appeared in the *Revue Biblique*⁷ but no final reports were ever published by him. In 1959 de Vaux was invited by the British Academy to deliver the Schweich Lectures, entitled "*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*". The lectures were published in French in 1961⁸ and in a revised English edition in 1973⁹; the latter edition provides the basis of much of the archaeological data used in this book. The official publications started to appear in 1955 under the title *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I*¹⁰ and con-

³ Norman Golb, 'The Problem of Origin & Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls' *PAPS* 124, (1980) 1–24, here 5.

⁴ Geza Vermes, 'Qumran Forum Miscellanea I' *JJS* 43:2 (1992) 299–305, here 300.

⁵ Roland de Vaux, 'Post-scriptum la Cachette des Manuscrits Hébreux' *RB* 56 (1949) 234–237; 'La grotte des manuscrits Hébreux' *RB* 56:4 (1949) 586–609; 'A propos des Manuscrits de la Mer Morte' *RB* 57 (1950) 417–429.

⁶ M. Avi-Yonah, *Map of Roman Palestine* 1:250,000 *QDAP* 5:4 (1936) 26.

⁷ 'Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân – Rapport Préliminaire', *RB* 60 (1953) 83–106; 'Exploration de la Région de Qumrân – Rapport Préliminaire' *RB*, 60 (1953) 540–561; 'Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne' *RB*, 61 (1954) 206–236; 'Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân – Rapport Préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e et 5e Campagnes', *RB* 63 (1956) 533–77; 'Fouilles de Feshkha' *RB* 66 (1959) 225–255.

⁸ *L'Archéologie et les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, The Schweich Lectures* (London 1961).

⁹ *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, The Schweich Lectures 1959* (London 1973).

¹⁰ D. Barthélemy, J. Milik et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Qumran Cave I*, (Oxford 1955). Volume II dealt with the finds from the Murabba'at cave, see Note 19.

tinued with Vol. III in 1962¹¹, Vol. IV in 1965¹², Vol. V in 1969¹³, Vol. VI in 1977¹⁴ and Vol. VII in 1982¹⁵. No further publications under this title appeared until 1990, when E. Tov published documents from Nahal Hever (Vol. VIII)¹⁶. Only in 1992, ten years after the previous volume dealing with Qumran documents appeared, was publication of Cave Four material resumed (Vol. IX)¹⁷ and in 1994 Volume Ten appeared¹⁸.

Additional Archaeological Discoveries in the Dead Sea Area

Before reviewing a small number of the hundreds of books and thousands of articles which speculate on and purport to explain the Qumran finds, it would be worthwhile to add a short description of the many other archaeological discoveries which were made during the same period in the region of the Dead Sea. In 1951 it was again the Bedouin in their search for treasure who found four caves in Wadi Murabba' at some twelve miles (c. 19 km) south-west of Qumran, containing artefacts as well as manuscripts. The caves were excavated by Harding and de Vaux who found traces of human occupation from the Chalcolithic, Middle Bronze Age, Iron Age (Judaean Monarchy), and the Roman and Medieval periods. The most important documents were from the second century CE including letters to and from Bar Kokhba which will be referred to later in this chapter. These finds were published in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert II*¹⁹. The Bedouin continued their search for treasure and in 1962 found more documents in caves at Wadi ed-Daliyeh, eight miles (c. 13 km) north of old Jericho. Paul Lapp investigated the caves and here too were found remains from the Middle Bronze Age, the fourth century BCE and the second Jewish Revolt (CE 132–134). The most important documents were

¹¹ M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, III; Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (Oxford 1962).

¹² J. A. Sanders, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan IV, The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave II* (Oxford 1965).

¹³ John M. Allegro, Arnold A. Anders, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V, Qumran Cave 4 (I)* (Oxford 1969).

¹⁴ R. de Vaux, J.T. Milik, et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VI, Qumran Grotte 4 (II)* (Oxford 1977).

¹⁵ M. Baillet, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VII, Qumran Cave 4 (III)* (Oxford 1982).

¹⁶ Emanuel Tov et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Sinai and Palestine VIII, The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever – 8 Hev XII GR* (Oxford 1990).

¹⁷ P.W. Skehan et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert IX, Qumran Cave 4 (IV)* (Oxford 1992).

¹⁸ Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell et al., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert X, Qumran Cave 4 (V) Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (Oxford 1994).

¹⁹ P. Benoit, J.T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II, Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (Oxford 1961).

those from the fourth century BCE consisting of Samaritan papyri of a legal or administrative nature²⁰.

The next important discoveries were made by Israeli archaeologists, alarmed that the Bedouin in their searches had started to raid the Israeli side of the border. With the help of the army they decided to organise their own “treasure hunt”²¹. In 1960 an expedition was mounted by a number of archaeologists who tackled the wadis and cliffs adjacent to the Dead Sea between En Gedi and Masada. A number of important discoveries was made, among them a Chalcolithic treasure trove of ritual copper and iron objects, found in the “Cave of Treasure” at Nahal Mishmar. The second group of major discoveries came from the “Cave of Horror” and the “Cave of Letters” in Nahal Hever, where freedom fighters of the Bar Kokhba army and their families had hidden themselves and their precious belongings during the struggle against the Romans in 132–135 CE. Among the documents found were more letters from Bar Kokhba and the archives of a widow named Babatha comprising family and commercial documents²². Mention must also be made of the excavation (1963–1965) by Israeli archaeologists led by Yadin of the palace fortress Masada, built by Herod (reigned BCE 37–4) for himself and his family. This fortress was taken over by the Zealot fighters in the first revolt against the Romans in c. 66 CE and was strongly defended by them until it fell to the Romans after a bitterly defended siege in 74 CE²³. The importance of Masada to this book is that the documents found in the ruins of the buildings occupied by the last defenders include fragments of biblical manuscripts as well as a copy of the “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices”, also known as “Songs for the Holocaust of the Sabbath”²⁴, which is from the same work as that discovered in Cave Four (4Q400–407) and Cave Eleven (11Q5–6). (See Chapter 7).

In recent years the shores of the Dead Sea have been extensively surveyed²⁵ and excavations carried out by Israeli archaeologists such as Menashe Har-El²⁶ and Pessah Bar-Adon²⁷. In the late 1980s Joseph Patrich²⁸ re-investigated the

²⁰ F.M. Cross, ‘The Discovery of the Samaritan Papyri’ *BA* 26 (1963) 110–121. Paul W. Lapp, ‘The Samaria Papyri’ *Archaeology* 16:3 (1963) 204–206.

²¹ Preliminary reports appeared in Y. Aharoni et al. ‘The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1960–1961’. *IEJ* 11,12 (1961–62).

²² Yigal Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* (London 1971); N. Lewis et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem 1989).

²³ Josephus, *War* 2:408; 7:275–417.

²⁴ Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* 3rd edit. (London 1987) 221.

²⁵ Moshe Kochavi, edit., *Judea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967–1968* (Jerusalem 1972) Hebrew.

²⁶ ‘The Route of Salt, Sugar and Balsam Caravans in the Judean Desert’ *GeoJournal* 2:6 (1976) 549–556.

²⁷ ‘Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea’, *BASOR*, 277 (1977) 1–25; ‘Excavations in the Judean Desert’ *Atiqot*, 9 (1989) Hebrew Series 1–91.

²⁸ Joseph Patrich, ‘Caves of Refuge and Jewish Inscriptions on the Cliffs of Nahal Michmas’ *El* 18 (1985) Hebrew 153–166; ‘Hideouts in the Judean Wilderness’, *BAR* Sept-Oct.

caves along the shore and in the foothills which were the subject of de Vaux's investigations, as well as other caves not previously examined. No more fragments of documents were found but other discoveries were made, such as a juglet, which may have contained precious balsam oil²⁹, and pottery shards. In 1989 the Director of the Ecole Biblique commissioned Robert Donceel, his wife Pauline Donceel-Voûte and other scholars to edit the excavation notes left by de Vaux and to re-examine the ruins of Qumran. It had been hoped that this review would be completed by 1990, the centenary of the Ecole Biblique, but the work proved to be extremely difficult and the first volume in the series appeared only in 1994³⁰. However, a preliminary report had been made which offered a new interpretation of the functions of Qumran³¹. In late 1995 a team of volunteers led by archaeologist Hannan Eshel started a new investigation of the area which resulted in the new discovery of four collapsed caves³². According to an AP Jerusalem report a find has been made near the Qumran caves of "two pieces of a clay vessel", inscribed in Hebrew, which appear to be a "2,000 year old shipping list"³³.

After the war of 1967 the West Bank of the Jordan and with it the site of Qumran and the caves, as well as the Old City of Jerusalem, came again into Israeli hands. This recapture brought under Israeli jurisdiction all the Dead Sea Scroll fragments which had either been bought from the Bedouin or discovered by the archaeologists of the Jordan Department of Archaeology and the Ecole Biblique. These fragments had been kept at the Jerusalem Archaeological Museum situated in the Old City, renamed the Rockefeller Museum in recognition of the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation in supplying funds for their purchase. Individual scroll fragments were made available for exclusive study to a small group of scholars comprising four Catholic Priests, three Protestants and one atheist³⁴ on whose deaths the documents were "inherited" by their students. At that time no Israeli scholar had access to the scrolls, and even non-Israeli scholars who were Jews were barred from studying the originals which

(1989)12–24; 'Khirbet Qumran in the Light of New Archaeological Exploration in the Qumran Caves', *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects. Conference papers 14–17 December 1992*, (New York 1994) 73–95.

²⁹ J. Patrich, B. Arubas, 'A Juglet Containing Balsam Oil (?) from a Cave Near Qumran' *IEJ* 39:1–2 (1989) 43–59.

³⁰ Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Alain Chambon, edit. *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Ain Feshka* (Gottingen, 1994)

³¹ Robert Donceel, 'Reprise de travaux de publication des fouilles au Khirbet Qumran' *RB* 99:3 (1992) 557–573.

³² Patrick Cockburn, 'Archaeologists start dig for more Dead Sea Scrolls' *Sydney Morning Herald*, (20.12.95) 7.

³³ E. Eshel 'Comment on Ostraca' AP Jerusalem Report (Feb. 1996). Susan Stanley, 'New Texts from Qumran' *Archaeology* May/June 1996, 21. Byline S.F. 'Scroll Hunters at Qumran Discover Inscribed Sherds' *BAR* 22:3 (May/June 1996) 14.

³⁴ Edward M. Cook, *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls, New Light on the Bible* (Grand Rapids 1994), 38.

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