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## Ancient Scrolls from the Dead Sea: Photographs and Commentary on a Unique Collection of Scrolls

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# About the Scrolls

M. Gerald Bradford

## **Scrolls from Qumran**

The scrolls found at Qumran form a significant body of religious literature. Chief among them are many biblical manuscripts, along with a number of what could be called parabiblical manuscripts, texts that were circulating at the time but were not considered part of the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible). In addition, because they appear to describe the religious beliefs and practices of a specific religious community—presumably the one centered at Qumran—many of the Qumran scrolls can best be described as sectarian in nature.

Scholars date most of these scrolls from the mid-Second Temple period, around 166–164 B.C., to possibly as late as the first century of the Common Era. Some of the Qumran documents may be as old as the third century B.C. Most of the scrolls consist of leather parchment, some of papyrus, and the text of one scroll is engraved on copper.

The importance of the Qumran scrolls becomes evident when their contents are described.

## **Biblical Manuscripts**

About a fourth of the Qumran scrolls are copies, in whole or in part, of every book in the Old Testament except the book of Esther.<sup>1</sup> An example is 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, a scroll more than twenty-four feet long containing the entire text of the book of Isaiah. (A full-size replica of this scroll was on display in the Qumran exhibit.) Among the documents found at Qumran are several copies of the same books of scripture, some of which were copied in ancient paleo-Hebrew, not the Hebrew script of the time.

Some of the biblical texts from Qumran differ significantly from conventional wording and even among themselves. And there is evidence of additions and deletions in some texts, suggesting that in some instances scribes felt free to alter the texts they were working on. No list was found in this collection that would indicate which texts the community considered part of the Bible. Indeed, the evidence suggests that those at Qumran may not have had a clear notion of what constituted an authoritative collection of sacred books.<sup>2</sup>

However, other biblical manuscripts are very close to the text found in the Hebrew Bible, known as the Masoretic text, which was composed by Jewish authorities centuries later, between A.D. 600 and the middle of the tenth century. This consistency is remarkable because these manuscript copies are at least a thousand years older than previously known biblical manuscripts and even predate the canonization of the Hebrew Bible!

This range of fidelity to the Hebrew Bible illustrates the fact that at this time several versions of the same biblical texts were in circulation and that views differed about which versions were more authoritative. Needless to say, it would be difficult to overestimate the value that some of these scrolls have had in present-day biblical studies.

## **Parabiblical Manuscripts**

This category includes copies of (1) apocryphal writings, or texts of questionable authorship or authenticity; and (2) pseudepigraphical texts, so designated because they have been determined to be spurious writings, falsely

# Introduction

M. Gerald Bradford

## **A Momentous Discovery**

Early in 1947 a Bedouin shepherd boy of the Ta'amireh tribe left his flock of sheep and goats to search for a stray amid the crumbling limestone cliffs that line the northwestern rim of the Dead Sea, in the area of Qumran. Spying a cave in the cleft of a steep rocky hillside, he cast a stone into the dark interior and heard something shatter.

Intrigued, he later returned with a companion and found a cache of large clay jars, some of which were intact with lids in place, holding promise of hidden treasure from some bygone age.

But most of the jars were empty, and the remaining few concealed nothing but old scrolls wrapped in linen and blackened with age. So unapparent was the great value of this find that, as the story goes, the Bedouins first considered using the scrolls as fuel for fire. Yet when it came to light that the seven scrolls contained biblical texts and other ancient religious writings, this initial discovery was momentous enough to arouse immediate universal interest that continues to this day.

## **Golden Anniversary**

1997 is the fiftieth anniversary of this signal discovery, hailed by one scholar as “the greatest manuscript find of modern times.” It is fitting that in this banner year the precious legacy of sacred scrolls and other artifacts from remote precincts along the Dead Sea are brought together for public view—some of them displayed outside their patron countries of Israel or Jordan for the first time.

This unique, two-part exhibition appeared at Brigham Young University’s Museum of Art in Provo, Utah, from 13 March through 18 September 1997. Titled *Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* and *The Story of Masada: Discoveries from the Excavation*, these companion exhibits were made possible by the vision and efforts of many individuals and institutions working together across international borders.

For the nearly 150,000 visitors to the exhibits, this golden anniversary was indeed a golden opportunity. Viewing the artifacts can evoke a sense of reverential awe and poignant feelings of spiritual kinship for those ancient Near Eastern peoples who went to such extraordinary lengths to preserve their religious beliefs and identity as well as their community ideals. Indeed, the exhibits were a time passage into this ancient world, a journey from which visitors emerged with vivid images and sobering insights and questions that can be savored and reflected upon for years to come.

## **The Qumran Exhibit**

The 1947 discovery of ancient biblical and nonbiblical scrolls and scroll fragments opened the way for a series of similar finds in ten other nearby caves during the next nine years. Known as the Qumran collection, this vast manuscript treasury includes a number of largely complete scrolls and tens of thousands of scroll fragments, representing more than eight hundred different works written in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic.

Additional scroll fragments were later discovered at several other sites extending south along the western shore of the Dead Sea, from the caves of Murabba’at and Nahal Hever to the monolithic fortress of Masada. These Judean desert documents are collectively known today as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The *Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* exhibit, sponsored by the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), featured five original scrolls and scroll fragments discovered at various locations near the Dead Sea. In addition, full-size replicas of three other scrolls, plus photographs of several additional scroll fragments, were part of this exhibit.

Four of the original scroll fragments on display were discovered at Qumran and are owned by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. These items were on loan to BYU through the good graces of the Jordanian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

The Qumran exhibit also featured one of the famous Bar Kokhba documents, part of a collection that the State of Israel considers to be a national treasure. Named after the Jewish revolutionary who led the so-called Second Jewish Revolt against Rome in A.D. 132–35, these manuscripts were discovered in 1960 and 1961 in a Judean desert cave now known as the Cave of the Letters. The original document that was on display is owned by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and was on loan to BYU from the Shrine of the Book (part of the Israel Museum) in Jerusalem, Israel.

Another of the Bar Kokhba documents, similar to the one that was on display, is a deed partitioning a leasehold estate. It gives the name of one of the tenants as “Alma son of Judah,” the oldest known reference to the name Alma in a Hebrew document. This deed is of interest to Latter-day Saints because the name Alma figures prominently in the Book of Mormon, a scriptural record featuring an account of a New World people of Hebrew origin who migrated from Jerusalem in 600 B.C. A high-quality color photograph of this deed was also on display.

The Qumran exhibit included the items listed below. The scrolls’ technical nomenclature is briefly explained later in the section titled “About This Booklet.”

Originals	4Q22 Paleo Exodus <sup>m</sup> 1Q28a Rule of the Congregation 4Q175 Testimonia 1Q22 Words of Moses 5/6Hev 46 Bar Kokhba
Replicas	1QIsa <sup>a</sup> The Great Isaiah Scroll 1QS Rule of the Community 1QpHab Habakkuk Pesher
Photographs	4Q2 Genesis <sup>b</sup> Numbers <sup>b</sup> Deuteronomy <sup>d</sup> 11Q10 Targum of Job 4Q27 11Q19 Temple Scroll 4Q31 3Q15 Copper Scroll 5/6Hev 44 Bar Kokhba

## The Masada Exhibit

More than thirty years ago, a number of scroll fragments were discovered at Masada, the famous mountaintop fortress near the Dead Sea. At this tragic site shouldering up twelve hundred feet above the plain, 960 Jewish men, women, and children withstood the onslaught of Rome’s formidable Tenth Legion for several months before choosing suicide over enslavement as their foes closed in to breach the walls.

Some of these documents have been identified with the community at Qumran and thus establish a link between the inhabitants of these two ancient sites. The items that were on display belong to the permanent Masada Exhibition assembled by the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Four of the original Masada scroll fragments, along with other artifacts from the Masada Exhibition, were on loan to BYU and were featured in an exhibit called *The Story of Masada: Discoveries from the Excavation*. This exhibit,

brought to BYU under the auspices of Hebrew University and in collaboration with the IAA, was sponsored locally by BYU Studies (publisher of a quarterly journal of the same name) and BYU's Museum of Peoples and Cultures, with assistance from FARMS. Other sponsors were the Israel Ministry of Tourism, the Schussheim Foundation, and the Israel Exploration Society.

This exhibit included four original scroll fragments:

¥ Mas1d Ezekiel

¥ Mas1e Psalms

¥ Mas1j Work Similar to Jubilees ("Prince of Hatred")

¥ Mas1o Papyrus Paleo Fragment ("Mount Gerizim")

### **About This Booklet**

This booklet contains helpful information about each scroll represented in the two exhibits. This material consists of background data and, in some instances, translations and brief commentaries. Information is also provided for the scroll replicas and the several photographs of scrolls that were on display.

More specifically, this publication (1) recounts the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and reviews the matter of access to and study of the Qumran scrolls; (2) relates how these priceless documents came to be assembled in Provo, Utah; (3) provides details about the scrolls in the exhibits; (4) includes digitized images, some in color, of each of the documents that were on display; and (5) discusses scribal methods and the manner in which these important documents were preserved.

Because of the sheer number of scrolls and scroll fragments discovered at Qumran and elsewhere in the Judean desert, those who have worked on this material over the years have devised an elaborate system for identifying these rare documents. It will suffice to mention here that 1Q = Qumran Cave 1, 4Q = Qumran Cave 4, Mas = Masada, and 5/6Hev = Caves 5/6 (the Cave of the Letters, which has two entrances) in the canyon Nahal Hever. In this booklet, standard document numbers are followed by an accepted descriptive title.

—*M. Gerald Bradford*

attributed to biblical figures or times. (For instance, one of the Masada documents that was on display, Mas1j, may be a copy of a portion of the pseudepigraphical work known as the book of *Jubilees*.)

## Sectarian Manuscripts

Writings in this category fall into three groups: those that describe what could be called the rules and regulations governing community life, those that are distinctive biblical commentaries, and those that are apocalyptic and liturgical works. The first group is represented by fragments from a work known as the *Damascus Document* (medieval copies of which were also discovered in Cairo in the last century and have now been identified with the Qumran community), 1QS *Rule of the Community* (a replica of which was in the Qumran exhibit), and the *Halakhic Letter* (several copies of which were found, all containing, among other things, mention of twenty-two religious laws applying to this community).

The second group includes commentaries on the teachings of the biblical prophets Habakkuk, Nahum, and Hosea. (In the Qumran exhibit was a replica of 1QpHab *Habakkuk Peshar*.) These commentaries differ from modern reflections on scripture because their interpretations of scripture reveal aspects of the group's history and future, along with its dealings with its leaders and adversaries, in a manner believed to be properly understood only by members of the community.

Apocalyptic writings foretelling the ultimate triumph of good over evil are represented by such manuscripts as the *War Scroll* (technically *The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness*), while liturgical works, along with hymns and psalms, illustrate the central importance of prayer and worship within the community.

The Qumran collection of scrolls also includes miscellaneous material such as legal texts, contracts, and lists of names.

## Access to and Study of the Scrolls

Soon after the scrolls were discovered at Qumran, they were studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the American Schools of Oriental Research, also in Jerusalem. Eventually the effort was somewhat consolidated at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in East Jerusalem.

In 1952 G. Lankester Harding, head of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, asked Roland de Vaux, a Dominican priest and renowned scholar associated with the Ecole Biblique, to head an international team of seven Hebrew and Aramaic experts. These scholars began the task of transcribing, editing, and publishing the rapidly increasing number of manuscripts. Oxford University Press agreed to publish the material in a definitive multivolume series entitled *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*.

At the outset the international team decided to impose strict rules of secrecy on the project and to limit access to the manuscripts only to team members. Unfortunately, this decision, which was to have enormous impact on subsequent scroll scholarship, fueled speculation in the media, among the general public, and even among some scholars that the scrolls must contain "revolutionary or explosive revelations about Jesus and the New Testament."<sup>3</sup> But this speculation proved to be incorrect.

After the 1967 war, when Israel occupied East Jerusalem, virtually all the scroll material housed in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum) came under the control of the IAA. What remained in Jordanian hands was the famous *Copper Scroll* found in Cave 3 and a few other fragments (four of which were

included in the Qumran exhibit). As a result of this political sea change and other factors, work on the scrolls slowed considerably. De Vaux died in 1971, and Pierre Benoit succeeded him as director of the international team and chief editor of the Judean desert texts. Unfortunately, in the fifteen years of Benoit's leadership very little was published on the scrolls. The British biblical scholar John Strugnell, then at Harvard University, was appointed to head the team in 1987 but served for only a brief period.

Because of the slow pace of scholarship and for other reasons, during the 1980s the *Biblical Archaeology Review* began a public campaign advocating access to the scrolls. In 1990 the Israeli authorities disbanded the original team of scholars and appointed Emanuel Tov, professor of biblical studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, as the new editor in chief. Tov subsequently formed a new team that eventually grew to nearly sixty members.<sup>4</sup>

Despite these significant changes, outside scholars who were vitally interested in the scrolls and desired access to them continued to press for more openness in the process. At about the time the new international team was assembled, two scholars from Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, reconstructed the text of several scroll fragments from Cave 4 with the help of a computer. The international team objected and threatened legal action. Meanwhile, a California philanthropist with a long-standing interest in the scrolls obtained two sets of scroll photographs from the Jerusalem Department of Antiquities. One set was given to the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California. The other set was donated, without restrictions, to the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

In 1991 the Huntington Library announced it would open its collection of scroll photographs to all qualified scholars. The IAA and the international team protested, but before the end of the year they changed their policy and allowed all qualified scholars and researchers access to the photographic collections of the scrolls at Oxford, Cincinnati, and Claremont.<sup>5</sup>

It is estimated there will be well over thirty volumes in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. Since the first volume was published in 1955, sixteen additional volumes have become available, ten of them since 1990.

In an effort to increase access to these invaluable ancient documents, FARMS, in cooperation with BYU, is producing and will distribute, mainly to Dead Sea Scrolls scholars, the Dead Sea Scrolls on CD: The FARMS Electronic Database. The database will consist of a comprehensive, fully indexed, and cross-linked computerized collection of nonbiblical (and eventually biblical) Dead Sea Scrolls transcriptions, a selection of digitized images (from photographs) of scrolls and scroll fragments, translations, and reference material of importance for scholarly work on the scrolls and on related literature and subjects.

## **The Community at Qumran**

On the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea, two miles south of its upper rim, is an ancient ruin called Khirbet Qumran. In 1947, in one of the nearby caves, the first of what turned out to be a massive collection of ancient biblical and nonbiblical scrolls and scroll fragments was discovered.

Sometime after this first discovery, the cave was located through the efforts of Captain Philippe Lippens, a Belgian officer in the United Nations Armistice Corps. Because of the cave's proximity to Khirbet Qumran, it seemed likely that the two sites were related. But when the ruin was initially excavated in 1949, nothing was found to establish a connection.

Nevertheless, beginning in 1951 and proceeding more systematically from 1953 to 1956, a team of archaeologists thoroughly explored the site. Harding and de Vaux directed this series of excavations with assistance from representatives of the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. The archaeologists uncovered several large structures that they believed to be the center of a small monastic Jewish group where the scrolls had been collected, copied, and written. They speculated that this was the group that later hid the scrolls in neighboring caves.

The theory was that the group lived in the immediate area and used the center complex of buildings for such communal activities as sharing meals and engaging in common acts of worship, prayer, and ritual purification. Several large cisterns discovered at the site may have been used for purification ordinances as well as to collect drinking water. The complex included a large assembly hall, several other facilities used for a variety of living purposes, and a large workroom understood to be a scriptorium where presumably the scrolls were copied, written, and stored. On display in the Qumran exhibit are some of the artifacts found at this site: wooden bowls, oil lamps, incense altars, and a large terra-cotta jar of the type in which the scrolls were stored.

According to archaeological evidence, Qumran was occupied late in the second century B.C., during the Maccabean era. Over time a larger area was occupied until an earthquake and fire destroyed the site sometime in the reign of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.), probably around 31 B.C. Rebuilt early in the Common Era, the settlement was inhabited until the time of the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66–73), when Roman troops destroyed it before laying siege to Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Roman troops then occupied the site for another twenty years, until A.D. 90. It then became a stronghold for Jewish freedom fighters during the time of the Second Jewish Revolt (also known as the Bar Kokhba Revolt), which took place between A.D. 132 and 135. After that the area was abandoned, and it has been desolate to this day.<sup>6</sup>

Today scholars are less inclined to view the site as a monastic center. While they agree that some inhabitants may have lived a celibate life, they point out that there simply is not sufficient evidence to support the claim that this was the case for all the inhabitants. Furthermore, as can be expected, scholarly opinion varies about which particular Jewish group might have occupied the site. Hebrew University archaeologist E. L. Sukenik, one of the first to acquire and study some of the newly discovered scrolls, claimed that Qumran was an Essene community. This is still the prevailing theory.

The Essenes were one of four distinct Jewish groups living in Palestine before and during the early part of the Common Era. Another group, the Sadducees, was relatively small in number and counted among its followers the priestly class in Jerusalem, along with the more wealthy aristocratic members of society. The Sadducees were closely associated with sacrificial rites performed at the temple in Jerusalem, claiming to be direct descendants of Zadok, the high priest at the time of Solomon's Temple.

While officially opposed to the Maccabean authorities in Jerusalem, the Sadducees more often than not allied themselves with these forces politically if not religiously. As a result of these and other factors, the Sadducees were often in opposition to the majority of common-class Jews who followed the teachings of a third group, the Pharisees. Among other things, these Jews supported the practice of ritual observance in the home and in the synagogue, further undermining the priestly authority of the Sadducees. Rabbinic Judaism emerged out of the teachings and practices of this group.

The Sadducees and Pharisees each in their own way sought to accommodate themselves to the reality of Roman rule. But not the Zealots. This small, often violent group made no effort to keep itself apart from Judean politics.

The Zealots thoroughly opposed Jews who paid tribute to Rome or who otherwise acknowledged Roman rule. They were also in opposition to any Jewish leaders or groups who sought accommodation with Rome. Not surprisingly, at the time of the First Revolt it was the Zealots who occupied Masada and, when their cause was lost, committed mass suicide rather than let themselves be taken captive by the Roman Legion.

In contrast, the Essenes (literally the “healers”), known for their piety and distinctive beliefs and practices, separated themselves from the rest of society. They were described by contemporary historians, both Jewish and Roman, as pious Jews who viewed themselves as the only true Israel. Although they paid tribute to the temple in Jerusalem, they sought to distance themselves from those who practiced sacrificial worship there and from the form of Judaism represented by the Maccabees, the priestly family who reigned in Palestine from about 142 B.C. until the time of King Herod’s rule. The Essenes formed themselves into ascetic communities, some of whose members may have been celibate.

According to contemporary historians, the Essenes lived in several cities in Judea, even possibly in an isolated section of Jerusalem, and in villages in the wilderness, some in the area of the Dead Sea. They lived a largely communal life, supporting themselves by farming and plying various trades. They adhered to a hierarchical organization led by priests, observed rules of initiation for new members, performed daily purification rituals, held all property in common, took meals together, and worked, studied the scriptures, and prayed together.<sup>7</sup>

Certain Qumran scrolls—for example, 1QS *Rule of the Community*—tell us that the inhabitants of this desert community, like the Essenes, lived in a communal and highly structured social order led by priests, required a probationary period for new members, performed daily acts of ritual purification, allowed common use of property, and ate meals together. Seeing themselves as the sole possessors of the correct means for interpreting scripture, they prepared themselves for the impending end of the world.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, according to the *War Scroll*, this community believed in an imminent and final war that would pit the forces of light against the forces of darkness and bring about an end to evil and destruction in the world, thereby making way for the coming of the Messiah and the formation of a new covenant. Some scholars even refer to this group as the “Community of the Renewed Covenant.”<sup>9</sup>

Despite the similarities between descriptions of the Essenes and the community described in the Qumran scrolls, not all scholars agree on who wrote the scrolls, exactly when they were written, or where they were composed. For instance, the word *Essene* has not been found anywhere in this large collection of documents. Some scholars identify the community with the Sadducees and others with the Pharisees, depending on how various writings are interpreted. Other scholars think that the rather odd assortment of scrolls found in the caves does not necessarily have anything to do with the nearby site of Qumran (which they contend was a fortress rather than a settlement) and are not necessarily linked to any one particular religious group. In this view the scrolls are the remains of libraries in and around Jerusalem, maybe even from the library at the temple in Jerusalem, and were all carried to this remote site for safekeeping when the Romans threatened the city. Still other scholars remain convinced that the scrolls are the writings of forerunners of those who became the followers of Jesus, the so-called Jewish Christians, who still observed the Jewish law.

Instead of focusing primarily on what the scrolls tell us about the identity of the Qumran community, other scholars stress that the important point is that these rare documents reveal that Judaism in the mid-Second Temple period reflected a range of beliefs and practices apparently centered on scripture study and the interpretation of Jewish law, the practice of ritual purity, and an expectation of the end of time and the coming of

the Messiah.<sup>10</sup> In this view the real value of the Qumran scrolls is the information they provide about the many forms of Judaism that thrived before and during the early period of the Common Era and the considerable contribution they make to our understanding of the religious world in which Jesus lived and taught and out of which Christianity emerged.<sup>11</sup>

## Scrolls from Masada

Another significant collection of Dead Sea Scrolls was discovered in the 1960s in the mountaintop fortress of Masada. Deemed to be associated with the Zealots who occupied the fortress from A.D. 66 to 73, these were the first scrolls discovered in the Judean desert in a location other than caves.

It has now been determined that seventeen scroll fragments were found in various locations at Masada.<sup>12</sup> This collection has been grouped into the same categories as the Qumran scrolls: several are biblical manuscripts, others are apocryphal or pseudepigraphical writings, and at least one is sectarian and seems to be identified with the Qumran community, whose members presumably took them to Masada when they fled there to escape the Romans' destruction of their wilderness community. All the documents are parchment except for one small fragment inscribed in paleo-Hebrew on papyrus.

Seven scroll fragments are biblical manuscripts. Two are texts from the book of Leviticus (Mas1a and Mas1b), one is a passage from Deuteronomy (Mas1c), and another, which was on display in the Masada exhibit, is from Ezekiel 31:11–37:15 (Mas1d). The remaining three manuscripts contain texts from the book of Psalms (Mas1e, Mas1f, Mas1g). The first includes the passage from Psalms 81:6–85:6 and was also in the Masada exhibit. Unlike those found at Qumran, all of the biblical texts found at Masada are virtually the same as the Masoretic text.

Scroll fragments of several apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books are also included in this collection. One is an apocryphal work known as the *Proverbs (Wisdom) of Ben Sira* (Mas1h), sometimes referred to as *Ecclesiasticus*. Copies of this text were also found at Qumran. Another (Mas1j) is either a selection from the pseudepigraphical book of *Jubilees* or possibly a fragment of a Genesis scroll.<sup>13</sup>

Two other scroll fragments in this category—*Prince of Hatred* (Mas1j) and *Mount Gerizim* (Mas1o)—were also on exhibit. The first fragment, copies of which were also discovered at Qumran, was initially thought to be from *Jubilees* but is now thought to be from another as yet unidentified source. The second fragment, the only document found at Masada written on papyrus in ancient paleo-Hebrew script, has been identified as a Samaritan document. Five additional Masada fragments grouped in this category have yet to be fully identified.

One scroll fragment found at Masada known as *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Mas1k) is clearly sectarian in nature and deals with the Qumran community.

## The Masada Fortress

Located on an isolated rock cliff west of the Dead Sea and approximately thirty miles south of Qumran, Masada was one of a series of fortresses built in the Judean desert by the rulers of Judea, principally Herod the Great. These locations served as places of refuge. For instance, when Herod fled to Masada with his family and a rather large following, the group stayed there from 40 to 37 B.C. and withstood a siege until Herod returned with sufficient forces to free them. At this time Herod began an extensive building effort that included an elaborate water collection system.<sup>14</sup>

Excavations at Masada revealed structures and artifacts identified with various periods of occupation.<sup>15</sup> After Herod's death, Masada was occupied by a Roman garrison until about A.D. 66, when it was captured by a band of Zealots at the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt. A crucial refuge during the revolt, Masada was home to many who fled Roman forces, including some inhabitants of Qumran who sought safety there when their community was destroyed just before Jerusalem fell to the Romans in A.D. 70. In A.D. 73 Roman troops retook the fortress, but the 960 inhabitants chose to commit suicide rather than be taken captive.

For the State of Israel, Masada is much more than a rich source of priceless ancient artifacts. Yigael Yadin, the late professor of archaeology at Hebrew University who directed the excavation of Masada in the mid-1960s, aptly expressed this sentiment:

Masada's scientific importance was known to be great. But more than that, Masada represents for all of us in Israel and for many elsewhere, archaeologists and laymen, a symbol of courage, a monument to our great national figures, heroes who chose death over a life of physical and moral serfdom.<sup>16</sup>

### **Other Judean Desert Caves**

Early in 1952, while directing excavations at Qumran, Harding and de Vaux, along with Dominique Barthélemy, a researcher at the Ecole Biblique, investigated reports of written documents having been found in caves in the vicinity of Wadi Murabba'at, about eleven miles south of Khirbet Qumran. Among the documents found were several biblical fragments and what turned out to be the first of several documents dating from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, including two letters from Bar Kokhba himself.

In 1960 and 1961, soon after a brief survey of caves just north of Masada yielded some success, an expedition sponsored by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Israel Exploration Society, and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (now the IAA) explored caves in all the canyons between En-ge-di and Masada. This area was divided into four sections, and an archaeological team was assigned to each section.

Expedition D, headed by Yadin, was established on the north bank of the Nahal Hever canyon, one of the deepest canyons in the Judean desert. The team focused its effort on a rewarding site called the Cave of the Letters.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the caves containing the Qumran scrolls and fragments, the Cave of the Letters was one of several hideouts for followers of Simeon Bar Kokhba (whose original name was probably Bar Koseva).<sup>18</sup>

Among the documents found in the Cave of the Letters, of particular interest is a collection of fifteen letters dictated by Bar Kokhba and addressed to his various military commanders in the area. All these letters were written on papyrus, except one that was carved on four pieces of wood that were joined together to form one document. Most of the letters were written in Aramaic, a few were written in Hebrew, and two were written in Greek.

Biblical scroll fragments found in the cave include one with text from Psalm 15 and the beginning of Psalm 16 and another small fragment containing part of the book of Numbers. Among the nonbiblical documents recovered, thirty-five belonged to a woman named Babata. Many of these documents deal with personal matters such as her marriage, her children, and legal and other business transactions that she and her family entered into with others in the En-ge-di region.

Six documents unrelated to the Babata collection pertain to the Bar Kokhba Revolt and reveal information about the administrative organization of the Bar Kokhba government. In this collection are legal documents relating to land deals and business transactions of some of the residents of En-gedi. It is most likely that the original Bar Kokhba document that was on display in the Qumran exhibit (5/6Hev 46) is a land deed of this sort.

The Bar Kokhba documents have yielded insights in many areas. For example, historians and others value the letters, as well as the coins minted with Bar Kokhba's name on them, for the facts they contain about the social and economic conditions that prevailed during Bar Kokhba's reign. Before this discovery, scholars relied primarily on secondhand accounts of his administration and rebellion.

The finds at the Cave of the Letters give us a snapshot into the material life of people living near the Dead Sea at the time of the Second Revolt. We now have physical evidence—an empty jewelry box, wooden bowls, sandals, keys that could be worn as rings, knives, and a mirror, among other artifacts<sup>19</sup>—reflecting aspects of life that previously were described by historians and other scholars working only with records from that time period. Furthermore, we also have documents that, because they were never intended to be passed down from generation to generation, provide an unbiased record of daily life.

The Bar Kokhba documents, along with the scrolls found at Qumran and Masada, contribute significantly to our understanding of the languages, the social and economic conditions, and the harsh political world of Palestine from the second century B.C. to well into the Common Era. As a result of these most important discoveries, we now understand better and ought to appreciate even more our common cultural and religious heritage.

## Notes

1. Some scholars contend that certain scrolls may reflect an early version of the book of Esther.
2. According to David R. Seely, a member of the international team of scholars working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, "Biblical texts were found [at Qumran] that demonstrated many significant textual variants from individual books" ("The Masada Fragments, the Qumran Scrolls, and the New Testament," *BYU Studies* 36/3 [1996-97]: 291). Geza Vermes makes the same point and adds that at Qumran "the concept 'Bible' was still a hazy and open-ended one" ("The War over the Scrolls," *New York Review of Books* 41/14 [1994]: 12).
3. Vermes, "War over the Scrolls," 10.
4. Four BYU faculty members were recently appointed to this team: Donald L. Parry, professor of Hebrew language and literature; Dana M. Pike, professor of ancient scripture; David R. Seely, professor of ancient scripture; and Andrew C. Skinner, professor of ancient scripture and recently appointed chairman of the Department of Ancient Scripture.
5. For a brief review of the controversy over access to and study of the scrolls, see Vermes, "War over the Scrolls," 10-1, from which this account was taken.
6. See Frederick F. Bruce, "Qumran," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1996), 13:1429-35.

7. Lawrence H. Schiffman identifies the chief characteristics of the Essenes and compares them to what is known about the inhabitants of the Qumran community, based on what is in some of the scrolls. See his article “Essenes,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1995), 5:163–6.

8. Stephen E. Robinson sees similarities between characteristics of the Qumran community and beliefs and practices associated with early Christianity and reflected currently in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. See his “Background for the Testaments,” *Ensign* (Dec. 1982), 25–30.

9. Shemaryahu Talmon, “Hebrew Scroll Fragments from Masada,” in *The Story of Masada: Discoveries from the Excavations*, ed. Gila Hurvitz, English ed. (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1997), 107.

10. This is the position of Professor Schiffman. See his “Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 4:248–50. Writing from a Latter-day Saint perspective, Hugh W. Nibley contends that the more we know about the religious teachings and practices associated with groups such as the Essenes and the Qumran community, the better we will understand the religious world out of which the Book of Mormon, as well as the distinctive characteristics of early Christianity, emerged. See “More Voices from the Dust,” in his *Old Testament and Related Studies* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1986), 239–44.

11. Geza Vermes, for instance, contends that “Essenism, Rabbinic Judaism, and early Christianity all arose in Palestine during a period of profound spiritual ferment. It is no exaggeration to say that none of these movements can properly be understood independently of the others. Their fundamental similarities of language, doctrine, and attitude to Scripture clearly seem to derive from the Palestinian religious atmosphere of the period” (“War over the Scrolls,” 12–3). Hugh Nibley seems to agree. He points out similarities between beliefs and practices recorded in the Book of Mormon and beliefs associated with certain forms of apocalyptic Judaism before the Common Era, as well as beliefs and practices common to the Qumran community. See “The Dead Sea Scrolls: Some Questions and Answers,” in his *Old Testament and Related Studies*, 245–51.

For other Latter-day Saint views on the scrolls, see Robert A. Cloward, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:363–4; John A. Tvedtnes, “The Dead Sea Scrolls,” in his *The Church of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980), 57–80; Donald W. Parry and Dana M. Pike, eds., *LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997).

12. Shemaryahu Talmon, Hebrew University professor of the Bible and member of the international team working on the scrolls, has been assigned to work on the Masada scroll fragments. See his account of this collection in Hurvitz, *The Story of Masada*, 101–7. See also Seely, “Masada Fragments,” 287–301.

13. David Seely deals at length with both of these texts, particularly in relation to the New Testament. See his “Masada Fragments.”

14. A full account of the discovery and excavation of Masada is found in the catalog accompanying the Masada exhibit: *The Story of Masada: Discoveries from the Excavations*. See also the recently published collection of articles on Masada edited by John F. Hall and John W. Welch and titled “Masada and the World of the New Testament,” in *BYU Studies* 36/3 (1996–97).

15. Yigael Yadin’s detailed summary of the finds at Masada references these periods of occupation. See his “Masada,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11:1078–91.

16. Cited in Amnon Ben-Tor, introduction to *The Story of Masada*, xi. See Yigael Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1966).

17. For a detailed description of these explorations, see the article by Joseph Patrich, "History of Exploration," and the article by Joseph Aviram, "The Judean Desert Expedition," both in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993), 3:820–1.

18. Samuel Abramsky gives a brief yet detailed account of this revolutionary leader in his article "Bar Kokhba," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 4:228–32. He notes that Bar Kokhba (literally "son of a star") was fully in charge of both the economy and the military and that he ruled imperiously, often ruthlessly. According to Abramsky, "The appellation Bar Kokhba was apparently given to [Bar Koseva] during the revolt on the basis of the homiletical interpretation, in a reference to messianic expectations, of the verse (Num. 24:17): 'There shall step forth a star (כוכב, *kokhav*) out of Jacob'" (ibid., 229).

19. For a detailed description of what was found in the Cave of the Letters, see Yigael Yadin, "Cave of the Letters," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations*, 3:829–32.

# Two Windows on the Ancient World

John W. Welch

The unlikely arrival in Provo, Utah, this year of nine original Dead Sea Scrolls, along with several high-quality replicas and other ancient artifacts from Qumran and Masada, is the result of efforts that began three years ago.

Alan Ashton, a prominent Utah businessman, and I were in Jerusalem in 1994 when the Masada Exhibition was on display at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We were fascinated with the exhibit, and toward the end of our visit I commented to Alan that it would be wonderful if the exhibit could someday come to BYU. He wholeheartedly agreed. We made arrangements to meet with the curator of the exhibit, Gila Hurvitz, who immediately and enthusiastically embraced the idea. Because of Hebrew University's proximity to the BYU Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies on Mount Scopus, she responded, "We are neighbors in Jerusalem; we should be partners in Provo."

Because the Masada Exhibition did not contain much in the way of scroll material, we made a special request of Hurvitz that more of the scroll fragments found at Masada be added to the exhibit when it was sent to BYU. We were interested, for example, in a fragment that contains the biblical prophet Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ezekiel 37:1-14). As it turned out, this scroll fragment and three others found at Masada were eventually prepared for display and were included in the Masada exhibit at BYU. The Ezekiel fragment, technically known as Mas1d Ezekiel, was on display in Provo for the first time anywhere in the world.

As long as some of the Masada scroll fragments were coming to BYU, I began investigating the possibility of securing additional scrolls and scroll fragments from other sources to enhance the exhibit.

In May 1996 I corresponded with Hurvitz about our adding one of the famous Bar Kokhba documents, owned by the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem, to the exhibit. I requested the deed 5/6Hev 44, which contains the Book of Mormon name Alma. I also urged her to inquire about the possibility of our obtaining some of the scrolls held in the Rockefeller Museum. We both recognized that publicity of the Masada exhibit would increase if additional original scrolls were included, because many people in Utah have a great interest in this ancient material. Unfortunately, as late as October 1996, in spite of several inquiries by Hurvitz and others, it seemed we would not be able to add any additional scrolls to the exhibit.

But Hurvitz persisted, and in late November she received word from the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) that they had agreed to include the Bar Kokhba deed we requested in the Masada exhibit during its six-month stay in Provo. However, at least two months would be required for conservation of the material, and a special courier would be required to deliver the document by hand.

News of this development was enthusiastically received at BYU, and details about this added cooperation reached us in time to be included in our initial publicity and in an article about the upcoming Masada exhibit that appeared in the March 1997 issue of the *Ensign* magazine, a Latter-day Saint publication.

Also in November, while I was in New Orleans for the annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature, I met with Dr. Weston Fields, executive director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, which is based in Jerusalem. He was familiar with our plans for the Masada exhibit and was eager to thank people in Utah for supporting the work of the foundation. Consequently, he wanted to do whatever he could to secure some of the Qumran scrolls to complement the Masada scrolls in the exhibit.

Fields reported that on his way to New Orleans he was approached by an antiquities dealer in New York who had a set of three Qumran scroll replicas for sale. One was a copy of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> *The Great Isaiah Scroll*. The set also included a copy of IQS *Rule of the Community* and a copy of the *Habakkuk Pesher*. The replicas were all of high-quality leather and comparable to the scroll replicas on display in the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem.

I authorized Fields to purchase the replicas on behalf of FARMS, and the set was shipped to Provo the first week in December. At the same time, I began to explore with others at FARMS the idea of our sponsoring a second exhibit at BYU in which we could display the replicas and the Bar Kokhba document. This exhibit, conceived as a companion to the Masada exhibit, would be called *Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Meanwhile, during the first week of January 1997, Fields, who was then back in Jerusalem, traveled to neighboring Amman, Jordan, and met with Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, director general of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. They discussed the possibility of Jordan's loaning some of the Qumran scrolls to BYU for display in the Qumran exhibit. Fields initially asked about obtaining on loan part of the famous 3Q15 *Copper Scroll* but learned that it was in Paris and would not be available. Nevertheless, Bisheh was confident that the Jordanians wanted to cooperate.

At this time we selected six scrolls that we thought would be of particular interest to the BYU community and asked Fields to begin the process of formally requesting this material. In his correspondence to Bisheh, Fields pointed out an interesting coincidence. Dr. Marti Lu Allen, associate director of BYU's Museum of Peoples and Cultures and my codirector of the Masada exhibit during its stay at BYU, was a classmate of Dr. Bisheh during their graduate studies at the University of Michigan.

After confirmation from university administrators that FARMS and BYU Studies could proceed to negotiate with the Jordanians without further university clearance, news was received on 20 January 1997 that "in principle the Department of Antiquities of Jordan will have no objection to the display of the requested items." However, one major political hurdle stood in the way: the shipment of a registered archaeological object to another country required the approval of the Jordanian cabinet. We therefore reduced our request to three or four scroll fragments to facilitate rapid approval. Finally, on 27 February, Fields and his wife, Diane, received a certificate authorizing them to act as couriers on behalf of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in transporting four original Dead Sea Scrolls from Jordan to Provo. The Fieldses arrived with the scrolls at the FARMS offices the next day, and the material was deposited in the vault of the BYU Museum of Art. Only two weeks later the exhibit opened to the public.

Also in February, further arrangements needed to be made regarding the display of the Bar Kokhba document. A separate loan agreement was negotiated to cover the expenses for this single document, and during the first week of March that contract was finalized and executed by the IAA and BYU. Couriers carrying both the Bar Kokhba document and the Masada scroll fragments arrived in Provo late in the evening of Thursday, 6 March, only a few days before the press conference and opening gala for the exhibit on 12 March.

The arrival of this material, however, was not without incident as well as disappointment. The cases that had been prepared for transporting the Masada fragments and the Bar Kokhba document from Tel Aviv to New York proved to be too large for normal storage on the domestic aircraft Delta Airlines used between New York City and Salt Lake City. After several phone calls to Delta officials at Salt Lake International Airport, and with the cooperation of the director of protocol at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City, the two oversize scroll cases were allowed to ride beside the pilot in the cockpit. Delayed five hours, the material finally arrived at the museum.

The excitement of receiving these items was momentarily subdued when it was discovered that the Shrine of the Book had prepared and sent the wrong Bar Kokhba document, one that did not contain the name of one “Alma son of Judah.” The document we received, 5/6Hev 46, was nevertheless placed on display and is similar to the one we requested. Eventually, the IAA dispatched a high-quality color photograph of the so-called Alma deed; so instead of seeing only one of the famous Bar Kokhba documents, visitors to the exhibits saw two rare items, one original and an enlarged facsimile.

At the Qumran and Masada exhibits at BYU—two windows on the ancient world—people were thus able to see nine original Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts; three full-size, high-quality scroll replicas; several photographic reproductions of other documents; and related material. It is a great honor and privilege for FARMS and BYU to have been able to host these priceless artifacts. Under one roof we had treasures of Israel from Masada and the Judean desert and treasures of Jordan from Qumran.

# BYU Entrusted with Jordanian Scrolls

## Weston Fields

For the first time ever the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan allowed four of the original Dead Sea Scrolls in its possession to leave the country. These scrolls—4Q22 Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>, 1Q28a *Rule of the Congregation*, 4Q175 *Testimonia*, and 1Q22 *Words of Moses*—were on display at BYU’s Museum of Art.

In 1967, during the Six-Day War, most of the scrolls owned by Jordan were captured by Israel and placed in the Rockefeller Museum. However, several scrolls remained in Amman, Jordan, and since then have not been out of the country. Three of these scrolls have never been on display in a museum, but have been kept in a vault in Jordan for years. Consequently, very few people have had a chance to see them since they were first published. Only one fragment, 4Q175 *Testimonia*, had been on display before.

It is a great honor that of all the universities and museums in the United States, BYU was the first to be permitted to display these scrolls. Original scrolls seldom leave Jordan or Israel, so their coming to BYU was a rare opportunity. Even in Israel, where there are many more scrolls, few people get to see something like this firsthand.

The impetus for bringing the Jordanian scrolls to BYU was a desire for exhibit visitors to see as many original Dead Sea Scrolls as possible. I think the reason the Jordanian government allowed these national treasures to come to BYU and Utah was because of the reputation of the LDS Church, the university, and FARMS—a reputation of honesty. In the end, it was this reputation that made it possible for me, even though I am not a member of the LDS Church, to negotiate with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and for them to convince the Jordanian cabinet and the prime minister to let the scrolls out of their country. Many requests have been made for this material but have always been turned down. However, when the request came from BYU and FARMS, the Jordanian government was willing to loan them because they trusted the LDS people, BYU, and FARMS. That trust made all the difference.

During the negotiations, I tried to maintain a nonpolitical, neutral stance, as does the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, which I head. Our neutrality made it easier for the director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, who is himself nonpolitical, to overlook my Israeli connections and trust that when I left his office I would get on a plane to Amsterdam and not to Tel Aviv.

It is my view, and I think that Dr. Bisheh agrees with me, that the Dead Sea Scrolls belong to the world. They do not belong just to the Israelis or to the Jordanians, but to everyone. It so happens that at this point in history the Jordanians are the custodians for some of the scrolls, the Israelis are the custodians of others, and the Dutch and the French own a few; but all these scrolls really belong to the world.

It was exciting for my wife and me to bring these scrolls to Utah—to travel halfway around the world with them in a box and to watch out for them constantly for the forty hours it took us to travel from Amman to Provo. It is not every day that one gets to travel with ancient original scrolls in his hands. Lika Tov, wife of Professor Emanuel Tov, director of the international team of scholars who are working on the scrolls, said, “I’m glad they asked you to do it, because I wouldn’t have the nerve.”

After the officials left us in the Amman airport, we were asked to open the box before being checked in through the X-ray machine. I was nervous, but because the Arab guards did not speak English very well, and because the people

who packed the box fortunately placed on it a fragile sign with a picture of a glass, the guards decided that we did not have to unwrap the material.

Only a few people in Israel were really aware of what was taking place: Professor Tov and his wife, Professor Shemaryahu Talmon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, my secretary, maybe one or two others, and, of course, my wife and I. But nobody officially knew about it. For security reasons, we wanted to keep the number of people who knew what we were doing to a minimum. Also, we did not want to take a chance that somebody would object to what we wanted to do.

Will what we have done help the political climate between Jordan and Israel? I think it will. This was the first cooperative venture in archaeology in decades (even if it was done indirectly) involving Jordan and Israel. It is important that scholars cooperate in such matters strictly on a scholarly basis, being as nonpolitical as possible. The fact that the scrolls came to BYU and were on display demonstrates such cooperation. There will be other opportunities for Israel and Jordan to join together in similar ventures. I think that what has happened at BYU will be viewed in the long run as a positive step forward in dealings between these two countries and the United States.

# 4Q22 Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>

John A. Tvedtnes

## Description and Background

Among the scrolls found in Cave 4 at Qumran was a version of the biblical book of Exodus. Known as 4Q22 Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>, the manuscript comprises forty-five columns of script, of which forty-three are partially extant (columns 14 and 43 are missing). The good preservation of the parchment suggests that what has survived was at the center of a rolled-up scroll, the outer portion of which deteriorated over time. Scholars assigned to work on this particular scroll have suggested that the outer portion probably consisted of the book of Genesis. Indeed, another scroll from Cave 4, 4Q11 Paleo Genesis-Exodus<sup>l</sup>, is written in the same script and contains portions of Genesis 50:26 through Exodus 36.

On the basis of paleography (handwriting analysis), Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup> has been dated to 100–25 B.C. Previous studies had suggested a date as early as 225–175 B.C., but the scholars who proposed those dates have since revised their findings. Another Exodus scroll, 4Q17 Exodus<sup>f</sup>, was copied in about 250 B.C. and may be the oldest extant biblical manuscript.

Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup> is significant because it was written in the older (paleo) form of the Hebrew script rather than in the later “square” form adopted from the Aramaic language during the Babylonian captivity. This scroll is also significant because the text is not the same as that of the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, which forms the basis of the English translations of Exodus. Rather, the text is from the tradition that gave rise to the Samaritan version of Exodus, which contains more material than the Jewish text.

Thus Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup> is one of many evidences among the Dead Sea Scrolls that there existed, by the second century B.C., variant versions of at least some of the books of the Bible. There is no way to know, however, which of these versions, if any, is the earliest. To illustrate, one might presume that Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup> is an older version because it is written in a more archaic script. But the oldest Exodus scroll, 4Q17, is written in the square script and is the same as the Masoretic version. Generally speaking, scholars have given up on trying to determine if there exists a so-called authentic or original version of any of the biblical texts. The very fact that the oldest known copies were written centuries after any originals makes such a determination virtually impossible.

The fragment that was on display at the Qumran exhibit comprises column 38, which is a portion of Exodus 32:10–30. A translation follows, with the same passage from the King James Version (KJV) in a parallel column. Subscript numbers in the Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup> column denote lines in the parchment column, while numbers in the KJV column denote verses. In order that the reader may better compare the texts, I have accommodated my translation<sup>1</sup> to the KJV language. Brackets enclose text that has been restored from the damaged parchment. Ellipsis points indicate damaged portions of the parchment. To facilitate a comparison between the texts, I have italicized words that differ in the two versions.

## Translation

**4Q22 Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>**  
of th[ee] a great nation

**KJV**  
10 Now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax

hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation.

11 And Moses besought the LORD his God, and said, LORD, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty *hand*? 12 Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. 13 Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit *it* for ever. 14 And the LORD repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people. 15 And Moses turned, and went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. 16 And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables. 17 And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of war in the camp. 18 And he said, It is not the voice of them that shout for mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing do I hear. 19 And it came to pass, as soon as he came nigh unto the camp. . . . 25 And when Moses saw that the people were naked; (for Aaron had made them naked unto their shame among their enemies:) 26 Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the LORD'S side? let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. 27 And he said unto them, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, *and* go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. 28 And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. 29 For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves to day to the LORD, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day. 30 And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD. . . .

[and against Aaron the Lo]rd is very [angry] to destroy him. 2 And Moses pray[ed] in behalf of A[aron . . . ] 3 And Moses be[sou]ght [the Lord his God and sa]id, Lord, wh[y] doth [thy wr]ath wax hot 4 against thy people, which [thou hast bro]ught forth . . . [and] with a might[y] *arm*? 5 Wheref[ore] should [the Egyptians spe]ak . . . [to sla]y them in the mountain[s] . . . 6 . . . thy . . . [wr]ath [and re]pent of this evil against thy people. 7 . . . . . to whom thou swarest by thine own self 8 . . . the stars of heaven, and all [this] land 9 . . . [and they shall inher]it<sup>2</sup> for eve[r . . . ] 10 [And the Lor]d [repented] o[f . . . ] [. . . to d]o unto his people. 11 . . . [from the mount], and the two . . . tables were writ[ten on both] th[eir s]ides 12 . . . other [were] they. . . . . Go[d, and the] writing was the writ[ing] of 13 [Go]d . . . And when Joshu[a] heard the noise of the peo[ple] 14 as they shout[ed], he sa[i]d . . . . . voice of them that sho[ut] 15 for ma]stery, neither is it the vo[ice . . . ] . . . . . 16 [nigh un]to the [camp . . . ] . . . [lines 17–24 (verses 19b–24) missing] 25 . . . for [Aaron had made them nak]ed . . . . . 26 . . . [and] said, Who . . . 27 . . . Levi [And he said un]to them, Thus [saith the L]ord [God of Israel], 28 Put every man . . . . . *and* g[go] in and out] from gat[e to gate throughout the camp] 29 and slay every man . . . . . 30 [And] the children of Levi [did] according to the wor[d of M]oses: and there fell of the people that [da]y about [three thousand] 31 men. For [Mo]ses had s[aid], Consecrate your[selves]<sup>3</sup> to day to the Lord, even [every man] 32 upon his son and upon [his bro]th[er; that he may bestow upon] you a blessing this day. And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses [said] unto the peo[ple] . . . a great sin: and now I will go up unto the L[ord] . . .

## Commentary

The principal difference between these two texts in column 38 is the additional material in line 1 of Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>, in which the Lord is angry at not only Israel but also Aaron, who had made the golden calf. This additional text is found in Deuteronomy 9:20, from which it may have been borrowed. It is also found in the Samaritan version and in some manuscripts of the Greek Septuagint translation of Exodus 32:10. It is possible that the addition of the polemic against Aaron was added to the Exodus passage because of the enmity between the Samaritan priests and the Jewish (Aaronic) priests following the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. Thereafter, the Jews sacrificed at the temple in Jerusalem, while the Samaritans sacrificed atop Mount Gerizim, each group believing that it had identified the mountain where Abraham had brought Isaac to offer him as a sacrifice. This conflict is noted in the conversation between Jesus and the Samaritan woman in John 4:20–3.

## Notes

1. The translation draws upon the Hebrew transcription published in Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Manuscripts*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 124.
2. The word *it* is missing from the Masoretic text, from which the KJV derives (hence it is italicized in the KJV), but the word is present in Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>.
3. The Hebrew idiom literally means “fill your hands.”

# 1Q28a Rule of the Congregation

Stephen D. Ricks

## Description and Background

Appended to the well-known sectarian document 1QS *Rule of the Community* is another Qumran document only two columns in length and written on parchment in the square Hebrew script. Known as 1Q28a *Rule of the Congregation*, this fragment is referred to by some scholars as the *Messianic Rule*.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was composed sometime during the first century B.C., possibly around 75 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The text describes the order of life within the Qumran community in anticipation of the last days. It lists the duties and responsibilities of all male members from childhood through age sixty; specifies regulations governing marriage (somewhat more restrictive than under normal circumstances); makes provisions for Levites, aged persons, and individuals with physical handicaps; indicates assignments and tasks for the sons of Levi; and describes the order that will prevail at the Council of the Community and at the grand banquet that will be held when the Priest of Aaron, who presumably will head the community, and the Messiah of Israel, a descendant of King David, come.

The text reflects a religious community in an attitude of anticipatory fulfillment—looking forward to a Messianic age and to a pending “war destined to vanquish the nations.” Though living in a pre-Messianic age, members of the community were to conduct their lives as though these two messiahs, as they are sometimes referred to, were about to come or had in fact already appeared. Their communal organization, including their community councils and meals, was carried out in full expectation of the arrival of these last days. According to Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “each feast was an enactment of what the messianic banquet would be like.”<sup>3</sup>

According to the text, and in a manner that may be distinctive of this particular religious community, the Messiah of Israel is subordinate to the Priest of Aaron in the order of seating at this messianic banquet.<sup>4</sup>

The *Rule of the Congregation* was first published in 1955, based on a transcription prepared by Dominique Barthélemy, who also gave the text its name.<sup>5</sup> In the following translation by Professor Geza Vermes, headings in the manuscript appear in italics, brackets enclose hypothetical but likely reconstructions, lacunae (missing text) are represented by ellipsis points, and parentheses enclose wording added for fluency in English.<sup>6</sup>

## Translation

### Column I

*This is the Rule for all the congregation of Israel in the last days, when they shall join [the Community to wa]llk according to the law of the sons of Zadok the Priests and of the men of their Covenant who have turned aside [from the] way of the people, the men of His Council who keep His Covenant in the midst of iniquity, offering expiation [for the Land]*

When they come, they shall summon them all, the little children and the women also, and they shall read into their [ears a]ll the precepts of the Covenant and shall expound to them all their statutes that they may no longer stray in their [errors].

*And this is the Rule for all the hosts of the congregation, for every man born in Israel*

From [his] youth they shall instruct him in the Book of Meditation and shall teach him, according to his age, the precepts of the Covenant. He [shall be edu]cated in their statutes for ten years . . .

At the age of twenty years [he shall be] enrolled, that he may enter upon his allotted duties in the midst of his family (and) be joined to the holy congregation. He shall not [approach] a woman to know her by lying with her before he is fully twenty years old, when he shall know [good] and evil. And thereafter, he shall be accepted when he calls to witness the judgements of the Law, and shall be (allowed) to assist at the hearing of judgements.

At the age of twenty-five years he may take his place among the foundations (i.e. the officials) of the holy congregation to work in the service of the congregation.

At the age of thirty years he may approach to participate in lawsuits and judgements, and may take his place among the chiefs of the Thousands of Israel, the chiefs of the Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, the Judges and the officers of their tribes, in all their families, [under the authority] of the sons of [Aar]on the Priests. And every head of family in the congregation who is chosen to hold office, [to go] and come before the congregation, shall strengthen his loins that he may perform his tasks among his brethren in accordance with his understanding and the perfection of his way. According to whether this is great or little, so shall one man be honoured more than another.

When a man is advanced in years, he shall be given a duty in the [ser]vice of the congregation in proportion to his strength.

No simpleton shall be chosen to hold office in the congregation of Israel with regard to lawsuits or judgement, nor carry any responsibility in the congregation. Nor shall he hold any office in the war destined to vanquish the nations; his family shall merely inscribe him in the army register and he shall do his service in task-work in proportion to his capacity.

The sons of Levi shall hold office, each in his place, under the authority of the sons of Aaron. They shall cause all the congregation to go and come, each man in his rank, under the direction of the heads of family of the congregation—the leaders, Judges, and officers, according to the number of all their hosts—under the authority of the sons of Zadok the Priests, [and] (under the direction) [of all the] heads of family of the congregation. And when the whole assembly is summoned for judgement, or for a Council of the Community, or for war, they shall sanctify them for three days that every one of its members may be prepared.

*These are the men who shall be called to the Council of the Community . . .*

All the wi[se men] of the congregation, the learned and the intelligent, men whose way is perfect and men of ability, together with the tribal chiefs and all the Judges and officers, and the chiefs of the Thousands, [Hundreds,]

## **Column II**

Fifties, and Tens, and the Levites, each man in the [cla]ss of his duty; these are the men of renown, the members of the assembly summoned to the Council of the Community in Israel before the sons of Zadok the Priests.

And no man smitten with any human uncleanness shall enter the assembly of God; no man smitten with any of them shall be confirmed in his office in the congregation. No man smitten in his flesh, or paralysed in his feet or hands, or lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or smitten in his flesh with a visible blemish; no old and tottery man unable to stay still in the midst of the congregation; none of these shall come to hold office among the congregation of the men of renown, for the Angels of Holiness are [with] their [congregation.] Should [one] of them have something to say to the Council of Holiness, let [him] be questioned privately; but let him not enter among [the congregation] for he is smitten.

[This shall be the ass]embly of the men of renown [called] to the meeting of the Council of the Community

When God will have engendered (the Priest-) Messiah, he shall come [at] the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all [his brethren, the sons] of Aaron the Priests, [those called] to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit [before him, each man] in the order of his dignity. And then [the Mess]iah of Israel shall [come], and the chiefs of the [clans of Israel] shall sit before him, [each] in the order of his dignity, according to [his place] in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of [family of the congreg]ation, and the wise men of [the holy congregation,] each in the order of his dignity.

And [when] they shall gather for the common [tab]le, to eat and [to drink] new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine [poured] for drinking, let no man extend his hand over the first-fruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for [it is he] who shall bless the first-fruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first [to extend] his hand over the bread. Thereafter, the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread, [and] all the congregation of the Community [shall utter a] blessing, [each man in the order] of his dignity.

It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every me[al at which] at least ten men are gathered together.

## Commentary

Three subjects in the *Rule of the Congregation* are of special interest: what is implied in part of the “list of ages,”<sup>7</sup> what is implied in the order of marriage at Qumran, and the identification of the two messiahs. In the list of ages, the various stages of life are described for all male members of the community from childhood until age sixty. For instance, the text states that at age twenty-five a male member is to “take his place among the ‘foundations’ of the holy congregation to work in the service of the congregation,” meaning, according to Lawrence H. Schiffman, that this is the “minimum age for military service.”<sup>8</sup> This reference to preparation for warfare, which has its parallel in similar passages in the War Scroll (suggesting anticipation of the messianic age), along with references to a messianic banquet (suggesting fulfillment in the messianic age), strengthens the contention that this document reflects anticipatory fulfillment.

With regard to marriage, the document differs from the discussion of this subject in other sources. For instance, historians from the same period, Josephus and Philo, both indicate that the Essenes, who some identify with the members of the Qumran community, are disinclined to marry. Josephus asserts that “marriage they regard with contempt.”<sup>9</sup> Similarly, he states in his *Antiquities*, “They neither bring wives into (the community) nor do they seek to acquire slaves, since they consider that the latter leads to injustice and the former inclines towards causing factions.”<sup>10</sup> Philo is even less hesitant. In his *Hypothetica* he states straightforwardly that “no Essene takes a wife.”<sup>11</sup> Yet, in the *Rule of the Congregation*, women and children are clearly recognized as members of the

community,<sup>12</sup> and specific instructions are given on the proper age of marriage (it is stipulated that twenty is the minimum age for marriage and, consequently, for sexual relations).<sup>13</sup> According to the rabbinic tradition, twelve years of age for females and thirteen years of age for males (the onset of adolescence) is the minimum age for marriage, while twenty (the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood) is the maximum.<sup>14</sup> It appears that not only did the Qumran community allow for marriage, but also that the authors of these sectarian rules, in their own way, created an additional “fence” around the law, making twenty the minimum age for marriage.

We now come to questions regarding the messiah in the *Rule of the Congregation*: Is there one messiah or more than one? What does it mean to say that God will “engender” the messiah? Did the priest have precedence over the messiah at the banquet at the end of days? First, there appear to be two messiahs in this text: a “[Priest-] Messiah” as well as a “[Mess]iah of Israel.” The idea of two messiahs at a banquet near the end-time is not surprising, because, according to Schiffman, “those sectarian texts expecting a single Davidic messiah are of the restorative type, while those expecting two messiahs, a lay messiah (not said to be Davidic) and a priestly messiah, follow the utopian trend”<sup>15</sup>—a trend characteristic of the community at Qumran.

Furthermore, Vermes’s translation of the *Rule of the Congregation* contains the phrasing “When God will have engendered [YWLYD] (the Priest-) Messiah . . .” However, the original Hebrew text is blurred, making the reading YWLYD (“engendered”) conjectural. Other scholars, including Frank M. Cross<sup>16</sup> and Yigael Yadin,<sup>17</sup> have emended the passage differently. And Emile Puech, following a careful reexamination of the passage, has shown that “it is no longer possible to read YWLYD.”<sup>18</sup> Finally, in the banquet at the end-time, the priest takes precedence over the messiah(s): “[L]et no man extend his hand over the first-fruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for [it is he] who shall bless the first-fruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first [to extend] his hand over the bread. Thereafter, the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread.” But according to Schiffman, who compares this idea with an early Jewish interpretation of Leviticus 21:8, this precedence of the priest over the messiah reflects the honor given to the priest in blessing and distributing the food at mealtimes.<sup>19</sup>

The *Rule of the Congregation* helps us appreciate the environment of messianic expectation that existed among various Jewish groups at the end of the first century B.C. It also provides additional background for understanding the causes of the Jewish revolts during the first two centuries of the Christian era. This glowing spirit of messianic awareness and expectation may be compared to similar themes found in other pseudepigraphic writings such as the *Sibylline Oracles* 3:652–795; *1 Enoch* 36–71, 90; the *Psalms of Solomon* 17–8; the *Fourth Book of Ezra*; and *2 Baruch*.<sup>20</sup>

## Notes

1. See, for example, Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. rev. (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 119.
2. See James H. Charlesworth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “*Rule of the Congregation* (1Qsa),” in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994), 108.
3. Ibid.

4. Compare this with 11Q19 *Temple Scroll*, in which “the king is dependent on the guidance of the priest” (ibid., 108 n. 5).
5. Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 107–18.
6. See Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 119–22.
7. This phrase is taken from Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 13.
8. Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 20.
9. Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 2.120; translated in Todd S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 15.
10. Josephus, *Antiquities* 13.21; translated in Beall, *Josephus’ Description*, 38.
11. Philo, *Hypothetica* 11.14–7; cited in Beall, *Josephus’ Description*, 38.
12. See 1Q28a 1:4.
13. See 1Q28a 1:12–3.
14. For a discussion of rabbinic principles of marriage, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 58–9.
15. Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 7.
16. See Frank M. Cross, “Qumran Cave 1,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 75 (1956): 121–5.
17. See Yigael Yadin, “A Crucial Passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 238–41.
18. Emile Puech, “Préséance sacerdotale et Messie-Roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation (1Qsa ii 11–22),” *Revue de Qumran* 16/3 (1994): 351.
19. See Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 61–2, 61 nn. 65, 67; cf. *Rule of the Community* 6:4–5, which also gives the priest pride of place at mealtimes.
20. See Schiffman, *Eschatological Community*, 4–5.

# 4Q175 Testimonia

Stephen D. Ricks

## Description and Background

One of the manuscripts found at Qumran, known as 4Q175 *Testimonia*, is similar to writings popular in the early Christian church. It consists of a collection of quotations from the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible) that early Christians believed were fulfilled in the coming of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The text is written in a careless but legible Hebrew hand on a single piece of parchment in a single column divided into paragraphs. John M. Allegro notes that *Testimonia* is in the hand of the same scribe who wrote the *Rule of the Community*.<sup>2</sup>

*Testimonia*, named for these early collections of biblical citations, dates from the early first century B.C.<sup>3</sup> and contains five quotations in four groups. The final group includes a quotation and an extended interpretation from a noncanonical source.

The first group contains two quotations from Deuteronomy. The first quotation (from Deuteronomy 5:28–9) is a wish that the people hear and obey the words of the Lord; the second (from Deuteronomy 18:18–9) is a prophecy concerning a prophet “like Moses” whose words the people are expected to heed. The second group contains an extended quotation from Numbers 24:15–7 with prophecies concerning a messianic figure, a “star . . . out of Jacob and a scepter . . . out of Israel” who will “crush the temples of Moab and destroy all the children of Sheth.” The third group (from Deuteronomy 33:8–11) consists of a “blessing of the Levites and, implicitly, of the Priest-Messiah.”<sup>4</sup> The final group begins with a quotation from Joshua 6:26 that is interpreted by a passage from another Qumran document, a previously unknown apocryphon known as the “Psalms of Joshua” (4Q379 22 ii 7–14).<sup>5</sup>

The following translation of 4Q175 *Testimonia* is by Professor Florentino García Martínez.<sup>6</sup> Subscript numbers mark lines of text in the original, asterisks indicate the tetragrammaton (explained below), biblical quotations in the original appear in italic type, parentheses enclose wording required for meaning in English, the word *Blank* indicates spaces left blank in the original, slash marks enclose text inserted between lines by the copyist, braces with ellipsis points { . . . } indicate illegible text erased by the copyist, and brackets with ellipsis points [ . . . ] represent lacunae (missing text) of unspecified length.<sup>7</sup>

## Translation

<sup>1</sup> And \*\*\*\* spoke to Moses saying: Dt 5:28–29 “You have heard the sound of the words <sup>2</sup> of this people, what they said to you: all they have said is right. <sup>3</sup> If (only) it were given to me (that) they had this heart to fear me and keep all <sup>4</sup> my precepts all the days, so that it might go well with them and their sons for ever!” <sup>5</sup> Dt 18:18–19 “I would raise up for them a prophet from among their brothers, like you, and place my words <sup>6</sup> in his mouth, and he would tell them all that I command them. And it will happen that the man <sup>7</sup> who does not listen to my words, that the prophet will speak in my name, I <sup>8</sup> shall require a reckoning from him.” Blank <sup>9</sup> And he uttered his poem and said: Num 24:15–17 “Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man <sup>10</sup> of penetrating eye, oracle of him who listens to the words of God and knows the knowledge of the Most High, of one who <sup>11</sup> sees the vision of Shaddai, who falls

and opens the eye. I see him, but not now, <sup>12</sup> I espy him, but not close up. A star has departed from Jacob, /and/ a sceptre /has arisen/ from Israel. He shall crush <sup>13</sup> the temples of Moab, and cut to pieces all the sons of Sheth.”

*Blank* <sup>14</sup> And about Levi he says: *Dt 33:8–11* “Give to Levi your *Thummim* and your *Urim*, to your pious man, whom <sup>15</sup> you tested at Massah, and with whom you quarrelled about the waters of Meribah, /he who/ said to his father {..} <sup>16</sup> {..} and to his mother ‘I have not known you’, and did not acknowledge his brothers, and his son did not <sup>17</sup> know. For he observed your word and kept your covenant. /They have made/ your judgements /shine/ for Jacob, <sup>18</sup> our law for Israel, they have placed incense before your face and a holocaust upon your altar. <sup>19</sup> Bless, \*\*\*\*, his courage and accept with pleasure the work of his hand! Crush /the loins/ of his adversaries, and those who hate him, <sup>20</sup> may they not rise!” *Blank* <sup>21</sup> *Blank* At the moment when Joshua finished praising and giving thanks with his psalms, <sup>22</sup> he said *Jos 6:26* “Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! Upon his firstborn <sup>23</sup> will he found it, and upon his Benjamin will he erect its gates!” And now /an/ accursed /man/, one of Belial, <sup>24</sup> has arisen to be a fowler’s trap for his people and ruin for all his neighbours. <sup>25</sup> [..] will arise, to be the two instruments of violence. And they will rebuild <sup>26</sup> [this city and ere]ct for it a rampart and towers, to make it into a fortress of wickedness <sup>27</sup> [a great evil] in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and Judah. <sup>28</sup> [.. And they wi]ll commit a profanation in the land and a great blasphemy among the sons of <sup>29</sup> [.. And they will shed blo]od like water upon the ramparts of the daughter of Sion and in the precincts of <sup>30</sup> Jerusalem.

## Commentary

In lines 1 and 19 the document uses four dots (asterisks in the above translation) to represent the tetragrammaton for the divine name YHWH (usually rendered “Jehovah” or “LORD” in English Bibles). The use of this device for the divine name is also found in the *Rule of the Community* (written by the same scribe). The avoidance of pronouncing the divine name had evidently already come into practice in Judaism by the time this document was written. Usually, the name was not changed in the biblical text, but those reading aloud would substitute the Hebrew word *adonai* (“lord”) for YHWH, and the vowels for *adonai* were, in later Hebrew texts, written in for the divine name, giving the contrived “Yehowah” form.

In addition to the curse at the end of *Testimonia* that cites Joshua 6:26 and the Qumran “Psalms of Joshua,” there appear to be implicit curses at the end of each scriptural passage. According to John M. Allegro: “The real point of contact among all four [passages] is not to be found in the personalities involved so much as in the import of the final words of each. These foretell destruction on those who do not listen to the divinely inspired words of the Prophet (implicitly in Deuteronomy, explicitly in Acts 3:23), the enemies of the Star and Scepter, and the opponents of the Levitical priesthood, and lastly, the city which had been rebuilt under a curse, and whose walls would be covered with blood in the last days.”<sup>8</sup>

## Notes

1. The literature on writings of this type is considerable: Among the earlier studies are F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907), 124–8; a lengthy study by J. Rendel Harris and Vacher Burch, *Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916–20); A. C. Sundberg Jr., “On Testimonies,” *Novum Testamentum* 3 (1959): 268–81; Prosper Grech, “The ‘Testimonia’ and Modern

Hermeneutics," *New Testament Studies* 19 (1972–3): 318–24; and Robert Hodgson Jr., "The Testimony Hypothesis," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 361–78.

2. See John M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 58.

3. See Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. rev. (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 355.

4. Ibid.

5. See the recent study of 4Q379 22 by Carol Newsom, "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39/1 (1988): 68–72.

6. Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 137–8.

7. These devices are explained more fully in *ibid.*, xxv, xxvi.

8. John M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 75 (1956): 187.

# 1Q22 Words of Moses

Stephen D. Ricks

## Description and Background

The small, heavily worn fragments known as 1Q22 *Words of Moses* comprise four columns of text in a handwriting described as “irregular and clumsy.”<sup>1</sup> Because the manuscript had been rolled with the beginning on the inside, only the first part of it was preserved.

The text contains Moses’ farewell discourse to the children of Israel. Most of this address consists of paraphrases from Deuteronomy.

In the following translation of 1Q22 *Words of Moses*,<sup>2</sup> subscript numbers indicate lines of text in the original, brackets enclose the translator’s conjectural restorations based on clues such as parallel passages and repetitious formulas, the word *Blank* marks spaces left blank on purpose (new paragraph) or by mistake, and bracketed ellipsis points represent lacunae (missing text) of unspecified length.<sup>3</sup>

## Translation

### Column I

<sub>1</sub> [And God spoke] to Moses in the year [forty] of the departure of the children of Israel from [the land of] Egypt, in the eleventh month, <sub>2</sub> the first day of the month, saying: [Muster] all the congregation,<sup>4</sup> climb [Mount Nebo] and stay there, you <sub>3</sub> and Eleazar, Aaron’s son. *Blank* Interpret [for the heads of] families of the levites and for all the [priests] and decree to the sons of <sub>4</sub> Israel the words of the Law which I commanded [you] on Mount Sinai to decree to them. [Proclaim] in their ears everything <sub>5</sub> accurately, for [I will require] it from them. [Take] the heavens and the [earth as witnesses] for they will not love <sub>6</sub> what I have commanded them, they and their so[ns, all the] days [they live upon the ea]rth. [However] I announce <sub>7</sub> that they will desert me and ch[oose the sins of the na]tions, their abominations and their disreputable acts [and will serve] <sub>8</sub> their gods, who for them will be a trap and a snare. They will [violate all the] holy [assemblies], the sabbath of the covenant, [the festivals] which today I command [to be kept. This is why] I will strike them with a great [blow] in the midst of the land for <sub>10</sub> the conquest of which they are going to cross the Jordan there. And when all the curses happen to them and strike them until they die and until <sub>11</sub> they are destroyed, then they will know that the truth has been carried out on them. *Blank* And Moses turned towards Eleazar, son of <sub>12</sub> [Aaron] and to Joshua [son of Nun, saying] to them: Speak [all the words of the Law, without leaving any out. Be silent,]

### Column II

<sub>1</sub> Israel, and listen! On this day [you are going to become the peo]ple of God, your G[od. Ke]ep [my rules], my stipulations, [my commandments] which <sub>2</sub> today [I] am commanding you [to carry out.<sup>5</sup> And when you cross the Jordan] for me to give you large [and good] cities, <sub>3</sub> houses full of every [wealth, vineyards and olive groves] which you [did not plant, wel]ls bored which you did not <sub>4</sub> dig, and you eat and become replete,<sup>6</sup> [bew]are of raising your

heart and fo[rgetting what] I command you today; <sup>5</sup> [for] it is your life and your old age.<sup>7</sup> *Blank* [And] Moses [spoke] and [said to the sons of Is]rael: Forty <sup>6</sup> [years] have passed [from the] day of our departure from the land [of Egypt,<sup>8</sup> and] today God, our G[od has caused these wo]rds [to issue] from his mouth <sup>7</sup> [all his pre]cepts {and all his precepts} How [shall I alone carry] your burden, [your weight, your qua]rrels? <sup>8</sup> [When] the covenant [has been estab]lished and the path [on which you must] walk has been decreed, [choose for yourselves wise men who] will explain <sup>9</sup> [to you and your so]ns all the words of this Law. [Be] very [careful,] for your lives, [to keep them, lest] the wrath <sup>10</sup> [of your God] against you be enkindled and reach you, and it closes the skies above, which make rain fall upon you, and [the water] from under[neath the earth which give you <sup>11</sup> [the harv]est.<sup>9</sup> *Blank* And Moses [continued speaking] to the so[ns of Is]rael: Th[ese are the command]ments [which God] commands you to carry out <sup>12</sup> [...] [...] [...]

### Column III

<sup>1</sup> [Every seven years you shall leave the land] at rest, [and the yield of the land's rest will provide you] with food, you [and your animals and the beasts of the] field. <sup>2</sup> [...] And what] remains will be for the po[or from among your brothers] who are in the la[nd. No]-one will so[w his field] or prune [his vine.] <sup>3</sup> [No-one will harvest his harvest or] gather [anything. Keep al[l the words of] this covenant <sup>4</sup> [carrying them out,] for [...] in order to do [...] And in this year you shall grant a release. <sup>5</sup> [Every creditor] who [has lent something to] someone, or [who possesses something from his brother,] will grant a re[lease to his fell]ow for <sup>6</sup> [God], your [God, has proclaimed the release. You are to demand restitution] from the fore[igner, but from your brother] you shall not demand restitution, for in that year <sup>7</sup> <sup>10</sup> [God will bless you, forgiving you your si]ns... ] <sup>8</sup> [...] in the year [...] of the month of <sup>9</sup> [...] on this day [...] Because your fathers] wandered <sup>10</sup> [in the wilderness until the tenth day of the month {the [...] on the te]nth [day] of the month} <sup>11</sup> You shall refrain [from all work.] And on the tenth day of the month, you shall atone [...] of the month <sup>12</sup> [...] they shall take [...] <sup>11</sup>

### Column IV

<sup>1</sup> in the congregation of the gods [and in the council of the holy] ones, and in [...] favour of the sons of Is]rael and on behalf of the la[nd] <sup>2</sup> [And you shall] take [the blood and] pour [it] on the earth [...] <sup>3</sup> [...] and it will be forgiven them [...] And] Moses [spoke saying:] Do [...] <sup>4</sup> [...] eternal precepts for your generations [...] And on the [...] day <sup>5</sup> [...] he will take [...] the children of Israel [...] <sup>6</sup> [...] all that which [...] for all <sup>7</sup> [...] of the [...] year the person who [...] <sup>8</sup> [...] upon the book [...] the priest [...] <sup>9</sup> [...] he will lay his ha[nds...] all this <sup>10</sup> [...] year these <sup>11</sup> [...] of the two [...] [...]

### Commentary

1Q22 *Words of Moses* contains elements of the treaty-covenant pattern found in the Old Testament. This pattern includes (1) a preamble that introduces God as the one initiating the covenant or that introduces his prophet as his designated spokesman; (2) a brief review of God's relations with his people in the past; (3) the terms of the covenant, that is, the specific commandments that God expects Israel to observe; (4) a formal witness by the people that they understand these commandments and will keep them; and (5) a list of blessings that the people will receive if they keep the commandments and a list of curses that will fall upon them if they fail to observe the

commandments; and (6) provisions for reminding the people of the covenant. All this is reminiscent of the ancient Israelite covenant assembly described in the Bible and in chapters 1–6 of the book of Mosiah (in the Book of Mormon)<sup>12</sup> and may be illustrated in the following manner:

### Treaty-Covenant Pattern in the Old Testament, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Book of Mormon

Elements	Exodus 19:3b–18	Exodus 20–4	Deuteronomy	1Q22	Mosiah
Preamble	19:3b	20:1	1:1–5	1:1–4a	1:1–2:9a
Review of God's relation with Israel	19:4	20:2	1:6–3:29	2:1–4	2:9b–21, 23
Terms of the covenant	19:5–6	20:3–23:19	4–26	2:1b–2a, 11b; 3:1–12	2:22, 24b, 30
Formal witnesses	19:8	24:3		1:5–6	5:2–8
Blessings and curses		23:20–33	27:9–28:68	1:7–11a	5:9–15; 3:24
Provisions for reminding people of the covenant	19:7	24:4–8	27:1–8; 31:9, 24–6	2:8–9a	6:1–3, 6; 2:8

### Notes

1. Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 6 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 91.
2. Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 276–7.
3. See *ibid.*, xxv and xxvi, for a fuller explanation of these devices.
4. Compare Leviticus 8:3; Numbers 20:8; Deuteronomy 4:10; 31:12.
5. For 1Q22 I 12–II 2, see Deuteronomy 27:9–10.
6. Compare Deuteronomy 6:10–1.
7. Compare Deuteronomy 30:20.
8. Compare Deuteronomy 2:7; 8:2.
9. Compare Deuteronomy 11:17.
10. Compare Deuteronomy 15:1–18; Leviticus 25.

11. Compare Leviticus 23:26–32.

12. Mosiah 1–6 describes a religious convocation of the Nephites, an Israelite group that had settled in the New World. The occasion was the coronation of a new king, Mosiah, at the temple in the Nephite city of Zarahemla, around 130 B.C. See my article “King, Coronation, and Covenant in Mosiah 1–6,” in *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon*, ed. John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1991), 215–6. Evidence also demonstrates that this Nephite assembly was a celebration of the biblical Feast of Tabernacles. See John A. Tvedtnes, “King Benjamin and the Feast of Tabernacles,” in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks (Salt Lake City: Desert Book and FARMS, 1990), 2:197–237. Especially relevant to the treaty-covenant pattern found in 1Q22 *Words of Moses* is the fact that Tvedtnes demonstrates how passages from the book of Deuteronomy were used in both Jewish and Nephite celebrations of the Feast of Tabernacles.

# 5/6Hev 46 Bar Kokhba

Donald W. Parry

5/6Hev 46 *Bar Kokhba* is an ancient lease agreement eleven lines in length and written upon papyrus in Hebrew. It deals with plots of land in the En-gedi area (a small community along the southwestern shore of the Dead Sea) that were leased to Jacob son of Simeon bar Kosiba (also known as Bar Kokhba, leader of the so-called Second Jewish Revolt of A.D. 130–35) by Eleazar son of Eleazar ben Hitta and Eliezer son of Samuel.<sup>1</sup>

This document is dated to “the second of Kislev, in the third year of Simeon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel,”<sup>2</sup> and coincides with a second document (5/6Hev 45), written on the same day, that records a transaction between Eleazar son of Eleazar and Eliezer son of Samuel. According to the Western calendar, the date of these two documents corresponds to November of A.D. 134.

Among other things, various crops such as dates and fruits are mentioned in the agreement, for instance, “the ‘fine date’ and the Hasad [a type of date] in the village.”<sup>3</sup> It is also noteworthy that the length of the lease is not for a specific amount of time like six months or one year, but rather is “until the termination of the season of crops of En-gedi, of the vegetables and of the trees.”<sup>4</sup> Thus it is the completion of the growing season that regulates the length of the contract, a practice that would be characteristic of an agricultural society. The document also indicates arrangements for payment in settling the terms of the lease.

The document’s importance lies not so much in the fact that we learn that three men—Eleazar, Eliezer, and Jacob—conducted a business deal, but rather in what it tells us about how such agreements were entered into and what can be inferred from this and similar documents about the society and way of life of the people who lived then.

In this respect the language of 5/6Hev 46 that formalized the transaction is important. The lease was written in Mishnaic Hebrew, a form of Hebrew that is slightly different from the Hebrew of the Old Testament and was in use at the time of Bar Kokhba. Such documents have enabled scholars to understand better how Hebrew vocabulary grew and evolved. 5/6Hev 46 provides examples of Hebrew spelling practices and abbreviations and the usage and meaning of various legal terms.

## Notes

1. See Yigael Yadin, “Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 (1962): 255.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 256.

# Mas1d Ezekiel

E. Jan Wilson,  
David K. Geilman

## Description and Background

Between October 1963 and April 1964, excavators at Masada found scroll fragments hidden under the floor of what is believed to have been a synagogue. Some of these fragments contain portions of an Ezekiel scroll. This scroll, known as Mas1d Ezekiel, comprises four columns of text that correspond to Ezekiel 35:11–38:14. The largest fragment that can be read contains the first portion of Ezekiel 37, the vision of the dry bones.

Except for a few minor spelling differences and the manner in which the text is divided into sections, the Ezekiel fragments are identical to the Masoretic text.

Study of these fragments is yet preliminary. Professor Shemaryahu Talmon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has been given the responsibility of preparing transcriptions of these and all other scroll fragments from Masada. According to Talmon, the formal Herodian script used on the parchment fragments of Mas1d Ezekiel dates the scroll to the second half of the first century B.C.

The following passage is from Ezekiel 37:1–14 in the King James Version of the Old Testament and sets forth Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones mentioned earlier:

- 1 The hand of the LORD was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the LORD, and set me down in the midst of the valley which *was* full of bones,
- 2 And caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, *there were* very many in the open valley; and, lo, *they were* very dry.
- 3 And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord GOD, thou knowest.
- 4 Again he said unto me, Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the LORD.
- 5 Thus saith the Lord GOD unto these bones; Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live:
- 6 And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I *am* the LORD.
- 7 So I prophesied as I was commanded: and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone.
- 8 And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above: but *there was* no breath in them.

9 Then said he unto me, Prophesy unto the wind, prophesy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

10 So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

11 Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost: we are cut off for our parts.

12 Therefore prophesy and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord GOD; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel.

13 And ye shall know that I *am* the LORD, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves,

14 And shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the LORD have spoken *it*, and performed *it*, saith the LORD.

## Commentary

The Jews at Masada were pious and had enough time to properly dispose of this scroll. According to Jewish law, sacred books, when worn out or being discarded, had to be buried or deposited in a *genizah*, a specially dedicated site for the storage of old sacred texts. In the case of the Zealots at Masada, their *genizah* was under the floor of their synagogue.

The only other texts that were found under the synagogue floor were fragments of a Deuteronomy scroll.

Any significance that can be ascribed to this text on the basis of what is known about the community at Masada is purely speculation. However, in light of our knowledge of the goals of the Zealots and the manner in which they eventually committed suicide, the allusions to resurrection in verses twelve and thirteen and to the restoration of their land, mentioned in verse fourteen, are quite poignant.

For Latter-day Saints, it is intriguing that in the verses immediately following this vision, Ezekiel is commanded by the Lord as follows:

16 Moreover, thou son of man, take thee one stick, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions:

17 And join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand.

These verses evoke strong images of what the Latter-day Saints believe is the latter-day restoration and the importance that scripture, both ancient and modern, has played and continues to play in accomplishing the work of the Lord.

# Mas1e Psalms

E. Jan Wilson,  
David K. Geilman

## Description and Background

Fragments of a Psalms scroll were found in one of many rooms built into the casemate wall of the Masada fortress. Identified as locus 1039, the site lies just south of the building identified as the synagogue.

Mas1e Psalms—the first scroll text found at Masada—consists of two fragments that together contain portions of Psalms 81–5. The fragments were discovered along with coins dating to the First Jewish Revolt (66–73 C.E.).<sup>1</sup> Written on parchment in the square Herodian script, the fragments have been dated paleographically to around the first half century of the Common Era. Although part of the text could easily be read, the scroll was not entirely legible until infrared photographs were taken and developed.

When these fragments were first examined by Professor Yadin, he believed them to be almost identical to the Masoretic text of the same verses. The exception he noted was a spelling variation in which the KJV Psalm 83:6 phrase *the tabernacles of Edom* is rendered in the scroll as *the gods of Edom*. Professor Shemaryahu Talmon, in a recent article that analyzes the physical characteristics of the fragments and provides a transcription and a study of their contents, suggests that this variation could be “a simple scribal mistake.” He goes on to explain that switching two letters in the first word of the phrase would change the meaning from “tents” or “tabernacles” to “gods.”<sup>2</sup> But he also notes that some scholars have discussed the possibility of this being an intentional change, so the matter is still undecided.

The layout of the text is such that the column is written in two subsections. A single line of text is divided into two equal halves (referred to as hemstitches). Three large columns are preserved in the fragments. The center column is largely intact, with the columns to the right and left being torn. In his preliminary report, Yadin notes that the tearing appears to have been deliberate, suggesting that the center column, which contains Psalms 82 and 83, could have been the focus of attention.

## Translation

To give the reader a feel for the material covered in these fragments, we have included the KJV translation of Psalms 82 and 83. The variation in Psalm 83:6 found in the Masada fragments appears in brackets after the Masoretic text version.

### Psalm 82

- 1 A Psalm of Asaph. GOD standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods.
- 2 How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked? Selah.
- 3 Defend the poor and fatherless: do justice to the afflicted and needy.
- 4 Deliver the poor and needy: rid *them* out of the hand of the wicked.

5 They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.

6 I have said, Ye *are* gods; and all of you *are* children of the most High.

7 But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.

8 Arise, O God, judge the earth: for thou shalt inherit all nations.

### **Psalm 83**

1 A Song *or* Psalm of Asaph. KEEP not thou silence, O God: hold not thy peace, and be not still, O God.

2 For, lo, thine enemies make a tumult: and they that hate thee have lifted up the head.

3 They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and consulted against thy hidden ones.

4 They have said, Come, and let us cut them off from *being* a nation; that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.

5 For they have consulted together with one consent: they are confederate against thee:

6 The tabernacles [gods] of Edom, and the Ishmaelites; of Moab, and the Hagarenes;

7 Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek; the Philistines with the inhabitants of Tyre;

8 Assur also is joined with them: they have holpen the children of Lot. Selah.

9 Do unto them as *unto* the Midianites; as *to* Sisera, as *to* Jabin, at the brook of Kison:

10 *Which* perished at En-dor: they became *as* dung for the earth.

11 Make their nobles like Oreb, and like Zeeb: yea, all their princes as Zebah, and as Zalmunna:

12 Who said, Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession.

13 O my God, make them like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind.

14 As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire;

15 So persecute them with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storm.

16 Fill their faces with shame; that they may seek thy name, O LORD.

17 Let them be confounded and troubled for ever; yea, let them be put to shame, and perish:

18 That *men* may know that thou, whose name alone is JEHOVAH, *art* the most high over all the earth.

## Commentary

Psalm 81 is a song of praise to God, a lament for the blessings that Israel has lost because she did not always follow God. Psalm 82 is a call for judgment and justice against the wicked, a statement of the divine heritage of Israel, while Psalm 83 is a call for God to smite the enemies of Israel. Psalm 84, another song of praise, expresses the desire of the righteous to be with God. Psalm 85 is a song of praise for the redemption of Israel and a cry for mercy.

Note how the variant reading in 83:6 makes verse six much more explicit, for it is not just the inhabitants of those various nations who have taken counsel against Israel, but also their gods.

What these psalms meant to the Zealots at Masada or to others who may have possessed the scroll can only be surmised, but the general theme of cries for divine help and judgment against the enemies of Israel certainly fit their circumstances and attitudes.

## Notes

1. See Yigael Yadin, "The Excavation at Masada—1963/64 Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 15/1-2 (1965): 81.
2. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Fragments of a Psalms Scroll—MasPs<sup>a</sup> Ps 81:2<sup>b</sup>–85:6<sup>a</sup>," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3/3 (1996): 311.

# Mas1j Work Similar to Jubilees ("Prince of Hatred")

E. Jan Wilson,  
David K. Geilman

## Description and Background

According to Ehud Netzer, a member of Professor Yigael Yadin's excavation team at Masada, a small fragment now labeled Mas1j was found on a Roman garbage pile near Masada's Western Palace. Because this fragment contains very little continuous text, it has been and still is very difficult to identify as part of a larger text. Yadin's initial identification of the fragment placed it as part of the book of *Jubilees*, an apocryphal account of revelations received by Moses while he was on Mount Sinai for forty days. It is most likely that Yadin connected this fragment with *Jubilees* because one of the legible phrases of the fragment, *Prince of Hatred*, is found in that book.

However, Professor Shemaryahu Talmon has recently indicated that no portion of *Jubilees* corresponds to the text preserved on this fragment. Rather, the fragment "possibly stems from a Pseudo-Jubilees composition."<sup>1</sup> Talmon further points out that the title *Prince of Hatred* also occurs in another Pseudo-Jubilees document found at Qumran.<sup>2</sup>

Written on parchment in the square script similar to the script found in other biblical manuscripts, this text is much smaller and harder to identify. Nevertheless, for two reasons several scholars, including Talmon, have tentatively identified this fragment as part of a text from Qumran. First, the orthography (spelling patterns) found in the fragment is very similar to the orthography found in texts composed at Qumran. Second, the use of the word *hatred* is characteristic of the sectarian documents found at Qumran.

This identification, in light of the fact that other Masada scrolls likely originated in Qumran, particularly the fragment known as the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, gives credence to the idea that members of the Qumran community joined the Zealots in their revolt against the Romans.

## Translation

The following translation of this fragment is very tentative. Because of the fragmentary nature of the text, there are many gaps in the translation. The translation is divided into columns 1 and 2 because the fragment shows the end of one line and the beginning of the next with a very definite column division between the two. The transcription that serves as the base for this translation has been published by Talmon in a recent article.<sup>3</sup> He has also suggested the possible English renderings for some phrases. Where possible, we have followed his suggestions. The numbers on the left are line numbers. The dashes represent unreadable letters, the words within the brackets are restorations by Talmon, and the letters in italics are Hebrew letters for which no English translation can be made. A single open bracket indicates that missing or illegible text follows the bracket, and a single close bracket indicates the same for text preceding the bracket. Because of the lack of context, the meaning of many words can be debated. We offer this translation only to give the reader a general idea of what the fragment says. The words that are fairly certain appear in boldface.

### Column 1

1. ]/wd s
2. ]-wh people
3. ]ym and they took
4. ] and he took **and no**

### Column 2

- 1.
- 2.
3. ygs-[
4. **contention** y-[

5. ] **and the prince of hatred**

6. sev]enty years

7. ]-w]kh

5. **to you in tumult**[t

6. **they establish** [a covenant]  
with [

7. **and your people**

## Commentary

This is a tantalizing find. The lack of surrounding text is frustrating, and we can only speculate about which larger work this fragment came from. As has been noted above, the spelling of certain words is very similar to Qumran spelling practices. That, in addition to the occurrence of the title *Prince of Hatred* in a so-called Pseudo-Jubilees fragment found at Qumran, makes the connection between this fragment and Qumran quite reasonable. Likewise, the placement of this fragment within some sort of *Jubilees*-type document is very reasonable.

## Notes

1. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Hebrew Written Fragments from Masada," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3/2 (1996): 172.

2. See *ibid.*

3. See *ibid.*, 171.

# Mas1o Papyrus Paleo Fragment ("Mount Gerizim")

E. Jan Wilson,  
David K. Geilman

## Description and Background

Mas1o is the only scroll fragment in the Masada exhibit that is written on papyrus. It is distinctive also because it is written in the paleo-Hebrew script by two scribes. One scribe wrote on the "front" side of the fragment, the other on the "back" side. In his preliminary report of the excavation, Professor Yigael Yadin noted that the script of this fragment is similar to that of the coins found in the same location as the fragment.<sup>1</sup>

Of the fragment's few discernible words, the phrase *joyful singing* occurs in three consecutive lines. These lines are followed by a line containing the place-name *Mount Gerizim*. This fragment has been identified as a Samaritan document because of the unique way *Mount Gerizim* is written. Because Mount Gerizim is a sacred site for Samaritans (the site of their temple), they adopted the practice of writing these two separate words as one word. However, Hebrew texts of non-Samaritan origin keep the two words separate. Thus the fragment can confidently be identified as Samaritan in origin. Scholars have tentatively identified it as a liturgical document because of the references to joyful singing.

The fragment was found in a casemate dwelling situated three rooms south of the synagogue at Masada. This was where the Psalms scroll, also a part of the Masada exhibit, was found. According to Yadin, "the most important discoveries from the period of the Revolt [of the Sicarii] were made, including several scrolls,"<sup>2</sup> in this location.

## Translation

The following is a preliminary and tentative translation. Because of the fragmentary nature of the text, the translation is rather incomplete. The translation has been divided into side A and side B to correspond to Professor Talmon's transcriptions of both sides of the fragment.<sup>3</sup> The numbers on the left are line numbers. The dashes represent unreadable letters, the bracketed words are Talmon's restorations, and the italicized letters are Hebrew letters that do not translate into English. The character • is used to indicate a hole in the actual fragment. A single closing bracket indicates that missing or illegible text precedes the bracket. This translation serves only to give the reader a general idea of the fragment's content. The words that are fairly certain appear in boldface.

### Side A

- 1.
2. ] *mt****h***
3. ]- byh • –
4. Ya]hw***eh*** • *kmkm*
5. ]*mh* • they are great •
6. ]*w*
- 7.

### Side B

- 1.
2. ]-*hm* • **to give a ringing cry**
3. **to give a ringing cry** • – – *w*
4. **to give a ringing cry** • *l-* *rh* *h*
5. **Mount Geri**[z]**i**[m]
6. *m-l* • –
7. *l- - - -*

It should be noted that the phrase *to give a ringing cry* in lines 2 to 4 of side B is a more literal rendering of the same phrase that, as mentioned earlier, can also be translated as "joyful singing." We look forward to more of Professor Talmon's work on this fragment.

## Commentary

The presence of this scroll at Masada has led some to hypothesize that Samaritans were also among those Zealots who resisted the Romans and who finally took their own lives. Once again this is one of those tantalizing finds that make us wish we had more of the manuscript to which this fragment belongs.

## Notes

1. See Yigael Yadin, "The Excavation at Masada—1963/64 Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 15/1-2 (1965): 109.
2. *Ibid.*, 79.
3. See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Fragments of Scrolls from Masada" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989): 283.

# 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> The Great Isaiah Scroll

Donald W. Parry

1QIsa<sup>a</sup> *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, perhaps the most well-known biblical scroll found at Qumran, was one of the initial seven scrolls found in Qumran Cave 1 in 1947. It was wrapped in a linen cloth and stored within a sealed clay jar. The scroll itself measures twenty-four and a half feet in length and ten and a half inches in height. It consists of seventeen pieces of sheepskin that have been sewn together into a single scroll and shows signs of being well-worn before it was stored away.

Through paleographic analysis of the Hebrew script, scholars date the scroll to between 125 and 100 B.C. Radio-carbon dating of the leather of the scroll indicates a date between 202 and 107 B.C. The scroll is currently housed at the Shrine of the Book, part of the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. A replica of this scroll was on display in the Qumran exhibit.

The scroll comprises fifty-four columns of text written in Hebrew script that vary in width and average about twenty-nine lines of text per column. The scribe who copied the scroll was quite careless and erred in numerous places, even misspelling Isaiah's name in the first line of the scroll (see Isaiah 1:1). The scribe frequently fixed his errors by squeezing the corrections between the lines or writing them in the margins. Other scribal markings throughout the scroll indicate divisions within the text (perhaps similar to our modern-day paragraphs), places where corrections needed to be made, or passages of special importance to the Qumran community.

This scroll is an extremely significant find because it predates any other previously known Hebrew copy of Isaiah by approximately one thousand years. The existence of this manuscript allows scholars to better understand how the text has survived from the second or first century B.C. to the present. The scroll contains all sixty-six chapters of the book of Isaiah, with most of the content being very similar to the Isaiah material preserved in the Masoretic text (the traditional Hebrew text of the Old Testament). However, some important variants have been found in the Isaiah scroll, some of which have been included in modern translations of Isaiah in current use. For example, the text of Isaiah 33:8 in the Masoretic text, as translated in the King James Version, reads as follows:

The highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth: he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth no man.

Instead of *cities* in the last line, the Isaiah scroll renders it *witnesses* —“he hath despised the witnesses.”<sup>1</sup>

*This summary has been adapted from Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, Questions and Answers on the Dead Sea Scrolls for Latter-day Saints (forthcoming).*

## Note

1. For further reading, see Donald W. Parry and Elisa Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll: Transcriptions and Photographs* (forthcoming).

# 1QS Rule of the Community

Donald W. Parry

The Qumran exhibit also included a replica of *1QS Rule of the Community*, one of the first manuscripts discovered among the seven scrolls of Qumran Cave 1 in 1947. Measuring six feet two inches in length and ten inches in height, the scroll was written on five connected sheets of parchment that comprise eleven columns of text. Using paleographic analysis, scholars have dated the scroll to about 100 B.C. Fragments of additional copies of this scroll have been found in other caves near Qumran, the earliest fragment dating to about 140 B.C.

The *Rule of the Community* (or *Manual of Discipline*, as it is still popularly known) is the central organizational document relating to the Qumran community. As such it is one of many sectarian documents included in the collection at BYU. This document was written for a faithful remnant of Israel who were preparing for the kingdom of God and for God's triumph over the forces of evil. The inhabitants of this religious community saw themselves as this faithful remnant. The document is organized with a preamble that explains the purpose of the group, followed by the community's basic constitution, which includes the requirements for entrance into the community, the procedures for admission, the various classes or ranks within the community, the regulations governing the relations among the community members, and items concerning military service, education, eligibility for office, and the conduct of communal meals.

The community at Qumran was quite strict in terms of the conduct expected of its members and the penalties associated with disobedience. For instance, we learn the following from the *Rule of the Community*:

Whoever has deliberately lied shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately insulted his companion unjustly shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded.

Whoever has deliberately deceived his companion by word or by deed shall do penance for six months. . . .

Whoever has borne malice against his companion unjustly shall do penance for six months/one year; and likewise, whoever has taken revenge in any matter whatever.

Whoever has spoken foolishly: three months.

Whoever has interrupted his companion while speaking: ten days.

Whoever has lain down to sleep during an Assembly of the Congregation: thirty days. And likewise, whoever has left, without reason, an Assembly of the Congregation as many as three times during one Assembly, shall do penance for ten days. But if he has departed while they were standing he shall do penance for thirty days.<sup>1</sup>

In many respects this document, unique to Judaism of the period, displays parallels to community regulations for various early-Christian groups as found in specific documents like *The Didache*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, *The Didascalia*, and *The Rule of Benedict*. Like these documents, the *Rule of the Community* is concerned with providing a religious community with a constitution as well as a pattern for daily living.<sup>2</sup>

*This summary has been adapted from Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., Questions and Answers on the Dead Sea Scrolls for Latter-day Saints (forthcoming).*

## **Notes**

1. 1QS *Rule of the Community* 7.4–14, as translated by Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. rev. (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 79.
2. See *ibid.* 69–89.

# 1QpHab Habakkuk Pesher

David K. Geilman

1QpHab *Habakkuk Pesher* was among the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered in Qumran Cave 1 in 1947. This particular scroll is rather small, about five feet in length and seven inches in height. A full-scale replica was on display in the Qumran exhibit.

Dating to the Herodian period (30–1 B.C.) or perhaps earlier, the manuscript consists of thirteen columns of text written in early Herodian Hebrew script. It is a verse-by-verse commentary (*pesher* in Hebrew) on the first two chapters of Habakkuk, one of the smaller prophetic books of the Old Testament.

The author of this work likens Habakkuk's words and prophecies to the people of the Qumran community, believing as they did that they were living in the last days. For example, the commentator interprets Habakkuk 1:1–5 as dealing with the religious situation of his day, the role of the Teacher of Righteousness (one of the founders or leaders of the Qumran community), the role of the Wicked Priest (the Teacher's opponent), and God's covenant with those belonging to the Qumran community. His commentary on verses 6–17 deals with the Kittim (thought to be the Romans) and their rule over the Holy Land. The author views 2:1–4 as dealing with the Teacher of Righteousness's work with righteous people and verses 5–17 as dealing with the greed and wickedness of the Wicked Priest. Verses 18–20 are said to deal with the day of judgment that will befall idolatrous nations.

Following is an example of how the writer of the *Habakkuk Pesher* dealt with a passage from the book of Habakkuk. He first quotes a line or verse from scripture and then adds the interpretation.

*Hab 1:16a* For this he sacrifices to his net and burns incense to his seine [large fishing net]. *Blank* Its interpretation: they offer sacrifices to their standards and their weapons are the object of their worship.

*Hab 1:16b* Since by them his portion is fat and his food rich. Its interpretation: they have shared out their yoke and their burden, which is their food, among all the peoples, year after year, ravaging many countries.<sup>1</sup>

The *Habakkuk Pesher* is distinctively related to the Qumran community. As such it provides valuable insights into the religious, social, and political circumstances prevailing among this group of religious believers in the late Second Temple period.

Latter-day Saints familiar with the Book of Mormon will find this commentary interesting as an example of how this particular ancient religious community “did liken the scriptures unto [themselves]” (1 Nephi 19:23).

## Note

1. Translation of *Habakkuk Pesher* 6:2–8 by Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 199.

# 11Q10 Targum of Job

Donald W. Parry

A photograph of 11Q10 *Targum of Job* was on display in the Qumran exhibit. The original fragment was discovered in Qumran Cave 11 in 1956 and comprises one rolled portion of the original scroll as well as a number of fragments, all of which date to 150–100 B.C. The manuscript includes text from the book of Job, chapters 17–42, as we know them today in the Old Testament.

The *Targum of Job*, a translation (*targum* in Hebrew) of the book of Job from the Hebrew language into Aramaic, was necessary because of the shift in the common language of the Jews from Hebrew to Aramaic during the period of the exile, in the time of the prophet Jeremiah and the priest Ezra. The translator was quite free in his translation, frequently using synonyms or expressions that differ from what is found in the traditional Hebrew text. Thus the translation is a different version of the original, a common occurrence in translated works.

Many targums have survived through the ages, but as with most of the Qumran finds, this one is very old and quite distinctive. A transcription of the *Targum of Job* was first published in 1971 by Dutch scholars.

# 11Q19 Temple Scroll

Donald W. Parry

11Q19 *Temple Scroll* was found in Cave 11 in 1956. At twenty-eight feet, it is the longest scroll among the Qumran finds. Much of this scroll's sixty-six columns examines various physical aspects of the temple at Jerusalem that would be built in a future day—its construction and measurements, the Holy of Holies, the chambers and colonnades, the mercy seat, cherubim, veil, table, golden lampstand, altar, and courtyards.

The *Temple Scroll* also describes the ideal temple society with a discussion of a covenant between God and Israel, purity regulations, judges and officers, vows and oaths, detailed statutes of the Jewish king, crimes punishable by hanging, and laws relating to idolatry, sacrificial animals, apostasy, priests, Levites, priestly dues, witnesses, the conduct of war, and rebellious sons. The scroll does not simply repeat the laws on temple worship and social conduct as they appear in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, but blends them into a new, harmonious whole, sometimes adding new materials, such as festivals of new oil and wine that are not mentioned in the law of Moses. In short, the temple, according to the scroll itself, is “the temple on which I [the Lord] will settle my glory until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times” (29:7–10).

Many third-person statements in the books of Moses are given in first person in the *Temple Scroll*. Because this shift eliminates Moses as an intermediary, the scroll is presented as a revelation given directly from God to Israel.<sup>1</sup> Thus the *Temple Scroll* “purports to be the community’s Second Torah,”<sup>2</sup> and as such it is an important additional source on theology in the Second Temple period.

The photograph that was on display of the *Temple Scroll* was a portion of column 24, which discusses sacrificial offerings to be made by the tribes of Israel. A translation of lines 10–15 follows. The bracketed words are this author’s clarification, subscript numbers indicate lines, and the word *Blank* indicates a space left blank in the original.

In continuation of this holocaust [burnt offerings] he will offer the holocaust of the only tribe of Judah. In the same way that <sub>11</sub> he offered the holocaust of the levites, so will he do with the holocaust of the sons of Judah after the levites. <sub>12</sub> *Blank* On the second day he will offer first the holocaust of Benjamin, and after it <sub>13</sub> he will offer the holocaust of the sons of Joseph together with Ephraim and Manasseh. On the third day he will offer <sub>14</sub> the holocaust of Reuben, only, and the holocaust of Simeon, only. On the fourth day <sub>15</sub> he will offer the holocaust of Issachar only, and the holocaust of Zebulon, only.<sup>3</sup>

The *Temple Scroll* provides us with the Qumran view of what their eschatological temple, or temple at the end of times, would be like. It details the ceremonies that would be performed within that temple and presents much information about sacred festivals and what it meant to the Qumran community to be a temple people.

*This article is adapted from Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., Questions and Answers on the Dead Sea Scrolls for Latter-day Saints (forthcoming).*

## Notes

1. See Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 152. For a detailed translation and scholarly analysis of the *Temple Scroll*, see Yigael Yadin's three-volume work *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Shrine of the Book, 1977, 1983).
2. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 25.
3. As translated by Florentino García Martínez in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 160.

# 4Q31 Deuteronomy<sup>d</sup>

David K. Geilman

The Qumran exhibit included a photograph of scroll fragments<sup>1</sup> known as 4Q31 Deuteronomy<sup>d</sup>. These fragments are from one of several Deuteronomy scrolls found in Cave 4 at Qumran. The text was copied in Hasmonean Hebrew script and dates to approximately 100 B.C. The bulk of the text preserved in these fragments corresponds to Deuteronomy 2:24–36 and 3:14–4:1, which contain part of Moses' review of the Israelites' journey in the wilderness and the designation of Joshua as the leader of Israel after Moses.

The text of these fragments is similar to other Hebrew versions of Deuteronomy, principally the Masoretic text and the Samaritan Pentateuch (the Hebrew text of the first five books of the Old Testament used by the Samaritans). However, because of the small amount of text preserved in these fragments, it is difficult to determine which of these two versions the fragments more closely resemble.

## Note

1. In the exhibit the fragments in this photograph were mistakenly identified as 4Q36 Deuteronomy<sup>i</sup>.

# 4Q2 Genesis<sup>b</sup>

David K. Geilman

The Qumran exhibit included a photograph of 4Q2 Genesis<sup>b</sup>. Only fragments of this copy of the book of Genesis remain. Found in Qumran Cave 4 in 1952, the original scroll was copied by a scribe in post-Herodian Hebrew script and dates to A.D. 50–68 or perhaps later.

The text includes Genesis 1:1–28 (containing part of the creation account), 2:14–19 (the instruction given to Adam regarding the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil), 4:2–11 (most of the story of Cain and Abel), and 5:13 or 14 (information regarding Cainan). 4Q2 Genesis<sup>b</sup> is identical to the corresponding Masoretic text except for one minor spelling difference in Genesis 1:15.

Because the manuscript was written on leather that apparently was prepared through inferior means—unlike most of the other Dead Sea Scrolls—some scholars question whether it was really found in one of the Qumran caves.

# 4Q27 Numbers<sup>b</sup>

David K. Geilman

Among the thousands of fragments found in Qumran Cave 4, some have been pieced together to form a fragmentary copy of the book of Numbers known as 4Q27 Numbers<sup>b</sup>. The photograph in the Qumran exhibit was of some of these fragments. Comprising twenty-seven columns of text, 4Q27 Numbers<sup>b</sup> corresponds to Numbers 11–36 and is written in early Herodian semiformal Hebrew script dating to about 30 B.C.

Scholars studying these fragments have noted a number of differences between this version and the Masoretic text of the book of Numbers. Many of the textual variations found in 4Q27 Numbers<sup>b</sup> agree with the version of Numbers found in the Greek translation of the Old Testament (Septuagint), indicating that differing versions of the book of Numbers were in circulation during the period of the Second Temple, about 525 B.C.–A.D. 70.

In company with other biblical texts found at Qumran that agree with the Septuagint, 4Q27 Numbers<sup>b</sup> provides strong evidence that there were at least two Hebrew versions of many biblical texts in existence before the Masoretic text became the normative Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

# 3Q15 Copper Scroll

David K. Geilman

3Q15 *Copper Scroll* is one of the most unusual and puzzling finds of all the Dead Sea Scrolls. A transcription of this manuscript was first prepared by Josef T. Milik and published in 1962.<sup>1</sup> A photograph of a portion of the document was on display in the Qumran exhibit.

The *Copper Scroll* stands alone among the Dead Sea Scrolls because of its orthography (method of spelling), its use of a Hebrew script and dialect that are unlike that of any other manuscripts found at Qumran, and its use of a copper-based metal as the material upon which it was engraved.

Approximately eight feet long and dating to A.D. 25–100, the document includes an inscribed list of sixty-four deposits of gold, silver, aromatic spices, and manuscripts. Because the text mentions an enormous amount of treasure (estimated at several dozen tons) buried in locations in and around Jerusalem, many scholars are convinced that the treasure is fictitious. Others argue that the list is a record of deposits of treasure from the Jerusalem temple, perhaps tithes collected during the First Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66–74), that needed to be hidden during the time of the siege.<sup>2</sup>

One of the sixty-four deposits is described as follows:

In the cave of the column with two entrances, facing East, in the North entrance, dig for three cubits: there is an amphora there, in it a book, under it *Blank* forty-two talents. *Blank* In the cavity at the base of the rock, facing East, dig in the entrance for nine cubits: twenty-one talents.<sup>3</sup>

This unusual document has captured the interest of scholars and lay people alike. For Latter-day Saints, the discovery of an ancient record inscribed on plates of metal brings to mind the gold plates of the Book of Mormon as well as the brass plates that were carried by the prophet Lehi out of Jerusalem.

*This article has been adapted from Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., Questions and Answers on the Dead Sea Scrolls for Latter-day Saints (forthcoming).*

## Notes

1. See Josef T. Milik, “Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte,” in M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumran*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 199–302. An earlier, bootlegged edition was published by John M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll: The Opening and Decipherment of the Most Mysterious of the Dead Sea Scrolls, A Unique Inventory of Buried Treasure* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960).

2. See Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. rev. (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 373–8; Herschel Shanks, ed., *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Random House, 1992), 227–41.

3. *Copper Scroll VI: 1–10*, as translated by Florentino García Martínez in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994 ), 462.

## 5/6Hev 44 Bar Kokhba

David K. Geilman

In the Qumran exhibit was a color photograph of 5/6Hev 44 *Bar Kokhba*, a record of a business transaction that dates to A.D. 134. The original document was found among other business and legal documents in 1961 during Professor Yadin's second excavation of the Cave of the Letters in Nahal Hever. The document, comprising thirty-three lines of text written in Mishnaic Hebrew with black ink on papyrus, specifies an agreement to divide up land previously leased from the government of Simeon bar Kosiba (Bar Kokhba). The author employed many legal terms that have been preserved in the Mishnah (a sacred Jewish record of the oral tradition that contains laws and proscriptions regarding all matters of life, including business dealings). This manuscript is similar to 5/6Hev 46 *Bar Kokhba*.

According to Yigael Yadin, 5/6Hev 44, along with other documents in the same collection, provides a “rich mine of information on administrative, economic, topographical, legal and linguistic matters.”<sup>1</sup>

For Latter-day Saints there is an added reason for interest in this particular manuscript: one of the individuals mentioned in the text is “Alma son of Judah.” A portion of 5/6Hev 44 reads as follows:

Of their own free will, on this day, have Eleazar son of Eleazar son of Hitta and Eliezer son of Samuel, both of En-geḏi, and Tehinnah son of Simeon and Alma son of Judah both of ha-Luhith in the (coastal) district of Agaltain, now resident in En-geḏi, wished to divide up among themselves the places that they have leased from Jonathan son of MHN̄YM the administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel, at En-geḏi.<sup>2</sup>

Apparently, of the four men who were parties to this agreement, only Eleazar signed his own name. The others had their names signed by someone else. Alma's name, for example, was affixed to the document in the following manner: “Alma son of Judah in person; written by Joseph son of Simeon at his dictation.”<sup>3</sup> So apparently Alma was present, but for some reason Joseph son of Simeon signed for him.

The name Alma in this Hebrew document is the oldest known occurrence of the name outside of the Book of Mormon. For Latter-day Saints, this is further evidence of the Hebrew background of this ancient book of scripture.

### Notes

1. Yigael Yadin, “Expedition D—The Cave of the Letters,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 (1962): 250.

2. *Ibid.*, 250.

3. *Ibid.*, 253.

# The Art of the Scribe

Michael P. Lyon

*Oh, that my words were recorded, that they were written on a scroll, that they were inscribed with an iron tool on lead, or engraved in rock forever!* (Job 19:23–4 New International Version)

From the beginning, Jewish scribes have sought to record important documents in ways that would endure. This was particularly true of sacred writings, which helps us understand Job's *cri de coeur*, where he lists the various types of writing in an increasing order of permanence. The most important and beautiful creations of their art were the Torah scrolls used in worship and study, such as those discovered at Qumran. The earliest examples of the scriptural excerpts in the phylacteries (*tefillin*), which were worn on the foreheads and arms of devout Jewish males during prayer, were also found in Qumran. Writing marriage contracts and other legal documents was a more secular facet of their skill. That we can still read many of these writings more than two thousand years later attests to the remarkable skill and dedication of these ancient scribes. The dry climate of the Dead Sea region also preserved writings that perished in the more humid areas of Israel.

## Writing Surfaces

The largest and most costly material used for the Dead Sea Scrolls was the carefully prepared parchment made from the hide of any kosher animal, including the cow, calf, sheep, goat, and even the more exotic deer and gazelle. Some of the scrolls were written on papyrus imported from Egypt, but the preferred material was locally produced leather from goats and cows that has been identified by current DNA testing.<sup>1</sup>

Tanning, as well as the related art of making parchment, was a complicated and malodorous process performed by craftsmen employing many trade secrets, some of which remain a mystery. The fresh skin was washed and then soaked in water to cause it to swell. After the hair was scraped off, the skin was stretched on wooden frames and carefully shaved to make it as thin as possible and yet thick enough to withstand heavy use (see fig. 1). Even today the finest parchment and vellum must be shaved by hand using a large, curved knife. Then the skin was soaked in a solution of salt, barley flour, gall nuts, and lime water for many days, after which it was rinsed, stretched on frames, and again allowed to dry flat.<sup>2</sup> It was then polished smooth with pumice stone, a process that also whitened the surface. For example, *Testimonia* is noticeably whiter than the other fragments that were on display in the Qumran and Masada exhibits (see page 22).

The most impressive examples of their craft are the small skins used to make the tefillin discovered at Qumran (see fig. 2). Because they needed to be folded into tiny bundles, the parchments were also incredibly thin, perhaps made from fetal calfskin. The writing on them is the smallest script yet discovered, yet it is still legible.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the scribes took great pride in the creation of such miniature works of art as an expression of their faith. Their tiny size contrasts with the large phylacteries denounced by Jesus (Matthew 23:5).

The process of making scrolls entailed cutting two rectangles from the hide, avoiding the spine. This left a lot of waste, but only the finest material could be used. The pieces were sewn together with heavy linen thread or thinly sliced kosher animal tendons (*gittim*). *The Great Isaiah Scroll* required seventeen sheets,<sup>4</sup> or the hides of at least nine animals. The thread holes were made with a

wooden awl rather than a metal one to avoid touching the sacred texts with a substance associated with war.<sup>5</sup>

At Qumran enigmatic plaster fragments were found scattered on the ground floor of one room in the main building. Because they were found on top of ceiling debris, they likely fell from the second-story room. When reassembled, the fragments formed three tables approximately twenty inches high and fifteen feet long. These tables, originally made from a mud-brick frame covered with carefully smoothed plaster, are remarkable in that nothing like them has been found, nor are they mentioned in the documents of that period.<sup>6</sup> The tables are so low that a scribe would have been forced to kneel in order to write on them, leading some scholars to believe that these tables were used to inspect a completed scroll in its entirety. The scribes may have written on small wooden desks, of which no trace was found (see fig. 3).

## **Ink**

Two inkwells, one ceramic and the other bronze, were also found in the debris of this same room (see fig. 4). The traces of ink found within matched the composition of ink used on the majority of scrolls.<sup>7</sup> The traditional ink was a preparation of soot from olive-oil lamps. Honey, oil, vinegar, and water were added to thin it to the proper consistency. In order for the ink to bite into the writing surface and not fade, later scribes added gall nuts to the formula. Sometimes the concentration of gall nut was so strong that the ink eventually ate completely through the parchment. The scribes probably tried their best to achieve the proper balance of the ingredients, hoping that the ink would stand the test of time. Their greatest concern was to achieve a rich, lustrous black, even if it was at the expense of a flexible, translucent ink. When the thick ink would flake off the surface, the Torah scroll was considered unfit for use, necessitating restoration in a prescribed manner in order to maintain the perfection of the sacred writings and to enable their continued use.

## **Pen**

Not surprisingly, the pen was the symbol of the scribe. Throughout the Mediterranean world, pens were usually fashioned from reeds (see fig. 5), but for harder surfaces, they were made of metal or hard stone.<sup>8</sup> A carefully trimmed pen indicated the pride that the scribe took in his work. The minuscule size of the individual letters on the scrolls is especially impressive to anyone who has tried to write with a handmade pen, for the pen point had to be cut to a chisel shape of very narrow width. Although no pens have survived from Qumran, Jewish writings indicate that the scribes used reeds at this time.<sup>9</sup> When repeated dipping of the pen in ink caused the reed fibers to become soaked and to grow soft, the scribe would have to retrim the point. The fact that no difference in stroke width is apparent among the finest scrolls testifies to the precision with which the scribes trimmed their pens.

## **Letter Forms**

As is usual with Aramaic alphabets, Hebrew letters hang from the line rather than stand on it, as in our Greco-Roman tradition. If a top horizontal stroke is called for, it should follow this line, whereas the bottom element of the letter usually slants down to the left, further strengthening the movement of the eye to the left. The strongest element in the Hebrew letter form, today as well as anciently, is the contrast between thick and thin strokes, the result of the way the pen point is trimmed to a chisel shape. It appears that paleo-Hebrew favored a strong contrast, while a later example, *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, shows a more uniform balance of thick and thin elements (see fig. 6). It is written in a standard Hasmonaean formal hand of 125–100 B.C. The letters were written slowly and deliberately, in contrast to modern calligraphy's emphasis on speed and rhythm.

Though Hebrew is read from right to left, the individual letters are written from left to right, since the pen must be pulled over the surface, never pushed.<sup>10</sup> Today, Jewish scribes touch the letter with the pen immediately after completing a stroke, depositing a small amount of surplus ink on the wide stroke so that when it dries it will be even blacker and form a raised surface. This is a risky process because any smudges could render the whole page unusable. This process also contributes to the problem of flaking.

The ancient scribes were willing to risk these dangers in order to achieve the strongest possible contrast between ink and writing surface. When we consider how tiny the letters are, we can appreciate this aesthetic. Some calligraphers accentuated the letter size by designing the page to leave a generous space between lines, allowing the reader to “breathe” as his eyes moved down to the next line. This minute script must have been written in strong sunlight by scribes with good eyesight. Since advancing age brings diminished visual acuity, most elderly scribes and readers would not have been able to use these scrolls, and this made the custom of public reading on the Sabbath even more significant. When Jesus returned to his childhood synagogue at Nazareth and stood up to read the scroll of Isaiah, he was still a young man with good eyesight (see Luke 4:16–7). Most of the elders present would have already committed these scriptures to memory.

Scribes learned how to create beautiful letters by copying standard models (*tikkun*). A potsherd, the scratch paper of the ancient world, discovered in a rubbish heap at Qumran shows the beginning of this long learning process. Presumably a student wrote a copy of the alphabet in a painstaking manner, repeating some letters twice (see fig. 7). One can imagine him studying his teacher’s model and then trying to reproduce faithfully every curve. To ensure absolute accuracy, even competent scribes were never to write a Torah scroll without a trustworthy copy in front of them. The meticulous care required in copying documents is emphasized in the following quotation from the first-century scribe Ishmael: “My son, be careful in your work for it is the work of Heaven, lest you err either in leaving out or in adding one iota, and thereby cause the destruction of the whole world.”<sup>11</sup> This scribal concern with even the smallest letters, such as the Greek *iota*, or Hebrew *yod*, was pointed out by the Savior in his vigorous defense of the literal fulfillment of prophecy (see Matthew 5:18).

A scribe was to purify himself and recite a special prayer before beginning his day of writing, and especially before writing the name of God.<sup>12</sup> A shallow washbasin discovered with the remains of the tables at Qumran may have been used for this very purpose. Some scribes used the paleo-Hebrew script for the sacred name of Deity (see fig. 8) while others, such as the scribe of 4Q175 *Testimonia*, used four dots. Scribes in Alexandria, under Greek influence, began to write the name of God in gold leaf, a practice later condemned in the Talmud.<sup>13</sup>

So diligent were the scribes in accurately transmitting sacred texts that their work forms an unbroken chain of remarkable consistency over the centuries. The copying of a Torah scroll was the greatest opportunity for a Jewish artist to express his love of beauty, for it was believed that the art of writing itself was a gift from God. According to Jewish tradition, before the creation of the world the Torah already existed, written in “black fire on white fire.”<sup>14</sup> Thus the alphabet predates the world, and consequently no effort was spared in transmitting the sacred written word faithfully.<sup>15</sup>

The scroll fragments on exhibit show a wide spectrum of the calligrapher’s art, spanning a period from 250 B.C. to A.D. 50, considered by many to be the golden age of the art. The oldest fragment, 4Q22 Paleo Exodus<sup>m</sup>, shows us a style already ancient when it was copied (see page 16).

## Preservation

These scrolls were intended to be handled and used reverently, and thus precautions were taken to ensure their longevity. The most critical problem was that the leather scrolls absorbed moisture and oils from human skin, causing permanent stains. For example, the outside of the Isaiah scroll carries the handprint stains of those who held it while reading. In response to this problem, the custom developed of using a hand-shaped pointer (*yad*) to avoid touching the inner written surface of a scroll. To avoid staining the outer surface, readers would use a cloth draped over their hands when handling the scrolls, a sign of reverence copied by the early Christians when handling their texts.

When not being used, the scrolls were kept on wooden shelves. Synagogue floor mosaics and glass-enclosed gold leaf roundels (see fig. 9) represent the wooden cabinet (*tebbah*) built to contain the Torah scrolls as quite elaborate and evocative of the Jerusalem temple facade. It could have doors or a curtain (*parochet*) to conceal and protect the scrolls.

When a scroll became damaged and thus could no longer be used (*pasul*), it was not destroyed (doing so would be irreverent) but was placed in the synagogue in a special room or closet (*genizah*), where it joined other worn scrolls. The copious fragments found in the Cairo Genizah have survived for centuries and were considered the greatest Jewish manuscript discovery until that of Qumran.

Some of the Qumran scrolls were found wrapped in plain linen cloth and sealed in jars. This simple but practical form of protection is perpetuated in the cloth mantle used today to encase the Torah scrolls when they are placed in the ark. The jars that were specifically designed to store scrolls show the same efficient use of material—straight-sided, widemouthed, with a broad, flat lid. Perhaps the most prized scrolls had jars custom-made for them by Qumran potters.

Many scrolls have survived the passage of centuries because of the ancient custom of hiding sacred texts during times of upheaval and war. Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan and the man who first purchased the Isaiah scroll, experienced this custom firsthand. While still a boy, he and his relatives were driven from their village in Lebanon by Turks and Kurds. Separated from his widowed mother, Samuel found refuge in a mountain monastery. When hope of survival seemed impossible, one of the monks asked him to help them “bury our books.” While bullets whistled around them, they prayed and dug a hole in a small ravine outside the monastery walls. “Those who follow after us will have our books. . . . The work of God will prevail” was the hope expressed as they sealed the aperture with pitch and covered it with stones and earth.<sup>16</sup>

Decades later, Samuel held *The Great Isaiah Scroll* in his hands, a scroll that had been hidden away by men with the same hope displayed by his Christian monks. Samuel believed the scroll to be an ancient document even though he could not read Hebrew and several experts had warned him it was not of ancient origin. We can be grateful that he trusted his heart as he admired the scroll’s minute yet beautiful calligraphy and miraculous state of preservation. His efforts, as well as those of others, have succeeded in bringing to light marvelous treasures of faith, preserved by the scribal arts.

How remarkable it is that ancient writings from the Judean desert have survived, even if in fragments, to our day. That they exist at all and are still legible testifies to the religious devotion of the communities who produced them as well as to the consummate skill and love of beauty

exemplified in the scribes' craftsmanship. It is a continuing paradox that the written word can possess such great power to move us, and yet the materials used to transmit it through the corridors of time are so very fragile.

## Notes

1. Personal conversation with Dr. Scott Woodward, August 1997.
2. See Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 79–82.
3. See Yigael Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969), 22.
4. See Frank Moore Cross, David Noel Freedman, and James A. Sanders, eds., *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave 1: The Great Isaiah Scroll; The Order of the Community; The Peshet of Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research; and The Shrine of the Book, 1972), 3.
5. See the King James Version of Exodus 20:25, "For if thou lift up thy tool upon it [an altar], thou hast polluted it." Today the ultra-orthodox Jews use an ivory or wood pointer (*yad*) when reading the Torah in the synagogues, as opposed to the silver pointer in more common use.
6. See De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 29.
7. See John Marco Allegro, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: In Text and Pictures* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 43.
8. See KJV Jeremiah 17:1: "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond." The New International Version rendering is "Judah's sin is engraved with an iron tool, inscribed with a flint point."
9. The Sephardic scribes (Jews descended from families living in the Mediterranean area) continue to write exclusively with reed pens, while the Ashkenazi scribes (Jews descended from central and eastern Europe) write only with quills taken from turkey or chicken wing feathers.
10. Ismar David, *The Hebrew Letter: Calligraphic Variations* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson Inc., 1990), 2.
11. Quoted in Natan Ausubel, "Sofer," in *The Book of Jewish Knowledge* (New York: Crown, 1964), 420.
12. See J. Simcha Cohen, *The 613<sup>th</sup> Commandment: An Analysis of the Mitzvah to Write a Sefer Torah* (New York: Ktav, 1983), 86. This custom is still observed by orthodox scribes. Muslim scribes say a prayer whenever they write the name of Allah.
13. *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, n.d.), s.v. "writing."
14. See Hugh Nibley, "Genesis of the Written Word," in his *Temple and Cosmos* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992), 450–90.
15. Herman Wouk, *This Is My God* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959), 253.

16. Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 56.

# About FARMS

The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) is an independent, not-for-profit research organization. It was incorporated in 1979 in the state of California and operates in Provo, Utah. The Foundation sponsors scholarly research and publications on Latter-day Saint scriptures, principally the Book of Mormon, and related subjects. It also produces bibliographies and other reference material in support of scholarly work. The FARMS Center for Electronic Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts (CEPART) undertakes projects dealing with collections of ancient religious documents, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the goal of making important and valuable material available to a wider segment of the scholarly world.

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Administered by a volunteer Board of Trustees, FARMS maintains a small professional staff for coordinating research projects, editing and publishing scholarly material, and providing overall direction for operations and development.

# FARMS's Support of Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship

During the past two or three years, FARMS has supported a number of efforts that together amount to a significant contribution to Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. A summary of these efforts follows.

## **Production of the Dead Sea Scrolls on CD**

The centerpiece of FARMS's contribution to Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship is publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls on CD: The FARMS Electronic Database (FARMS Database), produced in collaboration with the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center (ABMC), based in Claremont, California; BYU; E. J. Brill Publishers, headquartered in Leiden, the Netherlands; the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, based in Jerusalem; the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA); and Oxford University Press.

The database consists of a comprehensive, fully indexed, and cross-linked computerized collection of nonbiblical (and eventually biblical) Dead Sea Scrolls transcriptions (published by Oxford University Press in the authoritative series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert [DJD] and elsewhere), a selection of corresponding digitized images of scrolls and scroll fragments (from photographs made available to FARMS by the ABMC), translations, and reference material of importance for scholarly work on the scrolls and on related literature and subjects.

Noel B. Reynolds, BYU professor of political science and president of FARMS, is producer of the FARMS Database; Donald W. Parry, BYU professor of Hebrew language and literature, is project director; and Steven W. Booras, electronic projects manager for CEPART, is project manager. Members of the project's advisory board include Weston Fields, executive director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation; Florentino García Martínez of the University of Groningen, the Netherlands; Dana M. Pike, BYU professor of ancient scripture; Elisha Qimron of Ben Gurion University of the Negev; Lawrence H. Schiffman of New York University; David Rolph Seely, BYU professor of ancient scripture; Shemaryahu Talmon of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Emanuel Tov, also of Hebrew University, head of the international team of scholars working on the Dead Sea Scrolls and editor in chief of DJD; and Eugene C. Ulrich of the University of Notre Dame.

The FARMS Database functions principally as a comprehensive concordance providing instantaneous and comprehensive searches of all included texts. The search routine allows users to design sophisticated word or phrase searches for all or selected forms of words. The low-resolution images of the scrolls in the database can be viewed simultaneously.

FARMS has an agreement with E. J. Brill, the IAA, and Oxford University Press allowing for inclusion of material published or owned by these organizations in the FARMS Database and markets a noncommercial version of the database, principally to scholars.

## **Archive of Dead Sea Scrolls Digitized Images**

FARMS has created the largest known collection of digitized images of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Working under an agreement with the ABMC, FARMS has scanned the entire collection of approximately 5,600 scroll photographs owned by the ABMC. Working with negatives, FARMS created two sets of digitized images. The first set, scanned at high resolution, is for archival purposes and is owned and maintained by the ABMC. The second set, scanned at an undetermined low resolution, is jointly owned by the ABMC and FARMS. A selection of these images is

included in the FARMS Database. Orders for individual copies of these images, received by the ABMC, are filled from this collection.

FARMS has also scanned (from negatives) the entire collection of original scroll photographs taken by John C. Trever in the late 1940s. These photographs are owned by the Claremont School of Theology and maintained by the ABMC. FARMS has limited distribution rights for these images.

## Conferences

On 30 April 1995 FARMS and BYU sponsored a conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. The event was held at BYU's Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies. Presentations were made by a number of scholars, all of whom are members of the international team working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, including Frank M. Cross of Harvard University, García Martínez, Tov, Ulrich, and Torleif Elgvin of the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology. Papers were also delivered by a number of scholars from BYU, all of whom are also members of the international team: Parry, Pike, Seely, and Andrew Skinner, professor and chair of ancient scripture. Scott R. Woodward, BYU professor of microbiology, and his colleagues from Hebrew University reported on efforts to subject scroll parchment material to DNA analysis. Woodward's efforts are supported by a number of organizations, including FARMS. At this conference Parry and Booras demonstrated, for the first time, the FARMS Database. The proceedings of the conference were subsequently published in a book titled *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

The Dead Sea Scrolls were studied from the vantage point of LDS scripture and teachings by a number of scholars at a conference jointly sponsored by FARMS and Religious Education at BYU. The event was held on the BYU campus on 23 March 1996. Presentations covered an array of topics, with titles such as "The Book of Mormon and the Dead Sea Scrolls," "Is the Plan of Salvation Attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" and "Praise, Prayer, and Worship at Qumran." Professor García Martínez gave the keynote address at the conference. Although he was not speaking from an LDS perspective, his paper, "Messianic Hopes in the Qumran Writings," dealt with a topic of central importance to the theme of the conference. The proceedings of this event have been published in the book *LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

In addition, FARMS and BYU jointly sponsored the 1996 International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, held at BYU on 15–17 July 1996. Nearly fifty scholars from all over the world—experts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (many are members of the international team), biblical studies, and related subjects—were joined by another hundred or so local participants to listen to the presentation of forty-five papers. Topics ranged from detailed studies of the scrolls (e.g., "The Apocryphal Psalms at Qumran" and "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll") to broader subjects (e.g., "The Impact of the Scrolls on Biblical Studies") and topics dealing with innovations in other fields of study aiming to advance scholarship on the scrolls and related studies (e.g., "Microwave Remote Sensing Applications in Archaeology," "Imaging Clarified," and "DNA Fingerprinting of Parchment Fragments"). The conference also included presentation of the FARMS Database. Conference proceedings will be published by E. J. Brill in a book titled *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Several scholars representing FARMS attended the 1997 International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, held in Jerusalem at the Israel Museum and the Shrine of the Book on 20–25 July 1997. The congress celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls. The interim release version of the FARMS Database was demonstrated several times during the conference. Parry, Booras, and E. Jan Wilson, who is in charge of text preparations for the FARMS Database and is associate director of CEPART, participated in the conference. Parry

and Wilson also presented separate papers reporting on their own scroll research. Reynolds also attended this conference.

## Books

FARMS has supported publication of several books on the Dead Sea Scrolls, all of which were prepared with the able assistance of members of the FARMS editorial staff. Several scholars associated with FARMS are among the editors of and contributors to these publications:

- Parry, Donald W., and Stephen D. Ricks, eds. *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.
- Martínez, Florentino García, and Donald W. Parry, eds. *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah, 1970–95*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.
- Parry, Donald W., and Dana M. Pike, eds. *LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997.
- Bradford, M. Gerald, ed. *Ancient Scrolls from the Dead Sea: Photographs and Commentary on a Unique Collection of Scrolls*. Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997.
- Parry, Donald W., and Eugene C. Ulrich, eds. *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues, and Technological Innovations*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Forthcoming.

## Exhibit

From March through September 1997, FARMS sponsored an exhibit titled *Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, which featured several original Dead Sea Scrolls from Jordan, along with artifacts from the ancient community of Qumran and scroll replicas. This exhibit at BYU's Museum of Art was in conjunction with another major exhibit on loan to the university from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the IAA: *The Story of Masada: Discoveries from the Excavation*. The Masada exhibit also included a number of original scrolls discovered at this ancient site. Detailed descriptions and photographs of all the scrolls on display in these two exhibits are contained in this publication.

## Support for Other Publications

Publication of volumes in the DJD series began in 1955. To date, sixteen volumes have appeared, twelve since 1990, with at least three volumes due to come out this year. It is estimated that once it is completed, the series will total more than thirty-five volumes. FARMS has supported the preparation of the concordance of four of the published volumes. FARMS has also been instrumental in helping the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation secure financial support from private sources in Utah to aid in the publication of at least three volumes in the series.

Early in the production of the FARMS Database, FARMS worked closely with Stephen Pfann, director of the Center for the Study of Early Christianity in Jerusalem, in the preparation of transcripts for possible use in the database. In connection with this effort, FARMS also supported Pfann in his preparation of a comprehensive concordance of the Dead Sea Scrolls that will be published once all the volumes in the DJD series have appeared.

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## About the Contributors

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**Weston Fields** is Executive Director of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, based in Jerusalem. He has a Ph.D. in Hebrew Bible from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a Th.D. from Grace Theological Seminary in Indiana. Fields serves as a member of the Board of Advisors to the Dead Sea Scrolls on CD: The FARMS Electronic Database.

**Michael P. Lyon** is a freelance artist and researcher who works for FARMS. He, with assistance from Alison Coutts (also of FARMS), prepared the model of Qumran that was on display in the *Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* exhibit at Brigham Young University.

**Donald W. Parry** is Assistant Professor of Hebrew Languages and Literature at Brigham Young University. He is a member of the international team of scholars working on the Dead Sea Scrolls and is Project Director of the Dead Sea Scrolls on CD: The FARMS Electronic Database. Parry is coeditor of three books on the Dead Sea Scrolls, including, with Dana M. Pike, *LDS Perspectives on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, recently published by FARMS. He serves on the FARMS Board of Trustees.

**Stephen D. Ricks** is Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages at Brigham Young University. He is coeditor, with Donald W. Parry, of *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, published by E. J. Brill in 1996, and is also Editor of the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*. Ricks is a member of the FARMS Board of Trustees and is immediate past Chairman of the Board.

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