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THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS—NEW
DISCOVERIES AND CONCLUSIONS
I. KHIRBET QUMRAN: ITS CAVES
AND MSS

Since my previous article, there have been no further important discoveries of MSS in Palestine, but a wealth of information on those already discovered is gradually becoming available, and conclusions of the highest importance for Biblical studies and Jewish history are emerging.

It will be recalled that the discoveries made in Palestine during the last seven years concern three main areas, all situated in the Judean desert to the west of the Dead Sea. From north to south these are: the *Qumran* area,¹ a narrow stretch of rocky cliffs extending five or six miles north and south of the ruins known as Khirbet Qumran, and located at the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, some few miles south of Jericho; the *Wadi-en-Nar* (ancient Kedron) area, including the ruins of Khirbet Mird, beginning some four miles south of Khirbet Qumran, but stretching well inland to the west from the Dead Sea; lastly, some seven miles again to the south, the *Wadi Murabba'at* area,² with its four caves, appreciably farther inland from the Dead Sea than those adjoining Khirbet Qumran. The discoveries at Qumran and Murabba'at were mainly Jewish in character, and those at the Wadi-en-Nar, chiefly Christian.

A new system of abbreviations for designating all this new and rather complicated material has been set forth by Père De Vaux in *Revue biblique*.³

¹ In *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), p. 538 note 8, the Abbé Milik suggests an interesting theory for the derivation of the name Qumran. In Christian monastic documents the coastal plain of the Dead Sea near the entrance of the Jordan is referred to as the "desert Calaman (or Papyron)", from the abundance of reeds growing there. This name was probably corrupted by monks speaking Christian Aramaic into something like Qolman, whence the modern Qumran, and the name Khirbet Qumran, applied by the Bedouin to the principal ruins of this area.

In map 5, p. 1305, of the *Catholic Commentary*, the Wadi Qumran (unnamed) is the first Wadi north of Wadi-en-Nar (beginning in square O6).

² This is the plural form; the name is also found in the singular, Murabba'at. Strictly speaking, Murabba'at is but a section of the long wadi that begins to the east of Bethlehem as Wadi Ta'amire, and enters the Dead Sea as Wadi Derajeh (*Catholic Commentary*, *loc. cit.*, square N8).

³ LX (1953), pp. 87-8. Firstly, the material of which the MS is composed is designated by a small letter, e.g. *p* (papyrus), *o* (ostrakon); where no designation is given, as is commonly the case, the material is skin or leather. Next, the place of origin is denoted by a capital letter, i.e. *Q* (Qumran), *M* (Murabba'at), *N* (Wadi-en-Nar), with the addition of a number in the case of Qumran, to indicate the particular cave, viz. 1Q (the 1947 cave), 2Q and 3Q (caves of March 1952), 4Q, 5Q and 6Q (caves of August-

The contents of the original cave of Qumran (1Q), discovered by Bedouin in 1947 and explored by Père De Vaux and Mr Harding in 1949, have been described in previous articles.¹ It is now estimated that the cave contained some 70 MSS (in whole or in part) all told. The figure previously given (150-200) was calculated on the basis of the number of jars present—but this inference was unwarranted, since it is now clear, from the excavation of Khirbet Qumran itself and of the other caves, that the jars in question were not specifically made or intended to contain MSS. Some caves, in fact (e.g. 6Q), yielded MSS but no pottery fragments at all. As previously noted, the complete scrolls of 1Q have been published wholly or in part; with the exception of the still-unopened Lamech Scroll (1QLamech). The 600 or so fragments now in the hands of the Palestine Museum will shortly be published together; the volume is actually in the press. Scattered references in the *Revue biblique* indicate that they include (in addition to the material previously noted) a fragment of Lev. xi (belonging to the so-called "Holiness Code") in Phoenician script, portions of a midrash on Ps. Lxviii and of another on Micheas, and fragments of the apocryphal *Testament of Levi* in Aramaic, and of the *Sayings of Moses*.

Discussion regarding the origin of the sectarian MSS of 1Q, and the interpretation of the enigmatical historical allusions they contain, continues unabated.² Certainly, the new discoveries do seem to establish more and more clearly the identity of the Qumran sect with the Essenes, and their connexion, nay, even identity, with the

September 1952). Then the title of the book (where known) is indicated in an abbreviated form. In the case of Biblical material, standard abbreviations are adopted (*Gen., Ex., Is., etc.*); thus, the two Isaiahs scrolls from the first cave are now known as 1QIsa and 1QIsb respectively. The letter *p* (Heb., *peshet*) indicates a midrash or commentary; thus, the Habacuc Scroll is now referred to as 1QpHab. The abbreviation *phyl* stands for phylactery, e.g. *Mphyl* designates the phylactery from Murabba'at. Non-Biblical (sectarian) works are now designated by their Hebrew titles, or the first letter of the opening word; thus, the Lamech Scroll is now referred to as 1QLamech, the War Scroll as 1QM (*Mil hamat bene 'or*, i.e. War of the Sons of Light), the Thanksgiving Songs as 1QH (*Hodayoth*, i.e. Hymns), the Manual of Discipline as 1QS (*Serek hayyahad*, i.e. Rule of Community). The letter *f* is added in the case of additional fragments of these scrolls, e.g. 1QHf1 is the first fragment of the Thanksgiving Songs. Where the title of the work is unknown, it is designated by a number, e.g. *pMur12* designates papyrus fragment no. 12 from Murabba'at. Finally, chapter and verse may be cited in the usual way, e.g. 1QM XIV2, designates line 2, chapter xiv of the War Scroll. The new system is thus logical and convenient, though it takes a little getting used to, and some of the abbreviations are pretty formidable, e.g. 1QpPs68f.3,4, which stands for line 4 of the third fragment (leather) of the midrash on Ps. Lxviii from the first cave of Qumran!

¹ See *Scripture*, v (1953), pp. 112-22, and the references given there.

² M. Dupont-Sommer, in his latest work (*Nouveaux Aperçus sur les manuscrits du mer mort*, Paris 1953; English translation *The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes*, London 1954), upholds his previous theory on the origins of the sect in the first century B.C., but no longer claims for it any direct affiliation with Christianity.

Damascus or Zadokite sect, known since 1896, when its "rule-book" (*CDC*) was discovered in a Cairo Genizah. The *terminus ad quem* for the dating of these scrolls also seems to be fixed by archaeology as A.D. 66-70. However, it is well, as Père Barthélemy remarks, to suspend definite judgment on the identification of the allusions in the sectarian scrolls till all the new texts are published.¹

A full account of the first systematic excavation of Khirbet Qumran and its adjoining cemetery, from 29 November till 12 December 1951, has now been published by Père De Vaux.² It will be recalled that one striking result of these excavations (made public almost at once) was to prove that the jars of the first cave (1Q) were not Hellenistic, as had been supposed, but Roman, and were of ordinary domestic type, not specially made to contain the scrolls. It was also shown that the scrolls were deposited in the cave by A.D. 66-70 at the latest (when the main phase of occupation of Khirbet Qumran ended), and that the sect in question was probably a branch of the Essenes, mostly living in caves and tents, but using the Khirbet Qumran as a centre, and with the community cemetery adjoining. A few more details may be of interest. Outside the building, two cisterns, supplied by an aqueduct from the Wadi, were uncovered. Within the building, three rooms were revealed in the south-west angle, and two more in the north-east; soundings were also made outside the walls. These walls were of roughly quarried stone, secured with earthen mortar, and covered with a mixture of earth and plaster; in the south-west corner they were preserved to a height of 8 feet. Remains of the ceiling—apparently destroyed by fire—showed that it had been constructed of reed matting, coated with marl, just like some of the present-day Arab houses outside Jericho. Remains of a wooden door, together with several iron nails that had secured it, were also found. Nearly every room, and the outer court as well,

¹ Père Barthélemy does, however, give us the outline of a theory in his review of Professor Rowley's book (*Revue biblique*, LX (1953), p. 423). He distinguishes three stages in the development of the Qumran sect. Its first origins are to be sought in the pietist milieu connected with the Temple at Jerusalem early in the second century B.C.—to this period would belong the apocryphal *Testament of Levi*. The second stage is marked by the emergence of the sect in the Maccabean revolt of 166 B.C., as an element of the *Hasidim*. From this date commences the twenty-year period mentioned in *CDC* 1, 9-11, at the end of which comes the migration to "Damascus". The War Scroll and the earliest form of the Community Rule (1QS) date from this period. The last stage begins with the migration to Khirbet Qumran (symbolised by Damascus), under the leadership of the Master of Justice, who then begins his "forty-year" ministry. This personage is, then, one and the same as the "Star" and the "Student of the Law" who led the sect into exile and organised it there. He, likewise, is the author of the "autobiographical hymn" in the Hymns Scroll, and probably of all the hymns. Similarly, he it was that composed the lyrical ending of 1QS and certain other sections, and was responsible for the final compilation of the whole work.

² "Fouille au Khirbet Qumran", in *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), pp. 83-106.

contained coins, ranging in date from the time of Herod the Great to the first revolt of A.D. 66-70. Pottery was abundant; it was in a room in the north-west angle that the sunken jar, identical in type with the 1947 jars, was unearthed. Fragments of the bases of columns pointed to some kind of monumental construction. The large cemetery covered the rest of the projecting plateau on which the Khirbet is built, and overflowed on to four hillocks to the east. The tombs, nine of which were excavated, were arranged in rows, with a little oval cairn or simple stone marking each. The bodies were aligned from north to south (except for one which was east to west); they were simply laid in the earth without coffins, and with no offerings, ornaments or articles of apparel (save for a few pottery fragments found in one grave). Specimens sent for examination to Professor Vallois, Director of the Musée d'Homme in Paris, showed that the ages of those interred ranged from 20 to 50 years, and that some were women.

Anticipating a little, we will continue the story of the exploration of the Khirbet Qumran, resumed in February and March 1953. Only preliminary reports are so far available.¹ Nearly the whole of the main building was excavated, and four cisterns were uncovered, the one in the courtyard being particularly well preserved. Within the building, a large room, some 39 to 42 feet long, was laid bare. This room—apparently constructed for community assemblies—contained the remains of a *scriptorium*. There was a long plaster table (over 16 feet long, and 18 inches high), equipped with two inkpots, one of bronze, the other of terracotta, with the residue of the ink left in one of them. Along the wall was a low plaster shelf and basin—possibly used for ritual washings before or after the scribe plied his task. No MSS were found, but there were several inscribed potsherds, one of them containing the entire Hebrew alphabet in rough characters. These last-named finds, partially reconstructed, now form a special exhibition at the Palestine Museum, an eloquent witness to the teaching and practice of writing in the community centre of this ancient sect. Many, if not all, of the Qumran scrolls must have been copied in this very *scriptorium*. Some 250 coins were found—dating from the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), Hyrcanus II (63-40), Herod the Great (37-4), the Roman Procurators of Judea (before A.D. 70) together with 10 pieces from the period of the second Jewish War (A.D. 132-5).

On the basis of these new discoveries, it is now possible to distinguish three stages in the occupation of Khirbet Qumran :

¹ Report of Père De Vaux at the International Congress of Old Testament Studies, Copenhagen, August 1953 : see *Biblica*, xxxiv (1953), p. 557.

1. It was built about 100 B.C., or a little earlier, for the use of a community, and subsequently destroyed in an earthquake at a time not yet determined with certainty.

2. It was then reconstructed by the same community, and eventually destroyed a second time, probably by fire, at the time of the first Jewish War, A.D. 66-70. The sect then definitely deserted the building, taking with them their library, which they stored away for safe-keeping in various caves and hiding-places, some natural, some specially constructed for the purpose.

3. Some small rooms were later constructed in the ruins (these are apparently the rooms excavated in 1951), and used by persons not belonging to the sect: first, it seems, a Roman garrison, and later, Jewish insurgents of the second revolt. It was during this second revolt, A.D. 132-5, that the site was finally deserted—passing over a slight Arab occupation of the thirteenth century.

Excavation of Khirbet Qumran was due to be completed in a third season, starting probably in February 1954.

To resume the story of the Qumran caves, a full account of the organised search of the area in March 1952 has also been published by Père De Vaux in *Revue biblique*.¹ It now appears that the exploration was occasioned by the discovery, early in 1952, of another MSS cave (later known as 2Q) by the indefatigable Ta'amire Bedouin of the Judean desert. Two lots of MSS, seemingly all that had been found, came into the hands of a Bethlehem dealer, and, fortunately, the French Archaeological School and the Palestine Museum were able to purchase them in their entirety. As mentioned in previous articles, an expedition was at once organised, the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem also co-operating with the two above-mentioned bodies. The narrow area of rocky cliffs² extending some 6 miles north and south on either side of Khirbet Qumran (from Hadjar el-Asba to Ras Feshka) was thoroughly combed, and 37 caves, grottoes and rock-recesses explored. These were situated on two principal levels, and it was in those of the lower level (25 in number) that pottery was found in considerable quantity, identical in form with the jars and other material from 1Q and Khirbet Qumran itself. The same pottery was also found in an ill-defined rectangular enclosure, on the coastal plain, between the cliffs and the sea. One cave yielded an

¹ "Exploration de la région de Qumran", in *Revue biblique*, LX (1953), pp. 540-61.

² It is pointed out that three successive strata, one above the other, may be distinguished to the west of the Dead Sea: the coastal plain, the marl terrace and the cliff region. The Khirbet Qumran itself is situated on an outcrop of the marl terrace, forming a kind of plateau with steeply sloping sides. Coastal plain and terrace gradually narrow towards the south, and at Ras Feshka the cliffs come down to the sea. The whole area, it should be noted, is below sea level.

unusual find—wooden tent-supports, evidence that some of the sect lived in tents. Père De Vaux sees in this discovery additional confirmation for the identification of Khirbet Qumran with “Damascus” in CDC—for this document speaks of the “tents of Damascus” (VII, 1), where Damascus is but a symbolic name for Qumran, seeing that place-names are habitually disguised in this work.

Two caves were found to contain MSS—2Q and 3Q, 1 km. and 2 km. north of Khirbet Qumran respectively. It was from 2Q that the Bedouin had extracted the two lots of MSS, so nothing was found there except two small written fragments. However, the material acquired from the Bedouin—now being examined by M. Baillet, pupil of Père De Vaux—was found to contain 100 legible fragments. Biblical fragments in Hebrew include Exodus (portions of two scrolls, the first containing excerpts from chs. I, VII, IX, XI–XII, XXVI, XXX, the second, from chs. XVIII, XXI–XXII and XXXIV); Leviticus XI.22–8 written in Phoenician script; Numbers (portions of chs. III, IV and XXIII, the last perhaps from a second scroll); Deuteronomy I.7–9 and XVII.12–15; Ruth—portions of two scrolls, including chs. II and III, and ch. III respectively; Psalms CXL and CIII; Jeremias, chs. XLII–XLIV, XLVI, XLVII–XLIX, the last-named in the Massoretic tradition, like 1QIsb). Among the non-Biblical material have been identified Hebrew fragments of the apocryphal *Book of Jubilees*, ch. XLVI.1–2 (it will be recalled that 1Q yielded a fragment from XXVII.19–21); some ten fragments in Aramaic, containing a text of a liturgical character, referring to a ceremony involving the use of bread; and finally, a number of Hebrew fragments, too small to identify with certainty, written in a great variety of script, and indicating a large number of MSS. It is calculated that this cave contained 40 MSS all told, with the proportion of Biblical material about one in four—roughly the same as in the other MSS caves, with the exception of 3Q, the contents of which were very poor.

In the other cave (3Q), the roof had collapsed, and it was only after ten days' excavation that a few inscribed leather fragments were found, mingled with the rubble and in a poor state of preservation, owing to the depredations of rats and worms. One of the largest of these fragments, however, is of some interest, and has been published and described in the *Revue biblique*.¹ It is the beginning of a roll of unbleached skin, carefully ruled at regular intervals of 9 mm. (about $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), written in clear letters 3 mm. tall; it contains part of Isaias I.1 (lines 1–2), followed by a commentary (lines 3–6), which appears to be a simple explanatory gloss, rather than a midrash. It may be rendered as follows:

¹ *art. cit.*, pp. 555–6 and plate xxiv, b.

1. Vision of Isaias, son of Amos. . . .
2. Jotham, Achaz. . . .
3. Isaias prophesied concerning. . . .
4. . . . King of Juda. . . .
5. (existing portion blank)
6. The second name. . . .

Since the kings in whose reigns Isaias prophesied were Ozias, Joathan (Jotham), Achaz and Ezechias (Is. I.I), the "King of Juda" (line 4) probably refers to Ozias, and "the second name" to Joathan (line 6). It is reckoned that the columns of this scroll are of the same breadth as those of the great Isaias scroll (*1QIsa*), but that the script resembles that of the more recent group of *1Q* MSS (e.g. *1QIsb*). If the biblical text and gloss had been continued in the same fashion till the end of the book of Isaias, the whole work would have taken up several scrolls—unless the commentary were not so detailed for the rest of the book, or covered only part of the prophecy. However this be, this new find confirms the great predilection of the Qumran sectaries for the prophet Isaias.

Other fragments represent some ten different MSS, in one of which there is an allusion of the "Angel of the Face" (*mlk hpnm*), mentioned in some of the Apocrypha; another seems to contain hymns. There were no further Biblical texts. However, besides a considerable quantity of pottery—jars, lids, pitchers and a lamp—it was in this cave that the two copper scrolls, mentioned in previous articles, were found.¹ They were placed one on top of the other against the wall of the cave, without covering, and were fortunately undamaged by the collapse of the roof. As previously suggested, they had probably formed a single plaque, set up on the wall of the main building at Khirbet Qumran—perhaps in the community room mentioned above—and contained some sort of public notice. The size of the letters, 1 cm. in height, bears out this explanation. One is reminded of the reference in *1 Mach. viii.21* to the alliance of Judas Machabeus with Rome in 160 B.C., the text of which was inscribed on brass tablets by the Romans. It is known, too, that the Romans were accustomed to inscribe laws and foreign treaties in this manner on the walls of the Capitol. When the community evacuated Khirbet Qumran in A.D. 66–70, the plaque was taken down, cut in two, rolled up so as to keep the text on the inside, and stored away in the cave. These two remarkable objects—unfortunately completely oxidised—still remain unrolled in the Palestine Museum, but the impressions of the

¹ These scrolls are apparently of copper (*cuivre*), not bronze, as first reported.

Hebrew characters can be discerned in reverse on the outside, and so some general idea can be formed at least of the central portion of the inscription. It is in columns, in square Hebrew characters (like those on the ossuaries found near Jerusalem), and seems to be some kind of list or catalogue, to judge from the short paragraphs, frequent numerical indications, abbreviations and repetitions. Professor A. H. Corwin, of Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A., is to attempt to unroll them by a new chemical process, experimenting first on a similar un-inscribed oxidised copper roll. If the experiment is unsuccessful, then the scrolls will be cut up into strips and deciphered in fragments.

One general result of this survey was to show the density of habitation over this rather desolate area—the sect must have numbered several hundreds, though probably not a thousand, bearing in mind the size of the Khirbet Qumran building and the limitations of water- and food-supply. The cemetery, with its 1,100 graves, had, of course, served for a period of over a hundred years. No money was found in any of the caves; when we relate this to the plentiful finds of coinage in Khirbet Qumran itself, it becomes clear that individual members of the sect did not possess money, but that there was a common fund, centralised in the community building. We may conclude that property was held in common—an inference which confirms the identification of the sect with the Essenes.¹ Finally, it is clear that any one of the 37 caves explored—or even another as yet undiscovered—could be the cave mentioned by the Patriarch Timotheus, in which Hebrew MSS were discovered about the year A.D. 800, or the cave(s) alluded to by the Karaite writer Kirkisani in the tenth century, in connexion with the sect of Magharia, so called because their writings were found in a cave.²

In spite of careful organisation and intensive search, some hiding-places escaped the attentions of the expedition of March 1952, and there must have been others where the apertures had been sealed by falls of rock; moreover, the archaeologists confined their search to the rocky cliff area, neglecting the seaward terrace region. It was

¹ The same conclusion was already drawn on the basis of the location of the Qumran sect (corresponding to Pliny's description, i.e. west of the Dead Sea, and north of Engaddi), and also of many allusions in the 1Q scrolls, e.g. the organisation of the sect, its stress on purity and poverty, its doctrine of "destiny" and the future life, apocalyptic hopes, allegorical exegesis, and, in general, its great literary activity. It is objected that the Essenes, as Josephus describes them, were celibate, whereas some of the skeletons of the Qumran cemetery were those of women. However, it is possible that celibacy was introduced only after the sect had been some time in existence (say, late in the first century B.C.)—or, more probably, that the women in question were pious strangers who had expressed a wish to be buried in the hallowed ground of the community. Parallel instances may be cited for Christian monasteries of later years.

² Cp. *Scripture*, VI (1953), pp. 18, 30.

not surprising, then, that in the following August the Bedouin discovered the "rocky hole" (6Q),¹ mentioned in my previous notes, which yielded a fragment of *CDC*, and also located an artificial chamber (4Q) situated on the very edge of the terrace of Khirbet Qumran. This latter was the cave of the "sensational finds", and, as mentioned in previous notes, an archaeological expedition was quickly organised by the Jordan Department of Antiquities, and spent a week in September 1952 exploring the place and assembling the MSS. This same expedition also located another chamber near by (5Q), which contained MSS fragments in poor condition. Only preliminary reports are available as yet of these new discoveries.

Nothing is yet known of the fragments found in 5Q, and the only MSS named so far as coming from 6Q is a fragment consisting of six lines of the famous Damascus Document (Sadoqite Work, *CDC*), representing v.18 to vi.3. This little discovery adds further proof of the close connexion—if not identification—of the sect of the Damascus Covenanters (often referred to as the "Sect of the Master of Justice") with the Qumran Sect ("Community Sect"—a name derived from the title of 1QS). It is further pointed out that this new fragment is related to the second form (B) of the original *CDC* document found in the Cairo Geniza in 1896. This second form—according to a recent theory²—would contain material interpolated from the Manual of Discipline (qQS) into the primitive form (A) of *CDC*. This suggests that the older sect of Qumran ("Community Sect") became united with the newer Damascus Sect ("Sect of the Master of Justice") and that a new common rule was adapted from the two pre-existing documents. Such conclusions, however, must remain somewhat speculative in our present state of knowledge, especially as it now appears that there are two forms of 1QS itself (the second found in fragments from 1Q still to be published), besides another version found in cave 4Q. The question of the primitive rule-book known as "Hagu", mentioned both in *CDC* and 1QS, has still to be settled.

It was cave 4Q that proved richest of all in MSS material, though it will take some time, possibly some years, to assess it fully. The finds are mostly fragments, some of which are in poor condition due to the dampness of the marl in which they were found embedded; frequently they can be read only by the aid of infra-red photography (this method is said to increase the legibility of most MSS by about

¹ There seems to have been some initial confusion in the numbering of these caves; I have adopted the classification given in recent numbers of *Revue biblique*.

² L. Rost, in *Theologische Literatur Zeitung*, LXX (1952), pp. 723-6, cited in *Biblica*, xxxiv (1953), pp. 269-70.

one-third) ; then there is the very tedious work of identifying language and content, and finally gradually assembling the fragments of one and the same work. Preliminary reports indicate that perhaps 100 scrolls all told are represented, considerably more than the estimated 70 of 1Q.¹ In them can be traced every stage in the development of Hebrew script from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 70. Fragments of some 60 MSS of the Old Testament (in Hebrew) have been identified—all the proto-canonical books are represented, save *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Esdra-Nehemias*. There are also portions of the Book of Tobias in Hebrew and Aramaic. The fragments of 1 Sam. 1-11 have been published and described by Professor F. M. Cross, annual professor of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, who is at present working on the material from 4Q, together with Père Barthélemy, Abbé Milik and others at the Palestine Museum (the MSS have fortunately not been scattered, like those of 1Q).² There are in all 27 leather fragments, making up part of two columns of a scroll. The script is assigned on palaeographical grounds to the second century B.C. (in transition to the so-called "Herodian" character), and is described as a regular "bookhand". More important, however, is the fact that the Hebrew text, like that of other Hebrew fragments from 4Q still to be published, is in the LXX tradition, corresponding, specifically, to the B recension, as represented by the Codex Vaticanus. This suggests that the Septuagint translation—in *Samuel* and elsewhere—is more accurate and faithful than many were inclined to believe ; or, in other words, that the "peculiarities" of the LXX version are not due to a somewhat free rendering or interpretation of a text in the Massoretic tradition, but to the faithful reproduction of an original Hebrew text that differed from, and antedated the Massoretic.

The rest of the MSS material includes Biblical commentaries and paraphrases, e.g. a commentary on Ps. xxxvii, on Isaiah and some of the minor Prophets, and a midrash on Gen. xlix ; apocryphal works³ ; sectarian documents, which include more "Thanksgiving Songs", a second copy of the War Scroll (1QM) and of the Manual (1QS), both in the known form and in an earlier textual type, new texts of CDC and other works previously unknown (some written

¹ Cp. scattered references in *Revue biblique* (1953) ; also *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, cxxxii (1953), pp. 15-17, and F. M. Cross, "The MSS of the Dead Sea Caves", in *Biblical Archeologist*, xvii (1954), pp. 14-20. The last-named article contains a very readable account of the present position, especially regarding the MSS of 4Q, on which the author is working.

² "A new Qumran Biblical fragment relating to the Hebrew underlying the Septuagint", in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, cxxxii (1953), pp. 15-26.

³ Reports that the Aramaic original of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* has been found have not been confirmed.

in a "cryptic Essene script", only recently deciphered by the Abbé Milik.¹) Phylacteries have also been found which differ from those of Murabba'at inasmuch as they contain the decalogue, and—for the first time in this locality—fragments in Greek.

Finally, some account must be given of a peculiar and significant document found in 4Q—fragments of a kind of "Book of Testimonies", or collection of Messianic texts from the Bible. The texts are: Deut. xviii.18ff. (promise of the great "prophet") combined with Deut. v.25-9; Num. xxiv.15-17 (Balaam's prophecy of the "Star" of Jacob) and Deut. xxxiii.8-11 (the blessing of Levi). The purpose of the collection would seem to be the justification of the Messianic concepts of the sect, especially their use of the favourite Messianic title "Star", and their association of the Messiah with the tribe of Levi as well as with that of Juda.

Here we may well pause for a while and glance at the information we have regarding this most interesting aspect of the doctrine of the Qumran sectaries. Certain it is that Messianic expectation among them was very intense—even, perhaps, to the extent of modifying one or two readings in the first Isaiah scroll (1QISa) to make the Messianic sense more clear.² Certain, too, it is that the Messianic hopes of the sect were of the "apocalyptic" type found in some of the apocrypha of the Old Testament, rather than of the "Rabbinic" type which seems to have been commoner in Palestine in Our Lord's day.

They expected the proximate advent of a "Messiah of Aaron and Israel", or, more probably, of two Messiahs, one of the tribe of Levi, the other of that of Juda.³ Thus 1QS, ix.11 has, "till the coming of the Prophet and of the (two) Messiahs of Aaron and Israel". The same idea had already been noted in several places in CDC, though here the phrase is in the singular form "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". The War Scroll (1QM) speaks of the "great hero" (probably the Messiah of Israel) whose valiant deeds and victory in the apocalyptic war are extolled by the "Priest-in-Chief". The first additional fragment of the Manual (1QSa)⁴ says that in the "last times" there will arise the Priest and the Messiah of Israel, the latter being subordinated to the former in the description of the eschatological banquet. In the series of blessings contained in the second fragment of the same

¹ F. M. Cross, *art. cit.*, in *Biblical Archeologist*, xvii (1954), p. 16 note.

² Cp. the reading "I so anointed his appearance beyond that of anyone else" (Massoretic text: "his appearance was so marred . . ."), in Is. lii.14. See W. H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran scrolls, I", in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, cxxxii (1953), pp. 8-15.

³ For much of this information I am indebted to J. T. Milik, writing in *Revue biblique*, lx (1953), pp. 290-2.

⁴ 1QSa and 1QSa are fragments of two columns forming a kind of "annex" to 1QS; they represent an earlier and different form of the Rule.

work (1QSb), one blessing concerns the "Prince of all the Congregation" (Messiah of Israel), the other, probably, the Priest-in-Chief (the title is missing). The same distinction of two Messiahs is met with in the apocalyptic *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which may be connected with the sect), and is mentioned early in the third century A.D. by the Christian writer Hippolytus, who says that the expectation of two Messiahs was realised in Jesus, who was both of the tribe of Juda and of Levi, King and Priest (*Commentary on the Blessings of Isaac, Jacob and Moses*).

The Messianic title "Star"—derived from Balaam's prophecy in Num. xxiv.17—is applied in the same *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* both to the Aaronic Messiah (*Testament of Levi*, xviii.3) and to the Messianic King, or Messiah of Israel (*Testament of Juda*, xxiv.1). It is applied to the Messianic King, Son of David, in CDC vii.20, in 1QSb, in the midrash on Gen. xlix mentioned above (4QpGen49), and later in the Targum Onkelos and on the lips of the second-century Rabbi Aqiba, who applied it to Bar Kokhba. The title "Prince", deriving probably from Ezech. xxxivff., where it designates the eschatological chief of the people, is also found applied to the Messiah of Israel in CDC vii.20 and in 1QSb.

These Messianic ideas of the sect are not only interesting in themselves, but also help us to understand the background of the second Jewish War (A.D. 132-5), which is reflected in the MSS of Murabba'at. The leader of this revolt was saluted by Rabbi Aqiba as the Messianic "Star", whence his popular title, "Bar Kokhba (Cochebas)", i.e. "Son of the Star". The same leader is designated on coins and in the document of Murabba'at as "Simeon (ben Kozeba), Prince of Israel", and with him, on the reverse of the coins, is associated "Eleazar the Priest", who was possibly regarded as the Messiah of Aaron.

Much, then, has been learnt about the sect of Qumran from these recent discoveries. What new light do they throw on the history of the text of the Old Testament? It will be remembered that the Biblical texts found in the Wadi Murabba'at, dating from the second Jewish War, A.D. 132-5, were all in full conformity with the Massoretic tradition; also that the Greek text of the Minor Prophets, found in a locality not yet determined with certainty in the summer of 1952, pointed to the existence of a "Palestinian recension" (R) of the Septuagint according to the Hebrew Massoretic, which was made between about A.D. 70 and 100.¹

Bearing all these things in mind, several stages may now be distinguished in the history of the text of the Old Testament:

¹ See my previous notes, in *Scripture*, vi (1953), pp. 20-1.

1. Before A.D. 70, there were various Hebrew texts. One would be that later adopted by the Massorettes, represented by the second Isaias scroll (*1QIsb*). Another would be that underlying the LXX (referred to as G), which is represented by the Habacuc Scroll (*1QHab*), and the fragments of 1 Sam. and of other books found in 4Q.¹ Yet a third would be that found in the first Isaias scroll (*1QIsa*), with its peculiar variants and orthography. This text is not a predecessor of the Massoretic, as some thought, but a kind of "popular recension" ("Vulgärtext"—K), possibly part of a kind of "Hebrew revival" for the benefit of the Aramaic-speaking people of the second or even third century B.C., as Rowley and others have suggested.

2. Between the years A.D. 70 and 100 (Professor Cross would go even earlier for Isaias and the Pentateuch), the work of unifying the Hebrew text begins—thus, the text underlying the LXX recension R rarely differs from the Massoretic.

3. About A.D. 100 the Septuagint is adapted to the Hebrew (recension R).

4. By the year 135, the Massoretic text prevails—witness the documents of Murabba'at. About this time, Aquila begins the further systematic adaptation of the Greek R to the Massoretic text in his Greek version.

5. In the second century A.D., R is diffused in Palestine, Egypt (cp. the Coptic versions) and Asia (cp. Justin's references).² Yet, even before A.D. 200, it had succumbed to the new Jewish versions based on it, namely, Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.

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¹ F. M. Cross (*loc. cit.*) speaks of "other MSS of *Samuel* from Qumran, some with a similar tradition, some more closely related to the traditional text" (p. 24).

² For these allusions, see my previous notes (*loc. cit.*).