

The Multi-layered Stratigraphy of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls¹

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In order to understand how to best reconstruct an ancient culture or society, three main sources of information are sought by the historian: (1) literary sources written by the members of that group; (2) outside or secondary literary sources, hopefully contemporary with the group, which convey information concerning the group; and (3) realia or material remains which help to reflect the material world—and thus the culture—of the world in which the group lived and, in particular, the uniqueness of the group itself.

It is rare that the extant remains an ancient society can boast of the continued existence of all three of these sources. For the Essene movement all three of these sources exist in abundance.

1) The material remains which have been derived from at least two Essene settlements— Khirbet Qumran and Ein Feshkha—are substantial. These provide us with an important witness concerning the life and religious practice of this group.

2) Three ancient writers (Josephus, Pliny and Philo) who were contemporaries of the group wrote detailed descriptions of the life and religious practice of the Essenes as well as of certain historical events which directly involves them. Besides these there are references to the Essenes in additional sources.

3) The residual remains of a once substantial library of thousands of manuscripts has left the modern historian with more than 900 manuscripts actually used, and at least in part produced, by the community. Besides these, later copies of Essene books

¹ © Stephen J. Pfann 1997, 2005. All rights reserved. This paper was presented with its slides and overhead projections at the American Schools of Oriental Research Meetings at Napa, California at a special Dead Sea Scrolls Section organized by Prof. James Charlesworth in November 1997. Due to technical difficulties, the paper was not able to be submitted in cooperation with the one month deadline demanded to be included in the special volume produced for that session. According to the encouragement of a number of colleagues, this paper, with its original content, is being presented now as an e-paper and is presently being updated and expanded to form a monograph.

have survived in the Cairo Geniza. These documents include rule books, liturgies and Biblical commentaries which provide important first-hand details for the historian.

Each source although treating a unified discipline, contains subdivisions which are separate witnesses and can be studied separately. These three sources can be studied independently as well as interdependently. Each source, studied alone reveals a series historical transitions or layers. Each of these reveals a sort of historical stratigraphy of the site. Each of these can initially provide a set of independent testimonies to the history of the movement. After establishing the stratigraphy provided by the independent evaluation of these witnesses, it is then possible to adjust and correct each. After this it will then be possible to compare them and integrate them to provide a rich stereographic view into the history, life and beliefs of the target community.

The Primary Witnesses

I. The Site

Changes which can be traced between the periods:

a. Stratigraphy

[present 4 floor plans]

b. Numismatics

[present chronological chart]

c. Pottery forms and frequencies

[present chronological chart]

II. The Historians

end of a nearly 300 year history

a. Philo of Alexandria

b. Flavius Josephus (and Hippolytus)

c. Pliny the Elder

[present chronological chart of references]

III. The texts

a. Paleography

b. Carbon 14

c. Literary History

d. Transitions in self definition, religious thought and language discernable in the text.

e. Historical links in the texts?

[present chronological chart]

MAJOR SOURCES FOR A SYNTHETIC SURVEY OF ESSENE HISTORY **by Stephen Pfann**

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Initial research has provided evidence from the excavated settlement that confirms the following:

Period Ia² DeVaux believed this period was relative short and can best be defined by the more architecture which preceded the his period is The structure was likely a non-Essene courtyard home. Some may define this structure as a *villa rustica* . Others object to this term saying that such a structure should also include painted plaster and other elegant features which are lacking at Qumran. Whatever the case, the original structure was formed by a series of rooms built around a central courtyard. The outer walls of the structure provided security with only one or two doors providing access from the outside. [cf. SLIDES 7, 8] The four capitols/column bases along with the column drums found in various places at the site bear witness to a time when one side of the courtyard sported a portico, much the same as other such structures found at Masada and Jericho³ . [cf. SLIDE 9, 10]

The material remains of this period are rare. The explanation for this is that the pottery and other the items belonging to the inhabitants of the previous occupants would have been carefully removed and disposed of by this priestly group (perhaps in an appropriate unclean place as in the case of suspected leprous unclean objects). The entire building would be cleansed and sanctified according to the rituals of Lev 14:48-53 which included a ceremony where two clean birds taken were chosen. One of which was killed in an earthen jar over living water, the other is dipped in the blood of the former along with some cedar wood, a scarlet thread and hyssop (with which the house was sprinkled seven times) and then released into a field. Interesting enough is that just such a jar containing bird bones was found buried in the wall of the site (at locus 22).⁴

Nevertheless certain items potentially hearken back to the second half of the second century BCE.

Suspected second century pottery? These may include the so called hellenistic lamps, especially those with the long narrow nozzels [cf. SLIDE 11], which is considered a trait of the second century and earlier (although even medium length nozzels are found in late second century contexts at Beth Zur [cf. SLIDE 13] as are also the so called Hasmonean pinched spouted lamps [cf. SLIDES 12 (Qumran) and 14 (Beth Zur)]). However, the pinchspouted lamps do continue in use and develop into the mid-first century BCE.

Second century coins? A relatively high number of second century coins have been excavated from Qumran. These include significant quantities of second century

² Although DeVaux acknowledged and described the earliest remains at Qumran as being from the Iron Age, he started his enumeration of the phases at Qumran with the major building activity of the second century. In this treatment, for the sake of convenience, we will utilize his phase numbers although it is admittedly imprecise. More recently Jean Baptiste Humbert has proposed a new enumeration of phases taking these imprecisions into account. J. B. Humbert, *RB* 101-2 (1994)

³ cf. Netzer, *Masada*; Humbert, *Revue Biblique*

⁴ J. B. Humbert and A. Chambon, ed. *The Excavations of Qumran and Ein Feshkha (English Edition)*, NTOA Series Archeologica 1B, in press. (Annotated English translation of R. de Vaux's excavation notes by S. J. Pfann). "Locus 22 ... 12/3/53. In the west wall was an oblong, hollow, plastered space which contained a jar lying on its side with its mouth towards the north. The hollow is a bit larger than the jar and widens towards the top, which was destroyed. The jar yielded bird bones. It was about 75 cm above the floor. This floor of beaten earth and chalk was very even."

tetradrachmas identified among the three silver Shekel hoards found at the site (106 of 554 didrachmas or tetradrachmas) [cf. SLIDE 15]. It also true with respect to the general bronze coinage where relatively high percentages of second century issues (in particular Antiochus VII Euergetes and John Hyrcanus I) were discovered. The profile of relative percentages of datable coins closely resembles that of Jerusalem where there was an unbroken occupation at least from the mid second century BCE through the late first century CE [cf. SLIDE 18] (unlike the profiles of other sites such as Masada, En Gedi and Herodian where there were gaps in occupation during the period in question [cf. SLIDES 16 and 17]). Although both silver and bronze coinage of the second century has been known to survive in the coffers of the first century BCE, such a survival is more of a rarity with significantly lower percentages than we have represented here at Qumran.

Although a case can be made for the beginning of period I being during the second half of the second century, the exactness of that date and the transition to period Ib is more difficult to ascertain. DeVaux considered that this first phase of (Hellenistic) building activity had begun during the reign of Jonathan (152-142 BCE), Simon (142-134 BCE) or John Hyrcanus I but that the main part of the Essene occupation, including the major renovations of period Ib had begun sometime during the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134-104 BCE).⁵

[pot with bird bones in central courtyard?]

Period Ib: The structure was acquired by the early phase of the Essene community and modified to suit their needs. Rooms were removed in order that ritual immersion pools (*mikva'ot*) might be dug/installed.

The nine immersion pools (also called mikvehs), as opposed to cisterns, as a general rule, contain one or more of the following elements:

1. Steps which span the full width of the pool and descend to the bottom.
2. Every third or fourth step is extra wide, providing a series of platforms for immersion which compensated for the variation in water depth during the year.
3. A raised plaster divider which is intended to create a physical separation between the unclean who descend and the clean who ascend from the water.

One immersion pool was devoted to each task at the site. These are associated with: (1) the main entry to the sacred area (pool 46-48); (2) the entry into the dining hall (pool 56-58); (3) the area for the keeping and the place for ritual slaughter of animals (pool 138); (4) the cook's kitchen (pool 118); (5) the bakery (pool 117); (6) the winepress (pool 69); (7) the potter's workshop (pool 71); (8) immersion of pots (pool 68); (9) immersion of clothing. Only two cisterns were dug: (1) the round one, used solely for non-carried water (pool 110), and (2) the southwest cistern for donkey-carried water from Ein Feshkha (pool 91).

The water system:

The aqueduct

The drains

⁵ R. DeVaux, Qumran, Khirbet-; 'Ein Feshkha. in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. vol IV p. 978.



The sump

Main building including the appended dining hall. Both pure and holy.

Outer Enclosures. pure but not holy. Two characteristics help to define these. Besides being attached to the outer walls of the buildings, the exterior walls tend to be thinner than the outer walls of the main building. The enclosures also seem to be the only place where the peculiar jars buried with animal bones were found.

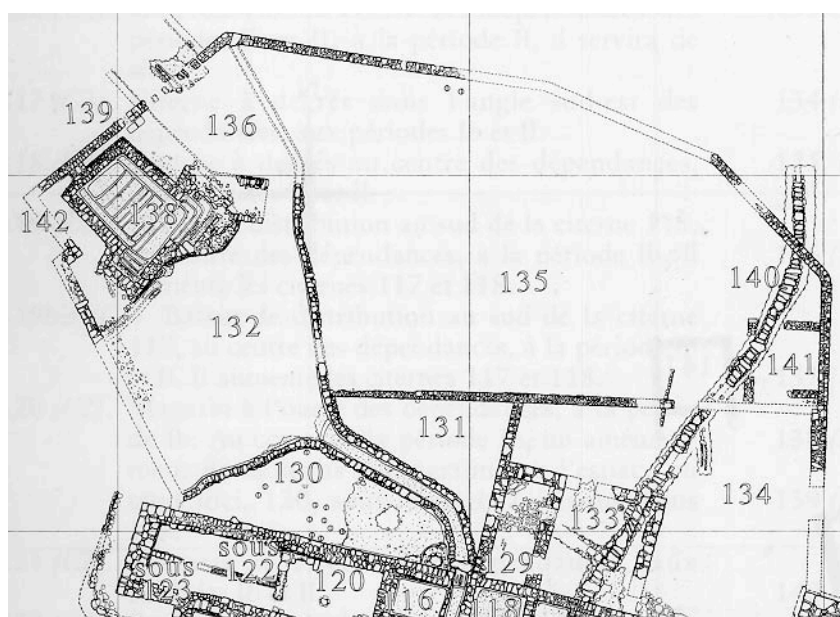
Gate houses (*beit sha'ar*) Structurally these may be identified with rooms which have two doors, one which allows passage through the outer wall of a courtyard/enclosure or building and another which opens to the interior. A gate house (serving as a control gate) usually stands as the only entry point between the enclosures and the outer walls of the main building/holy space (loci 92W, 104, 128). A gate house also separates the enclosure containing the potter's workshop and the exterior of the settlement (loc.63).

Exit gates are gates which allow only one way traffic: to exit the building. These normally remain locked but would serve to carry refuse to the outside. (loc. 18, 103, 134E, 19 [pd II])

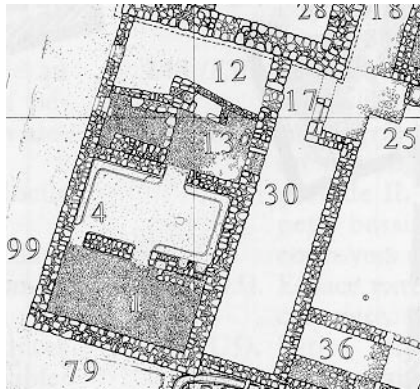
Excursus: I consider the existence of pots with animal bones as an important means toward distinguishing those areas that are pure but not holy space from those which are considered both pure and holy. The Bible prescribes that the leftovers and ashes of various offerings were to be carried “outside the camp to a pure place” טָהוֹר אֶל-מָקוֹם וְהוֹצִיא--אֶל-מַחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה אֶל-מָקוֹם טָהוֹר 19:19 (Lev. 4:12; Lev 6:11;cf. also Num 19:19 (וְהֵנִיחַ מַחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה בְּמָקוֹם טָהוֹר)). This is apparently intended to fulfill the requirement to not allow the leftovers of sacred meals and sacrifices to be eaten by animals, dogs in particular. cf. 4QMMT “We do not allow dogs to enter the holy camps (note the plural!: *machaney haqodesh*)”. (This is likely the issue which provided the pretext for the Gospel statement “Do not throw what is holy to the dogs). This is not to say that there was actual animal sacrifice at Qumran (animal Sacrifice outside of Jerusalem was forbidden by Mosaic Law) but since certain prayers were said over the animal, whether for the Passover or for ritual slaughter, the fact that the animal was dedicated to God or even if a prayer of thanks giving was said over a meal, then it would be inconceivable to this priestly group that animals, especially dogs, would become the eventual recipients of the remnants of the holy food. Ashes were found inside the pots which contained the bones. The bones themselves often showed signs of burning. Thick layers of ash and an installation which may have been

connected with the burning of the leftovers were also discovered in association with the potted bones in the western part of locus 130.

The northwest enclosure (loci 134-142; mikveh 138) was likely intended as the temporary holding area for herd animals and for the ritual slaughter of the same. According to MMT the area northwest of the temple in Jerusalem was intended for the keeping of the animals for sacrifice/slaughter. 4Q394 f3-7ii:15 (B28) “outside the camp an ox, a lamb, or a goat, that ... to the north of the camp”. Many buried pots with bones were found here (particularly in loc. 130). A large settling pool (loc. 132) connected with the water carried by aqueducts from the cliffs into the site was maintained to keep the pools inside the site from being filled with silt. This pool also served to introduce its living water directly into mikveh 138 through a pipe which connected the two pools through the SE wall of the mikveh.



The Beit Midrash/Hishtahavut (loci 1-4, 12-13, 30; mikveh 48/49) This forms the heart of the site. It includes the tower and the rooms extending southward from it. It has been defined and secured by bolted doors (charred remains of which were found with their nails and locks in situ) with strong door frames fit for locks. This implies that this sector either contained property of relatively high value to the community or that the nature of use of that sector afforded a greater state protection with respect to its privacy or sanctity relative to the surrounding areas. As a place for meetings, the complex was tripartite containing (1) a room with benches for the priests (loc. 4), and (2) a larger room with mats upon which the laity sat (lower loc. 30) (3) the central courtyard (loc. 25), exterior pavement (locus 99) and roof top potentially used for the overflow crowd (upper loci 1-4).

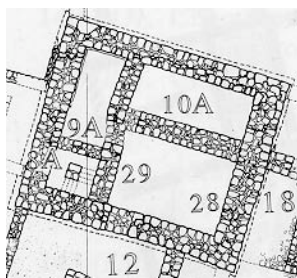


Excursus: I would like to posit that the segregation of various levels in the community evidently lay behind the tripartite layout of the building (in particular, the first over against the other two parts of the division). This is most clearly illustrated by the manner in which the water basin inside the benched room must be filled by attendants. The attendants evidently could not enter the benched room but poured water through a hole which originates on the other side of the wall in locus 13. This segregation is reflected in the use of the temple architecture as a metaphor for levels of sanctity defining community structure in its own literature. There the Israelites are considered “holy” but the priests are “holy of holies” (1QS 8:6-8; 9:6; 4QMMT-(B79) “B[e]cause they are holy and the sons of Aaron are most holy.”)

A scrollery for the production of scrolls was equipped with three long writing tables, inkwells and an installation for preparing the ink (upper locus 30)

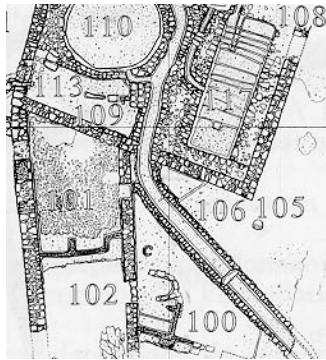
The various levels of separation is revealed by several factors ... pouring hole.

The tower (loci 8-11) This is a tower but not necessarily a defensive tower. The extra thickness built into the lower courses of its walls may be in order to support the extra weight of the upper courses which rises higher than the surrounding



structures.

The bakery (loci 101-106; mikveh 117) Identified through the excavation of three mills and two ovens (although only one oven could be confirmed from period 1b). These ovens would produce one loaf per participant per day for each meal morning and evening. According to Josephus the baker was a priest.



The cookery (loci 125-127; mikveh 118) The use of this area can be determined only in the light of its use during period II. (This is assumed since most other areas at the site have proven to continue in similar use throughout both periods.) This has been identified by the discovery of a large plastered cooking platform or stove



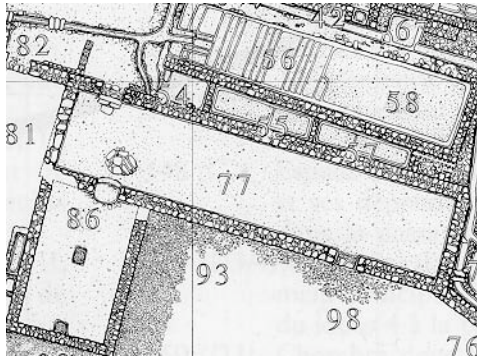
with a raised plastered platform surrounding the top opening of the firebox. The fire was stoked from a side opening facing eastward. The meals were cooked here for the two daily meals and for the feasts during the year. According to Josephus the cook was a priest.

The winepress (loc. 75; mikveh 69) This installation contains the classic design for a Judean wine press during the Roman period which includes a roughly square plastered pressing floor connected by a channel to a receiving tank with a cup-shaped sump at the bottom. This may also have been used to press date honey after the grape season was over. Whether the grapes were brought in from other districts or raised locally, it would have been mandatory to press the wine used for sacred purposes under the communities direct supervision. The close proximity to the dining hall, as with the bakery, guarded against any potential contamination during transport.



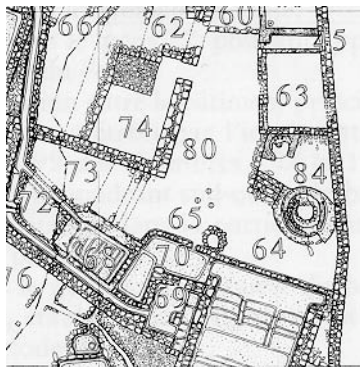
The communal dining hall (loci 77, 86; mikveh 56/58) was tripartite containing (1) a smaller room with a table for the priests or Community Council and from which the holy food and drink were likely served to others, and (2) a larger room for the laity. The room's floors were washed by means of the aqueduct which emptied onto the floor of the two rooms through an opening in the wall (according to Josephus the dining room was treated as a sacred precinct, according to Rabbinic Sources must be washed with non-carried water from a living source). (3) An area defined by a stone pavement could be accessed by the door in the southeast corner of the main

room and was likely used for overflow crowds which would come to the site,



especially during feast time.

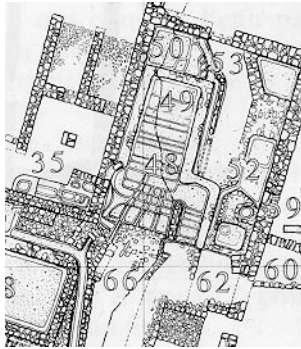
Southeast enclosure (loci 60,73, 80) and pottery workshop (loci 64, 65, 70, 84; mikveh 71; pottery mikveh 68) The pottery workshop was identified by two pottery kilns (loci 64 and 84). Pottery which was destined to contain holy stuffs including food, wine or scrolls would require that they be made in an the environment which conveyed the highest state of purity. DeVaux identified a place for the potter's wheel in locus 65 and, next to it, a plastered storage area for fine levigated clay. Most of the pottery used at this site and at Ein Feshkha were likely made in these kilns.



The Main Mikveh, changing room and laundry complex (loci 32-35, 48-53) The main mikveh 48/49 is not the largest mikveh at Qumran but it is certainly the most complex. It contains all three defining features for ritual immersion pools (see above) as well as the following elaborations:

1. The entrance was unique, entered from a separate corridor on the southeast.
2. The pool was exited through four exits, well-defined by three raised plaster dividers on the steps which were extended by kurkar blocks at the top (which also served as the bases of the exit door frames).⁶ At the top of the stairs near the four exits was a stone paved floor (locus 66) where four lots were found (with the values 16, 17, 18, 19, i.e. in numerical order). [see SLIDE 23]

⁶ For a depiction of the cracked immersion pool, see photos 161–65 in Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha* (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).



I would like to suggest that this mikveh was used for two main purposes. (1) It was used on a daily basis as the means through which individual would purify themselves in order to gain entry into the sacred center of the complex. (2) It was used as an integral part of the Yearly Renewal Ceremony.

The function of these four channels may well correspond to the four classes of the Essenes enumerated in by Josephus and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Each channel would have been used by one group of Essenes in connection with that group's "passing over," linked with the judgments and four lotteries for ranking the members of each class within the community conducted during the covenant renewal ceremony (cf. 1QS II 19-23; also *4QFour Lots* (4Q279) 1, 2-6). Although he doesn't enumerate them, Josephus states that there were four divisions of Essenes. CD XIV 3-6a lists the four divisions by name: (1) priests, (2) Levites, (3) Israelites and (4) proselytes. The list is the same in 1QS II 20 and VI 8 (except the term "elders" is substituted for "Levites" in the latter). The proselytes are not mentioned in the 1QS lists since these treat situations involving full-fledged members of the community only. The discovery of significant number of lots, six in total, in association with this large immersion pool with its four dividers perhaps pinpoints the location of this ceremony.

Excursus: Lots at Qumran.

The act of casting lots was commonplace in Judaism throughout most of its history. The role of the Divine in this act was stated categorically in the book of Proverbs: 'The lot is cast into the lap but its every decision is from the LORD' (Prov 16:33). The practice was especially associated with priestly activities (Neh 10:34, 11:1). The apportionment of land was determined by the priest Eleazar through drawing lots (Josh 19:51). At the Temple the lots took on various forms. The special use of the Urim and Thummim was the responsibility of the High Priest. The duties of the priests were determined by casting lots (1 Chon. 24-25). The Levites cast lots at the Temple gates in order to determine which tasks each Levite would carry out on a specific day (1 Chron. 26:13-16). Under Nehemiah, ten per cent of the people were set aside to live in Jerusalem, determined by lot (Neh. 11:1-2). In the New Testament Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist) was chosen by lot to offer the incense in the Temple (Luke 1:8-9). The disciples of Jesus determined who would replace Judas Iscariot by casting lots (Acts 1:26).

It is therefore not surprising that lots should be found at Qumran. At least fifty-nine lots were discovered at Qumran during the course of R. de Vaux's excavations.⁷ De Vaux recorded these according to item and locus number as 'boulée percée incomplètes' and noted the size and number of holes on each. In Volume I of the official publication, these lots are listed in the list of objects attached to loci as "boule d'argile" or "boule percée incomplet". De Vaux, without understanding the actual use and significance of the lots, chose to provide the simplest description of them (as he also did in the case of the sundial which he listed as 'disque de calcaire [KhQ909]). The PAM photographs of eight of these have been published in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*.⁸



"Lots" from Qumran

The lots are smoothed balls of clay measuring 25 ± 5 mm in diameter with partially pierced holes arranged over the surface ranging in numerical value from one to twenty-seven. At least 56 of these balls were found at Qumran.⁹ Although these lots were found scattered over a wide area at the site, the main concentrations were found in three areas [see SLIDE 25], (1) at least nine in the area of the cracked immersion pool (loci 48, 66, and environs - from period 1: pre-Herodian context), (2) at least fourteen in the southwest sector near the southwest pool (especially loci 91, 99, 104-105 from period 2 contexts: 1st century CE). and (3) nine from a disposal area for pure or sacred objects (locus 130). From a preliminary survey of those lots excavated in datable contexts period 1 (pre-Herodian) contained lots in numerical value up to 27 while those from period 2 (1st century CE) seem to range between one and ten[see SLIDE 26].¹⁰

⁷ An additional three were found at Ein Feshkha (Nos.AF4 and AF6 (2x)). Lots were also found at Masada. However, in that case, they were potsherds with names written on the surface in ink. Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *Masada I*, pp. 28-31; pl. 25.

⁸ E. Tov in collaboration with S. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, 2nd edition (Brill/IDC, 1995). See PAM 40.236 (fiche 4), 42.682 (fiche 55) and 42.869 (fiche 59).

⁹ The text of this excursus is derived from S.J. Pfann, 'The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance', in Perry and Ulrich eds, *Proceedings of the Provo Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, July 1996 (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 337-52.

¹⁰ From firm Period 1 contexts (loci 35, 43, 66, 102 (lower), 107 (lower), Trench A (layer 2)) are ten lots with values ranging from 5 through 20+ including a cluster of four (locus 66) with the numerical sequence from 16 through 19. In other words all lots beyond "10" are exclusively from confirmed Period 2 contexts.

Concerning the ritual immersion for the daily morning and evening communal meals Josephus provides us with the following details:

(at the first meal)

- 1) the congregants arrive from work and take off their work clothes except for a loin cloth (likely in locus 51 or locus 74).
- 2) they immerse themselves “in cold water” (locus 48/49)
- 3) they put on holy garments (likely in locus 35)

During the excavations of Qumran, two plastered installations were found on either side of the mikveh. (loci 34 and 52) each included a receptacle and each had a drain which connected to the same pipe leading eastward to empty outside the eastern wall. It seems that the receptacle was filled with carried (not living) water and that some thing was washed, rinsed and drained. If this was for washing clothing, which, for the moment, seems most plausible, then locus 52 would naturally be used for laundering work clothes and locus 34 for the “sacred garments”. Locus 50 and locus 67 each may have served as a mikveh for clothes.

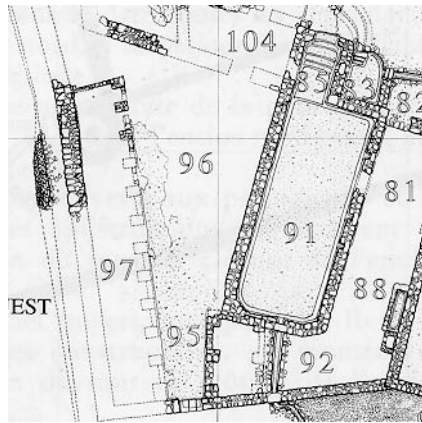
The southwest enclosure: cistern and stables (loc. 91 and 97) The need for water for common use was an ongoing need in the community. Since so many of the pools were used for ritual purposes, it hardly would seem possible that needs of the community could be met using the two cisterns unless there were a way to replenish the water supply throughout the year (i.e., aside from the seasonal water supplied by the aqueduct). The clearest explanation comes from the stables only four meters away from the cistern. Settlements in the Judean wilderness which have lacked a constant water source have

utilized donkeys and donkey trains for millennia known from the Byzantine period up until modern times. The stables, which would house approximately 8 donkeys is matched by a similar stable at Ein Feshkha near the spring source [cf Slides 3 and 4] some three and a half kilometer to the south. A daily donkey water train or two would clearly suffice the needs of the community.

From firm Period 2 contexts (2 (floor), 10, 28 (near floor), 33, 86 (upper), 104, 111 (floor)) eleven lots with values ranging from 2 through 8 which provides negative evidence for the use of lots beyond the value “10” during that period (unlike the evidence from period 1).



Qumran (upper left) Ein Feshkha (lower right)



However, it was also possible for the community to take advantage of the seasonal rains for filling its cisterns. Cistern 91 was fed by seasonal rains which is indicated its connection to a small filling pool (loc. 83) which forms an organic part of the site's main interior aqueduct. The connection between the two pools is above the water line of the cistern allowing the water to pour down the side of wall of the cistern's stairwell into the pool proper. This avoids the potential that there would be an unfortunate mingling of the donkey carried water of the cistern with the living water of the aqueduct. Another source of water comes from the rain gutters from the roof of the cistern where the remains of their plastered ends are visible in the eastern wall of the cistern.

Material Culture

Pottery

white slip pottery [see SLIDE 27 (map),]

pink slip pottery.

red slip pottery.

Pantries

Pots with Bones

Coins

Stoneware

Glass

lots

Period Ic: Interim period. The main Community moved to Jerusalem by invitation of Herod the Great. The site was used as a date farm by Essene date farmers. The wine

press was used as a date press. The earthquake of 31 BCE damaged the main entry pool.

[Pot with bird bones]

Period IIa: After the Community's disillusionment and subsequent return from Jerusalem, appropriate measures were taken to cleanse and resanctify the building. Buildings were evacuated from the materials of the date farmers, which were burned and buried in clean areas outside the main walls of the building. Vessels which were once used for sacred purposes were buried within the building (in, e.g., the 'pantry'). The devastated main entry pool was buried and the southwestern cistern was converted to become the new main entry pool. All points of access from the original entry pool into the main building were walled off. The immersion pool earlier associated with the dining hall was subdivided into (1) a cistern for donkey-carried water and (2) the immersion pool for the dining room (albeit with a smaller capacity than before).

The dining hall was confined to the large room of Period Ib with the addition of a double-sized table for priests and laity together (an adaptation which likely reflects a process of community democratization)

The tower and Beit Midrash/Hishtahavut complex. The structure was modified to allow passage into the central courtyard from the west without disturbing the study/worship in the complex throughout the day.

Main building

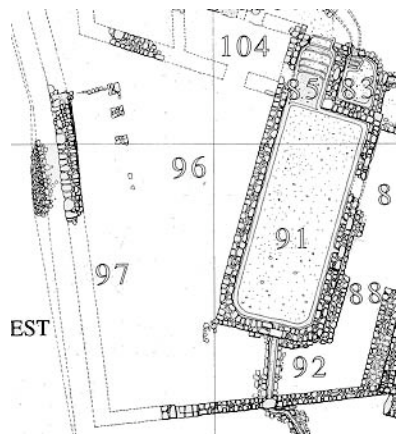
Central Courtyard Further subdivided by the addition of several mud and mud brick walls (period IIc?)

Outer Enclosures.

Gate houses (beit sha'ar)

The southwest enclosure: cistern and stables (loc. 91 and 97)

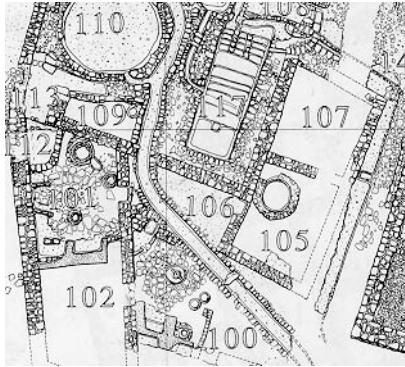
After the earthquake had damaged the main entry mikveh 48/49 beyond repair, it was decided to convert the southwest cistern 91 into the main entry mikveh. This was carried out by a fairly simple procedure. (1) The cistern would have needed to be emptied repaired and replastered. (2) A raised divider/balustrade was added on the surface of the steps of the pool to segregate the unclean from the clean as the participants descend and ascend. On close examination, the balustrade is clearly affixed secondarily on top of the plastered surface of the steps. [See Slide 51] (3) the pool would be filled again, this time, with only living water. The stables, evidently destroyed by the earthquake, were not rebuilt since donkey carried water would no longer brought to this pool, since it had become a mikveh.



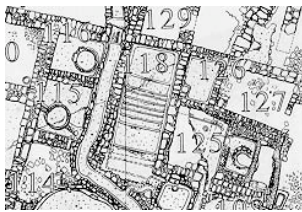
The northwest enclosure (loci 134-142; mikveh 138) The large settling pool (loc. 132) became silted up to the brim during period Ic. An aqueduct was built along E wall of the pool so as to reconnect the site's aqueduct to the source. A new settling pool (loc. 136), much smaller than its predecessor, was built in the northwest corner of the enclosure where the source aqueduct enters the site. As was the case with the now defunct pool 132, pool 136 introduced water into mikveh 138 but by a newly built channel (only the end of which survived at the edge of the mikveh; drawn according to DeVaux's interpretation) PHOTO.

The winepress (loc. 75; mikveh 69) Continued as in period Ib.

The bakery (loci 101-106; mikveh 117) Two rooms with an oven were added expanding the bakery into the open area west of the loci 1-4.

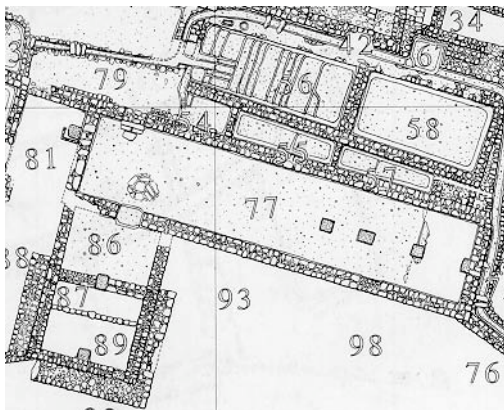


The cookery (loci 125-127; mikveh 118) Massive plastered cooking platform



or stove was built (or rebuilt) in locus 125. Likely a continuation of its use as in period Ib. Two round silos were installed in loci 115 and 116 after earthquake damage appeared in locus 115.

The communal dining hall (loci 77, 86; mikveh 56/58) “Pantry” 89 was buried leaving both the pottery and the room containing them inaccessible. A new set of communal dishes was manufactured which were discovered (likely stashed-to keep



from falling into the hands of the invaders) in locus 114.

The pottery workshop (loci 64, 65, 70, 84; mikveh 71; pottery mikveh 68) additional storerooms made with mud walls (period IIc?). The remainder seems to continue as was in period Ib.

The Beit Midrash/Hishtahavut (loci 1-4, 12-13, 30; mikveh 48/49) One room (loc. 1) was divided by a new wall to form two rooms. The west doorway between

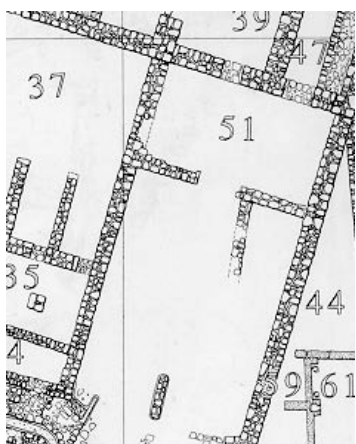


loci 1 and 4 was blocked.

The scrollery with its three long writing tables, inkwells and an installation for preparing the ink (upper locus 30) is actually confirmed as belonging to period II and not period Ib. However it is expected that the room served a similar function during period Ib since functions other parts of the same sector continued from period Ib through period II (e.g., the benched room remained largely unchanged throughout both periods).

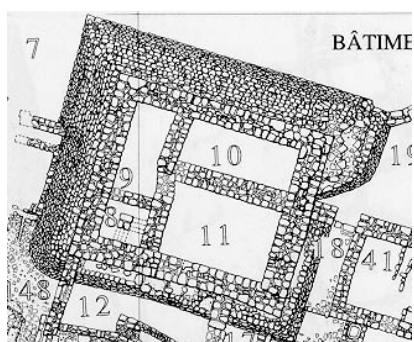
The various levels of separation is revealed by several factors ... pouring hole.

The Main Mikveh, changing room and laundry complex (loci 32-35, 48-53) Irreparably damaged by the earthquake of 31 BCE. Accordingly the mikveh and the



adjoining complex was filled with rubble and soil upon their return. The doors communicating with the central courtyard and sacred areas were blocked. The plastered “laundry” installations of loci 35 and 52 were buried. The main mikveh was replaced by converting cistern 91 to become mikveh 91 (*op cit*). This area may have been subsequently utilized for storage or as the tethering place for the donkeys which now brought water to or through the eastern gate complex to fill the new locus (cistern) 58.

The tower (loci 8-11) The tower suffered heavy damage by the earthquake, especially in the NE corner. The tower was rebuilt and reinforced by the addition of a sloped stone buttress (or *glacis*) surrounding the entire tower. An internal wall was added in locus lower 11 dividing the room into two with a connecting door.



Period IIb: Pottery not used by the people of period IIa (varying from buried forms) thus were introduced by the Sicarii. These forms are not only “out of place” in terms of the standard Qumran pottery repertoire but also are found in unusual places in terms of the “normal” Essene use of the building. (Especially in loci 1-4 where cooking and tableware were found.)

non-slipped pottery - globular juglets and shallow carinated bowls.
stoneware.

most of the later coins as well as those enduring prutot of Alexander Janaeus.

(When an individual moves into a flat he will normally not tolerate the belongings of the previous inhabitants very long. Instead he moves in belongings according to his own taste.)

The building was intentionally razed to the ground at the end to this period, likely due to the scorched earth policy of the Sicarii themselves.

Period III

The ruins of the settlement were partially rebuilt and resettled. Whether the buildings were resettled by Essenes or not is not clear from the remains. (However, Pliny, writing during the 70's, speaks of celibate Essenes who lived in that area and farmed dates while Jericho and En Gedi were in ruins, i.e., as though they are still very much alive and still there). What is clear from the renewed structure is that the site had ceased to be used with the same requirements for sacred space as earlier. Only one pool was restored, which was likely used as a cistern and not as an immersion pool (leaving only the spring at Ein Feshkha as a suitable immersion pool).

glassware.

nabatean “cream ware” strainer vessels.

nabatean style incense altar.

The Cemetery

The sections,

4 towns per cemetery

The Qumran Area:

Ein Feshkha [cf. SLIDES 3 and 4]

The Siyag [cf. SLIDE 5]

THE GROUP'S OWN LITERATURE

The following schema is based upon paleography and, to a lesser degree, redaction history.

Period Ia (or before)

20 Years of groping in the wilderness (196--176 BCE)

The Years of the Teacher (176-c136 BCE)

Midrash Sefer Moshe (Midrash haTorah)

Phases of the Moon

Hodayot A (Hymns of the Teacher)

Period Ia-b*The Early Maskilim I (c136-c110 BCE)*

Serekh haYahad A (ms E)

Otot

Mishmarot

Song of the Maskil

Annual Festal Calendar

Divrei haMe'arot

Hodayot B (Hymns of the Community)

Daily Prayers

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice

Festival Prayers

*Early Maskilim II (c110-c90 BCE)**Aftermath of the Congregation of Traitors and the Man of lies*

Berakhot

Serekh haYahad B (1QS)

Serekh ha'Edah (1QSa; 4QSE)

Blessings of the Maskil (1QSB)

Roster of the Excommunicated (Rebukes)

Period of expansion (c90-60 BCE)

Damascus Covenant

Early Commentaries

Period of the Kittim (60-37 BCE)

War Scroll

Later Commentaries

Calendrical Document C (final edition)

Period Ic (in Jerusalem)*Period of great hope and eventual disillusionment (37-4 BCE)*

Serekh haYahad C (4QS mss B & D)

Most Pesharim

MMT

psJub

Period IIa

Rebukes

Mysteries

psDan

Period III

Copper Scroll

THE HISTORIANS

The accounts of the historians (Philo, Josephus and Pliny the Elder) must be understood to reflect Essene society and thought for period II (and perhaps, to some degree, period III). Their descriptions reflect the state of affairs at the end of the nearly three centuries of the group's history and evolution. Although much of their descriptions may also be applicable, at least partially, to the earlier periods, the only

sources solidly connected the earlier periods (Period Ia-c and early period II) are the archaeological evidence and the datable scrolls. However, there are times in which the scenario of Essene society and thought can only be filled out by interrelating all three sources—archaeological, sectarian, and historical, including those from the earlier periods.

Period Ib

Menachem the Essene, who prophesied concerning Herod’s accession (Josephus).

Period Ic

Judas the Essene, who prophesied concerning the death of Antigonus (Josephus). Piny’s description of Essene society along the northwest coast of the Dead Sea. (Pliny the Elder drawing upon Agrippa of Syria’s description during Herod the Great’s reign c 15 BCE)

Period IIa

Simon the Essene, who interpreted Archelaus’ dream and downfall (Josephus).

Period IIb

John the Essene, served as general over the southern coastal pain during the revolt (Josephus).

Revised Integrated Schema.

According to the Essenes’ own account		
First Period of Wrath	Exile	586-196
BCE		
Period of the Remnant	Syrian desert	196-176
BCE		
Period of the Moreh	Syrian desert	c 176-(170)
Second Period of wrath-the Maskilim	Syrian desert	c 170-130
Period of the Overseers (Mevakerim)	Period Ib	c 130-31
Period of Herod the Great: Period of the Great Hope	Interim (or 1c)	c 31-4
Period of Reformations	Period IIa	4 BCE-66
CE		
The Sicarii	Period IIb	66-68 CE
The Aftermath	Period III	c 70-