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Keter Shem Tov

Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown

Edited by
Shani Tzoref
Ian Young

gorgias press
2013
International Conference on the Dead Sea scrolls (2011 : Mandelbaum House, University of Sydney)

Keter shem tov : collected essays on the Dead Sea scrolls in memory of Alan Crown / edited by Shani Tzoref, Ian Young. pages cm. -- (Perspectives on Hebrew scriptures and its contexts, ISSN 1935-6897 ; 20)

"This volume contains the proceedings of a conference on the Dead Sea scrolls held in memory of the late emeritus professor Alan Crown in late 2011 at the University of Sydney, Mandelbaum House. This eclectic collection contains 16 articles on a variety of topics within Qumran studies from established scholars in the field such as Emanuel Tov, Albert Baumgarten, William Loader and Shani Tzoref as well as exciting new voices in the field. Topics cover the full range of scholarly study of the scrolls, from the impact of the Qumran discoveries on the study of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament to the study of the scrolls themselves and the community organizations presupposed in them, focusing as well on topics as diverse as sexuality, scribal practice and the attitude to the Temple in the scrolls."--Summary.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-61143-866-6 (alk. paper)
BM487.I545 2013
296.1'55--dc23

2013034674

Printed in the United States of America
KETER SHEM TOV:
ESSAYS ON THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS
IN MEMORY OF ALAN CROWN
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The history of the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls has attracted almost as much public interest as the contents of the Scrolls themselves. Today, the Scrolls are again making headlines, as the Israel Antiquities Authority (my home institution) and the Israel Museum have partnered with Google Inc. to upload digitized images of the manuscripts.¹ For most of the twentieth century, the extensive media fanfare focused on dramatic controversies, conspiracy theories, exclusion, lawsuits, divisions and divisiveness. In the current study, to honor the memory of Alan Crown, I call attention to a phenomenon that has received less attention but is of more lasting significance: the evolution of Qumran studies into a field that is a model of interfaith collegiality and cooperation. I will outline the three phases that have been perceived in this evolutionary process, and demonstrate how these phases correlate with developments in the scholarly consensus about the

¹ For Prof. Alan Crown, in warm appreciation and gratitude, and with particularly fond memories of our committee sessions for setting the NSW Higher School Certificate; his personal interest in and support of students, colleagues, and anybody who crossed his path; and his contagious sense of humor and smile.

identification of the community of the scrolls. Finally, I will suggest that the modern progression towards global cooperation may be seen as a mirror image of a move towards insularity that characterized the people of the scrolls in antiquity.

1. THREE PHASES OF QUMRAN SCHOLARSHIP: ACCESS AND PUBLICATION (LINEAR MODEL)

The model of three stages of Qumran studies, or three generations of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars, has been portrayed by some as a linear progression. The linear model is relevant with respect to access and publication:

1) The first generation was a period of Acquisition and Allocation, when access to the texts was limited to a closed circle of official scholars.
2) The second phase, a time of Breaking Barriers, was about opening the field, especially physically, in terms of access to unpublished texts; it was also an era of rejection of established interpretations and analyses.
3) Finally, we reach today’s phase of Cooperation and Collaboration, and complexity in analysis.

Phases 1 and 2 have been discussed at great length, especially by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Neil Asher Silberman, and, most recently, by Weston Fields. Some highlights are summarized here.

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1.1. Phase 1: Acquisition and Allocation, a Closed Circle

In concrete physical terms, the restriction and separateness of the first generation of Qumran scholarship is evidenced by the fact that three of the first seven scrolls found in Cave 1 were acquired by Prof. Eliezer Sukenik of the Hebrew University, for the University, and were published in west Jerusalem in Israel, while the remaining four were published by the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) based in east Jerusalem, then part of Jordan. The timing and location of the discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls in Cave 1 near Qumran in 1947 placed the scrolls squarely in the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict associated with the UN partition vote of that year and the establishment of the State of Israel. The coincidence of the partition vote and the Scrolls discovery was romanticized and dramatized by Sukenik’s son Yigael Yadin, the Israeli statesman and archaeologist who is most well-known for his excavation of Masada, in his book *Message of the Scrolls.* Among the uglier aspects of the modern historical context of the discovery was the politically motivated ostracism of Israeli and Jewish scholars from the large-scale publication process. With the discovery of Cave 4, and its many thousands of fragments, an “international” team was established at the Palestine Archaeological Museum (later the Rockefeller Museum) in East Jerusalem, to produce the official

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4 Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). This very comprehensive account, the first of an anticipated two-volume work, covers events of the first phase, from 1947–1960. Fields conducted extensive personal interviews with individuals involved in the discovery, acquisition, and publication of the scrolls, and tracked down many unpublished records. Fields also refers to the numerous (and frequently conflicting) first-person accounts and memoirs that have been published by early scrolls scholars, which are important sources for the initial phase.

publication of the scrolls corpus. There is some uncertainty as to whether there was a conscious effort to include a balance of Protestants and Catholics on the original team, but it is clear that ecumenical sensitivity did not extend to Jews. Israeli and Jewish scholars were deliberately excluded from this enterprise, in part due to expedience—it was considered a given that Jordan would not grant entry to east Jerusalem to a Jew or Israeli—and in part due to the anti-Israel sentiments of the original publication team.

Another illustration of the policy of exclusion, also outlined in Yadin’s book, is Yadin’s complicated clandestine operation to acquire the four Dead Sea Scrolls of the original lot of seven from Cave 1 that had been photographed and published by ASOR, but kept in the possession of the Syriac Archbishop Athanasius Samuel who had purchased them from the Bedouin discoverers. The premise of this classic tale of intrigue and chutzpah is that the seller, and even large segments of the international community, would not have tolerated the sale of the scrolls to Israel.

6 The official excavation of Cave 4 and the initial publication of the texts took place under the auspices of G. Lankester Harding, the British director of the Jordanian Antiquities Authority along with the Dominican priest Roland de Vaux of the French École Biblique.

7 The nationalities and denominational affiliations of the original team are listed in James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 229 (in ch. 7 “Controversies About the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 227–41). Fields ( *Full History*, 192) dismisses claims that denomination played a role in the selection of scholars for the international team.

8 See Fields, *Full History*, 437–38; Schiffman, “Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 162; Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls*, 84–85. Evidence of anti-Zionism and antisemitism on the part of the original team members appears throughout Fields’ book, though he generally attempts to mute it. The most well-known declaration from a member of the team comes from a later period, John Strugnell’s infamous 1990 interview in the Israeli newspaper *Ha’aretz*. See below, n. 25.

9 See the explicit remark by the early Scrolls scholar, William H. Brownlee, “One severe limitation upon any prospective buyer was that he must not be a Jew… Even if the metropolitan himself had been willing to
An unusual comment upon the segregated scholarship is found in correspondence between two members of the original team, a personal letter written by John Strugnell to John M. Allegro on 15 October, 1955 (somewhat prefiguring his later removal from editorship of the team due, in part, to antisemitic statements):

Apparently the Jew who is preparing the full-scale commentary on the Hodayot has signed a contract with the Mosad Bialiq which means not only that it will appear in Hebrew, but also that he promises *not to allow* a translation into any other language. That sort of parochial obscurantism makes me sick.\(^\text{10}\)

The letter contains a post-script: “Did you notice that in the photograph in the London News there was an awful lot of unpublished Pesher clearly legible? I wonder what fool will try to produce a first edition.”\(^\text{11}\) To my knowledge, no attempt was made to publish the text that was pictured in the 1955 *Illustrated London News*. In 1961, however, Jacob Licht, the author of the Hebrew commentary on Hodayot condemned by Strugnell in the above quote, published three columns of Pesher Nahum on the basis of a poor-quality photograph that he found in a brochure for the Rockefeller Museum, put out by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in that year.\(^\text{12}\)

Licht’s maverick publication is the exception that proves the rule. The small official team retained exclusive publication rights for the Qumran texts through the 1950s and 1960s and into the

\(^{10}\) From the Allegro Archive, cited in Fields, *Full History*, 259–60.


1970s and 1980s. As time wore on, publication slowed and funding began to evaporate. Scholars who had written about the scrolls in the first two decades of Qumran studies began to pursue other avenues of research. When Israel annexed East Jerusalem, including the Rockefeller Museum, following the 1967 Six-Day War, some perceived an opportunity for change. Instead, the government of Israel left the management of the Scrolls publication to the existing team of scholars, choosing to maintain the status quo in this matter as in so many others. Edmund

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13 During the 1950s and 1960s, Israeli archaeologists uncovered additional texts in the Judean desert. This material, mostly documentary papyri from Masada and from Bar Kokhba caves, was published by Jewish and Israeli scholars. See, inter alia, Hanan Eshel, “Excavations in the Judean Desert and at Qumran under Israeli Jurisdiction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant; STDJ 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 381–400, at 382–87. The official publication team also published separate lots of Bar Kokhba era texts that the Rockefeller Museum had purchased from Bedouin. For the most part, these texts were of less interest to Christian scholars than the earlier sectarian material from Qumran.

14 Despite the frustrations and limitations, scholars outside the official publication team made significant contributions in the early decades of the field. Comprehensive overviews, according to geographic and national categories, are provided in the articles in Dimant, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective*. On early Israeli Scrolls scholarship in particular, see esp. eadem, “Israeli Scholarship on the Qumran Community,” 237–80, and Emanuel Tov, “Israeli Scholarship on the Biblical Texts From the Judean Desert,” 297–313. See also, Emanuel Tov, “Israeli Scholarship on the Texts from the Judean Desert,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 123–27.

Wilson, the noted American literary figure who captured popular attention and imagination with his accounts of the Scrolls, wrote in the aftermath of the 1967 war of his expectation that “both Israeli and Gentile scholars are, one hopes, for the first time, at last, in a position to examine the whole mass of the scrolls, to confer about them, and to pool their findings.” 16 His assessment was premature, but developments in the 1970s and 1980s did ultimately lead to such broader access.

1.2. Phase 2: Breaking the Barriers, Broadening the Field

One of the factors that have been credited with infusing the new spirit of the second generation into Qumran studies is actually associated with the first generation figure Yigael Yadin. Yadin’s acquisition of the Temple Scroll in 1967, and his publication of this monumental work along with a Hebrew commentary in 1977, simultaneously mitigated and reinforced the marginalization of Jewish scholars within Qumran studies. Scholars with fluency in adoption of the “status quo” approach was itself an implementation of status quo, following a policy first introduced by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Mejid in 1852 with respect to Christian holy sites in Palestine.

16 Edmund Wilson, *The Dead Sea Scrolls 1947–1969* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1969), 259. Wilson also noted (ibid.) that before he left Jordan on the eve of the war in 1967, de Vaux had asked him to “give his regards to Yadin and to say to him how much he regretted ‘the barrier’ that had prevented them from meeting anywhere except in Paris or London.” [That last qualification is tantalizing. Geza Vermes reports that when he met Yadin for the first time at a conference in Cambridge in 1954, he agreed to Yadin’s request that he [Vermes] “act as his letter box for his correspondence with Father de Vaux and other Qumran scholars in Jordan:” Geza Vermes, * Providential Accidents: An Autobiography* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 108. Schuller similarly notes that Yadin and another member of the team, Pierre Benoit, communicated by means of a postal box, and that Weston Fields has confirmed that he has records of some of their correspondence. Eileen Schuller, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish-Christian Dialogue,” in * From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition: a Festschrift for Thomas H. Tobin* (ed. Patricia Walters; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 45–58, at p. 56].
modern Hebrew—almost exclusively Jews, in that era—were given access to a wealth of new material, but it was specifically halakhic material. During this time, Qumran halakhah became a specialty niche for Jewish scholars, though they continued to function under the handicap of being barred access to unpublished material.

Even more significantly, an active campaign began in the 1980s to “free the scrolls” from the monopoly of the “international team.” Two of the most active agents in this campaign have written lively accounts of their perspectives and roles in this second phase of access and publication. Beginning in 1980, Emanuel Tov, Elisha Qimron, and Devorah Dimant became the first Israeli scholars to join the authorized publication team. The first two

17 One non-Jewish scholar of the first generation who was in fact conversant in Modern Hebrew was not a member of the international team—William Foxwell Albright, who described the Hebrew he learned as a student in Jerusalem the 1920s as “archaic Modern Hebrew.” See the description of his opening address to the 1965 World Congress of Jewish Studies, in Moshe Bar-Asher, “Linguistic Activism,” in Studies in Modern Hebrew (Jerusalem: Keter, 2012), 93–120, at 116 n. 105. I thank Jonathan Howard for this reference.


19 See Alex P. Jassen, “American Scholarship on Jewish Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Dimant, ed., The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective, 101–54; Aharon Shemesh, “Israeli Research of the Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in ibid., 345–61. Shemesh states (349) that “almost all scholars engaged in study of Qumran halakhah have been educated at traditional Yeshivot with academic training in Talmudic studies.”


21 James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 388; Schiffman
project directors, Roland de Vaux and Pierre Benoit, each retained their positions until their deaths. When John Strugnell formally succeeded Benoit in 1987, there was some opposition to his appointment, and a good deal of pressure to broaden the field of scholars involved in the project. Both Geza Vermes of Oxford University and Hershel Shanks, editor of Biblical Archaeology Review, prominent figures in this campaign, identified antisemitism as one of the factors in the unfairness of the then-status quo.²² It is perhaps a “providential accident,” to borrow the title of Vermes’s memoirs, that a key figure in opening access to the Scrolls was a scholar who was born a Jew, converted to Catholicism, survived the Holocaust as a young priest, and later came to re-identify as a Jew.²³ In his memoirs, Vermes describes the role played by Alan Crown during this transitional period in the late 1980s.²⁴

(“Many Battles,” 193) names these three scholars as members of an expanded team of twenty recruited by Strugnell in 1984. Besides the copies of the PAM photographs held in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, additional copies were deposited in the Huntington Library as well as at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, and Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (VanderKam and Flint, ibid., 393).

²² See Vermes, “The Battle Over the Scrolls;” Shanks, Freeing the Dead Sea Scrolls.

²³ Vermes, Providential Accidents. His parents perished in Auschwitz. Besides his work on the Scrolls, Vermes is best-known for his contribution to the study of the historical figure of Jesus, particularly the Jewish background of his life, thought, and ministry. See, inter alia, Geza Vermes, Jesus the Jew: a Historian’s Reading of the Gospels (London: Collins, 1973).

²⁴ Vermes, ibid. He notes in particular (197–98) his consternation that after Alan Crown had been involved in negotiations to arrange for the storage of copies of photographs of the Scrolls at Oxford, in 1989, Crown held the key to the room with the photographs, while resident Oxford scholars were denied entry and access to the material.
In 1990, Strugnell was removed from his position and Emanuel Tov became the director of the international committee and the editor-in-chief of the project. In 1991, the Huntington Library in California decided to grant access to all “qualified scholars” to a complete set of negatives that had been entrusted to the Library. In that same year, Shanks published the first volume of an edition that was produced with the assistance of computer technology from an “unauthorized” copy of a concordance that had been provided to official editors. Also in 1991, Shanks

25 Strugnell’s dismissal, on medical grounds, followed upon an interview for the Israeli newspaper Ha’aretz (November 9, 1990) in which he made a number of anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli statements. See Avi Katzman, “Chief Dead Sea Scroll Editor Denounces Judaism, Israel; Claims He’s Seen Four More Scrolls Found by Bedouin,” B-4R 17/1 (1990): 64–72; Hershel Shanks, “An Interview with John Strugnell: Ousted Chief Scroll Editor Makes His Case,” B-4R 20/4 (1994): 40. It would be too facile, however, to point to Strugnell as an obstacle to Jewish participation in Scrolls research. He was the first to invite an Israeli scholar to work with the unpublished material, and he had close collaborative relationships with a number of Jewish and Israeli colleagues, including some younger scholars whom he mentored. A substantial number of Jewish scholars were among the dozens of “friends and colleagues” who signed a letter of support that was published as “No evidence of Anti-Judaism in Strugnell’s Work,” B-4R 17/2 (1991): 15. In fact, the topic of this conference paper was suggested to me by the late Prof. Hanan Eshel, whose relationship with Strugnell was elemental to his appreciation of the interfaith collegiality in the field of Qumran studies. Following Prof. Strugnell’s death in 2009, the Strugnell family entrusted Prof. Eshel with the responsibility and honor of transporting his cremated remains from Boston to Israel for interment in the École Biblique in Jerusalem.

26 Vermes, “The Battle Over the Scrolls,” 203.

27 This was the first of four volumes produced from the index-card concordance by Martin Abegg, using then-cutting-edge computer analysis tools: Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg, eds., A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: the Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Cave Four (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–1996). The volumes were carefully labeled as preliminary editions “reconstructed
published a two-volume facsimile edition of a selection of Qumran texts, on the basis of photographs from a source that was not divulged. This last publication led to one of the most dramatic episodes in the “battle for the scrolls.” In the “Publisher’s Forward” that appeared in the introduction to the facsimile edition, Shanks had published an unauthorized copy of a transcription of a text known as 4QMMT (Miqṣat Ma’ase haTorah, or the Halakhic Letter). One of the official editors of this text, Elisha Qimron, sued Shanks for this infringement upon his intellectual property in a landmark case that ultimately was decided in favor of Qimron by the Israeli Supreme Court. Despite the personal setback for Shanks, the major breakthroughs in 1991 ushered in a new era for Qumran studies. The “monopoly” was broken and the playing field was leveled.

1.3. Phase 3: Cooperation and Collaboration

By 2001, all but two of the total forty volumes of the official Discoveries in the Judean Desert series (DJD) were published. Eight of and edited” by Abegg and his PhD supervisor Wacholder, since copies of the concordance had been printed privately “for use by the editors.” (A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Caves II–X: Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave IV, Printed from a Card Index Prepared by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, G. W. Oxtoby, J. Teixidor, prepared and arranged for printing by Hans-Peter Richter [5 vols.; Göttingen: privately published, 1988]).


29 The official edition was published in 1994, Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, in consultation with Yaakov Sussmann and with contributions by Yaakov Sussmann and Ada Yardeni. Miqṣat Ma’ase HaTorah (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

these volumes were published during the four decades following the initial discovery; twenty-eight were completed by the expanded, truly international team, in the following decade.\textsuperscript{31} It is perhaps ironic that 4QMMT, the manuscript at the heart of the lawsuit concerning the breaking of the monopoly, was the first work to have been edited jointly by a baton-passing interfaith team, Strugnell and Qimron.\textsuperscript{32} Collaboration among individuals has been an important indicator and generator of interfaith dialog in Qumran studies. Prior to the 1990’s, joint publication by Jewish and Christian Dead Sea Scrolls scholars was extremely rare. In the twenty-first century, this is the norm. The conversations and

\textsuperscript{31} See John Noble Wilford, “Team Is Ready to Publish Full Set of Dead Sea Scrolls,” \textit{New York Times}, Nov. 15, 2001. Despite the relatively slower pace of the original team, there is no basis to conspiracy theories that posit deliberate delays. Thus, for example the sensationalist claims that the Vatican was blocking publication because the Scrolls posed a challenge to Christian faith, popularized in Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception} (London: Corgi, 1991). The members of the original team were remarkably efficient in their identifications of the thousands of Scrolls fragments. The initial publication rate has been compared favorably to that of other major manuscript finds, such as the Oxyrhynchus papyri. See, inter alia, Michael E. Stone, “The Scrolls and the Literary Landscape of Second Temple Judaism,” in \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls: Text and Context} (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 15–30, at 15. Vermes, however, ridiculed Strugnell’s appeal to that collection as a benchmark (\textit{Providential Accidents}, 195). In any case, the faster pace of the final decade may be attributed to the increase in the number of scholars and collaborative methods, Tov’s skills in managing the large team, and the technological advances of the computer age.

\textsuperscript{32} Strugnell (\textit{DJD X:vii}) states that it was Qimron’s impressive linguistic skills that prompted the invitation to collaborate; the halakhic content of the letter was also relevant, and eventually led to the inclusion of Talmud specialist, Yaakov Sussman to contribute a section, “The Halakha,” ibid., 123–200.
partnerships that began to emerge in “Phase 2” were both cause and effect for a transformation to swift collaborative publication.33

Beginning in the 1980’s, “international” conferences devoted to the Dead Sea Scrolls began to be truly international, self-consciously inclusive at first, and then naturally so. A pioneering 1985 conference at New York University (“Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin”)34 was followed by a number of commemorative conferences marking the fortieth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls, initiating a trend that has become commonplace.35 The fiftieth anniversary of the

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33 The relationship between Qumran scholarship and formal interfaith dialogue is less clear. See Eileen Schuller, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Jewish-Christian Dialogue.”

34 The conference papers were published in Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: the New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSPSS 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990).


Schiffman (“Many Battles, 198–99) places these transitional conferences in the second phase of scholarship, when “scholars of the second (and even third) generation undertook the study of the particularly Jewish issues in the scrolls—Jewish history, law, theology, and messianism.” The Mogilany conference was in fact consciously anti-establishment, but, like the others, it also contributed to laying the foundations for a new broader professional community. Schiffman notes that John Strugnell, unlike most of the first generation scholars, was an active participant in these conferences (ibid., 199). An especially
Qumran discoveries was celebrated in an atmosphere of the pursuit of unity, most palpably at the Israel Museum’s extravagant 1997 congress, “The Dead Sea Scrolls—Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Major Issues and New Approaches.”36 The editors’ preface to the volume of the congress proceedings proudly declares that the “conference was organized in order to guarantee the highest level of international and interconfessional participation.”37 The Hebrew University’s Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature was established at that time, with Australian support, and instituted a series of annual international symposia that continues until today. One more recent example of institutional cooperation that I would like to mention is the Notre Dame/New York University program, “Jewish and Christian Scholars on the Origins of Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity,” which was constructed as an opportunity for student interaction.38

A noteworthy conference was sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences and the University of Chicago, held at the Blood Center in New York City on 14–17 December 1992. The conference successfully met one of its goals, which was to bring together “scholars of diverse—even radically diverse—views.” The volume of proceedings includes transcripts of the discussions following the presentations, preserving some of the heated debates: Michael O. Wise, Norman Golb, John J. Collins, and Dennis G. Pardue, Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site. Present Realities and Future Prospects (Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; NY: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 1–38.


37 Ibid., xix.

38 Held in 2005–2007; coordinated by Lawrence Schiffman, James VanderKam, Alex Jassen, and Todd Russel Hanneken.
Another landmark conference, primarily in terms of scope, location, and the sponsoring institutions was the 2008 “The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context” held in Vienna, and organized jointly by the University of Vienna and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.39

There is an increasing expectation for specialists in Qumran studies to develop expertise in both rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity. At a time when some scholars detect signs of a decline in proficiency in Modern Hebrew among scholars of Jewish Studies programs outside of Israel,40 a significant number of non-Jewish Qumran scholars stay abreast of relevant literature published in modern Hebrew, and also present and publish academic papers in Modern Hebrew.41 The Community of scholars working together on discovering and constructing the meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls is achieving a level of understanding that could not have been attainable when segments of the Community were working apart from each other and against each other.

I will conclude this survey of the cooperative phase of Qumran studies with one particularly noteworthy venture, the Enoch Seminar, founded by Prof. Gabrielle Boccaccini in 2001.42 This is actually a closed group, but membership is not determined by arbitrary criteria or those related to ethnicity or nationality; it is rather subject to demonstration of academic credentials, with special care to incorporate student researchers. As stated on the group’s website, “the Enoch Seminar is an academic group of

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40 A recent newspaper article refers to such concerns among Israeli academics, Revital Hovel, “Professors Fume Over Dominance of English Language in Israeli Academia,” Haaretz, 12 Oct. 2012. I am grateful to Dr. Hillel Cohen, Co-ordinator of Israel Studies, M.A. Program at Hebrew University, for this reference.

41 See especially the journal Megillot, which contains the proceedings of the annual Dead Sea Scrolls conference held at Haifa University: http://megillot.haifa.ac.il/index.php/en/megillot-journal.

42 http://www.enochseminar.org/drupal/.
international specialists in Second Temple Judaism and Christian Origins, who share the results of their research in the field and meet to discuss topics of common interest.... It is a shared commitment by the members of the Enoch Seminar that the study of this crucial period offers an important contribution to the understanding of the common roots of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and therefore to better relations among them.”

Further advancement in this latest phase of openness and cooperation is anticipated with the IAA-Google website, which offers global public access to spectral-images of the corpus of scrolls fragments and scans of all the PAM negatives in the IAA archives.\s

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44 See above, n. 1. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library is emblematic of Schiffman’s observations regarding important contributing factors affecting the second and third phases described in this paper. At the turn of the millennium he correctly anticipated further rapid progress due to “a world growing increasingly democratic” and “new technological advances” (“Reclaiming,” 163). As far as democratization, one full volume of the professional journal Dead Sea Discoveries was devoted to the Scrolls and popular culture (DSD 12/1 [2005]). See also The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008) (ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011). As for technology, Schiffman (ibid.) mentioned generally the fields of archaeology, photographic techniques, carbon-14, genetic testing of materials, optical research. To note some specific examples, in addition to Abegg’s computer reconstruction for the concordance edition (above, n. 27), key information resources have included the microfiche publication of the scrolls in 1992 The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert [ed. Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann; Leiden: Brill, 1992]; CD-ROM editions The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library [3 vols.; ed. Timothy H. Lim in consultation with Philip S. Alexander, vol. 1; Emanuel Tov, vols. 2–3; Leiden: Brill, 1997, 1999, 2006]; the use of photoshop tools for deciphering text (see the anecdotal report of one of the first demonstrations of this use of technology for the scrolls at a 1991 conference in Oxford—with Australian funding arranged by Alan Crown, in Timothy
2. TRIADIC DEVELOPMENT MODEL: IDENTIFYING THE COMMUNITY OF THE SCROLLS

We turn now to examine the history of the identification of the people of the scrolls through the lens of our 3-phase model. Here, I think that a “Hegelian” model of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis is more effective than a supposition of linear progression:  

1) Phase 1 was dominated by a “thesis:” the Essene hypothesis.
2) In Phase 2, the consensus view was subjected to a barrage of opposition and the formation of alternative proposals that I would term anti-“Essene hypothesis” hypotheses.
3) One of my claims in this paper is that there is currently a broad consensus in Qumran studies that I would identify as Phase 3, a synthesis of the first two phases. This is more difficult to name but may perhaps best be described as


45 I use the terms “Hegelian” and “thesis, antithesis, synthesis” following common parlance, for their heuristic effectiveness, although I recognize that philosophers today commonly maintain that the “Marxist” use of this dialectic triad of terms, which does not appear in Hegel’s writings, is not representative of Hegel’s thought. See, inter alia, Gustav E. Mueller, “The Hegel Legend of Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis,” in The Hegel Myths and Legends (ed. Jon Stewart; Evanston, Ill: Northwestern, 1996), 301–5.
general agreement concerning attributes shared by “the [Essene?] Communities of the Scrolls.”

2.1. Phase 1: Thesis—Essene Hypothesis

I have described phase 1 of the discovery and publication of the scrolls as a time of separateness and distrust and divisiveness. In terms of methodological approaches to identifying the people of the scrolls, however, there was a large degree of unity, and a general acceptance of what has come to be known as the Qumran Consensus: the “Essene Hypothesis.” I do not want to misrepresent this phase as one of harmony. For one thing, the Essene “consensus” existed in two polarized versions in the early stages of Qumran scholarship. The “international” literature was dominated by a picture of monastic ascetic Essenes, often said to have been created in the image of the Catholic priest Père Roland de Vaux, the director of the excavations of the Qumran site and the nearby caves and of the publication of the scrolls. In contrast, Yadin’s publications and his Shrine of the Book exhibit at the Israel Museum focused upon the Jewish identity of the Essenes—an identification first put forth by his father Sukenik in the 1940s—and emphasized Jewish continuity. An influential figure in early scholarship who shaped popular views about the Scrolls in Israel was the brilliant, original, and often iconoclastic scholar David Flusser. Flusser emphasized similarities between the scrolls and early Christianity, but tended to do so in a way that highlighted the Jewish milieu and origins of Christianity, rather than

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overshadowing them. Moreover, the first “battles of the scrolls” emerged during this period, and some of the more blatant and public controversies of phase 1 related to this question of identification.


49 Early battles were fought over the authenticity and antiquity of the manuscripts, and then about their significance, and the identification of their authors. Thus, Schiffman (“Many ‘Battles,’” 187): “in the early 1950s, it was customary to speak of ‘the battle of the scrolls.’ This phrase referred to the heated public debates that raged over the importance of the scrolls and the identity and dating of their authors. Later on, in the 70s and 80s we again witnessed a battle of the scrolls, this time over the publication of the texts and access to them for scholarly research.” Solomon Zeitlin insisted that the manuscripts dated to the medieval period (e.g., The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship [JQRMS 3; Philadelphia: Dropsie, 1956]). Godfrey Rolles Driver (The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution [Oxford: Blackwell, 1965]) and Cecil Roth (The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls [Oxford: Blackwell, 1958]) identified the authors of the scrolls as Zealots. Most troubling to the establishment were the theories put forth by the maverick insider John Marco Allegro (in popular interviews and articles; he eventually published The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth [Newton Abbot: Westbridge, 1979]) and also by André Dupont-Sommer (The Essene Writings from Qumran [transl. G. Vermes; Oxford; Blackwell: 1961]) who portrayed the Dead Sea Scrolls as anticipating Christianity. Focusing upon elements in the Scrolls that resonated with the New Testament, they each argued that the Community was the source of early Christian beliefs and practices, and they viewed the founder of the Community, the Teacher of Righteousness, as a Jesus figure, even making claims about references to an anticipated resurrection of the Teacher, and to his crucifixion. Allegro further antagonized the other members of the official team by publishing an edition of the Copper Scroll (The Treasure of the Copper Scrolls [London:
For our purposes, the point I would like to emphasize here is that during the early years of Qumran studies, despite controversy about the specific nature of the authors of the scrolls, there was general agreement about the triangular relationship that Albert Baumgarten succinctly describes in this volume as “Scrolls/Site/Sect.”\(^{50}\) that the texts found in the 11 caves near Qumran belonged to a single community, which was associated with the archaeological site of Qumran, and that this Community was to be identified with the Essenes, as described in Josephus and other classical stories. Or, in the formulation of Frank Moore Cross, there was broad agreement about identifying the “Ancient Essene Cross Library of Qumran.”\(^{51}\)

Of course, one of the problems with this “triangular” relationship between the scrolls, the site, and the sect, is that it is in

\(^{50}\) Albert I. Baumgarten, “What Did the ‘Teacher’ Know?: Owls and Roosters in the Qumran Barnyard,” 235–57.

\(^{51}\) See above, n. 45. See also Jaqueline S. du Toit and Jason Kalman, “Albright’s Legacy? Homogeneity in the Introduction of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Public,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36/2 (2010), 23–48, at 23. They cite Silberman’s memorable formulation (*Hidden Scrolls*, 98): “Even though there were minor divergences in the details of their stories … [the authors] were all singing from the same hymnal.”
fact circular. And so at some time during our second phase, the barriers-breaking phase, some scholars began to question the assumptions in this circular reasoning, raising objections to interpretations of each of the sources and to claims of the relationships between each of the sources.

2.2. Phase 2: Antithesis: Non-Essene Hypothesis

At the same time that pressure was mounting in the public sphere to “free the scrolls” from the monopoly of the “international team,” counter-proposals to the Essene consensus were being put forth in the academic arena. Phase 2 was simply made to order for Alan Crown. As was noted numerous times in the course of this memorial conference, Prof. Crown would always ask “how do you know that?,” urging students and colleagues to question our assumptions, and our reasoning, and to re-evaluate the givens. In this spirit, Alan published a seminal article with Lena Cansdale, containing a detailed point-by-point critique of the Essene

52 For a recent defense of the logical argument, see Edna Ullmann-Margalit, “Interpretive Circles: the Case of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Roitman et al, eds., Contemporary Culture, 649–64; ibid., Out of the Cave: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Dead Sea Scrolls Research (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2006).

53 Robert Eisenman is a figure associated with both aspects of the second phase, due to his publication of the Facsimile Edition of the Scrolls (above, n. 28) and his unorthodox interpretations of the scrolls as reflecting a messianic Palestinian community that he associates with James the brother of Jesus. See Robert H. Eisenman, Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians, and Qumran (Leiden: Brill, 1983); idem, James the Brother of Jesus: the Key to Unlocking the Secrets of Early Christianity and the Dead Sea Scrolls (NY: Viking, 1996). In the context of maverick interpretations that associate the Qumran corpus with Christianity, I would be remiss if I did not mention the Australian scholar Barbara Thiering who was also active during the second phase of Qumran studies, beginning with Barbara E. Thiering, Redating the Teacher of Righteousness (Sydney: Theological Explorations, 1979).

hypothesis, which was later expanded upon by Cansdale in her full-length book.55

Crown and Cansdale and other scholars questioned the assumptions about the sect, challenging Josephus’s credibility, and the extent of the similarity between the community of the scrolls and Josephus’s Essenes. Most notably, Lawrence Schiffman pointed to similarities between halakhic rulings in 4QMMT and positions attributed to the Sadducees in rabbinic literature, to argue a Sadducean identity for the authors of the sectarian scrolls.56 Second-phase scholars questioned the nature of the scrolls: was this really a sectarian corpus, or was it a diverse collection of ancient Jewish writings of multiple origins? One key text that influenced this debate was the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.57 This text had been known from the Qumran caves, and was identified as a “sectarian” text especially on the basis of its presumption of a 52-week solar calendar. When a copy of the work was discovered at Masada, scholars initially suggested that a Qumran Essene had brought the scroll to Masada, but then began to question its “sectarian” classification.58 They also questioned the


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site was it a religious center, or might it have been a fortress, a luxury villa, an agricultural-industrial complex, or a way-station for travellers to Jerusalem? One of the most vocal challengers of the Essene Hypothesis was Norman Golb, who argued that the site of Khirbet Qumran was a Hasmonenean fortress, with no connection to the scrolls found in the nearby caves. He argued that the scrolls were a collection or collections of texts from Jerusalem, moved to the caves for safe-keeping on the eve of the Judean Revolt against Rome.

To some extent, Qumran scholars today are still challenging assumptions. So I can appreciate Lena Cansdale’s suggestion to identify a paradigm shift in the questioning of the Essene theory.

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60 See especially, Norman Golb, Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Search for the Secret of Qumran (NY: Scribner, 1995). In the 2012 edition of this work, Golb added an Afterword in which he presents a rather different portrait of the phases of scholarship and current state of the modern community of Qumran scholars from the one presented here.


64 Golb, Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls.

65 Cansdale (Qumran and the Essenes, 1) cites Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), on the transformation of a “rebel” thesis to a new standard model when it answers questions better than the originally accepted theory.
But I think a dialectical model is more relevant. Today’s scholars are less reactive than those of the second generation who sought to challenge the Essene hypothesis. They are less partisan in their attitudes, and more flexible, taking into account elements from various theories, including the Essene identification, in constructing new models for interpreting the scrolls. During phase two, even “mainstream” scholars who dismissed many of the anti-establishment alternative proposals, were slowly being affected by the critiques put forth to challenge the dominant theory. Initial manifestations of some of this maturation, modulation, and attenuation, are evident in some of the retrospective summaries of scholarship that were published around the turn of the millennium, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls.66

2.3. Phase 3: Synthesis: Essene-Related(?) Communities

As scholarship moves beyond the “non-Essene” orientation of Phase 2, I perceive the emergence of a broad synthesis that recognizes pluralism and variation within the corpus. One sphere in which the “synthesis” of the third phase is especially clear is the study of the texts that were once universally called “biblical scrolls.” As discussed elsewhere in this volume, first generation scholars viewed texts like 1QIsaa as variants to the Masoretic versions of biblical scrolls.67 Often, the scrolls were viewed as a

Similarly, Schiffman wrote of “the Second Generation” that “a new “non-consensus” was emerging (“Many ‘Battles,’” 199).


67 Ian Young, “‘Loose’ Language in 1QIsaa,” 89–112.
tool for pursuing the biblical Urtext. The publication of “The Psalms Scroll” (11Q5 Ps) confounded early Qumran scholars. They did not know what to make of this nearly complete scroll, containing only 48 psalms, of which only 39 appear in MT Psalms, and even these occur in the Qumran scroll in a different order than in MT. Was this a very variant biblical scroll, or was it something else entirely, a prayerbook perhaps? Today, while there is still no consensus about the nature of the Psalms Scroll, there is universal recognition of the multiplicity of textual traditions and the complexity of transmission history. The current stage is also characterized by full awareness of the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for illuminating the shared foundations of rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.

On our specific topic of the origins of the scrolls, most scholars tend to retain some conception of a central Yahad Community, usually associated with the site of Qumran, but they also allow for diversity and development. Scholars are also

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68 Thus, Schiffman (“Many ‘Battles,’” 198) indicates that biblical specialists of the first generation of Qumran scholars had hoped that the scrolls would lead them to the Urtext of the Hebrew Bible and to the roots of Christianity.


introducing innovative approaches for thinking about the scrolls, suggesting new questions to ask as well as new ways to go about seeking answers. As observed by Sidnie White Crawford, and championed in particular by Maxine Grossman, scholars continue to employ the traditional “historical critical” method, with increasing sophistication, but also have begun to borrow methodologies from such fields as sociology and anthropology, socio-rhetorical and discourse analysis, and literary criticism. On the site/scrolls/“sect” association, the current broad consensus can be summarized as follows:

2.3.1. Complexity, Diversity, and Development

The Site: Most scholars today accept the association between the site of Qumran and the scrolls corpus, but the archaeological analysis has become more open in its consideration of data that does not conform to the rigid original Essene hypothesis, such as

about the authors of the Scrolls in the sections she designates as “The Next Generation: 1970s–1990s” (22–26) as compared to the section labeled “The Present” (26–29). Apparently, editorial decisions called for the use of the present tense in her account. So that on p. 23, we read that Collins “states” that the evidence makes “overwhelmingly probable the identification of Qumran… as ‘Essene’” (from John J. Collins, The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature [NY: Doubleday, 1995], 7), whereas on pp. 26–27, we read that he “has thoroughly critiqued the Qumran-Essene hypothesis” and now supports a construct that involves multiple inter-related communities. Thus, in John J. Collins, Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).


the presence of women in the cemetery, evidence of economic prosperity, or the dating of the different stratigraphic layers. Some scholars trained in the consensus tradition sometimes erroneously describe Qumran as “inhabited” by Essenes, but most understand that this unusual site served religious and economic communal functions, rather than residential purposes. This supports the conceptualization of the site as a center for diverse related groups, as described below.

The Scrolls: The dominant view today retains the concept of a corpus of scrolls from the caves of Qumran, but recognizes diversity within this collection. Devorah Dimant has worked to redefine the early paradigm of a tri-partite division of the corpus into “biblical,” “non-biblical,” and “sectarian” scrolls, all associated with the Qumran Essenes. She has suggested new criteria for evaluating the texts within a context of multiple religious circles, rather than as a “homogenous sectarian-apocalyptic” library. An important contribution to this discussion was Carol Newsom's memorably titled, “‘Sectually' Explicit Literature from Qumran.” More

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74 The standard work in the field is Jodi Magness, The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

75 Roland de Vaux himself, and his colleagues, recognized that Khirbet Qumran was not suited for residential purposes. He generally spoke of periods of “occupation” of the site, not habitation, suggesting only that the “administrators and guardians of the group” might have had lodgings in the buildings at Khirbet Qumran. The “Essenes” of his hypothesis dwelled in caves or tents or similar structures near the site. See de Vaux, Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 56–57, 86. See, however, the proposal of second-story residential accommodations, e.g., in Hartmut Stegemann, The Library of Qumran (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 48–51.


77 See above, n. 58.
recently, some scholars have sought to identify distinctive attributes for the different collections discovered in the different caves.\textsuperscript{78}

\textit{The Sect:} It is common today to speak of the “communities of the scrolls,” in the plural, by analogy with Neusner’s terminology of “ancient Judaisms.”\textsuperscript{79} This is true even among those who associate the scrolls with the Essenes. This new consensus is in keeping with Schiffman’s assessment that “the dominant Essene hypothesis, if it is to be maintained at all, requires radical reorientation.”\textsuperscript{80} Joan Taylor has recently produced a thorough updated formulation of the Essene association of Qumran and the scrolls corpus.\textsuperscript{81} Other scholars prefer to use more neutral terms such as \textit{Yahad} or \textit{Community} to indicate a central group that produced core “sectarian” texts, and some refrain from using any umbrella term.

The most significant texts that fostered awareness of fluidity within and among the groups that authored and transmitted the Scrolls corpus are the Community Rule (\textit{Serekh Hayahad}) and the Damascus Document.\textsuperscript{82} The similarities and differences between


\textsuperscript{79} E.g., Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerich, \textit{Judaisms and their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

\textsuperscript{80} “Many ‘Battles,’” 202. He stated that in light of the Sadducean halakhic elements he had isolated in the scrolls corpus, proponents of the Essene identification would either have to posit a group with Sadducean origins, which radicalized to become a distinct sect, or to presume the existence of a “wide variety of similar groups.”

\textsuperscript{81} Joan E. Taylor, \textit{The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

\textsuperscript{82} See Dimant, “Introduction,” 2–4. Among the influential paths of investigating diachronic development, see discussions of the “Groningen Hypothesis” (most recently, Florentino García Martínez, “The Groningen Hypothesis Re-visited,” in Roitman et al., eds., \textit{Contemporary Culture}, 17–
these foundational texts, as well as the circumstances of their discovery and publication, naturally led even early scholars to recognize, and attempt to account for, some degree of synchronic variation. Eyal Regev has written extensively on the distinction between the Yahad of the Community Rule and the community reflected in the Damascus Document. John Collins is at the forefront of those arguing for an even more pluralistic model.

These same compositions were also important for diachronic analysis, especially in the redaction-critical studies of Sarianna Metso and Charlotte Hempel. Serious redaction criticism only

29) and the distinctions made between “older” and “younger” caves in the work of Pfann and Stökl Ben Ezra (above, n. 78).

83 1QS, a well-preserved copy of the Community Rule, was among the first seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1. The Qumran copies of the Damascus Document, preserved in fragmentary condition in Cave 4, were anticipated by the discovery of two medieval copies of this work in the Cairo Genizah in 1898. Dimant (“Introduction,” 4) echoes the question asked by Moshe Bernstein, and quoted in Stephen Llewelyn, Stephanie Ng, Gareth Wearne and Alexandra Wrathall, “A Case for Two Vorlagen Behind the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab),” 123–50, at 123 in this volume—what would Scrolls scholarship look like if other compositions had been found first instead?


85 Collins, Beyond the Qumran Community.

86 Metso’s analysis is most fully presented in Sarianna Metso, The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997). Until the 1990s, little attention had been given to the earlier work on redaction criticism undertaken by Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, who had briefly served as one of the original members of the editorial team. See Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, “Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamā aus Höhle 4 von Qumran,” ZAW 69 (1957): 131–51; and the discussion in Jörg Frey, “Qumran Research and Biblical Scholarship in Germany,” in Dimant, ed., Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective, 528–64, at 539, and Annette Steudel, “Basic Research, Methods and Approaches to the Qumran Scrolls in German-Speaking Countries,” in Dimant, ibid. 565–99, at 581, esp. n. 67.
became feasible with the complete publication of the corpus in the 1990's. Isolating variations among the various recensions of the Damascus Document and the Community Rule enabled scholars to discern clues to modifications in organizational structure, and to construct more sophisticated models for tracing the development of the Yahad and associated groups. An important contribution made by Metso was her observation that the physical date of a manuscript did not necessarily indicate the age of the recorded recension; a manuscript that is determined (generally, palaeographically) to have been written at a relatively late date may preserve a version of the text that had been composed at an early time, which remained in circulation among copyists and readers. By inverting the previously accepted dating of the Serekh manuscripts, Metso argued that a high-status group known as “Zadokites,” previously understood to be among the founders of the community, were in fact introduced later in the history of the Yahad. The limitation of Metso’s argument must be noted, however. Her significant observation that an older manuscript need not preserve an older recension, does not justify the conclusion that it cannot be older.88 Evaluation of the evolution of the Serekh Community remains in progress, most recently, with Alison Schofield’s proposal to consider a “radial-dialogic” model of interactive development rather than isolated linear change.89

Charlotte Hempel has recently taken a broader view of the data demonstrating textual development within the transmission


88 See the survey and evaluations of proposals concerning the direction of development attested in the Serekh recensions, in Joseph Angel, Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls (STDJ 86; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 11–14.

89 Alison Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009).
history of the Serekh traditions and the Damascus Document (the diachronic analysis of manuscript recensions and redactional layers), and organizational and theological variations between and within the two compositions (the synchronic analysis of diverse levels and types of sub-groups within the umbrella community) to form a more synthetic perspective. Thus, for example, in her discussion of the question, “1QS 6:2c–4a: Satellites or Precursors of the Yahad?” Hempel argues that this passage preserves evidence of both diversity and development, employing the term “sprouting fossil.”

Elsewhere, she employs similarly effective and vivid imagery, using the term “cross-fertilization,” and adapting Karel van der Toorn’s description of the evolution of ancient texts in terms of “pearls on a string,” to describe the multiple strands identified in the Serekh and Damascus texts as reflecting “shared pearls as well as shared types of string between both corpora.”

3. Proposal: Inverse Correlation Between Development of Qumran Community and Trajectory of Academic Communis Opinio

In the previous two sections of this essay, I presented interconnected models of development in Qumran studies, attempting to show a trajectory towards open access and cooperation alongside progress towards increasingly sophisticated theories about the nature of the ancient groups associated with the manuscript corpus. In this final section, I observe that this positive move towards increased access and complexity is the opposite of

90 Charlotte Hempel, “1QS 6:2c–4a: Satellites or Precursors of the Yahad?” in Roitman et al., eds., Contemporary Culture, 31–40.

the direction of development that many scholars have discerned with respect to the ancient community(ies) of Qumran, which seem to have moved towards increasing insularity, xenophobia, and rejectionism.

For over two decades, many scholars cautiously avoided the use of the term “sect” to describe the Qumran community, since this term implied a departure from a “normative” standard, and such a perspective was inconsistent with the pluralistic model of ancient Judaism accepted by scholarship.92 There is now a renewed interest in exploring the Community as a “sect” from a sociological perspective, particularly with respect to exclusivist “boundary-setting.” Thus, for example, Eyal Regev has conducted comparative analysis with American separatist communities, characterizing the Scrolls’ community as “introversionist.”93 Albert Baumgarten has demonstrated the tendency of the community to move towards an increasingly sectarian character.94 Alex Jassen has begun a project dedicated to analyzing violence, including violent rhetoric, in the Dead Sea Scrolls.95 Gabrielle Boccaccini’s hypothesis of “Enochic Judaism” highlights universalist tendencies in early Qumranic literature and its precursors, which contrast with the more narrow

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perspectives of later compositions in the corpus. His analysis supports the suggestion that the Community underwent development towards an increasingly dualistic, fatalistic, and rejectionist worldview. A particularly synthetic presentation of a trajectory towards insularity is put forth in George Brooke’s “From Jesus to the Early Christian Communities: Modes of Sectarianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Brooke attempts a comparison between the communities of the Qumran scrolls and early Christianity, in which he departs from the more conventional focus on specific theological or sociological parallels and instead constructs a model of similarities with regard to developmental stages. He traces the evolution from (1) an incipient “pre-sectarian” phase (for the Scrolls corpus, Brooke remarks that this pre-Qumran group may perhaps be identified as an Essene group) to (2) nascent sectarianism to (3) full-blown sectarianism and finally (4) rejuvenated sectarianism. In a separate study, Brooke traces developmental stages in modern Qumran scholarship, which he correlates with the archaeological periods identified at the site of Khirbet Qumran. This model, which is discussed in detail by Brad Bitner in this volume, presents an illuminating parallel to the phases outlined in this study.

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97 George J. Brooke, “From Jesus to the Early Christian Communities: Modes of Sectarianism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls” in Roitman et al., eds., Contemporary Culture, 413–34.

98 Brooke notes, however, that these stages are not necessarily linear (ibid., 433).


4. CONCLUSION

I have argued that current research supports the hypothesis that the ancient community/ies of the Qumran scrolls became increasingly insular, suspicious, and separatist over time. Nothing is known of these group(s) subsequent to the destruction of Qumran (68 CE), and of the Jerusalem Temple (70 CE) during the Great Judean Revolt against Rome. In contrast, the modern Community of Qumran scrolls scholars is currently flourishing in an era of global synergy. I have aimed in this study to document the transformation of the discipline of Qumran studies from a contentious battleground to a productive cooperative global enterprise. I hope thereby to replace the image of controversy that persists as a dominant popular perception of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, so as to reflect the current state of the field, and to allow the contemporary situation to serve effectively as a model and inspiration for interfaith cooperation.

APPENDIX: MILLAR BURROWS, AN OUTLIER

While I was preparing the oral form of this paper for presentation at the memorial conference in November 2011, I was dismayed to come across some evidence that seemed to undermine my thesis correlating the trajectory from closed circles and simplistic theories to open cooperation and sophisticated academic models. I had been aware that Millar Burrows, a prominent figure in the first generation of scrolls scholarship, was an American Christian scholar who, like many of the scholars on the original editorial team, was a vocal opponent of the then-newly founded state of Israel. I also knew that he was a proponent of the Essene hypothesis, the standard position at the time. So far, this suited the correlation I was claiming—insularity in current socio-political matters and adherence to the consensus identification. However, re-reading Burrows’ comments about the Essene identification, I was struck by his nuanced sensitivity to diversity and development, as is more typical of current scholarship. He wrote:

Since we are dealing not with one text but with many, we cannot of course take it for granted that all the texts come from the same sect or party. All the writings contained in the scrolls and fragments found in the Qumran caves were no doubt accepted and used, but they were not all necessarily
produced by the sect. Even if they represent *branches or successive phases* of the same general movement <italics added–ST>, one such branch or movement may prove identical with a particular group in Jewish history, while those represented by other documents cannot be so identified.101

Of the group that produced the scrolls, he wrote:

In many ways it was akin to the Essenes, as we know them from the sources of the Roman period. If this term is used in a broad, comprehensive sense, we may legitimately call the Qumran sectarians Essenes... For the present, however, in order not to prejudge the case, it seems better to reserve that name for the group described by Philo and Josephus, which, if their reports are accurate, was not exactly identical or coextensive with the Qumran community. As a matter of convenience, we may still designate the latter by the term “covenanters,” which implies neither acceptance nor rejection of their identification with the Essenes. At any rate, it is clear that the sect of Qumran was more closely related to the Essenes than to any other group known to us.102

Reading Burrows’s words, I was impressed by his far-sightedness. But I was also disappointed. For one thing, the anomalous sophistication of this first-generation analysis presented itself as a deviation from the neat model I have proposed in this study.103

101 Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (NY: Viking, 1955), 273. And again, similarly (ibid., 293), “The term Essene does not necessarily indicate a single organization with a sharply definable set of beliefs and practices; it may designate rather a number of groups that were similar but not identical. Together with variations between different groups of the same period, we must reckon with changes from one period to another.” And even (ibid., 294), “for the present it seems to me best not to speak of the Qumran sect as Essenes, but rather to say that the Essenes and the covenanters, with other groups of which we know little or nothing, represented the same general type.”

102 Ibid., 298.

103 Of course my neat model, like Brooke’s (above, n. 99), is primarily intended for heuristic purposes. Some other deviations from my
Moreover, I found it troubling that a scholar who was so admirably and exceptionally attuned to pluralism in antiquity would have been so conformist in his insensitivity to “Others” in his own time as to have produced an anti-Zionist tract called *Palestine is Our Business*.\(^{104}\) In preparing the current study for publication, I steeled schematic presentation are also instructive. On continued unsophisticated use of the Scrolls in popular media, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, “Inverting Reality: the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Popular Media,” *DSID* 12/1 (2005): 24–37. He describes (ibid., 37) the “public culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls” as being characterized by “conflict, invective, secrecy, and the inversion of reality,” and notes that they thereby “mirror” the drama, hostility, and turmoil of the ancient sectarians’ worldview. Naïve tendentious use of the corpus can also be found in political rhetoric. Timothy Lim (*A Very Short Introduction*, 9–10) offers his reminiscence of the opening night of the Israel Museum’s International Fifty Years’ Scrolls conference (see above, n. 36). He recalls an awkward moment during that gala event, when a “disapproving titter ripple[d] through the audience” in response to an attempt by then-(and current) Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu to make the case that the Scrolls were “vital for Jerusalem.” This remark entirely missed a central feature of the sectarian Scrolls—opposition to the corrupt leadership of Jerusalem. My own memory of that night includes Netanyahu’s further attempt to describe the archaeological and academic community as “Sons of Light” who were honorably committed not to be deterred in their pursuit of truth by Ultra-Orthodox groups who posed obstacles to research, for example by attempting to block excavations of ancient burial sites. This entirely missed the point of the great interest, one might even say obsession, with purity on the part of the Sons of Light in the Scrolls corpus, and their general extreme scrupulousness in ritual matters and polemic opposition to those who were more lenient.

\(^{104}\) Millar Burrows, *Palestine is Our Business* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1949). There is another scholar, of the current era, who is in fact very attuned to nuance, complexity, and diversity in ancient Judaism, and also in most ways in his understanding of modern Scrolls scholarship, and yet has exhibited glaring insensitivity to the Jewish and Israeli Scrolls scholars of the first generation. In a generally perspicacious account, Philip Davies writes the following: “No Jews, let alone Israelis, were (regrettably, but understandably) allowed to work on these scrolls [the scrolls in East
myself to read Burrows’s political monograph. Anticipating simplistic antisemitic diatribe, I was surprised to find a nuanced and sensitive assessment of the issues, and awareness of the complexity of the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its manifestations. Burrows recognized the significance of antisemitic persecution, and especially the Holocaust, as a key factor in the migration of Zionists to Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel, even as he expressed his concern for Palestinian rights and the plight of Palestinian refugees. His specific criticism about the founding of the State of Israel notwithstanding, Burrows was clearly favorably disposed to Judaism and he was an active proponent of, and participant in, interfaith dialogue. In a paper

Jerusalem, and those that came to be discovered in the Qumran caves, which were “in territory annexed by Jordan”][... It is broadly true that the Scrolls were studied largely by Christians and thus, inevitably, in terms of Christian agendas. For this no apology is needed...The exclusion of a major Jewish interest was certainly due in large measure to political circumstances. But, ironically, it had been the Jews who pressed for partition of Palestine, and so the blame for the state of affairs that excluded them from the initial research cannot be directed elsewhere (this is usually over-looked in discussion of such matters.)” Philip R. Davies, “Qumran and the Quest for the Historical Judaism,” in The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26, Roehampton Institute London Papers 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 24–42, at 28–29. It is disappointing, if not troubling, to see this significant contemporary scholar blaming the victim, and I find it disingenuous of him to blame not only “the Jews” in general, but also specifically the physical partition, rather than the intolerant policies and predilections to exclusion attested in sources from the time.

Some similarities may be drawn between Burrows and the Israeli Jewish scholar Shemaryahu Talmon, who was a first generation scholar who remained active in the field well into the 21st century until shortly before his death in 2010 at the age of 90. As described by Dimant, “Israelí Scholarship,” 248, Talmon accepted the Essene theory at first, but later came to question attempts to force the evidence of the texts to conform to pre-determined models of sectarianism, and was an early advocate for avoiding the term “sect” altogether to describe the authors of the Scrolls.
from a 1940 conference on religion and democracy, he presented the case for looking to the Bible as a source for respecting human rights, and against discrimination. He emphasized the Bible’s “fundamental conception of the nature of man and of his relation to his Maker and to his fellow-man” and maintained that “in the presence of the living God of Israel right always outweighs might. Tyranny can never tolerate the cultivation of the Hebrew-Christian tradition.”

I would suggest that Millar Burrows was simply ahead of his time. 

Like Burrows, Talmon preferred the term “Covenanters.” Also like Burrows, Talmon was an active participant in interfaith dialogue, having been among the founders of the “Jerusalem Rainbow Group” and the “Israel Interfaith Committee.” A footnote in one of Talmon’s works preserves a reaction to the experience of exclusion, or in this case erasure, as an Israeli-Jewish scholar of the first phase of Qumran studies. In writing about his proposal that the “Qumran Covenanters” reckoned days as beginning in the morning, rather than at sunset, as is the case in the rabbinic calendar, he notes, “It appears that my suggestion became the basis of the ‘Additional Note No. 5’ in Strugnell’s translation of Józef T. Milik, Déc ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda (Paris: Cerf, 1957): ‘There also seems to be no doubt that they reckoned the day as starting with sunrise, not sunset.’ John Strugnell, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea (London: SCM Press, 1959), 152, for which no documentary evidence is adduced.” (Shemaryahu Talmon, “Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: the Case of the ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant’,” in The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 379–95.


107 In the modern legend of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Burrows is most frequently mentioned in the context of poor timing. Director of ASOR at 1948, he happened to have been away in Baghdad when the first Scrolls were brought to the School in 1947 for authentication and examination. The young John C. Trever, who was the
Working to complete this study in Jerusalem on 29th November, 2012—on the day that the UN voted to approve Palestine’s appeal for recognition as a state, 65 years after Sukenik’s initial deciphering of the first scrolls against the backdrop of the UN partition vote in 1947—I came to reflect that just as Burrows was ahead of his time with respect to recognition of diversity and complexity, so too was he ahead of his time politically. I pray that just as Scrolls scholarship has moved from its initial contentiousness to the state of exemplary collegiality outlined above, so too may we merit to bring peace, co-existence, and co-operation to this sacred and turbulent land.

acting director in Burrows’s absence, became the first American scholar to see the Dead Sea Scrolls. Trever is best known for his work photographing the Scrolls. See John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood, N.J.: F. H. Revell); idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977).