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Since the early days of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, the collection of scrolls found in the eleven caves in the vicinity of Qumran has been identified as a library.[1] That term, however, was undefined in relation to its ancient context. In the Greco-Roman world the word "library" calls to mind the great libraries of the Hellenistic world, such as those at Alexandria and Pergamum.[2] However, a more useful comparison can be drawn with the libraries unearthed in the ancient Near East, primarily in Mesopotamia but also in Egypt.[3] These libraries, whether attached to temples or royal palaces or privately owned, were shaped by the scribal elite of their societies. Ancient Near Eastern scribes were the *literati* in a largely illiterate society, and were responsible for collecting, preserving, and transmitting to future generations the cultural heritage of their peoples. In the Qumran corpus, I will argue, we see these same interests of collection, preservation, and transmission. Thus I will demonstrate that, on the basis of these comparisons, the Qumran collection is best described as a library with an archival component, shaped by the interests of the elite scholar scribes who were responsible for it.

Scribes and Their Functions in the Ancient Near East

The scribe (Heb. סופר) was an important functionary in the ancient Near East, including the territories of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. A scribe was a professional, trained in the skills of writing, calculation, and administration. They worked for powerful institutions, whether for kings and their courts, temples and their priests, or for wealthy individuals. Although we have almost no information about the training of scribes in either pre-exilic or post-exilic Israel and Judah, we know from comparative evidence from Mesopotamia and

1 Frank Moore Cross titled his handbook on the Scrolls *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958). J.T. Milik used the term "library" when describing the collection. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judah* (J. Strugnell, trans.; London: SCM Press, 1959), 20–43.

2 See the articles by Berti and Werrett in this volume.

3 The finds at Ugarit also provide a useful set of comparison data, but I have not included these in the interests of space.

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Egypt that the training process for scribes in those societies was arduous.[4] All scribes were expected to master writing and grammar. Scribes with special aptitude received more specialized training, becoming masters of their cultural tradition, including the fields of law, business, math, science, music and history. At that point, they became scholars, the *literati* of the ancient world.[5] In other words, they were part of the learned elite in societies that had very low rates of literacy.[6]

In ancient Mesopotamia among the fields in which a scribe could specialize were astrology, exorcism, divination, medicine or cult liturgy.[7] Notice that all these fields are related, in one way or another, to the religious practices and rituals of Mesopotamian society. In Egypt the picture was similar; scribes who went beyond the basic level of training specialized in administration, the temple and its priesthood, or the military.[8] Those training to work in temples learned medicine, astronomy, magic and dream interpretation. Elite scribes in both societies received training in foreign languages.[9]

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4 Laurie E. Pearce, "The Scribes and Scholars of Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near Eas*t (eds. J. Sasson, J. Baines, G. Beckman and K. Rubinson; vol. IV; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 2265–78 (2270–72); Edward F. Wente, "The Scribes of Ancient Egypt," in *CANE* IV, 2211–21 (2216).

5 Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 56–59. See Pearce's title for the distinction between scribes as low-level functionaries and scribes as scholars.

6 Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 502: "highly literate individuals [were] located among the elites and sub-elites." Moshe Bar-Ilan estimates that the literacy rate in Second Temple Palestine could have been as low as 3%. "Scribes and Books in the Late Second Commonwealth and Rabbinic Period," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. Mulder; *CRINT* 2.1; Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 21–38. Hezser is reluctant to give a figure, but suggests it was well below 10–15%. *Roman Palestine*, 496.

7 Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 56–59.

8 Wente, "Scribes of Ancient Egypt," 2216.

9 Pearce, "Scribes and Scholars," 2273; Wente, "Scribes of Ancient Egypt," 2216. The same kind of scribal training also seems to have occurred in ancient Ugarit, although our evidence is sketchier. The Ugarit tablets indicate scribes familiar with five languages and three or four scripts. Anson F. Rainey, "The Scribe at Ugarit. His Position and Influence," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 3 (1969): 126–47 (129). For a list of scribes' names at Ugarit, see Loren R. Mack-Fisher, "The Scribe (and Sage) in the Royal Court at Ugarit," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Gammie and L. Perdue; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 109–116 (111–13).

Scribes in Ancient Israel and Judah

Although we know very little concerning the training of scribes in ancient Israel or Judah,[10] we can extrapolate, from the comparative data given above, that Israelite or Judahite scribes who reached this second level of training would likewise specialize in the religious/cultural traditions of their society, as well as receiving advanced training in foreign languages and diplomacy.[11] We do know that professional scribes were active in ancient Israel and Judah from both epigraphic evidence and biblical references.[12] The biblical references to "scribe" point to the royal court and the Temple as the primary loci for scribal activity. The word סופר occurs numerous times in the Hebrew Bible, usually describing a particular person as an officer in the royal court and/or the Temple, which were closely allied in this period.[13]

The destruction of the monarchy in 586 BCE by the Babylonians and the shift of governmental authority to the Babylonian and later Persian overlords led to a separation of scribal activity in post-exilic Judah into different spheres.[14]

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10 Note the subtitle on James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998). On p. 4 Crenshaw states, "What do we know about education in ancient Israel? Not very much." On the other hand, André Lemaire has argued for widespread schools and literacy in Iron Age Israel and Judah on the basis of the epigraphic evidence. André Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (OBO 39; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981). Lemaire places particular weight on the discoveries of abecedaries in several remote locations in ancient Israel and Judah (7). See, however, the counterarguments to this proposal in Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel*, 100–08, and Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 45.

11 David Carr has called this training "an oral-written process of enculturation that helped socialize and set apart . . . a scribal elite." David Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 131.

12 For surveys of the epigraphical evidence see Christopher A. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), and William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

13 The references for the pre-exilic period are 2 Sam 8:17; 2 Sam 20:25//1 Chron 18:16; 2 Kgs 18:18, 37, 19:2//Isa 36:3, 22, 27:2; 2 Kgs 22:3, 8, 9, 10, 12//2 Chron 34:15, 18, 20; 1 Chron 24:6, 27:32; 2 Chron 24:1, 26:11; Ps 45:1; Isa 33:18; Jer 36:10, 12, 20, 26, 32, 37:15, 20; and 52:25. For several perspectives on the scribal profession in ancient Israel, see the articles in Leo G. Perdue, ed., *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

14 The change in government also occasioned a change in script, from Old or paleo-Hebrew to the Aramaic chancellery script. See David S. Vanderhooft, "'el-medînâ ûmedînâ kiktabah: Scribes and Scripts in Yehud and in Achaemenid Transeuphratene," in *Judah*

Scribes were employed, of course, in the Persian and later Greek administrations; our evidence for this appears in bullae and other epigraphic evidence.[15] These scribes served the interests of the foreign overlords. "Shimshai the scribe," one of the "officials" who wrote against Zerubbabel and Joshua in Ezra 4, is an example of a government scribe.

A second sphere of scribal activity in post-exilic Judah was religious, being particularly associated with the Torah, the priests and the Levites, and the Temple. In fact, it is to the scholar scribes of post-exilic Judah that we owe the legacy of Jewish religious literature that has come down to us from the Second Temple period. The most important figure in this regard is Ezra, who, although historically obscure, gives us an idealized portrait of the scribe as Torah scholar. Ezra is introduced as a ספר מחיר בתורת משה, a "scribe skilled in the law of Moses," as well as a priest (Ez 7:1–6), and his role as a scribe is emphasized in 7:11, 12, 21, 25 as well as Neh 8:1, 4, 9, 13.[16] In Nehemiah 8 Ezra is supported by the Levites, who "caused the people to understand (מבינים) the law" (8:7, 10), "interpreting" (מפרש) it (8:8). The Chronicler also seems to identify the Levites in particular with scribal functions; twice in Chronicles Levites are given the title "scribe" (1 Chron 24:6; 2 Chron 34:13), and Levites are credited with the particular scribal function of offering Torah instruction.[17] Aramaic Levi also credits the Levites with scribal functions; Levi and his sons are to teach reading and writing (*T.Levi* 13:1–2; *AL* 88–90).[18] The identification of priests and Levites as scribes points to the Temple in Jerusalem as a locus of scribal activity in the Second Temple period.[19]

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and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context (ed. O. Lipschits, G. Knoppers, and M. Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 529–44.

15 André Lemaire, "Administration in 4th Century BCE Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE* (ed. O. Lipschitz, G. Knoppers, and R. Albertz; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 53–74 (54), and Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 46, 87.

16 Reinhard G. Kratz, "Ezra—Priest and Scribe," in Perdue, *Scribes, Sages, and Seers*, 163–88. Ezra is also consistently labeled a priest, and in Ez 10:10, where he dissolves the mixed marriages, he is called only a priest.

17 Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 90; Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 65–69.

18 Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 86–87. Levi's ancestor Enoch is also described as a scribe in *1 En.* 12:3–4, 13:3–7, 15:1 and 92:1, as well as 4QEnGiants[a] 8 and 4QEnGiants[b] ii 14–15.

19 See below for a discussion of the Seleucid Charter, found in *Ant.* 12.138–144, which refers to οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

Not all Second Temple period scribes were priests or Levites, since the scribal profession was open to any with proper training. In 1 Macc 5:42 army officers are called τοὺς γραμματεῖς,[20] and Eleazar is described in 2 Macc 6:18 as a "foremost scribe." Sir 38:34–35:11 gives the most extended description of the Jewish scribe or sage in the Hellenistic period, with no mention of any relation to priests or Levites. Ben Sira opens his encomium by emphasizing that the scribe's main duty is the study of the Torah, prophecies, and the "wisdom of the ancients." He emphasizes the religious dimension of the scribe's accomplishments: "The Lord will direct his counsel and knowledge, as he meditates on his mysteries" (39:7).

To summarize, scribes in the ancient Near East were key tradents for the religious literature of their cultures, and were part of the literate elites of their societies. In Israel in particular scribes were associated with the Temple, the priesthood, and the Levites, especially after the disappearance of the royal court in the post-exilic period.

Libraries in the Ancient Near East[21]

Two types of libraries seem to have existed in ancient Mesopotamia: a large, at least somewhat organized state-sponsored collection, often housed in or near a royal palace or temple, and smaller private collections found in private

20 Schams, *Jewish Scribes*, 114, suggests this is a translation of שוטרים rather than סופרים.

21 Since the beginnings of excavations in Mesopotamia in the 19th century, scholars have tended to draw a hard and fast line between an archive, which comprises administrative documents of a legal, political, or historical nature put into long-term storage, and a library, which includes literary, historical, religious, and scientific documents for the purpose of study. See Ernst Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972), 3–4, and Jaqueline du Toit, *Textual Memory: Ancient Archives, Libraries and the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 22–23. In reality, however, that distinction is almost impossible to make, since the vast majority of text collections unearthed in the ancient Near East contain both literary and documentary materials. Jeremy A. Black and W.J. Tait, "Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jack M. Sasson; vol. IV; New York: Scribner, 1995), 2197–2210. See also Menahem Haran, "Archives, Libraries and the Order of the Biblical Books," *JANES* 22 (1993): 51–59. Thus, almost all libraries in the ancient Near East also had an archival function. In other words, the semantic distinction made by modern librarians would have been meaningless to the owners of these collections. Haran, "Archives," 52.

homes.[22] The better known state-sponsored collections include the Ebla corpus (3rd millennium BCE), the library of Tiglath-Pileser I (2nd millennium BCE), the library of Asshurbanipal, and the library from the Shamash temple in Sippar, for which the latest datable tablet is from the reign of Cambyses II (529–522 BCE).[23] All of these collections contain both literary and documentary texts, although the proportions vary.

The Ebla collection numbered approximately 2000 items, the majority of which are administrative records. There were also word lists, incantations, and two tablets (copies) with a Sumerian myth.[24] The Tiglath-Pileser library, of about 100 different works, housed in the temple of Assur in Asshur, contained omen texts, astronomical works, scholarly lists, and hymns.[25]

Asshurbanipal's library, housed in the royal palaces, was the first systematically collected library in the ancient Near East.[26] At over 1500 titles, the library contained omen texts, rituals, incantations, prayers, scholarly lists, Sumerian to Akkadian dictionaries, and copies of literary works, including Gilgamesh, the Enuma Elish, and Atrahasis, as well as documentary texts. Some titles are found in multiple copies (up to six).[27]

The Sippar library in the Shamash temple was excavated *in situ*, with the clay tablets found on shelves in wall niches.[28] It contained a mixture of literary and documentary texts: omens, incantations, prayers, hymns, lamentations, scholarly lists, mathematical and astronomical texts, and copies of Atrahasis, the Enuma Elish and Lugale, as well as economic documents, letters and copies of royal inscriptions.[29] This eclectic collection, found *in situ* and per-

22 See Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 BC* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1998) for a catalogue of these collections up until 1998.

23 Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 194.

24 Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 2001), 3.

25 Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, 8–9.

26 Asshurbanipal seemed to have been ruthless in his collecting policy. In a letter to his agents in Babylon he writes, "every last tablet in their establishments and all the tablets which are in Ezida. Gather together the entirety of . . . (long list of text types) and send them to me. If you see any tablet which I have not mentioned and it is appropriate for my palace . . . send it to me!" A. Kirk Grayson, "History and Culture of Assyria," *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (ed. David Noel Freedman; vol. IV; New Haven: Yale University, 2008), 732–55 (750).

27 Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, 9–13.

28 Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 193–94.

29 Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 194.

haps intact, presents a good picture of a large palace/temple library from the ancient Near East.

The other type of library found in Mesopotamia is the small private library found in homes.[30] These small collections contained both documentary texts belonging to the family and literary texts of particular interest to the collector. To give just one example, excavations in Uruk uncovered a house occupied in the 5th–4th centuries BCE by two families of scribes.[31] The family of Sangû Ninurta specialized in exorcism, and their "library" contained incantations, medical texts, hymns, and myths. The family of Iqisa, also an exorcist, likewise included the same variety of texts. These smaller collections, owned by professional scribes, document the working interests of scribes in the ancient Near East.

Libraries in Egypt

Given the ephemeral nature of the main writing material used in ancient Egypt, papyrus, we have much less evidence for ancient Egyptian libraries than we do for Mesopotamia. Most of our knowledge comes from tomb paintings and inscriptions, statuary and stele, and ostraca. However, we can reconstruct the institutions in which the scholar scribes of ancient Egypt worked.

The existence of a vast state bureaucracy throughout the entire recorded history of ancient Egypt led to a much sharper distinction between archives and libraries than we found in Mesopotamia.[32] The state archives were repositories of the documents recording the business of the state administrative machinery.

Egyptian literary texts, by contrast, were the concern of the scholar scribes working in the "House of Life." This institution, usually located near a temple, formed the intellectual center of Egyptian life.[33] The written works produced in the "House of Life" were stored in a "House of Books," the library of a temple. These temple libraries contained works concerning medicine, magic, dream

30 See Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 198–212, for a listing.

31 Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 211. For a discussion, see Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book* (*4Q208–4Q211*) *from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55–56.

32 Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, 71–90.

33 For discussion of ancient Egyptian scribal institutions, see Edward F. Wente, "The Scribes of Ancient Egypt," in *CANE* IV, 2211–21; Alan Gardiner, "The House of Life," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938): 157–79; and H. te Velde, "Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt," in *Scripta Signa Vocis: Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Near East* (ed. H.L.J. Vanstiphout, K. Jongeling, F. Leemhuis and G.J. Reinink; Gröningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), 253–64.

interpretation, astronomy, myths, and rituals. Collections of this type have been recovered from el Amarna and the temple in Edfu. A private collection of a 13th century Egyptian lector-priest is likewise eclectic; it contained literary narratives, military dispatches, onomastica, medical remedies, magical spells, a hymn to Sobek, and fragments of a dramatic or ritual composition.[34]

Throughout the ancient Near East we have evidence both for large, state-supported libraries (e.g. Asshurbanipal's), and smaller libraries associated with institutions like temples (the Sippar temple, the Edfu temple) and individual families (the Sangû Ninurta family in Uruk). These libraries serve as good comparables for our evidence from post-exilic Judah, including the largest corpus we have, the Qumran scrolls.

A Temple Library in Jerusalem?

Although we have no concrete material evidence for the Temple of the post-exilic period and its compound, there is some written evidence in later literature for the presence of a library and/or archive in the Temple in Jerusalem. A non-Jewish document preserved by Josephus, the Seleucid Charter (*Ant.* 12.138–144), indicates that scribes worked in the Jerusalem Temple in the early second century BCE. In the charter, Antiochus III, recent conqueror of what had been Ptolemaic Judea, relieves the priests, the scribes of the temple (ὁι γραμματεις τοῦ ἱερου) and the singers from paying taxes. 2 Macc 2:13–15 claims that Nehemiah founded a library in the Jerusalem Temple, which was restocked by Judas Maccabaeus after the Antiochean crisis. While we have no evidence that Nehemiah founded a library, 2 Maccabees does inform us that there was a library in the Jerusalem temple, associated with the Hasmonean dynasty.

Josephus is also a personal witness to the temple library, relating in *Antiquities* the deposit of sacred texts in the Temple (5.51; 10.57–58) and in *Jewish War* the theft of Torah scrolls from the Temple in 70 to be part of Vespasian's triumph in Rome (7.150, 162). He also claims to have sacred books from Jerusalem as a gift from Titus (*Vita* 75). Josephus also discusses archives (τῶν ἀρχείων) in which the genealogies of the priests were scrupulously kept (*C. Ap.* 1.30–35). These archives were destroyed by fire in 67 and 70 (*J.W.* 2.17.6; 6.6.3). Finally, he mentions the keeping of records (τὰς ἀναγραφὰς) assigned to the chief priests and prophets (*C. Ap.* 1.28–29). Thus, it is safe to say that there was a library and archive in the Temple in Jerusalem, overseen by the priests, and staffed by scribes, at least some of whom were most likely also priests and

34 See Armin Lange, "The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls—Library or Manuscript Corpus?" in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel and E. Tigchelaar; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 177–93 (180).

Levites. This library housed sacred scrolls, definitely Torah scrolls but undoubtedly also the other books that became part of the later Jewish canon, as well as archival material. We cannot be certain what other types of literature may have been stored in the Temple library (i.e. books of the later Apocrypha, or other Jewish literary works). The library may have been located in the outbuildings of the Temple compound, where Josephus says that treasuries were located (*J.W.* 6.277).

The Qumran Scrolls and Other Judean Desert Text Corpora

The Qumran scrolls and the other Judean Desert text corpora present us with primary evidence for collections of written texts in the late Second Temple period. A comparison of these corpora demonstrates how dissimilar the Qumran scrolls are from the other Judean collections, which are private and primarily documentary. The Qumran collection, on the other hand, more closely resembles the temple collections of Sippar and Edfu, and reflects the kind of scholarly scribal interests found there and in the private libraries in Uruk. What follows is a quick survey of the other Judean Desert text corpora, before we turn to the Qumran collection.

Wadi Daliyeh

The Wadi Daliyeh papyri were discovered in a cave north of Jericho in 1962. The cave served as a refuge for Samarian families fleeing the Macedonian army after their rebellion against the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 BCE. The cave yielded fragmentary papyri, seals, and coins.[35] Twenty-seven separate documents have been published, along with fifteen groups of miscellaneous fragments.[36] All of the papyri are legal documents, drafted in Samaria in the mid-fourth century BCE. They include deeds of slave sales, other deeds of conveyance, and loan settlements. They are written in "Official Aramaic," the standard language of the Persian Empire. There are no literary texts among the Wadi Daliyeh papyri.

35 Douglas M. Gropp, "Daliyeh, Wadi Ed: Written Material," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam; vol. 1; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 162–65.

36 Douglas M. Gropp, *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh* in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (ed. M.J. Bernstein et al.; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 3–118.

Wadi Murabbaʿat

The caves of the Wadi Murabbaʿat, situated eleven miles south of Qumran and 15.5 miles southeast of Jerusalem, were first discovered by Bedouin in 1952.[37] They served as refugee caves in both the Great Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–73 CE) and the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–35 CE). Over 150 manuscripts were discovered in the caves, although many are unclassified. The texts, all of which date to the first and second centuries CE, are both leather and papyri, and written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek. Religious texts were discovered there, including copies of Deuteronomy, the Minor Prophets and a scroll containing parts of Genesis, Exodus and Numbers, which may have been an entire Torah when whole. In addition, there were phylacteries, a mezuzah, and a prayer. These religious texts were the personal property of those who found refuge in the caves. The vast majority of texts, however, are fiscal and administrative documents written on papyri in Aramaic and Greek, including another cache of Bar Kokhba letters.

Naḥal Ḥever

The caves of Naḥal Ḥever, located south of Wadi Murabbaʿat and north of Masada, were first explored in 1953 by Yohanan Aharoni. The caves served as hiding places for refugees fleeing the Romans during the Bar Kokhba revolt. Written materials were found in two caves, the Cave of Letters (Cave 5/6) and the Cave of Horrors (Cave 8). In addition, groups of unprovenanced fragments sold to the Palestine Archaeological Museum by the Bedouin (who claimed they came from Wadi Seiyal) are thought to come from Naḥal Ḥever.[38] Over 70 texts were found in controlled excavations, while over 50 are unprovenanced. The Cave of Letters yielded two, possibly three scriptural texts, a manuscript of Numbers, one of Deuteronomy and one of Psalms. There was also a phylactery and a hymn text. All the other manuscripts are documentary texts from the last decade of the first century CE through the year 135 CE, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Nabatean and Greek. They include the Bar Kokhba letters and the personal archives of Babatha and Salome Komaïse. The Cave of Horrors revealed the

37 Hanan Eshel, "Murabba'at, Wadi: Written Material," in *EDSS*, vol. 1, 583–86.

38 See Peter Flint, "Biblical Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever and 'Wadi Seiyal': Introduction," in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. J. Charlesworth et al.; DJD 38; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 133–36, and Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites* (DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1–6.

Greek Minor Prophets scroll, a prayer and a letter (?) in Greek.[39] The vast majority of the manuscript finds from the two caves combined are documentary, that is, legal or administrative, texts.

Masada

The desert fortress of Masada, at the southwest shore of the Dead Sea, was excavated by Yigael Yadin from 1963–65. Fifteen documents belonging to the Jewish rebels who held the fortress against the Roman legion were discovered.[40] The Jewish Masada scrolls are all religious texts, written in Hebrew, with the exception of one Greek letter written on papyrus,[41] and were likely brought from Jerusalem by the rebels and used in the temporary synagogue they constructed in the fortress.[42] They include one manuscript of Genesis, two manuscripts of Leviticus, one of Deuteronomy, two of Psalms and one of Ezekiel, as well as one apocryphal Genesis work, a copy of Ben Sira, a Joshua Apocryphon, a copy of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, a work similar to *Jubilees* and a liturgical composition that has been identified as Samaritan.[43] What is striking about the Masada collection is the much higher proportion of literary/religious texts to documentary texts than in the other three collections.

Thus far, the collections from Wadi Daliyeh, Wadi Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥever, all of which served as refugee caves in times of conflict, contained primarily or even exclusively documentary texts. The few literary texts discovered

39 Hannah M. Cotton, "Ḥever, Naḥal: Written Material," in *EDSS*, vol. 1, 359–61. Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

40 Latin and Greek papyri belonging to the Roman occupants of the site after its fall in 73 were also discovered. These are all documentary texts, with the exception of a copy of Virgil and an unidentified poetic text. Armin Lange with U. Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre," in Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115–64 (162–64).

41 In addition to the Greek letter, three letters on ostraca were found, as well as two ostraca with writing exercises.

42 The fragments, however, were found scattered in various locations around the site. Two, the Deuteronomy and the Ezekiel scrolls, were buried under the floor of the synagogue. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 317–18.

43 Shemaryahu Talmon, "Masada: Written Material," in *EDSS* 1, 521–25. See also Emanuel Tov, "Categorized List of the 'Biblical Texts'," in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert *Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 165–84 (179–82), and Lange, "Annotated Lists," 162.

seem to have been the personal property of a refugee(s). The Masada corpus is different; although the scrolls found there were the property of the rebels who fled there from Jerusalem, religious texts dominate. They were likely used by the rebels and their families for study and worship. They even built a synagogue for that purpose.

Qumran

The profile of the Qumran scrolls is strikingly different from the manuscripts of Wadi Daliyeh, Naḥal Ḥever, and Wadi Murabbaʿat, and similar, although much larger, to that of Masada. The Qumran scrolls are clearly a collection of a Jewish religious group.[44] Further, literary/religious texts dominate, while there are very, very few documentary/administrative texts. This profile should immediately raise the question of the purpose of the collection. It is not at all similar to the collection of Wadi Daliyeh, personal documents belonging to refugees from Samaria in the 4th century BCE, or the collections of Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabbaʿat, which, as we have seen, belonged to groups of refugees fleeing from the Roman armies in the First or Second Jewish Revolt, taking their personal papers with them. However, it has been argued, most strenuously by Norman Golb, that the scrolls did belong to refugees, who brought them from Jerusalem, perhaps from the Temple, prior to the siege of Jerusalem in the first Jewish revolt in order to safeguard them from destruction.[45] However, the profile of the Qumran collection also argues against that conclusion. It is not a general Jewish religious collection as might be expected from a Jerusalem library, but the collection of a specific Jewish group, as will be demonstrated below.

The Qumran Collection as a Library

A Deliberate Collection

Let us begin by sketching the broadest strokes that hold the Qumran scrolls together and make them a deliberate collection. The scrolls are Jewish religious texts; there are very few documentary/administrative texts found in the

44 See, e.g., Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1984), 483–550.

45 Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

caves.[46] There are no Greek works such as Homer in the collection. There are likewise no Babylonian or Persian works such as Gilgamesh in the collection.[47]

Second, the Qumran collection is chronologically coherent. The earliest manuscript dates paleographically to the mid-third century BCE. Clusters of manuscript dates then slowly increase, reaching a peak in the first century BCE; the curve then dips and flattens in the first century CE, to end abruptly in the last quarter of the first century CE.[48] In addition, the very few historical names in the scrolls come from the first century BCE.[49]

The collection is geographically coherent as well. This is a Palestinian collection. Although there was a small selection of Greek texts found in Caves 4 and 7, none of them is a work that definitely was written in Greek, such as the Wisdom of Solomon or Philo. Rather, there are Greek translations of books that originated in Israel or Judah: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, as well as a copy of the Epistle of Jeremiah, whose provenance is uncertain. The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts from Qumran were composed and/or circulated in Second Temple Palestine. The evidence as presented thus far shows that the Qumran scrolls are a collection, but so far only a general Jewish collection of religious texts from late Second Temple period Palestine.

Let us move from the general to the specific. The Qumran collection is also thematically coherent. The collection contains, first of all, the classical literature of Judaism, the core of its scripture. Manuscripts of the Torah predominate, followed by Isaiah and Psalms. Another major group of texts is labeled non- or pre-sectarian, for lack of a better term (other terms in use are apocryphal or pseudepigraphical). Some of these texts, such as the Ben Sira or Tobit, would have been of general interest to all Jews in this period. Some, however,

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46 According to the inventory in DJD 39, the following documentary texts were found at Qumran: 4Q342–343, 345–346, 350–358, and 6Q26 (*The Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 145). Yardeni argues that all of these manuscripts actually come from Naḥal Ḥever (*Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites*, 283–84). But see Lange, "The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls—Library or Manuscript Corpus?," 189, who argues that most of these texts originated at Qumran. That indeed seems to be the case for 4Q344, 348 and 359, which are opsisthographs, with literary texts copied on their reverse. Baillet also adds 6Q27–29 to a list of commercial texts; they are extremely fragmentary, but 6Q29 does preserve some numerical signs. M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, et R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 138–40.

47 Gilgamesh is referred to in the Book of Giants, 4Q530 frg. 2 ii 1, 4Q531 frg. 22 12.

48 Brian Webster, "Chronological Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," in Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 351–446.

49 See Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans and Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008).

are more esoteric in nature, united by a cluster of specialized interests that set them apart from the rest of Judaism. An interest in the figure of Enoch, lunisolar calendars, the assigning of the priesthood to Levi, and religious law passed down in writing binds together the books of Enoch, *Jubilees*, Aramaic Levi, and other works, although they do not contain what have been labeled as sectarian characteristics.[50] This brings us to the sectarian manuscripts, which contain a specialized vocabulary, a particular legal stance, and a dualistic, eschatological worldview.[51] Works such as the *Community Rule,* the *Damascus Document,* the *Hodayot,* and the *War Scroll* fit in one way or another under the sectarian umbrella. Finally, what is not there is as important as what is there. I have already mentioned that works from other cultures, Greek or Mesopotamian, are missing, as well as any compositions from the Diaspora. In addition, there are no texts that are clearly supportive of the Hasmonean regime, such as 1 and 2 Maccabees or Judith. This brief sketch indicates the various ways in which the Qumran scrolls are a particular collection.

Material Evidence

This collection is also tied together through material evidence. There is plenty of archaeological evidence to tie the ruins of the buildings at Khirbet Qumran with the eleven caves, summarized here.[52] The following facts argue for a connection between the caves and Khirbet Qumran: 1. The caves in the marl terrace (Caves 4, 5, 7–10) fall within the parameters of the Qumran archaeological site; they were deliberately constructed as residential caves, and they are connected to the Qumran buildings by paths and staircases, which were cut into the terraces to provide access to these caves. Caves 7–9 were dug into the actual terrace on which the buildings sit; it is impossible to access those caves without walking through the site. 2. There are also paths leading from Qumran to the natural caves in the limestone cliffs (Caves 1–3, 6 and 11). 3. An identical pottery repertoire, from the same time period, was found in the limestone

50 See the contributions of Machiela and Jacobus to this volume.

51 Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Content and Significance," in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (FZAT 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 27–56. I would like to thank Professor Dimant for sharing this article with me prior to publication. See also Carol Newsom, " 'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. Propp, B. Halpern and D.N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87.

52 For a more detailed treatment and bibliography, see Sidnie White Crawford, "Qumran: Caves, Scrolls and Buildings," in *A Teacher for all Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. E. Mason, S. Thomas, A. Schofield, and E. Ulrich; SJSJ 153; vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 253–74.

caves, the marl caves, and the buildings. The ubiquity of the hole-mouthed cylindrical storage jars (aka "scroll jars") in all three locations indicates use by the same group.[53]

Next, the material evidence of the Qumran scrolls themselves tie the eleven caves to each other and the khirbeh. Compositions recur in different caves, indicating that the same group deposited the manuscripts in all eleven caves. Cave 4, which contained the largest cache of scrolls, with close to 600 separate manuscripts, seems to have been used as the main storage cave in antiquity. It is the hub of the collection as well, with the other caves acting like spokes on a wheel. Almost every manuscript found in Caves 1–3 and 5–11 is also found in Cave 4, sometimes in multiple copies. Examples, not counting the biblical books, but including both non-sectarian and sectarian texts, are the *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* (Caves 1, 4 and 5), the *Damascus Document* (Caves 4, 5 and 6), the *Temple Scroll* (Caves 4 and 11), the *Hodayot* (Caves 1 and 4), various parts of the Enoch corpus (Caves 1, 2, 4, 6 and possibly 7), and *Jubilees* (Caves 1, 2, 3, 4 and 11).[54]

Scribal hands also recur over the eleven caves. The most well known case is the scribe of the Cave 1 scroll that contains the *Community Rule,* the Rule of the Congregation, and the Rule of the Blessings. This scribe also copied 4QSam^{c} and made corrections to 1QIsaiah^{a} (the Great Isaiah Scroll).[55] He worked in the first half of the first century BCE, c. 100–75 BCE, the time frame during which the Qumran settlement was built.[56] Other proposals of recurring scribal hands have been made over the years. J.T. Milik suggested that 4QEnoch^{f} ar (4Q207) and 4QLevi^{d} ar (4Q214) were written by the same scribe. J.P.M. van der Ploeg

53 Jodi Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (ISACR 4; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 1–16.

54 See also Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," 34, who notes that of the main scrolls caves, Cave 2 contained no sectarian manuscripts, while no Aramaic fragments were found in Cave 3. However, Machiela in this volume lists eight unidentified Aramaic manuscripts as coming from Cave 3.

55 It has been argued that this same scribe also copied 4QTestimonia (4Q175), 4QNarrative G (4Q481b), and was the second hand in 1QpesherHabakkuk. John Strugnell further ascribed 4QTestament of Qahat, 4QIndividual Thanksgiving A (4Q441), 4QPersonal Prayer (4Q443), and 4QEschatological Hymn (4Q457b) to that same scribe. All of this information is taken from Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 23–24, who also includes a full bibliography. See also Eibert Tigchelaar, "In Search of the Scribe of 1QS," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. Paul, R. Kraft, L. Schiffman, and W. Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 439–52.

56 Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 68.

identified the same scribal hand in 11QTemple^{b} (11Q20) and the first hand of 1QpesherHabakkuk. Recently, Eugene Ulrich has argued that the same scribe copied 4QIsa^{c}, 1QPs^{b}, and 11QM.[57]

By far the most sweeping claim comes from Ada Yardeni, who has identified one scribal hand in at least 54 manuscripts.[58] These manuscripts come from Caves 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 11 at Qumran, as well as one from Masada. They comprise scriptural manuscripts, general Second Temple Jewish works, and works that have been identified as sectarian, or belonging to the Qumran community and/or the wider movement to which it belonged. Yardeni dates this scribal hand to the late first century BCE, the *floruit* of the Qumran community.[59]

The fact that manuscripts penned by the same scribe turned up in different caves makes it difficult to argue that the caves are not connected to each other, as some scholars have attempted to do.[60] The three major examples I have given of scribal hand identification demonstrate this. The first common scribe to be identified, of 1QS, 4QSam^{c} and 4QTest (and possibly others), has manuscripts found in Cave 1, a limestone cliff cave, and Cave 4, a marl terrace cave.[61] Ulrich's scribe's manuscripts were found in Caves 1 and 4, and also Cave 11, a limestone cliff cave at some distance from Khirbet Qumran. Yardeni's scribe has the widest distribution, with Caves 1, 4 and 11, but also Caves 2, 3 and 6. It becomes very difficult to argue that the caves are not connected if manuscripts from the same scribal hand are found across them, since the scribe must have copied the manuscripts in one place, and they were brought to the separate caves from that one place.

Thus there is sufficient evidence for a strong case that the Qumran scrolls are a collection, belonging to a specific Jewish group of the late Second Temple

57 Eugene Ulrich, "Identification of a Scribe Active at Qumran: 1QPs^{b}–4QIsa^{c}–11QM," in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls v–vi. A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and E. Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Haifa University Press, 2007), *201–*10. Ulrich has informed me (private communication) that this same scribe also penned 4QDan^{b}.

58 Ada Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions: Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (ed. M. Lubetski; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 286–98. At a conference in Lugano, Switzerland in February 2014, Émile Puech stated that he agreed with Yardeni's identifications.

59 Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," 288.

60 See, for example, Stephen J. Pfann, "Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves: Libraries, Archives, Genizas and Hiding Places," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 25 (2007): 147–70.

61 For the difference between the limestone cliff caves and the marl terrace caves, see Sidnie White Crawford, "A View from the Caves," *BAR* 37 (2011): 30–39, 69–70 (33).

period, a group that resided at Qumran and deposited the scrolls in the caves. Now I would like to argue that it has the marks of being a *scribal* collection. That is, the group that put this collection in the caves had a strong scribal component, as scribes have been defined at the beginning of this paper.

A Scribal Collection

First, it is a multilingual collection, containing Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek documents. It was scribes who were trained in different languages, as noted above; even people who might be otherwise literate, such as temple priests, would not necessarily have been multilingual. The presence of only Greek papyrus texts in Cave 7, a residential cave, indicates an inhabitant (a scribe?) with a particular interest and training in Greek. The manuscripts of the book of Tobit furnish another example of bilingualism: four manuscripts of Tobit were found in its original Aramaic (4Q196–199), in addition to one manuscript (4Q200) in a Hebrew translation. The translation of an Aramaic work into Hebrew demonstrates the activity of a scholar scribe. Further, the language of the sectarian texts is Hebrew, but an archaic, biblicizing Hebrew, again indicating scribal training. The only major literary document (apart from the Copper Scroll)[62] written in a more colloquial language is 4QMMT, which may have begun as a letter, although it evidently became a treatise for study (as witnessed by its multiple copies).[63]

Second, there is evidence of scribal activity and interests throughout the collection. There are, of course, the manuscripts themselves, most of which were prepared by trained scribes and those who worked for them. The majority of the manuscripts were formally prepared scrolls that came out of scribal workshops. The manuscripts continued to be worked on and cared for, as

62 The Copper Scroll is anomalous in several ways. As its name implies, it is engraved on thin copper sheets, the only composition from antiquity on copper. Its language is an early form of Mishnaic Hebrew, not the (archaizing) Biblical Hebrew of the rest of the Qumran scrolls. It is not in any sense a literary composition, but is a listing of treasure deposits and their hiding places. Whether or not these treasures (which were enormous) were real was the subject of great controversy. Given the Copper Scroll's unique characteristics, and the fact that it was deposited in another area of Cave 3, away from the main deposit, it is a very real possibility that the Copper Scroll was deposited in Cave 3 separately, by a different group or individual (possibly from the Jerusalem Temple) than the rest of the Qumran scrolls. See Al Wolters, "Copper Scroll," in *EDSS*, vol. 1, 144–48, and Hershel Shanks, *The Copper Scroll and the Search for the Temple Treasure* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2007).

63 For the language of 4QMMT, see Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 65–108.

evidenced by the corrections and repairs exhaustively catalogued by Emanuel Tov.[64] This too is the work of trained scribes and their assistants. One telling piece of evidence in this regard are the over one hundred scroll tabs and ties which were discovered in Cave 8, tabs and ties which must have been used for the scrolls kept at Qumran.[65]

The scripts in which the manuscripts were copied are indicative of scribal training as well. The Aramaic square script, which became the common chancellery script in the Persian period, is dominant, being used for scriptural, nonsectarian and sectarian manuscripts. However, manuscripts were also copied in the deliberately archaizing paleo-Hebrew script, while the esoteric cryptic script, used for sectarian texts, is clearly a scribal invention.[66]

The contents too betray scribal activity. Translations, which we saw in the Tobit manuscripts, but are also evident in the Greek scriptural texts and the Job translation, has already been mentioned. It is not necessary for the argument that these translations were *made* at Qumran; the fact that texts in both their original languages and in translations were found in the collection is enough to indicate scribal interest.

The scripture scrolls and works belonging to the category Rewritten Scripture also include texts that show evidence of scholar scribe activity; in these manuscripts, the scribes are not mere copyists, but are *tradents*, editing and updating the received traditions for the next generation. The scriptural manuscripts found at Qumran demonstrate scribal reworking in numerous examples. Exodus and Numbers appear in both unexpanded and expanded versions. Jeremiah appears in a shorter, earlier form (4QJer$^{b, d}$) and a later, expanded form (4QJer$^{a, c, e}$). The Psalms are found in at least two forms, one reflecting the later MT, another with a different order and additional psalms (11QPs^{a}). The fact that two or more forms of these scriptural books were preserved also betrays an archival interest; the keepers of the collection wanted to preserve the older form of the text even while including a newer version.[67]

64 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 57–236.

65 J. Carswell, "Fastenings on the Qumran Manuscripts," in *Qumrân Grotte 4, II* (ed. R. de Vaux; DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 23–28. According to Carswell, Milik first made the suggestion for "a specialized worker who made tags, phylactery fastenings and cases, either localized in Cave 8, or whose material was stored there when the library scrolls were stored away before the Roman attack."

66 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 237–48.

67 Comparative evidence from Mesopotamia, e.g. multiple copies of the same text in one archive, for example in the libraries of Tiglath-Pileser I and Ashurbanipal, supports this contention. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, 8–9.

The hand of scholar scribes who acted as composers or editors is also evident in the category "parabiblical literature," defined as texts using a passage, event or character from a scriptural work as a "jumping off" point to create a new narrative or work.[68] All of these texts, in one way or another, are anchored in a classical scriptural text, but then go their own way. The books of Enoch are an example, built as they are around the mysterious figure of Enoch as found in Gen 5:21–24. Henryk Drawnel has called attention in particular to the presence of the four manuscripts of Astronomical Enoch (1 Enoch 72–82; 4Q208–211), which he has shown is a Jewish example of general Babylonian computational astronomical lore, such as the Enuma Anu Enlil.[69] This kind of computational astronomical text is a hallmark of scribal training; only scholar scribes worked with this kind of text. In the multiple editions of scriptural texts, the category Rewritten Scripture and the parabiblical texts we see scribes acting not as copyists, but as editor-authors, relying on the sacredness of the classic scripture to create what is essentially a new revelation.

Other types of literature also betray the scribal nature of the collection. Works like the *Hodayot* or *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are shot through with allusions and affinities to what was by the first century BCE Jewish scripture. This is a mark of a scribal education. The scribes were steeped and marinated in the classical literature of Israel. When they wrote a new composition, that language just poured out in a natural way.[70]

Lists and computations are also evidence for scribal presence. As was evident from the Mesopotamian corpora, scribes compile lists, such as lexicons, compendia of natural phenomena, and genealogies.[71] Many lists were found in the Qumran collection, especially in Cave 4. There are simple lists, such as 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer or 4QMiscellaneous Rules. There are lists that involve learned computations, such as the Mishmarot, the tables of

68 Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 14–15.

69 Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book*.

70 David Carr has termed this phenomenon their "mastery of a cultural tradition." Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 116. Seth Sanders points out, however, that the goal of memorization was not to reproduce a work exactly, but that "variation and re-instantiation" were "positive aesthetic value[s]." Sanders, "Aramaic Scribal Culture: From Public Power to Secret Knowledge," forthcoming in *Heavenly Journeys and Scholarly Knowledge: the Transformation of Scribal Cultures in Babylonia and Judea*. I would like to thank Dr. Sanders for sharing this article with me prior to publication. Hezser uses the term "gist" to describe this phenomenon: "The gist of what had been said or heard or read was more relevant." *Jewish Literacy*, 205, 423.

71 Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, 3, 8–9.

the priestly courses, and the various calendrical documents. These calendrical texts are an especial provenance of scholar scribe expertise, as shown by the Mesopotamian archives.

Cave 4 also preserves other kinds of extremely specialized scribal literature. The cryptic texts, written in the Hebrew language but in an esoteric alphabetic script, evince specific training, possibly in magic and divination. Then there are various small, fragmentary texts whose presence also indicates expert training. These include 4QZodiology and Brontology ar (4Q318), 4QExorcism ar (4Q560), 4QHoroscope (4Q186), and 4QPhysiognomy/Horoscope ar (4Q561). A quick comparison of this list, combined with the examples given above, with the contents of the libraries of the two scribal families from Uruk reveals startling similarities. As noted above, those libraries contained physiognomic and diagnostic omens, rituals, hymns, lexical lists, astronomy/astrology and mathematics, commentaries, and incantations.[72] All of these types of texts are also present in the Qumran collection, indicating that it was at least partly shaped by the interests of elite scholar scribes. In other words, some of the texts found in the caves are the types of texts that scholar scribes collected, as part of their professional lives.

Finally, the khirbeh and the caves both preserve evidence of scribal activity, and, importantly, the training of junior scribes, and indicate that at least some of this scribal activity and training was taking place at Qumran itself. Four (possibly six) inkwells were discovered at Qumran, indicating that writing was indeed happening there.[73] All of the inscribed material found in the ruins of the khirbeh and in the caves has been recently published:[74] there were 51 ostraca or jar inscriptions in Hebrew, 11 in Greek, and 3 in Latin (the 3 in

72 Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 55.

73 Associated with the inkwells were plastered benches and tables, which de Vaux believed were writing desks, but whose actual function is disputed. Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press and the British Academy, 1973), 29–31.

74 André Lemaire, "Inscriptions du khirbeh, des grottes et de 'Aïn Feshkha," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha II* (eds. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; vol. 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 341–88. The ostraca corpus is extremely fragmentary; most of the inscriptions were on jars and bowls, and carry some kind of identifying mark. Probably many of them had to do with the transport or buying/selling of foodstuffs. J. Gunneweg and M. Balla, "Possible Connection Between the Inscriptions on Pottery, the Ostraca and Scrolls," in Humbert and Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha II*, 389–96 (393–94) note that no inscriptions on pottery were found in caves 1, 2, 3 and 11 (although inscriptions were discovered in Cave 6), as opposed to Caves 4–10, possible further evidence that the limestone cliff caves had a different function than the marl terrace caves.

Latin come from the Roman occupation in Phase 3).[75] In addition, in a 1996 survey, James Strange uncovered an inscribed ostracon along the wall of the settlement, which is a type of deed.[76]

Some of the inscriptions are not administrative, but are scribal exercises.[77] De Vaux early announced the discovery of an ostracon from the ruins inscribed with a complete alphabet, which he identified as the work of a "pupil-scribe."[78] This would appear to be KhQ161. KhQ 2207, a "practical student exercise," contains a quotation from the Psalms. Thus, there is evidence for writing activity in the ruins of the buildings, especially but not only administrative documents. These ostraca and jar inscriptions were abandoned in the buildings at the time Qumran was destroyed by fire in a Roman attack in 68 CE. The religious texts, both leather and papyrus, however, were carried to safety in the caves, indicating their importance to the people who lived there.

In the caves we also find evidence for the work and training of scribes. The discovery of over 100 leather tabs in Cave 8, mentioned above, is evidence for scroll manufacturing larger than a private collection. Whoever lived in or used Cave 8 must have been making or storing those scroll tabs for a collection of scrolls, whether for new scrolls or the repair of old scrolls. It does not take a tremendous leap of the imagination to suppose that the scrolls in question were in the settlement at Qumran. Further, leather in various stages of preparation was found in three caves near Qumran, including "thin pieces to be used as parchment," again pointing to the production of scrolls in the khirbeh.[79]

The manuscripts themselves contain some evidence of scribal training. 4Q234, 4Q341, 4Q360 and possibly 4Q338 have been identified as scribal exercises. All of these manuscripts date to the first century BCE, when Qumran was inhabited. It seems to me very unlikely (if not absurd) that these little exercises would have been brought to Cave 4 from outside the community.

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75 Ostraca were preserved in the buildings while texts written on organic material, i.e. leather and papyrus, were not, because of the fires that swept through the buildings and destroyed almost all flammable material. See Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 44; Crawford, "Qumran: Caves, Scrolls and Buildings," 263.

76 James F. Strange, "The 1996 Excavations at Qumran and the Context of the New Hebrew Ostracon," in *The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 41–55; 51, and the bibliography cited there.

77 Apprentice scribes often did their training exercises on disposable formats, such as wax tablets, or, as here, ostraca. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy*, 127–31.

78 De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103.

79 David Stacey, "Seasonal Industries at Qumran," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 26 (2008): 7–29 (14).

Therefore these exercises must have been done at Qumran itself. All this evidence indicates that scribal activity was taking place at Qumran.

Conclusion

The Qumran scrolls are demonstrably not only a particular Jewish sectarian collection, but a Jewish sectarian collection shaped by the particular interests of an elite group of scholar scribes attached to that community. That collection is best defined as a library with an archival component.

The major difference between the definitions of a library as opposed to an archive is that an archive contains documents of historical importance and serves as a repository of written material.[80] The purpose of an archive, in other words, is to retain everything from the life of an individual or a community. This is not necessarily the purpose of a library; a library exists for the benefit of its users, collecting texts that will be used by them in some way or another.[81] Observing the Qumran collection (and recalling that what was preserved is just a percentage of what was hidden away in antiquity), we see an effort to preserve, to store, and to keep everything. There are multiple copies and multiple editions of major works, scriptural, non-sectarian, and sectarian, some of which were two centuries old in the last decades of the community's existence. These ancient scrolls were not "lending" texts; they would have been too fragile. They were being preserved, stored, or kept as part of the history of that community. At the other end of the spectrum, there are tiny little scribal exercises of interest to nobody except possibly the trainee scribe himself. Why were they stored in Cave 4, unless the purpose was to keep absolutely everything? There are extremely esoteric works, such as the horoscopes and the brontologion, which would have been of interest only to a few highly trained master scribes. There are Greek texts, again only of interest to an inhabitant with specific training in that language (such as the occupant of Cave 7). Thus, the Qumran collection has all the hallmarks of being an archive. This archive also functioned as a library for the members of the community who lived at Qumran. In fact, the

80 See again the definitions given in f. 20.

81 In the Hellenistic world the premier example is the library of Alexandria, which collected literary texts for the benefit of the scholars attached to the Museion. Casson, *Ancient Libraries*, 31–34, and Berti's paper in this volume. Hezser observes that "no Jewish public libraries seem to have existed in Palestine" (*Jewish Literacy*, 497). Note that no system of organization or cataloguing was found at Qumran, other than the titles written on the outside of some manuscripts. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 120–21.

presence of manuscripts that appear to be for personal use in caves 5 and 7–9, which were residential caves, argues that it did; these scrolls would have been removed from the main library in the buildings and taken to the residential caves.[82] For these reasons, the label "library with archive" seems best suited to the nature of the collection. The collection's purpose was to function as the archive of the wider movement to which the Qumran community belonged, as well as the library for the residents at Qumran, and it was collected and tended to by the professional elite scholar scribes attached to the community for that purpose. The question of who that community was, and why it had an elite scribal component, is the subject of another paper, but the most plausible scenario to date is that during the second century BCE one group of the scribal elite located in the Jerusalem Temple, allied with priests opposed to the Hasmonean priest-kings, broke away and formed the Essene movement. These Essenes (or proto-Essenes) eventually left the Jerusalem Temple and its library/archive and created their own library/archive at Qumran.

82 No library has ever been certainly identified in the ruins of Qumran. De Vaux suggested that locus 4 may have been a library, but eventually identified it as the "council chamber." There were no traces of shelves or racks in the room, but there were two niches in the south wall that may have been used to store scrolls. There was a third niche in nearby Locus 2, along with a high bench that may have been a support for shelving (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 32). Stegemann, building on de Vaux's suggestion, proposed a library complex in loci 1, 2 and 4 in the main building. He suggested that two of those rooms were used to store scrolls, on shelves and in clay vessels. Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1998), 39–41.