

The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library

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The Ancient “Library” or “Libraries” of Qumran: The Specter of Cave 1Q

Stephen Pfann

Introduction

In 2006, the 50th anniversary of the discovery of Cave 1Q passed by almost unnoticed. 2007 and 2008, however, saw a number of conferences devoted to the 60th anniversary of the discovery of Cave 1Q. This is significant.

The consensus view of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which links the caves, the scrolls and Qumran and takes them as a unitary find, was affected—we might even say, determined—by the discovery of Cave 1Q. From the moment the rock struck the pot, this page of scholarly history was set. The scrolls, according to the consensus view, are an Essene library hidden in caves near the Essene community's center at Qumran. Philo, Josephus and Pliny provide the supporting evidence. Such is the force of the whole construct that it has become very difficult to even suggest an alternative scenario. The Yahad holds the field.

But what if that stone had landed elsewhere? What if it had landed, for example, in Cave 11Q? It seems highly unlikely that an Essene hypothesis for this manuscript collection would ever have been proposed if only Cave 11Q had been discovered. Other groups might well have been suggested instead.

This essay argues that on the basis of differences in calendars, location, halakhic practice, liturgy, terminology, paleography, eschatology, and material culture, the Dead Sea Scrolls do not represent the holdings of a single group. Although the Yahad character of Cave 1Q is clear, it is not clear for the other caves. The calendars found among the Dead Sea Scrolls provide the most compelling evidence that the scrolls belong to more than one Jewish group of the late Second Temple Period.

After briefly retracing the history of scholarship that brought us to the current consensus, we will examine more closely the distinguishing features of the scroll collections which enable us to suggest links with groups other than the Essenes.

The Allure of Cave 1Q

What is now known as Cave 1Q quickly became known as the “*Grotte des manuscrits*” or the “Manuscripts Cave.” And indeed it was the “Scroll Cave” *par*

excellence. It had it all: biblical scrolls, sectarian scrolls, commentaries, hymns, calendars, rule books, and descriptions of a future battle. Many pseudepigraphic works were discovered in their original languages for the first time.¹

There appeared to be a single copy of each of the essential volumes of a library belonging to one group. Eliezer Sukenik first suggested identifying the owners of these scrolls with a monastic Jewish order known as the Essenes, which were described by Philo, Pliny the Elder and Josephus. This identification was affirmed by Roland de Vaux and a long list of other scholars. Though some remained skeptical, subsequent discoveries worked in favor of the growing consensus.

In December 1951, four years after the discovery of Cave 1Q, Roland de Vaux connected its manuscript remains to the nearby site of Khirbet Qumran when he found one of the unique cylindrical jars typical of Cave 1Q embedded in the floor of the site. The power of this suggestion was such that, from that point on, as each successive Judean Desert cave containing first century scrolls was discovered, they too were assumed to have originated from the site of Qumran. The original “Manuscripts Cave” was renamed “Cave 1Q.” Excavations at Qumran appeared to confirm the communal and religious nature of the inhabitants, with numerous immersion pools, large community pantries, and abundant scribal implements, accompanied by a virtually all-male cemetery. All of this was considered compelling evidence for connecting this site not only with the scrolls from the caves but also with the Essenes described by Josephus, Philo and Pliny.

For scholars, Cave 1Q was the prototype. It became the cave against which every subsequently discovered cave was to be compared. As the number of scrolls grew, the manuscript collection of the first cave, with its predominantly Yahad character, continued to be considered as typifying the central core of what was perceived to have been a single, cohesive library spread among a number of caves. This rather naïve presupposition became the governing assumption that underlies the specter of Cave 1Q.

But, again, what if Cave 1Q had not been the first to be discovered? What if Cave 11Q had been discovered first? Or what if Cave 11Q was the only cave to have been discovered? If one of these alternate scenarios had occurred, the key elements which helped the first scholars to connect the scrolls to the site of

1 The first publication of the scrolls was in 1950 and 1951 by M. Burrows of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Isaiah^a, *Habakkuk Commentary*; *Community Rule*). This was followed by: E. Sukenik of Hebrew University (Isaiah^b, *Thanksgiving Hymns, War Scroll*, 1955); R. de Vaux of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française (Chief Editor of the first five volumes of *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, henceforth DJD); D. Barthélemy (biblical fragments) and J.T. Milik (non-biblical fragments, published in DJD 1).

Qumran—and to identify the community as Essene—would be entirely lacking. The picture would be quite different.

Two Very Different Libraries

For example, if we only had the extant manuscripts from Cave 11Q, then:

1. We would find no link to the Teacher of Righteousness or his community, so central to the scrolls of Cave 1Q and other *Yahad*-related caves.
2. Our rule book, the *Temple Scroll* (three copies of which were found there), would focus on life at the Temple and not that of a disenfranchised, isolated wilderness community.
3. Our liturgies would not include the *Hodayot*, which reflect the spirituality and piety of a persecuted and exiled community, but rather a set of hymns connected with established Temple sacrifices.
4. The priesthood would hold to an alternative version of the Psalms (with 11QP^a and 11QP^b predominating), containing additional hymns and arranged in a different order.²
5. The liturgical calendar would be structured around a series of pentecostad (50-day) cycles, with a number of additional extra-biblical feasts (11QTemple); rather than a calendar that is expressly limited to the commanded Biblical feasts as in 1QSerek ha-Yahad and 4QOtot.
6. We would find a different eschatology, based upon a 490-year plan of history (following Jeremiah, as presented in 11QMelchizedek), and not a 390 + 40 year period (based upon Ezekiel 4, as presented in a copy of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Geniza).
7. We would witness a greater acceptance of pseudepigraphic authorship, as in the case of the *Temple Scroll*.
8. Nearly all of our manuscripts would be in beautiful, late Second Temple Period scribal hands, and not a wide range of scribal hands spanning three centuries.
9. As opposed to Cave 1Q, we would have no reason to suspect our group to be the Essenes of Josephus, Pliny and Philo.³

2 Peter Flint has drawn attention to this alternate (both in content and order) shape of the Psalms, going so far as to call them, “the foremost representative of the Book of Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 223.

3 Or for example, if we only had manuscripts from Masada, the only biblical manuscripts we would find would be of the proto-Masoretic tradition, which are direct predecessors to our present Masoretic Text, (i.e., of the Pharisaic, and later Rabbinic tradition). Furthermore, the priestly *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* would be connected with a priestly contingent

Cave One’s Influence on the Understanding of Subsequent Caves

In light of these observations, we must ask the question: why does the consensus view hold that all the scrolls are of Essene origin? Moreover, if what I am arguing is true, that the caves may well represent different groups, how is it that the uniqueness of the manuscript finds of Cave 11 has gone unrecognized to this point? The answer to this puzzle appears to begin with the subsequent discovery of caves in the vicinity of the first one, whose remains were too meager to suggest anything other than a connection with the first cave.

Caves 2Q and 3Q

During the first three months of 1952, more scrolls were discovered in what are now known as Caves 2Q and 3Q. If these caves alone had been discovered in the Qumran cliffs, with three pocket-sized *megillot*—normally read by the laity during specific festivals—and with no liturgies, the manuscript collection found therein would then have presented more of a lay character than a priestly one for the “Qumran Library.”

Cave 2Q, located 100 meters south of Cave 1Q, contained more than 30 manuscripts. Notably, more than half were biblical books, including two *megillot* of the book of Ruth. And, like Cave 11Q (and Masada), it contained the remains of a portion of the book of *Ben Sira* (in 11QPs^a). At first glance, Cave 2Q was like Cave 1Q in that it contained fragments of such Aramaic documents as the *New Jerusalem* and the *Book of Giants*. However, these were subsequently judged to be more widely circulating documents composed by groups other than the Essenes.⁴ More importantly, this second cave appears distinctly out of character for the Yahad in that it contained no texts authored by the community itself, while containing *Ben Sira*, which was not found elsewhere in clearly *Yahad*-related caves (i.e., 1Q, 4Q, 5Q and 6Q). This should raise real questions since it is well known that *Ben Sira* largely disagrees with key *Yahad* doctrines,⁵ in particular, in its support for a lunar calendar as opposed to a solar one. Nonetheless, largely because of the proximity of the two caves, the scrolls of Cave 2Q were merely thought to have been part of a single library.

(whose presence is attested by ostraca at the site). There would be no reason to connect Masada with the Essenes of Josephus, Pliny and Philo and a completely different scenario would have emerged.

4 Cf. Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 113–15.

5 Throughout this paper, the word “doctrine” is used to designate teachings bearing on behavior and thought. This is utilized in an effort to avoid the term “halakha,” which is a group-specific term deriving from Pharisaic tradition.

Cave 3Q, located 1.5 km north of Cave 1Q and with only 15 identifiable scrolls, provided various biblical books, in particular a *megilla* of Lamentations. There was also what appeared to be the beginning of a commentary on the book of Isaiah. This was enough to convince many scholars that this was nothing less than another *Yahad peshet* on the prophets. The fact that there were no obvious scrolls of the Yahad, as there were in Cave 1Q, did not prompt de Vaux and his team to hypothesize another group as the source of this cave's scrolls. Cave 3Q also contained an odd copper treasure map (the *Copper Scroll*) whose contents would remain concealed for several years. At this stage, neither this copper scroll nor the lack of Yahad documents nor the cave's distance from Cave 1Q was enough to earn for Cave 3Q its own unique profile.⁶

In the eyes of de Vaux's original team,⁷ there still were no compelling reasons to disbelieve that the scrolls from the first three caves were closely linked. The unusual scrolls were simply anomalies which would serve to further enlighten us as to the character of the group who produced them. Six months later, any possible question concerning the scarcity of evidence linking these two caves to the Yahad and Cave 1Q was quickly dismissed when four additional caves were discovered which provided strong links to both Cave 1Q and the Yahad.

Caves 4Qa, 4Qb, 5Q, and 6Q

The massive scroll finds yielded by clandestine operations of the Bedouin and official excavations of de Vaux's team during September 1952 amounted to more than 15,000 additional scroll fragments. These came from two caves, 4a and 4b, whose contents were too mixed to distinguish by the time they arrived at the museum, and so together were called "Cave 4Q." These meager, larva-eaten fragments were eventually sorted by an expanded team of nine international scholars⁸ who were handpicked to carry out the painstaking and

6 However, somewhat later, Chaim Rabin, "Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees," *JJS* 7 (1956): 3–11, and John Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Anchor Books, 1964), posited that the Copper Scroll was actually a product of the Zealots in Jerusalem and that the treasures mentioned there were from the Jewish Temple. Nevertheless, de Vaux and Harding, standing by their initial assessment that the caves were connected with the site, were forced to consider the treasures described by the scroll to be fictitious based upon the (circular) reasoning that the riches of the *Copper Scroll* did not match the lifestyle of the Essenes at Qumran.

7 From France: R. de Vaux (Chief Editor and Archaeologist), P. Benoit (Murabba'at, Greek and Latin texts); Germany: A. Grohmann (Murabba'at, Arabic texts); Poland: J.T. Milik (Copper Scroll from Cave 3; Cave 5; Murabba'at, Hebrew and Aramaic texts).

8 As opposed to the earlier team, which was primarily from France, de Vaux decided to form a small but wide-ranging international team. From Poland: J.T. Milik (Targums, Mezuzas,

laborious task of sorting and editing the expanding list of manuscripts. The tally from Cave 4Q rose from 200 to 300, then 400, and finally reached over 500 manuscripts.

The contents of these ancient scrolls were much more diverse than those previously discovered. However, due to the presence of additional copies of the same scrolls found in Cave 1Q such as the *Rule of the Community*, *Hodayot*, the *War Scroll* and various commentaries, these new discoveries only helped to confirm the assumption that just one voluminous Essene library existed in the cliffs of Qumran, distributed among the numerous caves. Despite the growing distance, the scrolls stored in caves up to two miles apart were still considered to be accessible to those living at the site. If a certain scroll were required, so the argument went, it would have taken a young librarian merely an hour or two in the arid desert to fetch it from one of the caves.

Alternatively, it was suggested that the diversity of documents in Cave 4Q and their condition (including damaged and unsewn sheets) might indicate that it comprised a burial place for worn-out scrolls, or a repository for personal scrolls contributed by newcomers to the Essene community. Whatever explanation could be proposed for the massive and diverse contents of these new caves, it seemed to be more compelling to accept the broadened library as reflecting the authorship and thinking of a single group than to propose a general library housing the works of a varied groups. The learning and doctrine of the Essenes continued to be depicted as relatively conservative and narrow in its scope (although Josephus depicted the Essenes as being widely read),⁹ despite the diverse character of manuscripts in these caves.

Phylacteries in DJD 6, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and other nonbiblical texts); United Kingdom: J. Allegro (parabiblical texts, DJD 5) and J. Strugnell (non-biblical texts); United States: F.M. Cross, Jr. (biblical texts), P. Skehan (Paleo-Hebrew and Greek biblical texts); Germany: C. Hunzinger (*War Scroll*, left team later); France: R. de Vaux (Chief Editor and Archaeologist), J. Starky (Aramaic texts), M. Baillet (miscellaneous papyrus manuscripts and *War Scroll*). For more detail see Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (with F. García Martínez, trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 21.

- 9 “They apply themselves with extraordinary zeal to the study of the works of the ancients. . . . There are some among them who, trained as they are in the study of the holy books and the [sacred] writings, and the sayings of the prophets, become expert in foreseeing the future: they are rarely deceived in their predictions” (*War* 2.8.136, 159). Concerning the relatively eclectic and mixed nature of Cave 4Q see C. Hempel and cited related studies in Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, esp. Ch. 5, “The Distinctive Elements in the Character of Cave 4,” (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 311–37.

The contents of nearby Cave 5Q were in most ways similar in content and character to those of Cave 4aQ and 4bQ, and seem rightly to be classified with those caves as a unit. Cave 6Q, on the other hand, was located in the hard limestone cliffs to the west and yielded fragments of scrolls that had been written primarily on papyrus instead of parchment. In this respect, Cave 6Q is unique among the caves found in the vicinity. It also included a copy of the *Damascus Document* which linked it doctrinally with other Yahad documents, although the contents of Cave 6Q appear to be largely directed toward the concerns of a lay audience.¹⁰

The growing consensus viewed the discovery of such books as *Enoch* and *Jubilees* as “external” literature which had nevertheless been deemed acceptable reading within the Essene community. The team’s conclusion that the scrolls still constituted a single library gained plausibility from the presence of books authored by the Essenes themselves. Thus far only the collections of manuscripts from caves 2Q and 3Q lacked the characteristic Yahad documents, but the sum of the scrolls found in these caves, approximately fifty *in toto*, was considered too small to be significant in challenging the constitution of the library.

The Meager Remains of Caves 7Q, 8Q, 9Q and 10Q

During the spring of 1955, de Vaux turned his attention to some collapsed caves at the southern end of the marl terrace upon which the site of Qumran was built (Caves 7Q, 8Q, 9Q and, on the peninsula to the west, Cave 10Q). The contents of these caves were meager compared with what once existed there. However, these still added evidence that might suggest that there was a broader picture awaiting to be seen. For example, cave 7Q uniquely contained remnants of papyrus scrolls written only in Greek, normally linked with Hellenistic Judaism. Yet this was still deemed to be part of the same “Qumran Library.” Again, the scroll content of these caves was considered too limited in size to suggest that more than a single group was responsible for the manuscripts in all of the caves discovered thus far.

What is critical to note here is that the initial surveys, assessments and conclusions concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls, which appeared at the end of the 1950s, were produced by members of the original team *without the benefit of*

10 The *Damascus Document* directs its attention primarily to issues which would concern the lay membership of the community. That, along with the existence of a pocket scroll of the book of Canticles (Song of Songs), generally associated with laypersons and read at the Feast of Passover, would be consistent with a lay library. Cf. Stephen Pfann, “Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves: Libraries, Archives, Genizas and Hiding Places,” *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 25 (2007): 155–59.

the data from Cave 11Q or other Judean wilderness sites. These publications by J.T. Milik (1957), F.M. Cross (1958), and R. de Vaux (1959)¹¹ were highly influential in forming a consensus view, unifying the scrolls, the caves and the sites of Qumran and Ein Feshkha in their entirety around a single group, the Essenes. The result led to the view of a single, unified library dispersed among the eleven caves.¹² A chapter in Milik's monograph treated the scrolls as "The Qumran Library." Cross named his volume *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. Given the materials available at the time, (i.e., excluding the manuscripts of Cave 11Q), the evidence appeared to lend general support to this unified view. Although expanded editions and translations of these books appeared in the few years following, little was added to modify the basic hypothesis. Also, the stipends provided for the efforts of the original team abruptly ceased with the death of their chief supporter, J.D. Rockefeller, in 1961, forcing the scholars to concentrate their attention on fulfilling other academic responsibilities.

11 Jozef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (Studies in Biblical Theology 26, London: SCM, 1959). Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (1st ed. 1958; 3rd ed. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1959* (rev. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

12 The initial theory, however, was *not* that the scrolls constituted a library. While unaware of any connection with a local site, Sukenik initiated the view that the contents of the first cave were that of "a *geniza*, i.e., concealed after falling into disuse, in order to prevent their profanation." Eliezer L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955), 22–24. This identification as a *geniza* was at first considered (1949) but then strongly dismissed by de Vaux after his initial excavations at Qumran, which he believed conclusively connected the site with the caves. Sukenik died in January 1953 without formulating a reaction to the new evidence from the site of Qumran or the subsequent caves 4Q, 5Q and 6Q. Del Medico shared Sukenik's opinion and further developed Sukenik's theory by disassociating the caves from the site of Qumran, believing that all subsequent caves found in the immediate vicinity were also *genizas*. Henri E. del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls* (trans. H. Gardner, London: Burke Publishing Co., 1958). Godfrey R. Driver then upheld this idea in his book *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965). The *geniza* theory was then challenged by Milik in favor of a single unified library. Cf. Milik, *Ten Years*, 20. Yigael Yadin (Sukenik's son) also accepted the unified library view to such an extent as to include the contents of cave 11Q: "True, it (the *Temple Scroll*) was discovered in one of the Qumran caves, and, together with other copies, it was part of the library of the sect." Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Steimatzky, Ltd., 1985), 230. More recently, a *geniza* theory has once more been asserted, especially for cave 1Q; cf. Joan E. Taylor, "Buried Manuscripts and Empty Tombs: The Qumran Genizah Theory Revisited" in *Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (ed. A.M. Maier, J. Magness, and L.H. Schiffman; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 269–315.

Cave 11Q

In January 1956, another cave of major significance was found when Bedouin noticed a bat flying in (or out) of a small hole in the cliff face, 2 km north of the site and 1 km north of Cave 1Q. The cave produced a number of substantially preserved scrolls which could be unrolled, similar in many ways to the condition of the scrolls of Cave 1Q.

Of the 31 manuscripts found, 30 were quickly purchased by the trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum with the intention that the scrolls would remain unstudied until appropriate agencies would reimburse them for their initial investment. Nearly six years elapsed. During October 1961 the first scroll, 11QPsalm^a, was released for publication. The *Targum of Job* was released in December of the same year and all but two of the scrolls were released a year later. The remaining scrolls were acquired only in 1967, including the *Temple Scroll* and the Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus scroll (unrolled only in 1970).¹³

Due to this procedure the scrolls of Cave 11Q were distributed among scholars who were not part of the original team.¹⁴ Aside from widely distributed scrolls of the Bible and *Jubilees*, only two texts appeared to convincingly link this cave with the others: the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *New Jerusalem* (which later proved not to be connected with the Yahad).¹⁵

The lone doctrinal text found in Cave 11Q was the *Temple Scroll* (three copies were eventually identified) as well as other liturgical works. As noted above, the contents of this set of scrolls should have raised questions about connecting this cave with the rest of the “library” since the *Temple Scroll* presents the rules and liturgies of a priestly society serving within a temple precinct, not in the expanses of the desert, as was the case with the Yahad.¹⁶

13 James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford, 1965), vii–viii. Johannes P.M. van der Ploeg, Adam S. van der Woude, and Bastiaan Jongeling, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), Introduction. David N. Freedman and Kenneth A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll* (Winona Lake: ASOR/Eisenbrauns, 1985), 1–3.

14 I.e., not Milik, Cross, Skehan, Allegro, Strugnell, Starcky, Barthelemy or Baillet.

15 Subsequently, other scrolls have been suspected to be of sectarian origins (e.g., 11QMelchizedek, 11QSefer HaMilhama, 11QS?, about which see below). However, no scrolls among the Cave 11Q collection have been proven with any certainty to be Yahad in origin.

16 Yadin took the position that the *Temple Scroll* could be sectarian in both the broader sense, as representing a wider movement, and in the narrower sense, as being doctrinally similar to the Qumran sect/Essenes. Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1: 398–99. Perhaps the most surprising addition to the single library theory came from the excavations of Masada, 100 km south of Qumran. From late November 1963 until the spring of 1965, fifteen literary scrolls, roughly contemporary with

The Conclusion of an Ongoing Trend

By the time the 1960s arrived, scholars, driven by this widely-accepted and ostensibly reasonable notion, did not try to distinguish potentially different groups represented among the caches of scrolls and material remains of the individual caves and sites. Rather, the academic world focused its attention on trying to create a synthetic, cohesive paradigm in which they continued to regard the scrolls as reflecting the perspective of a single group.

Queries Raised by a New Generation of Scholars

As a new generation of scholars was added to the team studying the scrolls, the view of a unified “Qumran Library” gradually started to unravel. Increasingly, they found evidence for diversity and even polemics between the various scrolls. Scholars who studied religious law, including L. Schiffman and J. Baumgarten, identified irreconcilable differences between the *Temple Scroll* and *Miqṣat Ma’āse ha-Torah* (henceforth MMT) over against the other Dead Sea Scrolls.¹⁷ Scholars specializing in liturgical prayers increasingly discovered more diversity among those texts as well. This includes those who worked with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, once considered to be a key Yahad composition, who became convinced that it does not actually fit Qumran’s Yahad.¹⁸

With the benefit of hindsight, it is tempting to ask why scholars were reluctant to question the governing assumption of a single library in the face of the wide dispersal of caves in the Judean wilderness and the significant differences in the doctrines, calendars (discussed more fully below) and eschatology

those of Qumran, were uncovered at Masada by Yadin and his team. Only a copy of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and a Qumran-like fragment could possibly link these manuscripts to the Qumran community. Nevertheless, based upon the initial assumptions of the original team that the *Songs* manuscript was produced by the Essenes of Qumran, Yadin developed the theory that Essene refugees had arrived at Masada in 68 CE carrying with them certain sectarian and other scrolls. Yigael Yadin, *Masada: Herod’s Fortress and the Zealots’ Last Stand* (New York, Random House, 1966), 174.

- 17 Schiffman has made it very clear in his numerous publications that he sees sufficient differences between MMT and the standard Yahad documents to consider it separately. He stresses its similarity to the *Temple Scroll*, bearing heavy Sadducean leanings, a scroll that is often diametrically opposed halakhically to the Yahad scrolls. Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 253–55. See also “Miqṣat Ma’āsei ha-Torah” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (hereafter *EDSS*; ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam, 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1: 560.
- 18 Carol Newsom, “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” *EDSS*, 2: 887; Esther Chazon, “Words of the Luminaries,” *EDSS*, 2: 989.

among the cave scrolls. Led to overlook the differences, we built our lectures, our books, our dictionaries and our histories around one group, the Essenes.

Distinguishing Features among the Scroll Collections

Having reviewed in brief the essential differences among the caves, let us now examine the calendars as primary evidence indicating different groups among the scrolls' owners.

Calendar Evidence for Diverse Groups in Second Temple Judaism

The extant calendars from the late Second Temple period appear to have been built upon the Genesis account of the creation of the increments of time (days, signs, festivals, years), especially Gen 1:14–19. Each calendar system reread the text in its own way to fit the function and design of the specific group's own liturgical calendar. Certain ambiguities in the text and the lack of certain terms led subsequent interpreters into deep debate over the form of the original calendar that would have existed at the creation of the universe.

And God said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to separate the day from the night; and let them be for **signs** (לְאֹתוֹת) and for **festivals** (וְלִמְעֻדִים) and for **days** (וְלַיָּמִים) and **years** (וְשָׁנִים),¹⁵ and let them be lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth." And it was so.¹⁶ And God made the **two great lights** (שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים אֵת), the **greater light to rule the day** (הַגְּדֹל לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַיּוֹם), and the **lesser light to rule the night** (הַקָּטָן הַלְיָלִיָּהּ); he made the **stars** (הַכּוֹכָבִים) also. (Gen 1:14–16)

This passage speaks of the role of the luminaries in determining days and years, signs and "appointed times" (or seasons) but it does not actually mention the month as a measure of time, let alone provide a term for it, such as *yareach* or *chodesh*. The moon is merely the lesser luminary which rules the night, apparently with no bearing on twenty-four hour days. It seems that in the mind of the author of Genesis, the phases of the moon were insignificant. The greater light rules the day and the lesser light rules the night, but the stars are mentioned without a hint as to their function. The subdivisions of the years and seasons are understood to be counted in days, leaving the concept of a month open to interpretation. The role of the stars required further definition as religious festivals and sabbaths were added to the accounting of

the days in a year. Although the length of a week was clearly defined as seven days, the accounting of the days of a month was not so clear. When and how to adjust the festal calendar to serve the natural agricultural year was also not addressed in Genesis. This left the task of interpreting the function of these heavenly bodies to the priestly timekeepers of current and subsequent generations. The inherent ambiguities in the biblical text allowed for various methods of interpretation, which were destined to evolve in manifold ways. It was crucial to the priesthood to anticipate and affix the religious feasts to specific days of the year, which could be followed by clergy and laity alike. Without a trustworthy festal calendar, even one with slight variations, non-alignment of commanded festivals among various religious groups would be effectively divisive by making concelebration, virtually impossible.

Early History of the Solar Calendar

All solar calendars of the Near East find their origins in a base-60 calendar that apparently evolved in Sumer or early dynastic Egypt at least as early as the 3rd millennium BCE. The perfect year of 360 days was divisible by 60 ($\times 6$) and by 30 ($\times 12$).¹⁹ A system of intercalation was then necessary to synchronize this calendar with the actual sidereal and agricultural year of 365.25 days. In Egypt, five days were automatically added to the end of each year ($12 \times 30 + 5 = 365$ days) with an additional day added by observation of certain rising star clusters, every fourth year.²⁰

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- 19 Jonas Greenfield and Michael Sokoloff contend, *contra* Milik, that 4Q318Zodiacology and Brontology presents an actual 360-day calendar, "318. 4QZodiacology and Brontology ar," in *Qumran Cave 4: xxvi, Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea* (ed. S. Pfann et al., DJD xxxvi; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 259–74. Some posit that the 364-day calendars evolved from a 360-day calendar. Cf. Matthias Albani, "Der Zodiakus in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie," *Mitteilungen und Beiträge* 7 (1993): 27–32. Cf. also Wayne Horowitz, "The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JANESCU* 24 (1996): 35–44. The resolution of this question does not affect this present survey of the Jewish calendars of the late Second Temple Period.
- 20 In 239 BCE, the Canopic reforms of Ptolemy III Euergetes intended to instate an additional intercalation of one day every 4 years in order to account for the 1/4 day that was lacking each year, but it was not fully accepted.

The Adoption of a 364-day Solar Year for the Jewish Liturgical Calendar

One might wonder why a 364-day cycle was adopted within Jewish circles, or tolerated for any liturgical calendar, when a 365-day calendar is more exact. In such a case there is a shortfall of $1\frac{1}{4}$ days per year, as opposed to the mere $\frac{1}{4}$ day, to remain in sync with the natural year. It seems likely that the choice was influenced by the fact that the 364-day year was divisible by 7, conveniently reflecting and incorporating the sacred seven-day week and the seven-year sabbatical cycle. This convenience could be sustained year after year by merely adding a week whenever nature or the yearly cycle of the heavenly bodies dictated it. In this way, the shortfall in the cycle could be “fixed” by the intercalation of seven days without interrupting or impairing the regular seven-day cycle of sacred Sabbath days. The alignment of this solar calendar, and its prescribed feasts with the natural and agricultural year was assured only as long as an appropriate system of intercalation was maintained. Any Jewish calendrical system must, at the very least, remain compatible with the prescribed religious agricultural feasts. Even more preferable would be that the calendar should determine exactly when these feasts, which are largely connected with seasonal agriculture, must take place according to the perfect timing dictated by heaven’s own clock since Creation. Otherwise, any inconsistency between the idiosyncratic calendars utilized by the diverse Jewish groups in the method by which the biblically prescribed agricultural feasts are assigned annual dates would ultimately lead to an inability for them to concelebrate these biblically prescribed feasts.

Diversity among Calendars

Four basic calendar types were used by Jewish groups during the late Second Temple Period. Three of these calendars are based upon the model of a 364-day solar (or sidereal) year which is periodically intercalated with weeks or days to compensate for the discrepancy against the actual solar year of 365.25 days. Numerous copies of these calendars, which, if the lunar cycle is included, could be termed lunisolar, have been identified in the caves in Qumran.

A fourth calendar assigns the days of the year to twelve lunar months (354 days), periodically intercalated with a single lunar month (29.5 days). This calendar type has not been found in the Judean Wilderness. However, it was ostensibly the calendar utilized by the Sicarii rebels of Masada who, according to Josephus, generally followed the religious customs of the Pharisees.

Group A

This calendar type is based upon a non-liturgical 364-day lunisolar year made up of solar months listed day by day synchronistically with the days of the

lunar months. It defined transitions in the months by the phases of the moon, requiring intermittent intercalation of extra days, a week, or a month to realign the observed seasons with the cardinal points of the actual solar/agricultural year (cf. Group A below). The yearly liturgical cycle is apparently determined by the appearance (or rise) of certain stars or asterisms, and secondarily according to the agricultural year.

Group B

This calendar type follows a 364-day liturgical year made up of 30-day solar months (with four days intercalated quarterly), which was disconnected from the cycle of lunar months, thus denying the moon any essential role in determining the yearly calendar (cf. Group B below). The liturgical cycle is based upon a combination of festivals prescribed by the Torah and a pentacontad (or heptadic) cycle in which a festival occurred every seventh week.

Group C

This calendar type follows a 364-day liturgical year which, like Group B, located yearly feasts within solar months of 30 and 31 days. Unlike Group B, it also observed the cycle of lunar months concomitantly with the solar liturgical year, a feature resembling Group A. It also included the schedule of priestly courses (*Mishmarot*) and the annual biblical festivals prescribed in the Books of Moses (cf. Group C below).

Group D

The fourth calendar type is a lunisolar calendar in which the biblical festivals are linked to the days of a year of twelve or thirteen lunar months, rather than solar months like the calendars above. Since most of the festivals are connected to the celebration of certain agricultural harvests, the year must occasionally be supplemented with a thirteenth month during, or at the end of, the year. Due to the fact that the agricultural year more exactly coincides with the 365.25 day solar year, the resulting calendar should also be effectively defined as a "lunisolar calendar".²¹ This intercalation realigns the harvest with the appropriate harvest festivals, making it more closely consistent with the seasons of the solar year. This fulfills the Metonic cycle, in which seven supplemental lunar months are intermittently inserted over the course of every nineteen-year period. This calendar is not found in the caves of Qumran. As mentioned above, it is acknowledged in the Scroll of Ben Sira

21 No purely lunar 12-month calendar has been found among the scrolls nor in early Judaism in general. Such a calendar would necessarily function without any link to the solar or agricultural year, as is the case with the Islamic calendar.

found at Masada and is known to have been championed by the Pharisees and the sages of the Rabbinic Period. It is still observed today (cf. Group D below).

Diverse Features among 364-day Calendars

It is not known exactly when the Jewish solar year of 364 days was implemented. However, it is clear that this calendar was already known in Jewish circles before the end of the 3rd century BCE, since various 364-day calendar manuscripts from Qumran (4Q208 Enastr^a, 4Q317^{a-e} Lunisolar calendars mss, dating to the first half to the mid 2nd cent. BCE),²² as well as other contemporary documents, support this calendar (4QJubilees mss, 4QTemple Scroll).

The 364-calendar adds one day at the end of each series of four 30-day months (30+30+30+1), providing four 3-month cycles or “seasons” which are divisible by 7, with each season beginning at one of the four cardinal points in the year, known as equinoxes (spring and fall) and solstices (summer and winter). In the festal calendar found in the *Book of Jubilees*, each of these four supplemental days is called a “day of remembrance,” commemorating events during the flood narrative in the Book of Genesis, while in other festal calendars each of these four days is simply called *tequfah* (cf. 4Q324 cryptA Festal Calendar).

In the case of any Jewish Calendar it would be mandatory to protect the Sabbath Day from being shifted during the process of intercalation. In order to achieve this, it would seem expedient to intercalate a unit of days divisible by seven whenever intercalation was deemed necessary. It seems that the simplest way to perform this would have been to add an extra week at the end of the year whenever necessary (e.g., by observing apparent tardiness of certain stars or constellations connected with the vault of heaven).

All the calendars from Qumran apparently followed this form of solar calendar. I would like to propose, however, that there is an intrinsic dissimilarity between the 364-day calendars of the Yahad (and the Enochides), on the one hand, and the *Temple Scroll* and the MMT group, on the other. The primary division is found in the dissimilar sequences of liturgical feasts. The Group B calendars, which include those found in *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll* and MMT, observe the biblical feasts and exclude second Passover, but add to the calendar a number of pentecontad first fruits festivals including the Feast of New Wine, the Feast of New Oil (followed by the Wood Offerings), and the Feast of Ingathering “at the end of the year.” By contrast, the Yahad calendar, as part of

22 The date of 4Q317 was determined by C14 testing. Cf. A.J. Timothy Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert,” *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19.

Group C, observes only those feasts that are required in the Books of Moses, including second Passover.

Calendars and the Diverse Groups which Used Them

How does one determine which group followed which calendar? It would certainly be prudent to exercise severe caution in assigning each of the diverse calendars to any given group of the Second Temple Period. However, it appears that in certain cases the scrolls themselves have done that job already. Occasionally specific calendars were appended to important rule books or doctrinal works assigned to distinctive groups. Comparison of such calendars provides a compelling basis for distinguishing the doctrines and activities of various Second Temple Period groups. At least one of the major and distinctive rule books associated with each of the groups under discussion has a specific distinctive calendar either attached to, or embedded within it.

Otot and *Serek ha-Yahad*

4Q319 Otot, containing a 6-year lunisolar, Torah-based festal calendar with *mishmarot*, is attached to the end of a copy of the Yahad's doctrinal work *The Rule of the Community* (4Q259 S^e) on the same scroll (see Figure 1 below).

4Q394 AND 4QMMT. 4Q394 1–2, a copy of a pentecontad festal calendar, is attached to the beginning of the doctrinal work 4QMMT on the same scroll (see Figure 2 below). The feasts of this calendar are supported by 11QT^a and *Jubilees*. These works are considered by scholars of halakhah to be of Sadducean or Zadokite origins.²³

The "Enochic" Calendar and *1 Enoch*

Four copies of the "Enochic" lunisolar calendar²⁴ represented in the *Astronomical Book* (4QEnastr^{a–d}) were found alongside seven copies of *1 Enoch* (4QEnoch^{a–g}).²⁵ These works are too large for the two texts to be contained within a single scroll. The three-year non-festal, lunisolar calendar (a.k.a., the *Book of the Luminaries*) which is embedded in a summary form within the text of the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch* is also found summarized in the 4Q317 Lunisolar Calendar.

23 Cf. n. 17 above.

24 Whether this calendar was intended to be a necessary companion to *1 Enoch* or not, the Ethiopic version, based upon a Greek translation of *1 Enoch*, attests to the early association between the two.

25 4Q208–211 Enastr^{a–d}; 4Q201–102, 204–207, 212 Enoch^{a–g}.

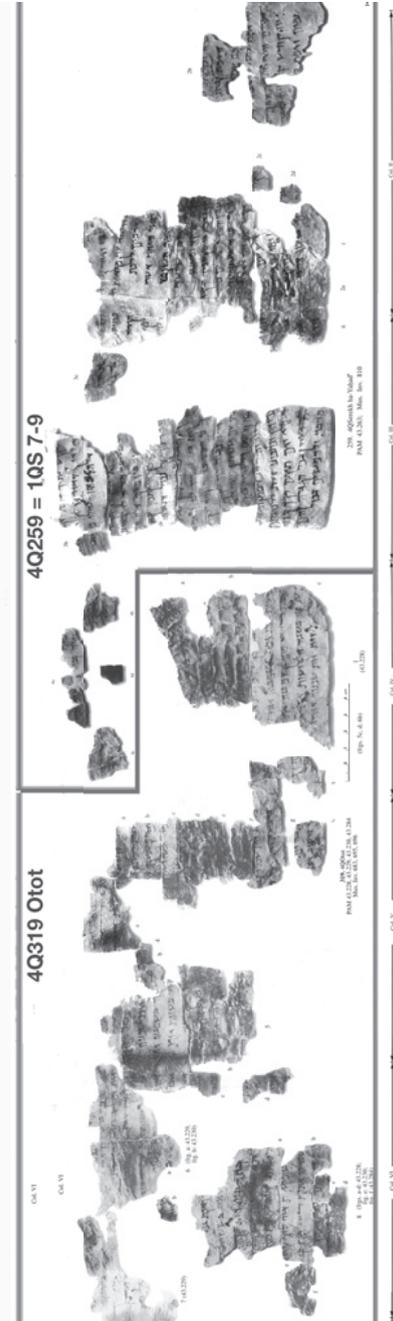


FIGURE 1 Relation of 4Q319 to 4Q259 S^c (Note the location of the words written in the Cryptic A script).

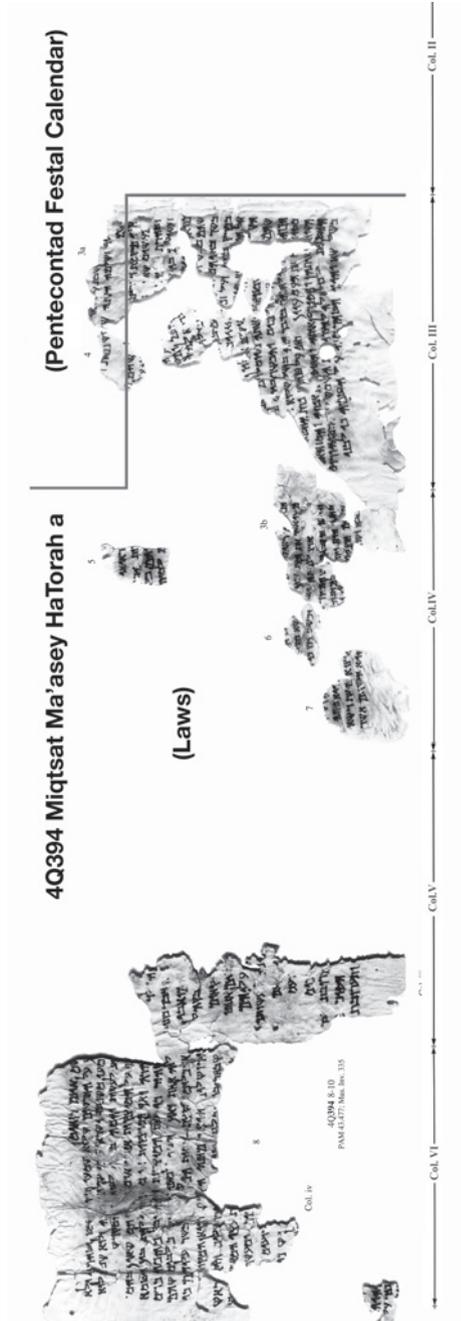


FIGURE 2 Relation of 4Q394 and 4QMMT^a.

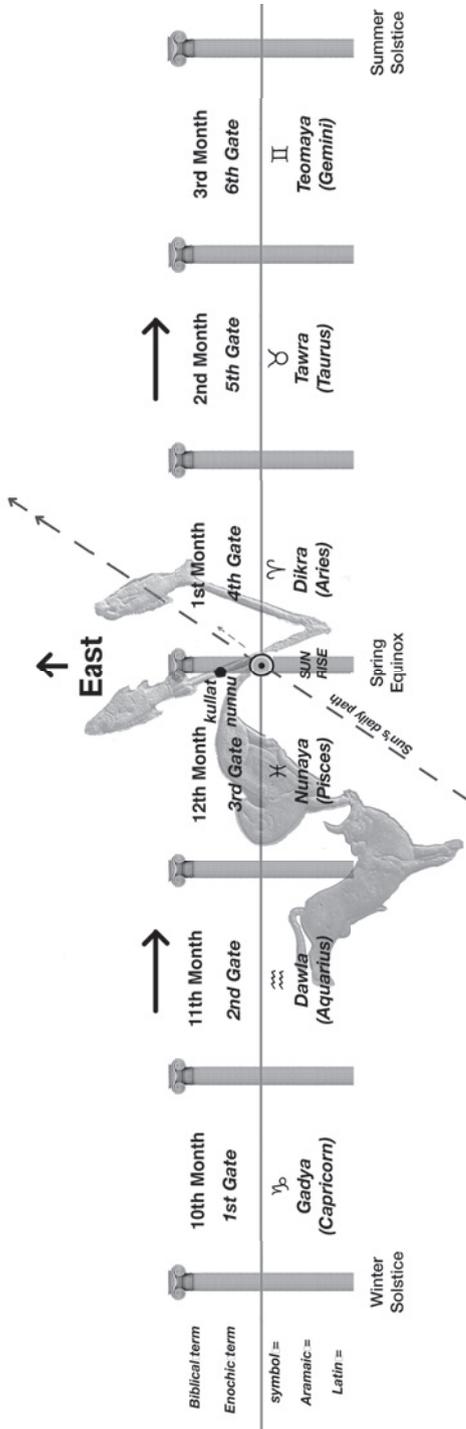


FIGURE 3 Spring Equinox, c.150 BCE according to the star chart of Dendera, Egypt, and the Enochic entry gates for the celestial bodies on the eastern horizon.²⁶

26 The spring equinox takes place yearly at the passing of the sign of Nunaya (Pisces) to Dikra (Aries) specifically at the visible sighting of the rising of the star Kulat Numu at daybreak on the morning of the spring equinox. This event is superimposed here on an artistic depiction of the six gates of the Enochic calendar with the sun's rising point of transition from the 3rd to the 4th gate at sunrise on the morning of the spring equinox. This event occurs midway in sun's southward spring procession which is traced through its day-by-day appearance at sunrise on the eastern horizon sequentially from its suggested 6 gates along the horizon (a.k.a., foundation of the heavens). This also marked the spring equinox and the beginning of the new year.

*Group A: The Calendar of the Enochic Literature*²⁷

Group A is preserved in 1 *Enoch*, 4Q208–211 *Enastr*^{a–d} and 4Q317a–f Cryptic A Lunisolar calendars. The lunisolar calendar is primarily used in the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, which includes the gates described in the Ethiopic and Greek versions.

The Lord of the whole creation of the world hath subjected the host of heaven. And he has power over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—**sun, moon, and stars**, and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. 9 **And these are the orders of the stars, which are set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.** 10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch that they enter at their times, in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions (1 *Enoch* 82:8–10).

This lunisolar calendar imperfectly integrates the lunar phases into the 364-day solar calendar, without providing a system of intercalation. Neither feast days nor days of remembrance nor *mishmarot* are mentioned. It is the appearance of certain stars (or star clusters), separately from the calendar, which herald the arrival of the feast days, the seasons and the months. Any incongruence between these festal events and the position of the stars in the celestial sphere would require the intercalation of days or weeks to reconcile the calendar and its feasts on the earth with celestial time.

Primary Exemplars of Calendar Type A

4Q208 (4Q*Enastr*^a ar) 4Q *Astronomical Enoch* a
 4Q209 (4Q*Enastr*^b ar) 4Q *Astronomical Enoch* b
 4Q210 (4Q*Enastr*^c ar) 4Q *Astronomical Enoch* c
 4Q211 (4Q*Enastr*^d ar) 4Q *Astronomical Enoch* d
 4Q317a (4Q*AstrCrypt*) 4Q *cryptA Phases of the Moon*
 4Q317b (4Q*AstrCrypt*) 4Q *cryptA Phases of the Moon*
 4Q317c (4Q*AstrCrypt*) 4Q *cryptA Phases of the Moon*
 4Q317d (4Q*AstrCrypt*) 4Q *cryptA Phases of the Moon*
 4Q317e (4Q*AstrCrypt*) 4Q *cryptA Phases of the Moon*

27 Luni-stellar/solar calendar; ignores or excludes the feasts and sabbaths; dates of feasts are defined by 30-day increments (with supplemental days being added by gauging the progression and degression of sunrise through 6 gates on the horizons and/or by the appearance of certain constellations on the eastern horizon).

The calendar of 4Q208–211 Enastr^{a-d} incorporates and synchronizes three basic elements: (1) a 364-day solar calendar comprised of 12 months (eight 30-day months and four 31-day months), (2) a lunar calendar which records the daily procession of the moon through all of its phases of waxing and waning,²⁸ (3) a record of the monthly southward and northward procession of the sun's rising and setting through the six corresponding gates extending north-south along the eastern and western horizons (see Figure 3 below).

This series of six gates is also connected with the stars (either the 12 zodiacal signs or the 36 decans, each of which represent 1/3 of a sign of the zodiac; i.e. the width of one decan is 10 degrees of the 360 degrees that subdivide celestial equator). The sun, along with the winds (and the signs of the zodiac), arises through one of six gates along the eastern horizon. It sets in corresponding points along the western horizon, with the westerly winds blowing simultaneously (in conjunction with zodiacal signs). Feast days and sabbaths are not incorporated in this calendar, but apparently the feast days are marked by the sequence of signs in the path of the sun through the zodiac (cf. 1 *Enoch* 82:9–12).

The Cryptic A manuscripts 4Q317a-e trace the phases of the moon through a cycle of three 364-day solar years. The enumeration of months is according to a solar calendar, with 30 or 31 days each. The word *shabbat* is acknowledged only at the beginning of each lunar phase in which the moon begins to wax or to wane, where the day of the week is stated: e.g., "on the first of *Shabbat*" (Sunday); "on the fourth of *Shabbat*" (Wednesday).

Most copies of this calendar have been corrected by a second scribe to read one day later than the date written by the first scribal hand. It is possible that

28 In the Astronomical Book of Enoch (4Q208–211 Enastr), the two monthly actions of the waxing and the waning of the moon were divided into two separate seven and a half (or eight) phases, i.e., fourteen and a half or fifteen phases per lunar month. Each phase, (aram. *shevi'ah*, "seventh") is comprised of approximately two solar days. In other words, ideally the entire month was made up of of two seven-phase lunar weeks (with each phase being roughly two days long). However, in actuality, the prescribed seven phases of the moon were each extended to seven and a half or eight to reflect the actual cycle of the moon, alternating 29 and 30 solar days to a lunar month.

It takes one lunar month (c. 29.5 days) for the moon to complete the northward and southward cycle through all of the six gates, at the same time completing all its phases, waxing and waning. It takes an entire solar year (c. 365.25 days) for the sun to follow the same northward and southward course through these gates. The moon conjoins with the sun only once per month on the western horizon at the new moon, setting through whichever gate in which the sun is currently positioned during its yearly course. During a single lunar year (c. 354.37 days) the moon completes its course through the gates 12 times.

the calendar was modified to conform to a *Jubilees*-based creation day, where the moon is created after the sun (cf. Gen 1:14–18) thereby making the full moon visible only as the sun sets at the end of the first day of the month. (Thus the full moon is only visible on Wednesday evening, i.e., the evening of the fifth day). Alternatively, the scribe may have realized that after six years a day was missing in the alignment of the lunar and solar calendars, and advanced the days by one in the vain hope of resolving the problem.

The various feast days and priestly courses that appear in other calendrical documents do not appear in either the 4QEnastr or in 4QLunisolar Calendars. However, this does not mean that the authors did not observe a liturgical year. According to 1 *Enoch* 82:9 the rising of certain star clusters determined the occasion of the “seasons and *festivals* and months.” This stellar calendar was actually 365.25 days in length and, without actually counting days, was more exact and consistent than its solar and lunar counterparts in keeping the festivals in sync with the agricultural year.

Neither the lunar nor the solar calendars allow much room for the feasts to be incorporated and still remain within the space of a single scroll. That said, the feast names, whether biblical or pentecontad, are noticeably missing in the Enochic literature in general.

What may have begun in the early Enochic literature as a 360-day lunisolar calendar was subsequently modified to support a 364-day solar calendar.²⁹ In the minds of the authors, the Enochic calendar and the 4Q317 lunisolar calendar represent a heavenly-based system that operates independently of the earthly sphere (cf. the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* where the two legitimate systems merely need to be synchronized). Time in heaven is precise and unchanging while time on earth is warped and inexact. Time in heaven is base-60,³⁰ with which time on earth does not agree. It seems that in Enochic heaven, this calendar continues to make sense. It has not changed and the incongruities with any earthly calendar are merely the result of earth’s imperfections (caused by the sins of the Watchers, mankind and the giants), as 1 *Enoch* explicitly states.

And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,

²⁹ See n. 19 above.

³⁰ In the conception of the Enochic literature, perfect time and space follow a Sumerian/Babylonian base-60 system: 60 seconds to a minute, 60 minutes to an hour, 60 days × 6 = a year of 360 days, 360 degrees to a circle.

And all things on the earth shall alter,
 And shall not appear in their time:
 And the rain shall be kept back
 And the heaven shall withhold (it). (*1 Enoch* 80:2)

Heaven will not adjust its clock to whatever seasonal feast days humankind should decide to impose upon the calendar. Not even the Sabbaths are enumerated, as though the creation of the universe in seven days, and the seven-day solar week were peripheral to heavenly time. Since the earthly sphere is no longer synchronized with the heavenly base-60 system, mankind may artificially add one day per quarter or five days at the end of the year (as did the 365-day secular Egyptian calendar). However, even this does not fix the clock. Each year, the Egyptian calendar still left a discrepancy of a quarter of a day, and the 364-day solar calendar left a day and quarter. The incongruence of the heavenly calendar with the earthly, as perceived by Enoch, a mortal who had ascended to heaven, could not be permanently fixed until the root of the problem, the sin of humankind, should be resolved at the end of days, which would include a restoration of the original universe as it was on creation day. Until that time, occasional intercalations must be performed to realign the earthly calendar with the heavenly. It has been highly debated as to what method was in place to determine when and how many days were needed to achieve this goal on an ongoing basis.

The Cumulative Shortfall

The lunisolar calendar in the Astronomical Book of Enoch (Aramaic), 4Q317 Lunisolar Calendar, and the Greek and Ethiopic versions of *1 Enoch* coordinate a 364-day solar calendar with the lunar phases (30+30+31 days for each quarter of the year). This calendar assumes that at the end of every 3-year cycle, the 354-day lunar year can be realigned with the beginning of the next solar year by adding one 30-day month (assuming that 12+12+13 lunar months = 12+12+12 solar months). The main problem with this calendar is that the natural lunar month is actually 29.5 days long, which means that the three-year cycles should alternate between adding 29 and 30 days. This shortfall of one day every six years in the lunar calendar left a moon that had already waned by nearly 5 phases by the beginning of the solar year. At the same time, the 364-day solar year falls short by 1.25 days each year and 7.5 days at the end of 6 years. This calendar ignores the combined shortfall in the lunar calendar of about 8.5 days every 6 years. No simple or complex system of additional intercalation could be implemented to fix the incongruities of this doubly problematic lunisolar calendar.

Group B: The Pentecontad Calendar (Zadokite)³¹

Group B includes 4Q324d–h (Cryptic A) Festal Calendar, 4Q325 Calendrical Doc D, 4Q326 Calendrical Doc Ea, 4Q327 Calendrical Doc Eb [= 4Q394 fi–2] 4QMMT, the *Temple Scroll*, 4Q365 RP and the *Book of Jubilees*. The pentecontad festal calendar is predominantly used in Zadokite/Sadducean works such as the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, and MMT, as well as the Reworked Pentateuch. (It is likely quoted in its entirety in MMT.) The pentecontad calendar incorporates at least four pentecontad feasts (PF) into the biblical festal year:³²

- 1,1 *Teqfah (Jubilees: Day of Remembrance)*³³
- 1,14 Passover
- 1,15 Feast of Unleavened Bread
- 1,26 Feast of Barley (PF I)
- 3,15 Feast of Weeks (PF II)
- 3,15 Feast of First-Fruits
- 4,1 *Teqfah (Jubilees: Day of Remembrance)*
- 5,3 Feast of New Wine (PF III)
- 6,22 Feast of New Oil (PF IV)
- 6,23 Wood Offering
- 7,1 *Teqfah (Temple Scroll and Jubilees: Day of Remembrance)*
- 7,10 Day of Atonement
- 7,15 Feast of Tabernacles
- 7,22 Solemn Assembly
- 10,1 *Teqfah (Jubilees: Day of Remembrance)*
- 12,29 Feast of Ingathering (PF VIII)

The pentecontad calendar adopted the 364-day solar calendar, similar to that found in Enoch, but without suggesting any connection with the lunar phases. In the *Book of Jubilees*, the calendrical and festal years are determined solely by the yearly circuit of the earth around the sun, and subsequently the movement of the stars, ignoring the phases of the moon. Every month is made up of 30 days, adding an intercalary day at the end of every third month. Only the sun is credited with determining the feast days:

-
- 31 Ignores the moon; observes a pentecontad festal calendar; dates of feasts are defined by solar months of 30-day increments (with one day added at the beginning of each season).
 - 32 The numbers at the left side of this column represent dates of the liturgical year: Month, Day. E.g., “1,14” means “Month 1, Day 14.”
 - 33 In *Jubilees*, it appears that New Year’s Day begins on Wednesday night as opposed to Tuesday night, as in other calendars.

And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. And God appointed the *sun* to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and *for feasts* and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day (*Jub* 2:8–10; based upon the Ethiopic translation).

In the conception of the pentecontad calendars, perfect time is built upon sevens: (a) seven days constitute a week, (b) seven weeks constitute a pentecontad cycle, (c) seven pentecontad cycles constitute a year, (d) seven years constitute a sabbatical cycle, (e) and seven sabbatical cycles constitute a jubilee.³⁴ According to Philo, the Therapeutae counted time in sevens.³⁵ Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts, it is not clear that any one of the calendars from Qumran preserves the entire set of sevens; however, the sizable lacuna left by the manuscripts in those months could allow for such a scenario (4Q324d Crypt A PentFest Cal^a in particular). However, on other points, we can be more certain:

1. The *Temple Scroll* lists and treats most of the pentecontad festivals of this calendar.
2. *Jubilees* does not detail the sequence of the months and days, only the order of the festivals.
3. These festivals are not connected with any lunar or lunisolar calendar.
4. They are consistently connected with a solar calendar with solar months of 30 days, except for the third month, which contains 31 days.
5. *Jubilees* expressly denounces the use of the moon for telling time.
6. This calendar does not incorporate the priestly courses.

34 By definition, the terms "pentecontad" and "Jubilee" are generally defined as a set of 50 days and 50 years respectively. However it is generally understood that, based upon Leviticus 25, the Feast of Weeks is comprised of seven "whole weeks". Though seven weeks is literally 49 days, the Sunday of the next cycle doubles to serve as the fiftieth day of the cycle, at least during the Second Temple Period. Cf. Jonathan Ben Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

35 Philo, *De vita contemplativa* §65. They have a special gathering every seven weeks, the "square of the week" (7 × 7).

Primary Exemplars of Calendar Type B

4Q324d (4QCrypt A PentFest Cal. b) 4Q Lit. Calendrical a
 4Q324e 4QCrypt A PentFest Cal. c
 4Q324f 4QCrypt A PentFest Cal. d
 4Q324g 4QCrypt A PentFest Cal. e
 4Q324h 4QCrypt A PentFest Cal. f?
 4Q325 (4QCalendrical Doc D) 4Q Calendrical Document D
 4Q326 (4QCalendrical Doc Ea) 4Q Calendrical Document Ea
 4Q327 (Calendrical Doc Eb) 4Q Calendrical Document Eb [= 4Q394 fi-2]

The 4Q324d–h Festal Calendar group of manuscripts may provide an important window for viewing the developmental history of the calendar of Group B. These manuscripts provide evidence of the prehistory of the inclusion of various feasts in the 364-day Sabbath and *tequfah* based cycle.³⁶ In two of these manuscripts, 4Q324d–e, three feasts are added to the calendar for the first time. The unique methods of insertion, where one feast is written upside down (“the Feast of Weeks and the Feast of First Fruits on the same day”), one is added interlinearly (the Day of Atonement),³⁷ and another written in the margin (the Wood Offering), indicate that these are later additions, rather than corrections of inadvertent omissions. All three of these additional feasts are found in the *Temple Scroll*. The double festival, of Weeks and First Fruits, is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. The Wood Offering is only connected with the Pentecontad Festal calendar (also in the *Temple Scroll*).

Other manuscripts in the corpus appear to contain the feasts within the text itself (adding to the calendar: Passover, the Feast of New Oil, Sukkot, and a *yom tov*). It may be that the other biblical or pentecontad feasts are included within the two calendars which contain insertions, but this should be considered conjectural for the moment. There is enough space in the lacuna between the 6th month and the 12th month in 4Q324d–e to allow for additional festivals, including perhaps three feasts, to fill out a theoretical sevenfold pentecontad cycle from the Feast of Barley to the last Sunday in the year. The last pentecontad feast has been preserved in two calendars from Qumran. In 4Q324d it

36 The term *tequfah* is used for the point at which one season changes to the next. This is normally understood to be at the four cardinal points of the solar year, as near as possible to the equinoxes and the solstices, in this case months 1,1; 4,1; 7,1; 10,1. This appears in the *Book of Jubilees* as the four days of remembrance (*Jub.* 6:22–23).

37 This insertion might be a correction, however.

is [*chag*] *ha'asif* and in 4Q394 MMT^a [*chag ha'a*] *sif*,³⁸ the biblical *chag ha'asif*, “the Feast of Ingathering.” The unorthodox placement of this feast at the end of this set of calendars is perhaps due to a hyper-literal interpretation of the wording in the Scriptures: הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי הַיְּמִינִי וְהַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי הַיְּמִינִי “and the Feast of Ingathering at the exit of the year” (Exod 23:16) and הַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי הַיְּמִינִי וְהַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי הַיְּמִינִי “and the Feast of Ingathering at the turn of the year” (Exod 34:22) in contrast to its placement in the traditional Jewish calendar during the fall.

*Group C: The Yahad's Calendar*³⁹

Group C includes *Serek ha-Yahad* (4QOtot/S^e), 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q321a Mishmarot, and 4Q503 Daily Prayers, among others (see below). These are 364-day biblical festal calendars (which notably include Second Passover). They also include a Day of Remembrance which coincides with the halfway point of the year, approximately the autumnal equinox. This calendar contains the most streamlined festal schedule:

- 1,14 Passover
- 1,26 Raising of the Omer
- 2,14 Second Passover
- 3,15 Feast of Weeks
- 7,1 Day of Remembrance
- 7,10 Day of Atonement
- 7,15 Feast of Tabernacles

Primary Exemplars of Calendar Type C

- 4Q319 (4QOtot) 4Q Otot
- 4Q320 (4QCalendrical Doc A) 4Q Calendrical Document A
- 4Q321 (4QCalendrical Doc B^a) 4Q Calendrical Document B^a
- 4Q321a (4QCalendrical Doc B^b) 4Q Calendrical Document B^b
- 4Q322 (4QCalendrical Doc C^a) 4Q Mishmarot A
- 4Q323 (4QCalendrical Doc C^b) 4Q Mishmarot B

38 In 4Q394 the restoration [*mw*] *sif* was proposed by Strugnell and Qimron. However in 4Q324d the original text was fully preserved as *'sf*. This defective spelling of the feast is exactly as it is found in Exod 23:16 (but not as it was spelled fully in Exod 34:22). Cf. pl. LX, 4Q324d, frag. 12, line 1, in Douglas Gropp, et al., *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

39 Lunisolar calendar; observes a Pentateuchal Festal Calendar (with supplemental days added by gauging the progressive appearance of a certain constellation on the eastern horizon).

4Q324 (4QCalendrical Doc C^c) 4Q Mishmarot C
 4Q324a (4QCalendrical Doc C^d) 4Q Mishmarot D
 4Q328 (4QCalendrical Doc F^a) 4Q Mishmarot F
 4Q329 (4QCalendrical Doc F^b) 4Q Mishmarot G (cf. 4Q Otot)
 4Q329a (4QCalendrical Doc G) 4Q Mishmarot H (cf. 4Q Otot)
 4Q330 (4QCalendrical Doc H) 4Q Mishmarot I (cf. 4Q Otot)

Three key documents help define the calendar of the Yahad of Qumran, and potentially the method by which the calendar was intercalated on a regular basis. (1) *Hodayot* (1QH^a 20:7–14) gives considerable credit to the sun and the astral signs (באותותם cf. 20:11) for defining the cardinal points of the calendrical year. (2) *The Benedictions assigned to the Maskil* (1QS 9: 26–10: 5) which catalogues the various calendrical occasions when the Maskil is required to pronounce a blessing for every beginning of a measured length of time brought into existence by a creative act of God, states it was the appearance of the “sign *nun*,” evidently a specific constellation of stars, that kept the calendrical year in strict synchronization with the agricultural seasons. This statement also appears to recognize the moon and its phases for defining the months and seasons of the lunar calendar. (3) 4QOtot (which is attached to 4QS^e, the fifth copy of the *Community Rule* from Cave 4Q), with a complete set of calendars, enumerates the occasions when the Maskil is to pronounce the blessings. In 4QS^e 4QOtot is substituted for the Benedictions of the Maskil section found in other copies of the *Community Rule*. 4Q320, 321 and 321a are closely related copies of 4QOtot.⁴⁰

40 In a way, 4QOtot may, in fact represent the Yahad's own calendrical presentation or correction of the “The Scroll of Time of the Divisions by *Jubilees* and Weeks” mentioned in the *Damascus Document* (CD 16: 3–4). Other suggestions that the reference in CD is to the *Book of Jubilees* as being a sign that the Yahad accepted its doctrines *in toto* should not be accepted out of hand. The similarity between this quote and the name assigned to the *Book of Jubilees* in the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* has been proposed as a compelling argument for the Yahad's acceptance of the book's authority. VanderKam believes that CD 16 is in fact referring to the *Book of Jubilees*, though not without some reservations concerning its full authority. James VanderKam, “Jubilees, Book of,” *EDSS*, 1: 437. *Jubilees'* heavy condemnation of those who make use of the moon in their calendars is not consistent with the lunisolar calendars of the Yahad presented in 4QOtot. Cf. Devorah Dimant, “Two ‘Scientific’ Fictions: The So-called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16: 3–4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P.W. Flint, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; VTSupp 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49, and “What is ‘The Book of the Divisions of Times?’” (Hebrew) in *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, Its Exegesis and Its Language* (ed. M. Bar-Asher, D. Rom-Shiloni, E. Tov and N. Wazana; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 273–85.

The Yahad’s calendar is comprised of 364 days, containing the feasts prescribed in the books of Moses, including Second Passover (4Q319 Otot 13,1) along with the weekly sequence of the priestly courses (i.e., the *mishmarot*). Although the cycle of the moon is accounted for and synchronized with the solar year, the feasts are defined by the sequence of days in the solar year. Due to the complexity of this calendar, it was necessary to track the lunar phases, the feasts and the *mishmarot* (with intercalations of two 30-day solar months) through a six-year cycle before this combined calendar would again be synchronized to time as it was on creation day. In this idealized calendar, the pentateuchal feasts and the *mishmarot* were not just anticipated as a future eventuality but were already included in the calendar at the moment the universe was created.

4Q320 Calendrical Document/Mishmarot A frag. li: 1–3

° [—] להראותה מן המזרח	1
הירח תכולה [ל[א]ירח [ב]מחצית השמים ביסוד	2
[] ח מערב עד בוקר ב	3
בשבתהבריא	4

[When the luminaries began] to appear from the East, the moon began to shine at the mid-point of the heavens at the beginning of Creation, from the evening until morning on the 4th day of the week.

The lunisolar calendars of 4Q320, 4Q321, and 4Q321a include all of the yearly cycle of feasts ordered exactly as listed above, providing what appears to be a naïve synchronization of the 354-day lunar and 364-day solar calendars, starting the cycle from “creation day.” Keeping the two calendars synchronized required the insertion of one extra 30-day month at the end of each three-year lunar cycle. Since the yearly shortfall of ten days apparently led to a shortfall of thirty days after three years, ideally the intercalation of a single 30-day lunar month would fix the problem. In reality, nature does not allow for such a perpetual system of realignment. Lunar months are actually 29.5 days long, which leaves a discrepancy of half a day. (Also the solar year is actually 365.25 days and not 364 days.) By the end of the next three-year cycle, the discrepancy increases to a full day. After another six years, the discrepancy increases to two days, and so forth. After thirty years the discrepancy would be half a month.

However, this synchronized calendar may not have been constructed entirely out of ignorance and naïveté, but rather to reflect the ideal heavenly cycle which had already been set in place at creation (thus the term “creation

day”). As in the case of the Enochic calendar, it was perceived that an event in human history threw off the original calendar. Due to this event, the “days were shortened” for the lunar month so that the periodic addition of 30 days was no longer effective. (According to the Book of Enoch, this cataclysmic event was due to the sin of humankind and/or sin of the Watchers that changed the cycle by just that much: one day every six years for the moon, in its 354 days/year cycle and one and a quarter days per each 364-day solar year).

If the foundational lunisolar calendar was functional at creation but is not practicable in the present age, then how can the solar calendar co-exist alongside a lunar calendar during the Yahad’s liturgical year? And what is the system of intercalation that would serve the two calendars? The answer to these two questions may be deduced from the Song of the Maskil:

1QS 9: 26–10: 8

9:26 וּבְכוּל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה יִסְפָּר [הַסְדִּיּוֹ וּבִתְרוּמָת] שְׁפֵתַיִם
 יִבְרַכְנוּ 10:1 עִם קְצִיִּים אֲשֶׁר חִקְקָא בְרִשִׁית מִמְשַׁלַּת אֹר עַם תְּקוּפָתוֹ
 וּבִהַאֲסָפוֹ עַל מַעוֹן חוֹקוֹ בְּרִשִׁית
 2 אֲשִׁמּוּרֵי חוֹשֶׁךְ כִּיָּא יִפְתַּח אֹצְרוֹ וַיִּשְׁתַּהוּ עֵלֶת
 וּבִתְקוּפָתוֹ עִם הַאֲסָפוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֹר בְּאוֹפִיעַ
 3 מֵאֹרוֹת מְזוּבֹל קוֹדֵשׁ עִם הַאֲסָפִים לְמַעוֹן כְּבוֹד בְּמִבּוֹא מוֹעֲדִים לִימֵי חוֹדֵשׁ יַחַד תְּקוּפָתָם עִם
 4 מִסְרוֹתָם זֶה לְזֶה בְּהַתְּחַדְּשָׁם יוֹם גְּדוֹל לְקוֹדֵשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים וְאוֹת נ
 לְמִפְתַּח חֲסִדְיֹו עוֹלָם לְרֵאשִׁי
 5 מוֹעֲדִים בְּכוּל קֶץ נִהְיָ בְרִשִׁית יִרְחִים לְמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם וַיְמִי קוֹדֵשׁ בְּתַכּוֹנָם
 לְזִכְרוֹן בְּמוֹעֲדֵיהֶם

1QS 9: 26–10: 5

In all that] came into being (the Maskil) shall bless him who made it, and all that will be he will recount [his acts of grace, and with the sacrifice of] his lips he will bless him (1) during the following appointed times: At the beginning of the dominion of light with its turning/transition; also when it is gathered to its appointed dwelling place; at the beginning of the watches of the night (lit. darkness) that opens its (starry) treasury: and when he sets them up on high; and during their transition when they gathered before the light; when the (3) (heavenly) lights appear from the realm of holiness, when they are gathered to the realm of holiness. When they are gathered towards the dwelling-place of glory; At the seasons’ entry, according to the days of the **solar month**, the circling of the

seasons being in harmony with (4) the bonds binding one (month) to another. When the seasons renew themselves there is (added) a great day for the Holy of Holies. And *the sign nun* (serves) as a perpetual key to His favor according to the beginning of the seasons for all time to come.

At the beginning (5) of the moons [lunar months] according to the seasons on which they depend;

And days of Holiness when He intercalates them as a memorial in their seasons. (author’s translation)

The liturgical duties of the Maskil are apparently listed separately for the solar year and the lunar year. The solar year consists of seasons which contain solar months and “days of the solar month” (ימי חודש) (1QS 10: 3). The seasons of the solar calendar are kept in sync with the heavenly bodies, and thus the agricultural year, by intercalating the beginning of the seasons with the appearance of the “sign *nun*” (1QS 10: 4). The lunar year is made up of lunar months (ירחים) whose placement and lengths are divinely allotted to their own distinctive seasons. The means of intercalation to keep the lunar year in sync with the natural year is not expressly mentioned. However, the already established 19-year Metonic cycle would be a likely candidate.

The Yahad calendars assign the Torah-based agricultural feasts exclusively to the months (and days) of the 364-day solar calendar, and there is no reason to believe that there was any sharing of these festivals between the two calendars. On the other hand, there are other feasts associated with the moon and its phases which reasonably would have been practiced according to their own lunar cycle and calendar.

The relevance of the heavenly time to the events on earth is manifested in the apparent synchronization of the cycle of all of the heavenly bodies, including the stars, with one another *and* with the progression of the agricultural year. The liturgical year, whether biblical or pentacontad in its cycle, must regularly be reset, to remain in sync with heaven (and the natural agricultural year). Whether heaven and earth are intended to celebrate the feasts together appears to be the subject of an ongoing debate among the groups. If a concelebration of the heavenly hosts and humankind is intended, it seems pretty obvious as to who gets to set the schedule of worship. It is up to the priests to “hear” or to confirm the days of heaven’s yearly feasts and the precise time of heaven’s daily prayers.

Each calendrical group presents distinctive practices of intercalation and series of feasts. Without the periodic intercalation of days, weeks or months, the feast days commemorated in the earthly Temple might be celebrated a day too early or

a week too late. In that case, the prayers for the feast would be recited in error, on the wrong day according to heaven's calendar, and thus effectively result in the transgression of the solemn commandment not to use the Divine name in vain.

*Group D: The Pharisaic Calendar*⁴¹

No schematic lunar-based festal calendar has been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, which are dominated by a liturgical year built of solar months. However, the book of Ben Sira, substantial portions of which were found at Masada and in Cave 2Q, and an excerpt of which was found in the 11QPs^a scroll, gives credit to the moon alone for determining the calendar. These fragments bear witness to a book which contends that a lunar calendar was in fact the essential system for telling time, at least for one author during the early second century BCE, Ben Sira. This system was also followed by the Pharisaic party during the latter part of the Second Temple Period. In terms of the yearly festivals, the lunisolar rabbinic calendar, for the most part, supported the biblical feast days for its liturgical year, adding holy days such as Tisha B'Av, Chanukah and Purim.

1 The pride of the heavenly heights is the clear firmament, the appearance of heaven in a spectacle of glory. 2 The sun, when it appears, making proclamation as it goes forth, is a marvelous instrument, the work of the Most High. 3 At noon it parches the land; and who can withstand its burning heat? 4 A man tending a furnace works in burning heat, but the sun burns the mountains three times as much; it breathes out fiery vapors, and with bright beams it blinds the eyes. 5 Great is the Lord who made it; and at his command it hastens on its course. 6 He made the moon also, to serve in its season to make the times and to be an everlasting sign. 7 *From the [new] moon comes the sign for feast days*, a light that wanes when it has reached the full. 8 The month⁴² is named for the moon, increasing marvelously in its phases, an instrument of the hosts on high shining forth in the firmament of heaven. (Sir 43:1–8; restorations based upon Cairo Geniza mss; RSV based upon LXX; brackets are the author's).

גוֹם [י]רַח יאֲרִיחַ עֵתוֹת [] [] מ[משלת קץ ואות עולם]: Sir. 43:6 (Mas1h 5:23)
 לִי מוֹ[ע]ד וּמִמְנוּ חָג [] [] וְחַפֵּץ עֵתָהּ בְּתִקְוֹתָהּ Sir. 43:7 (Mas1h 5:24)

41 Ignores the sun; luni-agricultural calendar; observes biblical festal calendar; dates of feasts are defined by lunar phases with supplemental months.

42 The Hebrew here is consistent with the rabbinic term for a lunar month, *chodesh*. The Yahad, on the other hand, used *chodesh* for the solar months and *yerach* for the lunar months. See Group C.

:[מה נורא בהשתנותו] חֲדָשׁ כְּשֵׁמוֹ הוּא מֵתְ[חֲדָשׁ] [[] מה נורא בהשתנותו]: Sir. 43:8 (Masih 5:25)

The new moon, in keeping with its name, renews itself; how awesome it is in its phases. (Sir 43:8)

Indications of Factionalism or Sectarianism Signified by the Various Calendars

The calendars of Groups A–C shared some very important features: in particular, a 364-day solar calendar in which the feast days were connected to the solar months. The adherents of these calendars set themselves apart from those who followed a calendar in which the feast days were connected to the lunar month (group D). Concelebration of festivals between these two calendar types was virtually impossible. Moreover, a number of features made concelebration of the feasts even among Groups A–C, who held to the various 364-day calendars, difficult to nearly impossible (except perhaps for a few biblical festivals during the year).

The Enochic Group A appears to have secured the timing of its feast days to the ascent of certain star clusters throughout the course of the year, comprising the basis for a “stellar calendar.” The constant adjustment of feast days to the stars, unattached to the designated days of either solar months or lunar months, caused the festivals to shift about perennially. Since Group A’s festal year remained virtually unattached to either the solar or the lunar year, concelebration with Groups B, C, or D would be possible only on a haphazard basis.

Distinctions can also be drawn between the calendars of Group B and Group C, although these distinctions may not have prevented the concelebration of most of the biblical feasts. However, the observance or non-observance of feast days not shared by the two groups might have remained a bone of contention between them, based on the biblical principle that the Divine name (in liturgy or otherwise) must not be “used in vain.”

Side-by-side Comparison of the Diverse Calendars

Comparing calendars, together with the remainder of their manuscripts holdings or “libraries,” help us see the distinctive features that separated the groups.

The difference between the calendars becomes evident in their unique schedules of yearly feasts. (Table 1 displays the different feast days observed by each group). Though they may have agreed on other key issues, these differences alone would be enough to divide the groups, since they could not jointly participate in the liturgical year.

There are also a number of other idiosyncratic characteristics in each calendar’s associated literature.

Solar Date	Enoch (stellar)	Sadducees (or Zadokites)	Essenes (Yahad)	Pharisees (Rabbis)	Lunar Date
1,1	—	Tequfah	—	—	—
1,14	—	Passover	Passover	Passover	Nisan 14
1,15	—	Feast of Unleavened Bread	—	—	—
	—	—	—	Raising of the Omer	Nisan 16
1,26	—	Feast of Barley (PF I)	Raising of the Omer	—	—
2,14	—	—	Second Passover	Second Passover	Iyar 14
3,15	—	Feast of Weeks (PF II)	Feast of Weeks	Feast of Weeks	Sivan 6
3,15	—	Feast of First-Fruits	—	—	Sivan 6
4,1	—	Tequfah	—	—	—
	—	—	—	Tisha b'Av	Av 9
5,3	—	Feast of New Wine (PF III)	—	—	—
6,22	—	Feast of New Oil (PF IV)	—	—	—
6,23	—	Wood Offering	—	—	—
7,1	—	Tequfah	Day of Remembrance	—	—
7,10	—	Day of Atonement	Day of Atonement	Day of Atonement	Tishrei 10
7,15	—	Feast of Tabernacles	Feast of Tabernacles	Feast of Tabernacles	Tishrei 15
	—	—	—	Feast of Ingathering	Tishrei 15
7,22	—	Solemn Assembly	—	Shimeni Etseret	Tishrei 22
8,10	—	Unnamed Feast (PF V)	—	—	—
	—	—	—	Hanukkah	Chislev 25
9,29	—	Unnamed Feast (PF VI)	—	—	—
10,1	—	Tequfah	—	—	—
11,17	—	Unnamed Feast (PF VII)	—	—	—
	—	—	—	Purim	Adar 14
12,29	—	Feast of Ingathering (PF VIII)	—	—	—

TABLE 1 *Imperfect alignment of Festal Calendars of the Various Sects and Parties (For the solar dates 1,1 means "Month 1, Day 1"; Only the "Pharisees" column here follows the lunar dates).*

*Doctrinal Practice*⁴³

A growing number of scholars have concluded that, on the basis of doctrinal approach, at least three divergent groups are represented among the

43 The term "halakhic" may be used here with a certain reluctance and in quotes. Since it is in actuality a Pharisaic term, however scholars often use it loosely referring to the practices of various groups. Cf. the slur *dorshei halakhot* (meaning "seekers of smooth things" and not "exegetes of religious law"), which was used by the Yahad as a sectarian term for Pharisees.

scrolls from Qumran. These are: the Yahad, the *Temple Scroll* group, and the Enoch/Enastr group. Experts in religious law, including Schiffman, Baumgarten and Levine, have exposed irreconcilable differences between the *Temple Scroll* and the other Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁴

Liturgy

Scholars who specialize in liturgy have also found diversity. For example, hymns among the Qumran corpus use different key terms. Even those who have worked on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, once considered key for establishing the unity of the manuscripts found in Caves 4Q, 11Q, and even Masada, are now convinced that it is not a good fit for Qumran's Yahad.⁴⁵

Terminology

The terminology characteristic of the Yahad community⁴⁶ is not found in many of the caves. Well-known examples of the unique language used by

44 The lack of congruity between other Qumran documents and the *Temple Scroll* has been noted by scholars for many years. Cf. Lawrence Schiffman, "The *Temple Scroll* and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke; *JSPSup* 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 239. In "The Relationship of the Zadokite Fragments to the *Temple Scroll*," in *Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten; Leiden; Brill, 2000), 133, Schiffman points out the discrepancy between the *Temple Scroll* and the Damascus Covenant (which he calls by an earlier name "Zadokite Fragments"), writing, "The sectarian orientation of the Zadokite Fragments differs extensively from the priestly, sacrificial nature of the *Temple Scroll* and its irenic tone." Cf. also Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts," *JJS* 46 (1995): 112–19; "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies about Purity and the Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 (1980): 157–70; Baruch A. Levine, "The *Temple Scroll*: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 5–23.

45 "Two texts that display unmistakably Qumran sectarian language, Berakhot^{a-b} (4Q286–287) and the Songs of the Sage^{a-b} (4Q510–511) also contain passages that are very similar to and almost certainly dependent upon the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. One plausible explanation for this pattern of relationships is that the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice originated outside of and probably prior to the emergence of the Qumran community." Carol Newsom, "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *EDSS*, 2: 887–89 (887). Chazon states that another liturgical text, the *Words of the Luminaries*, "is likely to have been composed before the settlement at Qumran was founded in the second half of the second century BCE. The absence of distinctive sectarian terminology and ideas in this work, particularly in the description of the most recent historical period (4Q504 1–2.v–vi), also indicates its non-Qumranic origin." Esther Chazon, "Words of the Luminaries," *EDSS*, 2: 989–90 (989). Cf. also Esther Chazon, *Divrei Ha-me'orot: Teudah Liturgit MiQumran veHashlachoteyha* (Hebrew; unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, prepared under Prof. M. Stone; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991).

46 A lexicon of the unique terminology of the Yahad has yet to be produced. Nevertheless, there is ample terminology that may be considered theological jargon peculiar to an

this community fall into three categories: self-referential terms for the community, nicknames for specific historical characters, and circumlocutions for the divine name.⁴⁷ The Yahad uses self-referential terms that clearly set them apart, such as the Yahad, i.e. the “Community,” and “the Sons of Light.”⁴⁸ The Yahad documents contain many obvious and distinctive sobriquets for historical persons: “Teacher of Righteousness,” “Man of Lies,” “Wicked Priest,” and “Speaker of Smooth Things.” Finally, the exclusive use of *’El* and *’Adonai* to replace the words *’Elohim* and the Tetragrammaton respectively is characteristic of the Yahad’s literature (although they are not necessarily the only group to follow this practice). Sometimes the divine names are avoided altogether.⁴⁹

exclusive group. This includes distinctions in semantic range for certain given phrases or lexical forms which are discernible within each community’s corpus of key documents. That said, care must always be taken to consider whether such variations are simply products of an individual author or reflect scribal style. Cf. Devorah Dimant, “Between Sectarian Writings and Non-Sectarian Writings among the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Qumran Scrolls: Introduction and Research* (ed. M. Kister, Yad Ben Zvi, Jerusalem, 2009), 1: 49–86 [Heb.] and “The Vocabulary of the Qumran Sectarian Texts,” in *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies* (FAT 90; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 57–100.

- 47 Other likely in-house terms, including *pesher/pishro*, *maskil*, “Belial” and “Sons of Light,” are in fact used by other groups, such as those that produced the *War Scroll* and the Melchizedek scroll. “Even the use of the term *maskil* in the heading of the songs is not decisive. Although the Qumran community used the word as a technical term, the term also appears in both sectarian and nonsectarian literature, in a nontechnical sense. (CD xii.21; Dn 11.33; 1 Enoch 100.6, 104.12); cf. Newsom, “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” 887. The use of similar language by different groups may be due to the common roots of the communities, which subsequently split into separate groups with distinct leaderships. The *War Scroll* has long been suspected of not being a product of the Yahad, and the Melchizedek scroll diverges from Yahad doctrine with respect to both eschatology (a 490-year waiting period, counted in *Jubilees*, instead of 390 years) and the calendar (the year begins in the fall instead of the spring). Perhaps the authors of these two books should be linked to the “warrior Asideans” of 1 and 2 Maccabees who joined ranks with the Hasmoneans in their revolt against the Seleucids. See Philip Davies, “War Rule,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 867–75.
- 48 This term is also used in the *War Scroll*. It apparently comes from the period of the Hasideans, which precedes the formation of the Yahad. In this case, the Warrior Hasideans of the Books of 1 and 2 Maccabees would be roughly contemporary with the formation of the Yahad.
- 49 There is one notable exception. Biblical quotes sometimes contain the divine name. The fact that manuscripts containing the divine name were found at all is puzzling. Apparently these strictures applied to the writing of their own documents, and do not seem to have inhibited the Yahad from collecting literature written by members of other groups. This applies particularly when the literary work was written in earlier centuries

This language dissociates the group from outsiders who do not share the same belief system or religious language.⁵⁰ The use of "insider" language appears to have been significant in the life of the Yahad community. Because it serves to exclude those who do not use it, we should not lightly pass over its presence or absence among different scroll collections. It seems to be a key indicator of one of the communities behind one of the scroll collections. In light of the evidence considered so far, its absence in caves 2Q, 3Q, and 11Q⁵¹ surely could be taken as further indication that these caves reflect a different group from the Yahad. For caves that lack any distinctive Yahad terminology it is, therefore, warranted to conclude that they also lack any direct link to the cave(s) of the Yahad community.

Paleography

A study of the paleographic features of all manuscripts from a single location, whether a site or a cave, can provide a synthesis of the history of the acquisition of the collection's scrolls. A comparison of the date ranges of the various collections also illustrates that the various Qumran cave deposits do not represent parts of a unified library. The first graph below charts the date range of scribal activity in those caves (1Q and 6Q) that have documents of a clear and unmixed Yahad character. The second figure shows the range of the character and dates for those caves that are most clearly unrelated to the Yahad.⁵² The date ranges of caves presented in the two figures reveal very different periods of peak activity.

and not by members of contemporary groups. Nonetheless, certain books, including *Ben Sira* and 1 and 2 *Maccabees*, appear to have been forbidden, since these are neither contained nor quoted in the remains of their libraries.

50 The counterpoint is that such "exclusive" terminology also serves as an inclusive language intended to unite the group membership and bolster the sense of belonging. Cf. also William Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–52.

51 In addition, the remains from caves 7, 8, 9, and 10 do not contain this language. However, I have not included these in the list above because these caves contain too little material to even expect it.

52 These charts were published previously among a complete set including the other Qumran caves and Masada in Pfann, "Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves," 157–60. A chart summarizing the material remains can be found on p. 159 of that article. These were presented earlier in Stephen Pfann, "Qumran History and the Different Caves" supplemented with more detailed charts cave by cave at the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies Symposium at the École Biblique, Jerusalem, 22–29 September 2005. These detailed charts were drawn from the UHL Second Temple Period Educational Suite (1997 to present). Cf. also Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus," *DSD* 14 (2007): 313–33, who accounts for the diversity among the caves being due to diachronic transitions in the community's self-definition.

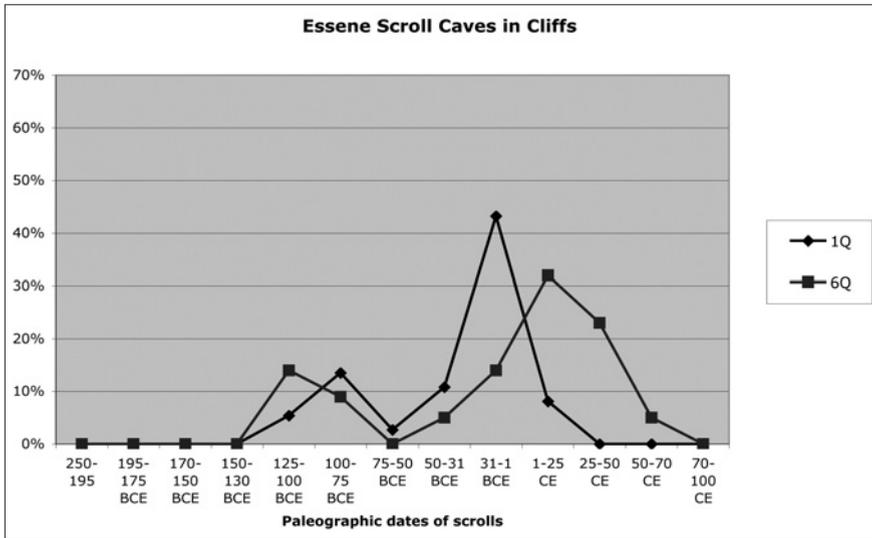


FIGURE 5 *Paleographic dates of manuscripts from caves 1Q and 6Q.*

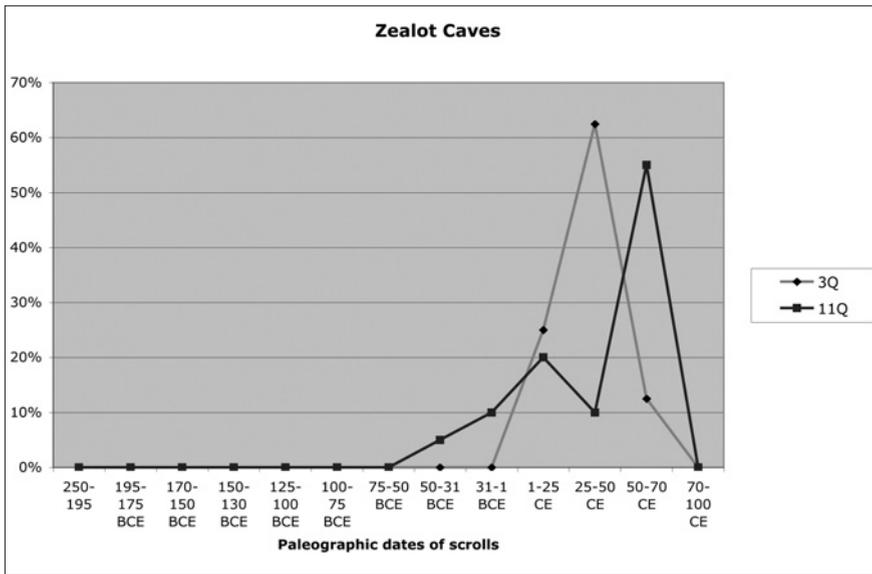


FIGURE 6 *Paleographic dates of manuscripts from caves 3Q and 11Q.*

Analysis of scribal activity can give us very important information about the period of activity of the communities associated with different caves. For example, the unmixed Essene caves (1Q and 6Q) show scribal activity from the 2nd century BCE into the early first century CE (see Figure 5), each with

its main peak between 31 BCE (cave 1Q) and 25 CE (with a lesser peak between 125 BCE and 75 BCE, respectively).

In contrast, the peak in scribal activity for what I argue were non-*Yahad* caves in the northern cluster (i.e., 11Q and 3Q), is at the very end of the Second Temple Period. In these caves, the vast majority of the manuscripts were written only in the 1st cent. CE (see Figure 6), with the peak of activity (more than 50% of the count) falling between 25 and 70 CE, in the years leading up to and during the Great Revolt. By comparison of the styles of the script in these caves, one would discern a higher level of scribal quality than those of Caves 1Q and 6Q.

Hieratic Scripts

Another revealing characteristic in the area of scribal practice is the use of cryptic scripts. These scripts, once considered a unique feature of the Qumran Community, appear to have enjoyed a broader use among the various priestly circles of the Second Temple Period (including parts of an inscription written in this script found on a stone cup in Jerusalem).⁵³ Even the 60 to 100 manuscripts written in the various branches of a Hebrew Hieratic script (a.k.a., Cryptic A script) appear to diverge stylistically along several lines according to particular halakhic practice, liturgy and terminology.⁵⁴ It is interesting to

53 Cf. Stephen Pfann, “The Mount Zion Inscribed Cup: Preliminary Report,” in *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region: Collected Papers* (ed. D. Amit, O. Peleg-Barkat, G.D. Stiebel, Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Institute of Archaeology, 2010), * 44–* 53.

54 Stephen Pfann, “Scripts and Scribal Practice,” in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. J.J. Collins and D. Harlow; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 1204–07. One can see from the drawings of the Cryptic A alphabet in the calendars section below that divergences include the evolution of certain letter forms during the period from the 2nd century BCE (cf. under the Enochic calendar below, 4Q317 Phases of the Moon mss) with respect to the later part of the 1st century BCE (e.g., with respect to the Pentecontad calendar and the *Yahad* calendar). For example, in the sign for *waw*: while the early forms often have an accidental leftward ink trail at the bottom of the letter, the form on the Pentecontad calendars has developed the ink trail into a mandatory feature of the letter. This feature is lacking in other forms of the script from that period (cf. that of 4QS^c and 4Q298 Words of the Sage to all Sons of Dawn). Also with respect to the sign for *yodh*, while the earlier 4Q317 manuscripts tend to show a gentle bending of the rightward lower stroke due to the movement of the hand toward the next letter, the script of 4QS^c has developed a full loop extending underneath for the full length of the letter. This feature remained undeveloped in 4Q324 Pentecontad Festal Calendars, as well as in other contemporary exemplars.

note that there are three idiosyncratic forms of this script which can be found related to each of the three forms of the 364-day calendar described here.⁵⁵

There are at least four general tendencies in the development of features of the Cryptic A script that appear in the extant sources, which range in date from the late 3rd century BCE until the early 1st century CE.

1. A rotation of each letter of the alphabet between 15 to 70 degrees counter-clockwise.
2. The development of a tendency toward horizontal rather than vertical shading.
3. The shortening of extended vertical lines which give the letter an apparent squat and/or wider profile.
4. Reduction of hooked lines at the tops of letters in the early period to a single line with an upturned end in the later period (similar reduction is found in the development of the Aramaic alphabet).

Alongside these general tendencies, idiosyncratic features of individual letters developed over time that reveal distinct but parallel scribal practices, traditions associated with each distinct group that apparently formed over time.

Here are a few examples taken from the three distinct 364-day calendars.

A *The Calendar of the Enochic Literature (c. 1st half of the 2nd cent BCE)*



The letters of this alphabet are reduced in height, leaving an impression of being miniscule, in order to allow for more lines in a column of text.

B *The Pentecontad Calendar (Zadokite) (c. 2nd half of the first cent. BCE)*



In *waw*  the accidental ink trail or bend at the base of the downstroke has been elaborated on and incorporated as an integral and ornamental part of the letter. In *nun*  most exemplars have provided a new feature: a small circle has

55 This is also true to a certain degree concerning stylistic features of Jewish scripts among associated manuscripts.

Similarity and Diversity:

compiled by S. Pfann

	Group	Ideal calendar type	Practiced calendar type
Group A*	Enochic	Lunisolar non-Festal Calendar	Likely Concurrent: 364 day Solar with 30 day months; Lunisolar Calendar + intercalations
Group B*	Zadokite, Sadducean	364 day Solar Pentecostal Festal Calendar	364 day Solar Pentecostal Festal Calendar + intercalations
Group C*	Yahad, Essene	Solar-centric Festal Lunisolar Calendar	Concurrent: 364 day Solar Calendar & Festal Lunisolar Calendar + intercalations
Group D	Pharisaic, (Sicarii)	Lunar-centric Festal Lunisolar Calendar	Metonic Lunisolar

*364-day solar calendars

TABLE 2 *Diversity among Jewish groups and their calendars during the late Second Temple Period.*⁵⁶

56 The locations which housed manuscript collections best typifying the works of a narrowly defined group are marked in bold in the far right column "Locations." They are primarily 1Q, 6Q; 11Q, 3Q; 2Q, Masada. Caves 4aQ, 4bQ and 5 have a mixed character, containing both Yahad and non-Yahad documents, and so do not typify a specific group. They do bear witness, however, to the reading by the Yahad of compositions of diverse groups.

Among the Groups and their Calendars

Special characteristics	Extant calendar manuscripts	Combined with	Utilized by	Location
excludes any mention of feasts and the 24 priestly courses	4Q208-11; 4Q317a-e (crypt A)	4QEnoch "Pentateuch"; pOxy 2069 (Greek)	summarized in Ethiopic Enoch	4Q only
includes Pentateuchal feasts and at least 3 additional pentacontad feasts; excludes lunar cycle and 24 priestly courses	4Q324d-h (Crypt A); 4Q325-327 (4Q394 fl-2)	4QMMT	11Q19,20 Ta, Tb; <i>Jubilees</i> ; 4QReworked Pentateuch	11Q! (primarily); 4Q
includes only Pentateuchal feasts; 24 priestly courses	4Q319; 320, 321, 321a, 322, 323, 324, 324a, 324c, 329, 329a, 330	4QSerekh ha-Yahad (ms e)	1QS; 4QS mss	1Q!, 6Q; 4Q, 5Q
includes only Biblical feasts; Babylonian lunar month names; 24 priestly courses (?)	none extant	none extant	Ben Sira	Masada Ben Sira (includes Sir 43); 2Q, 11Q5 Psa a

5. Groups with such diverse calendars could only agree upon meeting times and appointments through the use of the two items that remained unchanging in Jewish practice, regardless of affiliation: the Sabbath and the cycle of the *mishmarot*.

Conclusion

Cave 1 had it all. Its story and its initial impact were so great that its scrolls and doctrines were read into the contents of each succeeding cave. Initially, the story seemed straightforward, unified and clear as the manuscripts of Cave 1 were studied alongside the history of the Essenes. With the addition of the other caves, the picture gradually became blurred and increasingly complicated. This paper has argued that on the basis of differences in location, terminology, halakhic practice, and especially calendar systems, the Dead Sea Scrolls do not represent the holdings of a single group. Although the Yahad character of Cave 1Q, along with the associated caves 4Q, 5Q and 6Q is clear, in most other caves it is not.

What if Cave 1 had not been discovered until now? What if our perception of the doctrine, calendar, worship and eschatology of the unified “Dead Sea Scrolls Library” began first with the discovery of the northern cluster of Qumran, caves 3Q and 11Q, and caves 1Q and 6Q were only discovered last? We would be haunted with the specter of caves 11Q and 3Q as we endeavored to understand the contents of the subsequently discovered caves. We would have started the discussion around a community of priests who served in the temple.

The emerging scenario would look like this:

- A. Caves 3Q and 11Q are located in a cluster of caves stretching 800 meters along a set of cliffs up to the known ancient landmark *Hadjar el-Asba* (i.e., *Even Bohan*, cf. Josh 15:6, 18:17). They lie three kilometers north of Qumran, and relatively close to the ancient route which runs along Wadi Mukalik (Naḥal Og).
- B. Material remains in the northern cluster of caves set them apart from caves closer to the site of Qumran. These differences include earmarks of manufacture (e.g., bleached linen cloth instead of the normal off-white linen) and datable differences in ceramic forms (e.g., mid to late first century disk lamps).⁵⁷

57 Cf. Pfann, “Reassessing the Judean Desert Caves,” 160–61, 164–66.

- C. Paleographically, the manuscripts from caves 11Q and 3Q date almost entirely from the first century CE, with the majority deriving from the middle of that century.
- D. When it comes to terminology, the *Temple Scroll* found in cave 11Q freely utilizes the tetragrammaton and *'Elohim* for divine names without the use of circumlocutions or the substitution of alternative alphabets. Although the Psalms scrolls use the paleo-Hebrew script (instead of the normal square script) for the tetragrammaton, the divine name is still written in actual letters that have clear alphabetic equivalences. Standard names and titles such as *kohen gaddol*, *kohanim*, and *levi'im* are applied to the functionaries of the temple, without even a hint of sectarian names or titles which would be typical of a breakaway group. Neither the sobriquets nor circumlocutions that are found in the Yahad literature are to be found in this central document.
- E. As to religious law, the central rule book is the *Temple Scroll* (three copies of which were found in Cave 11Q) which depicts life and practices of a community of priests who serve in the Temple precinct.
- F. As to sapiential literature, *Ben Sira* appears to be the most acceptable book: copies were found in Cave 2, and in a chapter inserted in 11QPsalms^a and later, at Masada.
- G. As to liturgy, there are multiple copies of the book of Psalms in Cave 11, the contents of which are mixed and not normally in the canonical order. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* of Cave 11 (and later, Masada, as well) would have provided an additional element.
- H. As to calendar, the 364-day solar calendar embedded in the *Book of Jubilees*, found in caves 2Q and 11Q (and again, at Masada), and in the *Temple Scroll* set the standard. This calendar disregards the moon and has a pentecontad festal cycle that observes a number of non-biblical feasts, more than doubling the total number.
- I. And as for apocalyptic expectation, a plan of the ages entailing a 490-year timeline before the end of days, as presented in 11QMelchizedek, and a future plan of the New Jerusalem, described in 2QNJ and 11QNJ: these take center stage.

If Caves 1, 4, 5 and 6 had been discovered subsequent to Caves 3 and 11, then a divergent picture would have emerged for the texts issuing from those caves. For the time being, since Caves 4 and 5 seem to be a *genizah* made up of a broader range of texts, we will deal with only Caves 1 and 6, which contain doctrinal works only of the Yahad.

- A. Caves 1 and 6 both lie within 300 to 1300 meters of the site of Qumran.
- B. The cloth from cave 1Q was the normal off-white linen. Some were dyed with blue lines. Lamps from both the late first century BCE as well as the first century CE were found.
- C. Paleographically, the manuscripts date from the second century BCE until the first half of the first century CE. The scripts are quite varied in style and in execution.
- D. A number of terms characteristic of the Yahad community are well established in caves 1Q, 6Q, and the mixed caves of 4Q, 5Q but are not found in most of the caves (and likewise, not at Masada). Well-known examples of the unique language used by this community fall into three categories: self-referential terms for the community (e.g., “Yahad,” i.e. the “Community,” and “the Sons of Light), nicknames for specific historical characters (“Teacher of Righteousness,” “Man of Lies,” “Wicked Priest,” and “Speaker of Smooth Things”, and circumlocutions for the divine name (’El and ’Adonai to replace the words ’Elohim and the Tetragrammaton respectively).
- E. The central book of religious law for the leaders of the Yahad movement is the *Rule of the Community*, found in Cave 1Q; for the lay members, it is the *Damascus Document*, found in Cave 6Q. These texts are centered around a movement which calls itself the Yahad and the “Children of Light,” founded by the *Moreh Tsedeq*, which lives as a closed community of priests and laity isolated from the Temple.
- F. With regard to sapiential literature, *Ben Sira* is noticeably absent from the Yahad holdings. Instead, the books of *Mysteries* and *Instruction* are present.
- G. With regard to liturgy, the priestly character of Cave 1Q brings with it three copies of the book of Psalms and two copies of the *Hodayot* hymns, attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness and the leaders of the movement.
- H. With regard to calendars: although it has a 364-day calendar, the annual feasts listed in *Serekh ha-Yahad* (4Q259) are limited to those commanded in scripture.
- I. With regard to apocalyptic expectation, the years leading up to the end-times are based upon the numbers provided in the book of Ezekiel 4:4–6, that is, 390 years plus 40 years, following the death of the *Moreh Tzedek*, as interpreted in the *Damascus Document*.

These insights emerge from an approach which seeks to be alert to the particularities of the scrolls, and the distinctive nature of their various collections. When coupled with a similarly sensitive reading of the archaeological remains

of the caves and the site of Qumran itself, we are presented with a multifaceted picture quite different from the consensus view (or any other alternative view), which proposes a holistic identification and ownership of both the scroll caves and the associated sites. This paper proposes not *one* sectarian library but an apparent multiplicity of libraries, and a more nuanced picture of the various groups that collected them.

The initial bold, well-defined Cave 1Q, supported by subsequent discovery of the correlative manuscript collections in caves 6Q, 4Q and 5Q left an unshakable impression of an unbroken continuity among the scroll caves. In part, the preceding has been an effort to define the message conveyed by the Yahad documents of Cave 1Q and its associated caves, and the history of its evaluation by scholars. In addition it has explored the continued influence of this cave on the evaluation of subsequently discovered caves as they were philosophically incorporated, part and parcel, into a single sectarian library, while at the same time, the influence of the Yahad doctrines derived from Cave 1Q, and its associated caves 4Q, 5Q and 6Q highly affected and even displaced the characterization of these subsequently-discovered scroll collections.

Although the picture of the Yahad was initially clearly defined by the scrolls of Cave 1Q, it was eventually mixed with extraneous materials and doctrines produced by rival groups that left their scroll collections in other caves. Meanwhile the writings and practices of the rival groups were merged with the supposed single Yahad/Essene Library, thus muddling or suppressing their identities. This mixing of scrolls created a confused picture of the doctrines and practices, not only of the Yahad, but also of its rivals.

An effort has been made in this presentation to define the contents and historical context of these other manuscript collections by allowing each cave and site to "speak for itself." This process involved an effort to dispel the lingering specter of Cave 1Q and the doctrines and practices of its community, the Yahad, from the evaluation of the manuscript collections of other caves. Proposals were made as to which groups and historical context best account for the contents of those collections.

Further research must be carried out on these collections of precious manuscripts to discern further distinctions that help expose the identities of the authors and their groups. In this way, it is hoped that scholarship can reclaim the Dead Sea Scrolls for the groups that actually wrote them as well as those who preserved them.