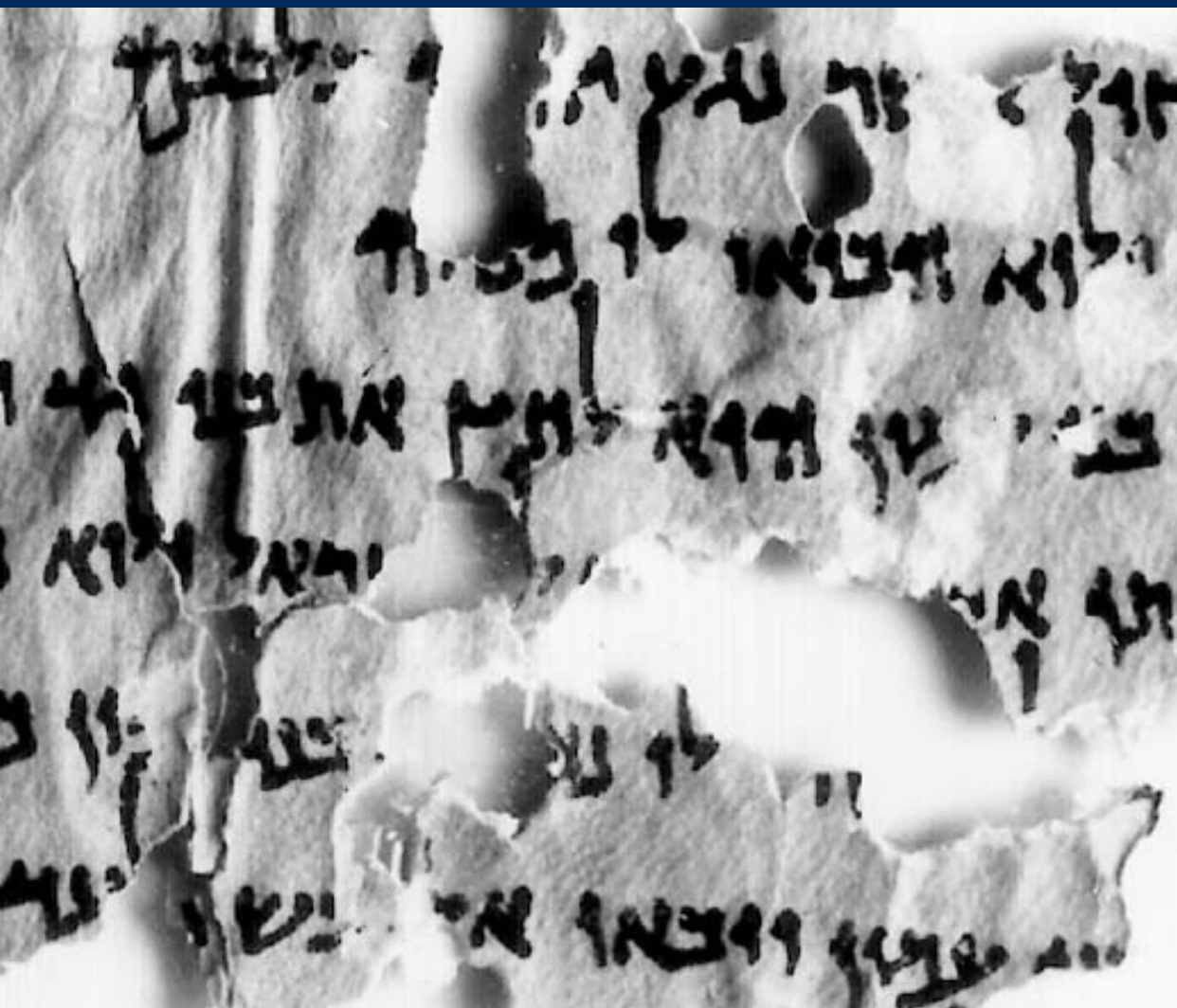


DEAD SEA SCROLLS



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A Brief History of the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Ancient scrolls made of leather do not survive well in a humid environment. Even in a hot dry climate they will eventually dry out, decay, and begin to fall apart. Thus no one really expected to find ancient manuscripts in the land of Palestine, because while it is arid in places, there is a small amount of rainfall, even in the arid regions. However, the desert rocks and caves of the Dead Sea region have occasionally countered this opinion. Around 800 AD,

An Arab's dog was hunting an animal, pursued it into a cave, and did not come out. Its master went after it and found in the rock a little house that contained many books. The huntsman then went to Jerusalem and told it to the Jews. Many of them then went out and found books of the Old Testament, along with others, in the Hebrew script.¹

Thus wrote Timotheus, Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, in a letter addressed to Sergius, Nestorian metropolitan of Elam. Two hundred Psalms of David had been found in a discovery not to be exceeded until modern times.²

The rocky ledges of this barren Judean wilderness around the Dead Sea are desolate. Their most frequent visitors are sheep and goats looking for forage with their ever present shepherds watching over them. It was thus in the winter of 1946/47. Three Ta'amireh Bedouin shepherds from Bethlehem had taken their flocks of sheep and goats to forage down near the Dead Sea. They led their flocks down to an area northeast of the Dead Sea near the cliffs overlooking the valley. Perhaps the winter rains were heavier that year and resulted in better forage for their flocks in such a deserted place.³ It is

¹*Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1, quoted in Weston Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History: Volume One, 1947–1960* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 21. The historical value of Fields' work for the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls cannot be overstated. Fields has collected herein a vast array of primary and secondary sources as well as further evaluation and commentary on these sources. This article is heavily indebted to the documents and information that he has collected in this excellent work.

²*Ibid.*

³G.W. Lankester Harding, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan,

the shepherd's job to keep the sheep from straying and they will occasionally throw rocks to startle them and to guide them in another direction. One account is as follows. Some of their flock were climbing too high on the rocky slopes. It was late and one shepherd was climbing up to herd them down,

As he climbed something caught his attention. There were two small openings in the rock. They were caves, or maybe two openings into the same cave. But they were so small. A man could not get through the lower one but might just squeeze through the upper one. He threw a rock into the opening and peered in. The rock had broken pottery, and what else would be in these remote caves but treasure?⁴

Some accounts say he may have thrown the rock to see if a stray goat had entered the cave or perhaps just out of curiosity at a new rock fall revealing the entrance, but the shepherd was startled when he heard the stone break pottery.⁵

The next day two of the bedouin returned to search the cave. When they entered they found several intact large clay jars with lids and many that had been broken into pieces. They broke open some of the jars but found nothing. However they took the lid off of one jar that held four bundles wrapped in linen that had turned green. The odor from the jar was awful but that did not keep them from eventually returning to their home camp with the bundles where three were hung on a tent post in a bag (the complete Isaiah^a scroll, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Manual of Discipline), while one was left on the floor where children played with it and it subsequently was torn apart and thrown out.⁶ One young Ta'amireh tribesman in recent years shared with this writer an anecdote that had been passed down that pieces of this doomed scroll had been used as wipes to clean a baby's bottom.

The miracle of the scrolls surviving millennia in desert caves has several parts. First, the parchment on which they were written was untanned sheepskin. A tanned hide will deteriorate over time. Second, the ink was made of inert carbon from soot. Other inks would fade or even corrode a text. Third, the cave climates were ideal. The very dry air and stable temperature along with little air movement within the caves allowed them to slowly dry and maintain a consistent low humidity level. In the presence of humidity

Amman, to Robert Hamilton, Director of the Department of Antiquities, Mandate Palestine, Jerusalem, 6 March 1949, transcript in the Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives; quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26, 96, 522n10. William H. Brownlee, "Muhammad Ed-Deeb's Own Story of His Scroll Discovery," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957): 236, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26, 96, 521n9.

⁴Harry Thomas, "How the Dead Sea Scrolls Were Found," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 1 (Dec 1975): 1, 7.

⁵Harding to Hamilton, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 96.

⁶Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24–26.

parchment will decay, so this climate, then, severely slowed the scrolls' process of decomposition.⁷ Even though the process was slowed for over two thousand years, it was not stopped. Most of the 850 scrolls (220 Old Testament scrolls) discovered and in evidence are in fragments. Not a few scrolls are only known to exist by evidence of a small number of fragments.⁸

The Bedouin who found these first scrolls took the bundles to Bethlehem in early spring (around March) of 1947. They offered them to an antiquities dealer who kept them for a time, showing them to others, but no one was interested. The antiquities dealers feared that they were stolen goods. The Bedouin had no luck but were persistent. They offered them to several dealers and shopkeepers, eventually offering them to the sheikh of their tribe who recommended they see a Syrian shopkeeper who knew about leather, Khalil Eskander Shahin, called Kando.⁹ Kando would later become a key intermediary having negotiated with the authorities that neither he nor the Bedouin who brought him the scroll fragments would be prosecuted under antiquities laws, as long as Kando would offer the scrolls first for sale to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem (built by John D. Rockefeller and most often today referred to as the Rockefeller).¹⁰ One shopkeeper mentioned the scrolls to the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, at St. Marks Monastery in Jerusalem. Samuel, who had some knowledge of ancient manuscripts, was very interested and sought to contact Kando and acquire the scrolls. When he was shown one of the scrolls, Samuel realized they were written in Hebrew and sought to purchase them. Meanwhile, the Bedouin returned to the cave and retrieved four more scrolls (the second Isaiah^b scroll, the *War Scroll*, the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* in Aramaic).¹¹

On the day the Bedouin came to the monastery to sell all seven scrolls to Samuel, they were rudely turned away at the door by one of the monks, who had no knowledge that they were invited. Greatly offended, the Bedouin left with no intention of returning. Two of them were persuaded to return their

⁷Dodo Joseph Shenhav, "Saving the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Next 2000 Years: Preservation in the Qumran Caves was Easier than in a Museum Atmosphere," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 7 (Jul/Aug 1981): 44–47.

⁸George J. Brooke and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Past: On the History of the Dead Sea Scrolls Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings*, ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller (Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 9. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, "From Qumran to Roehampton: Fifty Years of Research and Reflection on the Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 16. The scrolls reveal the hand of at least 500 scribes. Lena Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence* (Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 6.

⁹Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26–28. Shahin was his family surname and Kando was what he was called. However, due to the notoriety he gained, his family has used Kando as their surname ever since.

¹⁰William Kando, Interview by Weston Fields, 7 February 2007, Jerusalem, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 98–99, 533n26.

¹¹Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 28–29.

scrolls to Kando's shop for safekeeping, while one left with his share of four scrolls (Isaiah^b, the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*). Kando convinced the two remaining Bedouin to return with him to St. Marks with their scrolls (Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the [Essene] Manual of Discipline/*Rule of the Community*). Samuel purchased these scrolls and spent much time and effort trying to authenticate them, but most to whom he showed them did not believe in their antiquity.¹²

The third Bedouin, who left with his share of scrolls, contacted an Armenian antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, who was a friend of Professor E.L. Sukenik, staff archaeologist at Hebrew University. Sukenik had knowledge of Second Temple period Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions.¹³ They wanted Sukenik to authenticate and perhaps purchase these scrolls for the Museum of Jewish Antiquities at Hebrew University, which he did. It was while he was first examining these newly purchased scrolls that Sukenik's son, Yigael Yadin (an Israeli army officer and later the preeminent Israeli archaeologist), burst into the room to exclaim that the United Nations had voted to partition Palestine into two states: one Jewish and one Palestinian. These two great events for the Jews coincided on one day, one connecting it to its past and one leading into a brighter future.¹⁴

In February 1948, the Syrian Orthodox Archbishop Samuel had his scrolls shown to Sukenik for authentication and possible purchase.¹⁵ However, things moved slowly because money was hard to come by and war was in the offing (the British mandate was ending and tensions were high). Meanwhile, a colleague of Samuel's was in communication with the American Schools for Oriental Research in Jerusalem (called the Albright). Samuel sent the scrolls to the temporary acting director at the time, John Trevor, for authentication. Trevor, along with his colleague William Brownlee, studied the scrolls and determined that one scroll was a complete copy of the book of Isaiah and that the writing was similar to the Nash Papyrus, which W.F. Albright had dated to 100 BC.¹⁶ Trevor, being an amateur photographer, asked for permission to photograph the archbishop's scrolls. Trevor convinced the archbishop that the photographs, if published, would advertise the scrolls and make them worth a greater amount of money. Trevor's information likely encouraged the archbishop to forestall a sale to Sukenik and instead to travel to the United States to sell the scrolls.¹⁷ Trevor was allowed to make

¹²A.Y. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology* 12:2 (1949): 27, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 29–31, 524n39, 524n47.

¹³E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 14, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40–42, n88.

¹⁴Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 23–24, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 46, 526n95.

¹⁵Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 10.

¹⁶John C. Trevor, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood: Fleming H. Revell, 1965), 24–26.

¹⁷William Brownlee, "Phenomenal Discoveries in the Judean Wilderness," Unpublished Manuscript, 83–84, The Brownlee Archives, University of Manchester, Manchester, quoted in

the photographs and, with Brownlee's help, took pictures that became a standard for Dead Sea Scrolls research for decades to come.¹⁸ Trevor sent some photographs of the scrolls to W.F. Albright at Johns Hopkins University for his study and authentication. Albright worked through the texts and within minutes located their date to the second century BC.¹⁹ He wrote to Trevor that this was "the greatest discovery of modern times!"²⁰ An announcement was made on 11 April 1948 by the director of the Albright, Millar Burrows, who had been on vacation during the negotiations and photographing of the scrolls by Trevor and Brownlee. Burrows placed the announcement in the *New York Times* as well as in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (BASOR 110). Needless to say, Sukenik was probably surprised by the announcement, since he had several scrolls of his own that he had not yet published and since Burrows announcement had been somehow edited to indicate that the scrolls had not been recently acquired but had been in the St. Marks monastery library for many years.²¹ Sukenik soon after announced his purchase of scrolls for Hebrew University, which included a description of Archbishop Samuel's Isaiah^a scroll and which he had seen before Trevor had photographed them. This type of early miscommunication and later arguments over publication rights caused mistrust and in part may have contributed to the delay in publication for which those who worked on the scrolls are now famous.

Meanwhile, the cave had been revisited several times and excavated by some Bedouin and other intermediaries, who gained more fragments, including Daniel, a prayer scroll, and *1 Enoch*.²² Kando later sold the remaining fragments from Cave 1 to Yusef Saad, Secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, including six fragments of Isaiah^b, eight pieces of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the only known fragments to the *Annex to the Rule of the Community*.²³ In October 1948 a Jewish newspaper announced that at that time eleven scrolls or parts of scrolls had been found along with two whole pots and that Sukenik surmised it was a storehouse of texts belonging to the Essenes.²⁴ It was only in November 1948 that the director

Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 61–62, 529n133.

¹⁸Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 66.

¹⁹Trevor, *The Untold Story*, 60, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 71–73, 530n160. Frank Moore Cross, interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, 29 March 1999, Lexington, Massachusetts, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 71–73, 530n163–64.

²⁰W.F. Albright, Baltimore, to John Trever, Jerusalem, 15 March 1948, transcript in the hand of James Trevor, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 76, 530n174.

²¹Millar Burrows, News Release, Yale University News Bureau, 10 April 1948, The Brownlee Archives, University of Manchester, Manchester, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 82, 530n186.

²²Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85–88.

²³Dominique Barthelémy and J.T. Milik et al., *Qumran Cave 1*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 43, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103, 533n41.

²⁴This is still the prevailing view. Geza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman, eds. *The Essenes: According to Classical Sources* (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,

of antiquities in Jordan, G.W.L. Harding, first learned of the scrolls when the *BASOR* 110 volume reached him in Jordan. By that time they had all been purchased and/or were on their way out of the country and the Jordanian Department of Antiquities had no idea of the Cave 1 location. However, it was soon located and an official excavation took place by Harding and a Dominican priest, archaeologist, and scholar named Roland de Vaux.²⁵ The official excavation turned up hundreds of small scroll fragments, remains of 30 pots, and cloth fragments for wrapping the scrolls.²⁶ Harding was very concerned about illegal excavation and losing scrolls to the black market. So he wisely set up a system of payouts for information and scroll fragments utilizing as intermediaries de Vaux as well as Kando. In this manner literally thousands of transactions were made with local Arabs for information and scroll fragments as they appeared, thus saving them for posterity.²⁷ After weighing all the reports, accounts, and interviews as well as hard evidence connecting the scrolls to Cave 1 archaeologically, Weston Fields posits the possibility that there were actually two Cave 1's that were near each other, one containing the scrolls initially sold to Samuel and one containing the scrolls eventually sold to Sukenik.²⁸

Sukenik offered Archbishop Samuel 500 Palestinian Pounds (about \$16,200) for the scrolls in his possession, but Samuel had become convinced he could get more money for them in America. So Samuel took the scrolls in his possession to Beirut and eventually to America in early 1949, where he tried to sell them to gain money for the Syrian Orthodox community in Jerusalem. However, the newly formed governments of Jordan and Israel were demanding their return, even though neither had existed when the scrolls were discovered.²⁹ It was not until 1955 that anonymous negotiations were completed for the purchase of Archbishop Samuel's Cave 1 scrolls for \$250,000 by Yigael Yadin, Sukenik's son, and others on behalf of Israel.³⁰

These early discoveries and payouts of money quickly led to further searching for caves and scrolls, both legal and illegal. The authorities wanted to purchase all the scrolls at as low a price as possible but did not want to lose out on obtaining them all, the Bedouin wanted to eliminate the middle men like Kando in order to have a larger cut, and middlemen like Kando were trying to control the market on negotiating and selling scroll fragments. In fact Kando apparently had an agreement to be the only one who sold the

1989), 12.

²⁵Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 10.

²⁶G.W.L. Harding, Communiqué to the Press, 21 March 1949, Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93–95, 532n12–13.

²⁷Antoun Hazou, Interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, March 1999, Jerusalem, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 107–09, 116–17, 534n55.

²⁸Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 110–13.

²⁹A.Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 173–76, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 98–99, 533n27.

³⁰Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 198–200, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 246, 547n6.

museum scroll fragments.³¹ Information, disinformation, tough negotiations, sales, and hold-outs were frequent occurrences between the Bedouin, Kando, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum/authorities or those deputized by them, such as de Vaux.³² Early on, the Bedouin were tearing the scroll fragments into smaller pieces, because they were being paid per fragment, but de Vaux instigated a change in the policy so that they would be paid per square centimeter of fragment purchased. In this manner they were able to forestall further destruction by the Bedouin.³³

By the spring of 1950 scholarly articles began to appear on the scrolls.³⁴ In late 1951, de Vaux began excavations at the site near Cave 1, Qumran (called *Secacab* in biblical times),³⁵ which confirmed the connection between Cave 1 and Qumran through pottery and coin analysis.³⁶ Cave 2 was discovered near Cave 1 in early 1952 as were 5 caves in the Wadi Murabba'at 18 kilometers south of Qumran Cave 1. These caves contained materials from the Chalcolithic to the Arab period, including metal objects, cloth and rope, pottery and coins, as well as papyrus and leather fragments inscribed with Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. The last Murabba'at cave contained a scroll of the minor prophets, but because of documents found from Simon Bar Kokhba during the second Jewish revolt, the Murabba'at caves are more connected to his name.³⁷ Shortly thereafter, a survey of the 225 caves within 4 km of Qumran led to the discovery of Cave 3, which contained the *Copper Scroll*. At the same time, Josef Milik discovered what may have been the cave mentioned by Timotheus in 800 AD. It was filled with many stacked store jars, empty with their lids set aside.³⁸

With money changing hands for scroll fragments, the Ta'amireh tribe continued extensively searching the cliffs near Qumran for caves. Sitting around the fire one evening an older Bedouin recalled hunting for partridge in the area years before. He had followed an injured partridge into a small

³¹Dominique Barthélemy, Interview by Weston Fields and Diane Fields, 12 February 2000, Albertinum Dominican monastery, Fribourg Switzerland, translated by Eva Ben-David, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 152–53, 537n25–26. Hazou, Interview by Fields, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 152–53, 537n27.

³²Roland de Vaux, "Historique des Decouvertes," in *Les Grottes de Murabbaat (Textes)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 3–8, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 116–25, 535n5–9, 535n12, 536n15.

³³Barthélemy, Interview by Fields, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 148, 537n21.

³⁴Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 503.

³⁵Jodi Magnes, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 25. Cf. Josh 15:61–62 and the *Copper Scroll* from Cave 3, where this ancient name for Qumran also occurs.

³⁶Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 503.

³⁷Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 91. Geza Vermes, *Discovery in the Judean Desert* (New York: Desclee, 1956), 20–22; de Vaux, "Historique des Decouvertes," 3–8, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 123–27, 536n15.

³⁸J. Milik, Interview by Weston Fields, Diane Fields, and Eva Ben-David, 20 January 2004, Paris, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 136–37, 537n5.

hole that opened into a cave with broken jars on the floor.³⁹ They immediately made an expedition there and they found what is now known as Cave 4 right next to Qumran in August 1952. They removed most of the scrolls and sold them to both Kando and de Vaux before their digging was stopped and a proper excavation undertaken.⁴⁰ The Rockefeller did not have the funds to purchase all of the Cave 4 finds, so the Jordanian Government raised the money from academic institutions. A short sampling of institutions that participated includes the University of Heidelberg, McGill University of Montreal, the University of Manchester, and the Vatican Library. The agreement was that once the scrolls were published, Jordan would send the scrolls and fragments to the institutions that had helped purchase them and who would then have ownership of them.⁴¹ With this help the Jordanian government paid a modern equivalent of \$42,000 for the Cave 4 fragments. Cave 4⁴² contained over 16,000 scroll fragments from around 600 manuscripts.⁴³ It is no wonder that some scroll researchers took so long to publish when faced with the great puzzle they were given.

Cave 5 was discovered after Cave 4 in 1952 and Cave 6 soon after that in the Wadi above Qumran. In 1954 John D. Rockefeller began to provide funds for scroll purchases, scholar's expenses, photography, preservation, and office help. This relationship would last for six years.⁴⁴ Caves 7–10 were discovered in the spring of 1955 above and near Qumran but yielded few results. A month later an Israeli team at Masada found one papyrus document.⁴⁵ In 1956 the Bedouin found Cave 11 and removed all its materials, which would eventually find their way through Kando to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The Cave 11 scrolls included texts from Psalms, Ezekiel, Leviticus, an Aramaic scroll of Job, and a scroll of *The Apocalypse of New Jerusalem*, among others.⁴⁶

In 1953, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan established an international committee of world-class scholars to oversee the publishing of the scrolls. The international committee worked informally without rules or even

³⁹Kenneth Atkinson, "Two Dogs, a Goat and a Partridge: An Archaeologist's Best Friends," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 22 (Jan/Feb 1996): 42.

⁴⁰Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 33. This allowed scholars to confirm the provenance of many fragments found by the Bedouin as being from Cave 4.

⁴¹Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik, Dead Sea Scroll Editor," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (Jul/Aug 1990): 48.

⁴²Magnes, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 29. Cave 4 was actually two caves closely adjacent to one another. Since these scroll fragments were mixed by the Bedouin all are considered to be from Cave 4 though these caves are designated 4a and 4b.

⁴³Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 1.

⁴⁴Brooke and Schiffman, *The Past*, 11.

⁴⁵Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 507.

⁴⁶G.W. Lankester Harding, Memo on Purchase from Kando, 17 July 1956, Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives, quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 343, 565, 552n93.

funding at first.⁴⁷ The materials from the different caves were assigned by the committee members to themselves. The committee members were scholars in academia or in the Catholic church: Roland de Vaux, Józef Milik, Dominique Barthélemy, Jean Starcky, Patrick Skehan, Frank M. Cross, Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, and John Allegro. Later Pierre Benoit replaced de Vaux, John Strugnell replaced Allegro, Eugene Ulrich replaced Skehan, Emile Puech replaced Starcky, and Maurice Baillet was added, among others such as Emanuel Tov. Eventually, those controlling these original allotted scrolls allowed their select PhD students and a few others to work on and publish scrolls under their control, so that by 1991, some 40 years after the original discovery, there were as many as fifty-five working under the main scholars on the team.⁴⁸ The publication *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* was begun in 1951 to publish the findings with Fathers Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Milik as the first editors/authors. The first volume came out in 1955 and the second in 1961. However, by the early 1990s over half of the scrolls were yet to be published.

Just before the 1956 Arab/Israeli war, the scrolls in the Rockefeller Museum were transferred for a time to Amman, Jordan for their protection, but they were kept in a damp storage room. The humidity initiated serious deterioration, mold, and mildew, which took months to clean off the scrolls when they were returned to the museum. However, the scrolls were not kept in a climate-controlled location even in the Rockefeller, so deterioration accelerated.⁴⁹

In 1961, Jordan nationalized all the Dead Sea Scroll fragments and scrolls within their borders.⁵⁰ Thus the Jordanians broke all their agreements with the institutions that gave money for the purchase of the Cave 4 finds. It was also in 1961 that Yigael Yadin, in Israel, was contacted by Kando, at that time in Jordanian Bethlehem, who wanted to sell him a scroll from Cave 11. These negotiations broke down, but Yadin did not forget. Later, during the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel captured the Jordanian West Bank, including Bethlehem as well as East Jerusalem and the Rockefeller Museum in which the scrolls and fragments from Caves 2–11 were located.⁵¹ As soon as Jerusalem was in Israel's hands, Yadin went to Kando's home to get the scroll from Cave 11. Israel confiscated what is now known as the *Temple Scroll*, containing large sections from the Pentateuch. They paid Kando \$105,000 in order to encourage others to come forward with scrolls.⁵² The political shift

⁴⁷Hershel Shanks, "BARview: Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls Is Leitmotif of New York University Scroll Conference," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 11 (Sep/Oct 1985): 6.

⁴⁸Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices*, trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden, Brill: 1995), 22.

⁴⁹Hershel Shanks, "DSS Update: Preserve the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18 (Jan/Feb 1992): 62.

⁵⁰Fitzmyer, "A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik," 48.

⁵¹Ibid. Brooke and Shiffman, *The Past*, 16.

⁵²Yigael Yadin, "The Temple Scroll—The Longest and Most Recently Discovered Dead

left a legal quagmire as to who owned the scrolls and who had the right to publish them. Yadin was influential in the decision of the Israeli government to retain the same relationship with the International Scrolls Committee that had been set up by the Jordanians.⁵³ The Israeli Antiquities Authority made no changes to the status quo and essentially maintained no oversight until 1990.⁵⁴

The original international committee of scroll editors published them slowly and were loathe to expand the number of scholars working on them. This situation caused frustration and consternation to the many scholars worldwide that wanted to work on them and/or just be able to see their content. The scroll editors had the attitude that only they could give a correct reading to the scrolls. Eventually, the Israeli oversight committee began to encourage publication and oversee the assignment of scrolls for publication. The issue of publication came to a head in the early 1990s through the pressure of Hershel Shanks at *Biblical Archaeology Review* and others.⁵⁵ An American foundation even offered the Israeli government \$100,000 to finance the publishing of a book of photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but to no avail.⁵⁶ In 1990, one of the scroll editors, Eugene Ulrich of Notre Dame University, responded to the pressure by stating that the publication pace had been too fast during the 35 years since the scrolls discovery. Shanks argued that the common response of scroll committee members, that scholars must take time to be careful, was not the reason for the long delay in Dead Sea Scroll publication. Shanks stated,

This delay is simply the result of scholars taking on more assignments than they could reasonably complete in a lifetime and refusing to publish until they have written extensive commentaries on the texts. In the meantime, they refuse to let scholars generally see the unpublished texts.⁵⁷

Sea Scroll: How it affects our understanding of the New Testament and early Christianity," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 10 (Sep/Oct 1984): 36. Brooke and Shiffman, *The Past*, 16.

⁵³John Strugnell, "Yigael Yadin: 'Hoarder and Monopolist,'" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (July/Aug 1994): 51.

⁵⁴Hershel Shanks, "Israeli Oversight Committee Takes Charge," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 46. Fitzmyer, "A Visit with M. Józef T. Milik," 48. Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: Team Scholars Working Hard on Dead Sea Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 17 (Nov/Dec 1991): 96. Marvin C. Pate, *Communities of the Last Days: The Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament & the Story of Israel* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000), 35.

⁵⁵Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: The Dead Sea Scroll Monopoly Must Be Broken," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 44–45.

⁵⁶Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Update: Scroll Editors Spurn \$100,000 Offer to Publish Book of Photographs of Still-Secret Texts," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (July/Aug 1990): 44.

⁵⁷Hershel Shanks, "The Difference between Scholarly Mistakes and Scholarly Concealment: The Case of MMT," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 16 (Sep/Oct 1990): 64.

However, the logjam broke in 1991 when professor Ben-Zion Wacholder, of Hebrew Union College and one his doctoral students at the time Martin Abegg, Jr. used a computer program to sort a Dead Sea Scrolls concordance to reconstruct some scrolls. The concordance was an in-house publication used by the scroll researchers on the international committee for research that listed every word and its context within the scrolls.⁵⁸ Riding in a taxi with John Strugnell at a conference in Israel, Wacholder asked Strugnell if the rumors were true that the concordance existed and Strugnell affirmed. Wacholder then asked if Hebrew Union College could obtain a copy of it. Strugnell said he would look into it and later allowed a copy to be sent. Strugnell never stipulated that the concordance be kept secured away from prying eyes and the five-volume concordance was placed in Hebrew Union's library available to the public and students for use in the library but not for general circulation. Wacholder and Abegg eventually published four fascicles of reconstructed scroll texts through Hershel Shanks at the Biblical Archaeology Society.⁵⁹ Only days after the first fascicle was published, William Moffett, the director of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, made open to the public a study collection of around 3,000 photographs of the Dead Seas Scrolls, which had been funded by philanthropist Elizabeth Hay Bechtel in 1980. Bechtel helped finance the purchase of some scroll materials years earlier.⁶⁰ Wacholder, Abegg, and Moffett's actions ended the monopoly the committee had over the Dead Sea Scrolls and opened up their content for the world's benefit.⁶¹ Within weeks, Emanuel Tov, Director of the Scrolls Project, announced the restrictions on free access to the scrolls had been lifted.⁶² Of the forty-four volumes of scrolls now published in the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series, thirty-seven of them have been published since 1991. In 2002, Tov announced that the majority of the scrolls had been published.⁶³

The scrolls have been plagued with other controversies as well. In 1990, chief scroll editor John Strugnell was forced to resign over an anti-Semitic interview with an Israeli newspaper reporter⁶⁴ and was replaced by Emanuel Tov. In 1992 Elisha Qimron sued Hershel Shanks, the publisher

⁵⁸John Noble Wilford, "Computer Breaks Monopoly on Study of Dead Sea Scrolls," *New York Times*, 5 September 1991.

⁵⁹Martin Abegg, Michael Phelps, and Hershel Shanks, "Will Marty Abegg Ever Find a Job?" *Scroll Scholar Thrives Despite Unauthorized Publication*, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29 (Jan/Feb 2003): 38.

⁶⁰John Noble Wilford, "Monopoly Over Dead Sea Scrolls Is Ended," *New York Times*, 22 September 1991.

⁶¹John Noble Wilford, "William A. Moffett, 62, Is Dead: Opened Door to Dead Sea Scrolls," *New York Times*, 22 February 1995.

⁶²Peter Steinfels, "Dead Sea Scrolls Free of Last Curb," *New York Times*, 27 November 1991.

⁶³Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 45.

⁶⁴Hershel Shanks, "An Interview with John Strugnell: Ousted Chief Scroll Editor Makes His Case," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (July/Aug 1994): 40.

of the Biblical Archaeology Society, for publishing a reconstructed Hebrew text of the MMT, a scroll originally assigned to Strugnell and turned over to Qimron. Qimron asserted that he had the sole copyright to the ancient text.⁶⁵ Shanks argued that the copyright belonged to the original ancient author and only belonged to Qimron in part, if, in his reconstructions spanning the lacunae in the text, he was wrong. However, an Israeli court ruled in Qimron's favor and awarded him \$100,000, even though it had ruled Qimron had failed to prove any financial injury.⁶⁶ Qimron later had a restraining order made out to prevent Shanks from leaving Israel for his home in the United States on the possibility that Shanks might not pay the judgment. The order was eventually overturned.⁶⁷ Later, when Qimron published the text of MMT through Oxford University Press, he did allow Shanks to publish the complete reconstructed text of MMT in *Biblical Archaeology Review*.⁶⁸

The scholarship that has been focused on the Dead Sea Scrolls in the past sixty years has been vast and varied. Even with the frustrating delays in publication literally thousands of works were written on the scrolls and Qumran. There has been much debate about the Qumran community, what they believed, and how they lived. The relationship of the scrolls to Qumran has also been debated, as well as who might have written the scrolls. The scroll caves may have been the library for the sect at Qumran and then some scrolls were deposited just before the Roman destruction of Qumran in 68 AD.⁶⁹ However, some now suggest that the scrolls originated in the Temple in Jerusalem.⁷⁰ All the scrolls of the Old Testament are in evidence, except for that of Esther, and these are now the oldest copies of biblical texts available for use in textual criticism. The commentaries from Qumran are also the oldest interpretations of Scripture. The significance of the scrolls' content for the current and future study of Judaism, the Old Testament, and the New Testament cannot be overstated.⁷¹

⁶⁵Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Why Professor Qimron's Lawsuit Is a Threat to Intellectual Freedom," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 18 (Sep/Oct 1992): 67.

⁶⁶Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Qimron Wins Lawsuit: Paying the Price for Freeing the Scrolls," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (July/Aug 1993): 65.

⁶⁷Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls Research Council: Fragments: Qimron Obtains Court Order Preventing *BAR* Editor from Leaving Israel," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (Sep/Oct 1993): 76.

⁶⁸Hershel Shanks, "Dead Sea Scrolls MMT as the Maltese Falcon," review of *Qumran Cave 4-V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert X, by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell et al., *Biblical Archaeology Review* 20 (Nov/Dec 1994): 49.

⁶⁹Magnes, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 34.

⁷⁰Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 5. Cf. Karl H. Rengstorff, *Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960); Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (New York: Scribner, 1995).

⁷¹Adam S. Van Der Woude, "Fifty Years of Qumran Research," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After 50 Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Vol I*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-45.