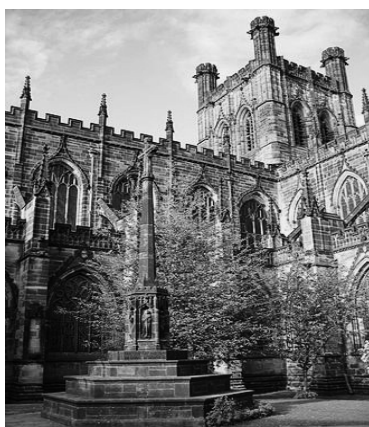


THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE BIBLE

**A Guide to the Exhibition at
Chester Cathedral Library
to Mark the 70th Anniversary of
the first discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947**

**Part of Chester Cathedral's Contribution to the
Diocese of Chester for 2016-2017 Y-Bible**

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in collaboration with
Peter Bamford**



**CHESTER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY
MMXVII**

PREFACE

This is the seventh in a series of exhibitions at Chester Cathedral Library in which we have exploited significant anniversaries to stimulate reflection on issues of importance to the Church. In 2011 (the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible) the theme was Bible translation, in 2012 (the 350th anniversary of current Book of Common Prayer) liturgy, in 2013 (the 450th anniversary of the Thirty-Nine Articles) doctrine, in 2014 (the 300th anniversary of the death of Matthew Henry) Bible commentary, in 2015 (the 800th anniversary of Magna Carta) the Church and the State, and in 2016 (the centenary of the Battles of Jutland and the Somme) the Church and war. 2017 is widely held to be the 70th anniversary of the first discoveries of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls and in marking that anniversary and the attention being given through 2016 and 2017 in the Diocese of Chester to engagement with the Bible through the Y-Bible scheme, it has been thought suitable to mount an exhibition about the Dead Sea Scrolls and their significance, especially their significance for the understanding of the Bible.

The Anglican Church has long subscribed to a self-understanding that puts Scripture, Tradition, and Reason alongside one another as mutually interdependent authorities. In 1886 the so-called Lambeth quadrilateral articulated Anglican identity in terms of Scripture, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Episcopate. Whichever way matters of identity are articulated Scripture takes pride of place, even if only as first amongst equals. But the mere assertion of the Church's dependence on Scripture does not address the multitude of issues concerning how Scripture came to be the way it is and all matters to do with how it should be read and interpreted, matters which have often led to significant conflicts, even violence. At a time when many Christian communities seem to be looking for ever more certainty in a pluralist and challenging world, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has, almost providentially, come to support a view of Scripture, especially that of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, that on the one hand respects its antiquity, as well as on the other hand providing rich evidence that it is a more complex and lively affair than many might suppose. The Scrolls bring comfort and challenge to Christian students of the past, especially of the time of Jesus. The so-called 'biblical' manuscripts offer a significant range of evidence that implies that in the pre-canonical period there was no single form of biblical text.

There seems to be some ignorance and uncertainty in the minds of Christians about how the Bible which they encounter day by day or week by week came to be the way that it is. The Diocese of Chester Y-Bible focus for 2016-2017 has been designed to encourage all church-goers in the Diocese to take their Bibles more seriously and to read them more closely, as individuals or in groups, with a set of questions in mind which can enhance their own spiritual experience of the text. In addition, there are fundamental questions to be asked of every biblical text: who wrote it, when and why? Those questions which have a more historical feel to them are key to allowing a set of criteria to be developed against which the reader's spiritual encounter and engagement with the text can be assessed, evaluated, and appreciated all the more deeply. What we present here are some resources for reflection on the Jewish antiquity of which Jesus was a part. Our aim is to stimulate thinking, not to offer cut-and-dried answers.

We would like to thank the members of the Cathedral Chapter, and above all the Canon Chancellor and Canon Librarian, Jane Brooke, for their continuing support for our efforts to integrate the Library into the mission of the Cathedral. We are grateful to the Estate of John M. Allegro and the Manchester Museum (University of Manchester) for the loan of the facsimile of one roll of the Copper Scroll. The items on display outside the cases (the wall hangings and display boards) were first used as part of the Manchester Museum exhibition: ‘Treasures from The Dead Sea: The Copper Scroll after 2000 Years’ (1997-1998), which was viewed by 40,000 people. The depiction of the ‘Love Letter’ comes from the William H. Brownlee archive held at the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, and is used with permission. Once again we owe special thanks to the volunteer library helpers for the work they have done in suggesting and finding items as well as helping to mount the display.

Many of the items in the exhibition do not come from the Cathedral Library’s own collections. That is not surprising, given that the core of the Library’s collections belongs to the period before 1947. However, in several places the exhibits have been supplemented with books and other items from the Library, some of which might be deemed primary sources for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and others which are books about the Dead Sea Scrolls by modern authors; items from the Cathedral Library Collection are marked with an asterisk (*).

This short catalogue concludes with the English version of a 2017 popular article on the Library of Qumran which is published in French in *Le Monde de la Bible*, a popular magazine on the Bible and its significance for French readers.

Finally, we would like to note that the exhibition supports the Cathedral’s Wednesday Lent Bible Talks, which this year are on “Casting Light on the Bible”, in which various literature, ancient and modern, including the Dead Sea Scrolls is juxtaposed with some of the Bible to illuminate its meaning all the better. The exhibition is also tied into the programme of the Chester Theological Society which is a joint ecumenical venture of the Cathedral and the Department of Theology and Religious Studies of the University of Chester. On Tuesday 9th May 2017 at 7.30 pm Professor Joan Taylor (King’s College London) presents a related lecture at Hollybank House, University of Chester, on “The Essenes in the Ancient Literary Sources” (£3 at the door).

George Brooke

25th January 2017



THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE BIBLE

This year (2017) marks what is widely taken to be the seventieth anniversary of the first discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls. There is some slight uncertainty about the precise date of the discovery of that first cave in the foothills above the Dead Sea because the Bedouin who made the discovery were understandably reticent about such matters; nevertheless, it seems that it all happened in the winter of 1946-1947. By the end of 1947 the first seven scrolls had all been purchased, in two lots.

As the story goes, three Bedouin shepherd boys were searching for a lost goat in the hills on the north-west shore of the Dead Sea. One of them was throwing stones to see if he could encourage it to appear from among the rocks. One stone seemed to take longer to land than expected and produced an echoing sound as it seemed to break something like pottery. The boys left the site agreeing to return later, but one of them (Muhammed edh-Dhib, ‘the wolf’) visited the cave as soon as he dared and took three items, later to be identified as Isaiah, the Commentary on Habakkuk, and the Rule of the Community. Subsequently one of the other shepherd boys twice brought George Isha‘ya Shamoun, a Syrian Orthodox businessman in Bethlehem, to the Cave and on the second visit they took away four more items: the Genesis Apocryphon, the Thanksgiving Hymns, the War Rule, and another copy of Isaiah.

After some time being passed around various traders in Bethlehem, the first three scrolls were bought by a cobbler in Bethlehem, known as Kando; a fourth scroll, the Genesis Apocryphon was added to the first three shortly afterwards. Kando saw the leather of the scrolls was in too poor a condition for his professional business, but he also had some dealings in antiquities. Through the links with the Syrian Orthodox community, eventually in July 1947, the four scrolls bought by Kando were purchased without any certain knowledge of their identity or date by Mar Athanasius Samuel in Jerusalem.

By 1956 eleven caves at and near Qumran had produced manuscripts, some in relatively good condition like those from Cave 1 and some in multiple fragments. Scholars had begun the process of sorting and cataloguing them. And other sites were producing manuscripts too, though not in such quantities. We now know of several sites from Wadi Daliyeh, about 12 miles north of Jericho, where Aramaic papyri and their seals have been discovered, down to the hill fortress of Masada at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Nearly all the finds are Jewish manuscripts from before the time of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (132-135 CE). No site has

produced as many manuscripts as have come from the eleven caves at and near Qumran. It soon became the practice to refer to each manuscript by a shorthand title, indicating place of find and the content; sometimes a simple number was used. So, 1QIsaiah^a is the title given to the so-called Great Isaiah Scroll, from Cave 1 at Qumran; and it is the first copy of **Isaiah** to come from the cave, hence the superscript ^a. Manuscripts from Masada are labelled with the prefix **Mas**, and so on.

There are large numbers of resources available for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. One of the best is the website of the Hebrew University's Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (orion.mscc.huji.ac.il). That website contains a virtual tour of Qumran as well as bibliographies of several kinds. A richly illustrated introduction to the Scrolls is: Philip R. Davies, George J. Brooke, Phillip R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2nd paperback edition, 2011). The majority of the non-biblical Scrolls are most readily available in English translation in Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Classics, 7th edition, 2011).

Case One **The First Discoveries**

As mentioned, the first discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls were made by the Bedouin in the Judaeian wilderness. The first three scrolls (together with a fourth) were eventually brought to public light through the auspices of Kando (**Exhibit 1.1**: John M. Allegro's reliable popular book on *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1st edition, 1956; *2nd edition, 1964]; the image of Kando taken by Allegro himself as published in the 2nd edition). Although the archaeologists also made some discoveries, it was commonly the case through the late 1940s and the 1950s that the Bedouin were first to a site with the archaeologists following behind once the Bedouin finds had become known to the authorities. The discoveries of 1947 took place in the traumatic period at the end of the British Mandate of Palestine.

The discoveries in two phases of the first seven manuscripts actually resulted in two divergent (though initially interlaced) stories of scholarly engagement with the Scrolls. The first scholarly story involved Professor Eliezer Sukenik of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In November 1947 he purchased from a Bethlehem dealer named Faidi Salahi two of the four scrolls that had been taken from Cave 1 by one of the Bedouin shepherds

and George Isha‘ya Shamoun; in December he bought the third, a second copy of Isaiah. So overall Sukenik had bought: a scroll of previously unknown Thanksgiving Hymns (now known by its Hebrew title as 1QHodayot^a), and a copy of War Rule describing eschatological battles (now known by its Hebrew name as 1QMilhama = 1QMilitary Manual), and then a somewhat damaged copy of the Book of Isaiah (now known as 1QIsaiah^b). These three Scrolls are sometimes known as the ‘Hebrew University Scrolls’. They were published in Hebrew in 1948 (and more completely in 1954).

Exhibit 1.2 pages from *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (by P. R. Davies, G. J. Brooke and P. Callaway; London: Thames & Hudson, 2001) with photographs (left) of Eliezer Sukenik at work on the Hodayot manuscript and (right) of his son Yigael Yadin, Israel Defence Forces Chief of Defence Staff (1949-1952) and deputy prime minister of Israel (1977-1981), at work on the Temple Scroll which was purchased from Kando after the six-day war of 1967. Also pictured, Professor Emanuel Tov who was the last Editor-in-Chief of the Dead Sea Scrolls who oversaw the completion of their publication in principal editions.

The other four scrolls were offered through church connections to Archbishop Samuel Athanasius at the Syrian Orthodox Monastery in Jerusalem. He bought them in July 1947 and after a while (including some interaction with scholars at the Hebrew University), colleagues from the Monastery took them to the American School for Oriental Research not far from St George’s Cathedral in East Jerusalem. The Director of the American School was away on business, but two postdoctoral research fellows there, John Trever and William Brownlee, engaged with the visitors from the Monastery in February 1948. Brownlee’s first thoughts on the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a) are found in a letter he wrote to his fiancée Louise Dunn (see wall-hanging), a love letter that reads more like a short article for a learned journal.

John Trever happened to be an avid photographer (**Exhibit 1.4** John Trever’s Autobiography with cover image of him with his photographic equipment in February 1948). With permission Trever swiftly made excellent photographic images of three of the four scrolls: the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaiah^a), a commentary on the first two chapters of the Book of Habakkuk (the comments are formulaically introduced with the word *peshet*, often understood as ‘interpretation’ or ‘meaning’ and abbreviated as p; hence this manuscript is now known as 1QpHabakkuk, 1QpHab for short [see **Exhibit 2.4**]), and the so-called Manual of Discipline (now known as the Rule of the Community or by its Hebrew name 1QSerek ha-

Yahad; 1QS for short). The copy of Isaiah and the commentary on Habakkuk were published in 1950; the Rule of the Community in 1951. The fourth manuscript, an Aramaic retelling of parts of Genesis, which has come to be known as the Apocryphon of Genesis (1QapGen ar), was in a very poor state of preservation and too difficult to open.

And so there were two tracks to publication. Sukenik first got to work on his three scrolls and swiftly published Hebrew editions of them in 1948. A scholar from the University of Manchester, Meir Wallenstein, an expert in medieval Hebrew poetry, heard about the Hymnic poems and travelled to Jerusalem to work with Professor Sukenik. He subsequently published the first English translations of some extracts of the Thanksgiving Hymns in early 1949 in *The Manchester Guardian*.

The team at the American School of Oriental Research (now the Albright Institute) got to work on their photographs. They were able to share some matters very quickly with colleagues around the world and not least back home in the USA. Professor William Albright, the senior figure in the study of the Bible and Archaeology in the mid-twentieth century quickly declared the manuscript discovery to be the greatest archaeological find of the twentieth century. Editions of the three scrolls appeared shortly afterwards in 1950 and 1951.

Archbishop Samuel took his four scrolls to the USA with a view to selling them. (**Exhibit 1.3**: autobiography of Athanasius Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1968]). There was much caution amongst some he approached, so eventually, in June 1954, he placed an advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* advertising them for sale:

<p>THE FOUR DEAD SEA SCROLLS Biblical manuscripts dating back to at least 200 B.C. are for sale. This would be an ideal gift to an educational or religious institution by an individual or group. Box F 206 Wall Street Journal</p>
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By chance Yigael Yadin, son of Eliezer Sukenik, soldier, archaeologist, and biblical scholar, was in New York. With support from those in positions of influence in Israel and through a friendly intermediary in the USA, he was able to purchase the four manuscripts for the State of Israel. They were brought back to Jerusalem (the western side) and were reunited with the other three Scrolls that his father had acquired. Those first seven

scrolls quickly formed the basis for the collection to be displayed at the Shrine of the Book, in a specially designed museum building on the site of the Israel Museum and directly opposite the site of the Knesset parliament building. Those seven scrolls are commonly viewed as a highly symbolic link from the modern state of Israel back to Jerusalem and the region of Judaea of the Second Temple period when the Jews last had some short periods of political independence.

Exhibit 1.5: The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). This rare photographic facsimile was produced by the Kodansha Company of Japan for the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, late 1950s. It is this facsimile reproduction which is on permanent display at the Shrine of the Book around the central Torah handle in the principal exhibit hall (**Exhibit 1.6b:** postcard image of facsimile on display). It is too stressful to the original scroll for it to be displayed permanently. A few extra copies of the facsimile were made. This example was presented to William H. Brownlee, one of the postdoctoral research students at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1948. 1QIsaiah^a itself is written on skin, in 54 columns; it dates from about 125-100 BCE, probably at least a generation before the occupation of the Qumran site—the manuscript must have been penned elsewhere and subsequently brought to Qumran.

The scroll is open at the middle. At the bottom of column 27 there is a gap of three lines at the end of Isaiah chapter 33 also at the end of a sheet of skin. This extensive scribal division is probably to be understood as indicating that in the Second Temple period the Book of Isaiah was commonly copied in two halves, perhaps sometimes by different scribes. This is confirmed by the fact that the texts of the two halves of Isaiah in 1QIsa^a are of a somewhat different character. It is also noteworthy that several of the so-called manuscripts of Isaiah to come from Cave 4 are only preserved in fragments from one half of the book or the other. And the commentaries on Isaiah are also on one half of Isaiah or the other. Thus the scribal practice of copying the Book of Isaiah seems to have resulted in different appreciations of its two halves. For over a century in modern times, most scholars have subscribed to the view that the Book of Isaiah should be thought of as being formed of two (Isaiah 1-39; 40-66) or three parts (Isaiah 1-39; 40-55; 56-66), but perhaps some attention should be paid to the book's division in antiquity into two balanced halves (Isaiah 1-33; 34-66) for its better modern understanding.

It is a scroll such as this on display which was handed to Jesus and from which he read, according to Luke 4:17.

Exhibit 1.6a. Poster of the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem. The Shrine of the Book was designed in the late 1950s and built in 1965 to house the first seven Scrolls and some other items from the Judean wilderness discovered by Israeli archaeologists; it is now also the home of the Aleppo Codex. The magnificent building is constituted of two principal elements, the large white jar lid and the black monolithic wall: they symbolize the struggle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, referred to in the War Scroll. The jar lid forms the roof of the principal exhibition room. The Shrine of the Book is on part of the campus of the Israel Museum, just opposite the Knesset Building, the parliament of the State of Israel. The location of the Shrine makes a statement about the link over nearly two millennia between the modern state and the Judaea of the late Second Temple period, the last time that Jews had a form of political independence. The Shrine of the Book has an excellent website where it is possible to ‘scroll’ through and enlarge some of the first seven Dead Sea Scrolls: english.imjnet.org.il. Adjacent to the Shrine has recently been built the Israel Antiquities Authority’s facility for the conservation and preservation of most of the other Dead Sea Scrolls.

Exhibit 1.6b. Postcard inset of the inside of the Shrine of the Book with the Kodansha facsimile of 1QIsa^a on display on the larger-than-life Torah handle. Other Dead Sea Scrolls are on display around the edges of the hall.

Exhibit 1.7. First Day Cover marking the 50th anniversary of the first discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls, depicting Qumran and a Scroll Jar on the left, and the Cairo Genizah on the right. Some of the previously unknown compositions from the Caves at Qumran have also been found in medieval copies in the Cairo Genizah.

Case Two

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible

The Dead Sea Scrolls from the eleven caves at and near Qumran are commonly divided into three groups, according to the compositions which they contain. (i) The first group consists of so-called ‘Biblical’ Manuscripts—so-called, because at the turn of the era, there was no Bible as such, no agreed list of authoritative or inspired books collected together between one set of covers. This group thus consists of those manuscripts of copies of works which were later to find their way into Jewish and Christian Bibles. (ii) In addition to the ‘Biblical’ manuscripts, there is a set of manuscripts containing what seem to be sectarian compositions, works which reflect the organisation, beliefs and practices of the movement in various forms which seems to have been responsible for collecting the Scrolls together in the eleven caves. (iii) And, third, there are many manuscripts that contain Jewish religious literature of the Second Temple period, some of which was known about previously in other languages preserved mostly by Christian groups in the first millennium, but most of which was unknown. About 100 of those manuscripts are written in Aramaic.

The so-called ‘Biblical’ manuscripts are the focus of Case 2. The principal contribution of these manuscripts to the modern understanding of the Bible is their pluralism in two respects. (i) First, there is no single ‘Biblical’ manuscript from the Qumran caves that agrees entirely letter for letter with what we have preserved in later medieval rabbinic Bibles. Some are very close, but some contain significant variants, sometimes of a minor sort, but sometimes of a major kind. The major variants have resulted in many scholars acknowledging that in antiquity some books of the Bible existed in more than one edition. A clear example of this concerns the way that the Book of Jeremiah is preserved in the Qumran caves in Hebrew in two forms, one shorter (and probably earlier) which reflects what is found in Greek in the Septuagint, and one that is longer (and probably later) as is found in Hebrew Bibles. That diversity was known since antiquity, but commonly thought to be the result of the Greek translator. Now it is clear that the Greek translator worked faithfully from a Hebrew exemplar, but not one that was like that of later rabbinic Bibles. And Christians have long lived with that diversity: the Eastern (Orthodox) churches tend to retain the Greek translation in their Bibles, whereas the Western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) churches work with the rabbinic version. If closeness to the figure of Jeremiah himself is a criterion for conferring authority on the text, then the Eastern churches can be said to have a version of Jeremiah of greater authority than that used in the Western churches.

(ii) The other aspect of pluralism can be readily seen in the display, namely that ‘Biblical’ manuscripts come in all shapes and sizes. As today, ‘Biblical’ manuscripts were copied out for all kinds of various purposes. The major distinction to be made is whether a manuscript was produced for public or private use. The former is often larger (like the de luxe version of Isaiah in the Great Isaiah Scroll [**Exhibit 1.5**]), the latter smaller and more convenient. Within those that were produced for public or corporate use, the major distinction might rest between those that were written for use in association with worship, for public reading in liturgical contexts, and those written for study purposes, perhaps within a school setting.

Upper level

(a) Some ‘Biblical’ manuscripts

Some parts of authoritative scripture seem to have been more popular amongst those who collected the Scrolls in the eleven Qumran Caves than others. It is widely acknowledged that the most significant works included Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and the Psalms.

Genesis might have been of particular interest because of its depictions of the pre-Mosaic world. At least part of the sectarian movement associated with the Qumran site and other settlements was heir to a wide-ranging set of traditions, many in Aramaic, about the patriarchs. Of special concern were the origins of the priesthood with Isaac’s blessing of Levi, as well as interest in stories of Noah, Abraham, Jacob and others who might be linked with the ‘earliest’ articulations of covenant.

Deuteronomy might have been especially important as it represented the form of the Law to be taken into account after the entrance into the Land. Those living in Judaea in the first centuries BCE and CE might have been particularly concerned that that Law was observed suitably, in order to retain divine favour in turbulent political times.

Isaiah was the prophet par excellence whose prophecies offer a view of the end-times when God’s servant will be a figure of restoration and there will be a time of inexhaustible divine favour.

The Psalms are poems of lament and praise, covering the full spectrum of human emotion and providing words through which human experience can be voiced either as complaint or thanksgiving.

Exhibit 2.1: 4QGenesis^d (4Q4). 4QGenesis^d survives in a single fragment. It is skin and is palaeographically dated to the mid-first century BCE. (For more information on the various ways of dating manuscripts see the card displays.) Its text is close to that of the medieval rabbinic Bibles but several words are spelt with what is labelled by scholars as full orthography. Most interestingly, there is a space at the end of line 8 which seems to represent the end of a sense unit (after verse 25), a division of text that is not represented in any traditional Hebrew (Masoretic) manuscript. The fragment contains Genesis 1:18-27. The exhibit is a colour reproduction at twice actual size, made with the authority of the Israel Antiquities Authority. It is reproduced on canvas by ArtLink Inc. of Tel Aviv, Israel. One can certainly ask the question whether the modern fascination with ancient Bible manuscripts and their sale as artworks is more significant to many than their actual contents.

Take a close look at the reproduction. It can readily be seen that there are three lines of damage: at the right edge of the fragment, in the centre where the surface of the skin has broken off in an almost perfectly vertical line, and at the left edge in association with the stitching. It is most likely that the damage represents one turn of the manuscript when it was put in the Cave. When it was flattened, the turn in the scroll produced three vertical damage patterns. From such patterns it is possible to calculate the approximate turn of the scroll at this point and, if one supposes that the start of Genesis was on the outside of the scroll, then with columns of this size (11 lines), it is not possible that this was a scrolls of the whole of Genesis. Most likely this manuscript contained only Genesis 1-5.

There could be theological significance in the size of the Scroll. The earliest Commentary on Genesis (4Q252) which survives from the caves begins with Genesis 6, with the story of the fallen angels, and comments on selected chapters until Genesis 49. Perhaps this manuscript was a personal copy of the first few chapters of Genesis, owned by someone who thought that the first chapters also needed studying.

Exhibit 2.2. 4QDeuteronomyⁿ (4Q41, sometimes known as the All Souls Deuteronomy). The money for the purchase of this manuscript was put up by All Souls Unitarian Church in New York. In fact, it seems as if the manuscript is not actually a copy of the whole of the Book of Deuteronomy, even though it is often listed as such. Rather, it contains excerpts from Deuteronomy 8:5-10 and 5:1-6:1 in that order. Another manuscript from Cave 4 (4QDeut^l) contains the same excerpts, though their order in that manuscript cannot be determined. The skin of 4QDeutⁿ is thin, almost transparent in places and reddish brown. Several patches on the skin

were unsuitable for writing. The facsimile on display is of uncanny accuracy in size and colour; it is a 1:1 reproduction. It was produced on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority by the Canadian company Biblical Reproductions and is made from vegetable matter, not animal skin. The actual manuscript is dated to the last third of the first century BCE. The letters are in a neat hand and are mostly in a standard size. The orthography of the Scroll is generally full over against the Masoretic text.

The significant characteristics of this manuscript are its selection of passages and within one of those its harmonistic tendency. In the Samaritan tradition Deuteronomy 8:5-10 are marked off by empty spaces, perhaps indicating that it was considered as a separate discrete unit. It has also been noted that in rabbinic tradition Deuteronomy 8:5-10 forms the basis of the duty for blessing after meals. This suggests that 4QDeuteronomyⁿ had a liturgical purpose. The passage from Deuteronomy 5 is found in several of the phylacteries from Cave 4, though the Decalogue is not part of modern orthodox Jewish phylacteries (possibly because rabbis prohibited its inclusion as the text had been adopted by Christians as a summary of the Law). For more on phylacteries (tefillin) see the card displays adjacent to Case 2.

The text is a harmonising text. Notably in the Sabbath commandment the manuscript combines Exodus 20:11 with Deuteronomy 5:12-15: ‘Keep the Sabbath Day holy as the Lord your God commanded, six days you shall labour and do all your work. But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God—you shall not do any work on it, you, your son, your daughter, your slave or maid, your ox or your ass or your livestock, your resident alien who is in your gates, so that your slave and your maid might rest like you. Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt and the Lord your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. Therefore, the Lord your God commanded you to keep the Sabbath day holy [shift to Exodus] because in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all which is in them. And he rested on the seventh day. Therefore, the Lord blessed the Sabbath day to sanctify it.’ What might be the motivation for such harmonisation?

Exhibit 2.3. Catalogue of the Israel Antiquities Authority: *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: IAA, 2007) open at 4QDeuteronomyⁿ. The transcription indicates clearly where the spaces in the text stand.

Exhibit 2.4. 4QIsaiah^c (4Q57). This copy of Isaiah is extant in over seventy fragments. Presented here is the largest fragment to survive, Fragment 9, which contains parts of two columns from which can be calculated the

approximate size of the columns and of the manuscript as a whole. The editors of the principal edition describe the manuscript as ‘moderately thin, tan with honey tones, well-prepared on the inscribed (hair) side, and somewhat smooth on the back (flesh) side’. The 1:1 facsimile on display is made of vegetable materials and was manufactured for the Israel Antiquities Authority by the Canadian company Biblical Reproductions.

The evidence from the surviving fragments of the manuscript suggest that each column had about 40 lines of writing, giving an inscribed height of about 25 cms. With margins the full height of the manuscript would be about 30 cms. The extant fragments cover Isaiah 9-66 with many gaps; but this strongly suggests that the manuscript contained the whole of Isaiah like the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaiah^a). The manuscript can be dated palaeographically to the middle of the first century CE. The scribe regularly writes the tetragrammaton (*YHWH*) and the Hebrew word for God (*'lhym*) in paleo-Hebrew. An example of this in the fragment shown can be seen in the bottom line in Isaiah 24:14: ‘They shout from the west over the majesty of the Lord’. The orthography is full compared with the later Masoretic Text of the rabbinic Bibles. There is a blank line between Isaiah 23:14 and 23:15, corresponding to a traditional sense unit division. The correction (by the same scribe) above Isaiah 23:15 of the pronoun corresponds with the text as known in the Masoretic Text and the targums; in 1QIsaiah^a it is without the definite article. In this fragment there are 31 minor variants from other known witnesses to this section of Isaiah.

Why did the scribe use palaeo-Hebrew for the divine name and other terms? Amongst the most likely reasons is that this would help prevent a novice reader who might not know the text very well from saying the divine name in a public reading. Other suggestions have been made in relation to the status of the manuscript, both that this might indicate the sacred status of the copy and that it might indicate its non-sacred status.

Exhibit 2.5. Lika Tov, ‘Who wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?’; collographic impression of 11QPsalms^a. This artistic representation of scribes at work writing the Psalms is based on an impression of 11QPsalms^a (11Q5) columns 14-16 (Psalms 135-136). The artist is Lika Tov, wife of Emanuel Tov, the chief editor of the Dead Sea Scrolls who completed the task of overseeing the publication of all the unedited manuscripts from Caves 4 and 11 and elsewhere. It is widely acknowledged that scribes wrote on their laps, but probably used tables for the preparation and ruling of the skin for their manuscripts.

The artistic impression has been selected for display to make a very important point. The impression is indicative of scribal participation in the transmission of the text as they copied it. Few scribes were mere copyists, as became normative in later canonical periods. Rather, scribes were constantly and actively participating in the transmission of the texts for which they were responsible, adjusting them and improving them for their own audiences. In some ways similar attitudes can be seen as lying behind the production of multiple Bible translations: why does a single translation not meet the needs of readers?

11QPsalms^a has been at the heart of the debates about whether a particular manuscript copy might be deemed authoritative. First, there are the contents. In this manuscript Psalm 135 is preceded immediately by Psalm 119 and Psalm 136 is followed by Psalm 118 and then Psalm 145. Was this a special collection from Books 4 and 5 of the Psalter, perhaps for liturgical purposes, or was it an alternative version of a pre-canonical Psalter of equal authority to what was later to become the authoritative version? In addition to the order of the Psalms, the manuscript contains some compositions that did not make it into the rabbinic Psalter (such as additional Psalms in the Syriac Psalter) as well as some previously unknown Psalms, such as the so-called *Apostrophe to Zion*. (An *Apostrophe* is a figure of speech in which some absent or nonexistent person or thing is addressed as if present and capable of understanding.)

Second, there are some features of presentation, such as the representation of the divine name (in a second hand) in Palaeo-Hebrew. Was that a sign of a non-authoritative manuscript? We might never know the answers to such a question, but it is intriguing to note that most scholars working in Jewish contexts understand the manuscript to contain a secondary selection of Psalms for liturgical purposes, whereas most scholars working in other contexts, sometimes explicitly Christian ones, tend to affirm the idea that there were several authoritative Psalters in the pre-canonical period and that fashioning a work for liturgical purposes does nothing to question its authority.

Exhibit 2.6. Catalogue *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2000) with 11QPsalms^a. This catalogue was produced to accompany the Exhibition of the Dead Sea Scrolls that featured as one of the major cultural events to accompany the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. Part of the 11QPsalms^a scroll was on exhibit in Sydney, featuring columns 20-24 of the scroll, columns which contain in order: Psalm 139, Psalm 137, Psalm 138, a poem parallel to Sirach 51, The *Apostrophe to Zion*, Psalm 93, Psalm 141, Psalm 133, Psalm 144.

Lower level

(b) Associated items, commentaries, and textual aids

Exhibit 2.7. ‘Scroll’ Jars. The large full-size jar on display comes from a Nazareth workshop that specializes in the production of replicas from the late Second Temple period. Also on display are miniature replicas produced for sale in museum gift shops, including one in the form of a key-ring. A postcard also illustrates the variety of shapes of these jars. The jars from the Caves have become iconic, almost as much as the Scrolls themselves. However, two points need to be kept in mind.

First, few scholars believe that any jars were produced specifically for the storage of manuscripts. Most of the jars are simply too large for the regular size of even the largest manuscript. It is most likely that the jars were originally produced for the storage of food products and other goods, and were used secondarily for scrolls. That seems to be the case, even though some of the jars from the Qumran caves and site seem to have a somewhat distinctive shape when compared with the profile of jars from other contemporary sites.

Second, it is incorrect to think that all the Scrolls were put in the caves in jars. The most significant use of jars for scroll storage comes from Cave 1, the first to be discovered. In that cave several jars contained Scrolls, and those jars were sometimes sealed with a cloth dipped in tar and then tied down (as can be seen with the holes for ties on the large replica). Some would even consider that the Scrolls in such jar deposits were not simply being stored, to be retrieved later or used regularly; rather, those jars contained Scrolls that had fallen into disuse and were in fact being ‘buried’, as if in a genizah, reflecting an attitude to manuscripts that respected them like a human body. Although there were some few pottery sherds in Cave 4, for example, most of the manuscripts in that Cave seem to have been stored on open shelves, as is indicated in the holes in the Cave walls, holes made perhaps to retain shelf supports. Indeed, it is certain that the different caves had different functions from one another: Cave 1, a natural cave in the foothills, seems to have been a Genizah; Cave 4, man-made and adjacent to the Qumran site, seems to have been a working repository; Cave 6 probably housed a personal, private library collection; Cave 7, only accessible through the site, has only papyrus manuscripts, all in Greek; Cave 8 might have been a workshop where manuscripts were finished with tabs and ties.

Exhibit 2.8. *Adam Clarke on Deuteronomy 5: Adam Clarke's Commentary. The great Bible commentator Adam Clarke (1760-1832) published his complete commentary on the Bible in six volumes in 1831. It took him forty years to complete, and is one of the largest and most impressive Bible commentaries ever produced by a single person. Clarke was a Methodist and his commentary was a staple of Methodist ministerial training for well over a hundred years. It is still valued today, and can be easily accessed in its entirety online.

Clarke is fully aware that the two versions of the Ten Commandments contain different justifications for keeping the Sabbath. Whereas the scribes behind the text version represented in 4QDeuteronomyⁿ offered a harmonised version of the texts of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, Clarke suggests that the Sabbath has a fitting 'twofold memorial' which becomes apparent in the text of Deuteronomy: it is a 'twofold memorial of the deliverance, as well as of the creation. And this accounts for the new reason for its observance.'

Exhibit 2.9. Folded card of Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): Isaiah 34:1-44:23. From the Shrine of the Book. Though the text of the Scroll is presented in a reduced size, it is easy to see on this reproduction that the text has been corrected. In addition, notice the various marginal marks, most of which seem to indicate sense units in the times before chapter and verse.

Exhibit 2.10. Poster from Metropolitan Museum of Art/Los Angeles County Museum of Art Exhibition. This poster depicts in a greatly enlarged manner part of the Cave 1 Commentary on Habakkuk, Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab, columns 4-6). Although the 'Biblical' Scrolls from the Qumran caves indicate the pluralism of the text, it is clear from finds from other sites that by the end of the first century CE the text of most Biblical books had begun to be transmitted in a form very close to that of the medieval rabbinic Bibles. Movements of texts towards an agreed (or imposed) form gives rise to commentary literature. No longer is it possible for scribes to adjust the texts they transmit in minor and major ways, so interpretations have to be offered separately.

The earliest explicit Biblical commentaries in Jewish literature are now found amongst the Scrolls from the Qumran caves. They are anticipations of this move from characteristic pluralism to something more fixed that has independent commentary. In the Commentary on Habakkuk, verses from Habakkuk 1-2 are provided in order of the text (sometimes with minor variations), then there is a space on the manuscript, then the comment is

introduced with a standard formula ('its interpretation is that') with the comment following. The key characteristic of the comments on Habakkuk is one of fulfilment identification. Habakkuk did not fully understand what he was saying, but now, claims the commentator, the true meaning is revealed in the circumstances of his reading community. So, for example, the enemies of Israel mentioned in the oracles of Habakkuk are identified as the Kittim, a cipher used in the commentary to indicate the Romans. This kind of prophetic commentary has similarities to the use of fulfilment quotations by the New Testament authors.

In this enlarged image of the Cave 1 Commentary on Habakkuk notice the marginal marks, which might denote sense units or indicate that the scribe is copying section by section from an exemplar. Note also the use of the divine name (*YHWH*) in palaeo-Hebrew as in the copy of Isaiah above.

It is fundamentally important that in an exhibition case on the earliest surviving 'Biblical' manuscripts, there should also be provision of commentaries, whether ancient like the Commentary on Habakkuk, or modern such as that by Adam Clarke. Both Jewish and Christian traditions have always expressed the need for scripture to be read through the lenses of the faithful, whether contemporary or otherwise. In some communities the commentary sometimes seems to take pride of place over the scriptural text, but of course both go hand-in-hand. Although it can be helpful to read the Bible without assistance and to be struck by the immediacy of some of its texts, in many instances there is a need for aids to understanding, both those which provide contextual background information and those that reflect theologically on the significance of the text. Commentary is even part of scripture itself, but in an implicit form: Deuteronomy completes Exodus-Numbers, the Books of Chronicles present a rewritten version of traditions behind Samuel-Kings, and Matthew and Luke interpret Mark.

The first century BCE rabbi Hillel, a contemporary of many of the Scrolls on display, famously set out a rule of reciprocity: 'That which is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow. That is the whole Torah; the rest is commentary; go and learn.' After thinking about some basic principles of behavior and outlook, all is explanation, interpretation, commentary, discussion and debate.

Exhibit 2.11. *Brian Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta: complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateuco Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum: Versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graece LXXII Interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat.*

quicquid comparari poterat... (London: Thomas Rycroft, six volumes, 1657).

Brian Walton's so-called London Polyglot Bible was the last and greatest of the major European polyglots. It is a very impressive feat of 17th century printing in multiple fonts. But most significantly it is an important witness to the fact, known since antiquity, that the text of the Bible exists in multiple forms and that those forms contain multiple variants, which in many cases cannot be explained away, even though those who engage with authoritative texts might yearn, as did Walton, for the 'original' text. Shortly after completing this work, Walton was consecrated Bishop of Chester in 1660; he died in London in 1661, after visiting the Diocese but once. Several scholars assisted Walton in his work, but there is no doubt that he took overall control of the project.

The volume containing the Psalms is on display. It is open at Psalm 145. Psalm 145 is an acrostic Psalm with each verse of the Psalm beginning with a letter of the alphabet in alphabetical order. The Hebrew text of the Bible lacks any verse that begins with the letter *nun* (*n*). However, several of the versions have text which reflects the existence of the verse in antiquity, and those are all clearly provided in Walton's polyglot. Now, the 11QPsalms^a Scroll, depicted in the upper level of the case, contains a version of Psalm 145 with a nun verse: 'God is faithful in his words and gracious in all his deeds'. Should modern Bibles restore the verse or leave it as in the medieval rabbinic texts? And what should prayer books do for this Psalm?

Exhibit 2.12. **The Holy Bible containing the Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments with Twenty Thousand Emendations* (London: Longman, Brown and Company, 1841). This Bible was edited by John T. Conquest (1789-1866), a physician who specialised in midwifery and wrote a popular guide for mothers on how to care for sick children. But he also had an interest in the Bible and this work indicates how knowledge of all the available evidence could convince even a non-specialist of the need for adjusting the text of the Authorized Version. The book represents one ingredient in the mix of adjusted approaches to the Bible begun at the time of the Reformation and taken forward in the age of Enlightenment.

Exhibit 2.13. *New Revised Standard Version Bible. The NRSV is one of several modern translations to take some account of the readings in the 'Biblical' manuscripts from the Qumran caves. The Bible is open at 1 Samuel 10-11. The traditional Hebrew text of 1 Samuel 11 abruptly introduces Nahash besieging Jabesh-gilead. The text has long been recognised as problematic, but 4QSamuel^a, a copy of Samuel from Cave 4,

contains a paragraph prior to what now stands as 1 Samuel 11:1 and that paragraph gives the narrative a continuous flow and provides an explanation why Nahash should besiege Jabesh-gilead. Josephus, the first century CE Jewish historian, seems to have known a Hebrew text of Samuel like that now found in 4QSamuel^a.

Here is the additional paragraph: ‘Now Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had been grievously oppressing the Gadites and the Reubenites. He would gouge out the right eye of each of them and would not grant Israel a deliverer. No one was left of the Israelites across the Jordan whose right eye Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had not gouged out. But there were seven thousand men who had escaped from the Ammonites and had entered Jabesh-gilead.’

The NRSV has a footnote ‘Q MS Compare Josephus *Antiquities* VI.v.1 (68-71): MT lacks Now Nahash ... entered Jabesh-gilead’; that is, ‘a Qumran manuscript (4QSamuel^a) and the reading of Samuel in Josephus’s work *Antiquities* reads the paragraph which is lacking from the Masoretic Text (the traditional text of the Hebrew Bible).

Case Three

Places, Parties, Perspectives and Practices

Most scholars have followed the idea from the outset, put forward by Eliezer Sukenik, that somehow the Scrolls from the eleven caves at and near Qumran are to be associated with the Essenes or part of the wider Essene movement. The majority of Scrolls, as already indicated, are not sectarian; they are either 'Bible' manuscripts or copies of Jewish literature, some of which was previously known, but most not. The sectarian texts form less than a quarter of the manuscripts that have come from the caves. In Case Three the Exhibition moves to say a little about the Essenes, their beliefs and practices.

Upper level

(a) Places

The nineteenth century saw an increasing interest amongst Western scholars in learning ever more about the contexts reflected in the various Biblical books and a desire to unearth, quite literally, the places referred to in the Bible. Entangled in this thirst for hard facts about the Bible were the political ambitions of Western countries in search of influence in the Levant at the time of the obvious decline of the Ottoman Empire. It is not often recalled that the Crimean War was one result of all those aspirations and ambitions as the Ottomans transferred responsibility for the holy pilgrimage sites from the Russians to the French, sparking international tension. Forms of those tensions, especially the political ones, have affected and infected the Middle East ever since.

Exhibit 3.1. *Palestine Exploration Fund Map, Sheet XVIII, Printed at Stanford's Geographical Establishment, London. Surveyed and drawn under the direction of Lieut. C. R. Conder R.E. and Lieut. H. H. Kitchener R.E., May 1878.

The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) was the first formally constituted Western learned society with the purpose of uncovering the Holy Land. It was established in 1865. One of its early projects was supporting the mapping of the Holy Land. This was undertaken in great detail by two young lieutenants, seconded from the Royal Engineers: Claude Conder (1848-1910) wrote extensively on his observations, and Horatio Kitchener (1850-1916) was to become a Field Marshall. Conder was wounded during his 1875-1878 secondment; it was Kitchener who completed the work.

Wady Kumran and Kh. (=Khirbet, ruin) Kumran are both clearly and accurately marked on the map, together with a track running near the site.

Recently some fascinating early photographs of the Qumran site have been published by the PEF and are available on the PEF website (pef.org.uk) in a flickr file.

Exhibit 3.2. *Félicien de Saulcy, *Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands in 1850 and 1851* (London, 1st edition, 2 volumes, 1853). F. de Saulcy (1807-1880) was a French orientalist and numismatist; he was the first to excavate the Hasmonean tombs in Jerusalem, mistakenly identifying them with King David. On his first visit to the Holy Land he wrote a very detailed log of his journey to the Dead Sea and around its perimeter; he noted the precise time of day at which each point was reached. In Volume 1 he talks of the Essenes extensively in relation to his expedition's visit to the monastery at Mar Saba, inferring from Pliny the Elder who seems to locate Essenes on the North-West shore of the Dead Sea, that they would have resided in similar location to the Christian monks. The second time he comes round to the North-West shore of the Dead Sea he talks of Qumran which he describes and tentatively identifies with Gomorrah. In the second edition of his book de Saulcy is much more forthright that he has identified both Sodom and Gomorrah, the latter at Qumran. On both counts he is almost certainly wrong.

Exhibit 3.3. William Holman Hunt, *The Scapegoat* (1854). Shortly after de Saulcy, William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) visited the shores of the Dead Sea in 1854, perhaps also inspired by the links with Sodom and Gomorrah, in order to paint in situ his *Scapegoat*. Holman Hunt visited the Holy Land several times in search of accurate topographical and ethnographical information for his paintings. His second version of the *Scapegoat* was completed after he had returned to England, via the Crimea. The mountains of Moab which appear in the painting form the easterly view from Qumran. One version hangs in Manchester City Art Gallery and the other in the Lady Lever Art Gallery. Holman Hunt had been an instigator of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in 1848. His Biblical paintings are intriguing for what they say about the 19th century search for the realities of the Bible. They represent a kind of literalism that is a very serious engagement with details of the surface of the text.

Exhibit 3.4. Joan Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls and the Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). This is the most extensive and most recent book on the Dead Sea region and on the Essenes, replete with large amounts of information about the locality. The book is open at page

249 where Taylor notes Claude Conder's remark that 'From a very early period this horrible wilderness appears to have had an attraction for ascetics, who sought a retreat from the busy world of their fellow men, and who sought to please God by torturing their bodies he had given them. Thus the Essenes, the Jewish sect whose habits and tenets resembled so closely those of the first Christians, retired into this wilderness and lived in caves.'

Exhibit 3.5. *H. C. Kee and W. L. Young, *The Living World of the New Testament* (London: DLT, 1960). Although the location of Cave 1 was known to several people very soon after the discovery of Scrolls there, it was not until 1949 that the first preliminary investigations were made at the site of Qumran. Serious excavations took place there in subsequent years (1951, 1953-1956); and on several occasions since. Very soon every book that wished to provide context for John the Baptist, Jesus and his disciples, or the circumstances of the late Second Temple period, would have pictures of the Qumran site and its excavations, such as are on display here. And a plethora of studies located the Essenes principally or exclusively at Qumran. A much more nuanced set of opinions has become the norm recently: it is most likely that Qumran was only occupied for part of the life of the Essene movement and it is not entirely sure what function the site had.

(b)Parties of elites

Exhibit 3.6. *Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chretienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910). Long before the Scrolls were discovered in the eleven caves at and near Qumran, there was interest in the elite groups within Judaeen Judaism at the time of Hillel and Jesus. For many Christian scholars the Essenes were of significance as a Jewish anticipation of early Christian monasticism, not least as that might be associated with desert settings. The writings of Pliny (see the wall hanging opposite) had located Essenes on the North-West shore of the Dead Sea, implying a remote wilderness setting.

The volume on display is an example of the depth of research on the Essenes as reflected in an article by H. Leclercq on 'Cenobiticism', that is, on religious groups who have a shared (*koinos*) community life (*bios*). From the Greek world such was observed amongst the Pythagoreans; for the Jewish world attention was given overwhelmingly to the Essenes.

Exhibit 3.7. *Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities*. The Cathedral Library, like many libraries, has multiple copies of the well-known translation of Josephus's works by William Whiston (1667-1752). Whiston was a

colourful character and polymath; he succeeded Isaac Newton as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge but also wrote widely on theological matters. Through the 18th and 19th centuries many households in England would have but two books: a Bible and a copy of Whiston's Josephus, first published in 1737.

Josephus was the principal classical source widely known to offer descriptions of the principal parties (or 'sects') of Judaism, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes and a Fourth Philosophy. The copy on display is open at *Antiquities*, Book 13, one of the places to offer a summary description of the three main parties. Because of the way in which Josephus describes them, they have commonly been understood in scholarly work as entirely separate and discrete groups; more recent study has tended also to point out what they had in common. Indeed, it can be cogently argued that Jesus interacted so persistently with the Pharisees, not because he disagreed with them, but because he shared so much with them in outlook.

Exhibit 3.8. The Copper Scroll. This is a replica of one roll of the Copper Scroll. The replica was made in Manchester for John Allegro so that he could use it when giving popular talks and lectures about the Copper Scroll and his involvement in its opening and decipherment. The replica is displayed here courtesy of the Estate of John M. Allegro and the Manchester Museum, which houses many of Allegro's photographs and some other items. Allegro was the first British member of the international team of editors established in the mid-1950s by Roland de Vaux and G. Lankester Harding to work on the discoveries from Cave 4 and other caves. He was instrumental in the Copper Scroll coming to Manchester to be opened. (There are several boards displayed on the adjacent reading desks that explain the principal features of the Copper Scroll.)

The Copper Scroll is a list of buried treasure (the sites referred to in the Scroll are identified on the adjacent wall hanging). A majority of scholars associate the Copper Scroll with the Temple in Jerusalem, and its contents with the Temple treasury. Its presence in Cave 3 has challenged the view that the residents of Qumran were Essenes; perhaps the manuscripts in the caves were also deposited by Sadducean priests from Jerusalem. Although it is most likely that the group at Qumran was part of the Essene movement, the presence of the Copper Scroll in a Qumran cave is evidence that at least some of the community's members, at least towards the end of the community's existence, had sympathies with the priests in Jerusalem. It is increasingly clear that the elite groups in Judaism cannot be neatly boxed up in discrete parcels.

Exhibit 3.9. Images from the Allegro Archive, Manchester Museum. Two postcards provide images of the Copper Scroll before it was opened; one of them shows John Allegro himself looking at the unopened scroll in Jerusalem where its two rolls were first housed.

Lower level

(c) Practices

Exhibit 3.10. Image of a Qumran ritual bath, with a stone vessel inset, and a picture of some of the plates discovered at Qumran. It is impossible in a very brief manner to describe all the practices and beliefs of the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part, let alone attempt to outline how the movement's practices and beliefs might have variously changed over several generations. Nevertheless, two practices are highlighted here. The first concerns the community's attitude towards purity. The community appears to have had an increasingly strict view of both ritual and moral purity. They were much more concerned with this in their daily lives than were even the Pharisees. In fact, the strict concern with purity makes it very unlikely that Jesus had ever been associated with the Essenes.

Notice that the steps of the cistern have raised plaster dividers on them, perhaps separating the impure, going down into the bath, from the pure, coming up out of the bath. It is widely thought that stone vessels were used in the late Second Temple period because they were believed not to convey impurity. The plates from Qumran indicate another matter too, namely that they are of a simple design and unglazed, perhaps reflecting the concern for material poverty amongst members of the group.

Exhibit 3.11. *J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980). Diagram of the Qumran site. This Bible Dictionary carries a standard diagrammatic representation of the Qumran site. What is immediately striking is how water runs through the site into a set of cisterns at different locations. Whilst some of the cisterns were certainly for drinking and other uses (such as in pottery making), several are stepped and seem to have been used as ritual baths. The concern for the provision of water is thus a further reflection of the interest in ritual purity.

Exhibit 3.12. *A Day at Qumran* (Catalogue from the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem). The catalogue has an image of what is widely understood to be a sundial on its cover. It is important to recall that the daily concern with

purity did not make the residents of Qumran into a narrow-minded set of legalists. The very large quantity of texts in the collection which contain hymns and prayers indicates that the movement had a rich and highly developed spiritual life in which thanksgiving was a leading performative outlook on life. Community members were eucharistic in their attitude.

The catalogue exhibited here has taken a sundial as its leading image in order to highlight the concern amongst the community members for getting the calendar right. It seems that the schematic 364-day solar calendar was of particular importance to the community, though there are several other types of calendar amongst the manuscripts found in the caves. Praying regularly and at the right time was a significant issue.

Exhibit 3.13. Sundial replicas. The managers of the Shrine of the Book have been so taken by the sundial and its aesthetic shape that they have had all kinds of artefacts manufactured for sale in the museum shop: letter openers, keyrings, and even earrings. But the serious point remains: the calendar was a matter of identity for the members of the movement, part of which resided at Qumran.

Exhibit 3.14. James VanderKam, 'Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63/3 (2000), 164-167. Many studies have been devoted to the calendars found in the caves, but as yet nobody has satisfactorily explained how the community might have lived with a calendar that slowly got behind in following the seasons. What system of intercalation might have been used? VanderKam is a leading calendar expert and his studies have highlighted the problems from several angles. Some scholars have thought that the differences about the calendar amongst Jews at the time of Jesus might explain the discrepancies between the calendars reflected in the passion narratives of the Synoptic Gospels on the one hand, and the Fourth Gospel on the other.

(d) Perspectives

Exhibit 3.15. The War Scroll (1QM). Carrier bag from the Israel Museum collection depicting the Cave 1 War Scroll, columns 11-13. The War Scroll is a perplexing composition which has yet to be fully understood. It seems to portray a **dualistic** outlook: the Sons of Light (the Qumran group and its wider movement) are on the victorious side over the Sons of Darkness after 40 years of final **eschatological** war in seven campaigns. In that respect it shares certain militaristic features with the Book of Revelation and other compositions that anticipate Armageddon or a final battle after which God's reign will be truly inaugurated as an eternal time of peace and

justice. And yet, the composition is deeply **liturgical** with many indications of what priests should do and say. In some respects, it is a coping strategy, a spiritual sublimation of all the violence that a minority group might experience.

Exhibit 3.16. Rule of War (11Q14) from Catalogue by Risa Levitt Kohn, *Dead Sea Scrolls: From Scroll to Codex: Ancient Bibles of the Near East* (San Diego: San Diego Natural History Museum, 2007). This catalogue was produced to accompany an exhibition in California in 2007 to mark the 60th anniversary of the first discoveries. This scroll contains a blessing, akin to some found in the War Scroll (1QM), in which eschatological bliss is set out: ‘May the land produce for you fruits of delight. And you shall eat and grow fat. And there shall be no miscarriage in your land and no sickness, blight, or mildew shall be seen in its produce. There shall be no loss of children, nor stumbling in your congregation and the wild beasts shall withdraw from your land. The sword shall not pass through your land. For God is with you and His holy angels shall be present in your congregation, and His holy name shall be invoked upon you’ (trans. G. Vermes).

Exhibit 3.17. *Stephen Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, revised edition 1998). Stephen Smalley (b. 1931) was Dean of Chester (1987-2001). In this lively and erudite engagement with the Fourth Gospel, Smalley, in common with many commentators, juxtaposes several of the ideas found in the Qumran scrolls, such as the **dualism** of light and darkness, with those of the Fourth Gospel. The Scrolls have been instrumental in suggesting that the author of the Fourth Gospel owes as much or more to Palestinian Judaism as he does to Hellenistic thought.

Exhibit 3.18. The Rule of the Congregation. Small gift items: a jigsaw and small set of fridge magnets, depicting the two columns of the Rule of the Congregation (or Messianic Rule; 1QSa). These items have been manufactured with the permission of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities. In 1967 a small exhibition of Scrolls was taking place in Amman, and so after the six-day war some Scrolls remained in Jordanian hands. The Rule of the Congregation is amongst them (as is the Copper Scroll).

The Rule of the Congregation is most well known for its description of the Messianic banquet at which the Priest Messiah takes precedence over the Messiah of Israel and all attending are arranged in ranked seating, ‘each in the order of his dignity’: ‘And when they shall gather for the common table,

to eat and to drink new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine poured for drinking, let no man extend his hand over the firstfruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for it is he who shall bless the firstfruits of bread and wine and shall be first to extend his hand over the bread. Thereafter, the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread, and all the congregation of the Community shall utter a blessing, each man in the order of his dignity. It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every meal at which at least ten men are gathered together' (trans. G. Vermes). Several of the sectarian compositions describe the expectation of two messiahs, one priestly and one lay. This composition also implies that the messianic banquet was anticipated in every meal when at least ten men were present. The community was living eschatologically, **expecting the messiahs imminently**.

Exhibit 3.19. Son of God text (4Q246). Facsimile produced by Biblical Reproductions of Canada with the permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority. As can be seen the remains of this manuscript contain the left side of one column and most of a second column. This composition is in Aramaic and is commonly associated with the Book of Daniel. The text as a whole seems to depict a Jew before a foreign king; the speaker offers an interpretation of the king's vision. Scholars dispute whether the Son of God referred to is an imposter whose armies will trample others but who will eventually be destroyed, or whether the Son of God is the positive figure in the midst of turmoil who will be the agent for the salvation of the people of God.

'He will be great on earth ... will make and all will serve ... he will be called grand ... and by his name he will be designated. The son of God he will be proclaimed and the son of the Most High they will call him. Like the sparks of his vision, so will be their kingdom. They will reign for years on the earth and they will trample all. People will trample people (cf. Dan. 7:23) and one province another province until the people of God will arise and all will rest from the sword' (trans. G. Vermes).

In whatever way 4Q246 is interpreted, the language associated with the Son of God is echoed in several striking ways in Luke 1:32-33 in Gabriel's words to Mary: 'He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David. He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end'. Luke or his source almost certainly depends here upon a Palestinian Jewish tradition for titles to be ascribed to a messianic figure. 4Q246 does not seem to be sectarian in any way. It seems to indicate that both the movement behind the Scrolls, probably the Essenes, and the early

Christians inherited much from their surrounding contexts and adapted it for their own **messianic** purposes.

Exhibit 3.20. Painting by Peter V. Bianchi: an artist's impression of a study session at Qumran, from A. Douglas Tushingham, 'The Men who hid the Dead Sea Scrolls,' *National Geographic* 114/6 (December 1958). **Study** was a core activity of the movement that collected the Scrolls together. The objects of study were chiefly **the Law** and its various statutes. It is likely that the Prophets were also read closely and **eschatologically** as the Commentary on Habakkuk indicates. Wisdom traditions would also have formed part of the curriculum.

Also on Display

- (1) At the library's standing reading desks there are several small panels describing the Copper Scroll, how it was opened and the significance of its contents. The first large hanging panel at the west end of the library depicts approximately where the treasures referred to in the Copper Scroll were hidden. None has ever been discovered in modern times.
- (2) A large hanging panel at the west end of the library provides a time line of places, people, and events.
- (3) On the north wall of the library at the west end is a large hanging panel containing the description by Pliny of the Essenes, which has been highly significant for identifying Qumran as a site of Essene occupation.
- (4) Another hanging panel depicts the site of Qumran in an image taken by Zev Radovan.
- (5) A small inset card describes in some further detail 'The Law and the Last Things', core elements in the study sessions of the community members.
- (6) Three cards describe and discuss the dating of the scrolls by palaeography, radiocarbon and archaeological context.
- (7) A large hanging panel contains William H. Brownlee's description of the Great Isaiah Scroll to his fiancée.
- (8) Further small card displays describe the making of phylacteries (tefillin), some particular aspects of the 'Biblical' Scrolls, the variants of the Rylands fragments of Deuteronomy (pieces of the oldest scriptural text in existence; 3rd century BCE), and some inkwells.

Concluding Reflections

The purpose of this exhibition, as with the earlier exhibitions in the Cathedral Library, is to stimulate Christians to reflect from a Christian perspective on an important topic, in this case the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the better understanding of the Bible. As in the other exhibitions this Guide concludes with some thoughts that may be helpful towards this end.

In the Western world there has been some increasing secularism, especially since the Second World War; sceptics abound. The discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls have provided hard historical evidence for the life and times of first century Palestine. Before the Scrolls were discovered all that survived from Judaea in Hebrew or Aramaic were some coin inscriptions and some short phrases on ossuaries (bone boxes for secondary burials). The Scrolls have provided hundreds of texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek from two thousand years ago. From them it is possible to reconstruct beliefs and practices amongst some Jews in parts of Judaea. The Scrolls have changed the nature of the historical character of first century Palestine.

For some the Scrolls represent only a small group of sectarian interests that were marginal in Judaism of the turn of the era. An increasing number of scholars, however, takes the view that the Scrolls are more representative of Judaism more broadly than previously supposed. This change has come about because of the relatively recent publication of the large numbers of non-sectarian compositions. The Scrolls provide a picture of Judaism in general, not just of those who had withdrawn into the wilderness.

The 'Biblical' scrolls offer significant insight into the character of the Biblical books of what was to become the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. Chiefly they show how the text of the Bible was transmitted in multiple forms. In most cases the variants were small, but in some cases they were major, requiring us to recognise that some books of the Bible existed in more than one edition, and that those editions were available in a single place. This pluralism is indicative of the vitality of the text and of the way in which many scribes were active participants in the transmission process. Modern readers and users of scripture exercise a similar responsibility in keeping the text alive, not allowing it to become a dead letter.

The variety of forms of text is indicative of an approach to sacred texts which is inclusive of updating and commentary. As the text became more stable, so commentary in both Jewish and Christian communities became explicit. What the Scrolls demonstrate is the necessity of commentary. It is

rarely possible to engage with the text of scripture without some assistance either from books and pamphlets or, often more significantly, from fellow-members of the believing community. Sometimes such assistance might come through expository or devotional sermons, sometimes from study sessions, sometimes from home groups or in other settings, formal or informal.

The sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls should not be dismissed lightly as the products of over-zealous legalists on the margins of Judaism. The very large number of poetic and hymnic compositions and prayers and liturgies strongly indicates that any determination amongst the Essenes to observe the Law faithfully was motivated by a strong spiritual sense based in devotion to God and gratitude for all that God had done. The Scrolls even hint at profound elements of mysticism that have surfaced in Jewish and Christian traditions in various times and places.

The Scrolls from the eleven caves at and near Qumran also indicate the seriousness with which those who collected them took the world around them. The world was replete with spiritual realities. It was important to appreciate the protective power of the presence of angels and to be able to recognize what was demonic. In a rich way the Scrolls provide us with views of the world that help sharpen our understanding of the focus of many New Testament passages where similar realities are mentioned.

There are many things about the Essene way of life that are attractive; there are also some things that many modern people of faith would find difficult. Jesus was not an Essene, but his concern with eschatological urgency, with the fulfilment of the prophets, with the true meaning of the Law, with the kingship of God, with communal life and an open table, all resonate more fully when set alongside what can be learnt from the Scrolls.



List of Exhibits

Case One: The First Discoveries

- 1.1 John M. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (1st edn, 1956; *2nd edn, 1964)
- 1.2 Eliezer Sukenik and Yigael Yadin depicted in P. R. Davies, G. J. Brooke and P. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2001)
- 1.3 Athanasius Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*
- 1.4 John Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*
- 1.5 The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). Kodansha, Japan.
- 1.6a Poster of the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem.
- 1.6b Postcard of the inside of the Shrine of the Book.
- 1.7 First Day Cover for the Scrolls 50th anniversary.

Case Two: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible

- 2.1 4QGenesis^d (4Q4). Genesis 1:18-27. ArtLink Inc.
- 2.2. 4QDeuteronomyⁿ (4Q41; All Souls Deuteronomy).
- 2.3. Israel Antiquities Authority Catalogue: *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (2007) open at 4QDeuteronomyⁿ.
- 2.4. 4QIsaiah^c (4Q57).
- 2.5. Lika Tov, 'Who wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?'; collographic impression of 11QPsalms^a.
- 2.6. *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (2000) with 11QPsalms^a
- 2.7. 'Scroll' Jars. Replica from Nazareth workshop and other items
- 2.8. *Adam Clarke's *Commentary on Deuteronomy 5* (1831)
- 2.9. Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): Isaiah 34:1-44:23.
- 2.10. Poster of Cave 1 Commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab)
- 2.11. *Brian Walton, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*: (London: Thomas Rycroft, six volumes, 1657). Open at Psalm 145.
- 2.12. **The Holy Bible with Twenty Thousand Emendations* (1841).
- 2.13 *New Revised Standard Version Bible. 1 Samuel 10-11.

Case Three: Places, Parties, Practices and Perspectives

- 3.1 *Palestine Exploration Fund Map, XVIII, by C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, 1878.
- 3.2 *Félicien de Saulcy, *Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea in 1850 and 1851* (1st edition, 2 volumes, 1853).

- 3.3** William Holman Hunt, *The Scapegoat* (1854).
- 3.4** Joan Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls and the Dead Sea* (2013).
- 3.5** *H. C. Kee and W. L. Young, *The Living World of the New Testament* (1960).
- 3.6** *Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chretienne et de liturgie* (1910).
- 3.7** *Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities*. (Trans. W. Whiston)
- 3.8** The Copper Scroll. Replica from Allegro Archive, Manchester Museum
- 3.9** Copper Scroll images; Allegro Archive, Manchester Museum.
- 3.10** Image of a Qumran ritual bath, stone mug, and plates.
- 3.11** *J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (1980).
- 3.12** *A Day at Qumran* (Catalogue from the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem).
- 3.13** Sundial replicas, Shrine of the Book gift shop.
- 3.14** James VanderKam, 'Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls' (2000)
- 3.15** The War Scroll (1QM columns 11-13). Carrier bag, Israel Museum.
- 3.16** Rule of War (11Q14) from Catalogue by Risa Levitt Kohn, *Dead Sea Scrolls* (2007).
- 3.17** *Stephen Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter* (1998).
- 3.18** The Rule of the Congregation. Small gift items.
- 3.19** Son of God text (4Q246).
- 3.20** Peter V. Bianchi: an artist's impression of study session at Qumran,



Addendum

The 'Library' of Qumran after 70 Years

(an article to appear in French in *Le Monde de la Bible*, April 2017)

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[This article expresses some of the same points as in the Catalogue above but it does so in a more fluent alternative fashion which might be more accessible to some readers.]

Seventy years ago the importance of the first discoveries of manuscripts in a cave near the ruins of Qumran could hardly be predicted. By the end of 1956 eleven caves at and near Qumran had produced about one thousand manuscripts, mostly in small fragments. Those manuscripts are commonly referred to by cave number, place, and either a short title or a number (e.g., 1QIsaiah^a = Cave 1, Qumran, the **first** copy^a of **Isaiah**). Most of the caves were found by Bedouin who did not clearly document what they were doing; a few were found by archaeologists. In addition to the manuscripts from the eleven caves a few inscribed potsherds have been found at the Qumran site itself.

The manuscripts

The first seven scrolls to come to light from Cave 1 are in relatively good condition. Four of them (1QIsa^b; 1QM; 1QH^a; 1QapGen) were acquired by Eleazar Sukenik, professor at the Hebrew University, and four (1QIsa^a; IQS; 1QpHab) were bought by Mar Athanasius Samuel, Syrian Orthodox Archbishop in Jerusalem. Most of the other manuscripts from the caves are in a poor state of preservation. After the initial purchases just mentioned, archaeologists and textual scholars, working in association with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, were led by Père Roland de Vaux of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. The chief concern was the acquisition, preliminary conservation, and identification of the fragments. With amazing skill the majority of fragments had been cleaned, sorted, photographed and identified by 1960. From 1960 until the early 1990s there were various difficulties in the publication process, especially of some of the manuscripts from Caves 4 and 11. In 1990 Professor Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University was appointed Dead Sea Scrolls editor-in-chief and the team of scholars entrusted with the publication of all the fragments was augmented and rejuvenated. By 2010 the work of the team was finished and now all the fragments are readily available in several different formats: in principal and other editions, in digital forms, in transcriptions, and in translations. Indeed, now the work is well advanced for a new series of revised editions of many of the manuscripts.

The collection

The manuscript discoveries have been understood in various ways. The first phase is exemplified by the title of a book by Frank M. Cross, one of the team of young scholars put together by de Vaux; he called some popular lectures *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (1958). The first generation of scholars largely assumed that the manuscripts from all eleven caves were part of a library collected by the group who resided at Qumran, probably some part of the Essenes. Although it was acknowledged that some of the manuscripts were brought to Qumran from elsewhere, it was also understood that many had been penned at Qumran, possibly in a room

identified as a scriptorium (loc. 30) where plaster benches and two inkwells were excavated. The scrolls from the caves at and near Qumran seemed to be the remains of a sectarian library which included copies of a few non-sectarian compositions.

In a second phase of study, beginning in the 1980s, several archaeologists argued that the manuscripts in the caves and the site of Qumran had nothing to do with one another. Some scholars suggested that it was possible that the site had a non-religious function as a pottery factory, as a commercial staging post, or as a fortified farmhouse. The manuscripts were considered to be the deposits of individuals or groups, probably from Jerusalem, either all because of the Roman attack on Jerusalem in the first Jewish war (66-74 CE) or for some other reasons. There was immediate reaction from the textual scholars against this separation of the scrolls from the Qumran site. Arguments were carefully assembled in favour of retaining the association between the contents of the caves and Qumran, but there was more nuance concerning who might have been responsible for what.

This has resulted in a third phase of understanding which has several features. First, the caves are no longer understood to be all of one kind. The natural caves in the foothills above Qumran (Caves 1, 3, 11) probably had a different function from the man-made caves in the marl terrace adjacent to the Qumran site itself; perhaps the caves in the hills contained deposits of manuscripts no longer in use, whereas those in the caves near Qumran were the remains of the working collection of the community that occupied the site. It is possible to be more precise and suggest that some of the caves had particular characteristics: some scholars think that the manuscripts deposited in Cave 6 were once a private collection, and those in Cave 7 are all in Greek and so might have been put together for some special purpose as yet unknown. Cave 4, located next to the site, had the largest number of extant manuscripts, about 600, and was probably the working depository of the community. In addition, it has long been noted that the manuscripts come from a period of over two hundred years; it is unlikely that as they accumulated they would all have been kept in use by the community at Qumran. All this care in presenting the data means that it is difficult to label the literary remains from all the caves together as a library, hence the title of this article puts the term in quotation marks: 'library'. Yet, most libraries contain smaller collections or specialist groups of literary works. And what is remarkable about the overall manuscript remains from the eleven caves is the almost complete absence of documentary texts, which tend to dominate at all other sites where manuscript remains have been recovered. The remains in the eleven caves are indeed a special collection of some sort.

As well as noting the particular functions of the various caves, the manuscripts have come to be respected as archaeological artefacts in their own right whose presence in the caves cannot be dismissed as entirely separate from the site of Qumran, especially since some of the caves either can only be reached by going through the site (notably Cave 7), and some are only a very short distance away (notably Cave 4). Furthermore, the profiles of the contents of each cave have been analysed. The result of the analysis has shown that Caves 1, 4, and 11, the caves containing the majority of the manuscripts, have very similar profiles; they have overlapping contents in several respects, both in terms of the proportions of each type of composition and in terms of some of the same compositions surviving in more than one cave.

The contents of the manuscripts have also been closely examined in relation to various scribal practices. Although those scribal practices are not applied rigidly, it is clear that several manuscripts variously but not consistently reflect particular writing practices, such as longer forms of spelling, that allow them to be grouped together. Since many of the manuscripts which contain compositions that reflect the beliefs and practices of the movement that collected the manuscripts together share those scribal features (the so-called Qumran Scribal Practice), it is likely that the movement's own scribes were responsible for copying them, perhaps at Qumran or at some other community site or sites.

The compositions in the collection

The compositions in the manuscripts are usually divided into three groups, though none of the groups has completely clear boundaries. About two hundred of the manuscripts contain copies or versions of the books that are later to be found as part of the Jewish scriptures or Christian Old Testament. There are several additional compositions, such as the Books of Enoch (in Aramaic), the Book of Jubilees, and the Temple Scroll, which belong in this category as authoritative received tradition, as scriptures. It is known, for example, that Jubilees and Enoch were held as authoritative by some Christians in later times, and so it is likely that some Jews also held the same opinion about them. Furthermore, some of the books now in Jewish and Christian Bibles, such as the Books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah are represented in the caves by only a few small fragments which could even be remains of their literary sources or extracts. Perhaps those books were barely understood as of ongoing authority by the movement. Thus not all books now identified as scripture were of the same authority to all Jews in the late Second Temple period.

About two hundred of the manuscripts contain Hebrew compositions that describe the various beliefs and practices of the Jewish movement that collected the manuscripts together. These compositions describe and discuss community organisation of various kinds, showing clearly why it would have been advantageous to have joined the movement. Most scholars consider that movement and its various sub-groups to be the Essenes, even though there are some few differences from the Essenes as described by the philosopher Philo and the Jewish historian Josephus.

About five hundred or more of the manuscripts contain compositions, all identifiably Jewish, that reflect general Jewish literature of the late Second Temple period, the three hundred years before the Roman destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. Amongst those compositions are narratives, wisdom texts, liturgies, hymns and prayers. Their contents reflect a wide range of beliefs and practices: concerning the worlds of angels and demons, matters of practical advice, the character of divine revelation, the nature of priesthood, the periods of history, etc. Over one hundred of these compositions are in Aramaic and have a particular concern with transmitting traditions about the patriarchs — perhaps because the patriarchs came from an age even earlier than that of Moses and Aaron, so they were figures who carried great authority.

Textual fluidity and vitality

Several very important features of the compositions in each of those three categories are now informing modern scholars about how Jews composed and transmitted texts and traditions. The key feature is textual variety and fluidity, textual vitality and development. No longer is it suitable to read back into earlier times a view which

understands that texts are fixed and closed, literary items to be copied word for word from generation to generation. It is now possible to recognize that in pre-canonical times scribes were active participants in the transmission of texts, adjusting matters in minor and sometimes in major ways. That had always been known, but not engaged with fairly, perhaps because especially since the Renaissance and the advent of printing the western attitude to texts has focussed on their fixed character and regularity. It had always been known, for example, that the quotations of the Old Testament by New Testament authors reflect a variety of text types, not all of which can be explained as quotations made with faulty memories. It is also well known that several books of the Hebrew Bible existed in the Second Temple period in more than one form, notably Jeremiah which survives in a shorter and longer form—the shorter form has become canonical for the Eastern Christian churches, whilst the longer (and probably later) form has become authoritative for Jews and Western Christians.

Textual authority

How textual authority is conceived has also been challenged by the scrolls from the Qumran caves. There are four topics that are particularly significant in the light of the new discoveries. The first concerns the material remains, the actual manuscripts themselves. The manuscripts come in all sizes, from small pocket copies to large de luxe editions. Because something is written in a small-sized copy does not mean that the text was considered to be unimportant. Rather, it seems to have been the case that the intended use of the manuscript, whether for personal uses, for public performance in cultic or study contexts, or for communicating between groups within the movement, determined the way a text might be written out. For example, a small pocket edition of Psalm 119, such as is 4QPs^e, should not be considered any less authoritative than a larger scroll containing many Psalms.

The second matter concerning authority is the clear evidence now available that at least one movement amongst Jews from the time of Hillel and Jesus worked with what might be called somewhat anachronistically 'a canon within the canon'. Not all compositions that were later to be found in Jewish and Christian Bibles were deemed to have the same authority. Four works are especially important: Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and the Psalms — Genesis because of the pre-Mosaic narratives of the patriarchs; Deuteronomy because of its law for the occupied land (Deuteronomy 12-26); Isaiah because of its positive eschatology; and the Psalms for their spiritual relevance in any time and place. The preferred status of those four books can be judged from the number of copies that survive in the caves and from the frequency with which parts of those books are cited in other compositions. The early Christians favoured the same books, but not necessarily the same parts of them. However, it is noteworthy that the groups behind the movement that collected the scrolls and several groups of early Christians paid close attention to the patriarchs of Genesis; for them the patriarchs represented the antiquity of their ideologies.

A third topic of significance for how the authority of some texts was conceived rests in the widespread phenomenon of rewriting. In post-canonical times both Jews and Christians would show how the texts of scripture were relevant for their contemporaries by writing commentaries on them. Commonly such commentaries would cite the scriptural text in short blocks and then offer a separate comment of some kind. There are a few such commentaries, known as pesharim (inspired interpretations), in the Qumran collection. However, much more common are multiple forms of rewriting.

Some rewritings stay very close to their source texts, just adding a few phrases, changing occasional items, or deleting repetitions or other unwanted text. Such rewritings are hard to distinguish from the compositions that they rewrite. One such work, so-called Reworked Pentateuch (4Q365), has recently been renamed by scholars as a Torah, because it is very close to what seem to have been its sources. Other rewritings diverge more from their sources and seem to serve some special function for those who put them together. The Book of Jubilees, extant in 15 copies in the Qumran caves, is a rewritten form of Genesis 1–Exodus 15 in which the patriarchs are shown frequently to be keeping the Law, following appropriate halakhic interpretations. The Temple Scroll rewrites several parts of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy to provide a description of the Temple that Solomon should have built but never did; it is put together as if spoken by God himself to Moses, rather than being a report by Moses of what God had said to him (as in the Torah itself) — and so it seems to be making a strong claim to be authoritative. Yet other compositions rewrite scriptural sources even more loosely, creating compositions that are replete with scriptural language and allusion, as new wisdom or liturgical texts.

It is important to note that those rewritings are not secondary paraphrases that undermine the authority of earlier texts. It is much better to imagine that there is a kind of mutual conferring of authority. The earlier text confers authority on the new composition that uses it as a source, and the rewriting, almost as flattery, gives authority to what it rewrites by pointing out that it is important for it to be reworked for a new generation of readers and hearers. Thus it seems unlikely that the rewritings were ever designed entirely to replace the earlier works. Rather, they were intended to represent the vitality of authoritative material which each new generation needed to appropriate and take seriously as they thought through who they were and what they should be doing with their lives in their particular circumstances and political situations.

A fourth matter is also important. It is evident that various parts of the Torah, the Pentateuch, the Law were important and that their rules were commonly extended for application in the movement to be associated with the Qumran and other sites. But it is also clear that prayers and hymns played an important role in the movement's self-understanding and daily practices. There are more prayers and hymns than could ever have been used in various cultic settings, so it is likely that there was an increasing use of such texts in private or by small groups. Those texts indicate that the beliefs and practices of the members of the movement reflect the emerging place of the individual self in late Second Temple times. In addition, the presence of such compositions in such quantities indicates that the world view of the movement that preserved the scrolls in those eleven caves at and near Qumran was not narrowly 'legalistic', concerned exclusively with the correct interpretation of the Law and its rigorous application; they were also aware of God's preferential covenantal concern for them.

Conclusion

Before the discoveries in those eleven caves all that had survived in Hebrew and Aramaic from Palestine of the time of Jesus was to be found on a few coins, on ossuaries (usually as personal names), and on a few inscriptions. The literary finds from Qumran completely change the landscape of the modern understanding of how Jews composed and transmitted texts, of what they were writing and reading, of how they constructed their views of the world. The scrolls from Qumran are not to be dismissed as the remains of a few marginal Jews who consigned themselves to the desert and withdrew from

participation in the life of Jerusalem, the great Judean mother city. Rather, although the contents of the manuscripts may have some distinctive features, they are representative of what is taking place within Jewish practice and belief more broadly. The study of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament cannot be undertaken with no acknowledgement of these very important finds.





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