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DISCOVERY AND PURCHASE. The earliest manuscript finds in the Judean Desert are reported by Origen, who in his hexapla used a Greek translation that was discovered "together with other Hebrew and Greek books in a jar near Jericho," probably about 217 CE, discoveries later referred to by Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* VI xvi I).

In about 800 CE, Timotheus I, Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, mentioned manuscripts found in a cave near Jericho, manuscripts later related to the Karaites. Several

medieval Arab authors refer to "scriptures" used by "cave-men" in the area of Jericho, probably a reference to ancient recollections of the Qumran community.

Modern Discoveries. The first scrolls discovered in the Judean Desert in modern times came from Qumran. A number of scrolls were discovered at other sites in the Judean Desert as well.

Qumran. Published accounts of the discoveries of the scrolls near Qumran have contained contradictory details from the beginning. The main points, however, seem to be established. Sometime between November 1946 and February 1947 (possibly one or two years earlier), at least three Ta'amireh bedouin, Muhammed edh-Dhib Hasan (Muhammed Ahmed el-Hamed, possibly to be identified with Abu-Daoud, who died in Bethlehem in January 1998, or with another bedouin who died in Jordan in 1997), Jum'a Muhammed (reported to be alive in Bethlehem as late as 1994), and Khalil Musa, accidentally discovered a cave near Qumran while shepherding sheep and/or goats. Either as a result of a game to see who could hit an opening in the mountainside, or the sighting of an opening during a search for a lost goat, a rock was tossed into this hole, and the sound of breaking pottery was heard. Thinking that something valuable might be contained in the pots, edh-Dhib and at least one other companion investigated, probably the next day after securing candles and a rope. Upon entering the cave, the men discovered several large clay jars (at least ten, perhaps as many as fifty), all with lids, some or all sealed to the jars with clay. Breaking open the jars, expecting perhaps to find gold or other treasure, the bedouin discovered only seeds (or "red dirt" or something resembling "dead bugs"), except in one jar, which contained three (or four) bundles wrapped in linen coverings that had a "green" color.

Taking them back to the camp, the bundles were hung in a bag on a corner tent pole for some months (early accounts say as long as two years), and one is reported to have been destroyed by children playing with it (a fourth original scroll?).

In March 1947, Jum'a and Khalil offered three scrolls to Ibrahim 'Ijha, a carpenter and antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, who showed them to another antiquities dealer, Faidi Salahi. 'Ijha kept them for several weeks but then returned the bundles, fearing they were stolen goods. These were the complete Isaiah scroll from Cave 1 at Qumran, Isaiah^a (hereafter, 1QIsaiah^a; 1QIsa^a), Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab), and the Rule of the Community (hereafter, 1QRule of the Community; 1QS).

Jum'a next showed the scrolls to George Isha'ya (Shamoun), a Bethlehem peddler, but he did not entrust George with the scrolls. Then Jum'a showed the scrolls to Sheikh 'Ali Subh, chief of the Ta'amireh, who suggested

they bring them to Khalil Iskander (Kando Shahin), a Syrian Orthodox merchant in Bethlehem.

During Holy Week of (April) 1947, George mentioned the manuscripts to the Syrian Orthodox metropolitan Athanasius Yeshue Samuel at Saint Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem's Old City. Kando and George brought one manuscript, 1QRule of the Community, to Metropolitan Samuel within about a week's time. Samuel realized that it was written in Hebrew and offered to buy it or any other similar manuscripts. Kando left with the scroll, not contacting the metropolitan again for about ten weeks.

Some months after the original discovery, probably in May or June 1947, Jum'a returned to the cave (or perhaps another cave) with George and removed four more scrolls. Three of these they sold to Faidi Salahi, the Bethlehem antiquities dealer who had seen the first three. These three were later bought by Professor Eleazar L. Sukenik: Isaiah^b (hereafter, 1QIsaiah^b; 1Q8), the War Scroll (1QM), and Hodayot^b (1Q35). The fourth, Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen), was kept by Kando.

About 5 July 1947, Kando sent Jum'a Muhammed, George Isha'ya, and Khalil Musa to the monastery in Jerusalem, where they were rudely turned away at the door by one of the monks, Bulos Gilf, who had not been informed about Kando's previous offer. The bedouin and Kando were deeply offended, but two weeks later Kando returned, this time with five scrolls (1QIsa^a, 1QpHab, 1QS in two halves, and 1QapGen). On 19 July 1947, Kando took the scrolls on consignment from the bedouin for one-third of whatever he could obtain for them. He sold these to Metropolitan Samuel shortly afterward for £P (Palestine pounds) 24 (\$97.20), of which he gave £P16 (\$64.80) to the bedouin according to the agreement.

During the next few days Metropolitan Samuel consulted Stephan Hanna Stephan, a Syrian Christian employed by the Palestine Department of Antiquities, and Fathers Marmardji and van der Ploeg, all of whom examined the scrolls but considered them late (medieval) and therefore of no great value.

During August 1947, the metropolitan sent another of Saint Mark's priests, Father Yusef, with George Isha'ya to check the cave for further details, at least the second trip back by the bedouin or others after the discovery.

In September 1947, Anton Kiraz traveled with Metropolitan Samuel to Homs, Syria, where the scrolls were shown to the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, who also doubted their antiquity. Metropolitan Samuel next traveled to Beirut to show them to the Professor of Hebrew at the American University, only to find that he was on vacation. On September 26, the metropolitan returned to Jerusalem, still confident that the scrolls were ancient but without any support for his views on their antiquity.

During the first week of October, Anton Kiraz and Met-

ropolitan Samuel became partners in the scrolls in return for Kiraz's financial support. The metropolitan again asked for help from Stephan Hanna Stephan, who brought along a Jewish expert and specialist in antiquities, but both steadfastly identified the scrolls as late. In October 1947, the metropolitan asked Dr. Maurice Brown for assistance. Dr. Brown contacted Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of Hebrew University of Jerusalem on Mount Scopus. Magnes sent two librarians, who examined the scrolls but never returned to see them again, despite the metropolitan's agreement that they might photograph some of the columns. Another Jewish antiquities dealer, Mr. Sassun, suggested sending the scrolls to experts in Europe, but the metropolitan declined.

In early February 1948, Reverend Butros Sowmy, assistant to Metropolitan Samuel, recalled having visited the American Schools of Oriental Research (now the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research), where he had been given a cordial welcome some ten years before. He suggested to Metropolitan Samuel that he might obtain information there about the antiquity of the scrolls. On February 18, Sowmy telephoned the school, only to discover that the director, Millar Burrows, was in Iraq. Dr. John C. Trever, acting director in Burrows's absence, invited Sowmy to come to the school on the following day. In a few weeks' time, Trever, with the help of William H. Brownlee, was able to photograph 1QIsaiah^a, Peshar Habakkuk, and 1QRule of the Community. He later sent copies of the photographs to William F. Albright, who dated the scrolls paleographically to about 100 BCE.

Meanwhile, in West Jerusalem, on 23 November 1947, an Armenian antiquities dealer had contacted Sukenik. Sukenik subsequently met with the Armenian (identified only as Mister X in published accounts) across a barbed wire fence at the gateway to Military Zone B in Jerusalem. Sukenik was shown a scrap of leather with Hebrew script written on it. He was told that bedouin had brought several parchment scrolls from the Dead Sea region to a mutual friend, an old antiquities dealer in Bethlehem (Faidi Salahi), who wished to offer the scrolls to the Museum of Jewish Antiquities of the Hebrew University. Sukenik recognized the script of the fragment as similar to that on some coffins and ossuaries from before the Roman destruction of Jerusalem (which he previously had excavated on Anton Kiraz's property) and requested that the Armenian dealer proceed to Bethlehem to obtain more samples.

On 27 November the Armenian telephoned Sukenik to say that he had additional fragments, and they met at the Armenian's shop in the Old City. Sukenik and Mister X decided to go to Bethlehem to arrange a purchase of the bundles from Salahi, who had two jars in which bundles had been found, removed by the bedouin at the time of

the original discovery. After reading one of the scrolls, written in Biblical Hebrew, the text of which was unfamiliar to him, Sukenik took the scrolls for inspection and returned to Jerusalem.

Back in Jerusalem Sukenik continued to read the scrolls and later informed Salahi, through his Armenian friend, that he would purchase them. Sukenik bought the War Scroll and Hodayot^a (hereafter, 1QHodayot^a; 1QH^a) from Salahi on November 29. Later that night the United Nations voted to partition Palestine, the first step in the establishment of the modern State of Israel. Sukenik purchased an Isaiah^b fragment on 22 December 1947 and possibly some Daniel fragments as well.

Not long afterward, Sukenik received a telephone call from Mister X saying that he hoped to get more scrolls from the same source in Bethlehem. Now Sukenik began to seek a personal loan from the bank in order to buy the scrolls.

He visited Mister X several times in the Old City, asking him to encourage the Arab dealer to obtain whatever else he could from the bedouin. At the end of January 1948, Sukenik received a letter from Anton Kiraz, offering to show Sukenik ancient Hebrew scrolls. Sukenik met Kiraz at the YMCA building in Jerusalem and was shown several scrolls, including one of the entire book of Isaiah (1QIsa^a). Sukenik believed these scrolls to be of the same origin as those he had obtained from the Bethlehem dealer and established that his friend had bought these from Ta'amireh bedouin, the same tribe that had brought scrolls to the Bethlehem dealer Salahi. Kiraz said that these scrolls now belonged to him and the metropolitan (though Metropolitan Samuel later denied consenting to this meeting). Sukenik took these scrolls home for examination and made partial transcriptions and copies of some of the texts.

Sukenik's bank refused his loan request, and he was unable to contact officials at the Jewish Agency and Bialik Foundation for funding. On 6 February, Sukenik returned the second set of scrolls to Kiraz at the YMCA in West Jerusalem. Although they negotiated, they were unable to agree on a price. A few days later Sukenik received word from the Jewish Agency that it would fund the purchase of the scrolls, but it was too late.

Weeks passed, and finally Sukenik received a letter from Kiraz and Metropolitan Samuel informing him that they had decided not to sell. Sukenik later discovered that two weeks after he returned the scrolls, Sowmy had gone to the American Schools of Oriental Research, resulting in Trever's photographs and eventual publication by the school of 1QIsaiah^a and Peshier Habakkuk (1950) and 1QRule of the Community (1951).

With war impending, Father Sowmy took the scrolls to

Beirut for safekeeping on 25 March 1948. Trever left Jerusalem on 5 April, and the British Mandate ended on 15 May, precipitating the Israeli War of Independence.

Probably in August 1948, George Isha'ya visited the cave again and secured some Daniel and Prayer Scroll fragments, as well as a few others, which he turned over to Saint Mark's. In November, Isha'ya, Kando, and others excavated the cave and secured many more fragments.

In January 1949, O. R. Sellers and Yusef Saad, secretary of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, attempted to locate the cave, but George Isha'ya demanded payment to guide them, and negotiations ceased. On 24 January, Captain Philippe Lippens asked for help from the Arab Legion to locate the cave, which was accomplished on 28 January.

On 29 January 1949, Metropolitan Samuel arrived in the United States with four scrolls and various fragments. Six days later, on 4 February, Trever met the metropolitan in New Jersey to begin arrangements for unrolling the "fourth scroll," the Genesis Apocryphon.

Additional scroll discoveries, for the most part by the bedouin, soon followed. Cave 1 at Qumran was excavated between 15 February and 5 March 1949 under the direction of G. Lankester Harding (Palestine Archaeological Museum) and Roland de Vaux (École Biblique et Archéologique Française), with fragments of about seventy scrolls and pieces of fifty pottery jars and covers recovered.

From 7 to 9 April 1949 the Saint Mark's fragments in the United States were separated, mounted, photographed, and identified as parts of Daniel^{a-b} and later as Liturgical Prayers.

On 10 April a large fragment of the fourth scroll was separated from the roll and tentatively identified as the Lamech Document, later named the Genesis Apocryphon. Four days later it was taken to Harvard's Fogg Art Museum to be prepared for complete opening, but it was completely unrolled only in 1956 by Yigael Yadin and Bieberkraut after its arrival in Israel. That summer, 1QIsaiah^b was opened at Hebrew University.

Yusef Saad finally succeeded in purchasing the remainder of the Cave 1 fragments from Kando in the spring of 1950: the Rule of the Congregation (1Q28a) and the Rule of the Blessings (1Q28b).

For six years the metropolitan tried to sell the four scrolls in his possession in the United States. Trever repeatedly but unsuccessfully tried to raise money to buy them. Just when he thought he had succeeded, Yadin (son of Sukenik, who had died in 1953) announced their purchase for Israel. During June 1954, Morty Jacobs of New York had called Yadin to inform him that the scrolls were advertised for sale in the *Wall Street Journal*. The next day a banker, acting as an intermediary for Yadin,

replied to the advertisement. On 11 June 1954 an agreement was reached to purchase the four scrolls for \$250,000, through the assistance in various ways of Abraham Harman, Isak Norman, Samuel Rubin, and Teddy Kollek. Later that month, Professor Harry Orlinsky of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York, posing as a Mr. Green, authenticated the scrolls, and after the conclusion of the agreement and transfer of the scrolls, Samuel Gottesman donated the money to cover loans made for their purchase. The scrolls were shipped back to Israel separately, and on 13 February 1955 Yadin announced to the world that the scrolls were now in Israel and had been reunited with those purchased by his father some years before.

Between 24 November and 12 December 1951, de Vaux and Harding made soundings at Khirbet Qumran, confirming the site's connection with the scroll cave through pottery and establishing an approximate date through coins. Cave 2 was discovered close to Cave 1 in February 1952. From 10 to 20 March 1952 a team led by de Vaux and William Reed, director of the American Schools of Oriental Research, explored about 225 caves in the Qumran region, discovering Cave 3 with the Copper Scroll (3Q15) together with several dozen fragments from other scrolls.

Cave 4 was discovered adjacent to Khirbet Qumran by bedouin in August 1952. According to Abu-Daoud (possibly to be identified with Muhammed edh-Dhib Hasan), he and his friends heaped as many fragments as possible in their kaffiyehs and carried them off. They also found "pieces of wood" (shelves?), which they threw out of the cave into the wadi.

Fragments from Cave 4 were purchased by the Palestine Archaeological Museum from bedouin over a period of three years, mostly through Kando as intermediary. For example, on 20 September 1952 the Palestine Archaeological Museum was offered a group of approximately fifteen thousand fragments, for which the Jordanian government paid 15,000 dinars (\$42,000) in early 1953. A second large purchase was made in February 1954 and a third in July 1958. Funds for Cave 4 purchases came, among others, from the All Souls Church (New York); the federal government of Bonn and the government of Baden-Württemberg on behalf of the University of Heidelberg through K. G. Kuhn; the Jordanian Government; Manchester University and one of its donors; McCormick Theological Seminary; McGill University; an unnamed widow; the endowment of the Palestine Archaeological Museum; and the Vatican Library.

From 22 to 29 September 1952, de Vaux and his team excavated Cave 4, recovering fragments from about one hundred manuscripts. More than forty thousand frag-

ments later were identified as having come from nearly six hundred manuscripts in Cave 4, of which at least one hundred were biblical.

Cave 5, discovered a short distance north of Cave 4 in September 1952, was excavated by Józef T. Milik, and nearly at the same time Cave 6 was discovered by bedouin in a cliff of Wadi Qumran. Caves 7, 8, 9, and 10 were discovered between February and April 1955 in the terraces around Qumran. All these caves yielded relatively small numbers of fragments.

The eleventh and final Qumran cave was discovered by bedouin in February 1956. Fragments were secured partly through donations from Kenneth and Elizabeth Hay Bechtel and the Royal Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands. On 1 March 1956 the Palestine Archaeological Museum paid JD (Jordanian dinars) 16,000 (\$44,800) to Kando for "eight cardboard boxes and one package of fragments" from Cave 11 and, on 17 July of the same year, JD14,000 (\$39,200) for New Jerusalem from Qumran Cave 11 (hereafter, 11QNew Jerusalem; 11Q18) and Targum of Job (hereafter, 11QTargum of Job; 11Q10) bought in 1961 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands. Temple Scroll^a (11Q19) was not recovered by scholars until 1967 when Yadin seized it from Kando immediately after the capture of Bethlehem during the 1967 Arab-Israeli War (the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums later paid Kando more than \$100,000).

Wadi Murabba'at. In October 1951 Ta'amireh bedouin made another discovery, this time in the caves of Wadi Murabba'at, south of Qumran. Two fragments of inscribed leather were offered for sale, first in Jerusalem, and from November 1951 through January 1952, Kando offered many other fragments to the École Biblique et Archéologique Française. From 21 January to 3 March 1952, Harding and de Vaux interrupted their excavations at Qumran to search caves at Murabba'at. In March 1955 a Hebrew scroll of the Minor Prophets (Mur 88) was discovered by bedouin in a fifth Murabba'at cave. The last fragments from Murabba'at were purchased in 1958 by the Palestine Archaeological Museum and the École Biblique et Archéologique Française.

Khirbet Mird. In July 1952, bedouin also discovered Byzantine and early Arabic manuscripts, including some Greek New Testament manuscripts, all from about the sixth through seventh centuries CE at Khirbet Mird (Horqaniah), the ruins of a monastery about 5 miles from Qumran. This site was excavated by R. de Langhe of the University of Louvain-la-Neuve between February and April 1953.

Wadi ed-Daliyeh. In February 1962, bedouin discovered about forty Samaritan papyrus documents in a large cave (Abu Shinjeh Cave, Cave of the Papyri) in Wadi ed-

Daliyeh, about 9 miles north of Jericho. First offered to the Palestine Archaeological Museum by Kando, they were brought by the American Schools of Oriental Research through Bechtels. These documents, left behind by Samaritans, date to the fourth century BCE.

Masada. Between 18 and 29 March 1955 an Israeli expedition found one papyrus fragment. A further survey between 7 and 17 March 1956 turned up no other fragments, but excavators working under Yigael Yadin at Masada from October 1963 to April 1964 and December 1964 to March 1965 discovered fragments of many manuscripts, including parts of *Leviticus*, *Deuteronomy*, *Ezekiel*, *Psalms*, and *Ben Sira* (Mas1a-1h), Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Mas1k), and other Hebrew and Aramaic documents, as well as a large number of Latin and Greek documents.

Naḥal Hever. Between July and August 1952, bedouin brought to Jerusalem manuscripts from a cave, probably Naḥal Hever, which included a Greek text of the Minor Prophets. Taking the lead from recent bedouin discoveries in the area, an Israeli expedition surveyed the 'Ein-Gedi region from 23 March to 6 April 1958 and found a cave in Naḥal Hever with fragments from *Psalms* and fifteen papyrus letters in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. The following March, Naḥal Hever was further excavated, and about forty papyrus business documents in Hebrew, Aramaic, Nabatean, and Greek dating from about 88 CE to 132 CE were recovered.

The Cave of the Letters (Cave 5/6) in Naḥal Hever was excavated by Yadin from 23 March to 6 April 1960, during which he discovered the Bar Kokhba letters. Another expedition, from 14 to 27 March 1961, discovered the Babatha archive and land contracts originally from 'Ein-Gedi.

Also between 14 and 17 March 1961, Yohanan Aharoni excavated the Cave of Horror (Cave 8), discovering the very important Greek Minor Prophets.

Naḥal Se'elim (Seiyal). By early 1960, rumors that many fragments brought to Jerusalem by bedouin had come from Naḥal Se'elim resulted in a survey of the valley by Aharoni. In an excavation of several caves in 1960, documentary fragments were found only in Cave 34.

Wadi el-Mafjar. Hanan Eshel excavated Wadi el-Mafjar between April and May 1986 and 22 to 23 June 1986. Fragments discovered there included an Aramaic list of names, fourth-century BCE Aramaic legal documents, and second-century BCE nonliterary documents in Greek.

Wadi en-Nar and Wadi Ghweir. Neither location is precisely known. According to bedouin accounts, Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic documents on papyrus and skin were discovered in these regions.

Wadi Sdeir. Bedouin sold fragments from a Genesis scroll (Sdeir 1) and at least two Greek documents found here.

Ketef Jericho. The latest discovery of scrolls occurred in November 1993, when Hanan Eshel discovered Aramaic and Greek commercial/nonliterary documents from the Bar Kokhba period on an upper shelf of a cave in Ketef Jericho, near Jericho.

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DIVREI HA-ME'OROT. See Words of the Luminaries.

DOCUMENTARY TEXTS. Reflecting daily, normal life in the place and time in which they were written, documentary texts give us insight into various aspects of society: social, economic, legal, administrative, and linguistic. Documentary texts are to be contrasted with literary and pseudoliterary texts, and, in the case of the documents from the Judean Desert, with biblical, parabiblical, sectarian, and Christian texts. The documents surveyed here were written on leather, papyrus, sherds (ostraca), and jars (*tituli picti*). Inscriptions (on stone and metal) and graffiti are excluded. The more substantial docu-