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guidance of St. Martha towards the full understanding of himself as Lord of Life: his sending of Magdalen as messenger to the Apostles after the Resurrection. As for the chapters xiii to xvi, they contain, in reality, all the tenderness, the sublimity, the serenity in pain that go to compose that "character" of Christ to which history shows no parallel.

St. John, beginning his Gospel, sends us back to the origins of the world, and now our Lord tells Nicodemus of the new and heavenly creation—the new world, the new self, that are still more wonderfully to be brought into being by water and the Spirit. Then to the woman by the well he tells how he himself can give that life, because he possesses it: and the life is to be nourished by mysteriously feeding upon him—nothing but himself *could* be the adequate sustenance and increasing of that life. And in fine, owing to his oneness with the Father, he can say to St. Martha that he *is* that life—"I *am* the Resurrection and the Life." It is to this doctrine that St. John bears witness, and, in telling us of the doctrine, it is essentially of our Lord that he is speaking.

Volat avis sine meta
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius :

Tam implenda quam impleta
Numquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius.¹
C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.

THE SCROLLS NEWLY DISCOVERED IN PALESTINE

FURTHER COMMENT

WHILE we live indeed in an age of great discoveries, certainly the most important for biblical studies, and perhaps even the most sensational of all, has been the finding of new, in the main Hebrew, manuscripts in the summer of 1947, in a cave at the north-western end of the Dead Sea, a bit below the latitude of Jerusalem. Details of the discovery, description of the documents and initial studies of them have already begun to appear, predominantly in America.²

¹ "So high, so limitless his flight—That never prophet, never seer—Winged a more lofty way :—Never pure-hearted man more purely contemplated—Mysteries accomplished and yet to be fulfilled.

² Cf. G. E. Wright, "A Phenomenal Discovery," *The B(biblical) A(rchaeologist)* XI (1948), pp. 21-3; John C. Trever, "The Discovery of the Scrolls," *ibid.* pp., 45-57; "Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls," *Bulletin of the (American) S(chools of) O(riental) R(esearch)* III (1948), pp. 3-16; Millar Burrows, "The Contents and Significance of the Manuscripts," *BA*, l. c., pp. 57-61; "Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript," *BASOR*, l. c., pp. 16-24; W. H. Brownlee, "The Jerusalem Habakkuk Scroll," *BASOR* 112 (1948), Op. 8-18; A. Bea, "Nova Manuscripta Hebraica," *Biblica* 29 (1948), pp. 446-8; J.-M. Paul Bauchet, "A Newly Discovered Hebrew Manuscript," *SCRIPTURE* IV (1949), pp. 21-2; cf. also pp. 2-3. Further discussion is found in *L'ami du clergé* 59 (1949), pp. 49-52.

It is now known that eleven scrolls were found in all, of leather or parchment, and of these six, of which we shall speak below in particular, are in possession of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The five which were secured by the Syrian Orthodox Convent of St. Mark in Jerusalem are now outside Palestine in safekeeping, and are being studied from photographic copies in America. Of this latter group two contain the so-called *Sectarian Document*, another a *Commentary on Habakkuk*, another the complete text of the prophet *Isaiah*, and the last, so far as known at the present writing, has not yet been opened because of its fragile condition. About the last two items some remarks are here called for. First, there are not two copies of the *Isaiah* manuscript, as at first thought, but only one, now owned by the Syrian convent mentioned above. It had been in Prof. E. B. Sukenik's hands for a few days in January of 1948, but could not be finally purchased by him for the Hebrew University because of the difficulties of passing from one part of the city to the other during its war-torn existence. Thus, however, it is at least explained how Prof. Sukenik was able to publish chapters 42 and 43 of the Book of *Isaiah* (see below). Second, the writer has been informed by Professor William F. Albright of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, in a letter dated 22nd December, 1948, that the last document "(not yet unrolled) turns out to contain at least part of the Aramaic original of *Enoch*!"

Since, thanks to the publications referred to above, the manuscripts entrusted to the American Jerusalem School of Oriental Research for scientific study and final publication are becoming known without delay, it is a matter of interest and importance to learn more about those now in possession of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A preliminary study of these by Prof. Sukenik,¹ has appeared in a handsome Hebrew volume of the Bialik foundation, a book which has already given rise to spirited comment, regarding dating and interpretation.² In the morning of 5th February, 1949, before a small group in the Ambasciatori hotel in Rome, Prof. Sukenik, who was on his way to the United States for a short interval, delivered a most interesting lecture on the newly-found manuscripts, dwelling mostly on those of the Hebrew University. After narrating the circumstances of their finding and acquisition, he reaffirmed his belief that the scrolls were really part of a Genizah, that is a depository for manuscripts which were no longer needed by the community for further use.³ Of the six in possession of the Hebrew

¹ E. L. Sukenik, *Deposited Scrolls from an Ancient Genizah Discovered in the Desert of Judah. Preliminary Report*, Jerusalem (1948) in 4°, pp. 43, pls. 13.

² H. L. Ginsberg, "The Hebrew University Scrolls from the Sectarian Cache," *BASOR* 112 (1948), pp. 19-23; Henri del Medico, "La découverte d'apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament dans le désert de Judée," *Recherches de science religieuse XXXV* (1948), pp. 589-92.

³ J. C. Trever, *op. cit.*, *BASOR*, p. 5, n. 9 maintains that we have to do here with a library rather than a Genizah, since the scrolls were obviously sealed up so as to be preserved.

University two are still unrolled; from the others it is felt that new supplementary material will be given to the Talmud. Some letters have points above and below them, indicating where a correction was to be made, a practice found also in early Greek manuscripts. Scholars are already agreed that the new discoveries will render imperative a thorough revision of Hebrew grammar. Their value for textual criticism, too, cannot as yet be fully evaluated, but great it certainly will be. In this connection the question of ligatures, as in the case of *kaph*, 'ayin, and *nun*, will play an important role. Prof. Sukenik has often found four letters connected, and in the document he has called *The Scroll of the War of the Children of Light with the Children of Darkness* he has found one hundred and sixty ligatures alone. This phenomenon, he feels, will go a long way to solving many of the problems raised in Friedrich Delitzsch's *Lese-und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*.

The Scroll of the War of the Children of Light with the Children of Darkness. This document has been so named because of its contents, since the title was not preserved, not even at the end of the scroll. This scroll is of leather, is 2.90 metres long and 0.16 in width, and contains nineteen columns. It has no separations between sentences, but only between sections, and when one of these terminates at the end of a line, then a completely blank space is left before the next section begins. At the lower margin of the text, about three lines are missing, owing chiefly to the injury sustained from the bitumen with which the document had been sealed. The script of this document is the most beautiful of all those in possession of the Hebrew University, and may be compared perhaps with the script of the Habakkuk roll, which is clear and elegant, and, from examples the writer has seen, is less crowded than the scroll under discussion.

Of the date of this document we shall speak presently. As regards its contents, we have a narration of a war of the descendants of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin against Edom, Moab and Ammon, The high priest, *kôhen harô'sh* carries the principal role, and he sounds his trumpet during the whole of the battle, before which, of course, he addresses his warriors. Parts of this address are truly sublime, and other passages in the scroll are strongly reminiscent of biblical literature. In fact a number of verses from the Balaam pericope are cited. It is to be noted that, in this warfare, victory at times will be on the side of darkness, although final triumph is reserved for the children of light. Leaders for the war are elected by a council of fifty-two, and in the actual waging of it, the trumpet, as might be suspected from what has been said above, plays a prominent part, since it is blown for the assembly, for the attack, etc. Most interesting are the names inscribed on the trumpets, e.g. "The Peace of God," and on the standards of different complements of troops. Of one thousand, one hundred, fifty and ten. On the standard, for example, of one hundred, we have a name such as "The Wrath of God against

Belial." This practice of so naming recalls to us the naming of the Ark of the Covenant and of the cresset pillars, Joachin and Boaz, before the temple of Solomon. There is also an excellent description of war-horses. They must be stallions, swift of foot, tender of mouth so as to be easily guided, and must have long wind so as to be apt for battle. For this latter purpose they must also be well accustomed to terrifying sights. Our thoughts turn spontaneously here to the vivid representation of the war-horse in Job xxxix, 19-25.

Scrolls of Thanksgiving Songs. Three scrolls contain these songs, the texts of two of which have already been published. Each of the three scrolls is 0.305 m. wide, and has four columns with thirty-four or thirty-five lines to a column. In these columns, however, both upper and lower parts are missing. The script is not so clear as in the preceding *Scroll of the War* etc., and the final *mêm, nun, sade* and *kaph* are not so easily recognizable as there, but perhaps this should not be insisted upon since the distinction between these same final and medial letters is not always made on the ancient graffiti either. The text is like the Book of the Psalms, and contains hymns which for their depth of religious sentiment and devoutness of expression may be compared, as Prof. Sukenik feels, with the most beautiful of the world's literature. In them the just man endures great fear and torment of soul, and the wicked lie in wait to ensnare him. But he remains steadfast, knowing he will arise again to praise God's name, while they will be swallowed up in the abyss. The hymns would be quite appropriate for the survivors of battles against the enemies of God, and hence may be connected by logical sequence to the *Scroll of the War of the Children of Light with the Children of Darkness*.

The *Scroll of Isaiah* has already been referred to with bibliographical indications. The scroll is about eight metres long, is excellently preserved, and contains the sixty-six chapters of the book in perfect continuity without any sign that we have to do here with two or more authors. The material is presented as one. Without dwelling on the many interesting aspects of this document we should like to illustrate from it what help may be expected in understanding our Massoretic text. For example, in Isaiah xl: 6b, the Massoretic pointing is to be corrected to read not, "and he said . . ." but, "and I said . . ." for our scroll has wa 'ômer agreeing with the Septuagint and the Vulgate. Again, in the MT of Isaiah xl, verses 7a and 8a are identical, both ending in the word *šîš*. In our new scroll the equivalent of one complete verse is lacking, and this has been taken to be 7b and 8a, due to homoeoteleuton (*šîš*); as a matter of fact a later scribe made the proper restoration in between the lines and on the left margin of the column. Now, in the Vulgate, both verses 7 and 8 are found, but in the Septuagint, we find the same condition as in our new scroll: the equivalent of one verse is missing! Prof. Sukenik suggests that this is the entire verse 7 (not 7b and 8a), and that its absence in the Septuagint may indicate that it was lacking

also in the *Vorlage* of the first scribe of our new scroll, but not in that of his corrector, the second scribe. The first explanation seems more plausible to the writer, and in any case we may feel confident that verse 7, as well as 8, was original, for the *parallelismus membrorum* with repetition in this poetic passage of Isaiah are genuine phenomena of ancient Canaanite composition as we are learning more and more from Ras Shamra. As a last example of the value of our scroll for textual criticism we may point to the simple nuance—so simple that it has passed hitherto unobserved—given in Isaiah xl, 12 “Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand . . . ?” This has been the usual translation, and the whole verse implies the futility of measuring cosmic wonders with puny instruments. The Septuagint version reads “water” (*to hidor*) and the Vulgate reads *aquas*. R. Kittel’s *Biblia Hebraica* notes that we should read, not *mayim* “waters,” but *yammim* “the seas.” But our new scroll supplies us with the most obvious and perfect solution: it reads *me yam*, thus “Who hath measured the waters of the sea in the hollow of his hand ?”

The Question of Dating. A divergence of opinion is already becoming manifest among scholars as to the date of the whole group of manuscripts. Prof. W. F. Albright,¹ on paleographic grounds, would place the Isaiah scroll in the second half of the second century B.C., and the Habakkuk commentary probably a century later, since the script of the latter is similar to, but not so old as, that of the Nash papyrus, which in an authoritative study he has dated from 167 to 135 B.C.,² and would at present set at c. 100 B.C. (oral information). Prof. Sukenik will not readily admit any of the documents as being later than A.D. 70, and the *Scroll of the War*, etc., he would place about the end of the third century B.C. The Hebrew of this document is like that of the later books of the Bible. Two Persian loanwords, he claims, but no Greek words have been identified in the text, and a *terminus post quem* for the text is definitely after the Diadochi, among whom the empire of Alexander the Great was divided, since the words which occur in it as the “Kittites of Egypt” are to be referred to the Ptolemies, and the “Kittites of Assyria” to the Seleucid Greeks. Prof. H. L. Ginsberg, more cautiously, will concede at most that a pre-Hasmonean date, i.e. before 135 B.C., is not impossible, and in no case will he admit a date after 63 B.C., when the Seleucid kingdom was terminated.

Opposition to the above named authors comes from H. del Medico,³

¹ Cf. *BASOR* 111 (1948), pp. 2-3.

² W. F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeian Age: The Nash Papyrus,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* LVI (1937), pp. 145-76.

³ Cf. n. 3. Solomon Zeitlin in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* XXXIX (1949), pp. 235-47, with complete disregard of the paleographic evidence, has taken the extreme view that the entire group of manuscripts belongs to the Middle Ages, and even that the whole find may be a hoax. We do endorse, however, his insistence that all the details of the finding such as the examination of the cave, the questioning of the Bedouin, etc., be clarified.

who would assign this text as well as the *Scroll of Thanksgiving Songs* to the first century A.D., arguing that, in the case of the former, the distinction between the Egyptians and Assyrians is deliberate archaizing on the part of the author, and that the organization of the army is conceivable only as an imitation of Roman usage. These views may also be influenced by del Medico's claim that the Nash papyrus is to be dated rather in the first century A.D. However, he offers no arguments for abandoning Albright's dating of this important document, and his reasons concerning the *Scroll of the War*, etc., do not seem to meet adequately those of Prof. Ginsberg.

Further evidence supporting the pre-Roman dating for the sect to which the newly found documents belonged will doubtless be seen in the fact that the division between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness is also to be made in Col. i, 9-10 of the *Sectarian Document*,¹ in the interpretation given in the *Habakkuk Commentary* of the word Chasdim (Hab. i, 6) as *Chittim*, and in the similarity of style of the *Scroll of the War* etc. and the *Sectarian Document* to the Damascus Covenant. Whether, however, we are to look upon the pertinent material, i.e. the *Scroll of the War*, etc. as actually historical in character, reflecting the Maccabean wars, will depend on establishing final and incontrovertible proof for the earlier date, and, given this, the exclusion of a possible apocalyptic interpretation of the contents involved. It is known that, especially in the first two centuries B.C., Jewish literature was charged with eschatological ideas, and that the Essenes were one of the most distinctively Jewish eschatological sects at that time. The presence of Hellenistic influence in their religious tenets and organization has never been convincingly demonstrated. The similar absence of such influence in our new documents, the extraordinary role given to demonology in the *Scroll of Thanksgiving Songs*, with a new conception of the beyond, a belief in the salvation of the good and the damnation of the wicked, and also the news of the finding of the Aramaic original of the *Book of Enoch*, fitting perfectly into this background, all this will appear to many as added support for the view, already proposed, that the owners of these documents were an Essene sect. The Essenes were known to have lived near the Dead Sea.

The writer personally will not be satisfied with the question of dating until he has had the opportunity to make a thorough study of the material involved, but it behoves the student of Scripture to note that, for the pre-Roman dating of these new documents, we are dealing with authorities of no little weight and influence.

ROGER T. O'CALLAGHAN, S.J.

¹ H. L. Ginsberg, op. cit., p. 21.