

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

A Full History: Volume One, 1947-1960



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

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DEDICATION

For my Father and Mother
De Witt Weston Fields (1916-2005)
and
Wanda Marie Fields (1921-2007)
No one could ask for more than you gave.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A summary and preview of this book was published a little more than two years ago as *The Dead Sea Scrolls, a Short History*. In the acknowledgements in that book I thanked many who have helped me on this project over the past ten years, but I must thank them again here and extend my thanks to others as well.

In 1998 Father Marcel Sigrist, O.P., of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, made the original suggestion of recording oral history concerning the scrolls while most of the first generation of scholars was still alive. This was the impetus for the entire project. His wise advice made it possible for me to interview all the scrolls scholars who have died in the decade since he, Diane, and I sat in a Jerusalem restaurant and mapped out the plan. And the financial support of the Blum Foundation made it possible for us to begin finding the scholars and traveling to interview them.

It soon became apparent that there were archives of documents and letters almost unknown and certainly untapped which could be used to make the story more complete and accurate. This discovery extended the project far beyond the original vision, and it could not have been done without the extensive help of many others. A whole host of friends and colleagues have assisted in amassing the vast collection of materials used in this volume.

I must first thank my colleague of more than fifteen years at the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation in Jerusalem, Mrs. Eva Ben-David, who has helped at all stages of this volume. Her facility in five languages has been invaluable: translator of documents, phone calls to scholars in many countries, translator during some of the interviews, capable researcher, proofreader, and general facilitator.

I am forever indebted to all of my teachers over the years, but in connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls, I owe the most to two mentors: Professors Shemaryahu Talmon and Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who accepted me into their families as well as their classrooms. Without their patient instruction and even more important, their warm and constant friendship, it is hard to imagine that I would have spent the last twenty-five years almost totally absorbed in the world of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I am particularly grateful that Emanuel read and suggested

corrections for some of the chapters of this book as well as the *Short History*. Thank you Shemaryahu and Pnina; Emanuel and Lika.

Professor Frank M. Cross and his wife, Betty Anne, and the late Professor John Strugnell of Harvard hosted Diane and me several times in Boston. For many years now Frank has patiently taken frequent telephone calls and carefully answered scores of emails. More importantly, he read this entire volume and suggested numerous corrections and changes.

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Professor John Trever and his wife Elizabeth welcomed us into their home in California on several occasions. Their son Jim has been immensely helpful in providing photographs for the *Short History* as well as this volume.

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In the Netherlands we interviewed the late Professor Adam van der Woude in Groningen, and must thank Professor Florentino Garcia Martinez, who helped with the arrangements. Marije Meijering assisted us in the interview of Father J. P. M. van der Ploeg in Nijmegen before his death.

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the SBF's relationship to Qumran coins. Antoun Hazou and his wife, Saideh, in Jerusalem were our first interviewees in March, 1999.

We also want to thank His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal who has given us audiences several times at the Royal Palace in Amman. Also in Amman Dr. Fawzi Zayadin gave several interviews and Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, then Director-General of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, made G. Lankester Harding's archives at the Department available in the earliest stages of my research and provided the Arabic copy of his interview with Captain Akkash el Zebn. Dr. Fawwaz al-Kraysheh, present Director-General of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, has also welcomed us often and Awni Dajani's brother, daughter and granddaughter met us in Amman, shared some of the family history, and lent us photographs.

Father Emile Puech of the École biblique in Jerusalem, who first introduced me to William Kando and his son Khalil many years ago, also helped obtain materials and gave advice, especially in connection with his own mentor, Father Jean Starcky, whose nephew, Dr. Emmanuel Starcky, then Directeur adjoint des musées de France, we also interviewed in Paris.

I thank Arieh Rochman-Halperin, Pnina Shor, and Ruta Peled at the Israel Antiquities Authority for permission to copy and use "British Mandate" Box 73, (Palestine Archaeological Museum Archive) ATQ files 1117-1122.

Joan Allegro hosted us twice on the Isle of Man and allowed me to copy her late husband's archive of approximately 500 letters related to the scrolls. Judith Allegro Brown sent a pre-publication manuscript of her book about her father.

Martha Brownlee Terry provided photographs and permitted us to copy and use her father's archive at the University of Manchester. Professor George Brooke copied and sent it all the way to South Africa, and also gave helpful suggestions about the *Short History* before its second edition.

Father Joseph Jensen, Father Sidney Griffith, and Dr. Monica Blanchard at the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, helped me find and copy the Catholic Biblical Association's archive as well as the Skehan Archive in the University's library. Heather Morgan of the Research Center copied and sent almost the entire archive. Professor Eugene Ulrich of University of Notre Dame, who inherited Skehan's Cave 4 scrolls for publication, answered questions about Skehan when no one else could. Professor James VanderKam, also at Notre Dame, read the manuscript as well.

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William Kando has continued to meet me regularly in Jerusalem and Bethlehem for many years, has related his family's traditions and stories, and given me access to unpublished fragments of the scrolls and other ancient documents in his possession.

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Martin and Bødil Schøyen of Oslo hosted Diane and me several times and made available any part of his enormous manuscript collection I asked to see, including his fragments of Dead Sea Scrolls. He also provided correspondence giving the background to his purchases of those fragments, which will be included in volume 2 of this work.

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An indispensable part of our work with the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation and this project to write a history of the scrolls has been and continues to be the amazing Frances Marcus of Travex Ltd. in Jerusalem. Frances works magic with travel arrangements, always knows our schedule and route by heart, makes herself available around the clock any day of the week, and has become one of our closest Jerusalem friends.

Over the years scores and scores of supporters of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation have by their generosity freed up time for me to work on this project. Especially to be thanked are Father Joseph Jensen and the Catholic Biblical Association in Washington, DC, Alan and Karen Ashton and Steve and Kalleen Lund of Provo, Wilbur and Frances Friedman and Jack and Jean Stein of New York, Dick and Betsy DeVos of Grand Rapids, and Glen Rosenbaum, Joyce Greenberg, Michael and Jody Harrington, and Dr. Ed Supkis together with his wife, Barbara Radnofsky, all of Houston. Barbara also carefully read the final proof and made important suggestions for corrections and improvements.

Marthy Johnson of Copyediting Services edited and proofread with great skill. Hal Gage, of Gage Photo Graphics was responsible for the initial arrangement and manipulation of the photos. I especially owe a great debt to Evan Swensen of Publication Consultants in Anchorage for his extraordinary abilities, patience, and technical expertise in the design and production of the book.

My wife, Diane, has been an active participant in this project over these ten years from the first interview in Jerusalem to the latest in Paris. Through all the flights and hotel rooms, and heavy luggage filled with files and books, the endless conversations with scholars, and especially my preoccupation with “the project,” which has stolen so much time from her and from us, she has persevered with a sweet and supportive spirit. Again, Diane, I thank you. It is not enough, but I thank you. *A wife of noble character who can find? She is worth far more than rubies.*



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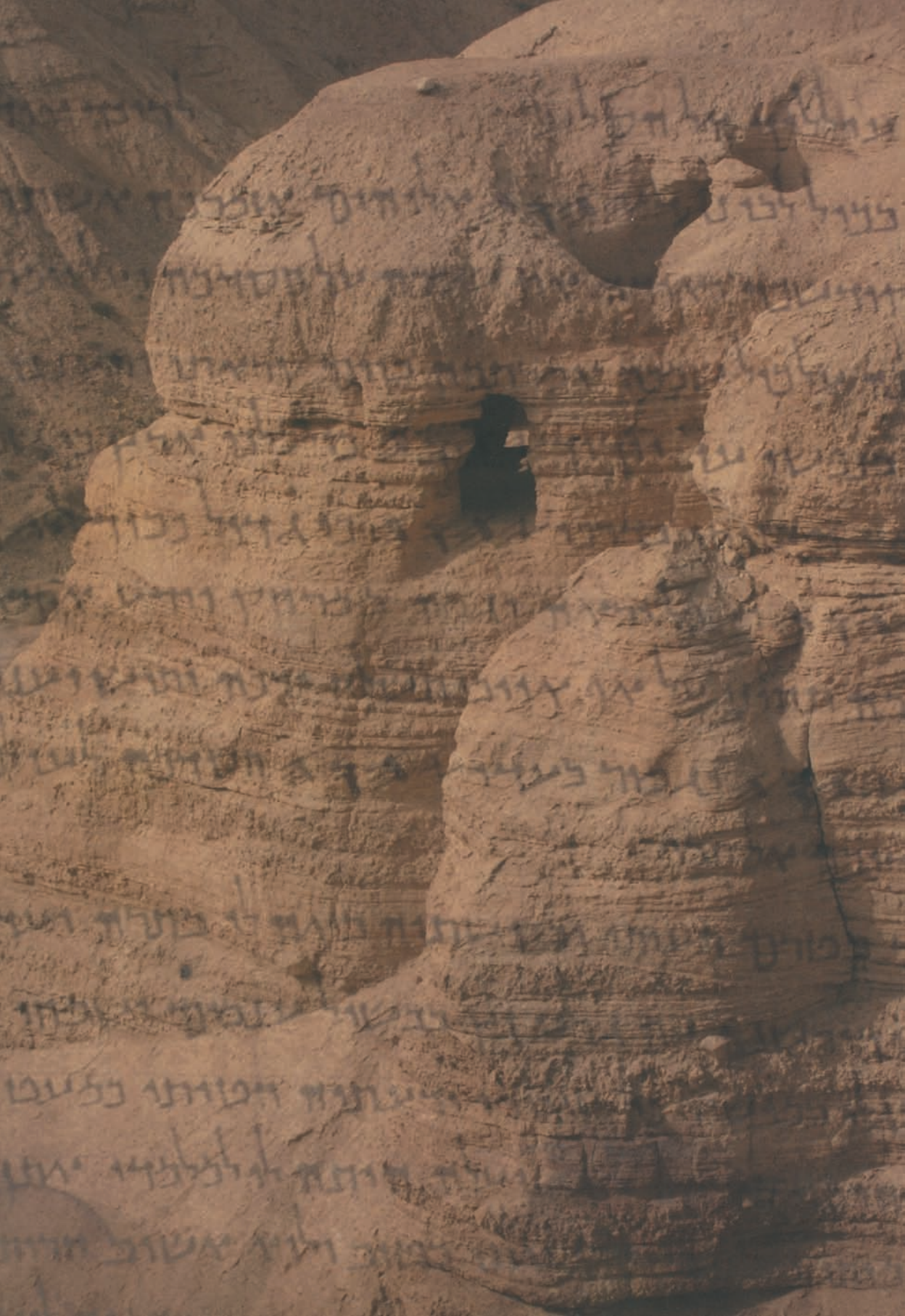
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Introduction

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The Dead Sea Scrolls—fascinating tales of their discovery, reconstruction, decipherment, and publication. These are the themes of this book, pursued, as much as possible, through the words of the men who were there, the men who found scrolls or bought them from the Bedouin, who spent long tedious months and years piecing together the giant incomplete jigsaw puzzle of scroll fragments, and decades preparing them for publication. Here I have brought together new interviews with scholars and others associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls and many personal letters and other archival documents never made public until now.

During the process of constructing what will always be a partial history, but less partial now, I have vacillated between two poles: to tell the story in my own words, based on whatever information I have been able to gather, or to let the scholars and others tell the story themselves. Wherever possible I have left interviews and letters as they were. Where editing and summarizing were necessary I did that, but always with a light hand. I thought I should not be the only one to taste the flavor, and to enjoy the nuances of entire letters or other documents from the earliest actors in the unfolding drama of the scrolls.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, probably in early 1947, has been discussed often enough, though the details are still sketchy, and there is considerable discrepancy between accounts. At least two men in recent times, for example, claimed to be the “Muhammad ed-Dib,” who found the first scrolls in a cave in the cliffs above the northwest end of the Dead Sea. And the more recent history of the decipherment and publication of the scrolls has, likewise, been dissected and discussed in a number of books over the last few decades.

Nevertheless, large gaps have remained in the overall story. And for good reason—it is a daunting task to weave the vast surviving documentation into a coherent and comprehensible story.

Fortunately, when we started this project several of the original members of the Cave 4 Team and many others who had something to do with the scrolls in those days, now more than 50 years past, were still alive and able to reminisce. Yet to find

them, to travel to them, to interview them, and to synthesize all this material has been a much larger, more time consuming task than I had anticipated. But left unrecorded, many details about the earliest days of scroll discovery and research would



The Judean Desert near En Gedi. © Steve Kaufman/CORBIS

have been lost forever, and many misconceptions could never have been corrected.

Between 1999 and 2003 my wife and I traveled to every one of the people whose interviews are cited here, to Israel, the Netherlands, Jordan, Germany, Switzerland,

France, the Isle of Man, England, and in the United States to New York, Boston, Washington, DC, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Claremont. We met and learned from these men whose names are forever melded to the scrolls. We were too late for



some, but just in time for others. Sukenik, Kiraz, Mar Samuel, Harding, de Vaux, Allegro, Skehan, Starcky, Baillet, Benoit had already died. I had met Yadin and heard him lecture on the Scrolls in Jerusalem at Tantur in 1982, but never had the chance to interview him. Saad I had known well, but he died shortly before we started the project, so I did not formally interview him either. As I write this in April 2009, ten of the interviewees have also died: Flusser and Kollek in Jerusalem, Van der Woude and Van der Ploeg in the Netherlands, Barthélemy in Switzerland, Milik in Paris, Joan Allegro on the Isle of Man, and Trever, Strugnell and Freedman in the United States.

As the years have passed since the first scrolls were found it has become common to blur the distinctions between the separate historical threads or different stories concerning manuscripts found in Qumran Cave 1, Caves 2–3, Caves 4–10, and Cave 11, as well as discoveries at Murabba'at, Masada, Nahal Hever, Wadi ed-Daliyeh, and elsewhere near the Dead Sea, all

of which are often grouped under the general rubric *Dead Sea Scrolls*. But these different discoveries are in many ways best understood when examined separately, so where possible I have told these stories individually and chronologically.

With the discovery of Qumran Cave 4 by the Bedouin in 1952 an entirely new era in the history of the scrolls began. The vastness of the collection alone dictated this. It took more than four years, a very large amount of money, and delicate negotiations even to secure most of the Cave 4 cache for the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

Some of the fragments were destroyed by carelessness and greed, and even today a few fragments, probably from Qumran Caves 4 and 11, are still floating around in the netherworld of antiquities dealers and private collections, unknown to the general public or to many scholars.

The deeper one delves into the facts of the case, the more carefully one examines the difficulties overcome by the scholars dealing with the scrolls, especially those from Qumran Cave 4, in the 1950s and 1960s, the more one marvels that publication ever got as far as it did by the 1980s, when the public outcry for their publication became so loud. And it becomes increasingly apparent, to a fair-minded person, that charges brought against the Cave 4 Team were largely overstated.

As my wife, Diane, and I interviewed these scholars, their wives, children, students, and friends, I was faced with a growing dilemma. On the one hand I found myself becoming more sympathetic, less willing to criticize, and certainly unwilling to write anything in this book that would harm them or hurt their feelings. Yet, I had set out to tell the story as accurately I could, even if that meant being critical.

On the other hand, many of the interviewees did not hesitate at all to criticize their colleagues and fellow scholars, sometimes quite harshly. And in some cases it seemed important to report these opinions, however harsh or uncomplimentary, in order to understand the dynamics of the team: why certain things were done or not done, the extent to which personal animosities impeded the work, and personal alliances furthered it.

My guiding principle in dealing with all the information about the Cave 4 Team and many others who were part of the larger story is quite simple. Whatever helps us understand the evolution of the team's methods, what helps us understand their difficulties, their triumphs, and their failures, whatever helps us appreciate how we eventually received this material in usable, published form—these things are all relevant and have been included to the greatest extent possible. Whatever information dealt solely with their private lives has been left out.

Even though the history of the scrolls on either side of the border between Jordan and Israel took a different, rather disjunctive course until 1967, I have attempted to combine both sides of the total picture wherever I could.

This book is intended for all audiences. Many books have been written about the Dead Sea Scrolls by specialists for specialists. This is not one of them. Where there was a choice, the most familiar nomenclature has been used, such as BC and AD rather than BCE and CE. Likewise, terms such as Old Testament have sometimes been retained even though among scholars the preferred term is now *Hebrew Bible*. The goal has been clarity, not technical precision or political correctness.

Terms for Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts sometimes have been simplified. The arcane and embarrassingly mysterious numbering system of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, the official publication of the scrolls from Oxford University Press, is modified where possible, especially by the almost total removal of Roman numerals from references to volumes. Abbreviations for journals and Bible references have been standardized in quotations and often written out in full. Words in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and other languages have generally been transliterated, not for perfect accuracy, but in a way that will help the lay person approximate a pronunciation, and where appropriate, translations are given. I have tried to make entrance into the enigmatic world of Dead Sea Scrolls terminology as painless as possible.

Because the book is meant for a broad audience, it was decided to forego most footnotes, but to include endnotes. The emphasis here is on what has not been published already, though it is not limited to that. In these twilight years of the first generation of scrolls scholars it was important to record as much of the oral history of the earliest periods and as many personal reminiscences as I could. Everything written here has an oral or written source, apart, of course, from my own summaries and deductions.

This is a full history in a relative sense. Had I used all the material I have gathered, the book would have run to several more volumes. It has been a disappointment to me that I had to leave out materials I worked so hard to find and copy, that in some cases I could convey but a sampling of the many records and personal letters at my fingertips. Yet, it seemed most important to try to tell a coherent story, a story that could be enjoyed and appreciated, and finished, all in two volumes so that it would be publishable and affordable. This is the first of those volumes.

Just one example illustrates the need for this book. Anyone who reads the first eight chapters of the book, or who looks at the Palestine Archaeological Museum archive, or speaks with the remaining members of the Cave 4 Team will understand that the greatest share of the credit for saving the Cave 4 fragments for posterity goes to Gerald Lankester Harding. Yet one scarcely hears his name on the lips of scrolls scholars today despite the fact that he was pivotal in every aspect of early research, whether documentary or archaeological. This leads inevitably to the conclusion that something has gone amiss, that the written and oral tradition took a wrong turn somewhere. This sort of thing will be observed again and again: there is frequently a skewed view of who made what important decisions, or took significant actions, even of when, and why.

Thus, one of my purposes has been to give a more balanced view, to set the history of the scrolls a bit straighter, to give credit where it is due indeed. For this reason, I have set myself a rather strict standard for sources, an intentionally rigid hierarchy of trustworthiness. Which source is likely to be the most accurate source of information? I have considered written sources to be important and trustworthy in the following order:



Professor Claus-Hunno Hunzinger in the scrollerly in 1957. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de. Photo by Professor C. H. Hunzinger

1. A *diary entry or a personal letter* written on *the same day* as an event by *someone who participated*.
2. A *diary entry or a personal letter* written *soon after* an event by *someone who participated*.
3. A *diary entry or a personal letter* written *soon after* an event on the basis of an *oral or a written report* that no longer exists from a *person who participated*.
4. A *report, article, or summary* written and/or published *soon after* an event by someone who participated, depending on how close the sources were to the event, and what those sources were.
5. A *report, article, or summary* written and/or published *some months or years after* an event by someone who participated, depending on how close the sources were to the event, and what those sources were.

All this is based on the reasonable but by no means infallible supposition that the longer the lapse between the event and the recording of the event in writing, the more suspect; the greater the number of people involved in passing down oral history, the more suspect. This means that it was very fortunate that I was able to combine documents from those early days with the interviews I recorded only in recent years.

There are more layers, but these are the main ones. Inasmuch as possible, I have avoided secondary literature and other secondary sources. For example, when it comes to the events surrounding the St. Mark's scrolls and the American Schools of Oriental Research in February 1948, the three best sources are John Trever, William Brownlee, and Archbishop Samuel. Millar Burrows wasn't there or didn't participate in most of the early events, so he is not nearly as good a source. Anton Kiraz participated in some but not all the events. In connection with the purchase of Cave 4 materials the best sources are G. Lankester Harding, Roland de Vaux, Dominique Barthélemy, the Cave 4 Team, the Palestine Archaeological Museum archives, and so forth. Brownlee, Trever, and Burrows are secondary because they did not participate personally.

But history is always partial and tendentious because writing history requires choices about what to exclude and include, and these choices are molded by a whole host of motives both conscious and subconscious. Nevertheless, I have attempted to report whatever information I found with the utmost accuracy.

What an exhilarating experience this has been! What a privilege to be in the presence of scholarly greatness so often, and how enriching to be able to call frequently throughout the project on so many who were there, who were the first to participate in the fascinating history of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Hebrew or Arabic, appearing on the top portion of a heavily damaged and stained document. The ink is dark and the background is a mottled, brownish-grey color.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, appearing on the middle portion of the document. The text is partially obscured by a large, irregular tear or hole in the paper.

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PROLOGUE

The earliest of these “Dead Sea Scrolls,” or scrolls from the Judaeen Desert near Jericho, were mentioned in the early third century A.D: “In this thorough fashion, Origen¹ searched out sacred books. He learned Hebrew and acquired the Old Testament books in Hebrew in the possession of the Jews. He went deep into the whole matter of Greek versions of Scripture made by translators other than the Seventy and amongst these he discovered versions by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion which had long remained in obscurity, their translators being equally obscure individuals. He mentioned that one particular version he found at Nicopolis, and the rest at another spot. In his versions of the Psalms, now a fifth appeared along with the well-known ones. He went on to point out that there were actually a fifth, sixth, and seventh before him. He informed us that one of these had been found in a cave ... near Jericho ...in a jar ...in the reign of Antoninus, son of Severus, called Caracalla [AD 198–217].”²

“...We learn from trustworthy Jews, who have recently received instruction in the Christian doctrine, that books were found near Jericho 10 years ago, in a house in the rocks. They say that 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. And because my informant knew the script and was himself a scribe, I asked him about some texts which are quoted in our New Testament as coming from the Old, but which are found nowhere in the Old Testament, either as read by us or by the Jews. He said to me: they are to be found in the books that were found there. And as I had heard this from the catechumens, and as I had asked others and received always the same answer, I wrote about it to the noble Gabriel, and also to Shoha Lemaran, Metropolitan of Damascus, asking them to make a search for these books. I felt certain that the words, ‘And he shall be called a “Nazarene,” were to be found in one of the Prophets.”³

But the most spectacular discoveries in the Judaeen Desert and the Jordan valley had to wait until centuries later.⁴

Chapter 1

FIRST DISCOVERIES AT QUMRAN

1946–1948

Perched high on the mountains west of the Judean Desert, Jerusalem is the crown jewel of Israel. From vantage points on the Mount of Olives or Mount Scopus, one can look east on a clear day and see a wide panorama: the foothills of the Judean Desert rushing down to the Jordan Valley, the mountain pass leading up to Amman in the distance, and the northern end of the Dead Sea, lowest place on earth.

The foothills and valleys look barren, and mostly, they are. During the winter months, with enough rain, patches of green spring up here and there, and even a few flowers. But on the whole it is an inhospitable and relatively uninhabitable place. Until modern times, few have found a way to survive, to wrench something from the heat and desolation. For centuries, the Bedouin, the nomads of the Middle Eastern deserts, have herded their sheep and goats from hill to hill, looking for patches of grass and small plants that appear for only a few weeks each year.

The winter of 1946–1947 was no different. It had been little more than a year since the end of World War II in late summer, 1945. The British were beginning to dismantle their empire; large numbers of refugees from the Holocaust in Europe had entered Palestine, both legally and illegally; and political changes were in the wind. Palestine had been governed by the British under the League of Nations Mandate, dating to the end of World War I, but it was clear there would soon be a shift in power. It was not yet clear who would wield that power, and what the power would be. There was a six-month period of limbo from the United Nations' vote in favor of partition during the last week of November 1947, until the British pulled out of Jerusalem and Palestine at noon, 15 May 1948. This was nowhere more evident than in the total lack of control over illegal excavations and the black market in antiquities.¹

Published accounts of the discoveries of the scrolls near Qumran sometime in late 1946² or early 1947 have been contradictory from the beginning, probably due to a combination of elaboration and difference in observation inherent in oral ac-

*My hands shook
as I started to
unwrap one of
them.*

—E. L. Sukenik

counts, and memory lapses over intervening years. More than a few of the differences can be attributed to deliberate deception so illegal excavations could continue unimpeded. The main points, however, seem to be established.³ As Antoun Hazou told me, “I knew these people and [the general outline of] the story of discovery is true: it is a real story.”⁴

Day by day the young men of the various clans of the Ta’amireh Bedouin⁵ set out with their goats for yet another round of searching and grazing. This day, probably sometime between November 1946 and February 1947, at least three, or perhaps as many as five⁶ Ta’amireh set out: Muhammed (ed-Dib) Ahmad el-Hamid (ed-Dib was a nickname, “the wolf”),⁷ Jum’a Muhammed Khalil (reported alive in Bethlehem as late as 1994), and Khalil Musa.⁸



Entrance to Qumran Cave 1. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D. Digital image courtesy James E. Trever.

This day they guided the flock, about 55 sheep,⁹ to a point high along the sloping cliffs bordering the northwest end of the Dead Sea, very close to the present Kibbutz Kalia. It must have been a rainy winter, for even after the wettest of winters there is very little vegetation among all the boulders and caves that dot the cliffs. I have been there in February and March, and wondered, “What on earth is there for a goat to eat here?” Yet I also remember the winter of 1992, when it rained so often that the desert did, by early spring, blossom like a rose.

Goatherding is at once boring and demanding. The sameness, the slow pace, the long day stretching from just after dawn until just before dusk all dull the senses. On the other hand, the dangerous terrain, the need to make sure the energy the goats expend does not outweigh the net gain from the food they hunt all day, and the need to keep vigilant for strays, relieve the boredom somewhat. This day was to prove less

boring. From behind the herd or from either side, stones were thrown to guide it, and to bring back strays. Whether the fateful stone was thrown simply as one of the boys passed a hole in the hillside, where the entrance had been revealed “as a result of a new rock fall”¹⁰ (most likely), or in order to check for a stray in a cave (very unlikely, especially when one knows the caves), the stone that entered the cave broke something, intriguing, perhaps frightening¹¹ the young herdsmen. When Mohammed and at least one other friend or relative investigated the following day, they discovered a cache of large clay jars.¹² There were at least three in the original find, and perhaps as many as 50 or 51 were later reconstructed at the Palestine Archaeological Museum. In addition to the two bought by Professor Sukenik in 1947, and four that G. W. Lankester Harding¹³ reported that Metropolitan Samuel¹⁴ “smuggled out of the country,”¹⁵ there are several others known to be in private hands or in museums.¹⁶

No strangers to the illegal trade in antiquities, these nomadic tribesmen, whose ancestors had wandered the area at least since the seventeenth century,¹⁷ first thought of buried treasure, for already in that time clandestine digging and coin hunting was the basis of a cottage industry in antiquities, providing a small but steady source of cash for the desert tribesmen.

All the jars had lids, some merely inverted bowls, some sealed on top with clay. Breaking open some of the jars expectantly, the Bedouin discovered only seeds (or “red dirt” or something resembling “dead bugs”) except in one jar, which contained three (or four) bundles wrapped in linen coverings, which had a “green” color.¹⁸ When they removed the lid of the one jar containing the scrolls, “a very bad smell arose, which came from dark oblong lumps” found inside.¹⁹ The Bedouin did not know what they were, but anyone who has dug in ancient remains knows that unexpected and unidentifiable items are the order of the day, the essence of the excitement of excavation.



(above L to R) Jum'a and Muhammed ed-Dib in Bethlehem about 1950. (below) Muhammed ed-Dib camped in the Judean Desert, about 1960. © John C. Trever, Ph.D. Digital image courtesy of James E. Trever.



That evening, or the next, they brought back to the camp not only their herd of goats, but also these mysterious bundles. There was no particular inclination to rush to discover what the bundles might be. Some of the pieces may have been divided among them to be used as sandal straps (an unlikely, but persistent part of many of the early accounts).²⁰ The men hung the bundles in a bag on a corner tent pole for some time, and according to some accounts, one was destroyed by children playing with it on the tent floor. The pieces were thrown out (a fourth original scroll?). Some time later, when



Inside Cave 1, Qumran. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

the Bedouin realized these fragments might be valuable, they returned to the place and searched it, but, of course, the fragments had blown, quite literally, to the four winds.

In March 1947 Jum'a and Khalil had occasion to be in the area of Bethlehem, probably on market day (Saturday) to sell their milk and cheese, and to buy their own supplies. They offered the bundles, now known to be rolls of skin with writing on them, to Ibrahim 'Ijha, a carpenter and antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, who showed them to another antiquities dealer, Faidi Salahi.²¹ 'Ijha kept them for several weeks,²² but returned the bundles, fearing they were stolen (a common and often justified fear shared by anyone who handles antiquities). The scrolls offered to 'Ijha were probably the complete Isaiah scroll (Isa-

iah³), the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Manual of Discipline in two pieces.

So far, the Ta'amireh hadn't gotten much of anywhere. All they wanted was a little cash, and the more people refused to buy these scrolls, the more determined they were to find a buyer. This is such an authentic picture. More than once I have sat in an antiquities shop in the Old City of Jerusalem and watched an intrepid Bedouin come in to peddle his recent finds: some Roman coins, an iron-age juglet, a Herodian lamp. He has already been to the shop across the alley: we have watched him through



L to R, Józef Milik, Kando, and George Isha'ya in front of Kando's store in Bethlehem. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

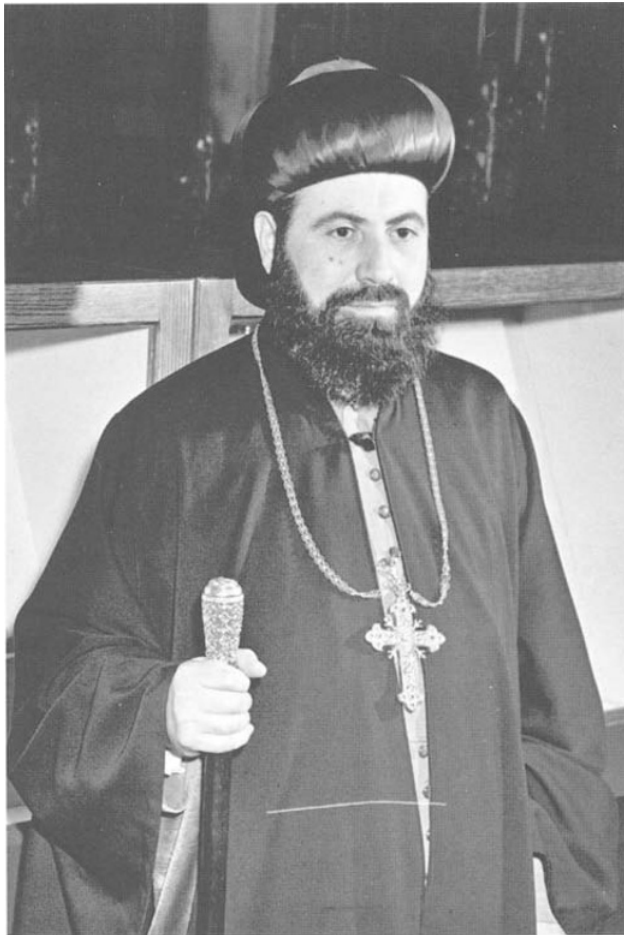
the window. He has been to a few other dealers, too, all of whom have been in touch over the phone. The owner of the shop has been expecting him, and the various antiquities dealers have already agreed among themselves what the price should be, or that no one will buy anything from this particular man for one of a host of possible reasons. But he goes from place to place, for he knows that eventually someone will bite, and the only way he can get paid is to keep trying until someone does. He may not find a buyer today or tomorrow or even next week or next month; never mind: these things take time, and time he has.

Jum'a next showed the scrolls to George Isha'ya²³ (Isaiah), sometimes described as a peddler who sold cloaks to the Bedouin, sometimes as a "Jerusalem merchant," but Jum'a did not trust George enough to leave them there. Then Jum'a took the scrolls to Sheikh 'Ali Subh, chief of the Ta'amireh tribe, who suggested they bring them to Khalil Eskander Shahin (Kando),²⁴ a Syrian Orthodox merchant from Bethlehem, who

owned there both a “small general store patronized by the Ta’amireh” and “a cobbler’s shop next door.”²⁵ As Antoun Hazou said, “They thought that the scrolls inside were made of leather and they wanted to see someone who knew about leather. Kando had a small shop in Bethlehem just in front of the Nativity, so they took a piece to Kando, and he smelled it, and it was really leather, but it was very dry.”²⁶

6–13 April 1947²⁷

By Holy Week in April (Nisan) 1947²⁸, the scrolls had been “kicking about the floor of the shop for some days.”²⁹ On Maundy Thursday, George³⁰ mentioned the manuscripts to the Syrian³¹ Orthodox Metropolitan Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel³² at St. Mark’s Monastery in Jerusalem’s Old City. Because they reported that the scrolls were wrapped “like mummies” Samuel thought they must be important, for no one had lived in that area, he thought, since “early Christian times,” so the “scrolls might go back to those times.”³³



His Eminence Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, 1950. Courtesy Duke University Archives.

But there was more to it than that. Samuel already had knowledge and experience which enabled him to recognize and evaluate these manuscripts. During World War I, as a young boy of seven or eight, he had fled his home in Syria in the face of Turk and Arab marauders, finding refuge from time to time in scattered Syrian Christian monasteries.

While at the Monastery of

St. Malky, probably in 1915, he had observed monks hide ancient manuscripts in a hole and seal it with pitch.³⁴ He was well acquainted both with Origen’s “footnote” and the story of Patriarch Timothy, whom he called “Catholicus Timotheus,” quoted in the prologue to this book. He had received a certain amount of training in testing

the age of manuscripts from the monks of St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai,³⁵ and as a young priest had served as the librarian in charge of the ancient manuscripts at St. Mark's in Jerusalem, some of which were made of gazelle hides.³⁶ He also knew the Judaeen Desert between Bethlehem and Qumran, the northwest coast of the Dead Sea, the village of Kalia, and the environs of Jericho, having traversed the whole on foot as a young student at St. Mark's.³⁷

Once the news of the scrolls' discovery began to filter out, it did not take long, in fact, for other scholars to remember that from early Christian times, and through the Middle Ages, there were allusions here and there to previous discoveries of ancient Jewish manuscripts in the area near Jericho, just a few kilometers north of Qumran.³⁸

Samuel took two steps immediately. First, he asked George to contact the Bedouin and find out more about the scrolls; second, he called the "Syrian [Christian] merchant in Bethlehem" (Kando) and "urged him to get the scrolls by all means."³⁹

A few days later, probably during the week of 14–21 April 1947, George and Kando (Kando's first meeting with Samuel about the scrolls) brought one manuscript, the Manual of Discipline (IQS), to Samuel at St. Mark's. Realizing immediately that it was written not in Syriac as he had been told, but in Hebrew, he broke off a small piece from the margin and burned it. He concluded from the smell that it must be leather or parchment.⁴⁰ Again, he urged them to make contact with the Bedouin, and offered to buy this or any other similar manuscripts. George and Kando left with the scroll, not contacting Samuel again for about 10 weeks, though Samuel called him from time to time to see if there had been any further contact with the Bedouin. At this point the Bedouin probably had only three scrolls: Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Manual of Discipline (two pieces).

May–June 1947

In the meantime, probably May–June 1947, Jum'a returned to the cave (or perhaps another cave, a question we take up later) with George, and removed four more scrolls. Three of these they sold to Faidi Salahi, the Bethlehem antiquities dealer who had seen the first three. Three of these latter four were later bought by Professor Sukenik: the second Isaiah Scroll (Isaiah^b), the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving Scroll.⁴¹ The fourth was kept by Kando (Genesis Apocryphon, an Aramaic work in which the major characters of Genesis retell their own stories in the first person).⁴² It should be noted, therefore, that the Genesis Apocryphon belonged to the second set originally; it was acquired only later by the Metropolitan Samuel from Kando, and became associated with the first set (Isaiah^a, the Manual of Discipline, and the Habakkuk Commentary) from the time they were shown to Trever onward.

Saturday, 5 July 1947

On Saturday (Bedouin market day), 5 July 1947, Kando sent Jum'a Muhammad, George Isha'ya and Khalil Musa to St. Mark's Church and Monastery in Jerusalem, where, through a misunderstanding, they were rudely turned away by one

of the monks, Father Bulos Gelph.⁴³ He had been informed neither about Kando's previous offer, nor of the Metropolitan Samuel's expectation of their visit. Samuel told the story: "All that morning I waited, in a mild fever, but no one came. I knew that the market closed about noon on account of the heat. At that hour exactly a sharp clang on the bell summoned us to lunch, and I went down to the refectory without knowing why the appointment had not come off. My impatience getting the better of me, I asked the monks if any strangers had come to the monastery that morning. At once Father Paul Saleeba Gelph, who was steward of the monastery, said, 'Yes, George Isha'ya was here and two Bedouin with him [notice: this account does not have Kando coming, but staying in Bethlehem in the background]. I took them to my room on the second floor and when I knew why they had come, and saw the dirty scrolls they had brought, wrapped in linen impregnated with pitch or something,⁴⁴ I spotted at once that they were not in Syriac but in Hebrew. So I said we did not need them or intend to buy them.' They had gone, he said, in the direction of Bab-el-Khalil [Jaffa Gate]⁴⁵, which would put them on the road to Bethlehem. Needless to say, this struck me as lightning strikes a tree. I dropped my spoon! But how could I scold him for it? He thought he was doing the correct thing by me, keeping dirty objects away from me!"⁴⁶ Samuel had barely returned to his room when he received a phone call from Kando, "scolding" him for refusing to see the Bedouin, and even worse, not even giving them a cup of coffee! Samuel apologized profusely and asked Kando try again the next Saturday.

Deeply offended, the Bedouin probably intended never to return. What happened next, reported by Mar Samuel, is both ironic and humorous:

They had all the scrolls with them, including at least some of those now in the Hebrew University As they emerged into the marketplace behind Jaffa Gate [on their way from St. Mark's back to Bethlehem] they met a Jewish merchant to whom the Bedouin offered the scrolls. He offered a large sum of money for them and asked them to show him the cave where they were found, but said they would have to go to his office to get paid. Our merchant [George] told the Bedouin it was a trick, and that they would be turned over to the authorities and put in jail. He warned them to run. Two of them followed our man [George] back to Bethlehem, where they were persuaded to leave the scrolls in the Bethlehem merchant's shop [Kando's], with the assur-



ance that they would be safe. One of the Bedouin decided to take his share and go elsewhere; apparently he took those which have since been purchased by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.⁴⁷

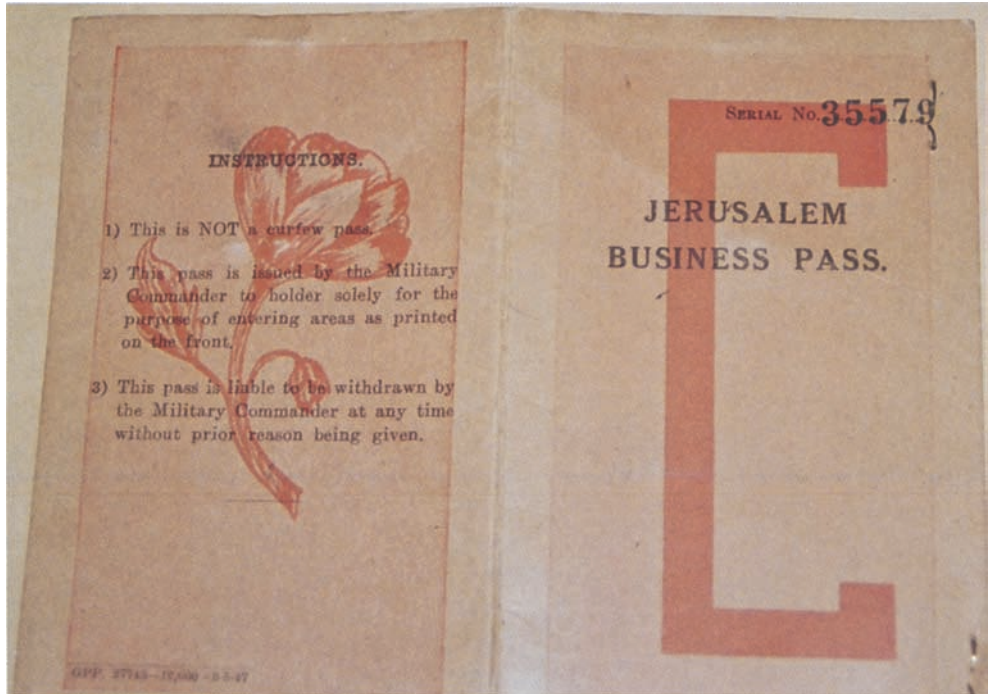
These were Isaiah^b, the Thanksgiving Scroll, and the War Scroll, and the Genesis



J. P. M. van der Ploeg, O.P., March 1999, at his home in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. © Diane G. Fields.

Apocryphon.⁴⁸ The seven scrolls were probably never again in one place all together, until they were reunited in Israel in late 1954 or early 1955.

Thus, at this point, Saturday, 5 July 1947, Mar Samuel had on his very doorstep all the seven big scrolls from Cave 1, but through a simple lack of communication, it looked as though he might lose them all.



The pass issued by the British Mandate authorities allowing Father van der Ploeg to pass from one military zone of Jerusalem to another. ©Diane G. Fields.

Signature of holder *[Signature]*

Ht. *177 cm* Eyes *Brown* Hair *Brown* Build *Slender*

Distinguishing marks *Wear Spectacles*

Permission to use car

Reg. No. _____ Make _____

Type _____ Colour _____

Date Pass Issued *23-8-1947*

| Date for Renewal | Date Pass renewed | Signature & stamp of Issuing Officer |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>23-11-47</i> | <i>23-11-47</i> | <i>[Signature]</i> |
| <i>23-2-48</i> | | |

Name *Wladimir P. H. van der Ploeg, P.O.C.*

Address of residence *French Bldg. 194*
(Blocks) *School. repair Bldg.*

Community *Roman Catholic, Latin*

Business reason for entry to Zone(s) *Peace Proceeding on Religious Duties*

Business Address(es) *JERUSALEM*

Stamp *[Stamp]*

Signature of Issuing Officer *[Signature]*
For Military Commanders

19 July 1947, Saturday⁴⁹

Not one, but two weeks later, 19 July 1947, two of the three Bedouin, accompanied by Kando and George, returned to St. Mark's, this time with only four scrolls. (Samuel gives the number as five because the Manual of Discipline was in two halves, and would remain so until Trever and Brownlee put it back together with scotch and adhesive tape some eight months later in order to photograph it.)⁵⁰ Sometime during this two-week interval between 5 July and 19 July 1947 Kando had taken the scrolls on consignment from the Bedouin for a commission of one-third of whatever he could obtain for them. He sold these to Samuel afterward for £24 (Palestine pounds, \$97.20),⁵¹ saying, "Much dirty paper for little clean paper."⁵² Of this amount he gave £16 (\$64.80) to the Bedouin according to the agreement. These four were the complete Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a), the Habakkuk Peshier or Commentary (1QpHab), and the Manual of Discipline (Rule of the Community, 1QS, 2 pieces).⁵³ When Samuel inquired about the linen wrappings that went with them, Kando said, "But these things do not hold well in moving. You should have bought them the first time if you wanted their covers as well."⁵⁴ Kando and his sons later sold some of these separately.⁵⁵

During the next week Samuel contacted the "Jerusalem merchant," requesting that he arrange with the Bedouin to go to the cave to check their story. Shortly afterward (late July or early August 1947; Samuel says the second week of *Ab*, August) the merchant reported that they had gone to the cave, found many pieces of cloth wrappings on the floor of the cave, together with pieces of broken jars and one complete jar. There was also a piece of wood with a stone under it, but nothing below.⁵⁶ Samuel then decided to send another one of the St. Mark's monks, Father Yusef (Youssef Asiya al-Kabawy)⁵⁷ with the Jerusalem merchant to check the cave again, but this apparently did not happen until at least the second or third week of August.

Last week of July 1947

During the last week of July⁵⁸ Samuel next called Father A. S. Marmadji, O.P.,⁵⁹ professor of Arabic at the *École biblique et archéologique française* (the "French School," still known today simply as "École"), that he had an ancient manuscript he would like someone to examine. Marmadji appeared at St. Mark's shortly, becoming the first non-Arab to see the scrolls, but he was not persuaded, as Samuel was, of the scrolls' antiquity. Nevertheless, about 10 days later, Father Marmadji called Samuel to ask whether he could bring over a visiting Dutch scholar, 38-year-old Father J. P. M. (Johannes Petrus Maria) van der Ploeg.⁶⁰ For the first time knowledge of the scrolls was moving outside the orbit of the local Arab community.

Father van der Ploeg had arrived for the first time in Jerusalem by train from Cairo on Christmas Eve, 1946, and almost immediately had walked from Jerusalem to Bethlehem for the celebrations. He took up residence at the *École biblique*, where Father Roland de Vaux⁶¹, who had known him already for 15 years, assigned him his place with these words: "You are a doctor; you do what you like." "So," Father van

der Ploeg told me, “I did what I liked, and didn’t do what I didn’t like!” More than 50 years later he was to remember his one-year residence at the École biblique as “the happiest year of my life.”⁶²

His early access to the scrolls arose from his friendship with the Metropolitan Samuel, cultivated out of his interest in Syriac and church history. For much of his career, in fact, Father van der Ploeg’s interests centered in the “old Assyrian [Syriac] literature and Church,” for which he eventually received an honorary degree from the Indian Syrian Christian Orthodox community, where he visited and made a catalogue of all the Syriac books copied in India, but found now in Indian and European libraries in Rome, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Amsterdam, and elsewhere.

Father Marmadji, Van der Ploeg’s Arabic professor at the École biblique, approached him during the last week of July and asked him, “Can you read some manuscripts which Mar Samuel has?”

From the École, situated on Nablus Road behind very high walls, and an even higher double gate, it is only about a 10-minute walk through Damascus Gate, or a slightly longer walk around the Old City and through Jaffa Gate to St. Mark’s Syrian Orthodox Church and Monastery, on what is now Habad Street on the border between the Armenian Quarter and the Jewish Quarter in the southwestern part of the Old City. Marmadji and Van der Ploeg went together⁶³ to see what had been discovered. According to Antoun Hazou, Father Vincent would have been the more logical person at the École to judge the scrolls, but he did not even want to look at them, Hazou said, because he was afraid they were fakes, something like the one Shapira had tried to sell years before.⁶⁴

Upon their arrival, Van der Ploeg and Marmadji were admitted to the reception room, and seated at the end of the left side, as was customary for visitors. The monks came in with a silver plate, on which rested the now famous Scroll of Isaiah (1QIsa^a). “So,” Father van der Ploeg reported, “I had it in my hands. It was not difficult to read that ancient Hebrew, and because I had written a dissertation on Isaiah, I more or less knew those passages I was looking at (chapters 42–50). So, I said, ‘This must be a scroll of Isaiah,’ but I didn’t know if it was an entire scroll, so I opened it up to see if the beginning was there. The parchment was brittle, and some pieces fell down. I looked to the Bishop, to see whether he would have any idea what it would mean if the manuscript were 2,000 years old, and some pieces fell off, but he didn’t show any interest I looked through the scroll and said, ‘Well, this must be it, the old scroll’ [which his Arabic teacher had asked him to examine]. It is now a very famous scroll.”⁶⁵

Father van der Ploeg remembered being puzzled by a statement of the Archbishop at this first viewing of the Isaiah scroll. “There is one question, to which I have no answer,” he said. “The Bishop said that the scrolls were 2,000 years old, and that was at the end of July, absolutely certain.” He was puzzled because he wondered who could

have told him so early that the scrolls were that old. Although Mar Samuel had written a book about his experiences with the scrolls, the book is “unreliable,” said Father van der Ploeg, and gave as an example the Bishop’s description of the Old City, before it was taken over by the Jordanians in 1948: “Tinsel-white beards of scurrying rabbis, (as though all rabbis had white beards!), and over everything, like some intoxicating cloud, the incense drifts from the doors of hundreds of churches.” Because this description is so outrageous, Father van der Ploeg suggested that much of what the Bishop said about the early history of the scrolls could also be called into question.

Father van der Ploeg recounted that according to the Bishop, “as a young boy he was studying manuscripts and books in an Assyrian [Syrian Orthodox] monastery, and there was a big volume of the New Testament, and in that volume there was a letter, a golden letter with golden characters of [the Syrian Nestorian] Patriarch Timothy I [778–823], who reported a discovery of scrolls in a cave in the area of Jericho already in the fifth century AD. But as a matter of fact, I was not entirely convinced of the age of the scrolls ...” Mar Samuel reported to him, Van der Ploeg told me, “that the scrolls had been found in clay jars which were 2,000 years old, and that he had two more scrolls which he would bring to the École for Father de Vaux to examine, but he never came, so I dismissed the whole thing. In August I went back one time to the monastery and gave the Bishop some photographs I had taken, but that was all.” On his first visit Van der Ploeg had suggested that they invite Dr. I. L. Seeligmann, conservator of the very large Rosenthaliana Library of Jewish books at the University of Amsterdam, then visiting in Jerusalem, to examine the scrolls. The invitation was duly sent, but Seeligmann was not sufficiently impressed by the story to take the time to visit the monastery and investigate something that might prove to be a hoax.⁶⁶ Just a few years later he would be discussing the fine points of the scrolls in the Hebrew daily, *HaAretz*, but he did not know that yet!⁶⁷

“Then when I came back to Holland, one day, a year after I had seen the Isaiah Scroll, I saw my professor at the University (Professor Alfrink, Old Testament), and he said to me, ‘Did you see in the newspapers that scrolls have been found in Palestine, perhaps of Isaiah?’” Then Father van der Ploeg realized that he had passed up an unusual opportunity, a mistake he was to regret for the remainder of his life.

Sometime later, after John Trever’s photographs became known, Father van der Ploeg wrote him, and subsequently established contact with several others who had access to the scrolls at the time. For the next 15 years he was connected with scrolls publication, especially the Dutch publication of scrolls from Cave 11. But, Father van der Ploeg told me, “During the last 30 years I haven’t published much about them myself, because most of them were not available, and I didn’t belong officially to one of these groups who had the right to publish.”

Father van der Ploeg left Israel on 11 December 1947, only two weeks after Suke-nik saw the Dead Sea Scrolls for the first time.



Tension between Jews and Arabs was already high. Father van der Ploeg was stopped by these Arab gunmen on the way to the airport. Courtesy J. P. M. van der Ploeg; copy photographed by Diane G. Fields.

Second week of August 1947

No scholar had as yet authenticated the age of the scrolls, but during the second (possibly third) week of August, at the height of summer, knowing beforehand, no doubt, that they would face unbearable heat at the Dead Sea, Mar Samuel sent George a second time to check the cave, accompanied by another of St. Mark's priests, Father Yusef. This was at least the third time George had been to the cave(s). This time they went as far as Kalia by car.⁶⁸ Even in the best of times the climb to Cave 1 is strenuous, but they climbed up and spent the night in the cave. The next day was so hot that by afternoon they took refuge in the Orthodox monastery near the Jordan River. They took nothing from the cave, not even the one complete jar still there, because it was too heavy to carry in the heat. Upon returning to Jerusalem, Father Yusef reported that there were still broken jars, bits of manuscripts, and pieces of cloth strewn about the cave's floor. It was after this expedition that Samuel heard about two complete jars the Bedouin had removed from the cave earlier, and were now using for water. His efforts to buy these proved unsuccessful, though Sukenik was later to have more success.⁶⁹

Third week of August 1947

During the next few days, Metropolitan Samuel consulted Stephan Hanna Stephan, a Syrian Christian employed by the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, but he pronounced the scrolls "late" (that is, medieval), despite Samuel's

recounting of the stories of Origen and “Catholicos Timothy.” Stephan cautioned Samuel, citing the Shapira Affair.⁷⁰ From later reports it is evident that Stephan alerted no high officials in the Antiquities Department to what he had seen.⁷¹ By now, at least six months, perhaps many more, had passed since the Bedouin discovered the first scrolls.

30 August 1947

Completely unaware of these events, Drs. William Brownlee and John Trever arrived in Haifa during the last week of August aboard the SS *Marine Carp*.

Elizabeth Trever recalled, “John traveled in what was called ‘first class’ on that converted troop ship. That was right after the war, and not much was available in terms of transportation by ship at the time for passengers like John. When John got to his so-called first-class cabin, there were 16 sharing his room like a dormitory. Poor Bill Brownlee was in tourist class, and I don’t know how many there were, at least several hundred down there in the hold, with whom he had to travel to the Holy Land. That was kind of bad for him So he spent most of the time on deck.”⁷²

During John’s year in Jerusalem, Elizabeth and their two small boys, Jim and John, remained in California, although Iowa, where John had been teaching Old Testament at the College of Bible at Drake University in Des Moines during the past three years, had been their home immediately before. It would be 18 more years, after the children were grown, before Elizabeth was able to visit Jerusalem herself. But she recalled that

for John, that one year in Jerusalem was “a wonderful year, even though the war that was coming [made it] a frustrating experience all the way through.”⁷³

Upon their arrival, Brownlee and Trever were met by the director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Professor Millar Burrows. In the ensuing months they were to take numerous field trips around the country, including an excursion to the Sinai during the Christmas break to visit Professor William F. Albright⁷⁴ and his expedition searching for more proto-Sinaitic inscriptions.⁷⁵ On that occasion John shared a tent with the world-renowned scholar. Although they rediscovered Sir Flinders Petrie’s inscriptions, they found no new ones. Of more importance for Trever and Brownlee, however, was the friendship they forged with Albright.



William Brownlee. Courtesy Martha Brownlee-Terry.

15 September 1947

As summer waned, Anton Kiraz traveled with Mar Samuel on 5 September 1947 to Homs, Syria, where they showed the scrolls to Mar Ignatius Ephram I (the Afram Barsoum), Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, who also doubted their antiquity and suggested that they were not more than 300 or 400 years old. The patriarch instructed Samuel to show them to the professor of Hebrew at the American University of Beirut.⁷⁶

22 September 1947

Following his patriarch's direction, Mar Samuel next traveled to Beirut on 22 September 1947, only to find that the professor of Hebrew at the American University was on vacation. He returned to Jerusalem on 26 September 1947,⁷⁷ still confident that the scrolls were ancient, but without any scholarly support whatsoever for his views on their antiquity.

End of September or beginning of October 1947

The intrepid metropolitan had not yet given up. Person after person had discouraged him, yet he pressed on. Even his own patriarch did not agree with his view that these scrolls must come from early Christian times at the very least. Upon his return from Beirut he determined to learn Hebrew so that he could evaluate the manuscripts himself. He asked Stephan Hanna Stephan to provide Hebrew books for him, but Samuel didn't find these very helpful. A few days later Stephan called to say that he would bring a Jewish specialist in Hebrew antiquities, and true to his word, he brought the man, a Mr. Tovia Wechsler. Though not particularly qualified in Hebrew paleography of the period in question, Wechsler was, like Father van der Ploeg, skeptical about the possibility that ancient manuscripts could have survived 2,000 years. He thought he identified a scroll of the *Haphtorot* among the lot, selections from the Prophets (he was mistaken).

"And where were these found again?" Wechsler asked Samuel.

"By the Dead Sea. In a cave."

Wechsler laughed and swept his hand over the length of the table upon which the scrolls were lying.

"Your Grace," he said, "if these came from the time of Christ as you imply, you couldn't begin to measure their value by filling a box the size of this table with pounds sterling."⁷⁸

Early October 1947

During the first week of October 1947, Anton Kiraz, another Syrian Orthodox merchant in Jerusalem, and Mar Samuel became partners in the scrolls in return for Kiraz's financial support. This, like many business partnerships, was to prove less than satisfactory.⁷⁹

The next person to see the scrolls was Dr. Maurice Brown, a Jewish medical doctor who came to St. Mark's to discuss the matter of a vacant building adjacent to

the Syrian Orthodox school on Prophets' Street in West Jerusalem. After discussing the property, Samuel produced the scrolls. Dr. Brown could not help Samuel with dating the scrolls, but said he knew someone who could. Samuel later learned that Dr. Brown called the president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, who sent two men from the University's library staff to see the scrolls "a few weeks later," probably still in October 1947.

Late October 1947

"When they came," Samuel wrote, "they spoke Hebrew to each other, and they said that it would be necessary for them to consult their specialist at the Hebrew University before they could make any kind of a statement."⁸⁰ Trever supposed that they had in mind Professor Elazar Sukenik, who was in the States at the time on a sabbatical leave.⁸¹ The librarians asked if they could take photographs and Samuel consented, on condition they returned and made the photographs at St. Mark's. They never returned.

By now Samuel must have been discouraged, for even these people from the Hebrew University did not show the kind of interest he had hoped for. Who were these people? They have never come forward, as far as I know, to say, "We were the ones." Yet, their lack of interest, like that of Fathers Vincent, Marmadji, and van der Ploeg of the *École biblique*, Professor Seeligmann and Mr. Wechsler, as well as the Syrian Orthodox patriarch and Stephan Hanna Stephan, should not be held against them. From time to time during the years when I've lived in Jerusalem, especially since I became connected with the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, I've received calls about some wonderful new find with ancient writing on it, for a number of years ago, I put out the word among antiquities dealers that I would be interested in seeing such things. At the first call about a supposedly ancient manuscript one drops everything, rushes to the Old City, and impatiently wants to see the find that will eclipse all others. But after a few disappointments, a little seasoning in the ways of antiquities dealers, a little experience with Middle Eastern exaggeration and deception, one becomes less excitable. If anything, events were moving extraordinarily fast.

Any such message about a discovery of ancient manuscripts received by a more experienced person would have been greeted with suspicion, for there is to this day a steady stream of new discoveries (often the result of clandestine digging), and interminable offers of the latest and greatest finds. How Samuel handled all these visitors we cannot know for sure, but we can imagine with some degree of accuracy, for human nature does not change. A certain hushed tone, an implied need for secrecy, unspoken but mutually agreed upon, a certain sense of being let in on something few others know about, were, one can easily suppose, constantly present.

The fact is, no one who had seen the scrolls so far had the background in ancient Semitic epigraphy and paleography to make a connection between the newly discovered documents from the Dead Sea region and Hebrew inscriptions and manuscripts

that were already known and published. Samuel simply hadn't gotten to the right person yet. Having said that, one must, however, hand a certain amount of praise to Father van der Ploeg. He did not make the connection with the Nash papyrus as Trever and Brownlee did a few months later, and thus did not overcome his doubts about the possibility of a biblical manuscript surviving in Palestine for a period of 2,000 years, as Mar Samuel claimed. But Father van der Ploeg did display an impressive ability to read Hebrew and a familiarity with the biblical text. To his credit, Samuel said, Father van der Ploeg studied the largest scroll carefully and said it was the book of Isaiah. The smallest scroll he said he thought was some other biblical book, but he was not certain.⁸²

One must remember that we often see the importance of such discoveries only in hindsight. Most people, as I can testify from experience, are not able to grasp the importance of a particular antiquity on first exposure because they simply do not know enough. It is easy to slide over its importance, to go about everyday life and forget it, and above all to be suspicious to such an extent that opportunities are missed. This is especially so for scholars, who are trained to be critical. More than this, there is the danger, imagined or real, but never far from a scholar's mind, of making mistakes leading to the disapprobation of colleagues. Unfortunately, this sometimes makes scholars too cautious.

The next person to see the scrolls, again because the word was passed by Dr. Brown, was a well-known Jewish antiquities dealer in the Old City, a Mr. Yoav Sassun,⁸³ who suggested, after seeing the scrolls, that Samuel send them to experts in Europe, but the archbishop wisely declined.

By now at least nearly a year, perhaps more, had passed since the Bedouin had stumbled upon the scrolls in the cave near Qumran. Mar Samuel had shown and shown the scrolls, and, remarkably, had not yet given up. One can imagine a very frustrated Samuel, certain that he possessed something of great importance, sitting upstairs in the monastery in the evenings with his brother monks, wondering where to turn next. One may further imagine them putting forward to each other first this possibility and then that, rejecting each in turn.

November 1947

The political situation in Palestine was becoming more volatile each day. The United States had already gone on record in favor of partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab areas. The United Nations was debating the matter, but a vote had not yet been taken. In the midst of all of this, the drama of the scrolls was about to be moved to another level.

We must go back to the events of Saturday, 5 July 1947, when the three Bedouin came to St. Mark's and were turned away. After leaving the monastery, one of the Bedouin decided to take his share of the scrolls and go his own way. Although it was reported by the other two Bedouin to Samuel on 19 July that the third had taken

his scrolls to “the Moslem Sheikh in Bethlehem,” it appears that the story was more complicated. Some things can be pieced together from the earliest accounts.

Sunday, 23 November 1947

At the beginning of the Jewish work week on Sunday, 23 November 1947, an Armenian antiquities dealer, Nasri Ohan,⁸⁴ contacted Professor Sukenik, professor of archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.⁸⁵ After becoming the staff archaeologist at Hebrew University, Sukenik specialized in Hebrew epigraphy and the archaeology of ancient synagogues. Together with his research associate Nahman (Reiss) Avigad, Sukenik compiled a corpus of Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions found on ossuaries of the Second Temple period in Jerusalem. As curator of the National Museum of Jewish Antiquities at the Hebrew University, Sukenik had often acquired objects for the museum from Ohan during the 1930s and 1940s.⁸⁶ Ohan and Sukenik were therefore longtime friends, and the call to come meet him once again was unusual only because of the political circumstances of the time. Jerusalem was divided into different areas, and one needed a pass to enter each. Since Sukenik did not have the proper pass, they had their meeting across a barbed wire fence at the gateway to Military Zone B.

The story is best told by Sukenik, as he related it to his son, Yigael Yadin:

Sunday, 23 November 1947

It all started on Sunday [23 November 1947]. When I got to my office at the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, I found a message from a friend, an Armenian dealer in antiquities, asking me to get in touch with him immediately. He is a most trustworthy person, and I knew that the matter must be urgent and important for him to telephone me on his day of rest. But I had lectures all the morning and my students were waiting. It was not until the afternoon that I was able to speak to him. He told me that he was most anxious to show me some items of interest. I asked him what they were, but he said he could not tell me on the telephone. He urged an early meeting. We fixed it for the next morning. The place we chose was the gateway to Military Zone B.⁸⁷

Monday, 24 November 1947⁸⁸

When we met, my friend pulled from his briefcase a scrap of leather. He held it up for me to see. On it I noticed Hebrew script, but I could not make out the words. I asked him what it was and his story was so fascinating that I almost forgot the sickening presence of the barbed wire between us. He said that one of our mutual friends, an old Arab antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, had come to him the previous day with a tale of some Bedouin who had called on him bringing several parchment scrolls which they claimed to have found in a cave near the shores of the Dead Sea, not far from Jericho. They offered

to sell him the scrolls, but he, the Arab dealer, did not know whether they were genuine. He had therefore brought them to my Armenian friend, who had no knowledge either of whether they were really ancient manuscripts or a fairly recent product. He wanted to know from me whether I considered them genuine and if so, whether I would be prepared to buy them for the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University.



Military Zone B road block, 1 January 1948. Located about a block away from the King David Hotel.
Photo by Dmitri Kessel. ©Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

I was in a difficult situation. If I gave him an immediate affirmative answer, I would be automatically committed to their purchase, since we had known each other long enough for each to trust the word of the other. I hesitated a few minutes, straining my eyes to peer through the loops of barbed wire in an effort to make out the letters on the scrap of leather. Strangely enough, as I gazed at the parchment, the letters began to become familiar, though I could make no immediate sense of the writing. They resembled letters which I had found

on several occasions on small coffins and on ossuaries which I had discovered in and around Jerusalem, in some ancient tombs dating back to the period before the Roman destruction of the city. I had seen such letters scratched, carved and, in a few cases, painted on stone. But not until this week had I seen this particular kind of Hebrew lettering written with a pen on leather.

My first thought was that this was possibly the work of some forger, who had conceived the idea of imitating the script on leather. But this thought stayed with me for barely a moment. As I continued to peer, my hunch became stronger and stronger that this was no forgery but the real thing. I decided to risk *buying the scrolls*, of which this was a fragment, *for the University*.⁸⁹ I asked my Armenian friend to proceed at once to Bethlehem and bring back some more samples. I asked him to telephone me when he got back and in the meantime I would try to get a military pass so that I could visit him at his store and examine the parchments more closely.⁹⁰

Thursday, 27 November

He telephoned me yesterday to say that he had some additional fragments. I raced over to see him, entering Zone B with my newly acquired pass. I sat in his shop and tried to decipher the writing. It was written in a very good, clear hand, and resembled, even more closely than the first sample, the alphabet on the stone ossuaries. I was now more convinced than ever that these were fragments of genuine ancient scrolls. We resolved to go together

to Bethlehem and start negotiations with the Arab dealer for their purchase.⁹¹

After Sukenik's death in 1953 Yadin found his father's private journal, from which we now take up the story:

Friday, 28 November 1947

I had planned to meet my Armenian friend again on 28 November and go



with him to the Arab antiquities dealer. But my wife had been particularly adamant against my going in view of the danger. And so I had reluctantly called off the meeting. Later in the day, my son, Yigael, came in from Tel-Aviv and was as excited as I was when I told him of the scrolls. But he, too, indicated, though not as vehemently as his mother, that perhaps it was not too wise. He was only with me for a short while as he had to return to his headquarters in Tel-Aviv.

Later in the evening I listened to the radio and heard that the United Nations, which had been expected to vote on that day, had postponed its decision. Here, I thought, was my chance. For I believed that the Arab attacks would begin immediately after the vote, and if I were to go to Bethlehem it would have to be before. I therefore resolved to make the journey next morning, the twenty-ninth, and this time I decided not to tell anyone.

Saturday, 29 November 1947

Next morning I telephoned my Armenian friend and told him I was coming over to see him right away. Armed with my pass I entered Zone B once again and went straight to his store. I told him I was ready to go with him to Bethlehem.

We took the bus. I was the only Jewish occupant. The rest were Arabs. All of us felt the tension in the atmosphere. My friend told me later that he had really been scared stiff by the responsibility he had assumed by bringing me on that journey. But it passed without incident.

When we arrived in Bethlehem, we made straight for the attic of the Arab house in which the antiquities dealer, Feidi Salahi, lived. Among the Arabs it is considered bad form to plunge immediately into business, and so, restraining my crude European behaviour, I followed local custom and made polite queries about his health and the well-being of his family, while we sipped coffee. But I don't know how I managed to disguise my eagerness and impatience. I was on tenterhooks all the time.

Our polite exchanges lasted half an hour. It seemed more like a year; and then our business talk started. I was grateful to my Armenian friend for sparing me the delicate task of opening. He asked the Arab dealer to tell us the story of the Bedouin. [Here Sukenik tells a condensed version of the discovery story, more or less similar to other accounts except that he says the Bedouin kept the bundles "for a few weeks" while they wandered the desert. This, and other differences in the discovery stories may be accounted for if one posits two "first" caves and distinguishes this set of scrolls from the other set controlled by the Metropolitan Samuel, a topic we take up at more length below].

He then brought out two jars,⁹² in which the bundles had been found, which he offered for our inspection. They were of a shape unfamiliar to me.

He then carefully produced the leather scrolls. My hands shook as I started to unwrap one of them. I read a few sentences. It was written in beautiful biblical Hebrew. The language was like that of the Psalms, but the text was unknown to me.⁹³ I looked and looked, and I suddenly had the feeling that I was privileged by destiny to gaze upon a Hebrew scroll which had not been read for more than 2,000 years.

I examined the other leathers, while all the while I was wondering what to do next. I wanted to buy them and I wished to take them home with me then and there. But I had no serious amount of money with me and in any case it would take days to settle upon a price for such objects, for there is a special pattern to Arab bargaining, and a quick deal has no flavour. I therefore told the dealer that I was much interested, would probably wish to buy, but I should like to take them home with me for further scrutiny. I promised to let him know my decision, through our mutual Armenian friend, within two days. He agreed and wrapped the scrolls in paper. Tucking them under my arm we parted with friendly *salaams*.

Descending from the attic, my Armenian friend and I made our way to the Bethlehem marketplace where the Jerusalem bus was filling up. All around were groups of Arabs, some sullen and silent, others gesticulating wildly. I don't think it was imagination that made me sense a heightened tension in the atmosphere, but there was no incident. The package under my arm must have looked like a bundle of market produce. We entered the bus and reached Jerusalem safely. At the Jaffa Gate we got off and my companion let out a deep sigh of relief. As I bade him farewell, he exclaimed: "*Al-ham-dulillahi*—thank God we have returned safely." I left him and hurried home with my precious parcel.

I made straight for my study and unrolled the leathers. As I read the texts, I became more and more convinced that my first hunch had been correct and that I was witnessing a discovery of tremendous importance. I was enthralled by the beauty of the Hebrew. But the identity of the texts still eluded me. I looked up the Apocryphal books in my library to see if I could find parallels, but there were none. Here, then, were original texts. Nevertheless, unwilling to rely on my own judgment alone, I hastened out into the evening and called on several of my university colleagues who specialized in the Hebrew language and ancient literature. I asked if they had knowledge of these texts. They did not. I went home and sat reading the manuscripts. In the morning [Sunday 30 November 1947] I had resolved to buy them, though it took another day [Monday 1 December 1947] before I was able to telephone my Armenian friend and instruct him to inform Feidi Salahi that I was buying the scrolls.⁹⁴

While I was examining these precious documents in my study, the late news on the radio announced that the United Nations would be voting on the resolution [for partition of Palestine] that night [Saturday, 29 November 1947] And I was engrossed in a particularly absorbing passage in one of the scrolls when my son rushed in with the shout that the vote on the Jewish state had been carried. This great event in Jewish history was thus combined in my home in Jerusalem with another event, no less historic, the one political, the other cultural.⁹⁵

Sukenik went on to describe how during the jubilant celebration near the Jewish Agency that evening he met Dr. Yalon, the Hebrew grammarian, and Yitzhak Ben Yechezkiel, the writer and collector of Jewish folk tales. Sukenik's news burst from him upon them, and while they may not have comprehended what he was saying, they "responded with unrestrained delight."⁹⁶

At this point in Sukenik's journal one would expect an entry about the dispo-



29 November 1947, New York: Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, president of the U.N. General Assembly shown announcing the assembly's official adoption of the plan to partition Palestine into independent Arab and Jewish states. © Bettmann/CORBIS

sition of the scrolls he was given, perhaps an accounting of how many he brought with him, and what scrolls they were. It is strangely missing. He has already said that Salahi had given him two days to look at the scrolls, and that he had called Ohan on 1 December 1947 to say he would buy the scrolls. He later intimated that money had already changed hands, and even said that Dr. J. L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University made "available the initial funds needed for purchasing the scrolls,"⁹⁷ but the details are not given. We can assume that he merely retained the scrolls and passed money through Ohan. There is one remark from

1 December, however, which is as poignant as it is brief: "I have read a little more of the leathers. I tremble as I think about them. This may be one of the greatest discoveries in the country—a discovery of which we could never have dreamt."⁹⁸

But as he continued, the story took an unexpected turn, for we get the other side of the events, reported above from his perspective on the scrolls still in the possession of Mar Samuel (late October 1947):

A few days later, on my way to my lectures at the University on Mount Scopus, I met a friend who was an official in the university library. I was still full of my news and told him about it. His eyes seemed to grow wider and wider

as I told my tale, and then, to my astonishment, he capped it with a remarkable coincidence. A few months earlier, he said, the university library had received a letter from Dr. Magnes, the university president, telling them to send two of their officials to the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in the Old City to look at some manuscripts in the possession of the metropolitan. He, together with another official, had been chosen to go. When they got there, the Metropolitan Mar Athanasius Samuel had told them that the manuscripts had been lying for a long time in the library of one of their monasteries near the Dead Sea. He wanted their opinion on their age and contents and on whether the university library would be willing to buy them. They took the view that the scrolls did not seem to be very old, but suggested that the texts seemed to be Samaritan and advised that a specialist in Samaritan books be sent to examine them further. He had telephoned some weeks later to find out whether Metropolitan Samuel still wished them to send the specialist, but he was away. And that's where the matter stood then.⁹⁹



4 December 1947, Jerusalem. Palestinian Jews celebrated the passage of the U.N. partition plan with much laughter and well-wishing. David Ben Gurion (back to camera) is pictured congratulating Mrs. Golda Meir, who years later became prime minister, while Jewish men and women in the background look on happily. © Bettmann/CORBIS

Sukenik's agile mind did not take long to make the connection between these and the scrolls he had already agreed to buy. He "felt like rushing straight to St. Mark's to examine the texts," he says, "but the entrance to the Old City was already blocked by Arab groups." He felt that any future negotiations with St. Mark's should

be handled directly by him, so he went to Dr. Magnes and got his authority. He did not have to wait long for the next episode.

A few days later I received a telephone call from the Armenian telling me that he hoped to get some more scrolls from the same source fairly soon. The problem of money began to worry me. I imagined I would have to pay sev-



Columns 17-20 of the Thanksgiving Scroll (Hodayot). Keystone/Getty Image

eral hundred pounds if many more scrolls became available and I wondered where I could lay my hands on such a sum. I went to my bank and asked for a personal loan of £1,500. Since I did not wish to embarrass the manager, who might respect my scholarship but not my financial status, I offered my small house in Rehavia as a mortgage. This he accepted and I was given the appropriate forms of sureties to sign [Yadin notes that when the prospects for



raising money from public funds became brighter, his father was persuaded by friends to forgo the personal loan].¹⁰⁰

The political situation continued to deteriorate and it became nearly impossible for Sukenik to go to the Old City, but he did make the trip several times to see his Armenian friend, Mr. Ohan, whom he urged to continue his efforts to obtain more of these scrolls from the Bedouin. He had no way of knowing, of course, that the group of scrolls he had already agreed to buy and those he now knew were at St. Mark's composed the sum total of all scrolls so far found, with the exception of Isaiah^b and a few other fragments.

He used his time wisely, enlisting the help of Dr. James Bieberkraut, a recent Jewish refugee from Germany and expert in this sort of work, to help him unroll the scrolls. As they unrolled them, he began reading, identifying what later came to be known as the War Scroll and the Thanksgiving Scroll (*Hodayot*).

22 December 1947

Here once again something is missing in Sukenik's journal. From other sources it seems that on 22 December 1947 he purchased more scroll fragments from the Bethlehem dealer Salahi, through his Armenian friend Ohan: an Isaiah fragment,¹⁰¹ 1QIsaiah^b, and possibly some Daniel fragments as well.¹⁰²

End of January 1948

Sukenik takes up the story again at the end of January 1948.

One day toward the end of January 1948, I received a letter from the Arab quarter of Jerusalem. It had taken three days to come from the other side of the city. The letter was from an acquaintance of mine [Anton Kiraz], a member of the Syrian Orthodox Christian Community, in whose grounds near Talpioth I had made, two years earlier, the discovery of an ancient Jewish tomb, dating from the first century AD. In his letter the Syrian wrote that he wished to show me some ancient Hebrew scrolls which he had in his possession and wondered where we could meet. We decided on the YMCA building in Jerusalem. This was then in military Zone B. I equipped myself with the necessary pass.

Sukenik met Kiraz at the YMCA on Julian's Way in the office of the librarian, Malak Tannourджи, also a member of the Syrian Orthodox community.¹⁰³ Kiraz had brought Isaiah^a, the Manual of Discipline, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Genesis Apocryphon. Sukenik believed these scrolls to be of the same origin as those he had obtained from the Bethlehem dealer Salahi, and established that Kiraz had bought these from Ta'amireh Bedouin, the same tribe which had brought scrolls to the Salahi.¹⁰⁴ Sukenik was apparently not told, however, that the scrolls he had



E. L. Sukenik studying the Thanksgiving Scroll (Hodayot) columns 9-12 about 1949. Three Lions/Getty Images

already bought had been brought to St. Mark's on 5 July 1947, and that only because the Bedouin had been turned away mistakenly had one of the Bedouin taken his share, which consisted of three of the four scrolls removed by the Bedouin Jum'a and George Isha'ya during May and June 1947 (see above).

The Syrian Christian said that these scrolls now belonged to him and to Mar Samuel (though the archbishop later vigorously denied knowledge of or consent to this meeting)¹⁰⁵ and claimed that the archbishop had given permission for Sukenik to examine them.¹⁰⁶ He asked Sukenik's opinion about their genuineness. Sukenik replied that he considered them old,¹⁰⁷ that he would be willing to buy them for the Hebrew University, and that he would like to take them home for examination. With promises of bringing them back in a few days, Sukenik left for home, taking Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, and one piece of the Manual of Discipline. Tannourdjji kept the other piece of the Manual and the Genesis Apocryphon in his desk drawer.¹⁰⁸

Sukenik recounts:

During the next few days I read what I could of the scrolls, and also showed them to Dr. Magnes and to two of my university colleagues who specialized in biblical research. I returned to the manuscripts continually, day and night, sometimes even getting out of bed in the small hours of the morning to read them and to make copies of some of the texts. The Isaiah Scroll interested me particularly, and I copied several of its chapters.



16 January 1948, Jerusalem. With pistol in hand, two members of an illegal armed group contest to be photographed, while Two Mandate Palestine policemen stand by and less militant Arab citizens (left) cast curious backward glances. Sporadic firing between Jews and Arabs kept Jerusalem in a state of constant unrest. © Bettmann/CORBIS

I was still unable to make up my mind about the price that should be offered to the Syrian. I was convinced, however, that this batch of scrolls would certainly be more expensive than the first. Moreover, knowing something of the mental-

ity of oriental antiquities dealers, I was well aware that whatever I offered, he would always think that he could get more from somebody else. How right I was! But I had the feeling that if I were not merely to offer, but actually lay on the table, £2,000 sterling, he would not be able to resist. But where was I to lay my hands on such a sum? I went again to my bank to ask for the loan but alas, the political and military situation was by then so grim that I was refused. How bitterly I now regretted that I had permitted myself to be dissuaded from raising that loan earlier. However, the money had to be found and I decided to ask the Jewish Agency [the semi-official precursor of the government of Israel] for it.

Unfortunately, its headquarters had shortly before been moved to Tel-Aviv, and communications between Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv were neither

regular nor safe. I went to the director of the Bialik Foundation, the literary institution of the Jewish Agency, to find out if he had any means of getting in touch with Tel-Aviv. He told me that Mr. Itzhak Gruenbaum, member of the executive of the Jewish Agency and its representative on the Bialik Foundation, was in Jerusalem, and he offered to bring him to me the next day. This was the day when I promised I would return the scrolls to the Syrian at the YMCA. To my deep regret circumstances made it impossible for them to see me and I had to leave for my meeting at the YMCA without having contacted them.¹⁰⁹

Friday, 6 February 1948

It was Friday, 6 February that I made my way again to Zone B with the precious scrolls in my hand. I feared that I might never see them again. In the YMCA the Syrian [Kiraz] was waiting for me. Almost his first question was "How much do you offer?" I countered by asking him to name the price. Neither of us would name the figure, and we finally arranged to meet the following week at the Yugoslav Consulate [where the guard was also a Syrian Christian].¹¹⁰ He on his side would bring with him the metropolitan and I would bring with me Dr. Magnes, and we would try to reach agreement. I walked home slowly. The deserted streets fitted my mood of empty depression.¹¹¹

Anton Kiraz kept the scrolls in his home from 6 to 17 February. According to his account there was another meeting at the YMCA about 10 February at which Suke-nik raised his offer to 500 Palestinian pounds (\$16,300 in 2002). Kiraz replied that he would have to consult with his partner, Samuel. Sukenik then offered an equal amount in addition just for Kiraz himself if he could persuade Samuel to accept his offer. But Tannourджи advised Kiraz to get an independent appraisal, so they parted, agreeing to meet soon at the Yugoslav Consulate, as mentioned above in Sukenik's account.¹¹²

We now resume with Sukenik's version:

Shortly after my return the two members of the Bialik Foundation came to see me. Too late, alas, to see the borrowed scrolls. I showed them instead some fragments of the scrolls already in my possession and Mr. Gruenbaum was so impressed that he promised to go the very next Sunday to Tel-Aviv to talk the matter over with Mr. Ben-Gurion.

A few days later he returned to Jerusalem and told me that the Jewish Agency leaders had been so impressed that they were willing to put at my disposal any sums I needed for the purchase of the scroll. Weeks passed but the promised letter from the Syrian, confirming the meeting at the Yugoslav consulate, did not arrive. Eventually I received a letter informing me that they had decided not to sell. They preferred to wait until the world was once again open to them, and they could find out the market price. I later discov-

ered what had happened. Some two weeks after I returned the scrolls, one of the Syrian priests had gone to the American Schools of Oriental Research and had met some of its members. The Americans had managed to obtain permission to photograph and publish the scrolls, assuring the priest that they would be able to get far higher prices for the scrolls in the United States.

Thus the Jewish people have lost a precious heritage.¹¹³

Professor Sukenik died in 1953, still believing that these scrolls were lost to the Jewish people forever.

At this point we turn to the Metropolitan Samuel's account, but he seems to have confused his chronology slightly. For example, he placed Van der Ploeg's visit in August instead of July 1947, as we already pointed out. Although Sukenik's journal placed all his contacts with Kiraz before St. Mark's had any contact with the American School in East Jerusalem, Samuel had this to say about his relationship to Kiraz and Sukenik:

Apparently while I was negotiating with the American School, Mr. Anton Kiraz was discussing the matter with Dr. Sukenik. [But Sukenik had already seen them in late January and had returned the Isaiah^a, Habakkuk Commentary, and half of the Manual of Discipline manuscripts on 6 February.] Late in February 1948, after Dr. Trever had given me a set of sample photographs of the Isaiah Scroll and the Habakkuk Commentary, Mr. Kiraz came to the convent to ask if I would allow him to take the scrolls to the YMCA so that he could show them to Dr. Sukenik, who could not go to the convent because of the disturbed conditions. I showed him Dr. Trever's photographs and suggested that he take those, but he objected, saying that the pictures were too small to show the text clearly. Finally I yielded, but insisted that he bring them back immediately. I was much disturbed when Mr. Kiraz did not bring them back the same day. In fact, he allowed Dr. Sukenik to have them for two days at this home, during which time he apparently copied out several columns of the Isaiah Scroll, which he has since published without consulting me.¹¹⁴

Another possibility is that Anton Kiraz was not being entirely truthful, so Mar Samuel didn't realize that Sukenik had already copied the columns before 6 February. In this case he wouldn't have needed photographs. Or possibly, Mar Samuel wrote his recollection this way because of the dispute that later came up with Anton Kiraz.

Saturday, 7 February 1948

The situation in East Jerusalem was getting desperate. At least one of the instructors (Professor Johnson) and one of the students (Willard Beling) at the American School did not return to Jerusalem from their vacations during the semester break.



The YMCA building in West Jerusalem, across the street from the King David Hotel. © Hanan Isachar/CORBIS

That left Professor Burrows and students Ann Putcamp, William Brownlee,¹¹⁵ and John Trever.¹¹⁶ There was fighting between the Haganah and the British in the area of Sheikh Jarrah, just a few blocks north of the American School and numerous explosions occurred around the city almost daily.¹¹⁷

Sunday, 15 February 1948

By 15 February the annual director of the American School, Professor Millar Burrows, had gone by taxi to Iraq for a trip of 10 days to two weeks, taking along his wife and a student, Ann Putcamp. Besides the Arab staff, consisting of Basima Faris (newly appointed acting secretary of the school and headmistress of an Arab girls school), Anwar Tamimi, and Omar, the cook, Brownlee and Trever alone remained at the school. They had planned to take a trip to Petra as soon as the Burrowses returned, and both were already making arrangements to begin the return trip to the States toward the end of March or beginning of April.

Brownlee and Trever were able to move about in both Military Zones A and B because they had received a special identity card from Abdullah Rimaway on behalf of the Orientation Committee of the Arab Higher Command. He was a good friend of Miss Faris (who called him “her son”), he participated in a Moslem-Christian discussion group, and was disposed to help Christians. But neither Trever nor Brownlee yet had passes for the Old City.¹¹⁸

Wednesday, 18 February 1948

Meanwhile, in the Old City and in East Jerusalem, which by this time might just as well have been a world away instead of a few city blocks, yet another episode was about to unfold. Samuel, if he is to be believed, was totally unaware of Anton Kiraz’s previous negotiations with Sukenik. Indeed this could have been the central reason that the fateful meeting at the Yugoslav Consulate never occurred. Thus, Samuel was still looking for a buyer. His assistant, the Reverend Butros Sowmy, a childhood friend and fellow refugee from Adana, Syria (killed on 16 May 1948 when the Israeli¹¹⁹ army shelled the Syrian Orthodox Monastery at the beginning of the War of Independence),¹²⁰ recalled having visited ASOR some 10 years before. He especially remembered the cordial welcome he had received, and suggested to the Archbishop Samuel that he might obtain there some kind of help with dating and identifying the scrolls.

The suggestion must have been discussed at some length, for if Mar Samuel was not a party to the negotiations with Professor Sukenik, it had then been some months since Samuel had last shown the scrolls or tried to sell them to anyone. If Kiraz’s account is accurate, a very large amount of money had been offered by Sukenik (about \$32,600 in current value). Samuel did not admit to knowing about the offer, but at least Kiraz now realized that these scrolls represented something very valuable indeed. It must have been difficult for him to return the scrolls to Samuel.¹²¹

Early Afternoon

Early on the afternoon of 18 February, Brownlee decided to go shopping for

wrapping paper so that he could begin packaging certain belongings he might have to send out of the country at a moment's notice. "Before leaving on my mission early that afternoon," he says, "I had a strange premonition that I should not leave. I knelt down and prayed in my small room on the second floor of the school, feeling that perhaps it was not safe for me to venture out; but I received assurance that it would be safe—so I ventured. It was difficult to find what I wanted in the stores of Jerusalem, but in the storeroom of a paper company I obtained a roll of light brown (or creamy buff) paper and also some large pieces of white cardboard for mounting my pressed wildflower collection."¹²²

4:30 p.m.

At about four thirty that afternoon, Father Butros Sowmy telephoned the American School. The School's cook, Omar, answered. Sowmy asked for William Brownlee, who had been recommended by someone (possibly Bishop Stewart) at St. George's Anglican Cathedral, just down the road from the American School. He was not in his room (his premonition had been correct, but for a different reason). The director, Professor Millar Burrows of Yale, was in Iraq, so Omar called to the phone another of the annual fellows, Dr. John C. Trever, a young recent Ph.D. from Yale, who had studied there under Burrows, and was acting director in Burrows' absence.¹²³

Sowmy told Trever a cover story that was only later to be unmasked. He said that as librarian of St. Mark's Monastery he was in the process of organizing its rare books and had found some scrolls in ancient Hebrew which had been found by Bedouin in the desert and had been in the possession of the monastery for about 40 years (similar to the story told to the librarians from Hebrew University some months before, with the addition that the discovery had been by Bedouin). He wanted to have more information on them, and wondered whether Trever would be willing to look at them.

Brownlee did not get back until suppertime.

I returned to the school," he reported, "and was met by a succession of Arab servants informing me that a telephone call had come for me during the afternoon and that, when they reported that they were unable to find me, the man had stated his understanding that the director of the school was not in town; but he was at once informed by one of them that Trever was the acting director. By the time I had cleaned up and had reached the dining hall, the evening meal was underway, and my friend John Trever was explaining to certain boarders of the school about the telephone call which he received and about the strange claim of a Syrian Christian monk that the St. Mark's Monastery had in its possession ancient scrolls going back to the time of Christ. He also mentioned the hour of his appointment to see the documents the next day. Although he was skeptical of the rolls being really ancient, he thought it wise to look into the matter. I only overheard this; but

I knew that this was the telephone call intended for me, and I longed for the opportunity to see the scrolls on the morrow (about 3:30 p.m.?) when they were to be brought to the school. Could it be that after searching in vain for new inscriptions in Sinai, ancient texts would find us while we were shut up in Jerusalem?¹²⁴

Thursday, 19 February 1948

Since Trever did not have the appropriate pass for the Old City, he had invited Sowmy to come to the school the following day at 2:30 p.m. One may suppose that Sowmy's hopes were not too high as he took a taxi from Jaffa Gate to Damascus Gate, and up Saladin Street to the American Schools of Oriental Research. In his small leather "suitcase" were the great Isaiah scroll, the Habakkuk Commentary, the Rule of the Community (two pieces) and the Genesis Apocryphon. It staggers the imagination now to think of Butros Sowmy riding in a taxi, nonchalantly dodging traffic as he made his way to the meeting with John Trever. Today those three scrolls are insured for millions of dollars, and are almost never moved, and even then not without the most elaborate precautions; but this would all be in the future. Their antiquity had not yet been established (though it was definitely suspected), and Sowmy may have told himself as he neared the American School, "It may be another fool's errand, but perhaps at least they will give me coffee, and in any event it is always nice to talk to someone outside the monastery." As for young Dr. Trever, who did not know what to expect at all, and Dr. Brownlee, who was to miss this one too, the impending meeting was to determine the entire course of both their lives.

Father Sowmy arrived with his brother, Ibrahim, a customs official at the Allenby Bridge for the British Mandate government,¹²⁵ who was also a student of history. It turned out later that early deductions Ibrahim made about the scrolls, with very little information, were amazingly correct.

Having left his camera at the Palestine Archaeological Museum the previous day, Trever was reduced to copying by hand a few lines from the Isaiah scroll for further study. While he copied, Ibrahim remarked that he had studied about the Dead Sea area and Jericho, and knew of a group named the "Essenes" who had lived in the vicinity during Jesus' lifetime. Ibrahim "had suggested to the Syrian Christians at the monastery that these documents might have belonged to that ancient sect of Jews and been deposited by them in the cave during a period of persecution, perhaps when the Romans attacked Jerusalem in AD 70. "Since the scrolls had been "wrapped like mummies" originally, he added, "they must be very ancient, for mummification had long since become a lost art."¹²⁶ Some of Ibrahim's facts were wrong but his inferences were certainly to prove valid.

The two Sowmy brothers left that evening, taking the scrolls with them. On this fateful day, in fact, John Trever, who had completed his dissertation about the text of Isaiah ("The Contribution of Second Isaiah to the Semantic Development of He-

brew Words”) five years before,¹²⁷ was unaware that Sukenik had already seen the Isaiah Scroll, and had recognized its great antiquity. But Trever had the presence of mind to ask Sowmy to leave them behind at the American School for examination. He and Brownlee would later come to the same conclusion as Sukenik.

Meanwhile, Brownlee missed out on the meeting again. Early that afternoon Brownlee had

...decided that there would be time to run some errands before the scrolls appeared [he thought they were coming at 3:30 p.m.; they came at 2:30 p.m.]. By the ever increasing gunfire, it seemed that our time was running out and that I should make every minute count [Brownlee and the others thought they might have to evacuate suddenly]. In those days it was considered dangerous to be out at night (i.e., between 5:30 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.) My errand to the American Colony [to invite Mr. and Mrs. John Whiting to go to church with Trever and him the following Sunday morning, and to come home with them for lunch],¹²⁸ a few blocks to the north of the American School, took longer than I had expected. In running my mission to the main post office, I was delayed at various roadblocks and carefully interrogated and even searched for weapons by Arab guards, despite my American passport and a written certificate from Bishop Stewart of St. George’s Cathedral to the effect that I was a Christian. The large handmade mother-of-pearl crosses which we wore for our salvation in those days were no longer regarded as sufficient proof that we were not Zionists and potential terrorists.

Once back at the school, I knocked at the door of the school office to ascertain whether or not Trever was interviewing those bringing the scrolls. The men were not there! I tried the library, but it was locked. I went downstairs to his room, but he was not there! I tidied myself a bit in my room, which was next to his, and soon Trever appeared at my door with the news. Two Syrian Christians, Mr. Butros (or Peter) Sowmy of St. Mark’s Monastery, accompanied by his brother Ibrahim, a customs official at Allenby Bridge east of Jericho, had brought a satchel containing five leather (or parchment) scrolls and had just departed with them in a taxi. They had been in the hallway of the Annual Professor’s wing using the telephone to call the taxi upon my arrival. He told me about the interview, how he had been shown five scrolls which had lain neglected in St. Mark’s Monastery for more than 40 years, which Sowmy had found while cataloguing the manuscripts of the library. The Syrians had brought the manuscripts to Trever in order to determine their identity, antiquity, and monetary value. He showed me two lines of text which he had copied from the largest roll. Now he must sit down and identify this text without delay! He permitted me to copy his transcription and to

work independently at the decipherment and identification. We discussed the fact that *l'lo'*, which occurred twice, was an “unusual combination,” but unfortunately for me, the library was already locked and all I had available in my room for locating the passage was a small pocket-sized Hebrew dictionary (which gave no references) and an English concordance. It was hard to make out all the words by reason of my faulty copy (twice removed from the original), aside from the problem involved in reading the ancient script. In so far as I could immediately recognize possible readings, I tried to track down the passage with my *Cruden's Complete Concordance*. I watched particularly for Isaiah references, for he had indicated that one of the Syrians suggested that the large scroll might be Isaiah [the Syrians had already been told this by Van der Ploeg and probably by Sukenik through an intermediary]. My friend had thought this suggestion a worthless “guess,” however, since the Syrians were unable to read the document.

All this search for the passage lasted only a few minutes (perhaps 10), for Trever soon burst into my room with the thrilling announcement that he had identified the passage as Isaiah 65:1–2, precisely within the section of Isaiah he had studied for his dissertation. He had checked all the references to *l'lo'* (“by not,” a poetic compression for “by those who did not”) in the large Hebrew dictionary which he had previously borrowed from the library.

It was sometime afterward, Brownlee related, that the irony of the first verse of Isaiah 65 impressed itself upon him:

I am sought of them that asked not for me;
I am found of them that sought me not! (King James Version)

But to me, in retrospect, the scroll has said something different:

I was ready to be sought by those who did not ask for me;
I was *ready to be found* by those who did not seek me! (Revised Standard Version)

The scroll had been seeking me, but I had managed to keep running away from it and had succeeded! All this seemed unimportant, however; all that mattered was that a discovery had been made which might prove highly significant; and here there was plenty of work for all of us, perhaps for the world. We did not know at that time of scholars who had already seen the scrolls, nor of two such who had correctly identified the Isaiah scroll. In so far as we knew, we were the first scholars to learn of the find.

Trever then showed me a slide from his own published collection, *What Lies Back of Our English Bible?* It was a small transparent picture of the Nash Papyrus, a single leaf containing in Hebrew the Ten Commandments and the Shema—a document which Dr. Albright had dated back to about 100 BC. Squinting at the slide in front of an electric lamp, we thought we could detect several striking resemblances between the ancient papyrus and Trever's transcription of the Isaiah Scroll; but without a projector we could not be sure. It was a night of excitement for both of us, which John Trever has described as follows: "Sleep was almost impossible that night. Numerous questions flooded my mind. How long was the large scroll? How much of Isaiah was there? Could it be authentic? Those few evidences of a corrector's hand on the last 12 columns which alone were examined seemed a certain argument for authenticity. But how could such a perfect manuscript be as old as the Nash Papyrus? Out of sheer exhaustion I fell asleep still arguing with myself!"¹²⁹

Friday, 20 February 1948

But what to do next? Trever and Brownlee realized that these documents must be photographed, especially in light of the rapidly deteriorating political situation in the city. So on Friday, just two days after his first phone call from Butros Sowmy, Trever set out for St. Mark's Monastery in the Old City, by way of Jaffa Gate. Through the intercession of Miss Faris he had received another pass, this one allowing him to enter the Old City. Having found his way to the monastery in the Armenian Quarter immediately next to the Jewish Quarter, Trever was greeted by Father Sowmy, who introduced him to "His Grace, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel."

Getting permission to photograph the scrolls was not easy. Trever knew what he wanted to do, but Samuel was of two minds. His goal was to get the maximum value in a sale. His line of reasoning was that if photographs of the scrolls were available, there would be less demand for the originals and consequently, their value would decrease. Trever argued just the opposite: the better known they were, the more people would want them, and the more people wanted them, the higher the price would rise. Trever used the analogy of the Codex Sinaiticus, taken by Count Tischendorf from St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai. The better it became known, the more valuable it became, until it was finally bought for £100,000 (equivalent to about \$3,637,000 in 1948)¹³⁰ from the National Library of Russia by the British Library.¹³¹



William Brownlee with the Manual of Discipline in Jerusalem, 1948. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D. Digital image courtesy James E. Trever.

Trever's arguments carried the day, but it is clear that he had also let the cat out of the bag. These prices were a quantum leap over the relatively small amount of 1,000 Palestinian pounds (about US\$4,000 at the time)¹³² that Sukenik had offered to Kiraz. It also gave Samuel the impression, probably a correct one, that he could hope to get much more for them in the United States than he could from Sukenik. As Brownlee said: "By this line of attack Trever unwittingly wooed the Syrians away from the Jewish professor and made them eager to cooperate with the American School."¹³³

Brownlee described the final minutes of the meeting where the decision to photograph was made:

One final chore was undertaken by Trever, before he made his rapid departure



John Trever in Jerusalem, 1948. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

for a dental appointment in modern Jerusalem. They brought out the Isaiah scroll that he might check it for completeness. On the previous day he had examined only about the last dozen columns which were rolled up on the outside of the manuscript. He now carefully unrolled the whole document until he had reached the rather fragmented first columns of the scroll and copied the first line of what looked like the beginning of the book. Then rolling up the scroll afresh, he made a rapid departure, hurrying off for his 10 a.m. dental appointment.¹³⁴

After his dental appointment he shopped for film and developing paper, and after lunch he compared the beginning of the scroll with the printed traditional text: "The vision of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem." Trever realized that he had a complete Isaiah scroll.¹³⁵

The same afternoon Brownlee plunged into the study of Hebrew paleography. He and Trever had been studying a more ancient period of Hebrew writing: Paleo-Hebrew (commonly used before the Babylonian captivity in 586 BC), Canaanite and Moabite inscriptions, and the Lachish Ostraca dating to the early sixth century BC.¹³⁶ Brownlee turned to Albright's article on the Nash Papyrus in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, where this small fragment was dated to about 100 BC.

“That night,” Brownlee related, “John Trever and I conferred on the paleography of the two samplings he had made of the Isaiah Scroll. This time we had large black and white prints of the Nash Papyrus to consult. We had to work with kerosene lamps, for gunfire had cut the electric power line; but as we carefully compared letter with letter, the impression of a strong similarity with the Nash Papyrus bore in upon us. Despite uncertainties of dating the latter precisely, it was thrilling to know that barring forgery, which we were bound to investigate seriously, we were in any case dealing with Hebrew scrolls older than any previously known.”¹³⁷

That evening Brownlee wrote his parents, and in the last paragraph described the events of the day before:

While I was away, a couple [of] Syrian monks called at the school with five very old Hebrew manuscripts reported to have been found in caves by Bedouin near the Dead Sea about 40 years ago. They are now becoming curious about them. From John’s description, they may be genuine and possibly very ancient manuscripts—perhaps the oldest known. They have an appointment with us to bring them over again tomorrow morning for us to inspect and photograph them. It will take much study before they can be dated positively, but they have the promise of being quite ancient and very valuable. No manuscripts had ever before been found in Palestine, and the oldest Hebrew manuscripts were ninth century AD. With the New Testament there are hundreds of manuscripts that are older than that. We are very much excited about these manuscripts. One of the rolls is the entire Book of Isaiah, as we have determined from portions from the beginning and end which John copied down. One of the scrolls is so brittle that John thinks we should not attempt to unroll it. It may need some chemical treatment to soften the leather before it can be safely unrolled. They are all so very old they must be handled with great care. If they prove to be as early as we suspect we may have an exciting time collating their readings.¹³⁸

When his parents answered the letter on 29 February they did not refer to this news at all, apparently not grasping the significance.¹³⁹

Saturday, 21 February 1948

Among the things Trever brought with him for his one-year adventure in Palestine was a small trunk of photographic materials (tested in his bedroom in Des Moines, Iowa before his departure), enabling him to develop his own color films in a makeshift darkroom of his own construction in the basement of the American School. So new was color photography at the time, in fact, that “most people in Jerusalem,” John told me, “had never heard of the things I brought with me.”¹⁴⁰ Photog-

raphy for Trever had started out with a project he had done in 1926 as a young Boy Scout. Later, during his years at Yale, he had turned his hobby into a profession of sorts, doing part-time work in his attic for the Yale Museum.¹⁴¹

With this rather meager equipment at hand, Trever and Brownlee began making preparations early on Saturday, 21 February for the visit of the Syrians that day. They set up in the basement. Brownlee tells the story:

We were alarmed by the fact that there was no electricity as yet, so we were prepared for either eventuality: to use daylight or to work more conveniently under electric flood lights. I changed the roll in my movie camera so as to get a picture of the Syrians when they arrived with the scrolls and Trever was



John Trever preparing to photograph the scrolls at the American School in Jerusalem in Jerusalem, 1948. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

prepared to meet them at the gate of the school yard.

The Syrians arrived promptly at 9:30 a.m. Metropolitan Samuel came in person, accompanied by the librarian, Butros Sowmy.¹⁴² We received them and promptly went to the basement, where the lights came on just as we needed them; but the

electricity was so unsteady that we checked the light intensity for nearly every shot. Trever was the skilled photographer. I simply worked as his assistant. We started with the Isaiah Scroll, which was about 24 feet long and about 10 inches high.¹⁴³ It consisted of 17 sheets or strips of skin sewed end to end. The text was distributed into 54 columns. Although in a remarkable state of preservation, the scroll was somewhat brittle and refused to lie flat for photographing; so as far out on each side as possible I gently pressed the manuscript flat with the tip of one finger, while Trever clicked the camera.

While he developed some test negatives, I measured one of the smaller scrolls and transcribed the last column and copied a few other scattered lines here and there. When I studied these transcriptions that evening, I noticed

that the last column of the scroll was an interpretation of Habakkuk 2:20; but that did not make me think of a commentary, for other books could contain quotations and interpretations. Moreover, this was not the last verse of the book as one would expect at the very end. The other lines which had been singled out did not happen to contain Habakkuk quotations. The threat of destruction for the wicked “on the Day of Judgment” led me to think of it as an apocalyptic work, perhaps similar to 1 Enoch. While I examined and measured this scroll, which in its extant form was nearly five feet long and less than six inches high, Butros Sowmy explained how he had obtained my name before calling us on February 18. He had telephoned Bishop Stewart for the name of a scholar at the school with whom to consult. Now it happened that on the previous day, I had gone to see the bishop in order to obtain a certificate in Arabic attesting to the fact that I was a Christian, for my other credentials were proving insufficient to get me through the barricades with ease. I had told the bishop that the director had departed for Baghdad, so he in turn had passed this information on, giving Sowmy my name. In fact, despite



L to R, Father Butros Sowmy (holding the Habakkuk Commentary), the Metropolitan Samuel, and John Trever (holding the Great Isaiah Scroll), 21 February 1948 at the American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

the fact they had talked to Trever when they called the school on Wednesday, they had asked for me when they arrived on Thursday, but once more I was away.

The morning passed and only 40 columns of the Isaiah Scroll had been photographed [with Sowmy helping too!].¹⁴⁴ We dined together in the school and returned to our work. The remaining columns were so very brittle and cracked that they required mending. A number of pieces had to be placed into position before photographing. All we had for mending was scotch tape which we placed upon the back. We noticed a tendency of all these scrolls to adhere when rolled. Therefore, I thought of my roll of wrapping paper which I had purchased on the afternoon of the eighteenth. It was just the thing for this emergency! We cut strips of paper the width and length of each scroll and then laid the scrolls out upon them, so that when they were rolled up,

they were interlined with paper. Although I had missed the telephone call, I had unknowingly prepared for this occasion, and I was glad I had.

By 3:30 p.m. we were getting nervous by our inability to complete the photography in one day. The most we would be able to get done was the Isaiah Scroll and the small manuscript which I had already examined. One of the three remaining scrolls was so brittle and so tightly stuck together that it defied unrolling, so naturally we could not record its text; but this still left two scrolls capable of being photographed which had not yet received our attention [two parts of the Manual of Discipline]. The Syrians said that their taxi would be coming by 4:30 p.m. to take them back to the Old City. Therefore, we were intent upon finishing the photography of the Habakkuk Commentary before then and to make arrangements for the Syrians to leave the unphotographed documents with us.

Trever assured the monks that we would keep the rolls safe in the vault of the American School and that it would be convenient for him to return them to the St. Mark's Monastery before 2:30 p.m. the following Tuesday. They hesitated and began to discuss the matter seriously among themselves in Arabic. While they were speaking, I took a sheet of paper and wrote out a receipt for the two unphotographed documents and for one additional fragment. The receipt concluded with the agreement to return the documents no later than Tuesday. I signed it and handed it to my friend to sign. Then we presented it to Samuel and Sowmy. They accepted it and there was no more argumentation about leaving the documents with us. By 4 p.m. we had completed our photography for the day. While awaiting the taxi, we took several pictures of Trever, Samuel, Sowmy and the scrolls by way of recording this memorable day, 21 February, 1948.¹⁴⁵

After the evening meal and some ping-pong for relaxation, Trever and Brownlee immediately began the process of making negatives and prints of the Isaiah Scroll. The rather primitive developing room in the basement had basins, but no running water or sewer drain, so every drop of water into and out of the basement had to be carried by hand. Brownlee did most of the water hauling, but also sometimes helped by lifting the photographic paper from one vat to another, and by spreading prints out to dry. This was all under Trever's direction, but Brownlee had already assisted him during the autumn as he developed his own pictures of archaeological places, so he was familiar enough with the steps involved.¹⁴⁶

Trever and Brownlee did not know it at the time, but they were later to succeed in taking and developing photographs that have remained the standard for more than 50 years.¹⁴⁷

The process of exposure and development took nearly three weeks, but as soon

as he had some prints ready he again made a most fortunate and sagacious choice. He decided he would send them to his senior colleague, friend, and former “tent mate,” of the Christmas vacation Sinai expedition a few weeks earlier, Professor William Foxwell Albright at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.¹⁴⁸ Albright and the American School were so closely identified that some years later the name was changed to the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, but the choice was felicitous for other reasons: not only was Albright the “dean” of Old Testament studies in the United States, and widely recognized for his knowledge of the development of ancient scribal hands, he also had a flair for publicity, and a special relationship with the *Baltimore Sun*. This assured publicity for the discovery it would not otherwise have received so easily or so fast.

After days of work and waiting, with Professor Brownlee assisting him, John sent off the first photographs to Professor Albright. In appreciation for his work, Mar Samuel gave John a few fragments of the Isaiah Scroll along with part of the original linen cover of the scroll. Just one block away at the École biblique, neither Father van der Ploeg, who had seen the Isaiah scroll the previous July, and had remained in Jerusalem until December 1947, nor Father de Vaux, president of the Palestine Archaeological Museum and director of the École biblique, had any idea about what had been happening during the past months.¹⁴⁹

Sunday, 22 February 1948

Brownlee had missed seeing the scrolls at the American School the previous Wednesday, partly because he had gone to the American Colony to invite the Whitings to go to church with Trever and him on this day, and to accompany them back to the American School for lunch. So the four of them worshiped at St. Andrew’s Church of Scotland in West Jerusalem and returned to the school afterwards for lunch. One wonders how they could concentrate, especially with the two pieces of the Manual of Discipline waiting downstairs! But the two couldn’t keep it entirely a secret. Brownlee admitted, “We showed them the two scrolls.”¹⁵⁰ As soon as the Whitings left Trever began repairing the scroll with adhesive tape (they had run out of scotch tape at the American School).¹⁵¹

Monday, 23 February 1948

Brownlee does not indicate whether they worked at all on the photographs on Sunday. But Monday they began again. They “felt the urgency,” he says, “of preserving the text by photography, at once, without waiting for more film and larger developing paper, for who knew whether in the midst of the fighting a delay of a single day would result in the destruction of the scrolls. Fortunately, the prints were clear enough to read, although exceedingly small.”¹⁵²

That evening and the following morning they completed the first photographs of the Manual of Discipline in black and white and in color.¹⁵³ After they were finished Brownlee sat down and typed out a letter to his fiancée:

Dearest Louise,

I have exciting news for you which will yet echo round the world, but which must not become common knowledge. The oldest biblical manuscript has probably been found. February 19, while I was on a brief visit to the American Colony, some Syrian monks called and asked for me, but saw John Trever instead. They had some very old scrolls which had been in their library for 40 years which they wanted to be identified. According to their story,



William and Louise Brownlee. Courtesy Martha Brownlee-Terry.

about 40 years ago some Bedu near the Dead Sea found them in a cave high up in the hills above the sea near Ein Fashka. They were enclosed in jars after being wrapped heavily with cloth. John got to see a portion of one of the scrolls and discovered that it was a part of Isaiah. The next day he called at the monastery and made arrangements for the men to bring the scrolls to the school the following day to be carefully photographed [Saturday, 21 February]. He had supposed that we could complete the job in three hours, but with 3 ½ hours' work the task was not complete and we asked the bishop of the convent and his attendant, Betros Salmi, to stay for lunch.

About 4 p.m. we had photographed completely the text of two scrolls. One scroll could not be unrolled because of the danger of its crumbling to pieces. There were two scrolls in bad need of repair before they could be photographed. We asked them to leave them with us for a few days till we should have time to give them the necessary mending and careful photography. One of the tasks which made it take so long was the necessary taping together on the back side of portions which had cracked and the piecing together of portions which had come out; but in the main the manuscripts are remarkably preserved and are quite legible. The largest scroll is about 24 feet long and 10 and a quarter inches high. It contains the entire text of Isaiah. The second is about a fourth the length and the bottom

third of the text has crumbled away though the top two-thirds is perfectly preserved. Its text is ancient Hebrew but its material, though religious, does not seem to be biblical. Portions which I have read are apocalyptic and are highly reminiscent of 1 Enoch. The two scrolls the monks left with us turned out to be one. When pieced together, they are 103 ½ centimeters long and about 25 centimeters high. The contents of this scroll have not yet been determined. Portions which I have read do not seem to be biblical. The scroll which we did not dare unroll may contain biblical text; we do not know. It will have to receive special treatment in some museum which knows how to handle such scrolls without their falling apart. The material is very ancient. We have been searching various sources for samples of the oldest forms of letters. The material for dating is scanty, but from the samples we have seen the manuscripts may be safely dated between 200 BC and AD 200. They may well be as old as the ministry of Christ. The scribe seems to have written at a transitional period when more than one style was being employed for writing. He was familiar with both very ancient and recent documents. Some of the letters look like those made in the third and even the fifth century BC. Many fit the second century BC. Still others seem to fit the Herodian period. In the same paragraph two or three variations of the same letter occur. This complicates the problem of dating. I have read 12 verses of Isaiah, sufficient to know that the text is very important for establishing the true text of the book. This is the first great biblical manuscript found in Palestine. It is the first in unpointed Hebrew. The oldest Hebrew manuscript is from the ninth century AD. The oldest complete Greek manuscript of a book of the Bible may be as early as the third century AD. There are fragments earlier. The nonbiblical materials may add a great deal to our knowledge of Hebrew and to our understanding of the history of religion. A word of this must not be breathed under circumstances that would lead the press to publicize the fact of the discovery. Premature publication may make the monks of the monastery uncooperative, or it may imperil the safety of the manuscript in these chaotic times. We await the printing of the films before we can give real study to the manuscript. As soon as the prints are made we shall have an exciting time studying the scrolls. We will then have some wonderfully inspiring and instructive material.¹⁵⁴

Tuesday, 24 February 1948

By noon, Tuesday, Trevor and Brownlee had finished photographing the Manual of Discipline, so they ate lunch, and left to return the scroll to St. Mark's Monastery.

Entrance to the monastery was through a gate and up a stairway past their

chapel until one came on top of the roof which served as a porch to their upper room which housed their library. We were graciously received and shown their highly prized, illuminated Syriac books, also a modern Torah (Pentateuchal) scroll which they had in their possession. While Trever was talking with the metropolitan, Butros Sowmy (the librarian) engaged me in conversation and roundly hinted their preference of carrying on negotiations through me. He showed me the sheet of paper on which they had written my name first and Burrows next, when they had sought advice from Bishop Stewart by telephone on 18 February. However, I refused to push myself to the fore, preferring that Trever, who had seen the scrolls first, should assume authority for the negotiations with the American Schools of Oriental Research; for the right of initial discovery was his.¹⁵⁵

What an insight into Brownlee, the man!¹⁵⁶ That evening he added a postscript to his letter to Louise of the previous evening:

I never got the letter finished yesterday, as I had to help John photograph the



L to R, Ann Putcamp, Millar Burrows, William Brownlee, and John Trever in the library of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, 1948. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

scroll (two pieces originally) that the monks left behind. We photographed it last evening in black and white. We spent all morning photographing its text in color, also a fragment of parchment that John picked up out of the bottom of the bag in which the monks brought the scrolls. I spent about four hours last night studying the fragment. It is extremely ancient. I would hate to say how old it is, but it is certainly

ly the oldest of the whole lot—maybe second century BC. This afternoon we called at the Syrian monastery in the Old City and returned the materials that they had left with us. An examination of the scroll [Genesis Apocryphon] that we hardly dare touch showed that the fragment had chipped off the outside of it. We found the place where it fit. Thus, providentially, we can study the fragment and determine something of the contents of the other scroll. I do not know how the discovery of these things will affect the time of our departure, but it is certainly a grand climax to the year's work at Jerusalem.

By the way, John received a telegram saying that he had been selected by the American Revision Committee to be their educational director for the publicity of the Revised Standard Bible. He loves to lecture and to show pictures. Prestige gained from the discovery of these very ancient manuscripts should greatly enhance his effectiveness. He should draw large crowds and do a wonderful job.

The monastery is a very interesting place. They have many tenth to twelfth century AD Syriac books. They sent attendants to meet us at the New Gate and we were not challenged once either going or coming. God bless you. Bill.¹⁵⁷

So far, Trever and Brownlee had identified only the Isaiah scroll. They had no idea what the others were except that Trever saw echoes of 1 Enoch in what he was to call the Habakkuk Commentary, particularly the reference to destruction by fire and brimstone on the Day of Judgment. He searched the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament for exact parallels, but could not find the passages in previously known works. All during Wednesday and Thursday, Trever and Brownlee worked on prints of the Manual.¹⁵⁸

Wednesday, 25 February 1948

After another dental appointment Trever went to the post office to send a telegram of acceptance to the *Revised Version* committee and another to his wife to tell her the good news. Then he sat in a quiet corner and wrote Professor Albright "in a scrawling hand and with cautious reserve":

Enclosed are some sample prints from a manuscript which I have discovered here in Jerusalem in Dr. Burrows' absence If you are right about your dating of the Nash Papyrus, then I believe that this is the oldest Bible document yet discovered!

...My first thought when seeing these scrolls was to get them photographed and a copy to you for study. I firmly believe the script cannot be later than the second century AD (Dura Fragment),¹⁵⁹ and it has some indications to show it may be earlier than the Nash Papyrus. I am so busy with the photographing of them that I can't take time now to make the careful study that they demand for more accurate dating. I am personally convinced that their age is great

...I know you will understand my concern about the safety of the manuscripts, so will keep this absolutely confidential. Should there be an announcement now, there is great danger that they might be destroyed.¹⁶⁰

Friday, 27 February 1948

Prints of this scroll [the Manual of Discipline] were completed the after-

noon of 27 February. That night they were dry enough to be taken to my room for study, where examination of the first column of connected text revealed that this was a commentary (or midrash) on the Prophet Habakkuk.¹⁶¹



25 February 1948, West Jerusalem. Victims are carried from the scene of a bombing on Ben Yehuda Street, which claimed 42 lives and left 97 people injured. Courtesy Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Saturday, 28 February 1948

Burrows returned from Baghdad on Saturday, full of stories about his trips to ancient Ur and Babylon. Trever and Brownlee were equally full of stories of the past 10 days' events and began to spill them out. Ever the cautious scholar, Burrows urged the two young men to be careful, but he agreed that their classes for the remainder of the year should be devoted largely to the study of their newly found documents.¹⁶²

Over the next few days, Brownlee, Trever, and Burrows spent time on the scrolls, but much of Trever's time was taken up by negotiations with the Syrians. Still, they came to a few conclusions at this early stage: one scroll was indeed a commentary on Habakkuk; another was a manual for behavior in a sect; the sect resembled the ancient Jewish Essene sect as described by the first-century Jewish historian Josephus; and the Isaiah Scroll had important textual variants from the traditional or Masoretic Hebrew text.

8 March 1948

When the photographs arrived at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Professor Albright could hardly contain himself. As Professor Frank M. Cross related:

One day in the spring of 1948, Noel Freedman and I were working in our carrels in the Johns Hopkins library when Professor William F. Albright, our teacher, came rushing into the library. He herded us into his study and whipped out glossy prints of manuscript columns received from John Trever in Jerusalem. The text was from Isaiah. He dated the Isaiah scroll before our eyes, explaining the typologically significant features of the script. With a few minutes' study he was able to assign the manuscript to the second century B.C.E. It was a remarkable performance. But Albright was prepared. In 1937, he had published his classic analysis of the Nash Papyrus, organizing the field in the process, and by 1947, he had gathered a large number of additional data bearing on the typology of the Aramaic and Jewish scripts of this era, planning an updating of his earlier paper.¹⁶³

From that incomplete set of photos of the Isaiah scroll Frank and Noel were able to confirm a hypothesis in one of their joint Ph.D. dissertations, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, about vowel changes and vowel letters in the Hebrew Bible. But they couldn't divulge to anyone how they knew they were right, because the scroll was as yet unpublished.¹⁶⁴

Thursday, 4 March 1948¹⁶⁵

Apparently, Brownlee had written a letter to his doctoral advisor at Duke University, Professor W. F. Stinespring (brother-in-law of W. F. Albright) on 22 February in which he told him about the scrolls and swore him to secrecy, for on 4 March he wrote back to Brownlee: "The scroll find is exciting I shall of course say nothing about the find. Maybe you can hitch up with some kind of a deal to study and publish this material."¹⁶⁶ Thus, within two weeks after Trever identified the scrolls, Albright at Johns Hopkins and Stinespring at Duke already knew about them.

Friday, 5 March 1948

Finally, on 5 March the Syrians disclosed to Trever that the discovery of the scrolls had been recent, not 40 years in the past.¹⁶⁷ Of course, the Syrians themselves did not

know exactly when the scrolls had been discovered, and apparently it was not even completely clear to them that there had been two entirely separate groups, possibly indicating two separate discoveries (see more below). But at least Trever, Brownlee, and Burrows now knew that the discovery had been in the recent, not distant past.

This brought up a new problem. Now that they knew the discovery to be recent, that is, within the time period of the 31 years of British Mandate (1917–1948), not during the time of the Ottoman Empire (preceding 1917), “there was a legal obligation on our part,” Brownlee related, “to inform the Department of Antiquities to this effect.”¹⁶⁸ However, this led to a further problem, one that often surfaces when one is acting the middleman between antiquities dealers and antiquities authorities: how much does one reveal about his sources to either side? As Brownlee understood, speaking to the Antiquities Department might be seen as “assuming the role of the informer against the Syrians, which Trever and Burrows were loathe to do.” They also worried that if they did report the discovery to the authorities, the scrolls would be seized and stored in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, which, situated as it was in East Jerusalem only a few blocks from West Jerusalem, was likely to be in the midst of the fighting everyone knew would soon erupt into war. As it turned out, the museum was not damaged significantly in the war, but this was unknowable at the time.

As Brownlee reflected on these events some years later, he wrote this summary of what happened and why it happened. (We will take up Gerald Lankester Harding’s and Father Roland de Vaux’s perspective as we get to that place in our story):

None of us was happy about our failure to report the discovery properly to authorities. On different occasions, as we had talked informally with different personnel of the museum and of the Antiquities Department, we had discussed the scrolls and their antiquity. On one occasion I had told Mr. R. W. Hamilton, the director of the Department of Antiquities, that the discovery was as recent as 20 years previously, but he had made no move to investigate the matter, or to claim the documents for Palestine. Trever, as the negotiator, and Burrows, as the school’s director, were more personally involved than I, but they kept prudently quiet and I was unwilling to go over their heads. Thus, for various reasons (whether pecuniary, nationalistic, prudential, or out of ignorance), everyone who had handled the scrolls during the British Mandate failed to report the discovery accurately (if at all) to the Antiquities Department of Palestine.¹⁶⁹

5–12 March 1948

Their discovery that the scrolls had been found recently led Trever and Brownlee down another path: they wanted to visit the scroll cave. Surprisingly, despite concealing the relatively recent nature of the discovery, they (or they and Burrows and/

or the American School) applied for an excavation permit! “Permission to conduct an excavation there was obtained from the Antiquities Department, and arrangements were made with the Arabs to conduct us to the cave.”¹⁷⁰

6–11 March 1948

Meanwhile, Trever was not satisfied with the photographs he had made of the Isaiah Scroll, so he asked the Syrians to lend him the scroll again and allow him to keep it at the American School so that he could produce a new set. He scoured Jerusalem for 13-by-18 cm film, and finally found some in a shop in the Old City. The resulting photos, Brownlee says, were easier to read than the original manuscript, “as though the developing toned down the brownness of the scroll and caused the darkness of the handwriting to stand out in sharper relief.”¹⁷¹ This second set of photos were the ones eventually published by ASOR.

13 March 1948

On 13 March Brownlee wrote three letters: two to Louise and one to his parents. He and Trever had not yet heard back from Albright, but they had already drawn a number of conclusions from their examination of the manuscripts. Brownlee had been working on the “commentary on Habakkuk” (1QpHab). He said:

Parts of it are very difficult. It contains rare words and forms—many of which do not occur in the Old Testament. It is very interesting. It speaks enigmatically of the *Kitti'im*, of their exploits, and oppressive dominion. These might be either the Greeks or the Romans, probably the latter. This book seems to have belonged to an esoteric sect, possibly the Essenes. It speaks constantly of the Teacher of Righteousness who had been persecuted by the “wicked priest” of Jerusalem. All the “mysteries of the words of the prophets” concerning the end of the world have been revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness. He appears to be the Elect One through whom God will judge the world. Thus he is given Messianic stature. Trever has been working on another scroll which appears to be the book of faith and order of the sect. When he has had time to translate it, we may be able to identify the sect; or if it is a new one, we shall know a great deal about it. The dating of the documents is still quite a problem—probably either first century BC or first century AD.

We have discovered that the story that the monastery had the scrolls for 40 years is false. As a matter of fact, they received them last November [also not true] from the Bedouin. Thus there is hope that if we can get down to the cave where they were found we may be able to discover the jars in which the scrolls were preserved (and thus get a pottery index for dating the manuscripts) and possibly find some of the fragments of the scrolls which the Bedouin impatiently threw aside. There is no road down to the cave. It lies through wild country through which the Bedouin have been smug-

gling arms and other materials from Transjordan. With the help of Bedouin guides and by foot, camel, or donkey we should be able to go down and do the necessary investigation and return in two or three days' time. The trip will have its perils in these troublous times, but it will be very important to biblical science to make it, if we can arrange it. This may be our substitute for a trip to Petra, which seems to have definitely washed out.¹⁷²

15 March 1948

On 15 March¹⁷³ John finally received the letter he had been awaiting from Professor Albright. Albright agreed that the scrolls predated the time of Jesus! "My heartiest congratulations," Albright wrote, "on the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times! There is no doubt in my mind that the script is more archaic than that of the Nash Papyrus ...I should prefer a date around 100 BC ...What an absolutely incredible find! And there can happily not be the slightest doubt in the world about the genuineness of the manuscript."¹⁷⁴

The day after Albright's letter arrived Brownlee wrote again to Louise:

By the way, John Trever received from Professor Albright an airmail letter¹⁷⁵ yesterday in reply to a letter he had sent him containing photographs of two columns of Isaiah. Professor Albright (noted authority at Johns Hopkins University) says that he is certain that the Isaiah scroll dates from 100 BC and it may be earlier. My personal opinion is that the other scrolls are somewhat later but still of the first century BC. We plan to go down to the area where the scrolls were found and do some exploring next week if possible. We find that there is a road branching off the Jericho road which runs over to Nebi Musa (where the Moslems have a shrine to the "Prophet Moses"). From there John figures that as a crow flies it is about four miles to the cave. With Bedouin guides we hope to take camping equipment and put up at Nebi Musa and spend a couple days scouting around. We may do a little digging in the cave to ascertain whether the cave had been used for a dwelling or not. We hope to find some fragments impatiently thrown aside by the Bedu and to recover the jars in which the scrolls were preserved; for they may help us to date the depositing of the scrolls.

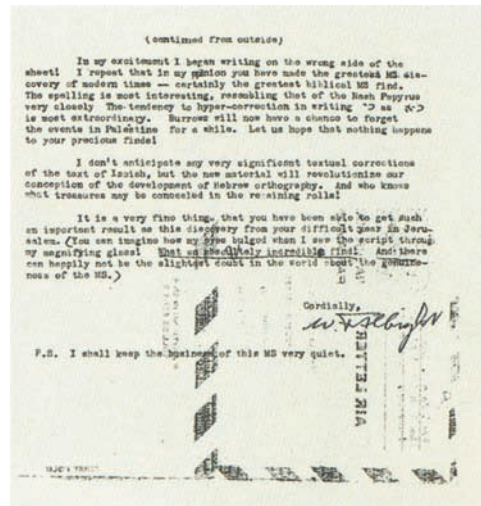
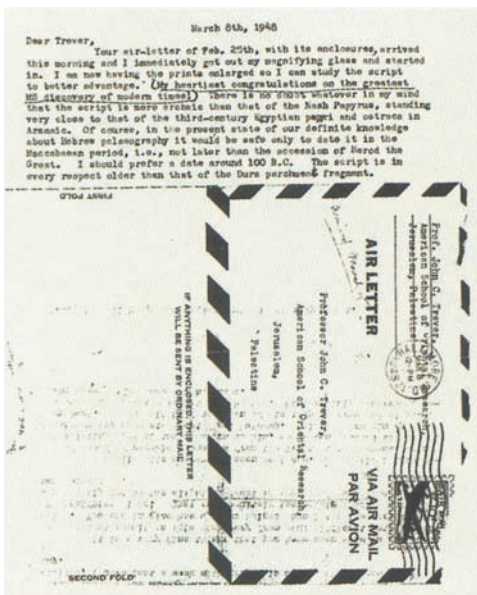
18 March 1948

By now one month had elapsed since the Syrians had made the first phone call to the American School. It was becoming obvious to everyone that an announcement would have to be made to the press, so Burrows composed a news release. On 18 March Mar Samuel called on Burrows at the American school to discuss the an-

nouncement, which, with Samuel's approval, Burrows mailed to the headquarters of the American Schools in New Haven, Connecticut, to be released on 10 April (see text below at 10 April).

19–24 March 1948

"Trever made repeated visits to St. Mark's Monastery," Brownlee said, "to confer with Metropolitan Samuel on the right of the American Schools of Oriental Research to translate and publish the texts of the documents. The librarian of the monastery, Butros Sowmy, generally served as interpreter on these occasions. One day, the Syrians stated that they had some communications from Dr. Sukenik of the Hebrew University and that he was eager to photograph and publish the texts also. Trever was much perturbed and reported the matter to Professor Burrows, who was also dis-



Professor Albright's letter to John Trever. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

turbed by this and stated his intention of telephoning the president of Hebrew University immediately, in order to protest this meddling by Dr. Sukenik. How had that 'fox' come to know about the manuscripts anyway? Trever told me that he had spent an hour talking Burrows out of making this telephone call—with what arguments, I know not. None of us suspected that Sukenik had already seen the manuscripts, or that he had other manuscripts from the same find. Had Burrows made the call, we would have learned of Sukenik's prior labors—or would we? Ironically, we could see the Hebrew University directly above us on Mount Scopus, but we knew nothing about the scrolls which he possessed. Trever persuaded the metropolitan that it was only fair that he should allow the American Schools of Oriental Research, which had already photographed the documents, to be the first to publish the texts."¹⁷⁶

As Trever met again and again with the Syrians he eventually discovered, to his great disappointment, that he and Brownlee had not been the first Hebrew scholars to see the Isaiah scroll. He was told about Van der Ploeg, but it is unclear just when he found out about Sukenik.

20 March 1948

On the afternoon of 20 March Trever visited the monastery to confer on plans for the expedition to the scroll cave, but the Syrians backed out.¹⁷⁷ The Haganah, the most prominent of the pre-state Jewish armies, had stationed soldiers at the north end of the Dead Sea to guard Beit 'Arabah and a Jewish potash company. The Haganah was also conducting army maneuvers in the Judean Desert in anticipation of the full-scale war expected to break out on 15 May. Thus, the Bedouin were unwill-



John Trever (L) and the Archbishop Samuel looking at the Isaiah Scroll in Jerusalem, 1948. Also on the right side of the table from front to back are the Genesis Apocryphon (not yet unrolled), the Habakkuk Commentary (one end rolled up) and the Manual of Discipline. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D. Digital image courtesy James E. Trever.

ing to risk their lives and the lives of the scholars to go there. Even in Jerusalem it was getting dangerous. That evening, while Trever was returning to the American School, a sniper on the Jewish side had taken several shots, but only hit the dust in his vicinity, and Brownlee had been stopped at gunpoint by an Arab who took his white hat to be a sign that he was Jewish.

On one of his visits to the monastery Trever had noticed that part of the “fourth scroll” (Genesis Apocryphon) was becoming more pliable and coming loose. He separated it from the roll and was able to identify the language as Aramaic, the same language written on the piece he suspected had broken off it earlier. He was permitted to bring it back to the American school, where he photographed it in black and white and in color.¹⁷⁸

25 March 1948

On 25 March Trever made another trip to St. Mark's. Mar Samuel showed him a folded sheet of paper in which lay a scroll fragment. "The Metropolitan said that he had accidentally found it by opening a book in their library from which it fell. When the documents had been purchased from the Bedouin the previous summer,¹⁷⁹ he had tucked away this piece in a book and had meanwhile forgotten about it!" It turned out to be another piece of the Habakkuk Commentary.¹⁸⁰

With war impending, Father Sowmy left on the morning of 25 March to take the scrolls, probably by way of Homs, Syria, to Beirut for safekeeping. There the scrolls remained until the very end of 1948. It was relatively easy to get them to Beirut, Antoun Hazou says, because "at that time the whole situation in the country was very confused. It was easy to smuggle things in and out. After they were in Beirut for some time, they were somehow smuggled out of there and into the United States."¹⁸¹



Antoun Hazou and his wife, Saideh, outside their home near St. Mark's Monastery in the Old City, Jerusalem, March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.

30 March 1948

With the situation getting worse by the day, Brownlee decided to leave Jerusalem without delay. He flew from the airport at Lydda to Cairo; thence to Athens, Rome,

Paris, New York, and to Duke University, where he was interviewed for a job before continuing to Sylvia, Kansas to be reunited with his parents and fiancée. While at Duke he gave his first lecture on the Dead Sea Scrolls in a textual criticism class taught by Professor Kenneth W. Clark.¹⁸²

2 April 1948

It was just less than six weeks before the pull-out of British troops, scheduled for 15 May, and even the director of the American School decided it was time to evacuate. Dr. and Mrs. Burrows traveled in an armed caravan to Haifa, where they boarded a ship. In little more than four weeks he had been able to collate the entire text of the Isaiah scroll with the traditional Hebrew text, information that was later used in preparing the Revised Standard Version of the Old Testament (first edition, 1952), 13 readings of which were used.¹⁸³ Burrows was later to be one of the first to publish a complete book on the scrolls, released in 1955. This book, always in plain view on my parents' bookshelves when I was a child, sparked my own first interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹⁸⁴

5 April 1948

Trever left Jerusalem on 5 April 1948, with only a little more than a month to go before the end of the British Mandate. The same month the first notice of the discovery of the scrolls was published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 110.¹⁸⁵

10–11 April 1948

An announcement concerning the scrolls had been composed by Burrows, approved by Samuel, and mailed from Jerusalem three weeks earlier. Now Yale University released it on 10 April for publication in the Sunday papers of 11 April:

The earliest known manuscript of the entire biblical book of Isaiah from the Old Testament has been discovered in Palestine, it was announced today by Professor Millar Burrows of Yale University, the director of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Jerusalem.

In addition, three other unpublished ancient Hebrew manuscripts have been brought to light by scholars in the Holy Land. Two of them have been identified and translated while the third still challenges recognition.

The book of the prophet Isaiah was found in a well-preserved scroll of parchment. Dr. John C. Trever, a Fellow of the School, examined it and recognized the similarity of the script to that of the Nash Papyrus—believed by many scholars to be the oldest known copy of any part of the Hebrew Bible.

This discovery is particularly significant since its origin is dated about the first century BC. Other complete texts of Isaiah are known to exist only as recently as the ninth century AD.

All these ancient scrolls, two in leather and the other in parchment, have been preserved for many centuries in the library of the Syrian Orthodox

Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem. They were submitted to the American Schools of Oriental Research for study and identification by the Metropolitan Athanasius Yeshue Samuel and Father Butros Sowmy of the monastery.

Aside from the Book of Isaiah, a second scroll is part of a commentary on the Book of Habakkuk (Habakkuk is a Minor Prophet and this is one of



Soldiers of allied Arab Legion forces fire from East Jerusalem on Jewish fighters of the Haganah, the Jewish Agency self-defence force, based in the Yemin Moshe quarter of the west sector of the city during the first Arab-Jewish conflict. Courtesy AFP/Getty Images.

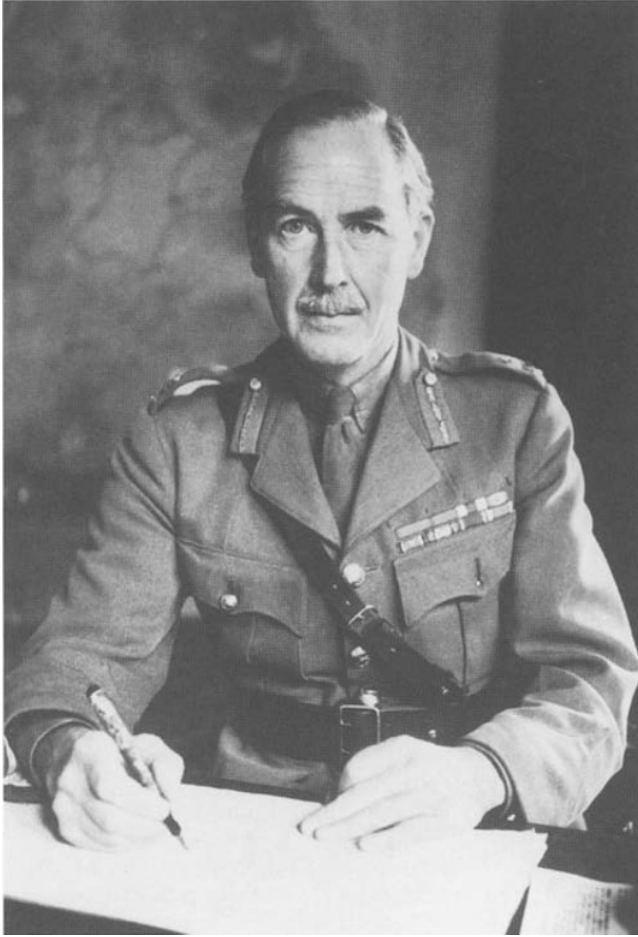
the books of prophecy of the Old Testament), and a third appears to be the manual of discipline of a comparatively unknown little sect or monastic order, possibly the Essenes. The fourth manuscript is still unidentified.

The commentary on the Book of Habakkuk was identified by Dr. William H. Brownlee, a Fellow of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

The manuscripts have been completely photographed in order to preserve their contents in case of damage to the originals and to make possible their publication.

Since the return of Professor Burrows to Jerusalem, many of the class sessions of the school have been devoted to study of these documents, which will be published by the American Schools of Oriental Research.¹⁸⁶

According to Brownlee, the news release had been edited after it left Bur-



5 May 1948 General Sir Alan Cunningham, Palestine High Commissioner. © Bettmann/CORBIS

rows' hands. "Acquired by the Syrian Orthodox Monastery" had been changed to "preserved for many centuries in the library of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery." One can also detect some sort of mistake in the unexplained "since the return of Professor Burrows to Jerusalem." Return from where? The answer is Baghdad, but there must have been some further explanation, since a reader unfamiliar with the background would not have known that. In any event, it appears that a decision had been made somewhere along the line, possibly by Burrows and Samuel together, to conceal how recently the scrolls had

been discovered. We have already shown why this was done, but it is still hard to justify. Sukenik was not long in releasing his own announcement, setting the record, if not entirely straight, at least straighter (see 26 April below).

20 April 1948

In anticipation of the coming war, expected to begin on 15 May, *the High Com-*

missioner of Palestine transferred ownership of the Palestine Archaeological Museum to a board of trustees to be composed of "archaeologists and persons of eminence," representatives of local "archaeological institutions," and "certain public authorities."¹⁸⁷ The order not only established the ownership of the board, but specified the composition of the board, a point that was to have vast implications for scroll research and publication from then until now. This order was amended on 1 February 1955.

26 April 1948

One can only imagine what Sukenik thought when he saw the Yale University press release in which Burrows and Samuel seemed to have deliberately misled the public. For four months he had sat on his own purchase of three scrolls (Isaiah^b, the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving Scroll), as well as his examination of the others (Isaiah^a, Manual of Discipline, Habakkuk Commentary, and possibly, but not certainly, the Genesis Apocryphon) before Trever and Brownlee had seen them. In order to counter the misinformation he broke his silence with his own press release.¹⁸⁸

14 May 1948

Shortly after midnight on 14 May the British withdrew from Jerusalem. The next



14 May 1948, Tel Aviv. Original caption: Members of the newly created state of Israel gathered to hear Prime Minister David Ben Gurion read the Jewish "Declaration of Independence." Left to right: Baruch Schitrit, Minister of Arab Affairs and Police; David Remez, Minister of Communications; Felix Rosenblueth, Minister of Justice; Fritz Bernstein, Minister of Trade; Rabbi Juda Fishman of Jerusalem; David Ben Gurion, Prime Minister and Defense Minister; Moshe Shapiro, Minister of Immigration; Moshe Shertock, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Eliazar Kaplan, Minister of the Treasury; M. Ben Tov, Minister of Labor; and A. Zisling, Minister of Agriculture. © Bettmann/CORBIS

day Butros Sowmy was struck in the head and killed by shrapnel while standing in the courtyard of St. Mark's Monastery.

June–September 1948

Brownlee spent the summer driving a tractor on his father's farm in Kansas, far from scholarship, but he ended the summer with a wife: he and Louise were married in August 1948. In September they packed their wedding gifts and headed for Duke University in



14 May 1948, Tel Aviv. Shortly after Israel Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (seated left) read the state of Israel's Proclamation of Nationhood, future Prime Minister Golda Meir (center) shakes hands with then Foreign Minister (and also future Prime Minister) Moshe Sharett. Other members of Israel's provisional government are seen behind them. Courtesy Frank Scherschel/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

Durham, North Carolina, where he took up his duties teaching Bible classes to undergraduates. He also began work on the publication of the Habakkuk Commentary.¹⁸⁹

Early July 1948

When Burrows departed Jerusalem in April he left Chaplain W. C. Klein of St. George's Cathedral in charge of the American School. Then in early July, near the close of a period of truce between the Arab and Israeli armies, Professor Ovid Sellers, on leave from McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, arrived to become the new director of the American School. At almost the same time Dr. D. C. Beramki, assistant curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, first became aware

during a trip to Amman where he saw an announcement concerning the scrolls, that they might be a recent find from a cave near the Dead Sea. He then recalled how Trever, while on the photographic mission to Khirbet Mefjar on 23 February (mentioned above) had told him about his recent discovery of an old Isaiah manuscript at St. Mark's. Beramki had asked Trever whether the find was recent, but Trever had said it was not a recent discovery, since he had been told by Father Sowmy that the scrolls had been at the monastery for 40 years and did not yet know differently. Beramki had accepted the explanation at the time, but he was now determined to get to the bottom of it.

Beramki returned to Jerusalem from Amman and proceeded at once to the monastery in the Old City, despite the renewed fighting. He was informed the scrolls were no longer there, and that Metropolitan Samuel had gone to visit the Syrian community in Madeba, Transjordan. Beramki hurried to Madeba, where he was told Samuel had gone to Homs, Syria. When he arrived there, the Syrian patriarch told him that Samuel had gone to Beirut. So Beramki pursued him to Beirut, but was unable to locate him or the scrolls, and returned to Jerusalem. "Had Beramki worked through government authorities," Brownlee opined, "he might have located both Samuel and his scrolls somewhere along the way; but his mission was only one of peaceful persuasion."¹⁹⁰ Thus, the authorities came very close to preventing the scrolls from leaving the Middle East. But it was not to be, and a few months later they were smuggled into the United States.

August 1948

George Isha'ya visited the cave again, probably in August 1948, and secured some Daniel and Prayer Scroll fragments, as well as a few others, including one of 1 Enoch, which he turned over to the metropolitan, now back from Beirut, at St. Mark's. Despite the unsettled situation Professor Sellers visited St. Mark's and was shown these fragments, but was given no precise information about their provenance. These were later smuggled out of the country as well. Trever tried for years to get Samuel to return these to Jordan, but never succeeded.

Meanwhile Samuel received a letter from the States advising him that rumors were circulating to the effect that he did not have clear title to the scrolls, rumors that persist until today.¹⁹¹

September 1948

A more complete description of the manuscripts was first presented to the scholarly world in the September 1948 issue of the *Biblical Archaeologist*, followed by articles in October 1948 and February 1949 in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. Also in September 1948 Sukenik published in Hebrew a preliminary survey of the Hebrew University scrolls, excerpts from the texts,¹⁹² and a transcription of chapters 42 and 43 of Isaiah³, proving that he had seen it before Trever and Brownlee. In doing the latter he was only acting according to permission he thought

he had from Kiraz, permission he tried to confirm in writing, but from Trever's perspective he violated the exclusive right of publication conferred by Samuel upon the American Schools.

This same month Professor Ovid Sellers, new director of the American School in Jerusalem flew to Beirut to see his wife, who had been prevented by the American State Department from entering Palestine. Sellers also made an unsuccessful attempt to confer with Samuel, who was apparently there again. Meanwhile, back in Jerusalem the Swedish U.N. mediator Count Folke Bernadotte and Colonel André Sérot, a French U.N. observer, were murdered by members of the Stern Gang in the Katamon quarter on 17 September. The United Nations arranged for a memorial service for Colonel Sérot in Beirut for 22 September. Because Sérot and other U.N. observers had been living at the American School, Dr. Sellers knew him and was asked to participate in the memorial service. The next day Sellers was returning by air to Jerusalem, but the plane was shot down by "a military plane bearing the insignia of the Star of David."¹⁹³ Although the plane crashed in flames, Sellers survived, but not without damage, and he spent the autumn recuperating from injuries, burns, and shock.¹⁹⁴

From time to time Sellers discussed with other archaeologists in Jerusalem the urgency of finding the scroll cave. Sellers was later to recall that Father de Vaux once said he would gladly exchange one column of the scrolls for one potsherd from the cave.¹⁹⁵ But no one knew where to look and the political situation was unstable. In the meantime, George Isha'ya had excavated the cave and removed additional fragments, which he took to Metropolitan Samuel in Beirut.¹⁹⁶

3 October 1948

On 3 October 1948 the Hebrew Daily, *Davar*, carried an article, headlined "DISCOVERY LAST YEAR¹⁹⁷ OF GENIZAH FROM JUDAEAN WILDERNESS," informing the Israeli public for the first time in detail about the discovery of the first Dead Sea Scrolls:

A few months ago, during the very days of both the siege and the battle of Jerusalem, good news was brought to world Jewry and world scientists concerning the discovery of ancient Hebrew scrolls, belonging to an early period, in the Wilderness of Judea. At that time little was published of the information intimated to us by the discoverer, Professor Sukenik. However, it is now possible to acquaint the reader with fuller details, even extracts from the scrolls themselves. The first results of the scientific research into this matter by Professor E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University, is about to be published by the Bialik Institute.

There are presently eleven¹⁹⁸ scrolls and parts of scrolls, discovered in the one cave along the north shore of the Dead Sea, by Bedouin of the Ta'amireh

tribe. These were hidden in pottery and wrapped in special cloth treated with some material of resinous composition. Only one or two pots unbroken were found. The remainder were broken and scattered on the cave floor. It is not yet clear who the owners of this storehouse were. However, the contents of one scroll, which is a book of regulations for conduct of the members of a society or sect, have enabled Professor Sukenik to suggest that the documents belong to the sect of Essenes, who, according to ancient literary sources, dwelled on the western side of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of En-Gedi.

One portion of these scrolls is held by the Hebrew University [of Jerusalem], while the other is held by the Syrian [Orthodox Christian] Community of Jerusalem. This latter part was transferred to a neighbouring country for safekeeping. The scrolls held by the Syrian Christians include the [entire] book of Isaiah, photographed by [John Trever, associated with the American Schools of Oriental Research and] Yale University. A number of sections of the Isaiah^[a] manuscript were copied by [Professor Sukenik of] the Hebrew University.¹⁹⁹



Yigael Yadin (Sukenik's son) and Nahman Avigad (Sukenik's assistant in 1947) with the Great Isaiah Scroll in Jerusalem about 1960. Courtesy John C. Trever, Ph.D.

The article went on to report that the scrolls were on “leather, that they were dated in the period preceding the destruction of the Second Temple” (70 AD).

19 October 1948

The previous month Mar Samuel had made a special trip to the Syrian patriarch in Homs to report the dire situation of the Syrian Orthodox congregations in the Old City. Told by the patriarch, “We shall have to ask much of you in the days ahead,”²⁰⁰ Samuel could not have been entirely surprised when on 19 October the patriarch sent a letter to the Syrian congregations in the States imploring their assistance and appointing Samuel “Apostolic Delegate to the United States and Canada.”²⁰¹

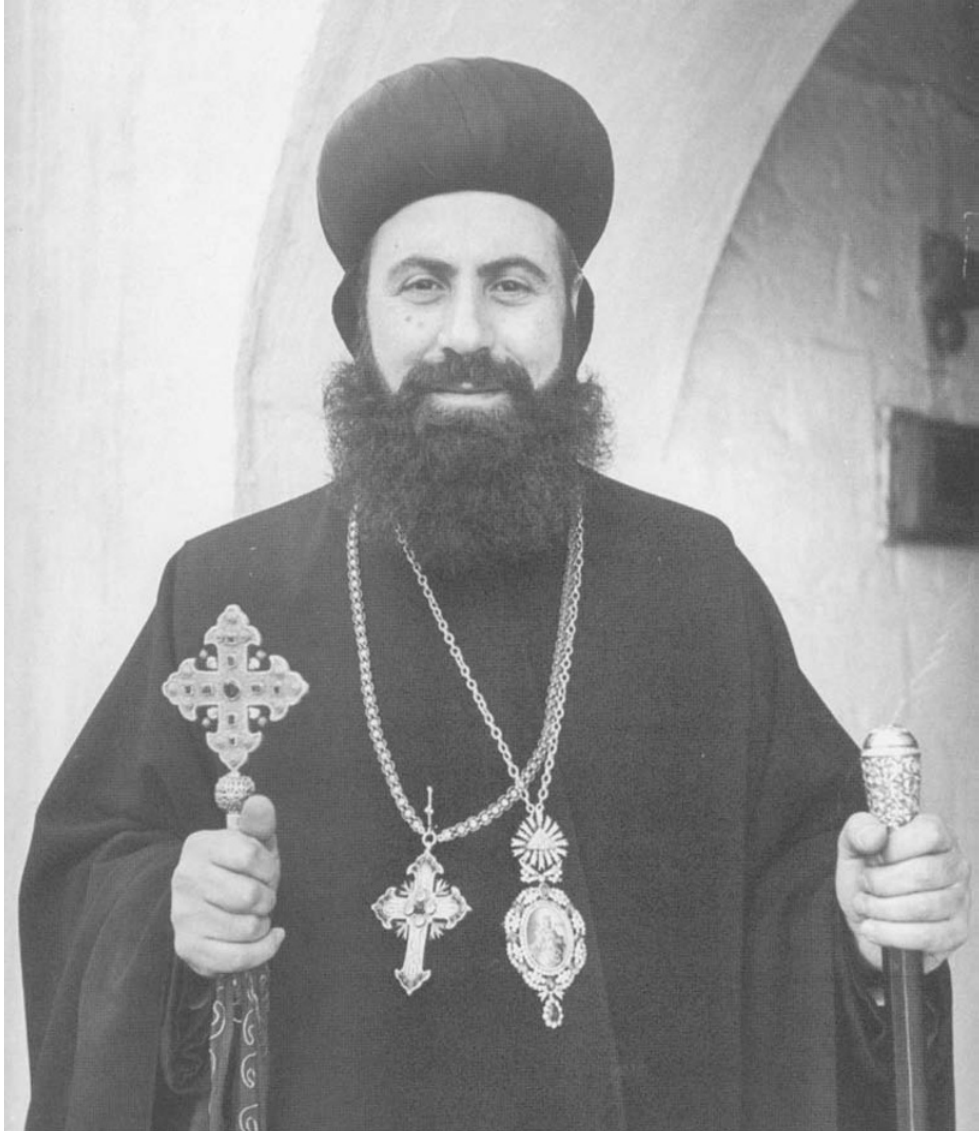
November 1948

In November 1948 Isha'ya and others (possibly including Kando himself) excavated the cave and secured many more fragments.²⁰² It was not until November 1948, when the April copies of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Re-*

search (BASOR 110) reached Jerusalem, that G. W. L. Harding, director of the Antiquities Department of Jordan learned about this important discovery.²⁰³

Late December 1948 or Early January 1949

Delayed some days in Beirut by a longshoremen's strike just after Christmas

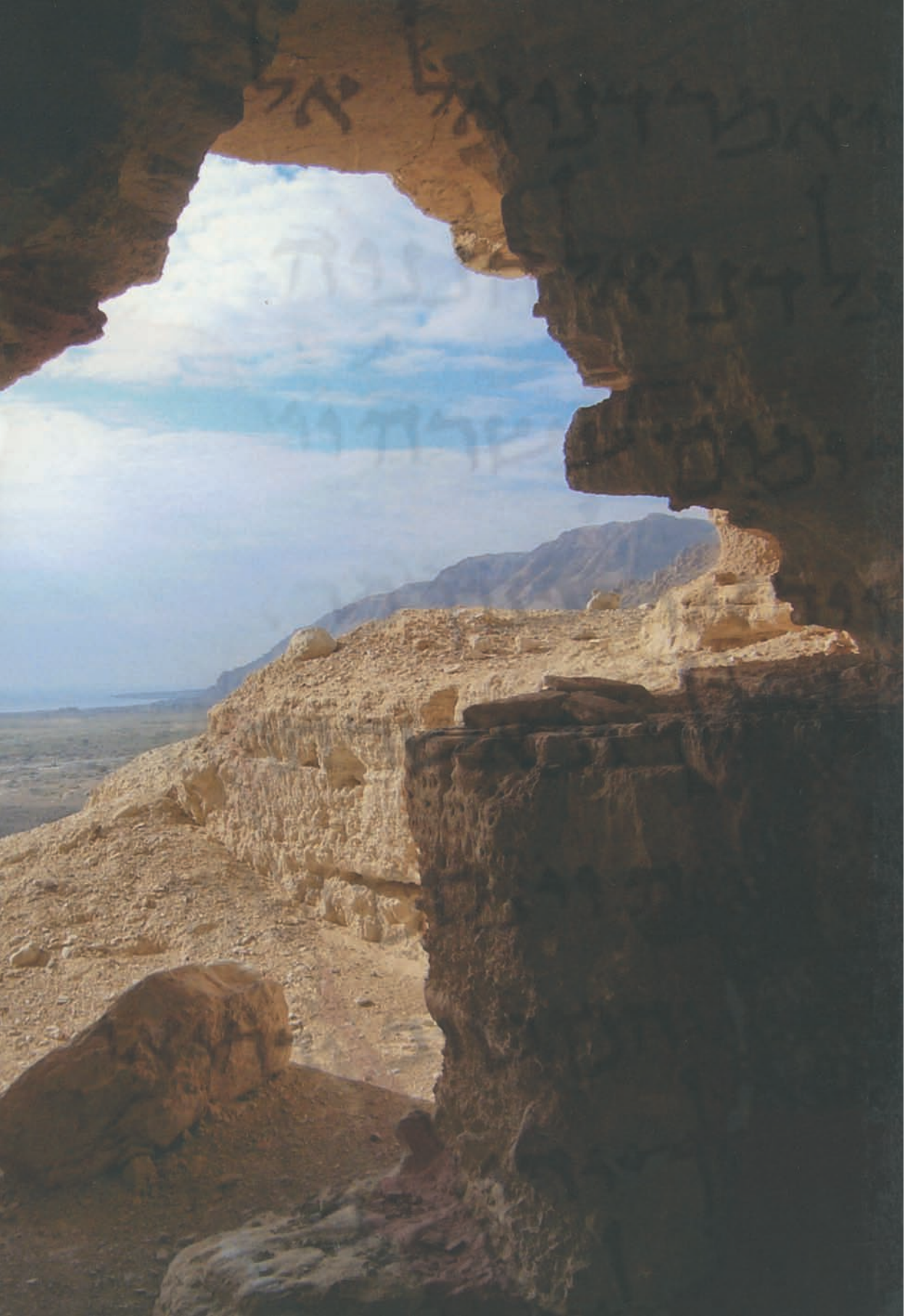


His Eminence Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, Syrian Metropolitan of Jerusalem. Photo Getty Images

1948, Mar Samuel awaited the departure of the ship *SS Excalibur*. While biding his time, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Bayard Dodge, who was also staying at the St. George Hotel in Beirut. When the strike dragged on, Samuel began to consider fly-

ing to America, but Dr. Dodge dissuaded him, saying, “The good earth has preserved these scrolls for thousands of years—if the plane should catch fire or crash, the whole world would feel the loss.”²⁰⁴

Finally, the strike over, the *Excalibur*²⁰⁵ weighed anchor, with Samuel and the scrolls aboard. Journeying by way of Alexandria, Piraeus, Naples, Genoa, Rome, and touching America first at Boston, the ship continued on to Jersey City, New Jersey, where Samuel was met by a delegation of Syrian Christians on 29 January 1949. The Dead Sea Scrolls had reached the United States.²⁰⁶



Chapter 2

THE MYSTERY OF CAVE 1

1949–1950

By the beginning of 1949 all the major scrolls had been bought or taken out of the country. Israel's War of Independence had come to a halt with an uneasy cease-fire on 7 January, and when the dust settled, Transjordan, later known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, had control of Qumran, East Jerusalem, The Old City, and Mt. Scopus, including the campus of the Hebrew University.

From 1949 onward, the center of scrolls acquisition became the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the central players, Gerald Lankester Harding, Father Roland de Vaux, and Yusef Saad. The groundwork was laid for a more scientific analysis of the Qumran caves, the site of Qumran itself, and artifacts connected with the scrolls. Perhaps most important of all, Harding and de Vaux squarely faced the reality of illegal excavation, and made a momentous, fortuitous decision about how to handle the Bedouin and their booty.

January 1949

By January 1949 none of the officials of the Palestine Archaeological Museum or the Department of Antiquities yet knew the location of Cave 1. This was the obvious starting point if any control at all were to be brought to Bedouin treasure hunting. Just after the first of the year O. R. Sellers, director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (1948–1949) and Yusef Saad,¹ secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, attempted to locate the "Scroll Cave" (Cave 1), but George Isha'ya demanded payment, and negotiations ceased.

24–28 January 1949

On 24 January 1949 Captain Philippe Lippens, Belgian observer on the United Nations staff, asked for help from Major-General Lash of the Arab Legion to relocate the cave. This was accomplished on 28 January 1949 by Captain Akkash el Zebn after a three-day search.²

*There is no doubt
the discovery is one
of the most impor-
tant ever made in
Palestine*

—Gerald Lankester Harding

29 January–4 February 1949

Meanwhile, on 29 January 1949, the day after Cave 1 had been rediscovered, the



Father Roland de Vaux, O.P. Courtesy the École biblique et archéologique française Jerusalem.

Syrian Archbishop (Metropolitan) Mar Samuel had arrived in the United States with four scrolls and various fragments.³ Six days later, 4 February, Trever met him in New Jersey to begin arrangements for unrolling the “Fourth Scroll” from Cave 1, the Genesis Apocryphon (Lamech Scroll or Lamech Apocalypse), on which see more below.⁴ While they were talking, Samuel handed him a metal cigarette box,⁵ containing scroll fragments placed between layers of cotton. Samuel explained that George Isha’ya had obtained these materials during a recent excavation of the cave (sometime in 1948 or even 1947?).⁶ Trever worked on these fragments during the sec-

ond week of April.

15 February–5 March 1949

It took Harding and de Vaux just two weeks to organize the official excavation of Cave 1. Under their direction, but in a joint effort of the École, ASOR, and the museum, the dig lasted three weeks until 5 March.

Arguably the two most important players in the first decade of scroll discovery and research, Harding and de Vaux each had been well prepared by training as well as experience to fill the roles shortly to be thrust upon them.

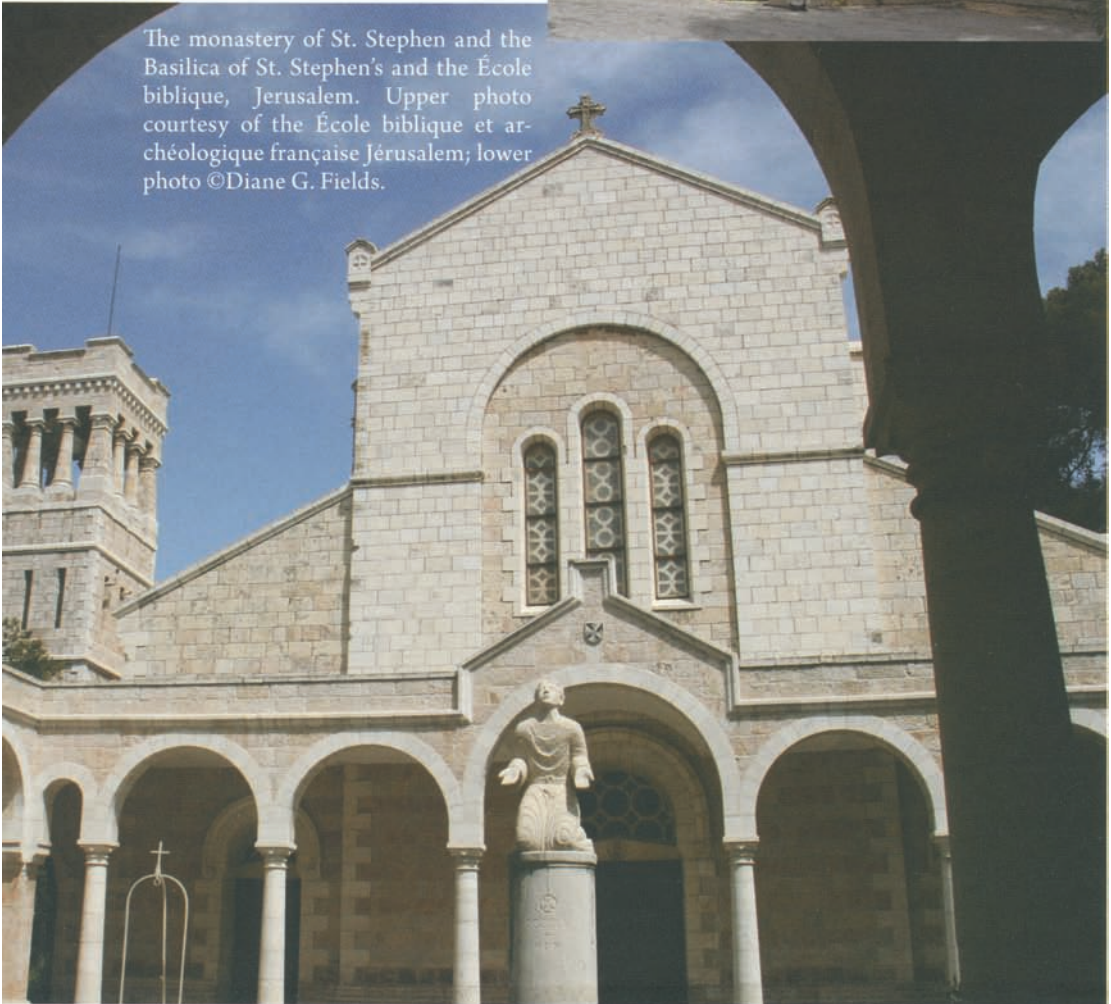
Born 17 December 1903 in Paris, Roland de Vaux was reared in a profoundly Catholic family, received his education at the Collège Stanislas and the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and acquired a Licence ès-Lettres from the Sorbonne. He was ordained a priest before entering the Dominican Order on 23 September 1930. Sent to the École bib-



lique in Jerusalem in September 1933, he was particularly influenced by Father Vincent, successor to the École's founder, Father Lagrange. He lived and worked at the École for 38 years until his premature death on 10 September 1971 at the age of 67.⁷ "He was one of the last of a generation of scholars whose mastery of excavation technique was matched by a sophisticated understanding of ancient documents."⁸ During his years at the École, Father de Vaux was professor of history and archaeology (1935–1971), editor of the *Revue biblique* (1938–53) and



The monastery of St. Stephen and the Basilica of St. Stephen's and the École biblique, Jerusalem. Upper photo courtesy of the École biblique et archéologique française Jérusalem; lower photo ©Diane G. Fields.



director (1945–65), and also served during 1949–1952 as prior of the Dominican Monastery of St. Stephen, host of the *École*,⁷ as well as president of the board of trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum from the 1940s through the 1960s. As a result of his positions of concurrent *École* director, monastery prior, and museum president he wielded wide influence during the crucial early days of purchasing the scrolls and excavating Qumran and Murabba'at.

De Vaux first excavated in 1944 at Abu Gosh, and for nine seasons between 1946 and 1960 at Tell el-Far'ah (Tirzah), so he was no stranger to archaeology when he was asked by Harding to excavate the scrolls caves and Qumran.⁹

Gerald William Lankester Harding was born in England on 8 December 1901, and died 11 February 1979. He first came to Jordan in 1932 “more or less as a tourist, taking a busman’s holiday with other members of the expedition at the end of a season’s excavation with Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el ‘Ajjul in South Palestine.”¹⁰ He returned in 1936 as chief curator of antiquities for the Department of Antiquities during the British Mandate. He became Inspector of Antiquities in 1939 and took over the Department of Antiquities of Jordan shortly after its formation in 1949.¹¹

During his tenure he left an indelible mark on all archaeology in Jordan. For our purposes here, we must point out that through his tireless efforts, wisdom, and not least important, restraint, he, together with Father de Vaux, deserves much of the credit for the Palestine Archaeological Museum’s successful acquisition of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Until today he is vividly remembered by the Bedouin who speak of his honesty, kindness, understanding of their culture, and ability to speak Arabic. One had only to hear the reverence with which Abu Daoud said his name (“Hardin” not “Harding!”) and see the expression on his face to understand the impression he had made on the Ta’amireh, who, though illegal excavators in the strictest sense, were nevertheless treated with accommodation and gentleness in the greater interest of saving the scrolls for science.

First Reports of the Excavation of Cave 1

There are several early accounts of the excavation. Although they are somewhat overlapping, it is helpful to compare them.

Two weeks after the completion of this excavation, Harding, as “Chief Curator of Antiquities,” composed a “Communique to the Press” (21 March 1949). In this communique he recounts the main points he had made or was to make elsewhere about the scrolls: he emphasized the biblical content of the fragments excavated in Cave 1 by the “Transjordan Department of Antiquities” in conjunction with the *École* biblique. Hundreds of fragments were found, he said, together with remains of 30 pots and a quantity of the cloth in which the scrolls were wrapped. He dated the pottery at the first and second centuries BC, and says that the scrolls were written in an “early form of the Hebrew square script,” some in the “Phoenician” script dating from the fifth and sixth centuries,¹² and he says there were at this

point “eight” scrolls known. Even so early, Harding, echoing Professor Albright, but with fewer qualifications, knew that “there is no doubt the discovery is one of the most important ever made in Palestine.” And he emphasized, “It is deeply to be regretted that those who received the earliest information about the find in 1947 and 1948 did not take all possible steps to ensure the proper handling and treatment of the original excavation of the cave.”¹³

A few years later Harding recounted his involvement with the initial discovery and excavation of Cave 1 in a more formal way in the introductory section of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD) 1.¹⁴ It was submitted to Oxford University Press in 1953, but not published until 1955.

“The discovery was duly reported back to headquarters, and I went down to examine the place. At first I was skeptical whether it could really be the right cave, but the presence of many potsherds and fragments of linen showed that it had at least been occupied and must be investigated.” He continued: “The dump of the illegal excavations was first examined and produced large quantities of sherds and cloth and a few pieces of inscribed leather, including the first piece we had seen in the Phoenician script Several hundred fragments of inscribed leather and a few fragments of papyrus were recovered, varying in size from pieces bearing one letter, or even half a letter, to a piece containing several lines of text in a column. After the two intact jars acquired by the Hebrew University were removed, the remainder were apparently broken up, for we found nothing but sherds [Abu Daoud maintained that when he first went into the cave there were as many as 50 jars still intact].¹⁵ Very few other objects were found apart from the linen; one scroll, or part of a scroll, was found still in its linen wrapper, stuck together to the neck of a jar.” One fragment, Harding says, had “corroded into a solid black mass,” and it was “impossible to separate even a small portion of it. Inscribed fragments were mounted between glass each day as they were found, and photographed on the spot for safe record.¹⁶ Infrared photographs taken in the studio of the Palestine Archaeological Museum later have revealed texts on pieces which to the naked eye present merely a blank black surface.”

25 February 1949

The Archbishop Samuel had been in the States only a few weeks. He hoped to sell the four scrolls in his possession and send the money back to the Syrian community in Jerusalem, but on 25 February someone sent out a notice, bearing only a New York City street number as the return address, stating that *the scrolls had been removed from Palestine illegally and that “all persons and bodies” should “refrain from purchasing them.”*¹⁷

March 1949

At almost the same time that De Vaux and Harding were excavating Cave 1, Samuel, undeterred by the anonymous attempt to derail his efforts to sell the scrolls, met with W. F. Albright. Samuel claimed that Albright advised him the value of the

scrolls could not be less than \$180,000. Below that price, Albright is reported to have said, “no intelligent man versed in books would dare to go.”¹⁸

6 March 1949: Had the law been broken?

The day after the Harding–de Vaux excavation of Cave 1 was completed, Harding thought these scrolls, “smuggled out” by the Archbishop, might still be in Homs, Syria.¹⁹ He was more than a little unhappy about the situation, and wrote from Amman to “Robert” in Jerusalem (Mr. Robert Hamilton, director of the Department of Antiquities in Mandate Palestine) to find out what he knew about it:

My dear Robert,

You have undoubtedly heard by now of the early scrolls discovered in 1947 near the Dead Sea. We have found the cave, about 8 kilometers south of the Kalia hotel, in which they were found, and have spent the last three weeks clearing it. Hundreds of broken fragments of scrolls have been recovered, also a mass of shards of the pots in which they were stored. The story, pieced together from several sources, seems as follows. A goat herd²⁰ must have found the cave first as a result of a new fall of rock revealing the entrance; pots must have been visible above ground which he broke, found the scrolls, and took them to an antiquity dealer in Bethlehem. The dealer took them to the Syrian metropolitan of St. Mark’s, who in turn took them to the Hebrew University, Sukenik. They bought four of the rolls from the dealer and were negotiating for another four when conditions early in ’48 made it impossible to continue. The metropolitan, who by then seems to have gained control of the documents then sent them to the American School, where Trever photographed them and Burrows later examined them. Meantime I suspect either the metropolitan or the dealer had been down to the cave and roughly dug out everything that remained. We have remains of at least 30 pots and *fragments of rolls which are not among the eight already known*.²¹ We know that the metropolitan smuggled four out of the country so I suspect he may have considerably more. He has gone to America, hotly pursued by Sukenik, but I hear the rolls may be in Homs.

The point that I want you to confirm is that the Department was never informed of the discovery by any of the parties above, even though Trever was going about with Harry at the time he was actually photographing the rolls. I shall ask the same confirmation from Harry, *as I propose to write very strongly about the action of both the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Hebrew University in failing to take all possible steps to ensure the proper handling of the whole matter*. We have fragments of scrolls which must be contemporary with the Lachish Letters²² at least, and if *these and others have been*

lost, the ASOR and the HU must accept the grave responsibility of having failed lamentably in their scientific duty, quite apart from the fact that the whole transaction was illegal from the start. Details from the American side can be found in the Biblical Archaeologist and recent issues of the BASOR, while Sukenik has published in Hebrew a preliminary account of the scrolls in their possession. I cannot of course let fly until I am sure of my ground, but shall certainly do so as soon as I am sure, so must wait a reply from you and Harry

Yours,

[G. Lankester Harding]²³

The purchase of, even knowing about, the scrolls without informing the proper authorities was without question unwise, if not indeed illegal. But by this time the situation in Palestine and Jerusalem in particular had deteriorated to the point that one can imagine there was very little authority left with the Mandate Department of Antiquities.

Mar Samuel later wrote: "On February 27, 1948, Dr. Trever informed me about the Antiquity Laws of Palestine and that he had discussed the matter of the discovery of the scrolls with Mr. R. W. Hamilton, director of the Department of Antiquities. When I heard about this I abandoned my plans to visit the cave again, assuring Dr. Trever that I would cooperate in every way possible with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Department of Antiquities in carrying out the excavation of the cave. I had Father Yusef discuss his visit to the cave at length with Dr. Trever, the Rev. Butros Sowmy acting as interpreter."²⁴

The handling of the matter was already of some concern in the States, for in the issue of the *Biblical Archaeologist* where the find is announced, Professor G. Ernest Wright, its editor, said:

It may as well be stated publicly that there may yet be some discussion as to whether all the antiquity laws of Palestine were kept in good faith by the various parties concerned. The editor understands that there is an inclination on the part of some in the Palestine Museum to be critical of both the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and the Hebrew University for failure properly to report the discovery to the museum officials. Not in possession of all the facts, I am unable to say very much about the matter. From what I know of the persons involved in the American School, however, I am absolutely convinced that there was no intentional deception of any kind. The story of the metropolitan in this issue reveals how difficult it was for him to find anyone who would believe that the manuscripts were actually old. Both he and the American School reported the discovery to the museum personnel, who were naturally suspicious of the whole affair. It may be that they were partly led astray by the fact that the American School was at first

under the impression that the scrolls had been in the library of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery for some time, an impression presented also in the first news release of the school (see *BA* 11:2, p. 22). The true story of the find was revealed to the school only after the manuscripts had been studied for some time. By that time the Palestinian war was at its height and the personnel of the school were busily and excitedly preparing to leave the country as quickly as possible. Whatever may be the final decisions in the matter, there were certainly plenty of extenuating circumstances for any misunderstandings which may have arisen. A fantastic story, at first almost impossible to believe, and a war that divided Jerusalem into two opposing camps form a setting in which almost anything could have happened.²⁵

Brownlee made it clear in his unpublished manuscript, however, that both he and Trever encouraged Samuel to send the scrolls out of the country, a move he says was



Kando in his store in Bethlehem, 1950s. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © Photo by John C. Trever, Ph.D.

motivated by concern for their safety. One might also surmise that there was some fear that in the event that the coming war were to leave the Jews in control of the Old City, the scrolls might be seized and end up in their hands.²⁶ Furthermore, Burrows' Yale press release, cited in the previous chapter, seems to be a deliberate attempt to

maintain that the scrolls had been discovered long before 1947 (and thus, perhaps, not strictly under the restrictions of the antiquities laws), when, in fact, he had known since 5 March 1948 that it was not true. Yet, one hesitates to be too uncharitable. It is much too easy to make harsh judgments at a distance, and, as I have found from personal experience, dealing correctly with antiquities authorities while at the same time not cutting off important sources can be a very tricky business indeed.

In the end, nothing came of Harding's plan to prosecute. But there is more. Eventually Harding and de Vaux realized that the scrolls discovered later would never be recovered through normal channels and they, together with Yusef Saad, gradually came up with a system of accommodation to the facts on the ground: they entered

into an agreement with Kando that if he would offer scrolls coming onto the market to the PAM first, neither he nor his sources, usually Bedouin, would be prosecuted. According to Kando family tradition, the agreement was suggested by Kando to Harding and de Vaux after a Bedouin turned up in Kando's shop with a scrolls fragment secreted in his anus. Kando was afraid that valuable fragments would be destroyed by this and other ways of smuggling them about if the Bedouin feared prosecution.²⁶

The purchasing system is discussed at more length below at the point in the narrative where the first recorded direct transaction with the Bedouin takes place in 1950, but for now it should be noted that the practice was adhered to, at least on the side of the museum and the DAJ, until 1967 when Israel captured the museum during the Six-Day War. Only in the last few years has it become clearly evident that Kando and the Bedouin did not always keep up their end of the bargain. But this was all to come later. For now, Harding and de Vaux realized that the important thing was to excavate the cave and find whatever might have been missed by the Bedouin and their compatriots during multiple visits over the past two years.

Early April 1949

It was not long before there was another troubling development. Samuel now received a letter informing him that the governments of both Israel and Jordan, governments which had not even existed at the time the scrolls were discovered, were demanding their return. Later that week he allowed Trever to work on some more fragments.²⁷

7–9 April 1949

From 7 to 9 April 1949 the St. Mark's fragments in the United States Trever had seen on 4 February were separated, mounted, photographed, and identified. One contained parts of two columns of Daniel 1:10–17 and 2:2–6; the other two pieces contained portions of Daniel 3:22–30, probably representing two different scrolls, because the handwriting is dissimilar (1Q71, 72=1Q Daniel^{a, b}). Nine other fragments fitted together to form a section from two columns of an anthology of prayers, including one for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). This reconstructed document came to be known as the "Scroll of Prayers" (1Q34=1QLiturgical Prayer). Another fragment was later identified as 1 Enoch 9:1–4.²⁸

10 April 1949

On 10 April a large fragment of the "fourth scroll" was separated from the roll. From this piece it was possible to identify the scroll tentatively as having something to do with Lamech from the book of Genesis. It was variously called the Lamech Document, Lamech Apocalypse and Lamech Scroll, but later named the Genesis Apocryphon (1QgenApoc). This was the second piece to be separated, a first small piece having been taken off by Trever in Jerusalem during March 1948.

Spring 1949

During the spring of 1949 the archbishop spent much of his time in the Syrian Church in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he met Charles Manoog, a Syrian-

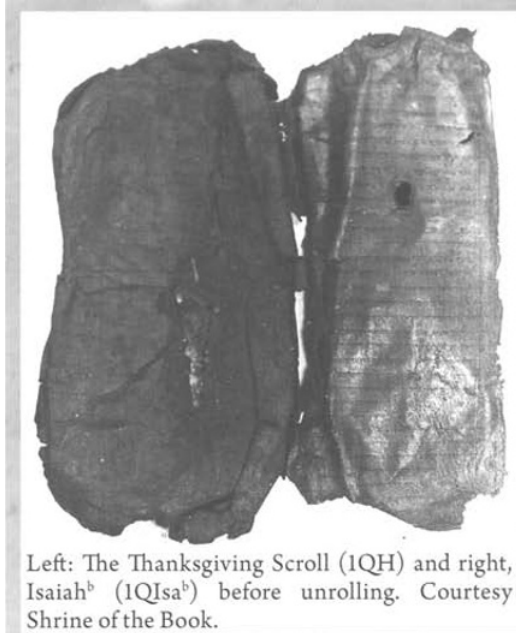
American who was to become his close friend and confidant, especially in matters relating to the scrolls. By 1 June it was clear that Yale University had exhausted its resources on other manuscripts (Boswell) and would not purchase the scrolls, as many had hoped. For the moment the unrolling of the Genesis Apocryphon was blocked by uncertainty over ownership of the scrolls. By September rumors reached Samuel from Jerusalem that even the Ta'amireh tribe was threatening St. Mark's with a lawsuit, claiming that they had been inadequately compensated for the scrolls.²⁹ On the positive side, the scrolls were about to be exhibited.

May 1949

Back in Israel Professor Sukenik engaged the services of Professor James Bieberkraut to unroll the scroll of Isaiah^b (1Q8) he had acquired on 21 December 1947.³⁰ It was photographed on glass plates by his wife Helena and published in 1955 along with the Thanksgiving Scroll and the War Scroll.

October–November 1949

Professor Carl Kraeling of the University of Chicago and the American Schools of Oriental Research entered the picture during the preparations for the short two-week exhibit (23 October–6 November 1949) of the St. Mark's scrolls at the Library of Congress,³¹ near the shrine of the Declaration of Independence and



Left: The Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH) and right, Isaiah^b (1QIsa^b) before unrolling. Courtesy Shrine of the Book.



Professor James Bieberkraut unrolling the Thanksgiving Scroll in Jerusalem. Courtesy Shrine of the Book.

the Constitution of the United States. From there the scrolls moved to the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, where they were exhibited from 10 to 17 November 1949,³² evidently with considerable help from W. F. Albright. On 11 November 1949 he wrote to Msgr. Patrick Skehan, "The worst part of the Baltimore exhibition of the scrolls is over, so far as I am concerned."³³



January 1950

Scholars could hardly contain their curiosity about the contents of the Genesis Apocryphon. Professor Kraeling, who would become a pivotal figure in the scrolls story for the next decade, solicited funds needed for the opening of the Genesis Apocryphon from the Christian Zion Research Library. The American Philosophical Society also provided funding, and the Fogg Museum of Harvard University agreed to underwrite insurance to be put in effect during the delicate process. Kraeling arranged for



William H. Brownlee and Archbishop Samuel with the Habakkuk scroll at Duke University, 1950. Courtesy Duke University Archives.

Mr. Rutherford J. Gettens and his staff at the Fogg Museum to undertake the opening of the Genesis Apocryphon. During January 1950 Samuel and Trever took the scroll to Harvard, where it remained for four months. But the matter of ownership came up again. “The scroll would have been opened, if Harvard University had not become disturbed by doubts as to the ownership of the document. The attorneys of Harvard advised the institution not to work on the scrolls unless Archbishop Samuel could furnish a clear title or a bond guaranteeing the title in the amount of \$500,000. The archbishop could not meet these demands, and so after some weeks had elapsed, he returned to Cambridge and asked for the scroll and took it away.”³⁴

The lawyers' advice was nonsense, of course, based as it was on a total misunderstanding of titles of ownership for ancient documents, not least this particular document. In point of fact no one, not even the (British Mandate) Palestine Department of Antiquities or the Department of Antiquities of Jordan could have claimed or supplied a legal title for the Genesis Apocryphon. It is true that fragments found by Harding and de Vaux in Cave 1 connected the War Scroll and the Thanksgiving Scroll to that cave. The cave was now firmly in Jordanian hands. Jordan had inherited the authority of the British Mandate, so it could have made a claim on the three scrolls that were, ironically, in Sukenik's possession.

But the fragments of the Genesis Apocryphon (as well as fragments of Isaiah^b and the Rule of the Community), bought some months later for the PAM from Kando by Yusef Saad, could not be connected archaeologically with any particular cave.³⁵

In the end, the Genesis Apocryphon was not completely unrolled until 1956 by Yadin and Bieberkraut after its arrival back in Israel. The scroll had been interlined in antiquity with a blank scroll which had adhered to its surface, possibly causing the ink to rip off the inscribed manuscript, leaving holes where the ink had been.³⁶ In later years this fact was largely forgotten and most scholars now hypothesize that the ink reacted chemically with the parchment, causing it to eat through in the shape of the letters.

As for title of ownership, this is a continuing problem for the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus, and is likely to remain so for decades to come.

February 1950

Burrows and Trever, with the assistance of Brownlee, published *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* vol. 1, containing the texts of the Isaiah^a and Habakkuk scrolls.³⁷

The same month, from 12 to 17 February 1950, the St. Mark's scrolls were exhibited at Duke University, where Brownlee was in his second year teaching, and was aided in preparations for the exhibition by Rev. George Ehlhart.³⁸

Short exhibitions were then the order of the day for scrolls, a practice also followed during the 1965 U.S. tour of materials from the PAM. Hundreds of people were bused in, and considerable excitement was generated, a little too much, in fact, for an English professor from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, who was stricken with a fatal heart attack as he stood in front of the exhibition case.³⁹

Duke was to remain a center for scrolls scholars for many years to come with both John Strugnell and James Charlesworth as faculty members through the '70s and '80s.

Spring 1950

Yusef Saad finally succeeded in purchasing for £1,000⁴⁰ the remainder of the Cave 1 fragments from Kando in Bethlehem during the spring of 1950: six fragments of Isaiah^b, eight fragments of the Genesis Apocryphon, and all the known fragments of the Annex to the Rule of the Community, now known as IQS^a.⁴¹



William H. Brownlee examining the Great Isaiah Scroll at Duke University, 1950. Courtesy Duke University Archives.

November 1950

From 17 to 26 November 1950 the St Mark's scrolls were exhibited at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago through the efforts of Professor Kraeling. They could not have come to a better place for their antiquity to be examined. During World War II the University had been at the center of nuclear research, one by-product of which was the radiocarbon dating method.⁴² Based on the disintegration of the radio-

active isotopes carbon-12 and carbon-14 in materials that have in the past been living, this method is able to measure the age of materials relatively accurately for one half-life (approximately 5,700 years) and fairly accurately for two half-lives (approximately 11,400 years), with a margin of error on either side of about 200 years.

On 9 January 1951 Professor W. F. Libby reported to Kraeling that his tests dated the flax used to produce the linen wrappings of the scrolls to about AD 33 (± 200 years).⁴³ This settled the dating question, at least for the moment, but by the summer of 1950 Professor Solomon Zeitlin, editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* and professor at Philadelphia's Dropsie College of Hebrew and Cognate Learning, began a campaign against the antiquity of the scrolls which he was to maintain for years to come.⁴⁴

After the Chicago exhibit Samuel's friend Charles Manoog constructed a storage place for the scrolls in his home in Worcester, MA, and they were taken there for storage, though there were short exhibitions at the Worcester Museum of Art during October 1951 and a few weeks later at Vassar College. Meanwhile, events had been moving forward with great speed back in Jordan.

Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert (DJD)

Actual work on DJD 1 did not begin until the end of 1951, but analysis of the fragments from the excavation and those secured from Kando by Yusef Saad preceded that.⁴⁵ At this point no one could know that the Cave 1 scrolls were just the tip of the iceberg, for all the other caves were yet to be discovered, at least officially.

Harding and de Vaux chose two scholars to publish the fragments: Father Dominique Barthélemy and Father Józef Milik. Barthélemy was already in Jerusalem; Milik came in December 1951 at the invitation of Father de Vaux on the basis of his early publications in Latin of various notes about and translations of scrolls from Cave 1.⁴⁶

Dominique Barthélemy

Father Dominique Barthélemy had arrived in Jerusalem in 1949, so he never met either Brownlee or Trever, since they had returned to the States during the previous year. Interestingly, he never met Professor Albright either, although the École biblique was only about two blocks away from the American School.

Father Barthélemy was born in 1921 in Nantes, western France, close to the mouth of the Loire. He finished his schooling in Nantes, and at the age of 18 entered the Dominican Order (OP), studying theology at Le Saulchoir, near Paris. His two main professors at the École des Hautes Études in Paris were Professors Dhormes and Dupont-Sommer. Upon completion of his studies in Paris in 1948, Father Barthélemy was sent by his order to study Bible at its school in Jerusalem, the École biblique. He collaborated with Józef Milik on the Cave 1 fragments for nearly four years (1950-1953).

About the time that Father Barthélemy completed his work in 1953 for DJD 1, he was struck with amoebic dysentery, and became so ill that he was sent back to France. Looking back to that period at the end of his life, he very much regretted having been forced to leave Jerusalem, especially at the very time work on the Cave 4 ma-



Father Dominique Barthélemy, O.P. at the Albertinum (Dominican) monastery in Freiburg, Switzerland, 12 February 2000. ©Diane G. Fields.

terials was just getting started.⁴⁷ After six months of recovery, he took up the post of chaplain at the same sanatorium where he had convalesced and stayed for four years. Finally, his superior requested that he return to scholarship by taking up a post at the University of Fribourg, where he taught exegesis of the Old Testament from 1957 until his retirement in 1991. In 1961 he was asked to be director of the *École biblique* in Jerusalem, and went to Jerusalem for eight days to assess the situation, but in the end decided to reject the offer.⁴⁸ He was never to return. He passed away in Fribourg on 10 February, 2002.

Although Barthélemy's tenure in Jerusalem was cut short, he was still there during the crucial early period of discovery and excavation. He served on the excavation team at Qumran during every season from 1949 to 1953, including the explorations that discovered or explored Caves 2–10, and was also a member of the team that excavated the caves in Wadi Murabba'at in 1951.⁴⁹ It is not surprising, then, that de Vaux nominated him to be one of the two editors for the first volume of the official publication of the scrolls in the DJD series.

The plan of the series was ambitious from the beginning,

but different from the plan that was followed later on. At first de Vaux, who was variously called “chief editor,” “editor in chief,” and “director of the series,” envisioned a series on Qumran that would include not only publication of the manuscripts that were then in the hands of the Palestine Archaeological Museum on the Jordanian side of Jerusalem, but also many aspects of the archaeological excavations that had already begun at Qumran and in its vicinity. As new caves were discovered the scope of publication was broadened, especially after the huge cache of fragments from Cave 4 came to light in 1952. Eventually, the series became largely a Cave 4 and Cave 11 publication, with the addition also of the Wadi ed-Daliyeh Samaritan fragments. Archaeology was dropped by the time volume 4 of DJD appeared in 1965.

But at this early stage Milik and Barthélemy were the sum total of the scholarly publication team, what Cross refers to as the “proto-team,” in the sense that they came before the Cave 4 Team. In fact they began their work even before Cave 4 was discovered. Later Milik was also appointed to be a member of the Cave 4 Team, whereas Barthélemy was not, due to his untimely departure from Jerusalem.

The Scrolls Ledger (beginning 6 May 1950)

Among the more than one thousand pages of documents I was allowed to copy from the PAM Archives, presently in the Rockefeller Museum under the trusteeship of the Israel Antiquities Authority, is a handwritten ledger entitled “Purchase of Antiquities.” More precisely, it is a record of scroll fragments⁵⁰ from Cave 1, Murabbaʿat, Cave 2, Cave 4, possibly a tomb near or in Jericho, and “Unknown Caves,” Khirbet Mird, Wadi Seyyal, and Cave 11, purchased by the Palestine Archaeological Museum between 6 May 1950 and 8 April 1957.

The four columns of the first part of the ledger contain the date, name of person paid, amount paid, a short description of the item bought, and the location where the fragment was found. The Ledger is reproduced as an appendix in this volume.

As I narrate the events of the next nine years I will make note of the transactions in chronological order, but for the moment it is important to be aware of the ledger’s existence, and what it reveals: (1) the precise identities of those involved in the buying and selling of scrolls; (2) an exact accounting of the amounts paid; (3) locations of the discoveries, at least as reported by the sellers, and (4) records of “rewards.” Taken as a whole, the Ledger is both confirmation and vindication of the formula worked out by Harding, de Vaux, and Saad for saving the fragments, what one might call, “the Harding–de Vaux Plan.” Were it not for this plan, it is virtually certain that far fewer fragments would have survived to be studied and preserved: there would have been many fewer entries in the ledger!

The first two entries are surprising only if one does not realize that this plan was already in place, or at least well along the way to its full development. These entries read: “6.5.50, Ibrahim Shaghamriyah, JD6, Rewards,” and “11.10.50, Mahmoud Hussein, JD3, Rewards.”⁵¹ Rewards for what? is the obvious question. A similar en-

try is recorded on 26 April 1952 for “Hassan Eid, etc., JD12.800, Antiquities and rewards.” Hassan Eid (also: ‘Aid) is identified in the next chapter as one of the principal characters in the drama of Wadi Murabba‘at in late 1951 and early 1952.

The crucial clue comes in the entry for 19 July 1952: “500 Fils.⁵² Hammad Zureiq, for reporting antiquities.” What information or action would Harding have paid for? Were these “rewards,” or “bribes,” or “commissions”? It seems most plausible to assume that the “rewards” were for information, not fragments. In the case of the payments in 1950 this may have been information about the whereabouts of fragments or it may have been information about the identity of some of the clandestine diggers. In the case of Hammad Zureiq, however, the reason is clear: “reporting antiquities.”

In any event, the Department of Antiquities, through the Palestine Archaeological Museum, *paid*, and it was not always directly for scrolls. It was the beginning of a new era. Normally, private museums do not pay for information, nor do departments of antiquities. One can imagine few circumstances under which the present Department of Antiquities of Jordan or the Israel Antiquities Authority would pay for information. One would certainly not expect them to pay for archaeological objects. After all, antiquities are automatically the property of whatever government controls the geographical area where they are found. Yet, the plan worked out by Harding, de Vaux, and Saad included “rewards,” as well as direct payments for scrolls.

How did this evolve? To understand what happened, we must go back briefly to the events of 1946–48. As we have pointed out, none of those who had first contacts with the scrolls turned immediately to the Palestine Museum or the Antiquities Department: neither the Bedouin, the Bethlehem and Jerusalem antiquities dealers, Sukenik, Trever, Brownlee nor Burrows, nor any others. Samuel consulted Stephen Hanna Stephen because he was a Syrian, not because he worked at the Palestine Archaeological Museum as assistant librarian.⁵³ Trever contacted officials at first only in a kind of offhand way.⁵⁴ This sort of behavior angered Harding, as we have seen in his “letter to Robert.” But along the way Harding had a change of heart. He accepted the facts as they were, and the facts were that no one had the power to stop the clandestine digging. He therefore took a two-pronged approach.

First, he and de Vaux took immediate action and mounted an expedition to Cave 1 just two weeks after it was finally reidentified.

Second, Harding eventually came to an arrangement with Kando that whatever scroll fragments came into his hands should be offered to the museum first. As a corollary, de Vaux became the agent of Harding and the Department of Antiquities, the ready source of cash for Bedouin directly for Kando.

It was not long before this policy bore fruit. An entry for 12 May 1951 records that Haj Taher Marakshy was paid JD31 for Cave 1 fragments, and on 22 December 1951 we have the first record of a “refund” to Rev, Father R. de Vaux in the amount of JD600 for Murrabba‘at fragments. De Vaux was advancing money, on the spot, when

Bedouin would knock on the gates of the École biblique. He was reimbursed periodically by the Palestine Archaeological Museum, where he was president of the board of trustees during part of the time covered by the Scrolls Ledger. This arrangement was confirmed by Antoun Hazou who said that de Vaux sometimes kept a certain amount of cash on hand, so that he could take possession of fragments immediately as they were brought in.⁵⁵

It must have been the necessity for these quick transactions that brought about the consideration of a matter covered by the minutes of the board of the museum on Thursday, 2 November 1950:

Sir A. S. Kirkbride raised the question as to who should have the authority to draw cheques on the Reserve Fund. Professor Winnett enquired whether this point was not covered by the Constitution of the Museum. The secretary explained that the Constitution allows "The Board of Trustees" to delegate their powers to any body or person. Sir A. S. Kirkbride suggested they should delegate the president to act, on behalf of the board, in all matters relating to finance.

The board agreed and conferred their power on the president to carry out the decisions of the board relating to the Reserve Fund and transfer of same for current use.⁵⁶

The minutes are signed by G. Lankester Harding, *secretary to the board of trustees*, Palestine Archaeological Museum. The president to whom these powers were conferred was Father Roland de Vaux.

What a wise move! All the normal bureaucratic machinery of requests for payments, transfers between accounts, approval by committees, and whatever other safeguards are normally used in institutions, were all dispensed with in one fell swoop. Father de Vaux's unfettered and immediate access to funds was the best thing that could have happened for the scrolls.

Gradually, too, a price came to be fixed. The price of an inscribed fragment was fixed at one pound sterling per square centimetre. This price was set to avoid at least some of the bargaining. Value was calculated in terms of measurement because de Vaux, Harding, and Saad quickly realized that when they were paying the Bedouin by the piece, these wily nomads were tearing up fragments into smaller pieces to raise the total price.⁵⁷

4 December 1950

Toward the end of 1950 Brownlee wrote to de Vaux to tell him he would like to use photographs of the fragments of DSD (Manual of Discipline) in his possession (probably in the PAM, though the letter is naturally addressed to the École) to restore the reading of column 1. De Vaux replied that with the concurrence of Hard-

ing, he was happy to cooperate, exactly the kind of thing that Harding wanted to see with the American School. De Vaux, however, did not agree completely with the restoration Brownlee proposed.⁵⁸

One Cave 1 or Two Caves 1?

The lack of scientific control of the earliest discovery and the subsequent illegal digging created some uncertainty about the identity of Cave 1. Was the cave excavated by Harding and de Vaux really “Cave 1?”

In the early 1990s Abu Daoud of Bethlehem took me on several one-day expeditions to caves: one time high up in the caves south of Qumran with several companions, including Stephen Pfann; once accompanied by Magen Broshi and his son; another time to his brother’s encampment near Wadi Ed-Daliyeh; also to Wadi



John Trever with Muhammed ed-Dib in the Judean Desert, 1960. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

Murabba’at; with an NBC television crew to Cave 11; and during one particularly long day to Caves 2, 3, 4A, and 4B, what was left of Cave 5, the general location of Caves 6–10, Cave 11, the cave excavated earlier by Vendyl Jones, and the traditional Cave 1. On this later trip he maintained that the traditional Cave 1 was not in fact the first cave, but that the authentic Cave 1 was the one excavated so destructively by Jones in the late 1980s.

Abu Daoud’s claim surprised us. Though illiterate, he knew all the details about all the other caves so well, and was so thoroughly correct in his accounts of Harding (some of which are published here for the first time), his knowledge of Murabba’at, his knowledge of the location of Caves 2 and 3, and especially details about the discovery and initial looting of Caves 4 and 11.⁵⁹ So what could his claim about Cave 1 mean? Several possibilities suggested themselves: (1) he was an imposter and had no firsthand knowledge. But this was extremely unlikely given his intimate knowledge of the other caves. (2) His memory was faulty. But his memory was so good about the other caves, including his detailed description of what they were looking for when they discovered Cave 11. (3) There really were two Caves 1 which had contained the seven manuscripts: one cave containing the

first three: Isaiah^a, the Manual of Discipline, and the Habakkuk Commentary; and another close by that had contained four: Isaiah^b, The War Scroll, the Thanksgiving Scroll, and the Genesis Apocryphon (originally part of the latter group; connected only later with the former group).

Stephen Pfann and I spoke in general terms at the time about the possibility that there had been two first caves. He suggested that the traditional Cave 1 had been authenticated by fragments discovered by Harding and de Vaux in their excavation in 1949 belonging to at least one of the first seven scrolls. Thus, for the moment I dismissed the hypothesis of two “first” caves. Yet, in the writing of this book I have come back time and again to this question, because the two groups, one of four (five)⁶⁰ and one of three, crop up again and again. Here are some reasons it continues to be a mystery:

1. *There are two basically different stories about how the first cave was entered.* One story centers on a cave where the opening was about shoulder height and one of the original Bedouin lads pushed the other up so that he could enter. The hole was later enlarged. This is the traditional Cave 1, about midway up the cliffs, the one excavated by de Vaux and Harding. It is very narrow, rather short, and not very accessible. The other candidate for Cave 1 was entered from the top through a hole in a small level area.

2. *None of the Bedouin, none of the other Arabs such as George or Kando or Father Yusef were willing to take Harding and de Vaux to the “original” cave.* This “original” cave was identified later by the Arab Legion (Akkash al-Zaben) and the Belgian officer Captain Lippen. But how did they know it was the first or only scrolls cave? They saw dirt, mixed with a few scrolls fragments piled up outside the cave where the Bedouin had been excavating. This is the cave that Harding and de Vaux excavated officially, but nothing was found by them in the cave which connected it to the four manuscripts that eventually came into the possession of Mar Samuel (Isaiah^a, Habakkuk Commentary, Manual of Discipline, and Genesis Apocryphon).

3. *The official excavation found fragments from Sukenik’s scrolls only.* These were fragments of the War Scroll (1QM) and the Thanksgiving Scroll I (1QH). This means that the official Cave 1 was connected archaeologically to Sukenik’s scrolls, but not to Metropolitan Samuel’s.⁶¹

4. *According to Trever, the Archbishop Samuel secured his Daniel fragments⁶² after he came into possession of the four larger scrolls.* These Daniel fragments were still in the hands of Mar Samuel in America when DJD 1 was sent to the printer in 1953. Although de Vaux says that these are from “the last illegal excavations,” and that they “are complementary to some fragments found in the excavation,” these fragments were not from any of the documents recovered

in the excavation. Since their provenance cannot be fixed with certainty, they cannot be used to pinpoint the original location of any of the original seven.

5. Yusef Saad bought the six fragments of Isaiah^b and eight fragments of the Genesis Apocryphon (Lamech) from Kando. They are not connected archaeo-



Column 8 of the Great Isaiah Scroll. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D. Digital image courtesy James E. Trever.

logically with the larger scrolls.⁶³

6. Any connection between a particular fragment and a particular cave by Bedouin was and is always suspect.

The money involved, the fact that they were digging illegally, and the ever present inclination to keep for oneself a productive source of scrolls, all make it probable that numerous misidentifications were made by the Bedouin when they sold fragments. Had Captain Lippen had any inkling of a possibility that there was more than one scrolls cave already discovered, perhaps he would have continued his search and found another! The officially designated Cave 2, Cave 3, Cave 4 and others were to be discovered later.

7. Trever, Brownlee, Harding, and de Vaux all suspected in those first years that the Bedouin had not yet come forward with everything in their possession

from the first cave(s). Trever summarized the prevailing opinion in 1951: “There are reasons to believe that other scrolls and fragments are still in the hands of the Bedouin. Rumors persist to that effect, though most of them cannot be trusted. *I feel that at least one fairly extensive scroll does exist, however, and perhaps two or three.* I am sure, however, that the best materials have been secured and are under control.”⁶⁴



Daniel fragments from Cave 1. ©John C. Trever, Ph.D.

In sum, there is no official archaeological evidence connecting Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Isaiah^b with the “Cave 1” excavated by Harding and de Vaux.⁶⁵

All this leads to a possible, but tentative, conclusion: The two groups making up the original seven scrolls came into Bethlehem and then Jerusalem by different routes at different times, were always kept separate except for the one time they were all together at St. Mark’s; they had separate owners and were sold separately, because they came from different caves. The second cave could have been the Jones cave close to Cave 11, or it could have been another. The mystery continues.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, possibly Hebrew or Aramaic, covering the entire surface of a parchment or leather document. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with a large, irregular hole on the left side. The script is dense and appears to be a form of cursive or shorthand. The parchment is aged and shows signs of wear, including creases and discoloration.

DISCOVERIES AT WADI MURABBA'AT

1951

When 1951 began no one in Jerusalem could possibly have imagined all that was to happen during the coming months. Around the world considerable attention was being drawn to the scrolls by preliminary publications and especially the scientific dating of one of the covers of the scrolls from Cave 1. In Jordan, de Vaux continued his excavations at Qumran and elsewhere. But no one was prepared for an astounding new discovery made south of Qumran somewhat inland from the coast of the Dead Sea before the year was out.

March 1951

Cut off from the events in Jordan, but with access to photographs of three of the four St. Mark's scrolls, Trever, Brownlee, and Burrows continued to work on their publication. Volume 2, Fascicle 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, the Manual of Discipline, was published in March 1951.¹ Fascicle 1, planned as a further study of the Habakkuk Commentary, was never published due to lack of funding,² nor was Skehan's planned edition of the St. Mark's Isaiah (Isaiah^a), apparently for the same reason.³

William Brownlee had been working for several years on his translation of "DSD," the Manual of Discipline from Cave 1. It was published in *The Biblical Archaeologist* and seen through the process by the young Professor Cross at McCormick Seminary in Chicago. Though he did not know it at the time, Cross was to be appointed to the Cave 4 Team and spend the rest of his life connected to the scrolls, but on 13 October 1951 he wrote Brownlee, "Thank you very much for the copy of your excellent translation of DSD. I've had opportunity since receiving it to sample it in a number of troublesome passages You have done a most competent and thor-

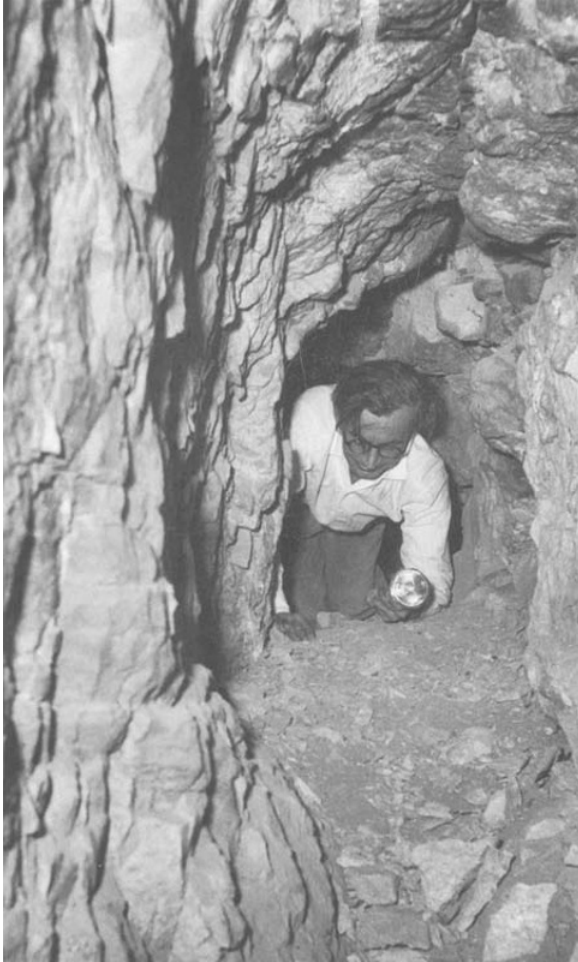
"When the caves [of Murabba'at] came into view, we were surprised to see coming out of these holes about 34 illegal diggers ... We immediately hired about half of them as legitimate workers."

Father Roland de Vaux

ough job—especially when one bears in mind the short time since the scrolls came to light. I feel honored to have a copy from the author!”⁴

October 1951: Murabba‘at

During the first three days of October 1951 the St. Mark’s scrolls were being exhibited at St. Mary’s Assyrian Apostolic Church, Worcester, Massachusetts. Far



Gerald Lankester Harding excavating at Wadi Murabba‘at. Photo Richmond Brown. Courtesy the École biblique et archéologique française Jérusalem.

away in Jordan a new scroll was discovered, but it didn’t come to the attention of Harding, Saad, de Vaux, and Dajani until late 1951. It is best to let de Vaux himself tell the story,⁵ which extends well into 1952.

As regards the first Hebrew manuscripts found near the Dead Sea in 1947, we can perhaps regret the mystery that has surrounded their discovery, and the contradictions of accounts that were told by those who were more or less directly involved in the adventure. These obscurities caused a certain uneasiness, and caused some people to doubt their authenticity without any justification.

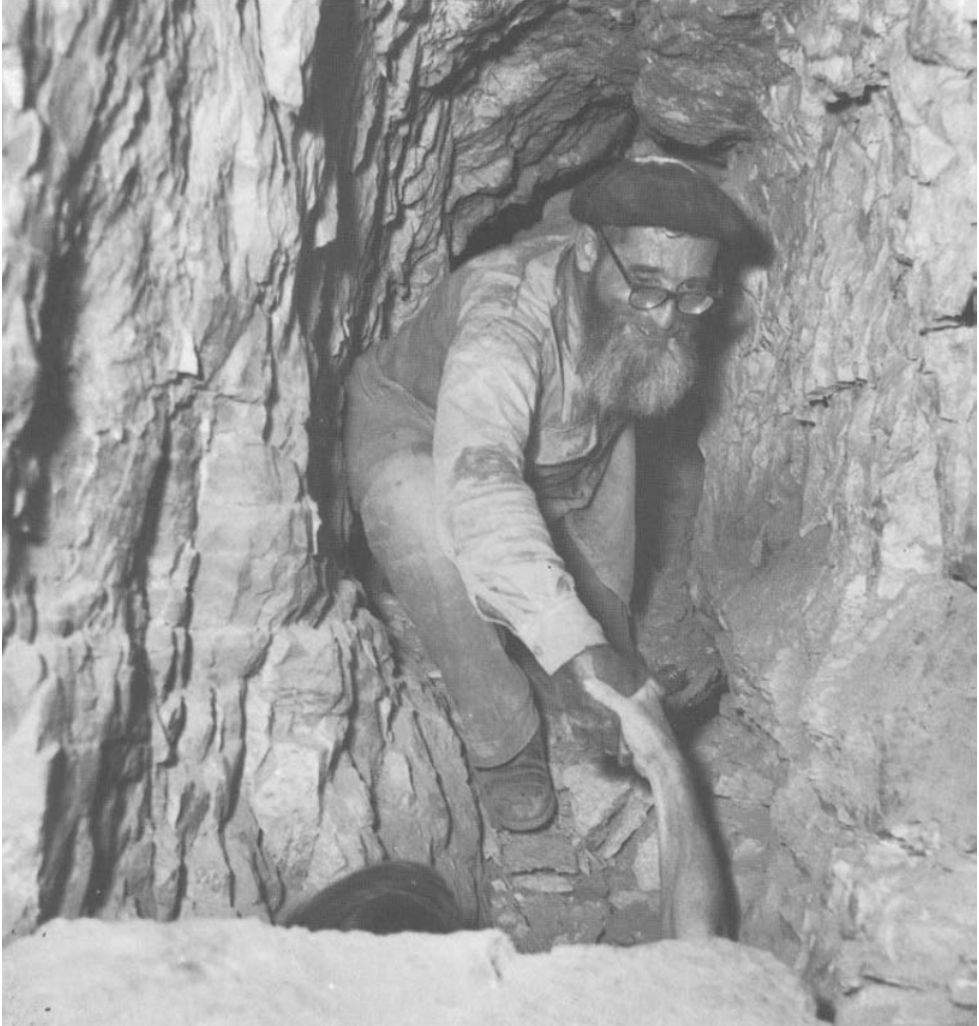
To prevent such from recurring with regard to Murabba‘at, it seemed necessary to give quite a detailed history of the discoveries and research.

I apologize for the personal tone that I must keep for this account, which is my own testimony.

Inquiries and Purchases

In October 1951 some Ta‘amireh Bedouin presented to the Rockefeller Museum⁶ in Jerusalem, two fragments of skin with some Hebrew and Greek words written on them. Mr. Harding and I were not there at the time. After

some reluctance the Bedouin agreed to accompany the secretary of the museum, Mr. Joseph Saad, to the place where they had discovered these. Far in the desert they showed him a large open cave, whose floor had been recently dug. Mr. Joseph Saad handed over the fragments to Awni Dajani, Inspector of Antiquities [of Jordan], who went to the same site with several members



Father Roland de Vaux excavating at Wadi Murabba'at. Photo Richmond Brown. Courtesy the École biblique et archéologique française Jérusalem.

of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. The place, already turned upside down, did not seem very promising, and the fragments offered were insignificant. And it was not even certain that they had come from there, because all the caves in the desert were prospected in this way by illegal diggers [Bedouin]. In short, the lead was abandoned.

24 November–12 December 1951

In November 1951 Harding and I began excavating Khirbet Qumran. During a visit to Jerusalem towards the end of the month, I was visited at the École biblique by Khalil Iskander Shahin, known as Kando, the Syrian [Orthodox] merchant from Bethlehem, who had already been the intermediary with the Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of Jerusalem at the Rockefeller Museum for the manuscripts and fragments of the first cave of Qumran. He



Excavations at Wadi Murabba'at. Photo Richmond Brown. Courtesy the École biblique et archéologique française Jérusalem.

was accompanied by his associate, George Isaiah, a member of the Syrian [Orthodox] community of Jerusalem, who had led a small secret expedition that plundered Cave 1 after Bedouin discovered the large scrolls there. Kando offered to me a certain number of fragments on skin and on papyrus and he claimed that these also came from the first cave of Qumran. This was clearly false, because their appearance and the material on which they were written did not match scrolls previously found there. Bombarded with questions, he acknowledged that they came from elsewhere, but

...very nearby. Convinced that he wanted to mislead research, I thought about the finds of the previous month, and I gave back the fragments, and said that I would think things over. I filled Mr. Harding in about the whole thing, and it was agreed that I would try to obtain other information, and that I would buy what I could on behalf of the Rockefeller Museum.”

I am going to provide extracts of my daily notes and I will add the identification of the most important fragments:

9 December 1951

Kando and George bring back the fragments they already offered and I buy them.

18 December 1951

Kando and George bring quite a nice batch and I buy it.⁷ Kando brings parchment fragments written in Greek (part of the lists 89–94 bought on the 14 January [1952]) and two skin fragments on which a short Hebrew text is written (Deuteronomy and Exodus 1). I postpone the examination of these fragments. He also had several objects he claims came from the same cave. Two coins from the Second Revolt, of which I know the type and a wooden seal, of which I take the imprint (bought with the coins on 14 January [1952]).

26 December 1951

I enter into direct contact with the Bedouin through a certain Ta'amireh, the young Hassan 'Eid,⁸ who offers a very small piece of leather with Greek letters on it. I pay dearly for this insignificant fragment, and gain his trust. Hassan explains that it comes from a site south of 'Ein Feshkha. I take a chance, and seeming to be informed, I describe the cave visited by Mr. Saad and later, by Mr. Dajani. This is the very cave, according to Hassan, who seems very happy that I know it. But according to him there are two caves, one next to the other, and he promises to come back with more fragments.⁹

4 January 1952

Hasan 'Eid comes along with another Ta'amireh called Hassan Farhan, who is older and more reflective. He first presents a very nice fragment of Greek papyrus (fragment of a Greek remarriage contract, 115) and asks me what I would give him for it. Realizing that they could do business with me, he takes out another box, full of fragments (letter 45, Aramaic fragments, etc.) This first bargaining took place without discussion and at a reasonable price. They promise to bring me back something else. This means that there is still work being done there, and they freely admit it. Wishing to avoid this secret excavation, I point out to them that they do not know how to dig and I offer to go along, but they exclaim that this was impossible, and that the presence of a foreigner in the desert would alert the police. Then everything would be compromised. I decide that I should not insist this time.

5 January 1952

Hassan Farhan returns alone. He has established himself as the intermediary, and he brings me some fragments on which there is almost nothing written. But I take them nonetheless.

The same day two new Ta'amirehs appear, Abed and Mahmud Hsein. The latter claims that the fragments I bought yesterday were found by him, and he wants to know how much I paid for them. I do not respond. He tells me that there are other fragments, and that he will bring them.

While they were there I am summoned by Kando. I receive him in an-

other room, but he notices the Bedouin, who see him. The game is going to become difficult, because the Bedouin would like to do business directly with me, but Kando would not want to lose his profit as an intermediary. Kando offers me a very nice batch, amongst which there is a large Greek papyrus, (contract 116) a papyrus with several lines of big Phoenician characters, covering a very faded text, which also seems to be written in Phoenician characters, (palimpsest 17)¹⁰ a fragment from Exodus, coming from the same roll as the fragment previously bought (Exodus 4:28–31). He tells me that Mr. Harding must come and see him in Bethlehem (I know this already), but that he will not show him everything, and that he will keep the nice pieces for me. I refuse and I strongly advise Kando to show everything to Harding. He left very disappointed.

That afternoon Hassan ‘Eid arrives and he says that he had forgotten a fragment yesterday that he is bringing me now. He says this is a fake: several lines in awkward square Hebrew characters which don’t make any sense, and are written in modern ink, on an old fragment of skin that didn’t have any writing on it. I don’t say anything and I take it just to see what happens.

8 January 1952, in the morning

George reproaches me for not having bought anything from Kando. I respond that I don’t want to do anything illegal. He “reassures” me and promises to bring Kando back on Thursday, the tenth.

8 January 1952, midday

Hassan Farhan brings over some fragments (papyrus 113 and small fragments). Hagglng is difficult. Hassan wants too much money for them, saying that in order to find these 20 men worked for five days, and that the place was far away from Bethlehem, and difficult to access. Because I seem skeptical he then says to me, “Well, why don’t you come and see for yourself.” So I jump at the invitation: is this possible? He reassures me. I then suggest that he have his group work by obtaining a permit from the Antiquities Department so that they are not worried [about being arrested]. He applauds this idea. But I had to speak to the director of Antiquities [Harding] about this, and he agrees. Finally, it is agreed that I will arrange things with Mr. Harding, and that for his part, Hassan will make sure I am accepted by his companions. He will return Monday, 14 January.

9 January 1952

Hassan ‘Eid offers three coins coming from the caves: two from the Second Revolt and one from Agrippa I, but he asks too much for them. He goes away, but comes back a little later claiming to bring me from Hassan Farhan (?) who is having lunch (??),¹¹ three lamps that were found in the caves. These are three Byzantine lamps, still covered with a calcium deposit, which is ab-

solutely different from everything that comes from the caves. I'm sure that he had just bought them from an antiquities dealer at Damascus Gate.

10 January 1952

George [Isaiah] comes alone, his hands empty. I am surprised that he does not bring Kando like he promised. He is quite sheepish, and promises that both of them will come tomorrow.

11 January 1952

George and Kando offer the same pieces as they did on 5 January, plus some small fragments. I try to persuade them to lend them to me for study, but they refuse. I notice that the fragments are getting damaged by being handled by them, and according to what had been arranged with Mr. Harding, I decide to buy them. But they have acquired an inflated idea of their value, and I must haggle for two hours.

Kando also offers me the three coins I refused to buy from Hassan yesterday, and an Arab stone seal that had been offered me last night along with two pearls (beads?) by the guardian of the Kings' Tomb.¹² I had rejected the offer because I was uncertain of their origin. I refused everything from Kando, but it seemed that the intermediaries were becoming more and more numerous and communicated amongst themselves. It was becoming more and more a closed circle. It is urgent that we take things directly in hand.

12 January 1952, 7:30 a.m.

Abed brings some small fragments.

12 January 1952, Midday

Hassan 'Eid, Mahmud Hsein, and again, Abed. Mahmud presents me with a fake, similar to the one I had accepted from Hassan. In turn, Abed takes one out of his pocket. I tell them that these are fakes, and bombarded with questions, Mahmud admits that he bought his, but he says that he bought it from another Ta'amireh, who also couldn't write, and what is more, it was even less likely that he had written it, since it was in Hebrew. This was proof for him that it was authentic. Who was at the bottom of this crude trick? (I never managed to find this out; it was probably a semiliterate person living in Bethlehem). They went away sheepishly.

12 January 2:00 p.m.

Hassan 'Eid wants to be received back again in my graces. He explains to me that the unknown Ta'amireh outwitted Mahmud by suggesting that he would share with him the profits of the sale of the fake. He announces another visit and, in fact, Abed and a certain Salameh arrive. The latter has badly preserved papyrus fragments, but here I recognize fragments of documents we already have, and I buy them. They both leave happy.

For a few days I see in the hands of Kando or in the hands of Bedouin the

same fragments or fragments of the same documents. Would the caves be exhausted, or are people still working there?

14 January 1952

The two Hassans come and settle on the conditions for our (joint) excavation. They learn, without displeasure, that Mr. Harding will come with us, and that we will have a police escort. We discuss prices. It seems that there is a third cave, which is near the first two, and this cave has not yielded anything until now.

Mr. Harding joins us and we agree to leave next Monday morning, the twenty-first. Mr. Harding saw Kando that same morning, and bought a large batch from him. These are all the fragments that I had seen, plus some other ones (in particular there is a long strip from Genesis 1, and Greek papyrus 117), and an Arab document on paper (amulet 173). He also purchased the coins and the wooden seal (mentioned above).

16 January 1952

George comes to sniff out the situation. He maintains that Kando is still keeping a lot of things.

17 January 11:00 a.m.

Kando, after having offered me several fragments, for which I send him back to Mr. Harding, tells me very secretly that it comes from a new cave near the first one. This is the second cave that I've known about for quite a long time.¹³ He thinks that other fragments were taken out of this cave, despite the close watch that he keeps in Bethlehem, and these pieces were brought to Jerusalem this morning. He asks me if the Bedouin have shown them to me. I say no, and he leaves in pursuit of them.

17 January 1952, midday

Abed and an old Bedouin called Mousa arrive secretly, and they offer two illegible coins and a two-part phylactery (#4), and a skin fragment with Greek characters on it, which has been wrapped around the phylactery (#95), and fragments of an Aramaic papyrus. This is the batch that Kando was running after!

17 January 1952, 3:00 p.m.

George claims that he had an argument with Kando, and that it was through him that I met Abed and Mousa this morning. George was in the café opposite the École and Kando, who was passing by, asked him if two Bedouin came to see me. He replied, "No." He kept the Bedouin in the café until after Kando left me, and then sent them to me. I dismiss him curtly.

18 January 1952, 12:30 p.m.

George, who is not discouraged by anything, shows me a Roman gemstone, which naturally comes "straight from the caves," but his bad luck was that I had seen this gem the same morning in the antiquities shop at the Damascus Gate, and I send him away quite curtly.

18 January 1952, 2:00 p.m.

Hassan 'Eid comes to tell me that his mother died two days ago, and that Abed and Mousa took advantage of the situation to sell yesterday's fragments. I explain to him that there is nothing I can do. He wants to offer me two fragments, swearing that they were found in the caves. These are another two fakes of the same kind, on skin, and contain the same writing as the previous ones. I dismiss him (He was naive enough to bring them back to me several weeks later).

19 January 1952

It is Mahmud Hsein's turn to protest: He helped find the batch bought on the seventeenth and didn't get his share. He confirms that the phylactery was found wrapped in the Greek parchment. I am sad to have to push him out the door.

20 January 1952

Mr. Harding and I sort out the details for tomorrow's departure. He made sure that the police would cooperate. He saw Kando and bought some fragments from him.

21 January 1952, 7:00 a.m.

We leave for the caves.

Before moving on to the account of the dig, I will finish the account of the purchases. A number of fragments were still in the hands of the Bedouin or Kando. These were eventually recovered by Mr. Harding, some from Bedouin (not very directly), the best fragments from Kando, whom it seemed wise to use as the primary intermediary as much as possible. At the same time as the written documents, we bought a certain number of containers and small objects from the site (in particular the first letter of Bar Cosba, #43).

Part 2: Excavation of Murabba'at

From 21 January to 3 March 1952 Harding and de Vaux interrupted their excavations at Qumran (Cave 4 would not be discovered until later in the year) to search the caves at Murabba'at. Again, the story is best told by de Vaux himself.

So, on 21 January Mr. Harding, myself, and an Arab foreman named Hassan Awad, who was a veteran of Palestinian digs, left in two police cars accompanied by a Bethlehem police officer. We were guided by our two Bedouin, Hassan Farhan and Hassan 'Eid. One path led us to the southern tip of the Buqe'ahh, a small barren plain, east-southeast of Jerusalem, between Jebel Muntar and the cliff dominating the Dead Sea, even with Ras Feshkha. There we waited for a mule driver, and two mounted policemen, who were to function as guards. After less than three hours' walk via a path that cuts

directly south crossing the Wadi El Nâr (le Cédron=Kidron), and then the Wadi Ghuweir, we arrived at what the Bedouin call Wadi Murabba'at. We had to leave the horses and the mule behind to go down into the gorge.

We had taken on eight Bedouin as workers. When the caves came in view, we were surprised to see coming out of these holes about 34 illegal diggers, who had been working there for several days. The last one to come out was my friend Mahmud Hsein. He was removed by Harding from the bottom of a narrow and dark gallery where he was continuing his work, unaware of what was going on outside. They were kept in custody by the police and carefully searched, but without any result. We immediately hired half of them as legitimate workers, because Hassan Farhan was right. We would need all this help because of the scale and the difficult circumstances that exceeded all our expectations. The next day we were joined by two foremen from the Rockefeller Museum, who were called Ibrahim Asouly and Azmeh Khalil, who brought the camping equipment. We set up camp in this remote area.

As the crow flies, it is only 25 kilometers southeast of Jerusalem, 18 kilometers south of Qumran Cave 1, but it is one of the least accessible places in Palestine. We saw that it was three hours' walk from the nearest police trail, which was impassable when it was raining—which actually did occur in the course of our work, and which hampered our return—it takes seven hours' walk to reach roads to Bethlehem to the west or to Nebi Musa to the north. In front of the two main caves there is only a narrow ledge that we had to broaden artificially to be able to put up tents for two people. When there was a storm, we had to take refuge in the caves to avoid the stones which came loose from the cliff and [in one case] pierced one of our tents. For water we had the puddles left by the rains at the bottom of the wadi and when it had rained too much, this wadi became a muddy and undrinkable torrent. Our food was the food that we brought with us, because the nearest shops are in Bethlehem, which is a day's walk away. We got supplies from Jerusalem once or twice a week, brought to us by a little truck that arrived south of the Buqe'ah, where a mule was waiting. The final stage of transportation was on the backs of our men. Under these difficult living conditions and difficult conditions of communication with Jerusalem, we worked between 21 January and 1 March, by our taking turns (Mr. Harding, Father Barthélemy, and I) on the path that our three foremen were guarding.

The work itself posed several problems. In actual fact, the clearing of the rubble was simple: the dirt fell down the slope and the big blocks of rock toppled over the ledge and fell 60 meters into the bottom of the wadi. But the lighting of the path in these dark caves was a lot more difficult. The dirt, which was extremely fine and dry, very quickly choked the gas lamps and hurricane

lamps. We made do with the methods used by the illegal diggers: a wick stuffed into a tin can filled with petrol. Each of these lamps only provided light for two or three workers, and it was a strange sight to see these crouched black figures in a cloud of dust around these little lamps that lit up the underground night like stars. Later, the Arab Legion Air Force of Jordan lent us a little generator, and it was very difficult to transport it on someone's back as far as where the dig was taking place. It was used from 18 February onward, and came in very handy. The enormous blocks of earth that obstructed Cave 2 gave us the most difficulty. Using dynamite was impossible because half of the mountain would have fallen down. So we had to smash them with a sledgehammer and a wedge.

The dig had been begun concurrently in Caves 1 and 2, which were the largest ones, [each more than 50 meters long]¹⁴ and the ones most occupied. Cave 2 kept us busy until the end. When Cave 1 was completed on 21 February, the team moved to Cave 3, where work was finished on the twenty-fourth. Cave 4 took us only two days, 24 and 25 February.

These discoveries had their epilogue three years later: In March 1955 shepherds climbed through a hole in the rock about 300 meters upstream from the previous caves, and found hidden a scroll from the 12 prophets (#88, see p. 50, DJD 2). This small cave [later named Cave 5, Murabba'at] did not contain any other writings.¹⁵

De Vaux and Harding found in the caves "large quantities of cloth, basket work, ropes, etc.," and [Cave] 2 contained the greater quantity of leather and papyrus fragments inscribed in Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic."¹⁶ But the artifacts and documents were noticeably different from those found near Qumran. The occupation levels went down all the way to the Chalcolithic period [fifth to fourth millennium BC] Most of the documents were from the early second century AD, among them a Greek marriage contract from the seventh year of Hadrian, AD 124, fragments from biblical books, and documents from "Simeon ben Kosibah, Prince of Israel" (also Simeon bar Kochba), in Hebrew.¹⁷

This was especially significant since most scholars had concluded that Aramaic so completely overcame Hebrew during the Second Temple period that Hebrew simply ceased to be a common spoken and written colloquial language. Such Hebrew documents, and other later discoveries among the Dead Sea Scrolls were to force the next generation of scholars to reconsider the linguistic variety of Palestine in the centuries just before and after Jesus, already hinted at by the mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek inscriptions on ossuaries (bone coffins) in the Herodian period.

Coins from the period of the Roman Emperor Hadrian confirm the dating, suggesting that some of Bar Kochba's troops may have been headquartered here during the Second Jewish Revolt, AD 130–135.

Father Barthélemy described his part in the purchase of scroll fragments when we interviewed him in March, 2000:

WWF: How did it come about that you were assigned the Prophets Scroll? Was that while you were still in Jerusalem?

DB: Yes, that's right, when I was in Jerusalem, the Bedouin brought us Greek fragments which seemed to me to be very different from the Qumran fragments.

WWF: So, the Bedouin brought them right to École biblique?

DB: Yes. I participated in buying those fragments, and I found it was very interesting, as a Greek text, because at that time I had already started to work particularly on the Septuagint. I especially wanted to be connected with those fragments and edit them, so when we bought them at the École biblique for the Jordanian government, I reserved the edition of those fragments for myself. That's how I published *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (*The Precursors of Aquila*, dealing with various ancient Greek versions of the Bible).

WWF: Who paid for those fragments? Did the Jordanian government pay?

DB: Yes, because they were part of all the fragments that were bought by the Jordanian government. It was Lankester Harding, who was himself the director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, who financed this out of his budget. [But later records seem to show that the funds came from the PAM.]

WWF: How did it happen that you gave the Greek Prophets Scroll to Emanuel Tov to finish the edition?

DB: That was different, because I had already practically edited the fragments in the *Precursors of Aquila*, but I understood that there had to be an edition in the framework of the Dead Sea Scrolls of Oxford. At that time I was oriented towards a different direction, because I worked on the textual criticism of the Old Testament in a more general way, in connection with Gene Nida and James Sanders. So I asked Father Benoît, who was responsible at that time, to contact Professor Tov, to find out if he would want to edit this. He willingly accepted.

WWF: So it was during the time that Benoît was the editor, not when Strugnell was editor, that Emanuel was invited to do it.

DB: Yes, Benoît succeeded Father de Vaux as the one responsible for the whole edition [DJD].

WWF: You said that you sometimes bought scrolls from the Bedouin. Did you ever meet Muhammed ed-Dib?

DB: Yes. I believe I even was the first to discover Muhammed ed-Dib. At that time we were excavating at Murabba'at [in 1952], there was a young Bedouin working with us by the name of Ali Hassan. I had the occasion to explore with him quite a few other caves around Murabba'at. Then one day we were in the desert, and we found the encampment of Muhammed ed-Dib, so I met him.

At the same time we took a certain number of Bedouin of his group, his clan, who were with him, and they worked with us at the excavations of Murabba'at. WWF: I met a man a few years ago in Jerusalem, whose name was Abu Daoud. That meant, of course, that he had a son named Daoud, but he claimed that he was the same as Muhammed ed-Dib. Do you recall whether Muhammed ed-Dib had a wife or children at that time, and whether he had another name? DB: At the time when I met Muhammed Dib he was not married, he did not have a wife, he did not have children. He was still very young. WWF: How old do you estimate he was at that time? DB: Less than 25 years old.¹⁸

The entries in the Scrolls Ledger show that the bulk of the Murabba'at material was bought up rather quickly. In at least 16 separate transactions with at least 11 different people¹⁹ between 22 December 1951 and 26 August 1952, Murabba'at fragments, as well as some pottery and other objects, came to the Palestine Archaeological Museum, for which it expended US\$6,685.²⁰ Only a few items from Murabba'at straggled in much later, and were recorded on a separate sheet, not the Scrolls Ledger: "Part of a Deed of Sale in Mishnaic Hebrew—A.D. 133 (still sealed when bought)" on Tuesday, 19 August 1958, and "11 blank parchment and leather fragments." (No date, but the list was with the 1958 material in the PAM Archive).²¹ The last entry in the Scrolls Ledger itself is dated 8 April 1957, Qumran Cave 4 fragments, purchased from Mahmud Beydoun, for \$56.40.²²

Spring 1951

In late spring 1951 Professor Sukenik lectured at the University of Louvain, where Geza Vermes, then a Roman Catholic priest, was studying. His lecture and his reading of the book of Isaiah in Hebrew made an enormous impression on the young scholar, who "had neither the courage, nor the opportunity to speak to him on that occasion."²³ The following year Vermes came to Jerusalem, and tried to meet Sukenik, but he was ill.²⁴ Although Vermes lived in West Jerusalem, he was able to use his priestly status and diplomatic connections to visit the École biblique in East Jerusalem, and to meet de Vaux and Milik. These were the beginnings of what was to become a lifelong fascination with the scrolls, resulting most notably in his widely used English translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Summer 1951: The Dating Question

The carbon-dating of the linen covers of scrolls from Cave 1 did not convince everyone. Among the most prominent early opponents of an early date was Professor Sir Godfrey R. Driver of Oxford, who carried on the debate in the popular as well as the scholarly press.²⁵ He first "dated the scrolls to the period between the Mishnah and the Talmud, between AD 200 and AD 500. Later, he had refined his dates to AD 70–73 for the Habakkuk Commentary, AD 73–81 for the Thanksgiving Hymns, and

AD 96–132 for the Zadokite Document (Damascus Covenant) and the War Scroll.²⁶ But, as Cross pointed out, “Professor Albright answered this question in an hour; Mr. Trever [and Brownlee] somewhat modestly spent two days over it.”²⁷ Professor Zeitlin, of Dropsie College (later University) was, of course, the most famous hold-out. He went to his grave claiming that the scrolls were medieval forgeries.²⁸

“In fact,” Cross continued, “Albright’s date for the Isaiah Scroll, the second century B.C.E., stands. Avigad dated the manuscript to the second half of the second century. I dated it to 125–100 B.C.E. A recent carbon-14 dating yields the range 202–107 B.C.E. Driver in his day wished to ignore the results of paleographical dating and he paid a bitter price. Now, as the paleographical means of dating the Qumran scrolls grows ever more precise, scholars once again are constructing theories ignoring the hard evidence of the typological science. Like Driver’s work, their speculation will end up on the trash heap of the history of scholarship.”²⁹

Imagine the atmosphere of suspense in our hotel in El Escorial, Spain one evening in March 1991, when the first modern carbon-14 dates for the scrolls (mostly Cave 4) were announced. I remember sitting across the table from Frank Cross as Magen Broshi, then curator of the Shrine of the Book, rose to announce the results of the first laboratory tests with the new Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) Carbon-14 method (which, unlike the older method, required the destruction of only about a thumbnail-sized piece of parchment). All eyes were on Frank because he had been dating scrolls by the development of handwriting styles (paleography) almost since the day Albright pulled him out of Johns Hopkins Library 42 years before. As Magen rose to speak, the tension in the room was palpable; but the relief following the announcement was even more palpable. Nearly all the C-14 dates were in the range of the handwriting dates, with at least one even considerably older.³⁰

December 1951

The story of Murabba’at began in November 1951, and we have followed it up through 3 March 1952. We now go back to pick up the excavation at Qumran, begun in December 1951, but interrupted by the discovery and excavation of Murabba’at.

The official preliminary summary of the first campaign at the site of Qumran itself appeared in the *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*: “During December 1951 a combined expedition of the Department of Antiquities, the École biblique et archéologique française, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum conducted a short period of excavation on this site [Qumran]. The object was to establish whether or not there was any direct connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls. The site had been roughly examined during the excavation of the scrolls cave in 1949 and a few of the graves excavated, but it was felt that new work should be done there before any definite pronouncement as to its nature and date.”³¹

This report went on to say that “sunk into the floor of one of the rooms was a jar identical to most of those found in the scrolls cave: the jar was covered by a small

flagstone but was empty. On the floor beside it was a coin of the Roman procurators under Augustus, about AD 10. We thus, even in the small area so far excavated, have a direct connection with the scrolls, and a correction for our original idea about the dating of the cave deposit, which we placed nearly a century too early, in the first century BC. Remains of many cooking pots and lamps similar to those found in the cave were also recovered, which were previously dated to the second and third centuries AD, but there are no examples of the long-spouted lamps so characteristic of the late Hellenistic period, two of which were in the cave.

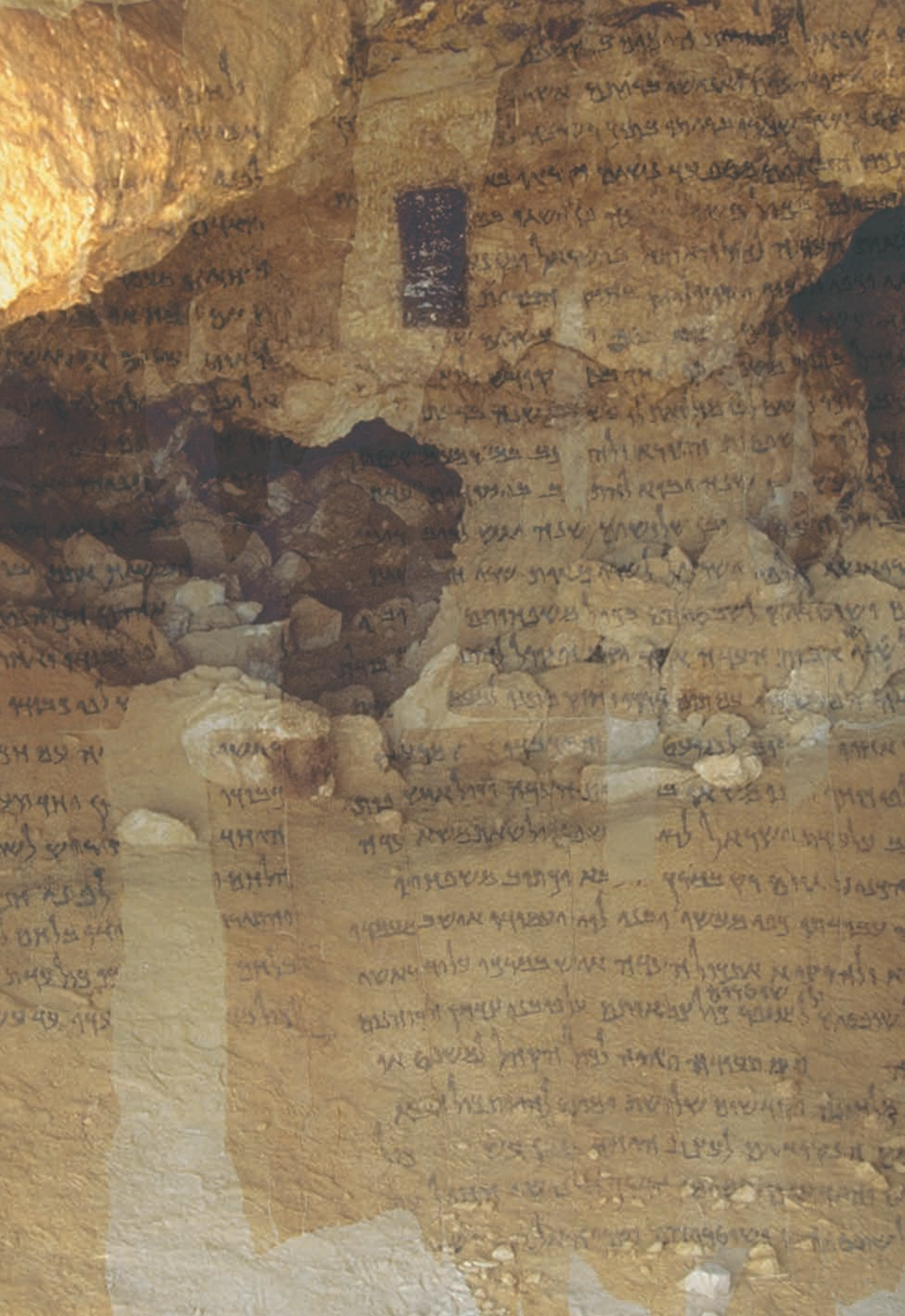
“This is interesting confirmation of the accuracy of the date established by submitting some of the linen from the cave to the carbon¹⁴ test, the estimated degree of accuracy of which is plus or minus 200 years. The date thus established for the linen was, that the flax on which it was made ceased to grow 1917 years ago, plus or minus 200 years—that is to say, from 167 BC to AD 237, with a central figure of AD 33 (the test was carried out in 1950).”³²

It is also noted in this report that a preliminary examination by Professor H. V. Vallois, director of the Musée de l’Homme, Paris, of the human bones found in graves at Qumran led him to conclude that some of them were women. “This point is important if the site is to be equated with the settlement of the Essenes referred to by Pliny the Elder.”³³

A new group of fragments had already been found by the official excavation of Cave 1, and other important ones had been bought from Kando by Saad. By December 1951 Milik had arrived in Jerusalem, where he joined Barthélemy in preparing the fragments for publication. Harding was well along in his negotiations with several university presses about undertaking what he envisioned would be a set of four publications.



E.-M. Laperrousaz, who excavated with de Vaux at Qumran 1951–1953, differed with him significantly on the dating of the site. At the Brasserie Alsace, Paris, 10 February 2000. ©Diane G. Fields.



Chapter 4

THE BOUNTIFUL YEAR

1952

Dead Sea Scrolls discoveries and publication quickened as the New Year began and surprises were to continue unabated throughout the year. Four new caves were found at Qumran, there were more unexpected finds in the caves of Wadi Murabba'at, and grand plans were drawn up for publication. Many of the records covering the next years come from letters written between the various scholars involved with the scrolls. Some letters I have summarized, others I have reproduced in whole or in part. Where I have quoted such documents they are substantially unchanged.¹

*Quick action was necessary
Mr. G. L. Harding ... alerted the
police station in Jericho, and at
three in the afternoon of the same
day a mounted patrol arrived in
the area of Qumran and quickly
found the cave, from which illegal
diggers escaped en masse.*

—Father Roland de Vaux

The purpose of reproducing the letters here is multifaceted. These are documents written “at the moment.” They show the state of mind of the various actors on the scrolls scene as it was then. In general, they are not smoothed out, glossed, or corrected for public consumption (except where some private personal matters are concerned). The intent is to give the flavor of the dynamics of the scholars, how they worked, how they functioned socially, how the vagaries of life and interpersonal relationships affected the publication of the scrolls. It would be possible to object that the picture emerging from this correspondence is skewed because I do not have all letters from all scholars. But the reader will agree with me, I hope, that many of the uncensored sentiments expressed here could have been (and probably were) written in other letters to other colleagues. What we have here, then, is a sample, a rare unvarnished glimpse into the lives and work of early Dead Sea Scrolls scholars.

For the most part, the correspondence has been arranged chronologically. The

disadvantage of this, that one may be required to skim through several letters to find the answer to a previous one, was, in my judgment, outweighed by the advantage of seeing the chronological progression of ideas, controversies, relationships, and advancement of the work.



Graves at Qumran, looking northeast toward the mountains of Jordan. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de.

February 1952

The second cave at Qumran was discovered near the first in February 1952. At least de Vaux first heard about it toward the end of February, just before the excavations at Murabba'at were finished (3 March). This is corroborated by a letter from Milik to Brownlee on 5 February in which he said nothing about it. In perfect English (at least his seventh or eighth modern language at the time), and very

clear handwriting, Milik thanked Brownlee for offprints he had sent of his recent articles on the scrolls and praised them. Milik noted that he had been in Jerusalem since December 1951, and that he had an article forthcoming in *VD* [*Verbum Domini*], where he referred to Brownlee's articles and corrected "an erroneous statement concerning the DSD of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," many fragments of which were yet to be discovered in Cave 4 later that year, but he could not have known that yet.²

10–29 March 1952

As for Father de Vaux, he was still hard at work in the Murabba'at caves during the rainy months of January and February. With spring approaching, he returned to Qumran 10–29 March. Among his assistants and workers was a young, energetic Frenchman, Henri du Bessey de Contenson, who had won a scholarship from the French Academy to study in Jerusalem during 1951–1953. De Contenson had already excavated graves for de Vaux at Qumran during the 1951 season.

Having decided that a systematic survey of the surrounding area was long overdue, especially in light of the recent Bedouin discovery and illegal excavation of caves at Murabba'at, de Vaux and William Reed, director of the American School in Jerusalem, set out to explore caves in the Qumran region. They covered an area about four kilometers in both directions, north and south, along the high, rugged cliffs overlooking the western shore of the Dead Sea. They divided their colleagues and Bedouin workers into three teams: one led by Father Barthélemy, one by Father Milik, and the third led by de Contenson. They remained camped at Qumran, but left each morning on their survey, and returned each evening at dusk. De Contenson took his team north, including about 10 or 12 Bedouin. These, in turn, split into several

smaller groups, who trudged the hillsides searching for any cave openings.

The climbing was difficult, the weather hot, and the results relatively meager. Of the 225 caves the teams eventually surveyed, 37 were further investigated, and 25 were found to contain shards of pottery similar to those discovered at Qumran, as well as remnants of cloth similar to the scroll wrappings found in Cave 1. So far only one other manuscript cave had been discovered, Cave 2, in February, 1952.



Cave 3

Late one afternoon in March 1952, as the party was returning to the encampment at Qumran for the night, one of the Bedouin noticed a shard, a pottery fragment of



Qumran Cave 3. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

obvious antiquity, lying on the ground near a small cave opening. Still about four kilometers north of Qumran, with darkness approaching swiftly, de Contenson realized there was nothing they could do about it, but they marked the spot with a stick and returned the following day.

Although this cave hardly looked promising, more like a pile of rocks because part of the roof had collapsed, de Contenson and his team broke through the rocks blocking the opening, and entered what was left of the cave. It was decided that this cave, later





The western shore of the Dead Sea with Jordan in the background. ©Mattie Kuiper.

known as Cave 3, warranted further examination. Recalled de Contenson: “We arrived on 10 March, and worked 10 days We found a lot of jars, pieces of leather and parchment [eventually identified as coming from a dozen or so original documents] Just on the last day [20 March] there was a little corner on the right, near the opening, and we began cleaning that, and there we found a massive lump of green, oxidized copper. Well, we sent a message to Père de Vaux [who was back at Qumran].”³

By the time the message got to de Vaux, the lump of copper had become a lump of gold! Naturally, de Contenson says, “de Vaux was quite excited. He sent his best foreman As they examined the lump, they could see what appeared to be Hebrew letters on the outside.”⁴ They had found what was to become known as the Copper Scroll!

What had originally been two long pieces of flat copper riveted together and inscribed with a Hebrew text had been separated and rolled up sometime in antiquity,



(L to R) M. and Mme. Henri du Bessey de Contenson, Diane Fields and Eva ben-David in the de Contenson’s home in Paris, 10 January 2000. ©Weston W. Fields.

and hidden in the cave. But over the centuries it had oxidized to such an extent that it was extremely fragile. What followed in the wake of this discovery is an odyssey in itself, much written about elsewhere. Here we offer details of what happened in the background as scholars tried first to identify its physical nature (was it bronze or copper?), to find a way to unroll it, and hardest of all, to decipher and interpret it. A flurry of activity in America, England, Germany, and Jordan ensued, which we take up in the following chapter.

Timothy’s Cave

Jozéf Milik likewise led a team, sometimes consisting of only one Bedouin. One day, he recounts, he and his companion were high up along the cliffs, following a

kind of path when he looked down and saw an opening only slightly above the ground. Seeing that it was large enough for a man to enter, he handed his flashlight to the Bedouin and asked him to scoot in and have a look. Having slid through the hole he shone the light around and without much pause retreated. He reported that he saw nothing inside, save a hyena! Suspicious, Milik decided to have a look for himself, so he took the light and shimmied through the opening himself. The cave floor, Milik reported, was covered with a thick layer of dust that had accumulated over the years, but here and there he could

see slight “protuberances.” As he began cleaning away some of the sand with his hand he realized he had come upon a very large number of scroll jars, unbroken, neatly arranged, and to his disappointment, empty. As he cleared away more dirt he also saw a neat stack of jar covers sitting to one side. The whole scene impressed him: someone had respectfully emptied the jars and preserved the lids, and it had all been done a very long time ago indeed, as the depth of the accumulated dust showed.

The first thing that came to Milik’s mind, he recalled, was the eighth-century account of Timothy, now widely known among scrolls scholars. The low entrance reminded him of the detail that a dog had found the cave, for it was much easier to enter than Cave 1 had been with its high entrance. The large number of jars showed that the cache had been huge. The care with which the jars had been treated showed as much respect for the contents as for the receptacles (as indicated in the Talmud). He named it “Timothy’s Cave.”

Having returned to the camp at Qumran that night he went to de Vaux with his report. But de Vaux “was in a bad mood,” for, said Milik, de Vaux was sometimes “moody.” He didn’t want to listen to Milik’s report, nor did he record it. Some of the explorers later returned to the cave and removed the jars, which are possibly among those stored for so long in the basement of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, but the cave, Milik remarked to me wistfully, never got the attention it deserved.⁵

15 June 1952

Despite what must have been a very busy schedule, de Vaux took time to keep up his correspondence. A letter from de Vaux to Brownlee in June 1952 thanks him for offprints of his recent study of the Habakkuk Commentary, and refers to matters that must have been in the forefront of his mind: texts from Qumran, the exploration of



Frank Cross outside “Timothy’s Cave.” Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

Qumran and the surrounding area, the date of deposits in the cave, which he fixes at AD 66–70, two other manuscript caves, the Copper Scroll, the growing probability that Qumran was connected with the Essenes, and the excavation of the cemetery at Qumran. He didn't talk like a man trying to keep secrets!⁶

July 1952

By July the Ta'amirehs' constant clandestine examination of the area had borne fruit again. They discovered another cache of manuscripts near the ruins of



Józef Milik outside "Timothy's Cave." Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

a Christian monastery at Khirbet Mird, about five miles from Qumran. Here they found fragments of manuscripts in Early Arabic, Syriac, and some New Testament Greek, all dating to the Byzantine Period, approximately the sixth and seventh centuries AD. About six months later, this site was excavated by R. de Langhe of the University of Louvain during February–April 1953, and many of the fragments were taken to Belgium.

July–August 1952

During July and August, 1952, Bedouin brought to Jerusalem manuscripts from an "unidentified" cave, probably Nahal Hever (Wadi Khabra), which included a Greek text of the Minor Prophets.

Middle of September 1952

As summer waned, de Vaux and Harding began to get clues about an even

greater discovery. This time, it did not take the Bedouin long to start bringing the new finds to the attention of the PAM and Harding. By now, after having worked so closely with so many from the Ta'amireh tribe, Harding and de Vaux were considered friends, and the arrangements for buying and selling were firmly in place. The Bedouin told the story this way:

One evening in their camp while they were discussing their recent adventures in the search for manuscripts, and of this new treasure that had appeared in their terri-



Technicians at the Palestine Archaeological Museum piecing together pottery dug up by archaeologists, May 1952. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

tory, an old man remembered that while he was hunting in the region of Qumran, he had injured a partridge. The bird took refuge in a hole in the marl, very near the ruins of Khirbet Qumran. The hunter slipped into the narrow opening with great difficulty and found himself in a chamber more than half filled, where he noticed shards of pottery and even an earthenware lamp. Some young men belonging to the tribe decided to follow this lead. Taking ropes with them they explored the side of the terrace around Khirbet Qumran, and, as luck or tenacity would have it, they discovered the hole that the

old man had told them about. They began to dig, and their efforts, which at first were fruitless, were soon rewarded by the discovery of numerous handwritten fragments.⁷ The news spread immediately throughout the tribe, and many volunteers, as many as 100, came to claim their share of the work and the booty. Organized into teams that joined their efforts, they marked out sectors in the cave where they worked in rotation, resting and sleeping on the neighboring plateau where their tents remained visible. They created an easier access to the cave by widening the chimney that was made by the rains, that led to one of the sides of the chamber. They had thus passed very near to the original entrance that had been filled and that they did not recognize.⁸

The ensuing events were later summarized by de Vaux and are quoted at length below. This will serve to give an overview of the rapidly unfolding events of the next few weeks. We can fill in the details and give Harding's perspective from letters he wrote at the time.

19 September 1952, Friday

The first batches of their treasure arrived in Jerusalem on 20 September, and through two different channels. Very early in the morning, about 10 Bedouin arrived at the *École archéologique française* [*École biblique*] and they undid a heap of fragments. At first they seemed reticent to reveal where they found them, but the appearance of the fragments and their writing showed that they came from Qumran, which the Bedouin willingly admitted. Trading lasted the whole morning, and finally, a settlement was reached that seemed satisfactory to everyone. This negotiation had hardly finished when Mr. Yusef Saad, curator⁹ of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, announced that the same morning Khalil Iskander Shahin, nicknamed Kando, the antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, the principal agent involved in the sale of manuscripts from the [Judaeian] desert, had offered him a huge batch of fragments of the same kind and obviously from the same origin.

Quick action was necessary. Mr. G. L. Harding, who was then Director of Antiquities in Amman, was immediately notified. He alerted the police station in Jericho, and at three in the afternoon of the same day a mounted patrol arrived in the area of Qumran and quickly found the cave, from which illegal diggers escaped en masse.¹⁰

20–21 September 1952, Saturday night and Sunday

The police left a guard there, and the next day, Sunday, 21 September, the three institutions that were associated from the very beginning with research near the Dead Sea, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the *École archéologique française*¹¹ prepared themselves, and the lawful excavation of the cave began on the morning of 22 September; this excavation lasted until 29 September.¹²

22 September 1952, Monday–29 September 1952, Monday

De Vaux continued:

The Bedouin had already removed more than half the contents of the cave



Qumran Cave 4A today. On the left, looking south toward the Dead Sea; on the right the opening giving access from the wadi below and to Cave 4B. In the foreground, the trench where archaeologists found scroll fragments. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

and they had worked so meticulously that only a few minuscule fragments remained in their tailings. But the archaeologists themselves explored the lower layers of the cave and a small underground chamber that the Bedouin had not reached, and they discovered the original entrance. They collected almost 1,000 fragments belonging to about 100 different manuscripts, which were

almost all represented among the fragments bought from the Bedouin, confirming the origin of the batches the Bedouin sold [in Jerusalem]. On the other hand, this dispersion of the pieces of the same manuscripts in the whole heap of the deposit signifies a previous upheaval that we shall try to explain below. While Cave 4 was being emptied, the surrounding area was being explored as well. Very near Cave 4, Milik discovered Cave 5 and in it the remains of about 15 manuscripts. The small Cave 6, from which the Bedouin had only shortly before removed a certain number of fragments belonging to more than 20 manuscripts, was located. The two batches presented on 20 September and the finds harvested during the official excavation, however, only represented the lesser part of the discovery: many of the fragments were still in the hands of the Bedouin. Taking the advice of G. L. Harding, Director of Antiquities, and aware of the importance of the glorious discovery for the country, the Jordanian government allocated a sum of JD 15,000 [£15,000=\$42,000]¹³ to buy the two batches, which already had been stored in a safe place, and which could be acquired. Given the limits of its budget and the urgent, and sometimes tragic, requirements its funds had to satisfy, this enlightened generosity on the part of the Jordanian government deserves the recognition of the scholarly world. But this grant was exhausted before all the elements of this rich discovery could be acquired. Upon Mr. G. L. Harding's recommendation, the government authorized foreign institutions to purchase fragments which remained in the hands of Bedouin and antiquities dealers, through the agency of the Director of Antiquities [and the Palestine Archaeological Museum], provided that the fragments remained together at the Palestine Archaeological Museum while preparatory work was being done toward publication. Each institution was eventually to receive a quantity of fragments, not the actual mixed-up, disassociated ones its money had bought, but a batch of associated fragments equal in quantity to the amount for which its money had been spent. These fragments were classified according to the manuscripts to which they belonged. [Until today some tags remain on Cave 4 plates of fragments identifying which donor would eventually receive them.] The institutions participating in this rescue, in the [chronological] order of the donation of their financial support are: McGill University, Montreal; the Vatican Library; Manchester University; Heidelberg University; and McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. The total of these financial contributions represented more than the total budget allocation of the Jordanian government. The purchases of fragments [from Cave 4] from the Bedouin continued until the summer of 1958 [nearly six years after the first fragments were brought to Jerusalem]. These last purchases were made possible by generous gifts to the Palestine Archaeological Museum by McCormick Theological Seminary, All Souls Unitarian Church, New York,

and the University of Oxford. Finally [5 August 1961], the Jordanian government saw these manuscripts as belonging to its national heritage and thought that they should stay in the country. It decreed that all manuscripts found in the region of the Dead Sea belonged to the State, and the State had to repay the institutions which had procured the funds necessary for their purchase. It still remains that the initial permission [for foreign institutions to buy fragments] given by the Jordanian government, and the response that this arrangement received abroad, made it possible to save from certain dispersion and possible loss these texts whose exceptional importance is universally recognized, as will be obvious to those who read these volumes. The initial authorization also made their study possible. Each fragment among a small batch of fragments considered separately did not mean very much; it was absolutely essential that everything was retrieved and kept in the same place to allow the texts to be identified and assembled.

De Vaux added this footnote: “If one compares the fate of many manuscript finds, both ancient and modern, this retrieval and reassembly of fragments of Cave 4, at least 15,000, is a remarkable achievement. Only a few fragments were acquired and exported illegally by certain people who inconsiderately preferred the misplaced vanity of owning a little piece of the ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ to the general interest of science. Some of these fragments were sent to us afterwards in photographic form and they will be incorporated where they belong in the volumes of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. If there are others out there, would the owners please make them known to us as soon as possible.”¹⁴

De Vaux telescoped several years of purchasing and negotiations in this summary. His figures are basically supported by the Scrolls Ledger from the PAM, but the whole business of purchasing and fund-raising was quite a bit more complicated than it was possible for him to explain in his introduction. It will be necessary to follow the story for about 14 years, from 1950 to 1964 to get the complete picture of the financial burdens assumed by the PAM and the DAJ in order to acquire all the fragments being offered. Unfortunately, it has become ever more clear through the years that not everything was ever offered to Harding and de Vaux.

We now go back and fill in some of the details of the story from Harding’s letters and other records in the PAM Archive.

As de Vaux pointed out, by the time he and Harding found out about the discovery of Cave 4, when booty began appearing on the market, the cave had been “cleared out by almost the entire Ta’amireh tribe working in relays over a period of some days.”¹⁵

3–11 September 1952: Cave 4 Purchases?

Something is wrong with the dating here, however, for de Vaux said in the passage above that he didn’t even know about Cave 4 until 20 September 1952. Since

he seems to be quoting from his diary (for which both the Dominicans of the École biblique in Jerusalem and I have searched high and low with no success), he is probably the most reliable source on the question of dating the first Cave 4 purchases. Yet, entries in the Scrolls Ledger from the PAM do not square with his statements. On 8 August 1952 Kando was paid £440 for fragments from Cave 2. On 3 September Kando was paid £350 for fragments from what is first noted as Murabba'at, but then crossed out and marked Cave 4. On 4 September de Vaux was refunded £600 for what is marked Cave 4, and on 11 September Kando was paid £208 for materials from Cave 4. The big purchase came on 23 September, £3000 to Kando for more fragments, noted as Cave 4. Yet, de Vaux claimed that he didn't know about Cave 4 until the third week of September. A possible solution is that the 3, 4, and 11 September purchases were thought to have come from Cave 2 or Murabba'at. Kando and the Bedouin would not have told de Vaux or Harding that the fragments were coming from a new cave (Cave 4), because none of the officials yet knew that Cave 4 existed! After de Vaux and the others found out there was another cave, Kando and the Bedouin could have then come clean on the source of the early September fragments. The notation was then changed from Murabba'at to Cave 4 for 3 September, and Cave 4 was added as a reference for the other two. This is probably also the same with the big 23 September sale, or this may have been the first one they identified as Cave 4. This conclusion may also be corroborated by the alignment of the last column in the Scrolls Ledger, which is changed after the 3 September notation, suggesting that the last four "Q4" entries were added at a later time. In little more than a week the PAM had paid more than £4,158 (\$11,642) for Cave 4 fragments, but there was much more to come! For now, Mr. Kando was on a roll!

As we have recounted, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan took immediate action (within hours!) to stop the illegal digging, but by then, the majority of the fragments had already been removed. It was to be many years before these were bought by the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and some never were, as shown by de Vaux's poignant, posthumous plea in *DJD* 6 in 1977.¹⁶ But from the day de Vaux and Harding found out about the Cave 4 scrolls they only had the weekend to mount an official excavation. Impressive!

24 (?) September 1952

Sometime after the first fragments from Cave 4 were offered to de Vaux, but before the completion of its excavation, Harding composed a letter. Unfortunately, the copy that has survived in the PAM Archive contains neither the addressee nor the date, but I have deduced that a letter with most of this content, perhaps with the personal references in the first two paragraphs modified, was probably sent to both Professor Carl Kraeling, director of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, and Kenneth and Elizabeth Bechtel. Kraeling mentions in a later letter that Harding had written to him on 24 September, but no letter from Harding to Kraeling with

that date is in the archives. Yet he seems to answer the topic taken up in this letter. The copy that survives was probably written to the Bechtels in mid-October. It may have been sent to others as well, and perhaps that's why this copy is not addressed to anyone in particular, except for the first paragraph:

When I had the pleasure of showing you round our museum in 1950,¹⁷ you very kindly said that if you could help us at any time to let you know. I always hesitate to trouble people with our affairs, but at the moment we are faced with an emergency on what I consider to be a very important matter. I would be most grateful if you could give us some help. The affair is as follows:

You may perhaps remember the early biblical scrolls about which I spoke, I fear, at some length, which had been found by Bedouin in a cave near the Dead Sea. Since that discovery these Bedouin have been very active in searching for other similar deposits, and have during the past 18 months found some very important and interesting material. They unearthed some most interesting documents written on papyrus and leather in Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic in some caves in a terribly remote part of the country east of Bethlehem [Murabba'at]. When we took over the excavation of them, we found that the nearest point to which we could bring transport was three hours' walk away from the spot. Our equipment was transported on mule back as far as the edge of the gorge in which were the caves, but from there everything, including at one stage an electric light plant, had to come down the steep paths on workmen's backs. They had,



Cave 4, showing the entrance from the ceiling. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

of course, removed most of the material by the time we got there, but by utilizing some of the museum savings¹⁸ we were able to buy it back from them.

It all dates from the second century AD and includes correspondence and legal documents from the time of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome. One marriage contract in Greek is dated in the seventh year of the Emperor



Scroll fragments were often brought to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in small containers such as those pictured here. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

Hadrian, i.e., AD 124. But most interesting were some letters on papyrus written by one Simon ben Kosibah to his local chief of the guerillas. This Simon styles himself “Prince of Israel,” later changed his name to Bar Kokhbah, and considered himself, and was considered by many of the people, to be the long promised Messiah. There are also several fragmentary copies of what appears to be the proclamation of the revolt under his leadership.

The Bedouin continued their searches, and found still other caves in

even remoter parts containing similar documents, and yet another cave from which some interesting Christian and early Arab papyri were recovered. *We again drew on our savings* and acquired all the material, which otherwise would be dispersed or smuggled out of the country, as happened to the very first find. Savings were now running low, but the flow of material seemed to be easing off.

Then last week the bombshell hit us. They found another cave [Cave 4], not far from the first one, full of more biblical manuscripts. It is an immense quantity of material, and *we have exhausted all our savings in rescuing about a third of it.*¹⁹ I have been reluctantly compelled to say we cannot buy more, though I know that there is still very important stuff to be had. It will, I fear, be smuggled away, or even perhaps destroyed when they find there is no longer a market, a grim prospect. This latest find, though fragmentary in nature, is likely to prove more important than the complete scrolls originally found, for a rough examination of the third in our possession shows that it will give us a cross section of about 75% of the Books of the Old Testament. And these are manuscripts of the first century BC–AD, at least 1,000 years older than the oldest biblical manuscripts we have seen so far.

The position is that I need £5,000 urgently to get a lien on the rest of the stuff and so save it. Ultimately I should need perhaps £15,000 altogether, which sum would also cover cost of publication. Can you possibly help us to raise some of this money, please? It is important and terribly urgent, and I am writing to everyone I can think of who might be interested and able to help us in this emergency. Please do everything you can: you will have the gratitude of biblical scholars and archaeologists all over the world if you can help to salvage these unique documents.

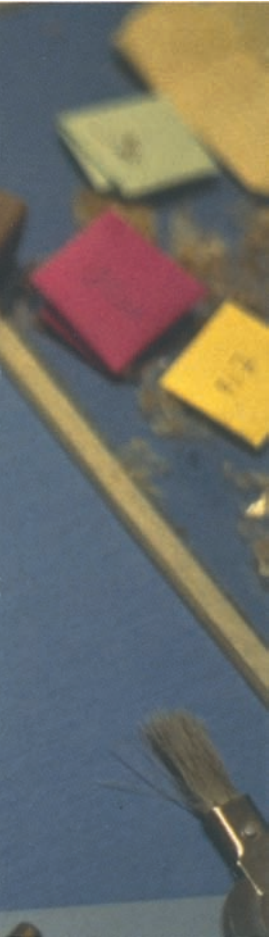
With best wishes,

G. Lankester Harding

Curator, Palestine Archaeological Museum²⁰

De Vaux's right-hand man during all these events was Father Barthélemy. He vividly recalled his relationship to the manuscripts of Cave 4, and to Kando in particular, when we interviewed him at the Albertinum Dominican monastery in Friebourg, Switzerland in February 2000:

DB: I was still in Jerusalem at the time when they found Cave 4, though I never personally went there. It was discovered all the way at the end of my stay in Jerusalem, but I knew a lot of manuscripts from Cave 4, because I was



the one to receive from the Bedouin the manuscripts that they came to sell. I always had to make the first classification of the manuscripts of Cave 4, a first try at identification and division of the manuscripts.

WWF: I'm trying to picture what it was like when a Bedouin had a piece of a scroll. Did he come up to the École biblique and knock on the gate? If he did, whom would he ask for? Would he ask for Father Barthélemy, would he ask for Father de Vaux? Antoun Hazou?

DB: Père de Vaux. Père de Vaux as director of the École, having worked on the archeological part of the manuscripts of the Dead Sea, was the most competent.

WWF: And what would they say? Would they say, "We have a piece; we want so many dinars for this?" Or would they say, "How many dinars will you give us?"²¹ Did the Bedouin set the price, or did Father de Vaux set the price?

DB: The prices were fixed. There was a certain rate established; I don't remember how many pounds sterling the rate was, but it was calculated on the basis of the square centimeters of an inscribed fragment's size.

WWF: How much was it? Was it £5 sterling per square centimeter?

DB: I think it was about one pound sterling per square centimeter of writing.

WWF: How did they come up with that? What was that based on?

DB: It's very simple. The Bedouin always wanted to raise the price, and we wanted to get it down. So this was fixed little by little, by discussions between the two parties.

WWF: I heard a story that in the very first days, the Bedouin would tear the scrolls in pieces to get a higher price, because at that time they were being paid by the piece. Only later on de Vaux changed the rate of payment to the square centimeter price, in order to keep the Bedouin from tearing them up.

DB: I think that is true, yes.

WWF: So the Bedouin would say to de Vaux or to you, "Here's the piece." The next question is, how would they get the money? Did Father de Vaux go to Lankester Harding and say, for example, "I need £500 sterling, because I have this piece?"

DB: (Chuckling) The Bedouin deceived themselves about how easy it was for us to get money. They thought it was enough to write to the bank, that the bank would send money forever!

WWF: But in reality, Father de Vaux had to ask Lankester Harding for the money.

DB: Harding fixed a certain amount we could use to purchase fragments for a certain cave, once he was sure they were important and interesting and old fragments. So he fixed an amount, and we had to stay within the amount. So it was a budget he set for us when a new cave was discovered, saying we could go up to a certain amount to buy the fragments from a certain cave.

WWF: So it was like they had an open account, from which he could draw out.

DB: For each cave.

WWF: So de Vaux did not have to talk to Harding every single time. He had access to a certain amount of money, and he could dispense that immediately to the Bedouin if he decided to get the piece?

DB: That's right, yes.

WWF: Once he dispensed the money, and they had the fragments at the École biblique, what happened next? Did De Vaux immediately take the fragments to the Palestinian Archaeological Museum, or did the fragments stay for some time at the École?

DB: No. They went directly, immediately, to the Rockefeller [Palestine Archaeological] Museum.

WWF: And then they came into the hands of Yusef Saad?

DB: That's correct, yes. Yusef Saad was a very useful man, and very honest. I never saw that Saad was dishonest.

WWF: Once Yusef Saad had a piece of scroll, what happened next? Would de Vaux immediately chose a scholar who would be responsible for editing this piece?

DB: It depends. When I was still there, I personally had the task of making a first classification of all the fragments we bought.²²

WWF: So, you actually met Bedouin and purchased, and helped purchase scrolls from them. Did you work also with Kando?

DB: Yes, I received Kando [at the École]. And I remember that he brought me a certain number of fragments, and then I asked him whether there were other fragments, because some of the fragments had cuts that were fresh, and they must have been attached to other fragments and had been broken afterwards. So then he explained to me that the preceding autumn [probably late 1952] he had put a great number of fragments in an inner tube, the inside of a tire. Lifting up the stone of the doorstep, he put all this underneath the doorway of his house. He put it there for the winter, to avoid their getting humid during the rainy period. Then he explained to me that afterwards, in the spring, he lifted it up to look, and the fragments were all damp: there wasn't anything left. They had become practically liquefied. They had become jelly. So he was really sorry because he couldn't sell them anymore. That's when I understood why there will always be many fragments missing from the fragments of Cave 4, because it was fragments from Cave 4 that he put there. That was in the winter of '52-'53. I'm very sorry about the misfortune that happened to Kando's fragments.

WWF: Oh, it makes one sick to think about it. One of the Bedouin that I met a number of years ago told me the story that when they first went into Cave 4, before de Vaux of course, there were lots of fragments around, so they took their *keffiyehs* and spread them out on the floor, and piled fragments in them. Then they tied them up, and put them over their shoulders,

and came back down. He also said that in Cave 4 there were pieces of wood, perhaps shelves for the scrolls, and they didn't know what they were, so they just threw them out into the wadi, and of course the first time it rained, they were all washed away. Did you ever hear any story like that about shelves?²³

DB: No I never heard anything about that.

WWF: Who made the decision about the person who was going to work on the particular fragment? Did de Vaux make that decision?

DB: That was decided progressively. I mean by this that among those who were at Jerusalem, it was known that this or that person was still sufficiently free to take new fragments and edit them. They looked among those that were sufficiently free to work on new fragments.

WWF: Whose idea was it to constitute the committee of eight²³ people [later for Cave 4]? Was that de Vaux's idea, Harding's idea?

DB: Generally those people were people that came to Jerusalem for other reasons, often, for example, to see what was the actual state of our work, because this work was interesting to them. So we took advantage of the fact that they were in Jerusalem to propose that they work with us.

WWF: But in the case of Allegro or Strugnell, they received a specific invitation to come.

DB: I think all invitations were in an unofficial manner, that is to say that when X or Y were present, they were asked if they would also accept to take such and such fragment and to edit them. [Here Father Barthélemy is mistaken because he did not have access to Harding's papers, which show a rather systematic and official choice of the members of the Cave 4 Team. wwf.]

WWF: In those years, who was the star, who was the great paleographer, that everyone else looked up to? Milik, or Strugnell?

DB: I think that Strugnell was excellent.

WWF: And Milik?

DB: I worked with him in the very beginning, but later, unfortunately, it wasn't so good anymore, because, you know, he drank.

WWF: So when the two of you worked together on volume 1 of DJD, you had to do most of the work?

DB: No, he did at least the same amount, if not more.

WWF: Now we talked about when the Bedouin found a piece, one would come and knock at the door of École and ask for Father de Vaux or you maybe, and then Father de Vaux would give him the price, he would pay for the scroll, and take the scroll to the museum. Where in all that would Kando come in? What was Kando's part?

DB: The Bedouin would first go to Kando and then Kando himself came to the École.

WWF: So usually de Vaux was dealing with Kando, not with the Bedouin directly?

DB: Yes, but also with the Bedouin, because every group of fragments came in its own way. Some [fragments] went through Kando, and others didn't go through Kando, because the Bedouin already had direct relations with de Vaux and Harding.

WWF: So, Kando was sometimes the man who came to the École, sometimes it was the Bedouin directly.

DB: Yes.

WWF: Was there anybody else besides Kando and the Bedouin?

DB: No, I don't think so. I don't remember others.

WWF: There were no other antiquities dealers?

DB: No.

WWF: Do you recall who brought the Nahal Hever Prophets Scroll? Was it the Bedouin or Kando?

DB: The Bedouin brought it directly.

WWF: When Kando got the money from De Vaux, did he get the money in cash or in a check?

DB: It was always cash.

WWF: Then he split it with the Bedouin?

DB: Yes, I think so.

WWF: Do you know what percentage he would keep or would it be different every time?

DB: I think it was different every time.

WWF: Do you think Kando kept more than half for himself or less than half?

DB: Less than half.

WWF: I read somewhere that at least in the early days Kando kept for himself 20 percent and he gave to the Bedouin 80 percent.

DB: It's possible.

WWF: I suppose if he were not honest with the Bedouin, then they would stop bringing him things.

DB: He must have known that if he didn't give enough to the Bedouin, the Bedouin wouldn't come to him anymore.

WWF: Do you think there was any money that ever went to Yusuf Saad?

DB: No, Yusuf Saad never got money.

[Frank Cross is quite sure that later, during the negotiations for the Cave 11 material, Saad played both sides of the fence and was a secret partner with Kando. wwf.]²⁴

WWF: Do you know of any pieces that ever were sent to Rome, to the Vatican?

DB: No.

WWF: During the years that you were at École biblique and you were

working on the fragments, did you ever receive any instructions from the Vatican saying, hide this, don't do that?

DB: No, nothing at all.

WWF: Do you know of anybody at École biblique that ever received any such instructions?

DB: No.

WWF: What about any pieces of scrolls that were ever hidden at École biblique?

DB: In fact, it was at the École biblique that the buying took place, because the Bedouin or Kando went directly to Father de Vaux or me, and we were at the École biblique. And there the buying took place.

WWF: But no scrolls were ever kept there?

DB: No.

WWF: The reason I ask is, about a year ago, a journalist knocked on the door of École biblique and asked to talk to Marcel Sigrist. He said, "I have come to see the scrolls that have been hidden at École biblique."

DB: Everything went directly to the Rockefeller [Palestine Archaeological] Museum.

WWF: I understand that Father de Vaux never edited any of the manuscripts. Is that correct?

DB: No, he always dealt with the archeological part [this is not strictly true; he did edit one. wwf]

WWF: During those years, 1949 to 1953, did you ever hear of any manuscript finds across in Transjordan?

DB: No.

WWF: When were you at Murabba'at? 1952?

DB: Yes.

WWF: Were the manuscripts in Murabba'at found only in one cave or in several caves?

DB: As I remember, there must have been three caves with manuscripts. And in reality, on the inside, they were very different one from the other, because some caves had a lot of manuscripts, and others practically nothing.²⁵

Besides Father Barthélemy, a Christian Arab named Antoun Hazou also assisted in the purchase of fragments.²⁶ By now Kando had been in the scrolls business for some years. He already had his network and his agreements. Hazou said that the reason the Bedouin kept bringing fragments to Kando was that Kando paid the best prices. Not only that, there was an agreement between Kando and the museum that the museum would not buy anything directly. Thus, Kando had a monopoly on sales, though this seems to be contradicted by Barthélemy who said that Bedouin sometimes came directly to de Vaux at the École without Kando's knowledge, and that de

Vaux paid them in cash on the spot out of a fund set up for each individual cave by Harding. It is doubtful that any Bedouin went to the École without Kando's knowledge or even his approval. As Anton said, "it had been ...understood between him and the Bedouin that he would be the only dealer."²⁷ Nevertheless it is clear that neither Kando nor the Bedouin were transparent or consistent with each other, so one must speak only of the way things were done in general.

Anton, for example, related that both he and George Isha'ya ("Isaiah," of Cave 1 fame) had serious conflicts with Kando over the sale of scrolls, for Anton caught Kando trying to trick de Vaux. A similar story was related to me by Abu Daoud, who claimed Kando cheated him out of some fragments, so he tried to kill Kando with a knife, and that Kando had the scar on his neck to prove it.²⁸ Anton, also a member of the Syrian Christian community (though Catholic, not Orthodox) seriously questioned the honesty of Kando.²⁹ He says that he had several chances over the years to buy fragments (apparently from Kando), but that after the city was united under Israeli control in 1967 he was afraid of the police and antiquities authorities, so he never made any more purchases.³⁰

Anton was, in fact, the conduit for some pieces of parchment from Qumran which were blank, of which there are a number listed in the fragments from Murabba'at, and Qumran Cave 4 and Cave 5.³¹ He said that de Vaux was very interested in these



Abu Daoud, who claimed to be Muhammed ed-Dib. Photo taken in the 1990s. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

because they proved that scrolls were copied at Qumran. “Otherwise, why would they have blank pieces of parchment there?”³²

Cross’s experience with Kando was similar:

“In my dealings with Kando in the purchase of Cave 4 fragments, and of the Daliyeh Papyri, (of course with de Vaux’s blessing, though he was not present), Kando brought the material directly to the museum. We bargained in the central garden, and the material was passed there into our hands. Kando and some bodyguards actually followed me to the bank, met me at the door, to be sure I gave them all the cash that came from my donor’s check. I was a bit amused.”³³

29 September 1952

Harding’s letter above shows that it was immediately apparent to de Vaux and him that they had a serious problem, particularly after the purchases from Kando between 3 and 11 September 1952. The amount of money it would take to rescue the vast number of Cave 4 fragments threatened to overwhelm the financial resources of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Extensive fund-raising would have to be done. The day the excavation of Cave 4 was completed, 29 September 1952, Harding sat down and wrote another letter to Professor Carl Kraeling at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago:

Further to my letter of 24 September 1952, I now enclose a short account of the finds in the last cave, which we have just finished clearing up. It makes our position clear, I think, and both Père de Vaux and I considered that it was only right we should send to you the information so that you can, if you see fit, pass it on to Mr. Rockefeller [John D., Jr.] so that he might have a chance of doing something about it if he felt so inclined.

We rescued quite a nice lot of stuff from our excavations, but it is disheartening always to come in on the tail end of the Bedu. Still, they have nothing else to do except search for caves, whereas our activities are slightly more varied.

Please consider the information as confidential for the moment, at least so far as any sort of published information is concerned. I am actively trying other possible sources for raising the urgent cash, but it all takes time. *Meanwhile, as we have had to stop buying; I have reports that others are already doing so.*³⁴

Harding was desperate, turning wherever he could. In this recounting of the situation, he revealed some new and stunning information:

Since the discovery in 1947 by Bedu of the Ta’amireh tribe of a cave near the Dead Sea, in which were hidden some leather scrolls which turned out to be the earliest known manuscripts of books of the Old Testament, members of that tribe have been very active to try and find further similar caches to augment their always meager incomes.

During the past two years they have been most successful, and the remoteness of their district, and the difficulty of access to it, has enabled them to complete clearance of the caves at leisure before offering the material on the market. As soon as locations of the caves could be established, a combined expedition of the Department of Antiquities [of Jordan], the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the *École biblique et archéologique française* would proceed to excavate them, but usually “when we got there the cupboard was bare.” Some idea of the difficulties can be given when I say that the caves we worked last spring [at Murabba‘at] were three hours’ walk away from the nearest point to which transport could be brought, and supplies and equipment had to be carried by mule to the top of the gorge in which they were situated, from where everything, including an electric light plant, had to be carried down the precipice on the backs of the workers.

The Palestine Archaeological Museum was able to buy up all the material from these finds from savings which had accumulated in the past few years, but recently these savings were running very low. However, it appeared that the flow of material was also diminishing so we were not unduly worried. It is of great importance that such documents should be kept together in one place, or there will be a repetition of the results of the first find, where parts were smuggled out to Israel and to America during the difficult times of 1948–1949. There are now fragments of the same documents here [in Jordan], in Israel, and in America, and owing to political and other circumstances, they cannot be brought together.

It has been the object of the museum to try and avoid this dispersal of material, and so far it has been succeeding very well. But last week the Bedu found another cave [Cave 4], not far from the first one, containing more biblical manuscripts of the same type and period. The quantity of the material is astonishing, and though fragmentary, is probably of more importance than the original find, as many more Old Testament books were represented. In fact, a rough assessment of what we have seen so far suggests that it will give a cross section of 75% of the Old Testament.

The savings of the museum are now, alas, exhausted, and we have only been able to secure about one third of the material. It is a most disturbing situation as it simply means that the rest will be either smuggled away out of the country, or perhaps be destroyed when they find no market for it here. In order to get a lien on what is left, I estimate that at least £5,000 is needed urgently. This sum would not cover the whole cost, *particularly if there are, as rumoured, two complete scrolls.*³⁵ Leaving these out of consideration for the moment, I should say a further £10,000 (£15,000 in all)

would be the minimum required to complete the bargain, and to publish the material.

This latter is a most important consideration, and if the money is forthcoming *I should propose to make it an international affair, inviting the various*



Looking up from Wadi Qumran, the entrance to Qumran Cave 4B is clearly visible on the left and one of the entrances to 4A on the right. ©Mattie Kuiper.

*institutes represented on the board of the museum to send a scholar to Jerusalem to take part in the big work of sorting, assembling of fragments, photographing and translating the material for final publication.*³⁶

But the urgent matter is to have £5,000 now to rescue these unique and priceless manuscripts, which are of worldwide interest, and acquisition of all the material from this latest find would give the museum unrivaled preeminence in the field of Old Testament studies and Palestinian paleography and epigraphy.³⁷

One can feel the urgency running through the whole of Harding's letter. Only a few days after the discovery he has already run out of money and been thrust into the very unfamiliar territory of raising money, an onerous task the museum would be saddled with for many years to come. In fact, funding was to become the primary issue in connection with the speed of publication, and has dogged scrolls scholars up until the present. Much of the public has assumed right down through the years that funding for the publication and preservation of such an important set of documents, of so much interest to so many people throughout the world, would more or less "fall down from the sky." It has never been so, as will become painfully apparent as we follow the story of the scrolls over the next five decades. In fact, as I write this there are as many as 16 Hebrew biblical fragments and one fragment of Enoch languishing in a vault in Switzerland, 140 Greek fragments in Jerusalem, and a large fragment of Genesis elsewhere, for whose purchase I have not been able to get one penny despite four years of work, scores of letters and meetings, and hundreds of dollars' worth of phone calls.

Another remarkable thing about Harding's letter is that it contains the first hint about a team of scholars specifically assembled to sort, reassemble, photograph, and translate this new huge batch of documents from Cave 4, so that the material could be published. We will call this group the *Cave 4 Team*. We will see how this team was put together over the ensuing two years, why each prospective member was invited, who refused, and who accepted. And because we have many personal letters written by these exceptional men at the time, and have been privileged to interview the living four of the original eight, we will become quite well acquainted with them indeed.

30 September 1952

One day later, 30 September 1952, Harding composed a similar statement, this time addressed to no one in particular. This was, perhaps, a kind of position statement issued on the basis of his dual responsibilities at the time as director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The statement is partly a repetition of his message to Kraeling, and what he is going to write over the next few days to several potential donors, but the information it contains and its status as an official statement of the board of trustees of the museum, make it foundational for understanding how the purchase, and then publication, of the scrolls was to be worked out in the future.

30 September, 1952

At the meeting of the Board of Trustees on 3 April, 1952, the members present kindly approved the action of the curator in utilizing some of the museum savings for acquiring valuable early manuscript material, and authorised further expenditure for the same purpose should the occasion arise. It duly arose, and the museum has acquired a great amount more material of a similar nature. Now, however, a new cave has just been discovered at Qumran near Fashkha, and was [nearly] cleared out by almost the entire Ta'amireh tribe working in relays over a period of some days before the material discovered in it appeared on the market, enabling the government to take action to stop it. The material is of the same nature and origin as that of the famous Dead Sea Scrolls, i.e., earliest manuscripts of Old Testament books, etc. Although so far no complete scrolls have come to light (*though some are rumoured*),³⁸ the material is in many ways more interesting than the first discovery as it will give a cross section of a least 75% of the books of the Old Testament. The museum has exhausted its savings in acquiring a good portion of this material and can buy no more: it is hoped to be able to raise perhaps JD1,000 from the Jordan government for a lot of early Arabic papyri which come from another cave farther south [Murabba'at?], but this may take time. Meanwhile an enormous amount of material is still in the hands of the finders, and will either be dispersed or destroyed.

It would seem that the museum is not morally bound to use any of its capital for the purpose of rescuing this unique material, and in any case this could not possibly be done without the approval of the trustees. But I feel that we are morally bound to let the present state of affairs be generally known, in the hope that people interested in biblical matters might be persuaded to make contributions to enable the rest of the material to be rescued from dispersal or even oblivion.

This last cave is undoubtedly a greater find than the original one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, even though the material is fragmentary: a rough estimate indicates that there is a much greater superficial area of writing than there is in all the scrolls of the first cave. I therefore propose also to make a special appeal to some wealthy individuals known to have an interest in such matters in the hopes that they may be persuaded to contribute to enable the museum to acquire and retain most of these priceless documents. I consider that not less than £15,000 will be required, (unless complete scrolls come to light, when more would be needed) *but this sum would include publication of the material*.³⁹ But the urgent matter is to have at least £5,000 immediately in order to obtain a lien on the material still with the Bedu.

Even as matters are at present the museum now has undoubtedly the fin-

est collection of early Palestinian manuscripts, biblical and otherwise in the world, but acquisition of all the material from this latest find would give it unrivaled preeminence in the field of Old Testament studies and Palestinian paleography and epigraphy.⁴⁰

7 October 1952

At the very same time Harding and de Vaux were reeling from the developments in Jerusalem, Archbishop Samuel, now in the States for nearly four years, was still trying to deal with his four scrolls from Cave 1. He was getting more impatient, but still biding his time. Yet he clearly foresaw the day when he would be able to sell them. So, against the day that he would have a large amount of cash from such a sale, on 7 October he and Charles Manoog established the "Archbishop Samuel Trust" under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.⁴¹

8 October 1952

It did not take Professor Kraeling long to answer Harding's letter of 29 September. On 8 October 1952 he wrote:

I am happy to acknowledge your kind letter of 29 September with the enclosed statement about the discoveries of manuscripts by the Bedu in the Dead Sea area. I spoke about the matter at once with Albright by telephone and am taking your statement with me to New York tomorrow, in case I should meet someone there who might be interested. The matter of a direct approach to Mr. Rockefeller at this time is complicated by the fact that I am planning to approach him also very soon in the interests of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I hesitate to appear as a petitioner on two different accounts at virtually the same time. I do, however, promise to bring your statement to Mr. Rockefeller's attention at the earliest possible time at which to do so would not conflict with my basic obligations here.

The situation as I see it, involves two factors, the one is for the museum to acquire with whatever help may be available, those manuscript materials that have already passed into the hands of the Bedu. The other is to take the wind out of the Bedu sails by seeing that the area with the caves is so completely overhauled archeologically that the prospects of further discoveries become minimal. From my point of view, the second of these two matters is the more important and if it were a choice between funds obtained for the first purpose or the second, I would certainly choose the second. In principle I am not opposed to the sale and export of any of the manuscript fragments that have so far come to light, the only important point being in this connection that the sale and export are regularised and the material comes into the hands of institutions that will take proper care of the material. *Indeed,*

*the best chance for obtaining money to purchase these new fragments would be if you had a pool contributed to by institutions among which the material might be distributed for exhibition elsewhere, at your discretion and with your approval.*⁴²

10 or 17 October 1952 (?)

About this same time Harding appealed to the Bechtels. The PAM Archive contains another letter nearly but not completely identical with the one we suppose to have been written to Kraeling on 24 September. We assume that this was the letter, cited above at 24 September, to which the Bechtels answered by telegram on 23 October. Assuming that it would have taken about five days for the letter to arrive in San Francisco from Jerusalem, and for the Bechtels to have replied, we are guessing that it was written on 10 or 17 October, Fridays, since almost all of Harding's letters were written on Friday, the one day a week he normally came from his headquarters in Amman to the museum in Jerusalem. Their commendable reply is discussed below.

20 October 1952

Harding stepped up his pace. He made appeals far and wide. At his request, the American ambassador to Jordan, Joseph C. Green, wrote to John D. Jernegan at the NEA, Department of State, asking whether the Library of Congress might have funds it could contribute to the purchase of scrolls:

G. Lankester Harding, well-known archaeologist and director of the Department of Antiquities of this Kingdom, tells me that a Bedouin tribe has found in a cave near the Dead Sea a library of Old Testament literature, dating probably from about the time of Christ. The manuscripts are in fragments, some of which are the size of an ordinary sheet of letter paper and some the size of a little fingernail. Enough of them have been photographed to make certain of their extraordinary interest and value in connection with the history of the Bible. The tribe that has possession of these manuscripts is well aware of the fact that they are worth money. There is grave danger that the collection may be broken up and sold piecemeal to anyone who may approach the tribe with cash in hand. In order to prevent that, Mr. Harding has already expended, on behalf of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, 5,200 Jordan dinars (\$14,521.08), and he has borrowed from Ottoman Bank 5,000 Jordan dinars (\$13,962.52). This sum will be sufficient to enable him to retain a few samples of the manuscripts that he has already in his possession and to establish an option on the remainder. He estimates that a further sum of about 10,000 Jordan dinars (\$27,925.16) will be necessary to enable the museum to obtain outright possession of all the manuscripts.

Mr. Harding understands that the Library of Congress has on hand funds that might be used to enable the Palestine Archaeological Museum to acquire

these priceless documents. He is informed that these funds are under the direction of Robert F. Ogden, Near Eastern Section, Library of Congress.

I should greatly appreciate it if you would ask one of your associates to communicate with Mr. Ogden in regards to this matter. He may inform Mr. Ogden that if the Library of Congress participates in the purchase of these documents it would be entitled to a share of them proportionate to its contribution.

If you and I are able to do anything to further this project we should, I am sure, have the satisfaction of knowing that we had done a great service for archaeology, for biblical scholarship and for the Library of Congress.⁴³

Kraeling's idea for fund-raising in his 8 October letter was, thus, implemented almost immediately. With this letter to the Library of Congress through Ambassador Green, and many to follow over the next months, Harding and de Vaux were to open up a Pandora's box of problems that would not be resolved for nearly 10 years, and in some ways have not yet been resolved today. Kraeling had proposed to Harding a kind of pool of funds from various institutions. These funds would pay for the purchase and publication of scrolls. As de Vaux explained in the introduction to DJD 6 cited above, in exchange for contributing to this fund, the various institutions would become owners and gain possession of an amount of scroll material proportionate to their contribution. At first blush the idea seemed to have merit. In retrospect it was a desperate measure, an unnecessarily desperate measure. But we of the next generation were not there, so we cannot judge too harshly. I can empathize with their frustration and sense of desperation. A great treasure was about to be dispersed and perhaps even lost, and no one was yet willing to step forward to contribute money to save it.

In the end, the Library of Congress did not come through. Neither did the British Museum, whose director, Sir Thomas Kendrick, seemed more interested in an outright purchase that would result in immediate possession of the scrolls. But the letter Harding wrote him shows how more information was coming in about the scrolls, and the idea of a Cave 4 Team was becoming more developed. This is the first recorded solicitation for a member of the team. It is also the first mention of apocryphal material among the Cave 4 finds, and the first mention of "Nabatean" script.

23 October 1952

You may remember that when I saw you in the [British] museum last year we spoke about the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the possibility of the museum acquiring some of the material. There has recently come to light another cave containing much more material of the same nature: again, unfortunately, it was found and cleared by the Bedu before we were aware of it. It is a very great quantity of stuff, far greater than the original find, and while it is more

fragmentary it is nevertheless, I consider, of greater importance than the first find, for about 75% of the books of the Old Testament are represented as well as many known and unknown apocryphal works. There are parts of several more books in the Phoenician [Paleo-Hebrew] script, and there is even one small fragment in Nabataean.



The Dead Sea looking east toward Jordan in the distance. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

During the past 18 months there has been a great influx of manuscripts of periods ranging from the first to the ninth centuries AD, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum has been using its savings to rescue this remarkable collection. They all come from caves in various parts

of the district southeast of Bethlehem, one of the most isolated and difficult pieces of country in the whole of Jordan. What with this and the new cave, the museum savings are now exhausted, with only half the stuff in our hands. In order to obtain a lien on all the material *we have raised a loan*,⁴⁴ but have to appeal for outside assistance in order to acquire it out-

right. The way things are going at present it looks as if the final figure will be about £15,000 to £20,000: so far we have laid out just more than £8,000. *If the British Museum is interested in acquiring some of this material and would make a good contribution it would receive a selection proportionate to the amount of such contribution.*⁴⁵

The only condition would be that the whole of the material would have to be worked over (sorted, pieced together, etc.) here, and prepared for publication. But this task would need several scholars to work on it, and *it would be most desirable if the British Museum, both on its own behalf and as a member of the board of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, could send someone to participate in the work.*⁴⁶

I would be grateful if you would keep this information as confidential as possible for the moment, and would also ask if you would be so good as to let me have your reaction to the proposal as soon as possible.⁴⁷

22?/23? October 1952

The same day that this letter was written to the British Museum developments were taking place in another direction. A telegram arrived in Jerusalem from the Bechtel family, whose name was to be associated with the scrolls for decades to come. We have suggested above that Harding may have already sent them a let-

ter about 17 October or some days before. The original contact was apparently through the American Schools of Oriental Research and a visit the Bechtels made to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1950. In any event, the Bechtel name was not unfamiliar: the Bechtel Construction Company was known around the



world. This family's later support for projects relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls from the 1960s through the 1980s is well known; it is not so well known that Mr. and Mrs. Bechtel were the first private contributors to the purchase, restoration, and publication of the scrolls. Their positive reply to Harding's plea for funding came by telegraph, but telegrams came through the post office. It appears from a partially preserved postmark that Kenneth Bechtel sent the telegram 22 October, but since Jerusalem is 10 time zones later than San Francisco, Harding would not have received it until the next day at the earliest. It read: "Interested to help purchase biblical manuscripts. Please write is your fund already complete? Also is this [an] important find? Also if we subscribe modest amount, do you expect you can complete fund?" Harding answered immediately:

Thank you very much for your cable, which is most encouraging. The Fund is certainly not yet closed, and we would welcome any subscription you could make. As I pointed out in my letter, I have to consider not merely the acquisition of the material but also the very important responsibility of publishing it and so placing it before the world.

The importance of the material grows with every new piece that comes in, for it appears that not only are there large pieces of most Old Testament books, but also of known and unknown apocryphal books and works which it would seem must have a profound effect on the study of the early growth of Christianity. And it must be borne in mind that these fragments are the remains of a library of the settlement of the Essenes described by the historian Josephus and by Pliny the Elder, a sect or school of which there is every reason to believe that John the Baptist was a member.

I have to be cautious in what I say, and not let my enthusiasm run away with me, for you will understand that all this information is based on the most cursory of examination. Great things may be expected from a complete study, which will, however, take a long time. If I succeed in raising all the funds I want—and Père de Vaux, president of our board of trustees, and such members of the board as are present here, have no doubt of success—then I would propose to make the final publication an international affair, *with each of the institutions represented on our board sending a scholar to cooperate in the work.*⁴⁸

Harding's reply was pregnant with information about the continually changing scrolls situation. It answered some questions that have persisted until the present about the originally intended composition and mission of the Cave 4 Team. Here Harding, signing his name as curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (in addition to his duties with the Department of Antiquities of Jordan) stated clearly that he envisioned a team of scholars who will "make the final publication an interna-

tional affair, with each of the institutions represented on our board sending a scholar to cooperate in the work,” and he mentioned that he is raising funds for this purpose. He implied that the composition of the team is his responsibility (and later letters prove that it was he who in fact did invite the various scholars or designate others to tender the invitations), and that institutions represented on the board of trustees of the PAM would send a scholar to be part of the team. It is worth noting that although Harding spoke of “international” he said nothing of “interfaith.” It is quite clear from this and other early statements that the religious background of the Cave 4 Team was not even a consideration, a fact also made clear later in the correspondence between Harding and those he invited. It is also worth noting that although de Vaux was at the time president of the board of PAM, it was Harding who was forming the team and bore the primary responsibility for fund-raising.

Although we are not sure that the unaddressed letter in the PAM Archive represents the original approach to the Bechtels, there can be little doubt that Harding took the initiative in making them aware of the need for funds to buy the Cave 4 materials. Mr. Bechtel had cabled to say that he was willing to donate several thousand dollars, but had not heard back, so he wrote a letter to renew the offer. It turns out that their letters crossed in the mail.

30 October 1952

I cabled you several days ago. It may have been misplaced so I hasten to get off this letter by airmail because I want you to know of our keen interest.

Distance and my unfamiliarity with this subject make me not quite clear how to proceed. I do want to tell you that Mrs. Bechtel and I are keenly interested and prepared to make a contribution of a few thousand dollars, providing you are convinced that this is an important find, and also you believe the necessary funds can be completely subscribed.

I do hope this letter will reach you at an early date and that I will hear from you soon.⁴⁹

They try again, but incredibly, each composes a letter to the other on the same day (see below at 18 November).

8 November 1952

In the meantime Harding received the reply that Sr. Thomas Kendrick of the British Museum wrote on 8 November 1952:

Thank you for your letter of 23 October. I am very interested indeed to hear of this remarkable new find of scrolls.

There is no question about the British Museum being ready to consider the purchase of part of the find, but we could not help you by sending a member of the staff to assist in the long business of the survey and publication of

the material. Indeed, as the member of the staff concerned would obviously be Leveen [keeper of the Hebrew manuscripts],⁵⁰ I suppose for political and religious reasons even a short visit of inspection would be impracticable.⁵¹

It seems, therefore, that all we can say is that we would do our best to help you if photostats of the finds, or a part of them, are brought to us here to help us form some idea of what you could offer us as a prospective purchase. Needless to say, you could count on all the laboratory and paleographical help that we could give, if it also seems desirable to you to send any of the original fragments here for study.

I shall not say anything about the find for the present, nor will Fulton or Leveen.

We are all three sorry we cannot offer more practical help, but we must make it clear that the museum would not be able to help you financially by buying a part of the manuscripts until we had the originals here that Fulton would like to recommend the trustees to buy. For that reason we think sending photostats might be a good beginning.⁵²

What a missed opportunity! And there is no record that Harding took it any further. The British Museum had passed up a chance that was not to come its way again. Maybe Kendrick thought he was bargaining in a good Middle Eastern way, but his approach didn't seem to impress Harding.

On the same day that Kendrick penned his letter in London, Kraeling wrote to Harding.

8 November 1952

Since your recent letters about the further discoveries in the caves east of Bethlehem I have been discussing the matter with William Albright and have also put out feelers in the direction of some of our museums. As I indicated in my last letter, it will probably not be easy to raise money to help the Palestine Museum buy materials now on the market but it might be possible to get money for the purchase of scrolls and scroll fragments through you or Père de Vaux on the understanding that they could be acquired with your permission by reputable American museums. Following up my suggestion about cutting off the source of supply, I have also wondered whether there be anything that could be accomplished by a small two- or three-man expedition that would concentrate on the general area over a period of six weeks or more to gain a complete picture of the productive area and to search for and clear at least a part of it. I would be glad to play a hand in such an operation personally, making it my major enterprise for the coming spring if I thought that with the jeep that I have at my disposal, with the camping equipment that I have in Damascus and with a thousand dollars that I have for operating purposes I could be of any service in this connection. I would wish to have

first your permission, second your advice as to the proper time of year (beginning early in January or February or March?), whether I could have the assistance of someone representing the Department in dealing with the local tribesmen, whether I should bring with me or would find in the Dominican circles someone competent to deal with any prehistoric levels should they appear, and whether in the event that additional finds were made [available] *it would be permissible for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago to have assigned to it a proper share of the material.*⁵³ Albright is encouraging me by all means to see whether I can be of help and I would welcome your advice and permission as soon as possible so that I can make the necessary plans.⁵⁴

Kraeling then brought another matter into the discussion, the Copper Scroll:

The chemical experiments ...on the bronze scrolls from last year's excavations are proceeding at Baltimore. I should be able to bring you a report upon them during the early months of the coming year.⁵⁵

Thus, Kraeling repeated two suggestions he had made in his earlier letter: promise institutions scrolls for helping with their purchase, and mount another expedition to find caves in order to preempt further Bedouin discoveries. The first Harding had already acted on. The second never came to fruition.

Another exchange with the Bechtels ensued. Harding replied to their reply:

18 November 1952

Thank you very much for your letter of 30 October, which must have crossed mine of the twenty-third. I hope you have received it by now, and I must apologize for being so long with this answer, but I only get to Jerusalem once a week.⁵⁶ In case my previous letter has miscarried, I enclose a copy of it. I now have in the museum about two thirds of the manuscripts (so far as I can judge from reports), but there are still quite a few pieces with the Bedouin, on which I cannot lay my hands until I have collected some more cash. They naturally will not hand it over except for money in their hands, and indeed I cannot judge it to them for they are desperately poor people, and I hope this unexpected fortune will help to improve their living conditions.

When I have got the whole matter more or less settled, I will send you as full a report as I can, with photographs of the caves and some of the manuscripts.⁵⁷

Harding's estimate of the percentage of Cave 4 material now in the museum's possession has gone from one-third to one-half to two-thirds. But this letter is also important for what it says about Harding as a human being, and gives an indication

of the reason that he was still revered among the Bedouin 40 years later. What the Bedouin were doing was strictly illegal, but the director of the Department of Antiquities says, "I can not judge it to them."

Incredibly, the same day that Harding wrote, Bechtel again wrote, and their letters crossed in the mail again:

18 November 1952

Mrs. Bechtel and I are prepared to make a contribution of \$5,000 towards your new work, provided it can be made in a manner or through an institution which will permit it to be a deduction for income tax purposes in this country.

To qualify, the contribution must be made to an institution which has been recognized by the United States Treasury as qualified to receive charitable contributions. We are now inquiring through the American Schools of Oriental Research to see whether a contribution might be made to them which they in turn would make to your work.

Income taxes being what they are in this country, we feel it is very important that this transaction be handled as a tax deduction, and I am sure you will understand. In the meantime, I want you to know how interested we are in your project.⁵⁸

In the end, this first contribution, with understandable stipulations regarding U.S. income tax laws, is important not for its amount, but for its other significance. This is the first recorded private contribution toward the preservation and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls! Finally! Neither the Library of Congress or the British Museum could be convinced to send even a penny. It was left up to an industrial contractor who by his own admission knew little about archaeology or ancient manuscripts, and his wife, who of the two had the most interest to provide the first funding.

Tentative Proposals for Publication of the Scrolls

While they were engaged in purchasing scrolls and finding money to get more, Harding and de Vaux also began to discuss the best way to publish the scroll fragments already in their hands from Caves 1–3 and Wadi Murabba'at. Fathers Milik and Barthélemy, together with others at the École biblique, had been working on the material for some time.

20 November 1952

Two days after answering the Bechtels, Harding wrote an identical letter to three presses in England: Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, and the Manchester University Press.

Gentlemen,

We are in preparation for publication [of] our first volume on the Dead Sea

Scrolls, the results of our excavations in 1949 in the cave in which these manuscripts were found. You are no doubt acquainted with some of the literature already published on these unique documents, the chief being *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* published by the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven. Contributors to our publication are Pères de Vaux, Barthélemy, and Milik, of the École biblique et archéologique française, Jerusalem, Mrs. G. M. Crowfoot, and Dr. Plenderleith of the British Museum, and basing it on the format of the book referred to above (a format which we had agreed to standardise), there would be about 100 pages of text in English, French, and Hebrew, 40 photogravure plates, and about 10 line figures in the text.

I write to ask if you would be interested in taking up this publication, and if so, on what terms. The complete manuscript should be ready very shortly, and I would be very grateful for your views and suggestions.⁵⁹

5 December 1952

P. J. Spicer of the Clarendon Press, Oxford seemed to be the first to reply. By 5 December he wrote: "I cannot think that the Delegates [of the Press] will do other than welcome it when I bring it formally before them." He said, further, that "if the delegates agreed to publish, they would offer a 10% royalty on the UK published price on all copies sold, to be divided between the contributors as you decide."⁶⁰

12 December 1952

Manchester University Press was only slightly less enthusiastic. The letter from Harding had taken nearly three weeks to reach them, but they replied that they were honored to have been asked, and would like more information about the financial arrangements Harding had in mind.⁶¹

15 December 1952

R. J. L. Kingsford, Secretary of the Cambridge University Press had, in fact, been the first to reply to Harding on 26 November. For some reason the letter was never delivered and came back to Cambridge. On 9 December he wrote another letter, as follows:

I have now been able to put your letter of 20 November before the syndics of the Press. Although they were much interested to hear of your proposed series of volumes on the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, they reluctantly came to the conclusion that with their many commitments for the publication of works of scholarship connected with this university they could not contemplate financing the publication themselves and that accordingly they could only offer publication on a commission basis, that is to say at the expense of your museum. If you are able to consider such an arrangement and care to send me the complete manuscript and the photographs I will gladly have an estimate prepared and let you know what the terms of publication would be. I shall hope to hear more.⁶²

Six days later Kingsford started to worry that this letter, too, might not be delivered, so on 15 December he again wrote and enclosed another copy. Although the Syndics of Cambridge University Press did not exactly turn Harding down flat, they foresaw financial pressures, and, in fact, envisioned more clearly what was to happen in later years when the majority of the cost of preparing the volumes up to the stage of camera-ready copy, from at least volume 8 onwards, was funded by other organizations and individuals.⁶³

23 December 1952

Finally, a month later, the Bechtels and Harding began to make headway on some funding. Nearly three months had now elapsed since Cave 4 was officially discovered. Mr. Bechtel was still concerned about his tax deduction:

As I told you previously, Mrs. Bechtel and I are prepared to make a contribution to help you in your work in connection with the recently discovered biblical scrolls, if the contribution can be made in such a manner as to permit it to be deduction for income tax purposes in this country. This can be done by our making a contribution to the American Schools of Oriental Research, or to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, both of which organizations are established in the United States and we understand are now administering funds for the benefit of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. We would suggest that they use the funds for the benefit of your new activity.

In order to obtain the income tax deduction for such a contribution it is necessary that it be made to an organization created or established in the United States of America, and it is also necessary that the contribution be made without restriction or qualification. This would leave to the discretion of the trustees or directors of the recent organization the sole decision as to whether any part or all of our contribution would actually be used to advance the work of your museum in connection with the recently discovered biblical scrolls.

We would, of course, propose to express to the recipient our preference that the contribution be used for that purpose, but could not demand or require that it be so used without jeopardizing our right to deduct the contribution for income tax purposes.

Before making any such gift to either of the organizations mentioned above, Mrs. Bechtel and I would like to know whether this would fit into your program and would have your concurrence.

Attached is a draft of a letter which is substantially as I would propose to write it to the American schools.

I would be much obliged if you would let me hear your comments to our proposed action at your earliest convenience.⁶⁴

Bechtel knew, as he says, that he could not specify the use of the money, but he makes a strong suggestion anyway, and it is noteworthy that he emphasized the *biblical* scrolls:

I enclose herewith my check payable in your favour in the amount of \$5,000, representing a contribution to further the work of your organization.

Without in any way imposing any condition or restriction upon the use of the contribution, I should like to express the preference that the directors of your organization see fit to make the enclosed contribution available to the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Attention of Mr. G. Lankester Harding, Curator, for the acquisition of biblical scrolls and other manuscripts recently unearthed in the Bethlehem region.⁶⁵

The full significance of what Bechtel had now repeated three times apparently did not register with Harding or de Vaux, or at least it did not move them or anyone else to action. In their defense it should be said that they were not accountants, and had little idea about Americans and their use of tax deductions for charitable contributions. It should have been a wake-up call, but it wasn't, and through the next several decades of financial struggles, no U.S. entity approved for accepting charitable contributions specifically for the scrolls' *publication* project was ever established, whether by the Jordanians, the museums, or the Israelis.⁶⁶ It was not until 1991 that the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation was organized and this problem was finally solved.

One is also tempted to criticize the Bechtels for their concern to get a deduction for such a relatively small amount of money. They were both multimillionaires, but they were careful with their money, and who can fault them for that? And from their perspective, they were sending money for a totally unknown project. As it turned out, the Bechtels proved to be very generous indeed over the next two decades, as we will see when we get to the story of Cave 11.

27 December 1952

With the new year approaching Harding pushed for a decision on the choice of a publisher. On 27 December he wrote a rather terse letter to the Manchester University Press outlining in more detail what he was looking for in terms of royalty and photographs, and informed the press that "we have, of course, approached other presses with our proposition and must await all replies before taking a definite decision."⁶⁷

He wrote to Oxford in a more detailed fashion. Obviously, OUP was his first choice. Among the important things he said is that the PAM had agreed with ASOR to follow its format for the series, as he thought Sukenik had also; that the volume would be 100 pages in all, that they would include "manuscript material both of the same nature and from the same place, and of other periods from other caves," that the series would be "altogether, perhaps, five volumes," and that "it will be some time

before the rest can be ready.” He also said that he would be happy to work on the basis of a 10% royalty, and that their interest was “to make the material available to everyone as soon as possible.” In this connection he hoped “that the price would not be too high.”⁶⁸

10 January 1953

A few days later, 10 January 1953, Harding sent a letter about publication to members of Palestine Archaeological Museum’s board of trustees in Jordan, Israel, Egypt, and Lebanon:

At the last meeting of the Board the question of publication was discussed, and it was agreed to allocate the sum of £2,000 for this purpose. But we have since, in response to my earlier enquiries, received from the Oxford University Press a letter stating that they are most interested and would probably like to publish the whole work *at their expense and pay the museum a 10% royalty*. With such a good firm, this would seem to be a very satisfactory arrangement, and would relieve the museum of the necessity of any further financial outlay. So I would be grateful to know if you would approve this suggestion.⁶⁹

But OUP had suggested “a 10% royalty on the UK published price on all copies sold, *to be divided between the contributors as you decide*,” not a royalty to the museum to be used either for future publication or for the purchase of scrolls or just for the general fund. Either Harding missed this or intentionally disregarded it from the beginning. In the end none of the men who spent years of their lives reconstructing, translating, annotating, and publishing the scrolls during the Jordanian era ever got a dime from royalties, at least as far as I have been able to determine.

One year later, at the end of 1953, the manuscript for Volume 1 of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* was completed and sent to Oxford, but it was to be two years more before it would appear.

The above letter from Harding is notable, as I have said, because it shows that from the beginning Harding and the others naively thought that Oxford University Press would cover the cost of preparing scrolls for publication. One could also say that OUP was naive as well; but at this early period, when only a portion of the Cave 4 materials had yet been purchased, it was impossible for anyone to have known what a gigantic project lay ahead. Now, 50 years later, the series is composed of 40 volumes in addition to concordances and indices.

As we follow the course of publication over the next five decades, it is significant to notice how the actual terms of Oxford’s help changed. Eventually, the first 1,000 volumes of each run, and after that, the first 1,500 volumes, were exempted from royalties, effectively cutting out both the scholars and those who paid for production of the volumes from any payment at all. Furthermore, the price was raised so high

that few individuals could afford them. By 1990 OUP was being given camera-ready manuscripts, on disk, so that their expenses were almost entirely connected with printing and binding. Yet, OUP kept the price high, and did not give the attention it might have to compensation for scholars or for production costs.

But at this point all that was in the future, and optimism was high. The scholars in Jerusalem had found a publisher for the Dead Sea Scrolls!

The St. Mark's Scrolls Remain Unsold

Meanwhile the four St. Mark's Scrolls in the United States had taken an entirely different course. They had been published, but the scrolls themselves were still in the homemade vault at Charles Manoog's home in Worcester, Massachusetts. Manoog had helped Mar Samuel incorporate the scrolls and they had established a trust fund so that whatever money might result from their eventual sale would be used for charitable purposes. This had been Samuel's intent from the time he brought them to the States,⁷⁰ but there was no buyer on the horizon, and Samuel undoubtedly began to wonder whether there ever would be. Such a sale seemed more distant than ever.

Even worse, the *New York World-Telegram* of 11 April 1953 gave extensive coverage to Professor Zeitlin's claims that "the Bedouin story smells," and that the Dead Sea Scrolls were "a hoax." Even the much-respected Professor Harry Orlinsky of Hebrew Union College referred to the scrolls as "St. Mark's garbage."⁷¹ It seemed that these scrolls, the largest and most beautiful, were destined to be almost forgotten.



MORE ACQUISITION AND DECIPHERMENT

1953

The pace of scrolls acquisition continued to accelerate. Cave 4 fragments were still in the hands of the Bedouin and Kando. No one really knew how many.

Reconstruction of the thousands of fragments into documents had hardly begun. A publisher had yet to be chosen. Excavations continued at Qumran. The first personal contribution toward the purchase of scrolls was still to be finalized; only the first steps had been taken toward gathering a team together, and the Copper Scroll was not yet opened.

Taken all together, these manuscripts undoubtedly represent the most important discovery yet made in Palestine, and will certainly keep Old Testament scholars busy for many years to come.

—Father Roland de Vaux

14 January 1953

Milik began the year by writing to Brownlee, reporting that he had completed his work on the fragments from Cave 1. He also congratulated Brownlee on his identification of the Righteous Teacher with Judas Maccabaeus, an identification that he also accepted. Most significantly, he sent Brownlee a list of his proposed sigla (identification signs) for the materials from Cave 1, and solicited Brownlee's suggestions. Milik's system has remained the standard for referring to scrolls from that day to this.¹

The Bechtel Contribution

As we have indicated, Kenneth and Elizabeth Bechtel of San Francisco had visited Lankester Harding and Father de Vaux in Jerusalem sometime during 1950.² The Bechtels were shown around the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and they remarked to Harding that if the museum ever needed financial help they would be prepared to step in. The sudden and unforeseen appearance of thousands of Cave 4 fragments created just such a financial crisis at the museum. Harding remembered that offer, so he wrote to the Bechtels. But no one at the museum or in the Department of Antiquities had anticipated the need for personal contributions, so there was

no mechanism in place for accepting them! The Bechtels were ready to write a check for \$5,000, but finding a way to insure their U.S. tax deduction was not so simple, and the whole matter dragged on for some months more.

The exchange of letters between Kenneth Bechtel and Lankester Harding on this one topic is voluminous. A simple matter turned into a logistical nightmare. Harding probably began to wonder whether it was worth it.

Unaccustomed to public fund-raising, Harding also made some mistakes. The message to potential contributors is not what you *have* but what you *need*. Yet on 4 January he wrote to the Bechtels, “The government here have agreed to put up the greater part of the money. So I am now happy and confident that we shall be able to acquire the whole of this remarkable find. Very shortly I hope to be able to make a press release on the subject.” Harding told Kenneth Bechtel that the gift could be handled either through ASOR, or Professor Kraeling at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.³ Understandably, Bechtel was slightly put off. He replied on 14 January that in light of the government money, perhaps his contribution is no longer needed.⁴

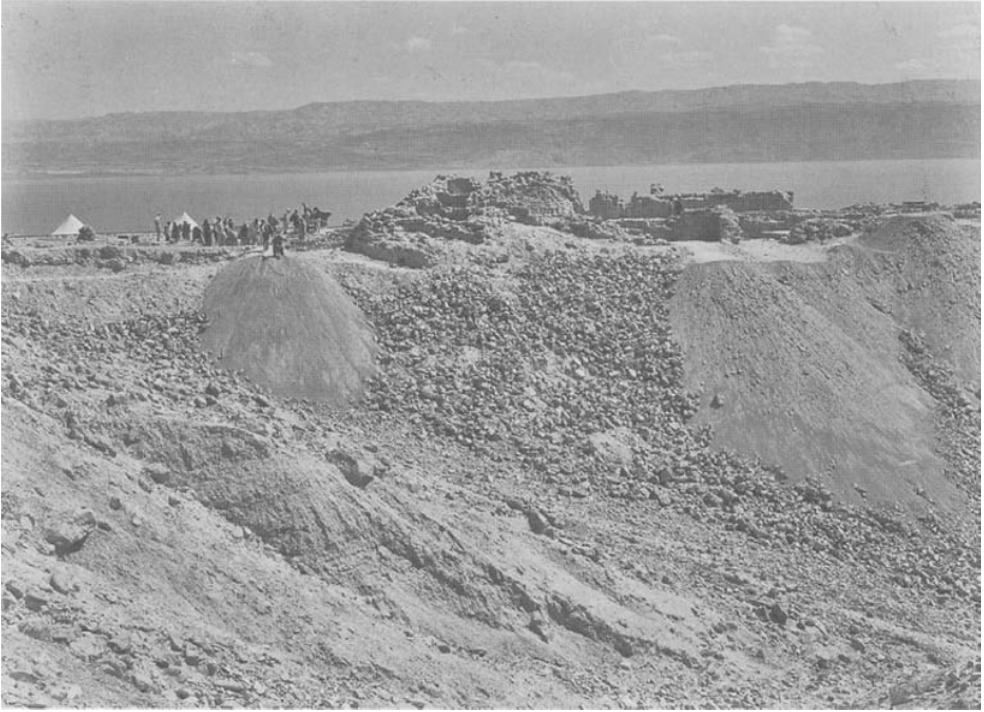
Harding realized he had put his foot in his mouth. On 29 January he tried to back-pedal: “We are indeed still in need of the money, as the very generous contribution of the government is not sufficient to acquire everything. There is still quite a lot of material in the hands of the Bedu, and I am most anxious to acquire it as soon as possible.

“I am enclosing some photographs of the cave which I took a little while ago, and of some of the manuscript fragments so you can see the sort of thing it is. The manuscript photographs are done by infrared to emphasise the writing. We hope next month to return and complete excavation of the actual settlement itself, which should prove very interesting.”⁵

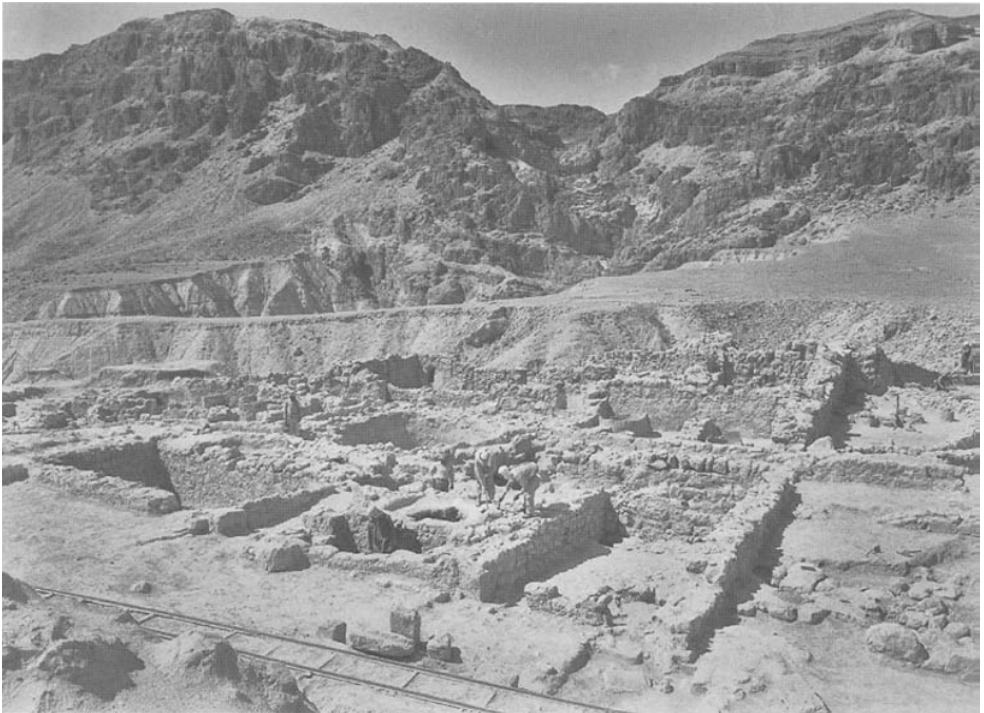
Bechtel accepted his explanation. On 9 February he wrote to say that he was sending the \$5,000 check to Kraeling.⁶ And then he made good with the first personal gift for the scrolls, suggesting that it should be made “available to the Palestine Archaeological Museum for the acquisition of biblical scrolls and other manuscripts recently unearthed in the Bethlehem region.”⁷

Now de Vaux stepped in. Harding had been corresponding with the Bechtels in his capacity of curator of the museum. But de Vaux was president of the museum’s board of trustees, so it was up to him to acknowledge the gift, which he did on 15 March: “Taken all together, these manuscripts undoubtedly represent the most important discovery yet made in Palestine, and will certainly keep Old Testament scholars busy for many years to come.”⁸

At this point the money remained in the States, so Kraeling asked Professor Albright, acting chairman of the executive committee of ASOR, to handle the transfer to Jordan. First he wrote to ASOR’s bank in Philadelphia to issue and send



Excavations at Qumran were led by Roland de Vaux. Some of the track visible in the photograph, used for the cart which dumped dirt, is still preserved today in the front garden of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority.



the check to the PAM.⁹ Then he wrote to Harding to tell him the money was on the way. He congratulated Harding on the “fabulous discoveries being made in the Dead Sea Valley and tributary wadis,” and asked, wistfully, “Who would have thought in the days when we used to explore that desert region half-heartedly, what a priceless treasure was concealed in it?” In closing the letter, he told his good friend of many years, “One thing is certain; I am not going to go on any more archaeological expeditions, but I am going to stay here and work on unpublished materials, especially those from Jordan.”¹⁰

The Bechtel money arrived in Jerusalem 12 March 1953, nearly six months since Harding first wrote his letter to them. He acknowledged its arrival to Albright and told him that the excavation of Qumran then in progress had made it “quite clear” that the “library” originated at the settlement.¹¹

Two weeks later, 26 March 1953, another entry appeared in the Scrolls Ledger for £1,925, paid to Kando. Later in the ledger there was a note that this was paid to him for fragments from “unknown caves.”¹² The Bechtel’s \$5,000 would have been about £1,785, covering most of the cost of that purchase. The money was probably used for this purpose, but it served another one as well.

Still, there is no indication that any of these outstanding scholars, prescient as they were about so many things, fully grasped the impossibility of financing the acquisition, and especially the publication of thousands of fragments in such a haphazard way. If every \$5,000 contribution consumed six months and produced a whole pile of letters, the project was in trouble.

Their fortunes were to change in the short term, however, for over the next seven years the project was to be rather lucky in finding funds for the Cave 4 Team. Yet the lack of foresight or, perhaps, knowledge, was to come down hard on the purchase of scrolls when the Cave 11 materials were offered for sale, and the lack of funding for the Cave 4 Team in later years would be one of the most important factors in the near cessation of publication, causing serious international disapprobation. Still, hindsight is not fair. And it should not be forgotten: a first private contribution had been solicited and successfully received!

February –April 1953

At the same time the Cave 4 Team was just starting to assemble, Father R. de Langhe of the University of Louvain excavated Khirbet Mird during February–April, 1953. The manuscripts he discovered were mostly from the Christian period, and have never been fully published.



Oxford University Press and the Publication

Milik and Barthélemy were hard at work on the scholarly end of things, and publication was never far from their minds. The world was hungry for information. De Vaux was naturally in charge since he held the reins in all directions: as prior of the Dominican Monastery of St. Stephen 1949–1952 he had had direct supervision of Barthélemy, a Dominican. As director of the École he was the direct supervisor of Milik, whom he had himself invited to Jerusalem and who lived in the monastery.



Chamber identified by de Vaux as the “Scriptorium,” a room possibly devoted to the copying of scrolls. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

He was also president of the board of trustees of the private Palestine Archaeological Museum. Thus, in the early stages of work on the scrolls from Caves 1–3 de Vaux was in charge whether he had yet assumed the title of editor-in-chief or not, though archaeology was his greatest skill.

During the first months of 1953 none of the Cave 4 Team members apart from Milik had arrived in Jerusalem, nor had most of them even yet been appointed. Ill-

ness then struck Barthélemy, forcing him to return to France. He was thus never in Jerusalem together with Cross, Strugnell, Allegro, Skehan, or Hunzinger. Starcky, Baillet, and Benoît were already there, but not yet working on the Cave 4 scrolls.¹³

Cross was the first to arrive in the spring of 1953. Milik had already left for a vacation and Cross spent the summer working alone in the scroller on Cave 4 fragments, *but only the fragments that had been excavated officially*. The Cave 4 materials purchased from the Bedouin and Kando were not brought out of the storeroom until autumn, when Milik and some of the others arrived back in Jerusalem. Of course, these had already been seen in whole or in part by de Vaux, Barthélemy, Milik, Harding, and others, so there must have been a general idea of what some of them contained, just as those who had been present at the excavation of Cave 4 (de Vaux, Harding, Milik) would have had an idea of what some of those contained. At this point Cross was very junior; it was natural to let him start on the hardest pieces first—cleaning, identifying, trying to fit things together.¹⁴ As we look back we can see that it was during this time Cross quickly accumulated the vast experience that resulted in his becoming one of the world's foremost paleographers.

As for publication, it fell to Harding to make the arrangements. By the end of 1952 Harding had made up his own mind at least about the best publisher for the scrolls. He had written to the members of the museum's board, asking for their reaction. During January 1953 he received unanimous approval for his proposition¹⁵ that the publication be awarded to Oxford, but negotiations, handled entirely by Harding as curator of the museum and P. J. Spicer for Oxford, were to drag on throughout most of the year.

The first question Spicer raised was whether the fragments Harding wanted to publish were “part of the original scrolls,”¹⁶ or included fragments in other languages from other caves. Spicer's summary of the situation as he understood it, is almost humorous, for it shows that even at this early stage misconceptions and misunderstandings were taking root:

It may show you the extent of my uncertainty if I set forth what I understand to be the situation. In 1949, upon discovery of the scrolls, the Americans acquired (or borrowed?) half, and subsequently these were published by Millar Burrows for the American Schools of Oriental Research. The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, acquired most of the other half, and these will in due course be published under the editorship of Dr. Sukenik. Your people then carried out a further search of the same cave, and found a number of fragments of the same scrolls. One or two of the most important of these have already been published in journals; the rest will be in the first volume of the series you are now offering us. All are in Hebrew; the contents are part biblical, part biblical commentary, and part “Manual of Discipline.”

Later, in 1952, you began to carry out a systematic excavation of the neighbouring ancient settlement of Qumran, and of all caves round the Dead Sea, beginning with Wadi Murabba'at. Here you found the fragments described in your recent P.E.Q. article, some in Hebrew, but many in Greek and Latin, most of the same date as the scrolls, as evidenced by the [drawings?]¹⁷ containing jars and coins, but dealing with widely different subjects: some important historically, some important biblically, all important palaeographically. A few of these have already been published in journals, but most have not; and the majority are not yet ready for publication by you, but will be in your subsequent volumes.¹⁸

Only the outline was generally correct; many of the details were not.

Spicer raised two other issues: ownership of the fragments and rights of publication and whether the publication of the first volume would carry with it the right of first refusal for subsequent volumes.¹⁹

Harding's answer was equally revealing. He apparently did not want to take the time to correct Spicer's understanding of the situation, or did not want to hurt his feelings, so he said, "Your summary of the situation is essentially correct."²⁰ But he did go into detail about what was in his hands at the moment, and how he envisioned it would be published. He said, "The material to be published divides up into four sections:

- (1) Kh. Qumran Caves and settlement (probably four volumes) scroll fragments in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, all biblical and apocryphal books and sectarian documents, plus archaeological evidence of the settlement.
- (2) Wadi el Murabba'at material as described in the *PEQ* article.
- (3) Wadi en Nar [Nahal Kidron] documents in Greek, Christo Palestinian (Syriac), and Arabic, ranging in date from perhaps the fourth to ninth centuries AD.
- (4) Other caves, with more material similar to Murabba'at, plus important Greek and Nabataean manuscripts."²¹

Finally, Harding, as both director of antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum assured Spicer there was no question of ownership or rights of publication.²²

Spicer replied on 10 February to say that although the series would probably be approved as a whole by the delegates of Oxford University Press, each volume would also have to be approved as it was submitted, the arrangement still in effect for the series today. He also suggested that it would be a good idea "to see that the first volume contains a high proportion of the most interesting material, if you can."²³

He also counseled that the delegates would probably stipulate that “the material be presented in a form which will make it most widely useful to the learned public, for example by the inclusion of introductions of a kind intelligible to the layman, and of translations wherever possible.”²⁴ The series did not meet this condition, ever, especially when an English press published more than half of the volumes during the first 25 years in French! This requirement was never mentioned again.

Two weeks later, 24 February 1953, Spicer wrote Harding that the Delegates of Oxford University Press “have agreed to publish the first volume of your *Fragments of Dead Sea Scrolls*,” apparently the first name suggested for the series. In the end, it was saddled with the rather banal *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*.²⁵

Naturally, the financial considerations were paramount and Spicer faced this head-on:

They [the delegates] were, however, less optimistic about the financial prospects than I had anticipated, and instructed us to explore the possibilities of obtaining a subsidy, mentioning Rockefeller as one likely source. This we shall do, but our recent experience does not lead us to think we shall be successful. If we draw a blank there, I don't know if you have any alternative suggestion to make; failing that, I would suggest that we meet the delegates' instructions by publishing the first volume unsubsidized and without royalty, and leaving a settlement of the terms on future volumes to await a review of its financial results some months after publication.

I am sorry to present an appearance of parsimony at this stage, and would assure you that you will not find the delegates niggardly if the book(s) do(es) better than they expect.²⁶

In fact, the financial underpinning of the project has continued to dog it until the present. Of royalties, copyrights, subventions, and fairness, we shall have more to say later.

The day after Spicer wrote his letter of acceptance of the project, T. L. Jones, Secretary of the Manchester University Press, wrote a letter also accepting the series for publication, accepting Harding's proposal of a 10% royalty! Manchester apologized for not being able to offer “more attractive terms,” but said that it was “not in a position to compete with our bigger rivals.”²⁷ There is no record that Harding ever replied to Manchester, though he must have.

It was 20 April before Harding answered Spicer's letter, presumably because he was busy with the excavation at Qumran, and he may have had to double-check with the museum's board of trustees. Whatever the reason, Harding accepted the financial arrangements, no royalty on the first volume with a review of the situation after publication. With this letter Harding also submitted the completed manuscript for the volume, minus Dr. Plenderleith's notes, to come later, and mentioned that he

would be in England during the summer, giving an opportunity to discuss the whole matter in person.²⁸

By 4 May 1953 OUP had received the manuscript and written a receipt, and the name for the series had been chosen, for the receipt is written for *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Vol. I*.²⁹

Little more than two weeks later the project hit its first (of many!) snags. OUP had gotten printing estimates, and the Rockefeller Foundation had refused to help. Harding's original 100 pages (in his exploratory letter in 1952) had become 208 and they estimated that when it was all said and done, the 1,500 copies would cost £1,700 or about £1.13 per copy!³⁰ The "appearance of parsimony," indeed! One is tempted to burst out laughing; in fact, I actually did the first time I read this, knowing as I do what Oxford has charged for Volume 1 over the past 50 years, and how much it must have profited from it. But that was all in the future, and at the time it apparently seemed to someone like a very large sum.

Spicer whined a little, on behalf of the delegates, that the book was "essentially an excavation report," and suggested that perhaps the PAM and the École biblique might send a subvention of £500! One is tempted to laugh again, but I doubt if Harding laughed when he received the letter. This would bring OUP's estimated cost down to £0.80 per copy. Surely this couldn't have been much of a sum at the time, considering the PAM was paying £1 per square centimeter for the material being published in the volume! Harding picked up on this too, because one of the stipulations in his original letter had been that the retail price should be kept as low as possible. But he does not complain about the subvention:

Many thanks for your letter No. 5625/P.J.S. of 20 May, 1953. I fully appreciate the position of the delegates in this matter, and am authorised to say that the museum will be prepared to contribute the sum of £500 toward the cost of publication. Perhaps we can arrange the terms of payment when I am in England? At a cost of slightly over £1 a copy, what would be the selling price?³¹

Thus, from the very beginning, OUP was never willing to assume the total cost of the official publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It never got out of that habit. Still, the board of the museum, or at least Harding and de Vaux, were apparently feeling flush at the moment: only weeks before, Bechtel's contribution of \$5,000 had been received, just in time. The Bechtel money left over from the purchase of the new scroll fragments was probably applied to DJD.

Spicer replied to Harding that Oxford would have to price the volume at "at least 3 guineas, (U.S. \$8.82) and possibly more."³²

By 23 June Spicer was getting a little impatient. Harding was supposed to have arrived in England by the middle of the month, but had sent Spicer no word. Spicer said

they could not begin “punching” [linotyping] until Plenderleith’s chapter was submitted and several other matters were cleaned up. He also noted technical matters which were, in fact, never satisfactorily resolved, such as the lack of clarity over “editor” of the series and “editors” of sections within a volume as opposed to “authors.” Some things never change, or at least are never changed, and despite Spicer’s misgivings, these never were. Other more trivial matters of style were mentioned, but most important, Spicer sent Harding a draft agreement for his consideration.³³ Mostly technical matters were discussed on 16 July when Spicer and Harding met in Oxford.³⁴

At this point de Vaux made his first appearance in the negotiations, reacting negatively to Spicer’s criticisms of the manuscript. De Vaux was also unhappy with the 10 presentation copies offered (they finally settled on 12)³⁵ and with a number of other details, but Spicer forged ahead anyway, making significant progress while Harding was still in London and more directly accessible.³⁶ A month later there remained disagreement over copyright, with OUP claiming it was theirs.³⁷ Another month later de Vaux was still unhappy about the number of free copies, but this was resolved with offprints and did not delay the production.³⁸ By November Spicer was promising proofs by the beginning of 1954 and sent the final contract for the book.³⁹

The contract was in the name of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, with Fathers Barthélemy and Milik named as the main authors, and signed on 13 November 1953 in Oxford.⁴⁰ Three days later Spicer sent it to Harding,⁴¹ who returned it on 31 December 1953, with the question, “When may we expect first proofs?”⁴² The official publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls was launched!

Brownlee and the “Hidden Scrolls”

All the while, scrolls events unfolded on many fronts. William Brownlee, who had maintained intermittent contact with Harding, de Vaux, Milik, and others in Jerusalem since his hasty departure in 1948, wrote Harding sometime in late February or early March 1953 about some “hidden scrolls.” Harding replied on 10 March 1953:

Thank you for your letter, undated, regarding the scroll fragments. It is difficult to see why anyone is now nervous of bringing material either to us or to the Palestine Archaeological Museum, as *we have been buying steadily for a long time from all kinds of people* [italics mine]. However, if they prefer the more roundabout way, I see no objection, and to hand the stuff over to the ASOR for us would be quite in order. Do you know what it consists of, and how much there is? I rather doubt if it comes from the first cave myself. I think I can make a pretty good guess at your contact’s name, but as he doesn’t want it mentioned in writing I won’t do so! In any case, he need have no fear about handing the stuff over. I hope it’s not from the first cave as we are just on the point of sending the manuscript to the publishers.⁴³

It was nearly two months before Brownlee answered. He told Harding that his “contact” had informed him in a letter dated 11 April:

As regards the hidden scrolls, the Jordan government had to deal severely with the persons who had them and was forced to search their houses. She (the government) rescued practically all of them. The police authorities



Yusef Saad with newly acquired Cave 4 fragments in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, August 1953. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

through their secret service were able to know everything most of them are now in the Jordan museum. At present the persons concerned claim that the Jordan government took all that they had.”⁴⁴

Brownlee further related to Harding:

I am very happy of this result, and you are to be greatly congratulated. My

“contact” says: “I worked very hard on getting some of those pieces and had it not been for the government action, I would have been able to rescue some of them.” He said that he would continue on alert and would try to see that any concealed materials end up in government hands, either directly or indirectly. So if through my Arab contact, I am able to help you in the future, I shall be glad to do so. Meanwhile, it seems, the government’s own secret service has done the job.⁴⁵

Strangely, I can find no record of anything more ever having been said about these “hidden scrolls” or fragments, and it is unclear from these letters whether the story of search and seizure was true, or imagined by Brownlee’s source. One cannot but wonder what they were and where they are now. Out of nowhere, however, in 1978 Benoît added a postscript to a letter addressed to Skehan: “I am attaching to this letter the photograph of an unidentified fragment from Qumran that W. H. Brownlee asked me to show to the Cave 4 editors in order to find a possible identification.”⁴⁶

Spring 1953

Wearing his archaeological hat again, de Vaux returned to Qumran during the spring of 1953 and again in 1954. Among the notable finds were “more than 400” coins.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, fragments kept coming in. The Scrolls Ledger records several purchases during the last months of 1952 and the first three months of 1953, all ascribed to “unknown caves.”⁴⁸





Western shore of the Dead Sea, looking east toward Jordan in the distance. ©Mattie Kuiper.

The Copper Scroll

Several early attempts were made to unroll the Copper Scroll, sometimes known in the early days as the “bronze scrolls,” scrolls, plural, because it was found in two pieces.

Professor Carl H. Kraeling of the University of Chicago was director of the Ameri-

can Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem during 1953. He wrote to Harding in his capacity as director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, quoting a letter he had received from Professor Albright. Albright commented on efforts then underway to deal with the Copper Scroll: "I regret that I can't report anything specific on the experiments being carried out by Corwin and his assistant on the copper strips. Corwin conducted experiments earlier this month, after consulting twice with me, in which he tried to duplicate certain conditions (climatic and chemical) in the Dead Sea Valley, with excellent results, getting just the right kind of cuprite. He and his assistant are unfortunately too busy to work at these experiments continuously."

Kraeling went on to say that he intended to put pressure on Albright to "push hard at the other end, telling Harding: "I do not think it fair to you or to the museum to let this matter lie too long. If the scrolls are to go to America for processing, we should know sufficiently in advance of Tushingham's return so that the proper formalities could be concluded in time for him to take the scrolls with him. If we exceed that measure of time, the scrolls would have to lie here approximately another half year or more, which I think too long. However, we must get Corwin's final report at the earliest possible moment in any event."⁴⁹ The saga of the Copper Scroll was to consume several more years and take unexpected turns.

21 November, 30 November, and 23 December 1953

A curious partial sheet in the PAM Archives lists three letters, apparently originally in Arabic. Although I did not find the letters themselves, the titles in English translation are enough to tell a very important story: "Letter from Prime Minister [of Jordan] to Minister of Education *agreeing to allow foreign institutions to acquire scroll fragments*"; "Letter of Director of Antiquities to Minister of Education *asking for clearer interpretation of above*"; and "Minister of Education's reply stating that *export of fragments will be permitted*."⁵⁰

Two Unexplained 1953 Purchases

Two purchases in 1953 are hard to explain. One is noted as a kind of secondary insertion in the Scrolls Ledger material, dated 2 March 1953, a purchase of a small number of Cave 4 materials by de Vaux for JD 10; the other is a purchase on 6 November 1953 of something from Wadi Seyyal, very near Murabba'at, for a more substantial JD 138.500. So far I have found no further explanations, but there may be some relationship to reports that the Bedouin discovered a cave in Wadi Sdeir (Nahal David) and sold to the museum fragments from a Genesis scroll and at least two Greek documents said to have been found there.⁵¹

25 November–16 December 1953

On the Israeli side, Sukenik had been planning an expedition along the Dead Sea in the area south of Murabba'at that had become Israel after 1948. His illness and untimely death in 1953 have prevented this expedition, but an amateur archaeologist, Uri Shoshani, had taken the initiative in exploring caves in the vicinity of En-gedi.

At the same time, the Bedouin, who passed across the new but by them unrecognized border between Israel and Jordan, were exploring caves in Nahal Hever (Wadi Khabra) and had made some discoveries which were sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

Professor Yohanan Aharoni, then inspector of the Israel Department of Antiquities, made a survey of the area of Nahal Hever for 20 days from 25 November to 16 December 1953, discovering several caves already explored by the Bedouin. Although no manuscript fragments were found, Aharoni hypothesized that the remains in the caves probably came from the Bar-Kokhba period, 132–135 AD.⁵²

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript, with a large circular hole in the center. The text is written in a dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The script is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries. The hole is roughly circular and is the central focus of the image, revealing a lighter background behind it. The text is written in a style that is characteristic of historical documents, possibly from the 16th or 17th century. The ink is dark, and the paper shows signs of wear and discoloration. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-used manuscript page.

THE CAVE 4 TEAM

Gerald Lankester Harding began to think about a team to deal specifically with the Cave 4 scrolls shortly after the inundation with fragments began in September 1952.¹ Within a few months he had set the wheels in motion.

Years later the one “fact” about the scrolls to become international common knowledge was that there was some small shadowy group of selfish men who had been keeping the scrolls all to themselves, conspiring to hide their contents, presumably to protect their own fame and fortune, or to protect Christianity or in other permutations, to protect the Vatican.

In most such distortions there is some kernel of truth somewhere. In this case, there is barely even that. Naturally, the complete picture is much more nuanced and complex. The Cave 4 Team was neither shadowy nor conspiratorial, but there were reasons for those impressions, as we shall see.

Thus, to “make the crooked straight,” we must start at the beginning. We must try to understand how the team was put together, what its mission was, and how it worked. We must try to understand something about the men themselves, their background, training, and personalities. Most of all, we must try to be fair in recognizing their exceptional accomplishments.

I have not employed the term “Cave 4 Team” to describe this group because the Cave 4 scrolls were the only ones on which the team ever worked. I use it to draw a distinction between this group of scholars and the earlier partnership of Barthélemy and Milik dedicated to the publication of Cave 1 and the Murabba’at fragments. It is also helpful to emphasize the distinction in terms of quantity. Cave 4 (together with materials originally listed as from “unknown caves”)² accounted for about 5/8 of all original scrolls from Qumran. Another way to measure the relative proportion is simply to count the number of Cave 4 volumes in DJD. The scrolls from Cave 11

*As far as I'm concerned,
I only tried to do my
work. And now it is up
to the others.*

—Father Maurice Baillet

were assigned to other scholars, and the publication of the scrolls discovered in Israel before 1967, and in Israel and the West Bank after 1967 is another story altogether.

Generally, the team is known today as the “International Team,” or “International Committee,” depicting the varied national backgrounds of its members. But “Cave 4 Team” emphasizes the source of their scrolls, the scrolls on which this team worked almost exclusively.

The selection of Cave 4 Team members was accomplished little by little, deliberately. It was *international* simply because it represented the most prominent national schools of archaeology in Jerusalem,³ themselves represented on the board of trustees of the private Palestine Archaeological Museum.⁴

As we have previously indicated, the idea first shows up in two letters Harding wrote on 23 October 1952: one to the Bechtels asking for financial support, and one to the British Museum, in which he asked the museum to send someone to join the team.⁵ There is never any indication whatever in any of the contemporary documents that any team member was chosen on the basis of religious or ideological affiliation, despite misconceptions to that effect today on the part of many, including some well-known scrolls scholars.⁶ I suspect the idea that the team was somehow meant to be “interdenominational” arose as a reaction to later accusations that Roman Catholics somehow had a monopoly on the study and publication of the scrolls. Neither the accusation nor the answer were true.⁷

It is impossible to tell at this far remove precisely how the idea of the Cave 4 Team emerged. Harding presented it as his own in the documents that have survived. It was Harding in his capacity as curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, not as director of the Department of Antiquities, and not de Vaux as president of the museum’s board of trustees, who took the lead in forming the team, at least in the documents I have found.⁸ De Vaux is often credited with choosing members,⁹ and was later blamed for having made bad choices or for having unfairly constituted the team. Neither the credit nor the blame is justified. The fact is, he did not form the Cave 4 Team alone. Harding took the lead, as we shall see clearly in the documents below, and de Vaux was in the background.¹⁰ The interlocking responsibilities of the two, together with their different personalities, their personal friendship, and their very different national, professional, cultural, and religious backgrounds made for a complicated picture.¹¹

Here is the way it seems to have worked. First, Harding, the curator of the PAM, perhaps at the behest of de Vaux, the president of the PAM (but this we don’t know), made the decision to contact the four prominent archaeological schools in Jerusalem, and to ask the schools themselves to invite two scholars each to be part of the team.¹² Next, the directors of those schools, and/or some other responsible person(s) somehow connected with the schools, were contacted and they suggested invitees. Next, either de Vaux or Harding extended the invitation, or in some

cases, the invitee made an approach to de Vaux or Harding. Once the invitation was extended, the invitee and Harding or de Vaux came to an agreement on the timing of the arrival, length of stay, and compensation for expenses. When the scholar arrived in Jerusalem, he was under the authority of de Vaux as supervisor of the Cave 4 Team, but it must be remembered that de Vaux was wearing (at least!) four hats. As president of the trustees of the museum, he probably approved the over-all plan, and in some or all cases, approved the individual choice; as director of the *École biblique et Archéologique* he was responsible to invite the *École's* two allotted scholars; as chief editor of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, he was at least loosely in charge of the work of the team in general; and as director of the excavation at Qumran de Vaux also made decisions about what to include and not include in DJD about the archaeology of the site.

A further distinction must be made. The earliest documents concerning the formation of the team seem to indicate that its main purpose was the cleaning, identification, grouping, reconstruction, and translation of the Cave 4 fragments. The assignation of materials for publication, and the limitation of publication solely to Cave 4 Team members and replacements made as necessary, seems to have been an idea that evolved naturally, but as events turned out, perhaps unfortunately as well.

It is helpful to survey the composition of the team chronologically and give a short biography of each, including those who were invited but did not accept.¹³ We will then summarize the way the team worked, but defer the evaluation of their accomplishments until later.

Professor Frank Moore Cross, Jr., May 1953

"The Great Cross," as Allegro called him in a letter to Baillet in 1982,¹⁴ "Paragon," as W. F. Albright described him in 1950,¹⁵ Frank M. Cross, Jr. was born in Ross, California 13 July 1921. When Frank was eight years old, his family moved to Birmingham, Alabama, where he grew up, accounting, perhaps, both for the gentle tinge of a southern accent still retained today, and for his charming, personable manner, reminiscent of a southern gentleman. Both his parents were originally from southern Alabama, and Frank stayed in the south to attend a Presbyterian church college, Maryville College (Tennessee) where his father was one of the directors. When he took his B.A. degree in 1942 he was, he says, "greatly torn as to what direction to go." He had been the chemistry assistant in college, and also had a major in philosophy, but he couldn't decide which path to follow. Finally, he decided that his main interest was in the history of religion.

So I went to McCormick [B.D., 1946] preparatory to going on to a Ph.D. I never thought I'd end up in the ministry. And in seminary, Ernest Wright became an influence on me, and Sandy Sellers, a wonderful man.¹⁶ At any rate, during my senior year there was a competition for a fellowship that would

send a student through two years of graduate school. So I decided I'd make a bargain with myself: If I won the fellowship, which was in Hebrew, I would go on in that field, and if I didn't, I'd go on to [Johns] Hopkins [University] and philosophy. And, actually, I was admitted in philosophy at Hopkins. But



Professor Frank Moore Cross, Jr., a member of the Cave 4 Team, studying the scrolls in 1955. Al Fenn, Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images.

I won, and also I had gotten very much interested in the Hebrew Bible. I've often said, not entirely facetiously, that I read so slowly, I got interested in the content.¹⁷

And so I began training with [Professor William Foxwell] Albright, and epigraphy became one of the fields I was particularly interested in, but also

straight Bible. The one thing that never interested me was textual criticism. And I pretty much absorbed Albright's very conservative approach to the Masoretic text while we were there, and that was common in that period. You had liberal scholars in Europe who, again, were textual fundamentalists, (P. A. H. de Boer, for example) At any rate, I was in that tradition.



Cross received his Ph.D. in 1950 for two joint dissertations with David Noel Freedman. He taught at Wellesley College from 1950 to 1951, and in 1952 accepted an appointment to McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

Meanwhile, events in Jerusalem of which he was totally unaware were to change the course of Cross' life. Relations between Harding and the American School in Jerusalem had been close on many levels for years. The president of the parent organization, the American Schools of Oriental Research, was at the time Professor Carl Kraeling of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He and Harding were already cooperating on fund-raising, as we have seen in the correspondence concerning the Bechtel contribution in 1952–1953. Later we will see that it was Kraeling who secured the long-term Rockefeller funding for the team's work, but for now, Kraeling had been asked to suggest the first American member of the Cave 4 Team, and he nominated Professor Cross, then a young faculty member at McCormick. It was Kraeling who talked Cross into going (with very little difficulty).¹⁸ He had already gotten his start on scrolls in 1948 when Albright showed him the photographs of Isaiah^a Trever had sent to Johns Hopkins, and published his first article on the scrolls in 1949.¹⁹ Fortunately for us, he has told the story himself:

[In March 1948 I was] in the study carrel in the Hopkins library when Albright came rushing in and grabbed Noel Freedman and me, hauled us into his office, and showed us these photographs that Trever had sent. Noel and I got Albright to let us have the photographs for the night, and we stayed up all night working on textual problems [laughter]. And at that time, of course, I had no notion I would end up in this area. Let me put it differently. I knew I would be following these

discoveries, and even wrote something before I was appointed to the team. I reviewed Sukenik's first volume, for example, the first time I'd read any modern Hebrew. There wasn't much of it, thank goodness.

At any rate, so there I was, poised, so to speak, ready for this deal that was dropped in my lap like few people [ever] had. And so in '53, I went out [to Jerusalem]. Cave 4 had been found, I guess, in '52, and de Vaux²⁰ recognized there was so much stuff now that the museum had to organize some kind of joint attack on it, and broaden the attack from Barthélemy and Milik, who had done Cave I [for DJD, published 26 May 1955] [Carl] Kraeling [of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago] was responsible for my appointment.²¹

It was, of course, Professor Albright, still active in ASOR as we saw in his dealings with the Bechtels, who recommended his former prize student to Professor Kraeling.²²

Cross arrived in Jerusalem during May 1953 to be the annual professor and acting director at the American School and to work on the Cave 4 fragments.²³ Throughout the summer he was the only one working on the fragments and he had, he says, "a delightful summer."²⁴ Milik did not arrive back in Jerusalem from France until September 1953.

After Milik returned in the autumn, one of the tasks set before Cross was to integrate the fragments excavated in Cave 4 by the archaeologists, the fragments which were said to be from Cave 4 which had come directly from the Bedouin and Kando through de Vaux to the PAM, and a third category, which included all but one lot of those purchased during January–March 1953, labeled in the Scrolls Ledger as from "unknown caves."²⁵ Cross recounted some of the highlights of that summer: "I was alone in the scrollerly [at the Palestine Archaeological Museum] working on the materials excavated by Harding and de Vaux after the plundering of the Ta'amireh Bedu was halted. I had a cross section of Cave 4 manuscripts, eloquent evidence of the chaotic mix of fragments surviving in the cave."²⁶

After Milik returned in September 1953, the material acquired from the Bedouin was taken out of the many small boxes in which it was stored and "combined with what the archaeologists had dug from Cave 4 with all the material bought by the museum and the Antiquities Department and then filled up that room with plates of fragments. I had worked for the summer, for about four months, in a little side room with just the excavated material. So I at least knew perfectly well where that stuff came from"²⁷ wrote Cross.

I remember coming on the calendrical documents, *Mishmarot* [courses of priests giving service to the Temple] I called them, working for the first time in my life on technicalities of calendar. I identified and deciphered a papyrus copy of the *Serek HaYahad*, the Order of the Community, written in an

extremely cursive script. There were fragments inscribed in a minuscule Palaeo-Hebrew script, and an odd document written in what I called at that time a proto-Mishnaic dialect, the Halakhic Epistle [Public Letter about the Law] unhappily called *Miqsat Ma'aseh HaTorah* ["A Few Matters of the Law"] in later publication [DJD 10].

The document which most seized my interest, however, consisted of some 27 illegible fragments, some backed by papyrus. The leather was darkened, and mostly covered in yellow crystals—evidently animal urine, but very old urine. The fragments were found under roughly a meter of deposit in Cave 4. I cleaned with a camel's hair brush and castor oil. The document seemed to have material concerning Samuel but it did not follow the Masoretic Text. Cleaning the fragments was tedious and unpleasant, so I laid the task aside after a while. From the few legible places on the fragments, it appeared to be a biblical story book. Or, I dreamed, a source of the Deuteronomist. Later, I returned to the task, and by whimsy, opened the Brooke-McLean edition of the Greek Bible to Samuel. I had brought up the Larger Cambridge Septuagint from the library stacks in the basement of the museum to compare its readings with other biblical scrolls. Perusing the Greek text, I came on certain of the readings in my manuscript. I suddenly realized with a shock that I had a manuscript of biblical Samuel, but not the text of biblical Samuel preserved in the received Hebrew text. Some of the [*Hebrew*] fragments were most easily identified with the aid of the *Greek Bible*.²⁸

To understand my surprise, shock, and excitement, one must realize the state of Septuagint studies in 1953. Most Western scholars who dealt with the problems of textual criticism, in the older generation—Albright, my teacher, Ivan Engnell, and Max Margolis, not to mention Israeli scholars, and in the younger generation John Wevers, P. A. H. de Boer, and Johannes Hempel—regarded the Masoretic Text with uncritical reverence, and handled textual problems with extreme conservatism. Readings of the Greek Bible which differed from the *Hebraica veritas* [true or traditional Hebrew text] were believed to be due to mistranslation, ignorance, *Tendenz*, or willful malice. Henry Gehman tried to write a Septuagint lexicon on the proposition that the Greek text fitted one to one with the Hebrew text. This produced no end of new definitions of Greek words, not found elsewhere in Greek literature. Now I had evidence that the Greek translator was far more faithful to his underlying Hebrew text than anyone had supposed since the days of Thenius and Wellhausen. Having been trained myself in the conservative tradition, just short of Masoretic fundamentalism, I found myself forced into a new world, requiring new critical thinking, new methods. Most extraordinary, I found myself for the first time interested in textual criticism.

By fall I had prepared a preliminary report on the fragments I had cleaned and pieced together.

William Albright came to Jerusalem in the early fall, and crossing to the Old City, visited the École biblique to bid a final good-bye to his lifelong friend Père Louis-Hughes Vincent, then in his nineties.²⁹ I brought Albright to the scrollery, and showed him the fragments of what would be called 4QSam^a and my conclusions about the affinities of the manuscript. His reaction was what I might have expected. He immediately reversed a lifelong approach to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, and I must confess, in a number of subsequent papers went much too far in relying on the Greek version for reconstruction of the original Hebrew text. He was back to Thenius' uncritical enthusiasm for the Greek text of Samuel, rather than stopping with Wellhausen's balanced criticism of all textual traditions in his unsurpassed study of the text of Samuel.

He insisted that I publish a preliminary report on the fragments in a volume of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* to be dedicated to C. C. Torrey. So I sent my paper after him to Baltimore in a few weeks. He never sent back galley proofs for me to read, and I am still embarrassed by some of the mistakes in that paper. But never mind. The responses to the fragments of the Samuel manuscript were extraordinary. Johannes Hempel, the former Nazi editor of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* suggested seriously that my document was a retranslation into Hebrew of the Greek Bible. Change comes with difficulty to narrow minds and spirits.

In the spring of the year [1954], de Vaux invited Milik and me to take part in the dig at Khirbet Qumran. My conviction that the site of Qumran was a communal center of the Essene community was set by my stay there. Piecing together hundreds of dishes and flasks, place settings for the communal meal, focused my attention. We worked hard but there was some fun.

De Vaux celebrated his fiftieth birthday at the dig, and served each of us in rude tin cups some fine French cognac sent out for the occasion. The stuff tasted strong to me and I added some water—a sin which de Vaux never forgot or forgave. At the peak of our boredom piecing pottery, Milik and I decided on an outing, a trip up over the cliffs, through the *Buqe'ah*, a little valley (as the word means in Arabic) at sea level to be identified with biblical 'Emeq 'Akor, the Valley of Trouble, to be turned one day, according to Hosea, into the Door of Hope, *Petach Tiqvah*. Our goal was the famous ruin of Khirbet Mir. We carried water, an onion, and an orange. The little valley proved to be our chief interest. There we found some one-period sites, all seventh century B.C.E., and all associated with irrigation works. Two years later Milik and I launched a little expedition to the *Buqe'ah*, later followed by

the excavations of Lawrence Stager. The archaeological interlude ended, and we went back to our fragments.³⁰

Although there was money available from the Rockefeller Fund in those early days, Cross had the appointment as annual professor of the American School, so he had some support even though he was on unpaid leave from McCormick Theological Seminary. In contrast, John Strugnell, Józef Milik, and others were dependent on the Rockefeller funds. Cross was able, in fact, to bring more money into the project from McCormick to buy what was known as the “Rehnborg Collection,” the group of Cave 4 manuscripts whose purchase the McCormick Seminary underwrote so that it would eventually receive some scrolls permanently. When that arrangement fell apart in 1961, Cross tried, unsuccessfully, to get the money transferred to the Cave 4 Team: “Rehnborg got back money, and I tried to get him to give it outright to the scrollery. But he wouldn’t!”³¹

The deep attachment to the scrolls Cross developed during those early years, especially during 1953 when only he and Milik were working on the Cave 4 material, was easy to see when we interviewed him and showed him a collection of new photographs. Some of these he had recreated; others were saved because he had been able to raise the money to buy them for the PAM.³²

The study of the scrolls affected Cross’ life and career on many levels. He described this as we spoke together:

WWF: Getting back to the matter of the background that brought you to the study of the scrolls, which is fascinating to me, I suppose all of us who have experienced being raised in the faith, in church, and then going to seminary and graduate studies in the university have a sort of mutual understanding among ourselves of changes that take place. We’ve all gone through it. I sensed, for example, in talking to Noel [Freedman], that he has had quite a journey from growing up as a totally secular Jewish boy in New York to being a seminary professor for a number of years, and then finishing his career in the university. I’m sure that you went through a long journey yourself.

FMC: Not as long as most.

WWF: And I know this is a very personal thing, but in which direction has your work on the scrolls influenced you, that is, in regard to your own personal faith? I’d be very interested in that if you’d care to share it with me.

FMC: Well, let me begin by saying I come out of a liberal and critical background. My father was a clergyman who was way to the left of me, and he introduced nearly all the higher critical problems to me before I was even out of high school. So that kind of transition didn’t happen with me. Rather, the reverse happened. I be-

came fascinated with the Bible, influenced by biblical theology, and became more conservative than my father, particularly when it comes to scientific approaches to biblical study. Here I have no difficulty working with my Jewish colleagues, except ultra-Orthodox, and with Catholic colleagues. [In any event], it's now a

community approach to these problems.



The author with Frank and Betty Anne Cross in their home in Lexington, MA, 29 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.

As for the scrolls themselves, one great discovery was textual criticism, of course, which I have pursued since with some delight. The other thing, I guess, is the fashion in which this world [of the scrolls] has opened up a very complex and rich Judaism immediately before Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity had emerged fully and naturally into history. The apocalyptic strains of Judaism were here alive, strains that would deeply influence early Christianity, or more strongly, one could say provided the language and world utilized by the New Testament writers in the exposition of their faith. There are at the same time *hal-*

akhic [legal] strains in the Judaism of this period anticipating the full crystallization of Rabbinic Judaism under Hillel and his house. In short, we perceive a rich matrix from which Rabbinic Judaism and primitive Christianity naturally emerge into history. We are—as George Mendenhall once put it, we—Judaism and Christianity—are two heresies of biblical religion.



Frank Moore Cross working on his DJD Samuel volume in his home in Lexington, MA, 29 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields

And I was already, I guess, sort of inclined towards the Hebrew Bible by reason of my background being Presbyterian, Calvinist, and I still consider Calvin one of the great commentators. And so it has not moved me out of faith. It has not changed my scientific approaches much except in textual criticism. I've been influenced to some degree also by my colleagues at Harvard in these matters, Helmut Koester, for example, on the New Testament. We have a great deal in common, both theologically and critically. But, no, all of this has enriched my understanding of these crucial moments in the history of our faith. WWF: And I think I've noticed this in general, with a lot of present-day scrolls scholars whom I know, [that they have] at least a kind of respect for the text, is how I would put it, even among those who may not believe anything particularly, whether Jewish or Christian or otherwise. Still, there is a kind of respect for the text among scrolls scholars that is almost palpable. I mean, there is something different. One doesn't expect in a gathering of scroll scholars to hear radical theories about composition and transmission.

FMC: No, there are no minimalists in our circles, that's true. Well, I take it back, we did have one. It was Mr. Allegro, but he was so weird I don't think you can call him a minimalist. Call him a fanaticist.³³

Cross taught at Harvard from 1957 until his retirement in 1992, supervising more than 100 doctoral dissertations, serving as curator and then director of the Harvard Semitic Museum, and was active in professional societies such as the ASOR and SBL, serving both as president.

He published *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* in 1958³⁴ and wrote extensively on scrolls topics. Although his contribution to scrolls scholarship has been immense, beginning with his first essay in 1949, continuing with his seminal study on the text of Samuel in 1954, and his identification and sorting of thousands of biblical fragments from Cave 4, he also wrote on linguistic, textual, historical, and biblical subjects.

In retrospect it seems to me that Cross must be given considerable credit (and to an equal extent, Strugnell) for having accomplished the most important thing a teacher can do: he passed on the torch. A quick count of former students who published scrolls in DJD shows that he was responsible for training more than 15 of them, including the present editor in chief, and if one counts their students as his "grandchildren," one could add at least another 10.³⁵ It must be pointed out, of course, that Professor Strugnell, his colleague at Harvard, shared in the training of many of these as well.

One could argue that Cross did not publish as quickly as he might have. One could argue that, but not wisely. There were reasons, some good ones, as we shall point out later. One could argue that naturally he had hordes of students: He was at

Harvard, he had publication control over vast numbers of Cave 4 scrolls, and he could hand these out for dissertations. But that is just the point. He shared, he trained, he created a whole generation of scrolls scholars, who themselves trained scholars, and who are now training others. There are already third-generation and even fourth-generation scholars whose work with the scrolls is rooted in the teaching of Frank Cross. It is unlikely that anyone will supersede his accomplishments very soon!

In the later years of his life Cross has suffered several illnesses, operations, and accidents which have impeded his writing. Yet, like most of the scrolls scholars, he did not even contemplate retirement. He just kept working away, determined even at 86 to make his scholarly contributions for as long as possible. His one regret was that he could no longer spend summer vacations in the Sierra Nevada mountains, where his family and he had so many happy moments over the years.

In January 2005 he and his assistant, Richard Saley, submitted the final proofs for his edition of Samuel from Cave 4 (DJD 17) to his one-time assistant and co-editor Emanuel Tov in Jerusalem, and sent an email saying, "Tonight we have raised a glass of wine!" Thus, 50 years of work on this manuscript came to an end.³⁶

Józef T. Milik, September 1953

Józef Tadeus Milik was born 24 March 1922 in Seroczyn, Poland, grew up in the small village of Podlasie, and studied at the renowned secondary school, Bolesaw Prus Lyceum in Siedlce. Only 18 years old when Germany invaded Poland in 1939, he was a student at the Major Seminary of Plock and Warsaw,³⁷ destined for the Roman Catholic priesthood, and already recognized as an extraordinarily gifted and bright student. But the war brought tragedy into his life, for his brother was killed during its first months. His father, a member of the Polish Parliament, was arrested by the Nazis, perhaps because the family hid and fed Polish Jews, and Józef himself had to go into hiding for most of the war. Having already learned Yiddish with its Hebrew letters by paying his Jewish schoolmates to stay after school to read Yiddish newspapers with him, he began the study of Hebrew and Greek during the war under the tutelage of a priest. By 1944 he was studying ancient and modern languages at the Catholic University of Lubin, and was there in 1945 when Lubin was liberated by the Russians.³⁸

After the war, another brother, Jan, who had seen action in France and Italy, emigrated to England, where he still lives.³⁹ Józef, however, remained in Poland and was ordained in Warsaw June 30, 1946 and received his M.A. on September 26, 1946. He then traveled to Rome in 1946 to study at the Pontifical Oriental Institute and Pontifical Biblical Institute. He remained there until 1951.

While a student in Rome, Milik wrote several articles on the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls. These papers⁴⁰ caught de Vaux's eye and led to his invitation to Milik, through the French ambassador, to come to the École biblique in Jerusalem.⁴¹ By 1951 he had published a translation into Latin of the Rule of the Community from Cave 1.⁴²

In Jerusalem he worked with Father Dominique Barthélemy, under the direction of de Vaux and Harding, on the Cave 1 and Murabba'at fragments, published in DJD 1(1955) and DJD 2 (1961). As we have previously pointed out, the entire system of *sigla* for the Dead Sea Scrolls (abbreviations, such as IQGen= Cave 1, Qumran, Genesis) was invented by him.⁴³

By the spring of 1953 Milik and Barthélemy had completed their work on DJD 1. Preparing the widely varied and fragmentary scrolls of Cave 1 for publication had placed them among the most experienced scrolls scholars in the world. There was probably little discussion between de Vaux and Harding about whether these two



Józef Milik. Courtesy Yolanta Zaluska (Milik).

would join the Cave 4 Team, then being formed to piece together what was becoming a large mass of scroll fragments accumulating at the Palestine Archaeological Museum. But Barthélemy became ill with amoebic dysentery, not to speak of extreme exhaustion brought on by the tedious, demanding, and nearly nonstop work on volume 1. So he was forced to return to France during the spring of 1953 just before Cross arrived. (They never did meet.) Milik, too, returned to France in the spring of 1953 for a much-needed rest.

In a sense, then, Milik was the first member of the team, but it is not known for sure when he was approached by de

Vaux to be one of the two representatives allotted to the French school, the *École biblique et archéologique française* (he did not remember ⁴⁴ when I asked him). Since Milik was recuperating in Paris when Cross arrived in the autumn of 1953, Cross worked alone on the materials all summer until Milik's return in September. Cross, then, was the first to do substantial organization of the excavated fragments, and had everything to himself for more than three months. The excavated material consisted of fragments of about 100 different documents, later filled out by the fragments purchased from Bedouin, the latter group representing roughly 400 more documents.

Nevertheless, Milik had preceded him by several years in actual examination and reconstruction of scrolls from other caves, and had already had many of the fragments available for six months from September 1952 onward. He had even begun making joins here and there, so it was natural that when he arrived back he was considered the senior scholar.⁴⁵ But there was plenty of work for all and they got on famously from the beginning: Cross the bright, debonair, refined young southern gentleman; Milik the quiet, introverted genius in ancient languages (more than 20, depending on how one counts). But this arrangement called for some linguistic agility of a more modern variety. Cross' spoken French was virtually nil. Milik was forced to learn spoken English. Milik had learned his written English in school, but his limited spoken English mostly from "ze tough American crime fictions." Now he learned to speak it from Cross.⁴⁶

He also participated in several seasons of the dig at Qumran, and took part in the survey of caves north of Qumran. He was present when Henri de Contenson discovered the Copper Scroll in Cave 3, and later published the scroll after it had been opened by Professor Henry Wright Baker and John Allegro at Manchester University.

There are many stories, some probably apocryphal, about Milik's work habits during those early years. There are stories of days, even weeks, of work fueled mostly by coffee and cigarettes, followed by periods of total inactivity. There were collapses and periods of excessive drinking, and hospitalizations, but one should not lose sight of his amazing productivity, a level of productivity during the first years of scroll research that far surpassed everyone else's, but is often overlooked now because of what was not finished. It is so easy for someone who has never struggled with a Dead Sea scroll to suggest what should have been done. Those who have themselves worked on scroll fragments are far more sympathetic.

Milik was also an avid coin collector. Cross tells this story about Milik and Mahmoud Beydoun:

The old scamp [Beydoun]. There's a story you should know if you don't. Beydoun used to love to come to École biblique with coins to sell to Milik, who collected coins. And one day he came, Mahmoud the Silwani (from the village of Silwan), we called him. This is the father of the Beydoun [now running the shop in the Old City] He was an old withered-up character And Milik looked through this batch of coins that he had, and he spied one that was rare and important, from the Second Revolt, and so rare that perhaps only one other existed in the world. So Milik was beside himself, but he carefully bargained for the whole lot, and finally bought it, and then went home and studied it, and quickly found out he had a forgery on his hands. So he called Mahmoud to come see him, and he began to dress him down, saying, "What do you mean selling me a forgery? I've bought all these coins from you. We've been good friends for years, and here you

pass off a rare coin that I think is important and it's a forgery." And Mahmoud's reply was, "Well, I thought it was a forgery, but you're the professor!"⁴⁷

Of the members of the Cave 4 Team, Milik is the one usually singled out by his colleagues and others as the giant, the one who had a special talent for matching pieces among the thousands and thousands of fragments the team worked on. He was an outstanding epigrapher and paleographer. He himself says that he sometimes felt a "paranormal" force, something divine, even, was helping him find joins in the fragments. He also recalls being bored one day at Qumran, walking just outside his tent, taking a shovel, digging just in front of the tent at random, and finding an inscribed potsherd (ostrakon), one of only a few found at Qumran!

It was not an easy matter to arrange an interview with Józef Milik. He was famous for not answering his mail, which, from one way of looking at it, was endearing, because it was his way of maintaining his privacy and asserting his independence. But he did answer his telephone, and that was about the only way to contact him.

After Józef left the priesthood and married in 1969, he and his wife, Yolanta, a professor of medieval art history, lived and worked in a tiny Parisian apartment on the Avenue de Maine in Montparnasse. I first met him in 1992, long before this project. Emile Puech provided his telephone number to me in Jerusalem; I called him, and asked if he would see me if I were to fly to Paris. He agreed, and so we had our first meeting.

Józef was soft-spoken but incisive. Every statement during a conversation was thought-out and meaningful. Although giving the appearance of being retiring and shy,⁴⁸ he could become quite spirited when discussing scroll matters, or Nabataean or any kind of linguistics, and he had definite opinions. He didn't hesitate to correct a mistake! But underlying every conversation was his witty sense of humor, which invariably surfaced along with his ready smile.

At that first meeting I was trying to see if he would relinquish any of his transcriptions and translations of the scrolls or his notes for publication in DJD. He did not agree to give anything to the project at the time (though he did eventually give some things to others, for example, Tov, VanderKam, Baumgarten, Pfann, and Vermes), but we became acquainted at least. He even offered at that time to train me and let me work on some of his material with him were I to move to Paris. My own circumstances didn't allow that, but I deeply appreciated the offer.

I went to see him more than a dozen times over the next 15 years, every time feeling that I was in the presence of monumental greatness. The penultimate visit was in November 2004 in St. Joseph's Hospital, where he, Yolanta and I sat on two successive days, visiting and reminiscing. Though failing in body, his mind was sharp as ever, and when I left he had two documents in the room: a spy novel on the bed stand and in his hands, a manuscript from Steve Pfann on the Dead Sea Scroll Cryptic Texts! Our last meeting was in November of 2005. He died 6 January 2006.



The author and Józef Milik at his home in Paris, 23 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields

Summer, 1953

Cross had already been working on the Cave 4 scrolls at the PAM in Jerusalem when Harding left for England in June 1953 (one of the reasons that most of Cross' early contacts in Jerusalem were with de Vaux). During that summer "back home" (Harding had been absent from England for most of the past 15 years), Harding enlisted the help of Professor Godfrey Driver of Oxford to find candidates to fill the two positions on the team allotted to the British School of Archaeology.

Preben Wernberg-Møller, 6 August 1953

Driver first contacted one of his prize students, a Dane named Wernberg-Møller, and they both wrote letters to Harding on 6 August 1953. First, Driver wrote:

I have another possible candidate for categorising⁴⁸ fragments of scrolls—a Dane named Mr. P. Wernberg-Møller.

He speaks excellent English and has worked with me for two years; he is preparing an edition of the Manual of Discipline for a D. Phil., and it would help him as much as you if you could take him on.

He is 30, maturer than Emerton, and a better Hebrew scholar than Allegro, since he has specialised on that language and Aramaic. He has lectured and substituted at Copenhagen and hopes to get a job at a Danish University when he has done his D. Phil.

He is, too, a very agreeable young man whom you'd like. I've asked him to write to you.⁴⁹

At Driver's request, then, Wernberg-Møller as well wrote to Harding:

I am writing to you in order to ask whether you think it possible for me to join the group of scholars going to Jerusalem to examine the fragments recently found in the Caves.

I take it that you will by now have had a note from Professor Driver, to the effect that I was interested and intent on writing to you. I am studying the Dead Sea Scrolls here in Oxford with Professor Driver and am preparing a new edition of the Manual of Discipline. As you will understand, a direct contact with the recent discoveries will be essential; provided that it will be possible for me to go; my plan is to submit my thesis in 1955 instead of 1954.

Perhaps it would seem apt to inform you briefly of my qualifications, although I suppose that Professor Driver has already touched this subject.

I have studied Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic) for 10 years and was actually a lecturer of Hebrew in the University of Copenhagen, before I went here to Oxford. Of modern languages I know Scandinavian, English, French, German and Hebrew. I speak English and

German. I am 30 years of age. I look forward to hearing from you. My address until 20 August will be Rold praestegaard, pr. Arden, Denmark; after that: Keble College, Oxford.⁵⁰

Strangely, there is no further correspondence between the two. I could not imagine why someone would pass up this opportunity. I supposed it might have been for financial or personal reasons. When we had the privilege of interviewing Preben and his wife, Sasha, in Oxford, however, the reason became clear, and it was quite simple: G. R. Driver had changed his mind and decided it would be best for Wernberg-Møller to finish his Vincent Scholarship at Oxford in 1954, and proceed to a lectureship at Manchester, arranged by Driver with his friend and colleague, Professor H. H. Rowley. He was appointed on 1 October 1954. He recalled asking Driver if that was a good place. Driver replied, “Yes, one of the five best places in the Empire!”⁵¹ Wernberg-Møller said, “I remember distinctly meeting Driver in the grounds of Magdalene College as well as the way he looked at me when he said to me, ‘You do not want to go to Jerusalem.’”⁵²

On the same day another of Driver’s students, John M. Allegro, was appointed to a similar position. Preben decided to accept the appointment immediately and moved to Manchester. Although he published the *Manual of Discipline* in Brill’s new series, edited by Father Van der Ploeg, his professional life thereafter never led him into much work with the scrolls. In an ironic turn of events he shared a single cramped office at Manchester with John Allegro from 1955 through 1957.

John Marco Allegro, 13 October 1953

Apparently John Emerton (now emeritus professor at Cambridge) was invited second (on which see more below), and Driver’s third recommendation was another of his D. Phil. students, John Allegro. Allegro was already attached to the University of Manchester, having taken his B.A. and M.A. degrees there. Driver approached his colleague at Manchester, Professor H. H. Rowley, who had recently given Allegro an appointment. Rowley was willing to release him for one year. Thus, Driver wrote to Harding, 23 July 1953, suggesting that he contact Allegro directly. Of Allegro Driver wrote:

Allegro is 29–30 and married; he has a good degree at Manchester in several languages and has been researching for a year with me for our D. Phil. He is going to stop this, I fear, and Manchester are offering him a lectureship at once; but he may continue the process later on, if he has a “double first” (with first-class work in every paper), first in theology and two years later in Semitic languages, specialising in Hebrew and Arabic.

Then Driver added, intriguingly, there were also some candidates at Cambridge, but unfortunately, did not name who they were:

Meanwhile, Professor [D. Winton] Thomas at Cambridge tells me that he has two possible candidates; he will speak to you about them at the PEF [Palestine Exploration Fund] on 30 July. We ought therefore to raise our Englishmen out of the bay.⁵³

Rowley wrote to Harding, 30 July 1953, that Allegro had been “tentatively” appointed in Manchester, but that the appointment would not be confirmed until September [in the event, October 1]. He said further that if Harding wanted him, and Allegro was willing, he would do everything he could to help arrange it.⁵⁴

Harding met Allegro at the Palestine Exploration Fund meeting in London on 30 July, and by August 7 Allegro had spoken to Rowley. Allegro’s main concern was what this trip to Jerusalem would do to his appointment at Manchester and how he would finance the trip:

It is most unlikely that the University [of Manchester] will give me leave immediately, but it is probable that they will make no permanent appointment until I return. The advice of all, then, is that I go ahead and ask the Treasury to make my next year the part of my grant spent abroad for study, and that if your money comes through and you are able to appoint me temporarily to your staff for work on these fragments, I can then tell the Treasury, who will adjust my grant accordingly. The advantage is, of course, that I can then come to Jerusalem whether you get the cash or not.⁵⁵

He wrote again a month later, 11 September 1953, indicating that he would probably lose his appointment at Manchester, but, he said: “Too bad, but this trip is worth the risk.” He said that he had seen Professor Muilenberg at Copenhagen, who asked him if he would like to live at the American School, and that his good friend Preben Wernberg-Møller was “keen on coming on this trip and had approached Driver.” Very unselfishly he continued, “Perhaps you could use my share of your grant (if forthcoming) on his expenses.” Finally, he mentioned that John Emerton was also “anxiously awaiting word.”⁵⁶

Harding replied on 24 September (such a pleasant fellow Harding was):

Thanks for yours of the eleventh I am delighted to know that you will be able to come out here, and would suggest that about the middle of October would be a good time to arrive. Regarding what to bring with you, your ordinary English winter clothes will be necessary as it is very cold here in winter; in fact, whatever you generally wear in England, summer or winter, will be suitable here. Some rough clothes (jeans I find most useful) if you want to work in the field.

It is a pity Manchester cannot hold the job for you, but your decision pleases me a lot. I have heard nothing further about the grant yet, so cannot commit myself about anyone else.

Looking forward to seeing you.⁵⁷

Things were moving fast. By 6 October, Allegro had received Harding's letter, made his reservations, and wrote that he would be there in one week. He did not seem to hesitate at all, but it was not Allegro's first time in the Middle East: he had been stationed for some time in Alexandria during World War II. Just before his departure he wrote Harding a final letter: "A slight change in plans. Armed with your letter saying that mid-October would be the best time for me to arrive, I had no difficulty in persuading the Treasury to agree to an air passage, saving nearly three weeks, and meaning that I get on the job that much sooner. This is now being arranged, and I shall be flying from London next Tuesday, 13 October, at 1400 (by Pan American), arriving Beirut the next morning at about 3 a.m., and getting a connection that morning by Arab Airways (Heaven preserve us!) and ... direct to Jerusalem, which should get me in before lunch on Wednesday. A much better plan, you will agree. I hope then to see you next week."⁵⁸

According to the PAM notation on the letter, it was received only one day before he arrived. Considering all that was to happen to Allegro during the remainder of his life, if one were superstitious, one might fix on the fact that he embarked on this new chapter of his life on the thirteenth! But all that was in the future. For now, his excitement and enthusiasm were almost boundless. The Cave 4 Team had three members: Milik, Cross, and Allegro.

John Marco Allegro was born in Balham, South London, 17 February 1923, a middle child, with an older and younger sister. His father, John Marco, Sr., had had up until then, what John's widow, Joan, called "a very checkered career."⁵⁹ Allegro, Sr. was an artist, a master printer, and a free-thinker. Marco had arrived in England about 1908 at the age of 12 after the death of his mother, Amy. Amy had gone out to Turkey in the late 1890s as an English governess to an Armenian family in Constantinople. "When turmoil overtook Constantinople, the family fled, leaving her to pack up the house. She applied for a job at the Berlitz School in Bordeaux. Into the picture came a French vice-consul, M. Worville or Norville. Seduction, rape, promises made and broken ... whatever the story, Amy was left with failing health and a sickly child, appealing to the gentleman for money. He sent her 100 francs, but declined to visit. The name Allegro, Italian for 'lively,' seems untraceable ... Amy died of tuberculosis, aged 30, in a convent on the way home."⁶⁰

John's father was sent to relatives in England and was brought up in South Wales until the First World War. He was commissioned and sent out to the Middle East. When he returned to London after the war he was set up in the printing business by a

former army colleague, and built the business up in South London. This is where John grew up, went to the local schools, and since he was quite bright, went on to grammar [high] school, which he finished in 1939 at age 16, with an excellent matriculation.

His father, however, having had a rather harsh upbringing himself, did not believe



Józef Milik and John Allegro in the scrollery at the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

in the value of higher education. He believed one had to make his own way. So John did not go on to university. War was imminent, so John volunteered for the British Navy. His father had had a little boat, and John imagined that by joining the navy he would be just exchanging the lake for the sea. He completed his training in December 1941, and spent his first three months in the North Atlantic, then on Malta convoy duty. Early in

1944 his ship was moored off Alexandria and John became ill, was put in the hospital ashore, and was still there when his ship departed for duty. Not long afterwards he learned that his ship had been lost to a German torpedo. While he was in Alexandria he applied for a commission and he joined the Methodist church.

He was accepted for officer training and returned to England in August 1944. His new ship was sent to Greenock, Scotland for refitting. There he began to frequent a youth club run by the naval chaplain, also a minister at St. John's Methodist Church in Glasgow. At the club he also met Joan, recently graduated from Glasgow University. Shortly afterwards, John's ship set sail, but he kept in touch with Joan by mail.

John formed a Methodist group onboard his ship, the HMS *Monclare*, holding discussion groups and hymn singing and simple services. By the summer of 1945 the war in Europe was finished and the war in the Pacific was coming to a climax. John began to think about entering the ministry. Meanwhile John's ship had reached Sydney, which he found fascinating. By 25 August 1945 he had applied for the Methodist ministry, though still in the navy, and continued his correspondence with Joan. When the Japanese surrendered on 17 September 1945, his ship was at anchor in Hong Kong. His letters to Joan show a continuing interest in the ministry, but also a devotion to rationalism that was soon to run head-on into his faith.⁶¹

On his return to England after the war, he was accepted in the Methodist Church as a probationary. That brought him back to Scotland. Just after the war "everything was topsy-turvy," says Joan, so instead of sending their young volunteers to college for training, the church put them out into "country circuits," and John was sent to one in Scotland. There he started studying Hebrew and Greek on his own, trying to read the Bible in its original languages. The following year John, now about 25 years old, was sent to study at Manchester University under H. H. Rowley. But the church was not particularly interested in his proclivity for scholarship, so it was mutually decided to part company. This was the beginning of John's eventual break with the church, ending with his proclaiming himself an agnostic or atheist.

His university fees during this period were being paid by a government grant due to his military service, and soon afterwards John and Joan were married. Following his B.A. and M.A. at Manchester, John went to Oxford to study under Professor G. R. Driver, to do a doctorate on Hebrew dialects. It was during the summer following his first year that Driver received the request from Harding to nominate someone to work on the Cave 4 scrolls in Jerusalem. When Preben Wernberg-Møller decided not to accept Driver's nomination, he named John Allegro.

John and Joan's first child, Judith, had only recently been born. Although one can understand how difficult it would have been for the young scholar to refuse this sort of invitation, for her part, Joan says, John's departure was "devastating." He went out to Jerusalem for an entire year, and Joan moved in with her mother. It was not until some years later, 1960 or 1961 that Joan herself was able to visit Jordan for the first time.

Upon his return to England John took up the appointment at the University of Manchester, made the year before, and he shared an office with Wernberg-Møller.

“John was an extrovert,” Joan says. “He would stand up and talk, and he would hold his audience the whole time. He had this gift, an enthusiasm for what he was doing. Although some of his colleagues charged him with being a ‘populist,’ he believed that everybody should try to understand what the Bible said, what they believed, what the church was preaching, so he ran counter to most of his colleagues. And of course he became very agnostic.”⁶²

Money was always a problem in the early period of John’s work on the scrolls. He did not receive the level of support he wanted from the university, nor from the Rockefeller funds available to some of the other scholars. “He would have been out there [Jerusalem] far more often,” Joan said, “if he could have got the money.”

John’s first year in Jerusalem went relatively smoothly, but relations with the other scholars began to deteriorate within a couple of years and he was more and more ostracized from the group. He was assigned a relatively small number of fragments to publish, was the co-editor of the first published volume of Cave 4 fragments (DJD 5, 1968), and by 1970 had left scrolls scholarship almost entirely. Allegro had an increasingly difficult time in the academic world, a growing estrangement from his colleagues, and became most notorious, perhaps, for his *Sacred Mushroom and the Cross*. He never returned to serious scrolls scholarship and died, estranged from Joan and his children, on his 65th birthday in 1988.

John A. Emerton, December 1953–January 1954

It was, in fact, finances, that were the deciding factor for another young scholar approached by Driver and Harding, John A. Emerton, later of Cambridge fame.

Harding wrote to him on 12 December 1953, reporting that only a part of the money he has been trying to obtain to add scholars to the Cave 4 Team had been made available, but he asked Emerton what terms he would need for joining the team and the length of time he could stay if he did come. “The latter is important,” he said, “as it is undesirable to change *workers*⁶³ often and it takes some time to get into the swing of things.” Harding was determined that it cost not less than £30/month to live in Jerusalem, and offered to pay his round-trip airfare.⁶⁴

Emerton did not reply until 5 January 1954, saying there were difficulties with the Durham University authorities, since they had given him leave from his lectureship only for the summer term, and this, combined with marriage plans, would make it possible for him to come out to Jerusalem for 20 weeks only. He estimated his living expenses at £45/month, though as an Anglican priest, he thought he might be able to stay more cheaply at St. George’s Hostel in East Jerusalem. He then went into some detail about the funds he would need.⁶⁵ A few days later he wrote again, lowering his estimated costs, but not lengthening the time period.⁶⁶ Harding replied in three terse sentences: “Thank you for your letter of 5 January 1954. I fear that your

proposal would be of no use to us at all, as nothing short of a year and a half's work could possibly achieve anything. I am sorry, therefore, to have to definitely abandon the proposal."⁶⁷ And that was the end of that.

As late as November 2008 he was still making trips to Jerusalem to work in the *École biblique* library. As we both happened to be having lunch at the American Colony Hotel, we spoke and reminisced about that invitation from Driver so many years before. Cross once said to me, "What a pity he did not join the team; he was a far better Hebrew scholar than some of those who did."⁶⁸



October 1956, sitting outside the Palestine Archaeological Museum, from L to R Claus-Hunno Hunzinger (with back to photographer), Józef Milik, Roland de Vaux, and Jean Starcky. Courtesy the Allegro Archive.

Jean Starcky, January 1954

Born in Mulhouse, France (Alsace) 3 February 1909, Father Jean Starcky studied classics and philosophy at Mulhouse, Mainz, and Reims. He did advanced studies during 1934–1938 at the Oratory and Institut Catholique and *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris, the *École biblique et archéologique* in Jerusalem and the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. He was assigned to St. Joseph's University in Beirut in 1938, where he taught Hebrew and Old Testament. He was in Beirut when World War II began, and at a rally for General Charles de Gaulle and the Free French in 1941 tried to persuade fellow Frenchmen to join with de

Gaulle against the Vichy French who were collaborating with the Nazis after their occupation of France. He himself joined the Free French as a chaplain and served in North Africa and Italy with the Allies. He was much loved by the soldiers⁶⁹ and decorated for his service.

A naturally modest and generous man, he was known for his Aramaic and Nabataean scholarship, especially in connection with Palmyra and Petra. After the war, he taught New Testament at the Institut Catholique in Paris, and in 1952 left for Beirut, where he was associated with the Institut française d'archéologie de Beyrouth. At the suggestion of Milik he was invited back to Jerusalem in 1954 to join the Cave 4 Team. He was also a consultant for the *Jerusalem Bible*, and published on the book of Maccabees, articles on Petra and Nabataean, and founded a small biblical museum of articles collected during his long career in the Middle East, now located on the grounds of the Institut Catholique in Paris. His interests and knowledge were broad and vast. He returned to Beirut from 1968 to 1971 as the associate of the Institut français. He was a member of the CNRS from 1951 until 1978. During the 1970s he gradually gave over his Cave 4 texts to Father Emile Puech for publication in DJD. Starcky's name will always be connected with Palmyra and Petra, Nabataean sites to which he devoted much of his life's study and work. He passed away in Paris in 1988. In 1995 a street was named for him in Alsace and a book, *Malgré Nous!* [In Spite of Us!] was published in his honor.⁷⁰

When Cave 4 was discovered in 1952 and excavated in 1953, Starcky was already well into his career. Due to his association with the École biblique in the 1930s, and with the Université Saint Joseph in Beirut from 1938 to 1941, he and Gerald Harding were old friends. In October 1952, just weeks after the first purchase of Cave 4 scrolls, he had taken a leave from his responsibilities in Paris to go to Beirut and Jerusalem. Milik, who had already known and worked with him on Nabataean inscriptions, recommended to Father de Vaux that he be invited to join the Cave 4 Team. Beginning in January 1954⁷¹ he joined Milik, Cross, and Allegro in the early classification of the fragments and reconstruction of the manuscripts. Although he wasn't as good as Milik, Skehan, Cross, and Strugnell in paleography,⁷² he was a good linguist, particularly in Aramaic and Nabatean. Eventually, Starcky brought in Father Maurice Baillet on the project. In the spring of 2008 Father Emile Puech completed the last of Starcky's texts for publication in DJD.⁷³

John Strugnell, 8 July 1954

Born 25 May 1930 in Barnet, Hertfordshire, England, Strugnell studied from the age of 14 in boarding schools, and went to Oxford University in 1948, intending to become a Presbyterian minister. He completed a B.A. in classics and the history of philosophy at Jesus College, and was awarded a government scholarship for two years of graduate study at Oxford with Professor Driver in oriental languages, from 1952 to 54. Strugnell described for us his academic odyssey:

It was becoming more and more apparent, that I needed to think a little more Jewishly I'd been studying classics, Greek and Latin, all my life, and I could rightly compose in Latin and Greek [But] I was very much under the influence of people who said, really, the language of the Bible is a Semitic language and you've got to think that way. It was the sort of thing you got in the works of Pedersen and Bowman in *Hebrew Thought*. These were the sort of books that were influential. So I decided it was ...[something like] ...a quotation from somewhere in the Bible, you have to "circumcise your mind." And I had to learn Hebrew. And so I took two years studying, extensively and very fast, Hebrew [with Chaim Rabin].⁷⁴

Now, according to my great plan, then ...after doing that I should be perfectly prepared to study theology, and so I should have gone over to Cambridge [site of his denominational college]. But just at the very end of my studies of Hebrew, I got the invitation from my teacher, Driver ...to take a couple of years studying in Jerusalem. And how should I put it? He didn't



John Strugnell examining fragments in Jerusalem. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger

think it would take very long. He thought maybe one year, maybe two years. He'd heard about a few fragments to study. If there wasn't enough to do, you could always learn colloquial Arabic, you could do various things in Jerusalem. This was ...the Arab period.

I studied with Driver from 1952 to 1954. So at the end of that in '54, he had heard from the administrators in Jerusalem and in Amman that there was this amount of work due, and they needed one other person to take it on, and he wanted to find out whether I'd be free to do it for a couple of years.

I was young; I could always postpone theology for a while. And so I said yes, and instead of going over [to Cambridge] to study theology, I put myself down as a candidate for a doctoral degree at Oxford where they don't really follow you up very much, and I went off to work on a hypothetical thesis on these Dead Sea Scrolls.



John Strugnell in Jerusalem about 1954. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

At the various times thereafter when I could have interrupted this concentration on the scrolls and got back to theology, for instance ...in 1956 when I'd done my first two years there and I could have left ...there were sometimes jobs opened for me. At the same time the work at Qumran was there, and I began to feel it was more necessary that someone should do it

I was getting deeper into the project, and I knew the work better than most people. All along, then, I still thought ... I was on the way to theology, and into being a good pastor somewhere, but while the money at Jerusalem lasted, I kept staying there, and when the money at Jerusalem ran out, I was receiving offers for jobs at the American or Canadian universities and the like, which were very attractive. You know, it was one of these changes in vocation which don't really come intentionally. You drift into them. So ... by the time I came to the United States ... I was no longer really thinking of going back to studying theology.

I kept coming to departments of theology in the United States or in Canada because that's where Qumran was studied. I had effectively shifted my interest to being a teacher. It was not quite clear what I was teaching. Was I a professor of Old Testament, or was I a professor of New Testament? You know, Qumran sort of hesi-

tates between the two My first appointment in the States was at Duke University [in Old Testament, 1960]. I was there for five years, and then my next one was in Harvard in New Testament [and Christian Origins, 1966]. And, fortunately, in both places I really didn't have to choose which of the two I was. I was between the testaments.



The author with Professor John Strugnell, in his home in Cambridge, MA, 30 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.

One of the turning points in John's life was his conversion to the Catholic Church. When asked about the spiritual journey leading up to this, he told this story:

At 14 I started to go away to a boarding school in England, and the tradition of boarding schools in England is such that they're usually Anglican. So I became in a sense much more conscious of being a Presbyterian. I affirmed my difference, and that was true, I suppose, up to the end of my period at Oxford and even in my first years in Jerusalem: in other words, a somewhat polemical Presbyterianism, emphasizing the difference between me and other people.

The people from whom I was different at the boarding school and at Oxford [and I] ...were not really spending our time on theological questions and the like. We were all studying classical Greek and classical Latin and so on. But when I got to Jerusalem, the environment against which I was defining myself was a more theological one The people I was working with [were] Catholic priests, Presbyterian ministers, Lutheran pastors, and so on. This, I suppose, served to make me a little more tolerant [and I]demonized the opponent [less]

Then in 1956, I married a Catholic girl,⁷⁵ which of course made me a lot more tolerant towards Catholics. But I stayed consciously Presbyterian for the rest of the time in Jerusalem and the time that I was at Duke, perhaps more tolerant towards Catholics, but still, especially since I was teaching at a Christian seminary ...very much in the general Protestant tradition.

Then, I don't know what was cause and effect, but I began gradually to feel that the Presbyterian tradition in the States was moving away from what I had become accustomed to or what I thought it should be. It was losing its historical roots, and it was becoming modernist, [and] so on. There, next door to me in my family, next door to me in my Qumran work ...was the Catholic Church, which hadn't changed in this way. And that, I think, was the reason for my conversion. I can't really say that it was because of my Qumran work that this took place. I mean, the Qumran [work] wouldn't have made me change one way or the other, but I think [it was] this genuine, general sense that the historical face of the Christian church was being eroded in the average Protestant church at the time that made me make this change. And that's really it.⁷⁶

Of John's later role as editor of the Cave 4 scrolls during the 1980s we shall have more to say. For now, we take up the story of his initial appointment to the team.

The letter from Harding to Strugnell, who was somewhat younger than Allegro and Wernberg-Møller, has not survived. Both his situation, and especially his attitude, were very different. He replied to Harding on 8 April 1954:

Thank you for your letter. You are right in taking my silence concerning the *terms* as acceptance of them. I can't think now I failed to say so explicitly—probably it was because they seemed so excellent, in the eyes of one who has for six years subsisted on the far less generous allowances of the British educational authorities, that it seemed almost otiose [to serve no useful purpose] to say how acceptable they were.

In my application to the Jordan Legation for a visa I gave your name as a referee resident in Jordan—I hope this is all right.

It would be a great help to me if you would make available to me in England at least the major item in my travel bill, the airfare. The travel agents inform me that a single ticket from London to Amman by BOAC costs £69 sterling: I will be able for no greater cost to break my journey in Italy to fulfil my engagements there. I don't know whether you had included some allowance for the transport of my baggage, but in any case I will be able to pay that out of my own funds here and, if you were intending an allowance for that purpose, we can make that arrangement when I arrive: I am not yet sure how much the transport of heavy baggage, by sea presumably, costs.⁷⁷

On 30 May 1954 Harding wrote to Strugnell at Jesus College, Oxford, enclosing a check for £75 for his airfare and excess baggage, and asking when he could expect him.⁷⁸

After completing his examinations on 22 June, Strugnell wrote that he would arrive at three fifteen on the afternoon of 8 July. "As I only speak dead oriental languages," he added, "and as yet have no Arabic, it would be helpful if you could arrange for someone to meet me, and guide me to where you suggest I should lodge in Jerusalem."⁷⁹ The second English member was on his way. "With an excellent eye for individual scripts and a remarkable memory for the shape of fragments" his contribution to the reconstitution of the Cave 4 fragments was to be monumental. Little could he have imagined that for the remainder of his life, he, more than any other member of the Cave 4 Team, would be consumed with, and in time, consumed by the Dead Sea Scrolls!

Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, Autumn 1954

Claus-Hunno Hunzinger began his studies at the University of Heidelberg in 1947 and moved to Göttingen in 1949, where he studied with Professor J. Jeremias. By the autumn of 1954 he had finished his doctorate on the *Manual of Discipline* and was in a seminar in Göttingen with Professor Kuhn, reading whatever was then published of Dead Sea Scrolls. Professor A. Alt had recently retired from his post at the University of Leipzig and received an invitation to Göttingen as a guest lecturer. It was he who raised the question of sending someone to Jerusalem to join the work on the scrolls. Professor Jeremias recommended Hunzinger. He told the story this way:

One day in early '54 when I was still working on the last part of my thesis (I was still an assistant without any further qualification), I received a letter from the German-Palestine Institute.⁸⁰ This letter had not reached me the regular way because it was addressed to "Professor Doktor C. H. Hunzinger, Göttingen University." Of course there was no Professor Hunzinger in those days, so it was sent back to sender, recipient unknown, with the additional remark, referring to Professor Hunzinger, "not mentioned in Kurschner's Lexicon." You know, Kurschner is the lexicon of all the scholars, like the *Who's Who*. Of course they didn't find my name there, but I think it's marvelous that a post office refers to such a dictionary searching for somebody. The Institute then sent a letter to Professor Jeremias, saying, "You mentioned this fellow, so you will have to find a way to give him this letter." But Professor Jeremias was,



Claus-Hunno Hunzinger working on papyri fragments (4Q503 / Daily Prayers scroll) in the scrollerly at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1954. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Estate of John Allegro.

of course, very reluctant to give me a letter addressed this way. Then I got the invitation to join the normal annual excursion of the German-Palestine Institute, and a second letter asked me whether I would be willing and ready to join the

work on the Dead Sea Scrolls for two additional months after the excursion. That was the beginning. Of course, Professor Jeremias said it would be good to finish my thesis before I went to Jerusalem. So I did it.

In July 1954 I got my doctoral degree, and two weeks later I found myself on a boat crossing the Mediterranean Sea on the way to Beirut, and spent three months on this excursion, under the guidance of Professor Martin Noth. We had a small group of five people altogether. In the meantime, Professor Noth tried to arrange my joining the team in Jerusalem. He did not [get immediate] approval from de Vaux and Lankester Harding.⁸¹ They insisted on a longer period in Jerusalem, saying that two months would be of no use. They said I should stay there at least for one year. This was accepted in

Germany a few days before we had to leave. It was rather exciting, not knowing whether I would stay there for another year. So I joined the team in late October 1954 for one year.

The team now had its first and only German member and numbered five. When I came home I passed this additional qualification [Habilitation],⁸² passed my second theological examination, became ordained as a minister in the Lutheran Church, and got engaged, all in the same year! It was rather exciting!⁸³

The German-Palestine Institute invited him to Jerusalem for one year again, beginning in the summer of 1956, but then he had to choose between a position at Göttingen and continuing work with the scrolls. As with John Emerton, money was the



Claus-Hunno Hunzinger working on the Cave 4 fragments in the scrollery of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger

deciding factor, and the authorities at the university were too short-sighted to allow him more time off, though they did allow him some time in Jerusalem during 1957–58, during which he helped clean the Cave 4 manuscripts when they came back from Amman after the Suez Crisis, covered with mold. He had a half-year sabbatical at Drew University in 1959, but he never spent a prolonged period in Jerusalem again.⁸⁴

Patrick W. Skehan, 1954–55

Born in New York City on 30 September 1909, Patrick W. Skehan took his B.A. from Fordham University in 1929. He continued his studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York, where he was ordained 23 September 1933. Skehan took his doctorate from the Catholic University of America, where he followed courses both in the School of Religious Studies and the Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures. His thesis in sacred theology was entitled "The Literary

Relationship between the Book of Wisdom and the Protocanonical Wisdom Books of the Old Testament.”

Appointed to teach in the Semitics Department in 1939, he taught courses in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Scripture. He became the head of the Semitics De-



Patrick Skehan working on the Cave 4 fragments in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, October 1955. Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority.

partment 23 November 1951 and retired in August 1980. He died shortly afterward, 9 September 1980.

In addition to his duties at Catholic University, he substituted as a visiting professor from time to time for W. F. Albright at the Johns Hopkins University in nearby

Baltimore from 1947 through 1956 (“like being asked to pinch-hit for Babe Ruth” he said).⁸⁵ When he took Albright’s place in 1947 he was Frank Cross’ teacher in both textual criticism and epigraphy.⁸⁶

He was named Monsignor by Pope Pius XII in 1954 and Domestic Prelate by

Pope John XXIII in 1958. He was annual professor at the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem during 1954–1955 and served as director of the school during 1955–1956, the two years he spent concentrating on the Cave 4 biblical scrolls he shared with Frank Cross. In 1964 Pope Paul VI awarded him the Benemerenti Medal and during 1969–1970 he was a visiting professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome. Among his many well-known students were Roland Murphy, Joseph Jensen, Alexander Di Lella, and Sidney Griffith.⁸⁶ For 25 years he was vice-chairman of the editorial board of the *New American Bible* and a charter member of the Catholic Biblical Association.

Described by Di Lella as “shy and very private, not at his best mingling at large gatherings,” he was also a person with “deep convictions as well as strong likes and dislikes.”⁸⁷ Frank Cross

recalls that he had a “fiery Irish temper,” and that if one merely mentioned the name “Eleanor Roosevelt” he would throw you out of his room!⁸⁸

In written communications he didn’t mince words. When problems between John Allegro and the other members of the Cave 4 Team began to surface, he wrote to Allegro:



“I trust you can understand my writing to make plain to you that one doesn’t publicly question the sincerity of people he knows to be sincere without making communication rather difficult. I’d prefer to forget the whole thing, if I thought it’d do any good.”⁸⁹

Among the things he disliked strongly was the State of Israel, but he argued extensively that his objection to the State of Israel did not constitute an objection to the Jewish people.⁹⁰

Skehan was often in the thick of another fight too, the inner-Catholic battles over theological liberalism, carrying on a vigorous correspondence with those who accused him and others (such as Raymond Brown and Joseph Fitzmyer) of diluting the traditional Catholic faith.

Skehan realized some time before his death that he would not finish the preparation of his Cave 4 scrolls for publication. He began looking for someone who could take over from him. Frank Cross recommended his student, Gene Ulrich, by now a professor at University of Notre Dame. Ulrich put it this way: “All I heard was that Skehan had expressed his wish that in the event of his death I complete for publication the editions of the scrolls entrusted to him.”⁹¹

His close association with W. F. Albright made him a natural for the Cave 4 Team, an arrangement already reached with Harding before he left the United States to come to the American School in 1954.

More to the point, Msgr. Skehan had already been working on the scrolls for years. Beginning in 1950 he and Millar Burrows had planned an extensive collation of textual variants between the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll and previously known Hebrew manuscripts as well as the ancient Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Aramaic versions.⁹² This was to be published by ASOR. By early 1954 the edition was close to completion, and then, due to lack of funds, it was never published (demonstrating how difficult it was to get funds for putting out an edition after photographs and transcriptions have been published).⁹³ He had already been in correspondence with Cross about corrections to his famous *BASOR* article on 4QSamuel^a.⁹⁴ So, his appointment grew out of reasons more complicated than just being in the right place at the right time during his tenure at ASOR, Jerusalem, 1954–56. The second American had now joined the team.

At 45 Skehan was the same age as Starcky, making them the oldest members of the Cave 4 Team. Cross, Milik, Allegro, and Strugnell were all in their twenties or early thirties. By the time he began to work on the fragments, considerable reconstruction had already been completed. As the senior scholar, he was later given the mandate to prepare editions of the Paleo-Hebrew manuscripts of the Pentateuch and Job, the Septuagint, and the Hebrew texts of Isaiah, Psalms, and Proverbs. I once asked Józef Milik who was the best over-all scholar in the scrollery in those early days. He replied, “Next to me, Patrick Skehan.”⁹⁵

Maurice Jean Joseph Baillet, June 1958

Maurice Jean Joseph Baillet was born 25 March 1923 in Bordeaux, France, where

he obtained his diploma in philosophy at the age of 16. He studied Greek, Latin, and French language and literature with the language faculty of Bordeaux, where he received his B.A. degree. He continued his studies at the Grand Séminaire in Bordeaux from 1941 to 1943 and from 1943 to 1948 at the Institut Catholique in Toulouse. After serving in the army for one year, he was ordained a priest in 1947. He studied at the Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen from 1949 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1952 in Paris at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the School of the Louvre and the École des Langues Orientales Anciennes of the Institut Catholique, specializing in biblical and Modern Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Akkadian, and Arabic.

Maurice Baillet did not become the eighth member of the Cave 4 Team until 1958, but he had already been working on scrolls materials for some years. He was in Jerusalem as a student at the École from 1952 to 1954, so he had a chance to see and even work with materials from the various caves. Two of his earliest essays dealt with the Jeremiah and New Jerusalem fragments from Cave 2. He was absent from Jerusalem for a period in 1954 during which he completed his exams at the Commission Biblique Pontificale in Rome, obtaining the *Licentia in Sacra Scriptura*. He returned briefly to Jerusalem in October, 1954. During 1955–58 he taught in Toulouse, but he returned to Jerusalem during October, 1957. His publication of the controversial Greek fragments from Cave 7 (7Q4–5), in which some scholars have seen traces of the New Testament, can be singled out as especially important.

Baillet does not say exactly who invited him or how he was invited. He had been at the École off and on for several years, had worked on other scrolls materials, and he was a natural choice. By this time Harding was no longer in Jordan, a casualty of anti-British sentiment associated with the Suez Crisis of 1956, so with Starcky's encouragement, de Vaux apparently extended the invitation on his own. This was to become the pattern for the future, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, when the editors in chief simply appointed new members to the expanded publication team as they saw the need.

Baillet's own account of his work on the scrolls is fascinating, dryly humorous, and reveals a good bit about Baillet as a person. It is presented here, almost in its entirety, for the first time in English:

The international and interconfessional⁹⁶ team put together between 1953 and 1954 for the publication of the handwritten fragments of Cave 4, Qumran, consisted of eight members,⁹⁷ which did not include me. From 1952 I was given the thankless task of publishing several small pieces that were found in Cave 2. The others were added in 1953, then those from Caves 3 and 6 in 1954, and finally, those from Caves 7–10 in 1957.

A few years later the preparation of this publication had progressed sub-

stantially. It was to appear in 1962 in volume 3 of this collection. This is why, one day in June 1958, I was invited to join the famous team for the first time. Since 1954, J. Starcky had a dozen Hebrew manuscripts. He wished both to lighten his own load and to see me work on interesting texts. So he put five of his liturgical and legal manuscripts aside, and suggested that I take them over. I was very glad to do this Added to this was a beautiful fragment that J. Starcky had received from J. T. Milik ... and also a small group of fragments that had come from J. Strugnell's batch, to which he added another one.

During the course of 1959, when the sorting and distribution of the most interesting of the [new] Cave 4 fragments was being completed, one was faced with a whole mass of papyrus fragments that were not very interesting. Consequently, no one wanted to work on them. Absolutely persuaded that I liked small fragments, a member of the team suggested to Père de Vaux that I should have them. After I examined them briefly, I thought I should, and could, refuse. In not refusing I made a grave mistake. Overcome by thunderbolts crashing down on me I resigned myself to doing them. Totally disheartened [*la mort dans l'âme*] I began work on this jumble. There were 1,659 fragments, of which 398 were written on both sides, totaling 2,057 pieces of text! Thank God, many of them were so insignificant that they had to be set aside.

This tedious work was in progress when in 1960 two members of the team proceeded to examine the batch I was given. Thinking that they were the first to recognize the text of the War Scroll (496) and finding it interesting, they tried to take it away from me, and I had to take it back!

Whatever the circumstances, these [papyrus] fragments gave rise in this edition to [manuscripts numbered] 482–490, 496–500, 502, 505, 506, 509, and 515–520.

One of these texts (502) which was found among the unidentified papyri belonged, furthermore, to the batch entrusted to C.-H. Hunzinger in 1954, who had abandoned it. Without knowing it, I had thus inherited part of his manuscripts.

At the end of 1968 a first draft of the publication was completed. At the beginning of 1969 Père de Vaux suggested that I take over from C.-H. Hunzinger for its completion, at least for the War Scroll manuscripts. I had received its photographs in April and J. Strugnell added to it those of a new copy that he had identified (495). I therefore undertook the work. C.-H. Hunzinger came to Jerusalem in August and promised to publish his texts, so I had to give back his batch, and it was only in April, 1971 that I could get it back again. This time it contained all the manuscripts of my German colleague, which are found in this volume [six manuscripts] One can thus see the complexity caused by these successive allocations, which made the publication process all the more difficult.⁹⁸

Thus, Baillet joined the Cave 4 Team as its eighth and final member in June 1958, and in 1959 received from de Vaux a group of texts to prepare for publication, including the War Scroll (4Q496). The same year he took up an appointment with the CNRS,⁹⁹ with which he remained associated until 1993.

In 1971 he received the Cave 4 texts for which Hunzinger had been responsible, after Hunzinger was “excluded from the team by Père de Vaux” because of “unkept promises.”¹⁰⁰ These were published in 1982 (DJD 7), about which we will have more to say when we consider how the Cave 4 Team worked. For this thankless task he received the Charles Clermont-Ganneau Prize from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1983.

In 1984, at the age of 61 he presented his Ph.D. dissertation in Lyon, joking that after having been the youngest person in France to receive a high school diploma, he had become the oldest to receive a doctorate!

He was a gracious person, respected for his integrity and scholarship. One can see both his gentleness and his sense of responsibility in a letter to Allegro, 27 May 1982:

I received your letter on *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Christian Myth* and I read it with interest.

Of course, and although I pride myself on great freedom of thought, your opinions do not completely coincide with mine, but well-done research is always praiseworthy.

What I find the most intriguing is this 4Q Therapeia¹⁰¹ that you are publishing and whose interpretation seems to be very problematic. In any case I am very happy that it wasn't assigned to me.

I also read your letter to the *Times*, published on 17 April. You know a lot more than me on the nonpublic side our project. *As far as I'm concerned, I only tried to do my work.*¹⁰² And now it is up to the others.

I hope to see you again one day. Should I be allowed to visit the Isle of Man before I die, it would be a pleasure to chat a little.¹⁰³

In later life Baillet devoted himself to his first love, Samaritan studies, the subject of his dissertation. He passed away 4 February 1998 in the house where he was born, where he had spent “like a hermit, most of his life.”¹⁰⁴

Roland de Vaux, O.P., First Editor in Chief of DJD

Father Roland de Vaux, first editor in chief of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, was enormously energetic and multifaceted. It was in his capacity as president of the trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum that he became the supervisor of the Cave 4 Team. In matters of archaeology he was administratively subordinate to G. Lancaster Harding, director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (DAJ), but their relationship seems to have been more of a partnership, one based on

friendship and mutual respect: de Vaux was the major archaeological scholar; Harding joined in excavations from time to time, but his job was general oversight of all archaeological matters. As for the Cave 4 Team, de Vaux seems to have asserted little authority over the day-to-day work in the scrollery.

We have already shown that DJD was well under way, and had been planned on the basis of fragments from Cave 1 and Wadi Murabba'at, to which were added the fragments found in Caves 2 and 3. It is clear, however, that soon after the Cave 4 fragments started coming to the museum, Harding and de Vaux understood that these would have to be included in the series. It is not clear to what extent they expected the Cave 4 Team they were assembling to be a *publication* team. At the very beginning this was certainly not the main focus. None of its members was invited to join solely in order to prepare the materials for publication. The team was invited to identify, sort, and reconstruct; but Harding and de Vaux naturally knew the material would have to be published.

From the perspective of the team itself, there seems to have been no doubt that publication was the main goal.

Even in 1953–1954, as soon as the character of the fragmentary manuscript materials became apparent, we assumed that publication rights belonged with the task of creating documents from fragments. De Vaux made the same assumption. I cannot speak for Harding; in any case he left management of the scrollery to De Vaux and the “workers.” The long and hard scholarly labor is in the reconstruction of documents. Without rights of publication there would have been no elite team. Imagine an excavator of a tell without publication rights to his finds.

From 1953 it was assumed that we had the right to publish, and that we should publish also some preliminary reports of important documents Scholars must publish steadily to gain tenure.¹⁰⁵

It is possible de Vaux and Harding envisioned inviting additional scholars to publish the scrolls. It is also possible, even probable, that the task became, with each succeeding purchase of fragments, so momentous, the situation so overwhelming, that they could not possibly have imagined how it would all unfold.

In practice de Vaux was the somewhat removed overseer of the team, not actually working on the fragments, and certainly not instructing the team as editor in chief according to a master plan for publication. Such a master plan did not exist. And how could it? In 1953 and 1954 there was no way to know how many more fragments were still in the hands of the Bedouin and Kando (a substantial number, as it turns out), whether there were more scrolls caves (there were), how many more people would join the team (some did), whether financing could be found (some, but not enough),

and how much time would be involved in recreating the documents (far more than anyone could have predicted). On top of this, negotiations about the series were still underway in 1953, and volume 1 did not even appear until May 1955. For now, it is enough to understand that de Vaux only loosely supervised the team in his capacity as team leader, as DJD's editor in chief, a title almost never used by himself or others.

How the Cave 4 Team Worked

More fragments were purchased during January–March 1953, but the Scrolls Ledger lists the origin of these as “unknown caves,” except for one.¹⁰⁶ After the fragments were cleaned, the first task of the Cave 4 Team was matching, where possible, these fragments from unknown caves with fragments either *indisputably* from Cave 4 because they were found there during the official excavation, or *possibly* from Cave 4 because they were so identified by Kando and the Bedouin when they sold them to the museum or to de Vaux. Many fragments from these unknown caves were almost immediately identified as Cave 4 materials, because they could be joined with fragments whose provenance was certain, or which could be identified as from the same documents even if there were no joins. Naturally, no one made any notation of such identifications in the Scrolls Ledger, whose only purpose was to record purchases, and as far as I can tell, there was no cross-referencing system to keep things straight. In the process of moving *some* of the fragments from the provenance classification “unknown caves” in the Ledger to “Cave 4” in the scrollery, it seems that *all* the unknown-caves fragments were thrown in with the Cave 4 fragments, even if they could not be connected with fragments excavated by archaeologists.

Thus, as we have previously cautioned, *few, if any, conclusions about the Cave 4 materials should be drawn on the basis of where a fragment was found, unless all or part of a particular scroll or fragment can be shown to have been unearthed there by archaeologists.*

There is every reason to believe that many fragments originally identified by Kando or the Bedouin as from unknown caves, and so classified in the Scrolls Ledger, were inadvertently mixed up by the Cave 4 Team simply because they weren't even aware that there was a question as to their provenance.¹⁰⁷ Conversely, it is highly probable that fragments from other caves were identified by Kando and the Bedouin as Cave 4, if only because they were paid more for these.¹⁰⁸

So, the work on the Cave 4 materials began. Cross and Milik were the first to tackle the thousands of fragments.

Cross described how it was to work together in the scrollery:

The language of the scrollery was English, sometimes French. Milik's idiom [learned from crime novels] ...occasionally shocked pious American pilgrims who visited the scrollery and who already looked askance at the melancholy Pole in his cassock, a garment well worn, and usually covered with cigarette ashes. Before the first year was out, first names, American style,

were introduced into the scrollerly. We were all young. But Abbé Starcky held out against Americanization of the scrollerly. It was M'sieu Milik and M'sieu Cross as long as he lived.

Initially we all worked on all materials, only specializing when the team had to split up. We searched out and identified particularly the manuscripts which interested us, but also we all contributed to the plates of manuscripts belonging to others. Often we passed over whole manuscripts to others. I got rid of the so-called Pentateuchal paraphrases as soon as Strugnell agreed to take them. The lots remained somewhat fluid until 1956. Three hundred thirty manuscripts had been identified, on 420 glass plates. Eighty plates of unidentified fragments remained. The more difficult or esoteric materials were distributed to scholars who could remain all year in the scrollerly: Milik, Starcky, and Strugnell. Allegro had a small lot, mostly pesharim For a number of years I returned to the scrollerly for three or four months each summer.

I found the fragments of Samuel that I published in the excavated material, didn't know there was any more, and then it [turned out to be] the most numerous, the best represented biblical manuscript we have now. Later, when Skehan came out to be director of the American School [1954–1955], I then divided my biblical manuscripts with him, so he became a member of the team at that point, but this is later, and it was after it became clear there was just too much stuff for one person to handle. It was too much stuff for two people to handle.

Baillet came out late, and essentially took over Starcky's material It's strange to say, but Starcky was a very poor paleographer We used to use his plates as unknown for fear we wouldn't get our stuff back from him if he took it. It's interesting: he was a good scholar in many areas, but his eye was not good

[The very young] Hunzinger was the only person who had expertise in the time period of the scrolls. He was a specialist in New Testament and with Jewish backgrounds. Perfect. Only one trouble, he couldn't read the stuff He just wasn't quite competent to handle it. The skills that he needed in epigraphy and paleography, he didn't have. His Hebrew was seminary-level Hebrew, and so he folded up very quickly, disappeared Whether de Vaux nudged him or not, I don't know. I wouldn't be surprised, though. It was becoming clear to everybody that it was a problem.¹⁰⁹

We know of Allegro's work in the scrollerly in those early years only from his letters to his wife, Joan, as excerpted by his daughter Judith. His first letter home, 19 October 1953, showed that he came with no idea whatever of how things worked, who had what position, and how the work on the fragments was being done. He mistakenly thought

that he wouldn't be able to start work until Harding and de Vaux decided what fragments to give him, when, in fact, that was decided by the scholars themselves, and only Cross, and possibly Milik were then at work. He calls Yusef Saad the "inspector of Antiquities, in charge of the museum," when, in fact, Harding was director [Inspector] of Antiquities as well as was the curator of the PAM, de Vaux was the president of the trustees, and Saad was the secretary, though it is true that he had charge of day-to-day affairs, and was the only one of the three there every day.

Allegro's first day working on the Cave 4 fragments was 21 October 1953. Two days later he made a report to Joan, and seemed to have gotten quite into the swing of things by 11 November, when he spent two and a half hours looking for a join for one fragment, finally deciding it was nonbiblical. He mentioned working with Cross and Milik on 27 November.

Allegro emphasized from the beginning that the goal of the work was publication, and he referred to a group of manuscripts already as "his." He had been there only one month, and already there was trouble. In order to satisfy requirements of the Treasury Committee back in England, which was paying John's expenses, Professor Driver had suggested that he help Harding for five or six months in Transjordan, at the same time learning Arabic, and then spend another five or six months of Arabic study in Syria and Lebanon. One can sense a problem already by his response:

Of course I can't possibly leave Jerusalem so soon, now I am onto this job of preparing my group of manuscripts for publication. It would be madness. I have written to GRD and [the Treasury] today pointing this out, and urging them to reconsider the matter. I explained that I am not Harding's handmaid, doing just anything he cares to pass over, but am working on this stuff which is internationally owned, for publication throughout the world. The academic work is, in fact, closely related to the Ph.D. work. Really, GRD is a chump; he knows all this or ought to" (25 November).¹¹⁰

After one month working on the fragments as most junior member he already had delusions of grandeur, and the pity is, he never lost them. In this letter more misconceptions emerge: he thought that the scrolls were "internationally owned," when, in fact, most if not all of what he was working on was *privately* owned by the PAM or the government of Jordan. Eventually there were institutions in various countries which bought fragments for the PAM, considered them theirs, and expected to receive permanently a group of fragments representing the amount of money spent. Until the fragments were nationalized by Jordan, there was thus a sense in which they were owned "internationally," that is, by institutions in different countries. And, with one month's experience, he was ready for "publication throughout the world." More than this, the young student was calling one of the most highly respected Old Testament

scholars in the world, his own doctoral advisor, a “chump.” His attitude could lead in one direction only, the direction it eventually did.

And from the beginning, too, we see Allegro’s paranoia, which got worse as well. One is amazed to see such imbalance, right at the beginning of his work. He said of Driver: “Behind all this lack of interest in pushing my case with the Treasury is GRD’s reluctance to attribute an early date to the scrolls, or much importance” (5 December 1953).¹¹¹

One does get the impression, however, that there was a certain congeniality among the three members of the Cave 4 Team in those early days. They deciphered a fragment together, but Milik offered to let Allegro publish it (2 December 1953).¹¹²

The team talked among themselves about expansion, but Milik thought more funds, not people were needed (17 December 1953).¹¹³ Of course they had no idea



Józef Milik and John Strugnell examining a new batch of fragments in the scrollery. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger.

of the negotiations already going on for months with Emerton and others. And Allegro had the idea that it was de Vaux who was handling all this, when, in fact, it was almost exclusively Harding. He did not seem to understand that the decision had

been taken long before to ask two people from each of four institutions, and that had long been underway. But why should he know? That was an administrative matter and he was, after all, simply an employee.

On the scholarly side, however, de Vaux asked Allegro to make a preliminary publication of a Peshet (Commentary) assigned to him (30 January 1954).

Although Allegro noted that they got six more boxes of fragments to work on (2 February 1954), these must have been materials already on hand and paid for, since the Scrolls Ledger does not record any purchases in 1954.

Strugnell provided another perspective on how the Cave 4 Team worked:

WWF: One thing that I have heard from everyone whom I’ve talked to is the

amazing way in which you could put pieces together, that you remembered the shapes, that you remembered the handwriting styles. How did you do it? ...How did you remember all the shapes, all the hundreds and thousands, how one edge might join with another?

JS: It would be impossible if all these fragments were of the same work, but the first thing is always to identify the hand [scribe]. It could be [that] two pieces fitted perfectly together until you looked at the letters and found that they made no sense whatever. So the first thing to do is find out [which hand it was], and this, of course, limits the number of hands that you're dealing with. From 850 fragments, we'd come down to something like 50 or 40 hands.

WWF: Oh, so there were 40 to 50 hands.

JS: Yes. I don't know, maybe there were a hundred, but we substantially reduced the number of possibilities. Then, once you did this, then you had to play a little jigsaw puzzle, but you knew that nine-tenths of the puzzle were missing. So it's not really jigsaw puzzling because ...it was only accidentally that two pieces were fit together. You try to do that as much as you can, but [just] as much, you try to recognize the nature of the text, what sort of words ...you have: is this a piece of law or is it a piece of prayer addressed to God and so on. And this tells you all the fragments written in hand one ...seem all to be part of a narrative, say, or half of them seem to be narrative and the other half could be narrative, or they could be hymnic, prayer, legal, and so on.

So you have a hypothesis, then, about the nature of all the fragments written in a given ...hand. Then, you see, you can start playing jigsaws if you want, but you know that won't take you very far. What you next do is you look at the words and see the sort of repertoire or phrases and the like that you expect in such a legal work or a hymnic work: do any patterns begin to emerge? So it's really not so much an ability to recognize ...[shapes]. The people that do that are much more the students who work with Stegemann. You know, he says this shape fits the shape of this and they're decaying at the same speed.

WWF: Oh, right.

JS: No, I don't believe in that very well. I think that's for the birds (laughter). And he's a good friend so I don't say it quite that harshly. But once Stegemann had a student whom I tried to get to work in Stegemann's pattern on the fragments of Numbers^b, which hadn't yet been published. She didn't know the text that it was meant to be, and in any case, to make it even more tricky, we [said we'd] do it upside down, but the message should [have been] just as good.

WWF: Yes.

JS: And if that [were to] give us good results, then that [would be] one up for Stegemann's method. She was too loyal to her teacher to be willing to try this You know, it may work in certain cases [but] I think that with such

badly damaged pieces of manuscripts, we're not likely to see a very accurate reconstruction I'm interested in things like columns, unfinished lines, and I'm interested in every material indication, but I'm a little suspicious of these indications concerning shape. I don't know how people say it was magnificent what I did with this. As I say, ...this was Stegemann's [method].

WWF: I've been told by several members of the team that when you were working in the PAM from 1954 to 1960, it was you and Milik who put together the most pieces.

JS: Yes. In the earliest year of work on Cave 4, Frank Cross was there for a whole year and did a certain amount, but he was at the same time trying to study the biblical texts. Milik and myself ...had the allotment that *we had allotted to ourselves*:¹¹⁴ (a) the completely unknown texts, (b) the partially known



Part of the Cave 4 Team working in the scrollerly. From the front to back on the right of the tables, Hunzinger and Skehan. On the left of the tables, Allegro, Strugnell and Milik. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Estate of John Allegro.

texts, things like the War Scroll ...and that was what we were working on. And there, of course, the principal tool was paleography. And, you know, we got there at nine in the morning, we left at twelve in the afternoon, we came back after a siesta at three in the afternoon, and we went back home at six in the afternoon. We put in six hours a day, and really you couldn't do much more. You got very [tired, you got] mental exhaustion.

WWF: Yes, I can understand it ..., although I understand ...Milik [was] working on these things two weeks or three weeks without sleeping ...[but] I'm sure those [reports] are partly apocryphal

JS: Yes. Actually, it was, again, Cross who used to come out in summers, and then had to fly back to Chicago. He was the one that, about two days before



From front to back, Cave 4 team members Józef Milik and John Strugnell together with concordance compiler, Joseph Fitzmyer, checking new fragments from Cave 11, 5 September 1957. Since the Cave 4 Team was not responsible for the Cave 11 fragments, Father de Vaux allowed only one hour to examine the material. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger.

the end of his work, used to spend the night in the museum trying to finish his work. Milik and I, sure, we thought about these things all through the evening and night, but we ...never stayed overnight in the museum. Milik may have, but I don't know [that he did].

WWF: Did you ever bring any of the things to the École to work on them, or [was it that] once they were in the museum, they were in the museum and they stayed there?

JS: No, that's not quite the case. The fragments of the minor caves were assigned to Baillet, and—let's see, how did it go? No, it was the fragments of Murabba'at [that] were kept in the École biblique at the start. And the fragments of the minor caves were kept in a different room of the museum so they shouldn't get confused.¹¹⁵

WWF: Oh, I see.

JS: But Murabba'at you could never confuse anyhow, [but] ...I honestly don't remember. I know there was one group that we kept in the École biblique, and there was one that he kept in the museum, and I just can't remember which it was.

WWF: It would have made sense for it to be Murabba'at

JS: Yes, I mean, it was a different collection.

WWF: And it was the people at the École who had actually gone there and [found fragments].

JS: It could well be ...but ...I can make a case for it being the minor caves, too But I remember Milik kept some in his rooms at the École.

WWF: Do you think souvenirs were kept by the team members?

JS: That is just so foreign to the nature of scholarship. You know, when you say souvenirs or the like, that becomes unpardonable. You could sort of snip off the margin of a manuscript, but it just doesn't ring true to me. You know, it's just the same thing as the talk that you find ...[that the] ...team, for theological reasons [would] suppress these things. Again, [if you say that], you just don't understand the nature of scholarship.

WWF: Right Well, do you have any suspicions about who ended up [with] ...Samuel^b [fragments that] disappeared?

JS: It was fairly clear to me, because I was the person who discovered they were missing. I discovered it coming back after lunch. I think I would have noticed them if they hadn't been there before lunch.¹¹⁶ When coming back after lunch, I noticed they were missing, and I called for Yusef Saad, and I told him they were missing. And he said, "I think I know what's happened We were ...showing around a group of diplomats." And the question was, [would] there [be] any way that we could diplomatically find out and tell these people that we knew. There was no way of doing it. And who [were] these diplomats ...? I believe they were Scandinavian, Norwegian, probably. That's

what there was mainly in this party of diplomats. But we had decent photographs. It didn't matter. I mean, it would be nice for a museum to have the Samuel^b [fragments], but we've got the pictures on the wall beside you. That's better than the original.

WWF: But somewhere somebody has that in a private collection.

JS: Well, sure So, I mean, sure, it's a sad thing that we lost it, and we installed better locks that same afternoon, but ...fortunately we had ...[photographs of] both the Daniel manuscript and the Samuel manuscript. We got perfect pictures The funny thing is—is it funny or not?—that they have never appeared on the market or that—

WWF: I think that's an indication that whoever has it

JS: is a thief.

WWF: Yes, and doesn't need money.

JS: Yes I mean, I'm quite sure it was stolen, as you say, as a souvenir or something like this. It's not someone who needed it to sell it to a dealer in Zurich.

WWF: No, and it may have traded hands several times since then because a lot of these things are done very secretly under the table and dealer to dealer or collector to collector.

JS: Well, it's usually rich man to rich man.

WWF: Yes, [rich] collector to collector. And someday it will turn up. Someday ...it will be far enough down the road that some family will say, "Here, we have this."¹⁷

An Evaluation of the Cave 4 Team

We will return to the Cave 4 Team to propose an evaluation much later in our story. For now it is enough that the team is started, members are working in Jerusalem, and the future looks bright indeed. The next six years will be the halcyon years of scrolls research.

Chapter 7

THE ST. MARK'S SCROLLS RETURN

1954

The Scrolls Languish in New Jersey 1949–1954

For six years Archbishop Samuel tried to sell the four scrolls in his possession in the United States. Professor Trever repeatedly but unsuccessfully tried to raise money to buy them¹. But at every turn there were roadblocks. The first difficulty, the one that has plagued both acquisition of scrolls and publication of scrolls from then until now, was finding people who had the combination of sufficient wealth, an appreciation of the religious, cultural, and scientific value of the scrolls, and an inclination to generosity. And a further difficulty arose from political considerations. Brownlee explained:

I'm ...beginning to be surprised at nothing You and I are particularly fortunate to have opportunity for firsthand work.

—Frank M. Cross, Jr., writing to William Brownlee

“One severe limitation upon any prospective buyer was that he must not be a Jew; for like other Arabs, the Syrian Orthodox folk had been alienated by the violent methods of Zionism in the Holy Land; and, unfortunately this had come to mean alienation from all Jews. Even if the metropolitan himself had been willing to sell to a Jew, he would have been ostracized by his own people.²

An even larger problem was ownership, a problem that still plagues the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Jordanians considered the archbishop a smuggler. Brownlee tried to absolve him of this charge by pointing out that he sent the four scrolls to Lebanon with Father Sowmy (25 March 1948), during the British Mandate which ended in Jerusalem and Palestine on 15 May 1948. Brownlee suggested that if he smuggled anything, it was the smaller fragments George Isha'ya removed from Cave 1 in 1947.



Teddy Kollek, January 1, 1956. Kollek , who later served as mayor of Jerusalem for 28 years, died in 2007 at the age of 95. (Photo by Fritz Cohen/GPO via Getty Images)

But the whole matter was confused. During the autumn of 1948, at the height of the Israeli–Arab war, it had not yet been decided who had authority over the Qumran area, though Transjordan (later to be called Jordan) had possession of the area. But there is no question that the four scrolls discovered in 1947 were not correctly reported to the



The author and Teddy Kollek in his office at the Jerusalem Foundation, 9 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.



Yigael Yadin, 1961. © Bettmann/Corbis

authorities of the British Mandate in Jerusalem, and no export license was obtained. By the time Samuel left in late December 1948 or early January 1949, Jordan controlled the area of Qumran as well as East Jerusalem where the Palestine Archaeological Museum

was located, and when he took the fragments of Daniel, the Prayer Scroll, and the Enoch fragment out of the area, at the very least this action bordered on the questionable.

A further problem concerned the question of sole ownership. Did the Metropolitan Samuel or the Syrian Church own the four large scrolls solely, or were they jointly owned with Anton Kiraz of Jerusalem and/or the Kando family of Bethlehem?³ According to William Kando, their family still retains papers giving them a mortgage on the St. Mark's Monastery property as surety for the scrolls, which the family considers legally theirs. They have never taken the matter to court, he says, because they are Syrian Christians and find it unseemly to take legal action against their own Church.⁴

May 1954

In May 1954 Mar Samuel received a call from a friend in Montreal, who informed him that McGill University had just purchased some of the newly discovered scrolls from Cave 4 for \$15,000. There was a kernel of truth in the story, but of course, the real story was that McGill had made a contribution to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in order to make possible its purchase of some rather sizeable fragments from Kando. In exchange for this contribution, the university, like other similar donors, was promised possession of a group of fragments once the fragments were reconstructed into documents and published. As our story continues we will see that de Vaux and others wisely rethought this arrangement, but for the moment this was where the plan stood. It was the report of the price paid that galvanized Mar Samuel into action.

June 1954

At the (rather reluctant) urging of Mar Samuel, Charles Manoog placed an advertisement on page 14 of the 1 June 1954 Wall Street Journal under "Miscellaneous for Sale," between "Summer Homes Available," and "Established Manufacturer Seeking Salesmen."

Among the several replies Samuel received the next day was one from the director of the Chemical Bank and Trust Company of New York, who asked for further information.

Meanwhile, Morty Jacobs, a reporter in New York, had called Yigael Yadin (who happened to be in New York to give a lecture), son of Professor Sukenik (1889–1953),⁵ to inform him that the scrolls were advertised for sale in the Wall Street Journal. The banker who answered the ad had been hastily recruited to act as intermediary for Yadin. On 11 June 1954 an agreement was reached to purchase the four scrolls for \$250,000, through the assistance in various ways of Abe Harman, Isak Norman, Sam Rubin, and Teddy Kollek for the Israeli side and Charles Manoog for the archbishop, who was at the moment in Jacksonville, Florida.

On 1 July 1954, Manoog (who had transported the scrolls from Worcester, Massachusetts in his car), their attorney, Mr. Abodeely, and Sidney Esteridge, the purchaser and his attorneys, all met in Esteridge's rooms at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. Once the details of the contract had been finalized, Professor Harry Orlinsky (who had just the year before called the scrolls "St. Mark's garbage"), took on

a pseudonym (“Mr. Green”) and he and several other Hebrew scholars were called in to authenticate the scrolls. By the following morning, 2 July 1954, the scrolls were the legal property of Samuel Esteridge. Samuel deposited the check for \$250,000 into the “Archbishop Samuel Trust” that had been formed in Massachusetts on 7 October 1952.⁶ Mar Samuel would learn the details of Yadin’s subterfuge only three years later when Yadin published *The Message of the Scrolls*.

“The Four Dead Sea Scrolls”

Biblical Manuscripts dating back to at least 200 BC, are for sale. This would be an ideal gift to an educational or religious institution by an individual or group.

Box F 206, The Wall Street Journal.

The Wall Street Journal advertisement. Digital image courtesy James E. Trever.

After the conclusion of the agreement and transfer of the scrolls, Samuel Gottesman, a paper manufacturer in New York, donated \$150,000 towards covering the loans made for their purchase.⁷ Teddy Kollek signed a personal note with the Ministry of Finance (Treasury) of the State of Israel, after arguments with Minister Levi Eshkol over the importance of the scrolls, for the remaining \$100,000. The latter amount was never repaid, and the note, Teddy told us, was framed and for years hung on the wall in the Ministry of Finance in Jerusalem as a kind of humorous reminder of how much difficulty he had in getting the government to give him the funding originally, but how ludicrous the very idea of repayment became once the scrolls came to Israel.⁸ One interesting footnote: When the U. S. Internal Revenue Service found out about the sale they ruled that it was taxable and billed the Archbishop for \$60,813!⁹

Spring 1954

Frank Cross had now been working in the scroller for nearly a year. On 26 May 1954 he wrote to William Brownlee, summarizing the situation at that moment in Jerusalem:

Your good letter, and issues containing your article arrived while I was ill, recovering from an operation. I appreciated them very much and devoured both them and your other recent stuff. I like it very much and hope you keep it up. I'm finally back at work, and trying fiendishly to catch up enough to have infrareds of my assembled fragments to take home. I'll have 60–100 manuscripts—fragmentary in the extreme—to work over this winter before my return next May to prepare copy for final publication.

Muhammad ed-Dib, the finder of Cave 1, has been interviewed by Harding and others. I heard him in his tent deep in the Buqei'ah. We conversed with him—as far as my feeble Arabic permitted. I'm sure I don't know whether he lost a sheep or goat. He is a ...shepherd and goatherd, and I expect he is not sure now whether he lost one or the other. One of his flock ...strayed.

Milik has a mass of Serek [Rule of the Community or Manual of Discipline] manuscripts, including sources. A number of obscurities in DSD (1QS now!) prove to be textual. The sources are fantastically interesting both for their own sake, and for use in establishing principles of form and textual criticism.

I have a good deal of LXX Vorlage [Septuagint underlying text] type material in hand; a great deal of Samuel bought from Bedu; Joshua, and even Pentateuch, especially Exodus. I'm surprised at the latter, *but am beginning to be surprised at nothing*. The textual condition of 1QIsa^a happens to be especially close to MT. But great textual variety ruled at Qumran, it seems. You'll be interested in some spectacular stuff from de Vaux, Milik, and Starcky in the new *Revue Biblique*. It is a sensational issue for scroll study.

...I hope we can get together in the States before too long. There is a great deal to discuss. The scrolls will keep the biblical world upset for a long time. You and I are particularly fortunate to have the opportunity for firsthand work¹⁰

Summer or Autumn 1954

Patrick Skehan arrived in Jerusalem sometime in the summer or autumn of 1954. In an undated letter detailing the entire trip, Skehan described his arrival in the Middle East, first in Beirut, where he was met by Carl Kraeling [of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago] and his wife, and then in Jerusalem. His first impressions of the American School and Jerusalem are all positive:

The school building is fine. The people are grand Just in time for afternoon tea so meet two students of Armenian; one English, the other a Dutch Dominican. The Dominican takes me over to St. Etienne. I meet Père de

Vaux and Père Benoît amid general rejoicing ... arrange for Mass and to meet the others at the museum next morning. After dinner unpacking and to bed early for fixed routine which begins immediately on Wednesday—rise five-thirty, over to St. Etienne [École biblique] (easy five-minute stroll—about two and one-half blocks across lots) for Mass, breakfast at seven, museum open from eight to six ... home for meals and back when I feel like it, or other work and then the manuscripts. The members of the house staff ... unbeatable team. They think of everything in advance. Latest ... all's going well, climate and food fine, work is marvelous.¹¹

October 1954

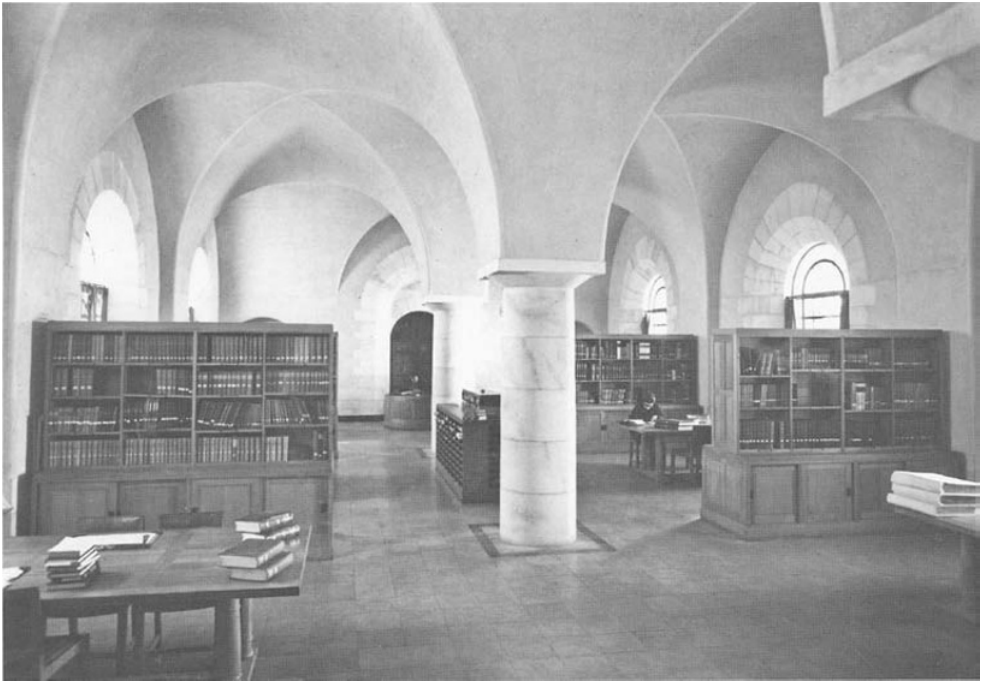
Unaware that Samuel's scrolls had already been purchased by Israel several months previously, Trever was still trying to find a buyer. One wonders how this could have happened. Why didn't Samuel tell him? Whatever the reason, Trever was still offering them for sale. During October 1954 he spoke at the Ninth Annual Congress of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce held in Mexico City. After his presentation the Chamber decided to establish a fund to buy the scrolls and donate them to the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem and to help rebuild the Syrian Orthodox school there. When Trever returned home on 31 October 1954 he prepared to write Samuel about the plan, but a letter from Burrows was waiting for him. Burrows informed him that Samuel had already sold the scrolls, but no one knew who had bought them and Samuel wasn't saying. What a crushing disappointment! Trever had worked tirelessly for six years to find a buyer, and just when he succeeded he was too late. Disappointment turned to bitterness, and he never completely recovered from the blow. Relations with Samuel were never again the same, and he gave up the battle he had been waging with Samuel since 1948 about the other fragments George Isha'ya had taken from a scroll cave (which one is uncertain) and Samuel had smuggled to the United States. Trever had consistently insisted that those should be returned to Jordan, but they never were.

3 November 1954

Patrick Skehan was also unaware that the St. Mark's scrolls had been sold to Israel. All through 1954 correspondence had continued between Skehan, Burrows, Harmon, and others concerning the publication of Skehan's collation of the St. Mark's Isaiah. In the end, the project simply died for lack of funding,¹² but at this point he was very much engaged in finishing it, and asked Harmon to send part of it to Jerusalem to help him in his work in the scrollery.¹³

13 December 1954

Meanwhile, Professor Kraeling, who had returned to Chicago after his year in Jerusalem, wrote to Harding that Cross needed financial help to get back to Jerusalem in the summer of 1955. For this purpose McCormick would put up \$500 and



Library of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum in the 1950s or 1960s. Palestinian Archaeological Museum/Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority.

Kraeling asked for Harding's agreement to designate \$750 from the Rockefeller funds for his plane fare and an additional \$150 to "get his manuscript on the three Samuel fragments checked and typed."¹⁴ Harding replied in the affirmative on 29 January 1955, telling Kraeling about another discovery, "but not from Qumran: only one scroll in this case. I hope the government [of Jordan] will acquire it, as it is the most complete since the first cave lot."¹⁵



Chapter 8

THE MOST PRODUCTIVE YEAR

1955

Nineteen fifty-five was the most productive year for scrolls research so far. Sukenik's English edition of the Hebrew University scrolls was published;¹ Burrows published his best-selling book on the scrolls; work continued at a phenomenal pace at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem; and the Copper Scroll was opened.

The first order of business at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1955 was the completion of preparations for the publication of the Cave 1 fragments. On 4 January Saad wrote to Spicer in Oxford that he would prefer to see the title page changed so that "Qumran Cave 1" is highlighted, not "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert." At this point Saad expects the series to "cover about 10 volumes."²

A new member of the Cave 4 Team, Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, was now in Jerusalem, as shown by a letter on 21 January 1955 from Saad "to whom it may concern," certifying that Hunzinger was "working on the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Palestine Archaeological Museum."³

Skehan gave a good summary of work at the time: "By now it's afternoon and I can report a good morning in the museum today. My eyes aren't that good, but I did finally place today one (made up of three) large hunk of shoe leather with an illegible scrawl obliterated from all over it as a slug of Exod. 39–40, after at least two of the others had been trying their hand at it off and on. There were other bits of words, mostly misleading, but I finally got it The Paleo-Hebrew is coming along, though very slowly; the Psalms are ugly pieces of mostly confused text, and a good many of them. So it's good I have a margin of time to spare."⁴

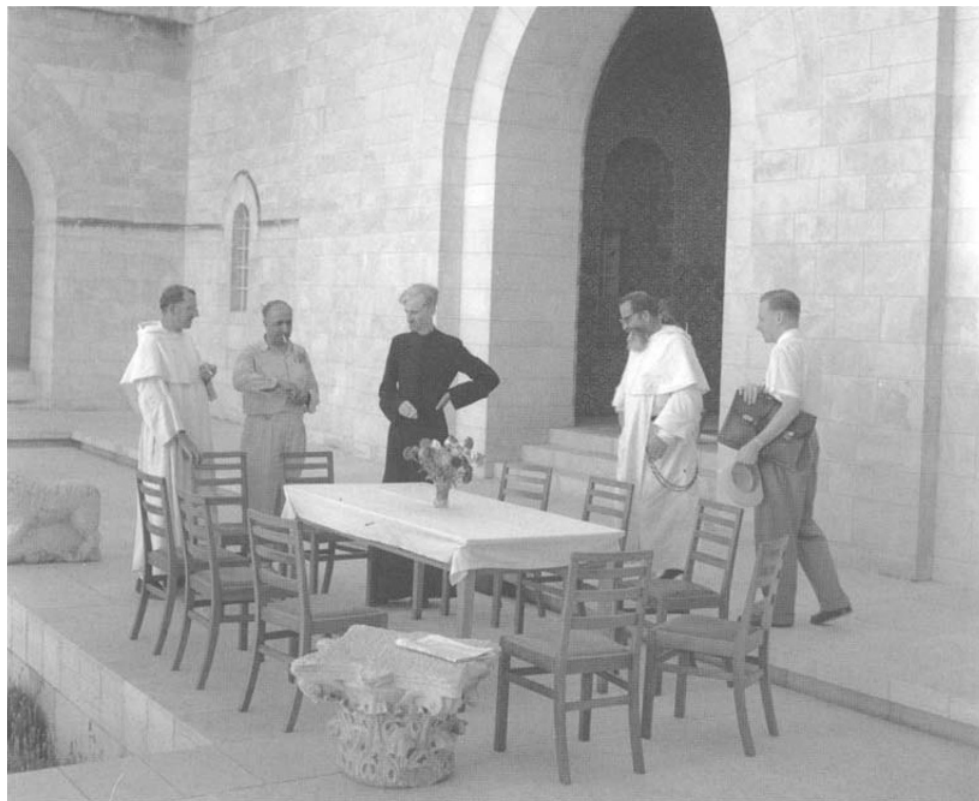
On 29 January Harding had written to Kraeling about a new discovery of one

*I pray that it really is the last;
I'm getting tired of the word
'manuscripts,' and never want to
see another as long as I live.*

—Gerald Lankester Harding

fairly large scroll.⁵ Cross thought this might be a reference to the “Hebrew Minor Prophets Scroll,” from the fifth cave near Murabba‘at.⁶

On 8 February 1955 Harding received a letter from A. Grohmann in Egypt, who planned to come to Jerusalem to work on some inscriptions at the expense of the museum. In this letter Harding remarked that he had sent Professor Grohmann “photographs of the Mird papyri and ...the inscription of Aram.”⁷ Grohmann later published 100 of the best-preserved papyri from Khirbet Mird.



L to R, Father Benoît, Yusef Saad, Father Starcky, Father de Vaux, and Claus-Hunno Hunzinger outside the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

Cave 7 was excavated between 16 and 19 February during de Vaux’s fourth campaign at Qumran. Fragments of at least five parchment manuscripts and numerous Greek papyri were found. Cave 8 was excavated between 19 and 23 February, with fragments from an additional five manuscripts. Cave 9 followed between 22 and 24 February and yielded one papyrus fragment. Cave 10 was excavated on 2 March. The only inscribed material was one potsherd.⁸

Amidst all the serious work and study there were lighter moments too. A curious commentary on the times came in the form of a letter from the National Museum Li-

brary of Prague, Czechoslovakia on 26 February 1955. Apparently, the first volume of DJD had already been announced, though it did not appear until November, for this museum, locked behind the Iron Curtain, had found out about it and wrote to the PAM to inquire whether an exchange might be possible. In exchange it offered a publication in Czech entitled “Bohemia and the Roman Empire,” with an English summary and another entitled “La Bohême Préhistorique, Vol. 1,” *L’Age de Pierre*.” This must have brought a smile to Harding’s face,⁹ but he wrote a letter of regret on 30 April, offering an exceedingly interesting, and, one could say lame, excuse: “...



Excavation at Qumran, March 1955. Courtesy Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives/Israel Antiquities Authority.

The museum much regrets that it is unable to enter into exchange arrangements for ‘*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I*,’ as it is a joint publication of several bodies [DAJ, *École biblique* and the PAM].”¹⁰

One of the duties falling to Skehan in his position at the American School was the writing of periodic reports for the school’s members and supporters back in the States. As a document written for public consumption, and written at that time, the report from February 1955 has particular historical value:

By the time this reaches the reader, there will most likely have been publicly reported *one more discovery* of interest to students of the Old Testament. At any rate, the very large workroom in the Palestine Archaeological Museum,

which contains under glass on tables, on map cases, on filing cabinets, and on shelves—atop every available flat surface—the innumerable leather and papyrus fragments from Cave 4 at Qumran has lately overflowed; and our presiding genius, the Abbé Milik, has been backed into an adjoining room to cope with a new treasure.

With this notable exception, the present (31 January) quantity of scroll materials available for study is only slightly expanded over what it was when Professor Cross reported on it in a newsletter at the end of May. Those working on the scrolls still do so in the awareness that further materials may be placed before them at almost any time; and they have a reasonably accurate estimate of the extent of the Cave 4 fragments still outside the workroom. Surprises in this direction are more likely to be the unexpected proportions in which known manuscripts will be expanded, than the identification of wholly new scrolls now.

Meanwhile, the group working on the scrolls has grown. Abbés Milik and Starcky have continued, with only a summer interlude for other pursuits. Professor Cross and Mr. Allegro went off to Chicago and Manchester respectively, well stocked with notes and photographs; and both will be back with us in the coming months to expand and round out their results. As previously noted in these letters, Mr. John Strugnell of Oxford, Dr. Claus-Hunno Hunzinger of Göttingen, and the writer, have been at work since summer or (for Dr. Hunzinger) early fall. This is perhaps the best way of measuring the materials from Cave 4 at Qumran: to those named, add Père Barthélemy¹¹ and Professor Muilenburg,¹² and this one cave has yielded enough texts to occupy from months to years the energies of all of us.

Except for parts of one (identified) scroll, every illegible fragment in the workroom which gave any suggestion of possibly containing writing has by now been brought under the camera for an infrared photograph—this in itself a long process. As a result, many a scuffed and completely blacked surface has been proved to conceal from the naked eye a familiar penmanship and lines of text that go to build up a well-known manuscript. The variety in color and state of preservation of the leather, and even in the size of the writing because of shrinkage of the material over the centuries, is cause for recurrent surprise. As the number of fragments rendered legible has grown, the number of unplaced fragments has dwindled. Sometimes, though not often, we find ourselves reading, or trying to read, the holes in the leather where a line of writing has, with time, broken through either the top surface of the leather or even the entire thickness of the manuscript, till no ink now remains. Not a very satisfactory procedure, but it has helped to place some fragments for us just the same. (One of the best stories is still about the *Milhama* [War]

manuscript from Cave 1: confronted with a photograph of that scroll, rolled up and exhibiting a torn edge, and having before him a detached fragment, Abbé Milik said, "This piece belongs just there!" and, now that the scroll is published, it does, all right ...!) It is rather a tribute to the resources of the Qumran library than an indication of slow progress in the work, if at this writing there is still a moderate residue of unplaced items. When they are of any size, we at least know in each case a couple of hundred manuscripts to which they do *not* belong.

Enough samples of the Old Testament texts from the fourth cave have by now appeared in the Bulletin [*BASOR*] (published by Professors Cross and Muilenburg, and the writer) to give some direct notion of the condition and of the nature of these biblical materials. All the books of the Hebrew canon are by now represented, with the probable exception of Esther (where the identification hinges on one small, isolated fragment). Of Chronicles, which was late in turning up, there are now bits of two distinct manuscripts. The Paleo-Hebrew materials, on which the writer has been working some of the time, contain two distinct recensions of Exodus; Genesis is represented, and Deuteronomy at least twice, but not Leviticus [in Paleo-Hebrew] (by contrast with Cave 1),¹³ or Numbers. There are a few Paleo-Hebrew fragments which suggest Joshua; and Job, of all books, is quite certainly present in several fragments in the old script!

Of texts outside the Hebrew canon, the additions to Daniel have not turned up at Qumran (though there are nonbiblical bits about Daniel); neither have Judith, Baruch, or Maccabees. Sirach is not found in Cave 4, but is known from one of the smaller hoards of text from elsewhere. Texts of Tobit, Jubilees, Enoch, have been previously mentioned; each occurs in more than one copy, as do other, less familiar, pseudepigraphs, and several different documents of the Qumran sect. In Aramaic, which comprises a small part of the whole, there are about 60 different manuscripts represented. Of the documents lately published from the scrolls of the Hebrew University (Hodayot, Milhamah [Thanksgiving Scroll and War Scroll]), there are present fragments of multiple copies and varying recensions; with a quite limited amount of direct duplication. Two types of material of a rather novel character are paraphrases or reworking of the biblical text, especially in the Pentateuch; and, "pseudo-prophetic" texts, with a strong flavoring of the language of the canonical prophets, and centered around the person of at least one of these.

The excavation of the Qumran settlement is being resumed by Père de Vaux and G. L. Harding, in a joint undertaking of the École biblique and the museum, this beginning of February; for a month last fall, the Jordan

Department of Antiquities carried on work of a preservative nature there. In February, too, the volume of reports on the excavation of Cave 1 and the earliest undertakings at Qumran proper, accompanied by an edition of the various biblical and extrabiblical materials from the first cave which supplement the scrolls published by the ASOR and by the Hebrew University, is to be released by the Clarendon Press—called *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, and edited by Père Barthélemy and Abbé Milik. *The program of future publication calls for early issuance of the Murabba'at materials (edited by Abbé Milik), and of the biblical materials from Cave 4 (edited by Professor Cross and the writer); the nonbiblical texts from Cave 4 will require a longer period of study and preparation, and the smaller hoards of manuscript found or to be found in other caves or places will be published as opportunity affords.*

The much-mooted question of dating receives always the same response over here; none of those working on these materials, especially after seeing the Murabba'at texts as well, has the notion that any of the manuscripts of Qumran is to be dated after AD 70; and some of the more recent haphazard discussions of the question have been greeted here with mild amazement.¹⁴

While the Cave 4 Team was busy on the Jordanian side, the St. Mark's scrolls, purchased in New York during June 1954 from the Metropolitan Samuel, were shipped by air back to Israel on separate flights. On 13 February 1955, Professor Yigael Yadin announced to the world that the scrolls were now in Israel, united¹⁵ with those purchased by his father some years before. These scrolls are usually on display in the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem, except Isaiah^a, which is now sometimes partly displayed. A facsimile of Isaiah^a is the centerpiece display in the shrine. By now Professor Yadin's father, Professor E. L. Sukenik, had passed away. His volume containing the "Hebrew University" manuscripts from Cave 1, Isaiah^b, Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms), and the War Scroll was published posthumously during 1955, eight years after he purchased them at the end of 1947.¹⁶

Cross wrote to Brownlee the same day the announcement was made. Among the matters he discussed are two of interest, including the non-Qumranic "fairly complete scroll" Harding has already spoken of, and his reaction to Yadin's announcement the same day:

I understand *via* an elaborate grapevine that a new, fairly complete scroll has turned up, unrelated to the Qumran materials. I know no more, neither provenience, content, or date. But things haven't quieted down yet. You know, of course, of Israel's purchase of the 1Q stuff. This will cause a major explosion in Jordan. Bitterness is already so high in this connection, and this is the crowning insult.¹⁷

Brownlee himself had something to say on the subject as well in his unpublished book, *Phenomenal Discoveries*.

The story of the scrolls discovered by the Bedouin in the first scroll cave has now run a complete circle. Though they escaped the grasp of E. L. Sukenik in 1948, they were skillfully drawn into the trap laid by his son Yigael Yadin in 1954, and were thus returned to Israel. Their removal from Palestine for safety exposed them to the peril of surreptitious purchase by Israel—despite the intentions of Metropolitan Samuel to the contrary. Thus, Jordan’s sadly regretted loss became Israel’s proud heritage, as Jacob supplanted Esau in the possession of the scrolls. There is a certain poetic justice in this, if (as has been claimed), the Syrians [Mar Samuel] in early February 1948 had promised to give Hebrew University the first opportunity to purchase the documents after peace was established and the monetary value of the rolls was determined.¹⁸

On 27 February Skehan wrote Lou Harmon that he had gone over to the École to visit Milik and Starcky, in order to get a look at the Murabba’at materials (Milik) and scroll fragments from Caves 2, 3, and 6 materials (being prepared by Baillet). So, at that point all those materials were being kept at the École. He said of Milik’s texts, “His eighth[BC] century Paleo-Hebrew papyrus is real. Not big, but good. His cursives are very nearly unbelievable ... all kinds of fantastic stuff.”¹⁹ This demonstrates that not all the materials were always kept in the museum. To this may be added the report of Father Van der Ploeg, who recalled visiting Beirut sometime in the 1960s when Father Starcky and Father Milik were living and working there. He reported seeing fragments of the scrolls they had brought with them from Palestine to Beirut, written in an alphabet he could not decipher, now known as the “cryptic script.”²⁰ This shows that even after leaving Jerusalem Starcky and Milik continued their work on the scrolls, but I suspect that Starcky and Milik, in fact, had with them photographs, not fragments.

Upon learning of the purchase, Skehan, still working at the scrollery in East Jerusalem made reference to it in one of his letters: “Much amused about Mr. Gottesman. My only regret is it didn’t cost him more.”²¹ In the same letter he noted: “De Vaux has been finding multiple burials of the picked-clean bones of single animals in brand-new pottery vessels (dish and cover, or the like) at Qumran. This is private information, not to be given out. I just thought y’all would like to puzzle over it.”²²

The Clarendon Press (OUP) sent the first advance copy of DJD 1 on 5 April 1955, noting that according to the agreement there would be a further 11 copies made available to the museum for distribution by the authors (Milik and Barthélemy) and the museum itself. Further copies could be bought at one-third discount,

“author’s rates.”²³ The same day Spicer wrote to Harding from Oxford, saying “The advance copy of *Discoveries* Vol I is going off to you today by air. I do very much hope that you and the editors will like its appearance, and feel consoled for the length of time it has taken in the printing. We shall publish on both sides of the Atlantic simultaneously on 26 May, at a price of £6.3. With best wishes, how goes Vol. 2?”²⁴ As so often happened in those days, Harding had written a letter which crossed Spicer’s in the mail: “We are becoming very anxious for news of our publication, as you had said previously that advance copies would be with us in January . . .”²⁵



Najib Albina working in his studio at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, March 1961. Palestine Archaeological Museum Archives/Israel Antiquities Authority.

By 28 April the first copy of DJD 1 had reached Harding and he replied to Spicer that it was an “excellent production, well up to Oxford University Press standards.” He sent Spicer part of the agreed subvention and promised that the balance would follow shortly. Then he added a further cryptic remark: “The manuscript of Vol. 2 is almost ready, but has been delayed a bit by a new discovery which would have to be included in it. I will keep you informed as to progress I’m sure you will need a reprint in a very short time”²⁶

This letter is important in showing that it was Harding, not de Vaux who was ultimately in charge of DJD, though he was writing this letter not in his capacity of director of the DAJ, but as curator of the PAM. But more important, to what was he referring as a “new discovery” that would have to be included in the second volume?

As we remarked above, there is no new discovery or purchase recorded in the Scrolls Ledger or noted on any PAM or DAJ receipts for the winter and early spring of 1955. The new discovery was probably the Hebrew Minor Prophets Scroll.

The work on the Cave 4 materials continued apace during 1955, but Allegro's attention during the later part of the year was turned almost entirely to the Copper Scroll, as shown by his letters to Harding below.

From this early letter of Strugnell to Allegro one is made to understand both the difficulty of getting speedy and accurate photographs as well as the process of taking pieces from one reconstructed "plate" to another as joins and relationships among the fragments were recognized. Other attitudes toward Israelis speak for themselves. It is noteworthy that the return address is "Jerusalem, via Amman, HKJ [Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan], but only the month and day are given on the letter, Strugnell characteristically leaving off part (and many times all) of the date. One can see from the postscript of the letter that already at that very early date there was a fear that after the Cave 4 Team had done all the work of reconstructing the manuscripts, someone else would come along and get the credit for publishing them.

Strugnell's handwritten letters are not always easy to decipher: He does not cross half of his t's, his punctuation is erratic, he seldom dates his letters, and the lettering itself is obscure. And he is always in a hurry. Often letters start out with an initial, "In haste," or some such. But the letters are replete with valuable information, and he is the one who is totally absorbed by the scrolls, who at this very early stage is already emerging as the one who is immersed, who has gotten to know the full breadth of the scrolls by heart, and who is constantly rearranging plates according to this or that join or relationship he thinks about or comes across.

He wrote to Allegro sometime in 1955, probably September:²⁷

Your photographs have at last been done and sent to you. Albina has been incredibly slow, but I think you will find it a good job Here life proceeds slowly, but quite satisfactorily. I am at the moment getting all my material photographed and in a tidy form, you will rejoice to hear, and at the same time still pulling a lot of material off the unidentified plates, including, unfortunately, a lot of biblical stuff which Frank didn't have time to remove. There is, needless to say, no one else working in the museum, Milik being still on holiday, Skehan conducting the American School all over Asia Minor, and Hunzinger has put in only two appearances in the last month—to get photographs of his material! Needless to say I got browned off. I had arranged a holiday down in Petra with Diana Kirkbride, and then like a fool accepted an invitation to give a public lecture on the scrolls in Jerusalem right in the middle of my holiday. I am afraid I have little news; I haven't heard a word from Cross or Milik since they left, de Vaux is still on holiday, and Harding, if he is back, at least hasn't

yet appeared in Jerusalem. Apparently the Jew who is preparing the full-scale commentary on the Hodayot has signed a contract with the Mosad Bialiq [the Bialik Institute] which means not only that it will appear in Hebrew, but also that he promises *not to allow* a translation into any other language. That sort of parochial obscurantism makes me sick.

I wonder whether you could do me a favor: your colleague Wallenstein has just published some *Geniza piyyutim*, and I wonder whether you could buy for me a copy and send it out here. I think it costs a pound. I will send you the money the next time that I arrange a transfer of money to England, but the complications of that process are so great that I only do it once or twice a year, [so as to] kill as many birds as possible with one stone P. S. Did you notice that in the photograph in the *London News* there was an awful lot of unpublished Peshar [manuscript] clearly legible? I wonder what fool will try to produce a first edition.²⁸

He wrote again a few weeks later:

Engaged in getting my correspondence in order before departing for Petra for a few days, I dash off these five lines to you ... The Peshar Isaiah stuff is rather disappointing except for a few points. It seemed to be mainly quotation and not enough Peshar ... [There is] another small fragment you must abandon, I fear. It belongs to one of Cross' manuscripts of Numbers. It is on your plate of small fragments [that are] doubtful, associated with your Peshar Psalms There are only two lines, and about four fragmentary words, so I doubt if you will weep overmuch.

Have just sent off final proof of the English translation of Milik's book, which should be out at the start of the year, in the SCM series "Studies in Biblical Theology." Some of the things in it are important and new. Unfortunately, it costs about five times what Penguin does, although [it is] no longer.²⁹

Shortly afterward, Allegro wrote to inform Harding that the university had granted him leave, beginning 4 June 1955, and that he would arrive in Jerusalem shortly after that. He asked Harding to send a check to cover the airfare and to provide information about how much would be available for his living expenses. He informed Harding that the "Aramaic dialects trip is off," and so he would spend three months in the scrollery.³⁰ Notice that Allegro was still answering to Harding at this point, not de Vaux, and it was Harding who was handling the financial arrangements for the Cave 4 Team, though de Vaux was certainly kept informed.³¹

Allegro began the process of trying to find someone to open the Copper Scroll who was both willing and capable. He started with Professor Thompson of the Met-

allurgical Department at the University of Manchester. In the meantime he continued to make plans for his departure. His total expenses for the round-trip to Jerusalem would be £136.11, and he expected to be able to live at St. George's (just down the street from the École) for about JD 40–50 per month.³²

A few days later, 23 May, Allegro reported on a meeting at the School of Technology (associated with the University of Manchester) regarding the Copper Scroll: "He and the departmental professor he called in, are not only willing to help, but are enthusiastic." The initial plan was to coat the outside of the scroll with an adhesive and try either to pull them apart or cut them. He hoped Harding would be able to bring at least one part when he came to England in early July (though Allegro would be in Jerusalem by then). Then he made a promise that he later found difficult to keep. In fact, he later broke this written promise.

In addition I should make it clear, lest there be any heart palpitations on the part of my colleagues there, that anything I am able to do towards the unrolling of these things, I do merely for the sake of getting them open,



Father Jordain-Marie Rousée, secretary for Father de Vaux during the excavations at Qumran 1950–55, and originator of the famous École biblique Library catalogue. In Argentan, Normandy, France, 24 March 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.

*not an attempt to further any personal claims on their editing and publication. I hope I may be allowed to cooperate in this if they are brought to Manchester, but shall quite understand if that part of the business should fall quite rightly to yourself, de Vaux, or Milik³³ exclusively. But you can count on me for any mechanical assistance that may be required without reference to later publication. I hope to see you soon (I arrive 9 June).*³⁴

By 31 May Allegro was able to tell Harding that Dr. Bowden had said it was almost certain the copper scrolls could be unrolled.³⁵

Very early Allegro had the idea to test some of the skins on which the scrolls were written. One of the questions that needed to be answered was whether the skins had been leather (that is, *tanned* by means of some chemical agent such as vegetable tannin, chromium salts, fish oils, or formaldehyde) or parchment (that is, *dried and scraped*). For this purpose Harding sent some pieces to Allegro in England, presumably, uninscribed pieces. It turned out that most or all of the scrolls were written on parchment, not leather, even though “leather” has often been the term used to describe them. Whether the pieces were destroyed in the process, kept by someone in England, or returned to Jordan I have nowhere seen mentioned.³⁶

Harding, as he and others have said, was based in Amman, where the Department of Antiquities had its main office, but he traveled back and forth to Jerusalem (a trip of about one hour today, not counting the time to pass the border). During periods when excavations were taking place in Qumran, he would stop there, often on the weekends.³⁷

The following letter reflects his going back and forth. In this period Harding was still referring to the Copper Scroll(s) as the “bronze scrolls.” By May 1955 Harding had despaired of getting the Copper Scroll opened in the United States and began exploring with Allegro the possibility of opening it at Manchester.

Thanks for yours of 3 May: I will send you a cheque from Jerusalem when I go there on Friday, and also let you know the answer to your other question.

Sorry the Aramaic trip is off, but as you say, it will give you longer on the scrolls. You mentioned in an earlier letter the possibility of Manchester handling the bronze rolls, and I should be interested to hear more of that suggestion. American prospects don't seem to be any good and the BM [British Museum] has always been lukewarm in the matter. I might bring one of them back with me in July.

I fear you'll have to take your copy of Qumran [volume] 1 here, as they are already ordered and on their way³⁸

Now Allegro began to make arrangements for opening (cutting) the Copper Scroll, a feat for which he deserved more credit than he was given. The facilitation of

this project was a momentous contribution to scrolls scholarship. Allegro's handling of the transcription and translation was something else, but should not diminish the service he provided in getting the scrolls cut apart. He wrote a letter to Mr. A. Scholes, supervising engineer of the grinding laboratory, the Carborundum Company, Ltd.

To enable you to understand the problem of cutting the copper plates a bit better, about which I spoke on the telephone this afternoon, I am enclosing some photographs taken in the museum in Jerusalem. You will see at once that my offhand estimate of the thickness of the oxidised metal was way out, the end-views being near enough natural size; it is nearer $1/16$ than $1/8$ [inch thick], or probably less. The photographs do not, perhaps, give a true rendering of the state of the metal now, after 2,000 years in a cave by the Dead Sea. The whole thing is very fragile and crumbles at a touch—hence the difficulty. But it seems to me, knowing nothing of the technicalities of the business, that if the outside at least were sufficiently coated with a celluloid solution or the like to hold the metal together, cutting with a very fine, high-speed wheel ought to do the trick. Once the rolls have been cut into strips (width depending, of course, on our ability to lift the slices clear without breaking them) we can then lay them out in their approximate positions and read the inscription—the object of the exercise. The Hebrew writing, as you can probably see from the photographs, has been heavily indented from the inner side.

I must repeat that this enquiry is in the nature of a preliminary investigation, and that the decision whether to allow them to be treated here depends upon the Jordan government, as advised by my colleague,³⁹ the director of Antiquities, Mr. Lankester Harding, to whom I shall convey your opinion.⁴⁰

Scholes replied immediately, but with little optimism:

Further to our telephone conversation of 23 May, 1955 we regret we are unable to help you any further in this matter, since our laboratory cut-off equipment is not suitable for this particular operation.

If, however, you find an engineering firm with suitable equipment, we would recommend a thin slitting wheel for cutting these oxidised copper plates, provided we know the type of machine, spindle speed etc.

In the opinion of the writer, some holding medium will have to be employed to strengthen the material during cutting, perhaps a very low melting point alloy would be suitable.

We hope you are successful in this investigation, and enclose your very interesting photographs.⁴¹

A few days later, 27 May 1955, he got a different kind of reply from Professor Bowden:

Thank you very much for the pictures of the copper scrolls. It appears to me that it is almost certain to be possible to unwind them. However, we can guarantee nothing at this stage, and all we can do is to promise our help, which we very gladly do.⁴²

Back in Jerusalem de Vaux was dealing with many other matters. A letter to Kraeling 18 June, 1955, gave a glimpse into the part the Rockefeller money was playing in the publication of the scrolls:

I have the great pleasure of sending you ...one copy of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, I: Qumran Cave 1 and I would be most grateful to you if you would be so kind as to present [it] to Mr. Rockefeller on behalf of the board of trustees, to show progress on the work of the museum which he has so generously made possible.

This first volume deals with the material found in the excavation of Cave 1. We hope Mr. Rockefeller will accept it as a small token of our gratitude to him for all his generosity to us, and that he may find it of some interest.

Also to you we tender our deep gratitude for all you do for us and for your interest in our affairs.⁴³

At Manchester, relations between Allegro and Professor Rowley were still good at this stage, as seen in this report of Allegro to him from Jerusalem:

Thank you very much for the ...pamphlet on the scrolls. I was proud to see myself looking out from the centre pages, although, in fact, I was staring at some fragments upside down!⁴⁴

By the middle of the next week, one of the copper strips from the Third Cave should be in Manchester, bound for the College of Technology. Harding was up [to Jerusalem from Amman] today with the news that the long awaited permission from the Jordan government has been granted, and he is bringing one with him when he leaves for UK on Tuesday. The rest of the team, apart from Strugnell (whom I told) know nothing about it yet, and I await with apprehension the reactions of our American colleagues!

Dr. Bowden is being asked to maintain strict security on the strip during its sojourn in the laboratories, and only you and I will be allowed in, apart from his technicians. We have no idea about how long the unrolling or cutting will take, but Harding is leaving England after a short stay, and the idea

is that I shall then be able to keep a daily watch on the process when I am back in Manchester. If reaction from Bowden and his colleagues seems favourable when they see the first strip, the second will follow.

My soundings on the attitude of Professor Thompson were unfavourable and I did not proceed any further in that direction, especially as Bowden's reaction was very enthusiastic.

I am very pleased that my negotiations are coming to a fruitful conclusion in this business, and I think Manchester can feel proud once again to be taking the lead in the scrolls.

On the matter of publicity, Harding is to going to talk with his minister in Amman, but my own feeling is that perhaps it would be as well to wait until we see what happens in Manchester when the first strip arrives for inspection by Bowden and his associates. But whatever happens, it would perhaps be as well to treat this as confidential until some public announcement can be made.

All goes well here, though in the nature of things, more and more slowly. Last weekend I went with a party to see the Amman Dramatic Society perform "Julius Caesar" at Jerash, amid those wonderful ruins. It was really very good, and the atmosphere terrific! Lankester Harding, prowling around saying, "Beware the Ides of March," clad in a long purple cloak and white whiskers has to be seen to be believed.⁴⁵

Joseph Green entered the scrolls scene again in the middle of 1955. He had read Edmund Wilson's *New Yorker* article of 14 May and found it annoying, especially his "Zionist bias." The article stated that de Vaux needed only \$15,000 more to buy all the outstanding scroll fragments and Green wondered whether this was correct (it was certainly not) and whether Harding could use a smaller amount!⁴⁶

Now Rowley replied to Allegro's letter from Jerusalem, but he was not happy! Nevertheless, he was still on friendly terms (though not for very much longer):

Thank you for your letter. I had heard the day before that one of the copper scrolls was on its way to Manchester, but was not prepared for the news your letter brings that it is going to Tech. I am a little bit shattered by this, as well as apprehensive. I am sure they have not so good a team for this job at Tech as University could put up. Although Thompson was very cautious I think that was all to the good, and I think that if the scroll had come to the University he would not have declined it, though he is not optimistic about the possibility of unrolling it.

It is now probable that we shall have one first-year honours student next year, so I may have a bit of Syriac for you to do with him.

My wife flew to Sweden on Wednesday night, and I am left alone for four days. I am inquiring into the possibility of getting a divorce, on the grounds

of desertion, but most people think four days might be regarded as a little below normal for this purpose and I am advised to save my money.⁴⁷

Allegro replied (from St. George's in Jerusalem) that he would be delighted to have a Syriac student, but hoped his Hebrew and textual criticism classes were still scheduled.

He then detailed his reasons for choosing "Tech" instead of the university for opening the Copper Scroll:

I am inclined to think that the more practical approach favoured by the School of Technology will prove of more use in the job of opening the copper strips than the University's theoretical approach, especially since the task is more mechanical than metallurgical. I am strongly averse to any chemical treatment being given to the metal, since I believe this is too dangerous to risk. If they cannot be prised open they must be cut. At least that is my opinion, and it is shared, I believe, by Mr. Harding, and certainly by the technicians.

There is, however, more to the business than mere professional competence. However good a team Thompson could have mustered, it would not compensate for his own very lukewarm attitude to the job. It was not, when I spoke to him, so much a feeling of pessimism about being able to do the opening, so much as a decided unwillingness to spend very much time and energy over it. He was not inclined even to spare time to speak to me about it in a personal interview, and made no enquiries from me of the details of the problem which might have evinced some real interest in the task. I decided therefore as I put down the telephone receiver that there could be no question of my recommending his department as a suitable place of the processing. Quite to the contrary was my reception at the School of Technology, where Dr. Bowden was not only extraordinarily interested in the copper strips and their background but went to some trouble there and then to call together his technicians to examine the problem. Their confidence in being able to tackle the job in one way or the other was impressive for their obvious determination to get down to the job as soon as possible and spare no pains until it is done. This, for a task which may take months of very patient work, was much more what I wanted to see, and I had therefore no hesitation in recommending the Jordan Department of Antiquities through Harding to send the strips to the school.

I can assure you that such a task as this requires more than just a willingness not to "decline it," which is all apparently we could have expected from Thompson.

*Harding was delayed in Amman for a week by other urgent business to do with the scrolls, but should be leaving tomorrow.*⁴⁸

I hope you won't starve during your temporary "estrangement," and that Mrs. Rowley has a really good holiday. It's not you who has to worry about a divorce; rather me, but it now looks certain that I must spend at least another summer out here on these fragments, although I shall leave it right to the end, say in two years' time.

The argument on the dating of the formative years of the sect is now over, thanks to my Peshet Nahum. Another reference in that column clinches the matter.⁴⁹

An invoice for the purchase of DJD 1, 13 July 1955, shows who was considered part of the Cave 4 Team at the time: Skehan, Allegro, Hunzinger, Starcky, Strugnell, and Cross. Strangely, Milik is missing from the list. The cost of one volume with the 33% reduction was JD 2.10, or about \$6.⁵⁰

One of the most interesting documents to have survived from the summer of 1955 is a letter written by Skehan on 26 July:

Today a bit of Job ch. 14 in Paleo-Hebrew letters. I'm sure it doesn't mean a thing, but it's the first non-Pentateuchal stuff ... *so wie ich weiss* [so far as I know] The enclosed [photo] is for the general amazement. The guy at the far end is John Strugnell, a young pupil of Driver's toward the back wall, and John Allegro from Manchester, England. He leaves for home this week. Starcky, Milik, both gone; de Vaux digging at Tell-el-Far'ah; Harding in Amman; Barthélemy not *too* well and remaining in France for an indefinite time yet.

One table crosswise at end of room toward photographer is completely out of this; the other nearer ones are shortened. Behind bookshelves at arched rear wall is door to smaller workroom adding 10 feet and some more glass plates of stuff. The cases at the wall behind us are also covered with plates of stuff, as is the shelf along the side of the book partition. The bump on a middle table is my Mandelkern, but a few of the biblical manuscripts are stacked like waffles, four or five plates for a very few of them. The whole thing is Qumran Cave 4 *only*. Murabba'at and Khirbet Mird (the latter much later) are *in* the cases, which contain also the museum's usual supply of maps, etc. Qumran 4 is by far the biggest lot. Page proofs for Qumran 1 are around, and copies of the plates. It should be out whenever Oxford U Press can shake itself loose.

Am enjoying the whole deal immensely and couldn't be better Have had *sample* page proof from Burrows on DSIa⁵¹

The letter Harding wrote to Spicer several months before on 28 April never reached him. So on 8 August Spicer wrote, "I am disappointed not to have heard from you since publication of *Qumran Cave 1*, and wonder if any letter of yours can

have gone astray. At least I hope there is no dissatisfaction at your end. You may like to know that up to the end of June we had sold 655 copies, which I think is a very encouraging start⁵² By 12 September 1,000 copies had been sold out of the 1,250 printed and Spicer was planning a reprint and asked for corrections.⁵³ Harding, however, did not get Spicer's letter until six weeks later because both he and de Vaux were out of the country. When he did get it, 26 October 1955, he replied by telegram, thinking the reprint might already be underway: "Several corrections for reprint stop can you hold stop writing."⁵⁴

With such a success on their hands, Harding asked Spicer if OUP would reconsider the further £160 subvention the museum was to pay. He asked Spicer to bring this up to the delegates of OUP.⁵⁵

It wasn't long before DJD was reviewed. One of the early reviews was in the London *Times Literary Supplement* of 9 September 1955. Generally glowing, it pointed out only a few mistakes found here and there. The reviewer ended with a most prescient paragraph:

Here is material that will keep Hebraists and theological scholars busy for many a decade All this should help to reinvigorate biblical studies and to substitute for worn themes a fresh approach based upon so many new and priceless documents.⁵⁶

Another review, this time by G. R. Driver, appeared shortly afterward, during October 1955 in the *Hibbert Journal*. Driver's analysis was glowing, superlative, and he downplayed his differences with the editors over dating. He found the most interesting part of the archaeological discussion to be the three kinds of linen in which the scrolls were wrapped: plainly woven, woven with a geometrical design usually in blue thread, and woven with a pattern embroidered on it. These three corresponded with the three classes of craftsmen (plain-weaver, pattern-weaver, and embroiderer) which Exodus lists as engaged in the making of the priestly vestments.⁵⁷

It did not take Allegro long to get busy with opening the Copper Scroll once he had returned to England. On 5 October he sent a report back to Harding:

Another very brief report. Last night we made the last cuts in the scroll, and it is now open. Next the sections have to be strengthened and cleaned for reading. The first section we mounted in plaster, which certainly strengthened it nicely for *cleaning*, but made the whole affair rather cumbersome. So we took the plaster off and are going to coat several layers of Perspex on the back of each in addition to Araldite [a strong epoxy resin best known as a glue] already put on before cutting. This should give it strength enough for the considerable handling it requires for reading, for the thing has to be held

to the light at the right angle to see clearly, rather like reading cuneiform. But the cutting of the letters in most places is remarkably sharp, though here and there I fancy the inner surface has gone leaving only indenting rather than the marks of the graving tool.

These are, however, only preliminary observations. I have read one section, and I should say that it contains some sort of building instructions, but the reading is difficult without more context, and I must wait until I have seen the other pieces before saying definitely.

The writing is not so neat and regular as casual observation from the outside might have led one to expect. Clearly this man had not engraved copper strips often before, but it will, I think, prove paleographically interesting, for he has had to make each “pen” stroke very deliberately and the way he forms his letters is interesting.

The operation has been remarkably successful. Only in the case of one section was there any serious cracking, and that has been so well defined that putting the two or three pieces together again has been very simple. There has been no shattering, largely due, I expect, to the Araldite bonding, but also the material is remarkably hard, and I



Wright Baker slicing the layers off the Copper Scroll. ©John Allegro. Courtesy University of Manchester Library.

I think the metal is still there in some places. The great thing has been, however, the extreme delicacy with which Wright Baker, who has done all the work himself—aided only here and there in mechanical jobs by myself, though I have been present at all but the first cut—has handled the scroll. The machine he had built has cut without putting any real pressure on the scroll, and the cut is only a few thousandths of an inch thick.

The embassy official (Mahmoud?) has shown much interest, and in a letter received yesterday says that he has contacted his government with the news of speedy progress, and asked if you were to come to see the final opening. Well, of course, it is too late for that now, but I do hope you will find it possible to come with the other scroll. You could then stay here for the week



or so it would take to cut it up, barring more difficulties than we have met so far, and we could have a nice publicity campaign on the last stages⁵⁸

The unbridled excitement associated with the opening and first reading of the Copper Scroll as shown in this letter speaks for itself. Nine days later, Allegro could hardly contain himself. The following letter amply demonstrated not only his general state of mind, but also the growing elitist paranoia that eventually spread far beyond John Allegro:

Well, we've got something here alright. When I tell you that on a first survey it looks as though Brother Kuhn [in Germany] was dead right, you'll know that these copper scrolls are red hot. Somewhere in that pile down at Qumran there is, or was, 300 talents of gold buried, to say nothing of any number of deposits of silver. Furthermore, somewhere down there is the grave of Zadok

Copper Scrolls photos on opposite page: (top) John Allegro with the newly cut pieces of the Copper Scroll in Manchester, 1955. (middle left) The Copper Scroll as it was found in 1952. (middle right) Father Emile Puech in the Library of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem with one of the three plates of the Copper Scroll facsimile produced in Paris in 1996–1997. (bottom) John Allegro examining the Copper Scroll before it was sliced apart, probably about 1953 or 1954 in Jerusalem. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Estate of John Allegro / Photo middle right © A. Schick .

himself, to say nothing of his private “garden.” Woe is me for my chronology, already upset by a reference to “the priest” in the last line of this blasted Nahum pesher.

Next time you're down at Qumran, take a spade and dig like mad by the

air-hole of “the iron-smelting furnace,” just “where one places the ‘valley’ (pig?)”[in the sense of a mass of metal cast into a simple shape for ease of storage or transportation]—there should be nine of something there.

So your three pots of silver coins fall into place, and are merely three of dozens and dozens. I can hardly sleep at nights. For goodness sake send, or much better, bring that other scroll; we can hardly wait till it arrives, and it will be cut in a week of its appearing.

We have got a full-time paid assistant, a young arts graduate from Bristol, appointed by the governors of the Tech., with an upper limit of two years! She is here simply to attend to the copper scrolls; can you beat it!

The rooms of the settlement are named—“a house of meditation,” “a dormitory.” The watchtower appears, and seems to have been a favourite place for hiding treasure in or around it. You boys haven't started on that wretched site yet.

So much for the general idea, but all this is provisional. The reading is difficult, not because the writing is not clear—it is beautifully preserved—

but the language is late Hebrew and many technical terms appear which are not in the dictionaries. Furthermore, all the letters are run together and division of doubtful words takes some time. However, it's coming along, and I am pretty certain of the gist. Each paragraph begins "In the house, or compartment, or the like, describing its whereabouts, sometimes to the north or west, and then ending with the numerals and the metal, silver or gold. I have only deciphered two or three columns of this scroll so far, cleaning only finished today, and some words have to be cleaned still further as I progress. There are four columns altogether here, so you should have seven or eight on the scroll still in Quds [the Muslim name for Jerusalem]. What fun, and I hereby make my reservation on the treasure-hunting party for next spring.

Naturally, this increases enormously the need for absolute security. One whisper that there's real treasure awaiting the digger at Qumran, and the Bedu would be down there in a flash and turn the whole joint upside down. Nothing will leak here, and I shall plaster the outside of this letter with "Personal" and whatnot. I respectfully suggest a very limited circulation of the news on your end, and cannot help feeling that the treasure hunt itself will need to be carried out without hired labour. I shall leave you to break the news to the scroller gang when you see fit.

I am pressing on with the transcription and translation and will let you have them as soon as possible, but I would sooner give them to you personally than send them to Jordan, and ask you again if at all possible to bring the other thing [the second part of the Copper Scroll] yourself just as soon as possible. What shall I tell the ambassador, who has had (mercifully) to postpone his visit to see them on account of a royal visit to England?

Wright Baker sent you some photographs of the scroll partway through unrolling today. We shall shortly start the detailed photographs of the inside for pasting together into one continuous picture of the whole text.⁵⁹

Two days later, having thought of little else day and night, one can imagine, Allegro fired off another letter to Harding:

Another snippet, if you can manage a private exploratory dig. If I remember rightly, you found the three juglets of silver [in his previous letter, "gold"] coins by the gate. You will be glad to know that these are, as we rather thought, the silver offering of Atonement (Exod. 30:15), but even gladder that those three are only a part of a cache of 10, and with that lot there are, or should be, 300 talents of gold! *You can retire in comfort, but I want half.* The only direction it gives in this case is "the gate" (*petah*). Can this *kikkarim* really

mean another sort of “talent,” for a talent apparently equals 3,000 shekels, something over 26kg (approximately 57 pounds)! Anyway, *kikkarim m’ôth zâhâbh* (?) [100 talents of gold] is what it reads.

Another interesting and clear direction is to the *bêth maya’* [“house of water”]! In the toilet (*bêth ham-mayim*) ...under the “gutter” (*šôqeth* = thought [to be] a grooved stone to carry off the overflow), and a number of unspecified objects.

All for now; the work continues. Some of the readings are very puzzling, using technical terms which take some working out.⁶⁰

Harding’s reply to these two letters was almost comical:

Many thanks for your two letters, which arrived together this morning. Needless to say I opened the second one first, and thought you had gone slightly round the bend, but when I read the first—well!!! As you say, top secret and all that; I shall only pass it on to a very limited number of people here, de Vaux being, of course, the first. But I’m not saying anything officially yet! I shall, however, now press for the second to go, and shall try to get them to send Mohammed with it; he is 100% reliable. It’s really impossible for me to come myself. I don’t think there is any danger in sending me the complete transcription and translation, addressed to me personally and registered. And how I’m itching to know what it all is!

Regarding ambassador, I should tell him that so far as you can see at present it appears to be a list of goods of some kind belonging to the monastery, but that as the reading is extremely difficult you’re far from sure of the exact meaning of most of it yet. Which seems not far from the truth! Always assuming that he makes any enquiries; he’ll probably forget all about it soon.

I’m not, of course, kidding myself that there’s likely to be any of the stuff left now. The talk of the tower explains why the lowest floor levels there were dug into in such strange ways. Most probably Bar Kokhba stumbled on something when he was hiding there, and got away with everything in that place at least. It will be interesting trying to identify the various rooms referred to; no doubt it will go a long way towards explaining the somewhat curious layout of the place.

Unfortunately I’ve been confined to the house for the last five days with a bloody fever, so taking up the question of no. 2 must wait a day or two, I fear. But I will try and prod the government into taking quick action; trouble is I can’t trust any one of them enough to tell what you have told me. I shall deny ever having heard from you if they accuse me of hiding things in the future, and you have your cover in that you didn’t want to commit yourself

until you were quite sure. Silly and childish, but then they are. Needless to say, this is *not* an official letter!!⁶¹

The excitement continued to mount, and Allegro wrote again:

It is now becoming clear that this scroll is an inventory of all the possessions of the community, not only their monetary wealth. Included are gold and silver vessels, which, since they are in the precincts of the Beth Shem (House of the Lord, and thus, a temple?!) would seem to imply something to do with a cult. Oh dear, who has just written in his book that they did not practice sacrifice? There is also a House of the Censor—incense burner—and buried in the “duct channel (?)” of that house are the vessels connected with it. Incidentally, as one might have expected from the amounts quoted, these coins are not all in pots; a “chest” is mentioned—“in one of the beams beneath the staircase of the highest cistern”—but there again, several words are doubtful in this context, and we shall have to work out a technical vocabulary using our knowledge of the site itself.

One very exciting and promising item, right at the end of the scroll, speaks of there being buried “a copy of this writing,” but directions are obscure; “In the foundation of the Shekinah (?) in the north in the opening of the northern gate and buried at its mouth” and with it things which are called “withdrawn and defaced.” My first thought was that these are scrolls, and if this is so will mean a slight revision of our ideas about the use (non use!) of these things, i.e., that the variant traditions were not after all in current use but had been withdrawn from circulation because the standardisation of the texts was already underway. My poor book.

Which leads to the next point. If the total inventory of the sect is inscribed on these copper strips, we may fully expect the first part to contain details of the deposit of all their scroll caches. I need say no more, and we must await the arrival and cutting of the second half. For heaven’s sake send it, or better, bring it soon. And could we have a line or two from you? We have heard nothing since the opening save the official letter to Bowden received a day or two ago, and that mysteriously referred to some “trouble” which we are supposed to have had with London. Nobody here knows of any trouble; indeed Mahmoud or whoever it is, has been showing the keenest interest and friendliness in the whole affair. I’m sure you won’t mind my mentioning it, but I think a pat or two on the back to Wright Baker would not be out of place, and would be very much appreciated. He has spent literally hours and hours of work on the job and is buoyed up with enthusiasm and pride in a job well done.

My own side of the business progresses fairly well, and words and expres-

sions previously obscure are now making sense. But it is a long business—I spent six hours yesterday working solidly on about four lines of text. Incidentally, they seem to deal with a deposit of incense, in the “dove-cote.” By the way, there was a “vineyard” nearby (? ‘Ein Feshkha), and on the road from that under a “black stone” are some “oil vessels” or something like.

Again, I emphasise, all readings are provisional.⁶²

Before he could receive an answer, Allegro wrote yet another one to Harding:

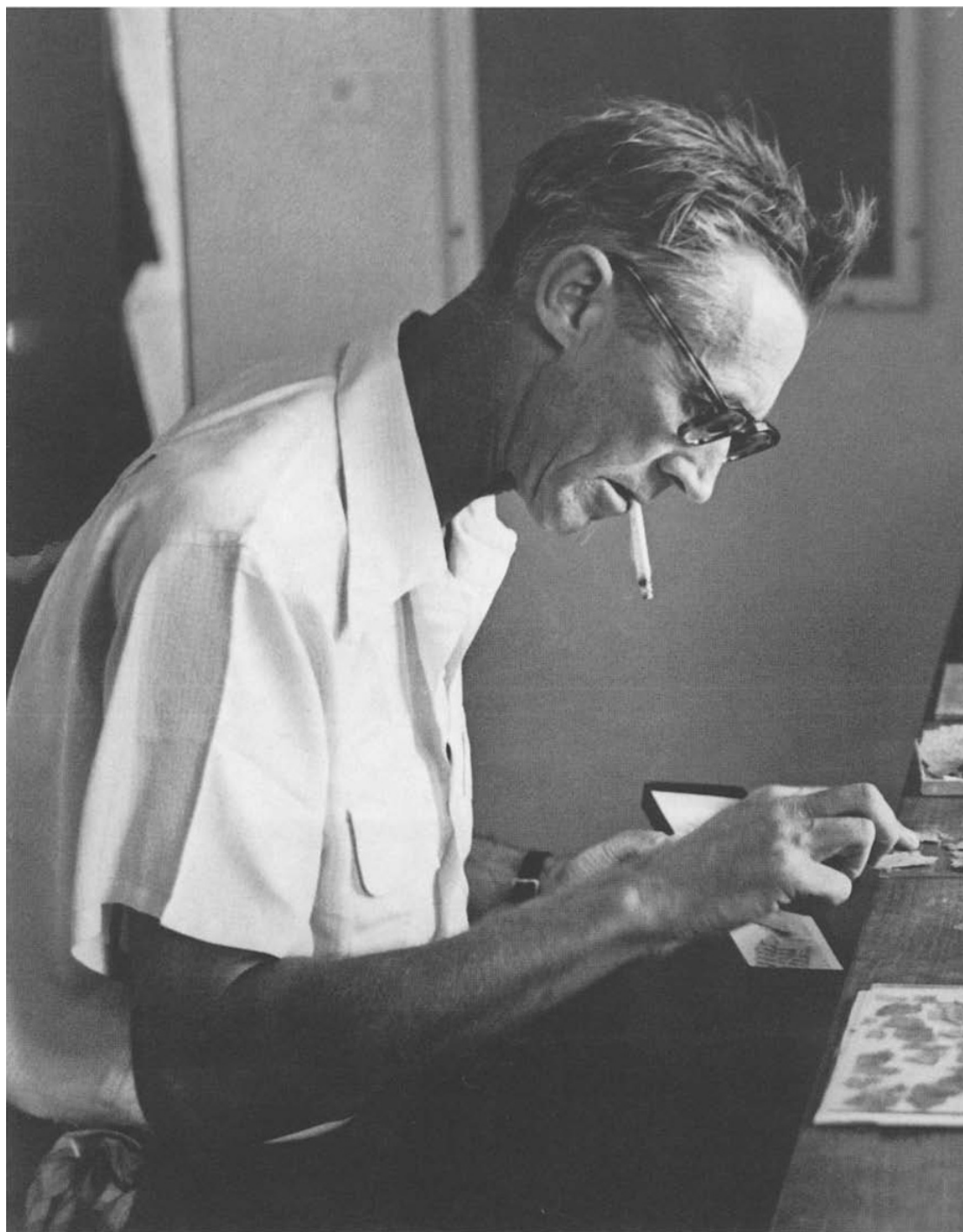
Your letter of the nineteenth arrived this morning, so I hasten to write and thank you for it. I was most sorry to hear about the fever, and hope that by now it has cleared up.

I am disappointed, of course, that you do not think you will be able to come yourself with No. 2; there is much I should like to have talked over with you, for many of the readings depend on knowing what the places are supposed to represent, which requires the services of an archeologist. If you see what I mean! In other words, several of the words are difficult to transliterate in any one way, since many of the letters could be read in more than one way, the choice depending on which is most likely from an archeological point of view. However, in the full transcription, I’ll give alternatives as far as possible, but although I rush down to the Tech. every spare moment, it is having to compete with a fairly heavy teaching programme, and the final version will not be away to you for a week or two.

Clearly my letters to Cyprus telling you of the cutting did not reach you before you left, hence the “queerness” of my more recent letters! They were written on 1 and 5 October, respectively.

I think you are being somewhat unduly pessimistic over the chances of finding the swag still there. After all, the three juglets of coins were still there, and surely not all the site of the settlement had been dug to the foundations. As far as I can make out, the property was scattered pretty well all over the shop, including, I fancy, locations outside the buildings. Certainly the graves of Zadok, his “garden,” and the graves of the “Pure People” are mentioned, and the road from the “vineyard.” You may be right about Bar Kochbah [Kokhba], and I have always felt that he had something to do with the condition of the fragments in [Cave] Four, or he and the Romans. And it does appear that there was a copy of this document buried somewhere else, which could have been found. Still, the fact is they did not find your three juglets, so I maintain there is strong hope.

There was another point I was hoping to discuss with you if you came and stayed with us. It concerns that Murabba’at incident I had, with the story



Gerald W. Lankester Harding, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, examining and sorting scroll fragments in 1953 in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. The humidior on the table was used to make the parchment of the scrolls more flexible so they could be unrolled or flattened. Hulton-Deutsch/Corbis



of Saad's kidnapping escapade.⁶³ When I got home, I was more than ever loath to remove it [from my "Pelican" book on the scrolls] completely, so tried rewriting it without any references at all to kidnapping or subsequent reactions. I say that he persuaded the Arab to tell him the way, and then, afterwards, that he simply dropped him at Bethlehem before going back to Jerusalem. After all, I feel that Saad did find the place first, however unfortunate his methods. Will this do?

I also would have liked to discuss this publicity angle with you more fully. I am giving three talks on the Home Service this winter on the scrolls, and whilst I was at the BBC in Manchester discussing things, a chappie asked me to let him have the first news of the cutting of the scroll for his radio news-reel. I said I would, and, of course, the press have been pestering poor old Wright Baker ever since it arrived. We shall have to let something go, but it is impossible simply to say that it's been successfully cut without giving a fair idea of what it contains. Of course, nothing will be said without the approval from yourself, but I fear the news that one is open will eventually leak out, and after that there will need to be some sort of statement. Besides, I really think a little publicity would do the whole project a power of good, so long as it comes at the right moment. Perhaps when the second comes and is opened we can go into the matter more fully.

I think I must hold back the Pelican until we can see our way clear on these matters. It's no use sending it to the printers when I know that there's this bombshell in the background.

I don't envy you your battling with the Powers of Evil. I must say you've worn remarkably well on it, but it must tell in the end.⁶⁴

Harding answered Allegro's last two letters with considerable caution:

Many thanks for your last two letters. I have now had a chance of talking the thing over with Père de Vaux, and he agrees with me that we must await the arrival of your transcription before attempting anything. The present instructions are a bit vague, and we don't want to start tearing the place to pieces unless we can go on with it.

Regarding publicity, nothing whatever must be said at present. When some statement is finally issued, it must come out simultaneously here, America, France, and England. I cannot ignore our other colleagues, and I have a duty to see that such news is released here as soon as anywhere else. Also the position vis-à-vis the government must not in any way be prejudiced or made difficult. So for heaven's sake don't promise exclusive or even first news to anyone, let alone the BBC. I'm sorry, but I'm in the un-

fortunate position of having to try and satisfy all parties, and it isn't going to be easy. If pressed, you can always put the blame on me and the government. Therefore nothing, please, until I say the word, and that won't be for some time yet.

From the publicity angle, the ideal thing would be to confirm or otherwise [your translation of] the first roll before starting on the second. If this is confirmed in several points, then a simultaneous announcement building up to "What's in the second?" If, on the other hand, nothing is left (as I suspect), then no harm has been done; I'm all against recent Egyptian practice of screaming their heads off in anticipation and then finding an empty tomb! Anyhow, I realize this suggestion is not practical from Baker's point of view; naturally he wants to get the job done while the apparatus and the assistants are still there. Also I want to get the second one out of this country before anything blows up—if it does.

I still don't anticipate anything; the north gate has been thoroughly wrecked at some time, and until now we were at a loss to explain why. *Someone obviously found the copy!* So send transcriptions and photos as soon as possible so that we can make some attempt on it. *Milik, of course, will come into the picture then.*⁶⁵

The question of sending the second roll I have already taken up with the government, but imagine it will have to take its usual course, though I shall do my best to speed things up a bit But I'll do what I can. Don't, however, expect anything to happen before the end of November; I must be cautious.

As regards Murabba'at, as your book is essentially about the DSS, any reference to M is only incidental. So I would still prefer to leave it out rather than rake over the ashes of an old fire which I had hoped was completely extinguished [the Saad "kidnapping"].

Looking at the second roll again, it's not going to be nearly such an easy task as the first; the visible part is rather badly cracked, and there will undoubtedly be some corrosion adhesions here and there. But I'm sure Professor Baker will make a good job of it, and my one anxiety is to get it over to you quick.

When you send transcriptions and photos, I think it would be best to register them. They should be quite safe that way.⁶⁶

On other fronts, DJD 1 was selling well, but the sales had slowed a little when Spicer answered Harding's letter of 26 October. He had changed his mind about an immediate reprint, but did concede that OUP had realized a sufficient profit on the first printing that it could forgo the second payment on the subvention. There had been a misunderstanding about offprints for authors, and none were made.⁶⁷

Cross, now back in Chicago at McCormick Seminary, was somewhat out of

touch and wrote to Allegro in much the same vein Allegro would write to Cross later when he felt that he was not being kept informed about the Cave 11 manuscripts. It is worth noting that relations were still friendly:

Needless to say, I've been beside myself with news coming in from you on the copper scrolls, and especially that everything is beginning to look towards a more or less consistent solution to problems of the history of the damned sect.

The bit from the bottom of the Peshar Nahum connecting the priest with the time of the great slaughter is, of course, very pleasing. But is there evidence further as to whether he was killed or not? Apparently you now think his grave is at Qumran, presumably his "house of exile" in the Peshar Habakkuk. I must say this is torture Nuts, at long range all I can do is speculate, and wait. I do hope since you've broken down a bit with contents, you'll give a bit more. I haven't mentioned the business even to Ernest Wright!

I have just finished translating Starcky's article after a student fouled it up. Took me a week. And the result is such that the student will still have to take the rap as translator.

I am, of course, lecturing all over the place. And trying to keep my job going. My writing is sadly lapsing; I owe Albright the Buqei'ah article and haven't written it; and I'm supposed to have the cursive script ready by Christmas. The family is falling apart. Susan had her tonsils removed this past week. Next week BA [Betty Anne, Mrs. Cross] has a mole removed from the bottom of her foot; not serious, [it will] just prevent her from walking for a week. What that means for me I don't have to spell out to an old married man like you. The little girl is chatting away downstairs. We two are well, dark, and sullen.

Give Rowley my sympathies. Actually he sent me a useful set of stuff recently which I must acknowledge and return in kind. But more to the point, give your wife and the seed of your loins my affectionate greetings, and orders to release you by May for another summer in old Jeru. I'll keep you on the straight and narrow as in the past.

BA [Betty Anne] sends love too.⁶⁸

Harding answered Spicer this time, thanked him for the corrections, the offer of offprints from the second printing and the cancellation of the last payment on the subvention. He promised that the Murabba'at materials for DJD 2 would be ready for spring 1956 and hoped that it would be an equally good seller.⁶⁹ In the end DJD 2 was published in 1961, but no one could have foreseen the events of 1956.

Harding now replied to Joseph Green in Washington DC on 12 November 1955, and it was an interesting reply indeed, for he knew he had not yet gotten all the fragments:

Now I am back here again, and have gone carefully into the question what may remain of the scrolls still in outside hands. The only result I can achieve is that there is still a good quantity, but as it is so distributed it is impossible to form an estimate of how much. But we do badly need money to get it all in, as we are being held up in our work, and consequently publication, because we do not feel we can say anything is finished. So any sum you can raise for us for this purpose will be most gratefully received, for we cannot see the stuff until the money is in our hands to buy it. *In our last purchase, made about six months ago, there was a most interesting commentary, which may help a lot with problems of dating. So anything may still turn up.*⁷⁰

It is difficult to align Harding's statement here with any records. Cross thinks he may have been referring to a commentary from Cave 4, some of which "came in late." No further written reference to this seems to have survived.⁷¹

Six months previously would have been about April 1955, but there has been no previous mention by anyone of a sale in the spring of 1955. Harding indicated to Kraeling on 29 January 1955 that a non-Qumranic large, more complete scroll had been found (probably the Greek 12 Prophets scrolls). Harding made a further reference in a letter to Spicer on April 28 to a "new discovery that would need to be included in DJD 2," but no receipts survived in the PAM Archive, nor are there any entries for 1955 in the Scrolls Ledger. What "most interesting commentary" could Harding be referring to, and why were none of the other scholars talking about it? Despite Green's attempts, by the end of the year he can only report "activity," but no money.⁷²

Spicer's letter of 26 October crossed in the mail with one sent by de Vaux, who was still asking for offprints and inquiring about the £100 subvention payment. De Vaux sent the corrections for DJD 1, noting that "most of those corrections are due to the fact that Père Barthélemy suffered from a long illness and was, therefore, unable to see the proofs of his section."⁷³ He wrote to Spicer not as editor in chief, but as president of the museum.

All the while, Allegro was back in England, and had only the copper scrolls on his mind in his correspondence with Harding:

On Tuesday I learnt with some concern that the ambassador had written to Wright Baker saying that Awni Dajani would be visiting the Tech. to make an official report for the Jordan government on the progress on the copper scrolls. He arrived today, and spent the whole day there. Wright Baker had prepared in the two days' notice a full written report of the technical pro-

cess and he was shown the machine made specially for the job, and is being provided with photographs of the thing in the various stages of cutting. He asked for complete photos of the inside also, but this I jibbed at. For one thing they are not ready: new pictures are in the process of being taken, and, in the second place, I don't like the idea of a complete story being in anyone's hands but your own for obvious reasons. More to the point was his request, almost demand, that he should be given a complete translation of the thing for his government. I said, quite rightly, that it was by no means ready yet, and that I would see what could be done in the future, say, a few weeks, during which time I wanted to contact you. He did insist, however, on being shown [some] transcriptions, and happily I had nearly completed a set of revised readings, which had not got the translation side by side, so was able to show him those, and, as I suspected, he was not able to read them for himself. I was, however, in the very awkward position of having to make the darned thing interesting, if not exciting, in order to convince him to convince the ambassador that it was worth sending the other half across. I also had to double-deal, tracing out the words I could read to him, and diverting his attention when I wanted to jump a line or two. He must have thought that I was a ruddy lunatic, having spent weeks on the thing and got no more than an inarticulate babble. Being by no means a dunderhead in some ways, he, of course, wondered why the sect had gone to the trouble to write such nonsense on copper strips. I convinced him, I think, however, that the scroll is very valuable for further archeological investigation of the site, and may help us to identify some of the rooms. Furthermore, I let go the tidbit about the "tomb of Zadok," in order to make the thing more interesting. I avoided, however, saying anything about the treasure, beyond saying that the list of rooms may have been made to show where they used to keep certain objects.

It is one thing telling that story to the ambassador; another telling an archeologist. I can't say I was very happy about the performance, and was left feeling like a wet rag. He also, I gather, was none too happy about being told by the ambassador to do the job, and said (with good reason, I thought) that he had argued that you were his boss, and orders should have come from you. It seems, however, that the Prime Minister's office had sent the order, presumably to aid a decision on sending the other scroll.

Wright Baker spent practically all day with him, and bore it all with his customary cheerfulness and grace. He demonstrated the machine and showed him a fragment of the scroll under a microscope. He tried to explain why anything but cutting was quite out of the question, but I gather he found it hard going, since Awni apparently hadn't the faintest conception of metallurgy, or anything mechanical. Just what his report will be like I daren't

think. He wanted to go and see a textile mill tomorrow, so Wright Baker hunted around until he had contacted a mill outside Manchester who would show him the works. He apologised profusely for taking Wright Baker's time, but I frankly thought he could have seen all he needed to in an hour or two.

I gave him before leaving a very brief description of my findings—number of columns, probable number in first part; written in Hebrew with Aramaisms in vocabulary and forms, a brief description of its contents—to do with the buildings, possibly throwing some light on the sect's possessions, and the like.

I only hope I have done the right thing. I felt that had it been just Dajani himself, privately, more might have been said (with prior permission, and even then I should have been doubtful, if you understand). But since he was collecting information for the government, I thought it best to be obscure. And frankly, I was not very happy with his attitude. A little bossy, I thought, telling Baker how he thought the thing ought to be finished off before shipment home (already being attended to actually), and giving orders to Baker's niece, in the employ of the Tech. And as you know, so far it has not cost the government a penny, and is not likely to. However, I think all was taken in good part. The transcriptions will be off in a little while, and full life-size photographs soon after, addressed to yourself personally.⁷⁴

Allegro wrote Harding again three days later:

I am enclosing a letter that I have written to de Vaux this evening. It explains itself.

I hope you will understand that, in addressing the letter to de Vaux, I am not thereby overlooking or belittling your own major part in the Qumran excavations, and I am sending you a copy simultaneously in the hope that you will accept it, in a fashion, as addressed to you both.

As I say in the letter, Rowley's interest in Qumran archaeology at the moment is purely fortuitous, for, of course, he has no idea what is in the 3Q. It might be most useful if you and de Vaux decide to make a big sweep of the neighbourhood this spring. *It would certainly be a pity not to get the money while it is there, which it won't be after this year.*⁷⁵

Dajani pushed off yesterday, thank goodness, and we breathed a sigh of relief. He managed to ruffle Wright Baker at the last, demanding his set of photographs should be produced therewith, and even wanting to go into the darkroom to print them himself! He had everybody rushing round trying to get him a conducted tour of a textile mill, and when the first one petered out, decided after all he wanted to go and see someone in Stoke-on-Trent!⁷⁶

None of them could have known at the time that it would not be long before Awni Dajani would be in a position of authority over all of them! The letter Allegro sent to de Vaux does not seem to have survived.

Spicer had by now gotten the corrections for DJD 1 sent by de Vaux and had changed his mind again about reprinting. The sales had taken another surge and so he had ordered 1,000 more to be printed. By now Harding and de Vaux had probably begun to realize what a serious mistake they had made in not asking for the royalty originally offered them, a royalty that could have been used to help finance the Cave 4 Team as well as the purchase of more fragments. But that was water under the bridge, and there was nothing to be done for it now. Spicer's understanding of the central role of Harding in DJD is shown by his writing to de Vaux, "...I trust that the fact of your having written rather than Harding does not mean that he is ill." Spicer also inquired about the preparation of DJD 2. In the margin of his letter in the PAM Archive there is a note "ready for spring," in what looks like Saad's handwriting, but it could be de Vaux's.⁷⁷

De Vaux now replied to Allegro's letter sent to Harding and him:

I received your letter of 18 November, but before replying I waited to see Harding. I saw him yesterday, and he had received the duplicate that you had sent him, and this morning I received a letter from Rowley that you told me about. The file is therefore complete.

1. I am not personally familiar with the site explored by De Langhe at the mouth of the Wadi en-Nar. He described it to me and showed me shards that he had collected, and these shards are of the Iron II [age], and the building seems to me to be that of the Kh. Samra in the Buceia, which is also from the Iron II. I don't see any connection with Qumran. This connection seems to me also to be excluded for two reasons: (a) Ras Feshkeh is located between the region of your site and the region of Qumran. (b) We explored the caves of the cliff as far as one or two kilometers south of Ras Feshkha: nothing like Qumran; the last cave with Qumranian ceramics in appreciable quantities is at Ras Feshkha, number 39 on the map of *Revue Biblique*, 1953, plate xx; number 40, slightly farther south, and only had a few questionable shards.

This is my impression. I might be wrong. Would you perhaps have in your devil of a scroll a topographical indication of this site?

2. It is impossible to dig this site while camping at Qumran. It would take two hours to walk from one to the other, and besides walking there is a problem [difficult terrain]. One would have to camp on the spot, which would be difficult as regards supplies. On the other hand, I should tell you that *Harding does not want foreign participation in our dig at Qumran*, but this should not bother you personally, and if you could come as a host, you would

be very welcome, and I would be very happy if you could. But this is different from what you suggest.

3. If, thanks to the revelations that your scroll may provide us, *the search at Qumran is sensational, and it is possible that the Bedouin would create havoc in the desert*, then the site of De Langhe would suffer as a result. I therefore see advantages that Manchester digs this little site of Iron II so that nothing is lost, but I don't know if this perspective will be as attractive for your committee. In any case, I cannot, as you proposed in such a nice way, take responsibility for this dig, with the assistance that Manchester would send. My hands are already full. In his letter Rowley presents things a little different and thinks that Alan Rowe would accept the leadership of the dig, with you as assistant and various others that he does not name. I don't know what you think of this. Personally, I don't see any problem, but it no longer concerns me, and you would have to apply for an excavation permit from the Department of Antiquities [of Jordan]. *We are looking forward to your transcription and translation. What a surprise! But I wonder whether anything remains of these treasures. The three pots we found last year seem to me to be another matter. Let's try to be patient and in the meanwhile the secret is well kept here, but you need to be a hero in order not to say anything!*⁷⁸

Allegro now sent some corrections to his transcriptions of the Copper Scroll and reported what he knew of happenings in Jerusalem:

Pat Skehan tells me that you have managed to raise the cash for the purchase of the rest of the Cave 4 stuff. Congratulations. This induces me even further to try and raise the cash from some source to come out this spring, when I may be useful, if not at Qumran, on sorting the new stuff. I had a very pleasant letter from Père de Vaux today, and his feelings on this proposed Manchester dig are as I expected. As you know, my feelings on the matter are lukewarm now that Rowe has suddenly taken an interest in the scheme. If it is only Iron II, I certainly don't want to spend the whole spring digging it, however interesting it may prove. If it is connected with Qumran, *then I think only you and de Vaux should be in charge, because collaboration might make publishing rights immensely more complicated, apart from any other consideration*. I am pretty certain Rowley's interest in the place will wane when he hears that only Iron II remains can be expected. Then I shall immediately ask for the money to come out to work on the fragments this spring, and can then make myself useful wherever you and de Vaux want me. I doubt whether the copper scrolls will be ready to come then, say at the beginning of February. The cutting

will certainly take longer, although I should hope to have the transcriptions of the columns to come ready to bring with me, plus translation and possibly photographs. Of course, if they are ready before then I shall send them immediately.⁷⁹

Harding replied to Allegro's letter, but the excitement about the Copper Scroll seemed to have reached its zenith and had begun to wane:

I hasten to acknowledge safe arrival of the transcription and translation, for which very many thanks. It certainly is distressingly vague in its directions, and *I note that some things about which you wrote at first have now dropped out—the smelting kiln, for instance*. I do see how extremely difficult it must be to translate, with its highly technical terms and deliberately evasive terminology.

Please will you apologise on my behalf to Wright Baker for all the inconvenience caused by Awni's visit, with which of course, I had absolutely nothing to do. In fact, *I'm extremely annoyed about it, with the ambassador going right over my head like this*. I have not written to Baker yet, as I hope to have definite news of No. 2 within the next day or two. *The British Council have granted the Bursary, so the whole thing will not cost the government one penny; if that doesn't convince them, I don't know what will!* It might have helped had I photos of No.1 to show them, but I doubt if it would have meant much to them actually. I think I told you that the first reply of the Prime Minister (without consulting the Council) was a refusal to let 2 go until I was back here! *They can't trust each other—or even themselves—so they don't trust anyone.*

However, I believe it will all come out in the wash. Incidentally, *I'm hoping to acquire soon what I have reason to believe is really the last of Cave 4! It sounds too good to be true, but I'm assured that it is so.*

No more for the moment; will let you know our reactions when I have consulted with de Vaux and Milik.⁸⁰

By 1955 the purchases were being made on behalf of foreign institutions, so there was no record of these in the PAM's own Scrolls Ledger. The following year there was a minor purchase from Bedouin. Contrary to what Harding hoped, Cave 4 materials were still being bought in 1958, and it is highly likely that some of the fragments on the market in the late 1990s and even up to 2009 were from Cave 4.

Next, Allegro answered de Vaux:

Thank you for your very full letter of 27 November. I fully concur with

everything you say, knowing full well that if De Langhe's site [Mird] had been of any interest to Qumran you would have been on to it long ago. The possibility it raised in my mind was the *beth Shem* (House of the Name, i.e., God?) of 3Q, although it is more likely that this is in or near the settlement. The *qbr Z*. [grave of Zadok] seems, however, to indicate that we also must look beyond the immediate confines of the buildings, being apparently situated near running water, if *gannath* [gutter] means anything, and near a crag facing west. On the face of it, a location south of Ras Feshkha seems unlikely, in view of that natural barrier, although I must say, I was rather impressed this summer by the path which runs over the top of the Ras, seeming a well-used route.

You will no doubt have seen by now the letter I wrote with the transcription, and realise that the project rather changed its nature after I had written, with the major participation of Rowe. I promptly lost interest, and thought it most unlikely that this sort of collaboration would be required. Whereas Brice and I would have worked completely under your and Harding's direction, Rowe always wanted to be boss, and I could foresee possibilities of trouble.

I saw Rowley today and he had your letter, and to my great surprise, wants to go on with it! The fact is, of course, that he's worked everybody here into a state of excitement about it, and he has been buoying himself up with the hope of at least getting a foothold on "scrollery," and now doesn't want to climb down. He also says that Rowe is still as keen! I take that with a pinch of salt: I can think of many more pleasant Iron II sites to dig than that spot!

I don't know what Gerald Harding thinks about it; it seems to me not at all a good idea to have a party messing about over that way this spring, and I don't for a moment think it will come off. In any case, it was made clear that I should not in the circumstances be required, which suits me very well, for *I want to come and sort the new fragments I believe are shortly to be bought*. (I also want to come and help at Qumran, if required). So I am asking for leave and cash to come out in February until the beginning of the summer term. I don't know what the chances are of getting either, but I am sure it's a more worthy project than either of Rowe's digs. *Mind you, I agree that to have that Iron II site cleared before the Bedouin can start turning the place upside down would be valuable, but we can't hope to do everything*.

Aside from all this, I have discovered a reading in one of my peshers which seems to give absolute proof that the MZ [*Moreh HaTsedek*, Teacher of Righteousness or Righteous Teacher] *was expected to rise again at the end of time, and from other places, that he was crucified in the hands of goyim* [gen-

tiles], and was expected to rise again as Messiah. We can now with confidence reckon the beginning of the sect to about 90 BC, and see the main reason for the persecution by Jannaeus as the usurpation by the Teacher of the duties of High Priest—what else can the Temple of Qumran and the sacrificial paraphernalia hidden there indicate? I shall begin shortly to get the Peshar Nahum ready for publication but I have been holding off until I saw what was in the 3Q “diable” [Copper Scroll “devil”] in case it contained anything to argue against this dating. I shall not let it go until I have read No.2. It will not now, of course, go in the next *JBL*, so I wonder if you would be kind enough to have the editor of *Rev Bib* alter the relevant part of our joint article to “a forthcoming number” of *JBL*. Thank you.⁸¹

De Vaux replied within a few days:

Thank you for your letter of 2 December. I think you have chosen the reasonable solution for the site south of Ein Feshkha. Let us leave it to Rowe and his team to dig there if they want to. *But like yourself I don't want them to be there when we are at Qumran.* The date and the scope of our work haven't yet been determined. To determine this we are waiting to know more about the content of your scrolls. *I saw the transcription and the translation that you sent to Gerald Harding, and this indeed creates problems for us, and in order to look at it more closely I am waiting for photographs that you should send.* Your general interpretation is accurate; a list of hidden things. But where? These indications of running water, river, irrigation basin, are giving me a lot of problems. And if it really involves our Tower, why refer to it with a word that usually means a hole or a deep chamber? Are these objects really hidden in Qumran? We would find this out certainly by reading the first lines of the text which are inside scroll 1. It is very important that you receive scroll 1 as soon as possible. *But Gerald Harding is having stupid difficulties with his government.*

I was very interested by the readings that you did in your Nahum Peshar [Commentary]. *This would be very important, but because this is very important, we have to be sure about it and I agree that you should delay your publication and your article for the JBL.* As regards your manuscripts, there have already been too many hasty conclusions based on information that has been insufficiently verified, so that we must be extremely careful. If, as I'd like, you are able to come in the spring, we shall speak about this again, and you will compare your results with those that our friends obtained here, also with the new fragments that we have just bought: *a nice batch of 4Q bought in the name of the Vatican Library, and another batch whose pur-*

*chase is going to be decided momentarily. We will thus have all the 4Q material (I hope that's all of 4Q!).*⁸²

This letter explained why some of the purchases were not recorded in the Scrolls Ledger. The Ledger only recorded what was paid by the Palestine Archaeological Museum; it did not record what was paid by other institutions (except in the case of the government of Jordan, where its total was subtracted). This made it more difficult to trace, but other sources made it possible.

Spicer again wrote to Harding, referring to his letter of 9 December, asking him to send a table of contents of DJD 2 as soon as possible.⁸³ All involved still seemed to think that the second volume was imminent. It was to be derailed about 10 months later.

Now de Vaux came across a book that would be mentioned repeatedly in correspondence for some months to come:

Yesterday, I came across a book you *must* read for your work on the scroll. I wonder if it is in ...[the] John Rylands Library [at Manchester], but you can get it at every bookshop. The title is: *Plunder of the Sun* by David Dodge, Penguin books ... (1955). Read it and tell me what you think.⁸⁴

The first confirmation that a new purchase of Cave 4 manuscripts had been bought came in a letter from Strugnell to Allegro, 13 December 1955:

The main news that you will be waiting for concerns, of course, the new purchase. Last Friday [9 December 1955] Harding bought £3,000 of 4Q for the Vatican, including some very nice pieces. Every one of them was a large piece. There were no isolated small fragments, and most were in a good state of preservation. Within an afternoon, moreover, every piece was identified and assigned to its owner. Within a week the photographs will be ready, and the pictures belonging to you will be sent to you. There are two or three largish pieces of the Isaiah Pesher, one of your Genesis–Exodus paraphrases, and one of one of your wisdom works There is also one piece of your Isaiah Pesher that at the moment we are photographing, as it is somewhat badly damaged, in that the top and bottom of the leather often part company. If you want, Milik and I will repair it for you, *gluing it together and then cleaning it*, and then send you a legible photograph. You will get at the moment a photograph of it as it is, but that depends on how you succeed in getting time to come out here, as Pat was mentioning that you were wanting. If that will be soon, we can leave it for you. Harding still has £ [?] 2,000 more, and Kando is scouring the hills and valleys to spend it. The Ta'amira are trying to force up the price, which probably means they haven't got much more. Harding thinks this may be enough

to buy them out, but Yusef is not so sure. It may be that we are now touching the capital of big pieces, but they have a large capital. In a sense I hope Yusef is right, although then we will have all the bother of finding yet more money, though I can't imagine how. When people see what sort of pieces are coming in now, they won't rush to subscribe. But then scholars have been so perverse about this matter that I wouldn't put further perversion past them. *Incidentally, I will include with the photographs also a photo of a piece that was smuggled into America.* Unfortunately it is not a life-size photograph, but somewhat enlarged. However, there is a scale with it. I think that if one reduces it to life size, it probably goes with your "Wisdom of the Naughty Lady." It is more like that than any other work, but of course you have the option of refusing it. Even if reduced, the writing may prove too big.

You deserve congratulations on the frustratingly vague pieces of information you give us about the copper scrolls. Frank also seems in agonies of ignorance. But I suppose one day the veil will be lifted. At the moment the government seems to be making Gerald go round the bend, by its chariness about allowing the other piece out of the country until the first is back, despite the fact that the British Council have offered a Bursary to cover all Mohammed's costs to take it, bring it back, and to stay in England until it is ready. With this purchase, it is of course needless to say, that also the *Murabba'at scroll is still unpaid for*.⁸⁵ What news from the scholars of England? I hope they manage to be a little better than Millar Burrows, whose *magnum opus*, with a vast price, is now available here. [It is] a very depressing job to my thought, though as yet I have just read it rapidly. There are, however, some good things in it. It is a pity that Matthew Black doesn't live up to his promise, because he is a first-rate N.T. scholar, and we will need them for the final assimilation of the work. At the moment we seem almost reduced to Kuhn, who, Hunzinger says, is writing a book on Qumran, which should be original Apart from the news, the discovery of the year is Milik's, who has discovered (he will probably write to you about it, and he is publishing it in *Révue Biblique* as soon as possible) a source book of Daniel, the legends in the first half in a more historical form, from which they were afterwards altered to give them a unity round the person of Nebuchadnezzar. [This is] Qumran's first contribution to the *literary criticism* of the O.T.

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year. My card will probably arrive in time for Easter.⁸⁶

Allegro replied to this letter, demonstrating that his relationship with Professor Rowley had completely deteriorated. This portended some bad things profession-

ally, but Allegro didn't seem to be aware of what all this would mean for his future at the university. In fact, from the end of 1955 onward there was a downward spiral in relations between Allegro and all of his colleagues. One by one he offended them, they distanced themselves from him and eventually he was totally ostracized from academic life. Here we see the first seeds.

Very many thanks for your letter of the thirteenth. It was good of you to write so soon and tell me what, as you guess, I was dying to know; the contents of the last haul. And I must say, most rewarding it is. Of course, the thing I had been hoping for above all is missing: Peshier Nahum. And since I am convinced that there is more to come of this thing, I agree with Saad that there may be more small pieces somewhere.

I am the more grateful for your speedy passing on of the news, in view of the fact that I am having to be so reticent about 3Q, and clearly you are taking it very decently. You will understand only too well when we are able to release the news why we are having to be so cagey: a rumor reaching the outside world could be disastrous.

I think Frank is not taking it too well and Albright has been sloping around trying to let people think he knows more than he could possibly know, with the result that Frank feels he is being unjustly treated; at least, that's the impression I got from his letter. Too bad, it really is most difficult.

The College of Technology are far more interested in the scrolls than our department. Since the copper scroll came to them they have been agog with excitement, and I have already given a background talk to their senior common room on scrollerly, and they were very thrilled. Now they are laying on a large public lecture on the subject, and are going to pay me quite handsomely to give it, I gather. I have completed the scripts of my three BBC Northern Home Service broadcasts, on the 23 and 30 January, and *I think we can look for fireworks*. Pat may have told you that recent study of my fragments has convinced me that Dupont-Sommer is more right than he knew. *I shouldn't worry about that theological job, if I were you: by the time I've finished there won't be any church left for you to join.*

Rowley is a bastard. You know he wrote and told me that there would be no time for a paper on Peshier Nahum at the SOTS meetings this winter or next summer. The other day he was enquiring when I was going to publish it, for he says he was hoping to use it in a paper he is reading to the SOTS in the summer! I was very happy to inform him that, following recent discoveries and the hope of more, I have no intention of publishing it before the summer, and it certainly will not be out in time for his paper. Later I shall warn him off

about using any information I may have given him about it or anything else in private. He is as jealous as hell over this copper scroll. I need hardly say that he is not allowed to get anywhere near it: nor, for that matter is anybody else apart from the technicians and myself. When, oh when, are we going to get No. 1? If they go on changing governments like this, never.

I have asked Gerald if there is any cash left in the kitty to pay living expenses if I can come this spring. I haven't yet heard, but my coming will depend as much on that as the fare from here. We are flat broke, and I am looking to these BBC broadcasts and the Tech. lecture to help things along. I have a most beautiful collection of colour slides and black and white now on the scrolls for lectures, and I think they will eventually pay for themselves with the fees, but it's an expensive game.⁸⁷

...The discovery of Milik's is exciting and I long for more information. I think you are optimistic if you think he will write, but I should very much like to hear from him⁸⁸

By 21 December 1955 the museum's funds were getting low and Allegro's funds were low, too.⁸⁹ He had asked for funding to come to Jerusalem, but Harding could not give him any assurances. More than that, Harding became weary of the whole business. After seven years of chasing down fragments and begging for funds to purchase and study them, he was ready to throw in the towel.

Many thanks for yours of the twelfth. *The position regarding the Rockefeller funds is that they are indeed running out, but I have hopes of getting some more from the same source.* There seems, however, no likelihood of that happening before about June next, so cannot, alas, make you any firm offer. *Frank [Cross] also wants to return, I understand.* Anyhow, let me know what you decide to do.

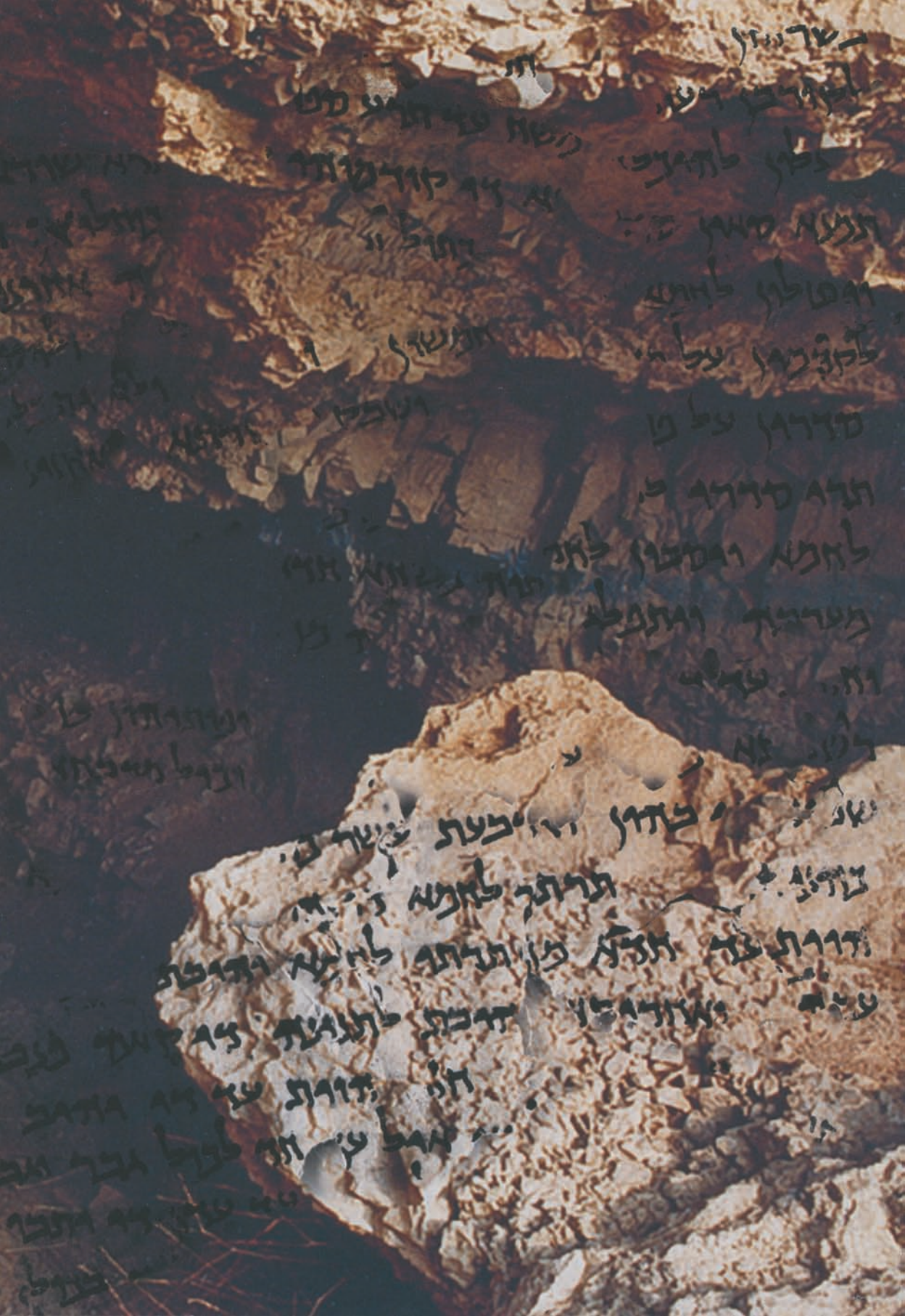
The business of no.2 is rapidly getting me down; for the past two weeks it has been impossible to get any ordinary business done in the ministries, *and now within less than a week we've had two different governments!* And of course for the last five days no work of any kind has been done anywhere. Except the poor Arab Legion. Now I think things are settled again, and the latest government seems not too bad. Haven't heard all names yet, but most of them I gather are old hands whom I've known ever since I've been here. So perhaps chances of a quick decision are better, though it's early to say yet. Another difficulty is that the Bursary [from the British Council] only holds good till the end of this month! What a life.

Where on earth did you get all this exciting new evidence? Poor Burrows, his book is out of date already; I presume you've seen it? *There are some*

lovely pieces in the last Vatican lot I got last week, and with any luck we shall have all that is known of it in our hands within the next few days.⁹⁰ I pray that it really is the last; I'm getting tired of the word manuscripts, and never want to see another as long as I live. Not really my line, after all!

No more for now; keep me in touch with events, and we'll see what can be done.⁹¹

Found in the PAM along with the letters from 1955, but not necessarily coming from the same period, is a complete list of the anticipated division of scrolls to various institutions, according more or less to the amount of money each contributed to their purchase. The largest amount is listed as “government property,” that is, property of the government of Jordan. There are groups of various sizes also listed for McGill University, Manchester University, University of Heidelberg, the Library of the Vatican, the École biblique, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum.⁹²



שד הנזן

למדת דע

במזן להנציח

תנעה סתם ה

ואטלון לחמש

למזכרון על

סדרון על ט

תרג סדרון ב

לחמא ואספרן לחמ

מערכת והתפל

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CAVE 4 WORK CONTINUES BUT IS STOPPED BY THE SUEZ CRISIS

1956

Nineteen fifty-six was a year of controversies and turmoil, but a year of discovery and acquisition, too. Allegro became completely estranged from the Cave 4 Team, Cave 11 was discovered, Harding left the Department of Antiquities, and the Suez Crisis completely dispersed the team.

Strugnell started out the year by informing Allegro of another purchase of scrolls, this time financed by the Vatican Library, that occurred about 13 December 1955, and cost JD 3000. He joked about how Milik gathered fragments into

his own lot: "As soon as he sees anything he likes, he says, 'Ah, Mysteries' (a) or (b) or anything up to (p) ...and then it is gone. But it will be good to pretend to work together again and just natter about problems like we did last summer. We might at least find out what lies behind your sudden adhesion to Dupont-Sommer" This latter comment was Strugnell's way of hinting about the growing rift between Allegro and the rest of the team, which would come to a head a little more than two months later on March 16. He also noted the growing anti-British feeling, problems with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and the need for the British to be "unequivocally [sic] firm against the Zionists," a kind of premonition of the Suez Crisis that was to be upon them before the year was out.¹

Cave 4 Purchases

As for the Cave 4 materials, they were still being bought. Cross described what he knew of the purchase of these from 1956 onward:

What is there about these scrolls which makes people lose their sense of proportion? It's really rather frightening. I am clearing out of scrollery just as soon as possible.

—John Allegro

In 1956 and again in 1958 I was able to find gifts for the purchase of the final lots of the Cave 4 fragments. The procedure of purchase I learned from first-hand experience.

In the summer of 1956, I advised G. Lankester Harding of the first of two McCormick gifts, about \$6,000. He sent word to a certain famous cobbler and antiquities dealer, Khalil Iskander Shahin—better known as Kando—that 2,100 square centimeters of inscribed material of Cave 4 would be paid for by his office if brought to the Palestinian Archaeological Museum. Kando had de facto immunity from prosecution for illicit possession and sales of antiquities—so long as he sold to the museum. This appeared to be a prudent if extralegal procedure to make sure that materials came into the museum and were not scattered over the world, and that Kando not resort to extreme measures to hide materials in his possession. One spring early in the game, after a season of being hounded by the authorities, Kando dug up a bushel basket of manuscript fragments buried over the winter and found them dissolved into glue. So he reported to us, and for once his claim was sufficiently horrible to be credible. In any case, by 10 a.m. the following day Kando appeared, acting, he claimed, for his partner, the sheikh of the Ta'amireh tribe, with a lot of material, and after some argument and dickering and a bit of *baksheesh* for large pieces, we purchased a fine batch of large, legible pieces of Cave 4 fragments. Before the day was over, they were photographed, and for the most part placed into known manuscripts thanks to their large size. In 1958 with the second, larger McCormick [Seminary] purchase, and the All Souls' [Church] purchase, the last of the Cave 4 manuscript pieces were brought into the scrollery. Again these last fragments were large and legible. Kando clearly kept the best for the last, and expected the agreed price of \$2.80 (1 JD) per sq. cm. to be raised considerably. Unhappily, we did raise it for what we regarded as the final purchase, and the new price set a precedent for future, unanticipated purchases.²

This was the beginning of paying premium prices for Cave 4 materials, leading, as the team later realized, to further confusion about where fragments originated. Naturally, if more was paid for Cave 4 fragments, most fragments would be so identified by the Bedouin from here on. Cross said, "It should be noted that funds for the team's expenses and especially for the purchase of fragments were always in short supply. The team should have been expanded, but money was more urgently needed for purchase of leather."³

I should note that only in 1958 were the last lots of Cave 4 fragments purchased from Kando. After five years the work of identification and piecing in the scrollery was still far from over.⁴

Again, the Copper Scroll

Back in England John Allegro was still consumed with the Copper Scroll. He was in constant touch with Harding in Jerusalem and Amman. On 3 January 1956 he told Harding that Muhammad had arrived with the second part of the Copper Scroll and they had deposited it in a bank in Manchester with the first piece. There had been a problem because Wright Baker, the man in Manchester who was to open the Copper Scroll, prematurely gave some photographs to Awni Dajani. Typically, Allegro had some strong words about the matter: “Had I been Baker, Dajani would certainly have not got photographs, but explicit instructions as to what he and his bloody government could do with their lousy scroll. Happily, the man’s a saint. All the same, I hope Muhammad goes easy on these conveyed reproaches: we can’t afford to upset such good friends.”⁵

Apparently Harding had informed Allegro no more funds were available for him from the Rockefeller contribution. He was trying to raise the airfare to return to Jerusalem from Manchester University, and was contemplating raising the funds privately, but he did not want to come that summer in any event, “mainly for family reasons, and also because I’m dead tired and need a proper holiday. Last summer, plus the book, plus the 3Q business has taken its toll. But I do want to come in the spring to work through the newly purchased material and do what I can on the dig, perhaps bringing the transcription of No. 2 with me. After that I can work at home on photographs until the final checking for publication, and the sooner the damned things are off our hands the better.”⁶

The seeds of Allegro’s later radical approach to the scrolls had been sown and come to fruition, for at the beginning of 1956 he said: “This exciting new stuff about the Messiahs is all in my fragments, a bit here and a bit there with deductions from the evidence, which seem to me inescapable. What, I wonder, will our Catholic friends do with it? I reckon the OUP can look forward to bumper sales of our volumes! Even if only to argue with the devil.”⁷ And the rift between Rowley and Allegro continued to widen. Rowley had informed him that he could hardly expect to have his fare paid to Jordan by the university for work on the scrolls because he was “only an assistant lecturer.”⁸

Eight days later, 11 January 1956, Allegro described for Harding the beginning of opening the second part of the Copper Scroll:

Just a line or two to let you know that at 5 p.m. this afternoon the first slice was lifted off the cake. Very fragile it was too, and cut extremely quickly—something like three minutes. However, the Araldite [a kind of glue] held it together while Wright Baker manipulated it free, and it came away in one beautiful piece, containing most of one column. We packed up immediately after, but a first gentle brushing revealed the words “and gold,” so we’re off

again. Tomorrow we shall clean this piece, first giving it another coating with the dope on the outside, and whilst Muhammed and I do that, Baker will prepare for the next cut. If it all goes well as today's, we should be finished with the cutting in 10 days or so.⁹

It did not take Harding long to reply to Allegro's 3 January letter. As usual, Allegro was out of the loop of Harding's administrative action, something that occurred again and again. It demonstrates once more that Harding considered the Cave 4 Team members "workers," not colleagues, and did not feel constrained to keep them informed about all his decisions and actions. Harding wrote: "I am glad to know Muhammed has arrived, as have not heard a word from him since the day he left here. He was not asked to convey any strictures to anybody, as I had already written Baker on the subject, and have since received a full set of photos. Also there is no question of publicity yet, until we know first what it is all about Please excuse writing, but I had to leave the typewriter in Jericho, as [I] had to walk from my house down ... (about 4 miles) by night so couldn't carry anything. Anyhow, I won't strain your eyes any more now: have said all that is necessary about him."¹⁰

Further Controversies with Allegro

Meanwhile, Allegro planned to proceed with his 4Q Peshar Nahum, and so informed Strugnell. He was still hoping to return to Jerusalem in the spring of 1956 but as yet had no funding. He asked Strugnell to arrange with Albina for better photographs. Then he showed the direction his work with Qumran was going to take for the rest of his life: controversy after controversy, a thirst for fame and notoriety, with a good bit of immoderate language all around:

A lot of stupid statements have lately been attributed to me in the press, for which I am receiving unmerited blasts. On Tuesday the *New York Times* reported at least one paragraph of my broadcast talks, and I had a letter from Zeitlin today. He only wanted a photostat of my scroll giving the information attributed to me in the *New York Times*! I have written him saying that he would be better employed spending some of his famed skepticism, usually employed on the scrolls, on newspaper reports! Actually, I certainly do think that the priest sacrificing at Qumran when attacked by the Lion's mercenaries is probably correct—but I didn't say so. What could those pots with bones in [them] be but the remains of the Feast of Tabernacles in 1Q Peshar Habakkuk. I think Frank [Cross] agrees with me on the presence of an altar at Qumran.

If I come, I'll bring copies of my BBC scripts with me. I am most interested to hear about your talks on the local radio: I hope they go well. The funny thing is that these things of mine, being broadcast only on the North Region are sending them into fits in the States, but hardly any reaction at all

in this country. But popular interest is growing nicely, yet the newspapers for the most part keep clear, and of course, reviewers of scrolls books always sound the warning note that after all, Driver might be right! I fear, laddie, that if we hope for the lead in scrolls scholarship from this old land of ours we wait in vain.¹¹

John Strugnell was still in Jerusalem. About this time,¹² he reported to de Vaux on the state of his work, and by now publication was clearly in view: His summary revealed a surprisingly well-advanced categorization of the scrolls then available.¹³

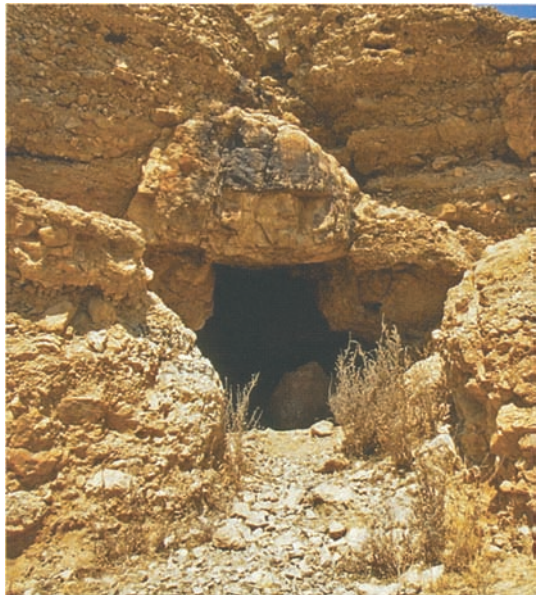
The eleventh and final Qumran scrolls cave was discovered by Bedouin in February, 1956.

Cave 11

For more than three years the resources of the Palestine Archaeological Museum had been focused on Cave 4. Then, just before de Vaux started the Qumran campaign of 1956 at the beginning of February, he was informed that the Bedouin had discovered nearby a new cave containing manuscripts.

Toward the end of the month de Vaux moved the camp from Qumran to the area just below the new cave, now named Cave 11, and began excavations. In the two-chambered cave, the back room of which was filled with bat guano, he found three levels: on top a level with objects similar to those found at Qumran, a seventh-century BC Israelite level, and a Chalcolithic level. As for manuscripts, very little was found: only a few fragments inscribed with Paleo-Hebrew and a “cigar-shaped,” black and brittle piece that was later identified as an Ezekiel scroll.

While he was camped there below Cave 11, de Vaux took the opportunity to explore the surrounding cliffs again. They found that several caves (“holes”) they had explored in 1952 had been further dug by Bedouin. They found two caves of interest side by side almost opposite Cave 3, but the Bedouin had cleared out any manuscripts that might have been there, and had left behind only pottery contemporary with Qumran, and bits of fabric and leather.¹⁴



The entrance to Qumran Cave 11. Courtesy Qumran-archive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

It wasn't long before a new large group of manuscripts was offered to the PAM by Kando. Among the many important manuscripts attributed to this Cave 11 were a partial manuscript of Leviticus in Paleo-Hebrew script (11QpaleoLev^a), large fragments of a *Psalter* with noncanonical psalms (11QPs^a), fragments from Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, a Targum of Job, and, notably, the massive Temple Scroll (11QT^a), not recovered by scholars until 1967 when Yadin seized it from Kando immediately after the capture of Bethlehem.¹⁵



The outer chamber of Qumran Cave 11, looking toward the outside. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

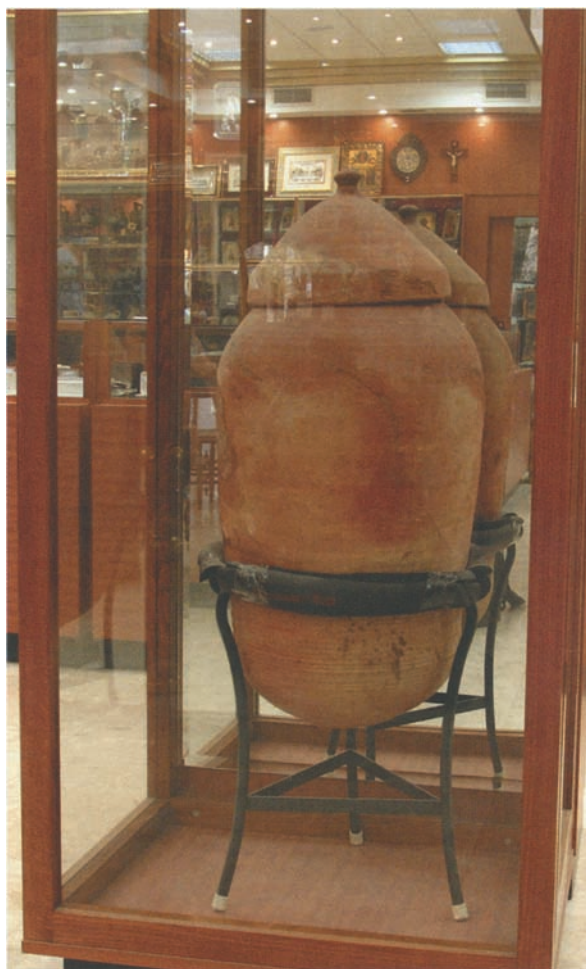


Qumran Cave 11 and the surrounding cliffs. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

These new manuscripts were materially different from Cave 4 to the extent that there was no doubt whatever in de Vaux's mind they had come from the new site. Skehan, who may have taken part in at least part of the excavation, takes up the story in a newsletter he later wrote:

The other lively scroll story is this year's Bedouin treasure trove--Cave 11

.... The American School chose Sunday, March 18, for an all-day picnic in that area. We quite easily reached not only the Essene settlement itself, but also the "built spring" farther south at Ein Feshkha. This latter is becoming something of a resort area—a large group from the Syrian Orthodox community of Jerusalem was there when we arrived. The most novel feature of the day, however, was to find the excavation tents of Père de Vaux, G. L. Harding and their staff, pitched neither at the settlement (near which they examined a number of burials and isolated structures, again this season), nor at Ein Feshkha (which yielded traces of an occupation contemporary with Qumran, sufficiently large in scope to



The jar in which the Temple Scroll was found in Cave 11, now displayed at the Kando antiquities store in Bethlehem. Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de courtesy of the Kando family.

call for fuller excavation in future winter seasons), but almost a kilometer north of Cave 1. Just to the north ...there looks out over an irregular shelf, neither so high on the cliff-face as Cave 1, nor so low as the marly stratum occupied by the Qumran settlement, a newly rediscovered cave which had been plugged at the opening with fairly enormous masses of rock. The Bed-

ouin reclaimed this in February from centuries of occupation by bats; these had left it filled with guano almost to the roof. What the Bedouin found is, in detail, a story for the future; but it was enough to set the archaeologists digging again, until Père de Vaux, in some indignation at coming upon a seemingly Chalcolithic level amid the dust and acrid fumes of the cave, offered to leave that part of the operation for his visitors to undertake.

Stories got out here lately to the effect that some of the scroll materials from this new cave had been stolen by Bedouin. Since it was, as usual, the Bedouin who found all but a tiny quantity of the material in the first place, local aston-



The outer chamber of Qumran Cave 11, with the entrance to the inner chamber to the left. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

ishment at this story reached all the way down from the most official quarters to the Bedouin themselves. We had one wonderful morning at the museum, by the way, during which Mr. Harding, Père de Vaux, the workers on the scrolls, the museum's secretary, Mr. Yusuf Sa'ad (who negotiates for the proper channeling of new finds into responsible hands), and the one-time Bethlehem cobbler [Kando] who is now the established negotiator for the Bedouin, all collaborated on a program for the British Broadcasting Company. Another day, the Bedouin youth who found a scroll of the Minor Prophets down at Wadi Murabba'at last year made this fraternal spirit absolutely all-inclusive by obligingly showing the people named above, just where and how he made his discovery. The skill with which genuine mutual confidence has been established

among all parties in this complex situation is beyond praise. This much can be said now about Cave 11: the find is much more like that in the first (1947) cave than like Cave 4; and those whose business it is to know are in no doubt at all as to what was found, or where it is now.¹⁶

The Allegro controversy continues

At the same time, the controversy about Allegro's unguarded statements began to heat up. Father de Vaux wrote Allegro two letters about it and Allegro replied on 9 February 1956 with increasingly typical hubris:

I am being accused of saying the most astounding things, some of which are true, and are indeed astounding. Others come from the bosoms of eager reporters. I think Harding is under the impression that I held a press conference on 3Q, or some other nonsense, which is, of course, quite untrue. I have written to him today, with details of what was said and where. I think, also, that he believes that my broadcast talks contained references to items in 3Q. This again, is quite untrue, and anything I said I can back with references in my leather fragments only. The trouble is that the little I said which was new, was taken out of its context and given (in an erroneous form) ridiculous weight.

The item which has caused most upset apparently is the mention of the Teacher being crucified. I said in the broadcast that this was possible; it is now certain. I have already sent Gerald a first translation of the first column of 3Q. It contains the phrase *bnpsh bn dmk hshlyshy* [*benephesh ben damak hashlishi*], "in the sepulchre of the Son of Sleep, the Crucified (or Hanged)." With this one is to read 4Q Peshar Nahum, speaking of the Lion of Wrath, Jannaeus, "he used to hang men up alive (which was never) before (done) in Israel, for the man hung alive is (cal)led shl(yshy). The remains of the letters in the break well suit those I have supplied. There is a play here, as one might expect. The root is, of course, *shlsh*, a shortened form of *shlshl*, and is used of hanging men. But the play is interesting, for its point lies in "never before done in Israel (crucifixion was, of course, a foreign punishment, and *shalish* is used of an officer in the army, and in particular of those officers the pharaoh placed over his own men. Derivations usually proposed have never commanded complete agreement and no wonder. It is not a native word, but comes from *shakalsha* = Sagalassus, N. of Pisidia, mentioned in the Amarna Letters, and in the reign of Merneptah as "the northerners coming from all lands." Pretty clearly they were mercenaries then, and Josephus speaks of the Pisidian mercenaries of Jannaeus. I think also that the sect had some idea of the original derivation of this word. At least they knew that the *shalish* was essentially a foreigner and from the north, for this comment in Peshar

Nahum was perhaps triggered by the mention of the *choraw*, “his holes” in Nahum 2:13.

Of course, the reading in Peshet Nahum has become certain only since I read 3Q, and my original ground for believing that the Teacher shared this punishment was that immediately after describing this punishment, the writer says: “*trph*: its interpretation concerns the Priest who”

That he was buried in or about Qumran seems implied by my Peshet Isaiah, which speaks of the Messiah gathering his people in the last days and leading them through the *biq'at Achor* to Jerusalem, and for this reason I am still not convinced that Qumran is not involved in 3Q.

For the resurrection of the Teacher, see my Peshet Psalm 127, a small piece, but in commenting on “He gives to His beloved sleep,” [it] speaks of the Teacher (the “agonies” of the Teacher in comment on the “bread of toil”) and the “end of time,” and if you can make that refer to anything but his rising at the end of time, I should like to hear it. Coupled with this is the calling of the Teacher “The Last Priest,” in Peshet Hosea, *cohen ha'acharon*, is an obvious play on the mentioned *kefir haacharon*, and saying, in effect, that in the last days this Last Priest would get his revenge. Besides these references, of course, there is the mention of the coming of the “Teacher of Righteousness” in the last days in CD [the Damascus Document], and the “Interpreter of the Law” with the Davidic Messiah in my 4Q Florilegium.

I hope I have written enough to convince you that I have not spoken without a good measure of documentary backing, even discounting 3Q, which, as I say, I have not used. Gerald implied in his letter that this was so, and I am very unhappy that you should think I should be so rash. I value your continued friendship too highly to let it rest there. In any case, in *their context* my remarks were not so staggering or new.¹⁷

Allegro's whole line of reasoning was to be rejected by most scholars, not for theological reasons, but linguistic.

As so often happened in those days, their letters crossed in the mail. On 11 February 1956 de Vaux wrote to Allegro:

I was very surprised to read in the American *Time Magazine* of 6 February an article entitled “Crucifixion before Christ,” which claims to be based on [*rendre compte*] your last broadcast on the radio. Several days later I read in the *New York Times* of 5 February an article which was more moderate, but which contained the same essential assertions. It is clear that your broadcast had other echoes in the English press and elsewhere of which I am not aware.

However, when you told me without any details about your discoveries,

I warned you against a hasty publication. You wrote to me that you would make an allusion to this in your broadcast on the radio: it seems to me that this was much more than an “allusion.” *In my opinion in this way you have transgressed the conventions regulating the work of our team. Until now, members worked together and always solicited advice from their colleagues.*¹⁸ You did this yourself for your article on the Peshet of the Psalms and for the preparation of your Penguin book. This collaboration was even more necessary before introducing this “sensational” information to the public.

All the texts you use are in their original form at the museum in Jerusalem. As soon as they read these newspaper articles Strugnell, Milik, Skehan, and Starcky took another look at these texts: *nothing* which corresponds to your assertions. Either you misread the texts or you misinterpreted them. We were all compromised by this, and you will not be surprised that with the full agreement of G. L. Harding we have sent a formal refutation to the English and the American press.

This is not a reaction on the part of “theologians.” From one standpoint I wouldn’t be disturbed to learn that the Teacher of Righteousness was crucified by Alexander Jannaeus; we knew that the latter had crucified 800 Pharisees and one more doesn’t make much difference. We see ourselves as being on a scientific level; it is not acceptable for you to give such conclusions without providing proof—in other words, the texts on which you base your arguments. These texts have never been published, they are in your hands, and perhaps the public at large would believe what you say, but scholars require verification. You have seriously failed to comply with the correct scientific method on which we wish to model our publication.

Since the damage has been done, your duty now is to give, as soon as possible, in a scientific journal the photographs and your transcriptions of the four or five passages on which you have based your arguments which led you to your conclusion regarding the crucifixion of the Teacher of Righteousness, at the hands of pagan mercenaries and regarding his removal from the cross and the vigil over his body by his disciples. In my opinion these are the points which are the most emotionally provocative. If you want “fair play” you will agree to submit your article to Strugnell or Milik so that they can propose their own readings following your article. The scholarly world will judge for itself.

I learned from Strugnell that your Penguin book that you wish to delay because of your sensational “discoveries” is in fact complete and that it is going to be published quickly. Our joint responsibility is also involved in this, *because you sucked out all the information from everyone else on the team.* Because of the incident that you have just caused, I am obliged to ask you to show us your

final text. Please be assured that I do not have the temperament of an “inquisitor,” and I regret to have to write to you such a firm letter. But I am responsible for our joint efforts and I would like it to be done seriously. When the texts to which you allude are known, *you will be ridiculed and so will we*.

I would be happy to know your reactions regarding my last letters: the one concerning your interpretation of the copper scrolls [both pieces] and the one in which I ask you for some of the lines from Nahum for Père Barthélemy.¹⁹

At the same time Allegro carried on his correspondence with Harding about the Copper Scroll. He mentioned in a letter written 11 February 1956 that when an announcement was made about the Copper Scroll, the British Council, which had been involved in the project, hoped “very much that a statement could be made before too long and that the BBC be given all the credit due to them for the outlay of funds and time.”²⁰

He had grandiose plans for publicizing the scrolls and one can see already that this was taking his time; editing his fragments was definitely in second place at best. And all these negotiations about the Copper Scroll were with Harding alone, we emphasize again, showing that Harding, not de Vaux was ultimately in charge.

By the middle of the month de Vaux wrote again concerning all the controversy Allegro was stirring up:

I received your letter of 9 February on 13 February, the day after I sent you mine. I am happy that you disapprove of all the fuss that was made by the press about your recent statements. But, since the press articles that we read are of the same opinion on a certain number of points, there must be something in it, and we would like to know exactly what you said. Could you please send us the text of your last broadcast on the radio as soon as possible (via air mail)?

Besides, your letter itself says that you are now certain of what you had presented to the public as *probable*. Could you kindly indicate your research to us. We went back over the texts to which you referred and in our opinion, too, the *probability* that I indicated in my letter has become a *certainty*: you started from a misreading of pNah, and you introduced there (pPs, pHos, pIs) what is not there. We have not yet been able to verify your reading of c3Q [Copper Scroll], of which we do not have a copy. But, there again, either your reading is incorrect or your translation is inaccurate, because a translation must give an acceptable meaning, and yours does not.

As I told you in my previous letter the only way to clarify the situation is for you to give the photographs of your texts with your transcription as soon as possible. This seems more urgent to us than the publication of the first column of pNah, about which we agreed. You would only have to give the four or five sentences that you quote me in their immediate contexts. In this way

your later publications will not be spoiled. As far as using the sentence that you read in c3Q as proof, you would have to ask the permission of Mr. Harding, and you felt that he was, perhaps, a little unwilling to give it. We see disadvantages of this ourselves. The interpretation of this sentence depends on the meaning given to all of the scrolls, and you cannot do it without a general study, which implies the publication of the entire text. Since, on the other hand, you only discovered this new argument after having spoken on the radio, you will have to be able to defend what you said then by only using 4Q.

We think that the thing should be done quickly and we suggest that you entrust your article to *BASOR*: Albright is looking for material and will publish you quickly, and *BASOR* (contrary to *JBL*, for example, which one could also think about) will not raise any difficulty about publishing your photographs. To save still more time, we will not be seeing your article before its publication, as I told you I wanted to. Strugnell or Milik will reply to you in the following fascicle, by giving you their response, to which you will be able to add your observations.

We can no longer prevent the storm which has brewed and which is spreading among the general public. But, it is important to your reputation and to ours that the debate be conducted fairly, with the necessary documentation before the scholarly public.

*I hope as much as you that this storm does not carry away our friendship as well. But friendship requires truth and we suggest what seems to us to be the best way to establish this truth.*²¹

By 18 February 1956 the whole matter of the Copper Scroll was apparently finished. Allegro wrote a letter to Dr. Bowden of the College of Technology, Manchester, thanking him for his help and indicated that he had dispatched his transcription of the scroll to Jordan. Bowden replied on 20 February, wondering when the full story about the unrolling and his institution's part in it could be told.²²

About this same time Allegro recruited Professor Donald Burton to examine the blank leather fragments Harding had sent to Manchester the previous month, "samples of the leather from the scrolls" ...analysis a fairly representative collection²³ He reported that he had someone to work on them, a Miss M. J. Wood, but would need a grant to undertake the one- to two-year project.

Simultaneously, Allegro was still carrying on an increasingly acrimonious correspondence with de Vaux. On 20 February 1956 he wrote,

You will excuse me if I think that everyone in the world is going stark, raving mad. I am enclosing my broadcast talks as you request, and if, after reading them, you are left wondering what all the fuss is about, you will be in pre-

cisely my own position. The journalistic riot which they appear to be having in the States is quite fantastic and mostly quite divorced from any point I have made. It is not without significance that such madness has been quite absent from the newspapers in this country, where the broadcast was made. In fact, apart from many calm enquiries from interested listeners, the things have passed off without undue comment. From this I respectfully suggest that a little more of this calm appraisal from other quarters would not come amiss. *As for rushing into publication with scraps from my section of the scrolls, the answer is certainly not.* My work on the fragments progresses normally the whole time, and when I am ready I shall, with your permission as editor in chief, publish the most important fragments. My pešer Nahum is underway and will soon be ready for dispatch. As a matter of fact, I had fully planned to have had it published before my broadcasts were made, but holding it back for 3Q has delayed it, and the talks could not, of course, be postponed at the last moment.

As to where pHab should be published, it was promised long ago to *JBL*, and I have recently informed [D. N.] Freedman that I am preparing it for him now. However, his last date for the next issue is 25 February. It certainly will not be ready by then, and I've no intention of tearing it off in a hurry, so, particularly as you shall see it first (as I should be very happy if you did so), it will have to wait for the next edition. If you particularly want *BASOR* to have it, I suggest you write to Freedman telling him that you are asking me to send it there. I am not bearing the responsibility for broken promises.

As for the rest you are suddenly asking me to publish: you are asking too much. My information for these talks has been taken all over my section. Are you seriously asking that pHos, pIsa, Testimonia, Florilegium, pPs 37, pPs127, should all be published in the next *BASOR*? What I do think might be a good idea, and I was going to suggest it, is a possible additional 15-minute paper at the International [Congress] Old Testament Section in August, if you agreed, [with] a fairly short article on "Messianic Terminology in Qumran," or the like.

I am rather amused by the idea of Strugnell and Milik preparing to demolish the dragon: I somehow feel that they will find themselves beating thin air! I am not waging any war against the church, and if I were, you may rest assured I would not let any loopholes in a publication for John or Milch to jump in. I stand by everything I said in my three talks, but I am quite prepared to believe that there may be other interpretations of my readings, and was more cautious than it served the purpose of certain newspapers to convey to their readers. You will find that caution reflected in any publication of scrollery that I make in learned journals—mine is not the habit of

using such official publications as debating channels. (See publications of pPs37 in *PEQ*.)

Tomorrow *Yadin and I* in Manchester are doing a trans-Atlantic broadcast discussion with two characters in New York. I shall take the opportunity of scotching some of the things which are being reported over there and putting the thing in perspective. That, together with a dignified silence (particularly where the press is concerned) is far more dampening to such nonsense than jumping into the fray with hasty and ill-formulated publications.

Re the enclosed scripts. I have the permission of the BBC to send them, but they must on no account go outside the circle of my friends of the scroller. I hope you will return them by airmail just as soon as you have all read them.²⁴

Allegro had now drawn a line in the sand. He refused to follow his editor in chief's publication instructions. Allegro's insubordination was stark. This would have been de Vaux's opportunity to assert his authority, dismiss Allegro, and reassign the texts. Over the next decade de Vaux undoubtedly looked back on this moment and wished he had made a different choice.

The day after answering de Vaux, Allegro penned a letter to Strugnell, still in Jerusalem:

The most fantastic reports of my broadcasts seem to be going around, and from the letter I had yesterday from de Vaux, everyone seems to be getting panic-stricken. I have sent a copy of my scripts to de Vaux for him to pass around. I was going to send you copies anyway, since I mention you in the first talk, and I believe your father was asking the BBC for a copy, which they couldn't provide. The scripts I have sent have a circulation strictly restricted to my friends of the scroller (if I have any left; until your letter arrived I was beginning to wonder), and are not to go outside that circle. I am resisting the pressure from various quarters (including our venerable editor in chief) to rush into print with publications of heaven knows how many of my fragments. This lunacy, just because some cheap journalists think they see a way of jumping belatedly on the [Edmund] Wilson bandwagon by misrepresenting what I said in three very short, popular broadcasts. I am going ahead with pNah, but very objectively ...in *PEQ* Further than that I will not go for the present. What made me laugh was that de Vaux says that you and Milik are planning to take issue with me in *BASOR* on the subject!

I wish you luck, and cannot for a moment imagine what you are going to fight about. I rather gather from sporadic reports that people seem to think that I am running an anticlerical crusade!

I had hoped to come this spring. I particularly wanted to see you, but the

university here has refused to cough up, and it's hardly likely the money will be forthcoming now from the pool in Jerusalem. Anyway, I could frankly do with a rest, for this business on top of 3Q and everything else had left me weak at the knees and not a little tired of the whole bloody business. Won't you come back to UK for a week or two? Always a welcome here in Manchester for you, any time you'd like to come.

I'm broadcasting again this afternoon—a transatlantic discussion with some clots in New York. I'll try and scotch some of this nonsense.²⁵

Allegro had no clue, of course, of the larger picture. Harding and de Vaux were desperately looking for funds to make another purchase of fragments from Kando. Mr. Joseph C. Green of Chevy Chase, Maryland stepped in to try to help (not to be confused with the fictional Mr. Green who helped Yadin buy the Cave 1 scrolls from the Metropolitan Samuel two years earlier in New York). Mr. Green had applied to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. for help and received a reply on 21 February 1956 that Professor Kraeling would be making a trip to Jerusalem and would assess the situation and report back to Mr. Rockefeller.²⁶ Green felt the letter was dismissive, and reported so to Harding on 25 February 1956. Still, he asked that Harding impress upon Professor Kraeling the importance of obtaining funds to rescue these fragments, and suggested that he would be willing to look elsewhere for funding as well.²⁷ On 1 March 1956 he reported to Harding that he approached Burrows about helping find some money to purchase the fragments, but was rebuffed by him too, and in such a way that his feelings had evidently been injured.²⁸ Some of the scholars simply had no idea how to treat contributors or potential contributors.

Awni Dajani, of whom we will hear so much in later years, was still in England studying. He checked in with Harding on 1 March, asking about his promotion that he should have received long ago, and thanked Harding for all his efforts to help him. It would be only a few years and he would have Harding's job, but neither knew that at the time.²⁹

Now Cross joined in the fray with Allegro, and he did not mince words:

The predicted fireworks have come. I gather the press has distorted you in part. Never mind. They always do. On the other hand, I also suspect that you are equating what is evident, namely, that the Teacher of Righteousness is an eschatological figure, with the notion that therefore he is a priestly Messiah figure. But as I have held, I still think the one does not prejudice the other. We are dealing with a community living in eschatological times. Unless you have new data, which I have not seen in the pNah, and which I am told via Jerusalem, is not in the infamous Copper Document, you will have one hell of a time convincing me. If you have new data, I'll convince in a minute. In

the meanwhile, I'm deluged with press and scholarly requests for information and comment. I have developed stock answers. I know no new data on the "crucified Messiah" theory. I am energetically in support of a Jannaeus background. We shall have to await scholarly publication before details can be made public.

I also gather that your press agent and senior colleague at Manchester is not happy with you, and not averse to reporting his unhappiness in a voluminous correspondence. At this point, needless to say, I rally to your defense, but without committing myself to your historical theories.

At this point, quite seriously, I think you should hasten publication of the pNah. Freedman is quite anxious for it this spring. "I want you to have it in print format," quote; but never mind. For your own good I believe you must defend yourself on scholarly ground. Your point of view is obviously more feasible than Dupont-Sommer's; indeed, it is the decisive repudiation of the cruces of his reconstruction.

Incidentally, on the crucifixion angle, I'll bet a pickle to a gingersnap, that you are basing that on pNah, as we both predicted Dupont-Sommer would! If you have a copper reference, I'll eat it.

I'm heading for Harvard, having given in to the lure of doctoral teaching and more time for research. Besides, it puts me 1,000 miles closer to Jerusalem. But we shan't go until the summer of 1957.

This summer, my colleague Wright will be beginning a dig at Shechem. In another summer or two, I'll probably join them. When are you going out? My reservations call for May 10 at the moment, if I survive the load of lectures on the damn scrolls. If you, Wilson, and Dupont-Sommer would quit waving your arms in public, we could get some scholarly quiet in which to work. On the other hand, I'm buying a new car thanks to the proceeds of lectures you guys are stirring up. All I'm losing is my health. How about you? I gather you are having the time of your life. But such a procedure is tiring. At all events, we should have a delightful summer. For the first time, we'll have some differences to argue among the members of the Jerusalem latter-day yahad.

Love and condolences to your sweet family, who, I gather, continue to get the brush-off from their father or lord whenever he kisses them, to judge from the *Time* spread."³⁰

At the same time as this is all swirling about, Allegro wrote to Strugnell as if nothing was happening, giving a note on a reading in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings, asking for a better photograph from Albina, and guessing that Strugnell was at Qumran digging.³¹

Strugnell was prompt in answering Allegro's scholarly requests:

Here is, I think, a better photograph of Peshar Nahum I enclose also one more photograph of something probably yours, but which I forgot to put in the last order because Milik was considering incorporating it into his octopus-like Book of Mysteries. And that is all, except that Kando still talks about some material outstanding, which he is longing to purchase for us, but unfortunately not much On the sacrificial cult I am not quite decided, but I find it very probable from the texts that they had some sacrifices at Q. You should when you come out look at the relevant passage of my "Proto Mishnah." Also I can't understand one of my periphrastic pieces (the Words of Moses) on any other assumption. But it is odd that we should have found no archaeological traces of an altar Excuse the scrawl. I am in a hurry and have a slight injection fever on me.³²

Allegro continued to keep up with some of the others on the team. At this point he was still very friendly with Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, to whom he wrote on 26 February 1956:

My dear Baron,

I was pleased to know via one of your pupils that you were still alive. How are you, dear boy, and how is the work? Are you married yet to that beautiful blond Nordic type? If not, why not?

...You may have heard a lot of fantastic rumours circulating by way of that hotbed of hysteria, America, recently. These arose out of some very innocent radio talks I gave here recently, which were badly reported to the States and started off a witch hunt. I am the great ecumenical movement of the history of the church. A Roman priest, a Jew, and a Presbyterian joined with one voice to condemn me to outer darkness. I have been flooded with letters from irate scholars over there, wanting to know what the hell, etc. In short, life has been pretty unbearable, and I am physically and mentally at the end of my tether, as the saying goes. But here in England, hardly a whisper has been raised, apart from interested comments from listeners, for indeed there was very little in the talks of a revolutionary nature. And nothing from 3Q, despite fantastic rumours to the contrary.

I have, however, changed my opinion on several points since we last met. I now think pNah points to this Jannaeus person as the Wicked Priest, and so I come down from my Maccabean dating (will you tell Kuhn please, that I am deserting him). I think also on consideration that the Teacher was expected to share in a general resurrection (after the Dan. 12:2 type), and that being the case, was expected to rise again as Messiah. I think it's quite pos-

sible that Jannaeus may have crucified the blighter, since such was his wont (remember the reference in pNah) to do to political enemies, and I think the Teacher was one. For I am pretty certain that they had a temporary sanctuary down there, and that the Teacher was acting as High Priest, and thus deserving of the death of a rebel. I believe I am being quoted as saying that this makes him a pattern of Jesus, and so on—with the wildest conclusions being drawn. This is, of course, sheer nonsense, though I do think (privately) that the fact of his death may have influenced Jesus to expect something similar, though I've not said so anywhere. The contacts between what the sect expected of the Davidic Messiah and what the church quotes about Jesus are, however, most impressive and I have no doubt that Jesus fitted *formally* into a preexistent messianic pattern. This doesn't strike me as being particularly new, and in any case, in no way militates against the church's position on the person of Jesus as far as I can see. But from the fuss the silly asses are making in the States on the basis of these garbled versions of newspaper correspondents anyone would think I'd discovered a reference to the body of Jesus!

...I am going to publish some messianic fragments before long, in fact, I want to get them away as soon as possible. Have you a journal over there who would offer me a very early publication date?

3Q is away to Jordan, or at least my readings and translations are. It's been a bit of a strain doing everything at once, with the world bursting round my ears, and some very unkind letters coming from de Vaux and Harding in Jerusalem just to add to my misery. In short, I am thoroughly tired of the whole business of scrollerly, and shall be glad to get rid of it, and back to my philological studies

Is there any hope of your paying us a visit? Can't you get a publisher to engage you as translator of this wretched book of mine, and then make an official visit at his expense to come and see me about it?³³

On 2 March 1956 Harding wrote a receipt at the PAM, pregnant with meaning:

RECEIVED from Khalil Iskandar Shaheen [Kando] "EIGHT CARDBOARD BOXES AND ONE PACKAGE" *containing fragments of ancient manuscripts on deposit for safekeeping.*

(G. LANKESTER HARDING)

CURATOR,

PALESTINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM³⁴

The following day, 3 March, Spicer wrote Harding from Oxford saying that DJD 2 had been approved, with the same contract (no royalty) except for the paragraph stipulating a subvention.³⁵

Allegro penned a letter to Harding on the same day, completely unaware, of course, of these events in Jerusalem. He was not overly polite:

I have received no acknowledgement of the safe arrival of the transcriptions and translations. However, this is hardly surprising in view of the treatment I have received at your and your minions' hands, and common courtesy has become a rarity from Jordan.

Your instructions have been carried to the letter, probably, even more. The release has been made of the cutting, my participation has been denied, and no credit has come to me for advising on every cut made, for reading and for forwarding the transcriptions and translations. Wright Baker is apparently going around telling everybody, including my professors, that I have been definitely discredited by my colleagues in Jordan, and generally casting doubt on my personal and academic integrity. Saleh is doing the same, only more so.

I presume this is all in accordance with your instructions, and I hope you are now satisfied.

I was much amused, as you can imagine, to read the enclosed report in tonight's *Manchester Evening News*. My innocent revelations on the importance of these scrolls (not copper) for Christian origins, backed at all points with documentary evidence, pale into insignificance beside this statement by your Arab friend, made at a public lecture *on the copper scrolls*, for which there is not a shred of evidence of any kind, and which is, to say the least, highly improbable, if not downright impossible. I shall look forward with interest to see what the American press makes of this! This, at least, cannot be laid at my door: indeed, I was even forbidden entry to the lecture by Wright Baker!

I hope you are having a successful dig.³⁶

Still, Allegro stayed busy on his fragments. The day after writing to Harding he sent a letter to Cross:

I am sending the pNah article, and would ask you to forward it on to Noel Freedman when you have read it. In his last letter he had hopes of having it in print by June, which would suit me very well.

I also have another article in preparation, giving texts from 4Q Patriarchal Blessings (Gen 49:10 etc) and pIsa, and a line or two from 4Q Florilegium, which I intend publishing almost completely later this year.

From which you will gather that I am getting rid of all the messianic stuff, as well as the historical material, which suits me well. It's really coming along quite nicely, but it has been a trying time recently, as you can imagine,

and I am at the end of my tether. Happily, vacation is only a week or two off, and I'm hoping to get away for a fortnight with Joan and Judith Anne.

3Q, with 12 columns of text, is now away to Jordan, or at least my transcription and translation of it is. Muhammad Salih brought the second part over in December, but not for a month after we had cut the first, and by that time term was on us again, and it has been a mad rush doing everything at once. To make matters worse, Salih has made himself a blasted nuisance the whole time, spying on everything that was said in the Tech. during the work, reporting back every word to Harding and to his ambassador, until in the end they all seem to think we were trying to sell the thing to the Jews. Looking for a scapegoat they settled on me, so that everything I have done on the job has been discredited, and every attempt made to belittle my contribution to all parts of the work. However, I have read it, and sent them full translation (though provisional) and notes. But the affair has left a nasty taste, and I am heartily sick of all scrollerly at the moment³⁷

The following day Allegro wrote to Strugnell in Jerusalem to ask him to rearrange some fragments on plates where he had been able to deduce new joins from the photographs he had in England. So, despite everything, he continued to work.³⁸ At the same time de Vaux was replying to Allegro from Jerusalem:

I apologize for replying only today to your letter of 20 February (and to the one of the 16). They reached me with your BBC text, when I was already in Qumran, and I'm taking advantage of a short visit to Jerusalem to reply to you after having spoken with my friends of the "scrollerly."

We read the script of your radio broadcasts, and we found there everything which surprised us in the newspaper excerpts. Cp. Talk 2, p. 8, 9; talk 3, p. 1 and 6-9. You might be surprised about the fuss that your statements made, but you cannot say that the articles (which we read, the *American Time* and the *New York Herald*) twisted what you said. You will therefore not be surprised that we are sending a letter to the editor of the *Times* (in London) to say that in our opinion your statements on the crucifixion of Teacher of Righteousness, his removal from the cross, the vigil of his disciples waiting for his resurrection *cannot be based on any text which has been read well and interpreted well.*

This might all be well and good for the general public, but as far as scholarly circles are concerned, we received many letters, for example Dupont-Sommer, from Cross, W. Reed, who were astonished that you gave such conclusions without providing proof, and our correspondents are unanimous in maintaining that this is not scientific. I am persuaded that you yourself

have received similar letters. These same scholars ask that these texts, which would be so important to support your interpretation, be published immediately. They reacted the same way we did. I would like very insistently and in a very friendly way to make you understand that your scientific honor is involved, and that to preserve it, you should publish these texts. It is not a matter of publishing all of your material, but only the five or six passages of two or three lines which directly concern the points which provoked the strongest emotional reactions: the crucifixion by the gentiles, the removal of the broken body, the vigil of the disciples. We are therefore making you the following suggestion: we suggested the *BASOR*, but I understand that you don't want to withdraw the article from Freedman (*JBL*), and we think that it is a good idea that you send in your article on pNah since it is ready. However, you are going to have to explain the word *shlishi*, which is one of your main arguments. We therefore ask you to add to this article an appendix containing photographs and transcriptions of your other texts. And with whatever commentary you deem useful. This wouldn't be too long, and would be easy for you to prepare, since you have already arrived at conclusions regarding the interpretation of these texts. All this can be published in the July number of *JBL*. Your idea of presenting a paper at the Strasbourg Congress on Messianic terminology at Qumran is an excellent one. You can present the same texts there and you can be assured that the audience will ask for explanations. You would only need to send the title of your paper to the secretariat of the Congress. Your paper will be listed among the category of "general papers," since the main program is already complete. But I shall see to it that your paper is placed in such a way that a discussion is possible with sufficient time for you.

We insist above all on the publication of the main texts as an appendix to your article on pNah. *If you refuse to do this, I will take the responsibility, in agreement with Harding, to ask one of the members of the staff in Jerusalem to publish these texts himself, along with the reading and the transcription which seems to him correct. I don't believe I am exceeding my power as editor in chief by doing this. On the contrary, I think that I'm fulfilling the duties of such a position.*³⁹

I am very saddened about this quarrel that we are having. Apart from these foolish mistakes your broadcasts on the BBC were excellent. I've always greatly appreciated your scientific work, and I'm counting on you for our long-term publication project. I beg you to abandon these hasty popularizations, this desire to create sensation among the general public. You have what it takes to carry out good scientific work; don't descend to the level of journalism. This request that I am making of you should indicate to you, I hope, the friendship that I feel for you and of which I assure you.⁴⁰

At least de Vaux finally got as far as a threat: either publish the material now or it will be reassigned. But things were out of hand, and the letters kept flying. One wonders when Allegro had time to work. Next he fired one off to Cross:

I received your letter before I had stuck down the flap of the envelope containing pNahum, and was very glad to have it. At least, it was friendly, and that, believe me, is something at the moment, and a good deal more than I have been receiving from de Vaux and Harding, as you will have gathered from my covering letter.

No, there is nothing on the messianic angle in 3Q, and I was not using that fabulous document in making my talks. But I am very annoyed that Skehan should have apparently been shown its contents, when you haven't. Why don't you write to de Vaux or Harding and demand to be told what is in it: you've certainly as much right to know as Skehan, in fact, a hell of a sight more. But surely you've guessed by now, why all this secrecy before the excavations.⁴¹

I know, of course, of your view about the Teacher, an eschatological figure. But it won't do, you know. I'll be interested to know what you think when you've read the pNah article. And unless you are disassociating the *dwrš htwrh* [interpreter of the Torah] from the Teacher (Florilegium), how can you explain his coming "with the *s'mh'* [sprout=Messiah of] David"?—in "the last days." I fully agree about their regarding themselves as living in the Last Days in one sense; their "40 years" was the last straight, so to speak, but there was a period which they call the Last Days, or the End of Time, etc., which was quite definitely, like their Time of Trial, in the future. It is then that "the Last Priest will stretch forth his hand against Ephraim." And presumably you don't deny that the Teacher lived and died in the past.

Was he crucified? How the hell do I know? But I think it highly probable, which is all I said. If the Wicked P[riest] was Jannaeus, we know from Josephus (and 4Q, if the Lion of Wrath is the same person) that he crucified people. I think it more than probable that the Teacher was practicing sacrifice at Qumran, was thus regarding himself as High Priest, and was thus a political as well as religious rebel, and therefore deserving of this punishment in the eyes of Jannaeus. Strugnell believes also that they practiced sacrifice, from a document he has; you are inclined that way, and when I tell you that 3Q has a reference to a *byt šm* [house of God] ... (for your eyes and ears alone, for God's sake). But where was it? Not at Qumran, I think, but in the Buqeia somewhere. I am becoming convinced that Qumran was only part of the works, and not the most important part either. So I do think it highly probable that the T[eacher] was crucified, and if we are to believe 1QpHab, "in the house of his exile." (Besides, 3Q speaks of the *qbr s'dwk* [grave of the

righteous] and the *gnt s' dwk* [garden of the righteous],¹ and the former has a cloister round it.)

I am awfully pleased about Harvard. Not only because this Christianity business is played out, but because you can work more on research, and without the ties of denominational calls.

I am interested in your record of the activities of my senior colleague (Rowley). He told me the other day that his correspondence had been doubled on account of my broadcasts (with foreign scholars; it aroused only normal healthy interest here—because they heard the whole thing, and not just what some news-hungry journalist cared to report). But this was long after the event, and although willing to answer all these letters, and generally discredit me, he never once asked to see the script (since he heard none of the talks) nor asked me to tell him what it was all about. He had a letter from de Vaux who had told him how sad he was, and this Rowley has been spreading round the world, also. So all in all he's had a good time. Incidentally, he's been at work in the university too, I gather. Well, I hope my book sells well, because its proceeds will probably have to keep us all alive whilst I learn how to sweep roads.

I wanted to go out to Jer. this spring, as I told you. But no money was forthcoming from here for the fare, the application being insufficiently backed, of course. In fact, I was told by the gent. referred to above, that as an assistant lecturer I had no right to think about such things. I might even so have raised the money by draining the dregs of the family resources again, but such is the hostility of our "friends" in Jordan at the moment, I hardly think it would be fun. Furthermore, the international situation just now, with the removal of Glubb [Pasha], is mighty touchy, and I think I prefer to remain here in safety. I frankly am wondering whether either of us is likely to see our fragments again. Anyway, I fully intend having a bumper publication year with anything of interest, so whatever happens, I shall have got the interesting and important stuff out.

I am very pleased about your new car, and the more so that my startling revelations have helped bring it about. But I, too, am losing my health. *In fact, I'm as near a nervous breakdown as I have ever been.*⁴² But I'm easing up a bit now, and with the dispatch of the next article shall feel freer. I am avoiding public lectures as much as possible, for they are not worth it even financially in this country. But the BBC have done me well, and since I began the first of my series on the scrolls in January, I've been performing practically every week. Today I am going to a conference on a TV show we are supposed to be putting on next Monday. Did you hear that damp squib of a trans-Atlantic discussion which Yadin and I here in Manches-

ter did with a character called Bonnell and another Aginsky or the like in New York. They were supposed to wade into me, but the clots knew next to nothing about it. Still, it was fun.

That *Time* thing was lousy, and I did not say “Essenic pattern.” I said “messianic!” And that awful photograph.

Whether I shall be coming out in the summer, I don’t know. Even if the international situation allows of it, I’m not sure whether I want to. I’ve not recovered from the last one yet, which, though producing the book, really took it out of my physically. But, by golly, I’d like to see your ugly mug again, and if I don’t make it, you really have got to stop off this time and see us.

My love to Betty Anne and the bairns, and best wishes to yourself.⁴³

Letters continued to cross in the mail. De Vaux wrote back to Allegro, requesting his transcriptions of pNah for Father Dominique Barthélemy, who was now working on the Greek texts. This was the first mention of Father Barthélemy in nearly three years. Since he left Jerusalem in 1953 he had spent much of the time recovering from illnesses, but appeared to be “back in the saddle.”

De Vaux continued:

Having returned to Jerusalem [from the excavation at Qumran?] for a few hours for a conference at the Palestine Museum, I have your letter of 3 March I will be very happy to read your article on pNah that you are sending to the *JBL*. I will also be happy to see the chapters of your Pelican book [on the scrolls] which you have rewritten. They will be returned to you immediately by airmail. As for the rest, I think that you now have my letter of 1 March in which I gave you the opinion of our friends in Jerusalem as well as my own. I don’t see anything that needs to be added.

We only wish to raise to the scientific level a discussion which has fallen to the level of journalism. And I very sincerely think that this could only be to your advantage. If your readings and your interpretations are accurate, I am quite willing to adopt them. If they are inaccurate you would certainly have the integrity to give them up. This is the only way to clarify a situation which is as painful for me as it is for you.

I am saddened by the last lines of your letter. In my last letters, I was firm, because I thought I had to be, but I don’t think that I have broken the rules of friendship in your case. I ask you to find here again the proof of my real friendship.⁴⁴

In hindsight one must seriously question whether taking the inner-team dispute public was the best course of action. Nevertheless it was a done deal, and Allegro reacted immediately:

I have your letter of 4 March, and note with interest that you are sending a letter to the London *Times* with a rejection of my conclusions. This should be most interesting to the London public, who have never heard my broadcasts. I have already pointed out to you that these broadcasts were made on the local northern station, as printed on the scripts, and the passages you take exception to were not extracted from their context by the press of this country, even in the north, where they were heard. You and your friends are now apparently going to draw the attention of the gutter press of this country to these passages, of which neither they nor the majority of their readers have heard and start a witch hunt over them. I congratulate you. What will certainly happen is that this press, scenting trouble, will descend like hawks on me and want to know what it is all about. They will then rush to the BBC, get copies of the scripts and do in this country precisely what the American press has already done over there. Only this time they will have added fuel in what appears on the face of it to be a *controversy developing between the ecclesiastics of the scroll team and the one unattached member*. Having regard to what Wilson has already said about the unwillingness of the church to tackle these texts objectively, you can imagine what will be made out of this rumpus.

With all respect I must point out to you that this nonsense of Wilson's has been taken seriously here. At every lecture on the scrolls I give the same old question pops up: Is it true that the church is scared of these scrolls, and can we be sure that *everything* will be published. That may sound silly to you and me, but it is a serious doubt in the minds of ordinary folk, particularly in this Protestant country. I need hardly add what effect the signatures of three Roman priests on the bottom of this proposed letter will have.

On Monday I am due to answer questions on the scrolls on the BBC Television service. If your letter has been published by then, a question on it will certainly be included. Tuesday morning will see the popular press full of the "controversy," and then the fun will start. From being quietly left to die in the minds of a few thousand listeners in the north of England, these few phrases will suddenly have had publicity before some nine million viewers, and again wrenched from their context.

Well, my dear Father de Vaux, I suppose you and your friends know what you're doing. I assure you that I am not going to add fuel to the fire. But even my silence will imply to a sensationalist press that I am being gagged by my ecclesiastical colleagues. Whatever happens, I wash my hands of the whole business.

4QpNahum is away to Frank and then to Freedman for *JBL*. It includes a couple of passages from pPsalm 37 which I think pretty clearly point to a general resurrection after the fashion of Daniel 12:2 and the NT. I am now working on another article involving quotations from my Patriarchal Bless-

ings, Florilegium and pIsaiah, thus bringing together messianic material from my section. Might I suggest that before you rush again into print you see these articles, and you may possibly come to the conclusion that anyone else in the scrollerly is likely to have done.

I am interested to note that *šlšy* is a major argument for the resurrection or something or other. Considering that it does not appear for certain, as far as I am aware, in 4Q, and certainly appears nowhere in 3Q (see my transcription and notes), I hardly think it's very good evidence. But use it if you want to, perhaps you have more evidence.

I am glad you approve of my idea of a short paper at Strasbourg. It will hardly now be on the messianic texts, since these will have been published by then, but I have one or two other interesting documents which should prove acceptable.

Perhaps you would tell Milik, who has never been keen that it should come out for some reason. Perhaps because he quoted it wrongly (as he has done with each of the other two documents in my section) in other publications.

I hope the dig is progressing satisfactorily. I am very anxious to hear of any results from 3Q investigations.

By the way, I have every hope of getting this second article away to *JBL* in time for its publication with pNahum—it is really far too long for an “appendix” as you suggest.

We can only hope for the best with this joint letter you are writing, or have written. I only hope for your sake that the editor of the *Times* is so completely mystified that he returns it to you. Otherwise, I fear that you are all going to look rather silly, if nothing worse. But don't say I didn't warn you about frantically beating thin air.⁴⁵

Strugnell wrote to Allegro again. To Strugnell's credit his letters almost always centered around the work in the scrollerly:

Dear John, or should I say Dragon?

Please excuse the much crumpled letter form, but I found it at the bottom of the pile of unanswered letters and decided to use it before it fell apart. You are lucky with photographs. I just caught Albina at the right time, before Jericho claims him for two weeks, and he is doing them while I write. I will have them sent in as soon as possible, together with new photographs of your pitch-black patriarchal blessing fragment [I have made] the joins in Psalms and Habakkuk, and also a few new fragments of Florilegium that have turned up from the unidentified plates, which now only number 30,

you will be glad to hear. One of them joins onto a piece you already had, so I photographed them together. I added also a certain join on that plate which you had failed to make, but you can judge of its certainty for yourself when you see the picture. Also a little piece from JMA 15 [John M. Allegro, plate 15] (or perhaps it was 32), which said *lnu* [*lanu*, to us] joins elsewhere onto one of my pieces.

I was sorry to have missed Baker's broadcast as it seems to have been very interesting. My father was greatly intrigued, but we have seen the photographs [of the Copper Scroll] and they seem to have done a wonderful job. But I am afraid that, along with the other orthodox here, I can't find the text all that interesting. In fact, I fell to sleep two hours while reading it. But that may be interpreted as a compliment to the excellent lunch I had just had.

...As for St. George killing the dragon, we were glad to get the text of your broadcast. My father had just written to say how he was interested in it, and that at least he understood why I was not considerably likely to be back to resume a Ph.D. course at Oxford, which is at the moment in suspension.⁴⁶ But apart from the bit about an "Essene pattern into which Jesus of Nazareth fits," which *Time* ascribed to you, but which wasn't in those three broadcasts, the passage that worried us all was there (what else the mad American press made of it in their hunt for sensations need not concern us). Although you qualified your crucifixion with "probably" you then elaborated the assumption with a deposition and a watch over the body, which is difficult because I can find not nearly enough evidence for a crucifixion, and none for the devotion to a crucified leader which is such a startling feature in the N.T. We wrote in the *Times*, you may have seen it, to say that we couldn't find in your texts enough to prove to our mind, your theories. It is, I think, startling that the way in which the known figure of Jesus influences not only the Christology, theology, and eschatology of the N.T., but also its ethics; this thorough impregnation I can't find at Qumran. The *Moreh* [Teacher] is more like Muhammad in Islam than Christ in Christianity. But enough of that. Yusef [Saad] I think sent off yesterday your broadcast scripts, but I will check up on that.

Nothing much new on my plates [scroll fragments]. Milik is at the moment at Qumran and de Vaux said that he would like me to come down late, as Milik doesn't want to stay for more than a week. While you were broadcasting with Yadin, did you get anything of interest out of him on the Aramaic roll [the Genesis Apocryphon]? The reports in the *Jerusalem Post* were interesting, but only as an aperitif. I am sorry that you are finding the university hard to persuade to cough up on the travel expenses. The offer of accommodation still stands, although now I will not be away, as I had hoped, on our

Nabatean do, as the [funds] are rather low, and our patron was not aware of the honour we were doing him in asking him to give us £500.⁴⁷

Another friendly exchange between the two Johns, but only on scrolls business came on 11 March 1956.⁴⁸ It was probably the last truly friendly letter Allegro ever wrote to any of the Cave 4 Team, for on 16 March the anticipated letter of renunciation appeared in the London *Times*:

Dear Sir,

It has come to our attention that considerable controversy is being caused by certain broadcast statements of Mr. John Allegro, of the University of Manchester, concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls. We refer particularly to such statements as imply that in these scrolls a close connexion is to be found between a supposed crucifixion of the "teacher of righteousness" of the Essene sect and the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The announced opinions of Mr. Allegro might seem to have special weight, since he is one of the group of scholars engaged in editing yet unpublished writings from Qumran.

In view of the broad repercussions of his statements, and the fact that the materials on which they are based are not yet available to the public, we, his colleagues, feel obliged to make the following statement. There are no unpublished texts at the disposal of Mr. Allegro other than those of which the originals are at present in the Palestine Archaeological Museum where we are working. Upon the appearance in the press of citations from Mr. Allegro's broadcast we have reviewed all the pertinent materials, published and unpublished. We are unable to see in the texts the "findings" of Mr. Allegro.

We find no crucifixion of the "teacher," no deposition from the cross, and no "broken body of their Master" to be stood guard over until Judgment Day. Therefore there is no "well-defined Essenic pattern into which Jesus of Nazareth fits," as Mr. Allegro is alleged in one report to have said. It is our conviction that either he has misread the texts or he has built up a chain of conjectures which the materials do not support.

Yours faithfully,

Roland de Vaux, O.P.

J. T. Milik

P. W. Skehan

Jean Starcky

John Strugnell

Palestine Archaeological Museum, P.O. Box 40 Jerusalem⁴⁹

Allegro immediately fired off another letter to de Vaux, but he wrote two versions and kept carbon copies of each, so we don't know which one he sent:

Your letter appeared in the *Times* today, and this evening, within an hour or so of getting home I had the *Daily Express* on the phone and *Reuters*. In view of the stink which is now certain to rise, I thought I had better reply to your letter in the *Times* and have sent off the enclosed. Knowing my fellow countrymen rather better than you do, I think I can quite accurately gauge the effect these letters will have among laymen, and I am rather sorry that you saw fit to drag young Strugnell into the stupid business. I have told you in my last letter and I tell you again, that in this country not a word of these disputed passages had been given general publicity until your letter today. I hope my letter may do something to put the thing back into proportion.

However, in one respect your voluminous correspondence with scholars, including my own professor, has had its presumably desired effect. My academic career is probably finished: I shall be lucky if I am allowed to finish my three-year contract with Manchester, and the chances of going elsewhere are nil. Harding's allegations, coupled with Wright Baker's concerning betrayal of secrets (unspecified) have contributed. My God! When I think what I might have put into that book of mine but refrained from doing so in case your release of 3Q had not been made before publication date. I even took out Saad's Murabba'at story (about kidnapping Bedouin] because Harding thought it might cause trouble with his employers.

I shall be sending you my copy of my 4QpNah shortly, and my messianic article is coming along well.

I had a kind of letter from Barthélemy today; he does not seem to think much light may come from a comparison of pNah with his fragments.

You will be overjoyed to know that we appeared together on a TV programme on Monday. I was most interested in the picture of the new scroll finds, though I must say your running out of the cave with the things in a nice new white box looked something of a "plant!" Where is the new cave, and is there anything interesting in the scroll? But of course, I am untrustworthy.⁵⁰

The other version of his letter to de Vaux is:

Dear Père de Vaux and colleagues,

Your letter in the *Times* today, and this evening within an hour or so of my getting home, the *Daily Express* and *Reuters* were on the telephone. There seems little doubt that all that I foretold in my last letter will come to pass,

and thanks to you, we may now expect the whole stupid business to become meat for those who are seeking to embarrass the church.

In view of this trouble, I have thought it best to reply to your letter and I enclose a copy.

In a few days I shall be sending you copies of my two articles, on pNah and messianic material. When you have all read them, I shall expect to hear from you details of my "misreadings," and the effect they have had on the references I have drawn.

If you are not able to find these errors in my publication, I shall, of course demand a public withdrawal through the same channels as you have already seen fit to use, of your accusations of scholarly incompetence. You have made publicly grievous charges and every word will have to be substantiated.

Thanks to you, and Mr. Harding, his subordinates, and Professor Wright Baker, who have circulated round the world accusations not only on my competence as a scholar but also on my personal integrity, my academic career is probably at an end. I hope this satisfied your ecclesiastical honour.⁵¹

There are also three versions of Allegro's letter to the *Times*, but only one is complete, so it is assumed it was the one he sent:

My attention has been drawn to a letter appearing in your columns today written by my colleagues of the "Dead Sea Scroll team" in Jerusalem. It appears that they take exception to my reconstruction of the history of the Qumran sect and the death of its founder, the so-called "Teacher of Righteousness," on the grounds that I have misread or misconstrued the evidence.

It should be appreciated by your readers, in the first place, that any such reconstruction must of necessity be based largely on inference, since nothing in the nature of a history book or "Gospel" of the New Testament type has been or is likely to be forthcoming from Qumran. We shall not, therefore, expect to find Hebrew texts giving intimate details of the lives of Qumran personalities. We do have certain vague references in biblical commentaries from the sect's library which have to be interpreted as best we can. We know, for instance, that the Teacher was persecuted by a certain "Wicked Priest," in the "house of his exile," presumed to be Qumran. It was long ago suggested that this persecutor could be identified with Alexander Jannaeus, the Jewish priest-king of the second and first centuries BC, and this view has steadily gained ground among scholars. From Josephus we learn that Jannaeus practised the cruel punishment of crucifixion, and, indeed, on one occasion had 800 Pharisaic rebels executed in this way in Jerusalem, following an unsuccessful revolt. From this alone it would have been a not unreason-

able inference that the Teacher suffered the same fate, since he, too, had rebelled against the Jerusalem priesthood. But now, as my colleagues are well aware, a newly discovered biblical commentary from Qumran not only offers some support for the Jannaeus dating by certain historical allusions, but mentions this practice of crucifixion, or, as it says, "hanging men up alive." Since the Qumran commentators do not refer to events unless they have some special importance for themselves or their times, we can reasonably assume that this form of execution had some particular relevance for their own history, although the commentary nowhere mentions their Master. My publication of the column concerned has been unfortunately delayed for a number of reasons outside my control, but should be available to scholars in the summer number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*. Yet, important as this reference is, the theory remains no more than inference, claiming only probability, and I myself have never gone further than this in advancing it.

Years ago it was suggested by scholars that the Teacher was expected to rise again as priestly Messiah. Allusions gleaned from a number of unpublished fragments from the Fourth Cave seem to support this idea, and an article now in the course of preparation will lay most of the new messianic material before scholars in the next few months. But it must be appreciated again that we have no detailed theological treatise from Qumran, comparable, for instance, with the Pauline letters, and we can only work by inference. Yet, if indeed the Covenanters did expect the resurrection of their Teacher, as I am convinced they did, then they must have buried him with particular care, and, if he had been crucified, taken his body down from the stake, instead of leaving it to moulder there, as was the custom with this form of execution. Perhaps we shall learn more of this matter of the burial anon.

I presume that the real core of my colleagues' objections is in the inferences which have been drawn by others by a comparison of this hypothetical reconstruction of events with similar occurrences in the Christian gospels. I, too, deplore such wide-sweeping generalisations about the historicity of the person of Jesus or the validity of the Church's claims from such points of detail. It is true that in my last talk I referred back to my reconstruction of events as a bridge to the following discussion of the importance of these scrolls from the point of view of Christian origins. However, the remainder of my talk made it quite clear that any further identification of the two Masters was out of the question, since the one was a priest, expected to come again as priestly Messiah, and the other was a layman, whose followers claimed for him the office of Davidic Messiah. In the phraseology of the New Testament in this connection we find many points of resemblance to Qumran literature, since the sect were also looking forward to the coming of Davidic

Messiah who would arise with the Priest in the last days. It is in this sense that Jesus “fits into a well-defined messianic (not ‘Essenic’ as I was wrongly quoted—the question of whether this sect were Essenes is still open) pattern.” There is nothing particularly new or striking in the idea. As far as I am aware, it has never been doubted that the messianic ideas and phraseology of the New Testament are taken over from Jewish sources. The importance of the scrolls is that for the first time we have contemporary documents bearing witness to those ideas over the most crucial years before the church’s birth.

The vast difference between the Greek Church’s divine Saviour of the world and the Davidic Prince of Qumran is obvious enough, and is best described by theologians of the standing of my Jerusalem colleagues.

No one has been more surprised at the reception of these “popular” talks in certain quarters than myself, since I was not aware that I was saying anything particularly new or which could not have been inferred by anyone else on the published evidence. It is true that unpublished material in my care made me more willing to accept certain suggestions made previously by other scholars on what have appeared to me to be insufficient grounds. Professor Dupont-Sommer, for instance, went far beyond my position several years ago, and I would still not follow his views entirely now. Nevertheless, his acute perception of the importance of these scrolls for the study of Christian origins from the very beginning is to be applauded.

As to the question of whether I have misread my texts or not, the question can best be decided by the consensus of scholarly opinion when these texts have been published, but, in fact, it hardly affects the general inferences which I have drawn and which appear to be the subject of your correspondents’ letter.⁵²

The whole incident with the Cave 4 Team’s letter to the London *Times*, the radio broadcast, and the interviews in *Time Magazine* left Allegro embittered and caused a rift between the other team members and him that was patched up only sporadically and in a very cosmetic way. But the bitterness remained and only grew. As Joan Allegro said, “You see, they even charged him with all sorts of publicity stunts. He wasn’t really seeking publicity at all. Our children would even tell you that he was just wrapped up in his work and he was studying with the minutest detail. He was a popularizer, because he wanted to bring this excitement that he felt to the public. And of course he was able to do that, he had this ability to talk to anybody, anybody who was interested. It used to be a pain really, if we went to parties, he would dominate the conversation. Little me sat in the corner just keeping quiet, but he managed to interest so many people.” And to this day both his widow and his daughter are convinced that Allegro was a victim of de Vaux and his “cronies” who attacked him because they thought Allegro was attacking the Church.⁵³

Amid all this turmoil, there was still the matter of funding for the scrolls projects. On 19 March 1956 a loan agreement was signed between the American Joint Fund for General Economic Development, administered by Nancy Thompson and the Minister of Economy of Jordan, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum for JD 6,000. The signatories on the part of the PAM were Father de Vaux and G. Lancaster Harding, signing as curator, secretary of the board, and trustee and the term of the loan was approximately 15 months. One of the provisions was that anything bought with the funds could not be disposed of without the permission of the government of Jordan. Although this particular provision was not cited later during the controversy about dividing the scrolls among the various foreign institutions that had contributed money for them, if this money were used for the purchase of scrolls, the scrolls could not have been apportioned out to these institutions, if only for that reason. In the end, other factors mitigated, happily, against sending them away from the museum. Three days later the trustees of the PAM empowered de Vaux to spend the money.⁵⁴ This was the first of three parts of the total debt of JD 46,000 (\$128,800) built up by the PAM to acquire part of the Cave 11 scrolls. The second was JD 15,000 (\$42,000) from the Ottoman Bank and JD 25,000 (\$70,000) owed to “a dealer” who was “pressing hard for his money.”⁵⁵

Now the intrepid Mr. Green came back into the picture. Harding wrote to explain why he got such a cold response to his appeal for Rockefeller funds:

I am sorry you had such a cold reception from Burrows, but the explanation is that Rockefeller consulted Kraeling about your approach, and Kraeling advised against it. He likes to keep all Rockefeller affairs in his own hands, but I shall have the opportunity of talking about the matter with him soon. It is a pity that your very good intentions should have met with this response, but don't give up. We are needing money more than ever now, as quite confidentially, *there has been another big and very important find recently*. So anything you can do for us will be very much appreciated.⁵⁶

This was the simplest of explanations. Mr. Green had transgressed one of the cardinal rules of fund-raising: do not approach someone else's source, especially for the same project! Well-meaning he definitely was, but apparently somewhat naive about asking for money. And then Harding almost casually added the startling news that there had been “another big and very important find.” This was the first official letter mentioning the discovery of Cave 11.

Harding now began to pull out all the stops. Perhaps the loan he received for the PAM just days before was, indeed, necessitated by the Cave 11 finds. In typical fashion Harding realized that there would be much more money needed and so he got to

work writing letters. The first was to James T. Duce at the Arabian American Oil Co. (ARAMCO) office in Washington:

My good friend Sandy Campbell of Tapline, Beirut, has suggested that I might write to you in connection with a problem now facing our museum.

You have no doubt heard of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the earliest manuscripts of the Old Testament so far known, and may perhaps have heard something of my connection with them. Quite recently another big find of manuscripts has been made by the Bedouin in another cave by the Dead Sea, and from what I have seen and heard of it, the collection appears to be a large one, *including at least one complete scroll*, and fragments of many others. My problem now is to find the cash to keep this material together in the country, so that it can be studied as a unit. It is unfortunately only too easy to smuggle such things away, and when they become dispersed before study, their scientific value is very considerably lessened. Unfortunately also from our point of view, the monetary value is well known to the Bedouin, particularly in view of the well-publicised recent purchase by Israel of the four scrolls from the Assyrian Bishop for nearly \$500,000 [actually, \$250,000]. On the basis of what has been reported to me and what I have actually seen, I estimate that we require about \$150,000 for this lot.

So I am writing to ask if you could possibly help us raise this sum in order to preserve this unique and priceless material. The museum has made great contributions to the study of these scrolls, and at the present has an international team⁵⁷ of specialists working on the fragments from an earlier cave. We have used up all our available resources in buying these and other manuscripts, and while the government may be prepared to take up a share in the find, it is a poor country and has barely enough funds for its immediate purposes.

Thus I have to turn to outside sources for help, and appeal to all those interested in the Bible to give what they can to save these documents.

May I add that *the museum is a private institute*, governed by an international board of trustees, among whom is the American ambassador to Jordan. *I am myself a trustee as well as curator, secretary to the trustees, and Director of Antiquities to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.*

I most sincerely hope you may be willing to help us in this very urgent affair, which is, after all, of worldwide interest, and shall look forward to hearing from you.⁵⁸

Now the hunt for funds had begun in earnest. To anticipate a little, it would be years before the material could be purchased. The same day, apparently, he wrote an

identical letter to Watson W. Wise of Tyler, Texas, again at the behest of his friend Sandy Campbell.⁵⁹

Cross was back in Chicago and working to get Allegro's article into the June 1956 *Journal of Biblical Literature*. He wrote to Brownlee: "I have it [the article] on my desk now. In my opinion the document [Peshar Nahum] certifies the Jannaeus era as crucial in the history of the sect (as I've remarked cryptically since last summer). I find no support of John's other constructions (which I have argued with him all winter)."⁶⁰

Interestingly, Harding did not send the same letter to Joseph Green, but he received a letter from Green on 27 March 1956 informing him that on his own he had approached John D. Rockefeller III, son of John D. Jr., but again, without results. He said that he was "at the end of his rope," though was willing to look elsewhere for funds should Harding ask him.⁶¹

Harding received a reply to his plea for funds from ARAMCO a month later. It was a pitiful excuse, and showed the kind of myopia that had affected the general public about the need for funding from the beginning. It was almost always useless to get a recommendation from such a person. Of all people, he recommended Rockefeller, who had already given so much!

"I have shopped around among my friends here and can find no one who is at present in a position to furnish the money for the Dead Sea Scrolls. I wish I could find somebody.

For reasons which you will understand we at Aramco are not in a position to help. I wonder if you have written to the present Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Senior [he means junior], who sometimes assists in matters of this kind.⁶²

While Harding was busy looking for funds to buy the Cave 11 materials, Allegro knew practically nothing about it, and was concentrating on publishing his materials. He sent one of his articles to Cross, asking for suggestions, and inquired of Cross whether he was still sticking to his "eschatological, not-resurrected theory for the Teacher." If he was, Allegro said, after reading the article, then Allegro "gives up!"

He had seen de Vaux walking out of Cave 11 on the BBC and was quite curious. "Of course," he said, "I am not told anything these days"⁶³

By mid-April Allegro was after de Vaux again. He was testy, cheeky, and aggressive:

Here are my only copies of the two articles I mentioned. I should be very glad if you and my colleagues would read them, digest their information, and return them as soon as possible by air mail

As I said in my previous letter, I shall be awaiting a clear statement of "misinterpretations" and/or "misreadings," and when I receive it I shall de-

cide whether to raise the matter again in the daily press. I need hardly say that if you do not find them, or fail to reply, I shall certainly call your hand in this matter. You will all appreciate the extreme gravity of your charges, and the support you have derived from my own professor in the columns of *Time Magazine* will not have escaped your notice.

I am planning to come out to Jerusalem this summer to try and finish my work on the scrolls. I should very much appreciate some indications of when you and Mr. Harding are planning to release some information on the copper scroll. I have, of course, omitted all reference to the contents in my book, but *am planning to include the whole thing in the second edition*, and shall want to decide on its timing to follow your announcement. I should also be glad to know if I am to be allowed to take part in its publication⁶⁴

With admirable patience and forbearance de Vaux answered Allegro, but not in kind:

I am replying to your letter of 13 April and I am returning the two articles you were kind enough to send us. Our disagreement with you only concerned the statements you made on the BBC or which were attributed to you by the press, and which we listed in our letter to the *Times*. In the public response you made to this letter you yourself admitted that these statements were not directly based on the texts, but that they were an interpretation that you gave to these texts. We maintain that this interpretation is unjustified, and it remains for you to support your interpretation with proof, if you wish.

But, in the two articles that you have sent us, you don't deal with any of these points. My colleagues thus maintain that they don't have to respond to these articles. Just as everything any scholar publishes is subject to criticism, so your articles will be dealt with in the same way. We have not been involved in the difficulties that have arisen between you and other members of your university and have no wish to interfere.

It is normal that you wish to come and check your readings against the readings of the originals before putting the finishing touches to the publication of your texts. But your colleagues point out to me that their work, which covers a much greater number of fragments than yours, is not as advanced as you seem to be, and that the volume in which your batch must be published can only be ready in a year and a half or two years' time.

*They therefore ask you to delay your trip to Jerusalem by one year, since it would not be profitable for you to come this summer.*⁶⁵

With regard to the Copper Scrolls, Mr. Harding will issue an announcement to the press in just a few days; you will certainly see it in time for your second edition. We thank you again for putting us in contact with the Insti-

tute of Technology, where the scrolls were opened in a very admirable manner. You were responsible for overseeing the cutting of the scrolls to be able to do the transcriptions, which would have been used in place of the scroll, had an accident occurred [and had they been damaged]. You did this and we thank you again. But as I have written to you, *the temporary translation that you sent us and your general interpretation of the document do not seem accurate to us*. The responsibility for the publication does not belong to the Department of Antiquities, but to the excavator. Since Milik was one of the excavators, I have asked him to be responsible for the publication which he is preparing by using the scrolls themselves, which are now available to him.

John Strugnell would have liked to have sent you the photographs you requested more quickly, but our photographer has been very busy lately. Strugnell is sending them now, along with his apologies for this delay.⁶⁶

Allegro had now been uninvited from the scrollerly, with the weakest of excuses. It was now clear that the Cave 4 Team wanted nothing more to do with him. Naturally, he felt slighted, and, indeed, he should have. Either he was still part of the Cave 4 Team or he wasn't, but he could not be both a member and at the same time excluded from the scrollerly.

To add insult to injury, Hunzinger, who did not sign the letter against Allegro, wrote briefly: "your position is not especially strong," and declined to translate his book into German.⁶⁷ Allegro's reply showed how all this was affecting him:

My dear Baron,

Thank you very much for your letter, which I was most pleased to have, if only to know that you are still alive. But it was also rather nice to have a friendly letter from a fellow Scrollerist—a rarity these days, as you may imagine!

Following the points on your letter:

1. Heaven alone knows when, if ever, our friends in Jerusalem are going to release the news of the copper scroll. It's quite fabulous (Milik thinks literally so, but he's a clot). Just imagine the agony of having to let my Pelican go to press without being able to breathe a word in it about 3Q! It would sell another million, too, if I could. Mind you, after what they've been saying about me recently, I don't know why I don't. You know, Harding has never even acknowledged receipt of my translations and transcriptions let alone thanked me for them.

2. pNahum should be out in June *JBL*. I don't think it's really fair to the audience to mention the contents in detail before then, but by all means you can mention its existence and general content, without going into names and what not.

3. I must say *Der Spiegel* did me proud: I had a long interview with Dr. Alexander, who came to see me in Manchester about the scrolls. He's a very intelligent chap, although I gather that his editor took the job off him once he had got all the information. Brother, you don't really know my position on the scrolls! Wait for the Pelican.

4. Re which. It's OK about the translation. I guessed anyway that you wouldn't be too keen the way things were going, and particularly as Kuhn and Co. had already embarked on a similar venture. When is Kuhn's appearing, do you know? And Bardtke's? The Pelican should appear in August. A German publisher has expressed himself very interested in having German translation rights, and now has a copy of the manuscript. So also French and Dutch, and four American publishers have been trying to get the American rights. In fact, one has got the option on them, and is planning a hardcover edition for the American market. *So you see what a little scurrility can do for one!* However, before our dear colleagues in Jerusalem wrote their letter to the *London Times*, I warned them what would happen. Incidentally, one American publisher wrote and offered me a thousand dollars' advance in royalties for any manuscript I'd like to produce on scrolls!

You will have seen that my revered professor—HHR [H. H. Rowley]—has also had his whack in *Time Magazine*, but I've already had a letter from a famous OT professor in the States calling his attack “dastardly” and hoping that it boomerangs against him.

I have a pile of messianic stuff coming out in the summer *JBL* as well as *pNah*. Don't make up your mind on these matters before you've seen it all presented.

My regards to Professor Kuhn.⁶⁸

Again, while Allegro was completely taken up with his reputation and his bank account, smiling all the way to the bank, Harding was engaged in the larger question of raising funds to buy the outstanding fragments. On 19 April 1956 he wrote to A.P. Jacobian of the Gulbenkian Fund in England.

You have no doubt heard about the now famous Dead Sea Scrolls, and may even have heard something of my connection with them. This museum has been closely connected with them from the beginning, and has laid out considerable sums of money to acquire the material from the finders and thus preserve it from being scattered. There has recently been another big find of scrolls, some of which I have already seen, and I can say that it represents the best material which has been discovered since the first cave. You may be aware that Israel has recently acquired four scrolls from this cave (one complete, the others only partly so) for the sum of about \$300,000 [actually,

\$250,000]. This, of course, sets a market price for them, and the sum which is now needed for this later discovery is about £50,000 sterling. Would the trust consider helping us with this sum, and so preserving these unique documents from being scattered and sold indiscriminately. Such an action would seem to me to come well within the scope of things envisaged by Mr. Gulbenkian in founding the trust, but you, of course, will be more acquainted with that aspect than I am. I should greatly value your views and advice.

Perhaps I should explain that this museum is a semi-private⁶⁹ one, administered by an international board of trustees, of which I am also a member as director of Antiquities of Jordan. *Our income is derived only from the Endowment Fund given by Mr. Rockefeller some years ago, and is barely sufficient to maintain its running order.* The museum is recognised by the government of Jordan, which has two representatives on the board. The present constitution of the board is as follows:-

Director of L'École biblique et archéologique française, Jerusalem – president

British Ambassador, Amman

American Ambassador, Amman

Royal Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, Tel-Aviv

Director of L'Institut français d'archéologie, Beirut

Professor A. Creswell for British Academy

The Under-Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jordan government

The Director, Department of Antiquities, Jordan government

The whole world of scholarship as well as the trustees would be greatly indebted to the trust if it can help us with this problem, which is a rather urgent one.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, de Vaux was patiently dealing again with Allegro. He asked him to admit that he was wrong, and informed him that it was not because of any reading in the Copper Scroll that he began excavating at Ein Feshkha, but for purely obvious archaeological reasons:

I only received your letter of 19 April when I had already returned your article on pNah to you. Could you kindly send us the new reading that you have adopted, following the suggestion of Freedman? This reading is obviously the correct one, and it is the one that we made immediately when you referred us to this text by letter to justify your hypothesis of the crucifixion of the Teacher of Righteousness. Your *shlishi* reading seemed then to be confirmed by c3Q. You rejected this one yourself, and you were correct. Now your last *shlishi* has fallen away. We congratulate you for this, but we

ask you to admit that when we spoke of “misreadings” we knew what we were talking about.

We have in fact recognized a building near Ein Feshkha. We were not led there by indications from c3Q, but simply by alignments of stones which appeared on the surface. We have only excavated one room to be assured by the pottery and coins that the period was indeed the same as the period of Khirbet Qumran. But we had to set aside the excavation for a future campaign because the building seems quite large.⁷¹

Always full of ideas, and quick to recover from the present difficulties with the rest of the team, Allegro wrote to Harding with a very good idea indeed, soliciting funds in America to be deposited for future use in buying up materials. He did not seem to be aware of the magnitude of the fragments yet to be bought, but he did remember that there were still quite a few things from Khirbet Mird on the antiquities market when he was last there.⁷²

The same day Allegro also wrote to Strugnell:

Thank you very much for the Pss of Josh. fragment photograph which reached me this morning. It adds a few words, and I shall amend my article accordingly in the proof stage. I am glad to know also that the others are following by sea.

De Vaux said in the letter before last (my! how our correspondence runs on) that Harding was going to make a public announcement on the 3Q thing “in a very few days.” Nothing yet though; *is he having difficulty, I wonder, with his government again. Poor man, I don't envy him his job.*

Things are going very well here. The admirable *Times* effort of you and your co-ecclesiastics had the immediate effect of three more American publishers scrambling after the U.S. rights on the Pelican, making four in all. Gentlemen, I thank you. They all wanted me to write another book, and one offered me a thousand dollars' advance in royalties immediately he received the manuscript. *I say, you boys couldn't manage another letter could you, just after the book appears. Tell me what you'd like me to say that you think you can knock down, and I'll see what I can do.* And if you can induce my revered professor to have another go in *Time Magazine*, it would add another half-million or so to my sales. I'm sorry really that you couldn't have waited a little longer, because the great work won't be on the bookstalls for another three or four months, and it's difficult to keep the pot boiling till then. Mind you, I have great hopes of the 3Q “Garden Tomb:” that should be worth a good hundred thousand copies at least. I do hope Gerald releases that soon, though I somehow think he won't. Pity.

I noted with some misgivings, young John, that last cryptic remark of your note. It smells of sex raising its u.h. [ugly head], and I fear the worst. Who is it this time? I do hope British, although, mind you, if it's one of the other two, it shouldn't be difficult for you now to change your denominational colours, with all the support you are getting out there. But if she's British, and non-Catholic, I have fears that you may have been poaching on my territory.

I gather that you don't want to see me this summer. Tut tut; is this the spirit, old horse? Actually, it suits me rather well, as I want to get on with another book. But I should like to have seen you. Are you coming home soon, for leave or a job? Any hope of your coming to Strasbourg in August?⁷³

On 5 May 1956 a board meeting was held at the PAM concerning the Cave 11 scrolls still in the possession of Kando. The decision of the board was to borrow money; at this point there was no other choice:

"After discussion, the board decided unanimously to ask for a loan of JD 10,000 *in order to establish a lien on the material on condition that it should be deposited in the museum.* The secretary [Harding] was authorised to negotiate this loan."⁷⁴ The money was secured from the Ottoman Bank in Amman.

Meanwhile, Harding was understandably agreeable to Allegro's proposal for a central fund:

Many thanks for yours of 30 April. I think the central fund is the line to work on now, as it is unlikely that there will be much more available to go out of the country ultimately. *The agreement with the government* [to "sell" fragments to foreign institutions] *only applied to Cave 4*, anyhow, so it's no good considering anything else. But we certainly need funds available to be able to snap up stuff as it appears, and *not have to hang around for years as IV has done.* Do see what you can manage along those lines.

Another installation of the Qumran period has turned up right by the spring at Feshkha, but this year we could only examine one room to establish the date. *An inkpot confirms the connection with Qumran, so next year we shall have another season there. It never ends.*

Hope to get out a short press release on the copper rolls about the beginning of June.⁷⁵

Twelve days after the PAM voted to secure a loan in order to rescue the Cave 11 scrolls for scholarship, the deal was done. On 19 May 1956 Kando deposited fragments in the PAM. They were identifiable as Cave 11 by the contents: "One Ancient Scroll of Psalms, one small Scroll of Leviticus, and fragments of various other works."⁷⁶

Ever the conspirator, Allegro now tried to tie fund-raising with the impending public announcement about the Copper Scroll in a letter to Harding:

Many thanks for your letter of 15 May. I shall certainly press on with the central fund idea, and try to interest the American lady along those lines, though I foresee difficulties in getting the Yanks to part up with the brass without something to show for it. Still, we can but try, and I am wondering what effect the copper scroll release will have on our chances. *Properly played up that should really bring in the [money]* The fact that any release at all is to be made indicates that the original top secrecy has had perforce to be relaxed somewhat. I gather, from what you have told the Americans already, *that the line taken will be that the stuff was buried "all over Palestine," though how our friends are going to support that idea when the full text is released beats me. But if that's the line you want to plug, I'll fall in with it. In that case, is there any particular secrecy about individual items, amounts, nature of treasure and places, particularly the "tombs?"*

As your letter arrived whilst I had got the page proofs of my Pelican in front of me, I took the opportunity of adding a brief line or two to the account of the opening of the copper scroll, in this fashion: "The news of the opening had been released before this (the return of the scroll to Jordan), and now the world knows that in the main the hypothesis of Professor K.G. Kuhn ... has been proved marvelously accurate. It is indeed an inventory of the sect's most treasured possessions, buried in various locations. Further information must wait on the release and publication of the whole text . . ."

It seems to me that you can hardly release less than that, and it is safe enough to ensure that the Bedu do not start digging the whole place up.

The day you release the news I shall be besieged by reporters and what-not, and even if I could escape them, I am due to give a number of public lectures shortly and so cannot get out of saying something. So if you could let me know the party line, I'll do my best to fall in with it.

The installation at Ein Feshkha fits in very nicely with 3Q: does Milik still maintain the thing is a "fairy tale?"⁷⁷

Harding replied immediately, but disagreed with the slant Allegro was putting on the contents of the Copper Scroll:

Thanks for yours of the twenty-third, which I hasten to answer because the troves listed in the rolls do not seem to have anything to do with the sect at all. It is a collection of traditions of buried treasure, such as we have many examples of in other languages, Arabic particularly. The quantities involved

and the depths at which they are buried are obviously impossible. I am only making a very short release with three quotations, none of them referring to any places known; the full text must await the final publications, as you say. So if you are attacked by reporters you can say you know no more than the official release. We are having enough trouble at the moment with this extraordinary statement of Albright, in which there is not a word of truth: can't think how or why he should think it up.⁷⁸

Allegro didn't get the letter in time, but he disagreed with Harding about the Copper Scroll in any event:

Many thanks for your letter of the 28 May, although I fear your "hastening" was of little effect since it arrived today, five days after the release.

I don't quite follow whether this incredible "traditions" gag you and your chums are putting out is for newspaper, government, Bedu, or my consumption. Or you may even believe it, bless you.

As I said in my last letter *I am quite ready to play ball if you let me know the party line, but please don't come with this "fairy tale" rubbish.* But if, as one rag has it this morning, you would sooner die than reveal the name of the town or locality mentioned, when is Milik going to publish the text—or is it to be posthumously?

Incidentally, when I say I'll play ball this does not include perjury, which is saying that I know no more than the official release would be. It also does not include associating myself with your current "traditions" myth, nor the "Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron" gag.

As for the Albright tale, I've no inside information, but don't you think it was designed to draw forth some official information on something which has been in rumour for weeks. It didn't succeed, of course, but you'll forgive my saying that I think it might have been wiser if it had.

Gerald, don't think me intrusive in matters much more your concern and not mine, but don't you think a bit more ready information on these scroll matters might be a good idea? It's well known that the copper scroll was completely open in January, and despite your attempts to squash it, it is also known that my transcriptions went to you immediately, and that the scroll itself arrived back in April. I was asked only today why the news had not been given sooner.

Again, this matter of these two leather scrolls, news of which has now been dragged out of you, as it were. A little general information on type of contents saves a good deal of rumor-mongering, which has now taken on a somewhat sinister note. I warned my dear colleagues before they wrote the

threatened letter to the *Times*, that as they did so on a subject on which most of Britain had no knowledge whatsoever, and America only such as their gutter press chose to give, the feeling would get around that the Roman Catholic brethren of the team, by far in the majority, were trying to hide things and setting up a “man of straw” to knock him down again as part of a smear campaign against the one religiously uncommitted member of the team. It was an opening which Edmund Wilson was waiting for, and as you have perhaps read in “Encounter,” took with both feet. I personally don’t give a damn, but with the present temper of suspicion which has already been aroused, I do think it would be wise to forestall the rumours and let information out as soon as possible.

I hesitate to be seeming to give you advice, but I do perhaps have a better idea of the public pulse than you may do out there.

On another subject. I was over in Leeds the other day at the invitation of the professor of Leather Industries, Dr. Burton, to whom, you may remember, we sent some blanks. Progress was dependent upon research students—still is—but nevertheless he has got some extraordinary results. They’ve got an electron-microscope, and have put some of those pieces through it, with incredible results. They are sending me shortly a brief résumé of work so far and hoped for the future, and I shall be sending it on to you with my remarks. Briefly there is the possibility of discovering where those skins were treated, if we can get enough samples of water throughout Palestine. Of course, in particular, ‘Ein Feshkha. Dead Sea water was not used. And these skins so far examined (and we should like many more pieces if possible) are *definitely parchment, not leather. No tanning has been done on them at all, which is interesting*⁷⁹

No written record of Albright’s accusation seems to have survived, but Harding mentions it in a letter to the BBC on 8 June 1956:

Regarding Albright’s announcement, he claims that he never mentioned the words “theft” or “ransom;” that was an invention of the press. The facts are that there has indeed been an important new discovery, and that far from stealing or hiding the stuff a large part of it was brought to us and deposited here before we had paid one penny. You cannot ask for better trust or honesty than that. The single scroll is now also in our possession.⁸⁰ This, as you say, for your own information at present.

John Strugnell says that they have now come to the conclusion that it is not Alexander Jannaeus but Hyrcanus who is involved with the teacher, and was wondering if any change could be made in the recording. Perhaps you had better write him and get full particulars.⁸¹

While all these matters were swirling about, Skehan and others had been hard at work in the scrollery. One of his responsibilities at ASOR was to send out periodic newsletters. Newsletter #5 from ASOR, penned by Skehan from Jerusalem, dated 15 June 1956, is one of the best historical documents from the period:

Now about scrolls. "Current developments have been interesting," said the last newsletter from Jerusalem, "but nothing startling." How wrong can one be? The Palestine Archaeological Museum is a bright and tranquil place to work, and the group concerned with the Qumran Cave 4 scrolls makes conscientious, if not always successful efforts to let each other alone so that the business can proceed apace. We took at least two full days out, however, as a result of the balloon sent up by our friend and colleague John Allegro. We hadn't seen him since the end of last summer, when he went home to Manchester with the manuscript of a very good Penguin book under his arm. So the *Time* article of 6 February, with picture, gave us a chance to admire the progress attained by his professorial beard, which in fact made immediate recognition difficult. It was the same, in a way, with the things that seemed to be coming out of his texts: we couldn't recognize those at all.

First, then, we all took time out to read the texts again; and having done so, we decided that we had better state our inability to get out of the materials what Mr. Allegro seemed to be saying that we should. Not that any of us, mind you, has the least objection to the Essene "teacher of righteousness" having been crucified, if anybody can show that in fact he was. But to have a whole chain of Christian-sounding consequences attached to an event which none of us could discover in any text or any combination of texts was decidedly awkward. If Mr. Allegro's sources were in print, as in the main they will be, before long now, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, we could have been content to let all of the scholarly fraternity read them for themselves and evaluate the evidence. Since they were not, those of us who were known to have ready access to these materials were placed in the position of endorsing, if we remained silent, claims for these texts which were clearly creating immense and (as we saw it) needless unrest. We thought about Professor Cross' telephone jumping off the hook in Chicago, and about all the other people who would be expected to know and to say something about the scrolls in the light of what seemed to be "new evidence." If there were new evidence, they were entitled to know quite promptly what it was. Since on very important points we couldn't find any, we thought they were entitled to know that.

So a group of us arranged an interview which Père de Vaux gave to a North American newspaper. It said the same things which later appeared over our signatures in the London *Times* of 16 March and was then widely

circulated. Would you believe it? We succeeded in choosing the one English-speaking newspaper which either didn't think the scrolls were news, or wasn't read by the wire-service people who presumably do! However it happened, we know the story went; and it is evident that it died. Since by that time there was some question as to whether Mr. Allegro had been misquoted, we were obliged to verify what had in fact been said, before framing any other statement on the subject. The rest you know.

Otherwise progress on the scrolls project has been steady and gratifying A definitive inventory of the Cave 4 manuscripts has been completed, and we all go around saying that the material outstanding in private hands is finally exhausted; the last six pieces were acquired in February of this year,⁸² and it is now difficult to stir up a really good rumour about anything further belonging to that nearly four-year-old find.⁸³ Among the texts themselves, one of our collaborators has come up with some pieces that will be of real interest for the literary prehistory of an Old Testament book; these should be in print before the end of the year.⁸⁴

Meanwhile, the board of the PAM was getting ever more desperate. At another meeting on 9 June, this time described as an "extraordinary meeting," the board approved taking out a second loan, this time for JD 5,000. Harding was once more authorized to make the arrangements, and on 28 June he wrote to the Ottoman Bank in Amman both to request a loan and to make tentative arrangements for the storage of the scrolls in their vault in case of war.⁸⁵ The next day Harding also wrote to Sr. Mortimer Wheeler at the British Academy in London, requesting to be allowed to store a duplicate set of negatives of the scrolls there in case of war.⁸⁶ On 5 July 1956 Wheeler replied in the affirmative.⁸⁷

Harding also contacted his friend, L. D. Mallory at the U.S. State Department, but nothing came of it.⁸⁸

Allegro wrote to Strugnell on 6 July 1956. He said it was a pity that Harding had been dismissed from the Department of Antiquities (the last to be fired in a frenzy of anti-British sentiment), but added, cryptically, that it was not "entirely unexpected."⁸⁹

All the while, Allegro kept up his efforts with Professor Donald Burton in the Department of Leather Industries at Leeds University. Burton had been analyzing some scroll fragments Harding had sent in order to determine age and provenance. But as usual, funding was a problem and threatened to stop the work.⁹⁰

A letter to Frank Cross on 16 July 1956 showed, at least from Allegro's side, fairly friendly relations still existed between them. The letter also revealed a good deal about Allegro himself:

Give, brother, give! What's all this "fabulous" material from ...? And don't

give me this stuff about not being studied yet, etc.; you must know the sort of thing involved. Any *pešarim*? In particular is there a duplicate of my 4Q stuff, and especially anything I have in my messianic article? Be a dear good boy and write quickly, will you? I'll love you for ever. Noel [Freedman] tells me my article has gone to press, after you and he have mucked about with it. Quite right, too; I hope, though, you have got in the amendments I had already waiting for it. That is a very nice fragment Strugnell sent along, which will involve a major change in my darling *Emeq Achor* note.

What do you think of the Freedman–Allegro popular treasure book? I am hoping to see de Vaux shortly at Cardiff and get some sort of clearance. But the main point is: when is Milik intending to publish the official version? Can you find out for us? We don't want to jump the gate. At least, that's not strictly honest. I'd love to jump the gate, but think it wiser not to.

What are the intentions about 11Q? Are they going to let us deal with it, or are they going to bring in a fresh (undoubtedly RC) team to deal with it?

I should like to have gone to Strasbourg, but just haven't got the cash, I'm afraid. In fact I'm broke, and am hoping that the Penguin will restore the family fortunes a bit. Noel tells me that your book is not now coming out until the New Year; are you holding back on it, or is that just the result of the vagaries of your publishers? He also tells me that Gaster has a book coming out in the fall on scrollerly—is there anybody not writing a book on the thing?

You will rejoice to know that Edmund Wilson has agreed to review my Pelican on the BBC soon after publication date (30 August)!!! So don't blame me, whatever happens. As soon as I get some advance copies I'll bung one over to you.

Did you know I had been rehabilitated in Manchester? I gave a lecture at the College of Technology on scrollerly, dished out a hand-out to the press afterwards, and had the dean of Manchester second a hearty vote of thanks. They are accepting me into Holy Orders next week. (Rowley was not present, and boy! Was he mad! Professor Fish [Akkadian] chaired the meeting, and is my champion in the lists, and hates Rowley's guts).

Offprints of my *JBL* article on pNah will be in the post today for you all there. Will you ask Pat Skehan for a copy of his Exodus article, or am I too deep in hell-fire for correspondence from the Elect?

I have left my family in the south to continue their holiday, whilst I have rushed back here to get on with some work. Tomorrow I am going down to Cardiff with Jim Mays and shall be back on Friday.

I hope you left Betty Anne and family well. We are expecting No. 2 in January. I hope to heaven by then we've managed to make some money.⁹¹

The saga of Harding's dismissal continued, with details to be gleaned from this letter and the one A. Douglas Tushingham of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto wrote to Harding, with tantalizing details. Harding's dismissal made the Toronto papers. Harding was apparently "staying on until late summer," but it is not clear whether this was at the museum in Jerusalem or the DAJ. Scott at McGill was "afraid for his scroll fragments," that is, the ones that were supposed to be sent to McGill University in exchange for the money the university contributed for their purchase. De Vaux had apparently offered to sell a scrolls jar to the Royal Museum, but Tushingham declined the offer for now. And he added an intriguing last note: "I hope Joseph [Saad] is getting along with the packing and shipping of the stuff for our museum. I am anxious to get it out [of Jordan] before some complication arises. Please give him my warmest regards."⁹²

Cave 11 Purchases

Fortunately, Harding remained in Jerusalem, if only as the curator of the PAM, for on 17 July 1956 another group of Cave 11 manuscripts was purchased from Kando: "Fragments of Aramaic [Targum] scroll of Job and part of a scroll containing the apocalypse of New Jerusalem." The price was JD 14,000. The museum paid Kando the JD 5,000 it had just borrowed from the Ottoman Bank, leaving a balance of JD 9,000.⁹³

In the middle of the summer Allegro received a rare letter from Father Barthélemy, who was still at the time in Guébriant, France. He seemed to be fairly current on the happenings in Jerusalem, mentioning that "a few fragments from Zechariah written by someone else with a slightly more recent style. But it is possible to show that it belongs to the same manuscript, completed by a second scribe." He went on to give the opinion that the amounts of precious metal in the Copper Scroll were too fantastic to be real, unless the measure of a "royal talent" was different in Christ's time. He suggested a "control dig" at one of the more easily identifiable locations. Ever the calming influence, Barthélemy said that he had heard "indirectly, about the difficulties that you had with Jerusalem with regard to the Peshar Nahum. I hope that everything has calmed down and that a subsequent publication of the texts will provide an objective basis for the discussion, if there is a discussion."⁹⁴

Progress on Publication

The same day Barthélemy wrote this letter, Spicer of OUP wrote to de Vaux to inform him that the delegates of the press had agreed in principle to publish DJD 2, but with the stipulation that the museum provide a subvention of £2,000 (\$5,600), omit the color photographs or provide an even larger subsidy to finance the first 500 copies. One of the delegates, in fact, suggested that the Rockefeller funds could pay for this. It is hard to understand the attitude of OUP, but they could not have known yet all that was to come in the next few years. This letter is notable because it was addressed to "Hamilton," c/o Harding. This may have been because Harding was on vacation or perhaps Robert Hamilton, last

mentioned during the events of 1947–1949, was taking a more prominent role. In his own hand Hamilton wrote at the bottom:

Dear Gerald,

I wanted to show you this. I should not like to reduce the cost. Shall I send this manuscript elsewhere? Or can we raise more money? Do write me at home when you have time.”

In the margin he commented on the Rockefeller suggestion: “They always get this mixed!”⁹⁵

The Suez Crisis Begins

The next day, 26 July 1956, Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal (built and owned jointly by France and Great Britain) and all its assets, ostensibly in response to Western unwillingness to help in finance building the new Aswan High Dam. More than five weeks earlier British troops had been pulled out of the region, but France and Britain responded to Nasser’s actions by sending military vessels to the Mediterranean. The whole region was thus thrown into crisis.

Near the end of the month Harding wrote Kenneth Bechtel in San Francisco in which he revealed his present situation with the government of Jordan: “Many thanks for your letter of 19 July. *You have apparently not heard that the government has decided to dispense with my services as from 1 October next, but if I am allowed to do so, I propose to remain on here in the museum until the New Year.* If that comes off, then I shall of course be delighted to do what I can for your friends when they arrive: in any case I will try and let you know what is happening.

“If my present tentative plans come to pass, I shall hope to do a lecture tour in the States some time early next year, and if so perhaps I may have the opportunity of seeing you and renewing our friendship. I very much hope that may come to pass.”⁹⁶

The Cave 4 Team Continued to Work

Now Cross, in Jerusalem for the summer, got around to telling Allegro what he knew of the new Cave 11 manuscripts:

Thanks for your letter. I am surprised that some word has not reached you on the new cave, or on the Copper Document.

Cave 11 stuff is marvelous. I’ve been through it. Mostly large stuff, and all Starcky’s, Milik’s, and Strugnell’s so far as I remember; Leviticus and Psalms (confidential) are only large biblical. So you and I (and Milik for the most part) are left out by nature of the spread. I suspect, however, that there is some fragmentary material in our categories. The stuff is not bought, so

that no serious work can be done. We are not even dead certain that we have a Psalter, but the outside piece shows two psalms in the wrong order!

Milik, at de Vaux's and Harding's urging, does not plan to publish the Copper Scroll until the regular volume comes out. This is partly because it is about all the Exploration [Palestine Exploration Society?] has to offer in a volume; partly because no one wants all our antiquities sites dug into confusion. It is impossible to convince the local Arabs that the document is not a historical record. They have always suspected we were after gold anyway! With Harding leaving shortly (*partly because of lies about the scrolls*), the longer the scroll rides the better.

Delighted to hear that you haven't been booted out of Manchester (however much you deserved it!), and can continue your work. I gather that Rowley suspects there was something fishy about the appointment. I'm now looking forward to your reprints and Penguin. I'll be sending you a load in the fall.

BA [Betty Anne] and all seem to be well. My second one is walking. What are you doing with your spare time, young man? Though if you are expecting in January you can't be spending all your time in scholarship and baiting poor Rowley.

Skehan is gone. He'll send you a reprint for the asking, I'm sure, from the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC He, Milik, Starcky, and de Vaux (and Albright) are to be in Strasbourg. [Professor G. E.] Wright and I and Strugnell are remaining at the task.

The new McCormick lot brought with it a magnificent piece of pHosea. Otherwise nothing blindingly important. I trust the photos will be coming to you soon.

*Behave yourself, and treat your wife properly. Never mind the church. It can take care of itself, even if you are introduced to Holy Orders.*⁹⁷

Harding's Problems with the Department of Antiquities

On 2 August 1956 "various papers," apparently in Jordan, published an article accusing Harding of improprieties with the scrolls. Still the director of Antiquities, he wrote to the Minister of Education. From his rebuttal we can gather what some of the charges must have been:

No scroll to the value of JD 80,000 has ever been sold to me nor has such a document ever appeared. In my last conversation with you on the subject, I told you of the discovery some months ago of more scrolls, and explained how the PAM had borrowed a large sum of money in order to keep these in the country, and that I should endeavor to raise further funds to complete the purchase. When the discovery was first made, I discussed the matter

with then Prime Minister Samir Pasha Rifai, and he agreed that the museum should acquire the manuscripts as the government would not be able to put up the sum of JD 46,000, which was the figure I estimated. The museum having paid a deposit, these manuscripts are now in their safekeeping.

As regards the statement that the board of the museum agreed to send manuscripts abroad, this is entirely untrue It was a set of duplicate photographic negatives which was proposed to be sent out as a safety measure⁹⁸

On 3 August 1956 Harding replied to Tushingham in Toronto, saying that the “stuff is all packed up, but I am having a slight difficulty about permits now.” He told him that the discovery of Cave 11 was now well known and there was no harm in talking about it, but that its contents shouldn’t be revealed (probably due to negotiations with Kando). He repeated what he told to Bechtel, that he would stay on until the end of the year if he was allowed.⁹⁹

Allegro and Cross

Allegro wrote to Cross again, revealing all kinds of “inside” information:

Very many thanks for your letter of 29 July. I am enclosing a copy of the great work, which is not to be published until 30 August, after which my colleagues can start writing all the letters they please to the press: the more the merrier.

I had *long conversations with de Vaux* in Cardiff at the meetings of the Old Testament Society, and so was brought pretty well into the picture. But I was very glad to hear from you more details about the fragments, and especially pHosea which is terribly important, and I wait impatiently to see the photographs. This is the first I had heard about a McCormick purchase, presumably of 4Q stuff. When was it made, and is there more still to come? Please let me know these points as soon as you can, as it may be possible to raise more money for 4Q.

You apparently acquiesce in (a) the Jerusalem view of the relevance or irrelevance of the copper scroll, (b) the advisability of keeping publication back for two years or so. On both points I am in hearty disagreement, and think the second is a very grave mistake, which will go ill in many quarters. I am frankly glad at the moment that the *Times* letter has drawn a distinction between myself and those in Jerusalem of the team, because I hear growlings along the grapevine from world scholarship about the way this stuff is being handled, and I am not particularly keen on being caught up in the storm which is blowing up. I have a feeling that de Vaux, Milik and Co. are in for a warm time at Strasbourg, and I am not sorry that I shall not be there. Happily, my mass publication of the messianic material in the next

JBL ought to put me in the right with the lads who are waiting impatiently for the stuff, and if you take my tip you'll get just as much stuff out as soon as possible. In lay quarters it is firmly believed that the Roman Church in de Vaux and Co. are intent on suppressing this material. Nonsense, we know, but this business of holding back important documents merely to boost a particular publication lends itself to such fantasies. Furthermore, the fact that it was lifted right out of my hands to be placed firmly in those of a Roman priest who already has enough on his plate for a decade has had its effect, despite my urging that in taking on the job of opening, I laid no claim to publication of the results.

That the "local Arabs" do not believe "that the document is not a historical record" does not amaze me. There are many other people who do not, and when the full text is published will continue to have their doubts about the press release view of it.

But I must say I was glad to see de Vaux at Cardiff. We had, as I say, long talks, and are good friends again. Indeed, he was at pains to point out that he was not the driving force behind that *Times* letter, but that it was "the others." I have since heard from another source who was out there at the time, that in fact it was mainly Skehan,¹⁰⁰ and remembering his indignation at the Wilson article, I am not surprised. Catholicism in the States, I believe, is of a rather more ferocious kind than here.

Edmund Wilson is in London at the moment, and you will be pleased to hear, is reviewing my book over the BBC soon after publication. The fact that he has told me that it is, in his opinion, "excellent, and the best thing on the subject in English," will make you raise your hands in horror! It's terrible, of course, but so long as he thinks and says so, that's all I'm worried about.

I may be making a quick trip to the States shortly to see Noel and sign up a contract or two, but nothing certain yet. If I go, I shall try to get in a few lectures to help with expenses and boost the book. I have planned with de Vaux to go out there to Jerusalem next summer for as long as I can manage, and I gather that the whole team, including Hunzinger, is expected to foregather. That is, if the political situation allows. I fancy I see not far off the end of foreign archeological excavation in Jordan, anyway for some time. It's too bad about GLH [Harding], but not, I gather, entirely unexpected. *If we ever finish this job I shall be mightily surprised. And if any of the donors ever see their pieces, ditto!*

...Did I tell you that our No.2 is expected next January? Judith is being prepared for the onslaught, which is more than I can say for our bank balance. Something urgent will have to be done about that, but what I'm not sure yet.

A publisher told me that you once said in a lecture that the only thing which could disprove the Christian claims would be the discovery of the

private diary of Jesus admitting that he was a fraud. Attaboy! But, gosh, you are being reduced to a pretty low level to boost your failing hopes, aren't you?

Best wishes to all there. Is this Wright of whom you speak, George Ernest? Is he taking part in the team, and what part? I am thrilled to hear it, tell me more.

My love to Betty Anne when next you write.¹⁰¹

The Suez Crisis Disperses the Cave 4 Team

On 23 August 1956 a proposal from Britain and France to have the Suez Canal administered by a company owned by all the countries using it was rejected, deepening the crisis.

By the end of the month Allegro was trying to help raise money again and informed de Vaux that he would be mentioning the need for money in an upcoming radio broadcast: "Why even now, there are two nearly complete scrolls and several fragments lying in a safe in Jerusalem, unread and unstudied simply because we have not got the money to buy them."¹⁰²

After two years in Jerusalem, Skehan arrived back in the United States on 2 September 1956.¹⁰³

Then the impending Suez crisis brought work on the scrolls to a complete halt. After two years in Jerusalem (since July 1954) Strugnell left for Italy. From Torino (possibly 9 September 1956) he brought Allegro up to date:

Just a brief note. The Consul has advised us to take holidays now, because of Suez and hundreds of other things, so I have packed the manuscripts into a moderately safe place in the museum, Yusef and Gerald have agreed what is to be done in emergencies, and I am vacationing in N. Italy. A pity my vacation wasn't a week earlier and I could have gone to Strasbourg. Since the political situation, especially around the Department of Antiquities in Amman, is tense, *don't for God's sake say a thing* about the safety of the manuscripts, or the government may cart them off to Amman, and how we would ever see them again God only knows. They are as safe as they can be now. What has been going on in the Department of Antiquities is incredibly sordid, fantastic, [?] and complex of late, about Gerald's dismissal, the smuggling of manuscripts, etc., but I will tell you it when I see you, as I may take the second part of my vacation in England and France. It is about as typical a piece of Arab politics as you could hope to find. Don't even mention that Yusef and I packed them up for safekeeping—that would be quite enough for the government to cart them off. They had an attempt to ban de Vaux's return because he had proposed that for safety duplicate negatives should be kept in London. They mistranslated this into "dupli-

cate manuscripts” and howled for Albina’s head. Total insanity reigns, and now they are trying to nationalise the museum, but one is fighting back. Gerald is still with the museum.

This note is to reassure you about your own manuscripts—that they are as safely packed as is possible, and left in good care. I thought you might worry at the news that the last scrollster had been evacuated. This is, *inshallah* [God willing], purely temporary.¹⁰⁴

Strugnell also wrote Skehan from Torino, giving some of the same news, but revealing a very different side of events, and adding much he didn’t tell Allegro:

From the difference of address between envelope and letter, you will note that I am on a rather precipitate holiday. The consulate decided to advise me and Harding, and most of the other English, to take holidays outside the Middle East, in a hurry, mainly in view of Suez—if the Yahud decides to take advantage of the dust kicked up by that unfortunate affair, I will go back if possible—but for the Suez affair the consulate thought that our absence would be more useful than our presence. We packed all the manuscripts, ready for safe storage, and I sent out by diplomatic carrier (as it was felt that, because of the accusations of smuggling manuscripts against Harding which have got far worse in these days, if I carried the photographs myself they might be impounded). All my photos, transcriptions, and also the photos of unidentified plates so that my holiday is not forced to be totally idle.

The spare photographs that you demanded, I got Albina to make in the first day, and Yusef said that he could get them out to you by the normal mails so you can inspect them soon. But I couldn’t send off your copy of 49 until you get its replacement, as things are getting really bad in Jerusalem and the Middle East now. The campaign against Harding didn’t finish after his dismissal—it got worse, with accusations of smuggling and the like against him and the museum. It seems that Mr. Gharaibeh [new curator of the Department of Antiquities] has got most of his objectives (except, God willing, the museum). But the museum will be able to fight against nationalization, and if, as expected, Nasser’s prestige is damaged, this may result in a considerable cooling off of the excesses of nationalism (so long as the Jews stay quiet). But we shall see what we shall see—I at least will pray for the peace of Jerusalem and hope that out of this mess at least the Jews don’t gain more. *Inshallah* [God willing], we will be together next summer in conditions not too much changed. But since it is early to speculate, and my fears will be as yours, I will confine the rest of this letter to facts.

...While we were packing all the manuscripts in the famous boxes *Ad-Difa’a*

[an Arabic newspaper in East Jerusalem] said that the boxes were made to carry the manuscripts to London and “a campaign was on to deny de Vaux returning because he had proposed this.” Fortunately, Harding was able to straighten that out with the government—it all came from a mistranslation of *duplicate negatives* as *duplicate manuscripts!*—but the newspapers never printed a correction; anyhow, while we were packing we couldn’t find Sn35 (Ps^a)¹⁰⁵ and since this is a government manuscript, this is alarming. I remember, or think I do, that you had left some special arrangement with Frank about having this rephotographed, and it may be that he put it back in some out-of-the-way hole; so I am writing to him too: but if you have any suggestion, let me know and I will get a message to Yusef through diplomatic channels (the mails are being tampered with, and we don’t want a newspaper campaign about a missing manuscript). As you can imagine, Yusef is almost having kittens about it; he signed a huge document taking on himself responsibility for the government manuscripts under study at the museum after the transfer of Harding’s authority—and it had to be a government manuscript that was mislaid! I won’t give you all the history of the last days—Frank can tell you most of it and I will give you more when I start the leisurely part of my holidays, but at the moment I am straightening myself out of the mess into which I got towards the end—I only had 10 minutes for the actual packing left after straightening things out at the museum. But at least the manuscripts are safe, unless Jews or Jordanians start trouble. I can’t reply to your last letter, because I had to give it to Mantovani with about 17 jobs for him to do written on its back—it was all the paper I had in the taxi I remember you made some remarks on Allegro’s book: it arrived (about noon) on the day that I left, and I hadn’t time to read further than the historical introduction, which was unchanged since the summer—but the changes will come later, I fear. I expect you have found out what John has been doing, suggesting, e.g., to Freedman, to American publishers and I don’t know who else, that de Vaux had told him that he wasn’t really behind the letter—but the differences were rather personal than scholarly—and other slanders of this sort; we have written to de Vaux asking to know what conversation he had with John that served as a basis for John’s [claims?]¹⁰⁶—that de Vaux said nothing of the sort is obvious. But, ... [he] is slippery as an eel! But the Penguin was too late for him to avoid the error of the *Bq’t ‘ko*, so we’ll get him on that!¹⁰⁶

Allegro continued to correspond with Strugnell. On 13 September, 1956 he wrote:

Many thanks for your letter of the ninth (or so) with its enclosures. I am eager to know the latest news of scrollerly and other dark doings, and hope very much that you will come on here to England and look us up.

I am grateful for the news of my section, and your care of the precious pieces. I have grave doubts whether any of us will be allowed to work extensively again on the stuff out there, but we must hope that reason will return, if she ever existed in those quarters. Cross or someone mentioned something about a piece of *pešer* Hosea which had turned up in the McCormick lot: do you know what happened to it? Cross said a photograph was on its way, but nothing ever arrived.

I gather that the copy of my book which I sent you never arrived, or arrived too late. I'm sorry about that; if it does not catch up with you, I'll give you another copy. It seems to be going very well: the stocks in the north were sold out in 10 days, and I gather that it is quite difficult to get one in the London shops. I hear that it is to be published in the States on 1 October.

I could not afford to go to Strasbourg, so missed seeing my colleagues. I did, however, see de Vaux when he was here in UK and had several long chats with him, which cleared the air on several points. He hastened to assure me that he did not instigate the *Times* letter, but that it was "the others." This was interesting, and I learnt afterwards from another source which of the "others" was the prime mover [Skehan].

...I was sorry about Gerald's dismissal, even if it was not entirely unexpected. But having myself suffered at the hands of Arab (and other) ingratitude, I fought back my tears bravely. I hope very much that it will be possible to keep him on in the PAM, and that the PAM will remain out of Arab hands. I doubt both, the way things are going. My serious advice to you, laddie, is to get back to this country and start looking for a job (a *Times* correspondent?).

But you certainly deserve your holiday, long overdue.¹⁰⁷

Allegro wrote Harding a final letter before he left his post at the DAJ on 1 October:

I had a letter from Strugnell, written from Rome, and I gather that things are going from bad to worse out there in Jordan

I gather that things are pretty grim out there. I am wondering whether the letters I have addressed to you at Amman ever reached their destination, particularly your copy of my little book. The prospects of our ever finishing this damned scrollery recede into the far distance, and it seems to be even more important to get just as much of our stuff out as soon as possible, regardless of the weight of the final volumes. In this respect, the holding back of the copper scroll seems particularly unfortunate.

Do try and not get yourself bumped off, and come and see us soon in England.¹⁰⁸

Allegro had sent a copy of his recent book to de Vaux. De Vaux sat down and wrote a detailed critique, to which Allegro responded. Their differences were stark,

and there was little hope of rapprochement. Allegro again advised against holding back on the publication of the Copper Scroll. And the situation with the Cave 4 materials looked bleak. Allegro said, “What a mess this whole business is now. Heaven knows if we shall get out again to finish our work, and I believe from Strugnell’s letter written from Rome, where he is taking a somewhat enforced holiday, that even your return is in jeopardy! He mentions efforts of the British Museum to buy fragments from Beirut, with no other details.”¹⁰⁹

Strugnell wrote another letter about the ever worsening political situation. It must have been after 1 October 1956, so Strugnell must have gone back to England from Torino. He wrote: “Ghawaibeh has taken over as director of Antiquities, and Awni Dajani is technical assistant director.” Strugnell warned Allegro, “If you go out there, I would advise you to deal with the museum first, as at the moment GLH, Sa’ad, Père de Vaux are the only ones we know we can trust As far as I can see, the important thing is to try to preserve the present setup for centralizing scrolls, and so to contact de Vaux or Harding at the museum would be safer than going straight to the new director of Antiquities.”¹¹⁰

Strugnell continued to keep Allegro informed:

The Jordanian picture is still pretty complex, but in so far as it concerns archaeology, barring a war, revolution, or riots, or nationalisation, all seems bright. If all is tranquil by the time of the elections, I will be returning as soon after that as possible to get bookings.

G. L. H. [Gerald Lankester Harding] lives at “Harissa, New Beirut, Lebanon,” if you have to write. I don’t know to what extent his mail is subject to examination, so either write in such a way that you don’t mind secret police reading it, or else (if it is newspaper business) see whether your newspaper can get the letter to him consularly. De Vaux, to the best of my knowledge, is in Jerusalem and it would, I think, still be wise to do business with them, at least to find out the situation, before approaching the new director of antiquities where Abdul Kerim reigns

Seriously, I do think we should apply to the elements we know in Jordan to find out how Abdul Kerim and company are likely to react to Cave 11, whether they will now try to confiscate, or whether Awni can keep Gerald’s structure of agreement of government and museum on scrolls. And since it is a question of such large money, the extra days for the situation to clarify would not be such a waste of time.¹¹¹

The Suez Crisis

We have seen some of the events leading up to the total cessation of work in the scrolleries at the end of 1956 owing to the impending war. The scrolls were

taken to the Ottoman Bank in Amman—theoretically for safekeeping. In fact, as Cross pointed out, “they mildewed, grew moss, dissolved, and generally deteriorated during their sojourn in the bank vault. In 1956 we also photographed a box of blanks—set aside as of no value—but photographed with infrared film to make sure we had not overlooked something. One very black, decayed piece of leather proved to be inscribed. Decipherment was a nightmare, accomplished best by reading with a strong light shining through the leather from underneath. The manuscript proved to be an archaic copy of Exodus, now labeled 4QExod-Lev^b. Along with the old Samuel scroll, 4QSam^b, it is the oldest of the manuscripts recovered from Qumran, dating back to the mid-third century B.C.E. or earlier. This year I finally completed its editing, or rather gave up on advancing the decipherment further. I did succeed in proving that the manuscript included both Exodus and Leviticus, the only such exemplar at Qumran. We have Genesis–Exodus, and Leviticus–Numbers, and now Exodus–Leviticus.”¹¹²

On 29 October 1956 Israel attacked Egypt with French reinforcements and in less than four days reached the Suez Canal. Their attack was in reaction to a declaration that the armies of Jordan and Syria were under the joint command of the commander in chief of the Egyptian army. This took place at roughly the same time as the Russian invasion of Hungary.

The following day, 30 October, Britain and France presented Egypt with an ultimatum to withdraw 16 km from the Canal Zone. Egypt refused, and the next day British and French aircraft stationed in Cyprus began bombing Egyptian airfields. Egypt, however, had already removed its planes. The attacks of Britain and France were condemned by the United States and the United Nations, but when all the dust settled Egypt had taken over control of the canal and little had changed in the relationship between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

By October 1956 Milik had left Jerusalem and was not to return until January 1957 at the earliest. In the interim he was in Paris and then in Rome, where he continued working on the scrolls from photographs and prepared texts for publication in *RB*. He also continued writing his own book on the scrolls, eventually published as *Dix ans de découvertes dans le desert de Juda*, and later, after Strugnell translated it, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Judaean Desert*.

Allegro wrote again to Cross:

Thank you very much for your letter. It was like a voice from the dead. But I intended writing to you any day for it was only when I met Strugnell at the station in Manchester as he passed through en route to London that I learnt of the terrible trials and worries you have been undergoing of late in connection with dear Betty Anne. I had no idea when or in what circumstances you left Jordan and the news that something of this nature had occurred shook

me more than I can say. I am most relieved to hear that the trouble was not as great as once feared and very happy indeed to know that the cure is so complete! Good Heavens; you don't waste much time, you two! Please give the lady my warmest good wishes.

Our "event" is expected in the middle of January. It will be The Last—official (from Joan). Two is enough, we think; although we are glad to hear that others will keep the human race going.

The Pelican sold out its 40,000 copies in 17 days over here, which was gratifying in one way, but annoying just as scrollery is beginning to warm up in UK. However, the reprint is now out, and we hope the royalties will buy the baby a new pram.

My dear chap; the dramatic reconstruction of the Teacher's last days was never played up by me, and thus needed no playing down in the book. That was *Time Magazine* and our dear colleagues in Jerusalem, not me. Listeners to my radio talks were in no way deluded that this was anything more than a dramatic reconstruction from bits of evidence all over the place. And since I took it then as I take it now that the Zadok of 3Q is the Teacher in all probability, my reconstruction was backed at every point with documentary or historical evidence. You and they may not agree: but it is a matter of interpretation. Since they wrote the *Times* letter knowing that I could not defend myself by referring to the copper scroll in detail, you will understand that my feelings towards them are not of the most cordial.

I must say, however, that de Vaux and I met on the best of terms in Cardiff this summer, and I was interested to note that he spent some time trying to assure me that it was not he who sponsored that letter, but "the other." I have since discovered that it was, in fact, Skehan.

But enough of these trivialities. I was much amused by your appreciation of Rowley's effort. He gave that article as a paper to the SOTS in Cardiff. It was as pathetic then as now (although I've not yet seen that *JBL* or my own article) and I had the terrible task of trying to answer it before the multitude, who all knew that the stinker was my boss.

I said very little, but he got more furious, puffing away at his cigar until I thought (and hoped) he would burst. The man is getting as pathological about his Kittim as is Teicher about the Ebionites and Zeitlin on his medieval dating. What is there about these scrolls which makes people lose their sense of proportion? It's really rather frightening. I am clearing out of scrollery just as soon as possible. But I'll do my stint of publishing first: as much as I can get. I confess that I am not happy about the growing Catholic monopoly on this stuff.

Noel may have told you that we are planning a lecture tour for next Eas-

ter vacation in the States. I hope very much it may be possible to see you and BA then.

I learned from Strugnell a good deal more information on Cave 11 which had been effectively kept from me. Most interesting, but disturbing too, in these troubled times.¹¹³

On 5 November Britain and France invaded Egypt with 7,000 troops and quickly took over the Canal Zone. Soviet intervention appeared to be imminent in view of the total Egyptian defeat, and by 7 November the French and British ceased hostilities. By 21 November, with the possibility of a much larger conflict developing, Britain and France decided to desist. U.N. troops landed at Port Said and the European powers were given one month to withdraw. About 40 wrecked ships all but blocked the canal.

Meanwhile the Israel Defense Forces remained entrenched in the Sinai and did not withdraw until 8 March 1957. U.N. troops remained in the Sinai until 1967.

By the end of November Allegro felt cut off from events and pleaded with Strugnell, "Can you let me know any more news about Jordan and the scroller? I have not received the Hosea *pešer* from anybody yet, and have heard absolutely nothing from any of the gang."¹¹⁴

Strugnell wrote back from England:

I can't give you too much information as I have heard little. Starcky is in Paris (15, Rue Vauquelin) and Milik too (where, I don't know, but you could probably contact [him] through Starcky). De Vaux and Hunzinger [are] in Quds [Jerusalem].

At the moment of crisis the manuscripts were transferred to the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Amman: a pity, but it can't be helped. Now the problem is to make them accessible to study again. De Vaux seems reasonably optimistic, but I think we have to leave it to his diplomacy via friendly influences in Jordan. The problem is (a) to make the Jordanians feel Jerusalem is a safe place [and] (b) to make them willing to realise that our group should be allowed to study them. We are prestige value and not political agents. But I think we should lie low for the moment while de Vaux sizes up the situation and sees how to persuade the government to make the manuscripts accessible. There was an important trustees meeting recently. (They told me so at the British Museum), and I will let you know if I hear any rumors. I thank God the museum [PAM] is American.¹¹⁵ They at least have a shade of popularity left in the Middle East. Lucky Milik, being a Pole!

Hunzinger, though in Jerusalem, is merely working on photographs at the moment. Frank's wife is due to have another baby next year. Kraeling

is continuing my salary until he sees whether we can abandon scrollerly or resume it¹¹⁶

Allegro replied:

The news about the scrolls is welcome, and I must say that I am not myself placing too great hopes of getting out there again next summer. As soon as you hear



11 November 1956. A ship sunk by Egyptians to block the Suez in Port Said. Staff/AFP/Getty Images.

whether our foregathering is likely to be possible or not, please let me know. There are some rather intricate plans to be worked out if we cannot go¹¹⁷

Allegro then wrote a rare letter to Milik in Paris, trying to get any details about his work with the scrolls:

I have your address from Strugnell who is still in this country and looks like being so for some time yet.

I have sent you an offprint from my recent *JBL* Messianic article, but sent it to Jerusalem before I learned where you were. If you require it more urgently than it can be redirected to you, I will send you another copy.

Strugnell tells me that you have managed to reconstruct the calendar of the *mišmarot*, which is a very important step, and I look forward to seeing the results. Tell me where did your article on that Aramaic fragment of Levi I quoted in my book, appear, or hasn't it done so yet?

Did you manage to bring out of Jerusalem your copy of the facsimile of the Copper Scroll? I only got the last four columns, and want to see the first eight. Not that it will be terribly accurate, but it will refresh my memory on certain points. So if you have it, or something like it, and could lend it to me for a few days, I should be very grateful if you would send it to me here. Did you manage to solve all the riddles in the text? Including the Greek letter? Also, was that translation released to the press really yours? I find it difficult to believe.

Incidentally, if you brought with you your photographs of the text of the Copper Scroll, and can similarly spare them for a few days also, I'd be glad to have them. As I have arranged with de Vaux, I am hoping to produce my own translation after the official publication, done, I believe, by you.

May we hope to see you in this country soon? Be sure to come and visit us here, where there is always a welcome. But come before the middle of January, if possible, when we are expecting our second child.¹¹⁸

Now Strugnell replied again:

I have just remembered a possibility about Peshet Hosea. If Starcky didn't take it with him, then I took all remaining photographs in a special file, which is waiting for me in Rome and I will be collecting it after Christmas. So, if Starcky hasn't got it, which was my impression, at least it is safe in Rome and I will send it to you as soon as possible. Gerald writes, reasonably optimistically about prospects for scrollery. *Vis-à-vis* him, the Jordanians have managed to plumb even greater depths of bastardry by some tax quibble. He has had to resign from the museum, although I don't yet now if this has been accepted.¹¹⁹

Shortly afterward Strugnell sent more news:

Two additional snippets of news.

1. Milik's address is 1 Rue Jean-Dolent, Paris XIV^e. He is well, working on *Mishmarot* and *Murabba'at*. Did I tell you he was before leaving Quds [Jerusalem], able virtually to reconstruct the complete calendar of *Mishmarot*?

2. The museum trustees meeting was unable to take place as the trustees couldn't get there, which may be a good thing, as at least there is no change for the worse in the status of us.

More news as I get it.

Life is really grim, and grimly real.¹²⁰

Milik replied rather quickly, using the more familiar form of address he usually used for Allegro while they were still on good terms:

Dear John Marco,

Thank you for the letter and the offprint, which I shall find in Jerusalem. I would like to see your last paper here and now, but if you send a copy to Starcky, it will be all right. *I shall try to go back to Jordan about the middle of January next*, if Père de Vaux will consider the situation calm enough.

I am sending you the photographs of the 4Q fragments belonging to your lot, with excuses for rather a long delay; also an offprint of Nabonidus' Prayer. As for the 4Q TestLevi ("Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB* 62 [1955] 398–406), I shall send you a copy from Jerusalem.

My paper on the 4Q Mishmarot will be ready in about a fortnight, to appear in the second fascicle of the *RB*, 1957. As you probably heard, I prepared an Italian and French *plaquette* on "Ten Years of Discoveries in the Judean Desert." It is rather short and dry in style in comparison with your book, which I find rather attractive, from different points of view.

I regret to say so, but I could not dare to risk sending by air mail [the] unique copy of the facsimile of the 3Q scrolls, which I brought to Europe. But as I plan to go to England in the first half of next January, I think I could lend you this copy when staying with my brother in Southampton.

With the best wishes for yourself, John Marco, and your wife, in view of the approaching visit of Abu-Said, with Christmas greetings, I remain sincerely yours.¹²¹

The same day he also wrote to Skehan:

You are probably now well back again in a normal American university life. Do you have a special course on Qumrân texts? And have you time enough for studying your 4Q lot?

As you see I am in a rather enforced exile in Paris. But if Père de Vaux will consider the situation in the Middle East calm enough, I shall be going back to Jordan in about the middle of January next.

Notwithstanding some handicaps, I work more or less normally here in France, especially on the 4Q Mishmarot; a paper on them will appear in the next issue of *RB*. I have some new results which seem rather interesting. My French booklet on “Ten Years of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert” is now in press. I don’t know if there is any need of such a publication for the English-speaking Catholic public.¹²²

You will probably be glad to hear that from three months on, I am 100% nasireate [dry?].”¹²³

At the end of the year Starcky, too, was stuck in Paris and wrote to Allegro, saying “Like yourself, I don’t know when I’ll be able to return.”¹²⁴

The entire Cave 4 Team had been dispersed save for C-H. Hunsinger. He remained in Jerusalem November 1956-March 1957 at the request of de Vaux, who wanted at least one team member in residence during his efforts to recover the scrolls from Amman.



Ibex on the ledge above Qumran Cave 11. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de



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REGROUPING AFTER SUEZ

1957

The year 1957 came in with a heavy weight of gloom for the Cave 4 Team. The project had suffered a double disaster: the loss of G. Lankester Harding in October 1956, and the removal of the scrolls to Amman in the face of the Suez War. Coming out of the war was a third disaster: the complete dispersal of the team, which would never again all be in the scrollery at the same time. It looked grim, and it was. The publication project never recovered from Harding's loss, and the government of Jordan started from this time forward to put roadblock after roadblock in front of the scrolls scholars. Still, they slogged on as best they could.

Back in England Allegro started off the New Year by writing Strugnell in Rome:

Many thanks for the last communiqué. I wrote to Starcky and Milik, and the latter sent to me the photos of my stuff in his care

My projected States tour is not now likely to come off this spring, as my dear university is not likely to give me leave, I understand. (Even during the vac.) Which is a pity, but as my job comes up for renewal or otherwise this month I have to be careful. The future is very precarious, thanks largely to the good use Rowley is making of your letter to the *Times*. But we'll see: after all, there's always the mines.¹

It is important indeed that the volumes will be published rapidly: this is required by the scholarly public, by the institutions who have enabled the purchase of the fragments, by the government of Jordan, which facilitates the work, and, especially, as far as you are concerned, by our obligations to Mr. Rockefeller who is financing part of the work on the publication.

—Father Roland de Vaux

On the same day Allegro also wrote to Milik (Milch, as he called him), with whom he still seemed to be friendly, or at least thought he was:

I am writing this to your brother's address [in England] in the hope that it will be waiting for you on arrival [from Paris].

I am much obliged to you for the fragment pictures and for that luscious magazine with its equally luscious picture of Starcky doing his stuff amidst the Essene ruins! All the same, I think it's a bit thick using two of my photographs and acknowledging them to some darned French picture agency (the copper scroll ones, I mean)! And, of course, I roared at the reference to the crucifixion motif. When are you going to write your next letter to the *Times*?

I did not know about the Italian and French book: it sounds most interesting and I wish you luck with it. Are you allowed to keep the proceeds, or does the True Church nab the lot to further its mission?

It is kind of you to let me have a look at your transcription or, rather, facsimile. I look forward to getting it and will treat it very carefully, I promise. Is there no chance of your coming up here to see us? There's a train runs direct from Bournemouth, which isn't far from you, and there are plenty to London and on from there.

Do you happen to know Strugnell's Rome address? Though I suppose any letters would be forwarded on from London. He told me that if you had not got the Hosea fragment [photograph], he might have it in Rome. It doesn't appear to be amongst those you sent, so I suppose that's where it is.

I wonder what the chances are of the summer foregathering in Jerusalem.²

Among the first results of Harding's dismissal as director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan was the assertion by Jordan's government of ownership of the scrolls, no matter who had paid what to whom. Skehan summarized the situation at the time accurately and succinctly: "Steps taken recently by the Jordanian Minister of Education (decree of 6 January 1957) seem intended to disrupt as far as possible all study of the scrolls as of that date."³

The same day de Vaux wrote to Skehan saying that with the reorganization of the Department of Antiquities, it was unlikely that foreign institutions would be allowed to "buy" any of the new scrolls from Cave 11, even the Vatican. At the most, institutions will be allowed to "donate" toward their purchase. This was a two-edged sword. On the one hand it turned out that keeping most of the scrolls all in one place was the best for scholarship during the last 50 years; on the other hand it severely limited fund-raising for future purchases.

During the early days of 1957 de Vaux told Skehan the Cave 4 scrolls were still hidden away in the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Amman. Hunzinger was in Je-

Jerusalem, but had been able to work only eight days on his fragments; so he was just standing by, waiting. Milik and Starcky had not yet returned. The Suez situation was still so tense that some of the École's students remained stuck in Beirut, and de Vaux had given up any plans to excavate anywhere that season, even at Ein Feshkha. He asked Skehan to "pray that this poor country will find a stable peace."⁴

The same day de Vaux penned this letter, 6 January 1957, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan issued a decree that was to turn the whole scrolls project on its head:

With reference to your report No. 18/8/12 of 6.1.57, and in virtue of Article 11 of the Antiquities Ordinance No. 33, 1953, I decide the following:

(a). I acquire, in the name of the government, all ancient manuscripts which were discovered in the area of the Dead Sea, as well as those which will be discovered in that site or any other site in Jordan.

This will include the manuscripts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Greek, and Phoenician languages and also in any other language. It also includes all kinds of manuscripts such as the biblical scrolls and what was written on paper, parchment, papyri, bronze, or any other material.

(b). No export abroad of any of these manuscripts shall be permitted; nor shall it be permitted to export either photographs or anything else of these manuscripts.

(c). All rights for printing, publishing, translating, and studying of these manuscripts are reserved to the Jordan government.

(d). The director of Antiquities shall keep these manuscripts in a safe custody and arrange for their preservation and conservation from decay.

(e). The director of Antiquities shall take the necessary steps to facilitate to scholars the study of these manuscripts in accordance with the conditions which I or the Council of Ministers shall approve from time to time.

(f). The director of Antiquities may, subject to his obtaining my written consent, display special exhibition of these manuscripts in the museums in Jordan. He may also, subject again to my written consent, come to an agreement with the directors of Antiquities in Syria and Egypt to display similar exhibitions of these manuscripts.

(g). This decision shall be deemed to have come into force with effect from today.

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Copy to: the Prime Minister; the Minister of Interior; the Minister of Finance, the Auditor, the Director of Public Security (with a request to kindly supply the guarding that may be asked by the director of Antiquities for that purpose).⁵

Those in Jerusalem must have been stunned. The scrolls were stuck in Jordan and now they had been nationalized. But individual members of the Cave 4 Team do not seem to have found out about it immediately.

The same day this first nationalization of the scrolls was promulgated, Strugnell, now safely in England, wrote to Skehan, telling him about a temporary job offer from Kraeling in Chicago. He hoped that the Rockefeller money might be restarted by Kraeling after the present crisis ended. He alluded to a Jordanian “permanent Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs who, having lost his job for having forgotten to recommend to his delegation the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, has also presumably lost his ex officio trusteeship [of the PAM].” He also mentioned “bogus” manuscripts, among them “yonan” and the Shapira Deuteronomy that Professor Mansour was just then trying to rehabilitate. As one of the two members of the Cave 4 Team particularly interested in politics, Strugnell commiserated with the other, Skehan, on the way the United States was handling the Suez Crisis: “Politics are grim. I, too, hope that there is no sell-out to the Yahud, but I fear the Eisenhower doctrine is too toothless to meet the book. It seems self-contradictory, but good luck to it; it seems the last chance. Curse Eden if you will, but spare a sympathetic thought for the poor *bani* Lawrence in the Brit Foreign office; they thought that they were in charge of British Arab policy, and when Eden came along to give it its death blow he didn’t even tell them, which was rather hard on the old boys!”⁶

On 9 January Milik wrote to Skehan from Paris, thanking him for a check and promised to “start saying your masses in about a month.” He reported that de Vaux did not think it was as yet an opportune time to return to Jerusalem, and that he would be going to Rome in a few days. He also said that his article on the “Essenian Calendar” would be shifted to a later number of *RB*.

He had seen something on TV about Dead Sea Scrolls [perhaps Cave 11?], but had had no confirmation.

“We are in animated exchange of letters with Strugnell: he works rather nicely. Recently he checked the Oxford Testament of Levi and promises to do the same on the Cambridge fragment.”⁷

Fragments of blank parchment had been taken to England earlier, but nothing had yet been done for lack of funds. Nevertheless, Bowden received a letter from Patrick Blackett on 9 January offering help.⁸

Also on 9 January, Father Joseph Fitzmyer wrote to Skehan from Rome to acknowledge that he had been invited for the following year to work in Jerusalem on the first concordance of the scrolls.⁹

The next day Strugnell wrote to Allegro:

[The] broadcast is ready, but it depends on the BBC when they churn it out. Don’t worry, I have been very sweet to you. It may even sell more copies for you. But Milik’s analogous book is about ready now, and it is (if you’ll pardon me) even better. I am now dissatisfied with the broadcast.

Please send Wallenstein[’s book] (though ...I see he charges heavily for his books).¹⁰

News. Abdul Raim? Gharaibeh? (GLH’s [Gerald Lankester Harding’s] enemy) was appointed curator of the museum at a meeting in December (with the proviso that a trustee should not hold the job. He gives it up May 1957 ...giving him time to find an even worse successor!) *De Vaux resigned as chairman* [president], and the American ambassador took his place, which may help in maintaining the Rockefeller connections. De Vaux wrote saying he had no news of when the scrolls would be available [i.e., come back to Jerusalem from the bank vault in Amman where they have now been for some months]. A further report on that is soon expected from one of my agents! Apparently a recent TV broadcast had a shot of de Vaux, and said something about starting work again. I am trying to find out more about it but it may be wrong. Milik seems to be expecting an early return to Quds [Jerusalem]. On what grounds I don’t know. The Americans don’t expect anything yet, though Kraeling is going on a fact-finding mission in February to the Orient. He has offered me a research post in Chicago for six months while things [the Suez Crisis] clarify. I am to take it up this month. It will be nice if one can have no teaching obligations, but just [be] free to work on texts, but not if one would have been able to return to Jerusalem before six months. So I wonder what are the reasons for Milik’s feeling that we will be back sooner. If there is a good chance, I would have preferred to stay in Europe. But it seems that I must go to the Oriental Institute. If so, there are a lot of things that I want to do in America, and it will be nice to live in the same village as Frank. Needless to say, I am in a frenzy of preparations, I have even had to swear an affidavit that I am not a communist, etc.

Gerald [Harding] is also pessimistic. He got a CBE [Commander of the Order of the British Empire] in the Honors List, but not (which would have been more to the point) a pension.

[I’m] still paying the rent on my house in Jerusalem. Still all my books are there. [Anyhow?], when will I see the sweetest of the daughters of Ishmael again?¹¹

Allegro replied four days later:

I think the Chicago idea is a very good one, and I should certainly have no qualms about going: Jerusalem can jolly well wait for Strugnell for a few months even if return is possible before then. Keep a good lookout for a job for yourself whilst there and if a good one offers, stick! I hope to be coming out myself in a month or two, depending when time will allow. It was to have

been on a lecture tour, but that has to be postponed for university reasons, and it will now be almost entirely business, I'm afraid. But it will be fun if we can meet and compare impressions

Too bad about Harding and his successor. What a mess, and likely to remain so for some time, I fancy. As soon as it clears, I may make a quick dash out to Quds, and, if it is during the summer, stay out there as arranged.

I am glad to hear you have been very sweet to my book, and if it sells more I shall be grateful. Somehow I don't think the Third will affect sales very much, but every little helps. We are just going into our fourth printing since publication last September. So things are not doing too badly. Milik told me about his effort, which is appearing in French and Italian, I believe. The Swedish edition of mine has been out some time now, but I don't know how it is going. The German and Spanish editions are still being prepared, and I've heard nothing more about them at all.

I am now the proud father of a bouncing boy, John Mark, born just a week ago and doing well, as is his mother.¹²

On 17 January Allegro wrote a rare letter to William Brownlee. Even more unusual, he did not keep a carbon copy in his files. This letter showed John Allegro's state of mind and relationship to other scholars just three years and three months after he first arrived in Jerusalem to join the Cave 4 Team:

This is a strange field and it seems to arouse the best and worst in scholars. Whilst for some, like yourself, they are a challenge and a wonderful opportunity to stand for a moment outside their faith and long-cherished convictions to see religious and cultural history in perspective, for others their impact is almost entirely unfortunate, calling only for the subduing of their importance in the popular mind and a strenuous denial of their uniqueness or even validity. Happily, I believe among the younger scholars, particularly in your country, the former attitude is prevalent, and promises well for the future of biblical studies. We have never recovered from Driver's original dating here in this country, and the venomous attacks of my former teacher and present professor [Rowley] have done nothing at all to encourage the younger scholar [to enter] the field. Even if he does, in this area, he is presented with a booklist of more than a thousand books and articles and told to read them first! If I manage to see him [such a young scholar], it has to be done surreptitiously!

You will see from this and other recent publications of mine that I by no means share the opinions of my Jerusalem colleagues about the validity of one Qumran document which must have caused scroll scholars some perplexity. I refer to the copper scroll which I had the good fortune to read here in Manches-

ter as it was opened. Furthermore, I certainly do not agree with the rendering of the three items given by Milik in the extraordinary press release. This scroll (according to Milik, the work of a “crank”) is, in my opinion, one of the most important from Qumran, and I believe offers the first undeniable identification of these people as Essenes. It seems to me most regrettable, that not only has this doubtful estimate of the scroll’s validity been given general circulation with an even more dubious rendering of the text, but the *publication of the scroll is being deliberately delayed by de Vaux for some three years, for reasons which seem to me, at least, hardly scholarly!* To tell you the truth, there is such a difference between the publishing activities of our team with respect to these fragments and the work of yourself and your colleagues on the first scrolls, that I am more than a little ashamed of my company. If it had not been for the panic ensuing after my strangely reported broadcast talks, I am quite certain I would never have got permission to publish that bunch of messianic material like that. But having written a letter of attack against me in the *Times*, de Vaux could hardly do less than publish my texts “in defence,” though to this day I am not certain what it was I was supposed to be defending!

*However, come what may, I shall go on publishing my section as I am able, and if there is anything I can let you know from it in advance, please do not hesitate to write and ask.*¹³

By now Skehan was back in the States with all his responsibilities. He was invited to participate in the fiftieth anniversary of Dropsie College¹⁴ and Cyrus Gordon invited him to have some of his colleagues at CUA apply to a seminar at Brandeis University.¹⁵ Aside from waging the war of words against Allegro, there was little evidence that he devoted much attention to his vast collection of biblical scrolls from Cave 4.

Again Strugnell wrote to Allegro, not knowing, of course, that Allegro was writing such things as he had written to Brownlee. Strugnell still kept a surprisingly friendly tone:

1. *Mabrouk*, [Congratulations!] indeed. I hope the salary increases proportionately with the family I don’t want to stay in America. There is still plenty to do on the unidentified fragments Kraeling goes to Quds in February to make arrangements for the resumption of scrollery, the survival of the museum, etc. Good luck to him. Maybe we will all meet in Quds this summer Milik’s book is being done in Spanish and English too Thanks for the book. I hope it reaches me before I leave [for Chicago on Monday evening]. Anyhow, it will be nice to see Frank.¹⁶

Despite Skehan’s denunciations of Allegro, there was still correspondence. Ske-

han sent corrections to some of Allegro's readings for the Hosea Commentary and other fragments, and closes this letter by saying:

Teicher has composed an indictment of you and Milik and Barthélemy which supposes y'all put together stuff that doesn't belong together. I have this as private information only, but I can assure you that if it ever does appear in print, he'll do himself harm. He'd like to have all the fragments photographed and published in their original condition¹⁷

Allegro replied, "I await Teicher's indictment with fear and trembling. And I think his idea that we should just publish all the fragments as we found them absolutely marvelous. I'm all for it. Aren't you? Think of the trouble it will save us."¹⁸

On 22 January 1957 John Strugnell left England to take up his new temporary position at the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute.¹⁹ Shortly after his arrival he wrote Allegro,

I am installed [in Chicago]. The journey was atrocious and the plane (American) 36 hours late. But I have now a room at the Oriental Institute, very little teaching, and the possibility to replace some of my specialised library which languishes in captivity in Q [Quds=Jerusalem]. I have already been over to Frank's place, and lectured once on the scrolls Brother, what immense honorariums they give for lectures here! And am down to do so here too I feel the loss of my Qumran card index, and also the one in the museum. Kraeling is going out to negotiate for our restarting work soon. The Middle East situation is pretty touchy in what concerns archaeology, but not, *inshallah* [God willing], impossible.

I hear you are coming to America for a lightning visit soon. I hope Chicago will be on your course. I couldn't put you up, as I have not yet found a room and am living in a sort of sky-scraper youth hostel. I am sure FMC [Cross] could. It would be good to have a chat longer than our brief encounter in Manchester Station Café! Do make an effort to come.

Have just got proof of JTM [Milik's book] on scrolls. It really is good. They have asked me to translate: If I can do so quickly I will. (And the rascal has been keeping some good ideas hidden up his sleeves!)

Incidentally, ...there were differences in your talk as written and as delivered. Does this affect the letter to the *Times*, and if so why didn't you mention it in your counter blast? Anyhow, let sleeping controversies lie²⁰

While Strugnell's letter was on the way from Chicago Allegro had been in touch with de Vaux. The situation in Jerusalem was not good, and Allegro wrote to Strugnell:

Apparently things are going from bad to worse, and I personally have no hopes at all now of our returning to Jordan this year, if ever. The new director of Antiquities has taken upon himself responsibility for all further scroll editing, and refuses to let fragments or even photographs leave the country. So I shouldn't put too much faith on a return this summer

You will be glad to know that your letter to the *Times* has at last borne fruit: my appointment at Manchester has not been renewed, to Rowley's joy and presumably yours also. At least, it has been renewed for one further year and finally, but I shall try and leave this summer if at all possible. Your reference to the letter in yours is interesting in the circumstances, and this feigned surprise at the fact that you were quoting something I never said, and whose context you never even troubled to check, amusing.

I presume it was the job you were after, so I'll let you know immediately when I know if I shall be able to find other means of support for my family this summer, and you can prepare your application. But if you want your friend Rowley to use his influence on your behalf, you'd better get in quickly, as he leaves also this year. Incidentally, I think Ron Sweet²¹ stands a rather better chance, and is better equipped. When does he plan to leave Chicago?

...I made a few recordings ...answering in one place your rather naive remarks about the recurrence of the Teacher's title in the scrolls compared with that of Jesus. Dear boy, you'll really have to do better than this. I must say that third programme ...is really hot stuff.... He has a beautiful recording of Albright wishing Zeitlin dead!²²

Two days later Milik wrote to Allegro from Paris where he was preparing to go back to Jerusalem. Milik, as usual, maintained a calm and friendly tone:

Many congratulations for your having the *bekos*, John Marc. I have not time to go to my brother [in England], so, unfortunately, the sending of the plates of 3Qcupr must be postponed to next summer. This evening I am leaving for Rome and on the nineteenth I hope to be in Jerusalem.

I shall send you, when issued, my booklet on DSS.

Sincere congratulations and greetings to Mrs. Allegro and to Judith from an old uncle.²³

It was well entrenched now in Allegro's mind that he had been "bushwhacked" by his colleagues. It was all everyone else's fault that he had not gotten a permanent position at Manchester. There was no indication of self-reflection about what he might have contributed to the situation, why he might have been considered less than optimal for the job. Three days later he wrote to de Vaux in a similar vein:

Many thanks for your letter. Things really are in a mess, and I can only sympathise with you for what must be a most trying position. Of course, I quite understand about the letter concerning our work in Leeds on the fragments. I have passed on the news to Dr. Burton, who thinks with the material we now have, a year's work might be possible for a full-time student, and on the basis of a letter from me outlining the importance of the work will try and get the grant. We'll see what happens, and I'll keep you in touch.

Now for a number of requests, further. I am reading your very important and masterly summary of the Qumran excavations in *Révue Biblique*, and shall bring my book up to date in due course

One further request. You may like to know that Rowley has been able to use your *Times* letter with the desired effect of preventing my promotion and giving me only a fourth and final year in my present grade. This is not entirely unexpected, of course, but it does not mean that I should move as soon as possible.

I am thinking of applying for a Bye-Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, which has an emolument sufficient to live on, and is renewable for two or three years. I should like to combine the thesis I was at before I was asked to join the team in Jerusalem, with a study of the scrolls language, in such a work as : "Dialects and Colloquialisms in Early Hebrew with particular reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls." One of the advantages of this would be that I could continue my work on the editing of the fragments with trips to Jerusalem as part of the study. The application has to be in by 1 March: may I offer your name as a reference? I hope you will be able to help me in these requests.²⁴

Before Allegro received a reply from de Vaux, he received a letter Strugnell wrote on 12 February:

Kraeling leaves [Chicago] within 2 weeks for Amman to negotiate with the Jordanians for the getting back of the status quo in scroll studies. We just got the official letter from the Ministry of Education to Ghazzawi which nationalised things. Pat [Skehan] is coming over next week for discussion with Frank, Kr[aeling] and me on the best tactics he can employ. So far as we see things, the situation is as under [below] (but if you have any suggestions, a letter could get to me in time for me to put up your viewpoint. I have just written Milik a copy of the letter ... [for ... his views]). Kraeling goes with certain advantages and waits to negotiate for the maximum he can get, the ideal being as close an approach to Gerald's structure as is possible. The decree, it should be noticed, strictly speaking, changes nothing of our situation. The change is that they have na-

tionalised all fragments, but that's their own problem, especially when it comes to getting in cave 12 or 13 without any foreign benefactors to put up the money. But as for editors, note that "All rights for printing, publishing, translating, and studying belong to the Jordanian government" is the situation that held under Harding. We were ...[hired ...by him and] ...the Department of Antiquities although paid by others.²⁵ Of course they can exclude us all as having exported photographs, published illegal editions ...etc., but they needn't. We first mustn't rush them into adopting a posture against us from which dignity will not allow them to climb down. They at the moment have the possibility of accepting Harding's arrangements, and of looking for the opposite pole of possibility. Kraeling has good words (e.g., money) up his sleeve to bring them to see the preferable course (and of course the final threat that we will publish everything and to hell with them—we could get an edition out long before them! That would ruin their whole business—but of course we must not ever negotiate with that point—it hardly creates a friendly atmosphere!)

Of course they can make trouble ...in Syria etc., with guards, with inadequate photographs, but again, they needn't. And we have one or two strong cards on our side. But what do you think? As the Eton Boat song says, "We'll all swing together" and Kraeling undoubtedly will refuse any splitting of the group (e.g., if the Jordanians say "Americans all right, but English and French no!")—which the b[astards] are quite likely to think of But perhaps you have a nice coup d'état to think of! Or an assassination?

Let me know if you have any suggestions so that Kraeling can be as representative of the group as possible.²⁶

Always calm, never sarcastic or mean, de Vaux replied to Allegro about his request:

I have just received your letter 12 February. And as soon as I obtained the offprints of my article on Qumran 12 days ago, I sent you one of them: you have probably received it or you will be receiving it very shortly.

I am very gladly giving you permission to use the drawing that we published, plate 3. As far as photographs are concerned, plate 4 (aerial view) is excluded because I did not have the copyright for it. For the others, you would like to reproduce in the second edition of your book whatever is not there already, if I understand your list, so that your book would have all the illustrations of this number of *Revue Biblique*. I am very honored that you have made this request, and I would comply with it gladly, but I can't really make such a demand on our editor You ask me for 11 photographs. Please tell me which five you prefer, and I will gladly send them to you. I apologize for not being able to do any more.

No, I am not happy to know that the University of Manchester did not promote you. I am sorry, and I know for sure that the decisive factor was not this letter to the *Times*, which is not my letter as you say.

I hope that you obtain the fellowship for which you applied to Cambridge, and, if you think that it could be useful to you, you could give my name as a reference. And I even promise to reply favorably, should I be consulted.²⁷

Meanwhile, Allegro and Strugnell continued to correspond about the situation in Jordan:

Many thanks for the latest letter telling me about Kraeling's proposed trip. I hear that Katie Kenyon is returning shortly to her dig [Jericho], though in very reduced numbers. Nevertheless it looks promising, surprisingly so.

I am quite happy with the proposals you make. There's very little we can do, of course, if they don't agree, bar publishing everything ourselves, which we shall do anyway! It's a bit worrying though about Cave 11 stuff. What is the latest position on that? How much exactly was rescued before it all went to the bank's vaults? Of course, it will be hopeless now to ask for money to buy it all back, if the Jordan government intends nationalising everything as soon it comes in.

I had a little chuckle at our apparent newfound unity. All for one and one for all—sort of thing. But I should think that this is the most likely offer to be made by our Jordan friends—Yanks or nothing. Although, I don't know; in view of Katie's return things may not be so difficult.

Cecil Roth was up here yesterday, lecturing on Manasseh ben Israel and also addressing the seminar. He is confident (or was) that a fortnight ago in his bath he discovered the clue to the whole historical setup of the scrolls. Whilst admitting that he was not in touch with scrollery, and that he was still thinking about it, and having ideas on trains etc., en route to impart his great news, and had not read any other texts than Habakkuk, nor even considered them, and had not in fact worked out his implications ...he KNOWS that events depicted in 1QpHab refer—WITHOUT QUESTION—to the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, and that the commentary itself was written between 68 and 73, and that therefrom all our paleographical dating may henceforth be based. This he wants to broadcast on the Third Programme. Driver, he says, is enthusiastic, and is egging him on. And what excitement and what bloody impudence.

An Oxford scholar has an idea in his bath, goes mad about it, bases it all on one cryptic reference in one cryptic document, and scatters aside the

scholarship of eight years with one sweep. And finds as his authority the feelings of one man who has publicly made a graceful slide of six centuries in his dating! Poor old Oxford.

Hope you are enjoying the fleshpots of Chicago. Tell me what goes on.²⁸

Strugnell took the idea of Roth on the BBC very seriously and replied quickly:

This is brief, and a reply to yours of 20 February about Roth's bath being in with the third programme boys. I will write today to try and stop them doing anything foolish, such as what you describe seems to be. The impudence of people in imagining that any Tom, Dick, or Harry can pronounce on the scrolls just because they have news value, and without bothering to read the totality of the evidence is horrifying—it's as if Zeitlin were to say that the Balaam oracles must be medieval without bothering to consider that they occur in books that other scholars have given a modicum of attention to, before the Spirit moved him to take a bath. Anyhow, surely this can be stopped—I doubt whether Driver will go too far in committing himself after his former experiences, so we only have to spike the third programme producers. It's a pity too, because these Jews with the sort of familiarity that Roth has with Jewish literature can make very useful contributions to the exegesis of these texts—if only they would confine their rabbinics to the fields where it would be appropriate.

After our meeting with Pat and Frank, I was surprised at the strength of our position, if Kraeling plays his cards right; and if not, there are so many alternative lines of defence—such as an interesting proposal that we should all work together in Rome for some time while producing a concordance, which now becomes necessary in the nonbiblical field and at the same time checking up on the unidentified stuff and checking all together on the more doubtful fragments of each collaborator—with this the edition can go ahead almost as planned, apart from that little extra that can only come from the fragments themselves. But the negotiations can proceed on a basis of fairly considerable strength, although the reasonableness of one's position is no argument, so that it will appeal to the tortuous mentality of the emancipated ... [Arabs].

Cave 11 seems to be safe in the government's vaults—the museum had an immense loan to pay a deposit on it, and so the gov't merely had to confiscate that and then leave the museum with the debt—which has the incidental advantage that their ardour for nationalising the museum and its overdraft has cooled somewhat. How much is still in Bedu hands after the museum's purchase is doubtful, one of Kraeling's strong points in negotiation.

...The fleshpots are grand—I regained the office from them this morning at midday, to the consternation of the sober Americans!²⁹

Just two days after Strugnell wrote this, on 25 February 1957 the government of Jordan issued an order attempting to take over all matters relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls:

Issued in accordance with Para. 7 of the Antiquities Law No. 33 of 1953.

Article 1: This Order may be cited as the Antiquities Order No. 5 of 1957 for the establishment of a board to supervise the study, the preservation, the printing, and the publication of the manuscripts, and shall commence with effect 25 February, 1957, and shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Article 2: The Board shall be constituted of the following Members:

1. His Worship the Mayor of Jerusalem—President
2. Director of Antiquities and Curator of the Jerusalem Museum—Treasurer
3. Assistant Director of Antiquities
4. Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Jerusalem
5. Director of École Biblique et Archæologic [sic] at Jerusalem

Article 3: The Board shall have to make all arrangements necessary for the preservation, study, printing, and publication of the manuscripts.

Article 4: The activities of the Board shall be restricted by the Antiquities Law and the orders issued in accordance with that law.

Article 5: In the event of disagreement between the members, the case shall be submitted to the Minister of Education (Antiquities) whose decision shall be final.

Article 6: The objects and powers of the board are cultural.

Article 7: The board shall have the right to apply for and to receive unconditional supports, whether materially or morally, for the fulfilment of the board's cultural and educational aims; the funds and the accounts of the board shall be deposited with a bank agreed upon by the Minister of Education; these accounts shall be subject to the control of the government auditor.

Article 8: The Board shall submit to the Minister of Education through the Director of Antiquities a Quarterly Report on its activities.

Article 9: The director of Antiquities shall see to the execution of the Order,

SHAFIQ RUSHEIDAT

MINISTER OF EDUCATION—ANTIQUITIES³⁰

This order sent a shock wave through the scholarly and especially the scrolls community. It was essentially an order of nationalization of the scrolls, though its wording spoke only of the constitution of an “oversight committee” regarding, mostly, publication. There was, of course, no serious intention to oversee publication since they put at the head the Muslim mayor of Jerusalem!

Unaware of what had happened the previous day, Allegro wrote to de Vaux on 26

February, accepting his offer of five photos only and mentioned that he had included de Vaux's name in his application for the Cambridge fellowship.³¹ He also wrote to Strugnell the same day. He requested a transcription and then once more chides Strugnell for signing the *Times* letter:

I'm sorry I was wrong in thinking that you signed your name to that extraordinary letter to the *Times* in order to fall into my job: I was merely seeking for the most charitable explanation of your action. After all, old chap, this academic racket is a skin game, with too few jobs chasing far too many people, so why not? I confess until last year I thought the academic world far removed from such self-seeking, but I have been well and truly disabused of such sentimentalities. I think on the whole the cut-throat business world is rather more honest. But please don't think me soured by these events: this is life, and we've all got our bread and butter to earn somehow. All the same, I don't see why you need to keep up the pretence with me in private correspondence. Where in my BBC talks did you find me saying that "Jesus is now seen to have fitted into a preexistent Essenic pattern." This is what *Time* magazine wrongly reported me as saying: but I did not say it, and you did not trouble to confirm it, nor to discover the context of the actual phrase I did use. You were not, in fact, answering anything I had said but what the great American public had been told I had said by a cheap Yankee rag, interested only in sensationalism. Why you should have joined yourself to Skehan's retort, if you were not led astray by the Roman gang, or were not trying to get my job, I still don't know. And to tell you the truth, don't much care now. So let's drop the subject

I'm glad to hear that you share my feelings about Roth's bath ideas. As you say, what bloody impudence. I had a letter from him this morning—still at it. I'm lecturing at the Oxford Archaeol. Soc. this week, and shall probably drop in to see GRD [Professor Driver]. He's acting as referee for the Cambridge Bye-fellowship I'm applying for. So, incidentally, is de Vaux, very decently. I hope I get it, for Manchester doth sicken me, and I long to get stuck into my dialects and colloquialisms thesis again in peace and quiet.

I see, on looking up my last letter to you, that I did not tell you then about the Cambridge thing—or hadn't decided about it, rather. It's the S.A. Cook Benefaction, tenable for three years maximum, and coming vacant this year (Loewy holds it at the moment). A bit of a dead end in some ways, since there may be nothing at the end, but nevertheless very tempting. The field is rather wide—OT, philosophy of religion, or comparative religion, so I don't know what the chances are, but it's worth trying.

Don't worry about the Third Programme and Roth. My BBC contacts up

here had been asked to get me to give an opinion on Roth's idea before they committed themselves. I did!

Well, I approve of the change from arabesses to amerinanae but not of the non-day rising (or returning). I had hoped that our sober Yankee friends might have been able to keep you off the bottle a little: but I am disappointed.

I heartily approve of your *typing* your letters—a great improvement.

Again, thanks for all the news: keep me in touch with Kraeling's mission.³²

At least Strugnell and Allegro continued to talk. With the other members of the Team Allegro had very little contact. But the *Times* letter always lurked in the background as Strugnell replied:

Come, you can't both be the disputer and also the editor who writes "This correspondence is now closed" in the interests of historical accuracy remember that we clearly distinguished the remarks that we transcribed from the BBC typescript from the remark that *Time* fathered onto you—as far as I remember we even said that you were "alleged" to have made it by the press, since we assumed that if true it must have come from a further interview, but remember that there we allowed the possibility that you hadn't said it. As for your true text (*Messianic* for *Essenic*) we still would contradict it in any sense that it might seem to be saying anything that is new And I regret coming from you that in biblical studies I am still an idealist—remember what Erasmus said Just because there are too many wolves about, we needn't put on wolves' clothing as well.

But anyhow the best of luck for the Cook thing It's a pity Albright is retiring—I *should think he would have been admirable to work under*. Incidentally, the fact of de Vaux's support ought to make you modify your overdramatic picture of what went on behind the letter—I hold no brief for the Vatican (although well disposed at the moment as I am in hot pursuit of a little Belgian Catholic), but your picture seems somewhat of a caricature.

Met Noel Freedman, who seems charming, and we talked well into the small hours on Qumranology and theology—the whole Church is becoming bloody Essenes. Frank's book has raised a lot of interesting new points, and the Spirit too has occasionally descended on me with some neat details—am giving a series of four lectures on scrollerly to a small church group—popular, sound, and worth 140 dollars ...! Glad you spiked Roth's guns. Excuse me, must rush to lunch—will let you know when we hear from Kraeling, but the Ike doctrine hardly seems overpopular with the great Arab nation now—as well to be expected—you can't be an idealist and sit on the fence, that takes a hypocritical British diplomat.³³

Contact between the Cave 4 Team and Israeli scholars was unusual in this period, but it did occur. In the exchange below Yadin answered some questions Allegro had sent him:

Thank you very much for your letter of 26 February When shall we see the “strips” of copper? Stop “teasing” us.

As for my popular book on the scrolls; it is true that the Hebrew edition is in circulation, and the English one will be published in the spring

But ‘where on earth’ did you hear that a large part is devoted to controversy with Allegro? On the contrary—I deal relatively in length with your interpretation of the PNA [Peshar Nahum] and in a most positive way particularly concerning the *historical* background.

The book is a *popular factual*, and I refrain as much as I can from dealing with the extreme views. The only apparent difference—in contents—from yours, is that, whilst you dedicated most of the first chapters to the Jordanian point of view, I deal more with the Israeli side of the discovery and acquisition.³⁴

The exchanges between Allegro and Strugnell over the *Times* letter continued, and Allegro was ever more acrimonious:

Since you persist—dear boy, you speak as if you and your ecclesiastical pals were debating some little point of theology in a learned journal. You still do not seem to understand what you did in writing a letter to a newspaper in an attempt to smear the words of your own colleague. It was quite unheard of before, and [is an] unprecedented case of scholarly stabbing in the back. And, laddie, don’t accuse me of over-dramatising the business. I was here in England, with my finger very much on the pulse, whilst you were shut away in Jerusalem surrounded with cheap Yankee magazines. Reuter’s man that morning on the ‘phone to me was classic: “But I thought you scholars stuck together” And when it was realized that in fact you were quoting things I never even said, the inference was plain. This letter was not in the interests of scholarly science at all, but to calm the fears of the Roman Catholics of America. Again, why you should have lent yourself to Skehan’s madness, I don’t know: it has certainly not enhanced your reputation as a colleague—which is rather more important, my dear John, than scholarship in a teaching post, where ability to get along with one’s fellows is almost paramount.

And what it all boiled down to was that you guys did not agree with the interpretation I put on certain texts—where I have quite as much chance of being right as you. Rather than argue it out in the journals and scholarly works, you thought it easier to influence public opinion by a scurrilous letter to a newspaper. And you have the neck to call it scholarship. Dear boy, you

are very young yet, and have much to learn. May I suggest that in the future you keep yourself out of these intrigues, and let others do the dirty work.

You are quite right about de Vaux: a man of honour who has regretted that letter to the *Times* from the moment it was written—as his remarks to me last summer made it clear. I rather gather too that even Skehan himself began to wonder afterwards whether it was worthwhile.

All of which, dear John, does not alter one iota my feelings of friendship for you and admiration for your many sterling qualities. And I see no reason why it should influence our future cooperation on these bloody scrolls. Incidentally, I saw a note in the *Times* that Jordan has declared that it is setting up a team to work on the things, under the directions of ASOR and Ec. Bib. [École biblique]. Heard anything yet?³⁵

The following day Allegro wrote to de Vaux:

I am very pleased indeed to know that things look hopeful regarding restarting our work on the fragments. I read in the *Times* the other day that Awni Dajani,³⁶ apparently now assistant director of Antiquities, says that the Jordan government has set up a board for the editing of things, under the supervision of the ASOR and the École, and that it would include an Arab scholar (!—who?). But it looked hopeful, and I eagerly await further news. I take it that Kraeling is out there by now pulling all the strings he can.

I had, I confess, abandoned hope of returning to the work this summer, but I shall now hold myself in readiness. I hope the Rockefeller Fund will still be operating though for passage and living, etc. But we'll come to that when it's necessary.

I have applied for the Cambridge job, but shall probably not hear anything until next month.

I heard today from Leeds that the application for a grant from the Institute for Scientific and Industrial research for further work on the skin of the fragments has gone in. I wrote a letter to Burton setting out the general ideas and our hope for the results and whatnot, which he seems to think would do. He is asking for £2,000 for two years' work.³⁷

Some of these “skin fragments,” blank parchment from the Qumran caves, never made it back to Jerusalem, and there are suspicions from time to time that some might have been used to produce forgeries.

Strugnell replied to Allegro again on 17 March:

Your sweetly rude letter came to hand just recently, but I delayed replying

until I had something to say—although not to the argument because that sort of argument I am afraid I don't indulge in, but I have now a reason to write and as soon as I have got that out of the way I will, if a fortunate spasm of dyspepsia seizes me, waste some paper with a few brief comments, but first what is important

You will be glad to hear that your book is being used as a textbook by a YWCA adult education class on the scrolls which I chanced to hear of—it was sharing the honour with the bullshit of Mr. Davies, but I managed to save you from the bad company. Everyone wants to hear lectures on the scrolls, so much so that one can afford to refuse offers that are less than 25 dollars for an honorarium—this even for me whom no one knows about—so if you come you can doubtless corner some of the *hamuddot haggioim* [gentile money]. I met Gaster and subsequently read his translations which have some good things in them. Frank has got some nice new things for his book and we are hoping to incorporate them into the English ed. of JTM [Milik]. I am working like a slave but in the evenings have reverted from arabesses to “clean fresh English flowers” which you probably consider to the good. Honestly, the American universities work too fast for really critical analysis—it is a factory for the mass production of papers, and I feel a little at unease—they want me to write more papers than I would readily read. Of course one could work for 10 more years here and acquire a nest egg and then retire to the elegant poverty but critically more favourable surroundings of a place like Oxford, or even to vegetate in some fine Gothic cathedral close—think of the learned Canon Charles. But there is no denying that for a person with no other mouths to feed the stipends are appealing here.

I look forward to seeing the results of Bridson's series [a BBC Radio series]—if it starts a new logomachy we must get copies to see what we said and what we have to defend; although I have gone backwards on the daring of the wicked priest, though not quite so far as Milik—but on that I seem to remember being very noncommittal. As for the piece on the nonoccurrence of the teacher as frequently as Jesus, what was being said there was very allusive and the point not one to be taken at its face value—you will see my detailed development of the theme in my third programme chat which I hope the BBC will be releasing on the expectant multitudes shortly. But if Bridson's thing starts a scrap I hope he will send us texts of what we are responsible for—so much water has flown under the bridges since we recorded in March last. (PS. Don't you think my cursive is better than my typewriting?)

Sorry my bowels are not turning within me so I won't trade insults with you—actually I was sorry to learn of the job, and agree with much that you have said about the self-seeking that mars some academics—but

when you accuse me of indecent joy and farseeing conspiracy my sympathy evaporates. Keep your thoughts straight—remember I was then a “young and impressionable” or was it “easily led?” chap who was nobbled [tricked] by the Jesuit conspirators—or this at least was the impression that some of your correspondents had gained of me from your former critical history of the events—to be suddenly promoted to Satan is embarrassing. Nor do I want your job, nor as far as I know does Sweet. Nor have I ever met or corresponded with Mr. Rowley whom you call “my friend” and as for accurate citation, we wrote to get a copy of your *ipsissima verba* [verbatim text] from the BBC, not to rely on *Time*, and told you what we felt you should modify; actually some of those passages you had emended from your text but since you never in your discussion on the point with us or in the papers mentioned this, I imagine you felt that the changes were immaterial, that in substance the position was unmodified—as I agree that it was in any but literary aspects—what you say about checking contexts is incomprehensible and I charitably assume that you have used the wrong word. But my lunch has not given me indigestion so I don’t really feel like continuing this point.

I wish in your initial publication of the *peshet* on the blessing you had discussed somewhat of the difficulty that there *mshq* [Messiah] is kingly whereas in CDC [Damascus Document] he is *dwrs htwrh* [Interpreter of the Law] who should be priestly—to me it is puzzling.³⁸

While Allegro and Strugnell were busy trading accusations, the first business of the first ordinary meeting of the new oversight committee of the scrolls took place on 23 March 1957. The Lebanese government had approached the Jordanian government about borrowing some scrolls to display in Beirut for a visit of the Italian president. With certain restrictions, some fragments were sent, but nothing from the Cave 4 scrolls.³⁹ This action meant effectively that this committee of the Jordanian government had taken over the control of the scrolls almost entirely owned by the *private* Palestine Archaeological Museum and other *private* institutions.

The same day Allegro replied again to Strugnell:

I listened with much enjoyment to your talk broadcast at last on the Third last Tuesday. They had cut you about a bit, and you sort of left us dangling in midair, but it was good stuff. I think too that they must have cut something out of the middle as well, for though you start off by quoting me you never really seemed to get back on to the criticism you wanted to make. Not that I minded very much, I confess: it was all first-class plug for the old *kitab* [book]!

Two items of news have appeared recently in our newspapers concerning scroll duggery. The first that the Jordan government are setting up a board to study the scrolls, which I gather with a nominal head of an Arab will be much as before, and the second that *they have accepted the offer of the Rockefeller Foundation to set up an institute of scroll studies in Arab Jerusalem.*⁴⁰ I read both these as the work of Kraeling, and it all seems rather hopeful. Have you yet any inside dope? Unless Israel has another go at Gaza and all stations beyond, it does now seem that we might be, after all, foregathering in Quds this summer. This will need some complicated domestic arrangements, so I hope we shall know one way or the other fairly soon.

PS: How's the pursuit of the Belgian Catholic going?⁴¹

The next day de Vaux wrote a letter to Allegro with momentous news:

I thank you for your letter dated 9 March. I am happy that you received the photographs and that you are pleased with them.

The fragments arrived in Jerusalem on 4 March after long and difficult negotiations. The committee to which I, as well as the director of the ASOR belong, was formed. This committee must supervise the study and publication of the manuscripts. I have made it explicitly understood that all the scholars who have been associated with this work until now may continue. In fact, Milik and Hunzinger have begun working and are awaiting the return of Starcky and Strugnell. This does not mean to say that we will not have a lot of obstacles placed in our way, but we must try to show a lot of patience and perseverance.

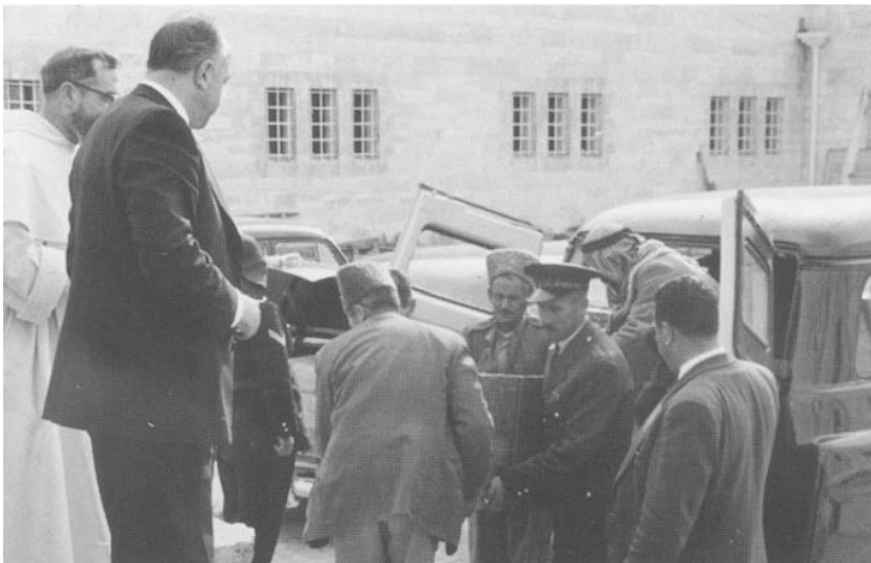
So you continue to be part of the team. But your stay in Jerusalem can be postponed until later. On this subject the financial question you mentioned will arise. I don't believe that Kraeling, in his new arrangements, has set aside funds for your trip and your accommodation in Jerusalem. And it will probably be difficult to have any changes [in the budget]. Could you see if another English institution would be willing to assist you? With regard to the date of your trip, this partly depends on the progress of Strugnell's work, with whom you are probably going to be publishing.⁴²

Allegro passed on the news to Strugnell, but he was a little bewildered:

A letter from de Vaux this morning tells me that things are moving favourably out there now. The fragments are back in Quds and you and Starcky are awaited daily. My return depends to some extent, according to De V., "de l'avancement du travail de Strugnell, avec lequel vous paraitrez sans doute." I don't quite get this, I confess, perhaps you do. In any case, I cannot come

before the university examinations are out of the way, say mid-June, much as I should like to. But if I get the Cambridge thing, I could possibly stop then rather longer than I could otherwise.

Another snag is that de Vaux says that he doesn't think that Kraeling's funds are designed to pay anything towards my journey and sojourn in Quds. This is rather a blow, as you may imagine, but it will not stop my coming, even if I have to pawn my wife. All the same I would be grateful if you could make some discreet inquiries about this matter for me, and find out if this is really so. The university here will certainly not cough up: they didn't last time under Rowley's advice, and certainly won't this time.



Returning the scrolls from Amman, 4 March 1957. On the far left is Father de Vaux and beside him Yusef Saad. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger.

[F. F.] Bruce has sent me the proof of Teicher's long promised attack. It is really rather pathetic. I have to make a reply, but how can one reply to a madman? I do think it unfortunate though, that the *PEQ* is printing it, having just printed Rowley's scurrilous attacks. All of this does nothing to further scrolls scholarship, and poor old England sinks further and further back. Even GRD's [Professor Driver's] gallant sliding back six centuries cannot undo the harm he's done already. Anyway, I'm not going to waste too much time over Teicher! He wants us to publish all the fragments without putting any together!⁴³

De Vaux's instructions to Allegro at this point are puzzling. He told Allegro he remained a member of the Cave 4 Team, but he should not come out just now, and



Roland de Vaux unpacking glass plates of scroll fragments in the Palestine Archaeological Museum after they were returned from Amman in 1957. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger.

there was no money for him to come in any event. Allegro, however, did not seem unduly concerned. He replied to de Vaux:

Thank you for your letter of the twenty-fourth. The news is encouraging. I congratulate you on the successful result of your negotiations, which must

have been most trying, and, as you say, things are likely to be difficult for some time to come. I shall write to Strugnell today to find out from him when he hopes to return.

I see little likelihood of returning myself before the summer examinations at the university are well out of the way, say in the middle of June, and then I shall stay until the end of September, or even later if I am not returning to Manchester but land the Cambridge-Bye fellowship. If I get that, it should not be difficult to get time off to work in Jerusalem. Thanks to Rowley and Co. it will be more difficult in Manchester.

However, rest assured that I shall come as soon as I can. As for the money, what you say about Kraeling's fund is certainly a blow, and rather strange since Strugnell has been living off it for the past two years. However, I shall look around as you suggest, and again, you may be assured that lack of funds will not stop me returning to my work in Jerusalem.⁴⁴

Strugnell and Allegro continued to exchange information about what was happening in Jerusalem. Strugnell wrote on 3 April:

Excuse the reuse of a badly ...[wrinkled] letter-form—this is a hasty letter, dashed off because I realise you have a lead of three letters—but it can't be a long one as I am in the unenviable situation of having to finish two papers in the next four days. I hope to write more at leisure as soon as the emergency is over

I can't tell you much about scrollduggery at the moment. Things are still in the air. The battle now seems to be whether Ghazzawi should be allowed to be in charge of funds for scrollerly, or whether Rockefeller should give them indirectly, thus ensuring a modicum of control that they be spent in a serious way and not on Cadillacs for the boys. Every day a telegram comes from Kraeling giving new developments. I will let you know when the story is finished. This new conflict started *after de Vaux's letter to you*, and I have written asking whether to return anyhow or wait until it is settled. If I returned at least that would separate the question of scholarly personnel from that of finance, but it might not fit in with the way de Vaux is facing up to the new situation. Your news from the English newspapers is interesting, but there is still some behind-the-scenes skullduggery. The Rockefeller Foundation Grant [for the Institute of Scrolls Studies], e.g., is not yet sure—just an announcement of Gharaibeh in his inimitable fashion; and anyhow there is sure to be a cabinet reshuffle in Jordan soon, which will leave him weaker.

Kraeling's first trip was disastrous. He didn't see anyone (what a snub!) as they all waited him out in Beirut—and his optimistic reports were a little premature. However, he may be back soon. De Vaux means that he thinks

your section will be published in the same volume with mine—(this may need discussion) and that therefore it may be next summer rather than this that would suit the stage of your work and printers' deadlines. [Money] is a problem. Both Pat and Frank can only come one more summer (not two in order to pay for Albina) and we are all to economize—so you will have to choose which would be [the] best time ... knowing that if you published with me the printers' deadline will not be very imminent! (This is all on the assumption of Rockefeller's old budget. If Gharaibeh's new scheme works, we may not be so pressed for money—but it may not be us on whom it is spent). If there was no money set aside in the budget for your trip—this was the price of an air ticket to England and back for me in 1958, on the assumption of two-years' stay—I could suggest that be used for you instead of on a holiday for me which I won't want anyhow. If you got the Cambridge thing then you could stay longer in '58 than '57. But I will enquire on the financial situation for you and let you know.

(P.S. '58 might be better as by then we hope to have a complete concordance—we are taking aboard a student just to do this, a young Albright pupil who will learn paleography from us by doing this).

Why reply to Teicher?—he is as insignificant as Zeitlin.

Glad you liked the talk. It ended "in the air" as the third program boys said not to put a conclusion. It seemed to me wrong to finish discussing just one example, without trying to generalize from the example I, too, thought it odd. But they felt it novel!

That it was a plug for the *Ketab* [book] is good. With all my reserves? It and Burrows are the best things out—it was because I felt that, that I hung my remarks on your book. There may well have been a little mix-up in the section on OT Texts—we recorded so many different revisions of that, that I don't remember what was finally agreed on.

I will have an interesting article to send you shortly.

Times is printing a cover story on the scrolls. They seem, at least, serious.

Writing as soon as the J'lem picture clears up.⁴⁵

De Vaux now replied to Allegro about his concerns and changed his tune:

Thank you very much for sending me the very successful enlargement of the photograph you took during our walk near Cardiff. I seem a little ecstatic, which is not my style at all!

I indeed also received your letter of 28 March. I have not yet heard from Strugnell and I do not know when he will be able to come back to Jerusalem. But you can come yourself this summer, which would be very good.

You will continue your work yourself, and you will make arrangements with Strugnell, who will be there at that time, I hope. I will be there too, because I am unable to leave the East this year. Hunzinger and Milik are at work, and I am awaiting Starcky on 10 April. Thus, the team is beginning to take shape. Cross and Skehan have postponed their trip until next year. It is a pity, because I had hoped that their batch, the biblical texts, could come out earlier.

I hope that you find the necessary funds in England for your trip. If you believe that my intervention could be useful, please let me know. I have not been consulted by Cambridge for your fellowship.⁴⁶

From this correspondence the delays associated with the publication of Cave 4 materials become more and more comprehensible. So many factors were converging to bog down the project. Allegro replied to de Vaux on 11 April:

Many thanks for your letter of the sixth. Two days ago I heard from Strugnell in Chicago, telling me that things are still very mixed up out there, and wondering whether it would not be better if I postponed my visit like Cross and Skehan until 1958. On the other hand, he himself would clearly like to come as soon as possible, and if we are going to publish our sections together then, as you say, we should time our visits accordingly.

I, too, understand the biblical section was to come first, but I suppose there is no reason why it should necessarily. But what of Cave 11? Are negotiations far enough advanced yet for us to begin work on that lot at the same time as we finish up the last? Or will that involve a new set of trips out to Jerusalem altogether at a later stage? On the other hand, if we all wait until 1958 is it likely that negotiations will be thus far advanced and enable us to work on all [Cave 4 and Cave 11] at the same time?

I gather from John's letter that finances even for the Yanks are getting sticky—which amazes me, I confess. I should have thought that both Cross and Skehan could have raised the funds for trips fairly easily, quite apart from Rockefeller. I shall certainly do my best here, and am most grateful for your offer to support my application. If the worst comes to the worst, I'll try and do it privately, though I am unwilling to do so and use my book advances for this purpose, since my own future is so very uncertain. I, too, have heard nothing from Cambridge and am wondering whether it has been given to someone else. However, rest assured that lack of money will not stop my coming as soon as you think it best for me to do so.

Talking of which, you will remember that in my book I appeal for a large fund from which money could be drawn as scrolls were found, to save this constant delay in the rescue of the stuff. A reader wrote to me the

other day asking where he might send his cheque! I have heard similarly from others in the past. I think it was John who told me some time back in happier days that Harding and you were thinking of appealing this spring for such a fund at the same time as you released news of 11Q. Is that project quite abandoned now, or merely postponed until Jordan settles down? Obviously, things are too unsettled at the moment, but when you do get around to thinking about it again, perhaps you'd keep me in touch so that I can do my little bit here.

Anyway, if, when you have consulted with Strugnell, you still want me out there in the summer, will you please let me know further, and I shall make suitable domestic and financial arrangements.⁴⁷

Allegro was showing a growing interest in the Cave 11 materials and naturally assumed that the Cave 4 Team would be assigned that material as well. But he did not know about the financial complications connected with them. He and Strugnell seemed to have put the *Times* letter behind them, finally, and discussed more immediate matters:

Many thanks for your letter of 27 March—if that really was the date.

I heard from de Vaux this morning. He says that Milik, Hunzinger and soon, Starcky, are at work out there, and wants me to come this summer. He is hoping you will soon be able to join them. Now all this runs rather contra to your letter, where you think it wiser to leave my visit until 1958 when Cross and Skehan also will be able to come. I have replied this morning outlining your view, and asking de Vaux to write again when he and you have settled it between you.

I confess that domestically 1958 would suit me rather better, although it is possible by then I shall be selling vacuum cleaners or something. But I am not sure that waiting until we all can foregather is after all such a good scheme, for surely we shall be getting under each other's feet, to say nothing of all trying to get our photos done at the same time from Albina. From this angle it might be better to spread it somewhat and for me to come this summer.

Then again, there is the factor of 11Q. If negotiations are far enough advanced, are we to work on our sections of that when we come, as well? Or is there to be a completely other expedition to Quds on our parts (of someone else's) to cope with that? If another year's delay were to see this stuff ready for work, it might be worthwhile delaying the trips. This, too, I have raised with de Vaux.

I am surprised that either Cross or Skehan should be restricted by cash difficulties. I should have thought they could easily have raised the money in the States, apart from Rockefeller entirely. Unless I can raise some from some fund or other, it looks as though I shall have to do it on my own bat. This, from our family standpoint, is not at all welcome, as you can imagine,

since my future seems so very uncertain, and we may well be needing that money in a year or two to live on. Nevertheless, it won't stop me coming.

I have asked de Vaux too about the worldwide appeal he and Harding were planning. I was reminded of it the other day by an enthusiastic reader of my Pelican wanting to know where he could send the cheque. I cannot help feeling that such a fund, even if its use in Jordan were delayed, would solve these expenses problems.

I couldn't help replying to the ass Teicher as Bruce only accepted his article on condition that he allowed me to see and reply to it first. When I saw it, the thing was already in printed proof⁴⁸

Strugnell answered Allegro shortly before he departed Chicago to return to Jerusalem:

Again a letter in haste; I delayed answering your last until the revolution in Jordan should be over and until I had de Vaux's answer telling me to come even despite all the rumours about new financial arrangements for scroll study and finally this has come this morning—so I have just written off for a visa and will probably not even stop in England—although I may have to stop in Belgium to face an irate *papa with a shotgun*. But that matter is till in the lap of the gods.

Of course de Vaux's decision about when you come is final and if he prefers this summer it's fixed. But since (a) we will all be there in '58 (FMC and PWS both are coming then, not this year) I feel that from the point of discussion of the final problems and final point of view in the edition that would be the better time—and also that (b) since—in terms of identifications of fragments—your lot is almost complete as it stands, it would be more useful to you to come at a time when the complete concordance will be finished or approaching usability at least, and when we can clearly see the hard core of what remains unidentified—at the moment the unidentified plates are still half full of Starcky, Milik, and Strugnell manuscripts. But de Vaux on the other hand said that we should gather our rosebuds while we may, i.e., use the time while we have it, and that must be an overriding factor. It is not yet definite that Fitzmyer will be free this winter for the concordance—it may have to be the next one. But it is de Vaux's decision and I won't interfere. Kraeling said, apropos 2Q that since the financing of 4Q is expiring, and the ownership of the other still disputed, we must at least have something published to show Rockefeller before he will renew our grant, and so we had better get ahead without worrying too much about 11Q and who will edit that; of course, if possible he recognises we are the best qualified, but it is not yet clear in whose hands that decision is—in any case the question must be kept separate.

Any Cambridge news, or other jobs?

For the first time I saw Rowley's *JBL* [*Journal of Biblical Literature*] article—my sympathies Frank demolishes his nonsense nicely in the new book.⁴⁹ After my broadcast two publishers tried to get a book out of me, with as yet little success!

For an article I have written, I want to be able to say “one of the unpublished texts from Cave 4 attests, among other things, that the sapiential depreciation of the woman was not forgotten but developed startlingly.” It has a place in an article on the classical *testimonia* to the Essenes. But I don't think you have yet referred to that text in publications—so would you please let me say so with a footnote “Allegro, by letter?” You needn't actually write a letter—just authorise me to say so.⁵⁰

Allegro answered Strugnell on 4 May, indicating the extent to which the unstable political situation was impeding the resumption of the team's work:

Many thanks for your letter of last Monday. I, too, have been awaiting the end of the revolution, either way, and I must say I don't think for a moment that [King] Hussein has completely finished it. I should say the split between Palestine and Transjordan is almost certain to come off, with Israel biting off the western bank. But I'm all for doing what we can while there is a chance: I'll bet we don't get in on the stuff if the Jews get their hands on it.

I've not heard from de Vaux since I wrote last, but if you have just heard, I daresay I shall get a letter soon. As you say, if he says come now, I go—though frankly, I've still no idea where the money is coming from. Have you still got your flat out there, and would you be willing to give me a bed in the passage or somewhere? Sharing rent, of course: but that would be considerable cheaper than a hotel.

I confess 1958 looks a better bet from the work's point of view: but gather the rosebuds ... as you say.

What have you been doing about the Belgian Catholic that requires a stormy interview with papa plus gun ...?

Do try and come via UK if you possibly can. I want to have another yarn before you go. Although, if I can come this summer we shall be seeing each other fairly soon. About the middle of June, I should think. But I hope I know something definite soon. Domestically this chopping and changing is most disturbing, particularly as the entire future is so uncertain. Nothing at all from Cambridge: I don't think they've made the appointment yet, and I'm pretty sure it won't be me.

On Thursday, the *Daily Herald* got hold of the news that I had not been

reappointed, and gave it a front page headline, complete with picture. *The Mail* also took it up, and the following day, I spent most of my time trying to avoid the press and BBC. It quietened very quickly, but they had the VC and Registrar of the university on the go the whole time, trying to persuade them that it was nothing definite, and that it could and would be reconsidered after certain changes in the organisation of the department, etc. etc. Deceiving none. Rowley was in London being crowned head of the Baptists, but if he gave an interview I heard nothing of it, and the next day there was not a word of the matter in any newspaper. I refused the TV offers of BBC and Granada ITV, and all is quiet. But it only goes to show that Rowley's nastiness has gone unnoticed, and these boys are convinced that he and his ecclesiastical colleagues are intent on rushing me out of the scroll racket as soon as possible, for their own reasons. However innocent your letter to the *Times* may have been, old son, you do realise now why I say it was not the wisest thing to have done.

All of which will not get me another job, but may make it rather more difficult for Manchester when it comes to deciding next year on my retention. And they still haven't explained the lack of promotion. Nothing the VC or Registrar said hit the dailies at all, and it stands on record that I have been pushed out because of what I said about the scrolls and Christianity! What fun. But how beloved I am of the authorities. And what hopes Cambridge now.

Your note to CDC X 8 (Damascus Document 10:8) was heartily appreciated. By all means quote the fanny passage. Do you want a really good translation for your reference—not in Latin?

Best wishes, old son: a good journey.⁵¹

Two days later Allegro wrote to de Vaux asking whether the political situation was “sufficiently calm now to allow us to return,”⁵² for if it was he intended to go to Jerusalem and would need to start raising money to that end.

Just afterwards, Strugnell, who was still in Chicago, wrote to Allegro to bring him up on the news at that end:

Brevity is the soul of wit so I make no excuses for mine. Two pieces of news. Insein Hashim, who lost his job in September, is reinstated—he is an ex officio trustee of the museum, a good man, a friend of Gerald and of science—so things are looking up. Leonie Cohen, my BBC producer and a charming woman, very interested in scrolls, writes that C. Roth is going to do a brief speculative piece from the Jewish historian's point of view about the date of the Habakkuk Commentary. It's not being produced by me. I will send a copy. I had written that the paleographical argument was

decisive against his theory, as you reported to me; I hope he has changed his view; but the BBC is too impartial—they don't realise the difference between arguments against a position and arguments which exclude a position. I had written such a strong dissuasive that I thought that would suffice—poor old England, as you say.

I don't intend to quote the "fanny passage" as you so aptly call it, but merely to say the sentence that I quoted about it, telling them thus allusively of its existence, and whetting their appetites for more. But no translations, please, otherwise it would be hard to bring back the attention of scholars to the point of my article

My reference to an angry father with shotgun does not imply that anything has happened that Mother Church might disapprove ...but just to the fact that in high probability we will shortly become engaged, and this development will scarcely please her father, who is not exactly convinced that I am all that he desired as a son-in-law, on religious and professional grounds, and since he is rather a powerful figure on the Belgian scene his opposition is not to be sneezed at. If we do get engaged, I will require you to drain a glass of something more potent than orange juice, *you dyed-in-the-wool Methodist* [Allegro was a teetotaler].

I had to give up my house which in the end I was sharing with Mantovani, for to pay the rent in absentia was a little excessive, but if I return soon I will take another—I have my eye on one or two possibilities. In principle, of course, you would be welcome to a room if I can get back the old one, that will be admirably suited—but of course if I am just settling down to marriage this would not be possible for the first few months; but that is not yet fixed. If so, you could still do much better than the American school, by taking a room in a house like I used to at the Beit Khadder—not too expensive, and very convenient. But not that actual house—they are all Nasserites [supporters of Pres. Nasser in Egypt], and you would have very little peace. But certainly if I return soon I will keep an eye open for a place for you, if I can't for obvious reasons offer you a place in my own house.

Publishers are after me for books on the scrolls which I will not write. No one is interested in any books on any other scholarly topic.

Must rush now—I have a bright idea about Josephus, and must check up in the classics library.

Probably see you soon in Quds—I doubt that I would go via England—we have wasted enough time already because of the blasted politicians.⁵³

After all the uncertainty about returning to Jerusalem, it now appeared Strugnell would make it there, and Allegro had his hopes up too. He wrote to Strugnell again toward the end of May:

I'm writing to Jerusalem in the hope that you have survived the fierce paternal wrath (Belgian) and are now safely in the Holy City. I want to know, and that right urgently, what things are like out there regarding my coming. I've had no reply to my letter to de Vaux of 6 May, which may mean he never got it, or that he is still waiting to see which way the political wind blows before advising me again to come. But I cannot leave it much longer—my vaccinations and jabs take three weeks.

I am therefore planning provisionally on coming on the 1 July, arriving on the second or so in Quds. I can then stay until the middle or so of September, which should make it worthwhile. The chances of my raising any money to come are pretty remote now, and it looks as though I shall have to use the family budget. But never mind, I want very much to get back on the job for many reasons.

Can you let me know about

(a) Sterling and English cheques in the Suq as in the days of yore? Or do we need to bring traveler's cheques for everything?

(b) Bed and breakfast, etc. Supposing I go to a hotel, how cheap do you think I could knock Az Zahara down to these days? If they're finding tourism pretty sticky, they might do me a decent price, say in the thirties per month. Think so? I say Az Zahra because as I remember it's fairly respectable (i.e., clean—not worried about morals!) and is jolly handy for the PAM, and also for ASOR. (Who's there now, by the way?) In short, laddie, give me the dope please.⁵⁴

The same day Allegro wrote this letter, Count Bierlot, father of Strugnell's "Belgian Catholic" to whom Strugnell had proposed in Chicago, wrote a letter to Msgr. Patrick Skehan at the Catholic University in Washington, DC Concerned, the father wrote to Skehan, whose name Strugnell had given as a personal reference. Of particular concern was that John was a Protestant. Skehan replied with a positive recommendation.⁵⁵

Allegro had still not received a reply to his letter of 6 May from de Vaux, so he wrote again on 25 May:

No reply to my letter to you of the sixth, so perhaps you are still waiting to see if the political situation is ripe enough to make it worth coming. On the other hand, if I delay too long, it won't be worth coming anyway. I am planning now provisionally to leave London on the 1 July, arriving Jerusalem on the second.

Please write by return saying whether you think that arrangement is satisfactory or worthwhile, or even just to tell me you love me.⁵⁶

Allegro's jocular familiarity must have made de Vaux cringe, considering the

sort of person de Vaux was, and especially considering the tension between the two, but it was a measure of how desperate Allegro must have felt over his personal and professional situations at the moment.

De Vaux's answer, written immediately after he received Allegro's second letter, was typically calm, straightforward, and factual:

I am in receipt of your letter, dated 25 May. In order to reply to your letter of 8 May I was, in fact, waiting to see how the situation stabilized, and also to be sure that Strugnell could return as well. I received a letter from Strugnell saying that he was preparing to come and things are calm for now. So, I think that you can come as soon as you find the funds for your trip and for your stay. I will be very happy about it, because our publication work must progress.

See you soon, I hope.⁵⁷

In West Jerusalem Yigael Yadin had emerged as the preeminent Israeli archaeologist connected with the scrolls. He had written a "popular-factual" book on the scrolls, about which he told Allegro in a letter two months before. Now Allegro answered:

Dear Yadin

Very many thanks for your letter written way back in March. I apologise for the delay in acknowledging it—things have been pretty hectic.

I look forward to seeing the English edition of your books, which I am sure, will be a great success. I myself refrained from dealing with the Israeli side of the scrolls purchase because I knew I was not the person to do it, knowing only the story secondhand. I am more than glad that you are telling it, for no one is better qualified.

I have a picture-and-text book on scrolls in preparation—a popular and rather glossy thing, of no real worth, but perhaps useful for its copious illustrations. Rereading your letter I realised that amongst the pictures I have not one of your revered father, Professor Sukenik. Would it be too much trouble for you to sort out a really good one of him at work on the scrolls, so that it can be included? I shall, of course, be happy to pay a proper fee for its reproduction, or make up for it in some way in books etc. If you are able to do this, I should be grateful for its coming fairly soon, as the thing is in its last stages of compilation. Thanks.

I am planning on returning to Jordan this July, providing the political situation allows it. Unfortunately, getting into one's professor's bad books is not the best way of getting any financial help towards scrolls work, so it looks as

though I shall have to pay my own way. Still it would be worth it to get my side of the business done, and also, if possible, to cast an eye on the Cave 11 stuff, if that is available. I can't say I'm overinterested in Leviticus, Psalms, Targum Job or even the New Jerusalem, but I would like to see the fragments!

I wonder if there might be a chance of slipping into Israel whilst I'm over there. Are you going to be around this summer?⁵⁸

If Yadin ever replied, Allegro did not save the letter.

Now, finally, after months of waiting, Allegro proceeded with plans to go to Jerusalem again after he received de Vaux's letter of 28 May. He left England on 30 June and arrived in Jerusalem on 1 July. Money was still a problem, but Allegro had reconciled himself to having to pay his own way, albeit with the proceeds from what was now a best-selling book: "I shall probably have to find my own expenses, unfortunately, but there is clearly no chance of getting anything from my university, at least while my present Professor [Rowley] is in residence. Thank goodness for what he chooses to call scathingly 'journalism!'"⁵⁹

But the situation in Jerusalem was still very uncertain indeed. Just the day before Allegro received de Vaux's short letter and answered on 3 June, another ominous memo was written to the Palestine Archaeological Museum from Amman:

CONFIDENTIAL

No.9/4/466 Department of Antiquities,

Date 2/6/57 [2 June] Amman

The President,

Board of Trustees,

Palestine Archaeological Museum

Subject : Biblical Manuscripts

The Minister of Education has acquired, *vide* his Order No.27 dated 6 January 1957, all biblical manuscripts including all the manuscripts which are at the Palestine Archaeological Museum; this is in virtue of Article 11 of the Antiquities Law No. 33, 1953.

Article 12 of the Antiquities Law provides for compensation if the museum authorities would be able to establish by proof that they got the manuscripts in the legal way.

For the purpose of considering the question of compensation, please inform me how the museum came into possession of the manuscripts.

(Sgd.) A K Gharaybeh

Director of Antiquities

Copy to : H E the Minister of Finance

H E The Government Auditor

There is no record of de Vaux's answer to this letter, nor any indication whether the matter was further resolved. It was to become irrelevant anyway in light of ensuing events.

Naturally, neither Allegro nor Strugnell was fully aware just how precarious the situation was. After all, it was not their purview, and they were not privy to the continuing struggles between the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and the PAM. They were concerned mainly with getting back to Jerusalem and continuing their own work.

Allegro wrote to Strugnell again on 9 June:

No word from you yet and I am wondering if you are having visa difficulty in the States. I am planning leaving here the thirtieth of this month, arriving the following day in Jerusalem by the afternoon plane. But I have not yet attempted getting a visa, since I've still got to get a renewed passport and whatnot. If you are in Quds and have had any difficulties with the Jordanese [sic], let me know PDQ will you?

Also, besides the other queries I put in my last letter, will you ascertain for me whether it will be possible to visit Qumran when I get out there. There are some more pictures I want to get of the area, and if possible I want to spend a day or two down there in the region taking pictures. Also the BBC are sending out a TV team, small but worthwhile, to get material for another TV programme in the winter. The idea is that I should precede them and make arrangements, but of course, whether it's worth their while coming will depend largely on whether we can penetrate the Dead Sea fastness [stronghold] these days. For many reasons I hope they can come, not the least being that the BBC will then contribute largely towards the cost of my journeying and sojourning, which otherwise I must pay myself.

Another reason why I would like to know at the earliest whether one can roam a bit out there is what cameras to bring. I have been offered the loan of one, but it's rather cumbersome and I will not bring it unless I can have some hope of obtaining large views as distinct from portraits of Strugnell at work on the *Hodayoth*, etc.

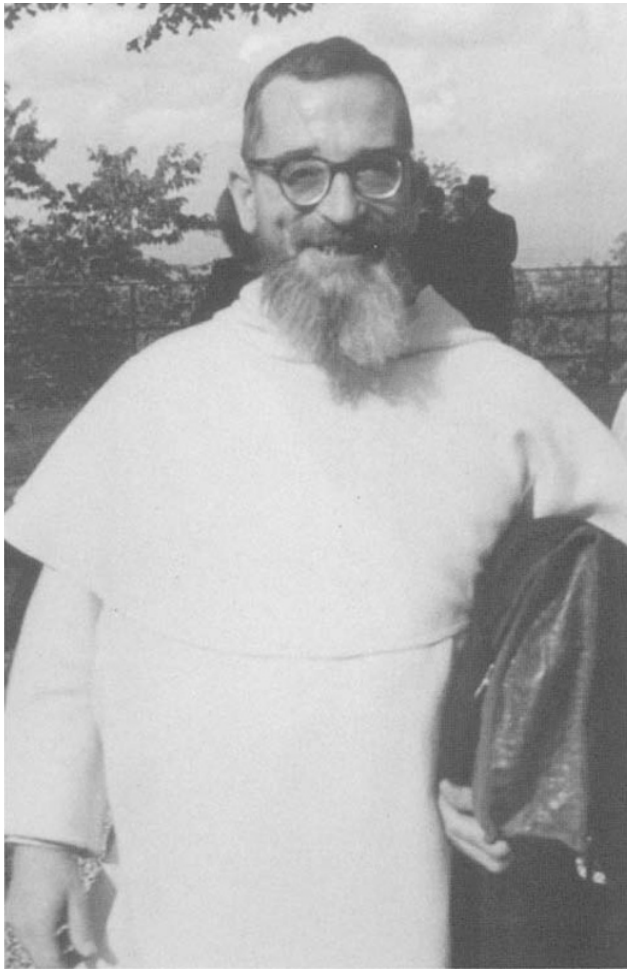
Another important query. Should I bring my infra-reds with me? I.e., will I be able to bring them away again? If you see what I mean. If I don't, can I be sure of getting a duplicate set from Albina to work on whilst I am there? Otherwise, shall I have the lot copied whilst I'm still in UK for safety's sake?

Sorry to bombard you with queries, but they are rather important and time gets short. I actually leave Manchester for London on Friday, 28 June, i.e., a fortnight next Friday.

Hope you are there, and have had a good journey.⁶⁰

A few days later Allegro wrote to de Vaux, inquiring whether he should bring his

Cave 4 manuscript photographs with him to Jerusalem, or leave them in England for safekeeping and have Albina, the PAM photographer, make another set.⁶¹ De Vaux, knowing the tenuous political situation, advised him on 20 June to leave the photographs in England, and another set would be made for him in Jerusalem, presumably because even carrying photographs of the scrolls might be a cause for him to be barred from Jordan or worse (recalling the confusion in the Jordan government



Father Roland de Vaux., first editor in chief of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series and head of the excavations in Qumran. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. C.-H. Hunzinger.

during the Suez crisis between original manuscripts and photographs). He suggested that Allegro bring his notes (but this also was dangerous because they contained Hebrew transcriptions) and then conveyed the news that Strugnell had not arrived as expected. De Vaux gave two reasons for Strugnell's delayed arrival: (1) He made the mistake of indicating on his visa application that he was coming to Jordan to work on manuscripts,⁶² and (2) he is now engaged to a "young Belgian girl," and will probably get married before he returns to Jerusalem.⁶³ He was married on 25 July.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, the exhibition apparently proceeded in Beirut and the materials were returned to the PAM, for which a

receipt was written on 21 July 1957, signed by Yusef Saad.⁶⁵

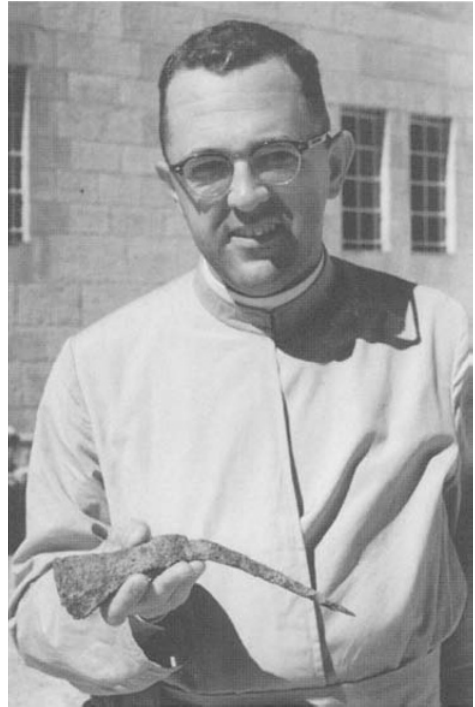
The problem of money to buy scrolls was becoming more severe by the day. Through the American embassy in Amman a wealthy man in Houston, W. N. Blanton, was approached for money. There were thoughts of sending de Vaux on a speaking tour of the United States ("know that he would give a most interesting

and colorful talk before any audience”), and E. Edward Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington DC, was involved. Still, nothing concrete happened, and it did not seem to occur to anyone that the best fund-raising tool was being overlooked or minimized. Extended exhibits in selected U.S. cities could have solved the problem, but apparently no one in Jerusalem had the knowledge or experience to bring it off.⁶⁶

A hint of the spiraling difficulties brought on by lack of funds is found in a letter from Strugnell to Skehan in the early summer of 1957. “A P.S. from Fitzmeyer [in Jerusalem working on the Concordance] which I can’t explain is interesting: ‘I was wrong about the fragments Milik sent to *Biblica* for publication. They were clandestine acquisitions and didn’t come from Jordan to *Biblica*.’ What has our Joseph Tadeuz [Milik] been up to? I will soon ask him *viva voce* [in person].”⁶⁷

While Allegro was in Jerusalem, Brownlee, still very much involved in the scrolls, wrote him from the States. He had heard about the controversy regarding the publication of the Copper Scroll and wrote to Allegro to find out what in the Copper Scroll led Allegro to be so sure that the sect at Qumran was Essene. For Brownlee’s part, he made the connection on the basis of the Hebrew root ‘*asah*, “to do,” for which a derived form would be ‘*esiim*, “doers.” Brownlee found the Manual of Discipline repeatedly emphasized the word. Essenes, then, would be “doers of the law.” I have not found a copy of Allegro’s answer, if there was one.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, the Cave 4 Team had partly reassembled and on 1 September 1957 de Vaux wrote to Skehan to say that since the return of Strugnell the team was reconstituted again in Jerusalem, lacking only Skehan and Cross. The ones who were there sat down and took stock of the project and made a plan for publication. “*It is important indeed that the volumes will be published rapidly: this is required by the scholarly public, by the institutions who have enabled the purchase of the fragments, by the government of Jordan, which facilitates the work, and, especially, as far as you are concerned, by our obligations to Mr. Rockefeller, who is financing part of the work on the publication.*”⁶⁹



Father Joseph Fitzmeyer in Jerusalem, 1957. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

Here it is. Already in 1957 de Vaux saw and stated clearly who would want the scrolls published as soon as possible and why they must do it. All the team was informed. It is never entirely fair to look back and try to say what should have been done in the past. Nevertheless, one is tempted to say that different or additional steps could have been taken at this juncture.

De Vaux laid out for Skehan the publication schedule the team in Jerusalem had agreed on. The preparation of manuscripts for publication should be completed according to the following schedule:

Before January 1958: Murabba'at (Benoît, Milik, de Vaux)

Passover 1958: Exploration of caves and texts of caves 2,3, 5, 6, 7, and 10 (Baillet, Milik, de Vaux)

1 January 1959: Cave 4, the lots of Allegro and Hunzinger⁷⁰

De Vaux went on to request that Skehan and Cross prepare a volume on the biblical texts from Cave 4 by Passover 1959. He said that Kraeling had proposed that, "for the satisfaction of Mr. Rockefeller," Cross and Skehan should publish at least a fascicle where they gave some texts with more developed commentary. Kraeling advised, and de Vaux agreed, that it was most important to publish as rapidly as possible the texts themselves and to leave to future volumes commentaries on the texts ("études *sur* les texts"). De Vaux continued, "I am permitting myself to insist on the importance of the rapid publication of your lot." By January 1960 de Vaux planned, he said, to issue a volume every six months: a volume each of Cave 4 materials from Milik, Strugnell, and Starcky. After outlining the new numbering system of the texts and bringing Skehan up to date on the excavation situation, de Vaux ended with words of praise for Father Joseph Fitzmyer, who was now in Jerusalem working on the concordance of the texts.⁷¹ Raymond Brown would come later, at the suggestion of Skehan.⁷²

By October Allegro had returned to England. He wrote to Cross on 12 October 1957:

I returned from the summer's work in Jordan only to be whisked out again by the BBC for the TV filming week before the beginning of term. We are producing the show around Christmastime, half an hour, devoted mainly to the finding and editing of the scrolls, avoiding theological debates and the like.

I am writing the script and commentating, etc., and am rather keen that when we touch briefly upon the biblical texts and their importance we should have an acknowledged expert giving the guff. I am therefore pressing for a film unit to be made available in the States to come, if they may, to get a few lines from you, say for about a minute and a half or two. Would you have any objec-

tions? If you have none, and we can get permission, I'll send you the questions and the general drift of the answers from the point of view of time, etc.

The work in Jordan was quite successful, although as usual I did not get as much done as I had hoped. The present plan now, as you will know, is that Hunzinger and I get our volume out first, with a target date for preparation of January 1959. (What a hope!)

As Noel [Freedman] may have told you, I am hoping to come out to the States for a brief lecture tour of five weeks this spring coming, and I am much looking forward to it. May I hope to see you?

With very best wishes to yourself and Betty Anne, and all the family.⁷³

Back in Jerusalem, work continued apace, interspersed by more unexpected events. Here and there clues kept appearing that fragments had found and were finding their way out of the country. Dr. Cecil G. Osborne, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Burlingame, California wrote to Saad on 25 October 1957: "...I am grateful if the tiny fragment I gave you may be fitted into the Dead Sea Scrolls. I greatly enjoyed visiting cave No 4 last summer."⁷⁴ One can suppose that he bought this from an antiquities dealer in Jerusalem or Bethlehem, and that if he were able to buy such a "tiny fragment," there were others bought as well. Yusef Saad answered him with a detailed explanation:

Your fragment, which you so graciously gave to the museum, belongs to a manuscript of the "Manual of Discipline" (X.15–20). Four fragments join it, and several others come from the same column, which is now almost completely preserved. The right hand margin is preserved. The left hand edge breaks off only a few letters short of the margin: the top of the column as you can see is preserved, and the column was not more than 10 lines long originally—so only the uninscribed margin is missing at the bottom. The text is a hymn of praise for God's help, and a declaration that the author will not repay men evil for evil, but leave judgement to God. The text is important in that it gives several readings different from those known in the manuscript from the first cave.

Abbé Milik (one of the scholars working on the scrolls at this museum) is preparing it for publication. The enclosed photograph (No. 42.490) is for your private use, and not for publication.⁷⁵

Cross, who had been unable to go to Jerusalem in 1957, kept up with the team by mail. Allegro had written him and he answered on 28 October 1957:

Thanks for your note of 12 October. I have heard some rumor of your BBC

program indirectly from Jerusalem, and was under the impression that there had been some objection on the part of the staff. Now you know me, John: I want to be open and above-board both with you and with the staff, if there is any continuation of difficulties. In the matter of general publicity, I think I had best clear with Père de Vaux and the scrollerly before joining you in the BBC film. I have therefore written to de Vaux today, asking for the reaction of the staff.

I have just been wrestling with the business of our schedule of publication. I am as horrified as you are. Beginning a new job [at Harvard] brings with it all sorts of assignments which, having been borne restlessly by the old-timers, are piled on the new man who cannot say “no.” At any rate, my research is being rather thoroughly crippled for a few months.⁷⁶

Hope to see you come spring, if you are in the country. Regards to your good lady.⁷⁷

Cross’s allusion to trouble in Jerusalem over Allegro’s BBC program, is fleshed out by Allegro in his reply: on 31 October 1957:

Thanks for your letter. Yes, the situation was that on our arrival in Jerusalem we went straight round to see Awni, who took us round the next morning to get things moving with de Vaux. We foregathered in the École, and explained what we hoped to do, only to be met with a blank refusal by de Vaux to collaborate in any way. We stared open-mouthed for some time, and then Dajani and the producer started trying to find out what it was all about. The whole thing was a complete knock-out because, as far as I was aware I had left my dear colleagues on the best of terms—or pretty much so. Certainly no bitterness on my side about anything. But de Vaux said that he had called a meeting of “his scholars” and that they had agreed to have nothing to do with anything I had anything to do with! My pal the producer then took the old gent outside and explained in words of one syllable that we were avoiding any controversial matter at all in the programme on the religious side, but he was quite adamant. He said that whereas he could not stop us taking pictures of the monastery at Qumran, he would not allow us in the scrollerly of the museum generally.

I was still completely at a loss to understand all this, but by now Awni was beginning to get annoyed. For he saw this programme as a very definite boost for Jordan antiquities and tourism, and certainly that is how we intend it shall look, and when we had left de Vaux gave us in measured tones a lecture on who really runs the scrollerly and what would happen if its members did not collaborate with the government. Well, we wanted no unpleasantness, and set about collecting our material.

Needless to say, with Awni's full collaboration we were most successful, and as soon as it became clear to my dear colleagues that even without them the programme was going forward (it had cost the BBC about £800 already!), they started putting their cards on the table. It was not the programme they objected to, only Allegro. They did not, they said, want to be monkeys in a cage to jump to Allegro's whip! They had not, at this time, inquired about the script or who was to appear or in what capacity. They then called in a taxi at our hotel and made the producer an offer—if he would drop Allegro completely, and have Strugnell as his script writer, or Milik, they would collaborate. Just how they thought either could write for a TV programme at a distance of some three thousand miles from the production staff they did not disclose. We laughed heartily and carried on. Then one day, after we had returned from an exhausting day at Qumran, Awni phoned to say that when he had got in, it was to find a note (anonymous) waiting for him, offering £150 to him to stop us going to Amman and photographing in the museum there. By this time we were beginning to wonder if we were not wasting good TV material on the scrolls themselves, and whether we wouldn't do better telling the story of the team's efforts at not being photographed.

Actually, of course, the only thing we wanted from them was to be seen pottering around in the scrollery. We already have some film of de Vaux in the monastery from a previous BBC expedition, and he agreed to our using that! (In fact, I think he was rather eager that we should, since he will not now otherwise appear). So poor old Milik and Strugnell are the only persons who will not be represented.

They then tried to intimidate [Professor] K. G. Kuhn [from Germany] who was out there at the time. For naturally enough, we want him to tell us how he first deciphered the outside of the [Copper] scroll. I may say that after Awni had a few words with him, he was unintimidated, and collaborated to the full.

Well, in the end we got everything, including the scrollery, for Awni pointed out gently to de Vaux and Co. that the government of that whole editing team and scrollery was not in his hands at all, but was guided by a committee, of which De V. was only one member and the mayor of Quds the chairman. And that if there was any more noncollaboration with the government So please yourself, my dear chap. If you'd like to come in, I'm hoping the second programme will have room for a short talk about the biblical texts. If you don't want to, by all means don't; only please let me know very soon. We have to get our outside filming done very soon, and I would prefer an American.⁷⁸

On the same day Allegro, already sensing that Cross would not participate in the program, wrote to Professor Muilenburg, who for ASOR inner-political reasons⁷⁹ had been asked to publish an Ecclesiastes fragment from Cave 4. Allegro said Cross “seems apprehensive” about participating, so he asked Muilenburg if he would be willing “to discuss some other aspect of scrollduggery.” To this letter he added an ominous P.S.: “*I am starting a campaign, very quietly for the moment, to get the scrollerly clique broken up and new blood injected, with the idea of getting some of that stuff Milik, Strugnell, and Starcky are sitting on, published quickly in provisional form. Would you still be willing to go out and clear some of the fragments into journals? Please say nothing to anybody for the moment—it’s a ticklish situation. But you will agree that something must be done, and that soon.*”⁸⁰

This was not good! A member of the team was plotting against other members behind the leader’s back, and conspiring with an outsider to boot. This could only portend worse things to come.

Totally unaware of this, Cross replied immediately to Allegro’s letter of the thirty-first in his characteristically cautious, reasoned fashion, deferring to de Vaux’s authority over the team, as Allegro had predicted to Muilenburg:

I can see that you had a delightful summer in Jerusalem, and that the scrollerly is being kept alive by that American virtue of initiative, which you have quite unpatriotically exhibited. I have not yet heard from Jerusalem in answer to my letter requesting information and clearance to join your benighted project. If you need an immediate answer, therefore, I think I had better stay out. On the other hand, if you wish to wait until I get word from Jerusalem, I will let you know as soon as I hear.

More seriously, John, I am concerned that in the stresses and strains which have developed between you and the scrollerly, we not injure the best interests of the scholarly publication of Cave 4. After all, I think this is the first aim of all of us, and at this point at least, we have an agreed objective. My own unwillingness to move to either side of the dispute, or even to arrive at a clear understanding of what the sam hill is going on, is dictated by my anxiety that we not disturb the progress of getting our stuff out.⁸¹

Not only were fragments going astray on the antiquities market, but fragments also continued to be stolen, misplaced, or lost. On 25 November 1957, Father Joseph Coppens wrote to de Vaux from Louvain, Belgium about a manuscript that had gone missing from the manuscripts discovered by the De-Lange–Lippens expedition to Khirbet Mird. He was unhappy about the lack of supervision over these texts, taken to Belgium for study, but never returned, nor fully published until now.

On Christmas Eve, 1957 Allegro wrote another letter to Professor Muilenburg, this one more lengthy and ominous than the last. It repeated some information

from previous letters to others about the problems with the BBC program some two months before, but it is an especially important document for demonstrating the extent of the deterioration of Allegro's relationship to the Cave 4 Team, and the development of what were to be his standard themes about scrolls and publication for the remainder of his life:

It has been a hectic year, particularly the summer's activities. I went out to Jerusalem again to continue my work on the fragment, and returned a fortnight before term began, only to be whisked out there again by the BBC who want to do a TV programme on the scrolls next Easter. And what fun and games we had, which I must tell you some time, though you'll hardly credit it. Briefly, after having left my colleagues on what I thought were the best of terms with myself, we arrived for the short filming expedition to find that De V[aux], Milik, and Strugnell had joined in an anti-Allegro block and refused to give the BBC any cooperation whatsoever. We were flabbergasted, for they were refusing us permission to enter the scrollery, or the museum or any part of it, in fact everything over which they had any control at all. Happily, Awni was very much on our side, and collaborated to the full, forced our way into the scrollery, took pictures of everything we wanted, and even accompanied us down to Qumran to lead us round the Khirbet as a resident archaeologist (De V. having flatly refused). I told Awni what to say and where and we got on fine—in fact much better than we could possibly have done with De V.

Kuhn was in Jerusalem at the time, and we wanted him to give us a few words before the camera on his view of the copper scroll, but De V. threatened him with heaven knows what if he had anything to do with us. Awni had a few words with him, however, and he did all that we wanted. At one stage letters offering bribes were being hawked about! What fun, but how wearing, and how pathetic. I think it's mostly jealousy—in fact, at one stage the opposition sent a deputation to my pal the producer offering to appear graciously in our film, provided I was removed from the thing entirely, and young Strugnell take over.

I think also that part of the trouble is fear of publicity in any form. De V. is almost pathologically anxious to avoid further trouble with the authorities, having only narrowly escaped prison last year. The lengths to which he will go is evidenced by the fact that the museum trustees were persuaded to spend £47,000 of trust funds to buy Cave 11 material, with the result that they do not know now how to pay their staff.

His attitude this summer to the BBC has in fact done him no good at all with the authorities, for Awni is extremely annoyed with the whole gang of them, since the programme will be very much of a boost for Jordan. I also

learned that they have not yet given a copy of the translation of the copper scroll to the Department of Antiquities.

But the affair is taking more sinister aspects. From the way the publication of the fragments is being planned, the non-Catholic members of the team are being removed as quickly as possible. Milik's section now totals nearly 200 plates, Starcky's nearly 100. Strugnell has about the same, and is becoming a perfect little yes-man, for his money depends on De V.'s good graces. Hunzinger and I are planned for the first volume, though one would have thought that the biblical volumes should have been first—being the easiest. Milik's will be the last. But the rub comes with Cave 11. We were allowed an hour's look at the stuff this summer (mainly on Hunzinger's insistence). De Vaux, when questioned about work on it, stipulated that nothing should be done on Cave 11 until Cave 4 was out of the way. There is, of course, not the slightest reason why a completely new set of scholars should not be brought in to deal with 11Q whilst we are clearing 4Q. *In fact, so vast are Milik's, Starcky's and Strugnell's lots of 4Q, I believe that they should be split up immediately and new scholars brought in to get the stuff out quickly.* Meanwhile the world waits for Milik to deal with the whole of the Murabba'at Semitic stuff, having done Cave 1, and the bulk of Cave 4, and any odd thing that comes within the reach of the École biblique in the meantime (like the fraudulently named "Unknown Provenance" material). And there is no doubt in his own mind that he is going to deal with most of Cave 11.

I learned this summer from Awni that in fact De V. has not the complete control of the scrolls that one would think from his decrees. He is merely one member of a committee, headed by the mayor of Jerusalem, and containing representatives of the ASOR and the Department of Antiquities. I don't know whether this committee ever meets, but if it has, [it has] had little effect so far in breaking the Catholic monopoly on the scrolls. But a dangerous situation is fast developing where the original idea of an international and interdenominational editing group is being bypassed. All fragments are brought first to De V. or Milik, and, as the Cave 11, complete secrecy is kept over what they are till long after they have been studied by this group. Even the purchasing has been kept in this closed circle, even to the extent of crippling the museum finances. For if the purchasing was the result of a public appeal, I have no doubt that it would have to be done by a committee of more than the École biblique gang. Something, sooner or later, will have to be done about this situation, but just what, I don't know.

My plan, which I have suggested verbally to Awni, is that the committee issue invitations straight away to the academic institutions of the world inviting scholars who can spare six months or a year at least to come to Jerusalem and

take their place in the team. The resident members should train them in the business of editing these fragments, and then divide the bigger collections among them. I believe that a rule should be made in one journal, so that they can be easily found by other scholars the world over without searching through every journal that is anywhere published. An idea might be to make the *Jordan Department of Antiquities Annual* a quarterly and use that, to the joy of the Department of Antiquities.

This business of holding up publication of fragments merely to avoid the “deflowering” of the final volume seems to me most unscholarly, as is the business of keeping competent scholars away from the fragments merely to boost the ego of people like Milik and Strugnell. There was perhaps good reason for restricting the number of collaborators when we were in the first stages of collecting the pieces. But now that most of this work is done, anybody can work over a document and publish it in at least provisional form.

Sorry about this long harangue. As a matter of fact, I have been [thinking about] writing to you about the situation for some time, and this seemed a good opportunity. If you can bring some pressure to bear in high places, all to the good.

Rowley has done his damndest in the university, but it looks like coming out straight after all. We still have him, unfortunately, since in all this great big country no one was found to succeed him, and he was given another year in office. Unless a successor is found, I fear we might have him for yet another year after this. We haven't a single OT research student this year in the Department And when last year we did have one scrolls man, he was warned off coming to me! Oh dear, what a farce this all is. Happily the Penguin is doing well, and is now in four translations, including Japanese and latterly, German. The Italian is being prepared, I believe. I want to try and get a whole batch of my fragments out this year, which will please De V. no end!

I still have hopes of coming over this spring for a short lecture tour, but the lecture bureaus are apparently sticky about supporting the venture for so short a time. However, Doubleday's may do something, in connection with a couple of books we have in preparation for them. I hope so, and that I shall have the opportunity of seeing you all again.⁸²

One must give credit to Allegro for his foresight with respect to the need for more people to work on the scrolls. In retrospect this suggestion was correct. His suggestion that all preliminary publication be kept in one journal was also a good one, and it is a pity it wasn't followed. Whether or not everything should have been published preliminarily in journals is another more complicated question we will take up later.

As for the behavior of de Vaux, Strugnell, and Milik in connection with the television program, it is hard to make a judgment without having their side of the story. Nevertheless, much of what he says throughout the letter is skewed, based on lack of information and misunderstanding: this much we can say for sure. He was not privy to all the facts concerning the Cave 11 documents, nor was there any reason he should have been. It was not true that Catholics were being given a monopoly. There was nothing fraudulent about the temporary label “from unknown caves” given to some fragments in the Scroll Ledger (about which Allegro never did know as far as I can tell). There was never any intention to form a team that was “interdenominational”: the documents from 1953 and 1954 discussed above couldn’t indicate that more clearly.

The newly formed oversight committee was a temporary political solution and it was doubtful anyone ever expected it to work or even meet. He does not seem to be aware at all that it was Kando who chose who got to see fragments first, and it was de Vaux, Milik, and Starcky simply because they were trusted, available on a moment’s notice, and in the case of de Vaux, because of his position during most of this time as president of the trustees of the PAM. (After Allegro’s book came out with its description of Kando as a “cobbler,” the family was so deeply offended they would never have shown Allegro anything anyway.)

Allegro was not aware of the numerous and continuing attempts on the part of Harding, de Vaux, and Saad to raise funds. He apparently assumed that since he didn’t know about it, nothing had been or was being done in this regard. At approximately the same time Allegro wrote this letter the museum had two gifts pending: one from Oxford University and one from a private American donor. But they could not proceed with the purchase of scrolls they had seen and knew to be for sale because on 6 January 1957 the Minister of Education of Jordan had reserved for the government all rights in *acquiring, studying, and publishing all manuscripts found or to be found in Jordan. The letter specifically forbade the Palestine Archaeological Museum from accepting donations for the purchase of scrolls or taking any action for raising funds for the purchase of scrolls.*⁸³

As this letter shows, whatever the reason and wherever the fault lay, by the end of 1957 Allegro was nearly totally estranged from those he thought only a few months before were his “dear colleagues.”⁸⁴

Six days later the whole situation in the PAM changed again. On Monday, 30 December 1957 the board of trustees of the PAM convened in the board room. “Midhat Bey announced to the board that the Jordan Council of Ministers at their meeting held on 28 December 28 1957, passed a resolution to the effect that the decision of the Minister of Education No. 18/3/27 dated 6 January 1957, whereby the Jordan government acquired all manuscripts found or to be found in Jordan, *was illegal and therefore cancelled.*” That meant, continued Midhat Bey, that the official engagements

concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls already made by the Jordan government with the museum and other institutes were fully recognised and that the rights of those institutes which had subscribed towards the acquisition of scroll fragments to receive their share after study had been completed were confirmed.

Midhat Bey wished, in this connection, to put on record that Said Bey helped greatly in clarifying this case and it was thanks to his efforts and endeavours that the government had reached such a decision.

The board expressed unanimous satisfaction and on the motion of the president the board moved a vote of appreciation and thanks to both Midhat Bey and Said Bey for the concern they showed towards the museum and also for their great and valuable help.

Furthermore, the president considered it desirable to record that the decision of the Jordan government was an inspiration and encouragement to the trustees who would now be in a position to accept donations offered towards the purchase of those highly valuable manuscripts, and thus save them from being smuggled out of the country.⁸⁵

על ידיהם צטות צנצור צלוא רחב ארבע
האור צול צרחק הדארע הדאור הדור
צב רבא רסום צמא עצנאל
לר צחוקת הר הוהע צלצוב צלרע הדעע הדור
ל אשר וואפד העפ הדור קשו דאן צנראן לר
ה צבאות אותו תקוהשן ווחא צוראנע ווח
צמט ולמץ צב ולע צנשול לשנה צמט השפא
היו שלמץ ואלו בצ רסום ונבלו ונשכרו
ד וצמיה וחומים ווהיה בציה וחצותו לחדה
העדות נסוותו לו אטא אנוצו דהרלחמץ אש
לצובת בשואל צמץ ווחו צמחז דשיוצן בצור
צמח צמחש אל האצות ואל הדענות ווח צמ
אל אלוהו ווחו ש צמח חמח אלחמח
צמח צמח ווח אש אן לו שוח חמח צמח
ב ווח צמח וקלל בצלכו ווחלוחו ווח צמח
ה אשונות צמחן צמח ווח צמח צמח

THE LAST CAVE 4 SCROLLS

1958

It had now been more than five years since Cave 4 was discovered in the autumn of 1952. The first Cave 4 Team members began working in 1953 and the entire team was constituted by 1954.

Thousands of fragments had been examined and considerable order had been brought to the picture of Cave 4 manuscripts; then Kando decided to bring in more fragments, changing the Cave 4 situation once again. Would it ever end?

As we have seen, by 1958 there wasn't very much warmth left between Allegro and the Cave 4 Team. And Allegro felt it. Nevertheless, he received a Christmas card from Starcky (now in Paris) with his own photograph of Bethlehem. Allegro replied on 6 January, thanking him for having lent some of his photos for his *Dead Sea Scrolls* book. One can see how ostracized Allegro felt when he said, "I was sorry to have missed you last summer—it would have been pleasant to see your cheery face even if we were not allowed to speak to one another!"¹

Meanwhile, the other team members had been working hard. Skehan and Cross agreed to try to have a volume containing the Prophets and Writings ready for publication by Passover, 1959, and De Vaux wrote to Skehan on 10 January 1958 approving of the plan. Skehan had planned to arrive in Jerusalem in the spring of 1958 and de Vaux assured him that work on the scrolls was continuing under normal conditions. Much was happening in the background, but de Vaux, characteristically, did not saddle the Cave 4 Team members with concerns not theirs. Like Allegro, Skehan saw that the Cave 4 Teams needed help and should be expanded. Skehan wrote to

Thus, I now have support in hand for everything which the archaeology of the Qumran region will provide for the study of the scrolls. I have played my humble role; only the publication of all the material remains.

—Father Roland de Vaux

de Vaux to say that Carl Kraeling in Chicago had obtained funds for using some of ASOR Annual Fellows to help on the scrolls. De Vaux, while also agreeing, as we shall see, that the team needed to be expanded, was, however, not impressed by this particular opportunity. He finds the suggestion “a little strange.” Despite this, he says that he will be very happy to have Father Raymond Brown² come the following year (arranged by Skehan)³ to assume responsibilities for the Concordance on which



The author and Father Joseph Fitzmyer, in his office at Georgetown University, Washington DC, 29 November 1999. ©Diane G. Fields.

hard to know who was resisting added help—de Vaux or some of the team members, but de Vaux is surprisingly harsh in describing the strictures under which Brown must work. Something has changed. The Cave 4 Team has now become considerably more proprietary and jealous of its publication rights. For whatever reason, there is so far no indication in the surviving records that anyone in authority fully grasped the necessity to expand the team or any inclination to do so if they did have a clue. It was not a good sign, but there would be a change soon.

Father Joseph Fitzmyer had been working during the past months. In fact, he described Fitzmyer as a “member of our team.” Fitzmyer was to leave in July and he would not have completed his work (with which De Vaux was very happy). Nevertheless, de Vaux wanted to make it clear that Brown would not be included among the “editors” of the scrolls. He would have a subordinate place (“place subordonnée”) on the team.⁴ One can only lament the missed opportunity of adding Fitzmyer to the Cave 4 Team. He was qualified and available, but it was to be 35 years before he was included on the expanded team during the 1990s.

There must have been some underlying problems with the Cave 4 Team. It is

But much worse were Allegro's unguarded statements. He wrote to Brownlee in a rather inflammatory way, again, as in his letter to Muilenburg, indicating his own state of mind at the time as well as his own ignorance of the larger picture at the museum:

I returned home [after the summer of 1957] very dissatisfied with the way things are going out there, particularly with the shroud of secrecy which De Vaux and his clique are maintaining over the scrollery and everything pertaining thereto.⁵

Allegro was particularly upset about the Cave 11 materials, but he gave a very false impression that other members of the Cave 4 Team had access to them. They didn't. And he was unaware of the fact that the PAM was carefully and wisely making arrangements for research and publication rights to the Cave 11 scrolls. These rights were being offered to various institutions for a fee in order to replenish the PAM's endowment. He did not even know when the original purchase was made (1956, not 1957), but he did have one thing right: Milik and Strugnell in particular already had too many scrolls assigned to them and an entirely new team should have been appointed to work on Cave 11. In his own way and in his own time this was precisely what de Vaux was arranging, and did finally arrange.

Allegro was by now completely paranoid about the Catholics—de Vaux and Milik in particular—who, he said, were controlling all the buying and the editing. Kando, as the main broker, was actually controlling this. He decided whom he wanted to deal with, not the other way around.

Most of all Allegro was bothered by the fact that no one had been allowed to see a full translation of the Copper Scroll, and he took great issue with Milik's partial translation, in a highly sarcastic way implying not that Milik was incompetent, but that he was deliberately dissembling.⁶

In point of fact Allegro's charge of secrecy wasn't true. A few days after Allegro wrote to Brownlee de Vaux received a request from B. J. Roberts, Professor at Bangor in Wales, who was spending two months at the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. He asked for permission to examine biblical materials assigned to Skehan and Cross. De Vaux forwarded the request to them, which seems to have been answered positively on the condition that he not publish his findings without their permission—all entirely agreeable and fair in his view.⁷

Back in the States Skehan wrote a letter the same day of considerable importance for trying to understand his political prejudices. These prejudices were to have far-reaching effects on the publication of the scrolls some years down the road; for now, it is important to establish how Skehan viewed Israel.

Abraham I. Katsh, Chair of the Department of Hebrew Culture and Education at New York University had extended an invitation to Skehan to participate in their

lecture series, “Israel, Land of the Bible” with a lecture on “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible.” Skehan accepted the invitation, but with a caveat: “I should want you to be aware that the general title of your series, “Israel, Land of the Bible,” is bound to have very different associations for me than it would have for most of those for whom it was written. That will have no influence on what I shall have to say on my particular topic, which I am, and I can make pleasant, and I hope substantive, for all concerned. But any who is to introduce me should know that *I have not been in the modern state of Israel, and that I propose not to go there until the Near East is very different from what it is today.*”⁸ Katsh replied that he understood Skehan’s position and assured him that it would not be an embarrassment to either party. Skehan gave the lecture very successfully and without incident, to judge from the reports.

Only Milik and Strugnell had spent the winter of 1957–58 in Jerusalem, but Father Joseph Fitzmyer was there too, working on the concordance “card file.” This involved indexing each word in the transcriptions the Cave Team had completed up until then. Occasionally Fitzmyer would consult the scrolls themselves and on occasion even suggest emendations to the transcriptions.⁹

On 3 March he wrote to Skehan, who had been instrumental in his appointment to work with the scrolls. In this letter he gave considerable insight into several issues of the day. The opposition between Allegro, “our fine agnostic,” as Fitzmyer called him, and some other members of the team, was obvious. Fitzmyer mentioned a rumor he had heard that Allegro had been quoted on the Israeli side in the *Jerusalem Post* as saying that “Jews should be permitted to work on the fragments because their knowledge of rabbinical literature is badly needed in the scroll team.”¹⁰ Fitzmyer thought that this sort of statement would not be particularly welcomed by Awni Dajani of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

He revealed to Skehan that at the end of the previous November de Vaux asked whether Fitzmyer intended to stay on in Jerusalem through the following year, for he wanted to assign Fitzmyer the Aramaic material of Cave 11 (this, some months before Allegro was complaining that nothing was being done with the Cave 11 scrolls). Fitzmyer further revealed that de Vaux had told him he “agreed with Kuhn and others here that two new names would be added to the principals [the Cave 4 Team], mine and that of some German Protestant.” Kuhn wanted a protestant, Fitzmyer says, “to restore balance.”¹¹

But it was not to happen. Money was the problem. Carl Kraeling, still the conduit for the Rockefeller money, had engaged Father Brown to come during the winter of 1958–1959. Fitzmyer took up a post at Woodstock College in Maryland in the autumn of 1958. Had he taken on the Cave 11 Aramaic materials he would have had to return later, again requiring funding that was unavailable. Furthermore, Kraeling, who held the purse strings, was “not interested in getting Cave 11 started until work has progressed much, much farther on Cave 4.”¹²

Fitzmyer also reported that he had finished editing the English edition of Milik's *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, translated from the French by John Strugnell. He said, "...for the product of an English public school and Oxford, John's English is quite surprising. Once again my prosaic spirit likes to see verbs agreeing with subjects, detests dangling participles and split infinitives, etc. So the inflated ego of J. Strugnell has felt many a prick during the past few months."¹³

Milik had by now been invited by Skehan to take up a position at Catholic University in Washington DC, of which Cross heartily approved, saying "I am just sorry that it is not to Harvard."¹⁴ The English edition of Milik's book would have made a



The oasis of Ein Feshkha today. Qumran is located in the background beneath the mountain ridge. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

fitting introduction for him in America, but the main point was that everyone knew that the Rockefeller money was shaky, that the Rockefeller family was not entirely happy with the progress of the Cave 4 Team, and that the money could stop at any time. The invitation to come to Washington was a backup plan for Milik, who as a "secular priest," had no order to support him.

Naturally, Skehan had to clear his plans for Milik with Father de Vaux. De Vaux was in favor of the idea, and thought it would be good for Milik, but considered it essential that Milik finish his work on the scrolls, which would require him to return to Jerusalem from time to time. Further, he mentioned that since Milik had been supported all these years by "French funds" he should publish his work in French,

a departure from the original plan that DJD would be completely in English. De Vaux mentioned Skehan's request that Father Roland Murphy be allowed to examine some of the Cave 4 materials. De Vaux deferred to each of the team members to decide on this, but Murphy would not be able to publish any of the materials because they had already been assigned.¹⁵

Finally, de Vaux summarized his recent season at 'Ein Feshkha, from which he had just returned 10 days before. He said he was very content with what he found,




the agricultural installation of the Qumran community, with proof that both were from the same period: *“Thus, I now have support in hand for everything which the archaeology of the Qumran region will provide for the study of the scrolls. I have played my humble role; only the publication of all the material remains.”*¹⁶

The whole incident with Milik was puzzling. It had begun in late 1956 or early 1957. With the Cave 4 Team disbanded by the Suez Crisis, the scrolls in storage in Amman, and trouble with the Jordanian government on the horizon, Skehan proposed to

the Catholic University of America that it invite Milik with the rank of *Associate Professor* on the 1957–58 budget, provisionally, offering him the alternative of being associated with the university on a research associate basis, no compensation involved, so long as he continued his subsidized research [from the CNRS] on the scrolls project.”¹⁷

Some of the links in the correspondence are missing, but one can read between the lines. On 23 February 1958 Milik wrote to Skehan,



You remember, without doubt, writing to me, about a year ago, concerning an eventual place for me at the Cath. Univ. I hesitated how to reply and decided to remain in the CNRS at least for 1957/58. As you know, the *École* had rather bad days in last winter and spring and I didn't like the idea of abandoning them during that *contretemps*. Now all seems to be far better and today I spoke with Père de Vaux about your proposition. He has found it quite normal that I should look, even now, for a teaching job, under the condition, of course, that I finish my work here.

So, here is the situation, which you can talk with the Rector about I remain in the CNRS till 30 September 1958. Afterwards I should be glad to be enrolled in the *mishmarot*¹⁸ of the CUA. I am willing to sign a contract for three years; during this time I have to stay in Jerusalem in order to finish my part in the edition of DSS. But in the same contract I shall state to be bound to an eventual renewal of the contract for teaching purposes in your university.

I thank you warmly for your kindness in inviting me to the Cath. Univ. and I hope the Rector will agree. If you could write me back as soon as possible? In case you could not engage me from the autumn of '58, I have to renew my research job in the CNRS, and it is rather urgent. At the same time you may write to Père de Vaux,

Nihil extra-non in the scrollerly. I identified recently in 4Q two fragments of a straight Aramaic translation of Leviticus.

My nasireate [sobriety] is always 100% ...¹⁹

The faculty appointment did not work out, but Milik was supported by Catholic University as a “Research Associate” September 1958—August 1959 at a salary of \$3,000 for the year, conditioned on his continuing work on the scrolls, and his acceptance of a teaching post at CU not later than 20 September 1961.²⁰

After less than a year the arrangement fell apart for some reason, perhaps faculty politics at CUA. Skehan wrote a very reluctant letter 13 May 1959:

You will see from the enclosure that I have been a long time about writing this letter. That is because it contained bad news, rather for me, I trust, than you.

My judgment with regard to the arrangement that Catholic University has made with you has been subject to question, since my return from Jerusalem last fall. In the end, I have taken the responsibility myself of recommending that the arrangement be terminated at the end of its first year (August 31, 1959); and this is to advise you that that is the university's decision.

My personal reason for allowing this to happen is that I have foreseen, should I have decided otherwise, a continuous struggle about it from year to year, with the final result still not certain of contributing to your welfare and career.

I enclose a communication from Carl Kraeling, whose inquiries about you when I was in Chicago in January were on his own initiative; I think it likely you will hear from him again soon.

I know no way in which I might make it clear to you how little desire I had to have things turn out as they are; perhaps you can understand that, and that you have my best wishes always.²¹

Since CUA had not taken Milik on as faculty, Kraeling explored with Skehan the possibility of getting an appointment for him at the Oriental Institute in Chicago, but assured Skehan that if for some reason "the support of the Catholic University has to cease as of June 30 ...I can and will take him on the Rockefeller account for a year at the rate of dinars 70 per month, payable through Joseph [Saad]."²²

Another exchange followed in which Kraeling offered Milik JD 89 (\$250) per month, but said that at the higher rate, the payments would have to stop "at an earlier date." He offered Milik the possibility of coming to Chicago during the 1960–61 school year under the condition that all of his time would be spent there. Milik apparently countered with an offer to come 1961–1962, which Kraeling did not accept.

Then follows the clearest explanation I have seen in print about the financial arrangements and looming difficulties for the Cave 4 Team:

Perhaps a word of explanation will explain my original letter to you and show why my reply to your letter has to make the points indicated above. I have during the past five years, had money from the patron of the Palestine Museum [John D. Rockefeller, Jr.] for work on the scrolls there. The fund will be exhausted by the summer of 1960. It provided for Father Skehan (and Frank Cross) to make each two summer visits to Jerusalem. When, last winter, Skehan informed me that the Catholic University was not going to continue its support of your work, he indicated also that he did not need to visit Jerusalem this summer. I therefore proposed that the money I had held for him be made available to you, and this he and Père de Vaux regarded as an excellent

solution of a difficulty. What was available was enough to cover the 12 x JD 70 that I proposed to provide. *At the end of next August, as things stand, there will be no more money for any work on the scrolls by anyone.*²³

For various reasons the appointment to the University of Chicago didn't work out either, but it was probably better for the publication of the scrolls that it did not.

By spring Cross took the initiative in fund-raising in the States. He presented a lecture at Duke University and apparently appealed for funds. We even know what his "pitch" was, because he received a letter back from B. E. Powell, the Duke librarian, which spoke to that issue:

*I am sending to a few of our friends your statement about the arrangement libraries can make for the purchase of fragments of the scrolls. If there were assurance that the university might actually receive something, after publication has been completed, I believe there would be no doubt about our finding some funds. We may be able to help anyway*²⁴

On the negative side, Allegro was keeping up his attacks on his colleagues and promulgating his myths. Gerda L. Cohen interviewed Allegro in Manchester, and on 5 February 1958 published her story with the title "Scrolls Still Mystifying Public." It was apparently this interview to which Fitzmyer referred in his March letter excerpted above:

The Dead Sea Scrolls continue to exert over the British public the kind of mystifying lure that is normally evoked by detective fiction or a first-degree murder investigation. Books about them figure prominently in Church-sponsored shops eager to exploit a revival of secular interest in Christianity. Articles about them appear in newspapers which generally wouldn't touch archaeology with a barge-pole, and humdrum old parsons' lectures on the "hidden treasure" to teenagers who would not normally go near a Sunday School. No wonder that any pronouncement by a member of the deciphering team gets an over-generous share of publicity.

Not that Mr. J. M. Allegro is averse to publicity; although only an assistant lecturer at Manchester University, he enjoys considerable fame, of a sort which older, more cautious and pedantic scholars would term notoriety. His Penguin book on the scrolls, his radio talks and popular commentaries, have given this affable, rather bumptious young man a name beyond the grimy confines of Manchester.

As the only agnostic on the deciphering team, Mr. Allegro felt that he had a certain duty towards the lay public. "A veil of secrecy has been drawn

over the whole affair, which may well arouse suspicion that the priests in charge of examining and piecing together the fragments are holding back their publication.”

This suspicion, he noted, had already been adroitly employed by a Moscow paper for Communist youth leaders. By weaving a fabric of conjecture over a thin warp of fact garnered from the scrolls, the Communist author triumphantly revealed that Jesus’ career and teaching had been anticipated by a “Master” who lived a century earlier, thus throwing doubt on Jesus as a divine being, and confuting Messianic belief. Admittedly, Mr. Allegro’s own interpretation of references in the scrolls tend to support the existence of a pre-Christian teacher who might have been crucified—but it’s a far cry from here to the Communist deduction. Any historical evaluation of Jesus as a thinker, influenced by the monastic sects of his time, has always been taboo for the orthodox Christian. The Vatican’s Index prohibits the most innocent question of dogma.

With this in mind Mr. Allegro can hardly be blamed for advocating a change in the scroll organization—if such a tight little caucus can be described as one. Originally, the international team was chosen by Père de Vaux and Lankester Harding, former head of the Jordan Department of Antiquities. The French government supported Père de Vaux and two other French Catholic priests selected for their special knowledge. The Rockefeller Foundation supported three other members—an English Presbyterian, Mr. Strugnell, an American Presbyterian, Dr. Cross, and Father Skehan, from the Catholic University of Washington [DC]. Both the latter returned after their leave of absence expired, and Allegro himself only managed to visit Jerusalem on his last long vacation on the proceeds of his books. Père de Vaux and his deputy Père Milik are virtually in sole charge; but they consult, in theory at any rate, the public committee appointed by the Jordan government to supervise work on the manuscripts. Mr. Allegro would like this committee to expand in number and importance. “It’s obvious, too, that we must set up a central fund to maintain scholars there and purchase fresh material.”

Now, even those scholars who would donate their vacations for the privilege of working in Jerusalem are discouraged from coming. Understandably, Père de Vaux wants to limit disturbance from visitors. But the resident personnel is too meagre to handle so many documents: “At the present rate it will take them 10 years to get through. Most of the work now means translation and editing for publication,” Allegro explained, adding that some 400 plates have been prepared. “They should be published now, with minimum commentary, so that scholars can study the material instead of waiting for a handsome edition to appear years later.” The contents of the biggest cave,

No. 4, would probably occupy six volumes alone, judging by the results of examination since their discovery in 1952.

During his last visit, Mr. Allegro was permitted a cursory view of a scroll from Cave 11, found in January 1956, and bought for £80,000. It included a psalm, almost intact. “They told me nothing would be done on this scroll until Cave 4 is finished,” he said with a grin of despair.

Discounting Mr. Allegro’s flair for dramatization, no one can deny the need to put the job of deciphering on a regular financial basis, and to widen the participation of secular experts who take an objective view of data concerning the origin of Christianity. This was indeed done with the copper-cased scroll from Cave 3, sent to a Manchester laboratory for deciphering and later returned to Jerusalem. It was valued dismally low by the team there, and only three items were translated for publication.

The scroll listed caches of treasure in fabulous amounts, hidden on Mount Gerizim and other places. Apparently, no one has taken the scroll seriously enough to go on a treasure hunt. Mr. Allegro himself has not volunteered for this exciting task. The idea did seem lunatic, viewed from the cosy suburban semi-detached house where he leads a prosaic Mancunian life.

In the parlour study, archaeological texts rubbed covers with a pram and Mishnaic Hebrew volumes were draped on an odd tea towel. A model of the Qumran monastery which inscribed the scrolls lay on a card table ready to be photographed. Mr. Allegro was making a programme for BBC Television, of which part had been filmed in Jordan.

“It’s a great pity that Israel scholars can’t go over there,” he concluded, sincerely.²⁵

It is not hard to imagine why Father de Vaux and the members of the Cave 4 Team were ever more unhappy. Even allowing for misquotations and misunderstanding that normally occur when an interview is turned into an article, the tenor of the article is clear: according to Allegro, there is a conspiracy of silence; it is religiously motivated; Allegro himself is the only neutral scholar; de Vaux is at once truculent and inept; and Allegro is the only one sailing a true course. If he is quoted correctly, he still misunderstands how the team was formed and who supported whom financially. He is blissfully unaware of access granted to scholars outside the team, he knows nothing of the arrangements de Vaux is making for the Cave 11 material, he makes bold to describe the 11Q Psalms scroll before it is even opened, and has no idea about plans then afoot to expand the team (Fitzmyer, plus a German Protestant). It is vintage Allegro, and the wonder is that he was allowed to continue his work on the scrolls at all, or that any members of the team would even have the

slightest contact with him. Still, he plans to return to Jerusalem at the end of June, if he can find funding.”²⁶

In the background Allegro was even more nefarious. He wrote to Awni Dajani, asking him if there was any move to make him curator of the museum. He asked about the scrolls committee (an oversight committee set up partly at his instigation) and he was itching to get his hands on the Cave 11 materials. And again he mentioned the “enlargement” of the scrolls team.²⁷ He was usurping the positions of de Vaux and Saad on the basis of quite incomplete knowledge. Had de Vaux known what Allegro was up to, he undoubtedly would have been justified in dismissing Allegro at this juncture.

The contract for DJD 2, between the PAM and Oxford University Press, mostly containing the scrolls from Wadi Murabba‘at, was signed 13 May 1958. On behalf of the PAM, Saad signed as curator; de Vaux signed without title, since for a short period he was not president of the PAM’s trustees. The conditions were not particularly favorable. There would be no royalty until 1,500 copies were sold, and the royalty extended only through the life of the copyright.²⁸ But at least the work was finished, produced largely by Milik. It appeared in 1961.

It had been three years since Allegro and Cross had been in Jerusalem at the same time. Cross left the States on June 6, and Allegro was to arrive a couple of weeks later.²⁹

During the summer of 1958 a major article on Qumran and the scrolls appeared in the *National Geographic* magazine, authored by A. Douglas Tushingham of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Finally, a sober, serious study on the scrolls had appeared in a major periodical. Although Tushingham found the whole project so difficult he said he would never do it again, the article was well done—so much so that it is still useful 50 years later.

On 9 July 1958 the PAM purchased another significant lot of Cave 4 scroll fragments (see Scrolls Ledger). Among them were fragments of Samuel^b, Pseudo-Jeremiah and Pseudo-Ezekiel.³⁰

Six days later a gift of US \$5,000³¹ was sent to ASOR through the British Bank of the Middle East of Jerusalem. The use of the fund and the ownership of the fragments purchased seems quite clear:

Resolved, that a special fund be set up to be called The Scroll Purchase Fund of The Unitarian Church of All Souls, of New York City, to transmit specified gifts to the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, Jordan, for the purchase of Dead Sea Scroll material; and that this material be housed in the Palestine Archaeological Museum permanently under the name of “The Unitarian Church of All Souls, of New York City, Collection of Dead Sea Scrolls.”³²

One day later the money was applied to the purchase of an “incomplete minus-

| Purchase of Atqs. | | Amount | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|--------|-----|-----------------------------|
| Date | Name | SP. | CS | | |
| <u>1950</u> | | | | | |
| 6.5.50 | Ubrahim Shapharizoh | ✓ | 6 | - | Rewards |
| 14.10.50 | Mahmond Hussain | ✓ | 3 | - | " |
| | | | 9 | - | 9. — ✓ |
| <u>1951</u> | | | | | |
| 12.5.51 | Haj Taher Mirakshy | ✓ | 31 | - | Fragments Q1 |
| 22.12.51 | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 600 | - | refund M |
| | | | 631 | - | 631. — |
| <u>1952</u> | | | | | |
| 6.1.52 | K. Kambo | ✓ | 910 | - | Fragments X M |
| " | " | ✓ | 10 | - | " X M |
| " | " | ✓ | 100 | - | " X M |
| 8.3.52 | Hassan Farhan | ✓ | 16 | - | " (refund) M |
| 9.3.52 | Md. Ibrak'Allah etc. | ✓ | 26 | 200 | " M |
| 14.3.52 | Hassan Mohid. | ✓ | 7 | 500 | " M |
| 15.3.52 | Mohid. Aby Mohid. | ✓ | 30 | 200 | " M |
| 22.3.52 | Abd. Ibrak' Rahuman | ✓ | 4 | - | " M |
| 29.3.52 | Salamah Mohid. | ✓ | 10 | - | Atqs. M |
| 18.4.52 | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 173 | 250 | Fragments - refund M |
| 26.4.52 | Hassan Eid, etc. | ✓ | 12 | 800 | Atqs. & rewards M |
| 19.7.52 | Hammud Zaveiq | ✓ | 0 | 500 | for reporting Atqs. ✓ M |
| 1.8.52 | Mohid Ali | ✓ | 15 | - | Fragments & jar 1 potting M |
| 9.8.52 | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 310 | - | " - ref M Q2 |
| 24.8.52 | Mohid Hajdar | ✓ | 6 | - | " M Q2 |
| " | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 355 | - | " - ref M |
| 26.8.52 | - Ditto - | ✓ | 100 | - | " M |
| - | Kambo | ✓ | 440 | - | " X M Q2 |
| 3.9.52 | - Ditto - | ✓ | 350 | - | " X M Q4 |
| 4.9.52 | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 600 | - | " - ref M Q4 |
| 11.9.52 | Kambo | ✓ | 208 | - | " X M Q4 |
| 23.9.52 | " | ✓ | 3,000. | - | " X M Q4 |
| 30.9.52 | Arab glass | ✓ | 0 | 410 | glass |
| 3.10.52 | Res. Father R. de Vaux | ✓ | 1,600 | - | Fragments - ref |

Page 1 of the Scrolls Ledger in the PAM archive. Scanning courtesy Complete Data Solutions.

cule scroll of Deuteronomy, containing 5.5 columns (Deut. 5 and 8).”³³ The next day Saad acknowledged a gift of \$4,500, this time, through McCormick Theological Seminary where Cross had been on the faculty. The source of the money was again the Rehnberg family of Chicago and its Nutrilite Foundation. Saad is noticeably excited: “Appended are documents relating to the purchase including the registry list of manuscripts belonging to this lot. You will note in particular the large fragment of Samuel^b, one of the oldest Qumran biblical scrolls, and the exciting pseudo-Daniel piece containing a vision of the ‘Son of God.’”³⁴

The following week Saad wrote to W. D. Kring at the Unitarian Church of All Souls, New York, thanking him for the recent gift and noted that the purchase made with the Church’s money “was the second of the summer and with the two we were able to purchase the last of the discoveries of 1952 from Cave 4 Qumran.” He further said “the purchase of All Souls Deuteronomy makes possible immediate plans for publication of the first volume of Cave 4 biblical texts,”³⁵ a strange statement—stranger still coming from Saad.

There might have been some “immediate plans,” but the first of the Cave 4 materials were not to be published for another 10 years. At least it is notable that Saad and thus, one supposes, de Vaux as well, were under the impression that Kando and the Bedouin had finally brought in the last of the Cave 4 fragments. It would be nearly 40 years before scholars were to discover this was probably not entirely so.

Saad went on to describe this Deuteronomy scroll with uncharacteristic hyperbole and enthusiasm: “The scroll purchased is the finest single piece from otherwise extremely fragmentary biblical materials of Cave 4. Four columns of 12 lines are completely without lacuna, a fifth column is intact and a sixth fragmentary column exists. To be sure, the original manuscript probably contained in the neighbourhood of 50 columns, but to have continuous text over considerable portions of important material is most gratifying. Every word of chapter 5 including an interesting variant form of The Ten commandments is found in the extant text. There are also parts of chapter 6 and especially 8 in the scroll.”³⁶

This glowing description, probably composed by one of the scholars, has proven, in fact, to be an understatement. To this day the “All Souls Deuteronomy” is among the most popular of scrolls in the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibitions, so popular in fact, that when conservation needs dictate that it “rest” in Jerusalem, a facsimile is shown instead.

The actual price of the scroll was JD1,700 (US\$4,751), leaving a balance of JD68.620 fils (US\$191)³⁷ from the All Souls contribution, which the PAM retained “as a reserve against future purchases of material from the Judean Desert.”³⁸

It is worth noting that both the McCormick money and the All Souls money came through the agency of Frank Cross. One cannot help but be struck by the contrast between what Allegro *talked* about and what Cross *did*. In today’s values, Cross was the intermediary for approximately \$65,000 for these 1958 purchases.

Among the documents from 1958 in the PAM archive is a curious handwritten document from James K. Allen, Minister of the First Parish Church of Dorchester, Boston, MA. It is a highly developed, well-thought-out plan to raise \$250,000³⁹ “to finance the purchase of five additional Dead Sea Scrolls for the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. There is no indication the plan was ever put into action, but it does show that in these early days there were those who recognized the need for some more organized way of raising, receiving, and distributing money. The “five scrolls” he refers to may have been Cave 11 materials, not yet redeemed.⁴⁰

With all this serious dealing and buying we find records of a somewhat humorous story. Dr. Louis C. LaMotte, then president of the Presbyterian Junior College in Maxton, NC, was in the Old City on the evening of August 5, and purchased a small fragment, about one cm square, from an antiquities dealer. The next day he brought it to the PAM with a handwritten note explaining the purchase. “The seller,” he said, “was recommended to me as an honest man by Mr. Fareed Imam. The dealer said he purchased the fragment from a Bedouin known to him and he was sure the Bedouin was telling the truth when he said he found it at Qumran.”

The same day Saad wrote a receipt to Dr. La Motte for “one (1) very small *useless* fragment of papyrus, presented as a gift to the museum.”⁴¹ Saad seems to have been a little put out by having to write a receipt for this piece, for most of Saad’s letters are notably polite, especially to potential or actual donors.

On 21 September 1958 an article appeared in the *Ad-Difa’á* newspaper in East Jerusalem. It reported that a scroll containing the oldest version of the Ten Commandments had been bought by “a member of the Unitarian Church” after *having* learned about it at a “lecture at Harvard University last spring.”⁴²

The report was inaccurate, so someone at the PAM, probably Saad, sent the newspaper a letter of correction. It contained one of the clearest statements about how contributions, purchase, and ownership were related: “The Unitarian Church in America [New York] *donated* the money to the Palestine Archaeological Museum for the *purchase* of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The scrolls purchased are, of course, the *permanent property* of the museum.”⁴³

Saad was unhappy about this public announcement in the press and wrote immediately to Cross to find out what happened. Cross waited one month to “cool off,” and then replied. Both recognized what could be lost by making announcements in the press about donors, donations, dealers, or purchases. The All Souls Church wanted the publicity and Cross understood this. But he and Saad also knew that the net result could be quite negative, so they agreed between themselves to continue to avoid public announcements about scroll purchases as much as possible.⁴⁴

For weeks during September and October 1958 Allegro waited for photographs of his fragments to be sent to him in England. Finally he got a letter from Saad with an explanation for the delay, but the explanation raised a further question. Saad wrote:

“You might recollect that the minute you left Jerusalem I started packing etc., and it *took me ages to unpack and put the plates on the tables in their previous order*. That gives you an idea of the delay. Also we have to bear in mind that I have one photographer only and about eight scholars pressing hard with their orders, besides the museum’s ordinary current work.”⁴⁵

Allegro’s reply raised further questions about what incident in the summer of 1958 might have led Saad to pack up the scrolls: “I am most pleased to know that you started taking immediate precautions *back in June* for the scrolls, and to know that there is someone at least taking his responsibilities seriously on their account. I think we have always seen eye to eye on this need for immediate action if trouble were to start, for *there would be little enough time to get the stuff away if Jordan were invaded from the west*.”

As it happened things quietened down considerably after I left (perhaps because I left!), but with the coming withdrawal of the British troops from Amman, we should do well to be on our toes again.⁴⁶

How prescient they were! Nine years later the feared “invasion from the west” (Israel) resulted in the confiscation of all the scrolls at the Palestine Archaeological Museum and, indeed, the museum itself. But for the moment, what happened to make Saad strip the scrolls off the tables in the scrollery and pack up the plates?

The situation they referred to included among other things, fighting in Lebanon with Syrian intervention against the Christian Maronite government, a coup in Iraq, Jordan’s premier ally, resulting in the deaths of the royal family, and finally the ascension of American influence in Jordan accompanied by a decline in British influence. The situation was tense all over the Middle East, just a continuation of the problems two years before concerning the Suez Canal. The following month, Father Brown referred to the continuing unrest, especially in Iraq.⁴⁷

R. B. Y. Scott wrote on November 21 from Princeton University sounding a warning that did not seem to have been sufficiently heard. First, he commented on the growing tension between the Cave 4 Team and Allegro:

So Allegro is off the rails again—or was he ever on them? This is the only news of Qumran doings which I have had for ages. Is there any hope that Vol. II of “Discoveries” will be out soon? Is work on the remaining Cave 4 stuff progressing? Can we ever hope to see the McGill purchase? Has *anything* else happened since Cave 11 disgorged its scrolls—and who now owns these?

If you can satisfy my curiosity on any of these points, I shall be most grateful.⁴⁸

Such a letter from a scholar like Scott should have been a serious warning to Skehan about the growing impatience about the lack of news. Here it was kept on

the personal level; it would not be long before Allegro and others would escalate the asking of these kinds of questions in public.

By the end of 1958 the money problems at the PAM had not gotten any better, a problem which was to continue to plague the project into the early 1990s. What we have already seen on a more personal level with the scholars themselves affected the museum itself more and more. A letter written by Father de Vaux to the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal in 1958 so poignantly illustrates the museum's plight and is such an important historical document that I have copied it below in full:

Dear Mr. President,

I have already had the honor of corresponding with you as the Director of the École biblique et archéologique française of Jerusalem about Mr. Antonio Tavares, whom the Gulbenkian Foundation sent as a fellow to the school last year, and with whom I was very satisfied. I am writing to you today as the president of the board of the Palestine Archaeological Museum of Jerusalem.

This museum was founded in 1927 thanks to a generous donation by Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr. It was inaugurated in 1938.⁴⁹ During the British Mandate of Palestine it was administered by the Department of Antiquities of the Mandate government. Since the end of the Mandate it has been legally constituted as a private institution of an international nature which is administered by a board made up in the following way:

Two representatives of the Jordanian government: the Director of the Department of Antiquities and the Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs.

Two American members representing the American Schools of Oriental Research and the American Institute of Archaeology.

Two English members representing the British Academy and the British Museum.

Two French members representing the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres and the Commission française des fouilles.

A Swedish member representing the Royal Academy of Letters, History, and Antiquities in Stockholm.

From the beginning, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, which possesses the richest collection of Palestinian antiquities, naturally took care of

the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are currently creating such interest. It took part in all the excavations and explorations that were done in connection with them following the accidental discovery of the first manuscripts in 1947. The museum was particularly involved in the excavation of Khirbet Qumran and in the exploration of Caves 2–10, from which other manuscripts came. It exhausted all its financial reserves to buy manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts that remained in the hands of Bedouin or that had been found by them afterwards. Finally, it became the center where the enormous amount of material that had been dug up since 1948, has been reconstituted and treated, and where an international and interconfessional team of scholars are preparing its publication. It has been thanks to the Palestine Archaeological Museum that these very important texts have not been dispersed or lost, and that they have been preserved and utilized for science. The fruits of this work appear in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, sponsored by the museum; the first volume was published in 1955. A second volume is in press and others are underway.

This heavy task was neither foreseen by the initial organization of the museum, nor by its ordinary budget. Until 1956 the Palestine Archaeological Museum was able to carry the weight of this load because on the one hand the Jordanian government, in addition to a significant purchase it had made, had authorized several foreign scientific institutions to buy various lots of the recently discovered fragments, provided that they remained at the Jerusalem Museum until they had been deciphered and studied, because on the other hand, a personal gift from Mr. Rockefeller, Jr. partly covered the costs of the preparation for publication.

But in 1956 a new situation emerged. In the region of Qumran the Bedouin discovered an eleventh cave, from which they extracted manuscripts whose importance rivals those found in the first cave. The museum, whose resources were very limited, but which wanted to save these precious texts, borrowed the amount required for their purchase. It would have easily found foreign institutions prepared to buy them back under the same terms as the previous lots, but the Jordanian government then made the decision to forbid the exportation from Jordan of manuscripts discovered or to be discovered in the Dead Sea region.

The rights acquired by the institutions that had made previous purchases were safeguarded, but the authorization they were given [to receive the actual manuscripts they paid for once they were prepared for publication] will no longer be granted. Furthermore, it is impossible for the Jordanian government itself to make new purchases, and it is entrusting the Palestine Archaeological Museum with the responsibility of preserving these extraordinary discoveries.

The museum was therefore obliged to keep the manuscripts of Cave 11, and to reimburse the debt that it had incurred to secure possession of them. This lot includes an admirable manuscript that has not yet been unrolled; but what is visible indicates that it contains Psalms of the Bible; a large part of a scroll of Leviticus, which is particularly interesting because it is written in Phoenician [Paleo-Hebrew]; a significant part of the Aramaic Targum of Job, whose existence was known, but of which no text had been preserved, and considerable sections of an Aramaic apocryphal work.

To pay this debt that amounted to £48,000⁵⁰, the Palestine Archaeological Museum had to sell some of its securities that it had in London. This loss of capital resulted in a sizable reduction of its revenue, and as a result, its activities were paralyzed.

The most serious consequence for what concerns us here is that the museum no longer possesses the resources necessary to finance the preparation, decipherment, and publication of these new manuscripts. The publication of the other texts gathered at the museum remains guaranteed by the special donation of Mr. Rockefeller, of whom I spoke, and through other assistance we have acquired. But all this does not include the new texts, for which nothing was envisaged, and the Rockefeller grant will neither be extended nor renewed. These manuscripts remain in our safe like a sealed treasure, while the scholarly world, knowing they exist, waits impatiently for the secrets they contain to be revealed

Finally, very recent information is making our situation even more difficult. A new lot of manuscripts has been found in the desert recently, and its significance could equal or surpass that of Cave 11. We were not able to see these fragments because those who currently have them only want to show them if they are sure that we have the means to buy them; our investigation has convinced us that this information is based on fact: there are two or three or more ... manuscripts that certainly contain important texts, perhaps essential texts, and they have to be saved from being damaged, destroyed, or forgotten at all costs.⁵¹

The Palestine Archaeological Museum, aware of the responsibility all this has placed upon it, examined the whole problem during its meeting last November 29, and asked me to contact you to examine the possibility of collaboration between the Gulbenkian Foundation and this museum. The broad outlines of the project I am charged with presenting to you are as follows:

The Gulbenkian Foundation would give a grant to the Palestine Archaeological Museum that would cover:

1. The purchase of the Cave 11 manuscripts to free the Palestine Archaeological Museum of its financial shackles and to rebalance its budget. The amount would be £48,000.

2. The amount required for the preparation and study of these manuscripts. It would include an allocation to two scholars working in Jerusalem on these manuscripts for three years, related photography and laboratory expenses, an allocation for general overhead connected with this work (water, heat, electricity etc.). The total is estimated at £12,000.

3. A sum earmarked for the possible purchase of very recently found manuscripts and for their study. For the reasons I have given, an exact figure cannot currently be named, but it may be provisionally estimated as being equivalent to the expenses incurred in connection with the Cave 11 manuscripts, namely, £60,000.

The total of these three items would amount to £120,000.

All the manuscripts reacquired or bought would be kept at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and would be known there under the name of the Gulbenkian Foundation or an equivalent title. These manuscripts would be published under the name of the Gulbenkian Foundation.

The board of directors of the Palestine Archaeological Museum thought that this proposal was likely to interest your foundation. It would place the name of the Gulbenkian Foundation at the forefront of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, which fascinate not only scholars, but the public at large across the world. It would bring the Palestine Archaeological Museum the solution to a problem that seems otherwise insoluble. In addition to these particular interests it would notably serve in the advancement of science, culture, and international collaboration in the Middle East, which is of special interest to your foundation.

This letter is meant to serve only as an initial approach. If you think, Mr. President, that the project that I have sketched can be taken into consideration by the Gulbenkian Foundation, I am prepared to come to Lisbon to give you any additional information you may require, and to discuss with you its implementation. If your answer is positive, I would much appreciate your arranging a meeting for me in Lisbon, perhaps next January or February. Perhaps you would prefer to send a representative to Jerusalem who could acquire information on the spot. We would be happy to receive him, and will try our best to facilitate the completion of his mission. This approach is made with the full agreement of the Jordanian government: it has received the approval of the two Jordanian representatives at our board meeting, and in an official letter the Prime Minister authorized me to seek funds abroad for the Palestine Archaeological Museum, with a view to purchase and conserve Dead Sea Scrolls. You will surely appreciate, as I do, that if these nego-

tiations are entered into, they must be conducted with the utmost discretion. I am making sure here that this particular project does not become known in official circles, and especially not in public.

I hope that this letter will receive your favorable attention, and in anticipation of your response I remain respectfully yours,

R. de Vaux, O.P.

President of the Board of Trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum
Director of the École biblique et archéologique française in Jerusalem⁵²

How it must have galled Father de Vaux to have to write such a letter. It was always hard to ask for money, and all the more so for a scholar of de Vaux's stature.

In fact, the entire procedure of buying the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Bedouin was due entirely to their breaking the law. Digging for antiquities without a permit was bad enough, but the law also stipulated that anyone who found antiquities, even inadvertently, was obligated to turn them over to the



L to R, Diane Fields, William Kando, son of Khalil Iskander Shahin (Kando), and William's son, Khalil, named for his grandfather. In front of the Kando store in East Jerusalem, 2006.

Department of Antiquities. There was indeed a provision that anyone who did bring in such antiquities could share in the profits should they be sold, but the Bedouin and Kando were holding the government of Jordan and the Palestine Museum hostage, and there was nothing they could do about it without endangering the preservation of these priceless documents. To Harding's and de Vaux's credit they had acceded to the realities of the situation back in 1949-1950 and had come to an accommodation with Kando and his illegal suppliers, and, as far as we know, saved nearly all the scrolls for posterity—but at what a price!



THE MUSEUM IS ON THE BRINK

1959

By the beginning of 1959 Allegro's split with his colleagues of the scrollerly was ever more sharp. The infamous "Letter to the *Times*," was now almost three years in the past. There was still polite, sometimes even cordial communication between the other Cave 4 Team members and Allegro, but in this year it was to wear very thin indeed. Allegro's BBC program about the scrolls, whose production was more or less boycotted by de Vaux, was the occasion of more discord, and not a little intrigue. But this was all by the way. Juxtaposed to de Vaux's reasoned and responsible pleas to the Gulbenkian Foundation in late 1958, Allegro's machinations speak for themselves.

The rumors that I have heard lead me to think that there are many more important scrolls.

—Father Roland de Vaux

The following letter from Allegro to Awni Dajani is extraordinary:

Well, they've done it again. For the fifth time the BBC have put off showing that TV programme on the scrolls: in so far as sending pictures and story to the *Radio Times*. There can be no reasonable doubt now that de Vaux's cronies in London are using their influence to kill the programme, as he wished. I should not be at all surprised if the Vatican has not commanded its contacts in the BBC, where they are numerous and powerful, to keep it off the screens.

My patience is exhausted, as I am sure yours is too. I will not have a French priest interfering in this way with British TV, and I am really very worried indeed now about the future of the scrolls. It is clear that de Vaux will stop at nothing to control the scrolls material. Somehow or other he must be removed from his present controlling position. *Either he must be thrown out by the Jordan government, or be bypassed.*¹ I feel a special responsibility about this; since I am the only person on that team who is not playing de Vaux's game, willingly or unwittingly. The point is, how can it be done? I

have been thinking the matter over, and it seems to me that there are a number of courses open.

(1) I can release the news about the inside story of the way that film was obtained for the BBC: the way de Vaux tried to balk us at every turn, and that had it not been for you and the Tourist Department, we should have got nothing at all. This might force the BBC's hand, and create a stink, but will mean that I should never be allowed to broadcast again on BBC, and lose opportunities for some more good work later on. Or,

(2) You could hold a press conference in Jordan, asking when this important programme is going to be shown in the UK, and why was it being suppressed. I will then come in and back you to the hilt here. But as the start had come from you, it won't react on me so much, and it won't on you, since you have every right to question this business since you spent so much of your valuable time and energy helping us. You don't need to say anything about de Vaux's antics, if you don't want to—I will add that and any other dirt I see fit when it reaches here.

This might help the programme onto the air, but it does not solve the major problem of how to ease de Vaux out of his present position of scrolls control. I repeat—this must be done, for I am convinced that if something does turn up which affects the Roman Catholic dogma, the world will never see it. De Vaux will scrape the money out of some other barrel, and send the lot to the Vatican to be hidden or destroyed. We have a special responsibility to see this does not happen: I, because I am the only member of that team not involved in ecclesiastical issues, and you since you are the only man in Jordan who knows the story in full and who has specialist knowledge in this archaeology. I think I see a way out of the dilemma.

What we desperately want is money to buy Cave 11—the stuff that the Bedu have still and everyone knows they have. Furthermore, we must have a large fund to buy anything else they find immediately when it is found. Now it is clear that de Vaux will not make a public appeal for money, because that involves publicity and the Church frowns on that as raising too much interest. Furthermore, de Vaux says the Jordan government is not to be trusted, and will not ask people to give money which they might confiscate in some way. If he had been eager to raise funds, he would have grasped this opportunity afforded by the TV show, to give every help and then organise a great drive for money from the world. [Allegro knows nothing, of course, of de Vaux's approach to Gulbenkian nor his contacts with the Bechtels in this period, discussed below]

Here, perhaps, is our opportunity. If we can raise the appeal, for, say, a million dollars, we can buy the scrolls on behalf of Jordan, to be kept in Jor-

dan and to be edited as decreed by the Committee, and not by de Vaux. In other words, cut de Vaux right out of the picture, and bring in a large team to publish the stuff, from every country and every religious denomination (*except Jews*)² who will come. Furthermore, if we can get enough cash, we can offer to pay expenses to scholars willing to come. We should try to get so much money that the fund will never run dry, and the Bedu be inspired with the promise of cash on delivery to turn in every blessed thing they have and can get. We'll really go after those scrolls, and they will comb every nook and cranny in the Dead Sea desert looking for the stuff. And *everything* that is found will be published for the world, Church or no Church, for we shall see that no single denomination or party gets control or sees the material alone. Now, I think this can be done: indeed, it could have been done years ago, only both Harding and de Vaux wanted to play the game entirely their way. I am sure that some millionaire in the States or elsewhere will put up the million dollars if we offer to call the collection by his name. Many rich men would give everything to achieve fame, and this is a way someone can do it, and will ask nothing else in return. Of course, he could go out to Jordan and have his picture taken for his family album and the newspapers standing by a heap of scrolls, but that costs us nothing and would be well worth it to him. Then the scrolls can stay in Jordan, and I think this is terribly important. I do not want to see that stuff scattered all over the world, and it would be worth considering whether, with the money, we might pay back those who have given some already, like Manchester, in order to keep what they bought of Cave 4 in Jordan.

How to go about it? Well, obviously I have no authority to make the appeal, but I think I can say that I do have the ear of the world as no one else of the scrolls' team. And the world knows that if I have a hand in that money, and the purchase and editing, nothing that passes through my hands will be suppressed for any reason. This should be made quite clear in the appeal, that the money will be spent by a committee of no one religious denomination or even nationality, in fact, the committee that the Jordan government set up in 1956, and which de Vaux has by-passed on every single occasion.

The Jordan authorities alone can take the initiative. That means, in effect, you, with the support of your Minister of Education, who assured me last summer that he would do all he could to see this stuff was adequately published. I want you to see him, talk this matter over, and if he agrees, let me know. Then you can hold a press conference, appealing for the fund and authorising me to appeal on your behalf in this country and the States. I'm not at all sure it might be an idea to insist that de Vaux or some trustee of the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem make an official disclosure of the contents of

Cave 11, and then, on that peg, hang the appeal for funds with which to buy more of that cave and anything else going.

Quite frankly, I think *it would be a ripe opportunity to take over the whole museum, scrolls and all, perhaps on the plea that the government is dissatisfied with the way things are done in the matter of the scrolls, that they are not being published fast enough and there is some danger that they may never be seen at all.*³

This would cause a first-class row, but the Jordan government would find scholarship and the laymen on their side, for all are quite sick of the lack of information they are getting about the newly discovered stuff. To my mind it would clear the air considerably. Then when de Vaux and his cronies are yelping to the world that the material is being published as fast as possible, I will step in and say that it certainly is not, and that even the Copper Scroll's contents have been purposely held back, even from the Jordan authorities, as being "untrustworthy." In short, you would have my complete support in everything you do which will get this stuff out honestly and quickly.

Then when things are going along nicely, we can spring this monster appeal for funds. Remember, the only thing we need offer the donor is the honour of having the stuff called by his name. It's worked before, it can work again. Rich men have given millions to have archaeological expeditions and publications called after them, and this after all is the biggest and most exciting find ever made. I'm sure we should have no difficulty in finding a millionaire donor: we must just make sure that we ask for enough. A million *pounds* might be nearer the mark.

Now, one way of raising interest is to let out something solid about the Copper Scroll, and offer to use part of the money to search for the treasure. Don't promise to find it—but merely to look, and there are plenty of possible sites to choose from. I suggest Khirbet Mird for a start.

And thus to the final part. De Vaux's minions have managed to put sufficient pressure on my American publisher to stop them publishing the copper scroll before Milik, despite the legality of it, since the Department of Antiquities have given their permission. I'm not over-worried about it, since my book can speedily follow Milik's, but it does make it rather awkward getting that academic volume published at the same time as my more popular volume. The English publishers have lost enthusiasm for that, not unnaturally, if Milik's version is to come out first. Still, that's by the way. The point is that if you want to make some release to coincide with a major appeal for funds, you will have my full support. I am still working on the text, but there are parts I can let you have any time you want.

So there you are. It's up to you and your friends in Jordan. I think we have

a very good chance of pulling the thing off, loads of money in the bank for scrollering, an open team to break this Catholic monopoly, and a hell of a lot of prestige coming your and the department's way. Remember, you are not putting out anti-clerical propaganda in any way, merely insisting that from now on the Jordan authorities are going to take a firm hand in the publishing of the scrolls. Nothing will possibly be suppressed. The present team is doing fine work, but it hasn't sufficient numbers or funds. Remember too that when de Vaux objects forcibly that he has quite sufficient, I will come in and oppose him very forcibly and claim the correctness of the Jordan measures, and support the appeal. I might even let out an instance or two when information has been suppressed, but I'll only do that if de Vaux looks like winning. After all, the Jordan government can always threaten to nationalise the Museum unless they can ensure that all is above board regarding the scrolls. Then if de Vaux squeaks again, rush in and nationalise and appoint yourself curator and secretary. Again, you'll have my support in print and radio.

If you can let me know if and when you are going to start the ball rolling, I can synchronise a statement at this end to back you up. Otherwise, simply tell your story, or ask your questions and refer them to me. I'll be ready. If you feel, that you cannot start things going your end without something from me first, then let me know, and I'll think about what I can do.

You're such a rascal about correspondence. I've never yet had a letter from you. It would be so much easier if we could speak to one another. It would be wonderful if you came over here to do it, or to follow up, and we could work together throughout. But you do want your backing that end from the government and Mr. Durra. That is obviously essential. By the way, I had a very nice Christmas card recently from the mayor of Jerusalem, Rouhi Khalid. I did not send him one. Is he sending one to all friends of Jordan, or is there something special about it? I remember you said that he is chairman of the scrolls committee. Would he back us in the appeal? Is he really interested in the scrolls?

Don't let us delay any longer over this important affair. I am worried lest the Bedu be bringing stuff to de Vaux which the world will never see. I am not letting the BBC get away with the suppression of this programme much longer, and shall do something about it unless I hear from you, but on the other hand, we want, if possible, to work everything together, so that we can command the headlines for sufficient time to prompt some millionaire to cough up the million dollars or whatever we ask for.

By the way, the line I am running at the moment, and it seems very popular, is that the scrolls will form a bridge so much needed between Jew, Christian, and Muslim religiously. That, although each religion must pre-

serve its own distinguishing marks and revelations, nevertheless, if, through the scrolls, we see a common background and fount (which, in fact we do), it should enable man to understand his fellow better, and point a way to understanding and peace. This is a popular line, for men are indeed looking for some thread, however slender, on which they can fasten hope of reconciliation between the three great religions of the world. I, as a practicing atheist or what-have-you, can say this and get away with it, where anybody of one of the faiths will only be accused of plugging his own line somewhere. I shall take this line more and more from now on, until it will be popularly recognised that I am the most reliable of scholars to be handling the scrolls! At least, I have no axe to grind, and am not afraid of publishing anything.

To yourself and the family, my kindest regards and best wishes for the New Year.

John Allegro

PS: If you can get things moving quickly, and there is no time to write, phone me from Amman—Prestbury 8293, or, if you want, I'll phone you.⁴

Whew! What a letter! Months after the nearly aborted filming in Jerusalem, the BBC had still not released the film, and Allegro was terribly frustrated. One might wonder about the degree to which de Vaux's reported objections were inspired by other difficulties with Jordanian authorities, other considerations of which Allegro knew nothing or very little (such as the matter hinted about above in which de Vaux narrowly escaped "jail" about the time of the Suez Crisis), and perhaps just a lack of patience with Allegro himself. But Allegro's reaction contained religious and nationalistic overtones. This was a crystal clear statement that Allegro had come to believe he was locked in a struggle with the other members of the Cave 4 Team, especially its leader, de Vaux. Nevertheless, there doesn't seem to be any proof whatsoever that anyone above de Vaux in the Roman Catholic hierarchy has in any way at any time sought to repress information about the scrolls. On the contrary, the Vatican Library had even paid for some of the fragments only recently bought. Still, the increasingly paranoid Allegro was convinced that a conspiracy was afoot; and he was determined to fight back.

Allegro did not seem to know anything at all of the extensive negotiations by others concerning the Cave 11 materials, nor did he fully appreciate that these scrolls had not even been opened yet. In the end, the money came from American sources, largely through the agency of Frank Cross. Almost none of the Cave 11 material was published by members of the Cave 4 Team. James Sanders, in fact, who published the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll, ended up publishing his material (DJD 4) before Allegro's Cave 4 scrolls (DJD 5)!

Yet Allegro comes off as rather far-sighted in some respects, more far-sighted,

perhaps, than some of the other members of the team, who were there in Jerusalem actually working on the scrolls week after week, month after month. It is obvious that part of the difference was personality. Allegro evinced the spirit of the entrepreneur. He saw the big picture. He did not hesitate to speak of a million dollars or a million pounds. He foresaw the gigantic amount of money⁵ it would eventually take to accomplish the definitive publication of the scrolls, a term he uses elsewhere even in this early period. He knew that the Cave 4 Team would have to be expanded, expanded on a grand scale, and he foresaw the condemnatory reactions of international scholarship to the apparent, and I emphasize here, apparent, slow pace of publication. (It is my impression that in truth, the pace at this period was astoundingly fast, given all the circumstances). Allegro also realized that it would be far better to keep the scrolls together as a collection, that the promise of eventual possession of individual scrolls and fragments, made to institutions and people all over the world in exchange for funds to buy them from the Bedouin, had been well-meaning (and was a wonderful fund-raising tool), but it was a promise too broad, with detrimental implications for future scholarship. But here he planted the seeds for the “nationalization” of the scrolls in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, an action that was to take place little more than two years later, and was an unmitigated disaster from many perspectives. Thus, while only seeing part of the picture, Allegro did see some aspects of it clearly—perhaps, it appears, more clearly than certain of his colleagues on the Cave 4 Team. We can give him that much. But what a traitor he was to his chief editor and fellow team members.

More than this, Allegro was increasingly suspicious both with respect to those who differ from him in their religious convictions and in terms of the wider world of scholarship. He assumed that strongly held religious beliefs precluded fair-handed scholarship, an opinion to which not everyone would subscribe. And although he spoke of being neutral, he specifically suggested the exclusion of Jews from an expanded scroll team. The fact that Israel was still officially at war with Jordan was no excuse for this, nor was Jordan’s confusion of racial/religious derivation (being a Jew) and political citizenship (being an Israeli). Not all Jews are Israeli, and both Jordan’s mass exclusion of Jews from within its borders and Allegro’s suggested exclusion of scholars from a Jewish background were indefensible—period. David Noel Freedman, for example, told me he was not allowed to enter Jordan (1949-1967) simply because he had a Jewish mother and father. Allegro’s plan would have excluded him from an expanded team, an idea both racist and bigoted in the extreme, especially when one considers that Noel was an American citizen, an ordained Presbyterian minister and a professor in a Presbyterian seminary, not to speak of a fine linguist and scholar.

Nevertheless, defensible or not, this was political reality. It is still political reality. And no matter whether this suggestion of Allegro’s reflected his own personal bias, or was simply a politically expedient thing to say to Awni Dajani, it was the way

things were, and he was not alone, I hasten to add (as has already been seen in other letters from Cave 4 Team members), in this anti-Jewish, anti-Israeli bias out of which the distinction between the two became very blurred, to say the least.

Allegro comes off a little too self-righteous when it comes to his condemnation, albeit a somewhat deserved condemnation in the case of the Copper Scroll, of de Vaux for holding back information. It is ironic, in fact, that this letter is addressed to Dajani, whom Allegro totally deceived about the contents of the Copper Scroll little more than three years before, as he detailed to Harding, in his letter of 16 November 1955.

Allegro still wanted to search for the treasure of the Copper Scroll; he was frustrated that he did all the work to get it opened and then the publication was taken



Father Milik piecing together Cave 4 fragments at the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem in the 1950s. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Estate of John Allegro

away from him with the excuse (he said) that Milik happened to be present at Cave 3 the day Henri de Contenson discovered the Copper Scroll. It would have been better just to tell Allegro that his linguistic skills were not up to the job and Milik's were, or that Milik was simply a better and

more seasoned scholar or that Milik was more productive of serious articles—whatever the real reasons were.

Nevertheless, Allegro seems to have a point about the unfairness of holding back its publication, no matter what the reasons, if indeed it was held back. As events played out with the other volumes, I suspect it was more a matter of logistics than anything else. But it should be noted that Allegro had chosen not to mention that he promised not to publish the Copper Scroll as one of the conditions stipulated by Harding for allowing him to take charge of opening it.

This letter to Dajani was the foundation for his appointment a few years later as "Honorary Advisor on the Dead Sea Scrolls" to the government and Royal Family of Jordan. But for all his bluster and bragging, he was not now in the trenches. Strugnell

and Milik were. In letter after letter we see that they were chipping away at the business of putting these thousands of fragments in their proper place and Strugnell reported these changes to the team as they happened.⁶

Strugnell's letters show that in 1959 the fragments in the scrollery were still in a partial state of flux. Fragments were being rearranged, and Strugnell, as the one who was spending more time there than some of the others of the Cave 4 Team, was emerging more and more as the leader in these rearrangements. He did not consult the team members as much as he simply informed them of changes made on their plates—to a large extent simply a practical matter. He was there, the changes and joins were obvious to Milik and him, and he took the lead to see that progress was made and mistakes minimized.

On a personal level, Strugnell's wife was expecting their first child. It had been almost exactly two years since he left Jerusalem the free-wheeling bachelor and went to the Oriental Institute in Chicago for one semester. There he met Cecile Pierlot, daughter of Count Hubert Pierlot, Prime Minister of Belgium during World War II, and now he was beginning what was to become a family of six children.

Allegro and Strugnell, the two British members of the Cave 4 Team were still cordial enough on the personal level, but of course Strugnell did not know how Allegro was secretly betraying the team's interests. Until the years just before the publication of Allegro's volume (1968), in fact, there seemed to be a special friendship between them, perhaps just because they were both British, and both studied at Oxford under G. R. Driver.

As for the larger picture, de Vaux wrote Skehan, Allegro, Cross, and Hunzinger in March 1959 that the members of the "scrollery" then in Jerusalem (Baillet, Milik, Strugnell, Starcky, and perhaps, Benoit) had a meeting to review the state of the work on the scrolls. They had corrected the proofs of DJD 2. DJD 3 (exploration of the cliff, the small cave texts and Copper Scroll)⁷ would be sent to the printer in a month's time; DJD 4 was supposed to be the first of the Cave 4 texts, the biblical materials being prepared by Cross and Skehan. For this volume de Vaux asked Skehan to submit his manuscript by the end of 1959. He wanted the second volume of biblical materials by January 1961. Allegro and Hunzinger were supposed to submit theirs by June 1960 and Milik had promised his by June 1961. The volumes of Strugnell and Starcky-Baillet would follow at six-month intervals.

The Concordance would be continued during the following year by Will Oxtoby⁸ from Princeton, according to the arrangements of Kraeling. Brown would train him.

Then de Vaux dropped a bombshell: All work on the originals must be completed by the end of June 1960, because this was the date on which the contributions of Rockefeller for the editors and the subsidy for scrolls photographs would cease. This was also the date on which the fragments would be distributed among the government [of Jordan], the museum [PAM] and the institutions which contributed to the purchases.⁹

This was a far cry from the old story that when Rockefeller died he did not make any provision for the continuation of the project. De Vaux was given at least 15 months' notice by Kraeling that the funding was to cease.

By March 1959 Skehan, de Vaux, and Kraeling were trying to regroup. Father de Vaux thought it would be impossible to reattach Milik to the CNRS, so Kraeling said that beginning in October 1960 for one year he would be able to promise funding of JD 70/month or US\$196/month for a total annual salary of \$2,352. Thus, a special dispensation was found, apparently still with Rockefeller funds, for Milik's support until October 1961.¹⁰

In his correspondence with the Cave 4 Team de Vaux was ever the gentleman,



Will Oxtoby in Jerusalem, 1959. Courtesy University of Manchester Museum/Allegro Archive.

but was also businesslike. He presented a plan for publication that on the face of it seemed reasonable and realistic. Nevertheless, one cannot but wonder how he could have so badly underestimated the amount of time it would take to complete the preparation of these thousands of fragments for publication. Did he really expect Skehan and Cross to complete their work within nine months, by the end of 1959? The last of Skehan's material was actually published in 2000,¹¹ and Cross' was published in 2005.¹² Hunzinger, expected in this period to publish with Allegro, never did publish anything in DJD.¹³ Strugnell published his first and only volume in 1994 with Father Dan Harrington. Thus, de Vaux's high hopes were never even remotely realized. Not only was his plan to have a volume prepared "at six-month intervals" unrealistic, but one wonders whether this was even a

serious letter. Was it written, perhaps, more to be seen by Jordanian officials or museum officials, than to convey real deadlines to the Cave 4 Team?

At this point de Vaux still planned to distribute fragments to donors. He was, of course, unaware that Allegro had been lobbying to stop this, but he was aware that the Rockefeller money was going to run out and perhaps this was the reason he was pushing the team to complete its work.

At this juncture relations between Allegro and Hunzinger were still quite cordial. They exchanged letters about their texts, their families, and professional plans. Hunzinger called Allegro “Sir John,” and Allegro calls him “Baron of Qumran.” The two of them, together with Strugnell and Cross were just starting their families and all had young children. They were still young men with the playfulness of young men. And they didn’t mind correcting each other’s work or disagreeing, as should be the case with scholars. Hunzinger, as a pious Lutheran, inquired about a possible *peshet* (commentary) on Isaiah 52 and 53 out of Christian theological interests, and discounted Cross’ idea, mentioned here for the first time in any of the letters, that Cross had theorized, at least at this point, that the *peshetim* (commentaries) found at Qumran might have been autographs (that is, original compositions, not copies of past compositions).¹⁴

Of all the original members of the Cave 4 Team, Hunzinger was the one with whom Allegro seems to have been able to maintain a friendly relationship for many more years. This was due in part to the fact that Hunzinger was not in Jerusalem in 1956 when the infamous “Letter to the *Times*” was written, and he was not, therefore, a signatory. Another was that Hunzinger became inactive in scrolls not long after this (he had already begun to drop out), and perhaps most of all they felt a commonality in having been mistreated by the others: Allegro because from his perspective he felt besieged for not adhering to a particular theological approach, and because he was by personality so much more given to publicity and so much less careful about what he said; Hunzinger because he was given mostly “leftovers,” and because he was not given the kind of consideration he might have expected during this difficult time in his career when his university would not give him time off to visit Jerusalem. There was the added factor, specifically stated by other members of the team later, but only hinted at during this period, that Hunzinger, as a New Testament specialist, was not particularly advanced in Hebrew. But then this is all relative. Some of the other Cave 4 Team members have been criticized by Jewish, especially Israeli, Hebrew-speaking scholars for the same thing.

Just a few days later, on 3 June 1959 de Vaux wrote a letter to Brownlee, still at Duke University. This extraordinary letter is important for a number of reasons, but I reproduce it here almost in full mainly to show how adroitly de Vaux was balancing all his responsibilities. At the same time he was prodding his Cave 4 Team to prepare prodigious amounts of material for publication, he was also still looking for money, not just to get the publication of the Cave 11 material off the blocks, but also to purchase more important scrolls he firmly believed would be coming up for sale.

I thank you for responding to my letter so quickly. I trust you are having better success at your university than we are having here. The same arrangements that you have been making would be possible for *any* university or institution which would assemble the necessary funds to buy scrolls and you

may say that to President E. C. Colwell or to anyone else who would be interested. I encourage you to make this known.

Now, to avoid misunderstanding, I want to be precise about the help we need. You have asked me if \$5,000 would be sufficient or if even \$10,000. If such an amount would have sufficed, I could have already gotten it from my friends as I have so many times in the past. It is a matter of each thing being more important. The amounts that you have mentioned would allow one to purchase only a few fragments. The rumors that I have heard lead me to think that there are *many more important scrolls*. A calculation according to the price that was established by the sale in America of scrolls from Cave 1 actually in the hands of the Israelis (the Bedouin know this price), and after the price which followed this, the museum had to pay for the scrolls of Cave 11. It is useless to try nothing, or to show nothing. As a consequence, nothing will be bought either known or public, if we do not have at our disposal at least \$100,000 minimum, not including the cost of publication. It is, thus, a very large sum, but I am persuaded that the supporters of Duke University would be able to contribute it, if one knows how to convince them. Or it might be possible to find others. It should be helpful that each part that a university or institution buys would have its name attached to a discovery like this that will not occur again for a century or more.

I am at your disposal for any other information you might need. I want to thank you for the help that you might bring us in this question about which I am very much preoccupied.¹⁵

During the past year the Catholic University of America had been supporting Milik's work in Jerusalem, but now, for reasons that were never entirely clear in the correspondence that has survived, Skehan had informed de Vaux that it would not be continued. De Vaux replied, rather cryptically, that he understood Skehan's decision and the sorrow it had caused him. He anticipated that Milik had yet two or three years of work left in Jerusalem. As we have already noted, Kraeling had already been able to step in and fill the gap, at least for one more year. Meanwhile Cross had just arrived back in Jerusalem, Strugnell had been off looking for Nabataean inscriptions with Miss Kirkbride, and there had been no word from Allegro or Hunzinger.¹⁶ Baillet had completed his manuscript on the "small caves," and the Copper Scroll and New Jerusalem Scroll would constitute the best part in the upcoming volume (DJD 3).¹⁷

While the Cave 4 Team continued its work, apparently there was some kind of an accusation concerning the disposition of coins from Qumran directed at de Vaux or the École biblique from the Department of Antiquities. De Vaux's response to the (unnamed) Director of Antiquities is curt:

I refer to your letter No.21/2/518 dated 20 June 1959, in which you ask me to inform you about the number of the various silver coins discovered at Kh. Qumran during the excavations, and received by the École biblique et archéologique française from Mr. Harding, the former director of Antiquities, as a share given to the school by order of H.E. the Minister of Education.

The Department of Antiquities knows well that no division of antiquities discovered at Kh. Qumran during the excavations has as yet been made, and, therefore, the École biblique et archéologique française has not received any of the coins about which you enquire in your letter under reference.¹⁸

The coins were eventually somewhat scattered and many were thought to have been stolen or lost, but today the majority of them are in the Citadel Museum in Amman, though the whereabouts of the “hoard” is still questioned.¹⁹

As the summer wore on, action was being taken in the States to find the \$100,000 mentioned to Brownlee by de Vaux. E. C. Colwell, president of the Southern California School of Theology and the Claremont Graduate School wrote to de Vaux to say that he had contacted a friend at the Rockefeller Foundation about the need. He also mentioned that Brownlee would be joining the faculty at Claremont the coming September. Colwell was not optimistic that such large sums would be forthcoming from any academic institutions, but he did offer \$5,000 to de Vaux for the purchase of some smaller fragments.²⁰

By the end of the summer Allegro was at it again. This time he had a complaint against Cross:

I have just received a telephone call from Noel Freedman in which he conveyed to me a request made apparently by yourself for transmission to me for the postponement of my new book. I gather that this request springs from some delay being experienced in the production of a forthcoming volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, and was made at the insistence of Father de Vaux.

As conveyed to me, the request was accompanied by the expression of some rather strange sentiments originating, it was said, from yourself and those for whom you were acting. There appeared even to be some forecast of consequences were I not to accede to this request. The whole tone of this communication was such that I feel it were better if the message were conveyed directly by yourself, and would thus ask that you write to me as soon as possible exactly as you wish me to understand the affair. On receipt of your letter I can then give the matter my fullest consideration.²¹

More than a month later Cross replied:

In the haste of beginning lectures and organizing myself this year, I have overlooked writing to you in reply to your note of 14 *September*. As a matter of fact, there is little for me to reply. I came to Oxford with no message from de Vaux for you, either formal or informal, or I should have reported to you on the occasions when we met.

It is true that the third volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* met with some delay. It is presumably in the works at the Clarendon Press, and should come out in due course, now that the strike there is past. I am not sure precisely what strange sentiments were attributed to me. I think you have permitted your reputation to be jeopardized already by certain irresponsible acts in which I am sure the newspapers have made an unworthy contribution. We discussed that and you know precisely my feelings. I also have sentiments concerning the wisdom and ethics of your attempting to publish ahead of the official editions, and some notion of what scholarly reactions would be if such a procedure were undertaken by you. *But surely you must not feel yourself under persecution, either by me or, for that matter, by de Vaux. Your danger as I see it is one of scholarly suicide, not assassination.*²²

This is next to the last letter Cross ever wrote to Allegro. And in our interview with Cross we got some inkling of why:

FMC: At any rate, he belonged to the Methodist branch and then left it. I got to know John pretty well. He was one of the few people I have met in my life whom I would call amoral. Not immoral; he just didn't have any idea about morals, or to put it perhaps even better, he created the world he wanted, and this often had very little relation to reality. On the other hand, he was not embarrassed by this. He almost believed in his fantasies. And I confronted him once about some of the stuff he had put in the tabloids in England and said to him, "John, you're saying this stuff is going through the Vatican." I said, "You know very well a number of these things have come through me and were not opened or read until I did it, and no one from the Vatican was within a thousand miles of the scrollery." And I said, "Did you really feed this stuff to these guys?" He said, "Yes, yeah, I did." And I said, "Well, why? How can you turn your back on your fellow scholars as well as on the truth? And his reply was "Money."

WWF: Wow. No integrity whatsoever.

FMC: None. No scholarly integrity whatsoever And have you read the mushroom book?

WWF: I've only heard about it.

FMC: It's the most appalling bunch of nonsense in the world. And after we

had this confrontation in the scrollery in which he said money was the primary reason, that's when our relations broke. I didn't write him again, and I had to say good morning at the scrollery or goodbye, but no real social contact after that.

WWF: Was it because of G.R. Driver's influence that he got appointed?

FMC: Yes.

WWF: And as a scholar, as a Hebrew scholar, what was his ability? Was he just not careful or ...

FMC: He was mediocre at best. It surprises me that Driver recommended him and that Rowley took him as his assistant for all those years. He could read Hebrew, but if you look at John Strugnell's review of his volume [DJD 5], it's an appallingly bad piece of work.

WWF: Which George Brooke at Manchester [and Moshe Bernstein from Yeshiva University] are trying to revise at the moment. I mean, they're trying to redo Allegro's volume.

FMC: Yes, right

FMC: ... A lot of photographs in the Allegro archive are stolen from the museum.²³

Back in Jerusalem de Vaux and Saad had been waiting all summer and most of the autumn for word about the continuation of the Rockefeller contributions to the work of the Cave 4 Team. In November the answer came and it was "no." It was a sad letter, for Rockefeller's decision was to have far-reaching effects and all involved understood that. W. Reed, writing on behalf of H. Detweiler, president of ASOR, said, "I regret this very much and feel that I have failed in the trust which you and Père de Vaux had placed in me. I wish very much that there might be some way I could be of assistance at this time when the future of my favourite museum and my friends is threatened."²⁴

The financial condition of the museum and what could be done about it was the main topic of discussion on 28 November 1959 when its board of trustees met for its "eighteenth ordinary meeting."²⁵

First, de Vaux passed on the news about the loss of the Rockefeller funds. It was suggested that the low-yield British bonds in which much of the endowment was invested should be reinvested in the Jordan Cement Factory or the Arab Bank of Jordan, but this was rejected.

They were desperate. But the desperation gave birth to practicality. They came up with a list of immediate actions:

1. As a means to increase the museum income it was decided to remove the present exhibition of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the galleries to a different room where a special exhibition would be displayed of the Dead Sea Scrolls together with other materials found at Qumran. The museum would charge an extra entrance fee of

100Fils (\$0.27) for Jordanians and 300Fils (\$.81) for others. Students and archaeologists would be granted free entrance and visitors to the special exhibition would be allowed to sign a special scroll book.

2. A. Sjolín, board member from the Royal Swedish Legation in Beirut, was assigned to approach the representative of the Ford Foundation in Beirut, explain the critical financial situation of the museum, and request £2,000 Sterling to meet half of the museum's projected deficit during the next two years.²⁶

3. S. Mills, the American ambassador, agreed to contact the American Friends of the Middle East in Amman to ask for another £2,000 Sterling.

4. The contract for DJD 3 would be much more favorable than that for DJD 2. Whereas 1,500 copies of DJD 2 had to be sold before OUP paid royalties, for DJD 3 they would begin from the first copy. The museum would use all the royalties to defray expenses incurred in connection with publication.²⁷



Awni Dajani. Courtesy the Dajani family.

5. The trustees decided not to let the municipality take over any of its land, since part of its land assets might have to be rented or sold in the future in order for the museum to survive. M. Pope suggested, in fact, that it might be a good idea to build on some of the museum property offices and modern apartments that could be readily rented. This question was not put to a vote but "evoked great interest among a number of the members of the board of trustees."

6. It was also decided that the current fee for renting the museum's lecture theatre should be increased from JD 5 to JD 50 and that efforts should be made to book more events for it.

They had taken some serious steps, but in the end the salvation of the museum was to come from another direction.

The last item of business was both portentous and ominous, depending on one's perspective. The trustees extended congratulations to Dr. Awni Dajani upon his promotion to the post of director of the Jordan Department of Antiquities.²⁸

A few days after the meeting Sjolín requested information that he could take to Sweden to request money there as well.²⁹ The summary of the situation provided by Saad is an important historical document, with many details that help explain the situation of the museum at the time, and how its condition was a direct result of the Cave 11 purchases.

Saad introduced his report with a letter:

As requested in your letter of 8 December 1959, I have the honour to enclose herewith a short report on the financial position of the museum.

Monsieur Jens Malling, your predecessor on the board, was present at both the *Eleventh Ordinary Meeting (5.5.56)* and the *First Extraordinary Meeting (9.6.56)*, when the trustees resolved to acquire Cave 11 material.

It was this expenditure which led to the museum's financial difficulties, yet there was nothing else we could do under the circumstances.

I hope I have answered all the points you raised. The future of the museum is uncertain. We cannot continue to function adequately unless we receive additional funds.

May I express to you my appreciation of your good offices in trying to help the museum in this matter? I earnestly hope you will be successful.³⁰

The report was as follows:

Built and endowed by the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Palestine Archaeological Museum had a distinguished career under the British Mandate of Palestine, quickly becoming the outstanding institution of its kind in the Near East.

When the Mandate ended in 1948, the High Commissioner for Palestine on behalf of the Mandatory Power transferred title by an Order in Council to an international board of trustees composed of representatives of the institutions of learning, American, Scandinavian, British, and French, that had traditional interest in Palestine. This international board of trustees is recognised by the Jordan government, which has two representatives on the board.

The Palestine Archaeological Museum, which has the richest and the most complete collection of antiquities from Palestine, very naturally became involved from the very beginning in the recovery and preservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which created such a sensation all over the world. The museum took part in all the excavations and exploration which have been carried out in connection with the manuscripts since the first chance discovery in 1947, especially in the excavations at Kh. Qumran and in the exploration of Caves 2 to 10, where other manuscripts have been discovered. The museum depleted its financial reserve by purchasing the manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts, which were found by the Bedouin.

Thus the museum became the centre where the vast materials discovered since 1947, are being assembled and processed, and where an international team of scholars representing different denominations is preparing its publication. It was thanks to the Palestine Archaeological Museum that these important manuscripts were not dispersed or lost, and that they are preserved and are being deciphered for science. The result of this work will be

published in a series under the title “DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT” patronised by the museum: Volume ONE was published in 1955, Volumes TWO and THREE are in press, and others are in preparation.

The monies originally provided by the endowment for the operation of the museum naturally did not provide for the acquisition of the now famous Dead Sea Scrolls, nor the work on them, namely, sorting, assembling of fragments, photographing, and translating the material for final publication.

The unexpected happened again in 1956, when the Bedouin discovered in the region of Qumran a new cave—now known as Cave 11—where extremely important manuscripts were found. The museum, short of money but very anxious to save these precious texts, had to get a loan for this purpose.

To settle its debts amounting to £48,000 sterling—the museum was forced to sell part of its endowment invested in England.

This loss of part of the capital naturally caused a serious drop of the yearly museum income; thus the museum activities were paralysed and the museum can no more function adequately.

During the period 1949–1959 the museum expended the sum of JD 65,641.900 Fils to acquire Dead Sea Scrolls, made up as follows:

| JD | Fils |
|----------------------------|------------|
| Cave 1, Qumran..... | 1031.000 |
| Cave 2, Qumran | 756.000 |
| Wilderness of Judaea..... | 3840.200 |
| Kh. Mird..... | 228.250 |
| Wadi Murabba'at..... | 3270.450 |
| Minor Prophets Scroll..... | 2200.-000 |
| Cave 4, Qumran..... | 6316. 000 |
| Cave 11, Qumran..... | 48000. 000 |
| Total JD | 65641.900 |

The following factors deserve consideration in explanation of the museums' action:

- (1) As a scientific centre the museum had to act since there was, and still is, the grave danger that the collection of the manuscripts might be broken up and sold piecemeal to anyone who approached the Bedouin with cash in hand.
- (2) The Jordan government, though financially in dire straits, contributed very generously by acquiring for the government museum at Amman, manuscripts for JD 15,000.
- (3) The Jordan government do not allow, under any circumstances, manuscripts to go out of Jordan.

- (4) There is, however, a grave danger that manuscripts may be smuggled out of the country and in the course of clandestine deals become dispersed and lost, or damaged.
- (5) Unfortunately, also the monetary value of the scrolls still in their possession is well known to the Bedouin, particularly in view of the well-publicised purchase by Israel of the four scrolls from the Assyrian Archbishop for more than \$250,000.
- (6) The confidence of the Bedouin has been gained and kept by the Palestine Archaeological Museum through very difficult and delicate negotiations. The groundwork has thus been laid for the acquisition of the documents still held by the Bedouin when and if money becomes available to purchase the same. But any false step in the negotiations might result in loss or dispersal of these materials. There is urgent need to raise money to purchase these additional manuscripts before they are damaged or lost.³¹



A RAY OF HOPE FOR THE MUSEUM

1960

Nineteen sixty was a year of endings and beginnings. As we have seen, the publication of the scrolls was on the brink of being shut down by the end of 1959. Despite their best efforts neither de Vaux nor Kraeling nor anyone else had succeeded in securing further Rockefeller money for the museum, and thus for the Cave 4 Team. PAM and DAJ officials were scouring the world for buyers to ransom the Cave 11 materials out of the PAM vault, there were constant reports of more scrolls for sale on the market, and of course the Bedouin continued to search the Judaeen Desert.

Yusef Saad had by now been working with the Bechtels for nearly 10 years. Wisely, he turned to Mrs. Bechtel again, but not with a frontal approach:

Further to our conversation, I hereby confirm that this morning, 26 April I noted the disappearance of a fragment of Dead Sea Scroll from the batch whose decipherment had been entrusted to me.

—Father Jean Starcky

I trust by now you are back home after your “Globe Tour” and I hope you have enjoyed your trip. It was a pity that you stayed so short a time in our country. *Next time I will attend to you personally.*

I did run over the text of “Twenty-Third Psalm” which I return herewith. I enclose 16 black and white photographs to help illustrating the “Book.” The photographs are glossy for first-class reproduction. I am sending two prints of each of the 16 photographs and in case you need more or different ones please let me know.

Anything else I can do for you? I wish you would come again to our country with Mr. Bechtel and stay long enough to get you [to] meet these *shepherds and also my dear friends the “Bedouin”; they are simply lovely, very primitive but honest and true.*

By the way did you speak to our friend Mr. Bechtel about our “Psalm?” *I have put up a special exhibition for the Dead Sea Scrolls with the idea of raising funds.*¹

I have italicized all the things that Saad said and had done right. He was personal, he had taken time and gone to the expense to send her photographs she requested, he held out the promise of meeting some of the Bedouin, and he hinted at the need for funds. Well done! And it wasn't long before his approach bore fruit.

Mrs. Bechtel replied with thanks for his kindness and said that she had an “intense interest in the Psalms,” and that she and her husband “will always be thrilled to hear any news on the subject whenever you come across it!” And then, out of the blue, she continued, “We feel as you do that no one should rest until all the material is in capable hands—photographed, translated, and printed as source material for world historians. This material must all be processed for the good of world knowledge, understanding, and peace. How we would like to help! We want to help up to \$5,000 for further purchases—Mr. Bechtel says it must be handled in a tax-deductible manner. May we hear from you as soon as possible?”

“Please remember our abiding interest in Psalms in general. We await word from you.”²

It had worked—again. And Saad had been given an opening to acquire funding for the museum through the Cave 11 scrolls then sitting in the vault, for among the scrolls there was one, though as yet unopened, which was known to contain some Psalms.

Things moved fast now. Saad replied to Mrs. Bechtel on 2 February, thanking her both for the check to pay for photos he sent for her Psalms book, but also to thank her for the generous offer of \$5,000. Carefully but skillfully he turned her attention in a slightly different direction:

There is nothing we are more interested in than following through on the possibilities—indeed certainties—of bringing to light further source material of this quality. However, *before making any new purchases we feel the desperate need to replace the endowment funds used in buying the scrolls we already have.*³ We are now operating at a deficit of \$6,000 a year as a result of the use of these funds.

As you know, it was the purchase of the Cave 11 material from our endowment funds which brought about the financial difficulties we now face. I am enclosing a memorandum prepared for the trustees of the museum, explaining the reason for that action and the consequent situation. At the time we felt, and still feel, that the loss or scattering of these important documents should be prevented at all cost.

I feel that we do not really own the scrolls for which we borrowed funds from our capital investment. For instance, the Psalms Scroll cost us about \$60,000. I am wondering whether you and your husband would consider

buying this scroll and donating it to our museum for permanent display set up in your name. This could be done by contributing \$5,000 a year over a period of 12 years or in any way which you might choose. The scroll would then be known as the “BECHTEL PSALMS SCROLL.” This would enable us to replenish in part our endowment resources and give us a brighter outlook for the future. I trust you will not think me presumptuous in asking nor ungrateful for the kind offer you have made. Be assured that whatever gift you eventually present to the museum will be most gratefully received and used in whatever way you direct. I am sure that the American Schools of Oriental Research would be glad to receive the gift on behalf of the museum in order that it may be tax-deductible, as was done in 1953 with your former generous gift.⁴

There! He had said it and he must have sent this letter with some considerable degree of trepidation. It is important to notice how he phrased the offer, for we will see a change later in how the contributions for the Cave 11 materials were used to bring in funds. Saad said that in his opinion the museum did not really “own” the Psalms scroll, despite its having paid \$60,000⁵ for it, since the money to pay Kando came from the endowment. The reasoning was a little tenuous, but one can certainly see what he was thinking. His offer to the Bechtels was for a purchase combined with a “permanent loan” to the museum, for which they would receive a tax deduction (in that period probably about half the value) and naming rights, which he presumed to suggest.

Two weeks later Mrs. Bechtel replied with a counter-offer.

I am answering your letter of 2 February immediately because I feel the urgency of the matter at hand. We understand your position and do want to help although there are many steps yet to be taken and obstacles now seem difficult.

We would like you to consider seriously the following suggestions. Our opportunity to help you would be much facilitated if you could personally visit the United States, bringing the discussed manuscript. This would give us a chance to talk more fully and to secure the assistance of the best technical experts here in the reviewing, processing, and microfilming of the manuscript.

Because of our interest in this important matter, we are prepared to bear the cost of your travel by air, both ways, as well as your basic living expenses and travel within this country for the period of time necessary to make these contacts, provided that the cost does not exceed an amount to be agreed upon before you leave home.

We would do this only on the understanding that you would personally exhibit the manuscript to a selected university in the United States so that they could process it, microfilm it, and publish an adequate description of its

authenticity and contents. Net proceeds, if any, from the publication would go to defray costs of the university, and we or some other agency would arrange for the payment of any university expenses not covered.

Naturally, the manuscript remains yours and you and the museum would have all further rights of publication. We would want to join with you in the selection of the university so that we can both be satisfied that the manuscript will receive proper care and have the benefit of the best methods and scholarship available in this country.

We feel that this is the best action now and will, if accomplished, doubtless lead to further advantages. Publication by a recognised university here would stimulate interest in the manuscript and in the museum, as well as in the entire subject. While here you could make contacts with other persons and institutions who might be interested in supporting your work in various ways.

It is necessary for tax reasons for us to handle the payment of these expenses through the American Schools of Oriental Research. Consequently, our offer would be contingent upon handling it through them or some similar agency. However, we think this could be arranged.

We are also quite concerned about the financial predicament of the museum resulting from the purchases described in your letter and the depletion of the endowment. Consequently, if you were to come to the United States as outlined in this letter, we should like to discuss the possibility of additional substantial contributions to the museum. We would like to discuss a plan to make annual contributions to the museum (or to secure gifts from other sources) which would total \$60,000, the amount which you stated to be the cost involved in this particular matter. However, we would include within the \$60,000 maximum aggregate contribution the amounts which we had paid in connection with your trip to the United States, the handling of the manuscript, and publication by the university.

We ask that our correspondence be held entirely confidential and that there be no publicity releases made without our knowledge.

Please write as soon as possible. If you agree, we will begin talks with the proper authorities at the university and will make financial arrangements with the American Schools of Oriental Research. Naturally, we have said nothing of this to anyone and will not do so until we have word from you.

Please give us your views as to the universities in the United States which you think are best equipped and staffed to join us in this program.

I am convinced we are being jointly guided in a cause bigger than any of us as an individual.⁶

So it was not going to be as simple as Saad had envisioned. There are several kinds

of donors. There are the “give and forget” donors who give out of pure philanthropy and require neither recognition nor other consideration. There are the “give for the glory” donors who buy recognition with their contributions. And there are the “give and control” donors who buy with their contributions both recognition and control. The Bechtels started off in the first category in 1953. By 1960 Mrs. Bechtel may have begun to move to the latter category.⁷ Perhaps she intended to get as much mileage out of this contribution as possible, but then its size might have had something to do with that too, for this was an enormous amount of money in 1960.⁸

Nevertheless, theirs was a rather naïve proposal. The Psalms Scroll had not yet been unrolled; it would have to be “conserved” before it could travel anywhere. Mounting an exhibition is a very expensive and logistically complicated proposition, and most universities have neither the facilities nor the money nor the experience for this sort of thing. Finally, there was no reason to take it to the United States when the center of the expertise concerning scrolls was Jerusalem.

Still, it was progress. The offer was taken under serious consideration and consultations were undertaken to see if the Bechtels’ wishes could be accommodated.

Meanwhile, galvanized into action by the looming loss of Rockefeller funds, de Vaux continued to focus on the publication of DJD. He wrote Allegro in February to remind him that he had promised to have his scrolls ready for publication by June. He asked him once again to send his transcriptions so that Oxtoby could enter them in the Card Concordance, and reported as well that he had recommended to the University of Manchester that it provide a grant for Allegro to work in Jerusalem during the 1960 Easter holidays.⁹ Allegro replied with thanks, saying he would be coming and would bring the material for Oxtoby with him.¹⁰

A few days later Cross wrote to Allegro to inform him of a most unfortunate incident:

Recently I had a streak of unusually bad fortune. A fanatically overzealous cleaning man removed from my office a file gathered for nearly 10 years of reprints, marginalia, and notes relating to Qumran studies. My own stupidity facilitated what was to me a tragedy. I had been working and had laid out in neat piles on the floor of my study all the materials I wanted to use in making a second edition of *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, and the janitor assumed that my neat arrangements were to facilitate his cleaning operation; at all events, he incinerated the collection.

Among the things lost were, if I remember correctly, reprints from you, either sent through your kindness or gathered by me indirectly. I should be most grateful if through your aid I could gather at least part of your materials again. I know that frequently all reprints are distributed when they first appear, and indeed that materials are, after all, available in sundry journals. But if by chance your important short articles, which are not otherwise available

by purchase, remain in your hands, it would greatly facilitate my work if I could have them once again for my files.

Please ignore this if your reprints are not at hand or if some difficulty would be involved in your mailing them to me.¹¹

Allegro answered that his reprints were all gone and he was sorry to hear about the calamity, “the sort of thing one dreams of, and wakes up screaming”¹²

The trustees of the PAM were not idle either. A. Sjolín, board member from the Swedish Legation in Beirut had been working to find a way to interest Swedish contributors in joining the effort to replenish the endowment. He had suggested that perhaps a contribution from a Swedish source could result in inviting a young Swedish scholar to act for a time as an assistant “in the work of preparing the publication of the scrolls.” “High qualifications are not required,” Saad replied, “but a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic is wanted.”¹³ Alternately, such a young scholar might want to study archaeology alone or combine archaeological training with work on the Dead Sea Scroll.¹⁴

What a wonderful idea! Had this sort of idea been offered to several selected institutions it might have resulted in considerable immediate funding! Although it might seem rather mercenary to sell the privilege of working on the scrolls or just be in the museum and watch, from a practical standpoint it could have worked and the net result both for scholarship and the museum itself might have been most salutary.

By the middle of March Saad had made his inquiries about Mrs. Bechtel’s proposal, and was ready to take up the matter again.

Please pardon my delay in replying to your good letter of 15 February. It was necessary to consult with the trustees of the museum who are in Jordan and to have some preliminary explanatory conversations in strictest confidence with high Jordanian officials in order to determine their attitude to the proposal to take the Psalms scrolls out of Jordan. I am now confident that this can be arranged with guarantee of safe return.

The trustees consulted are willing to have the manuscript brought to any university you choose. Since you ask advice on this point I would suggest Harvard University, where are the Semitic Museum and the Fogg Museum, which are very well equipped to handle the processing of the scroll. Professor Frank M. Cross, Jr. of Harvard University is a member of the international team of scholars who is preparing the scrolls for publication. He is the leading American specialist on the Dead Sea Scrolls and is eminently qualified to give the description of the contents of the Scroll and authentication which you desire.

We agree that the university of your choice may publish a preliminary

report on the Scroll, pending the final publication of the text by the museum in the series *DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT*.

The matter of the tax deduction, I am sure, can be worked out with the American Schools of Oriental Research through Professor W. L. Reed, executive assistant to the president

As for travel arrangements and expenses, I am willing to follow your advice because I have no experience in international travel and have no idea of living costs in the United States. My rough estimate is that it would cost in the neighbourhood of \$1,200 (economy class) to fly from Jerusalem to Los Angeles, California and return. What travels it would be necessary to make in the United States in connection with the Scroll is difficult to estimate at this point. I should be glad if you would fix a figure.

In view of the importance of this matter to the museum both in its regular program and in the work on the scrolls, you will appreciate our concern that there be no misunderstanding. As I interpret your letter, you would be willing in case you are satisfied as to the authenticity of the scroll, to refund to the museum the cost of the scroll, the sum of \$60,000, deducting the cost of the trip and other incidental expenses from this amount. I have no doubts as to the authenticity and value of the scroll, which has already been appraised by the scrollery team at the museum. The permission to take the scroll from Jordan will involve negotiations with the highest circles of the Jordan government. So you will understand that if I come to the United States with the scroll, I am anxious to have my mission succeed. The failure of the venture would put me in an embarrassing position in respect to my trustees and the Jordan government.

Provision would have to be made for the care of the museum before I could leave. This, however, can be arranged by Père de Vaux, president of the board of trustees, and with the help of Professor M. H. Pope, director of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, who is also a trustee.

It will take some time to make all the necessary arrangements and obtain permission to take the scroll from Jordan. If possible, I should like to come at the end of April or beginning of May next.¹⁵

Saad had apparently found a way to accommodate every one of Mrs. Bechtel's conditions. The possibility that with one contribution the immediate financial difficulties of the museum could be overcome must have given everyone there considerable hope. All they could do now was wait.

The next day J. L. Swauger of the Carnegie Museum in Philadelphia wrote to say that he had come up with a lead about possible funding "to purchase Dead Sea Scrolls from the Bedouin for deposit in your museum." He requested a meeting to

discuss it during his forthcoming trip to Jerusalem.¹⁶ Naturally Saad was cordial and would be glad to see Swauger, but he was careful to make it clear that whatever was bought must stay in Jordan.

May I take this opportunity and mention for your guidance that the Jordan government do not allow, under any circumstances, manuscripts to go out of Jordan. This would mean buying scrolls and donating them to our museum for a permanent display set up in the name of the donor.¹⁷

This did not really contradict what he had told Mrs. Bechtel a few days before because even if the Psalms scroll were taken to the States for conservation or display, it would return to Jerusalem. In the end, despite months of trying, Swauger was unable to secure any funding.¹⁸

It took only 11 days for letters to make the round trip from Jerusalem to California. But now there was trouble. While Saad, de Vaux, and the others at the museum had been carrying on these discreet negotiation with the Bechtels, Awni Dajani, the new director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan had shown up in California and was doing some fund-raising on his own. It was totally out of place, completely unwise, and it threatened the whole arrangement with the Bechtels. The entire incident was rather mysterious, but for the moment Mrs. Bechtel was angry and the source of her anger was a newspaper article by David Perlman in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 March 1960, entitled "Shepherd and the Oilman: Big Gift by Pauley Will Save Dead Sea Scrolls." It is necessary to read the entire article to understand what happened next.

A shepherd boy who still tends his flock in the Judaeian wilderness of Jordan, and a California oil magnate with a half-million dollars to spend, may be the links that bind the ancient biblical past to the modern world.

The boy, who lost a goat in 1947, tossed a rock into a cave to see if the goat had wandered in, and found the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The oilman, Edwin W. Pauley of Beverly Hills, who made his fortune out of petroleum's technological revolution, is about to provide \$500,000 so that Jordan can purchase and preserve the priceless relics of 2,000 years ago.

News of the impending gift to Jordan was brought here yesterday by Dr. Awni Khalil Dajani, an archaeologist and director of the Jordan government's Department of Antiquities.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are a fabled collection of religious writings, apparently written by priests of a Hebrew sect called the Essenes. The texts were inscribed on leather, papyrus and even copper between 150 BC and 70 AD.

They include full renderings in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic of some of the

books of the Old Testament and have proved for the first time that the Bible was written in times contemporary with those the Old Testament described.

As Dr. Dajani, a scholar of world renown who was educated in Lebanon and London, put it: “The scrolls are of unparalleled, enormous historical and religious significance.”

The small shepherd who found the first tattered fragments in a pottery jar hidden in a cave took his find to a cobbler in Jerusalem.

The cobbler paid him a small sum, and asked for more. The boy obliged, and so did other members of his Bedouin tribe. Suddenly the scrolls became more priceless than jewels.

The cobbler sold them to scholars; a brisk smuggling trade began. Most of them ended up in Jordan’s museum of antiquities; some are now in Israel.

The boy is still a shepherd.

“The cobbler’s pockets are bulging,” he smiled, “but his cobbling shop is still covered with cobwebs and he still wears the same tarboosh. But maybe the cobwebs are there only because he is afraid of the income tax.”

Dr Dajani did not disclose Pauley’s name, but it was not hard to figure who it might be.

Pauley himself confirmed his negotiations in a telephone conversation with the *Chronicle* from Mexico. He said he is still conferring with the Jordanian government and hopes to be able to announce the gift soon. What the final cost of purchasing the scroll will be, he did not know.

Pauley journeyed to Jordan recently, visited the wilderness caves where the scrolls were found, and saw the scrolls themselves. He saw the immense cooperative effort now going on among scholars of all nations who are deciphering, translating, and interpreting the Essene writings.

“He [Pauley] became convinced how important it is to preserve every fragment, and now he is about to help us. It will be a wonderful gift,” Dr. Dajani said.

Dr. Dajani also said yesterday that as a small token in [appreciation]¹⁹ he has promised officials at the M. H. de Young Museum that Jordan will send to San Francisco a collection of ancient artifacts.

The museum showcase full of art objects will include pottery, coins, and glassware ranging in age from the biblical era of Abraham to early Moslem times.

Dr. Dajani is visiting San Francisco for a week during a four-month United States trip sponsored by the State Department. While here he is conferring with local archeologists, with historians, and biblical experts.²⁰

It does not take much imagination to realize what a firestorm this article set off in a number of quarters, for a variety of reasons. Even allowing for all the inaccuracies

that inevitably, inadvertently creep into an article such as this, it was so inaccurate on crucial points it makes one cringe. Beyond this, its very publication was damaging. And what in the world was the new director of the Department of Antiquities, now in office only a matter of weeks, doing on a “four-month” tour of the United States “sponsored by the State Department”? Something was very wrong indeed.

Mrs. Bechtel, who lived close to San Francisco, but saw this article perhaps a few days later, was completely puzzled, especially when she got Saad’s 14 March letter written in Jerusalem three days after the article appeared on 11 March. When she received Saad’s letter on 23 March she sent him a telegram immediately:

March 14 letter received. Confused over recent California negotiations. Advise immediately if our help still needed as outlined. Elizabeth Bechtel.

Saad received it the next day (according to the postmark) and wired back immediately:

Help still needed as outlined. No knowledge of recent California negotiations concerning museum.²¹

Two days later Mrs. Bechtel sent Saad a letter, again asking for an explanation and hinting that if the article were true, their money would apparently not be needed by the museum. The Bechtels were ready to bow out.

I am enclosing the newspaper clippings of the recent visit of Dr. Dajani to California—he is still apparently touring the United States regarding the scrolls. Apparently some representative of our State Department tried to contact me. I finally called Dr. Dajani in Los Angeles and he said all problems were solved and that your board of directors had written me. If you are not to receive this tremendous fund from Pauley, it is a shame. The publicity will badly hurt our cause.

Mr. Bechtel now wants to know just where everything stands—he was also out of town during Dr. Dajani’s visit. Naturally I had taken your cause to Mr. Bechtel as urgent. We feel our plan as corroborated by you will work. We would choose Professor Cross of Harvard University and will follow your suggestions as to contact. But Mr. Bechtel must have a letter of clarification immediately.

If Mr. Pauley can be interested, he has limitless funds and is the one to help. We await word from you—also an explanation of the gift of artifacts to the De Young Museum.

...P.S. We agree that all details must be outlined before you leave. Again I say this publicity is regrettable if untrue.²²

There were some frantic and lengthy discussions in Jerusalem and Amman. Saad did not reply, not even to the telegram, until 13 April. He, too, was puzzled.

On receiving your letter and clipping I consulted with the president of the board of trustees and the trustees residing in Jerusalem and Amman. As far as we can determine from here, no one has any knowledge of the reported gift. The U.S. ambassador who is a trustee of our museum has heard nothing of such a gift. The ambassador made inquiries through channels in the United States and received the answer that the son of the donor had no knowledge of the reported gift by his father, who is now out of the country. I inquired of the acting director of the Jordan Department of Antiquities and he also knew nothing except the report of a local paper derived from the American paper. No word whatever has yet come from Dr. Dajani to the board of trustees of our museum concerning the alleged solution to the museum's problems. As secretary of the board and curator of the museum I would certainly be the one to receive a letter addressed to the museum and no letter of any sort has come to the museum from Dr. Dajani.

Neither has any letter been sent to you by the board of trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, as Dr. Dajani apparently gave you to understand. *Dr. Dajani is Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan and was invited by the U.S. State Department to come to America. He was not authorised to make any negotiations or arrangements on behalf of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. Any negotiations or arrangements affecting the Palestine Archaeological Museum would have to be handled by the board of trustees of which Dr. Dajani is a member.*

We are at a loss here to understand just what is going on. The situation remains unchanged as far as the president, secretary of the board and curator of the museum, and the other trustees consulted have any knowledge.

I can understand your confusion at the reports, and I am sure you can imagine our own dismay at receiving your letter and clipping. I apologise for the delay in answering your letter, but it was necessary to consult with the trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. I trust that the confusion will be cleared up soon. In the meantime, pending clarification of the unconfirmed report, we will be grateful if you consider the original proposals and project still valid.²³

Saad made sure that Mrs. Bechtel knew exactly where the lines of authority lay and differentiated between the *private* Palestine Archaeological Museum and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan once again. The lines of distinction were apparently not so clear in Dajani's mind. It was not an auspicious beginning for the new director of the DAJ.

But beyond Dajani's blunder, something else does not make sense. What could the reporter for the *Chronicle* have possibly gained by lying about his contact with Pauley in Mexico and fabricating Pauley's statement that he was interested in the scrolls? And if it was a fabrication, how would he have known, accurately, that Pauley was, in fact, in Mexico? But the Pauley family steadfastly continued to deny the report: The American ambassador to Jordan, Sheldon Mills, who was a trustee of the museum, wrote to Saad the day before Easter:

With further reference to the message I sent through your Consulate General, I am now advised that according to the son of Ed Pauley, his father has made no offer for Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the University of California Board of Regents, of which Mr. Pauley Senior is a member, may be interested.

I have been asked to have further inquiries on this subject made through nongovernmental channels. I therefore suggest that perhaps Dr. Pope can pick up the ball and make inquiries through some colleague at the University of California, or through someone at Yale.²⁴

At Ambassador Mills' suggestion de Vaux now got involved and wrote to Professor J. B. Prichard of the University of California, Berkeley. After summarizing the *Chronicle* article, de Vaux said:

According to the letter you wrote to me on 12 March, you saw Awni at Berkeley just when he was making a statement to the press. Could you tell us if he spoke to you about this donation, whom it is from, whom it is for, and for what purpose it has been given? If Awni did not tell you anything, is it possible for you to know if the information published by the press has any basis, and—Mr. Pauley does not seem to be personally involved—if the University of California is involved in this matter?

At a time when we are trying to set up the budget for the museum for next year, and when we are faced with a large deficit, you will understand that we would like to know what truth there is in this story, and the possible benefit that the museum would gain from it. I would really appreciate it if you could reply to me as soon as possible.²⁵

Prichard replied on 27 April:

I have received your letter of 18 April with regard to the Pauley affair. I am enclosing a copy of the news story written by Mr. Perlman, although you have probably seen this particular clipping.

When Awni arrived here our State Department representative arranged

a press conference for him and I was present. The subject of the scrolls came up and Awni spoke of the need for money and his hopes that someone might be interested here in making a donation. His expression of hope that he might find a donor was twisted around to suggest that one had been found. To Awni's surprise the papers guessed that Pauley might be the man—my impression is that Awni had not heard of Mr. Pauley—and telephoned him in Mexico City. What they apparently got from him there is published in the news account. Awni knew nothing about any negotiations with the Jordanian government, apparently. In fact, another newspaper reporter whom I know told me that Pauley said he had never heard of Dr. Dajani. The next day I asked one of the members of the Department of Near Eastern Languages at the University of California if he knew of any negotiations. He did not.

My guess is that the entire story is pretty much a fabrication of the press. The only good thing about it is the information that Pauley seems to be interested in the scrolls. But nobody here with whom I have talked, including Awni, seems to know anything about the affair. I shall see an officer of the administration of the university in the next few days and will make further inquiry. Should I learn anything useful I shall communicate with you immediately. If you think of anything I can do by way of service to the scroll project before I leave here on 4 June, please let me know.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Jerusalem about 14 June. With every good wish and most cordial greetings.²⁶

While this affair was still unresolved, disaster befell the scrollerly. On 26 April 1960 Father Starcky, a member of the Cave 4 Team working often in the scrollerly at the museum, wrote to Saad:

Further to our conversation, I hereby confirm that this morning, 26 April, I noted the *disappearance of a fragment of Dead Sea Scroll* from the batch whose decipherment had been entrusted to me. It appears on the photo PAM 41.894 at the bottom left corner and measures 6x9 centimeters. It was on my work table in the archive room of the museum between two plates of glass, and I had seen it again on Saturday, April 23. I did not work at the museum on Sunday and Monday.²⁷

What a shock!²⁸ And this was only the beginning. Strugnell wrote to Saad on 29 April 1960:

This morning at 1 p.m. [sic] I happened to notice that the large piece of the archaic manuscript of Samuel from Cave 4, which was bought for the museum by McCormick Seminary in 1958, was no longer on the plate where

it had been. It was the largest piece on the plate—the other smaller pieces were still there. The plate was the top one in a pile, and my attention was drawn to it because it was slightly out of alignment with the rest of the pile. The plate was almost certainly sealed in two places with Scotch tape at the time of the theft: the thief broke one of these with an object blunter than a razor blade, and took the largest piece. The fragment was certainly in place on Saturday, 16 April, and I believe (I will check this) that I also noticed it on Thursday, 21 April.

P.S. (30 April) That afternoon I noticed the further loss of three pieces from Daniel^c; there too the plate was the top one in a pile—it had been opened in the same way—and the largest pieces taken.²⁹ The date which I last remember seeing it is, again Saturday, 16 April.³⁰

There follows a statement in Yusef Saad's handwriting on the same page:

Immediately on receipt of this report and the report of Abbé Starcky I called Père de Vaux. We discussed the matter with Mr. Strugnell and Abbé Starcky and made detailed inquiries. We failed to find any indication that the manuscripts mentioned in the report of Mr. Strugnell and Abbé Starcky might have been mislaid and finally decided that the manuscripts mentioned in the report of Mr. Strugnell and Abbé Starcky were stolen.

It was impossible to establish who was the culprit. Over Easter season, a large number of tourists had access to the room where the manuscripts were kept, in addition to those who normally go there and it was impossible to determine the time of the loss with sufficient precision.³¹

As precise as they could be about the theft was sometime during Sunday–Monday 24–25 April, 1960.

Thus, five pieces from three different plates were stolen, all biblical: one of Deuteronomy, one of Samuel, and three of Daniel. These have never been recovered. The most serious loss was Samuel^b, recently published from photographs in DJD 17 by Cross. Strangely, this incident is never mentioned again in any of the records that survived in the PAM archives.

The whole incident begs analysis. First, it was either an inside job, or the theft was perpetrated by a visitor. There was no break-in. Second, one is inclined to think that whoever did it knew what to pick or had incredible luck, since the biblical materials were so much more valuable. Third, it was done in such a way that it took some time and it could not have been done with anyone else in the room without it having been noticed. Fourth, whoever did it did not intend to take as much as he could. The theft was selective—almost “made to order.” Fifth, the police were not called in to investigate, nor was the most

rudimentary step of checking the glass plates for fingerprints ever taken.³² Sixth, Saad's statement sounds strange and perfunctory. For something as valuable as these scroll fragments one would have expected more of Saad than just "It was impossible to establish who was the culprit" without a thorough and lengthy investigation.

Reasonable explanations to all the above questions might exist. Although I am by nature more given to ridiculing than accepting conspiracies and conspiracy theorists, I have also been struck by the fact that this theft came just a few weeks after the strange events surrounding Awni Dajani's visit in California. There are several ways to look at the anomalies in the story in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. One can just dismiss the whole thing as a creative invention by an overzealous, dishonest journalist. This is the conclusion Pritchard came to, the one he expressed to de Vaux. But perhaps he was led too easily to that conclusion.

The major anomalies he chose to dismiss were (1) a specific amount of money was mentioned (\$500,000); (2) the name of a particular person (Pauley) was involved; (3) a physical location for that person was later confirmed (Mexico) and (4) a gift was promised to a specific museum (the De Young Museum in San Francisco).

First, the money. Why this amount? It is too large, which leads one to think that if indeed Pauley had spoken to someone about purchasing scrolls, it was not going to be a legitimate deal. It was going to be "under the table," the kind of arrangement that might grossly inflate the price.

Second, why Pauley and how did the reporter know that he was in Mexico? There were plenty of oil magnates in California. Pauley, though very wealthy and well connected was not necessarily so famous above all others that the reporter would have found it easy to guess who he was even though, he says, Dajani did not reveal the name. This leads us to believe that Dajani or someone else provided some other hint that made it possible for the reporter to call Los Angeles, speak to the son, and find that the elder Pauley was in Mexico (later confirmed, as we said).

Finally, where did the idea of giving away or even just bringing antiquities come from? Was this going to be a fund-raising tool too?

One can take all the elements above and weave them into several possible stories. It is entirely reasonable to imagine that someone might have valued five separate pieces of Dead Sea Scroll fragments, all biblical, at \$100,000 each. If there was that kind of money on the table it would have been hard for some workers in the museum or officials who had access to the museum to resist. And a "made to order" theft would have been easy. In the end, it was.

There is no proof for any of this. By the same token, I haven't found any satisfying answers for all the parts of the story that simply don't add up. Most of all, I cannot understand why it was never turned over to the police for investigation (at least as far as the records show).

Meanwhile, on the Israeli side there had been considerable excitement. As we said

in the previous chapter, preliminary investigation of the region around En Gedi had begun as early as 1954 and the “Cave of Horrors” was discovered in 1955. An expedition under Y. Aharoni explored Nahal Se’elim during 25 January–2 February 1960. A



Kibbutz Ein Gedi and Nahal Arugot, looking west across the Judaean Desert toward Bethlehem. Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Prof. Todd Bolen, courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelanstaltung.de

full-scale expedition to explore the area between En Gedi and Masada was mounted on 23 March with four teams taking separate areas. The “Cave of the Letters” (Cave 5/6) in Nahal Hever was excavated by Yadin until 6 April 1960, during which he dis-

covered the first of the “Bar-Kokhba letters.” A further expedition 14–27 March 1961 discovered the “Babata Archive” and land contracts originally from En Gedi. Although there were small numbers of biblical texts found in the area, most of the rather large



caches were personal letters or business documents.³³ Because of the difficulty of communication between Israel and Jordan in those days, and the very large number of fragments found at Qumran, the important discoveries in Israel during this period did not get the attention they deserved. The full implications of these materials have still not made themselves felt on the wider world of scholarship, perhaps because of the way they were published.

Meanwhile, in East Jerusalem the museum continued in financial straits and had lost five scroll fragments, but the Bechtel deal was still in play. Saad received a telegram from Mrs. Bechtel on 8 May:

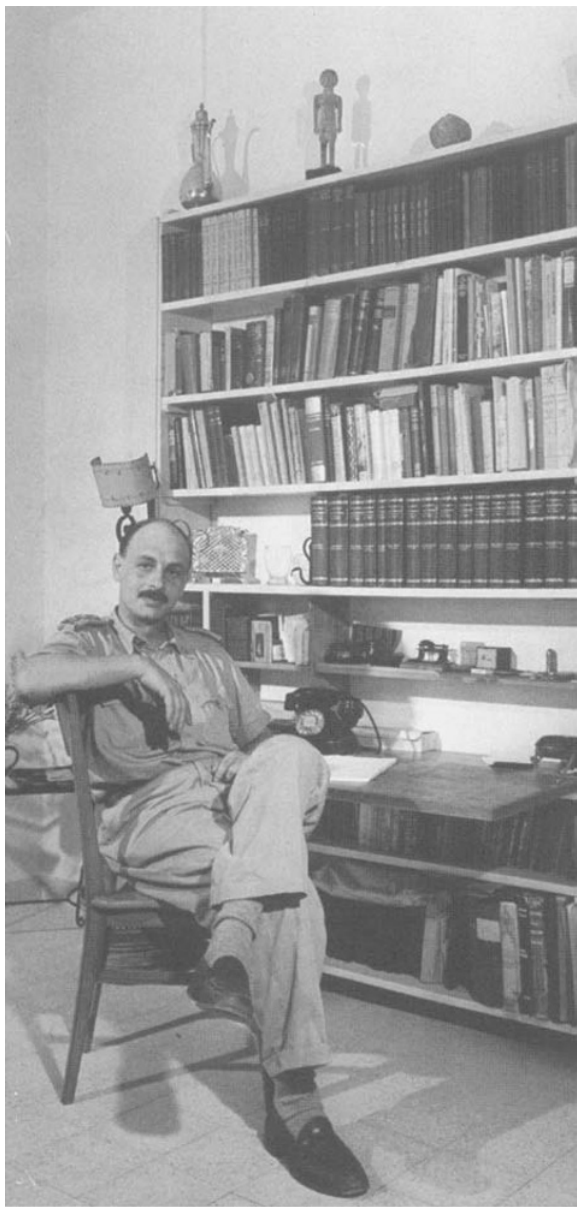
Our representatives here working on technical difficulties scroll contribution but hoping can soon confirm support. Pledge along lines our previous correspondence.³⁴

However, the Bechtels still wanted an explanation about Dajani. By the second week of May Saad attempted to placate them. He quoted an excerpt from Pritchard’s letter as the position of the museum on the Dajani affair, and conveyed thanks from the trustees for the interest they took in the museum.

“The trustees,” Saad said, “wanted me also to express their deep regret for the confusion created by the reported gift and the trouble and the inconvenience which it caused to you. We earnestly trust that by now that confusion is getting somehow clarified. I am instructed to inform you that as far as our trustees are concerned the situation remains unchanged. They would, therefore, be happy and

grateful if you would consider the original proposals and project still valid.”³⁵ Now Saad had to wait again.

At the same time M. Pope, now director of ASOR and a member of the trustees



Yigael Yadin who excavated Masada and the Cave of the Letters in Nahal Heveer. John Phillips//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

An overview of Masada, an ancient mountaintop fortress in the Judean Desert, Israel. Renovated by Herod the Great, it was seized in the year 66 by Jewish Zealots at the beginning of their revolt against Rome. After a siege AD 72-73 and an extended battle with Roman soldiers, all but two women and five children killed themselves to escape capture. © Bettmann/CORBIS





of the PAM contacted the Arabian-American Oil Co. (ARAMCO), just as Harding had done unsuccessfully some years before.

As director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, I am an ex officio trustee of the Palestine Archaeological Museum and, along with the U.S. ambassador to Jordan, Mr. Sheldon Mills, and other trustees, I have been trying to find means to enable the museum to remain in operation and to carry forward its work on the Qumran documents, which are of vital interest and importance, not only to Jordan and the other Arab states, but to the world at large. The phenomenal popular interest in the "Dead Sea Scrolls," as they are commonly called, is a matter that has more than academic import. Zionist propaganda has created, among other false notions, a widespread impression that the scrolls are their sole property and concern. I think it is safe to say that the documents rescued by the Palestine Archaeological Museum, especially those of Caves 4 and 11, are of a great or greater import than all that has been previously published. The propaganda value of these documents for Jordan and the other Arab states has not been fully exploited.

An international team of scholars working at the museum have very nearly completed preparation of the materials from Cave 4 for publication. The documents from Cave 11, however, remain unstudied because the special grant from Mr. John D. Rockefeller in support of this work will expire next month and there is no provision for the continuation of the work. Among the very important documents of Cave 11 are the book of Leviticus (in archaic script), the Psalms, and an Aramaic translation of the Book of Job. This text of Job is in all probability the long-lost Targum which St. Paul's teacher, Gamaliel II, condemned as heretical. This text will be of tremendous interest for biblical scholars and its early publication is urgent. (I myself am especially interested in this Targum of Job because I am preparing a new translation of the Book of Job, with introduction and notes, for the Anchor Bible Series.) An embarrassing fact is that there is not in Jordan the money to buy and publish these documents. The Palestine Archaeological Museum has had to do what it could in this respect.

It is an open secret that there remain in the hands of the Bedouin other precious documents and these must be acquired for the honour and prestige of Jordan and the other Arab states, as well as for the sake of scholars who are anxious to study them. The longer these documents remain outstanding, the greater the danger that they may be lost, damaged, destroyed, or smuggled out of the country. In the latter eventuality, the hurt to Jordan would be considerable.

The enclosed report on the museum was prepared for the use of the trust-

ees in their attempt to secure financial assistance for the museum's work on the scrolls. There are many points which could and perhaps should be elaborated, but I do not wish to make this letter too long. The best idea we have had so far is that of seeking funds from foundations and private donors to reimburse the museum for the documents it has already bought and to enable it to rescue the documents still outstanding. I appeal to you, therefore, in the hope that Aramco may be interested in reimbursing the museum for some of the scrolls it has already acquired and/or offering to buy new documents. You may be assured that Mr. Yusef Saad and Père Roland de Vaux, who negotiated the purchase of the hundreds of manuscripts and fragments from the Bedouin, are best equipped to continue this rescue operation. There is, however, no hope of acquiring more documents without considerable outlay of money. The Bedouin know the monetary value of what they have, since they have heard of the amount paid by Israel for the four scrolls of Cave 1 and know what was paid by the Palestine Archaeological Museum for the materials from Caves 4 and 11.

I know that as secretary of the Donation Committee of Aramco you must have many other requests for aid, but I commend to you this concern for the salvage of priceless document of the history of this Holy Land. I need not spell out for you the ancillary benefits that such a project would furnish to the Arab nation and indirectly to Aramco. I would be pleased to write you in further detail on this matter if you are interested. If it would help the case in any way, I would be willing to come to Dhahran to discuss the matter in detail with you and your committee.³⁶

Unfortunately, the answer was negative.³⁷

On 4 June 1960 an identical letter was sent to McGill University in Montreal, McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, Ruprecht Karls University (Heidelberg University), the Vatican Library in Rome, and the University of Manchester. We take as an example the one sent to the Vatican Library:

The Vatican Library, with other institutions, helped to preserve the manuscripts from the fourth Cave at Qumran by offering the funds for the purchase of a group of these fragments. These institutions agreed that all the fragments should remain at the Palestine Archaeological Museum for so long as the work of preparing them for publication would last: for each purchase brought in mixed groups, and it was indispensable to keep these all together in order to identify and join the fragment from different purchases which belonged to the same manuscript. It was understood that when this work of reassembling the manuscripts was finished and the decipherment complete,

each institution would receive as its property a group of manuscripts which would correspond, both in quantity and in quality, to the financial contribution that it had made.

This work of preparing the fragments for publication has been carried on over the last seven years by an international and interconfessional group of specialists, and it has been supported financially by institutions other than those which contributed to the purchase of the fragments. It has taken longer than we had foreseen, because we had underestimated the difficulties of the operation, and also because further fragments, which had to be identified and placed in the manuscripts from which they came, were still being bought as late as 1958. The institutions who put up money for the purchase of manuscripts have, however, in the end gained by this delay, in that they will own rational groupings of identified and more completely restored documents.

This work in the Palestine Archaeological Museum on the fragments themselves is now drawing to an end, and the manuscripts which fall to your institution's lot will be at your disposal at any time after the end of the current month, June 1960. A list of the texts in your lot was sent to you in 1956 by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. This list had a provisional character but subsequent study has necessitated very few changes in it. These will be pointed out to you at the moment when you take possession of your manuscripts; they are the results either of a better understanding of the texts, or of subsequent purchases of fragments, and they merely add to the value of your lot.

The Palestine Archaeological Museum asks you to nominate a representative who will come personally to Jerusalem to take delivery of your lot, supervise its packing and see to its despatching. The fragments will be handed over to him in the same condition in which the museum preserves them, in other words, flattened, grouped together according to the manuscript to which they belong, and kept between plates of glass. This arrangement has guaranteed their preservation in good condition in the dry climate of Jerusalem, and it will suffice for their transport abroad. It has, however, a provisional character and each institution in consultation with its technical advisers must take those measures of conservation which will suit its different climate and conditions. As for packing, the museum has designed a type of box which would protect the manuscripts during transport, and it can have such boxes made at the expense of any institution which so desires.

Although the purchasing institutions accepted that the manuscripts should stay at the Palestine Archaeological Museum for so long as the work of preparing their publication should last, your lot will be handed over to you before the volumes of the *editio princeps* of the Cave 4 manuscripts appear,

in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. You will, however, understand that the Palestine Archaeological Museum has a duty to protect the scientific rights of the editors who have worked under its auspices. It is obliged therefore to put the following limits to the use that you will make of these manuscripts in the immediate future. (1) Public exhibition should only be made of texts already published. (2) No other scholar should be authorised to study or publish texts until the *editio princeps* appears. (3) No photographs of these unpublished texts should be given to other scholars until the *editio princeps* appears.

These rules are not as strict as they might at first seem: your lot contains pieces which have already been edited in preliminary publications, and which are therefore exempt from these restrictions. These pieces will be indicated on the definitive list that your representative will receive. Their number will increase rapidly as each volume of the edition is published, and these volumes will not be long in appearing: the two volumes containing the biblical manuscripts should be given to the printer during the coming year, and the three or four volumes of nonbiblical texts will be ready in the following two years.

Your representative will take possession of your lot in return for a written declaration accepting these conditions and discharging the Palestine Archaeological Museum of its responsibilities past and future towards you.

However, this museum is equally responsible towards the Jordan government for these manuscripts, and consequently it cannot let the manuscripts leave the museum except when you have obtained from the competent authorities a permit to export the same. Your institution must make an official request for this permit to the director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Amman. The director will submit the request to the Minister of National Education who will sign the permit. When it authorised foreign institutions to take part in the buying of the fragments from Cave 4, the Jordan government explicitly committed itself to permit such export after completion of the study of the manuscripts in Jerusalem. In support of your request you should accordingly present photostats of your official correspondence with the Department of Antiquities in Jordan concerning (a) the purchase of the fragments, (b) the manuscripts assigned to you, i.e., the division list; but you should not present copies of your correspondence (if any) with the Palestine Archaeological Museum, which is not an organ of the government. We hope that no difficulty will arise in the granting of the export permit. If it does, the Palestine Archaeological Museum would not be qualified to intervene and you should request assistance from your country's diplomatic representative accredited to Jordan.

It may be that the conditions set to your purchase and the long delay may have appeared disagreeable to your institution. You may be sure that the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the editors have done all in their power to limit this delay. At the moment when you are about to reap the harvest of this patient waiting, I would like to express to you, in the name of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, of those scholars who have been preparing the edition of the manuscripts, and of all scholars who will use their work with advantage, our sincerest thanks for the help that you have given us in the task of saving and restoring documents of such great interest.³⁸

A few days later de Vaux wrote a letter of explanation to “The Director of Antiquities,” who was Awni Dajani, but he did not address him by name. If Dajani stayed the entire term of his “four-month” trip in the States he would not yet have returned to Jordan. This letter also is an important part of history, repeating some of what de Vaux said to the supporting institutions, but also revealing much additional information:

I beg to report on the work done at the Palestine Archaeological Museum on the manuscript fragments from Qumran Cave 4.

This cave was discovered, and the best part of it cleared, by Bedouin in September 1952. It was immediately located and regularly excavated by a joint expedition of the Jordan Department of Antiquities, the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the French Archaeological School, between 22 and 29 September, 1952. The excavation itself recovered several hundreds of fragments but the largest part of the discovery was already in Bedouin hands and had to be bought from them.

On the proposal of the director of Antiquities, the Jordan government allotted 15,000 dinars for this purchase, but this sum was not sufficient to acquire all the fragments. As, at that time, the government was not in a position to make a new grant, the Council of Ministers took in 1953 a decision to the effect that *bona fide* foreign institutions would be authorised to buy the remaining fragments under the following conditions: (1) the purchases would be negotiated by the director of Antiquities himself, using the money sent by the aforesaid institutions; (2) all the fragments would be kept at the Palestine Archaeological Museum for so long as the work of preparing them for publication should last, the editing work being entrusted to an international and interconfessional team of scholars, acceptable to the Department of Antiquities; (3) at the end of this work of reassembling and deciphering the fragments, each institution would receive as its property not the mixed lot actually bought with their financial contribution but a group of manuscripts which would correspond, both in quality and in quantity, to the amount of their contribution.

The institutions which answered the call of the director of Antiquities were successively:

McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Vatican Library, Rome

Manchester University, England

Heidelberg University, Germany

McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, United States

The total amount of their contributions was larger than the sum first allotted by the government.

The following scholars were progressively attached to the editing team: J. T. Milik (Pole); F. M. Cross Jr. (American); J. M. Allegro (British); J. Starcky (French); P. W. Skehan (American); J. Strugnell (British); C.-H. Hunzinger (German); M. Baillet (French).

Their expenses and salaries were covered by organisations other than the institutions which contributed to the purchase of the fragments: the “Centre National de la recherche scientifique” (France), the “Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft” (Germany), the British Treasury and others. Foremost was a special gift from the late [d. 11 May 1960] John D. Rockefeller Jr.³⁹ to the Palestine Archaeological Museum designated for the study of the manuscripts: it covered the material expenses involved in preparing the fragments, the salary of the photographer, and the stipend of several of the scholars. Apart from administering this donation, the Palestine Archaeological Museum gave every kind of assistance to the work, the facilities of its premises and of its library, the use of its photographic laboratory, etc.

The work was, indeed, carried out, by invitation of the director of Antiquities under the auspices of the Palestine Archaeological Museum; its trustees were regularly kept informed of the progress of the work and they constantly supported it.

In spring 1956, the task of classifying and identifying the fragments was advanced enough to enable the director of Antiquities to draw up a provisional division list of the fragments, and each institution concerned received at that time an official letter from the Department of Antiquities, indicating the composition of its share. The McCormick Theological Seminary was not yet included in this first list, as its financial contribution was received and spent only a little later, at the beginning of July 1956.

This list had a provisional character, but subsequent study seems really to necessitate very few changes in it: they are the result either of a better understanding of the texts or of new purchases of fragments, they are mostly

additions and they merely increase the value of each lot. I should like very much, Sir, to study with you these changes, in order to establish a final division list which will meet your approval.

The work on the fragments themselves, indeed, is now drawing to an end in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and, in July 1960, the manuscripts from Cave 4 will be at the disposal of the government and of the institutions which contributed to their purchase. Notice has been given to these institutions that, as far as the Palestine Archaeological Museum is concerned, work on the lots finishes at the end of the current month, June 1960; but they were

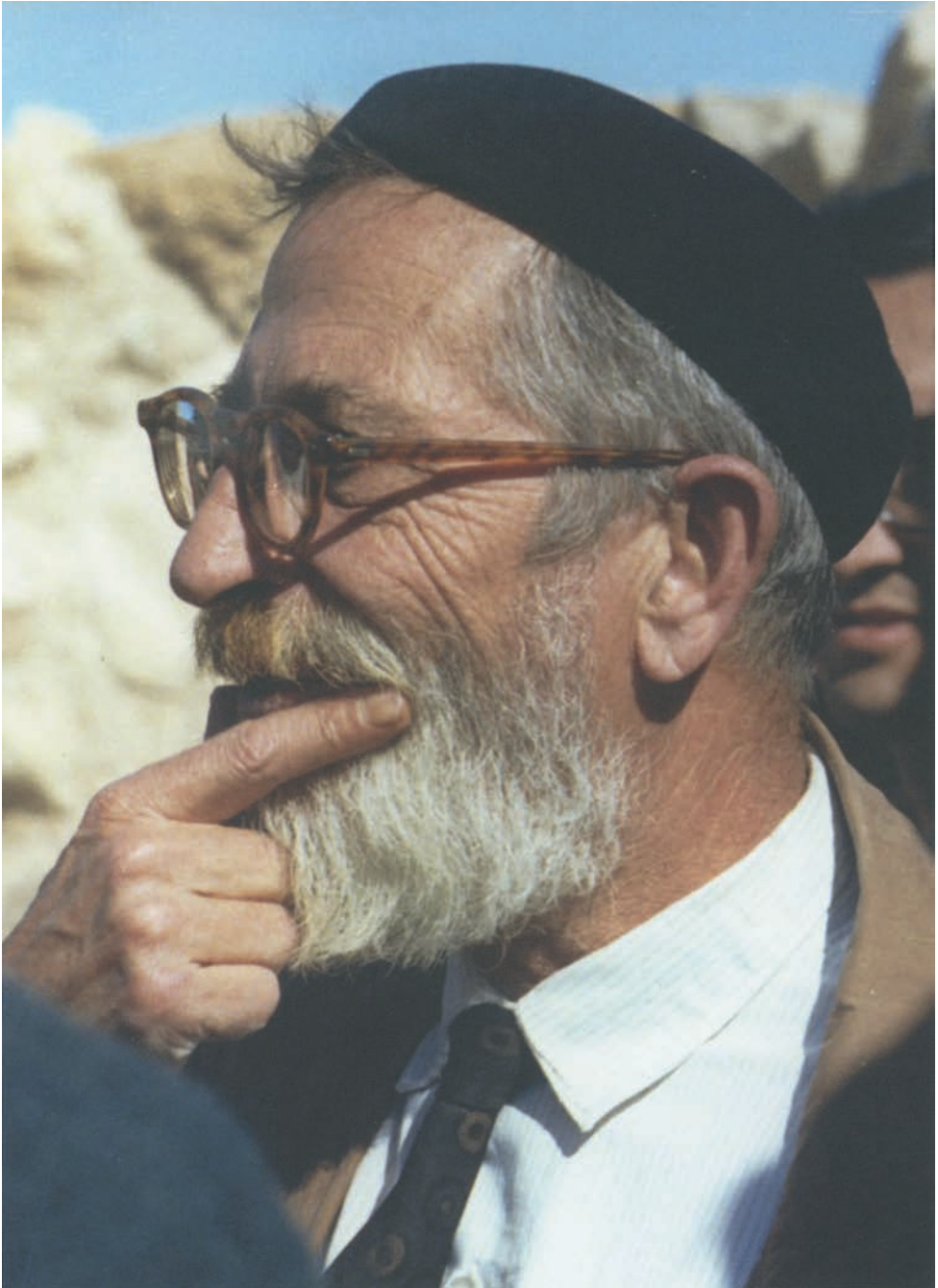


M. Javier Teixidor, who took over the card catalogue in the scrollerly in 1960. In his office at the CNRS, Paris, 10 February 2000. ©Diane G. Fields

also warned that the fragments could not leave the Palestine Archaeological Museum until each institution should have obtained an export permit from the Department of Antiquities; they were instructed to apply directly to you for that purpose.

With respect to the government's lot, The Palestine Archaeological Museum will need only a written declaration discharging the museum of its responsibilities toward the Department of Antiquities. Although it was agreed that the manuscripts would stay at the Palestine Archaeo-

logical Museum for so long as the work of preparing their publication should last, the lots will be handed over before the volumes containing the Cave 4 texts appear, in the series "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert." You will, however, understand that the Palestine Archaeological Museum has a duty to protect the scientific rights of the editors who have been working under its auspices since 1953. Therefore, the Palestine Archaeological Museum feels obliged to put the following limits to the use to be made of these manu-



Father Roland de Vaux. Courtesy the École biblique et archéologique française Jérusalem.

scripts in the immediate future: (1) Public exhibition should only be made of texts already published; (2) No other scholar should be authorised to study or publish other texts before they are published; (3) No photograph of these unpublished texts should be given to other scholars.

These rules are not as strict as they might at first seem: each lot contains pieces which have already been edited in preliminary publications, and which are therefore exempt from these restrictions. These pieces will be indicated in the definitive division list. Their number will increase rapidly as each volume of the edition is published, and these volumes will not be long in appearing: the two volumes containing the biblical manuscripts should be given to the printer during the coming year, and the four volumes of nonbib-



The American School of Oriental Research (now William F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research) in Jerusalem. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick © www.bibelausstellung.de

lical texts will be ready in the following two years.

The institutions were requested to accept these conditions in writing. I have no doubt that you will agree with me that it is a fair procedure. I am confident that the Department of Antiquities will be ready to comply with the same rules and help the Palestine Archaeological Museum in protecting the scientific rights of the editors, who have worked so strenuously for the benefit of science and of Jordan.

In concluding this report, I have the pleasurable duty to thank you for this happy collaboration between the Department of Antiquities and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. The enlightened policy of your government in this question saved for science these invaluable documents and enabled them to be properly studied and published. The Jordan government's contribution to this vast project is already gratefully acknowledged by every true scholar in the world.⁴⁰



So far, so good. But did de Vaux really believe what he wrote or did he anticipate problems? It almost seems the latter, because he says that if problems arise with the government, the PAM is not prepared to help: go to your ambassadors. Furthermore, the care of the scrolls and the logistics of moving such large amounts of fragments in glass plates are passed over a little too easily. Did he anticipate that these boxes, extremely heavy with all that glass, would just be put in the cargo hold of a plane or put on a ship and carted off? Were these scrolls really going to be sent to countries all in northern latitudes, all with damp climates with little or no advance preparations? And de Vaux well knew, too, that final arrangement of plates and final checking of transcriptions required access to and examina-

tion of the scrolls themselves. Was he really going to allow them to be scattered to the four winds in five different countries? But so it seems. A commitment had been made years before, and de Vaux appeared to be ready to live up to it, no matter how distasteful, unwise, or difficult.

Stanley B. Frost, Dean at McGill University in Montreal was the first to answer, the same day he received de Vaux's letter. He wrote the Minister of Education, recounting that McGill paid US\$19,563 for its lot, laying out the legal basis on which

the agreement was made, and sending copies of all the relevant documents. He was optimistic that the export license would be granted soon; that he would be making arrangements to bring their lot to Canada, and that there would be a “happy conclusion of this matter of so great importance.”⁴¹

A similar but much briefer response was sent to de Vaux by the University of Manchester.⁴² No responses from McCormick, the Vatican Library, or Heidelberg survived in the PAM archive.

For the moment this matter was in the hands of Jordan’s Minister of Education. De Vaux and Saad turned their attention back to the financial condition of the museum. Some temporary help for operating expenses came from the Trans-Arabian Pipe Line Company in Beirut,⁴³ but the best possibility still seemed to be Mrs. Bechtel.

Saad took the next step. He applied formally to Dajani to export the Cave 11 Psalms scroll to Harvard for examination, authentication, and preliminary description. Saad himself would be the courier. Mrs. Bechtel would pay \$60,000 to the museum through ASOR, less the cost of Saad’s trip, and the scroll would remain the property of the museum. Saad would retrieve it in the course of time. The study and editing work would be done at the PAM by *an American scholar* after it was brought back to Jerusalem and would be published in DJD.⁴⁴

The next day the whole plan for the Cave 4 scrolls began to unravel. The Prime Minister’s “Council of Ministers,” (Cabinet) met in Amman on 27 July. They “reviewed the stages [in the history of] the Dead Sea Scrolls, and, in view of the importance and academic and historical value of these scrolls, made the decision to keep these scrolls with the Department of Antiquities, and to reimburse the amounts paid by the academic institutions and archaeological societies and museum which paid the cost of those manuscripts from their own accounts; and the Ministry of Finance is to secure the amounts necessary for this purpose.”⁴⁵

What a shock! But no written notification was given to de Vaux for more than two weeks. In the meantime, unaware of this further blow to the whole project, Saad and de Vaux continued to try to work things out with ASOR and Mrs. Bechtel.

Cross wrote to Detweiler that in his opinion ASOR should accept the proposed Bechtel contribution with three stipulations:

This will confirm our conversation of last evening. Professor Albright and I, in light of our correspondence from Jerusalem, are agreed that the Schools should accept the Bechtel donations with three stipulations.

- (1) That the fund be used by the schools to purchase new scrolls of Cave 11, not now in the hands of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, to be placed in the Palestine Archaeological Museum for study and publication as well as for permanent keeping.
- (2) That the edition of the new material be placed in the hands of a member of

the ASOR. This would make the transaction straightforward over against the income tax laws which require that the monies be utilised in a project of an American institution (not adroitly transferred through its books to a foreign institution). Albright and I suggest, in view of the anxieties of the team in Jerusalem, that trained men be assigned, that these concerns be put to rest in advance by designating Raymond Brown or Joseph Fitzmyer, “learners” in past years, or Patrick Skehan, a regular member of the team, to go to Jerusalem to perform the task of edition. Presumably, my name should be included; but I should like in advance to disqualify myself. This will give me good conscience in supporting this stipulation. Also, I have already a sufficient share of Qumran material which is as yet unpublished.

(3) That the scroll materials purchased remain in Jordan, and that the Schools and its scroll specialists not become involved in a publicity campaign or a spurious authentication of the new purchases in America. Normal releases from the Department of Antiquities, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the schools, from Jerusalem, are enough, or more than enough, and can be controlled.⁴⁶

Cross’ letter was then forwarded to de Vaux by G. E. Wright, who was at ASOR in Jerusalem. He hinted at certain problems, “heavy-handed maneuvering,” by Detweiler, and some dissatisfaction with the whole procedure from Mrs. Bechtel’s perspective.⁴⁷ De Vaux, ever the diplomat, replied to Cross:

Ernest Wright sent me the copy of the letter that you sent to Professor Detweiler on 21 July about the Bechtel matter. He asked me to write directly to you and to Professor Detweiler in the event that Mr. Saad and I did not agree with you. I am writing to you today, and I am sending Professor Detweiler a copy of this letter and enclosed documents.

It is indeed certain that problems could have been avoided if the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) had made contact with the ASOR earlier. But it couldn’t do that: (1) because Mrs. Bechtel had not notified us of her final decision; (2) because she had asked us to be extremely discreet during this preliminary phase of the negotiations. But all the negotiations have been made by a small committee made up of Mr. Saad, myself, and Marvin Pope, the director of your school in Jerusalem, and a trustee of the PAM. Together with us he wrote the letters sent to Mrs. Bechtel, and I’m nearly certain that he put in the picture about this matter William Reed, with whom he was in contact as the “Executive Assistant” to the President of ASOR.

For our part we regret to have learned only indirectly that Mrs. Bechtel had made contact with the ASOR, and we are surprised that since her tele-

gram of 8 May (copy enclosed) she stopped corresponding with us. I am attaching the copy of the three main letters exchanged between Mr. Saad and Mrs. Bechtel. I hope that in them you will find the justification for the remarks that I, as president of the board of trustees of the PAM and Mr. Saad, as curator of this museum believe we must make on your letter of 21 July to Professor Detweiler.

1. According to these documents Mrs. Bechtel's intention is clear: She wants to help the PAM by reimbursing it for the sum of \$60,000 that it spent to save the manuscript of the Psalms of Cave 11. This manuscript of the Psalms will remain the property of the PAM, where it will be exhibited as a Bechtel gift. The ASOR cannot change this allocation and use the sum of \$60,000 to buy manuscripts that are not yet in the hands of the museum: science would probably win, but the PAM would not receive the financial aid it urgently needs, and which motivated Mrs. Bechtel's action.

2. As far as we know, the Bechtel donation has been made to the PAM and not to the ASOR, and Mrs. Bechtel is explicitly allocating the right of publication to the PAM. She chose the ASOR to transfer the sum to the PAM on our suggestion, and because the ASOR had already agreed or accepted to do it in 1953 for a first donation from Mrs. Bechtel (\$5,000). This is not exactly a "clever way" of by-passing the law: the ASOR are members of the board of the PAM and therefore this financial assistance given to the museum is not unusual for them. However, if this reason does not appear enough, we willingly accept the principle that the publication of the manuscript of the Psalms be given to a specialist appointed by the ASOR in agreement with the PAM. It will be published in the series, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, under the patronage of the PAM and the ASOR.

3. The transport of the manuscript to the United States to determine its authenticity and to give a first announcement of its content is a condition that was laid down by Mrs. Bechtel and not by the PAM. I agree with you, that this is not necessary. But it is natural that Mrs. Bechtel wants to have a little publicity surrounding the donation she is making, and in this we see a public relations opportunity for the PAM, and the possibility of obtaining other donations for new manuscripts. Mrs. Bechtel had asked us to suggest a university to her, where this examination could be made, and we suggested Harvard, because you are there, and your name gave Mrs. Bechtel the best assurance. The ASOR will not be involved at all in this publicity, and if you do not wish to be involved in it personally you are totally free to refuse to examine the manuscript. We will look elsewhere, in agreement with Mrs. Bechtel. In any case, to fulfill the conditions stipulated by Mrs. Bechtel the PAM has officially requested from the Jordanian government authoriza-

tion to have Mr. Saad transport the manuscript of the Psalms to the United States, and it cannot change its mind before receiving a response from the government. It is moreover probable that the response will be negative, and the difficulty that you raise will be resolved in this way. But it remains to be seen if Mrs. Bechtel will still make her donation.

I think that this letter and its enclosures will clearly show you the position of the PAM and the extent to which it differs from the proposition which seems to be yours and that of Professor Albright. I very much regret this difference of opinion, but you will acknowledge that the PAM is merely holding onto what seems to have been agreed between it and Mrs. Bechtel. In return, I would appreciate it if you could let me know what happened from ASOR's side, and what Mrs. Bechtel's propositions were exactly. I really hope that the authorities of ASOR do not embark on anything before all the parties involved in this matter have agreed.⁴⁸

Cross, Skehan, and Albright took de Vaux's advice and planned a meeting to discuss, particularly, the matter of using ASOR as a conduit for the gift.⁴⁹

On 15 August Dajani composed the fateful letter to de Vaux about distribution of the Cave 4 scrolls. One can only imagine the shock it must have been to de Vaux, Saad, and the trustees.

Dajani merely sent two copies of the Cabinet's decision, with a one-sentence request: "I should be grateful if you would communicate this decision to the academic institutions concerned."⁵⁰

De Vaux, however, was not about to have the announcement come from the museum. He held firm:

1. I very much regret to inform you that the Palestine Archaeological Museum is not in a position to communicate this government decision to the institutions involved in the purchase of fragments from Qumran Cave 4. All transactions concerning these purchases were negotiated directly between the institutions themselves and the director of Antiquities. It was the director of Antiquities who notified the institutions of the share of fragments which was allotted to each of them. In conformity with the Jordan Antiquities Law the institutions applied to the director of Antiquities for an export permit; the government decision is the answer to these applications. It is, therefore, up to the Department of Antiquities and not to the Palestine Archaeological Museum to communicate the government decision to the institutions concerned.

2. This government decision could affect the Palestine Archaeological Museum only regarding the fragments from Qumran Cave 4 which were:

- a. bought by the Palestine Archaeological Museum with the agreement of the director of Antiquities, and
- b. allotted by the director of Antiquities to the Palestine Archaeological Museum as its share from the joint excavation of the cave. I should like to know if the government's decision affects also the manuscripts owned by the Palestine Archaeological Museum.⁵¹

Next, the American ambassador, Sheldon Mills, stepped in, encouraging the Prime Minister to reverse his decision and further, to allow the 11Q Psalms scroll to be sent to Harvard.⁵²

Mills did not let the matter drop there. He wrote directly to the Department of State in Washington DC:

On August 24, 1960, Awni Dajani, at the request of the Prime Minister, came to see me to report (as I had already learned from Père de Vaux) that the Cabinet had decided to break the agreement with McGill, Vatican library, Manchester, Heidelberg, and McCormick, and repay them the money they had put up for the acquisition of additional fragments from Qumran Cave 4, instead of the fragments they had been promised.

I told Awni I was very sorry to hear this since it will give Jordan a very bad name abroad. Awni said he argued against it, realising the importance of maintaining a reputation for good faith, but said it was "sold" to the Minister of Education by the Inspector of Antiquities, Mahmud Abidi, who worked on Shaikh Shanqiti while he, Awni, was away. I have sent another letter dated August 25 to Hazza' on this subject, of which two copies were forwarded to you yesterday and three copies are enclosed.

In my conversation with Awni on August 24, I said it would be a different matter if a representative of Jordan personally visited the foreign institutions and convinced them that they should give their fragments to the museum where they would be known, for example, as the Vatican Library gift to the museum. I said I had no idea whether they could be convinced.

Père de Vaux had told me that the 1952⁵³ decision of the Council of Ministers had been vague but it was clarified by the then Minister of Education, making it perfectly clear that the four institutions would receive fragments (and in fact the Department of Antiquities had later told each just what fragments) after their study by the museum. Awni told me the same thing. He said there was no doubt in his mind regarding the obligation of Jordan to turn over the promised fragments to the four institutions now that the museum had completed its studies and was prepared to do so.

Awni also translated to me from his file his memorandum to the govern-

ment strongly recommending that, for the sake of Jordan's reputation, it live up to its commitment. He said that the Prime Minister did not seem to him to feel strongly about the cabinet decision, but the Minister of Education had pushed it. He begged me to call on Shaikh Shanqiti and explain my point of view, namely that Jordan's reputation for fair dealing, that is, its honour, is at stake.

I sent the attached letter (three copies enclosed) to the Prime Minister today. Then at twelve thirty today, accompanied by Eric Rocher, and Mike Haddad of ICA to translate, I called on His Eminence. Mike translated for Shaikh Shanqiti my two letters to the Prime Minister. The Shaikh during this time had called in his aides, first Undersecretary Goussous (brother of Zaki Goussous), another high official, and finally Awni Dajani. Prior to the arrival of Awni, the Shaikh said he had recommended the Cabinet's action on the basis of urging from Awni. (Either he or Awni obviously was not telling the truth.)

Finally the Shaikh said that in his opinion all the scrolls and fragments should remain in Jordan, that the 1952⁵⁴ Cabinet decision on the basis of which the arrangements had been made with the four institutions was obscure, and therefore he had recommended that their money be returned. But he felt if a firm agreement had been made, then Jordan should carry it out. He said I would be leaving Mr. Kocher as Chargé, and he and Awni could study the documents.

I replied that in my nearly 16 months in Jordan I had learned about the importance to a Jordanian of honor and, in fact, that Arabs take second place to no one in keeping their honor unsullied. I therefore was quite content to have the final decision rest on the Jordanian government's examination of what honor requires.

And so we took our leave. Eric Kocher will await an effort by Awni Dajani to contact him, and if Awni does not do so in a week or 10 days, then I think Eric will get in touch with Awni himself.

It is possible that the Prime Minister will ask to see me my last day here, the day after tomorrow, Saturday, August 27, and he may bring up this question.

I do not know whether British Ambassador Sir Charles Johnston will consider it worthwhile to approach the Jordanian government on behalf of Manchester University or whether German Ambassador Conrad von Schubert, whom I have also informed of my actions, will consider that he should say a word in protection of the interests of Heidelberg. These institutions do not yet know of the Cabinet decision. Awni requested Père de Vaux to inform them and the latter declined the honour, saying the museum is ready to turn over the promised fragments to accredited representatives of the four institutions, but they must approach the Department of Antiquities

directly in order to obtain permission to export them. I do not believe that Awni has yet written any of them this news, and I hope that he will not be obliged to do so.

With respect to the second half of my August 22 letter to Hazza', regarding the offer of Mrs. Bechtel and the British offer, Awni said the Prime Minister agreed that scrolls could be loaned to prestige institutions abroad giving funds to the museum if the governments of the countries where such institutions are located assume responsibility for the safe return of the scrolls. I said I do not know whether the United States government could accept such a responsibility, since Harvard, where Mrs. Bechtel wishes to have the Psalms scroll studied, is a private institution. I said it possibly might be different if the scroll were to go to our National Museum in Washington, but I do not know whether there are scroll experts there, or whether this would be acceptable to Mrs. Bechtel. Awni then said perhaps the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem would assume responsibility for the delivery of the Scroll to Harvard for study and its safe return. I could not, of course, express an opinion on this.⁵⁵

The matter of honor and reputation is the central theme Mills took up again with the Prime Minister directly, following a meeting with Dajani. He hinted at a more direct confrontation should McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago be denied its share of the Cave 4 scrolls.⁵⁶

While these matters were consuming de Vaux's time, Allegro for his part had been working on his fragments, but he wrote to Oxtoby, now teaching at McGill University, that it was going much more slowly than expected. He didn't write it yet to de Vaux, but he now realized there was no chance he would make the deadline for his volume.⁵⁷ One assumes others of the Cave 4 Team were finding the same with their preparations for publication.

The planned meeting of ASOR officials about the Bechtel donation took place on 13 September. Cross wrote the following day to inform de Vaux of their consensus:

(1) The ASOR in view of our correspondence is pleased to act as recipient of Bechtel funds for purchase of the 11Q Psalms from the Palestine Archaeological Museum, the monies received by the museum to be used to replace endowment spent on the original purchase of Cave 11 materials. In view of the advice of the legal counselors of the ASOR, two stipulations are necessary in view of the strict scrutiny now being given tax-free institutions by income tax officials:

- a. that a representative of ASOR edit the Psalms scroll, and
- b. that titular ownership of the scroll be in the name of the American School in Jerusalem

It would be understood, of course, that the representative of the ASOR would be chosen in consultation with you and the “scroll team,” and that no one would be chosen who was not fully acceptable to both parties. Presumably, Monsignor Skehan would be first candidate; Fathers Brown, Fitzmyer, and perhaps [James] Sanders would be suitable choices from the ASOR side if Monsignor Skehan refused. You have already indicated the appropriateness of this stipulation, and I anticipate no difficulty here.

The second stipulation has legal significance, but no practical effect on your proposal. The scroll would be given on permanent loan to the PAM by the ASOR. If the Department of Antiquities seized it, the ASOR could press for its return to PAM or not as seemed appropriate. This also establishes a procedure by which the ASOR could act as recipient for future funds raised in an American campaign.

I may say privately that even “titular” ownership of the scroll would be an embarrassment to the ASOR; but it seems the only legal device we can find to prevent the ASOR acting as a “conduit,” as the lawyers put it, of tax-free funds to a foreign institution. Perhaps a plaque, reading “Bechtel—ASOR Psalms Scroll,” or the like, could give the legal arrangement concreteness.

(2) The ASOR and Harvard University will not undertake responsibility of the scroll. We rather propose that Mr. Saad be sent with the scroll under the auspices of the cultural affairs department of the State Department in cooperation with the National Museum. This proposal was made to Ambassador Mills, and State Department officials; they were by no means unfavourable, and approaches (by the ambassador) are being made to the National Museum.

This procedure would insure wider and less contrived publicity; presumably the scroll would be put on exhibit in a series of museums, protected adequately, and Mr. Saad would have the dignity of State Department sponsorship. It would also preserve the dignity of the ASOR and its scholars. If Mr. Bechtel needs corroboration of the authenticity of the scroll, both Patrick Skehan and I shall be glad to give him private assurances. The real desire, no doubt, is for publicity, for the museum, for the Bechtels, for the Scroll Fund, for Jordan; and the State Department is far better equipped, the National Museum a far more appropriate place, for initiating publicity and exhibition of the Psalms scroll.

Apparently, one difficulty in the way of the exhibit of the scroll in America, as we have learned in Washington, is the unarticulated desire of the Department of Antiquities to be represented in the American holiday; the only solution we can think of is to have the State Department invite two to accompany the scroll, Mr. Saad and the Department representative. This mat-

ter is best handled by you and Ambassador Mills in Jordan, however, as the project goes forward. It may be that this complication can be avoided.

(3) In view of the British plan to raise 25,000 pounds in concert with other national representations on the PAM board, we propose to approach Mr. Bechtel for \$70,000 instead of \$60,000, or thereabouts, to make up the full American donation. We are assured that the United States State Department can furnish not one penny, and that our share would have to come from private sources. Once again, Mr. Mills is in conversation with his British counterpart, and it is hoped that even if the French and Swedes fall short, the Americans can move with the British.

This, of course, is a delicate matter, and we should want your reactions and Mr. Saad's before any approach be made to the Bechtels. However, if \$10,000 for six years is the pattern of Bechtel's philanthropy, it would appear that seven years is a more biblical figure.

Point 3, you will recognise, is an idea to be explored, not a position of the ASOR! There are other ways of finding the additional money.

I think I have represented the conclusions reached in our meetings fairly. I shall forward a carbon of this letter to President Detweiler who will correct me if I've gone astray.

P.S. We learn from Ambassador Mills that negotiations concerning Cave 4 fragments are continuing and that there is not yet, at any rate, reason to despair in the face of the act of the ministers. He appears a very bold advocate.

P.S. I have learned by long-distance telephone that Henry Detweiler has received (1) favourable communication from the Cultural Affairs wing of the State Department in support of bringing the scrolls and representatives of PAM (and Department of Antiquities, if necessary); and (2) a telephone conversation with Mr. Bechtel which forced Detweiler's hand. Bechtel therefore has the outline of ASOR's position and our Philadelphia tax lawyers. I hasten to say, however, that negotiations are still to some degree fluid.⁵⁸

This all seemed good news to de Vaux. Agreement seemed closer than ever, but some things still had to be worked out.

I am happy to know that the situation has become much clearer regarding the Bechtel matter. I discussed your letter with Yusef Saad and I think that I am able to assure you that what I am about to say to you represents the opinion of the board of trustees of the museum; you are already assured of the opinion of Ambassador Mills.

1. [On your first point] we are in complete agreement.
2. We had given Mrs. Bechtel Harvard's name because you were there,

but Harvard and you and the ASOR were completely free to turn down this invitation. We think your proposition is an excellent one and we ask you to look into its practical implementation.

We are not favorable to sending a representative from the Antiquities [Department of Jordan] with Yusef Saad to accompany the manuscript to the United States. Our past experience has taught us there would be problems. This issue was not raised in Jerusalem or in Amman, and it must not be



Józef Milik in the scroller. Courtesy Qumranarchive A. Schick / Photo © Estate of John Allegro.

raised. If it is put to us, we will have to evade it. If we cannot evade it, we will have to reduce the disadvantages to a minimum.

Another issue was raised by Awni Dajani. He is not against the sending of the manuscript, but before it leaves, he wants it to be unrolled and photographed in Jerusalem. This is a reasonable precaution against the risks of the trip. But this poses a technical problem: neither Milik nor Strugnell will be in Jerusalem next year, and I have neither the experience in unrolling manuscripts nor the time seriously to take care of it. Would the ASOR take the responsibility for this operation?

3. We agree on the use of the Bechtel donation as representing the American contribution to the project presented by the English. France is prepared to do something and the formula is being sought. Meanwhile, Yusef Saad and I would prefer that the additional \$10,000 be obtained apart from the Bechtel donation, since a lot has been asked of them al-

ready, and they could get upset about the delays and changes affecting their donation. But you know more about the psychology of rich Americans than we do, and we are letting you be the judge of the issue. What seems important to us in any case is that before making any definitive commitments, the Bechtels must be kept informed about the details of the implementation of the project, and give their approval. I would like you to thank the representatives of the ASOR, and would like to thank you personally for having taken this matter to heart, and for having arrived at a solution, which, apart from details to be specified, is perfectly acceptable to the PAM. I hope that your negotiations continue favorably. On our side, with the support of Ambassador Mills, we will do our utmost to make sure this undertaking succeeds.

I'd like to add a piece of good news: when I received your letter, I received assurance that the Dutch Academy was going to have £20,000 at its disposal to buy almost all the rest of Cave 11, acquired by the museum. If this hope materializes, the financial situation of the museum will be restored.

In my last letter I reminded you of the publication of Volume 4 of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. I would like to know when you and Msg. Skehan will be ready, and I would like to insist once again on how important it is not to delay this publication for too long.⁵⁹

This is where the Bechtel matter stood until December, at least as far as de Vaux was concerned. Negotiations about the details were being negotiated now by ASOR,⁶⁰ but it would be some time yet before it was finally resolved, and we must postpone the end of the saga until we come to it chronologically.

While all this negotiation was taking place, there were at least two other possibilities of support for some of the Cave 11 scrolls. One, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, de Vaux alluded to in his letter to Cross, above. The other comes from a rather unexpected quarter.

William Brownlee had spent the summer of 1960 excavating at Beitin (Bethel). While in Jordan he had spoken with de Vaux about research possibilities concerning the scrolls which might be appropriate for his sabbatical during 1961–62. De Vaux had suggested that one could “buy” the right to publish some of the Cave 11 materials. He offered this possibility to Brownlee for the Targum of Job (\$30,000) and the Ezekiel scroll (\$20,000). Brownlee reported to E. C. Colwell of the Southern California School of Theology that this might provide an opportunity both for the school and for him personally. By October de Vaux told Brownlee about the pending arrangements concerning the 11Q Psalms Scroll, and also informed him that he was negotiating with “other authorities,” about the remainder of the Cave 11 materials. During November negotiations continued between de Vaux and Brownlee. Eventually a deal was struck,

despite being nearly derailed by a premature unauthorized announcement by Dajani; but the outcome was different from everyone's expectations.⁶¹

By the end of September 1960 none of the institutions expecting a share of the Cave 4 materials had yet been informed of the decision by Jordan to disallow the plan. Frost at McGill was puzzled that he had not heard from Jordan, so he telegraphed de Vaux: "Have received no reply to my two letters to department seeking export permit. Have you any information?"⁶² Now de Vaux had no choice but to inform Frost (and the others) about what had happened. But at this stage the fight was not yet over and de Vaux requested that Snow contact the British ambassador in Amman and send him a copy of his original request to export McGill's share of the scrolls.⁶³

Vol. 2 of DJD appeared in November and copies were sent to the members of the Cave 4 Team at the expense of the PAM, though de Vaux said that it might not be possible to provide the team with future volumes.⁶⁴ By 2009 only two of the original members of the Cave 4 Team (Cross, Hunzinger) were still alive, and the last Cave 4 volume in DJD had just been published (November 2008, with a 2009 date).



The Ezekiel "clump" from Qumran Cave 11, December 1960. Palestine Archaeological Museum/Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority.

Handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely a religious or historical document, inscribed on a large, weathered rock surface. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the rock face, which shows signs of significant erosion and discoloration. The script is dense and fills most of the visible rock surface.

POSTSCRIPT

This brings us to the end of the first part of the history of the Scrolls. When it became obvious that the full history would not fit comfortably into one volume it was necessary to plan a second and to choose a place to end the first.

From one perspective the Six-Day War would have been the most natural choice since the State of Israel became the *de facto* custodian of the scrolls with the capture of East Jerusalem and the Palestine Archaeological Museum in June 1967. It was some time before those working on the scrolls fully adjusted to the changes in access and oversight brought about by this transition from Jordanian to Israeli control.

On the other hand, 1960 was also a logical choice because during this year the Rockefeller money on which the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the Cave 4 Team had been so dependent was discontinued, and permission to distribute the scrolls to supporting institutions as a fund-raising tool, was rescinded by the government of Jordan. In the end it was simply space that dictated the choice.

The forthcoming second volume will bring the history of the scrolls up to the present. Meanwhile, a preview of the main topics from 1961-2006 can be found in my summary, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, A Short History* (Brill, 2006).

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Related to the Dead Sea Scrolls Through 1960

BC (BCE)

circa 250

- The oldest Dead Sea scroll copied.

circa 160/100

- Qumran Community founded.

circa 100

- The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaiah^a) copied.

63

- The Roman general Pompey occupies Judaea.

31

- Severe earthquake results in temporary abandonment of Qumran.

AD (CE)

circa 30

- John the Baptist is teaching in the Jordan Valley near Qumran

circa 68

- The Community of Qumran is destroyed/abandoned.

70

- Jerusalem Temple is looted and destroyed by the Romans.

73

- Masada is captured by the Romans.

135

- The end of the Last Jewish Revolt under Bar Kokhba

circa 217

- The first "Dead Sea Scrolls" are found in a jar in a cave near Jericho during the reign of Antoninus son of Severus, called Caracalla (AD 198-217). The Church Father Origen (AD 185-245) uses these manuscripts in his Hexapla, a compilation of the Old Tes-

tament in six parallel columns, five in Greek and one in Hebrew.

800

- Timotheus, Patriarch of Seleucia (726-819) mentions manuscripts found in a cave near Jericho. Several medieval authors refer to "scriptures" used by "cavemen" in the area of Jericho.

900-1000

- Al-Qirqisani, a Karaite Jewish historian refers to a sect of "Magharians" (based on the Arabic word for 'cave), "because their books were found in a cave."

1895

- Solomon Schechter discovers the Cairo Genizah, which contains Karaite texts, including a copy of the "Zadokite Work," later known as the "Damascus Covenant." A copy of this work is later found at Qumran. Fragments of a Hebrew Ecclesiasticus or Ben Sirach are also found in Cairo. Larger portions of these are later found at Masada. Both these discoveries in Cairo suggest some kind of ancient connection with the Dead Sea sect.

1889

12 August

- Eleazar Sukenik born in Bialystok (Russia/Poland).

1891

24 May

- William Foxwell Albright born in Coquimbo, Chile.

1901

•Gerald Lankester Harding is born in Tientsin, North China.

1903

17 December

•Roland de Vaux is born in Paris.

1906

3 August

•Pierre Benoît is born in Nancy, France.

1907

Christmas Day

•Athanasius Yeshua Samuel born in Hilwah, Syria.

1909

•Father J. P. M. van der Ploeg is born near Nijmegen, Holland.

3 February

Father Jean Starcky is born in Mulhouse, France.

30 September

•Yusef Saad born in Jerusalem.
•Patrick W. Skehan born in New York City.

1915

26 November 1915

•John Trever is born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

1917

17 February

•William H. Brownlee is born on a ranch near Sylvia, Kansas.

21 March

•Yigael Yadin is born in Jerusalem to Professor Eleazar L. Sukenik and Hasya Feynsod Sukenik.

1918

•Antoun Hazou is born in Jerusalem.

1921

16 May

•Father Dominique Barthélemy born in Pallet, near Nantes, France.

13 July

•Frank Moore Cross is born in Ross, Marin County, California.

1922

24 March

•Józef Tadeusz Milik in Seroczyn, Poland.

12 May

•David Noel Freedman is born in New York City.

1923

17 February

•John M. Allegro is born in London.

25 March

•Maurice Baillet is born in Bordeaux, France.

1924

•Pierre Benoît enters the Order of Preaching Fathers (O.P., Dominicans).

1929

15 September

Claus-Hunno Hunzinger is born in Schweirin, Germany.

1930

•Pierre Benoît is ordained a priest.

25 May

•John Strugnell born in Barnet, North London, England

September

•Father Benoît, O.P., arrives at the École biblique et archéologique in Jerusalem. During his first three years he becomes acquainted with Father Marie-Joseph Lagrange, founder of the École, whom he considers his Master all his life.

1931

•De Vaux and van der Ploeg are students together at the theological school in Louvain, Belgium.

1936

•Arab-Jewish unrest and riots in British Mandate Palestine.

1937

- Albright publishes his classic analysis of the Nash Papyrus, providing the paleographic basis for the dating of the Isaiah scroll a decade later.

1938-1941

- Father Jean Starcky teaches Hebrew and Old Testament at the Université Saint Joseph in Beirut.

1946**22 March**

- British Mandate ends in Transjordan.

25 May

- Emirate of Transjordan becomes the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

22 December

- Mar Athanasius Samuel receives official appointment to the post of Metropolitan for Palestine and Transjordan.

24 December, Christmas Eve

- Father van der Ploeg arrives in Jerusalem and walks to Bethlehem for Christmas Eve services.

1947

- circa January/February or some indeterminate time before, Bedouin discover three manuscripts in a covered jar in the first Qumran cave: the Great Isaiah Scroll, the Manual of Discipline, and the Habakkuk Commentary. They remove the scrolls and two jars.

February

- Britain declares its Mandate over Palestine will end on May 14.

March

- Jum'a and Khalil offer the first scrolls to Ibrahim 'Ijha in Bethlehem. These are Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, and the Manual of Discipline in two pieces.
- Jum'a shows the scrolls to George Isha'ya.
- The scrolls are shown to Kando.

6-13 April

- Easter Week, according to the Julian Calendar, used by branches of the Eastern Or-

thodox Church, in which Easter may fall one week later than the Western Church's Easter. George Isha'ya mentions the scrolls to Mar Athanasius Samuel.

14-21 April

- One week after Orthodox Easter week, Kando and George bring the Manual of Discipline to Metropolitan Samuel, the first meeting about scrolls between Kando and Samuel.

May-June

- Jum'a and George return to Cave 1 and remove four more scrolls. Three are sold to Faidi Salahi in Bethlehem. Three of these four are later bought by Professor Sukenik (Isaiah^b, the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving(s) Scroll).

5 July (Saturday)

- Kando sends Jum'a, George and Khalil Musa with four scrolls to St. Mark's Monastery, where they are rudely but mistakenly turned away.

5-19 July

- Kando takes four scrolls (in five pieces) on consignment from the Bedouin (Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Pesher, the Manual of Discipline in two pieces, and the Genesis Apocryphon).
- Two of the original three Bedouin who discovered the first scrolls and George Isha'ya return to St. Mark's, but only with the four scrolls now under the control of Kando.

Last week of July

- Fathers van der Ploeg and Marmadj from the École biblique examine the Isaiah scroll (and possibly other scrolls) at St. Mark's Monastery in the Old City of Jerusalem, but do not recognize the Isaiah scroll as ancient. Van der Ploeg informs Samuel that it is the book of Isaiah.

Late July or Early August

- Samuel sends George Isha'ya with Bedouin to the scrolls cave. They report back to Samuel that they found many pieces of cloth wrappings on the cave floor, broken jars, and one complete jar.

Second Week of August

- George Isha'ya takes Father Yusif from the Syrian Monastery to visit the scrolls cave. Due to the extreme heat they do not attempt to carry away the one unbroken jar still in the cave.

Third Week of August

- Samuel consults Stephan Hanna Stephan, an employee of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities, but Stephan pronounces the scrolls "late."

August (no exact dates)

- Librarians are sent from Hebrew University to St. Mark's to examine the scrolls.

- The American CIA representative to Damascus, Miles Copeland, is approached by an "Egyptian" merchant with an ancient looking and disintegrating scroll. Copeland agrees to photograph it and to find someone to identify it. The scroll is unrolled on the roof of the American legation and photographed in a wind that peels off large chunks of the scrolls, which are lost forever. Thirty frames are taken, not enough to cover the entire scroll. One unidentified American Embassy official in Beirut who sees the photographs identifies it as part of Daniel, part in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The merchant never returns to claim his scroll, and both photographs and scroll disappear.

30 August

- William Brownlee and John Trever arrive by ship in Haifa for a year of study at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Director Millar Burrows meets them at the port.

15 September

- Anton Kiraz travels with Mar Samuel to Homs, Syria, north of Damascus, where they show the scrolls to the Afram Barsoum, Patriarch of Antioch for the Syrian Jacobite Church. The Patriarch doubts their antiquity.

22 September

- Metropolitan Samuel travels to Beirut to see the Professor Hebrew at the American University, but he is away on vacation.

26 September

- Mar Samuel returns to Jerusalem, still having not found anyone who supports the antiquity of the scrolls.

End of September or beginning of October

- Stephan Hanna Stephan brings Tovia Wechsler to examine the scrolls, but he says they are late. Other experts also deny the scrolls' antiquity.

1-3 October

- Anton Kiraz and Mar Samuel become business partners in the scrolls.

Mid-October

- Dr. Maurice Brown sees the scrolls. He calls Judah Magnes, President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Late October

- President Magnes sends two men from the University library staff to examine the scrolls. Samuel consents to photographs at a later time, but the librarians never return to follow up.

23 November (Sunday)

- An Armenian antiquities dealer in the Old City of Jerusalem, Nasri Ohan (Mister X in early published accounts), calls Professor Sukenik and leaves a message. They arrange a meeting for the next day.

24 November (Monday)

- Ohan meets with Sukenik across a barbed wire fence at the gateway to Military Zone B in Jerusalem to see some scraps of parchment with Hebrew script on them. Sukenik [perhaps, actually, Nahman Avigad, his assistant] recognizes the script as ancient. Sukenik says he will buy the scraps.

27 November (Thursday)

- The Armenian dealer telephones Sukenik to say he has additional fragments, and they meet in the dealer's shop in the Old City.

28 November (Friday)

- Yigael Yadin hears about the scrolls for the first time during a visit to his father's house in Jerusalem. As Chief of Operations of the Haganah, Yadin is aware of the grave danger of violence in Arab areas if the impending United Nations vote on the establish-

ment of a Jewish State is favorable. He joins his mother in recommending that his father not go to Bethlehem to see the scrolls.

29 November (Saturday)

• Sukenik and the Armenian antiquities dealer go by bus to Bethlehem to see Feidi Salahi. They see two of the scroll jars and two scrolls: the Thanksgiving Scroll and the War Scroll. Sukenik carries the scrolls under his arm on the bus back to Jaffa Gate, and takes them home for inspection. Later that night the UN votes to partition Palestine. Violence breaks out in the Arab areas of Jerusalem.

30 November (Sunday)

• Sukenik decides to buy these scrolls.

1 December (Monday)

• Sukenik gets word to his Armenian friend to tell Feidi Salahi that he will buy the scrolls (War Scroll and Thanksgiving Scroll).

Week of 1-8 December

• Sukenik hears about the St. Mark's scrolls for the first time from Dr. Magnes, President of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

11 December

• Father Van der Ploeg leaves Jerusalem after nearly a year in residence.

22 December

• Sukenik purchases (from Salahi, through the Armenian Nasri Ohan, Mister X) Isaiah^b fragments, two scroll jars, and possibly some Daniel fragments as well.

• Sukenik and Dr. James Bieberkraut began working to unroll the scrolls Sukenik purchased, concentrating first on the War Scroll.

1948

End of January

• Sukenik receives a letter from Anton Kiraz saying that he wants to show him more scrolls. Sukenik and Kiraz meet at the YMCA in West Jerusalem where Sukenik is given the Great Isaiah Scroll to take home for examination. He spends the night making a partial transcription. Sukenik wants to purchase it and tries to get a loan from

his bank, but is refused. He attempts to contact officials at the Jewish Agency and Bialik Foundation for funding, but fails.

6 February

• Sukenik, heartbroken, returns the scrolls to Anton Kiraz at the YMCA. A few days later Sukenik receives word that the Jewish Agency will fund the purchase, but it is too late.

7 February

• Brownlee writes home that the situation in East Jerusalem is desperate and instructor Johnson and student Willard Beling did not return after the semester break.

15 February (Sunday)

• Professor and Mrs. Millar Burrows start out on a two-week trip to Iraq, taking with them Ann Putcamp, and leaving John Trever temporarily in charge of the American Schools in Jerusalem.

18 February (Wednesday)

• Despite a premonition that he should not leave the American School, after praying about it, Brownlee goes shopping for wrapping paper shortly after lunch.

• About 4:30 p.m. Father Butros Sowmy calls the American School, asks for Brownlee, and when told he is not there, talks to Trever about some scrolls he would like to show. They arrange for a meeting at 2:30 the next afternoon.

• Brownlee arrives back at the School at supper time, only to find that he has missed an important call about some scrolls, but Trever had taken it. Brownlee understands that the meeting the next day is set for 3:30 p.m.

19 February (Thursday)

• Early in the afternoon Brownlee goes out to run errands, thinking he has until 3:30 p.m. to return.

• At 2:30 Father Sowmy and his brother Ibrahim arrive at the American School and show the scrolls to Trever. The scrolls are later identified as Isaiah^a, the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline (2 pieces), and a piece so brittle Trever does not want to unroll it. This is identified several years later as the Genesis Apocryphon

(Lamech). Trever is able to copy a few lines from the largest scroll.

- Just before supper time Brownlee arrives back at the American School, having been delayed by roadblocks.

- After supper Brownlee and Trever work on the identification of the large scroll. Trever finds the passage he copied in Isaiah 65. They deduce that the scroll must be the book of Isaiah.

20 February (Friday)

- Trever goes to St. Mark's and persuades Mar Samuel to bring the scrolls back to the American School the next day to be photographed.

21 February (Saturday)

- Trever and Brownlee begin photographing the scrolls. It takes more than the three and one-half hours Trever had estimated, so Father Butros Sowmy and his attendant stay for lunch. By 4 p.m. they have photographed two complete scrolls, Isaiah^a and the Habakkuk Commentary. Trever persuades Father Sowmy to leave two other scrolls for "several days." Trever and Brownlee realize that the two parts belong together and use Scotch tape to put them together. Father Sowmy takes the fourth scroll back with him, the Genesis Apocryphon.

22 February (Sunday)

- Brownlee and Trever take the Whitings to church at St. Andrews Church of Scotland in West Jerusalem and bring them back to the American School for lunch. Extending the invitation for church and lunch was one of the errands that kept Brownlee away on February 19.

- As soon as the Whitings leave, Trever continues repairing the Manual of Discipline with adhesive tape because he has run out of scotch tape.

23 February (Monday)

- Brownlee writes to his fiancée Louise, summarizing all the events since February 19.

- Trever sends some prints to Professor William F. Albright at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

24 February (Tuesday)

- Trever and Brownlee take the scrolls back to St. Mark's.

27 February (Friday)

- Prints of the Habakkuk Commentary are completed.

- Trever consults the "Director of Antiquities about scrolls" (but there is some confusion here because neither Robert Hamilton nor G. Lankester Harding, the two top antiquities officials, remembered this).

28 February (Saturday)

- The Burrows and Ann Putcamp return from Baghdad.

Late February or early March

- Trever's photographs arrive at the Johns Hopkins University. Professor Albright immediately recognizes the Isaiah scroll as ancient and shows the prints to two of his doctoral students, Frank M. Cross, Jr. and David Noel Freedman.

4 March

- Professor Stinespring of Duke University writes to Brownlee telling him that he will keep the scrolls story confidential.

5 March

- Trever and Brownlee learn that the scrolls were discovered recently, not twenty or forty years previously, as they had been told originally by Mar Samuel and Father Sowmy.

5-12 March

- Brownlee and Trever make plans for a trip to the scroll cave. They receive an excavation permit from the Antiquities Department.

6-11 March

- Trever re-photographs the scrolls for publication.

15 March

- Trever receives Albright's letter confirming the age of the scrolls.

18 March

- Burrows and Samuel work together on a news release to be sent to Yale.

20 March

- Trever and Brownlee discuss with a sheikh from Nebi Musa their plans to visit the scrolls cave.

23 March

- Plans to visit the cave are abandoned after Trever learns the Haganah controls the area.

25 March

- Rev. Butros Sowmy takes the scrolls to Beirut for safekeeping.

30 March

- Brownlee leaves Jerusalem.

March or April

- Sukenik receives a letter from Kiraz and/or Mar Samuel saying they had decided not to sell the scrolls. Only later does he find out the scrolls had been shown to Trever, who had photographed them.

2 April

- Professor and Mrs. Burrows leave Jerusalem.

3 April

- Agreement reached between the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) and Samuel on the publication of the scrolls.

5 April

- Trever leaves Jerusalem and returns to the States.

10-11 April

- The first press release about the scrolls appears in the *New York Times*, issued by Professor Millar Burrows, Chair of the Department of Near Eastern Languages at Yale, and Annual Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. The discovery is ascribed to the library of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, in accordance with the false story originally told to Trever and Brownlee.

20 April

- In anticipation of the coming war the High Commissioner of Palestine transfers ownership of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) to a newly constituted Board of Trustees. This order is amended on 1 February 1955.

26 April

- Sukenik releases an announcement about the Hebrew University scrolls, including a description of his examination of the St. Mark's scrolls the previous January and February.

14 May

- The Jewish People's Council declares the independent State of Israel.

15 May

- The British Mandate of Palestine ends and Israel's War of Independence begins.

16 May

- Mar Samuel's assistant, Rev. Butros Sowmy, is killed at St. Mark's monastery when it is shelled by the Israelis.

- The Arab Legion enters the Old City of Jerusalem.

11 June

- First cease-fire in Arab-Israeli War.

19 July

- Second cease-fire in Arab-Israeli War.

Summer

- Father Barthélemy completes studies at the Sorbonne with Professors Dupont-Sommer and Dhorme. He proceeds to Rome for one additional year of training.

Early July 1948

- Professor Ovid Sellers of McCormick Theological Seminary arrives to become Director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem.

- Dr. D. C. Beramki, Assistant Curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum becomes aware of the scrolls and follows Mar Samuel to Madaba, Homs, and Beirut to try to get them; but he does not succeed in finding the Metropolitan.

August

- George Isha'ya visits Cave 1 again and secures some Daniel and Prayer Scroll fragments, which he turns over to St. Mark's. This is at least the third visit after the initial discovery.

September

- The story of the discovery and descriptions of the scrolls are published by ASOR and Hebrew University.

- Professor Sellers' plane is shot down by Israelis during a flight from Beirut to Jerusalem. He survives, but is badly hurt.

3 October

- A more complete account of the discovery

of the scrolls is published for the first time in Israel in the Hebrew daily, *Davar*.

November

- Isha'ya, Kando and others excavate Cave 1 and secure many more fragments. This is at least the fourth visit to the cave after the initial discoveries.

Late December 1948 or early January 1949

- Mar Samuel departs Beirut aboard the SS *Excalibur*. He has with him the four St. Mark's scrolls, possibly hidden in apple crates.

1949

January

- O. R. Sellers and Yusef Saad (secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum) attempt to locate Cave 1, but George Isha'ya demands payment and negotiations break down.

7 January

- Cease fire takes effect between Israel and Arab states of the Middle East. Transjordan becomes known as Jordan and controls Qumran, East Jerusalem, the Old City, and the campus of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus.

24 January

- Captain Philippe Lippens of Belgium asks help from the Arab Legion to relocate the cave, which is accomplished on January 28.

29 January

- Mar Samuel arrives in the United States with four scrolls (Isaiah^a, Habakkuk Commentary, Manual of Discipline, Genesis Apocryphon) and fragments of Daniel, Prayers, and 1 Enoch.

4 February

- Trevor meets Mar Samuel in New Jersey to make arrangements for unrolling the Genesis Apocryphon.

15 February-5 March

- Cave 1 is excavated under the direction of Harding and De Vaux. Fragments of about seventy scrolls and pieces of fifty pottery jars are recovered.

25 February

- Armistice signed between Israel and Egypt.

23 March

- Armistice signed between Israel and Lebanon.

3 April

- Armistice signed between Israel and Jordan.

7-9 April

- The St. Mark's fragments in the US are separated, mounted, and photographed. They are identified as parts of Daniel and later, a scroll of prayers and 1 Enoch.

10 April

- A large fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon is separated from the roll and tentatively identified as the "Lamech Document." Only later was it named the "Genesis Apocryphon."

14 April

- The Genesis Apocryphon is taken to Harvard's Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts to be prepared for opening. This is not accomplished until 1956 in Israel.

Summer

- The Hebrew University Isaiah^b is unrolled and identified.

20 July

- Armistice signed between Israel and Syria.

9 August

- Harding's press release concerning the scrolls appears in the *London Times*.

Autumn

- Father Barthélemy arrives at the École biblique in Jerusalem to continue his studies.

October

- The St. Mark's scrolls are exhibited at the Library of Congress.

November

- The St. Mark's scrolls are exhibited at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

- Father Milik publishes an article in Latin on the Isaiah Scroll in Rome.

- Sukenik and Avigad publish *Megillot Genuzot (The Hidden Scrolls)*

1950

February

•The St. Mark's Scrolls are exhibited at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

March

•Burrows, Trever, and Brownlee publish *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. 1: *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (ASOR).

Spring

•Yusuf Saad succeeds in purchasing the remainder of the Cave 1 fragments in the possession of Kando: the Rule of the Congregation, the Rule of the Blessings, and a fragment of Isaiah^b.

•Shemaryahu Talmon publishes his first article on the scrolls in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 1.

•Geza Vermes publishes his first article on scrolls.

•Father Roland de Vaux publishes his first article on Qumran itself and on the scrolls.

•It is decided that de Vaux will head up a new series which will publish the scrolls from Cave 1. Harding begins the process of finding a publisher on behalf of the PAM. As an archaeologist, he deals mainly with the archaeology of Qumran, but does publish a few scroll fragments as well.

•Father J.-M. Rousée arrives in Jerusalem. Subsequently, he is the draftsman for de Vaux's third season.

•Father Józef Milik arrives in Jerusalem for the first time at the invitation of de Vaux.

Summer

•After legal questions are raised by Harvard's attorneys, Mar Samuel withdraws the "fourth scroll" (Genesis Apocryphon) from the Fogg Museum and refuses to allow further work on it.

Autumn

•Harding sends four ounces of scrap linen from the Cave 1 excavation to Professor W. F. Libby of the Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, for a Carbon 14 test, which yielded a date of AD 33 ± 200 years. The results are published in January 1951.

November

•St. Mark's scrolls exhibited at Oriental In-

stitute of the University of Chicago.

•Van der Ploeg takes up his post at the University of Nijmegen.

1950-1951

•Barthélemy and Milik begin work on volume 1 of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. The volume appears in 1955.

1951

March

•ASOR publishes Trever's photographs of the Manual of Discipline from Cave 1.

October

•Some Ta'amireh Bedouin present to the Museum two fragments of skin inscribed in Hebrew and Greek. Harding and de Vaux are not present, so the Bedouin reluctantly agree to accompany the secretary of the Museum, Yusef Saad, to the place where they were discovered. Far in the desert they show him a large open cave, whose floor had been recently dug. Saad hands over the fragments to Awni Dajani, Inspector of Antiquities (who some years later is appointed Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan). He goes to the same site with several members of ASOR. The place, already turned upside down, does not seem very promising, the fragments offered are insignificant, and it is not even certain that they have come from there, because all the caves in the desert are being prospected in this way by Bedouin. The lead is abandoned.

1-3 October

•St. Mark's scrolls are exhibited at the Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts

3 November

•Dajani explores new caves claimed to be the source of new fragments.

24 November-12 December

•De Vaux and Harding make soundings at Qumran, confirming the site's connection with Cave 1 through pottery analysis, and establishing the date of the site through coins.

•Henri du Bessey de Contensen arrives in Jerusalem to study archaeology with de Vaux,

staying until 1953. He almost immediately joins the excavations in Qumran, working exclusively on the tombs during the first season, excavating “between 12 and 15.”

•During a visit to Jerusalem towards the end of the month, de Vaux is visited by Kando, accompanied by George Isaiah [Isha’ya], who had led a small secret expedition that plundered Cave 1 after Bedouin discovered it. Kando offers some fragments on skin and on papyrus he claims came from the first cave of Qumran. De Vaux recognizes this claim as “clearly false.”

9 December

•Kando and George bring back the fragments they already offered and de Vaux buys them.

18 December

•Kando and George bring parchment fragments written in Greek and two skin fragments on which a short Hebrew text is written (Deuteronomy or Exodus). De Vaux postpones the examination of these fragments.

26 December

•De Vaux enters into direct contact with the Bedouin through a certain Ta’amireh, the young Hassan ‘Ayid, who offers a very small piece of leather with Greek letters on it. Hassan explains that it comes from a site south of ‘Ain Feshkha.

1952

4 January

•Hassan ‘Ayid and Hassan Farhan present a fragment of Greek papyrus [fragment of a Greek remarriage contract, 115] to de Vaux. De Vaux realizes this is not from Qumran.

5 January

•Hassan Farhan returns alone bringing de Vaux some fragments on which there is almost nothing written. Two new Ta’amireh appear, ‘Abed and Mahmud Hsein, the later claiming that the fragments de Vaux had bought the day before were found by him. He tells De Vaux that there are other fragments, and that he will bring them.

•Kando offers de Vaux a batch of fragments,

among which there is a large Greek papyrus, (contract 116) a papyrus with several lines of big “Phoenician” (Paleo-Hebrew) characters, covering a very faded text, which also seems to be written in Phoenician characters, (palimpsest 17) a fragment from Exodus, coming from the same scroll as the fragment previously bought [Exodus 4:28-31].

8 January (in the morning)

•George Isha’ya reproaches de Vaux for not having bought anything from Kando.

8 January (midday)

•Hassan Farhan brings over some fragments [papyrus 113 and small fragments]. He invites de Vaux to visit the location where all the new fragments are being found.

9 January

•Hassan Ayid offers De Vaux three coins.

10 January

•George Isha’ya comes alone, empty-handed.

11 January

•George and Kando offer the same pieces as they did on 5 January, plus some small fragments. De Vaux tries to persuade them to lend the scroll fragments to him for study, but they refuse. De Vaux notices that the fragments are getting damaged by being handled by the Bedouin, and according to what had been arranged with Harding, de Vaux decides to buy them.

12 January (7:30 a.m.)

•Abed brings some small fragments.

12 January (Midday)

•Hassan Ayid, Mahmud Hsein, and again Abed offer fake manuscripts to de Vaux.

12 January (2:00 p.m.)

•Abed and Salameh present to de Vaux some badly preserved papyrus fragments. De Vaux recognizes fragments of documents already in possession of the Museum, and he buys them.

14 January

•The two Hassans come and settle on the conditions for their joint excavation with the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the École biblique, and ASOR.

21 January-3 March

- Harding and De Vaux interrupt their excavations at Qumran to search the caves at Wadi Murabba'at.

February

- Cave 2 is discovered to the north of Qumran, near Cave 1.

10-29 March

- De Vaux and William Reed, director of the American School in Jerusalem, supervise the exploration of caves in the Qumran region. Three survey teams headed up by Barthélemy, Milik, and de Contenson and consisting of about 10-12 Bedouin each, survey 225 caves about 4 km. north and south of Qumran. De Contenson takes his team north. They find the cave that becomes known as Cave 3, excavating it from March 10-20. On the last day, less than an hour before they were to quit, the two pieces of the Copper Scroll are discovered.

July

- Bedouin discover Byzantine and early Arabic manuscripts, including some Greek New Testament manuscripts, all from about the 6-7th century at Khirbet Mird, the ruins of a monastery about five miles from Qumran.

July-August

- Bedouin bring to Jerusalem manuscripts from an "unidentified" cave, probably Nahal Hever (Wadi Khabra) which include a Greek text of the Minor Prophets.

August-September

- Cave 4 is discovered. The Bedouin remove all unburied scroll fragments.

20 September (Saturday)

- Bedouin offer the first Cave 4 fragments through Kando and directly to de Vaux at the École biblique. Harding is immediately notified and by 3 p.m. a mounted patrol arrives at Qumran and finds the cave. The police leave a guard there.

21 September (Sunday)

- The Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the École biblique prepare themselves for excavating the new cave.

22-29 September

- De Vaux, Milik and others excavate Cave 4, discovering more fragments from about 100 original manuscripts. More than 40,000 are later identified as having come from nearly 600 manuscripts in Cave 4, of which at least 100 were biblical. Cave 5 is discovered a short distance north of Cave 4 and is excavated by Milik. Shortly afterwards Cave 6 is discovered in a cliff of Wadi Qumran.

Autumn

- About 70 manuscripts are already identified by autumn 1952 from among the fragments found during the official and unofficial excavations of Cave 4.

- Baillet is given the "thankless task" of publishing several small pieces found in Cave 2. Others are added to his lot in 1953, and some pieces from Caves 3 and 6 in 1954, and finally, fragments from Caves 7-10 in 1957. He emphasizes that he was not yet a member of the Cave 4 Team.

Winter 1952-1953

- Kando hides Cave 4 fragments in an inner tube and buries it under the doorway to his house. In the spring of 1953 he unearths it, only to find that the humidity has reduced all the fragments to jelly.

- The Johns Hopkins joint dissertation of Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography. A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* is published. Father Patrick Skehan has been their epigraphy teacher.

1953

- Antoun Hazou takes up the post of librarian in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.
- Professor Eleazar Sukenik (father of Yadin) dies.

- The Jordanian government pays JD15,000 (\$42,000) for Cave 4 fragments.

- E.-M. Laperrousaz joins the excavation at Qumran for one season.

- The Palestine Archaeological Museum reaches an arrangement with the Jordan government which requires scroll materials to remain in the Museum until published, but

allows fragments to go after publication to institutions donating funds for their purchase.

February-April

- Khirbet Mird is excavated by R. de Langhe of the University of Louvain, Belgium.

9 February-4 April

- Second season of excavation at Qumran.

Spring

- Harding begins to constitute the Cave 4 Team. Frank Cross, already at the American School in Jerusalem, is nominated by Carl Kraeling, then president of ASOR, and W. F. Albright, Cross' former professor, to join the team.

Spring

- Father Barthélemy falls ill and returns to France where he spends six months in a sanatorium convalescing from amoebaeal dysentery. He never returns to Jerusalem as a resident, and spends most of his career at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland. He died in 2002.

May

- Cross arrives in Jerusalem to be annual professor at the American School of Oriental Research 1953-1954. He is also acting director of the American School, giving him a seat on the board of trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. He is the first new member of the Cave 4 Team to arrive. Milik, who has already worked on Caves 1-4 fragments, spends the summer in France.

June

- De Contensen leaves Jerusalem

Summer

- Cross works alone in Jerusalem on the Cave 4 materials excavated by Harding and de Vaux.

- G. R. Driver of Christ Church, Oxford, recommends J. A. Emerton and P. Wernberg-Møller to G. Lankester Harding for the Cave 4 Team, but neither is able to join due to personal circumstances.

Autumn

- Driver recommends John Allegro, age 30, to de Vaux for the Cave 4 Team. He arrives in Jerusalem on October 13 to begin work for one year. His wife Joan stays behind in Eng-

land with their six-month-old daughter, Judith. He returns to England in August 1954.

September

- Józef Milik arrives back in Jerusalem and joins Cross in working on Cave 4 fragments.

End of 1953

- By now a "jumble" of approximately 15,000 Cave 4 fragments has been accumulated.

1954

- Najib Anton Albina begins photographing the Cave 4 scrolls at the PAM.

- Strugnell arrives in Jerusalem from Jesus College, Oxford on the recommendation of G. R. Driver to Harding. Eventually he receives a batch of non-biblical scrolls second in size only to that of Milik.

January

- Father Jean Starcky, attached to the CNRS in Paris, is invited by de Vaux to join the Cave 4 Team on the recommendation of Milik. Starcky begins studying non-biblical Hebrew and mainly Aramaic manuscripts from Cave 4.

15 February-15 April

- Third season at Qumran.

June

- Monsignor Patrick W. Skehan, professor at the Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, arrives in Jerusalem to take over as annual professor (1954-1955) at the American School from Frank Cross. Harding and de Vaux add Skehan to the Cave 4 Team and Cross, who studied epigraphy under Skehan at Johns Hopkins, divides his Cave 4 biblical materials with him.

1 June

- Morty Jacobs of New York calls Yadin in Israel to inform him that the St. Mark's scrolls are being advertised for sale in the *Wall Street Journal*. The advertisement reads: The Four Dead Sea Scrolls. Biblical Manuscripts dating back to least 200 B.C. are for sale. This would be an excellent gift to an educational or religious institution by an individual or group."

11 June

- Mar Athanasius Samuel reaches an agreement with “Mr. Green” (Professor Harry Orlinsky) to purchase his four scrolls for \$250,000.

1 July

- St. Mark’s scrolls are purchased by Yadin in New York on behalf of Israel for \$250,000.

July

- Hunzinger receives doctorate from University of Göttingen under Professor Jeremias.
- Claus-Hunno Hunzinger completes his thesis incorporating the newly published Cave 1 Manual of Discipline and receives his doctorate from the University of Göttingen under Professor J. Jeremias.

October

- Claus Hunno-Hunzinger joins the Cave 4 Team in Jerusalem for one year, but stays for two. This is arranged by Martin Noth with Harding and de Vaux. Hunzinger is officially under the auspices of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes in Jerusalem and is supported by the Deutsches Forschungsgemeinschaft. He is put in charge of editing several copies of the War Scroll and some liturgical texts.

1955**January**

- Harding sends uninscribed fragments to Allegro in England to be tested.

13 February

- Yadin announces that the St. Mark’s scrolls have returned to Jerusalem, to be united with those purchased by his father some years before.

2 February-6 April

- Fourth season at Qumran.
- Caves 7, 8, 9, 10 are discovered in the terraces around Qumran, but yield only small amounts of scroll fragments.

March

- A Hebrew scroll of the Minor Prophets is discovered by Bedouin in a fifth Murabba’at cave.
- Controversy begins to swirl around John Allegro for his statements on the radio and

in the popular press.

18-29 March

- An Israeli expedition to Masada finds one papyrus document.

Spring

- Hunzinger meets his future wife Elisabet while accompanying a group of German tourists to Qumran

5 April

- Oxford University Press (Clarendon) sends an advance copy of volume 1 of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* to Harding in Jerusalem.

11 May

- Harding writes to Allegro that neither the Americans nor British Museum is likely to help unroll the copper scrolls [“bronze rolls”], and asks if the University of Manchester would be interested.

24 May

- A. Scholes writes to Allegro that the Carborundum Company, Ltd. cannot help unroll the Copper Scroll.

26 May

- Official publication date of DJD 1.

Spring

- Publication of *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* by Sukenik (posthumously), Avigad and others.

Summer

- Allegro is in Jerusalem, as are Cross, Milik, Hunzinger, Skehan, and Strugnell.
- Skehan becomes annual director of the American Schools of Oriental Research during for 1955-1956.

August

- 330 manuscripts of the Cave 4 scrolls have now been identified, occupying 420 glass mounts (plates) and 80 plates of unidentified fragments remain.

4 October

- In Manchester the last cuts are made of the first part of the Copper Scroll.

14 October

- Allegro tells Harding that his preliminary reading of the Copper Scroll indicates a vast treasure of silver and gold at Qumran and in the surrounding area.

15 October

- Strugnell writes Allegro that he is the only one working regularly in the scrollerly

16 October

- Allegro writes Harding that if he can “manage a private exploratory dig” he may find a cache of ten juglets of silver coins and three hundred talents of gold, in addition to the “three juglets of silver coins” already discovered “by the gate.”

19 October

- Harding replies that he thinks Bar Kokhba, leader of the second Jewish revolt (132-135 AD) may have stumbled on the treasure.

21 October

- Allegro mentions a possible second copy of the Copper Scroll, which, however is never found. He is awaiting the arrival of the second half of the scroll in Manchester.

22 October

- Allegro writes Harding about “Saad’s kidnapping escapade” in connection with Murabba’at. He is holding back his forthcoming book from Pelican until he knows what is to be done about the Copper Scroll.

30 October

- Harding asks Allegro to leave the “Saad kidnapping incident” out of his book. There is much discussion back and forth how best to announce publicly the contents of the Copper Scroll.

3 November

- Cross questions Allegro on Peshet Nahum, and whether “the Priest” was indeed killed.

16 November

Dajani visits Manchester to check on progress in cutting the Copper Scroll. Allegro does not reveal to him the matter of the treasure spoken of in the scroll.

18 November

- Allegro urges Harding (and de Vaux) to “make a big sweep of the neighbourhood this Spring,” because “it would certainly be a pity not to get the money while it is there, which it won’t be after this year.”

27 November

- De Vaux expresses doubts that any of the

treasure spoken of in the Copper Scroll may still exist. He thinks that the three pots of coins they discovered during the previous year were “another matter.” He urges Allegro to keep everything secret.

1 December

- Allegro sends Harding emendations of his Copper Scroll translation. Mention is made that Harding has finally succeeded in raising enough money to get the “rest of the Cave Four stuff” (though they did not know at the time that considerable material was still being held back by Kando).

2 December

- From Amman Harding acknowledges the receipt of Allegro’s transcription and translation of the Copper Scroll. The British Council has made a grant to cover the cost of bringing the second part of the Copper Scroll from Jordan to Manchester.

- Allegro gives more detailed instructions to de Vaux about places to look for treasure in the vicinity of Qumran. He announces to de Vaux that he thinks he has found “absolute proof” in his fragments that the Teacher of Righteousness was crucified by the gentiles and that he was expected to rise again in the end of time to be the Messiah.

11 December

- De Vaux expresses doubts about the intent of the Copper Scroll in stronger terms. He alludes to growing difficulties between the government of Jordan and Harding.

15 December

- De Vaux acknowledges receipt of Allegro’s “Pelican” book on the scrolls.

21 December

- Harding mentions to Allegro that the Rockefeller funds are running out, but he hopes for more from the same source. He expresses despair over getting the second part of the Copper Scroll to Manchester, indicating that within less than one week, Jordan has had two different governments.

- De Contensen takes over the excavations at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), where he stays for

the next 21 years, except for three years digging at Axum, Ethiopia, because the Suez Crisis (November 1956) and its aftermath kept him out of Syria.

1956

3 January

- Muhammad arrives in Manchester with the second part of the Copper Scroll.

11 January

The “first slice” is taken off the second part of the Copper Scroll. Among the first words read on it were “and gold.” Allegro reports to Harding that “excitement runs high.”

February

- Bedouin discover Cave 11 and remove all scroll fragments they can find.

7 February

- Announcement in Israel of the unrolling and decipherment of the “Fourth Scroll” (Genesis Apocryphon)

18 February-28 March

- The Excavations at Qumran continue for a fifth and final season. Ain Feshkha is also explored.

27 February

- Cross warns Allegro about some of the conclusions he seems to be drawing without sufficient evidence from the scrolls themselves.

1 March

- The Palestine Archaeological Museum pays JD 16,000 (\$44,800) to Kando for “eight cardboard boxes and one package” of Cave 11 fragments.

7-17 March

- A further survey of Masada by an Israeli team turns up no fragments.

11 March

- Allegro writes to Strugnell that he is preparing 4Q Testimonia for publication.
- Harding is prepared, finally, to make a public announcement on the Copper Scroll.
- Allegro’s article on the Peshar Nahum is published in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*.

30 April

- Allegro writes Harding that an American lady who was living in Jerusalem when he

was there might be interested in underwriting some of the scrolls work.

15 May

- Harding writes Allegro that another installation of the Qumran period has been found at Feshkha, and that the discovery of an inkpot there “confirms the connection with Qumran.” He intends a press release on the copper rolls about the beginning of June.

23 May

- Allegro ask Harding if Milik still thinks the Copper Scroll is “a fairy-tale.”

28 May

- Harding writes Allegro that “the troves listed in the rolls do not seem to have anything to do with the sect at all,” but are simply “a collection of traditions of buried treasure.”

1 June

- Announcement made that the Copper Scroll contains a list of buried treasure.

5 June

- Allegro pushes Harding to release more information about the Copper Scroll to the public.
- Allegro reports to Harding that tests on samples of blank scroll fragments he sent to Manchester show that the skin was parchment (dried) not leather (tanned).

1956 or 1957

Summer

- First gift from McCormick Theological Seminary (Chicago) to purchase Cave 4 scrolls. Cross advises Harding of \$6000 available. Harding sends word to Kando that 2100 square cm. of inscribed material from Cave 4 would be purchased.

- Hunzinger receives an invitation to spend another year in Jerusalem.

circa June

- Gerald Lankester Harding is forcibly removed from his position as Director General of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. He retains his position with the as yet still private Palestine Archaeological Museum, but takes up residence in Harissa, near Beirut, Lebanon. He is remembered by the Bedouin for his flu-

ent Arabic and assimilation into Arab culture. His memory makes him into a sort of second “Lawrence of Arabia” among the Ta’amireh Bedouin.

17 July

- The Palestine Archaeological Museum pays JD 14,000 (\$32,200) for 11QNewJerusalem and 11Q Targum of Job. Publication rights to these are bought in 1961 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands.

29 July

- Cross tells Allegro that one of the reasons Harding is being pushed out of the Department of Antiquities is “lies about the scrolls,” apparently false stories spread by Bedouin or Jordanians. He also mentions “Wright” (Professor G. E. Wright of Harvard) as “remaining at the task,” with him and Strugnell in the scroller.

26 July

- Egyptian President Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal and all of its assets in response to Western unwillingness to help finance the building of the Aswan High Dam. Britain and France, the stockholders in the canal, respond to the nationalization by sending military vessels to the Mediterranean.

23 August

- Britain and France propose to have the canal administered by a company owned by all the countries that use the canal, but the Egyptians do not agree.

30 August

- Allegro publishes his “Pelican” book on the scrolls. The first run of 40,000 sells out in three weeks.

End of the summer

- 381 manuscripts on 477 plates of Cave 4 materials are now identified, leaving 29 plates of unidentified fragments and 13 plates of papyrus not yet studied.

14 September

- Allegro writes Harding that Strugnell, then in Rome, says the situation continues to deteriorate in Jordan. He is still pushing Harding to release information on the Copper Scroll: “... holding back of the Copper Scroll

seems particularly unfortunate.” This is Allegro’s last surviving letter to Harding.

October

- Strugnell is in London and does not know when the unstable political situation will allow him to return to Jerusalem.

- De Vaux and the rest of the Cave 4 Team in Jerusalem become very agitated over Allegro’s statements, particularly his assertion that there is a record of a crucifixion and burial of a “Messiah”-type leader from the texts at Qumran. Allegro remains in England during the winter of 1955-1956.

1 October

- Hunzinger arrives in Jerusalem from Germany by taxi from the border of Turkey, through Damascus and Amman for his second year. He can work only three weeks on his texts before the fragments are moved to Amman.

Third Week of October

- The Team’s work is halted owing to the Suez Crisis/Sinai War. All manuscripts and fragments in the Palestine Archaeological Museum are removed to Amman for safekeeping.

29 October

- Israel attacks Egypt with French reinforcements and in less than four days reaches the Suez Canal. Israel’s invasion is a reaction to the declaration that put the armies of Jordan and Syria under the command of the Egyptian commander in chief.

30 October

- Britain and France present both Egypt and Israel with an ultimatum to withdraw 16 km. from the Canal Zone. Egypt refuses.

31 October

- British and French troops stationed in Cyprus bomb Egyptian airbases, but do not destroy the Egyptian Air Force, which has been moved.

November

- Hunzinger leaves Jerusalem and travels to Beirut for two weeks, returning to Jerusalem in mid-November. The leaders of the American School in East Jerusalem had left, so Hunzinger becomes interim director until the return of the American leadership at the end of 1956.

1956 November to March 1957

Hunzinger is the only member of the Cave 4 Team in Jerusalem and remains at de Vaux's request. De Vaux uses his presence to argue with Jordanian officials that the fragments should be returned to Jerusalem because a member of the Team was waiting to work on them.

5 November

- Britain and France invade Egypt with 7,000 troops, quickly taking control of the Canal Zone.

7 November

- Britain and France cease military action.

21 November

- Britain and France agree to UN intervention. UN troops land in Port Said. Israel does not withdraw from the Sinai and Gaza Strip until 8 March 1957.

4 December

- Strugnell writes to Allegro that Starcky and Milik are in Paris and that "at the moment of crisis [the Suez Crisis] the MSS were transferred to the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Amman. De Vaux is trying to persuade the Jordanians to allow the scrolls to come back to Jerusalem.

- Hunzinger is in Jerusalem working, but only from photographs. Kraeling continues Strugnell's salary from the Rockefeller Fund.

11 December

- Strugnell reports to Allegro from London that the Jordanians have now forced Harding out of the Museum as well.

December 1956 or January 1957

- Strugnell reports that Milik is in Paris working on the *Mishmarot* (a kind of calendar) and Murabba'at, and that before Milik left Jerusalem ("Quds") Milik was able "to reconstruct the complete calendar of Mishmarot." The trustees of the Museum were unable to meet since too few of them were able to get to the Museum.

- De Vaux suggests to the Cave 4 Team that it should not publish too many smaller advance editions such as they were frequently doing, in order not to preempt the definitive volumes.

1957**10 January**

- Strugnell reports to Allegro that Abdul Gharaibeh, Harding's enemy, has been appointed curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum at a meeting in December, "with the proviso that as a trustee shouldn't hold the job, he gives it up May 1957—but giving him time to find an even worse successor!" De Vaux has resigned as president, and the American ambassador has taken his place.

- Kraeling has arranged a six-month research appointment for Strugnell at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago while things settle in Jerusalem. Cross is at McCormick Theological Seminary, almost next door to the Oriental Institute. American immigration officials require that Strugnell sign an affidavit that he is not a communist, as it is the height of the "McCarthy Era."

- Harding receives a "C.B.E. (Commander of the British Empire) in the Honors list," but not a pension and is therefore pessimistic about his future.

14 January

- Allegro states that he hopes to get to Jerusalem during the following summer. A third edition of his book is in preparation as are the German and Spanish editions. He notes that he is the "proud father of a bouncing boy, John Mark, born just a week ago."

January 19

- Strugnell writes to Allegro that although he is leaving England in a few days time to go to the Oriental Institute in Chicago, he does not want to stay in America since "there is still plenty to do on the unidentified fragments." He also notes that Kraeling is scheduled to go to Jerusalem in February to "make arrangements for the resumption of scrollery, the survival of the Museum" He expresses the hope that the Cave 4 Team will meet in Jerusalem in the summer and also notes that Milik's book, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* is going to be translated into Spanish and English.

6 February

- Allegro informs Strugnell that according to de Vaux “things are going from bad to worse” in Jerusalem and that he has no hopes of resuming their work during 1957, if ever. “The new Director of Antiquities has taken upon himself responsibility for all further scroll editing, and refuses to let fragments or even photographs leave the country.”

12 February

- Strugnell reports to Allegro that the Ministry of Education has sent a letter to the director of the Museum apparently nationalizing the scrolls. Strugnell also speaks of “cave 12” and “cave 13,” apparently just a reference to what two more scroll caves would be numbered, not that such caves have already been found.

20 February

- Allegro mentions the “Cave 11 stuff” for the first time in his correspondence. It is apparently in a “bank vault” in Jerusalem and has already been “nationalized” by Jordan (but this is not true).

23 February

- Strugnell reports that a proposal has been made for the Cave 4 Team to reconvene in Rome while the situation in Jerusalem settles down. There they would try to produce a concordance, which they realize is necessary for working on the non-biblical scrolls

4 March

The scrolls stored in Amman during the Suez Crisis return to Jerusalem.

23 March

- Allegro says that the Jordan government is setting up a board to study the scrolls, probably with an Arab as “nominal head” and that Jordan has accepted the offer of the Rockefeller Foundation to set up an institute of scroll studies in Arab Jerusalem.

28 March

- Allegro writes to Strugnell saying he has just heard from de Vaux that “the fragments are back in Quds [Jerusalem].” He also notes that Teicher has suggested that the fragments should be published without any reconstruction of the documents.

- Hunzinger cleans off mold, which accumulated on the Cave 4 fragments while they were stored in the Ottoman Bank in Amman.

- Barthélemy takes up a teaching post at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He remains there until his retirement in 1991.

3 April

- Strugnell reports to Allegro that Kraeling’s trip to Jordan was a disaster. The Jordanians refused to see him and waited him out in Beirut. There does not seem to be any money in the Rockefeller fund to pay for Allegro to come to Jerusalem during 1957. Strugnell hopes to have the Cave 4 Concordance finished by 1958.

11 April

- Allegro says that de Vaux has informed him that “Milik, Hunzinger and soon Starcky are at work” in Jerusalem, and wants Allegro to come back to Jerusalem in the summer. Cross and Skehan will not be coming back until 1958 to work on the biblical material. Negotiations about Cave 11 materials continue. It has not yet been decided whether the Cave 4 Team will work on the Cave 11 materials. Allegro raises the question of starting a private fund [foundation] to support the Cave 4 Team.

1 May

- Strugnell writes Allegro that he has decided to return to Jerusalem to work on the scrolls for the summer now that the “revolution in Jordan” is over. He says that “at the moment the unidentified plates are still half full of Starcky, Milik, and Strugnell MSS.” Rockefeller makes known through Kraeling that he will not renew the grant to the Cave 4 Team unless he sees something published from 4Q.

4 May

- Allegro writes Strugnell: “I, too, having been awaiting the end of the revolution, either way, and I must say I don’t think for a moment that Hussein has completely finished it. I should say the split between Palestine and Trans-Jordan is almost certain to come off, with Israel biting off the western bank.”

7 June

- Strugnell reports that Hashim, who had lost his job the previous September, is now reinstated as an ex officio trustee of the Museum—a good friend of Harding and of science.

5 September

- The Cave 4 Team views the new Cave 11 material for the first time for about one hour at the Palestine Archaeological Museum under the supervision of de Vaux. Allegro and Hunzinger identify a Psalms scroll in which the psalms are in a different order, since the Psalm before and after Psalm 122 was different from the traditional Hebrew Bible. They are not able to unroll enough of it to discover, as was later found, that it also contained some “non-canonical” psalms.

- Hunzinger has his 28th birthday in Jerusalem. De Vaux and Benoît attend his party at the American School.

- Hunzinger publishes “a number of fragments” of the [Cave 4] War Scroll [in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 69; NF 28].

- Hunzinger leaves Jerusalem, receiving a few small uninscribed fragments as a souvenir. They are now partially on display at the Qumran- & Biblexhibition of A. Schick.

1958

- Revue de Qumran* founded by Father Jean Carmignac (Gabalda, Paris).

25 January-21 March

- Sixth season in Qumran area. Ain Feshkha excavated.

June

- Baillet is invited to join the “Famous Team” as he puts it in his introduction to DJD 7. He receives manuscripts from Starcky, Milik, and Strugnell.

July

- A second gift from McCormick Theological Seminary (Chicago) and a gift from the All Soul’s Unitarian Church make it possible to purchase the last of the the last of the Cave 4 scroll fragments, or at least the last of those known to de Vaux, Saad, and the Cave 4 Team

at the time. The price is raised from the previously agreed-upon 1 Jordanian dinar (\$2.80) per sq. cm. These gifts “were made with the understanding that the scrolls purchased would remain in the Rockefeller (PAM) Museum and that only rights of publication would be granted to national schools or their designated editors.” The nationalization of the scrolls by Jordan in 1961 was thus anticipated. Others who made previous Cave 4 purchases possible were: the Federal Government of Bonn and the Government of Baden-Württemberg on behalf of the University of Heidelberg through K. G. Kuhn, Manchester University and one of its donors, McGill University, an “unnamed widow,” the endowment of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, and the Vatican Library.

- The last fragments from Murabba’at are purchased by the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the École biblique.

November

- Allegro’s *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* is published in the United States.

18 November

- Allegro tells Strugnell: “It wrenches my heart to part with the wisdom literature, as you well know, but what must be, must be.”

1958-1959

- Fitzmyer works on the concordance for Cave 4 non-biblical scrolls.

1959

- Baillet is assigned the less interesting fragments from Cave 4. There are 1659 fragments, of which 398 were written on both sides, bringing the total pieces of text to 2057.

10 January

- Allegro writes to Dajani, complaining that the BBC is postponing the television program on the scrolls, blaming pressure by de Vaux. He says de Vaux must be “removed from his post.” He expresses a fear that the Vatican will hide or destroy scrolls which might “affect Roman Catholic Dogma.” He is trying to find money to buy the Cave 11 materials

which have been in the vault of the Palestine Archaeological Museum for some time. He suggests that scrolls should not be distributed to donors, and that Jordan should consider nationalizing the whole Museum. He wants to see an expanded scrolls team, incorporating people from other national and religious background, but specifically excluding “Jews.” He complains about how long it is taking his colleagues to publish their lots, and is outraged that he is getting pressure not to publish his own book on the Copper Scroll until Milik has published it in *DJD*. He suggests that as a “practicing atheist or what-have-you,” he is more neutral than any of the other scholars, all the rest of whom have some religious affiliation.

31 January

- Strugnell is in Jerusalem working on scrolls and writes to Allegro about fragments he has moved around on the plates, new joins, etc.

- Strugnell does much of the work on the concordance himself.

23 February

- Strugnell’s first child, David, is born.

22 March

- De Vaux writes to Allegro that June 1960 will be the deadline for the submission of his manuscript for publication in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*. No examination of scroll fragments at the Palestine Archaeological Museum will be allowed after that. The Rockefeller funds will cease at this point.

24 March

- Hunzinger is still working on his materials, but is expecting to spend the fall of 1959 in the US as a visiting lecturer at Drew University.

May

- Allegro’s *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* is published in England.

26 June

- Allegro writes to Strugnell and de Vaux saying that he does not know when he will be able to return to the scrollery in Jerusalem again. He does not go to Jerusalem during 1959.

End of June

- 511 manuscripts from Cave 4 have now been identified and reconstructed on 520 plates, with 25 glass mounts of small isolated fragments. The last series of photographs are taken, representing as nearly as possible the arrangement of plates for publication.

22 November

- Strugnell reports that he has taken ten fragments on Allegro’s plates that join to biblical MSS.

1960

Early in the year

- The Rockefeller funds, arranged by Carl Kraeling, which have largely supported the previous six years of piecing together Cave 4 fragments and photographing the resultant “plates” run out.

- Two other members of the Cave 4 Team attempt to take the War Scroll text (496) away from Baillet, but he resists.

25 January—2 February

- Rumors that many fragments brought to Jerusalem by Bedouin had come from Nahal Se’elim results in a survey of the valley by Aharoni. Documentary fragments are found only in Cave 34.

February

- The Bechtels offer to donate \$60,000 to the PAM for the purchase of the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll from Kando.

11 March

- An article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* is the beginning of the Edwin Pauley incident.

23 March-6 April

- Yadin excavates the “Cave of Letters” (Cave 5/6) in Nahal Hever during which he discovers the Bar Kokhba letters as well as fragments of Psalms and 15 letters in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.

26 April

- Starcky reports to Saad that a scroll fragment had disappeared from the PAM.

29, 30 April

- Strugnell reports to Saad that more fragments are missing. A total of at least five

fragments had been stolen sometime in the previous few days.

Spring

- Allegro conducts soundings at various sites in Jordan in an attempt to find the treasure of the Copper Scroll. His *Treasure of the Copper Scroll* is published.

4 June

- McGill University, McCormick Theological Seminary, Heidelberg University, the Vatican Library and the University of Manchester are notified that work on their fragments is finished and they should begin to make arrangements to pack and transport them.

27 July

- The Prime Minister of Jordan and his Council of Ministers decide to keep in Jordan the scrolls purchased by foreign institutions and to reimburse the funds these institutions expended to purchase them.

November

- Volume 2 of DJD appears: *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (The Caves of Murabba'at), by Benoît, Milik, and de Vaux in two parts, one of texts and one of photographs.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| ADAJ | <i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> |
| ASOR | American Schools of Oriental Research |
| BA | <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i> |
| BASOR | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BL | British Library |
| BM | British Museum |
| BNF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| CUA | Catholic University of America |
| CVDSSM | <i>Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition</i> |
| DAJ | Department of Antiquities of Jordan |
| DJD | Discoveries in the Judaean Desert |
| DSD | In the early days, the Manual of Discipline from Cave 1. Today, the journal <i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i> |
| DSS | Dead Sea Scrolls |
| DSSF | Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation |
| EBAF | École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem |
| EDSS | <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> |
| HU | The Hebrew University of Jerusalem |
| IAA | Israel Antiquities Authority |
| IDAM | Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums |
| JBL | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| JNES | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> |
| JQR | <i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> |
| MS, MSS | Manuscript(s) |
| OIM | Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago |
| OUP | Oxford University Press |
| PAM | Palestine Archaeological Museum |
| PEQ | <i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> |
| RB | <i>Révue biblique</i> |
| RQ | <i>Révue de Qumrân</i> |
| SBF | Studium Biblicum Franciscanum (Jerusalem) |
| VD | <i>Verbum Domini</i> |

ENDNOTES

(Endnotes) Prologue

1. The church father Origen, who was born in Alexandria in 185 and died in prison in Tyre in 254.

2. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:16:1. This story is apparently repeated by Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis, who tells how the Quinta Editio (fifth edition) of the Old Testament in Greek was found in a jar near Jericho, together with other Greek and Hebrew books. The same writer reports a similar manuscript find in similar circumstances at Nicopolis near Actium on the west coast of Greece, which he says was a copy of the Sexta. cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Newly Discovered Scrolls in the Hebrew University Museum in Jerusalem," *BA* 12:2 (1949) 38. Also described in an unpublished paper in the Brownlee Archive, "Metropolitan Samuel on Origen and the Patriarch Timothy I," 1–2.

3. About AD 800 written by Timotheus I (778–823), Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, addressed to Sergius, Nestorian metropolitan of Elam (*Oriens Christianus*, vol. 1). Among these documents, Timothy reports, were 200 Psalms of David, reminiscent of the "extra-canonical Psalms," later found in Qumran Cave 11.

4. Also of interest is a report from the tenth century Karaite Joseph Kirkisani (also known as Al-Qirqisani) of Babylonia, who, citing a famous Karaite who lived about AD 900, speaks of an earlier Jewish group, whom he calls "men of the caves" because their sacred books were discovered in a cave. The report recurs in the twelfth century. All these references possibly embody recollections of the Qumran community, or discoveries of scrolls associated in some way with it.

(Endnotes) Chapter 1

1. The constant violence in Jerusalem is described

in detail by Brownlee in his letters between October 1947 and March 1948 from Jerusalem to his fiancée Louise Dunn, then in Kingman, Kansas, and to his parents in Sylvia, Kansas.

2. Brownlee and others were at times convinced that the discovery had occurred at least a year earlier in 1945, and some have put the discovery as early as the late 1930s or early 1940s. Early 1947 has come to be the most commonly accepted date, but it is impossible to know now, especially at a remove of more than 50 years.

3. Among the large number of published accounts only a few were written by those who actually spoke with the original principals in the discoveries and excavations. In the account that follows I have limited my sources to those who had firsthand knowledge of those early events, or who interviewed those who had such knowledge. This has not cleared up all difficulties, but has thinned them out considerably. Nevertheless, troubling anomalies remain, especially in connection with the question of whether there were two "first" caves. Brownlee, for example, came back to the States in 1948 with a story much different than the one he eventually published. It is worthwhile noting it because it is a record of the stories circulating at that early date, and because in several particulars it is very much like the story of Harding, on which see further below. Brownlee gave an "ASOR Night Talk," with the date and purpose annotated in his own handwriting, with a note that it was "put in better shape for that night." Here is the account he was passing on in 1948: "As we [Brownlee and Trever] gained their [the Syrian Christians'] confidence they gradually permitted us to learn additional details concerning their [the scrolls'] origin. They had been discovered in the summer of '48 [Brownlee must mean '47] by Bedouin transporting goods from Transjordan to

Bethlehem. The Bedouin discovered a cave near Ein Faschka above the west bank of the Dead Sea near the northern end. The end of the cave had been sealed off in antiquity, but the ceiling of the cave had fallen in and allowed entrance into the cave. There they found pottery jars containing the ancient rolls. The rolls had been wrapped in yards of linen cloth and the jars sealed; but falling rock had broken a number of the jars and revealed the contents. The Bedouin removed the rolls except for a number of fragments which appeared to them as worthless and took them to the Moslem Sheikh near Bethlehem. He suggested that the rolls might be ancient Syriac, so they took them to the Syrian Orthodox Christians of Bethlehem who in turn notified the Syrian Orthodox Convent in the Old City of Jerusalem. The monastery bought them off the Bedouin and a few months later, when their efforts to decipher them as Syriac failed, they brought them to the American School for investigation" ("ASOR Night Talk," p. 2, in the Brownlee Archive). This would be referring to the St. Mark's scrolls, not the Hebrew University scrolls, since they were always a separate group.

4. Antoun Hazou, interview conducted by Weston and Diane Fields in his home in the Old City of Jerusalem, March 1999. (All interviews listed below, with the exception of Józef Milik and William Kando, were recorded and later transcribed by Gaylene's Word Services and Eva Ben-David). Born in Jerusalem in 1918, Anton is a member of the Syrian Catholic community in Jerusalem (whose building is across the street from the École biblique). For more than 40 years he was a librarian at the École biblique. His father, an artist who painted large works for theaters and schools in what is now West Jerusalem, won first prize at the Jerusalem Exposition in 1932 for a large tableau 26 meters square. Anton grew up in a home situated on what is now the corner of King George and Agron streets, where, during the time of Mandate Palestine, he remembers Jewish professors coming to see his father, who was also an actor and acting teacher. With regret in his eyes, he told me, "It was not then as it is now, Arabs and Jews boycotting each other." He moved to the Old City in 1948, living in a house close to St. Joseph's Convent near Jaffa Gate for three or four years. Later he moved to his residence in the Syrian Orthodox section where we interviewed him, practically next door to St. Mark's Church and Monastery.

Anton's father was close friends with another

Christian Arab, Mr. Saad, who was also an artist, a carver. At times he even did carving for the Palestinian Archaeological Museum (since 1967 the Rockefeller Museum) in East Jerusalem. The friendship between Mr. Hazou and Mr. Saad brought the families close together, and Anton became friends with Mr. Saad's son Yusef, who was about his age. This friendship, which continued their entire lives, eventually brought Anton into the world of Dead Sea Scrolls, for during the 1950s and 1960s Yusef was secretary, then curator of the Palestinian Archaeological Museum.

It was 1936, a period of unrest and riots. The Palestinian Archaeological Museum had not been open long, and its library was just being assembled. Yusef Saad, already working for the museum, came to Anton's house and told him that someone was needed to work in the library. The day he began work, he remembers, was the same day that King Edward abdicated because he wanted to marry Mrs. Simpson. For the next seven and one-half years Anton worked in the library, but in the middle of World War II he was more or less "drafted" by the British to work in the accounting department of the police headquarters. He worked there until 1948. He returned to the Palestinian Archaeological Museum in 1953, and later took employment in the library of the École biblique in 1959 where he worked for 40 years as cataloger, most of that time alongside Father Rousée. During the 1950s he assisted Harding, de Vaux, and others in acquiring certain scrolls from Kando and the Bedouin.

5. The Ta'amireh Bedouin were even then only seminomadic. According to its own oral tradition, the tribe migrated from north Arabia about 450 years ago. They engage in some farming, but during the winter and early spring pasture their goats and sheep in the Judean Desert to the west of their village, Ta'amireh, near Bethlehem (William Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries in the Judean Wilderness* [unpublished manuscript, Brownlee Archives, University of Manchester] 1-6. Excerpts are published here for the first time with the kind permission of his daughter, Martha Brownlee-Terry and through the assistance of Professor George Brooke, University of Manchester. The manuscript was not completed before Brownlee's death, and does not include his planned footnotes). Some Ta'amireh later moved to Bethlehem, where, for example, I visited the

home of Abu Daoud many times in the 1990s.

6. Father Rousée, who knew Mohammad ed-Dib very well, says that there were actually five who worked together on that first cave, and they elected Mohammad to be their spokesperson. When asked about the reliability of this report, John Strugnell said, “I would rely very much on what Rousée says. He’s a trained Western observer” (Jordain-Marie Rousée, interview, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Rachel Drassen, translator, at his home in Normandy, France, 24 March 1999; John Strugnell, interview, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields in his home in Cambridge, MA, 30 March 1999).

7. Also identified as “Hasan” and possibly to be identified with Abu Daoud, still living in Bethlehem in 1997. The last name Hasan has mistakenly been used for decades, but Trever and Kiraz long ago pointed out the error. It should be noted that Abu Daoud’s claim is not verified by William Kando. Frank Cross, who met the original Muhammed ed-Dib, labels him an “imposter” (Cross to Fields, 5 May 2005). Still, for reasons I give below, he persuaded me that he had something to do with the original discovery, even if he was not the person he claimed to be. Ed-Dib is variously spelled, and I have chosen to use the most simple form.

8. Many of the early scrolls scholars would later come to know ed-Dib well, but for a variety of reasons his identification, as well as the story of the first discoveries, became confused over the years. Elizabeth Trever recalls, for example that as late as 1966 she and John made a trip to the Jordan valley and met him in his tents. “The interpreter that John was using took us out there, found him. He knew where he was, and so we shared tent space with the sheep and the rest of the animals.” Despite a short time of study in the Lutheran school at Beit Sahur, he did not speak any English at all, Elizabeth recalls. (John and Elizabeth Trever, interview by Weston and Diane Fields in their home in Laguna Hills, CA, 9 April 1999. There were three subsequent meetings with the Trevers, the last one on December 14, 2003 in the retirement community where they were residing in Forest Hills, California. John died April 30, 2006.

9. William W. Brownlee, “Muhammad Ed-Deeb’s Own Story of His Scroll Discovery,” (based on an interview with Najib S. Khoury in Bethlehem, 23 October 1956) *JNES*: 16 (1957) 236. The story was criticized severely by Trever,

and probably is one more indication of leveling and elaboration, but it is worthwhile to know the story, and to keep in mind that it may be best understood if there were two first caves. Brownlee reports the interview as follows: “In the year 1945 I was tending a flock of 55 head in the [Judaean] wilderness, with two other herdsmen who had also their own flocks. The three of us were sleeping in the wilderness. As is customary, each one of us would count his flock in the evening; but it happened that for two days I did not count my flock. So about 11 a.m. on the third day, I counted the flock and found that one goat was lost. I came to my companions and told them that I wanted to leave my flock with them and wanted to go out and search for the lost goat. I left them and went in search of the goat. I had to climb hills and go down into valleys. I went very far from the [other two] herdsmen. As I was roaming, I came upon a cave with its entrance open at the top like a cistern. Supposing that the goat had fallen into the cave, I started throwing in stones; and every time I threw a stone into the cave, I would hear a sound like the breaking of pottery. Then I was puzzled as to what the sound was, and I wanted to know that was in the cave, so I went down into the cave and found pottery jars. I began to break the jars with my staff, thinking I would find treasure. However, in the first nine jars which I broke, I found little seeds of reddish color, and nothing else was in them. When I broke the tenth jar, which was the smallest of the jars, I found in it some rolled leather with scrawling on it. The nine jars which I had broken first were covered with lids, but were unsealed; whereas the small tenth jar had a lid which was sealed with something like red clay.

I was puzzled as to what I should do, whether to take the rolled leather or to leave it where it was. I finally said, “I will take it,” since I remembered that my companions and I needed straps for our sandals. I wrapped up the leather in my cloak and carried it on my back and departed. When I reached my companions I showed them what I had found and gave each of them a piece of the leather, so that they might use it for their sandal straps. Through my lack of good fortune, I did not find the goat. Afterward, when the time had become late at night we returned to the place where we were staying in the wilderness. I kept the leather with me until I returned to our house where I put it in a skin bag and hung it up in a corner. The skin bag remained hanging [there] for more than two years. Afterward an uncle of mine came to our home and

asked that he might [take the leather and] show it to a dealer in antiquities at Bethlehem, to see if it might be of any value. Bethlehem, October 23, 1956. Signature: 'Muhammad ed-Deeb,' One of the Bedouin of Ta'amireh."

10. G. W. L. Harding, Letter to "Robert [Hamilton]," 6 March 1949. PAM Archives.

11. G. W. L. Harding, "Communiqué to the Press," 21 March 1949. PAM Archives.

12. The custom of storing scrolls in clay jars goes back to ancient times: "...put them in an earthen vessel that they may continue many days" (Jer. 32:13). S. S. Nardi, *The Hidden Scrolls* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Shrine of the Book, 1960).

13. Gerald W. Lankester Harding is almost always referred to as "Gerald" by close friends or "Lankester Harding" by others. A few, such as Professor G. R. Driver, always addressed him in letters simply as Harding. The Bedouin pronounced his name Hardin.

14. Mar Samuel is variously called Archbishop and Metropolitan. The term *archbishop* refers to a bishop who has authority over a group of other bishops; the term *metropolitan* is used for an archbishop who is in a metropolitan area.

15. Harding, Letter to "Robert [Hamilton]." PAM Archives.

16. Besides the many jars in museums in Jerusalem and Amman, a number exist elsewhere. Among these are one formerly owned by Joan Allegro on the Isle of Man, which was bought by Martin Schøyen of Oslo in the 1990s; one was given as a gift from the Department of Antiquities of Jordan to the Harvard Semitic Museum (communication from Frank M. Cross, February 2006; one given to the Louvre by de Vaux in 1951 (D. Długosz, "Qumrân au Musée du Louvre," *RQ* 85 (2005) 121-127); one is in Salt Lake City, and at least one is on display in the Kando family's new Bethlehem shop. Some of these were from other caves, perhaps especially what Milik calls "Timothy's Cave," on which see more below.

17. Harding, "Communiqué to the Press."

18. Abu Daoud, numerous interviews, 1990-1997, at his home in Bethlehem, at Qumran, and in the antiquities shop of David Bar-Levav.

19. R. de Vaux, "Dead Sea Scrolls" (unpublished lecture *circa* 1963, PAM Archives).

20. Trever reports that in 1958 a Mr. Batarse (a well-known family name in Bethlehem and Jerusalem until today) told him that "as a boy he used to find similar scraps of leather in caves

and burn them, since he knew nothing about their value" (Trever, "When was Qumran Cave 1 Discovered?" 137).

21. Though Salahi's name figures in the early printed accounts, William Kando maintains that the name was a fabrication and that there was no such person. (Kando, interview in his shop in East Jerusalem, 14 January 2005.)

22. The term *several weeks* recurs repeatedly in Arab accounts. From the various contexts in which it is used, it is possible to conclude that it may mean an amount of time from a few days to one week to more than two or three weeks.

23. Also sometimes "Sha'ya" or Shaya with the added name Shamoun (A. Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966] 141). This fascinating biography of Samuel is essential for understanding his later relations with the Dead Sea Scrolls after they came into his possession in 1947.

24. Khalil is the given or first name; Iskander is the Arabic for Alexander and was his father's name; Shahin was the family name. "Kando" is a diminutive or pet name for Alexander. As the family became famous from its association with the scrolls, the name "Shahin" was gradually replaced by "Kando," so that it is now the legal name. All the family's property is in the name "Kando" and the name "Shahin" is no longer used at all. The family has Kurdish roots. Alexander Shahin, the only survivor of a Turkish massacre of the Kurds during World War I, was taken into the home of a French woman in Aleppo, and eventually brought to Palestine toward the end of the war. He gradually built up a business in Bethlehem and remained a member of the Syrian Orthodox Church (telephone conversation with William Kando, 20 March 2003).

25. R. de Vaux, "Dead Sea Scrolls" (unpublished lecture, *circa* 1963). William Kando vehemently denies that his father was ever a cobbler or had anything to do with fixing shoes or that the Bedouin brought the scrolls to his father for any reason connected with reuse of the leather. He traces this story to John Allegro, who, he says, fabricated it. He further relates that when his father confronted Allegro after the publication of his first book on the scrolls, Allegro admitted it was a fabrication and indicated that he invented that aspect of the story to make it more interesting (William Kando, interview, 14 January 2005). On the other hand, Frank Cross says: "Kando had an antiquities shop hidden behind the façade of a cobbler's shop. Allegro

lied about much, but in this case, I think, he did not lie (nor admit to a fabrication). And William ... is correct in that Kando, if he ever was a cobbler, abandoned the trade for selling more interesting inscribed leather” (Cross to Fields, February, 2006).

26. Hazou, interview.

27. The calendar for 1947 was the same as 2003.

28. Samuel is emphatic that it was Easter week according to the Julian calendar. In this calendar, introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 BC, the beginning of the year was not fixed on January 1 and leap years occurred every four years and in every centenary year. By contrast, the Gregorian Calendar, introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII, famous as the Pope of the Counter-Reformation, consists of a scheme whereby the ordinary year is made to consist of 365 days, and a leap year occurs in every year whose number is divisible by four, except those centenary years, such as 1900, whose numbers are not divisible by 400. This calendar is used by the Western Church, and now by much of the world in general. Orthodox Palm Sunday was 6 April 1947; Orthodox Easter was 13 April 1947. The Western or Latin Palm Sunday and Easter in 1947 were one week earlier, March 31 and April 6.

29. R. de Vaux, “Dead Sea Scrolls” (unpublished lecture, circa 1963).

30. In his published account Samuel says that it was a Syrian Christian “Jerusalem merchant” who first mentioned this to him. Other accounts mention “George Isha’ya (Shamoun) or simply “George” or use variations of his last name such as the more proper English transliteration, “Isaiah.” These are possibly all the same man, although the impression is that George was from Bethlehem, not Jerusalem (A. Y. Samuel, “The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls” [Phrased by John C. Trever on the basis of repeated interviews and carefully checked by His Grace, the Metropolitan BA 12:2 [1949] 26]; Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 137–141. In his later book Samuel seems to compress a number of events, and even confuse them. Then in a third publication in the spring of 1966 he revises the chronology again, but this time he obviously tries to bring it into line with other published chronologies. The 1949 account is probably the most trustworthy.

31. The terms *Syrian* and *Assyrian* have been used for the church of which Samuel was Metropolitan in Jerusalem. *Syrian* refers to the

Christian dialect of Aramaic, Syriac, which is still the liturgical language of the Syrian Church as well as the vernacular in scattered small enclaves. When Samuel later arrived in the United States and took up leadership of the church there he tried to force the use of *Syrian* in place of *Assyrian*, causing quite a rift in the church. Though the argument was later decided in his favor, the truth is that both terms were and still are used. “Assyrian” is confusing, however, because the term also refers to the ancient Mesopotamian Empire as well as the language, a dialect of ancient Akkadian. Correspondence and other papers detailing the controversy, part of the Brownlee archive in Manchester, England, provide a rare insight into Samuel’s personality. Among the documents are these: “Report of the Mediation Committee,” 19 April 1950; A. Y. Samuel, “An Official Message from His Eminence Archbishop Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel,” (on stationery of the *Assyrian* Orthodox Archdiocese of the United States and Canada), 6 February 1953; A. Y. Samuel, “Letter to Fellow Assyrians,” 24 February 1953; A. Y. Samuel, “Letter to T. D. Newman, ASOR,” 22 September 1973, newsletters detailing the reasons for the change, correspondence between Brownlee, Trever, and David B. Perley.

32. The Metropolitan Athanasius Yeshue Samuel was born on Christmas Day, 1907 in the small village of Hilwah, Syria to Soumay and Katoun Samuel. During World War I Yeshue (Jesus), so named because he was born on Christmas, lost his father to cholera, saw firsthand the slaughter of thousands of Armenians transported by the Turks to Syria, was forcibly displaced from his home, separated for some months from his mother, narrowly escaped death on numerous occasions, often through assistance from Syrian priests and monks, and with his mother finally arrived in Jerusalem after its liberation by British troops. He studied at St. Mark’s School and Seminary, Jerusalem, and the Coptic Seminary, Mahmasha, Cairo. (Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, and Syrian Orthodox churches have fraternal bonds since they separated from the “Western” churches, what were to become the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches, over the formulation of the definition of Christ’s humanity and divinity at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.) He taught Syriac at the St. Mark’s School and during the early thirties spent some considerable time among the Syrian churches in India. Already

patriarchal vicar in Jerusalem, he assumed the duties of the Metropolitan al-Sulhy on his death in 1944. He was officially appointed Metropolitan of Palestine and Transjordan on 22 December 1946, exactly a year before Professor Sukenik purchased Isaiah^b from his Armenian friend, Ohan. He was appointed Apostolic Delegate to the United States and Canada on 19 October 1948, and emigrated to the States at the beginning of 1949. On 13 May 1952 he was appointed patriarchal vicar to the United States and Canada and on 15 November 1957 was proclaimed archbishop of the Archdiocese of the Syrian Orthodox Church of the United States and Canada, and relinquished his title of "Archbishop of Jerusalem," which he had retained even in his absence. He served as archbishop of the United States and Canada until his death on April 16, 1995 at the age of 88. The following month he was buried in the Syrian monastery of St. Ephrem in the Netherlands.

33. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," 26.

34. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 56.

35. St. Catherine's Monastery was founded in AD 330 when St. Helena, mother of Constantine arranged to have the first buildings erected there. The foundation of the present structure was laid in 542. Until today it is one of the world's best-known repositories of ancient manuscripts, perhaps most famous for "Codex Sinaiticus," the oldest extant copy of the complete New Testament in Greek, also dating from approximately 330. Taken from the monastery in 1859 by Count Tischendorf, most of this manuscript can be seen today in the British Library. Approximately 43 leaves are at the University of Leipzig and a few at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg.

36. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 106. DNA tests of other Qumran manuscripts, mostly from Cave 4, in the 1990s demonstrated that there, too, gazelle hides were used.

37. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 90-101.

38. O. Eissfeldt, "Der Anlass zur Entdeckung der Höhle und ihr ähnliche Vorgänge aus älterer Zeit," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 10:1949, pp. 598-600. Ginsburg quotes an ancient Masoretic scholar who refers to something called the "Jericho Pentateuch," in his introduction to the Masorah of the Hebrew Bible (C. D. Ginsburg, "Introduction to the Masoretic-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible [reprinted, with a Prolegomenon by Harry M. Orlinsky. New York: KTAV, 1966], 444).

39. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls" 26.

40. Samuel says he learned this trick from "the old monk" at St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai (Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*)

41. Known from the beginning as "Thanksgivings," plural or Hebrew *Hodayot* (*h*). I have chosen to use "Thanksgiving," in the collective sense of a scroll characterized by songs of thanks.

42. William Brownlee, "Foreword," in A. Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 12.

43. Following here Samuel's spelling (*Treasure of Qumran*, 147); also spelled Gilf, Galph, etc.

44. It was later determined that the so-called "pitch" was actually decayed leather.

45. Khalil is the Arab name for Hebron, so for the Arabs Jaffa Gate is the Hebron Gate and the Hebron Road starts just south of it.

46. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*.

47. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," 27.

48. The accounts are continually confused about the "fifth" or "fourth" scroll, the Genesis Apocryphon. But there seems to be no doubt that it originally belonged to the "second group," Isaiah^b, the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving Scroll, though it was not part of that group by the time Sukenik acquired the former three in November-December 1947 in at least two separate transactions.

49. Samuel says that the "first Saturday of Tammuz," was July 21, but here he is mistaken (*Treasure of Qumran*, 146).

50. John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (London: Pickering & Inglis, Ltd., 1965) 49.

51. Samuel reports the price as "Sixty-odd dinars [Palestinian pounds], about U.S. \$250, the total sum of his personal savings at the time (Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 149).

52. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 149.

53. Samuel dates his purchase of these to "the third Saturday in July," ("The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls") and says there were five in the original purchase. He later dates this at 5 July 1947 (*Treasure of Qumran*, 147. By now the two separate groups had been mixed up, and the Genesis Apocryphon, which belonged with the second group, was included in the first.

54. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 148.

55. One, for example, is in the possession of Janet Crisler of Santa Barbara, California; another in the possession of Martin Schøyen of Norway, by a rather circuitous and not entirely certain route. Martin also has the covering for the

Temple Scroll. Most of the covers were in the Palestine Archaeological Museum at the time it was captured in 1967, and are presently under the control of the Israel Antiquities Authority. There are at least two reported instances of scroll fragments having been discovered attached to the coverings between 2001–2005. I have spoken to both Martin Schøyen and Mireille Belis, who made the discoveries, but I have not seen the photographic evidence.

56. Samuel, “The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls” 28.

57. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*.

58. Father van der Ploeg was adamant that his visit to Samuel occurred a month earlier, during the last week of July 1947, whereas Samuel puts the visit in the last week of August. I am inclined to accept Van der Ploeg’s recollection because (1) he only had one visit to remember and place chronologically, as compared to many on the part of Samuel; (2) he was European and therefore more accustomed to exact measurements of time; (3) Samuel’s chronology concerning Anton Kiraz and Professor Sukenik in January–February of 1948 is also confused when compared with dates written at the time by Sukenik in his journal. However, van der Ploeg’s pass to move from one military zone to another was issued on 23 August 1947. It could be that he had been issued another pass previously, that a pass was not required of him to travel from the École biblique to St. Mark’s Monastery, or that he misremembered the timing. (Interview with J. P. M. van der Ploeg in his home in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 27 March 1999, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Marije Meijering.)

59. Father A.-S. Marmadji was a Dominican who had grown up in a community that used the Syriac language. He had come from Baghdad to Jerusalem and was by this time a veteran scholar and professor of Arabic at the École.

60. Father van der Ploeg, born near Nijmegen, the Netherlands in 1909, died in Nijmegen 4 August 2004. He received his early training in the Dominican Order (O.P.=Order of Preachers) in the Netherlands, spent three years in French and Belgian monasteries, and studied an additional three years at the University in Nijmegen, where he took his doctorate in 1934, and his post-doctorate in 1936. After World War II he completed a second doctorate at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome and was a member of the class of 1946–1947 at the École biblique in Jerusalem. He taught at

the University of Nijmegen, from 1951 until his retirement in 1979. He completed the earliest French translations of the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll and published in 1958 *The Excavations at Qumran: A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and Its Ideas (Nouvelles de Jérusalem*, 81 [January 2005] 35–36).

61. Although Roland de Vaux is widely known as “Père de Vaux,” almost to the extent that some English readers think that “Père” was his first name, I have decided in favor of the English “Father,” both for him and the many other priests named in the book. Among the Bedouin de Vaux was known as “Abuna Bere de Vaux” (Frank M. Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

62. Van der Ploeg, interview.

63. Van der Ploeg, interview.

64. Hazou, interview. This was confirmed by Father Dominique Barthélemy. (Interview, by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David in Fribourg, Switzerland, 12 February 2000.) The Shapira Incident continues to intrigue scholars of ancient manuscripts, but most paleographers consider Shapira’s document a fake. The fragment itself seems to have disappeared from the British Library.

65. Van der Ploeg, interview.

66. Professor Seeligmann later became a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and was Professor Emanuel Tov’s (editor in chief of the Dead Sea Scrolls publication project, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* from 1991–present) Septuagint teacher.

67. *HaAretz*, 15 April 1952.

68. In another account Samuel says that George and Father Yusef went as far as Jericho on a bus, and walked to the cave on foot.

69. E. L. Sukenik, Letter to the *New York Times*, 19 March 1949.

70. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 150.

71. Samuel describes this encounter, but one must remember that it was very important to him to be seen as having attempted to let the proper authorities know about the discovery: “I asked him to take them to the Department and bring them to the notice of the authorities. He looked at me with a mixture of amusement and pity. ‘Do you want me to make a fool of myself amongst my colleagues?’ he said. So I pled with him to at least send an official from the Department to see me. ‘I’m not prepared to say a word to anyone,’ he protested” (Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*).

72. Trever, interview.

73. Trever, interview.

74. William Foxwell Albright was born in Coquimbo, Chile 24 May 1891, eldest of six children in a Methodist missionary family. Extremely nearsighted and lame in one hand, he took up reading history and theology in his father's library. He became interested in archaeology as a young child and virtually memorized Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*. "His great fear in those days was that all the mounds of the Near East would be dug before he could grow up." He studied Hebrew and Akkadian privately, and took the A.B. degree in Classics from Upper Iowa University in 1912. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1916. He was appointed director of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1922, and professor at Johns Hopkins University in 1927. He excavated Tel Beit Mirsim 1933-1936 and explored in the Sinai 1947-1948 and South Arabia 1949-1950. Having retired from Johns Hopkins in 1958, he continued his scholarly work, including his editorship of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR)*, where he served for a total of 38 years. His bibliography totals more than 1,000 items. During his career he received honorary doctorates from 25 universities. He died in Baltimore on 19 September 1971. (Frank Moore Cross, "William Foxwell Albright," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* [1972] 110-115).
75. Albright surveyed Serabit el-Khadem in southeastern Sinai. Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions are among the oldest of alphabetic inscriptions.
76. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 152.
77. Trever reports that he verified these dates in Mar Samuel's passport (Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," p. 28, n. 3).
78. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 153.
79. This partnership is variously reported. Samuel dates Kiraz's first involvement to January 1948, but does not describe it as a partnership: "I was approached by one Anton Kiraz, a parishioner of St. Mark's, who had learned of the scrolls' existence. Since I had been able to assist him through some financial difficulties in the previous October, he offered his aid [in contacting Professor Sukenik of the Hebrew University] by way of returning a favor" (*Treasure of Qumran*, 155).
80. Samuel, "The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls," 30.
81. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*. Ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, reprinted, 1992) 25.
82. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 151.
83. Magen Broshi was kind enough to take me to Mr. Sassun's house on the edge of Mea She'arim in Jerusalem one winter night in 1998. Though by this time confined to a wheelchair, he graciously displayed his own collection of antiquities and made a gift of some semiprecious stones to Diane.
84. Ohan was well respected by archaeologists for his knowledge of pottery dating (Sanders to Fields, 19 March 2006). Cross relates: "Ohan, father and son, were major antiquities dealers in the Old City. Ohan the younger was the most honest antiquities dealer I have ever met. In acquiring the El-Khadr arrowhead, now in the Harvard Semitic Museum (and evaluated at \$10,000 by the Israel Museum) I had to bargain Ohan up! I could not in good conscience buy it for what he asked (Cross to Fields 6 February 2006).
85. Born in Bialystock, Lithuania (now Poland) 12 August, 1889, Sukenik arrived in Palestine at the age of 24 in 1913. He returned to Europe to study archaeology at the University of Berlin (1922-23) and received a Ph.D. from Dropsie College in Philadelphia in 1926. He died 28 February, 1953, leaving his work to his son, Professor and General Yigael Yadin.
86. Neil Asher Silberman, "Eleazar L. Sukenik," *EDSS* 902-903.
87. Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 16-17.
88. Sukenik dates this event to 25 November 1947 in his introduction to the publication (E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955] 14).
89. Italics mine.
90. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 17-18.
91. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 18-19.
92. These were the only two removed up to this point, as far as one can tell from the various early reports. According to these reports there was one other unbroken jar which George saw on both of his first two trips the cave, but he did not take it until the third trip at the earliest.
93. The Thanksgiving Scroll or *Hodayot*.
94. So far I have found no written records documenting the purchase. Magen Broshi reports that Sukenik paid for these "out of pocket," and was "reimbursed by the University." (Telephone conversation, 3 February 2005).
95. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 23-24.
96. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 25.
97. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, 14.

98. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 30.

99. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 25.

100. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 26, n. 1.

101. William Kando has repeatedly told me a story which one can best describe as “family oral history.” He says his father kept the three scrolls he owned in Ohan’s shop for safekeeping and easy access. These were taken by Sukenik, he says, during a nocturnal forced entry into Ohan’s shop. As proof of the Kando family story, William says that when Yadin bought the four scrolls from Mar Samuel in New York in June 1954, he signed for seven scrolls, closing the circle. This story raises more questions than it settles, and may be attributed to the way that oral history distorts. On the other hand, there may be a kernel of truth here, namely, that Sukenik did not actually pay for all the fragments he ended up with, and he may have retained possession of fragments which Ohan never intended to let go. Furthermore, Sukenik specifically says that there was an “Arab dealer” behind Ohan, which had to be Kando. I have been unable to trace any written record of a sale to Sukenik, any record of money having come from Hebrew University, or any bill of sale regarding the four scrolls purchased by Yadin in 1954. This certainly does not mean, however, that they did not or do not exist. Hebrew University has recently reasserted its ownership of the Sukenik scrolls to the satisfaction of the Israel Museum, presumably, on the basis of written records. I am still inclined to believe the basic truth of Sukenik’s story. Any reader with information on this is urged to contact the writer.

102. There are scattered references to another bundle of fragments, but Sukenik himself is silent about these. Mary Stinespring mentions this bundle in her undated letter, p. 12, probably from 1949 or 1950, but she must have based this information on some early published source (Mary Stinespring, “Letter” in the Brownlee Archives). What was her source? Maybe the confusion is that the “bundle” refers to the Daniel fragment, Prayer fragments, and 1 Enoch fragment that George took out of a cave, but were never sold to Sukenik or Kando and ended up in the United States?

103. George A. Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006) 18. I want to thank George Kiraz for sending me a pre-publication copy of the book.

104. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 27.

105. Samuel, “The Purchase of the Jerusalem

Scrolls,” 30. Kiraz had not bought these. They were probably still owned by Kando, had been entrusted to Samuel, and Kiraz was merely the agent.

106. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 155–156.

107. Brownlee suggests that Sukenik kept his counsel and did not inform the Syrians “exactly how ancient they were.” It was for confirmation of his suspicion of their great antiquity, therefore, that Samuel sent them to the American School (Brownlee, “Foreword,” in A. Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 11).

108. Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 18.

109. The fact that Sukenik returned this second set leads one to believe that he did not steal or forcibly acquire the first set, as suggested in the Kando family oral tradition, described above.

110 Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20.

111. Kiraz’s account is slightly different. He says Sukenik offered him 100 Palestinian pounds (equivalent to about \$3,300 in 2003), but Kiraz showed no interest. According to Kiraz, it was only at this second meeting that Kiraz revealed to Sukenik that the Metropolitan Samuel was his partner (Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20).

112. Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20.

113. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 29.

114. Samuel, “The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls,” 31.

115. Born on a wheat and cattle ranch near Sylvia, Kansas on 17 February 1917, William Hugh Brownlee professed his faith at the age of eight and developed an early interest in Christianity and the Bible. He took a B.A. in English and Greek at Sterling College in 1939 [honorary Doctor of Divinity, 1960], and studied theology, at Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary from 1939–42 (Th.B.; later, for studies at Duke, the Th.M.). He was a pastor in Newton, Kansas. In 1947 he took his Ph.D. under William F. Stinespring, brother-in-law of W. F. Albright, from Duke University for a dissertation on the prophecies of Ezekiel. Only weeks after finishing at Duke, he arrived in Jerusalem, 30 August 1947. Subsequently married in August 1948, he and Louise (Dunn) had five children, Linda, Mary, Hugh, David, and Martha. He took up a position at Duke University Divinity School in 1948, and in 1959 moved to Claremont Graduate School where he spent the remainder of his

career. He passed away 16 July 1983; Louise passed away on 5 August 1994 (C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring, *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987] vii-xiii; J. Floerchinger, "Biblical Scholar Worked with Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Wichita Eagle-Beacon* [22 July, 1983] 5D).

116. John Trever was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on 26 November 1915. His parents moved to Seattle when he was five years old, and the following year they went south to Southern California, where John grew up in the Pasadena area. He and his wife Elizabeth, married in 1937, both graduated from the University of Southern California (USC) in Los Angeles, and later, John took his Bachelor of Divinity degree at Yale Divinity School in 1940, and his Ph.D. in Old Testament at Yale University in 1943. He served as assistant minister at the Santa Monica First Methodist Church, and was an associate professor of Bible at the Disciples of Christ Seminary at Drake University in Des Moines Iowa during 1944-1947. After his year in Jerusalem during 1947-1948, he worked with the National Council of Churches. He later taught at Morris Harvey College in Charleston, West Virginia and Baldwin Wallace College in Berea, Ohio. From there he went to Claremont, where he taught at the California School of Theology in Claremont until his retirement in December 1980. He continued as a volunteer at Claremont at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont and as director of lay education. He and his wife Elizabeth had two sons, John Paul and James Edgar. He arrived in Jerusalem on August 30, 1947, to be one of the Visiting Fellows during 1947-48 at the American School (ASOR), while Millar Burrows was annual professor and director.

117. Brownlee to Louise Dunn, 7 February 1948. Brownlee Archive.

118. Brownlee to parents, 20 February 1948. Brownlee Archive.

119. The term "Israeli" may be slightly anachronistic in this case, the State of Israel having been declared only the previous day. Samuel calls it the "Jewish Army," and supposes that the shell was part of the stock stolen earlier from the British Army, about which, ironically, Samuel and he had previously had some discussion (Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 164).

120. Various called the Arab-Israeli War or War of Disaster, depending on one's perspective.

I use the former term interchangeably with War of Independence.

121. He returned them on February 17 (Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz's Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20).

122. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*. For the period 18 February to 1 April 1948 I have quoted Brownlee and Trever extensively, having made a conscious decision to let them and only them speak for themselves on the order and nature of events involving the St. Mark's scrolls. I have edited the wording only slightly, thinking that it was important to preserve as much as was feasible of what each wanted to say, especially in the case of Brownlee, who died before he could publish what was apparently to have been the definitive description of his experiences. Where they were involved, I have also quoted directly from Mar Samuel and Father van der Ploeg. In Trever's and Van der Ploeg's cases, I have blended their earlier published work with the interviews conducted in their homes in 1999.

123. Trever has published a detailed, fascinating account of what happened over the next few weeks after this fateful phone call, the main points of which we will summarize here, and integrate with information received from others, some of which, such as the Palestine Archaeological Museum Archive, neither Trever (nor anyone else who has written on these early days of discovery) was ever able, apparently, to use in its entirety. See Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*.

124. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 78.

125. Samuel describes him as a "Customs Inspector on the Lebanon border." He may have been both at different times (*Treasure of Qumran*, 157).

126. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 25. The metropolitan also suggested the identification when he came to the American School. "He knew that according to the Roman historian Pliny, the Essenes had lived in the Judean Wilderness west of the Dead Sea. He was sure that no one had lived there since ancient times and that these scrolls belonged to the Essenes. It was this conviction which led him to believe in the antiquity of the scrolls in the face of many discouragements until they were brought to the American School for study. The same suggestion was made some months later by Professor Eleazar Sukenik of Hebrew University on the basis of the contents of the scrolls he had studied" (Brownlee, "The Ancient Sect That Produced the Dead Sea Scrolls" [manuscript in the Brownlee Archive], p. 1).

127. Communication from James Trever, 20 March 2007.
128. Brownlee, "Letter to Parents," 20 February 1948.
129. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 81.
130. The exchange rate in 1917 was \$4.76/1£ Sterling. The value of 1\$ in 1917 was \$14.38 in 2003. This means that in today's dollars, the price of Codex Sinaiticus was more than \$6,845,000. In 1948 the equivalent value of the Codex would have been \$3,637,000. See eh.net/hmit/exchangerates/exchange and eh.net/hmit/powerusd for historical exchange rates and historical values of the American dollar.
131. "In the 1930s the Russian government, desperately short of hard currency, was selling off components of the great Russian libraries and art galleries, now nationalized." In 1931 Ernest Maggs and Dr. Ettinghausen began the negotiations which were to lead to their purchase of the Codex on behalf of the British Museum in 1933. "The negotiations for the Codex began with an asking price of £200,000 and an offer of £40,000 before the final price of £100,000 was settled on, by a long way the most expensive book in the world at the time. The British government was to put up half of the purchase price, and the balance was raised in a public appeal orchestrated by Sir Frederic Kenyon, retired director of the British Museum and president of the Friends of the National Libraries. When predictable objections were raised to spending public money on a book, Kenyon made the fine rallying call 'Where millions are spent on the material needs and amusements of the people, may not £100,000 be properly spent on their minds and souls?'" (www.abebooks.com, Bookseller Profiles, February 2002).
132. The exchange rate in 1948 was about US\$1/4.04 Palestine pounds (Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz's Archives on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Preface; K-28, pp. 91–98).
133. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 83–84.
134. Trever, *Untold Story*, 36; Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 83–84.
135. Trever, *Untold Story*, 37; Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 84.
136. Discovered in 1935 by J. L. Starcky.
137. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 87.
138. Brownlee, "Letter to Parents," 20 February 1948.
139. Brownlee, "Letter to Bill," 29 February 1948.
140. Trever, interview.
141. Trever, *Untold Story*, 40.
142. Brownlee's youngest daughter, Martha Terry, whom I visited along with her husband and two children at their home in Ventura, CA, kindly transferred her father's 8mm home movie of the arrival of the Archbishop and Sowmy at the American School to VCR, CD, and DVD and made it available to me.
143. 23 feet, 9 inches according to Trever, *Untold Story*, 41.
144. Trever, *Untold Story*, 42.
145. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 91.
146. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 88–92.
147. Trever's first photos were never published. The second set was published by ASOR 1950–1951, but the most accessible publication with black and white and color together is *Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Peshet to Habakkuk: From Photographs* by John C. Trever, eds. Frank Moore Cross, David Noel Freedman and James A. Sanders (Jerusalem: The W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Shrine of the Book, 1972).
148. Brownlee carried on a considerable correspondence with Albright during 1948–1950. The many letters are preserved in the Brownlee Archive, and reveal the gentle, fatherly side of Albright, ever encouraging younger scholars in a strikingly kind way.
149. Trever never met Father van der Ploeg, but he recalls that "someone discouraged him from thinking that the Isaiah Scroll was a valid [ancient] document" (Trever, interview).
150. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 92.
151. Trever, *Untold Story*, 49.
152. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 93.
153. Trever, *Untold Story*, 54; Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 95.
154. Brownlee to Dunn, 23 February 1948. Brownlee Archive.
155. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 95–96.
156. Still, there may have been some lingering feelings about this. But in the end, the partnership worked well, the men remained good friends, and later became colleagues at Claremont. A whole series of personal letters between the two in the Brownlee Archive demonstrate that there were no real hard feelings. Brownlee did not get the recognition he should have, however, and it is hoped that telling his side of the story here may remedy that in part. Brownlee's earlier description of the matter is in "My Eight Years of Scroll Research," *The Duke Divinity School Bulletin*

21:3 (November 1956) 68–81; Trever, *Untold Story*, 183, n. 4.

157. Brownlee to Dunn, 23 February 1948.

158. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 98.

159. The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony is known only from fragment 0212. The parchment was produced at some point between the second part of the second century and the building of the embankment (c. AD 255), probably late second century.

160. Trever, *Untold Story*, 60.

161. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 98

162. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. xxx; Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries* 99–100.

163. Frank Moore Cross, interview conducted by Weston and Diane Fields in his home in Lexington, MA, 29 March 1999.

164. Cross, interview: Interview with David Noel Freedman conducted by Weston and Diane Fields, 9 December 2000, in his office at the University of California at San Diego, in La Jolla.

165. Cross remembers Brownlee as a hard-working, though perhaps not particularly innovative, scholar, who published “useful stuff.” A shy, retiring man, he had a reputation for being kind and honest. Cross tells this story about Brownlee that helps one understand the sort of person he was: “He was very, very kind and very honest. I remember when these dreadful camel-skin forgeries were put into the hands of George Mendenhall [who had been Cross’ fellow-student at Hopkins], and Brownlee had access to them. And I guess he was going to publish them with Mendenhall. What the arrangements were, I don’t know. But in any case, we were at a public meeting, and he got up and read a paper, and showed a slide of a column of the stuff. Well, this was the only time in my life that I’ve ever stood up and interrupted a paper in the middle of it. I got up and said, “That reads the Siloam Inscription backwards.” And immediately John [Strugnell] in the back of the room stood up and read a couple of lines I hadn’t. And Brownlee immediately abandoned the whole thing just like that, and he apologized. Mendenhall still claims they’re authentic” (Cross, interview).

166. W. F. Stinespring, “Letter to Brownlee,” 4 March 1948.

167. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 106.

168. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 107.

169. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 108.

170. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 108.

171. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 103.

172. Brownlee to Dunn, 13 March 1948. Brownlee Archive.

173. Brownlee to Dunn, 16 March 1948. Brownlee Archive.

174. Albright, “Letter to Trever,” received 15 March 1948. James Trever has the original.

175. A detail Elizabeth Trever also recalls. But John points out that even after mail “reached the Holy Land, to get it to the right post office and get it sorted out was a very slow process in those days,” so a three-week wait wasn’t too bad (Trever, interview). Brownlee to Dunn, 16 March 1948.

176. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 106.

177. Trever dates this part of the story to 23 March (*Untold Story*, 78 ff.).

178. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 109–110.

179. Now Metropolitan Samuel was pushing the date of acquisition back to summer, still not early enough.

180. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 111–112.

181. Hazou, interview.

182. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 115.

183. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 116.

184. Thirty years later I found myself in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University studying scrolls with Professor Shemaryahu Talmon, one of the first to publish scholarly articles on the meaning of the content of the scrolls, whose early publications Burrows analyzed in his book.

185. Among Brownlee’s apparently unpublished papers is a single sheet entitled “*Thirty Years with the Dead Sea Scrolls*,” an outline for a lecture or perhaps for a proposed book, probably dating from about 1978. Half of it is concerned with the way in which the American Schools of Oriental Research had done things *first*: first to photograph the scrolls, first to announce the discovery, first to translate (pHab, 1948; Manual of Discipline, 1951), first to establish antiquity by palaeographical study in scholarly articles (Albright, Trever), first to publish complete texts (1950–1951), first to establish Essene identity (1950), participated in first excavations at Cave 1 (Ovid Sellers, 1949) and in survey of Qumran area (William Reed, 1952).

186. Yale University News Bureau, with a note in Brownlee’s handwriting at the top: “Copied by me on October 13 from ...news release received directly from Yale.” From the Brownlee Archive.

187. Italics mine. The board of the Palestine Archaeological Museum was set up to consist of: (1) Two members nominated by the Council of Ministers; (2) One member nominated by the

British Academy; (3) One member nominated by the British Museum; (4) One member nominated by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; (5) One member nominated by the Commission de Fouilles, du Ministers des Affaires Étrangères; (6) Two members nominated by mutual agreement between the governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq; (7) One member nominated by the Royal (Swedish) Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities; (8) One member nominated by the American Archaeological Institute; (9) One member nominated by the American Schools of Oriental Research. The board was to select from among its members a president and vice president. A quorum consisted of 50 percent of the nominated members, and broad authority was to be vested in a *curator of the museum, who would also act as secretary to the board* (italics mine). (Supplement 2 to the Palestine Gazette No. 1663 of 22 April, 1948 as amended by Law No. 3 for 1955 Vide Official Gazette No. 1211 of 1 February 1955).

188. Sukenik mentions up until the publication of his first survey, he knows of 11 scrolls and parts of scrolls (E. L. Sukenik, *Megillot ha-Genuzot* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948], p. 10).

189. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 120–121. William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press; 1979).

190. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 148.

191. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 167. According to William Kando, son of the original Kando, his father gave the four scrolls to the Archbishop on consignment in exchange for a lien against the property of St. Mark's in Jerusalem and the scrolls were to be returned if not fully paid for. William reports that his family still retains the legal document giving it this lien, but it has not attempted to claim compensation since all the family members are themselves communicants of the Syrian Orthodox Church. He says that it is a "family secret," and, while willing to grant me permission to recount the story here, was not willing to let me see the document. I can therefore make no judgment on the matter and report it only (numerous interviews during 2002–2009, most lately, Tuesday, 27 January 2009, in his store in East Jerusalem). Anton Kiraz also makes a strong case that his financial partnership in the scrolls was not honored by Metropolitan Samuel. See Kiraz, *Anton Kiraz's Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

192. Sukenik, *Megillot ha-Genuzot*.

193. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 152.

194. Ovid Sellers, who was Frank M. Cross' first Hebrew teacher, described to him his being shot down. "He added that he had a sure cure for ulcers. He had been troubled by an ulcer for many years, but it disappeared with his crash. He was badly scarred from burns" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

195. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 152.

196. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 152.

197. 5708=AD/CE 1947–48. The Jewish New Year fell in September of the Julian (Western) calendar.

198. Hebrew: *echat-esreh*=11; all other early reports speak of seven, or sometimes eight, because one of the scrolls was in two pieces. One might arrive at the number 11 if Sukenik was counting other fragments he may have acquired in late December, 1947, or there may be another explanation or it could be simply a mistake. Sukenik lists those known by him in 1950: 1. Fragment of Genesis; 2. Fragments of Leviticus; 3. Fragments of Deuteronomy; 4. Fragments of Judges; 5. Isaiah^a; 6. Isaiah^b; 7. Fragments of the Aramaic sections of Daniel; 8. Habakkuk Commentary; 9. Fragment of Jubilees; 10. Aramaic Copy of the Book of Lamech (Genesis Apocryphon); 11. Serek Ha-Yahad (Manual of Discipline); 12. War Scroll; 13. Hodayot (Thanksgivings); 14. Fragment of an unknown work (E. L. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot*. Second ed. [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950])

199. *Davar* (3 October 1948). Article by "special correspondent in Jerusalem," based in part on a translation from the Hebrew by I. Shockman and corrected by W. Fields. See E. L. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948), p. 10.

200. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 168.

201. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 169.

202. However, William Kando maintains that no member of the family, including his father, ever visited any of the caves (numerous interviews 2002–2009 in his shops in East Jerusalem and Bethlehem). He always says this in the context of his contention that his father never knew for sure which caves fragments came from after more than one had been discovered.

203. R. de Vaux, "Dead Sea Scrolls" (unpublished Lecture circa 1963).

204. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 169.

205. This *Excalibur*, was an American Export Line ship, named after an earlier one which had taken the Duke of Windsor (formerly King

Edward VIII, who had abdicated in 1936) and his wife, Wallis Simpson, out of harm's way from Madrid to the Bahamas during the summer of 1940, but was later sunk by the Germans during World War II.

206. Butros Sowmy's fortuitous excursion to the American Schools of Oriental Research resulted in ASOR's publication of Trever's photographs of the complete Isaiah Scroll and the Habakkuk Commentary in 1950 and the Rule of the Community in 1951. On the other side of the city, most, but not all, of Isaiah^b, the Thanksgiving Scroll (with some fragments out of order), and the War Scroll were published by Professor Nahum Avigad, in Sukenik's name, but posthumously in 1955.

(Endnotes) Chapter 2

1. Yusef (Joseph) Saad was the comptroller in the Ecumenical Institute for Advanced Theological Studies at Tantur, near Bethlehem, when I was a scholar-in-residence there during 1981-1982. From 1985 until his death about 1996 I met him from time to time in Jerusalem. Yusef was born in Jerusalem on 30 September 1909, attended high school at Frères College, Terra Sancta, from which he graduated in 1930. He continued his studies at the Palestine Government Arab College in Jerusalem 1931-32. He was a staff member of the PAM 1937-1956 and curator from 1956 until late 1966 or early 1967, when he resigned in protest against the Jordanian nationalization of the private Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum). He always signed his letters Saad instead of the more properly transliterated "Sa'ad."

2. Also spelled Akkash al-Zaben. It was he who took Harding to Cave 1 the first time. (Ghazi Bisheh, Sahar Nsour, and Qamar Fakhoury. Interview in Arabic with Akkash al-Zaben, translated to English by Mustafa International Arabic Centre, Cape Town, South Africa.)

3. He never returned to Jerusalem.

4. Harding, "Letter to Robert." PAM Archives. Presumably, this was Robert Hamilton; director of the Department of Antiquities in Mandate Palestine. Italics mine.

5. From then until now cigarette tins and cigar boxes seem to have been the repositories of choice. A number of the tins in which the Cave 4 materials were originally brought to the PAM were still in the scrollery of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem in the late 1990s, and

are now under the trusteeship of the IAA. On 21 January 2003 William Kando showed me unpublished Greek fragments from the "Judean Desert" which he was storing in a cigar box in his Jerusalem store. William also explained why the Temple Scroll was kept in a shoe box. In the early 1950s the elder Kando had been told by someone at the PAM that scrolls and fragments were best stored in cardboard boxes. The only cardboard boxes readily available in those days were shoe boxes, which could be obtained for free. So this is what they used to store the Temple Scroll as well as the Psalms scrolls from Cave 11. This was also confirmed by James Sanders in interviews at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, Claremont, California, 8 April 1999 and 17 March 2000.

6. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, p. 60

7. P. Benoit, "Homelie" at the funeral of Father de Vaux, 13 September 1971, Jerusalem. Skehan Archive; "Le Père Roland de Vaux." *Lettre de Jérusalem* 37 (1971) 1-7.

8. Gerald O'Connor, "Vaux, Roland de." Manuscript given to me by G. O'Connor at the École, 12 January 2000. The relationship between the monastery and the École is often confused. Although the members of the monastery who are Dominicans are both teachers and students in the École (school), other students and teachers live at the monastery who are not Dominicans. The monastery also houses guests and visiting professors from time to time.

9. G. R. Driver, "Obituary," London *Times* (September, 1971) 15-16; "De Vaux, Roland," *EDDS*, 202-203.

10. G. W. L. Harding, *The Antiquities of Jordan* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1959) xiii.

11. There is some confusion as to who had what title during 1948-1949 and exactly how and when the transition was made from the Mandate Department of Antiquities to the Jordanian. I have not been able to establish the date of Harding's assumption of the direction of the Department from Hamilton.

12. At this point Harding probably thought the script dated the scrolls back this far. Later it was established that use of the older Hebrew (Paleo-Hebrew) script in a scroll did not necessarily make the scroll more ancient than those written in scripts in use during the two centuries BC and first century AD.

13. G. W. L. Harding, "Communiqué to the Press" 21 March 1949 (PAM Archives).

14. Original DJD volume numbers are Roman

numerals. As the series grew over the years a system arose in which Cave 4 volumes were also given a sequential number. The system confuses the uninitiated, especially since many younger people have not learned Roman numerals. For this reason all DJD volumes will be listed in regular (Arabic) numerals.

15. Abu Daoud, interview.

16. These “field photos” are not noted in the PAM Photographers Logbook, which does not record any photos between 7 January 1949 and 4 May 1949, but the logbook may be incomplete even for what was done at the PAM. The first Dead Sea Scrolls photographs noted in the Logbook were taken on 4 March 1950, nearly a year after the excavation of Cave 1 was finished. (E. Tov and S. Pfann, *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition* [Leiden: E. J. Brill and IDC, 1995] 156). One fragment found in the excavation was published in *PEQ* 81 (1949) pl. XX.3). Several others were published in the *Illustrated London News*. See DJD 1, p. 43.

17. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 173. Italics mine.

18. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 173.

19. Harding, “Letter to Robert.”

20. Archaic or dialectal for the more common “herdsman” or “herder.”

21. Italics mine.

22. Seventh century BC. He thought this because of the Paleo-Hebrew script.

23. Italics mine.

24. Samuel, “The Purchase of the Jerusalem Scrolls,” 31.

25. G. E. Wright, “Archaeological News and Views,” *BA* 12:2 (1949) 35. Italics mine. Unfortunately, both Trever and Brownlee developed rather strong anti-Israel sentiments during their six months in Palestine, sentiments that stayed with them and grew through the years. Brownlee, especially, carried on a massive correspondence with Arab leaders, and with others who shared these sentiments. It only grew fiercer after the Six-Day War of 1967. Over the space of more than 25 years in Jerusalem I have seen such polarization often, on both sides of the question. In what seems to be a never-ending conflict between Jews and Arabs, expatriates almost always end up tilting toward the side where they live or study. Without judging these two scholars, or others who hold strong political opinions one way or the other (we will revisit this problem several more times, especially in connection with its effect on the publication of the Cave 4 materials), I must say, after looking

through the vast correspondence and number of articles Professor Brownlee produced on the Israeli–Arab Conflict, and thinking how much time and energy that must have stolen from his own scholarly research, I felt a little dismayed.

26. William Kando, interview in his shop in East Jerusalem, 7 February 2007.

27. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 173–174.

28. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 128. All published in DJD 1 as an appendix.

29. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 174–179.

30. M. Broshi, “The Negative Archive of the Shrine of the Book,” in Tov and Pfann, *Companion Volume*, 135.

31. Samuel also recounts the help of a layperson, Lester Plowman of Baltimore, whom he describes in the most glowing terms. At the time the Library of Congress was under the direction of Dr. Luther H. Evans (*Treasure of Qumran*, 179–182).

32. When they were not on display, Samuel kept the scrolls in a bank vault in West New York, New Jersey.

33. Albright to Skehan, 18 November 1949. Skehan Archive.

34. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 136. Apocryphon is a Greek word meaning hidden or secret. The plural is Apocrypha.

35. DJD 1, p. 43.

36. Brownlee, Introduction, 11–12. Cross doubts that the interlined piece had anything to do with it since other scrolls were later found with letters eaten through (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

37. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 122.

38. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 186.

39. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 131.

40. Saad, *The Palestine Archaeological Museum and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Jerusalem, 1961) 3. Saad’s title at this point is “curator.”

41. DJD 1, pp. 43, 66–68, 86–87, 107; Plates XII, XVII, XXII–XXIV.

42. W. F. Libby, *Radiocarbon Dating* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952).

44. Albright says: “You have probably seen the nonsensical contributions to the current *JQR*, which has just come in. Zeitlin has a wonderful time garbling and truncating what I wrote in such a way as to make it sound like ignorant nonsense. What he does with other scholars is much worse. What a man!” (Albright to Skehan, 2 November 1950. Skehan Archive).

45. Józef Milik, interviews in Paris conducted 1999–2005 at his home, a rest home, and a

hospital, sometimes by Weston Fields alone and sometimes with Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David. See more below, chapter 3.

46. Milik, interviews.

47. Dominique Barthélemy, interviews at the Albertinum Dominican monastery in Fribourg, Switzerland, 12 February 2000 and 13 January 2001, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David. Special thanks are due to Father Marcel Sigrist, O.P., of the École biblique in Jerusalem for arranging both interviews. Father Ben Viviano, O.P., formerly of the École biblique, and then at the Albertinum in Fribourg, made arrangements there and hosted us. Eva Ben-David translated Barthélemy's French during both interviews, and later translated and transcribed the recorded versions.

48. Barthélemy, interview two.

49. Barthélemy, interviews.

50. From this point forward "scrolls" and "fragments of scrolls" are used almost interchangeably. Apart from the copper scroll from Cave 3, almost all the discoveries during the next seven years consist of smaller fragments. Only with the discovery of Cave 11 in 1956 were more sizeable pieces again on the market.

51. "Purchase of Antiquities" ("Scroll Ledger") p. 1.
52. 1 Jordanian Dinar (JD) = 1,000 Fils, roughly about U.S. \$2.82 at the time. Following the custom of the time, the Ledger carries the amounts out to *three* places.

53. G.W.L. Harding, "Introductory," DJD 1, p. 5.

54. This may be a partial explanation for the reason that although Trever and Brownlee maintained an occasional correspondence with Harding and de Vaux, they seemed to have been largely ignored by the DAJ and the École from 1949 onward. On the other hand, it may have been mostly a matter of geography. Both Trever and Brownlee were just starting their careers in the States and probably would not have come back to Jerusalem to work on the Murrabba'at and Cave 4 materials, even if they had been invited. Furthermore, especially in the case of Cave 4, the first years of work were mainly restoration, not publication.

55. Hazou, interview.

56. Note Harding's position on the PAM's board of trustees. See the "Order of the High Commissioner regarding the ownership of the PAM," 22 April 1948. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

57. Confirmed by Father Barthélemy in interview two. Cross adds: "Also, to the same end of keeping

large fragments intact, a *baksheesh* [bonus] was paid beyond the surface measurement for unusually large pieces" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

58. It appears that the restoration is not based on a *join* Brownlee is able to make from photos of the fragment sent to him by the American School, but on the *language* of the fragment.

59. Another Bedouin, Mohammed Adh Dhib Issa, who died in a refugee camp near Amman in 1994 also claimed to be the original ed-Dib. See D. Eisenberg, "The Jinni's Curse," *Jerusalem Post Magazine* (18 July 1997) 13. This story, based on an interview with the surviving wife and son, is so full of inaccuracies that it is questionable whether any of it can be believed. Still, there may be a few kernels of truth scattered through it here and there, and the person in question may have had something to do with the original discovery. I still lean toward Abu Daoud as the original Muhammed ed-Dib for a number of reasons. The strongest is his reaction one day, as we were driving along near Jericho in a sherut (service taxi). We had been to some of the caves at Qumran and were going to visit his brother at the Bedouin encampment near Wadi ed-Daliyeh. I had carried along Burrows' book containing a photograph of "Muhammad ed-Dib" and another Bedouin standing together near what looks like Cave 1 in the background. With no warning to Abu Daoud, who was sitting in front of me, I thrust the photograph in front of him. Without even a second's hesitation, his face lit up, he pointed at the person identified as "ed-Dib," and then pointed at himself, and excited and repeatedly said it was he. He then identified the other as "Jum'a," his "cousin." Abu Daoud was illiterate, even in Arabic, so he couldn't have read the English caption, and in any event there wasn't time to read it before he reacted. There is no way that he could have been prepared for my springing the photo on him, and it is highly unlikely that he could have known instantly what it was and pointed to the correct one of the two people, if it was not, in fact, a photo of him. Still I take to heart Professor Cross' reaction after reading this section: "Sorry, I do not take seriously any of Abu Daoud's stories. I prefer to stick with the earliest reports. I have said this to you before so my skepticism will come to you as no surprise, and your new arguments do not convince me. Time, particularly among illiterates without written controls, distorts memory, as does self-interest. I learned early

that the Ta'amireh told tall tales, matched only by Kando, a card-carrying liar—but an engaging rogue" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

60. "Five" appears in the early accounts because, as we have said, the Manual of Discipline was in two parts until Brownlee and Trever repaired it.

61. Saad bought eight fragments of the "Lamech" (Genesis Apocryphon) scroll from Kando. No fragments of that scroll were found by archaeologists in Cave 1.

62. Later published in DJD 1 in an Appendix.

63. DJD 1, p. 4. The fragments could also have come from the Bedouin to Kando at a later time. Italics mine.

64. Trever, "Statement Concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls," 4. Italics mine. William Kando has consistently reported to me that the Temple Scroll (the White Scroll), thought by everyone to have come from Qumran Cave 11, actually came from "Cave 1." I don't know what to make of this part of the Kando family tradition or what to do with it, except to convey it here without comment. We will take up the matter of the connection of scrolls with Cave 11 in the chapter on 1956.

65. Even the two fragments of the Thanksgiving Scroll do not contain sufficient text to make a conclusive paleographic analysis of the connection between them and larger parts of the scroll. One must also allow for the possibility that the same scribe could have written parts of two scrolls which ended up in two different caves. On the other hand, as Sukenik points out, two scribes wrote the scroll. The second scribe began on line 22 of column 11. (See Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, pp. 18, 38–40 and figures 29 and 30).

(Endnotes) Chapter 3

1. Before the year was out there were already articles being published on it. One of the more notable was one by the young scholar, Józef Milik, "Nota ad Volumen Hymnorum Mss. Maris Mortui," not for its length, but more for what it was to portend for the remainder of his life (*Verbum Domini* 29 [1951] 231–232). Burrows' transcriptions of Isaiah came in for some early criticism. Jacob Leveen, keeper of the Hebrew manuscripts in the British Museum collated the whole of Isaiah, making "scores and scores" of corrections to the editio princeps, "some of major consequence." Leveen's "skill in handling Hebrew manuscripts," said Albright, "has enabled him to escape many pitfalls into

which Burrows has fallen through inexperience." Albright goes on to suggest some kind of collaboration between Leveen and Skehan, but there is no record of whether that ever occurred (Albright to Skehan from Cairo, 9 February 1951. Skehan Archive), although Skehan did prepare a manuscript on Isaiah that was never published (see below).

2. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 123. Brownlee later received a letter from Professor Sukenik, dated 24 October 1951: "Today's mail brought me your translation of the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline. Many thanks for your kindness in sending me this. I am myself preparing an English translation of the Manual, and I am sure that your version will be of service to me" (from the Brownlee Archive). Albright hints that problems have arisen in a letter to Skehan in 1950: "At the moment I am in something of a jam between Burrows and Brownlee, and I don't quite know how the question of publishing the Third Scroll [Habakkuk Commentary?] will come out (Albright to Skehan, 2 November 1950. Skehan Archive).

3. See more below in the biographical sketch of Skehan.

4. Cross to Brownlee, 13 October 1951. Brownlee Archive.

5. R. de Vaux, "Historique des Découvertes," DJD 2 (1961) 3–8. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

6. Note that de Vaux uses this expression in 1961 (and much earlier too) when it was still the PAM; Barthélemy used the same expression when we interviewed him. From this we conclude that the PAM was already sometimes called the "Rockefeller Museum," after its founder, even before the name was changed by Israelis after 1967. David Rockefeller, Jr. once told me that his grandfather had specified that the Rockefeller name should never be used for the museum.

7. Note by de Vaux: Grouping 114 of fragments of tenant farming contracts (24) and Aramaic contracts.

8. The spelling is taken from the PAM Scrolls Ledger, with the addition of the ' . De Vaux spells it 'Aid in DJD 2.

9. This same 'Eid is paid JD 12.800, about \$37, for "antiquities, rewards." (Scrolls Ledger).

10. Later dated to the period of the Babylonian Conquest, early sixth century BC. Cf. H. Eshel, "Murabba'at: Written Material," *EDSS* 583.

11. The question marks are de Vaux's.

12. The original French is: "avec deux perles par

le gardien du Tombeau des Rois” DJD 2, p. 5. “Perles” could mean literal pearls or beads, but also, figuratively, something precious.

14. In places where the translation was uncertain or details were not clear I have relied on “Wady El Marabaat,” *ADAJ* 2 (1953) 85. Cp. R. de Vaux, “Les grottes de Murabba’at et leurs documents,” *RB* (April, 1953) 245–267; G. L. Harding, “Khirbet Qumran and Wady Murabba’at,” *PEQ* 84 (1952) 104–109.

15. R. de Vaux, “Historique des Découvertes.” 3–8.

16. “Wady El Marabaat,” *ADAJ* 2 (1953) 85.

17. *ADAJ* 2 (1953) 85. A recent summary of Murabba’at can be found in “Murabba’at, Wadi, in the *EDSS*: Ephraim Stern, “Archaeology”; Hannan Eshel, “Written Material” 581–586.

18. Barthélemy, interview one.

19. De Vaux (refunds on 22 December 1951, 18 April 1952, 26 August 1952; it cannot be determined how many transactions with how many Bedouin these refunds represent); Kando (6 January 1952); Hassan Farhemy (8 March 1952); Mohammed Ibeid ‘Allah, etc. (9 March 1952); Hassan Mohammed (14 March 1952); Mohammed Abij Mohammed (15 March 1952); Abd. Abdul Rahman (22 March 1952); Salaamah Mohammed (29 March 1952); Hassan Eid, etc. (26 April 1952); Hammad Zureiq (19 July 1952); and Mohammed Ali (1 August 1952).

20. JD 2,370.450. The exchange rate between Jordanian dinars (JD) and \$US was relatively stable during this period. We have calculated the rate at JD 1=US\$2.82 on the basis of a letter from the British Bank of the Middle East in Jerusalem to the Controller of Currency in Amman, dated 20 July 1958: “At the request of Professor Frank Cross—American Schools of Oriental Research, we hereby certify that we have paid to him the sum of JD. 1768.620 (Jordan dinars One Thousand Seven Hundred Sixty-Eight and 620 Only) being the proceeds in local currency of US\$ 5,000, the amount that we have received through the Hanover Bank, New York.”

21. PAM Archive. I continue to suspect that some of the numerous Greek fragments still in William Kando’s possession in 2004 originally came from Murabba’at.

22. JD 20.000.

23. Geza Vermes, *Providential Accidents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998) 77.

24. Vermes, *Providential Accidents*, 77. Interview with Geza Vermes, by Weston and Diane

Fields at his home in Oxford, December 1999. Professor Vermes was born Jewish, converted to Catholicism and was a priest. Subsequently, he returned to Judaism.

25. Driver, “Hebrew Scrolls’ Age,” *London Times* (30 August 1949); “Theory on Aim of Dead Sea Scrolls,” *London Times* (end of June or first days of July 1957); “When Doctors Disagree,” *London Times* (mid-August 1957). All three articles are taken from the Brownlee Archive, which also contains a number of friendly and kind letters to Brownlee from Professor Driver in his elegant, but difficult to read, handwriting. Professor Cross points out that he became Lord Driver before his death (private communication 6 February 2006).

26. G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls* (1965) 373. In his obituary for de Vaux in the *Times*, September 1970, Driver notes their differences over dating the scrolls, remarking that de Vaux dated the scrolls in the last two centuries BC, while he placed them in the first century AD.

27. Cross, interview.

28. Solomon Zeitlin, who published many articles against the antiquity of the scrolls in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* beginning in the 1950s was probably most famous for his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State: A Political, Social and Religious History of the Second Commonwealth*. New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967.

29. Cross, “Tales of the Early Days,” 1–2.

30. Zdzislaw Jan Kapera was there that night as well. He gives a fuller account in “AMS Carbon-14 Dating of the Scrolls,” *The Qumran Chronicle* 2:1 (1992) 39–43.

31. “Excavations in Jordan 1951–52,” *ADAJ* 11 (1953) 83; see de Vaux, “Les grottes de Murabba’at et leurs documents.”

32. “Excavations in Jordan, 1951–1952,” 84; the test had been carried out in Chicago on 9 January 1951 by Willard F. Libby at the University of Chicago.

33. “Excavations in Jordan, 1951–1952,” 85.

(Endnotes) Chapter 4

1. Obvious mistakes have been corrected and sometimes spelling and punctuation has been standardized. Question marks represent something illegible or something that appeared to be a mistake, but I was not sure enough to change it.

2. Milik to Brownlee, 5 February 1952. Brownlee Archive. J. T. Milik, “Elenchus Textum ex

caverna Maris Mortui,” *Verbum Domini* 30 (1952) 34–35.

3. Interview with Henri du Bessey de Contenson conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David at his home in Paris, 10 February 2000.

4. De Contenson, interview.

5. J. Milik, interview conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David at a retirement home in Paris, 20 January 2004.

6. De Vaux to Brownlee, 15 June 1952. Brownlee Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

7. Statement by Abu-Daoud while inside Cave 4 with me in the spring of 1992, with “Sami,” an Arab friend from the Old City, translating.

8. R. de Vaux, “Discovery, Excavation and Purchases,” *DJD* 6 (1977) 3., translated by Davina Eisenberg and Weston W. Fields. Although this article is unsigned, Jozéf Milk told me it was de Vaux who wrote it (telephone conversation, 26 February 2003).

9. Harding is still signing his letters *curator* at this time, so Saad’s title was probably still “secretary.” He did not become curator until 1956 or 1957 according to his CV submitted to the Council on Leaders and Specialists for the 1965 tour of the scrolls in the United States (Brownlee Archive).

10. De Vaux, “Discovery, Excavation, and Purchases,” 3.

11. I’m not sure why de Vaux uses this shortened title.

12. De Vaux, “Discovery, Excavation, and Purchases,” 3.

13. The contemporary exchange rate of US\$2.80/1JD is taken from a letter written by Joseph C. Green at the U.S. Embassy in Amman to John D. Jernegan of the NEA, Department of State in Washington DC, dated 20 October 1952. PAM Archive. This exchange rate of 2.8 U.S. dollars to 1 Jordanian Dinar will be used throughout. William Kando confirmed that in this period the Jordanian Dinar was “about \$3 to JD1.”

14. De Vaux, “Discovery, Excavation, and Purchases,” 4–5. This plea was published in 1977 and repeated by John Strugnell at the end of his summary of scroll photography in the Companion Volume to the Microfiche, 1993. Fragments of scrolls, possibly even scrolls from Cave 4, are still filtering in (2009), usually through channels established since the 1940s. It is now obvious that a certain number of fragments were held back by dealers as an investment for their children and grandchildren.

15. Harding, unaddressed letter, 30 September 1952.

16. In 2001 Martin Schøyen bought a nine-line fragment of Joel and a two-column fragment of Leviticus from a source he prefers not to disclose. Diane and I acted as couriers for the Joel fragment, personally carrying it to Schøyen’s agent in London. The exact provenance is unknown, or at least is not being made public. The Schøyen fragments have X in their sigla to indicate the provenance is unknown. In actuality, many of the Cave 4 and Cave 11 fragments cannot be placed exactly either. It is unwise to draw conclusions about the scrolls on the basis of the cave with which they are associated, except for fragments excavated and recorded by archaeologists or pieces which can be matched with fragments controlled by archaeologists, or pieces that can be otherwise placed (such as the smell of Cave 11 fragments).

17. This is probably the visit Father de Vaux refers to in his letter to the Bechtels, 15 March 1953. PAM Archive.

18. Italics mine.

19. Italics mine. The money was already gone by September 1952.

20. Harding to Kraeling (?), 24 September 1952 (?). PAM Archive. Carl Hermann Kraeling, born in Brooklyn, New York, 10 March 1897, studied at the University of Heidelberg, Columbia University, Union Theological Seminary, University of Pennsylvania, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, where he taught between 1920 and 1929. He was professor of New Testament at Yale University (1929–50) and a visiting professor at Harvard 1946–47. In 1950 he became professor of Hellenistic Oriental archaeology and director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. In his position at the Oriental Institute he was the liaison between John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the Palestine Archaeological Museum for funding the work of the Cave 4 Team.

21. Barthélemy, interview two.

22. It should be recalled that a least one piece of wood, though not a very large one, was found in Cave 1.

23. Originally seven; expanded to eight later.

24. Cross, interview.

25. Barthélemy, interview two.

26. Barthélemy, interview one.

27. Hazou, interview.

28. This claim is not substantiated. I merely report what Abu Daoud claimed.

29. I am reporting his opinion here without making a judgment. I must say that within the perimeters of the rather expandable and retractable honesty of the antiquities trade, I have found the trustworthiness of Mr. Kando's son, William, remarkable.
30. Hazou, interview.
31. PAM Archive. Found in the same folder with a list of manuscripts from Murabba'at bought by the PAM 19 August 1958.
32. Not everyone would agree with this conclusion, but it is one possibility.
33. Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006.
34. Harding to Kraeling, 29 September 1952. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
35. Italics mine.
36. Italics mine. This is the earliest statement of how Harding envisioned the Cave 4 Team. Although the tasks he enumerates include publication, it is not clear that he foresaw that only the team he intended to put together would have publication rights. Later we will see that the written invitations to prospective team members do not mention publication.
37. Harding to Kraeling, 29 September 1952. PAM Archive.
38. Italics mine.
39. Italics mine. A few weeks later he takes a more realistic view of publication when he begins correspondence on the matter with Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester University presses. See below.
40. "Statement from the Palestine Archaeological Museum," 30 September 1952. PAM Archive.
41. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 200.
42. Kraeling to Harding, 8 October 1952. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
43. Ambassador Joseph C. Green to John D. Jernegan, Esquire, NEA, Department of State, Washington, DC, 20 October 1952. PAM Archive.
44. Italics mine.
45. Italics mine.
46. Italics mine.
47. Harding to Kendrick, 23 October 1952. PAM Archive.
48. K. K. Bechtel to G. Lankester Harding, telegram, 22 October 1952. PAM Archive. Harding to Bechtels (?), 22/23 (?) October 1952. PAM Archive.
49. Bechtel to Harding, 30 October 1952. PAM Archive.
50. Albright to Skehan from Cairo, 9 February 1951. Skehan Archive. He says of Jacob Leveen: "He and Birnbaum are at the moment the only sane persons of competence (real or supposed) in Britain when it comes to the Dead Sea Scrolls."
51. Evidently because he was Jewish. Throughout the 19 years of Jordanian control of East Jerusalem and the Old City, it was nearly impossible for any Jewish person, no matter what nationality, to enter Jordan. David Noel Freedman, a convert to Christianity, pointed out to me that his Jewish name alone made it impossible for him to cross over freely into East Jerusalem, thus precluding participation on the scrolls team. (Freedman, interview.)
52. Kendrick to Harding, 8 November 1952. PAM Archive.
53. Italics mine. This was typical of the practice at the time.
54. Kraeling to Harding, 8 November 1952. PAM Archive.
55. Kraeling to Harding, 8 November 1952. PAM Archive.
56. As noted previously, Harding came to Jerusalem once a week from Amman, usually on the Muslim day of worship, Friday, when the office in Amman was closed.
57. Harding to Bechtel, 18 November 1952. PAM Archive.
58. Bechtel to Harding, 18 November 1952. PAM Archive. Professor Cross emphasizes that it was Mrs. Bechtel who had the most interest. "Once they were divorced [many years later] and joint agreements concerning the scrolls between them settled, Mr. Bechtel had nothing more to do with the scrolls. Mrs. Bechtel, independently wealthy ... continued steadily to give large amounts of money, and founded the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).
59. Harding to Oxford University Press, 20 November 1952. PAM Archive.
60. Spicer to Harding, 5 December 1952. PAM Archive.
61. Manchester University Press to Curator, Palestine Archaeological Museum, 12 December 1952. PAM Archive.
62. Kingsford to Harding, 9 December 1952. PAM Archive.
63. The volumes of DJD, at least from Vol. 8 onward, were financed primarily by outside sources such as the Qumran Project of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, The National Endowment for the Humanities, and through donation of

goods and services, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and various universities, among which the most prominent were The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Notre Dame. But all of this was to come later, and was directly related to the use of personal computers from the mid-1980s onward, making it feasible for the two production teams, one in Jerusalem at Hebrew University and one at Notre Dame, to speed up pre-publication tasks such as data entry, formatting, copyediting, and proofreading. From the mid-1990s onward the Internet was increasingly used for transmitting drafts of volumes in progress back and forth between the individual scholars, Jerusalem, and Notre Dame, speeding up the production process by years. Eventually, Oxford's primary responsibilities were reduced to various organizational matters, advice on editorial matters, preparation and typesetting of the front pages, preparation of high quality photographic plates, printing the text from camera-ready manuscripts, and binding and distribution, overseen in Oxford very efficiently by Ms. Hilary O'Shea and her capable assistant, Mrs. Jenny Wagstaffe and a production team.

64. Bechtel to Harding, 23 December 1952. PAM Archive.

65. Bechtel to ASOR, proposed letter, 23 December 1952. PAM Archive.

66. Ways were always found, but even the Israelis never had a *direct* route of funding *specifically* for scrolls *publication*, at least as far as I know. Plans for the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation were made by Emanuel Tov and Weston Fields in the spring of 1991. The first meeting of the board of directors was in San Francisco in November 1991. Further information can be found at www.deadseascrollsfoundation.com

67. Harding to Manchester University Press, 27 December 1952. PAM Archive.

68. Harding to Oxford University Press, 27 December 1952. PAM Archive.

69. Italics mine. Those who received a copy of this memo were: Rev. Father R. de Vaux; Joseph C. Green (American Embassy, Amman); Professor A. Creswell (Shaira Hassan al Akbar University, Cairo); M. Henri Seyrig (Institute française d'archéologie, Beirut); Dr. A. D. Tushingham (Dir., ASOR, Jerusalem); Mr. G. Hedengren (Royal Swedish Legation, Tel-Aviv) and Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Hebrew University, Jerusalem). This list more or less follows the official list of members outlined in the 20 April 1948 degree under the British Mandate, on which see Ch. 1

above. The inclusion of Sukenik demonstrates that there was still some contact between the Palestine Archaeological Museum and scholars in Israel up to that time. Geza Vermes reports, in fact, that during the later '50s and up until 1967 he was often the conduit for mail between East Jerusalem and Israel by way of Belgium, France, or England, wherever he happened to be at the time (Geza Vermes, interview, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields at the Old Parsonage Hotel in Oxford, 23 January 2004).

70. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 195–196.

71. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 196.

(Endnotes) Chapter 5

1. Milik to Brownlee, 14 January 1953, with enclosure, "Sigles pour les manuscrits du desert de Juda." = "Sigla for the Dead Sea Scrolls." Brownlee Archive.

2. "Perhaps some day you may be able to revisit us again and see them for yourself" (De Vaux to Bechtel, 15 March 1953. PAM Archive).

3. Harding to Bechtel, 4 January 1953. PAM Archive.

4. Bechtel to Harding, 14 January 1953. PAM Archive.

5. Harding to Bechtel, 29 January 1953. PAM Archive.

6. Bechtel to Harding, 9 February 1953. PAM Archive.

7. Bechtel to Kraeling, 9 February 1953. PAM Archive.

8. De Vaux to Bechtel, 1 March 1953. PAM Archive.

9. Albright to Knight (Provident Trust Company of Philadelphia), 2 March 1953. PAM Archive.

10. Albright to Harding, 2 March 1953. PAM Archive.

11. Harding to Albright, 12 March 1953. PAM Archive.

12. Scrolls Ledger, pp. 2–3. PAM Archive.

13. Barthélemy, interview one.

14. Cross, telephone interview, 3 March 2004.

15. Apparently unanimous. There are only three letters relating to this in the PAM archive. One may suspect that others gave their approval orally or that the letters somehow got lost.

16. Spicer to Harding, 22 January 1953. PAM Archive.

17. Word missing in Spicer's letter.

18. Spicer to Harding, 22 January 1953.

19. Spicer to Harding, 22 January 1953.

20. Harding to Spicer, 30 January 1953. PAM Archive.

21. Harding to Spicer, 30 January 1953.
22. Harding to Spicer, 30 January 1953.
23. Spicer to Harding, 10 February 1953. PAM Archive.
24. Spicer to Harding, 10 February 1953.
25. Spicer to Harding, 24 February 1953. PAM Archive. For political reasons one later volume was entitled *Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan*.
26. Spicer to Harding, 24 February 1953.
27. Jones to Harding, 25 February 1953. PAM Archive
28. Harding to Spicer, 20 April 1953. PAM Archive.
29. Clarendon Press, Oxford to Harding, 4 May 1953. PAM Archive.
30. Spicer to Harding, 20 May 1953. PAM Archive.
31. Harding to Spicer, 27 May 1953. PAM Archive.
32. The Guinea, a gold coin taken out of circulation in 1813 was worth 21 shillings or £1.05, approximately U.S. \$2.94 at the time. Spicer to Harding 8 June 1953. PAM Archive.
33. Spicer to Harding, 23 June 1953. PAM Archive.
34. Spicer to Harding, 16 July, 1953. PAM Archive.
35. Spicer to Harding, 21 July 1953. PAM Archive. The 12 copies were "for distribution to the Museum, the authors and contributors, and other 12 would be made available to this group at a 33% discount." (Contract for DJD 1. PAM Archive).
36. Spicer to Harding, 6 August 1953. PAM Archive.
37. Spicer to Harding, 1 September 1953. PAM Archive.
38. Harding to Spicer, 25 October 1953. PAM Archive.
39. Spicer to Harding, 6 November 1953. PAM Archive.
40. Memorandum of Agreement, 13 November 1953. PAM Archive.
41. Spicer to Harding, 16 November 1953. PAM Archive.
42. Harding to Spicer, 31 December 1953. PAM Archive.
43. Harding to Brownlee, 10 March 1953. PAM Archive.
44. Brownlee to Harding, 4 May 1953, citing his "contact." Brownlee Archive.
45. Brownlee to Harding, 11 April 1953. Brownlee Archive.
46. Benoit to Skehan, 15 November 1978. Skehan Archive.
47. *ADAJ* 3 (1956) 75–76. A portion of these coins, most of which were supposedly lost, are in the Citadel Museum in Amman. Diane, Pnina Shor, and I saw some of them on display on March 22, 2005 and the director of the museum took us through the ledger showing that some had been given away, some lent for exhibition and returned, and some apparently lent and not returned. Some were rumored to be at the Franciscan Museum in Jerusalem, but the late Father Piccirillo, its director until his death in mid-2008, told me they did not have any. (Interview with Father Michele Piccirillo, 9 February 2007 at the Franciscan Museum on the Via Dolorosa in the Old City, conducted by Weston Fields.)
48. 4 November 1952, Abd. Rissas, £15; 29; January 1953, Kando, £764.50; 15 February 1953, reimbursement to de Vaux, £13.25; 2 March 1953, reimbursement to de Vaux, £400 and £300; 26 March 1953, Kando, £1925; 28 March 1953, Buhr?, £1; 28 March 1953, reimbursement to de Vaux, £250. In 1953 there is an apparently unrelated purchase, £250 to Dame Kathleen Kenyon for "Tomb. Jericho." No more purchases are recorded until 10 June 1956, from Mahmoud Beydoun through Father de Vaux in the amount of JD 46.20 for materials from an unknown location, and then in 1957/1958 (no exact date) from Kh. Iskandar Shahin Kando in the amount of JD 46,000 (U.S. \$128,800) for scrolls from Cave 11, and finally, on 8 June 1957 from Mahmoud Beydoun in the amount of JD 20 for materials from Cave 4.
49. Kraeling to Harding, 8 March 1953. PAM Archive.
50. "English summary of letters about exporting fragments to supporting foreign institutions," PAM Archive. Italics mine.
51. *CVDSSME*, 116, 118.
52. *CVDSSME*, 116. Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971) 30–31.

(Endnotes) Chapter 6

1. The first Cave 4 fragments were purchased on 3 September 1952 from Kando. There were three more purchases from Kando on 11 September, 18 October, and 30 October. There was also a reimbursement to de Vaux on 3 October, probably for a group of fragments brought by Bedouin directly to him at École. There was one

small Cave 4 purchase reimbursed to de Vaux on 15 February 1953, and the Cave 4 purchases were made on 10 January 1956 (but with a question as to provenance) and 8 April 1957. Scrolls Ledger, p. 1. PAM Archive.

2. Scrolls Ledger. PAM Archive.

3. When asked if the team was constituted on the basis of which institutions might be able to bring money to the project, Cross answered: “No, I don’t think so. De Vaux was not that worldly. He was shrewd, but I think not. No, we were picked when they decided to have several archaeological institutes in Jerusalem, each one of which was represented on the board of the museum, to have them have a representative from their institute, the French school, the American school, the German school, the British School” (Cross, interview, 1999). Later on, the various institutions were used for fund-raising. The American School had already assisted with the first Bechtel contribution in 1952–1953. Later, it was responsible for Kraeling’s procurement of the Rockefeller money, and during the 1960s was instrumental in the large Bechtel contributions for the Cave 11 and Dalayah materials. Money did come in a less direct way through contacts with the British, the Germans (Heidelberg) and the French (CNRS). However, there is no *overt* mention of this in Harding’s correspondence, as a *reason* for inviting these schools to participate.

4. We have previously discussed how the PAM’s board of trustees was constituted. Besides the American, British, French, and German schools, and in addition to several representatives outside Jerusalem, the Jewish Exploration Society (later, the Israel Exploration Society) was also officially represented. After 1949 it was impossible for a representative to attend PAM meetings since Jordan excluded not only all Jews, but even those who were not Jewish but had Jewish names. (Interview with David Noel Freedman, conducted by Diane and Weston Fields in his office at the University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, April 1999.) It is therefore virtually certain that Jewish scholars would have been invited to join the Cave 4 Team had Jerusalem not been divided in 1953. It should be noted that some documentary evidence exists to show that the IEJ was kept informed of PAM business, for it still had a seat on the board of trustees until Jordan nationalized the museum in late 1966. It is not possible to tell, however, to what extent the IEJ was asked for advice or took part in decisions. If it were done by telephone, there is no record.

One might also ask the question, “Why weren’t Israelis invited to join the team in the late 1950s, by which time it would have been possible to work to a large extent with photos, even if they would have had to be sent by mail, probably by way of Cyprus?” There are at least two answers: (1) Israel’s War of Independence (Arabs: War of Disaster) polarized political loyalties to such an extent that even prewar friendships were not able to overcome the animosity toward Israel and Israelis from some expatriate scholars living in East Jerusalem. Unfortunately, this even extended toward Jews in general on the part of some scholars, and on rare occasions, even to a particular Jew. (2) There was probably a suspicion, whether well-founded or not is hard to say, that if photographs of Cave 4 scrolls were sent across the line, Israelis would publish them without permission. Such did happen after the city was united in 1967 under Israeli control (the incident is still too sensitive to elaborate here). All this aside, it is Cross’ opinion that if Jerusalem had not been divided in 1953, “a number of the Israelis would have been appointed” to the Cave 4 Team “since we were desperate for scholars sufficiently trained to do this stuff” (Cross, interview, 1999).

5. Harding to Bechtel, 23 October 1952; Harding to Kendrick, 23 October 1952. PAM Archive.

6. For example, Puech’s statement that the team was to be “interdenominational” (Emile Puech, “Milik, József T.,” *EDSS* 552). I single out my good friend Emile only to demonstrate that if one so knowledgeable, who intimately knew most of the team, and himself became such a prominent member of the expanded publication team, could be mistaken, it is little wonder that those less informed made the same mistake. My equally good friend Geza Vermes also makes a similar mistake, saying the team was composed of “mostly Roman Catholic hebraists” (*Jesus in His Jewish Context* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2003] 114).

7. The first notation of the denominational affiliation of the scholars comes from an undated summary of the task lying ahead of the Cave 4 Team written on PAM stationery. Though it was in the 1961 folder of the PAM Archive, it seems to have come from an earlier time. The denominational count may indicate one of the first responses to Allegro’s accusations against the Catholics beginning in the late 1950s.

8. I was given access to all of de Vaux’s documents as far as I know. I would like to thank the Rev.

Dr. Jean-Michelle de Tarragon, then prior of the Couvent de St. Étienne (St. Stephen's Dominican Monastery, host of the École biblique in Jerusalem). Until March 2003 I was under the impression that whatever was relevant to the history of the scrolls was probably in the PAM Archive, but on March 11 Professor Cross told me in a telephone conversation that all of his contact with the PAM, including his invitation to join the Cave 4 Team and his physical introduction to the scrolls themselves, and the supervision of his work, was handled personally by de Vaux. So, I had to rethink the impression I had up to that point from the written records that much more was handled by Harding than was previously understood. But it must be noted that during the summer of 1953 Harding was in England arranging for publication of DJD and the invitations of the British members of the team, on which see more below. It was at this point that I realized that without all of de Vaux's letters we would never be able fully to know how this all worked. Father Jean-Baptiste Humbert also allowed me to look at a separate small file, but the letters did not relate very much to the PAM or DJD. I would also like to thank Father Jean-Michel Poffet, director of the École biblique, for his help in making the archives available.

9. Vermes, *Jesus in His Jewish Context*, 114.

10. Again, and for the same reasons, I call attention to Puech's statement that the team was "recruited by de Vaux" (EDSS 552). This is at least an oversimplification. Milik confirmed to me that it was Harding (telephone conversation, 8 March 2003) who took the lead.

11. Cross refers, for example, to "the distorted accounts which have appeared in print, notably the claim by Hershel Shanks that de Vaux appointed the team, and drew its members from among his cronies, mostly Catholics, and Joseph Fitzmyer's equally tendentious claim that Gerald Harding the director of Antiquities of Jordan made the appointments" ("Tales of the Early Days"). Fitzmyer was, however, probably nearer the mark.

12. The American School of Oriental Research, The École biblique, The British School of Archaeology, and Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes ("German-Palestine Institute").

13. We have already mentioned one who *could not* accept (because he was Jewish): Jacob Leveen at the British Museum. It is hard to establish

the chronological order. Part of it depends of whether one dates the members' addition to the team from their invitation or their arrival in Jerusalem. De Vaux later gave this order: "J. T. Milik (Pole); F. M. Cross Jr. (American); J. M. Allegro (British); J. Starcky (French); P. W. Skehan (American); J. Strugnell (British); C.-H. Hunzinger (German); M. Baillet (French)" (De Vaux to the Director of Antiquities of Jordan, 12 June 1960. PAM Archive).

14. Allegro to Baillet, 4 June 1982. Allegro Archive. Considering how relations between Allegro and the rest of the Cave 4 Team degenerated years before, this was undoubtedly an ironic statement, not a real compliment. Yet, it reflects the high esteem in which Cross was held by the scholarly world, or Allegro could not have even attempted the irony.

15. Albright to Skehan, 21 August 1950. Skehan Archive. I mailed a copy of this letter to Frank Cross, and received this reply: "You were very kind to send me the letter. It did indeed lift my spirits. Albright certainly never used such language to my face ... a posthumous compliment" (Cross to Fields, 17 February 2004).

16. Later, when Cross was at Harvard and Wright was still at McCormick, Cross arranged for Wright to help, briefly, with the Cave 4 scrolls in Jerusalem, and was instrumental in Wright's appointment to Harvard, as he recounts in letters to Allegro, 29 July 1956 and 2 April 1958.

17. David Noel Freedman recounts that Albright, one of the judges of the competition, made the remark that Cross' winning paper was already good enough to be a dissertation. (D. N. Freedman, conversation in La Jolla, CA, April 15, 2005).

18. Cross, interview; "Tales of the Early Days in the Discovery and Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," an unpublished paper given to me by Professor Cross, since published in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, J. VanderKam, and G. Marquis, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery 1947-1997*. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997. (Jerusalem: IES, 2000).

19. E. Ulrich, "Cross, Frank Moore," EDSS 157-158. See, for example, Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Scrolls in the Hebrew University," BA 12 (1949).

20. This shows that from the beginning some of the Cave 4 Team members assumed that de Vaux had constituted the team. However, it is quite clear from the records, as we have pointed out, that Harding probably came up with the

idea and took the lead in recruiting at least some of the members either directly or through the agency of others.

21. Cross, interview, 1999.

22. Cross was not aware that Albright was the prime mover in his appointment. Cross says, "My first contact with [de Vaux] was when he came over to the American School in Jerusalem in May, 1953 to take me to the Rockefeller Museum and introduce me to its scrollery." The actual first contact came from de Vaux, not Harding (telephone conversation, 11 March 2003). But from the documents that survived it is obvious that the invitation came from Kraeling to Harding to de Vaux to Cross.

23. As acting director he also sat on the board of trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

24. Telephone conversation with Cross, 28 January 2002; interview with Frank Cross in his home in Lexington, MA, 5 April 2002, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields.

25. Scrolls Ledger, p. 2.

26. Cross, "Tales of the Early Days."

27. Cross, interview, 1999.

28. Italics mine.

29. Father Vincent had been instrumental in the conversion of Albright's wife to Catholicism, a rather traumatic event at the time for Albright, who had grown up in Chile, the son of a Protestant missionary, persecuted, as happened in that time and place, by Catholics, whom his parents were trying to convert to Methodism.

30. Cross, "Tales of the Early Days." Full account in F.M. Cross, Jr. and J. T. Milik "Explorations in the Judean Buqé'ah," *BASOR* 142 (April, 1956), 5–17.

31. Cross, interview, 1999.

32. Cross, interview, 1999.

33. Cross, interview, 1999.

34. Second edition, 1961; third edition, 1995.

35. E. Tov, "Introduction," DJD 39. Cross was the doctoral advisor of White-Crawford, Davila, Duncan, Fuller, Gropp, Jastram, Leith, Olyan, Naveh, Stone, Tov, Ulrich, and VanderKam. Strugnell was the doctoral advisor or had a hand in training Collins, Harrington, Newsom, Schuller, Smith, and Tanzer. Second generation: from Ulrich: Flint, Sanderson; from VanderKam: Brady, Murphy, Scofield; from Tov: Abegg, Chazon, Elgvin, E. Eshel, Morgenstern, Pfann, Segal. Thanks are due to Professor Tov for allowing me to use a draft version of this introduction before publication.

36. 4QSam^a, which Cross calls "certainly the most important and extensively preserved of the biblical manuscripts," required most of his research time during all those years. 4QSam^b, the oldest of the biblical manuscripts, and 4QSam^c, edited by Ulrich, were also included in DJD 17. At a party arranged by Emanuel Tov for Frank Cross upon the publication of DJD 17, after Emanuel's opening remarks, Frank said, "The reviewers will probably consider this a rush job" (Communication from E. Tov, March 4, 2009).

37. E. Puech, "Milik, Józef T.," *EDSS*, 552–553. For a time during the Nazi occupation he also studied at St. John the Baptist Seminary in Warsaw. The most recent and perhaps most complete and balanced biography of Milik is Z. J. Kapera, "Scholars' Scholar—Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006)," *The Qumran Chronicle* (13:2/4) 77–110. The entire issue is devoted to Milik and his writings. Important also is E. Puech, "Obituary," *Le Monde* 22 January 2006.

38. Milik, interview.

39. Diane and I were privileged to meet Jan in Paris when we happened to be visiting Józef at the same time.

40. Particularly in *Biblica* and *Verbum Domini*.

41. Milik, interview.

42. *Biblica* 32, 1950.

43. He sent an advance copy of his list to Brownlee to Brownlee as early as the beginning of January 1953 (Milik to Brownlee, 14 January 1953. Brownlee Archive). Only four months after the first materials from Cave 4 were sold to the museum, Milik already has examples of *sigla* for Caves 4 and 5 in his list.

44. Milik did not remember when he left Jerusalem for Paris, but it was probably in time to be there for Easter, nor does he remember the exact time he came back. The September 1953 date comes from Cross' accounts. But Milik did tell me that the reason he was in France was "for a holiday" and that it was de Vaux who invited him to work on the Cave 4 materials (Milik, telephone conversation, 8 March 2003).

45. Skehan reports that Milik was a kind of "foreman" of the scrollery in the early years (Skehan, *ASOR Newsletter*, 1955).

46. Milik, telephone conversation, 8 March 2003.

47. Cross, interview.

48. Skehan describes him: "Father Milik has amiability, humility, good sense, piety, and the ability to cooperate" (P. W. Skehan, "Rev. Józef T. Milik," 2. Skehan Archive).

49. Driver to Harding, 6 August 1953. PAM Archive. Part of the letter was illegible, but I sent a copy of it to Professor Wernberg-Møller and he replied: "I have no recollection of writing to Harding although I certainly remember my own signature which was the way I wrote my name at the time. I became fully familiar with Driver's handwriting, and I have taken the liberty of returning the typed copy of the letter to Harding with a few corrections" (P. Wernberg-Møller to W. Fields, 23 February 2004).
50. Wernberg-Møller to Harding, 6 August 1953. PAM Archive.
51. Preben and Sasha Wernberg-Møller, interview," conducted by Weston and Diane Fields at their home in Old Marston (Oxford), 18 January 2004.
52. Wernberg-Møller to Fields, 23 February 2004.
53. Driver to Harding, 23 July 1953. PAM Archive.
54. Rowley to Harding, 30 July 1953. PAM Archive.
55. Allegro to Harding, 7 August 1953. PAM Archive.
56. Allegro to Harding, 11 September 1953. PAM Archive.
57. Harding to Allegro, 24 September 1953. PAM Archive #1119.
58. Allegro to Harding, 6 October 1953. PAM Archive.
59. Interview with Joan Allegro at her home in Castletown, Isle of Man, 2000, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields.
60. Judith Anne (Allegro) Brown, *John Marco Allegro, the Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005). p. 1. I would like to express my thanks to Judith for allowing me to read and use this manuscript prior to publication and for the letters we exchanged about it during January-March 2003.
61. Brown, John Marco Allegro, 3-11.
62. Joan Allegro, interview.
63. Italics mine. It is worth noting this term because whether Harding used it intentionally or through a "Freudian slip," he reveals precisely how he viewed these young men: workers, employees. Only later did they become more or less autonomous, at least in their day-to-day work.
64. Harding to Emerton, 12 December 1953. PAM Archive.
65. Emerton to Harding, 5 January 1954. PAM Archive.
66. Emerton to Harding, 11 January 1954. PAM Archive.
67. Harding to Emerton, 16 January 1954. PAM Archive.
68. Cross, telephone conversation, 11 March 2003.
69. Emmanuel Starcky, interview, conducted in the office of the Directeur adjoint des musées de France by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David in Paris, 20 January 2004.
70. E. Will, "Nécrologie," *Extrait de la revue Syria*, 66 (1989); "Hommage à Jean Starcky," *Alsace*, 29 January 1995; "Hommage aux frère Starcky: Une nouvelle rue et un livre," *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 24 January 1995; Emile Puech, "L'Abbé Starcky (1909-1988)," *Mémorial Jean Starcky I. Textes et Études qumrâniens*, ed. Émile Puech and Florentino García Martínez, *Révue de Qumrân* 15 (1991) 1-9; Émile Puech, "Starcky, Jean," *EDSS* 891-892.
71. This is as close as I have been able to date it. The first mention of Starcky is in a letter from Allegro to his wife, 24 January 1954 (J. Allegro, *John Marco Allegro*, p. 10).
72. As Cross has said to me on several occasions.
73. Published in November 2008.
74. Rabin wrote on the Damascus Document and later moved from Oxford to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
75. Cecile Pierlot, daughter of Compte [Count] Hubert Pierlot, Prime Minister of Belgium during World War II. They had five children: David, Andrew, Anne Christine, Mary Claire, and Monique (Strugnell, telephone conversation, 31 January 2005).
76. Strugnell, interview.
77. Strugnell to Harding, 8 April 1954. PAM Archive.
78. Harding to Strugnell, 30 May 1954. PAM Archive.
79. Strugnell to Harding, 22 June 1954. PAM Archive.
80. "German-Palestine Institute" is what Hunzinger calls it, so I retain that throughout. The official name was the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes.
81. Claus-Hunno and Elizabeth Hunzinger, interview, conducted by Weston, Diane, and De Witt Fields at their home in Hamburg, 18 December 1999. Transcribed by Gaylene Word Services. Corrected and rephrased slightly by Weston Fields.
82. "Habilitation" is a second doctorate required in some European universities.

83. Hunzinger, interview.
84. Hunzinger, interview.
85. Alexander A. Di Lella, "Patrick William Skehan: A Tribute," *CBQ* 42:4 (October, 1980) 437; *Patrick W. Skehan Festschrift, CBQ* 36 (October, 1974) vii. "As a matter of fact, while I was Albright's student in epigraphy and palaeography, having devoured everything he wrote, the *only* formal course in epigraphy I ever had was from Skehan. I am deeply in his debt in many ways. Preparing together the eclectic text of Samuel for translation in the *New American Bible* was a delightful exercise. He was a wonderful and unique soul" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).
86. "Biographical Note," in the Skehan Archive at the American Catholic History Research Center & University Archives, The Catholic University of America, Washington DC. For helping me find this archive, I want to thank Father Joseph Jensen of the Catholic Biblical Association, Father Sidney Griffith and Dr. Monica Blanchard of the Department of Semitics/ICOR at the Catholic University of America. For arranging the copying of nearly the entire archive I want to thank Heather Morgan at the Research Center.
87. Di Lella, "Patrick William Skehan: A Tribute," 436.
88. Frank Cross, telephone conversation, 12 February 2004.
89. Skehan to Allegro, 19 March 1958. Allegro Archive.
90. For the entire course of his life he maintained good relations with Jewish people and Jewish institutions. In 1957 he lectured at Dropsie College, he lectured for Abraham Katsh at NYU in 1958. In 1979 on the evaluation team for the doctoral program at Baltimore Hebrew College (A. A. Neuman to Skehan, 7 June 1957. Skehan Archive; Skehan to Katsh, 23 February 1958. Skehan Archive; F. P. L. Somerville, "Hebrew College Wins Support for Doctorate in Jewish Studies," *Baltimore Sun* [5 July 1979]).
91. E. Ulrich to W. Fields, email, 18 February 2004.
92. "Msgr. Skehan Goes to Holy Land to Study Biblical Manuscripts," (newspaper article, probably *Washington Post*, no date), but sometime just before he went to Jerusalem in 1954. CBA Archive. While in Jerusalem he wrote to Lou Hartman at CUA, asking him to send some of his DSIa (Isaiah^a) note cards to help him with identifying some of the Cave 4 materials (Skehan to Hartman, 1 December [1954?]). CBA Archive.
93. Much of the correspondence, mostly from Burrows' side has survived: Burrows to Skehan, 24 October 1950; 2 January 1951; 22 May 1951; 9 July 1951; 1 August 1951; 10 October 1951; 29 October 1951; 5 March 1952; 21 May 1952; 13 June 1952; 24 June 1952; 12 February 1953; 30 April 1953; 4 January 1954; 15 February 1954; 26 February 1954; 19 March 1954; 14 June 1954. Skehan Archive. In the 4 January 1954 letter Burrows expresses the fear that his going to Jerusalem later in the year will interrupt the completion of the work, but there is no indication whether he finished it before he left the States. In 1965 Cross inquires about the manuscript because D. N. Freedman and Mrs. Bechtel might be interested in publishing it. Skehan replies that the manuscript is "sitting here in my room in very nearly pristine state." He explains that so many things have happened in the intervening time that he has no desire to see it published, adding that Carmignac wanted it long ago (Cross to Skehan, 1 November 1965; Skehan to Cross and Freedman, 21 November 1965). In 2004 I finally traced the manuscript to Professor Eugene Ulrich, who had received it with the Cave 4 Skehan materials he inherited and published. By the time he got it in 1980 it was "too out of date" to use (E. Ulrich to W. Fields, email, 18 February 2004).
94. Albright to Skehan, 2 November 1950; Albright to Skehan, 9 February 1951; Albright to Skehan, 18 January 1954; Cross to Skehan 6 June 1954. Skehan Archive.
95. Milik, interview, 2004.
96. The Cave 4 Team *turned out* to be *international* and *interconfessional*, but those two characteristics were not factors in the *choice* of the team members.
97. Baillet must be counting de Vaux among the eight, or he may have been thinking of Barthélemy's early but prematurely aborted association. Apart from de Vaux, Baillet himself was the eighth.
98. M. Baillet, "Introduction," *DJD* 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
99. The CNRS, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (National Center for Scientific Research), is a government-funded research organization, under the administrative authority of France's Ministry of Research.
100. Baillet to Allegro, 2 August 1982. Allegro Archive.

101. This is now generally believed to be a scribe's writing exercise. Our first assignment in Emanuel Tov's Dead Sea Scrolls course at Hebrew University in 1986 was to try to decipher this. It was only after we had struggled with it for a week at home that he told us at the next class it was just random words and letters of a scribal exercise. It was published by J. Naveh, "Exercitium Calami C," *DJD* 39, p. 291.

102. Italics mine.

103. Baillet to Allegro, 27 May 1982. Allegro Archive.

104. E. Puech, "Memoriam Abbot Maurice Baillet (1923-1998)," *RQ* 71 (1998) 18. Translated by Eva ben-David; J. Briend, "Baillet, Maurice," *EDDS* 76. James Sanders related that when he and his wife, Dora, were in Jerusalem in 1961-1962 he got to know him well. A delightful conversationalist, Baillet was also an accomplished pianist and musicologist, as is Dora (James Sanders, email, 19 March 2006). Some of Baillet's papers, including his working materials for *DJD* 7, are at the Institut Catholique, 21 Rue d'Assas, Paris. Professor J. Teixidor arranged with Mme. Martine Seward, Librarian of the Institut, for Diane, Eva, and me to examine these materials in Paris in March 2001, but little was found of value to this project. Unfortunately, he left instructions that, following his death, his personal papers were to be burned, a request that was carried out by his niece, Monique Purgues, who still lives in Bordeaux (telephone conversation with Monique Purgues, March 2002).

105. "De Vaux chose to do archaeology. He chose to publish none of the scrolls himself, although he was capable. His primary role was in acquiring manuscripts. Distribution of materials emerged out of the consensus of the team, but only with the blessing of de Vaux. He would only very rarely visit us, usually just for a good time. And we went down and visited him on the dig" (collation of Cross, interview, 1999 and Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

106. We have already discussed in chapter 5 above the purchases from the "unknown caves." To repeat, fragments were purchased 4 November 1952 from Abd. Rissas for £15; 29 January 1953 from Kando for £764.50; 2 March 1953, reimbursements to de Vaux (for direct purchase from someone, presumably Bedouin or Kando) for £400 and £300; 26 March 1953 from Kando for £1925; 28 March 1953 from Buhr? for £1; 28 March 1953, reimbursement to de Vaux

(for direct purchase, presumably from Bedouin or Kando) for £250. Only three purchases in 1953 were of fragments whose provenance is identified in the Scrolls Ledger: 15 February 1953, fragments from Mird for £3 and fragments from Cave 4 for £10, reimbursement to de Vaux (for purchase from someone, presumably Bedouin or Kando); 7 October 1953, £225 for fragments from Mird, no seller indicated; and 6 November 1953, fragments from Seyyal, no seller indicated (Scrolls Ledger, PAM Archive, pp. 2-4).

107. Frank Cross, for example, the first one to begin sorting all this material, was not even aware of the classification "Unknown Caves" in the Scrolls Ledger, or of the ledger itself, for that matter, until we spoke about it in a telephone conversation, 8 March 2003. He immediately understood the implications and what had happened back in 1953, and asked me to send him a copy of the Ledger.

108. Strugnell agreed with this analysis. Telephone conversation, 28 October 2003.

109. Cross, interview, 1999. Baillet makes a more direct statement about this indicating that Cross' suspicion was correct (Baillet to Allegro, 2 August 1982. Allegro Archive).

110. Brown, *John Marco Allegro*, p. 7.

111. Brown, *John Marco Allegro*, p. 7.

112. Brown, *John Marco Allegro*, p. 8.

113. Brown, *John Marco Allegro*, p. 8.

114. Italics mine.

115. Skehan, however, reports in a letter written at the time that both the Murabba'at fragments and the minor caves fragments were kept for a time at the École and he inspected them there. In another report from 1955 Skehan reports that the Murabba'at fragments were at the museum. (Skehan Archive).

116. This is a slightly different, compressed story. At the time it happened (sometime before 26 and 29 April 1960) both Strugnell and Starcky signed statements and sent them to Saad. See the whole story in Chapter 13.

117. Strugnell, interview. Slightly corrected and smoothed out.

(Endnotes) Chapter 7

1. Many efforts were made. Among the papers in the Brownlee Archive is a 14-page, double-spaced letter signed by W. F. Albright's sister, Mary Stinespring, the wife of Professor Stinespring at Duke University Divinity School. Although undated, the contents place its writing during

the exhibitions of the scrolls in the United States, probably while they were at Duke in February 1950. She says: “Now it remains for our present day to decide upon the repository for these valuable and irreplaceable works of our religious forebears. At present the scrolls are insured for half a million dollars while they are on view in this country. We would like to keep them permanently in America since we feel that here of all places on earth we could best protect them and preserve them for posterity. It is rumored that the metropolitan is willing to leave them here, but feels that he must sell them for a million dollars in order that he may have that much to use for the relief of Arabs made destitute by the recent war in Palestine. Considering what has been paid in the past for far less rare manuscripts such as the Gutenberg Bible, it seems very little to ask. We can only hope for the sake of all concerned that this rumor is true and that the metropolitan will be successful in his quest.”

2. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 133–134.

3. Brownlee had thought that the scrolls belonged to the church, but was urged by Samuel in August 1949 “to speak of them always as the scrolls of Metropolitan Samuel and not as the documents of the St. Mark’s Monastery” (*Phenomenal Discoveries*, 135). Samuel changed his mind, however, when the IRS assessed him more than \$60,000 in taxes after the sale of the scrolls in 1954. Then the scrolls became the property of the tax-exempt Syrian Orthodox Diocese. Kiraz’s side of the story is told in G. Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz’s Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, mentioned in Chapter 1.

4. William has repeated this claim to me several times, the latest of which was on 7 February 2007 at his shop in East Jerusalem. I have not seen the documents, so I cannot make a judgment on their existence or content.

5. E. L. Sukenik, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955) 7. After Sukenik’s death the Hebrew University appointed a committee to oversee the publication of the three University scrolls: N. Avigad, S. Ginosar, I. A. Mayer, M. Schwabe, and Y. Yadin. J. Licht acted as Avigad’s assistant.

6. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 198–200.

7. Gottesman, born in Hungary in 1885, arrived in the States the same year. He joined the family business, M. Gottesman & Company in New York. The company sold raw materials for papermaking. He went on to transform the firm into the Central National-Gottesman Inc,

a billion-dollar pulp-and-paper company and was also a successful investment banker, the organizer of Central National Bank. He was best known for his philanthropy of which his gift for the purchase of the scrolls is probably the most famous. He died in 1956 (Wikipedia).

8. Interview with Teddy Kollek at the Jerusalem Foundation, conducted by Diane and Weston Fields, 3 March 1999.

9. Naturally, Samuel disputed this in the court, arguing that the sale of the scrolls involved church property and was therefore exempt. Although I couldn’t find documentation, I assume that the case was decided in Samuel’s favor, especially since the entire amount (at least according to Samuel) went into a tax-exempt charitable trust.

10. Cross to Brownlee, 26 May 1954. Brownlee Archive. Italics mine.

11. Skehan to Hartman, 1954. CBA Archive.

12. Burrows to Hartman, 5 January 1954; Hartman to Burrows, 20 October 1954; Hartman to Burrows, 22 October 1954; Hartman to Burrows, 25 October 1954; Burrows to Hartman, 8 November 1954; Skehan to Hartman, 3 November 1954. CBA Archive.

13. Skehan to Harmon, 3 November 1954. CBA Archive. The collation eventually passed on to Professor Eugene Ulrich at the University of Notre Dame when he received Skehan’s Cave 4 biblical fragments to finish for publication.

14. Kraeling to Harding, 13 December 1954. PAM Archive.

15. Harding to Kraeling, 29 January 1955. PAM Archive.

(Endnotes) Chapter 8

1. Posthumously by his colleagues: Isaiah^b, the War Scroll, and the Thanksgiving Scroll.

2. Saad to Spicer, 4 January 1955. PAM Archive.

3. Saad, 21 January 1955. PAM Archive.

4. Skehan to Hartman, 24 January 1955. Skehan Archive.

5. Harding to Kraeling, 29 January 1955. PAM Archive.

6. Cross, telephone conversation, 3 March 2004. De Vaux dates the discovery of this scroll (Mur 88) to March 1955 from a fifth cave at Murabba’at (De Vaux, “Introduction,” *DJD 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) 71, but the first photographs were taken during February 1955 (CVDSSME, 83), so de Vaux’s dating must be slightly off.

7. Grohmann to Harding, 8 February 1955.

PAM Archive; A. Grohmann, "Arabic Papyri from Khirbet el-Mird," *Bibliothèque du Muséon* 52 (1963).

8. DJD 3, 27–31.

9. K. Švehla and J. Vrchotka, Národní Museum v Praze, to PAM, 26 February 1955. PAM Archive.

10. Harding to Švehla, 30 April 1955. Italics mine. This was not strictly true, of course, since DJD contracts were signed between the PAM only and Oxford University Press.

11. Barthélemy probably would have worked on Cave 4 had he returned to Jerusalem. However, he did not return in time; he later refused the position of director of the École he was offered, and never edited any Cave 4 materials. He was given the "Greek 12 Prophets" Scroll, forming much of the basis for his famous book on Aquila, but it was left to E. Tov to complete the preparation of the scroll for the official publication, DJD 8 in 1988. I was privileged to do a small amount of work on this scroll for Professor Tov while I was a student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem prior to its publication.

12. Professor Muilenburg is mentioned several times in the available documents. He was not a member of the Cave 4 Team, but Cross allowed him to publish 4QQohelet (Ecclesiastes), showing that at this point the team was willing to share publication with others.

13. We now know that one of the dealers held back at least one piece, maybe more, of Leviticus, probably from Cave 4. It was bought a few years ago by Martin Schøyen, who showed it to us afterwards at his home near Oslo.

14. P. W. Skehan, "ASOR Newsletter #4," 3 February 1955. CBA Archive. Italics mine.

15. Usually descriptions of these events say the scrolls were "reunited." I avoid this term since the two lots were always kept separate, and may have been discovered separately, perhaps even in separate caves, as we have discussed above. The only documented occasion when all seven were physically together before 1954 was Saturday 5 July 1947, when the various Bedouin owners brought their scrolls to show Mar Samuel in Jerusalem.

16. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.

17. Cross to Brownlee, 13 February 1955. Brownlee Archive.

18. Brownlee, *Phenomenal Discoveries*, 142.

19. Skehan to Harmon, *Septuagesima* [February 27], 1955. CBA Archive.

20. Van der Ploeg, interview.

21. Skehan to Harmon, 17 March 1955. CBA Archive.

22. Skehan to Harmon, 17 March 1955. CBA Archive.

23. Clarendon Press to PAM curator, 5 April 1955. PAM Archive.

24. Spicer to Harding, 5 April 1955. PAM Archive.

25. Harding to Spicer, 7 April 1955. PAM Archive.

26. Harding to Spicer, 28 April 1955. PAM Archive.

27. Dating based on references to events that are possible to date by other means.

28. Strugnell to Allegro, 15 October 1955. Allegro Archive.

29. Strugnell to Allegro, 28 November 1955. Allegro Archive.

30. Allegro to Harding, 3 May 1955. PAM Archive.

31. Harding to Allegro, 11 May 1955. PAM Archive.

32. Allegro to Harding, 18 May 1955. PAM Archive.

33. The listing of the names in this order is not accidental. This was exactly the hierarchy controlling the scrolls at the time: Harding in charge, de Vaux under him, and Milik as "foreman" of the scrollerly, next in authority.

34. Allegro to Harding, 23 May 1955. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

35. Allegro to Harding, 31 May 1955. PAM Archive.

36. Harding to Allegro, 5 January 1955. Allegro Archive. Cross adds: "Save for a few manuscripts in Palaeo-Hebrew, I have found no evidence of scraping or polishing with an abrasive, and all of my manuscripts—those well preserved—are written on the hair side only and while roughly scraped on the flesh side, only the hair side was fit for inscribing. In this case my biblical manuscripts and most from Cave 4 are best described as leather, not parchment. This may be a matter of definition. I gather the English tests showed that the hides had not been tanned, perhaps the proper definition of leather. I should very much like a larger sample to be tested. 4QSam^a looked tanned; 4QSam^c did not look tanned and was the white of parchment. But the Qumran material little resembles the thin polished parchment and vellum that replaced papyrus in early Greek codices. It may be that three categories should be delineated: (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

37. Rousée, interview.
38. Harding to Allegro, 11 May 1955. Allegro Archive.
39. Harding was hardly his “colleague.” He was more his “boss.”
40. Allegro to Scholes, 20 May 1955. Allegro Archive.
41. Scholes to Allegro, 24 May 1955. Allegro Archive.
42. Bowden to Allegro, 27 May 1955. Allegro Archive.
43. De Vaux to Kraeling, 17 July 1955. PAM Archive.
44. It is a running joke in the scrolls community that there has scarcely ever been a DSS publication that did not contain a photograph upside down. This is probably due to the fact that those who cannot read Hebrew associate the extension of the letter *lamed* (=L) above the ceiling line use in Herodian times with the extension of the Latin g, j, p, and y below the base line today. Typesetters and graphic designers are thus tempted to turn photos upside down.
45. Allegro to Rowley, 30 June 1955. Allegro Archive.
46. Green to Harding, 6 July 1955. PAM Archive. Joseph Green, a benefactor of the PAM from Washington DC, is not to be confused with “Mr. Green (Professor Orlinsky) involved with buying the scrolls from Mar Samuel for Israel in 1954.
47. Rowley to Allegro, 8 July 1955. Allegro Archive.
48. Italics mine. What could this urgent business have been in the summer of 1955? Was it perhaps the impending purchase of more Cave 4 material with funds from the Vatican?
49. Allegro to Rowley, 11 July 1955. Allegro Archive.
50. PAM invoice, 13 July 1955. PAM Archive.
51. Skehan to Hartman, 26 July 1955. Skehan Archive.
52. Spicer to Harding, 8 August 1955. PAM Archive.
53. Spicer to Harding, 12 September 1955. PAM Archive.
54. Harding to Spicer, telegram, no date, but probably sometime in September 1955. PAM Archive.
55. Harding to Spicer, 26 October 1955. PAM Archive.
56. “Fragments of a Lost Literature,” Review in *The Times Literary Supplement* (9 September 1955). PAM Archive.
57. G. R. Driver, “Review of DJD 1,” *Hibbert Journal* (1955) 104–106. PAM Archive.
58. Allegro to Harding, 5 October 1955. Allegro Archive.
59. Allegro to Harding, 14 October, 1955. Allegro Archive.
60. Allegro to Harding, 16 October 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
61. Harding to Allegro, 19 October 1955. Allegro Archive.
62. Allegro to Harding, 21 October 1955. Allegro Archive.
63. Italics mine. I have been unable to find any further information about this.
64. Allegro to Harding, 22 October 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
65. Italics mine. This is a second unfilled promise to respect the official publication rights assigned to Milik.
66. Harding to Allegro, 30 October 1955. Allegro Archive.
67. Spicer to Harding, 3 November 1955. PAM Archive.
68. Cross to Allegro, November 3, 1955. Allegro Archive.
69. Harding to Spicer, 9 December 1955. PAM Archive.
70. Harding to Green, 12 November 1955. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
71. Cross, telephone conversation, 3 March 2004. Probably 4Q Peshar Nahum.
72. Green to Harding, 21 December 1955. PAM Archive.
73. De Vaux to Spicer, 15 November 1955. PAM Archive.
74. Allegro to Harding, 16 November 1955. Allegro Archive.
75. Italics mine.
76. Allegro to Harding, 18 November, 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
77. Spicer to de Vaux, 25 November 1955. PAM Archive.
78. De Vaux to Allegro, 27 November 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
79. Allegro to Harding, 1 December 1955. Allegro Archive.
80. Harding to Allegro, 2 December 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
81. Allegro to de Vaux, 2 December 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
82. De Vaux to Allegro, 11 December 1955. Allegro Archive. Italics mine. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

83. Spicer to Harding, 13 December 1955. PAM Archive.

84. De Vaux to Allegro, Jerusalem, 13 December 1955. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. The Copper Scroll was in two pieces. There is confusion about their numbering in the letters. Allegro speaks of number 2 in regard to the content, which was opened first. Harding speaks of 1 and 2 in terms of which were sent first and second to Manchester.

85. Strugnell mentions a fragment and a scroll in this letter. The fragment is at the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, their number OIM A30303, published by J. Allegro, DJD 5, plate 28, frag. 2, p. 184. Dr. Geoff Emberling, Oriental Institute Museum Director has communicated that the OIM purchased this “from Jordan” in 1956, and that the OIM has a bill of sale (Emberling to Fields, 24 February 2009). The scroll Strugnell mentions is probably the Hebrew Prophets Scroll found by Bedouin in the fifth cave of Murabba’at, March 1955.

86. Strugnell to Allegro, 13 December 1955. Allegro Archive.

87. “I note that eventually Allegro appropriated without permission many photographs that were the property of the museum (and colleagues in the scrollery). He sold the use of these photographs to news organizations, etc.” (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

88. Allegro to Strugnell, no date, but in answer to Strugnell’s of 13 December 1955. Allegro Archive.

89. As Joan Allegro put it, “Right at the beginning money was a very restricting thing. I mean John in his personal letters to me used to say, ‘Well, we’ve had \$2,000 from so and so, and it bought a few inches of the scroll fragments.’ They just didn’t have the resources. And Jordan was of course in a poor state and struggling to get on its feet economically.” (Joan Allegro, interview.)

90. This is the second time the Vatican Library provides funds for purchases. The first was in October 1954.

91. Harding to Allegro, 21 December, 1955. Allegro Archive.

92. “Division of the Scrolls,” no date, perhaps about 1955. PAM Archive.

(Endnotes) Chapter 9

1 Strugnell to Allegro, 3 January 1956. Allegro Archive

2. Cross, “Tales of the Early Days,” 8–9 [all page

numbers from the manuscript before publication]. It was published as “Reminiscences of the Early Day in the Discovery and Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, eds. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) 936–938.

3. Cross, “Tales of the Early Days,” 9.

4. Cross, “Tales of the Early Days,” 7.

5. Allegro to Harding, 3 January 1956. Allegro Archive.

6. Allegro to Harding, 3 January 1956. Allegro Archive.

7. Allegro to Harding, 3 January 1956. Allegro Archive.

8. Allegro to Harding, 3 January 1956. Allegro Archive. Allegro sends similar information to de Vaux on 19 January, but, strangely, does not tell him about the opening on 11 January. Could it have been a 9, and not 19 January letter? (Allegro to de Vaux, 19 January 1956. Allegro Archive).

9. Allegro to Harding, 11 January 1956. Allegro Archive.

10. Harding’s letter is dated 12 January 1955, but since it seems to fit chronologically after Allegro’s 3 January 1956 letter, Harding’s dating is probably the typical dating mistake made by almost everyone just after the beginning of a new year.

11. Allegro to Strugnell, 27 January 1956.

12. Strugnell to de Vaux. PAM Archive, no date, but apparently 1955 or 1956. Strugnell seldom dated letters.

13. Strugnell to de Vaux, no date, probably 1956. PAM Archive.

14. De Vaux, “La Grotte 11,” RB 63 (1956) 573–74. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

15. It is unclear which Israeli entity or person later remunerated Kando \$110,000, much less than its value. As I have said elsewhere, William Kando remains adamant that the Temple Scroll did not come from Cave 11, but Cave 1, and that his family already had it in the early 1950s. The jar in which he claims it was found is displayed prominently in the Kando store in Bethlehem (see photo).

16. P. W. Skehan, ““Newsletter #5 from ASOR, Jerusalem,” 15 June 1956. CBA Archive. Skehan’s certainty is important to note because de Vaux discovered nothing during the excavation of Cave 11 confirming the original location of any of the manuscripts (except the “Ezekiel cigar”) that later came to be identified with the cave. What was discovered is apparently in

photograph PAM 41.957–961, taken February 1956 (CVDSSE, 85).

17. Allegro to de Vaux, 9 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

18. Italics mine.

19. De Vaux to Allegro, 11 February 1956. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Allegro Archive. Italics Mine.

20. Allegro to Harding, 11 and 19 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

21. De Vaux to Allegro, 15 February 1956. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.

22. Allegro to Bowden, 18 February 1956; Bowden to Allegro, 20 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

23. Harding to Allegro, dated 5 January 1955, but the letter was probably written 5 January 1956. Allegro Archive.

24. Allegro to de Vaux, 20 February 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics Mine.

25. Allegro to Strugnell, 21 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

26. S. Creel to Joseph C. Green, 21 February 1956. PAM Archive.

27. Joseph C. Green to G. Lancaster Harding, 25 February 1956. PAM Archive.

28. Joseph C. Green to G. Lancaster Harding, 25 February 1956. PAM Archive.

29. Dajani to Harding, 1 March 1956. PAM Archive.

30. Cross to Allegro, 27 February 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.

31. Allegro to Strugnell, 28 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

32. Strugnell to Allegro, undated, but after 21 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

33. Allegro to Hunzinger, 26 February 1956. Allegro Archive.

34. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

35. Spicer to Harding, 3 March 1956. PAM Archive.

36. Allegro to Harding, 2 March 1956. Allegro Archive.

37. Allegro to Cross; 3 March 1956. Allegro Archive.

38. Allegro to Strugnell, 4 March 1956. Allegro Archive.

39. Italics mine.

40. De Vaux to Allegro, 4 March 1956. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.

41. Everyone is convinced at this point that the Copper Scroll might be a real treasure map.

It was feared that if it got out, the Bedouin would dig up the whole country, since the sums involved were beyond imagination.

42. Italics mine.

43. Allegro to Cross, 6 March 1956.

44. DeVaux to Allegro, 6 March 1956. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

45. Allegro to de Vaux, 7 March 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.

46. Strugnell never finished his doctorate, nor did Milik or Allegro. All three became so absorbed in the Cave 4 scrolls that they never got back to the formality of completing their degrees.

47. Strugnell to Allegro, 9 March 1956(?). Allegro Archive.

48. Allegro to Strugnell, 11 March 1956. Allegro Archive.

49. R. de Vaux and the other members of the Cave 4 Team to the *London Times*, 16 March 1956, p. 11, col. 5. Italics mine. Notice neither Cross nor Hunzinger signed it, but neither was in Jerusalem at the time.

50. Allegro to de Vaux, 16 March 1956. Allegro Archive. It is impossible to know which of the two versions of the letter he sent.

51. Allegro to de Vaux, 16 March 1956. Allegro Archive.

52. Allegro to the *London Times*, 17 March 1956. Allegro Archive. Another unaddressed explanation of his actions, dated 19 March 1956, has survived in the Allegro Archive. From the content it seems to be addressed to the team in general or to Harding.

53. Cross adds another perspective: “Part of the problem is that Allegro was simply a poor scholar who discovered that he could profit from making absurd claims. He was a charming rogue, but in time was found out for what he actually was” (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

54. Minutes of the Trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, 22 March 1956. PAM Archives.

55. “List of Private Institutes Who Bought Manuscript Fragments (Dead Sea Scrolls) from Kh. Qumran Cave 4,” no date. PAM Archive.

56. Harding to Green, 20 March 1956. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

57. This is the first reference in writing I have found to the “international team,” but notice it is international with a small “i,” merely a description of the fact that its members come from various countries.

58. Harding to Duce, 26 March 1956. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

59. Harding to Wise, 26 March 1956. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
60. Cross to Brownlee, 26 March 1956. Brownlee Archive.
61. Green to Harding, 27 March 1956. PAM Archive.
62. Duce to Harding, 26 April 1956. PAM Archive.
63. Allegro to Cross, 28 March 1956. Allegro Archive.
64. Allegro to de Vaux, 13 April 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine. Allegro does not seem to be aware that Milik will be doing the Copper Scroll in DJD, assuming that was decided by then, nor does he seem to comprehend that the team of which he is a member was put together for Cave 4 materials alone. He is now stating that he intends to break his earlier promises not to publish the Copper Scroll, on the basis of which he was allowed to help open it.
65. Italics mine.
66. De Vaux to Allegro, 20 April, 1956. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
67. Hunzinger to Allegro, 19 April 1956.
68. Allegro to Hunzinger, 23 April, 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
69. Chronologically, the first use of this term to refer to the PAM in surviving documents.
70. Harding to Jacobian, 19 April 1956. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
71. De Vaux to Allegro, 25 April 1956. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
72. Allegro to Harding, 30 April 1956. Allegro Archive.
73. Allegro to Strugnell, 30 April, 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
74. G. L. Harding, "Extract of the eleventh ordinary meeting, 5 May 1956" certified true copy, 13 May 1956. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
75. Harding to Allegro, 15 May 1956. Allegro Archives. Italics mine.
76. Harding, "Receipt for Deposit," 19 May 1956. PAM Archive. There is no entry for this amount or date in the Scrolls Ledger, though there is another entry for JD 46.200 given to Beydoun on 10 June 1956 for fragments of an unknown provenance, and a transaction with Kando for Cave 11 materials in the amount of JD 46.000 during "1957/1958." (Scrolls Ledger. PAM Archive.) This leads to the conclusion that some transactions were not entered into the Ledger, so Allegro's report that more Cave 4 fragments were bought during February 1954 could be correct. It has recently been reported as well that de Vaux even examined some fragments, but had to let them go back to Kando for lack of money (William Kando, telephone conversation, 5 March 2007).
77. Allegro to Harding, 23 May 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.
78. Harding to Allegro, 28 May 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine. I have been unable to trace down what this statement of Albright's might have been.
79. Allegro to Harding, 5 June 1956. Allegro Archive. Italics mine. A shortened, tamer version is written the next day to Harding and a copy also sent to Burton.
80. Undoubtedly referring to the 11QPsalms scroll.
81. Harding to Bridson (BBC), 8 June 1956. PAM Archive.
82. This makes the third purchase mentioned in the archives which is not recorded in the Scrolls Ledger. The other two are February 1954, Cave 4, mentioned by Allegro; and 19 May, 1956, Cave 11 deposit, for which Harding signed a receipt.
83. Skehan apparently did not know that just a few days before (10 June 1956) a quantity had been bought from Beydoun. The last of the inscribed Cave 4 materials were bought on 8 June 1957 and the uninscribed in July or August 1958 (Scrolls Ledger and accompanying sheet. PAM Archive).
84. P. W. Skehan, "Newsletter #5 from ASOR, Jerusalem," 15 June 1956. CBA Archive.
85. G. Lankester Harding, secretary of the PAM Board of Trustees, 19 June 1956 summary of Extraordinary Trustees meeting, 9 June 1956; Harding to Ottoman Bank, 28 June 1956. PAM Archive.
86. Harding to Wheeler, 29 June 1956. PAM Archive.
87. Wheeler to Harding, 5 July 1956. PAM Archive.
88. Mallory to Harding, 26 June 1956. PAM Archive.
89. Allegro to Strugnell, 6 July, 1956. Allegro Archive.
90. Allegro to Strugnell, 6 July, 1956. Allegro Archive.
91. Allegro to Cross, 16 July 1956. Allegro Archive.
92. Tushingham to Harding, 17 July 1956. PAM Archive.
93. Harding, memo on purchase from Kando, 17

- July 1956. PAM Archive. This makes the fourth purchase unrecorded in the Scrolls Ledger.
94. Barthélemy to Allegro, 25 July 1956. Allegro Archive.
95. Spicer to Hamilton, 25 July 1956. PAM Archive.
96. Harding to Bechtel, 27 July, 1956. PAM Archive.
97. Cross to Allegro, 29 July, 1956. Allegro Archive. *Italics mine.*
98. Harding to Minister of Education, after 2 August 1956. PAM Archive.
99. Harding to Tushingham, 3 August 1956. PAM Archive.
100. “The ultimate nonsense. Skehan was a shy and humble person, and did not bamboozle or dominate the other signers of the letter” (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).
101. Allegro to Cross, 5 August 1956. Allegro Archive. *Italics mine.*
102. Allegro to de Vaux, 27 August, 1956. Allegro Archive.
103. Margaret Skehan to “Father” (probably Father Louis F. Hartman), no date. CBA Archive.
104. Strugnell to Allegro, summer or autumn 1956. Allegro Archive.
105. 4Q83, inventory number 1148, Tov and Pfann, *CVDSSE*, 32.
106. Strugnell to Skehan, Summer or autumn, 1956. Skehan Archive; Strugnell to Allegro, possibly 28 June 1956. Allegro Archive.
107. Allegro to Strugnell, 13 September 1956. Allegro Archive.
108. Allegro to Harding, 14 September 1956. Allegro Archive.
109. Allegro to de Vaux, 16 September 1956. Allegro Archive. William Kando has consistently said that according to his family’s oral tradition a “whole box” of fragments ended up in Beirut and were sold off over the years.
110. Strugnell to Allegro, no date, but probably October 1956. Allegro Archive.
111. Strugnell to Allegro, late 1956 or early 1957. This letter is after Harding is out of office, but not too long after.
112. Cross, “Tales of the Early Days,” 9.
113. Allegro to Cross, 1 November 1956. Allegro Archive.
114. Allegro to Strugnell, 30 November 1956. Allegro Archive.
115. Strugnell certainly must have known that the PAM was a private entity with an international board. He was probably referring to the original source of the money for its construction and endowment, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., an American.
116. Strugnell to Allegro, 4 December 1956. Allegro Archive.
117. Allegro to Strugnell, 7 December 1956. Allegro Archive.
118. Allegro to Milik, 12 December 1956. Allegro Archive.
119. Strugnell to Allegro, 13 December 1956 (from England). Allegro Archive.
120. Strugnell to Allegro, undated, probably December 1956, from England. Allegro Archive.
121. Milik to Allegro, 18 December 1956. Allegro Archive.
122. Skehan later says that he intends to offer to translate it (P. W. Skehan, “Rev. Józef T. Milik,” late 1956 or early 1957. Skehan Archive).
123. Milik to Skehan, 18 December 1956. Skehan Archive.
124. Starcky to Allegro, 15 December 1956. Allegro Archive.

(Endnotes) Chapter 10

1. Allegro to Strugnell, 1 January 1957. Allegro Archive.
2. Allegro to Milik, 1 January 1957. Allegro Archive.
3. Skehan to Milik, circa 1957. Skehan Archive.
4. De Vaux to Skehan, 6 January 1957. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
5. Minister of Education, edict, official translation, 6 January 1957. PAM Archive.
6. Strugnell to Skehan, 6 January 1957.
7. Milik to Skehan, 9 January 1957. Skehan Archive.
8. Blackett to Bowden, 9 January 1957. Allegro Archive.
9. Fitzmyer to Skehan, 9 January 1957. Skehan Archive.
10. Professor Meir Wallenstein of the University of Manchester.
11. Strugnell to Allegro, 10 January 1957. Allegro Archive. *Italics mine.*
12. Allegro to Strugnell, 14 January 1957. Allegro Archive.
13. Allegro to Brownlee, 17 January 1957. Brownlee Archive. *Italics mine.*
14. Neuman to Skehan, 18 January 1957. Skehan Archive.
15. Gordon to Skehan, 23 January 1957. Skehan Archive.
16. Strugnell to Allegro, 19 January 1957. Allegro Archive.
17. Skehan to Allegro, 22 January 1957. Skehan

Archive.

18. Allegro to Skehan, 26 February 1957. Skehan Archive.

19. Strugnell to Allegro, 19 January 1957. Allegro Archive.

20. Strugnell to Allegro 31 January, 1957. Skehan Archive.

21. Probably a reference to Ronald F. G. Sweet, later a professor at the University of Toronto.

22. Allegro to Strugnell, 6 February 1957. Allegro Archive.

23. Milik to Allegro, 8 February 1957. Allegro Archive.

24. Allegro to de Vaux, 9 February, 1957. Allegro Archive.

25. Strugnell does not understand that Harding hired the Cave 4 Team as curator of the PAM, not director of the DAJ.

26. Strugnell to Allegro, 12 February 1957. Allegro Archive. Italics mine.

27. De Vaux to Allegro, 16 February 1957. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

28. Allegro to Strugnell, 20 February 1957. Allegro Archive.

29. Strugnell to Allegro, 23 February 1957. Allegro Archive.

30. Order of the government of Jordan, 25 February 1957. PAM Archive.

31. Allegro to de Vaux, 26 February, 1957. Allegro Archive.

32. Allegro to Strugnell, 26 February 1957. Allegro Archive.

33. Strugnell to Allegro, 3 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

34. Yadin to Allegro, 6 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

35. Allegro to Strugnell, 8 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

36. Awni Dajani, mentioned here for the first time since his connection with the cutting of the Copper Scroll, was to have a central place in the scrolls story until the PAM was taken over by Israel in 1967. His family had a large farm near Jericho, but he was born in Jerusalem on December 25, 1917. He was married with two daughters. He took a B.A. in history and political science from the American University of Beirut in 1939, and a Ph.D. in biblical antiquities from London University in 1956. In 1957 he became the Assistant director of Antiquities of Jordan and in 1959 the director. The family continues to be prominent in Amman today.

37. Allegro to de Vaux, 9 March 1957. Allegro

Archive. Some blank fragments were also sent to Professor Ronald Reed in Manchester for examination, particularly in connection with dating by collagen analysis. Sometime after his death in 1990 his widow discovered several boxes of these fragments in the attic of her home. The blanks are now at the John Rylands Library in Manchester. The whole story was recently published by George J. Brooke, "The Historical Documents at the John Rylands University Library: The Reed Dead Sea Scrolls Collection," *e-Preservation Science* 3 (2006) 35-40.

38. Strugnell to Allegro, 17 March 1957. Allegro Archive. Damascus Document, col. 10, line 8.

39. First ordinary meeting of the scrolls committee, 23 March 1957. PAM Archive. The items exhibited were: Cave 1: Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Apocryphal books, "Manual of Discipline"; Judaean Wilderness: Deed in Nabataean; Mird: Arabic document; Murabba'at: amulet; also a jar with the cover and a juglet. Receipt dated 25 March 1957. PAM Archive.

40. Nothing further is ever heard of this. Italics mine.

41. Allegro to Strugnell, 23 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

42. De Vaux to Allegro, 24 March 1957. Allegro Archive. Italics Mine. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

43. Allegro to Strugnell, 28 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

44. Allegro to de Vaux, 28 March 1957. Allegro Archive.

45. Strugnell to Allegro, April 3, 1957 (dated by postmark). Allegro Archive.

46. De Vaux to Allegro, 6 April 1957. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

47. Allegro to de Vaux, 11 April 1957. Allegro Archive.

48. Allegro to Strugnell, 11 April 1957. Allegro Archive.

49. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York: Doubleday, 1958). Still in print in its third edition in 2007. The article referred to is probably "4 Qp Nahum and the Teacher of Righteousness," *JBL* 75, 1956, 188-193.

50. Strugnell to Allegro, 1 May 1957. Allegro Archive.

51. Allegro to Strugnell, 4 May 1957. Allegro Archive.

52. Allegro to de Vaux, 6 May 1957. Allegro Archive.

53. Strugnell to Allegro, 7 May 1957.

54. Allegro to Strugnell, 24 May 1957. Allegro Archive.
55. Bierlot to Skehan, 24 May 1957; Skehan, "Strugnell." Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
56. Allegro to de Vaux, 25 May 1957. Allegro Archive.
57. De Vaux to Allegro, 28 May, 1957. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
58. Allegro to Yadin, 28 May 1957. Allegro Archive.
59. Allegro to de Vaux, 3 June 1957. Allegro Archive.
60. Gharaybeh to the PAM, PAM Archives.
61. Allegro to Strugnell, 9 June 1957. Allegro Archive.
62. Allegro to de Vaux, 15 June 1957. Allegro Archive.
63. Further elaborated by Strugnell in two letters to Skehan, about this time, both undated. Skehan Archive.
64. De Vaux to Allegro, 20 June 1957. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Strugnell had asked Skehan for advice on the mixed marriage about this time. Skehan had apparently replied in the negative. He also got a negative reaction from Cross, but after deciding that both would remain loyal to their faiths, they have decided to get married. He says, "It will be difficult. I would be glad of your prayers, but we go into this hoping that it may be a contribution to our spiritual formation and edification." Strugnell to Skehan, undated, summer 1957. Skehan Archive. Wedding invitations from both families are in the Skehan Archive.
65. Received from the Assistant director of Antiquities, Dr. Awni Dajani: Plate 1: Deuteronomy, Hebrew, Cave 1; Plate 2: Isaiah, Hebrew, Cave 1; Plate 3: Apocryphal books in Hebrew; Plate 4: Deed of Redemption, Judaeen Desert, Nabataean; Plate 13: Manual of Discipline, Cave 1, Hebrew; Plate 35: Amulet from Muraba'at in Arabic; Mird, Arabic; 13 Records Files of historical and ancient sites. PAM Archive.
66. Mallory to Elson, 12 August 1957; de Vaux to Blanton, 29 August 1957; Elson to Blanton, 3 November 1957; Mallory to Blanton, 4 November 1957; Blanton to Saad, 8 November 1957. PAM Archive.
67. Strugnell to Skehan, summer 1957, undated. Skehan Archive.
68. Brownlee to Allegro, 28 August 1957. Brownlee Archive.
69. De Vaux to Skehan, 1 September 1957. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
70. De Vaux to Skehan, 1 September 1957. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
71. De Vaux to Skehan, 1 September 1957. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
72. Skehan to de Vaux, 2 December 1957. Skehan Archive.
73. Allegro to Cross, 12 October 1957. Allegro Archive.
74. Osborne to Saad, 25 October 1957. PAM Archive.
75. Saad to Osborne, 23 November 1957. PAM Archive. In the course of responding to Osborne's request for help in getting permission to export some antiquities he bought from the Tabash family in Bethlehem, Saad states: "As you know this [Palestine Archaeological] Museum is a private institute and has nothing to do with the government." The photo number PAM 42.480 is apparently 4Q260, papyrus Sⁱ (CVDSSME, p. 42).
76. "The typo may be in my letter. I should have written, of course, 'a few years.' I have often wondered how it is that we—all of us—were impossibly short in estimating the time it would take us to complete our editions" (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).
77. Cross to Allegro, 28 October 1957. Allegro Archive.
78. Allegro to Cross, 31 October 1957. Allegro Archive.
79. Cross to Fields. May 2006.
80. Allegro to Muilenburg, 31 October 1957. Allegro Archive. Emphasis mine.
81. Cross to Allegro, 6 November 1957. Allegro Archive.
82. Allegro to Muilenburg, 24 December 1957. Allegro Archive. "Here Allegro is at his worst, contriving to create an atmosphere of conspiracy, and playing poor Awni beautifully. Later he would con all the brothers (or son, my memory is foggy here) of King Hussein to back his digging around for treasure. His claim that all fragments went through de Vaux or Milik is flatly false. Several of the last batches came first to me as well as the excavated material; I confronted him later with the facts, and he admitted knowing them, but he continued to spout his line. This long letter to Muilenburg is classic Allegro. Allegro was aware of Muilenburg's unhappiness with

the running of the scrollerly and sought to exploit it, and [he knew that] as a devout Protestant that Muilenburg would be inclined to think the worst of the Roman Catholics. Allegro was right that new team members should handle Cave 11—though you would never guess it from Allegro’s letter. Unstated, but subtly implied is the (impossible) possibility that Muilenburg be brought into the Cave 11 project” (Cross to Fields, 6 February 2006).

83. “Aid Memoir,” sometime in 1957, undated. PAM Archive.

84. Allegro to Cross, 31 October 1957. Allegro Archive.

85. Minutes of the Fourteenth Ordinary Meeting Held in the Board Room of the Palestine Archaeological Museum on Monday 30 December, 1957, at 10:30 a.m. PAM Archive.

(Endnotes) Chapter 11

1. Allegro to Starcky, 6 January 1958. Allegro Archive. Since Allegro was in Jerusalem during the summer of 1957, this may be an indication that Starcky was not.

2. Raymond E. Brown, S.S., was ordained to the priesthood in 1953 and was affiliated with the Society of Saint Sulpice, an order engaged exclusively in seminary work. He was Professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Mary’s Seminary in Baltimore from 1959–1971 and a Visiting Professor of New Testament at Union Theological Seminary in 1968. He was an authority on the intertestament period and was active in the ecumenical movement. He is especially famous for his commentary on the Gospel of John in the Anchor Bible series.

3. McDonald to Skehan, 10 January 1958. Skehan Archive.

4. De Vaux to Skehan, 10 January 1958. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

5. Allegro to Brownlee, 9 February 1958. Brownlee Archive.

6. Allegro to Brownlee, 9 February 1958. Brownlee Archive.

7. De Vaux to Skehan, 23 February 1958. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields; Roberts to Skehan, 23 February 1958. Skehan Archive; de Vaux to Skehan, 30 March 1958. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

8. Skehan to Katsh, 23 February 1958. Skehan Archive. Italics mine.

9. Fitzmyer to Fields, 9 March 2006; Fitzmyer, interview by Weston and Diane Fields at

Georgetown University, Washington DC, 29 November 1999.

10. See interview below.

11. Fitzmyer to Skehan, 3 March 1958. Skehan Archive.

12. Fitzmyer to Skehan, 3 March 1958. Skehan Archive.

13. Fitzmyer to Skehan, 3 March 1958. Skehan Archive.

14. Cross to Skehan, 27 March 1958. Skehan Archive.

15. He writes to his teacher, Skehan: “I would like to do some work connected with the scrolls there [in Jerusalem], but I don’t want to importune or embarrass anyone there: besides the fact that the workers are top-heavy with priests and that may cause further talk (I was thinking of that Allegro clipping). The thought occurred to write to de Vaux and offer him my services in whatever way he might deem advisable, but perhaps it’s wiser to send no letter and just go there: I wouldn’t write unless you think it would be a good idea.” Murphy to Skehan, 28 February 1958. Skehan Archive.

16. De Vaux to Skehan, 30 March 1958. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

17. Skehan, “Rev. Jozéf T. Milik,” 2.

18. A Hebrew term from the scrolls literature referring to the orders of priestly families for the temple service during biblical times.

19. Milik to Skehan, 23 February 1958. Skehan Archive.

20. Skehan to Milik, 20 March 1958; Skehan to Kraeling, 2 March 1959. Skehan Archive. At this time Kraeling says Milik thinks that he can finish his work by 1961 and would think about an academic appointment after that.

21. Skehan to Milik, 13 May 1959.

22. C. Kraeling to P. W. Skehan, 9 February 1959. Skehan Archive.

23. Kraeling to Milik, 2 June 1959. Skehan Archive.

24. Powell to Cross, 24 April 1958. Brownlee Archive

25. G. L. Cohen, “Scrolls Still Mystifying Public” (*Jerusalem Post*, 5 February 1958). Skehan Archive.

26. Allegro to de Vaux, 2 June 1958. Allegro Archive; Allegro to Cross, 17 March 1958. Allegro Archive.

27. Allegro to Dajani, 2 March 1958. Allegro Archive.

28. Memorandum of Agreement on DJD 2. PAM Archive.

29. Allegro to Cross, 2 June 1958. Allegro Archive.

30. “Dead Sea Scrolls—Cave 4: List of Manuscripts Bought by the Museum, Wednesday 9 July 1958.” PAM Archive.

31. Exchanged for JD 786.620 for a rate of US\$2.79/JD. The British Bank of the Middle East to the Controller of Currency, Amman, 20 July 1958. PAM Archive.

32. Kring to Cross, 15 July 1958. PAM Archive.

33. Dead Sea Scrolls—Cave 4: List of Manuscripts Bought by the Museum on Sunday, 20 July, 1958. PAM Archives.

34. Saad to McKay, 21 July 1958. PAM Archive.

35. Saad to Kring, 26 July 1958. PAM Archive.

36. Saad to Kring, 26 July 1958. PAM Archive.

37. In 2003 US\$30,217 and US\$ 1,215, respectively.

38. Saad to Kring, 26 July 1958. PAM Archive.

Kring to Saad, 31 July 1958. PAM Archive.

39. US\$1,687,708 in 2003.

40. J. K. Allen, “Ideas for Raising \$250,000,” no date, but with the 1958 files in the PAM Archive.

Since the First Parish Church is Unitarian there may have been some connection with the All Souls Unitarian Church in New York. Allen was pastor of the church 1954–1991.

41 Saad to La Motte, 6 August 1958. PAM Archive.

42. “The Oldest Version of the Ten Commandments,” *Ad-Difa’a*, 21 September 1958, Jerusalem. PAM Archive.

43. PAM to *Ad-Difa’a*—Arabic Daily Newspaper, 24 September 1958. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

44. Saad to Cross, 24 September 1958. PAM Archive; Cross to Saad, 27 October 1958. PAM Archive.

45. Saad to Allegro, 7 October 1958. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

46. Allegro to Saad, 13 October 1958. PAM Archive. Italics in parentheses are his; other italics are mine.

47. Brown to Skehan, 10 November 1958. Skehan Archive.

48. R. B. Y. Scott to Skehan, 21 November 1958. Skehan Archive. Year deduced from the content of the letter.

49. Two million dollars was donated. Construction was completed in 1935 and it was opened January 13, 1938. The whole story of the museum is presented by Fawzi Ibrahim, *West Meets East, The Story of the Rockefeller Museum* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2006).

50. US\$132,960 in 1958.

51. There is no indication about what further texts he could be talking about. Perhaps the Greek 12 prophets scroll from Nahal Hever? Material that never came in? The Temple Scroll which he may have known about? Reports from Kando, but he hadn’t seen anything?

52. De Vaux to D. A. Perdigão, Gulbenkian Foundation, 5 December 1958. PAM Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Manuscripts required possibly refers to manuscripts he wanted to buy back which he knew to be in private hands. De Vaux received a negative answer from the Gulbenkian Foundation dated 18 February 1959. PAM Archives.

(Endnotes) Chapter 12

1. Italics mine.

2. Italics mine.

3. Italics mine.

4. Allegro to Dajani, 10 January 1959. Allegro Archive.

5. Between 1988 and 2005 alone, at least \$4 million.

6. Strugnell to Allegro, 30 January 1959; Strugnell to Allegro, 31 January 1959; 19 May 1959; Strugnell to Allegro, 21 July 1959; 11 November 1959; Strugnell to Allegro, 24 May 1960. There are also several other similar undated letters from the same period. All in the Allegro Archive. Strugnell to Skehan, 26 September 1959. Skehan Archive. Occasionally Strugnell would receive a reply on these technical matters, such as Allegro to Strugnell, 27 November 1959. Allegro Archive.

7. Again, this renders moot Allegro’s complaints to Dajani a few weeks before about publication of the Copper Scroll.

8. Will Oxtoby (b. 1934), whose grandfather and father taught Old Testament at San Francisco Theological Seminary, had not quite finished his Ph.D. at Princeton when he received a fellowship to the Albright Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem beginning in the autumn of 1958. With him came his new bride, whom he married the day before they left the States. During their first year at the Albright, Father Brown, then working on the Card Concordance was a resident as well. Oxtoby was asked to stay the following year to take over Brown’s work in the autumn of 1959. Halfway through the winter he contracted hepatitis (from some lemonade in Jericho), and spent the last four months in Jerusalem confined to bed. Despite this, he continued to work from his room at the Albright. Starcky, Milik, and

Strugnell brought him their transcriptions and photographs, from which he copied the words and their contexts on individual cards. His work was taken over in 1960 by Father Xavier Teixidor. Oxtoby had been appointed to McGill University, where he took up teaching duties in 1960 in anticipation of their receiving a share of the scrolls. When it was decided that none of the supporting institutions would receive scrolls, he stayed on at McGill anyway (“they were stuck with me”), but by 1962 he had decided to make a “lateral switch” from Old Testament to comparative religion. This was his field for the remainder of his career which was spent at Harvard, Yale, and finally the University of Toronto, from which he retired. (Interview with Will Oxtoby in Toronto, 28 November 2002, conducted by Weston and Diane Fields and Eva Ben-David. Transcription by Eva-Ben David.)

9. De Vaux to Skehan, 22 March 1959; de Vaux to Skehan, 20 May 1959. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Copies of similar letters which must have been written to Cross and Hunzinger did not survive in the PAM Archive. Allegro agreed to the deadline. Allegro to de Vaux, 26 June 1959. Allegro Archive.

10. Kraeling to Skehan, 5 March 1959; Kraeling to Skehan, 27 March 1959. Skehan Archive.

11. DJD 16.

12. DJD 17.

13. DJD 10.

14. Hunzinger to Allegro, 24 March 1959; Allegro to Hunzinger 10 July 1959. Allegro Archive.

15. De Vaux to Brownlee, 3 June 1959. Brownlee Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields. Followed up by de Vaux to Brownlee, 29 June 1959. Brownlee Archive.

16. De Vaux to Skehan, 8 June 1959. Skehan Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

17. Baillet to Brownlee, 19 June 1959. Brownlee Archive.

18. De Vaux to Director of Antiquities, 23 June 1959. PAM Archive.

19. Through the kindness of Fawzi Zayadin, formerly of the DAJ and Siham Balgar, director of the Citadel Museum, my wife, Diane, Pnina Shor, Rebecca Salti, and I were allowed to see some of the coins and the coin register at the Citadel Museum during March 2005.

20. Colwell to de Vaux, 16 July 1959. Brownlee Archive.

21. Allegro to Cross, 14 September 1959. Allegro Archive

22. Cross to Allegro, October 21, 1959. Allegro Archive. Emphasis mine.

23. Cross, interview. Allegro did claim to have purchased at least some of these photos for US\$7 from the museum through Saad (Allegro to Brownlee, 17 September 1957. Brownlee Archive).

24. Reed to Saad, 19 November 1959. PAM Archive.

25. Père R. de Vaux, O.P., president; Sir Charles H. Johnston; Zaha Bey ed Din el Hmoud; Sheldon T. Mills, Esq.; Monsieur Ake Sjolín; Dr. Awni Dajani; Monsieur Heri Seyrig; Dr. Marvin Pope; Es-Sayyid Yusef Saad, secretary. Dr. K. Kenyon, representative of the British Academy sent her regrets, prompting Seyrig to suggest contacting Sir Mortimer Wheeler at the British Academy to see if he could appoint someone who would attend more regularly.

26. The Ford Foundation rejected the request. Sjolín to Saad, 24 December 1959. PAM Archive.

27. The only surviving copy is not readable here. It probably read “publication,” or perhaps “purchasing of scrolls.”

28. Minutes of the Eighteenth Ordinary Meeting held in the Board Room of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Saturday, 28 November 1959 at 10:30 a.m. PAM Archive.

29. Sjolín to Saad, 8 December 1959. PAM Archive.

30. Saad to Sjolín, 17 December 1959. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

31. Y. Saad, “Report on the Palestine Archaeological Museum, December 1959.” PAM Archive.

(Endnotes) Chapter 13

1. Saad to E. Bechtel, 13 January 1960. PAM Archive. Italics mine.

2. E. Bechtel to Saad, 23 January 1960. PAM Archive.

3. Italics mine.

4. Saad to E. Bechtel, 2 February 1960. PAM Archive.

5. The documents concerning the purchase of the Psalms Scroll show that it was “lumped together” with other material, but Saad assigns a reasonable amount of the total price to this particular scroll.

6. E. Bechtel to Saad, 15 February 1960. PAM Archive.

7. However, she denies any desire for publicity during the negotiations for the Psalms Scroll (Detweiler to Walstrom, 15 December 1960. PAM Archive).

8. Their intentions in this regard seem to wax and wane: “We are not seeking credit or publicity. On the other hand if people handling this feel it is helpful to the program itself we have no objection to being known as the donors. Please refer to us as Elizabeth and Kenneth Bechtel” (Detweiler to Walstrom, 15 December 1960. PAM Archive).
9. De Vaux to Allegro, 18 February 1960. Allegro Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
10. Allegro to de Vaux, 2 March 1960. Allegro Archive.
11. Cross to Allegro, 26 February 1960. Allegro Archive.
12. Allegro to Cross, 3 March 1960. Allegro Archive. Cross did receive some replacements from Skehan, however. Cross to Skehan 8 March 1960. Skehan Archive.
13. Memorandum from Saad to Sjolin, 8 March 1960. PAM Archive.
14. Memorandum from Saad to Sjolin, 8 March 1960. PAM Archive.
15. Saad to E. Bechtel, 14 March 1960. PAM Archive.
16. Swauger to Saad, 15 March 1960. PAM Archive.
17. Saad to Swauger, 22 March 1960. PAM Archive. Two months later has helped submit a proposal for funding to an organization in New York with the help of Dr. Freedman (Swauger to Saad, 23 May 1960. PAM Archive).
18. Swauger to Saad, 28 March 1960; Swauger to Saad, 5 October 1960. PAM Archive.
19. My copy of the newspaper clipping is slightly torn and missing a couple of words.
20. D. Perlman, “Shepherd and the Oilman: Big Gift by Pauley Will Save Dead Sea Scrolls.” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Friday, March 11, 1960. P. 26. Edwin Pauley had worked with Allen Dulles and the OSS (later, CIA) during World War II, was highly connected in the Democratic Party, worked for President Truman during and after the war, was later partners with Howard Hughes and George Bush in the oil business in Mexico. He died in 1981.
21. Saad to E. Bechtel, 24 March 1960. PAM Archive.
22. E. Bechtel to Saad, 25 March 1960. PAM Archive. There is also a curious letter in the Archives, apparently sent to Mrs. Bechtel, but signed only “EM.” It informs her that Dajani will be in Los Angeles until 23 March, that he was very anxious to get in touch and to meet. PAM Archives.
23. Saad to E. Bechtel, 13 April 1960. PAM Archive. Italics mine.
24. Mills to Saad, 16 April 1960. PAM Archive.
25. De Vaux to Prichard, 18 April 1960. PAM Archive. Trans. D Eisenberg and W. Fields.
26. Prichard to de Vaux, 27 April 1960. PAM Archive.
27. Starcky to Saad, 26 April 1960. PAM Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
28. According to the PAM Photo number Starcky gives, the fragments on this plate were 4Q35, Deuteronomy^b, published later by Julie Duncan under the supervision of Frank Cross; 4Q464, “Exposition on the Patriarchs,” and 4Q464^a published by Esti Eshel and Michael Stone; and 4Q477 (Tov and Pfann, *CVDSSME*, pp. 30, 49). Apparently just the Deuteronomy piece was stolen from that plate.
29. 4Q114 Daniel^c, with photograph numbers listed in Tov and Pfann, *CVDSSME* p. 33
30. Strugnell to Saad, 29 April 1960. PAM Archive.
31. Statement by Saad in his own handwriting at the bottom of Strugnell’s statement in his handwriting. Countersigned by de Vaux. PAM Archive.
32. I questioned John Strugnell about this aspect of the affair. Although he would not necessarily have known about everything Saad and de Vaux might have done, it was his impression that the police were not contacted “because it wouldn’t have done any good” (telephone conversation with J. Strugnell, 10 March 2007).
33. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 33–253. “New Scrolls Found in Dead Sea Caves,” *Land of the Bible Newsletter* (March 1960).
34. E. Bechtel to Saad, 8 May 1960. PAM Archive.
35. Saad to E. Bechtel, 12 May 1960. PAM Archive.
36. Pope to Pendleton, 14 May 1960. PAM Archive.
37. Pendleton to Pope, 13 August 1960. PAM Archive.
38. De Vaux to Albareda (Vatican Library); de Vaux to the Rector, Ruprecht-Karl University; de Vaux to the President, McCormick Theological Seminary; de Vaux to the Vice-Chancellor, University of Manchester; de Vaux to Frost, McGill University, 4 June 1960. PAM Archive.
39. John Davison Rockefeller Jr. (January 29, 1874–May 11, 1960) was a philanthropist and a member of the prominent United States Rockefeller family. He was the fifth child and only

son of John D. Rockefeller, founder of Standard Oil, and one of the wealthiest Americans of his time. The elder Rockefeller became America's first billionaire. After attending the Browning school in New York and graduating from Brown University in 1897, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., joined his father's business, where he learned that making money held little appeal. After 1910 John D. Rockefeller, Jr., devoted his life to philanthropy. With his father, he participated in the creation of notable philanthropic institutions such as the Rockefeller Institute, the General Education Board, and the Rockefeller Foundation. He was the major contributor to the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, a general purpose foundation. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. is probably best remembered for the sponsorship of the construction of the Rockefeller Center in New York City during the Great Depression, making him one of the largest real estate holders in New York City. He also acquired a controlling interest in the Chase National Bank when the bank acquired his Equitable Trust Company. He was also known for funding the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, and donating land in New York City for the United Nations complex, and made significant contributions toward acquiring the land for Acadia, Shenandoah, Grand Teton, Yosemite, and Yellowstone national parks. His support of the Palestine Archaeological Museum and subsequently, the Dead Sea Scrolls has not received the attention it deserves.

40. De Vaux to the Director of Antiquities of Jordan, 12 June 1960. PAM Archive.
41. Frost to Minister of Education, 10 June 1960; Baud to de Vaux, 13 June 1960; Frost to de Vaux, 7 July 1960. PAM Archive.
42. Cooper to de Vaux, 23 June 1960. PAM Archive.
43. Mills to Saad, 27 July 1960. PAM Archive; Lapp to Metz, 30 July 1960. PAM Archive.
44. Saad to Director of Antiquities (Dajani), 27 July, 1960. PAM Archive.
45. Prime Minister al-Majali to the Minister of Education (Antiquities), 28 July 1960. PAM Archive.
46. Cross to Detweiler, 21 July 1960. PAM Archive.
47. Wright to de Vaux, 2 August 1960. PAM Archive.
48. De Vaux to Cross, 12 August 1960. PAM Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields
49. Cross to de Vaux, 12 September 1960. PAM Archive.

50. Dajani to de Vaux, 15 August 1960. PAM Archive.
51. De Vaux to Dajani, 19 August 1960. PAM Archive.
52. Mills to al-Majali, 22 August 1960. PAM Archive.
53. The letter from Jordan's Prime Minister authorizing foreign institutions to buy fragments is dated 21 November 1953. "Correspondence Relating to the Dead Sea Scrolls," 4 November 1960. PAM Archive.
54. 1953.
55. Mills to Walstrom, 25 August 1960. PAM Archive.
56. Mills to al-Majali, 25 August 1960. PAM Archive.
57. Allegro to Oxtoby, 12 September 1960. Allegro Archive.
58. Cross to de Vaux, 14 September 1960. PAM Archive.
59. De Vaux to Cross, 2 October 1960. PAM Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
60. Detweiler to Walstrom, 15 December 1960. PAM Archive.
61. Brownlee to Colwell, 14 September 1960. Brownlee Archive; Brownlee to de Vaux, 30 September 1960. Brownlee Archive; Schneider to Brownlee, 3 October 1960. Brownlee Archive; de Vaux to Brownlee, 9 October 1960. Brownlee Archive; de Vaux to Brownlee, 6 November 1960. Brownlee Archive; de Vaux to Brownlee, 28 November 1960. Brownlee Archive; de Vaux to Brownlee, 30 November 1960. Brownlee Archive. While in Jordan he had also spent some time at Shechem, made a trip to Qumran, and had an audience with King Hussein in Amman. Brownlee to Louise (his wife), 9, 16, 23, 24 July 1960. Brownlee Archive. De Vaux's side of the correspondence with Brownlee translated by D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
62. Frost to de Vaux, 27 September 1960. PAM Archive.
63. De Vaux to Frost, 2 October 1960. PAM Archive. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.
64. De Vaux to Allegro, 2 December 1960. Trans. D. Eisenberg and W. Fields.

SCROLLS LEDGER

Purchase of Antiquities by the Palestine Archaeological Museum

Key (by W. Fields):

JD = Jordanian Dinars; 1 JD = US \$2.80 at the time; fils (cents) to three decimals.

[Cave] column on right below = place found according to seller, sometimes later revised by museum personnel; place never known for certain unless archaeologists excavated the materials or materials joined with those excavated by archaeologists. None of the materials listed in the Scrolls Ledger below was excavated by or under the direction of archaeologists.

Q1 = Qumran Cave 1

Q2 = Qumran Cave 2

Q4 = Qumran Cave 4

Q5 = Qumran Cave 5

Q11 = Qumran Cave 11

Mird = Khirbet Mird (Christian Monastery)

M = Wadi Murabba'at (5 Caves)

Seyyal = Wadi Seyyal = Seiyal = Nahal Se'elim

? In Cave column = unknown location

[...] = Information added by W. Fields

| Date [d/m/y] | Name [of seller to Museum] | Amount [in Jordanian Dinars] | [Explanation] [of expenditure] | [Cave] |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 1950 | | | | |
| 6.5.50 | Ibrahim Shaghanriyah | 6.000 | Rewards | |
| 11.10.50 | Mahmoud Hussein | 3.000 | Rewards | |
| <i>[subtotal 1950]</i> | | 9.000 | 9.000 | |
| 1951 | | | | |
| 12.5.51 | Haj Taher Marakshy | 31.000 | Fragments | Q1 |
| 22.12.51 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 600.000 | Fragments, refunds | M |
| <i>[subtotal 1951]</i> | | 631.000 | | |
| 1952 | | | | |
| 6.1.52 | Kh. Kando | 910.000 | Fragments | M |
| 6.1.52 | Kh. Kando | 10.000 | Fragments | M |
| 6.1.52 | Kh. Kando | 100.000 | Fragments | M |
| 8.3.52 | Hassan Farhen | 16.000 | Fragments | M |
| 9.3.52 | Muhd. Ibeid 'Allah etc. | 26.200 | Fragments | M |
| 14.3.52 | Hassan Muhd. | 7.500 | Fragments | M |
| 15.3.52 | Mohd. Aly Muhd. | 30.200 | Fragments | M |
| 22.3.52 | Abd. Abdul Rahman | 4.000 | Fragments | M |
| 29.3.52 | Salaamah Mohd. | 10.000 | Antiquities | M |
| 18.4.52 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 173.250 | Fragments, refund | M |
| 26.4.52 | Hassan Eid, etc. | 12.800 | Antiquities, rewards | M |
| 19.7.52 | Hammad Zureig | 0.500 | for reporting antiq. | M |
| 1.8.52 | Mohd. Ali | 15.000 | Fragments, jar (pottery) | M |
| 9.8.52 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 310.000 | Fragments, refund | Q2 |
| 26.8.52 | Mohd. Djidan | 6.000 | Fragments | Q2 |
| 26.8.52 | Rev. Father R. De Vaux | 355.000 | Fragments, refund | M |
| 26.8.52 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 100.000 | Fragments, refund | M |
| 26.8.52 | Kando | 440.000 | Fragments | Q2 |
| 3.9.52 | Kando | 350.000 | Fragments | Q4 |
| 4.9.52 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 600.000 | Fragments, refund | Q4 |
| 11.9.52 | Kando | 208.000 | Fragments | Q4 |

Continued Next Page

| Date [d/m/y] | Name [of seller to Museum] | Amount [in Jordanian Dinars] | [Explanation] [of expenditure] | [Cave] |
|--|---|---------------------------------|---|----------|
| 23.9.52 | Kando | 3000.000 | Fragments | Q4 |
| 30.9.52 | Arab Glass | 0.410 | Glass | |
| 3.10.52 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 1600.000 | Fragments, refund | Q4 |
| 18.10.52 | Kando | 3800.000 | Fragments | Q4 |
| 30.10.52 | Kando | 2000.000 | Fragments | Q4 |
| [subtotal 1952] | | 14,084.860 | | |
| 4.11.52 | Abd. Rissas | 15.000 | Fragments | No Place |
| 1953 | | | | |
| 29.1.53 | Kando | 764.500 | Fragments, no place | No Place |
| 15.2.53 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 13.250 | Fragments, Refund (3.250 Mird) | Cave 4 |
| 2.3.53 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 400.000 | Fragments, Refund | No Place |
| 2.3.53 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 300.000 | Fragments, Refund | No Place |
| 26.3.53 | Kando | 1925.000 | Fragments | No Place |
| 26.3.53 | Buhr | 1.000 | Fragments, No place | No Place |
| 18.3.53 | Rev. Father R. de Vaux | 250.000 | Fragments, Refund | No Place |
| 18.3.53 | Miss Kenyon | 250.000 | Tomb, Jericho | |
| [subtotal 1953] | | 3918.750 | | |
| Jan. 1953 | Recovered from GI? [George Isha'ya?] | 5000.000 | No further identification | |
| Jan. 1953 | Recovered from GI? [George Isha'ya?] | 4000.000 | No further identification | |
| [subtotal 1953] | | 9000.000 | No further identification | |
| no date <i>subtotal</i> | Refund[illegible] | 18.000 8962.000 | | |
| No further identification | | | | |
| 7.10.53 | no details | 225.000 | Mird | |
| 6.11.53 | no details | 138.500 | Seyyal | |
| subtotal | | 363.500 | [Mird and Seyyal] | |
| 1954/55 | | 0.000 | | |
| 1955/56 | | 0.000 | | |
| 1956/57 | | | | |
| 10.6.56 | | 46.200 | from Mahmoud Beydoun (witness Père de Vaux) | |
| 1957/58 | | | | |
| no date | | 46,000.000 | from Kh. Iskandar Shaheen Kando | Cave 11 |
| 8.4.57 | | 20.000 | Mahmoud Beydoun | Cave 4 |
| 15.9[?].57 | | 10.000 | [second version of accounts] | Cave 4 |
| 19.8.58 | | No Price | Form separate page Part of deed of sale in Mishnaic Heb., 133 A.D. (Still sealed when purchased.) | M |
| Undated purchases | | | | |
| No date, at top of page 1 | | 750.000 | | Seyyal |
| No date, at top of page 1 | | 1250.000 | | Seyyal |
| Undated Aquisitions (unclear whether purchased) | | | | |
| No date, separate page, possibly | | No price | 11 blank parchment and leather fragments | M |
| No date, separate page, possibly July or August 1958 | | No price | 4 blank parchment/ leather, 1 having stitching material adhering | Q5 |
| No date, separate page, possibly July or August 1958 | | No price | 2 linen fragments, 5 blank papyrus fragments, 12 leather fragments (uninscribed), 27 parchment/leather fragments (uninscribed) | Q4 |

Accounting by Cave, Payments by the Palestine Archaeological Museum

| | | |
|---|-------------------|--|
| Cave 1 | 1,000.000 | <i>Not Listed in Scrolls Ledger</i> |
| | 31.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 1]</i> | 1,031.000 | |
| Murabba'at | 600.000 | |
| | 910.000 | |
| | 10.000 | |
| | 100.000 | |
| | 16.000 | |
| | 26.200 | |
| | 7.500 | |
| | 30.200 | |
| | 4.000 | |
| | 10.000 | |
| | 173.250 | |
| | 12.800 | |
| | 0.500 | |
| | 15.000 | |
| | 355.000 | |
| | 100.000 | |
| <i>Murabba'at subtotal</i> | 2,370.450 | |
| Cave 2 | 310.000 | |
| | 6.000 | |
| | 440.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 2]</i> | 756.000 | |
| Cave 4 | 350.000 | |
| | 600.000 | |
| | 208.000 | |
| | 3,000.000 | |
| | 1,600.000 | |
| | 3,800.000 | |
| | 2,000.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal]</i> | 11,558.000 | |
| <i>less [Jordan] Gov't. Share refund</i> | 8,962.000 | <i>Italics, W. Fields</i> |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 4]</i> | 2,596.000 | |
| bought on 8.4.57 | 20.000 | <i>[from second version of accounts]</i> |
| bought on 15.9[?].57 | 10.000 | <i>[from second version of accounts]</i> |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 4]</i> | 2,626.000 | <i>[from second version of accounts]</i> |
| <i>[bought by de Vaux 2.3.53]</i> | <i>[10.000]</i> | {part of a 13.500 purchase including 3.500 for Mird materials} |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 4]</i> | 2,636.000 | <i>[total added by W. Fields]</i> |
| The Unknown Caves | 15.000 | |
| | 764.500 | |
| | 400.000 | |
| | 300.000 | |
| | 1,925.000 | |
| | 1.000 | |
| | 250.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal Unknown Caves]</i> | 3,655.500 | |
| bought on 10.6.56 | 46.200 | <i>[from second version of accounts]</i> |
| <i>[subtotal Unknown Caves]</i> | 3,701.700 | <i>[from second version of accounts]</i> |
| <i>[Total, Murabba'at, Cave 2, Cave 4, Unknown Caves]</i> | 10,408.950 | |
| <i>[de Vuax's purchase 2.3.53]</i> | <i>[10.000]</i> | |

Continued Next Page

Accounting by Cave, Payments by the Palestine Archaeological Museum

| | | |
|---|---------------------|--|
| <i>[Total, Murabb'at, Cave 2, Cave 4, Unknown Caves]</i> | 10,418.950 | <i>[total added by W. Fields]</i> |
| Mird | 3.250 | |
| | 225.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal Mird]</i> | 228.250 | |
| Seyyal | 138.500 | |
| | 750.000 | No date, at top of page 1 of ledger |
| | 1.250.000 | No date, at top of page 1 of ledger |
| <i>[subtotal Seyyal]</i> | <i>[2138.500]</i> | <i>[total added by W. Fields]</i> |
| Cave 11 | 46.000.000 | |
| <i>[subtotal Cave 11]</i> | 46,000.000 | |
| <i>[Total paid by Palestine Archaeological Museum of Scrolls]</i> | 56,851.900 | |
| <i>[purchased by de Vaux 2.3.53]</i> | 10.000 | |
| <i>[Total paid by Palestine Archaeological Museum of Scrolls]</i> | <i>[56,851.900]</i> | <i>[total added by W. Fields]</i> |
| | <i>[89,62.000]</i> | |
| <i>[Total paid by Government of Jordan for Cave 4]</i> | | |
| [Total paid for Scrolls by Palestine Archaeological Museum and Government of Jordan] | <i>[65,823.900]</i> | <i>[approximately US \$184,306.92]</i> |

End of Information from the Scrolls Ledger and accompanying file in the PAM Archive

Scrolls Bought by or for the Palestinian Archaeological Museum

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Payer</u> | <u>Amount</u> | <u>Scroll Fragment</u> | <u>Reported Source</u> |
|------------------------|---|--|--|-------------------------|
| 1950s | École Biblique | JD 600.000 | unspecified | Caves other than Cave 4 |
| 1954 | | | | |
| June | McGill University | \$15,000 | unspecified | Cave 4 |
| October | Vatican Library | unspecified | unspecified | unspecified |
| December | University of Manchester | unspecified | unspecified | unspecified |
| 1955 | | | | |
| Spring | University of Heidelberg (K. G. Kuhn) | unspecified | unspecified | Cave 4 |
| c. 13 December | Vatican Library | unspecified | unspecified | Cave 4 |
| Undated, perhaps 1955 | PAM | JD 2, 200.000 | Minor Prophets | unspecified |
| 1956 | | | | |
| 01 March | PAM, down payment to Kando (Bechtel, ASOR, see 1962) | JD 16,000.000 | 1/2 price of 11QPs ^a , 11QpaleoLev ^a | Cave 11 |
| 19 May | PAM, second payment to Kando (Bechtel, ASOR, see 1962) | JD 16,000.000 | 1/2 price of 11QPs ^a , 11QpaleoLev ^a | Cave 11 |
| 11/17 July | Third payment to Kando, Cave 11 (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, see 1962) | JD 14,000.000 | 11QgJob, 11QNJ | Cave 11 |
| 1957 | | | | |
| 23 November | Gift from C.G. Osborne | unspecified | Fragment(s) of Manual of Discipline (X.15-20) | Cave 4 |
| 1958 | | | | |
| 25 January | Oxford University, Christ Church | unspecified | unspecified | Cave 4 |
| 23 November | McCormick Seminary | \$4500 (JD 1591.409) from Rehnborg | Pseudo-Jeremiah, Pseudo-Ezekiel; Samuel; Wisdom Text (2 mss.); Secretarian Work; Secretarian Hymnic Work; Daniel Cycle?--Vision of the Last Days; Proto-Mishnah Vision of Amram; Testament of Qohat; one plate small fragments; Phylactery in pieces with leather case | Cave 4 |
| 20 July | Unitarian Church of All Souls, NY, through ASOR to PAM | JD 1700.000 (\$5000 given, with JD 68.620 left over) | 4QDtn, minuscule scroll; 5 columns Deut. Chapters 5, 6 and 8 | Cave 4 |
| 06 August | Gift from Louis C. la Motte | unspecified | small fragment, unidentified, "useless" | |
| 07 August | No price or donor identified; probably bought with money left over from the All Souls purchase the month before | unspecified | Deed of Sale in Mishnaic Hebrew A.D. 134. (Plate Mur.30) | Murabba'at |
| Undated, probably 1958 | Wadi Murabba'at (Excavations) | | Letter in Hebrew on papyrus to Yeshu'a Ben Galgula; Ostrakon, list of Names in Hebrew; Ostrakon ABCs in Hebrew; fragments of papyrus with Greek cursive script | Murabba'at |
| 1961 | Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences | \$10,000 | 11QPs ^a , 11QA ^a Ps, 11QgJob, 11QMelch, 11QNJ, 11QTb, Other fragments | Cave 11 |
| 1962 | ASOR - Bechtels | \$60,000 | 11QPs ^a | Cave 11 |
| | Claremont Graduate School | \$3,000, but returned when it could not be opened. | 11QEzek | Cave 11 |
| 1966 | ASOR - Bechtels | \$30,000 | 11QpaleoLev ^a | Cave 11 |

GLOSSARY

ASOR: American Schools of Oriental Research. The Jerusalem school was later known as the Albright Institute of Archaeology.

Apocrypha: The books included in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Bible. Some of these books are included in the Catholic and Orthodox Bibles, but are excluded from Protestant Bibles.

Apocryphon: A book which consists of expansion of a biblical book. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Genesis Apocryphon is an example.

Aramaic: A language closely related to Hebrew, which was the common language of the Middle East from about the 6th century BCE, and a prominent language during the lifetime of Jesus. Many of the Dead Sea Scrolls are written in Aramaic. Several dialects are still spoken, and Syriac, “Christian Aramaic” is still used by the Syrian Orthodox and Catholic churches.

BCE: Before the Common Era, equivalent to BC in the Christian calendar.

Canon: Collection of writings deemed sacred and therefore part of the Bible.

CE: The Common Era, equivalent to AD in the Christian calendar.

Codex: A book with pages in contrast to a scroll.

DAJ: Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

Essenes: An ancient Jewish sect known from Josephus. Most scholars identify the group at Qumran as Essenes.

First Temple: The Temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem about 950 BCE, destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BCE.

IAA: Israel Antiquities Authority.

Khirbet: Arabic word for a mound of ruins at an ancient occupation site.

LXX: Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament.

Masada: The fortress built by Herod the Great on a self-standing mountain about midway down the western shore of the Dead Sea. It was occupied by some of the last hold-outs of the First Jewish Revolt and destroyed by the Romans in 73 A.D. after approximately 900 people committed suicide rather than surrender. During its excavation in the 1960s some scrolls were found, which are also included among the “Dead Sea Scrolls.”

Masoretic Text: The traditional Hebrew text of the Bible (Old Testament).

New Testament: The 27 books produced by early Christians and combined with the Old Testament to form the Christian Bible.

Old Testament: The traditional Christian term for the Jewish Hebrew Bible. The term is used to refer to Bibles both with and without the Apocrypha.

Ostrakon: A piece of broken pottery with writing on it.

Paleography: The comparative study of ancient handwriting styles in order to date ancient documents.

PAM: Palestine Archaeological Museum, now the Rockefeller Museum, in Jerusalem.

Peshet: A type of interpretation of biblical books found among the Dead Sea Scrolls which understands the Bible in terms of the recent past, present, and near future of the sect at Qumran.

Qumran: Archaeological site near NW corner of the Dead Sea, close to 11 caves in which scrolls were discovered.

Second Temple: Rebuilt Jerusalem Temple; time period roughly 500 BCE to 70 CE.

Septuagint: The Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible traditionally begun at approximately 250 BCE in Alexandria. It also includes some of the books of the “Apocrypha,” and was the Bible of Greek-speaking Jews and the Old Testament of Greek-speaking Christians for centuries.

Ta’amireh: Tribe of Bedouin, some of whom found the first Dead Sea Scrolls

Wadi: Arabic word for a dry riverbed in the desert, which is occasionally filled with water during the rainy season, usually during flash floods. Equivalent to Hebrew *nahal*.

Yahad: Hebrew word meaning “group,” used of themselves by the Qumranites.

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