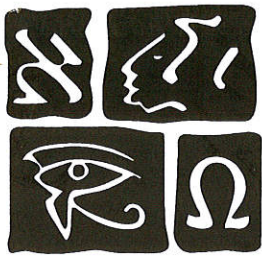




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Transcript

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Emanuel Tov

The Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Summary:

Emanuel Tov focuses on biblical texts found in Qumran. He discusses which texts were found, the significance of such a find, what the scrolls look like and are made of, scribal errors, and how the ancient texts relate to the texts we have today. Also included is a question-and-answer section that addresses such topics as the Teacher of Righteousness, copper plates, and the *Temple Scroll*.

Transcript
Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Dead Sea Scrolls

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The Hebrew Bible in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Emanuel Tov

Seventh Annual F.A.R.M.S. Lecture

20 February 1994

Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. It's a great pleasure for me to be here today, and I'm very pleased to see such an enormously large crowd. I want to thank the vice-president of this university, and I want to thank Dr. Noel Reynolds as well as the F.A.R.M.S. organization for inviting me to give a paper to you today. My topic for today will not be the Dead Sea Scrolls in general, but I will focus on the issue of the Bible in Qumran. I will, however, begin with a few introductory words about the Dead Sea Scrolls. When we speak about the Dead Sea Scrolls, we refer to those writings which have been found from 1947 until 1956 in the area of the Dead Sea, most especially in a place called Qumran but also on the top of Masada as well as in Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabba'at. You probably ask yourself (and I also ask myself quite often) why is there such an enormously great interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls? I really don't know. There are quite a few discoveries which have been made in this century and the last which are themselves very important. I might refer you to the Codex of Hammurabi, to the writings in Ugarit, or to the writings in Ebla, which have been found quite recently—thousands of tablets. I might refer you to many types of excavations which have been made in Jerusalem and in other places in the Holy Land. I might refer you to the so-called Cairo Geniza, which is a treasure house of fragments discovered at the end of the previous century. But none of these have received the amount of interest in the public at large as the Dead Sea Scrolls have. And as I ask myself why these texts have received more interest than other discoveries, I can only make a guess. I presume that especially appealing to the public is

the mystery concerning the story of the revelation of the finds and the discovery of these texts in the caves at Qumran, which is shrouded in mystery and which is unusual—the goat and the stone and the shepherd. Another very important reason is probably that the public at large, as well as scholars, hoped and probably are still hoping to find many answers from these texts about the origins of Christianity. There is also the story of the secrecy concerning the publication of the scrolls, that is, these texts which have been discovered from 1947 onwards (and several of which have not been published). Accusations have been made against the team which I am heading right now—that we have been holding back these important documents for various reasons, that our dealings are secretive. This certainly has appealed to the public, and many accusations have been made, particularly in this country in the last three years. So it may well be that because of a combination of these factors the Dead Sea Scrolls have attracted public interest more than anything else in the study of the Bible in recent years.

A few things which we should respond to, the points which I've just raised: First of all, it is important to know that there is no secrecy anymore. The scrolls in the form of the photographs are now public property, and anyone can see any photograph of any scroll. Not many people are doing it, because it is difficult, and you have to read Hebrew. Even if you read Hebrew it is not sufficient, because you have to be an expert in ancient fragments.

Another point should be noted. There is quite some controversy with regard to the question of whether or not the scrolls provide us with a good background picture for the study of Christianity. For one thing, the figure of Jesus is not mentioned anywhere in the scrolls. But, as I say, this is a matter of controversy and is actually a lecture by itself. Publication has not been delayed anymore. We are in full speed of publishing the fragments, and we hope to have our work done within a few years. That is the work to be done, and I presume it will take another five years until all the texts will have been released by the publisher.

And, finally, I hope it comes as no surprise to you that the scrolls were not found in the

Dead Sea. It may sound somewhat surprising, since, after all, these scrolls are entitled the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the scrolls which have been exhibited in Washington were accompanied by a catalog called "Scrolls from the Dead Sea." This is not something which I invented, but there must be those who believe that they have been found in the Dead Sea. This is not correct.

The fragments found near the Dead Sea are popularly called the Dead Sea Scrolls. We scholars prefer to call them "Texts from the Judean Desert" because that is a more precise description of these fragments of some 800 compositions that were located in those caves. We might rather say hidden in those caves. These compositions were written on a variety of materials, in particular on leather, some on papyrus, and a single one on copper. An issue which probably would interest you very much is the so-called "Copper Scroll."

Let me try to address in particular the issue of the biblical texts. I have mentioned that in Qumran we have found remnants of some 800 compositions; one-fourth of that number are texts which we would call biblical texts, that is, some 200 compositions were once complete versions of the different books of the Hebrew Old Testament. Now, you probably all have the wrong idea when I say scrolls, because all of us automatically think about the large Isaiah scroll, which is a scroll now exhibited in the Shrine of the Book of the Israel Museum. This is a complete text. It's about seven meters long, and when we say scroll, we think of that book. However, most of the texts found in Qumran are very fragmentary. In some cases there exists only a little piece of five lines which constitutes the evidence for a given scroll. For example, one fragment is considered to be a fragment of the book of Leviticus because it is written in a certain handwriting. If there were another fragment, a very small fragment of five lines, or perhaps even of two lines, which was written in a different handwriting, we would consider that to have derived from a different scroll that was once complete. Therefore we can easily say that fragments were found of five different scrolls of the book of Leviticus. This, of course, is very tentative and if, in certain instances, a scroll had been written by two or three scribes our calculations are

wrong. So, probably, the number of separate biblical writings was slightly smaller than 200. But to have found fragments of 200 different biblical scrolls, of course, is an enormous gain for scholarship, which we will assess in a while.

It is interesting to note that almost all of the books of the Hebrew Bible are found there in Qumran, that is, Genesis, Exodus, etc., until the very end, until Chronicles [the last book in the Hebrew Bible]. The book of Chronicles in the Hebrew Bible, incidentally, contains some 65 or 66 chapters, but only a single fragment not larger than what I am showing you [with my hands] was found in Qumran of the book of Chronicles. I say that, in particular, because another small book in the Bible, the book of Esther, is not found among the writings of Qumran. Many scholars have said that possibly this book was not found among the writings in Qumran, that possibly the Qumranites, the Essenes, did not accept this book as canonical. Esther, as you know, is a very problematical book. To this I reply, I don't really know. The appetite of the worms was great in the case of the book of Chronicles, a very large book—65 chapters. So, by the same token, regarding this smaller book of Esther, it is possible that it existed but was all destroyed. Of course, you never know. But it does remain interesting that almost all of the books of the Hebrew Bible are found among the fragments.

So, we normally talk of the term *canon*, that is, all of the books of the canon of the Hebrew Bible. All the books of Hebrew scripture of that time were found in Qumran in varying numbers of scrolls. I think that the different frequency of the biblical books found in Qumran reflects the different popularity of those books. The following three books are found in Qumran in great numbers: 27 copies for the book of Deuteronomy, 20 to 24 copies of the book of Isaiah, and, for the book of Psalms, 34 copies—again, plus or minus, depending on the number of scribes per scroll. So, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Psalms are the most popular works among the Qumran community. We can make a guess that Deuteronomy, a book of sermons, was popular because it has a certain paranetic [sermonic or preaching] style, and several of the writings from the Qumran community are

written in the same style. The book of Isaiah held a special place in that community. It is quoted very much and is also exegeted often as pertaining to that community. The book of Psalms equally appealed to this community; they themselves wrote various hymnic writings in the style of the book of Psalms. It is interesting to note this since, in the early Christian community also, these three books are among the most frequently quoted from the Hebrew Bible. To what extent the canon of Hebrew scriptures were closed at that period, or within the Qumran community, is really not clear.

In the same caves we find Hebrew writings which we would now call Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Of the so-called Apocrypha we find among the writings in the caves the book of Ben Sira^h. We have the 151st Psalm. Of the Pseudepigrapha, we have the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we have the book of *Jubilees*, we have the book of *Enoch*, the book of *Tobit*—all of these in various numbers; actually, the books of *Enoch* and *Tobit* and *Jubilees* were quite popular among this community. Various scholars believe that the scope of Hebrew scripture of the Essene community was not closed, that it was still possible to add writings to their group of holy writ. I am not sure about this; this must remain a matter of which we can only make a surmise, because it seems to me easier to determine what their “Holy Writ” was from the way in which they quote from these writings. As I say, this matter is not really clear. It should be pointed out that it remains remarkable that all the books of the Hebrew Old Testament are, as I said, represented among the Qumran writings, with the exception of Esther.

Writings of the Hebrew Bible are in the Hebrew script, which is the square script we are familiar with. A few scrolls which have been found there are written in the more ancient Hebrew script, the so-called Paleo-Hebrew script. Most of those are found in the Pentateuch, with the exception of the book of Job, which also was found in the Paleo-Hebrew script. All of these then represent an ancient tradition going back to earlier periods in which the Hebrew Bible was written in this ancient Hebrew script.

Of the documents found in Qumran, each scroll contained a single book of the Hebrew

Bible, with a few exceptions—not more than three or four—in which we have two books of the Pentateuch together. This is all fragmentary but all you need, of course, is the fragment that contains the transition between Genesis and Exodus, etc. There also are a few texts which probably contain only a segment of a given book, such as a few Psalms or a few of the songs of the Pentateuch.

We do not know what the status of the Bible among the Qumran community was. We know, of course, that the Bible was much revered. We know that the Bible was studied among the Qumran community. This was one of their principles, and they say in the *Manual of Discipline* that wherever there is a group of ten persons, there has to be one person who is an expert in explaining the Bible. One-third of the night was spent in the study of the Bible. So the Bible had a central status, that is very clear, but we do not know what status in their daily life the individual texts had that were found in the caves. And I say that because various types of texts were found in those caves.

Let me explain the importance of having discovered these documents from a very early period relating to the Hebrew Bible. Before these discoveries were made in 1947, the earliest sources for the Hebrew Bible were the texts found in the Cairo Geniza. The Geniza is a storeroom in which discarded writings considered to be holy or that contained the name of God were placed [when they were worn out]. The earliest of these documents are from the eighth century of the Common Era [A.D.]. Until 1947 we had no ancient records in Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible. You might say we had no really good evidence of what the Hebrew Bible looked like, until the discoveries of Qumran. It turns out that our knowledge was rather good, but we had no evidence in our hands. So, the first time that we were able to see what an ancient Hebrew Bible looked like was after these documents were found near the Dead Sea. We now know what is meant by a copy of the Hebrew Bible from early periods. We now know that the text was written in a scroll, and when we say scroll, we really mean something which was rolled. We mean that these were sheets of leather sewn to each other or glued to each other, on each of which you could have a number of columns

of writing. Each column is what we would probably call a page, and so normally you'd have three or four columns on each sheet, with a fixed number of lines. We now see what the text looked like. We see that there are scribes who wrote well, and we see that there are scribes who were rather sloppy. One of the scribes was a terrible scribe, the scribe who wrote the Isaiah scroll. When I say terrible, I mean terrible. This is a scribe who made a mistake in every second, third, or fourth—well, let's say every fifth word. Already the second word of that scroll has a mistake. It starts with the vision of Isaiah, and in that word *Yisha'yahu* the third letter, the *ʿayin*, he simply forgot, because this is a guttural letter, which he (like I) did not pronounce, so he just wrote *yod shin yod hay vav* and then afterwards when he realized what he did, he, or a reader, put the *ʿayin* above the line. Mistakes in guttural letters in that scroll abound. Words are omitted. Words are added. Words are added in the margin. This is sloppy handwriting. We simply must remember that this is a human scribe of blood and flesh who wrote this scroll and hence produced a product which, in his case, was not a good product.

Now I said earlier that we do not know what the status was within the community of the different texts that were found in Qumran. Of the book of Isaiah we have one copy which is the most well-known copy—the large Isaiah scroll, which I just described as a very sloppy copy—but this copy was found alongside another text of the book of Isaiah which was very neatly written, very precise, and almost identical with the text which we have in our Bibles, the text which we call the Masoretic text.

The first copy of Isaiah we call 1 Q Isaiah A, the large Isaiah scroll, and the shorter Isaiah scroll we call 1 Q Isaiah B. We do not know what the status of these different texts was in the community. We as scholars and as persons living in modern times see the difference immediately. We do not know whether they themselves made the distinction, whether they would have preserved the more precise copy for their synagogue service and their less precise copy for their bedtime reading. We have no clue with regard to these internal differences, and these differences are large. For almost every book you have some

more precise copies and some less precise copies—but there are differences.

The biblical texts, as other texts from Qumran, have to be dated. As far as we know today, they are dated between 250 B.C.E. until 70 C.E. This dating is based on two types of criteria, both on the study of the script, which is called paleography, and on the more precise, or at least more objective, means of dating, the so-called Carbon-14 dating. This dating is not exactly precise because it is always plus or minus 25 or plus or minus 50, but at least it is a dating which is objective, while the dating on the basis of paleography always has a subjective element in it. But once again, on the basis of this criteria we believe that the scrolls derive from the middle of the third century B.C.E. until the year 70 of the Common Era.

Where they come from, we do not know. Too often, the scrolls have been described as the Qumran scrolls, as the library of Qumran. I, in my more recent research, stress instead that although these scrolls have indeed been found in Qumran, we should not forget that the greater part of them were written outside of Qumran and were imported, so to speak, to Qumran. We should, therefore, be very careful in denoting them as Qumran scrolls. We also should be very careful in denoting them as the library of Qumran. But one thing is sure—they were worth much to Qumran. I think if we take into consideration that they came from various places in ancient Israel in Palestine, we have a very good picture of the manuscript situation in this early period in Palestine through texts which were written at various places.

When I said earlier that we would like to know a little more about the status of the various texts found in Qumran, I said so because of the differences between them and the differences between these texts and the Hebrew texts which we have in our hands. This, then, is the moment in which to say a little more about the various differences between the texts.

First of all, we have to make clear that the Bible as we know it is in English or in French or German. These are translations, accurate or not. Normally they are quite

accurate. These are translations of the Hebrew traditional text, which is called the Masoretic text. This Masoretic text has been handed down century after century and in the last 500 years has been printed, so there's not too many differences between the various printed Bibles, but there are a few differences, and they go back to medieval manuscripts. And beyond the medieval manuscripts, we are now talking about a period which is about 2000 years before our time. So what are we comparing to what? We are comparing the Qumran text to the Hebrew text as we have it in our hands today. And there are quite a few differences. It is a little tricky to make this comparison because the text which we have today, the Masoretic text, was already found, with a few differences, in Qumran as well. And scholars used the term Proto-Masoretic text, or others would call it the Rabbinic text. This is the text which you know from your English translations. You might say that the text which you know from your English translations was found already in Qumran among the Qumran writings, more or less.

It is actually even better to say that our biblical text which was found already in Qumran was actually the majority text found in Qumran. That is, the largest number of texts found in Qumran are of the type we know.

Of interest, of course, are the other types of texts, the other groups of texts found there in Qumran. Some of these were produced by a scribal school that also produced the Isaiah scroll, which I described a little earlier as having been written rather imprecisely. I should say more about this scroll and many which are similar—namely, that it was written in a very peculiar spelling. We would call this wild spelling. You would have to know Hebrew in order to know why I call this wild, but it is a very full spelling with many helps to the reader because Hebrew is a consonantal script. If you add, in this case, many vowel letters, you will get this wild spelling, as, for example, in the Hebrew word for *head*—*rosh*: *resh-aleph-waw-shin*, or *resh-waw-aleph-waw-aleph-shin*, and even *resh-waw-shin*. I call these wild spellings, and these were produced by this certain scribal school. In addition, we find in Qumran a few texts which are similar to the Greek translation of the

Septuagint and which differ greatly in the book of Jeremiah from the Masoretic text. It is much shorter, and it has a different sequence. Fragments found there are from chapters 10 and 43.

Again, another group of texts found in Qumran are texts of the Pentateuch, which are similar to but earlier than the so-called Samaritan Pentateuch and are quite different from the Masoretic text. For all of these I should say, so that there be no misunderstanding, that the differences are only in details. The message of those biblical books remains the same, but not, of course, with regard to certain details. I mean, if the text says that God stopped his work on the sixth day or the seventh day, that is a detail. And, indeed, there are such readings. But the message, of course, is more or less the same. There are no books of the Hebrew Bible that are completely different. The differences are in details, not in the message. We did, as I said, find in Qumran biblical books written in a variety of texts of the type which I just described. And, we can only make a guess why these different texts, the different groups of texts, were found in the same caves in Qumran. I think it is probably right to say that people of the period did not pay attention to these differences. Some scrolls were more precise. Some were less precise. Some were of this kind. Some were of that kind. And scribes, at this early period, still allowed themselves to insert changes in the biblical text. I presume that this was still allowed, let's say, until the second century before the Common Era. Of course, in the first century of the Common Era, these changes were not made anymore. This gives us a good picture—even without entering into too much detail—of what the biblical text looked like in this early period and as preserved to us through the aid of the Qumran covenanters, who found it important to seal off all their writings in these caves, some in jars, but most of them not in jars. Our task nowadays is to complete the mission of scholarship in bringing all these texts to the knowledge of the academic community and to the public at large. And, I've said to myself, let me not make this talk too long in order to enable some of you to ask questions on this or that aspect which I did not have time to cover. Thank you very much.

Question-and-answer period

Q: For a typical book of the Old Testament, are there enough fragments to be complete, or is there simply a small fraction of such books among the fragments?

A: That's a very good remark. I have not gathered any statistics, but recently this year a book was published by Harold Scanlin of the United Bible Societies, called *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Translations of the Old Testament*. He gives the exact statistics for each of the chapters. The book of Isaiah is the only one for which a single complete text has been preserved and for which we then have parallels, so that the many texts of Isaiah found in Cave 4 can all be compared with the two larger ones from Cave 1. For any other book, say Jeremiah or Ezekiel, you only have fragments, and we are far from having all of the chapters of the Hebrew Bible represented in this or that scroll in Qumran. But it would be nice if I knew a little bit more about the precise statistics, which I do not have in my head right now.

Q: Since your emphasis is on the biblical texts of the Hebrew Bible, have you made any attempt to interpret or evaluate references to the "Teacher of Righteousness" and who that might be?

A: Have I had any opportunity to study the figure of the "Teacher of Righteousness" and who he is, etc.? I don't think that in my own study I have gone beyond the conclusions which have been reached by others. As you know, the Qumran community is a secretive community. This is probably one of the appeals of the Dead Sea Scrolls. We know nothing about this community. There's no scroll which says, "this is a scroll of the Essenes." Nothing of that kind. For one thing, we have to go through various stages of assumptions.

Josephus and Philo talk about the Essenes. They describe the Essenes with certain characteristics. That's one datum. Another datum is that these scrolls were found near the Dead Sea. Two of the writings, namely the *Cairo Covenant*, or the *Damascus Covenant*, on the one hand, and the *Manual of Discipline*, *Serekh ha-yahad*, on the other hand, describe the community in detail. Now there is much overlap between these two documents, and so we presume that—indeed, it is correct to assume that—we are talking about the Essenes. Now, in the *Manual of Discipline* and in the *Damascus Covenant* we often hear about the leader of the community, about whom we only know that he is named *moreh sedek*, which is usually translated as the “Teacher of Righteousness,” but it is probably more correct to translate this as the “Teacher Who Is Right,” which is quite different. Every teacher thinks he is right. Every parent thinks that he or she is right. What it means is that this is the teacher who thinks that he has the right interpretation of scripture, but that's all we know about him. We know nothing about how he was once lured into a situation in which he was almost killed by his opponent, the so-called “Wicked Priest.” With regard to his identity, I mean, nothing is known. People have tried to identify him with various priests or priest-kings, but there is nothing said of them in the scrolls themselves.

Q: The traditional books of the Hebrew Bible, Chronicles and Samuel, make reference to various prophets and various writings of the chronicles of the kings of Israel. I wondered if any of these particular writings or fragments have turned up among the Dead Sea Scrolls?

A: That would be exciting indeed, if such early writings would have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Old Testament we have probably some 15 or 20 books mentioned that belong to the literary legacy of ancient Israel but are not found in our current canon. As you say, many books, like the writings of this prophet or that prophet, or the writings of the last kings in the annals, and so on—none of these books have been found.

The only writings that have been found in Qumran are works that were written at a later period. Some of them may, however, be early. There is controversy with regard to the date of the *Temple Scroll*. The *Temple Scroll*, as you know, is a text, a composition, which is a rewriting of the Hebrew Pentateuch, of the laws of the Hebrew Pentateuch. And Professor Stegemann believes that this goes back to the fourth century before the Common Era. Of course, it is not of the type that you are asking about, and none of those have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Q: Is it your hope and intent that working with F.A.R.M.S. to have the fragments of the scrolls photographed or transliterated and distributed. . . (tape runs out). . . via computer diskettes and CD ROM and so on, so that these materials will be available to a broader audience?

A: Well, you've said much in your question. You've referred to many aspects of possible activities. In our work, much is going on in the world in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the study thereof. The work of my team is limited to one aspect, namely, the publication of the unpublished fragments. Now this involves transcription, translation (if it is a non-biblical text), commentary, and the publication of plates. That is our only task. Now the work of F.A.R.M.S. is supplementary to our publication effort, and the work of my team and that of F.A.R.M.S. overlap in a few ways, for which we are enlisting the help of F.A.R.M.S., but these are two different projects. And, for example, we are not at all involved in the scanning of material, putting things on computer disks. That is all beyond us. So, we have to see them as two separate entities with some overlap in which there is room for cooperation.

Q: Have any of the scrolls been carbon dated, or has it just been the casement and the surrounding of the scrolls, what they were contained in?

A: The leather and ink of the scrolls were carbon dated in the 1950s. Some fragments were carbon dated then, and some fragments were dated again about four years ago. I don't remember offhand where that earlier carbon dating took place—I think in England in the 1950s. Then, four or five years ago, thirteen fragments were carbon dated in a Zurich laboratory, and that has been published. This year we intend to have nineteen fragments carbon dated in a laboratory at the University of Arizona.

Q: There have been many negative suggestions made about the delay in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Do you have a more positive explanation?

A: I really don't see exactly what you have in mind.

Q: Well, there have been suggestions made that the delay in the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls was because some were trying to hide something. What would be your explanation of the length of time that it has taken for publication?

A: I've not seen any evidence that anyone has been trying to hide anything—neither in the Vatican, nor in Oxford, nor in Jerusalem. As to the delay, there has been delay. Prior to my taking on my current assignment, this delay was the result only of human factor. The material was too large for the eight-member team to take care of. And because of that we have more than quadrupled that team. We have 60 or so members of our team, and we're hoping in a few years to take care of all the fragments. So, it is a human factor only.

Q: I've read that in the Shrine of the Book the Isaiah scroll was beginning to crack, and that they replaced it with a copy. But, I've talked to people who have been over there and they were totally unaware of this. Is the real Isaiah scroll on display, or is it a copy?

A: Well, let's keep some suspense there. I think that the Isaiah scroll, indeed, has suffered more in twenty years of display than in 2000 years of hiding. And, in spite of really good conditions there, it has deteriorated some. For that reason, they put it in a side room. What is on display is a misleadingly good copy of the scroll. I hope that the guides who lead the visitors there point this out to the public, because, if not, then you may not realize it is a copy.

Q: You've piqued my interest in the copper plates. What books were found on the copper plates?

A: On the copper plates was found solely a document which has the quite appropriate name of the *Copper Scroll*. It is a round scroll found in Cave 3. There are no indications that this was written in either the language or the so-called spelling used by the Qumran group. In my mind, it has nothing to do with the Qumran people, with the Essenes. This is somewhat misleading because everyone thinks that the copper scroll represents the Qumranites. It is a list, a very cryptic list, of the temple treasures. Undoubtedly, when I talk about the mystery of the scrolls and the myth around the scrolls, the *Copper Scroll* had a great part in this until this very day. Scholars as well as laymen believe that this is not an imaginary list, and they are looking for the temple treasures on the basis of this scroll. But it is written, you might say, like a children's novel, you know, like "go to the palm tree and then go to the right and then maybe you'll find it there," with all kinds of cryptic descriptions. [This is the way] these treasure are described. So, I've no view on this.

Q: Why do you think the scrolls were hidden originally?

A: It's really not clear whether we should use the word *hidden*. They were preserved

for posterity. When you say *hidden* you mean they didn't want anyone to reveal them. I think that the people in Qumran wanted the scrolls to be revealed. They realized that they and their community were to be destroyed, and they very painstakingly put the scrolls in caves in such a way that the Romans would not get at them. And they succeeded. In the eighth century, however, some scrolls in some caves were found. We have an ancient document on this. Which scrolls were found is not clear. From the eighth century and then until the twentieth century, again a long time passed. Only recently were they found. And they were in relatively good condition. They would probably have held out another few hundred years in this way—certainly the ones that were in jars.

Q: [Impossible to make out.]

A: This is my private baby, because I myself have written on this, on the different scribal schools. There are various scholars who do not accept my views. About seven or so years ago I had certain insights, and I, of course, believed that they are correct. I studied the spelling on the scrolls and found two different types of spelling. The spelling of the type I described earlier, very full, very wild—that goes together with certain other characteristics, linguistic characteristics, such as instead of the word *hu*, the pronoun, it is *hu'a*

This, combined with a certain scribal system, such as the use of the tetragrammaton in ancient Hebrew characters, such as the use of the non-final *mem* in final position. And I then realized that in that very special scribal system were written all the so-called sectarian documents, as well as other documents from the Bible and from other places. Or, we might put this differently, there is no (I should now say there is almost no) sectarian document which is not written with these very special scribal habits. So, I believe that these very special scribal habits characterize the Qumranites themselves. All the other texts were imported to Qumran from outside, I believe. This goes together again with new insights

which I have which even pertain to matters of the use of phylacteries, where I can pinpoint the Qumran phylacteries as opposed to the non-Qumran or rabbinic phylacteries. And I hope that this theory has been strengthened in recent years. Then again, not everyone subscribes to this view. But that's the way scholarship advances.

Q: What is your opinion about the *Temple Scroll*, [does it look like it was regarded] as part of the Torah . . . or do you think it was just part of their library? [difficult to hear]

A: I am not sure I got this. Did you ask what my opinion is on the *Temple Scroll*, whether this was produced by the Qumran community or not, right?

Q: Was it part of their Pentateuch, was it like . . .

A: Oh, I see. Very difficult; the *Temple Scroll* was indeed more or less parallel to the Pentateuch—not the stories, only the laws—and rearranged and somewhat rewritten. How many copies of this were found in Qumran is not clear, certainly two and probably three. So if this were indeed an accepted form in Qumran, which would be as authoritative as the other Pentateuch, it would be a small number of texts we found there. We have no external evidence with regard to the amount of acceptance of the *Temple Scroll*. So, it remains a matter of conjecture, and I really have no opinion on this. I presume that the Qumranites themselves knew that this was less authoritative than the other books of the Pentateuch, but I really don't know.

Q: [Impossible to hear.]

A: Basically, this is a continuation of the previous team. Of the older members, one, Professor Milik, does not work any more on the project, more or less. But the other

members, like Cross and Strugnell, continue to serve in the present team. The current team is simply an expanded form of the original team, greatly expanded. In the early days they were supported by Rockefeller, but this was discontinued, I think, already in 1960 or so. Then afterwards there was a period in which there was no financial support, and the last few years we have had some support from an anonymous donor in England, which supports some of our printing activities. But in recent years, because of the expanded work on the publication and the speed with which we are now proceeding, our financial means are lagging far behind in comparison with what we need.