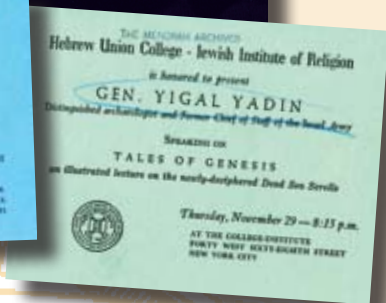
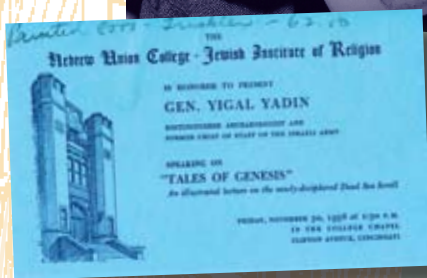


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Journal



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*A Journal Devoted to the Preservation and Study  
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On the cover:  
*Nelson Glueck and Yigael Yadin examine a photographic plate of the rolled Genesis Apocryphon Scroll, Cincinnati, 30 November 1956. The plate is published as illustration #1 in Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin's A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll From the Wilderness of Judaea (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956).*  
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

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*Combined faculty colloquium, Cincinnati, 1974.*

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Second row: *Ellis Rivkin, William Cutter, Judith Bisno, Lowell G. McCoy, Harry M. Orlinsky, Samuel Atlas, Stephen Passamaneck, Eugene B. Borowitz, Eugene Mihaly, Lennard R. Thal*

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(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

## TO OUR READERS...

The distinguished American Jewish financier, statesman, and presidential advisor, Bernard M. Baruch (1870–1965), was known for his clever aphorisms. On one occasion he quipped: “Vote for the man who promises least; he’ll be the least disappointing.”<sup>1</sup> A few years ago, the editors of this journal promised to publish, in rapid succession, the back issues and return this periodical to a timely publication by the summer of 2009. With this edition, we have made good on that promise, and we pledge to maintain our traditional publication schedule in the future. We have no intention of being the least bit disappointing!

In light of the recent media attention that has focused the public’s interest on the impending changes in the overall structure of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR), it is an ironic coincidence that this volume of *The American Jewish Archives Journal* sheds new light on almost fifty years of fascinating scholarly activity at the College-Institute. At the very time that HUC-JIR struggles to find the sure footing on which it will stand for the coming decades, the articles in this edition bring the school’s distinguished academic achievements into bold relief. The content of this particular journal offers a timely perspective on the influential role that HUC-JIR and its distinguished faculty have played in the unfolding saga of one of the most fascinating events in the entire history of biblical studies: the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the caves near Qumran.

The essays in this issue demonstrate that the College-Institute has been actively involved in Dead Sea Scroll scholarship and has been at the epicenter of numerous controversies associated with the scrolls from the beginning, only months after a Bedouin in 1947 stumbled on the ancient parchments in a cave on the cliffs facing the Dead Sea. Collectively, these articles illuminate how HUC-JIR’s academic involvement with the Dead Sea Scrolls influenced the field of biblical studies and, concomitantly, captivated generations of HUC-JIR rabbinic students, who became genuinely interested in the fierce scholarly debates that ensued. After completing their studies, HUC-JIR’s rabbinic alumni applied this interest to their communal endeavors. They used what they learned in their sermons and, through their lectures on the Dead Sea Scrolls, HUC-JIR ordines helped to popularize the subject matter in Reform congregations all across North America.

Readers will also note that this fascinating reconstruction of the history of Jewish scholarship in the United States is almost entirely based on primary source material preserved at The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives. The AJA’s holdings contain the papers of numerous Jewish academics, many of whom taught at HUC-JIR but also many who taught elsewhere. The contributors relied heavily on the AJA’s rich holdings in this realm, and we are particularly pleased to offer readers the fruits of their scholarly labors.

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In light of the thematic content of this edition of our journal, it should come as no surprise to see the face of HUC-JIR president Nelson Glueck (1900–1971) on the cover. Forty years ago this summer, Glueck negotiated a deal that brought a security copy of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Israel’s possession for safe (and secret) storage at the Klau Library, located on the school’s historic Cincinnati campus. Glueck was uniquely positioned to engineer this important acquisition for HUC. After earning his doctorate in biblical studies from the University of Jena in 1926, Glueck traveled to Palestine to study biblical archaeology. He succeeded in persuading HUC’s Bible scholars that archaeological research was a “handmaiden of history” that would enrich the modern study of the Bible. “The ground shall be made to reveal its secrets,” he insisted. By the time he was appointed president of HUC in 1947, Glueck had become one of the world’s most prominent and highly respected biblical archaeologists.<sup>2</sup>

Jason Kalman’s carefully documented essay provides us with a highly detailed analysis of the role that many of HUC-JIR’s faculty members played in the study of the scrolls. Kalman shows that for more than four decades, HUC-JIR scholars studied the scrolls and debated their significance in academic circles. We also learn that the faculty’s active involvement with the Dead Sea Scrolls captured the interest of many HUC-JIR students. Kalman pays particular attention to the heated debate over scholarly access to the scrolls. After many years and, in part, as a result of the work of two HUC-JIR scholars, the Dead Sea Scrolls became widely available to serious researchers around the world. As the editors of *The New York Times* observed, “two Cincinnatians [seemed] to know what the scroll committee [in Israel] forgot: the scrolls and what they say about the common roots of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism belong to civilization, not to a few sequestered professors.”<sup>3</sup>

Richard Freund’s article demonstrates how the scholarly activities of the faculty influenced HUC-JIR’s rabbinical students and helped them to understand the significance (or lack thereof) of the scrolls. After leaving HUC-JIR, these rabbinic alumni introduced their congregants to the Dead Sea Scrolls and explained how these scrolls enhanced our understanding of the Bible and Jewish civilization (even while their teachers might have disagreed with their conclusions). Using many of the rabbinic sermons in the holdings of the AJA, Freund analyzes what the rabbinic leadership thought was important about the scrolls for their communities. Through an examination of Reform prayer books and Torah commentaries Freund also explores how American Reform Judaism adopted material from the scrolls for use in the ritual life of the community as well as how historical knowledge of the Dead Sea Scroll community in antiquity helped to shape Reform Jewish self-understanding.

Finally, Marc Saperstein and Jason Kalman provide us with a documentary analysis of two rabbinic sermons that focus on the importance of the Dead Sea

Scrolls. Saperstein has been a pioneer in advocating the use of topical rabbinical sermons as primary source material to enrich our understanding of the past:

As a historian,... my interest in past sermons is [that they] bring us back to a unique moment in the past and allow us to recover the complex dynamics, the agonizing dilemmas, the deep passions of a point in time that seems ever more elusive.... While no single sermon may deserve the description “historic,” I would imagine that in their totality [topical sermons] significantly enhance the historical record of American Jewry.<sup>4</sup>

In this documentary analysis, Saperstein and Kalman focus on two sermons written by Marc Saperstein’s father, Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein (1910–2001), in 1955 and 1968, respectively. By serving as an interpreter and transmitter of modern scholarly research, Harold Saperstein explains why twentieth-century (and, by implication, twenty-first century) Reform Jews should be interested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. These two sermons provide us with a useful case study as to how the Dead Sea Scrolls became a salient topic for American Jewry.

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Jacob Rader Marcus repeatedly asserted that the study of history provides us with “perspective” on contemporary circumstances. With the benefit of historical knowledge, we become better able “to assess what is happening, to sense the direction in which [we are] moving.” Wise and reflective leaders will inevitably rely on historical perspective to assess and prepare for the unfolding future. By studying the past, we fortify ourselves to meet the future. “A perceptive community can then plan socially and, if successful, assert itself as the subject, not merely the object, of history.”<sup>5</sup>

The articles in this journal vividly demonstrate how the faculty, students, and library of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion influenced the course of biblical scholarship over the last half of the twentieth century. What role will HUC-JIR play in shaping the scholarly agenda during the twenty-first century? Will the school continue to assert itself as the subject and not the object of history? The answers to these questions will be evident many years from now. In the meantime, the American Jewish Archives will continue to promote the study of the American Jewish past, unalterably committed to the conviction that “a people that is not conscious of its past has no assurance of a future.”<sup>6</sup>

**G.P.Z.**  
**Cincinnati, Ohio**

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in *Meyer Berger's New York* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2004), 288.

<sup>2</sup>Jonathan M. Brown and Laurence Kutler, *Nelson Glueck: Biblical Archaeologist and President of the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2005), 64.

<sup>3</sup>See Jason Kalman, “Optimistic, Even with the Negatives,” 68.

<sup>4</sup>Harold I. Saperstein, *Witness from the Pulpit: Topical Sermons, 1933–1980*, ed. Marc Saperstein (New York: Lexington Books, 2000), 2–3, 6. See also Marc Saperstein’s valuable new historical study based on sermonica, *Jewish Preaching in Times of War, 1800–2001* (Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2008).

<sup>5</sup>Gary Phillip Zola, ed., *The Dynamics of American Jewish History: Jacob Rader Marcus's Essays on American Jewry* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2005), xxv.

<sup>6</sup>Jacob Rader Marcus, “The Archives Story,” publicity pamphlet from 1959, a copy of which can be found in the collections of The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.

# Optimistic, Even with the Negatives: The Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1948–1993

Jason Kalman

*I think the tide of events have [sic] made our very interesting letters a part of history, perhaps a more important chapter of the history than we now realize.<sup>1</sup>*

## Introduction

In 1969 Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) president Nelson Glueck (1900–1971) solicited a \$10,000 USD donation to help support Israeli efforts to make a security copy of the famed Dead Sea Scrolls, then housed in Jerusalem. The copy, consisting of more than one thousand photographic negatives, was secretly stored in the Klau Library on HUC-JIR’s Cincinnati campus for more than twenty years. The inspiration to supply the funds resulted partly from Glueck’s own involvement with the scrolls, going back to his tenure in mid-1948 with the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR); and also from his faculty’s scholarly activities on the Cincinnati, New York, and Los Angeles campuses of HUC-JIR. The acquisition of the negatives set off a series of events that drew worldwide attention to the College more than two decades after Glueck’s death in 1971, when the public became aware that HUC-JIR had held the manuscripts in secret for more than two decades. The story of HUC-JIR and the scrolls during these five decades provides insight into the history of Jewish scholarship in the United States, particularly the relationship between Jewish academics, who worked primarily in seminaries and parochial Jewish academic institutions, and their non-Jewish colleagues, who held prominent positions in universities.<sup>2</sup> From the very beginning HUC-JIR’s faculty and administration sought to participate in, and benefit from, the “greatest manuscript discovery of all time.” Their efforts brought attention to the scrolls, and, in return, the scrolls brought attention to the institution.

## *The Discovery*

In the winter of 1946–1947, nomadic Bedouin of the Ta’amireh tribe discovered a cave containing ancient scrolls in the cliffs that rise above the western shore of the Dead Sea.<sup>3</sup> Bedouin sold four of the scrolls to a Bethlehem antiquities dealer, Khalil Iskhander Shahin (Kando),<sup>4</sup> who in turn sold them to Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the metropolitan (archbishop) of the Syrian

Orthodox Church at St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Three others were sold to Eleazar Lipa Sukenik,<sup>6</sup> a Hebrew University archaeologist, who purchased them through another Bethlehem antiquities dealer, Feidi al-Alami.<sup>7</sup> The Bedouin found perhaps the most significant cache in February 1952 in what became known as Cave 4.<sup>8</sup> In total, eleven caves were discovered, containing thousands of fragments from more than eight hundred Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin manuscripts. After purchasing the first scrolls for the Hebrew University, Sukenik attempted to buy the remaining four scrolls in the possession of the metropolitan in February 1948. Simultaneously, ASOR and its officials were working to acquire the publication rights for the scrolls from the metropolitan, which his representative Father Boutros Sowmy had brought for examination to ASOR. The competing efforts of Sukenik and ASOR created the opportunity for Glueck to become involved in the events.

## HUC's First Contact with the Scrolls

### *Glueck the Mediator: Hebrew University, ASOR, and the First Dead Sea Scrolls*

From 1942 until 1947, the year he was appointed president of HUC, Nelson Glueck served as the director of ASOR in Jerusalem. Had he remained one more year, he likely would have been at the school when the first Dead Sea Scrolls were brought there on 19 February 1948.<sup>9</sup> Instead, the names Millar C. Burrows, who succeeded Glueck as director of the school, and John C. Trever, an annual fellow who had temporarily replaced Burrows while he was on hiatus in Baghdad, became intimately tied to the scrolls. Despite fate having directed him down a different path, Glueck, and the educational institution he administered, nevertheless became participants in the unfolding history of scroll research, and the general scroll story, from very early on. Although the scrolls never became a topic of Glueck's own research,<sup>10</sup> his actions from 1948 until just prior to his death in 1971 show a tremendous interest in supporting the efforts of scholars at HUC and elsewhere to study the scrolls. They also show his concern with helping Israel preserve the scrolls in its possession and with keeping the American public aware of the developments. Following the first announcements of the discoveries in April 1948, Glueck shared his excitement over the scrolls with Stephen S. Wise, president of the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR). Wise reported to JIR's biblicist, Harry Orlinsky, that, "The excitement of President Glueck over the discovery of the Isaiah Texts, [when] we discussed it over the phone, was quite thrilling."<sup>11</sup> Along with his scholarly interest in the material, Glueck understood that HUC's institutional support of scroll study could serve to attract public attention and donor dollars and could raise the academic status of the institution. Finally, as a man who believed that the Bible still had much to teach his fellow Americans, he thought that the scrolls' popularity could encourage Bible study.

In the months before his death in New York City in October 1948, Judah Magnes, the chancellor and former president of Hebrew University, spent a significant amount of time with his long-time friend Glueck. Magnes's junior by two decades, Glueck followed a similar educational path. Both men were ordained at HUC—Magnes in 1900 and Glueck in 1923. Both earned their doctorates in Germany following their rabbinic ordinations—Magnes at the University of Heidelberg in 1902 in Semitic languages, Glueck at the University of Jena in 1926 in biblical studies.<sup>12</sup> Both men returned from Europe to join the faculty of HUC—Magnes as librarian and professor of Bible from 1903–1904 and Glueck as professor of Bible and biblical archaeology from 1928 until he assumed the presidency in 1947.<sup>13</sup> The two men became close friends during Glueck's first tenure as director of ASOR in Jerusalem in 1932–1933, succeeding his mentor, the doyen of biblical archaeology, William Foxwell Albright.<sup>14</sup> In a 1988 interview, Glueck's wife, Helen, noted that during those first years in Jerusalem, "Dr. and Mrs. Magnes were probably our best friends."<sup>15</sup> Further, it was Magnes who encouraged a very hesitant Glueck to accept the position of president of HUC when it was offered in 1947.<sup>16</sup>

Magnes was in the United States from April until October 1948 primarily to address the United Nations concerning the establishment of Israel as a bi-national state. He was to have returned to Israel in June, but he became ill and then died on 27 October 1948.<sup>17</sup> During the extended visit, Glueck and Magnes had the opportunity to discuss a program that would allow HUC's rabbinical students to begin their studies in Israel. Another topic of business was Magnes's appeal to Glueck to help negotiate a relationship between Hebrew University professor Eleazar Sukenik and ASOR with respect to the ownership of the scrolls and their publication rights.<sup>18</sup> Since Hebrew University owned some of the scrolls, it desperately wanted to buy the remainder and was concerned that ASOR's actions would prevent their purchase. Magnes only appealed to Glueck following his own attempt to negotiate with Millar Burrows, then the president of ASOR, directly.

Magnes's own relationship with ASOR went back to at least 1924, when he served as a Thayer fellow and traveled with the school to Baghdad where, inspired by Solomon Schechter's discovery in Old Cairo, he hoped to discover *genizot* (depositories for sacred texts unsuitable for ritual use).<sup>19</sup> With regard to the scrolls, he needed a third party whom all involved groups respected to help make the arrangements. Glueck was loyal to Magnes on the one hand and to ASOR on the other, and so he was a most appropriate candidate to act as mediator.

Sukenik began in late January 1948 to discuss buying the scrolls from a representative of Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian metropolitan.<sup>20</sup> Samuel and his representative, Anton Kiraz, had heard of Sukenik's purchase of the first scrolls and hoped that he would be willing to pay an even higher price for

the remainder of the cache. During the first week of February 1948, Sukenik met with Kiraz in the library of the YMCA building in Jerusalem. Although they did not agree on a price during that first discussion, Sukenik let the man know that he would be willing to buy the scrolls for the Hebrew University but first wanted to study them and to show them to Magnes, the university president. The scrolls were lent to Sukenik for a few days, during which he did in fact take them to Magnes with the hope that the meeting might encourage fundraising efforts to purchase them.<sup>21</sup> By 6 February the funds had not yet been secured, although assurances had been made, and the scrolls were returned to Kiraz at the YMCA. The men agreed to be in contact the following week to plan a meeting at the Yugoslav consulate between the archbishop and Magnes to negotiate the sale. No letter from the representative was forthcoming. As Sukenik wrote in his private diary:

Eventually I received a letter informing me that they decided not to sell. They preferred to wait until the world was once again open to them, and they could find out the market price. I later discovered what happened. Some two weeks after I returned the scrolls one of the Syrian priests had gone to the American School of Oriental Research and had met some of its members. The Americans had managed to obtain permission to photograph and publish the scrolls, assuring the priest that they would be able to get a far higher price for the scrolls in the United States.<sup>22</sup>

Only in early June did Sukenik come to know of the activities at ASOR.<sup>23</sup> It is imaginable that the events surrounding the establishment of the State of Israel, along with the excitement of studying the previously purchased materials, had distracted the Hebrew University faculty from its pursuit. Correspondence between Magnes and Burrows suggests that ASOR was completely unaware that Hebrew University had been in discussion to buy the scrolls from St. Mark's Monastery; the archbishop had assured them that he had no immediate intention of selling and had planned to bring the scrolls to the United States for study. As Burrows noted:

The news that Professor Sukenik is negotiating for the purchase of the manuscripts belonging to the Metropolitan of St. Mark's Convent is both surprising and puzzling. For one thing, I wonder how under present circumstances they are able to communicate. Beyond that, I am surprised that the Metropolitan would consider selling his manuscripts at this time. He definitely assured us that he had no intention of selling them, that he wanted us to publish them for him, and that, if he should consider selling them, he would make our right to publish them a condition of sale.<sup>24</sup>

Further, the agreement between ASOR and the archbishop was that even if the scrolls were sold, ASOR was to retain the publishing rights. Burrows suggested

that if the Hebrew University purchased the material and excluded ASOR from the project it would be seen as a particularly unfortunate act:

We have put a great deal of time and work and a considerable amount of money into the photographing and studying of these manuscripts. While we could have no way of compelling the Metropolitan to fulfill his agreement with us, we should certainly, to use the technical language of diplomacy, regard it as an unfriendly act on [Sukenik's] part, or on the part of the University, if we were done out of the privilege of publishing these three manuscripts. Perhaps some form of cooperation can be arranged. It would be highly desirable from all points of view, though it would be difficult under present conditions, and you and I know that Professor Sukenik is not especially good at teamwork.<sup>25</sup>

In response, Magnes recommended to Burrows that a committee of trustees including Sukenik, Umberto Cassuto, and David Werner Senator, the university rector, be established to facilitate Hebrew University's relationship with ASOR for the purpose of studying and publishing the scrolls.<sup>26</sup> This would have dealt with the issue of Sukenik's poor teamwork. Sukenik and Cassuto agreed to participate in the cooperative effort. More important, though, in the process of bringing the team together Magnes learned that Sukenik had communicated with an unnamed Syrian on 10 May 1948. This man claimed that the archbishop did not have sole ownership of the scrolls and could not unilaterally grant ASOR any rights.<sup>27</sup> The unnamed Syrian was again Anton Kiraz. Kiraz continued to claim his ownership of the scrolls well into the 1960s, and it was not until the 1980s that he and the archbishop reconciled their differences.<sup>28</sup> Burrows had been quite convinced by the archbishop that the scrolls were his personal property.<sup>29</sup> At the time, ASOR planned to publish a series of preliminary articles under the direction of William Albright in its *Bulletin*. ASOR hoped that, as a first form of cooperation, Sukenik and his Hebrew University colleagues might also publish material with them.<sup>30</sup> The discussion turned to the final publication of the material, which the men hoped could be published as a joint imprint of ASOR and the Hebrew University Press—perhaps the English edition to appear with one and the Hebrew with the other.<sup>31</sup> On 12 July 1948, Magnes wrote to Glueck with the hope that the HUC president might be able to offer guidance in how to proceed.<sup>32</sup> The Hebrew University was to forward copies of the correspondence between Magnes and Burrows to Glueck, but Glueck did not receive them and so did not respond to the issue. Magnes wrote again in September asking for advice.<sup>33</sup> The Hebrew University only sent copies of the correspondence on 22 October,<sup>34</sup> and they reached Glueck in early November, shortly after Magnes's death.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps in an attempt to honor his late friend, Glueck forwarded the correspondence to William Albright, then editor of the *ASOR Bulletin*, for input.<sup>36</sup> Albright's response echoed Burrows's previous critique of Sukenik:

I am more disgusted than I was before with the greed of Sukenik. He has plenty to do with the material already at his disposal, so why use questionable tactics to get all—or at least the Isaiah MS—under his control as well.... Sukenik's attitude is thoroughly indefensible.<sup>37</sup>

As late as October, Sukenik was still trying to get copies of John Trever's photographs and publication rights to the St. Mark's scrolls via Kiraz:

I have now a few requests to ask you:

1. Could I get the photographs made by the American School of Oriental Research which you promised me?
2. Could you confirm to me by writing what you have told me several times that we have the same rights of publication as the Americans. The Bishop [Samuel] insists that he is the sole proprietor of the manuscripts you have shown me....<sup>38</sup>

With Albright's position on the issue quite clear, Glueck could not have moved forward in attempting to negotiate a relationship between ASOR and the Hebrew University. Despite his inability to contribute to these matters, Glueck was certain that Magnes's efforts on behalf of the Hebrew University did not go unnoticed by ASOR's members. Glueck authored the obituary for Magnes that appeared in the *ASOR Bulletin* and noted: "[Magnes's] deep and excited interest in the Jerusalem Scrolls was characteristic of his abiding concern with everything that had to do with the Holy Land."<sup>39</sup> This point was in some ways one that Albright and Burrows did not acknowledge. Although to Sukenik's mind, publishing the scrolls could bring him academic stature, ASOR's move to publish the material and to encourage its sale in the United States challenged a more firmly held conviction, one held by Magnes as well: that the scrolls were Israel's national treasures. They tied the modern Israeli state to its ancient roots, as Sukenik noted in his personal journal when he learned that the archbishop preferred to hold out for an American buyer: "The Jewish people have lost a precious heritage."<sup>40</sup> Glueck appears to have understood this as well, but there was little he could do.

On 29 January 1949, the archbishop arrived in the United States carrying the scrolls with him to begin serving as the apostolic delegate to the United States and Canada. Because the earlier purchase that Magnes and Burrows discussed was never completed and Kiraz's claim of ownership never accepted, the materials were published by ASOR alone.<sup>41</sup> However, in 1955, following Sukenik's posthumous publication of the first scrolls in the Hebrew University's possession, Glueck looked back with appreciation on the efforts of Sukenik and Magnes:

In all of [the] effort to acquire as many of the scrolls as possible, Mr. Sukenik was assisted by the late Judah L. Magnes, the great first president of the Hebrew University. The entire world is indebted to them for the vision, skill and persistence they displayed.<sup>42</sup>

These events certainly gave Glueck a first-hand view of the scrolls, the attention they could draw, and an appreciation for their importance. During the remainder of his career he attempted to use them to gain publicity and to increase the academic stature for HUC-JIR.

### *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of HUC: Bringing the Scrolls Debate to Campus*

In the period immediately following his inauguration, Glueck set to work improving the quality of HUC's rabbinic program and increasing the institution's academic stature. To the latter end, the College set out to establish a graduate school that would offer both Jewish and Christian students the opportunity to engage in doctoral studies. Additionally, Glueck attempted to have HUC, as an institution, support the work of national and international academic organizations. Hosting these organizations' annual meetings could draw the attention of the academic world and of the public, and in 1948, at the recommendation of his predecessor Julian Morgenstern,<sup>43</sup> Glueck invited five organizations—the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the National Association of Biblical Instructors (NABI), the American Oriental Society (AOS), the American Academy of Jewish Research (AAJR), and ASOR—to hold their annual meetings at the College in Cincinnati to help celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. Only the AAJR refused the invitation, noting the expense of bringing most of its members from the New York area to Cincinnati.<sup>44</sup>

The text of the invitation to SBL suggests Glueck's motives more generally:

Your acceptance of this invitation will give added significance to our celebration and we, in turn, will be happy to signalize our high regard for the Society of Biblical Literature and its imposing contributions to biblical scholarship.<sup>45</sup>

In truth, the invitation was more about having the academic societies acknowledge HUC rather than the other way around, but it was also an opportunity for the College to show off its library, along with the recently established American Jewish Archives, as was noted in a later press release:

The meetings are the first of a whole series of national gatherings to take place at the College during its seventy-fifth anniversary year. As part of the year-long diamond jubilee observance, many scholarly, religious and cultural organizations are scheduled to convene at the College, thus giving hundreds of leaders—Jewish and non-Jewish—an opportunity to make or renew acquaintance with the College and its role today.<sup>46</sup>

From 28 to 30 December 1949, SBL held its annual meeting in conjunction with NABI (27 to 28 December) and ASOR (28 December).<sup>47</sup> In advance of the meetings, HUC issued three press releases. The first highlighted NABI's meeting and its discussions of contemporary issues in the teaching of religion.<sup>48</sup> The second provided an overview of NABI's sessions to be held as part of its meeting and announced a roundtable discussion open to the public as part of the SBL's meeting on the topic, *The Jewish Messiah and the Pauline Christ*.<sup>49</sup> The third release announced only the roundtable discussion.<sup>50</sup> The releases drew the media's attention to the activities at the Cincinnati campus, but in the days following only one topic excited the national press: the debate over the authenticity of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>51</sup>

At the section of the gathering set aside for ASOR, the president, Carl Kraeling, announced that the scrolls belonging to St. Mark's, including the Isaiah and the Habakkuk texts, would be published imminently.<sup>52</sup> The joint meetings with SBL included seven presentations on the scrolls. Harry Orlinsky of the Jewish Institute of Religion (which merged with HUC the following month) spoke on the problematic use of the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll in exploring the textual development of the book of Isaiah, while Robert Gordis of the Jewish Theological Seminary offered an opposing interpretation, that the scroll was suggestive of early Masoretic activity. John Trever, of the International Council on Religious Education, spoke about the fourth scroll from St. Mark's, which he related to the "Lost Apocryphal Book of Lamech." Ovid R. Sellers of McCormick Theological Seminary discussed the explorations of the Dead Sea Scroll cave. Isaiah Sonne of HUC Cincinnati's faculty spoke on gnostic and anti-Christian polemics he found evident in the scrolls and suggested that they were produced by a Jewish-gnostic sect of the second century of the Common Era. Solomon Zeitlin of Dropsie College challenged the usefulness of archaeology for establishing the date of the scrolls, since their provenance was already murky because of their discovery by Bedouin and not archaeologists. Finally, Ernest R. Lacheman of Wellesley College spoke on the methodological difficulty of dating the scrolls by their relation to ancient texts, including the Nash Papyrus.<sup>53</sup> The papers were somewhat unbalanced, given the debates rising in the wake of the scrolls' discovery. Sonne, Gordis, and Trever came out in favor of dating the scrolls to antiquity, while Zeitlin and Lacheman maintained medieval dates. Debates raged in both the public media and academic journals over the manuscripts' antiquity and authenticity<sup>54</sup> from the time the discovery was announced in April 1948.<sup>55</sup> As a result of the conference in Cincinnati, the public's attention was again drawn to this issue, and HUC received as much publicity as it could have hoped for.<sup>56</sup> On 29 December *The New York Times* reported that Sellers announced the previous day that the scrolls discovered in the clay pots near the Dead Sea dated from the first or second centuries BCE.<sup>57</sup>

On 30 December *The New York Times* reported on the scroll sessions that had had taken place the day before:

Disagreement among Bible scholars on the age of Old Testament manuscripts found in 1947 in the Dead Sea area arose anew here [yesterday] at a meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and [E]xegesis. The meeting is being held at Hebrew Union College.<sup>58</sup>

According to the report, Lacheman suggested the scrolls dated between the fourth and eighth centuries, Zeitlin placed them between the sixth and ninth centuries, Sonne maintained a second century date, and Orlinsky to between the fourth and eighth centuries. This last point, however, was in error. In contrast to the others at the conference, Orlinsky refused to take a clear position on the date of the material. Although the Times reporter was certain to note, “Drs. Orlinski [*sic*] and Sonne are of the Hebrew Union College,”<sup>59</sup> the error in reporting meant that the following month the College received coverage once again, when Orlinsky responded to the Times article:

This statement constitutes fiction pure and simple! What I did say was essentially this: The St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll comes from a manuscript which was copied from memory. The text of St. Mark’s agrees overwhelmingly with the traditional Hebrew text of Isaiah. Where the text of St. Mark’s deviates from the traditional text, it is not merely because of the carelessness of the scribe but even more because of the faulty memory of the person responsible for its coming into being ... Some scholars have been premature in attributing to the text of St. Mark’s an importance equal to the traditional text. In my judgment, the Hebrew text of St. Mark’s is of negligible value so far as reconstructing the original Hebrew text of Isaiah is concerned. The argument of date is not involved in this study.<sup>60</sup>

The AOS met at HUC in Cincinnati from 4 to 6 April 1950. Orlinsky returned and gave a similar paper to the one he presented at the SBL meeting, “The Orthography and Grammar of the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll.”<sup>61</sup> Burrows of Yale University presented the only other paper on the scrolls. In “The Dead Sea Discipline Scroll,” Burrows provided “a brief sketch of the contents of this document and a few observations concerning its literary and historical relationships, with special reference to the Damascus Covenanters’ Document.”<sup>62</sup> This conference did not receive the attention of the previous year’s meeting, but collectively they indicate the activity of HUC-JIR and its faculty in supporting Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship in its earliest stages. Additionally, the academics who visited the College during these two conferences proved particularly helpful to the library staff, who had compiled prior to 22 December 1949 a bibliography of material relating to the scrolls. The staff was able to distribute the bibliography to those visiting scholars with the hope that they would help

fill lacunae.<sup>63</sup> Given the explosion in scroll scholarship, no attempt was made to continue the project following the conference.

### *Dead Sea Scroll Scholarship at HUC-JIR*

During the fifty years following the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, numerous members of the HUC-JIR permanent faculty and visiting scholars contributed to the study and teaching of them. The roster of visiting scholars who studied the scrolls includes, among others, Frank Moore Cross (director of archaeology, Jerusalem School, 1963–1964), Zeev Falk (visiting professor of liturgy and rabbinics, Jerusalem School, 1979–1980), Isaac Rabinowitz (visiting lecturer in Aramaic, New York School, 1954–1956), Lawrence Schiffman (lecturer on Bible, New York School, 1979–1981), Shemaryahu Talmon (visiting professor of Bible, Jerusalem School, 1968–1975), and Yigael Yadin, who served as chair of the Jerusalem School Committee from 1973 until 1975.<sup>64</sup> In Cincinnati, courses were offered in the 1950s and 1960s first by Isaiah Sonne, followed by Norman Golb, and then by Ben Zion Wacholder, who continued to offer them until the early 1990s. Samuel Sandmel and Ellis Rivkin, as teachers of Judaism in antiquity, made their boldest statement on the scrolls by excluding them from their scholarship and teaching.

On the New York campus, Harry Orlinsky offered the most significant scholarly contributions to scroll scholarship and teaching and was an active participant in acquiring the scrolls for the State of Israel. The scrolls likewise captured the attention of ethnomusicologist Eric Werner, who, in 1957, garnered attention for the College with a conference paper suggesting that the Isaiah Scroll included primitive musical notation similar to that used in the Byzantine period.<sup>65</sup>

The faculty roster of HUC-JIR in Los Angeles included Samson H. Levey, who offered electives on the scrolls in 1961 and 1975 while he served as professor of rabbinics and Jewish thought (1958–1981). The course catalogue only describes what was offered, not which courses had enrollment. Levey's papers do not include syllabi or student rosters for the courses, but a syllabus for a course that he taught with Loren Fisher at the Southern California School of Theology in the spring of 1959 may provide some insight to his organization of the intended courses at HUC-JIR. In this vein, the course was organized around four issues: (1) the discovery of the documents; (2) the organization of the Qumran community, its doctrines and beliefs, and the identification of the Qumran sect; (3) The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament, the Inter-Testamental Literature, and the New Testament; and (4) Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>66</sup> Levey also published articles on the scrolls during this same period, although he continued to focus on his primary area of research, the Aramaic Bible translations (Targumim).<sup>67</sup>

As is clear from the roster of visiting scholars, Dead Sea Scroll scholarship on the Jerusalem campus was largely shaped by academics from outside HUC-JIR. However, Michael Klein, who served as lecturer in Aramaic and rabbinics (1973–1981), professor of biblical and targumic literature (1982–1988), and dean of the Jerusalem campus (1988–2000), played a significant role in the College’s activities regarding the scrolls in the period before the editorial monopoly was broken (see below).

The overview here provides a discussion of those faculty who explicitly and extensively contributed to scroll scholarship and teaching and those who deliberately (often boisterously) avoided it. Numerous scholars on all the campuses have, at various times, included discussion of the scrolls in their classes and publications; it is simply not possible to include them all.

### HUC-JIR in the First Decade Following the Discovery of the Scrolls



*Isaiah Sonne,  
Cincinnati, 1946*  
(Courtesy American  
Jewish Archives)

As is evident from the discussion of the conference participation, Sonne and Orlinsky involved themselves in the study of the scrolls from the time they first appeared. However, their excitement about the discoveries must be seen against a backdrop that includes Ellis Rivkin and Samuel Sandmel. Rivkin, who was mentored at Dropsie College by Zeitlin after completing his doctorate at Johns Hopkins, today continues to deny the antiquity of the scrolls. Sandmel, who accepted their antiquity, simply and utterly denied their importance.

#### *Isaiah Sonne (1887–1960)*

Sonne, a Galician scholar who specialized in the history of Italian Jewry and Hebrew literature and bibliography, came to HUC in Cincinnati in 1940 as a part of HUC’s refugee scholar program.<sup>68</sup> He was appointed librarian and lecturer. From the collection of international newspaper articles he preserved in Hebrew, English, and German, it is clear that he followed news of the scrolls’ discovery from their earliest appearance in the press.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, Sonne was the first scholar at HUC-JIR to offer an official course on the Dead Sea Scrolls. According to the HUC-JIR course catalogue for 1952–1953, in the spring semester Sonne offered “History 12. Seminar. The Dead Sea Scrolls: An analytical study of these newly discovered documents, especially the sectarian scrolls, to determine their date as well as their historical purport.” At the time, only a single graduate student, James Sanders, attended the class. Sanders would later make his own major contributions to Dead Sea Scroll research, particularly as the editor of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11.<sup>70</sup> That only one graduate student attended the course indicated a pattern that developed over the next

several decades at the College, in which positive appreciation of the scrolls was nourished in the graduate school but largely dismissed in the rabbinical program (see below). With regard to his experience in that first class, Sanders reports:

I was the only student in the class! Yet, Sonne stood each meeting and lectured as though he was addressing a full room of students. I thoroughly enjoyed the readings he had me do, in the Cave One mss of course, and learned a great deal.... I had had courses on the Scrolls both at Vanderbilt University with J. Philip Hyatt and in Paris at the École des Hautes Études with André Dupont-Sommer, but since I was alone in Sonne's class I learned far more than in the earlier ones.<sup>71</sup>

Sonne's earliest public comment on the scrolls was his appearance at the April 1949 meeting of the Midwest Region of the SBL on the HUC-JIR campus in Cincinnati.<sup>72</sup> In the paper, "The Newly Discovered Isaiah Scroll," he argued that the section divisions in the Isaiah Scroll from St. Mark's suggested that the manuscript was likely used for the sabbatical reading of the prophets and that the "best historical setting for the Isaiah Scroll would seem to be the second and third centuries A.D."<sup>73</sup> This dating of the scrolls was consistent with his previous conclusions, which he had reached based on the Gnostic and anti-Christian tendencies found in the available scrolls, particularly the Thanksgiving Psalms. One month before the annual meetings, Nelson Glueck invited John Trever, then of the Council for Religious Education in Chicago, who had photographed the first scrolls for ASOR, to visit the Cincinnati campus to meet with faculty and students and to share his research.<sup>74</sup> Primarily he discussed the discovery of the scrolls and how they came to ASOR for examination.<sup>75</sup> The visit had a tremendous impact on Sonne, which resulted in a correspondence between the two scholars. According to Sonne, he derived further inspiration for his work on the scrolls "from Dr. Trever's interesting lecture on the scrolls last month in the College. On this occasion I had the opportunity for the first time to see photographs of the two Daniel fragments."<sup>76</sup> The two scholars most certainly impressed each other.

In late February Trever met with the archbishop Athanasius Samuel at Duke University, where his scrolls were on display. The archbishop had with him two Torah scrolls that he wished to sell. Trever recognized that they were modern scrolls, but he hoped that Sonne might be able to guide him in negotiating the purchase, particularly with respect to the value of these types of documents.<sup>77</sup> Although Trever assured Sonne that he would take the information to the archbishop and see if arrangements could be made for Sonne to examine the Torah scrolls for the College, nothing came of the efforts.<sup>78</sup> Simultaneously, the men discussed Zeitlin's challenge to the scrolls' authenticity. These communications led Trever to forward Sonne's reconstruction of the opening lines of the Manuscript of Discipline to Millar Burrows, who was publishing the

document for the second volume of scrolls to appear from ASOR.<sup>79</sup> Although no response from Burrows is preserved, the two continued to share their work on occasion. In 1951 Sonne published an expanded version of his 1949 SBL talk on Gnosticism in the scrolls.<sup>80</sup> It was the first of close to twenty-five articles published in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* over the next half century, both by its faculty and by outsiders.<sup>81</sup> Upon receiving a copy from Sonne, Burrows offered an appreciative reply:

As you may know, I have been inclined to discount the idea of Gnosticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As I indicated in my article in *Oudtestamentische Studien* (1950), the references to knowledge and the like are just what one might expect during the period of the transition from wisdom literature to the rabbinic literature. You have brought out a number of facts, however, which may necessitate a revision of my position.<sup>82</sup>

A number of additional letters suggest that Sonne continued to send Burrows copies of works in progress. In his “Remarks on ‘Manual of Discipline,’ Col. VI, 6–7”<sup>83</sup> Sonne included a paragraph thanking Burrows for bringing various interpretations of a particular passage to his attention.<sup>84</sup> In fact, Burrows recommended to Sonne that he publish the article.<sup>85</sup> Sonne had similarly positive correspondence with W.D. Davies of Duke University,<sup>86</sup> Arthur Jeffery of Columbia University,<sup>87</sup> and Franz Rosenthal, then at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>88</sup> Rosenthal and Sonne agreed that the discovery and ongoing debate over the scrolls was a “lifesaver for our stagnant Biblical studies.”<sup>89</sup>

However, not all of Sonne’s communications were quite as positive. His friend Abraham Halkin wrote in his obituary for Sonne, “When the battle ensued over the dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls he took a middle position claiming that both sides exaggerated and their views must be examined painstakingly.”<sup>90</sup> From his earliest conference presentations through his articles, Sonne challenged William Albright, Sukenik, Trever, and others who dated the scrolls by relying on paleography and archaeological grounds. He also attacked Zeitlin for his late dating of the scrolls by the incorrect use of rabbinic and medieval sources. His attack is encapsulated well in a single paragraph from an early article:

None of the scholars who have been most outspoken, one way or the other, bases his opinion in a searching study of what the documents contain. Prof. Albright and Prof. H. L. Ginsberg, championing their antiquity, and Prof. Zeitlin, battling for the opposite view, blandly declare that they can determine the age of the scrolls without such scrutiny. Prof. Albright maintains that <<after an hour’s study of the script with a lens,>> he could establish, by means of the key [Hebrew] letters ... the antiquity of the scrolls <<without a shade of doubt.>> Despite emphasis on <<positive, inner evidence,>> Zeitlin’s approach is not much different. Zeitlin substitutes, for the key letters ... certain detached terms and idioms. Relying on isolated expressions and odd

bits of phraseology offered by Sukenik, Zeitlin claims to have fathomed the age of the scrolls with certainty.<sup>91</sup>

Although Trever and others of that group did not respond directly to Sonne, at least one other figure of similar thinking did. In the same article, Sonne, in a blanket statement, dismissed the work of all paleographers on the scrolls, asserting that they were driven by their particular theories rather than by the evidence.<sup>92</sup> Solomon Birnbaum, a paleographer at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, wrote to Sonne in response to the article. Noting that he had specialized in Hebrew paleographical research for more than twenty-five years, he stated that he was neither a biblicist nor a historian and had no “theories about the happenings or spiritual developments in any century BCE nor about the fashioning of the biblical text.” Further, with respect to the fact that some pet theory drove his research, he demanded of Sonne: “I should be grateful if you would explain to me how this applies in my case.”<sup>93</sup>

It was, however, the dispute with Zeitlin that became most vocal. Sonne attacked Zeitlin from the beginning in both his private correspondence and in print. At the SBL conference in 1949, with Zeitlin in attendance, Sonne noted, “We shall now touch upon Prof. Zeitlin’s alleged ‘positive, inner evidence.’ It consists of a few isolated expressions and idioms picked up at random, and stated that they bear the stamp of the Middle Ages.”<sup>94</sup> Sonne’s “Final Verdict on the Scrolls”<sup>95</sup> is a seven-page attack on Zeitlin in which he concluded, “Our analysis has shown a) that the very premises of Zeitlin’s rabbinic demonstration are lacking sound foundation; b) that his critical method in using the rabbinic material leaves much to be desired.”<sup>96</sup> Sonne’s boldest statements about Zeitlin were reserved for his private correspondence. When he submitted the “Final Verdict” to the *Journal of Biblical Literature* Sonne highlighted the need for his article in an accompanying letter to the editor:

[E]nclosed please receive an article on the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is, as you will see, a reply to Prof. Zeitlin’s last outburst on this subject. I consider his article as an insult to the intelligence of the American scholars which should not be left unanswered. (I trust that you will consider this statement as confidential.)<sup>97</sup>

To a certain degree, the disagreement between Sonne and the paleographers, including Albright, remained civil because the latter did not respond in any significant way to his challenges. By contrast, the matter between Zeitlin and Sonne appears to have become largely personal, with each scholar responding in print to the other’s ad hominem barbs. So, for example, Zeitlin devoted the better part of his “The Hebrew Scrolls and the Status of Biblical Literature” to attacking Burrows and Sonne.<sup>98</sup> Of Sonne he noted critically:

He is reputed to be neither an archaeologist, nor a biblical scholar, nor a student of the Second Jewish Commonwealth; he certainly is not a rabbinical scholar. When the polemic about the Hebrew Scrolls became widespread Sonne entered the fray...Although he is not well equipped to engage in the discussion, he could not avoid the temptation of taking part in it.<sup>99</sup>

The critique did not stop Sonne from speaking or writing, and Zeitlin took him to task again in response to his work on the Bar Kochba letters.<sup>100</sup> Sonne's article was based on a public lecture, where Zeitlin was again in attendance and in which he commented publicly:

Unfortunately, his bias against the caves seems to have led to oversight by Zeitlin. Indeed, while he was gathering examples from all corners of the world ... he overlooked examples from the very place and the only period we are dealing with.<sup>101</sup>

In the body of his response, Zeitlin repeated his criticism of Sonne:

Dr. Sonne is a scholar in his field of medieval Hebrew Bibliography. He knows of all the first editions, and the dates of the printing of every Hebrew book; but he could not resist the temptation to take part in the controversy about the Hebrew Scrolls although he is not equipped for it.<sup>102</sup>

In the footnote attached, he added that the publication of Sonne's article did "not do justice to him and [was] not a credit to the Academy for Jewish Research."<sup>103</sup> In perhaps his sharpest comment, in response to Sonne's "Hymn Against Heretics," Zeitlin offered, "I want to make clear to my Christian colleagues that not every Jew, even though he may bear the title rabbi or doctor, is a rabbinic scholar."<sup>104</sup>

The public dispute brought neither man honor. Sonne's approach with regard to the scrolls, however, was indicative of his approach generally. He was a particularly harsh critic and polemicist, as Halkin noted after Sonne's passing in 1960:



*Harry M. Orlinsky,  
New York, Undated*  
(Courtesy American  
Jewish Archives)

Owing to personal and external factors, he never knew the pleasures of peace and repose. This insecurity resulted in a degree of uncharitableness, in an extremely critical viewpoint, and an aimless drifting in the fields of culture and scholarship.<sup>105</sup>

### *Harry Orlinsky (1908–1992)*

When Harry Orlinsky died in 1992, *The New York Times* published an obituary as was appropriate for the long-time professor of Bible at the New York campus

of HUC-JIR. Among his important accomplishments, the obituary included the following:

The Israeli Government recruited Dr. Orlinsky in 1954 to authenticate four Dead Sea Scrolls being offered for sale. He poured over them in a Manhattan bank vault, using a pseudonym to mask the Israeli connection, and called an unlisted number to give the code word to indicate that the scrolls were the genuine article.<sup>106</sup>

While the account is factually correct, it does not nearly do justice to the actual story, nor does it capture the broader contribution Orlinsky made to the study and teaching of the scrolls in the decades following their discovery. The story of Orlinsky and the scrolls is really the story of an independent thinker and student pushed and pulled by the influence of two teachers who absolutely disagreed. Orlinsky earned his doctorate in 1935 at Dropsie College.<sup>107</sup> During his graduate work, Orlinsky came under the influence of Solomon Zeitlin, who had begun teaching at Dropsie in 1925.<sup>108</sup> After completing his dissertation, Orlinsky received a postdoctoral fellowship under the tutelage of William Albright. Orlinsky began teaching at Baltimore Hebrew College while also attending Albright's seminars at Johns Hopkins. It was Albright who recommended Orlinsky to Stephen S. Wise of the Jewish Institute of Religion, who stole him away from Baltimore Hebrew College in 1943.<sup>109</sup> When Orlinsky received the rank of full professor of Bible at JIR in fall 1945, he listed those he had to thank for helping him reach the milestone: "my father and mother who really helped to develop in me an admiration for honesty and learning... [Theophile James] Meek at Toronto, [Ephraim Avigdor] Speiser and [Solomon] Zeitlin in Philadelphia, and yourself [William F. Albright] in Jerusalem and Baltimore."<sup>110</sup>

By the time the scrolls were discovered, Orlinsky was already an active member of the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Oriental Society, and the American Schools of Oriental Research. Given these connections—his relationship to Zeitlin and Albright and his own scholarly interest in the history of the biblical text—the discovery of an ancient scroll of Isaiah caught his early attention. The St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll became his major concern; the other scrolls did not catch his fancy in quite the same way.<sup>111</sup> Here he should be contrasted with Sonne, whose interest was primarily in the sectarian material. It was Orlinsky's goal, though, not only to provide a sober evaluation of the scrolls in scholarly contexts but also to act as an intermediary who could bring an honest presentation of the material to his students and the public.<sup>112</sup>

Orlinsky's earliest discussion of the scrolls was presented in a paper at the annual meeting of the AOS at Yale in 1949: "The Recently Discovered Isaiah Scroll—Is It a Hoax?"<sup>113</sup> Given the title, Orlinsky was likely responding to Zeitlin's first article dismissing the antiquity and significance of the discovery:

“A Commentary on the Book of Habakkuk: Important Discovery or Hoax?” published in *Jewish Quarterly Review*.<sup>114</sup> The theme was the same as that presented in his paper the following December at the conference at HUC in Cincinnati.<sup>115</sup> The talk laid out the position Orlinsky maintained through the mid-1950s: that the scroll might be as old as Albright suggested, or it might stem from a later period (though not as late as Zeitlin argued); but whatever the date, the scroll had little value for reconstructing the biblical text as it appeared in antiquity. Orlinsky’s conclusions, when published, made clear that the issue for him was not the date of the scrolls but their value for understanding the relationship of the masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible to other early versions. The text in the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll differs from the text of Isaiah preserved in the Hebrew Bible as it has been received. The question, for Orlinsky and others, was whether the St. Mark’s scroll more accurately and reliably reflected the “original” text of Isaiah than that in contemporary Bibles. Orlinsky concluded that it did not. Here his “ifs” are very important to note:

If the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll should turn out to be a document of the Second Jewish Commonwealth, then its chief value will consist of the fact that it helps to demonstrate the reliability of the masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible.... If the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll should turn out to belong to the Mishnaic period, or later, then its value will be even less [than other known versions].... The unreliable character of St. Mark’s [Isaiah scroll] is inductively determined.... Under no circumstances is the Hebrew text of St. Mark’s to be given any independent value.<sup>116</sup>

The first conference at Yale made Orlinsky a significant player in the debate over the scrolls. The second conference helped him secure his place, but more significantly it was his introduction to HUC’s faculty and facilities in Cincinnati. Even before Glueck’s inauguration as HUC president, discussions had been underway to merge HUC and JIR, where Orlinsky was a member of the faculty. By late 1949 the negotiations were nearing conclusion, and the merger was completed in January 1950.<sup>117</sup> The SBL conference provided Orlinsky the first opportunity to get to know his new colleagues in Cincinnati and for them to get to know him, although it is likely that many knew him already from interaction at academic conferences and the like. Of the conference, Orlinsky noted in writing to Glueck, “It was the first time that I had the chance to be at the College and to meet so many of its faculty. The grounds, buildings, etc., are indeed a pleasure to behold.”<sup>118</sup> That Orlinsky commented on the greatness of the grounds and not his interaction with the faculty may leave his feelings about it an open question. Certainly a relationship between Orlinsky and Sonne was begun, but not an entirely positive one. Orlinsky published his first article on the Isaiah Scroll in June 1950 based largely on his talk in Cincinnati.<sup>119</sup> In concluding the paper, he notes Tovia Wechsler’s suggestion that the Isaiah Scroll

was in fact a scroll used for the *haftarot* (supplemental scriptural readings) as part of the Sabbath liturgy.<sup>120</sup> Sonne took offense that Orlinsky had cited the conclusion in Wechsler's name despite the fact that Orlinsky and Sonne had discussed the latter's April 1949 conference paper, where he made the same argument.<sup>121</sup> Orlinsky replied courteously that:

I did not cite you to this effect for the simple enough reason that I do not make it a practice to cite any one from word of mouth. Mr. Wechsler's statement was in print, and so I cited it. Of course this should not prevent you in any way from claiming priority in the matter, since you read a paper to this effect in April 1949, as you write.<sup>122</sup>

Sonne was not particularly pleased, but he responded: "I know that this issue is not particularly important, and is not worthy, but I thought that since we are brothers, it is in good spirit to clarify the issue and to establish the truth of the matter."<sup>123</sup> Although it appears they remained cordial to each other, behind the scenes they made clear that any issues between them were never quite resolved.<sup>124</sup> For the most part, though, Orlinsky's dealings with Cincinnati faculty were in matters of curriculum development and administration; it was rare for him to have direct contact with Sonne in the years that followed.

Orlinsky in this period was an insider of the Albright circle who demanded a hearing for Zeitlin's questions even while he disagreed with some of his conclusions.<sup>125</sup> Following the appearance of Zeitlin's second attack on the early dating of the scrolls, Albright wrote to Orlinsky:

I wish [Zeitlin] hadn't taken the flyer into paleography, since I had no conception how ignorant of this field he turns out to be. This article will cook his scholarly goose for good, in so far as discussions of this type of material are concerned. I am sorry, since I like him personally and we have always got along well together.... [N]othing will induce Zeitlin to change his mind.<sup>126</sup>

At least in the early years, Orlinsky was not entirely convinced of the paleographic and archaeological evidence for the early dating of the scrolls. More troublesome, though, was that he was convinced of the importance of Zeitlin's critique, and no one in Albright's camp was taking it seriously:

I have not yet seen as yet Zeitlin's second article.... However, I must say this, that it simply will not do for scholars to continue to ignore his arguments from the contents, or to dismiss them with such adjectives as "extreme." I have in mind [John] Trever's note in the latest *BASOR*,<sup>127</sup> and [Ovid] Sellers' uncalled for reference to Zeitlin in the latest *News-Letter of the Schools* [of Oriental Research]. Ernest Wright is at least honest enough to admit that he does not control the material at all. Surely those among our mutual friends who keep on pooh-poohing Zeitlin's arguments and do have some control over the rabbinic material, ought either to respond in a scholarly vein in

print, or else admit they do not know enough about the material to write on it publicly. Anyone can give oral opinions.<sup>128</sup>

It was likely for this reason that Orlinsky, a biblicist, restricted his publications to the biblical scrolls and generally did not make broader comments about the sectarian materials. However, regarding the history of the biblical text, Orlinsky's views must be understood in connection to his studies with Zeitlin. In writing an appreciation of his teacher two decades later, Orlinsky asserted that it was only through the "methodology practiced by Dr. Zeitlin that the authors and transmitters of the biblical text can receive their just due and appreciation in history."<sup>129</sup> Equally, though, Orlinsky wanted Albright's input. As early as the preceding February, several months before his "debut" at the AOS meeting at Yale, Orlinsky had turned to Albright with his concerns about the Isaiah Scrolls:

While I have not yet completed my study, I have become increasingly convinced that its history is far from being what Burrows, Sukenik, H.L.Ginsberg, and others have claimed it to be;... as soon as I get my manuscript in shape, I should like very much to meet with you and talk over the problems involved in the correct evaluation of the Isaiah Scroll, before I proceed to publish. You know how highly I regard your scholarly competence and your personal integrity.<sup>130</sup>

Because his publications dealt almost entirely with the Isaiah Scroll, his correspondence provides the only access to his thought on the sectarian material.<sup>131</sup> Here he set himself apart from Zeitlin, who was convinced of the Karaitic origins. Following being told that scholars were at work trying to prove this connection, Orlinsky commented:

I do not see how this is possible. I have read a number of Karaitic commentaries on biblical books, and many Karaitic documents, including polemics. I reread them recently with the scrolls in mind. I am not able to see any connection between the new Scrolls and anything Karaitic.... Of course, here and there in the Habakkuk commentary there is something which sort of calls to mind something Karaitic, but I do not recall anything substantial and even approximately conclusive.<sup>132</sup>

Despite airing this view to Albright, not even a full month later, Orlinsky told Ellis Rivkin at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati that he was convinced of a Karaite period dating for the sectarian scrolls:

So far, as I see it, neither the B.C. group nor the A.D. group has demonstrated its position; that is why I have refused to commit myself to any special date.

However the situation has changed, in my eyes, as a result of Dr. Pinchos Rudolph Weis' [*sic*]article in the current *JQR*.<sup>133</sup> Rowley of Manchester has

been writing me for some weeks now about the forthcoming article by Weis, and how he himself (Rowley) has begun to give up a B.C. date in favor of a 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>134</sup> date. I read Weis' article very carefully last week, and I now feel that unless and until Weis' arguments are refuted, it is hardly possible to adhere to a date prior to the Karaite period.<sup>135</sup>

Despite this explicit statement, Orlinsky generally refused to take a public position on the antiquity or lateness of the scrolls and absolutely refused to accept the idea that the Isaiah Scroll had any value for establishing the biblical text in antiquity.<sup>136</sup> In taking this position, he made a radical break with Albright, who was convinced, already in late 1949, that:

The only possible attitude for a serious scholar to take now is that the new Isaiah scroll is authentic and pre-Christian (though not necessarily from before cir. 100 in date), and that it will therefore be basic to any future treatment of the material [regarding the history of Hebrew and the biblical text].<sup>137</sup>

The statement was a warning to Orlinsky, who was preparing his paper for the SBL meeting in Cincinnati. But it was a warning Orlinsky could not heed. His conference papers and early publications made his position clear, and he continued to argue the point in his correspondence. Despite the disagreement between the two men, Albright largely kept it out of the public eye, and it remained a dialogue among friends.<sup>138</sup> Within that dialogue, though, Albright continued to warn Orlinsky that his position would damage his reputation: "You are going to be out on a limb in the scrolls business before long," he warned him, "even though it will be much shorter than Zeitlin's.... For the life of me I have never been able to see how you could argue the archaeological evidence away as you have."<sup>139</sup> This comment is particularly important, as it really draws the contrast between the position of Albright's circle and that of Zeitlin's. For Albright, the archaeological and paleographical conclusions demonstrated that the scrolls were ancient. The objective was then to figure out what the content of the scrolls could teach about the time from whence they derived. For Zeitlin, the only issue was the content of the scrolls. The texts were atypical for the material of Jewish antiquity and showed an affinity with later materials. The archaeological and paleographic evidence was unreliable and, therefore, only the content question was worth asking. As Burke Long has noted, Orlinsky:

[w]as increasingly at odds with the Albrighteans because of his reluctance to agree with Albright's assessment of the significance of the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls for sorting out variants in the Hebrew text of the Bible. This particular scholarly debate involved not only Albright's science of typology, which was widely accepted, especially among his students, but ideological conflict as well. Orlinsky doubted the "scientific" value of Albright's classifying scribal handwriting characteristics as datable "types."<sup>140</sup>

In 1953 Orlinsky was still suggesting to Albright that Zeitlin's ongoing critiques were valuable, even more valuable than those studies being published on Albright's editorial watch in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.<sup>141</sup> By late 1953 Orlinsky was still not settled on a date of composition for the scrolls:

As I said at last April's meeting of the AOS, I am not aware of a single conclusive argument in favor of a B.C. date for any of the scrolls and fragments discussed, and neither can I point to a single conclusive argument against a mishnaic date. Scholars have too freely *insisted* on a B.C. date, when they could not *prove* it in any impartial court of competent judges. I myself simply cannot decide on the basis of the evidence to date, on the date of composition.<sup>142</sup>

Even while Albright told Orlinsky of new discoveries being studied by his student Frank Moore Cross, which moved the date back to the first century BCE,<sup>143</sup> Orlinsky remained skeptical and suggested that Cross was naïve in his conclusions.<sup>144</sup> This was not the first time Orlinsky had leveled a critique of a close Albright colleague or student. Previously he had suggested to Albright that Trevor was a dishonest scholar of little integrity and even drafted an article trying to prove it.<sup>145</sup> In both cases, Albright defended his colleagues against Orlinsky's charge.<sup>146</sup> By the mid-1950s charges of this type, along with Orlinsky's refusal to accept Albright's dating of the scrolls, created some tension between them,<sup>147</sup> as became clear when HUC-JIR began to plan an international conference on the scrolls in late 1955 (see below). The real issue between the men by this period remained the dating. According to Orlinsky, he had managed to convince Albright that the textual variants in the Isaiah Scroll were not nearly as important as he had previously made out:

After my paper in Washington on the Isaiah Scroll, Albright admitted that over 90% of the St. Mark's variants were worthless, and that I ought not to continue to try to prove what was now obvious, namely, that the text of St. Mark's had little value for the critic of the masoretic text of Isaiah. When I asked him to mention the name of at least one scholar in addition to myself who had written derogatorily of the Isaiah Scroll text since its discovery, he was unable to reply. The fact is, of course, that everyone had written only favorably of this newly-discovered text, and that it is only now, when they are being confronted with my detailed word-by-word analysis of these variants, that they are beginning to realize their utter worthlessness. I was also pleasantly surprised when Father Skehan of Catholic University, at the request of Albright ... got up to comment on my paper, and said that he did not agree with Albright that some 90% of the Scroll's variants were worthless, but that he was inclined to agree with me, that they were 100% worthless.<sup>148</sup>

Despite Orlinsky's view that the scrolls could not be accurately dated and that the Isaiah Scroll had little value for the study of the biblical text, he never gave up on the artifacts being worthy of study and preservation. He was the first to bring the scrolls to the attention of JIR students when he published, in 1949, a short Hebrew article on the discovery in *Reshith*, the JIR student journal.<sup>149</sup> Even then, he was sure to highlight the difficulty in dating the manuscripts.<sup>150</sup> Orlinsky only offered the Dead Sea Scrolls as an elective beginning in the 1961–1963 course catalogue: “Bible E39: A detailed study of the text and theology of the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah (Q Isa. 1).” However, through the 1950s, beginning in the 1952–1953 school year, he offered a course on the textual criticism of Isaiah chapters 40–66, the chapters that he was studying and publishing on in his discussions of the St. Mark's Scroll. Beginning in 1958–1959, he offered a course on the history of the Masoretic text, “Bible E.33-Masoretic Text and Masorah: Origin and character.” In the summer of 1959, at the invitation of Cyrus Gordon, Orlinsky taught a course on the scrolls in the Brandeis Summer School: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and their Relevance for Old Testament Studies...*

After a survey of the entire subject, this course will focus on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the topics analyzed will be: the origin and character of the Masorah, Kethib-Qere, variant readings in the ancient versions and in rabbinic literature, and the vocalization.<sup>151</sup>

Orlinsky's course on the scrolls continued to be offered at HUC-JIR until the early 1970s, when it was replaced with “Bible elective 114: The Jewish Apocryphal literature (and the DSS).” Between 1968 and 1970, Orlinsky also offered a course on the scrolls for Alumni of the College, a sort of continuing rabbinic education program: “Bible A-201 –The book of (Second) Isaiah: A refresher course, dealing primarily with the theological and literary aspects of the book, and also with the Dead Sea Scrolls of Isaiah.” Despite his regular teaching of the scrolls, he urged his students to avoid involving themselves in the debates. When a JIR graduate sent him a draft of an article titled, “The Suffering Servant and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” he offered, “I know that the last mentioned [the Scrolls] is all the rage right now, but genuine and worthwhile scholarship cannot depend upon and derive from the obscure and unclear, sensational as it may be to some, or many, at the moment.”<sup>152</sup> In this his comments reflected Zeitlin and would resonate in the writings of Ellis Rivkin and Samuel Sandmel as well (see below).

Between publishing and teaching, Orlinsky was an active participant in the world of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1954, however, he became an actor in the purchase and acquisition of them.<sup>153</sup> On 1 July 1954, while leaving his house for a vacation with his wife to Toronto, Orlinsky received a phone call from

Yigael Yadin. Yadin was calling from the office of the Israeli Consul-General, Avraham Harman, in New York, and he needed Orlinsky's immediate help. On 1 June it had been brought to Yadin's attention that the four scrolls from St. Mark's were for sale in the United States. A classified advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal* listed a post office box and, knowing that the metropolitan would not sell the scrolls to an Israeli, had a third party contact the seller. Now they needed an unknown individual to examine the scrolls first-hand to ensure their authenticity. Yadin knew Orlinsky for various reasons, and they had become friendly through Orlinsky's efforts to found the American Friends of the Israel Exploration Society in 1951. Since Orlinsky had published serious studies of the Isaiah Scroll from St. Mark's, he was a perfect candidate for the job. Taking on the pseudonym Mr. Green, Orlinsky went to New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where there was a branch of the Chemical Bank and Trust Co. He was taken to the vault, where he examined the scrolls. First he examined the Isaiah text, then Peshet Habakkuk, and finally, the Manual of Discipline (Rule of the Community). A fourth scroll, identified then as the Lamech scroll and published later as the Genesis Apocryphon, was in the vault but in too poor condition to be unrolled. Orlinsky would later report to Yadin,

I made a detailed inspection of the scrolls and compared them with the official reproduction published by the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, edited by Professor Millar Burrows.<sup>154</sup> I am satisfied that the scrolls ... are the authentic 4 DSS referred to and reproduced in the a/m work by Professor Burrows and that they are complete.<sup>155</sup>

In early 1956 Orlinsky explained what he did somewhat more explicitly to a Toronto journalist. Particularly noteworthy is that he carried out his job of examining and handling the physical manuscripts without dealing with the issue of dating the material:

I had nothing to do with "authenticating" the Scrolls for—and purchased by—the Israel Government. What I was asked to do, and what I did, was to examine the Scrolls very carefully to make sure what the archbishop of the St. Marks Convent was offering for sale, was exactly what the Israel Government was ready to purchase; in other words, to make sure that no kind of substitute was being introduced. The matter of the authenticity of the Scrolls was never really doubted by anyone; it is the matter of date and authorship, and such other scholarly problems that have constituted the several and important points of difference among scholars.<sup>156</sup>

Following the examination, Orlinsky left the hotel and called an unlisted number for the consulate from the pay phone using the code-word *le-hayim* to indicate that the scrolls were authentic. Upon returning to the consulate by taxi, he signed a legal statement Harman and Yadin had prepared that swore to

the authenticity of the scrolls he had viewed.<sup>157</sup> Orlinsky was sworn to secrecy until the scrolls were safely returned to Israel. On 13 February 1955 Israel announced the \$250,000 purchase of the St. Mark's Scrolls.<sup>158</sup> Orlinsky's name was kept out of the press, and his correspondence shows that he kept the story quiet, even from Albright, who he knew was communicating with Yadin.<sup>159</sup> The first public news of his participation came in a November 1955 interview he gave to *American Judaism*, a magazine of the Union of the American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC). The interview describes all the difficulties with dating the material, why Orlinsky refused to offer a date for the composition, and the relative worthlessness of the Isaiah Scroll.<sup>160</sup> Of particular interest, though, is this comment from the article: "A legitimate question that a layman might ask at this point is, 'Are the Scrolls worth the reputed quarter of a million dollars that the Israeli Government paid?' In discounting the value of the scrolls to the field of Bible scholarship, Dr. Orlinsky emphasized, he does not discount their museum value."<sup>161</sup>

For all of Orlinsky's arguments about the scholarly aspect of the scrolls, whether from 200 BCE or 200 CE, they were Israel's national treasures, and he made the necessary effort to help acquire them. In 1957 Yadin gave a full accounting, which included discussion of Orlinsky's participation.<sup>162</sup> Orlinsky did not provide a full account of his own until "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green" in 1974.<sup>163</sup> However, through his years of teaching, he continued to regale his students with the story of his adventure;<sup>164</sup> his participation in the events was always important to him. In 1985 he was invited to a New York conference in honor of the late Yigael Yadin, where he recalled the tale before an appreciative group of Dead Sea Scroll scholars.<sup>165</sup> Even three decades later, in his correspondence with Harman, they continued to discuss the story. Harman wrote to Orlinsky: "I often think of the stirring days when we were in conspiracy in rescuing the Dead Sea Scrolls."<sup>166</sup> When Orlinsky died in 1992, *Biblical Archaeology Review* (BAR) memorialized him with a reprinting of his "Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green" under the headline: "The Bible Scholar Who Became an Undercover Agent."<sup>167</sup>

Orlinsky never made scroll scholarship his primary academic endeavor, and by the early 1960s his period of active scroll scholarship and publication ended. His interest in the scrolls had been largely shaped by his interest in the history of the biblical text and the book of Isaiah. Having studied the scrolls thoroughly, it was time for other projects; however, his interest in the scrolls did not disappear. In 1990 Orlinsky participated in two events where he once again took the opportunity to challenge the status quo on the scrolls. On 25 March 1990, Orlinsky coordinated the first "Harry M. Orlinsky Symposium" at HUC-JIR in New York. The subject of the conference was "The Essenes and the Dead Sea Scrolls: 40 Years after Qumran," and the guest lecturers were John Strugnell and Harry Orlinsky.<sup>168</sup> In June and July he gave the closing remarks in

a session devoted to surveying the previous forty years of Qumran scholarship. As he noted in the session, after forty years he was still disappointed that the Essene hypothesis connecting the settlement of Qumran with the ancient sect still held sway despite the limited evidence.<sup>169</sup> He asserted that he did not find the theory convincing in the fifties, and no new evidence had been brought forward to further support it.<sup>170</sup> Commenting to Wacholder, he had little kind to say about the growing group of Dead Sea Scroll scholars: “A lot of people who hardly know the data at the source have been orating a lot publicly about the cave(s) and scrolls and Qumran; very few of them could deal with the topic of the Symposium.”<sup>171</sup> Even with his final public comments, Orlinsky challenged the establishment.



*Samuel Sandmel, Cincinnati, February 1956*  
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

### *Samuel Sandmel (1911–1979)*

Samuel Sandmel was ordained by HUC in 1937 before he went on to Yale University, where he earned his doctorate in 1949 under the guidance of Erwin R. Goodenough.<sup>172</sup> Following three years of service as professor of Jewish literature and thought at Vanderbilt University, Sandmel returned to HUC-JIR as professor of Bible and Hellenistic Literature and eventually was named provost of the College, 1957–1966. Sandmel’s major contribution was as a Jewish scholar of the New Testament. In contrast to the general consensus among scholars of his period, Sandmel preferred to read the Gospels against the background of diasporic Judaism influenced by Hellenism rather than in a Palestinian Jewish context.<sup>173</sup> As a result of this approach, he also directed much attention to the writings of Josephus and Philo. Christian scriptures along with the works of these two ancient writers became the major focus of his teaching as well. However, in the 1955–1956 course catalogue, Sandmel was scheduled to replace Sonne, who had retired and been promoted to professor emeritus. In this regard “History 12 – The Dead Sea Scrolls” became Sandmel’s. Although the course is described as “Reading, translation, and scrutiny of selected sections and lectures on the significance of the documents,” the course description is immediately followed by an interesting note: “will not be offered in 1955–56.” In the 1956–1957 course catalogue the course is listed as a graduate elective, and Sandmel’s name is absent. Evidence suggests that although it appeared in the catalogue, the course was not offered.<sup>174</sup>

Sandmel’s choice not to teach a course on the scrolls would have been consistent with his view of them at the time, and he maintained this position well

into the 1970s: The Dead Sea Scrolls, although dating from antiquity,<sup>175</sup> have little to tell us about early Judaism or early Christianity. He made this point especially clear in early February 1956 while addressing a gathering of clergy of different faiths at Temple Emanu-El in Montreal, Canada.<sup>176</sup> Concerning the importance of the scrolls, Sandmel declared that they “change nothing, clarify nothing, and add relatively little to our knowledge of Christianity and Judaism.”<sup>177</sup> His comments were genuinely intended to challenge the exaggerated claims Edmund Wilson had made about the scrolls and Christianity, not to dismiss them in their entirety.<sup>178</sup> In May 1955 Wilson had brought the scrolls to worldwide attention with a long article in *The New Yorker*,<sup>179</sup> which soon after became a bestselling book.<sup>180</sup> Lawrence Schiffman has argued that Wilson’s interpretation of the scrolls in his article and subsequent books, “because of his substantial reputation, influenced all subsequent development of the depiction of the scrolls in the popular media.”<sup>181</sup> Sandmel’s comments caused a flurry of interest and they, along with numerous responses, were carried in newspapers throughout the United States and Canada.<sup>182</sup> It was not just Wilson who might have concerned Sandmel. During the same week, on 5 February 1956, *The New York Times* carried a report that John Allegro, a member of the scroll editorial team, argued that Qumran’s Teacher of Righteousness had likely been persecuted and crucified in Christlike fashion at the hands of gentiles incited by a wicked Jewish priest and that Paul’s teachings descended from traditions already evidenced among the Dead Sea sectarians.<sup>183</sup> Sandmel’s comments were particularly disturbing to the faculty of McGill University who attended the talk, because the university had in the weeks preceding the lecture purchased several hundred fragments of Qumran material from Cave 4.<sup>184</sup>

The ten-page text of that evening’s talk, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,” is Sandmel’s only preserved discussion solely on the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>185</sup> While he continued to discuss the scrolls in other works, these treatments were cursory. As is evident from the media coverage, Wilson was most clearly the target of his attack, although Sandmel seems to have been disturbed by having to respond to him:

Had Mr. Wilson’s article not become a book on the best seller list, the best treatment of it would have been to ignore it... Certainly in the area of scholarship Mr. Wilson is undeserving of attention, for he is not important enough to merit focusing on. But the misconceptions which have emerged from his article are worth noting, even if their author is not.<sup>186</sup>

Despite the polemical aspect of the talk, Sandmel did reach a significant conclusion:

The issues which need to be raised are these: If these scrolls are important, for what are they important? Do they shed new light on the question of

Christian origins? Do they throw any direct light on Christianity? Do they tell us anything about Jesus? Is the information significant in quality? Is it fresh and novel information which they supply, or is the information confined primarily to confirming what we already know or confined to adding a scattering of new details to knowledge we have already possessed?

Now if the quantity of information which the scrolls supply is relatively small, or if the significance of the quality of the information is relatively low, then the scrolls have little importance beyond being a discovery good and useful in a limited way. Only if the scrolls abundantly illumine great areas previously totally dark do they merit being greeted with extravagant enthusiasm.

Let it be clear that in my judgment, the scrolls are a striking discovery; but they have been accorded a fantastic welcome entirely out of proportion to their significance. They contribute a might [*sic*] to our understanding of sectarian movements in the period of Jewish history usually called the second temple.

Respecting Christianity, they offer a small and uncertain measure of information, which is limited to background information. They tell us not one word or one syllable about Christianity itself. They provide not one single point of departure for any need to reconsider in their light the origins of Christianity.

In quantity they cannot begin to vie with what we already possessed in rabbinic literature, the pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo and the Hellenistic-Jewish fragments. In quality the information they yield is so appallingly vague that scarcely any two scholars solve the questions of allusions and the historical data in the same way.

The Dead Sea Scrolls give us at most a drop for the bucket which was already half-full. They change nothing, they clarify nothing, they add precious little.<sup>187</sup>

Although the response to the comments was rather overblown, the press perceived Sandmel's statements, and his critique of Wilson in particular, as part of a general clergy backlash against a presumed attack on Christianity. From this perspective, the clergy were bothered by the presentation of Christianity as little more than the unoriginal repackaging of ideas already formulated by the community that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. In reviewing Wilson's book, *The Scrolls From the Dead Sea*, literary critic Stanley Edgar Hyman noted:

As the implications of the Dead Sea scrolls began to emerge, we have been favored with a mounting chorus of warnings from clergy. J. Cater Swain told the First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Queens, in December, 1955, that the scrolls 'will not radically alter our picture of Christian origins, because

the essential features of Jesus' ministry are too well known and established for that.' John Sutherland Bonnell welcomed the discoveries in a sermon at his Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in January, assuring Christians that they need not fear, since 'the place of Jesus Christ in history is unchallengeable.' After Allegro's broadcast, an unnamed English Catholic spokesman was quoted as saying 'any stick now seems big enough to use against Christianity,' and another, or perhaps the same one, called the broadcasts 'atheist in spirit.' *The New York Times* carried comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen under the heading 'Dead Sea Scrolls Held Overvalued.' The priest, John J. Dougherty of the Immaculate Conception Seminary of Darlington, New Jersey, attacked Wilson and Dupont-Sommer<sup>188</sup> in *America* as 'mischief' but 'nothing new'; the rabbi, Samuel Sandmel of Hebrew Union College, warned against Wilson, remarking 'seldom have so many readers been led astray by one man'; and the minister, the same Bonnell, confined himself to urging Allegro to slow down.<sup>189</sup>

Sandmel was not attempting to explicitly defend Christianity from an atheist attack; he was a rabbi who specialized in the New Testament and certainly did not identify personally with its teachings. In recounting Sandmel's public statements as reported in *The New York Times*, John Haverstick of the *Saturday Review* suggested that Sandmel, whom he identified only anonymously as "a Conservative Jew," was among religious conservatives attempting to defend their theological positions against Wilson and others:

To many eager religious liberals the Dupont-Sommer thesis [upon which Wilson relied heavily] has seemed to indicate that Jesus was not unique and, therefore, not divine. To conservatives it has seemed that the French devil's advocate was trying to shoot Christianity full of holes.... [S]aid a Conservative Jew: 'Seldom have so many readers been led astray by one man.'<sup>190</sup>

Sandmel wrote an extensive letter to Norman Cousins, the *Saturday Review* editor, although it was abbreviated somewhat when it was published. The letter suggests Sandmel's motivations in making the bold statements in Montreal:

I chance to be a Reform Jew, and what theological position I hold is in absolutely no way dependent on the Dead Sea Scrolls or on contentions about their bearing on New Testament writings.... There are a good many of us who study the scrolls out of a historical, not a theological interest. I claim to be one such.... In short, I deny the special relationship claimed for the Dead Sea Scrolls and Christianity not because it offends any theology, but because the claims are [an] affront to sober, prudent scholarship.<sup>191</sup>

Sandmel did on other occasions argue for the uniqueness of Christianity. In his 1961 presidential address before the annual meeting of the SBL, Sandmel attacked what he called "parallelomania"—the assumption that parallels between two bodies of material, e.g., the New Testament and the Dead Sea

Scrolls, necessarily indicated an influence.<sup>192</sup> In response, he commented on the attempts to find Pauline Christianity in the pre-Pauline Dead Sea Scrolls:

Abstractly, it is conceivable that Paul had nothing of his own to say, and that his achievement was that he was only an eclectic. But this seems to me to break down at two points. First, no rabbinic parallels have been found to that which in Paul is Pauline; and secondly, it took Dupont-Sommer's emendations of the Qumran Scrolls to have them contain pre-Pauline Paulinism. I for one am prepared to believe that Paul was a person of an originality which went beyond the mere echoing of his predecessors or contemporaries. I am prepared to believe that Paul represents more than a hodgepodge of sources.<sup>193</sup>

As with his comments in Montreal, *The New York Times* covered Sandmel's SBL address under the headline "Scrolls Doubted as Link to Jesus."<sup>194</sup> The report accurately portrays the presidential address, and the reporter went to Wilson for a response to Sandmel's continued attack on his work. Refusing to be drawn into a battle, Wilson responded simply that:

Biblical scholars almost without exception are committed to one point of view or to another: to show how different the Gospels are from the scrolls or how much alike they are.... I'm hoping to bring the whole thing up to date ... and deal with all these questions that have been raised.<sup>195</sup>

In general, Wilson's demurral was helpful. Although Sandmel continued to attack those who made too much of the parallels between the scrolls and the New Testament, after 1961 he moved away from attacking Wilson by name.

In 1956, it might be argued, Sandmel was simply being cautious about the scrolls; only limited quantities of the cave material had been published, and yet extensive and far-reaching claims were being made. This was especially true regarding the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament, the latter being Sandmel's academic specialty. In accord with his own evaluation of the material, Sandmel concluded that the attention paid to the scrolls was little more than scholarly faddishness. Further, the scrolls simply distracted scholars from more informative sources for the reconstruction of early Judaism and Christianity. In 1958 Sandmel reviewed volumes four, five, and six of Erwin Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*.<sup>196</sup> He was certain that these, like the first three volumes, would not receive the attention they deserved because scholars were distracted by the scrolls, which, by comparison, were less significant:

The six volumes have appeared at almost the same time that the Dead Sea scrolls changed from a novelty into a fad, so that the large work of Goodenough's may for the time being remain a casualty of the widespread preoccupation with the scrolls. There is no doubt in my mind that had Goodenough's materials emerged from a cave instead of being assembled from

the finest libraries in the world, researchers in the field would recognize that the scrolls, which have their own importance, cannot begin to vie in overall significance with the materials Goodenough has assembled. But the frenzy over the scrolls is bound to pass away, and when it does, Goodenough's work will receive the careful attention which it deserves.<sup>197</sup>

This perception that Goodenough's work was being lost in the fuss around the Dead Sea Scrolls may have gone back to Sandmel's days as a doctoral student under Goodenough's direction at Yale. Sandmel, who graduated in 1949, was at the school precisely during the years that Millar Burrows and the scrolls were at the center of attention and that Goodenough was at work on the first volumes of *Jewish Symbols*.<sup>198</sup> However, by the late 1960s, Sandmel was convinced that the lack of a methodological introduction to Goodenough's work was a greater handicap than its release amid the scroll fad.<sup>199</sup> However, Sandmel did not change his view that the wide-ranging interest in the scrolls was scholarly trendiness.

The fad<sup>200</sup> did not disappear quickly, and in 1966 Sandmel still hoped that "perhaps the fad aspect of the Scrolls has by now ... passed away."<sup>201</sup> In article after article and volume after volume, Sandmel continued to challenge the use of the scrolls in discussing early Judaism and Christianity.<sup>202</sup> Although he indicated that in the earliest years the prospect of what the scrolls might reveal excited him, what they actually revealed was very little: "With the passing of months and of years, we have come to a better perspective on the scrolls. In light of that perspective perhaps many here [at the 1961 SBL meeting] will agree with me that the scrolls reflect the greatest exaggeration in the history of biblical scholarship."<sup>203</sup> The difficulty is that Sandmel never reevaluated his position. Although more of the ancient material was published, and many more critical "sober" articles and books were written, his critical perspective meant that he never used the scrolls in his own scholarship except as a target for denigration.

In part, this was an issue of Sandmel's distaste for the method of making claims based on textual parallels in dealing with the relationship between Qumran and Christianity. Regarding the scrolls' significance for early Judaism, Sandmel took a position, which he maintained into the 1970s, of consciously ignoring the material. In reviewing the 1970 reprint of Sandmel's 1958 volume *The Genius of Paul: A Study in History*,<sup>204</sup> Wayne Rollins noted, "The light that the Dead Sea Scrolls casts on our understanding of first century Judaism is consciously but nevertheless completely ignored."<sup>205</sup> In truth, Sandmel ignored the scrolls' contribution in 1958 and a decade later as well. In reviewing Sandmel's 1969 volume, *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity: Certainties and Uncertainties*, Raymond Brown suggested that Sandmel made insufficient use of the scrolls for reconstructing first-century Judaism:

Although I agree with his cautions ... on the misuse of the Dead Sea Scrolls in judging Palestinian Judaism, I would like to challenge him on whether he is using them sufficiently. After all, although sectarian and perhaps not broadly representative, they are contemporary with the first century in a way that the rabbinic documents and the available translations of the most important apocrypha are not.<sup>206</sup>

In the volume, Sandmel's discussion of the scrolls is somewhat less provocative than in his earlier statements. In part, this was the result of what he termed "an armistice" in the "battle of the Dead Sea Scrolls" and the opportunity for a more calm evaluation of the material.<sup>207</sup> Although Brown recognized that Sandmel's lack of interest in the scrolls stemmed in part from his concern with Diaspora Judaism, Sandmel, from early on, was simply never convinced that the available scrolls could provide as much information as other previously known sources. While Sandmel acknowledged that "an understanding of the first Christian century is incomplete without the Scrolls,"<sup>208</sup> he actually estimated the number of surviving pages of Qumran sectarian material (thirty-five to forty-five pages, according to his count) and argued that they could not compare in importance with the hundreds of pages of the pseudepigraphal and rabbinic literature.<sup>209</sup> His disregard for the scrolls in the 1970s was just as apparent as in the previous decades. In some ways he was fighting the same old battles—granted, with a different tone—when he did discuss them. In an October 1973 lecture he gave at the Southern Baptist Seminary, he devoted significant time to taking William Albright to task for an argument about Hellenization that he made in the 1950s.<sup>210</sup>



*Ellis Rivkin, Cincinnati, Founders' Day, 1956*  
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

In light of his maintained position, there is little doubt about why Sandmel never offered a course on the scrolls and concentrated on teaching and writing about the New Testament, Josephus, and Philo.<sup>211</sup>

### *Ellis Rivkin (b. 1918)*

Ellis Rivkin came to HUC as a professor of history in the fall of 1949. He had earned his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University in 1946 with a dissertation on the Venetian rabbi and polemicist Leon da Modena (1571–1648).<sup>212</sup> After receiving his degree he was awarded a two-year Cyrus Adler fellowship at Dropsie College in Philadelphia, which was extended for a third year while he continued to work on Modena.<sup>213</sup> With his arrival at HUC, his duties included teaching

the introductory surveys of Jewish history, including the history of the Jews in antiquity.

Rivkin's role in the story of the scrolls and HUC-JIR might easily be overlooked. While Sandmel repeatedly challenged their significance in print over many years, Rivkin dismissed them for various reasons and purposefully ignored them in his publications. In and of itself, that he chose not to study the scrolls did not have a major impact in scholarly circles. However, among his rabbinic students it had particular force. A recent informal survey by the author of HUC-JIR alumni on two Internet list-servs, "HUCalum" and "RavKav," suggests that some pulpit rabbis continue to maintain that the scrolls are medieval documents as Rivkin taught them. A 1991 rabbinic thesis written under Rivkin's supervision concludes: "Concerning Zeitlin's dating of the Scrolls as medieval, I suspect that he may be correct...[The] Scrolls are, as Rivkin contends, opaque and atypical—hence not utilizable as a source for **any** period."<sup>214</sup>

The scrolls piqued Rivkin's interest from the beginning, and his correspondence with his mentor Harry Orlinsky<sup>215</sup> shows that he discussed the matters primarily with Solomon Zeitlin and Orlinsky himself, but also with John Trever and William Albright. Rivkin committed to a late date for the scrolls from early on. Zeitlin's attacks on Trever and the others involved in bringing news of the scrolls to the American public left a clear impression. Following Trever's 1949 visit to HUC (described above), Rivkin wrote to Orlinsky:

Last night Dr. Trevor [*sic*] of the scrolls spoke to the faculty and students. His account of how the scrolls came into his hands certainly sounds fishy to me. He indicated that the original story was a fabrication and the events that had actually occurred were far different and far more complex than I had originally believed. Also his mention of the profound interest displayed by the Syrian monks in financial returns as well as the subsequent rifling of the cave and the destruction of the jars makes me more than ever suspicious of the whole business.<sup>216</sup>

Could the manuscripts have been lying in the library of the convent for a long time and the Bedouin story invented to make the finds more palatable? For the life of me I cannot see how even the Isaiah scrolls can be dated positively on the basis of our present knowledge of the Second Commonwealth paleography. Zeitlin's evidence on the Commentary and on the Sectarian documents seems to me very well founded and noone [*sic*] has answered him yet. They merely refute his position by referring to the Isaiah scrolls and they ignore his other evidence.<sup>217</sup>

Zeitlin continued to correspond with Orlinsky about these matters through the late 1950s, often calling on "Zeitlin's evidence" to support his view of the scrolls.<sup>218</sup> Orlinsky, although sympathetic to Zeitlin's arguments, warned Rivkin about accepting Zeitlin's evidence too quickly: "I agree in general with you

when you write that ‘Zeitlin’s evidence is much more reliable than that of his opponents.’ But the trouble has been in my judgment, that ‘more reliable’ is not enough; either one side demonstrates his date, or he doesn’t.<sup>219</sup> Although not entirely uncritical of Zeitlin, Rivkin came to adhere to his position far more closely than Orlinsky could ever bring himself to do.

Rivkin, like his mentor Zeitlin, maintained (and continues to maintain) that the scrolls are of medieval origin,<sup>220</sup> and, whether ancient or medieval, methodological concerns prevent their use as historical sources. In evaluating Zeitlin’s challenge to the scrolls’ antiquity and the scholarly world’s response, Rivkin noted that Zeitlin recognized certain linguistic features and word usage as unique to Karaite material from a later period. Rivkin noted in 1965 that scholars accepted that these features were similar to those of Karaite texts, but they would not accept the late date. Instead, they theorized about how these terms might have passed from the ancient sect to the medieval one. According to Rivkin, Zeitlin

refused to budge from his methodological stronghold, however determinedly besieged by scholars great in number and towering in reputation. Though these latter show little or no respect for Zeitlin’s methodological principle, and though they make light of his erudition, they have quietly taken over the linguistic discovery that Zeitlin was the first to make.<sup>221</sup>

Rivkin never explicitly states in his evaluation that he agrees that the scrolls are medieval, but he most certainly adopted Zeitlin’s methodology. Like Zeitlin, Rivkin dismisses all archaeological and paleographic material. As with Sandmel’s concerns, this may have been legitimate in the first years following the discoveries, but archaeologists’ additional exposure of similar materials in other caves certainly suggests that this conclusion might have needed to be reevaluated in later decades.

Rivkin is not uncritical of Zeitlin, but his criticism is largely an issue of presentation rather than method. He argues that Zeitlin failed to separate his methodological questions from the conclusions he reached. Thus, Zeitlin’s challenge to the archaeological and paleographic grounds for dating the material was legitimate and should have been thoroughly treated. It garnered no direct response, however, because the rest of the scholarly world was attacking Zeitlin’s answer that the material was medieval rather than exploring the ramifications of his critique of their method. From Rivkin’s perspective, Zeitlin’s presentation of his findings and his criticism of others, along with his obsessive need to demonstrate the lateness of the scrolls, distracted his readership from the real issues.<sup>222</sup> The real issue for Rivkin was that the scrolls simply were and are not a reliable historical source, not because they cannot be adequately dated but because even if they could, they provide no clear information:

[W]hat scholars are confronted with when they study the Dead Sea Scrolls are not only opaque sources which do not clearly and unambiguously reveal their provenance, but opaque sources which unlike other opaque sources from the intertestamental period have no attestation to their existence before 1947... They have no manuscript history and they are not cited by other early writers. This renders them opaque in a qualitatively different way from the opaqueness which characterizes so many of the pseudepigraphic writings.<sup>223</sup>

According to Rivkin, since the scrolls are opaque, and likely medieval, they can add nothing to the study of ancient Jewish history. So, in his 1978 work exploring the nature of the community of Pharisees at the beginning of the Common Era, Rivkin makes no mention of the scrolls. Reviewer Shaye Cohen noted this omission, along with its implications:

On the basis of [the first century historian Josephus Flavius' *Antiquities* 13:297, Rivkin contends that the Pharisees were the only Jews to accept a Two-Fold Law, but such a contention is ludicrous. After the Torah was canonized and its text established, an oral law was inevitable, for how else could one live by a code which was elliptic, obscure, and self-contradictory? *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls (resolutely ignored by Rivkin) attest unequivocally to a non-pharisaic (anti-pharisaic?) oral law and exegesis.<sup>224</sup>

Rivkin has marked a certain amount of success in carrying on Zeitlin's concerns about the scrolls. Those who have examined his project on the Pharisees, which resulted from decades of research and writing, have largely discussed methodological issues. While medieval provenance would have been enough to exclude the scrolls from a work on the Pharisees, those responding to the volume had methodological concerns about the texts. Like Cohen, Robert Seltzer and Jack Bemporad noted difficulties raised by the absence of Dead Sea Scroll discussion in Rivkin's work:

We also have considerable data about late Second Temple apocalypticism. There may have been apocalyptic Pharisees, but belief in the imminent coming of God's Kingdom has not been shown to have been an essential attribute of Pharisaism. It was a belief of Jesus and his circle. Jesus and his disciples, as well as John the Baptist and his circle, may have had some traits in common with the Essenes (ritual immersion, a reputation for healing, sharing of property). Some of the Dead Sea Scrolls flesh out our knowledge of apocalyptic sects, but Rivkin's suspicions about the Scrolls bars data derived from them from incorporation into the foundational definition.<sup>225</sup>

According to Lloyd Bailey, suspicion alone did not account for their exclusion.<sup>226</sup> To avoid errors that may have been introduced into the discussion by texts where, for example, the term *haverim* is assumed to be synonymous with "Pharisees," Rivkin included in his work only those texts where the latter term

appeared explicitly. Therefore, suggests Bailey, the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Dead Sea Scrolls were excluded. Further, he notes:

Several reviewers, failing notice of this methodological consideration, have criticized Rivkin for neglecting the last three sources. In theory, the excluded sources might contain relevant information, but their use would introduce an unnecessary possibility of error.<sup>227</sup>

From a methodological perspective this was precisely Rivkin's concern. If:

unknown writings [such as the scrolls] show themselves to be atypical and opaque, they must be sealed off from the known, lest in their desperation to know more of a period of which so little is known, scholars allow the unknown to contaminate the known and compound thereby our woeful ignorance.<sup>228</sup>

Possibility of error or not, Rivkin's acceptance of the scrolls' medieval dating was enough to keep them from the discussion of the Pharisees.<sup>229</sup>

The scrolls' discovery and the first debates over their authenticity took place while Rivkin was still with Zeitlin at Dropsie as a postdoctoral fellow and continued on the HUC campus with the Society of Biblical Literature, American Schools of Oriental Research, and American Oriental Society meetings in 1949 and 1950. According to Rivkin's recollection, his views did not bring him into direct conflict with his colleagues. His relationship with Sonne was amicable but not particularly friendly. He and Sandmel agreed on the difficulty of using the scrolls to reconstruct history, but they disagreed on the dating.<sup>230</sup> Their relationship was somewhat troublesome, in part because Rivkin was becoming more generalist while Sandmel encouraged specialization; but also because they disagreed on a number of specific issues about the reconstruction of the Jewish past.<sup>231</sup>

Despite their disagreements, their complementary attacks on the scrolls acted as a one-two punch regarding the inclusion of the material in the rabbinical school curriculum. Both men agreed that to study the scrolls in a Second Temple context was to explain one unknown with another.<sup>232</sup> Neither Sandmel nor Rivkin ever included Qumran materials among the texts for study in their courses. In Rivkin's own words, he "never used any of the scrolls in his classes as historical sources, only those sources that could be certified and ascertained as coming from the Inter-Testamental period."<sup>233</sup> Between them, during the three decades following Sonne's retirement in 1956, they taught almost all of the core courses on Hellenistic literature and Second Temple history and many of the electives. Therefore, the rabbinic students in Cincinnati during that period were exposed to the scrolls only through Sandmel or Rivkin's dismissive assessments of the material.

## Changing the Tone: Nelson Glueck and the Tenth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Nelson Glueck was certainly not a scrolls scholar, but as a populariser extraordinaire of biblical archaeology, he immediately recognized their value. By 1956, when Sandmel made his very public comments about the limited value of the scrolls, the press had devoted many pages to them. For reference, it is worthwhile to note that between 1894 and 1991—the year access to the scrolls was provided to all scholars—only nine SBL meetings received coverage in substantial articles in *The New York Times*, despite the conferences being held almost solely in New York. Three of these—the meetings of 1894, 1895, and 1910—took place before the discovery of the scrolls.<sup>234</sup> Of the remaining six meetings appearing in newspaper articles—1949, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1961, 1991—all but the article covering the 1958 meeting discuss the scrolls.<sup>235</sup> The 1949 conference was the one held in Cincinnati and is discussed above. The 1961 meeting was where Sandmel attacked scrolls scholarship in his “Parallelomania” presidential address. The 1958 article, which does not discuss the scrolls, highlights that Harry Orlinsky of HUC spoke at an important session.<sup>236</sup> In general, SBL and the Dead Sea Scrolls focused a significant amount of attention on HUC-JIR. But just what kind of attention was it? Sonne had been critical of scholarship on the scrolls but not their antiquity. Orlinsky was hesitant about dating the material at all. Sandmel agreed they were old but declared them valueless. Rivkin, who did not appear in the press, challenged the scrolls back on campus. Just what Glueck, the College president, thought of this situation is worthy of exploration.

As noted, Glueck had participated in discussions concerning the scrolls in 1948 with Judah Magnes and William Albright. Further, he was a loyal student of Albright; already in his late sixties he wrote to his mentor, “You are and continue to be the most important single influence in my life. I am, and will always remain, endlessly grateful to you.”<sup>237</sup> Given his close relationship to Albright, who immediately had dated the scrolls to antiquity, along with his close relations with John Trever, Millar Burrows, and others through ASOR and SBL, it seems unlikely that Glueck would have taken an opposing stance on the scrolls, despite the debate among HUC-JIR faculty. Additionally, through specific actions, he demonstrated his concern for the scrolls and their importance and simultaneously challenged his faculty’s views. First, in 1955 and 1958, he reviewed books on the Dead Sea Scrolls in a very public forum, *The New York Times*. In 1956 and 1957 he unsuccessfully attempted to bring Orlinsky, Sandmel, and Sonne together to organize an international conference in Cincinnati in honor of the tenth anniversary of the scrolls’ discovery. Finally, in 1958, he hired Albright’s student, Norman Golb, who had already published on the scrolls, as a Cincinnati faculty member. His clearest act, the

acquisition of a set of negatives of the scrolls in 1969, remained largely secret until the 1990s and is discussed in greater detail below.

In May 1955 Edmund Wilson boosted public awareness and interest in the scrolls in an unprecedented way. As is clear from Sandmel's response, a more balanced view of the scrolls was needed. In November 1955 Glueck suggested in a *New York Times* review that more balanced scholarship could be found. The review, "New Light on the Dim Past," discusses Burrows's *The Dead Sea Scrolls* and Eleazar Sukenik's posthumous *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*.<sup>238</sup> That Glueck chose to discuss the books of the two men between whom he had been asked to mediate years before is somewhat ironic. In the case of Burrows, whose second book Glueck also reviewed in *The New York Times*, these published statements suggest Glueck's loyalty to a friend as well to Burrows's interpretation of the material. In the first review Glueck attempted to increase public interest in the book—but even more so in the scrolls, by pushing the adventure story aspect of the discovery and the early scholarship. Glueck described the story as one of

[c]hance discovery, rich rewards, high intrigue, intemperate accusations and flaming defense, ingenious hypotheses and illuminating facts, carbon 14 tests and laboratory examinations of leather and linen and ink, religious pride and prejudice.<sup>239</sup>

For Glueck, archaeology was a dangerous adventure, and he knew this aspect would appeal to the public. Toward the end of the review he notes that Sukenik risked life and limb to cross the border in Jerusalem to acquire the scrolls:

At the literal risk of his life, during the days and weeks of hectic negotiating with Syrian monks and Arab merchants ... Sukenik managed to secure three of [the scrolls] ... for the Hebrew University.... In the midst of [the] modern Jewish War of Liberation, when it was worth a man's life to attempt to cross certain lines or be in certain areas in Jerusalem, this brave scholar ignored shot and shell to obtain these scrolls.

The drain on his energies and heart may well have contributed to his early death a few years thereafter.<sup>240</sup>

In many ways, this depiction of archaeology and scroll adventures foreshadowed Glueck's own adventures as an archaeologist in the Negev, as reported in *Time Magazine* in 1963. Noting that Glueck sometimes got shot at while searching the desert for sites, the journalist asked Glueck why he kept returning. Glueck replied, "There is something there ... not just things to find, but the threads of history to tie up. That is the great reward of my kind of exploring.... What the explorer is after ... is more important than his life."<sup>241</sup>

Regarding the scrolls specifically, Glueck's *New York Times* review highlighted a number of issues: that the scrolls provide insight into the lives and philosophies of Jewish groups in the first centuries before and during the Common Era; that the group appears similar to the Essenes but that no conclusive evidence allows for identifying the Qumranites with them; and that the previous attempts to demonstrate a close relationship between the documents and early Christianity were no more than exaggerations. The most substantial portion of the review is Glueck's treatment of the history of the biblical text. In discussing the Isaiah Scroll he noted, "This and thousands of fragments of the Old Testament were found being nine centuries earlier than the previously, earliest known Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible.... They furnish invaluable evidence of the fidelity of the later Masoretic text."<sup>242</sup>

In formulating his comment in this way, Glueck managed to avoid dealing with Orlinsky's challenge to the importance of the particular scroll, but he was still able to come to a satisfying conclusion. The statement makes clear Glueck's commitment to the antiquity of the scrolls generally. Further, Glueck was an archaeologist who believed his findings confirmed the historicity of the biblical narratives, as he later claimed:

As a matter of fact, however, it may be stated categorically that no archaeological discovery has ever controverted a biblical reference. Scores of archaeological findings have been made which confirm in clear outline or in exact detail historical statements in the Bible.<sup>243</sup>

Given this mindset, Glueck must have very much appreciated that not only could the biblical tales be confirmed but that the written source he used to trace his way through the desert could, thanks to the scrolls, be demonstrated to be ancient as well.

In 1958, with the appearance of Burrows's second volume on the scrolls, Glueck had an additional opportunity to make his views on them known. However, in contrast to the first review, in which he dealt with the details of the scrolls, in the second review Glueck spoke to the significance of their discovery. Noting that some interpreters suggested that it was through his literary talents that Wilson had been able to arouse interest in the scrolls, Glueck suggested an alternative reading of the circumstances:

This reviewer wonders if it may not also be said that the times were propitious for Wilson's type of article. Could it not be that the Dead Sea Scrolls, so amazingly exhumed from their long forgotten cave-burials and suddenly transported over the space of some twenty centuries to the attention of the world, were hailed unconsciously by myriads as a symbol of luminescent hope in an age of otherwise unrelieved darkness?<sup>244</sup>

There can be little doubt that in the wake of World War II and the Korean War, the destructive forces that were so apparent in the period weighed heavily on Glueck. His biographers, Jonathan Brown and Laurence Kutler, have noted of the period that:

When the Korean War broke out in June 1950 and American troops began fighting and dying there, Glueck saw the conflict as a prelude to the apocalypse. He had been thoroughly frightened by President Truman's authorization of the development of the hydrogen bomb.<sup>245</sup>

Although this may be somewhat overstated, all evidence suggests that Glueck believed that a return to religion could give hope to the masses in what were certainly dark times. An interview he gave in the period leading up to his inauguration as HUC president is clear on this matter. *The New York Times* reported:

[Glueck] rejoices when in his explorations he makes discoveries that confirm statements in the Bible.

For he sees in religion the only salvation for the world in these confused days.... "Never before," he said, "have leaders of the spirit been needed so much as at present. And they are needed at once, for we have been more effective in our methods of destruction than in those of creation.... We even hear talk of an impending war. To combat the dangers that surround us we must turn to the moral law.... They who struggle toward God shall prevail."<sup>246</sup>

That Glueck felt this spiritual lift of the scrolls before he wrote the article is difficult to demonstrate, but it seems most plausible. Likewise, it might be concluded that he may have perceived the challenges leveled by some of his faculty as undermining this position.

### *HUC-JIR Organizes an International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*

Perhaps in an effort to bring some of his faculty around or, at least, to benefit from the publicity the scrolls attracted, Glueck turned to Orlinsky to help organize an international conference on the scrolls to be held in 1957 at HUC-JIR. To attract a large and distinguished group of participants, the organizing committee chair had to be well connected in the world of biblical studies and have knowledge of the scrolls. Both Sandmel and Orlinsky were well connected with the Society of Biblical Literature, but given Orlinsky's close relationship with William Albright and Sandmel's disinterest in the scrolls, the former was the only real candidate for the job. He began by assembling a list of potential conference participants and seeking members for an organizing committee. Within the College, Sonne, Julius Lewy, Sheldon Blank, and Sandmel were asked to participate.<sup>247</sup> Sonne ultimately declined for personal reasons.<sup>248</sup> In light of these "personal reasons," it is worthwhile noting that even before Sonne was asked to participate, a press release had been issued indicating that

Orlinsky, Sandmel, Blank, and Lewy were participating.<sup>249</sup> The conference, Glueck stated, was being held because:

The scrolls and fragments have supplied answers to some old problems. But they have posed many more questions than they have clarified. Specialists disagree on the date of composition, the identity of the Jewish group or groups who composed them, the precise historic circumstances which brought them into being, and their pertinence and relevance to what we already know about the history of the Jewish people before and after the destruction of the Second Temple. The year 1957, which will mark a decade since the discovery of the scrolls, will provide an opportune time to reach something of a consensus of opinion, and assess with greater confidence the significance of these documents.<sup>250</sup>

Given the ongoing debates of the period, this statement was quite neutral—which was absolutely necessary if the conference was to succeed.

In late January Orlinsky compiled a list of 150 potential participants for the committee to vet.<sup>251</sup> Although not officially participating, Sonne suggested some additional names, including Geza Vermes and Alexander Scheiber.<sup>252</sup> Orlinsky began by writing unofficially to scholars around the world to see if there was interest in participating in the program. While the responses were generally positive, indicating that HUC-JIR should move forward, a reply from Ben Zion Dinur of the Hebrew University indicated a potential problem.<sup>253</sup> Dinur, alerted to the news by Joseph Aviram of the Israel Exploration Society, to whom Orlinsky had written informally, was at the time coordinating the Second World Congress of Jewish Studies, to be held in Jerusalem in late July and early August 1957. This congress was to include sessions commemorating the tenth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls.<sup>254</sup> Dinur was particularly concerned that a conference the following month at HUC-JIR might discourage participants from attending the congress in Jerusalem.<sup>255</sup> Dinur had been at work since 1953 on organizing the meeting, and 1957 marked a decade since the first congress.<sup>256</sup> Glueck and Orlinsky agreed to try to push off the conference to the third week of September so as to avoid any direct conflict, but they insisted on moving forward and looking for joint sponsorship.<sup>257</sup> Among the potential partners was the Israel Exploration Society.<sup>258</sup> In April, Albright agreed to join the steering committee, although he was concerned that changing the conference date would create a conflict with the Congress of Orientalists, which was to meet in Munich in the late summer of 1957.<sup>259</sup> With Albright onboard, the committee turned to finding additional members.

Exploring the makeup of the organizing committee provides a relatively clear window on the discussion of scroll research at HUC-JIR during that period. Orlinsky suggested that Roland de Vaux, Millar Burrows, Henry H. Rowley, James Muilenberg, Patrick Skehan, Yigael Yadin, and Benjamin

Mazar be included on the team, along with the members of the HUC-JIR faculty and Albright.<sup>260</sup> The list excluded Frank Moore Cross, John Trever, and David Noel Freedman—young scroll scholars closely tied to Albright but for whom Orlinsky had limited scholarly respect. Glueck wanted Albright heavily involved in the project and suggested to Orlinsky that Albright be consulted on the membership of the committee before invitations be sent out.<sup>261</sup> Orlinsky replied that he was not averse to having Albright vet the list but that he should not be asked to recommend additional members: “I should not care to ask him to submit additional names because we may well become loaded with young second raters.”<sup>262</sup> Glueck did not wait for Orlinsky’s reply and by the end of April had already written to and received a reply from Albright. The issue in the committee’s makeup stemmed in large part from the fact that Orlinsky and Sandmel were both highly skeptical of the work on the scrolls, and Blank and Lewy were not active participants in the field. By contrast, Glueck aligned himself with Albright and his students on scroll matters. Orlinsky’s preference to keep Albright students out of the organizing created a rift between Orlinsky and Glueck. Glueck, in fact, was concerned that Orlinsky’s direction could negatively impact the quality of the symposium, as he noted to Albright:

I have decided to take this whole thing into my own hands to see to it that it doesn’t get off track and comports with the highest possible standards. Should we add the name of Frank Cross and/or the name of [William] Brownlee?<sup>263</sup>

Albright hoped that in formulating the committee correctly, with outside members outnumbering inside members (HUC-JIR faculty), Glueck would be able to get what he wanted without having to assert his authority over his faculty directly.<sup>264</sup> According to Albright, at least, Orlinsky’s coordinating the conference was troublesome:

I talked at some length with Harry Orlinsky ... and he is now worried chiefly (so he says) about how he is going to avert an open break with Zeitlin. He has apparently come over at least two-thirds of the way, and is just not going to admit changing his mind. Luckily for us, he has been publicly somewhat neutral of late, so he can shift without any too obvious change. It might be well to drop a private hint to the scholars whom you invite about this change in Orlinsky’s attitude, since one or more may otherwise decline or abstain from participation just because they don’t want to find themselves in an embarrassing situation. (For instance, I had no intention of having anything to do with the Symposium, because the announced membership of the committee appeared to be stacked against the age and authenticity of the Scrolls; I have now changed my mind.)<sup>265</sup>

Glueck took these issues to Orlinsky but, rather than opening up the committee to the additional members, it resulted in a break between the two men; Orlinsky tendered his resignation:

It is clear that you [Glueck] feel that my presence on the Committee constitutes something of an obstacle to achieving the maximum success that we hope it will be. Accordingly, I should like to resign from the Committee.<sup>266</sup>

Glueck, however, rejected the resignation and persuaded Orlinsky to stay on.<sup>267</sup>

While the back-and-forth correspondence is useful for gaining insight into the debate over the scrolls at HUC-JIR, it did not produce an international conference. Dinur was not particularly pleased with HUC-JIR's decision to move ahead with the symposium and continued, behind the scenes, to push to have the conference further delayed or cancelled.<sup>268</sup> To shore up its position, HUC-JIR turned to the Union Theological Seminary (UTS) in New York City as a cosponsor with the intention that faculty member Muilenberg would agree to join the organizing committee. The idea was for a three-day international conference, ideally alternating between the two institutions' campuses.<sup>269</sup> It seems that Glueck hoped that a joint conference in New York could attract greater participation than if held in Cincinnati. UTS responded positively but, because of Dinur's continued pushing, a date conflict with the Congress of Orientalists,<sup>270</sup> and the inability of certain invitees to attend, Glueck gave up, and the conference was cancelled.<sup>271</sup>

A core group of scholars including Albright, Solomon Zeitlin, Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, and Patrick Skehan eventually met in Philadelphia on 20 May 1957 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the scrolls' discovery and the first jubilee of Dropsie College.<sup>272</sup> Orlinsky gave the opening address, acknowledging that it had been hoped that the conference at HUC-JIR could have taken place and providing details of some of the planning. The address also provides a wonderful window on Orlinsky's sense of humor. In opening the conference he remarked:

The Dead Sea Scrolls, as you all know, are so called because they are not dead, they do not come from the sea, and not every one of the documents is a scroll. Otherwise the title is correct...

The year 1957 marking a decade since the discovery of the Scrolls, provides an opportune time to assess with greater confidence the significance of these documents and perhaps to reach a greater consensus of opinion. It is not secret at all that the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion had planned an international symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, to be held in the New York School in September of this year. Competent scholars the world over were to be invited, and panel discussions held in such specific and significant

areas as archaeology, linguistics, biblical textual criticism, rabbinic analysis, palaeography, messianism, and the “teacher of Righteousness.”<sup>273</sup> For various reasons, this grand symposium had to be cancelled....

This afternoon’s Symposium [at Dropsie College] is the first in the world in which the Scrolls will be discussed from A to Z, beginning with Prof. Albright and ending with Prof. Zeitlin.<sup>274</sup>

The conference could have brought HUC-JIR tremendous attention, but it was not to be.<sup>275</sup> At the very least, the effort to bring it about highlights Glueck’s interest in the scrolls and his attempt to put the College at the forefront of their scholarship.

In truth, since Jewish scholars were kept from the editorial team for the documents found in Cave 4, the faculty could not have access to the material and so was not involved directly in editing and studying the manuscripts. As early as 1956 or 1957 Sandmel had concerns about access to the unpublished materials:

Certain people working in the Scrolls, however, have been able to inform me that John [the Baptist] when a youth belonged to the Essenes; one scholar even suggested that the Essenes may have adopted John when he was a boy. Now this may be only speculation—or it may be based, as we have occasionally [been] assured in the past, on Scrolls materials which some have seen but which have not been published yet!<sup>276</sup>

The conference could have generated an opportunity for a Jewish institution and its scholars to participate in the process of studying the material, despite the issue of access.



*Norman Golb  
Cincinnati,  
May 1962*

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Israelite, reprinted  
with permission)*

### *Norman Golb (b. 1928)*

At the same time as the conference plans were coming undone, Glueck made a move to hire a replacement for Isaiah Sonne. In his place he hired Norman Golb, who taught at the College in Cincinnati from 1958 until 1963, when he took up an appointment at the University of Chicago, where he continues to teach. According to Golb the two men met in Israel in 1956 while Golb was a Warburg fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>277</sup> Golb earned his doctorate with Albright at Johns Hopkins in 1954 with a dissertation titled, “The Cairo Damascus Covenant and Karaite Literature.” During 1957–1958 he served as visiting lecturer in Hebrew and Semitic studies at the University of Wisconsin. During that time he published his first academic articles on the scrolls. The

first, “Literary and Doctrinal Aspects of the Damascus Covenant in the Light of Karaite Literature,”<sup>278</sup> explored the relationship between specific documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls and some medieval Jewish writings. The second, “The Dietary Laws of the Damascus Covenant in Relation to Those of the Karaites,” examined similar issues.<sup>279</sup> In contrast to Zeitlin and others who suggested that the similarities between the scrolls and the medieval sources demonstrated the lateness of the scrolls, Golb concluded, “The presence among the Qumran finds of fragments of the Covenant [extant in a medieval copy] bears witness to its antiquity.”<sup>280</sup>

In February 1958 Glueck hired Golb,<sup>281</sup> a student of the scrolls who was committed to their significance and antiquity, to teach on the same campus as Ellis Rivkin and Samuel Sandmel. When Golb arrived in 1958 he recognized that the teaching of the scrolls remained a lacuna in the curriculum. The material had not been taught since Sonne’s departure. Golb approached Sandmel, the provost, for permission to teach a course on the scrolls.<sup>282</sup> Permission was granted, and the course appears in the course catalogue as an elective for the years 1958–1959 and 1959–1960:<sup>283</sup>

Apocryphal Literature E2 – Dr Golb –

The Hebrew Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The significance of the Scrolls for the development of Judaism.

Golb recalled that Sandmel was invited to one of the lectures and gave a long diatribe describing the scrolls as valueless.<sup>284</sup> Despite Sandmel’s lack of enthusiasm for the scrolls, the course appeared again in the catalogues for 1961–1962 and 1962–1963.

Glueck’s enthusiasm for Golb is demonstrable in two ways. First, in 1959, Golb applied to the American Philosophical Society for a grant that would allow him to study in England during the summer of 1959 to continue his work on his project, “The Qumran Covenanters and the Karaites: Studies in Their Relationship.”<sup>285</sup> Glueck himself wrote the reference letter to the society noting:

We [HUC-JIR] could not be more satisfied with him than we are. In every way he has fulfilled and is fulfilling the hopes that we had and have for him.... There is no question in my mind but that in his chosen field of work, he will make continuing important contributions.<sup>286</sup>

While the content of the letter might be written off as simply containing the standard platitudes, given that Golb was teaching and researching the Dead Sea Scrolls, Glueck’s statement that he was fulfilling the hopes that the institution had for him may have been something more.<sup>287</sup> Between 1958 and 1963, Golb went on to give no fewer than four academic conference presentations and

to publish two articles on the scrolls.<sup>288</sup> He also traveled to speak at Reform congregations to share his findings with the community. In 1961 he spoke in the same forum in Montreal, where five years previously Sandmel declared the scrolls inconsequential for reconstructing early Jewish and Christian history. In contrast to Sandmel, Golb noted:

I would say that for the students of Jewish history the scrolls from Wadi Qumran have considerable value indeed.... They show that medieval sectarianism, while arising in response to the changing social and religious climate of medieval Iraq and Iran, at the same time incorporated within its midst the surviving remnants of a once-active sectarian movement which in Talmudic times had almost faded entirely away.... With regard to the history of religion in general: we may say that these discoveries are of considerable importance for our knowledge of many aspects of religious life in late Hellenistic Palestine.<sup>289</sup>

The contrast between Golb and his faculty colleagues regarding the issue of the scrolls was quite sharp. Golb suggests that after giving his 1959 SBL paper on the Damascus Document, his reception from Rivkin, Sandmel, and Jacob Rader Marcus was less than positive, although Sheldon Blank, who had attended the meeting, was quite pleased with it. The relationship with Rivkin was damaged further when Golb was appointed to substitute teach his history surveys, including ancient Jewish history, while he was on leave with a Guggenheim fellowship in 1962.<sup>290</sup> Whether Glueck had any influence on Golb's choice to teach Rivkin's courses is impossible to say. As provost, Sandmel controlled course assignments. The only alternative instructor for this course on ancient Jewish history would have been Sandmel himself, and administrative affairs likely kept him too busy to take on more teaching. Given that he already disagreed with Rivkin on so many issues concerning ancient Jewish history, replacing him with another colleague with whom he disagreed likely was not a terrible concern; the core course needed to be taught. However, for a brief moment HUC-JIR had a scholar thoroughly engrossed in scroll scholarship who used the scrolls as reliable historical sources while teaching rabbinical students.<sup>291</sup>

The situation was not to last. In 1963 Rivkin returned to his regular teaching, and in mid-1963 Golb left for the University of Chicago. In his letter of resignation, Golb suggested to Glueck that he had considered the new offer "in view of the various circumstances prevailing at the time."<sup>292</sup> At least part of those circumstances, according to Golb, was the discontent of some of his colleagues with his choice of research interests.<sup>293</sup>

To replace Golb, Glueck moved Ben Zion Wacholder from the Los Angeles campus to Cincinnati as professor of Talmud and rabbinics. Although he published and offered courses on the scrolls as early as the 1960s, his major contributions to scroll research and teaching came in the late 1970s and 1980s. His

efforts are taken up below. There can be no doubt, however, that from the time of Golb's departure onward, the rabbinical students at the Cincinnati campus had little positive contact with the scrolls, despite Glueck's best efforts.

## Bringing the Scrolls to HUC-JIR

### *HUC-JIR Secures a Copy of the Scrolls*

In 1965 the Shrine of the Book was built in West Jerusalem to house the "complete" Dead Sea Scrolls, which had been purchased by Eliezer Sukenik in 1948 and by his son, Yigael Yadin, with the help of Harry Orlinsky, in 1954.<sup>294</sup> In 1967, as noted, the Israelis captured the Palestine Archaeological Museum where the Cave 4 fragments were housed. In light of the war, the Israelis soon recognized that there was a need, for security purposes, to make copies of the scrolls and to house them in a safe locale. This required two things: the funds to make the copies and an institution to house them. In most cases, photographs and negatives of the scrolls were already available. The first complete scrolls discovered had been photographed by John Trever at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1948.<sup>295</sup> The three scrolls Sukenik acquired for the Hebrew University were unrolled and photographed by James and Helena Bieberkraut of the Hebrew University before the end of May 1949. Because three of the four scrolls Sukenik purchased had already been published, only the Genesis Apocryphon remained rolled and unphotographed. These efforts were likewise carried out by the Bieberkrauts in 1954.<sup>296</sup> The vast majority of the photographs of the materials from Caves 4 to 11, which were taken before the Six-Day War, were taken by Najib Albina of the Palestine Archaeological Museum.<sup>297</sup> To help fund the activities, Avraham Harman, the president of the Hebrew University and a member of the board of trustees of the Shrine of the Book,<sup>298</sup> entered into an agreement with HUC-JIR through the office of president Nelson Glueck. In March 1969 Glueck visited Jerusalem for the meeting of the consortium that supported the College's Biblical Archaeology School in Jerusalem. Much of the visit was, however, devoted to honoring the American biblical scholar William Albright, who was Glueck's mentor. On 13 March 1969 Albright was honored with a dinner at the King David Hotel, where he was presented with a *festschrift* in celebration of his eightieth birthday.<sup>299</sup> This was followed by a celebration at the residence of Israeli President Zalman Shazar, who further honored Albright by naming him a *Yekir ha-Ir* (a "worthy" of the city)<sup>300</sup> on behalf of the city of Jerusalem.

On 19 March Harman and his wife threw a party for Albright at their residence. Glueck sat between Harman and Roland de Vaux and across from Yadin and Albright. It is unclear whether the conversation about the scrolls took place then, but given the company, the topic of the scrolls was almost certainly discussed. Of the dinner discussion, Glueck only notes:



Left to right: *G. Ernest Wright, Nelson Glueck, Zalman Shazar, William F. Albright, Jerusalem, 13 March 1969*

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

I utilized the opportunity to discuss with President Harman the possibility of getting 25 double rooms in the Hebrew University's new dormitory building program on Mt. Scopus for our HUC students.... There were several other matters we discussed, including the possibility of some interchange of credits between the Hebrew University and our Jerusalem School.<sup>301</sup>

In reporting on the meeting to HUC-JIR's board of governors, Glueck

commented only that Harman had approached him while in Jerusalem:

In Jerusalem, in March, the President of the Hebrew University came to me and said, 'We are considering making a number of institutions around the world depositories for copies of the negatives and prints of all Dead Sea Scrolls. We would like the Hebrew Union College to be our depository on this continent [North America]. The total cost of this will be X tens of thousands of dollars. If you accept this, I think your cost would be about \$15,000.'

I said, 'Well, that sounds too rich for my blood, maybe, how about ten, which I think maybe I could raise.'<sup>302</sup>

The board of trustees of the Shrine of the Book agreed upon the arrangement in mid-April.<sup>303</sup> Harman, who represented the board, suggested that a few sets of high-quality negatives would be produced of the Dead Sea Scrolls. One of these sets, along with one set of positive prints, would be turned over for care to HUC-JIR in Cincinnati with the restriction that they could not be used for any purpose. The agreement further stipulated that eventually the trustees would grant permission for the positives to be available for academic purposes to faculty and students on the Cincinnati and New York campuses and for public display in the College library. No publication of the texts or reproduction would be permitted. When the trustees would eventually decide that the material could be completely released, they would grant HUC-JIR a six-month head start in appreciation of its efforts in securing the negatives. Other institutions would then be granted access. It was also understood that HUC-JIR's position as sole holder of negatives might not remain a unique situation. (It would prove not to be in the 1980s and 1990s, when negatives were placed in the holdings of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California; the Huntington Library in San Marino, California; and at the Oxford Center for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies in England.) In exchange, HUC-JIR promised the sum of

\$10,000 to make the work of duplicating the negatives, printing positives, and establishing an inventory of the material possible.<sup>304</sup>

By early May, with the agreement of HUC-JIR Cincinnati librarian, Herbert Zafren, the assistant to the president in New York, Fritz Bamberger, and the chair of the board of governors, S.L. Kopald Jr., the agreement was ratified.<sup>305</sup> Glueck made clear to Harman that it would take some time before the funds could be secured. Glueck sent a letter asking board member Philip D. Sang for the funds in late April.<sup>306</sup> The two met at Chicago's Standard Club during the week of 14 May and Sang, who, between at least 1966 and 1970, chaired HUC-JIR's committee on library and archives,<sup>307</sup> agreed to provide the \$10,000.<sup>308</sup> Glueck immediately reported the news to Harman.<sup>309</sup>

Glueck's approach to Sang is particularly important in understanding the significance of this activity for Glueck and HUC-JIR. In describing the opportunity, Glueck called it "a great coup for our Hebrew Union College."<sup>310</sup> However, asking Sang for the money was an act of double-dipping, which may have proved damaging. Simultaneous to this request, the College was conducting a capital campaign for a new building on the Jerusalem campus. To that point, only \$250,000 of the \$400,000 budgeted for the project had been raised, and construction had already begun. Glueck approached Sang for \$50,000 on top of the funds for the scrolls, which he did not receive.<sup>311</sup> Glueck's motivation for acquiring the negatives and prints was quite clear—the \$10,000 would provide the College "with the privilege of showing the prints at our various schools before anybody else is permitted to."<sup>312</sup> But that was certainly not Glueck's only motivation. His enthusiasm stemmed at least in part from the scrolls being a great archaeological discovery. On top of acquiring the security copy of the scrolls, Glueck also purchased a large ceramic jar and lid from the site of Qumran.<sup>313</sup> As well, the \$10,000 for Harman may have been a *quid pro quo*. Glueck needed residence rooms in the dormitory at Hebrew University for HUC-JIR students studying in Jerusalem, primarily through an American Friends of the Hebrew University program, and Harman needed the funds for the scrolls.<sup>314</sup> More than that, though, was likely Glueck's first-hand knowledge that the scrolls could never be entirely secure while they were in Jerusalem. A security copy was a necessity, as Glueck had seen when he was in Israel immediately following the Six Day War in 1967. Glueck had toured the Rockefeller Museum (formerly the Palestine Archaeological Museum), where the scrolls had been stored, studied, and exhibited when the Jordanians had controlled East Jerusalem. It was Glueck's first access to the Museum since 1947, and the destruction from the days of warring in the previous weeks made a significant impression on him:

Later on in the afternoon, when we got back to Jerusalem, Moshe Dothan and Levi Yitzhak Rachmani of the Israel Archaeological Museum took us

through the heavily padlocked and strongly guarded Palestine or Rockefeller Archaeological Museum. It had gotten shot up pretty much, and in some places bullet shells were scattered about. They told us that during the last few days a half dozen unexploded shells had been removed. If they had not been duds, the museum would have been destroyed and the invaluable collections smashed to dust... Some of the collections in the museum were partly shattered by bullets hitting display cases, but others stood comparatively intact... The Dead Sea Scrolls material has not yet been checked. The writing tablets<sup>315</sup> of Qumran have been partly broken but can be repaired again.<sup>316</sup>

In light of his experience, he very much understood the need for the security copy of the scrolls. How could he not find the funds?

In mid-July 1969, Glueck was again in Israel and met with Harman to further discuss the housing issue for HUC-JIR students in Jerusalem. Harman promised fifty beds in the Hebrew University residences. The conversation then turned to the scrolls project and a new offer. Harman was very pleased that HUC-JIR was providing the \$10,000. In light of HUC-JIR's support he hoped that Glueck might be able to help raise an additional \$50,000 to support a Hebrew University project to microfilm the manuscripts preserved in St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai.<sup>317</sup> Although Glueck was enthusiastic about the new project, the College could not risk its own fundraising, as Glueck wrote to the director of the Klau library:<sup>318</sup>

If we stumble across someone who might donate to us \$50,000 to be given to the Hebrew University for this purpose, the HUC would be the recipient of one complete positive copy of all the manuscripts microfilmed at St. Catherine's Monastery by the Hebrew University.

It goes without saying that such a \$50,000 gift would be one that might not otherwise be given to HUC for its most direct needs or would be one that someone would give in addition to whatever he gave to HUC.

If such a sum were available, I am very anxious to cooperate with the Hebrew University and the President Avraham Harman on this project.<sup>319</sup>

Glueck was not quite as motivated about this project as he had been with the scrolls. Perhaps the financial strain was too great; perhaps the Sang donation for the scrolls at the expense of a contribution to the building fund had made Glueck somewhat more wary. In any case, the College does not appear to have raised the funds.

At the end of February 1970 Magen Broshi, curator of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Israel Museum from 1964 until 1994, forwarded a copy of a negative to Glueck as an example of the quality of the work then underway. By that point, four hundred of the presumed one thousand negatives had been made.<sup>320</sup> The unnumbered negative on Kodak film measures 5 inches (128mm) tall and

7 inches (178mm) wide.<sup>321</sup> The text can be identified as a letter on papyrus from the administrators of Bet-Mašiko to Yešua' ben Galgula published as Wadi Murabba'at Papyrus No. 42 in 1960.<sup>322</sup>

By November the negatives had still not been received. Bamberger, who was responsible for “scholarly projects and public relations,”<sup>323</sup> pushed Glueck to follow up with Broshi. Bamberger hoped that, at the very least, some of the four hundred negatives could be sent that so that the College could hold a public event and garner publicity.<sup>324</sup> Given the financial investment and the very limited access promised in return, the only real benefit that the College could hope for was the publicity for the school.

Bamberger was not the only one concerned that monies had been sent but that no goods had been received. The College librarians and Glueck were rather concerned and were curious as to the whereabouts of the negatives.<sup>325</sup> Two weeks later Broshi replied that the materials had mostly been photographed and that some 1,200 negatives were already copied. He offered to bring them personally to the College's representative in New York in January 1971.<sup>326</sup>

Broshi's letter of December 1970 raised a significant new issue. While the original agreement between Glueck and Harman satisfied the Israelis, another group had an interest in who would control and have access to a set of negatives. After the discovery of the Cave 4 cache in 1952, the Jordanian government, who at that time controlled the area where the scrolls were found, granted publication rights to scholars picked by G. Lankester Harding, the Jordanian director of antiquities, and de Vaux, of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, who chaired the board of trustees of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (later the Rockefeller), where the fragments were housed.<sup>327</sup> As an act of goodwill after the capture of East Jerusalem and the museum, the Israeli authorities allowed these scholars to maintain their exclusive publication rights.<sup>328</sup> To maintain quiet from the members of this editorial team, a group of “worried unfriendly people,”<sup>329</sup> a formal restrictive agreement was to be required of HUC-JIR that would explicitly prohibit the use of the negatives (and presumably the positives that had not yet been made and would later prove an issue), “for study, reproduction or any other purpose,”<sup>330</sup> without the express written permission from the board of directors of the Shrine of the Book. The agreement raised particular concerns for Zafren, who could not understand why the College would pay “a rather large sum of money to have a negative made and then [would be] asked to become the custodian of materials that [could not] be used for any purpose—and this without time limit.”<sup>331</sup> The College delayed its response to the agreement, first while it decided how to respond,<sup>332</sup> and then as a result of Glueck's death on 12 February 1971. His successor, Alfred Gottschalk, responded to the draft agreement in November 1971 with a modified version based on suggestions from Zafren.<sup>333</sup> In contrast to the draft Broshi forwarded, the College agreed to “not use or allow the use of the negatives for reproduction or for any purpose

other than study without an explicit written authorization” from the board of the Shrine of the Book.<sup>334</sup>

By March 1972 no response was forthcoming from Broshi or any other representative of the board of trustees. Although no letter is preserved, Gottschalk’s action after 6 March<sup>335</sup> encouraged Broshi to ship 1,348 negatives via El Al Israel Airlines on 24 March 1972.<sup>336</sup> A follow-up letter from Broshi indicates his certainty that the College would guard the scrolls but makes absolutely no mention of the specific details of the official agreement to which Gottschalk had responded.<sup>337</sup> Gottschalk and Zafren remained under the impression that the shipping of the negatives indicated the approval of the agreement’s reformulation, allowing the material to be studied by HUC-JIR faculty and students.

When the negatives finally arrived, the College was greatly pleased to receive them but was concerned that neither the positives nor a complete inventory list had been included with the shipment. Since the goal of securing a set of prints in Cincinnati was to insure that a complete set was preserved, the inventory list was absolutely necessary.<sup>338</sup> The assembly of an inventory list by Broshi and the Israelis was somewhat complicated by the fact that the members of the editorial team were not entirely cooperative. From 1960 on, most no longer lived in Jerusalem; and, since Israel’s takeover in 1967, some, like Jozef T. Milik, refused to return to Jerusalem. The initial list for assembling the negatives was accomplished with the cooperation of de Vaux, the editor-in-chief, by asking each of the team members to turn over a list of photographs of their as-yet unpublished allocations. De Vaux’s death on 10 September 1971 complicated the process of arranging and collating the lists. By contrast, the Israelis did not see the set of positives as a necessity and did not immediately make them.<sup>339</sup> An incomplete inventory list finally arrived in mid-June 1972.<sup>340</sup> Because the negatives were only identified by numbers, HUC-JIR’s collection was worthless for study, as the individual negatives could not be identified. Further, the use of the negatives risked their damage. HUC-JIR continued to wait for the positives.

Gottschalk and Broshi were scheduled to meet in Jerusalem in the summer of 1972 to discuss the issue of the photographic positives, but it does not appear that the meeting took place.<sup>341</sup> By early the following year, the College was still concerned that the positives and the complete inventory list had not arrived, and it still had not been able to use the material for publicity purposes. After four years, no one but the parties directly involved knew of HUC-JIR’s participation and cooperation in helping provide security for Israel’s state treasures.

### *Releasing the Scrolls*

The matter remained quiet until October 1975, when Michael Klein, the Targum specialist on the faculty of the Jerusalem campus, requested the opportunity to view several negatives in the HUC-JIR collection.<sup>342</sup> Because the acquisition of the negatives was never made public, it remains unclear how

Klein came to know of it; but it is most likely that he discovered it from his sources in Jerusalem.<sup>343</sup> The request opened the issue of how the original agreement should be understood.

Gottschalk understood his agreement to “not use or allow the use of the negatives for reproduction or for any purpose other than study without an explicit written authorization” from the board of the Shrine of the Book to mean that “a scholar who wishes to study the material has the right to do so and with that would undoubtedly go the right to publish the findings of his study, providing he gives proper credit in the footnote apparatus.”<sup>344</sup> Zafren accepted that the material could be studied, and although he hoped that Gottschalk’s interpretation was correct, thought that the publication of the results of the study would be unacceptable.<sup>345</sup> Both men agreed that Broshi should be consulted before granting permission for Klein to use the material. In fact, Zafren recommended to Klein that he approach Broshi for specific permission.<sup>346</sup> Zafren contacted Broshi in July 1976 for general clarification of the policy, as well as to remind him that the College was still due the positives and a complete inventory list going back to the original agreement between Glueck and Harman in 1969. Broshi’s response to the inquiry for permission was one of surprise. In fact, he quoted back the words of the original draft agreement to Zafren indicating that the College “shall not use or allow the use of the negatives for study, reproduction or any other purpose.”<sup>347</sup> It seems rather clear Broshi either never read closely or ignored Gottschalk’s response of November 1971. Broshi’s position was rather sensitive as he, and the Israeli authorities, had agreed to preserve the exclusive publication rights of the international editorial team that had been working on the material since its discovery in the early 1950s.<sup>348</sup> Zafren was convinced that the Israeli refusal to forward the promised inventory list and the positives was a way of ensuring that the materials could not be used at all, since using the negatives would risk seriously damaging them.<sup>349</sup> Broshi and Gottschalk agreed to meet to discuss the issues further during the summer of 1976.

Broshi, Gottschalk, and Klein met on 29 July 1976 at the HUC-JIR Jerusalem campus. The result of the conversations was that the negatives could not be used for any purpose but that the Shrine of the Book would help to the best of its ability to get access to the material for HUC-JIR’s scholars. However, that access to the unpublished material would still require the permission of the individual editors assigned to publish it. According to Broshi, a new inventory list was being



*Avraham Harman and Alfred Gottschalk, Cincinnati, Undated*

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

compiled but, because of financial difficulties, the positives were expected to be delayed for several more years.<sup>350</sup> Broshi encouraged Klein to approach the editors, Patrick Skehan, Pierre Benoit, and Milik, directly for permission to access the fragments of 4Q Targum Leviticus, which interested him.<sup>351</sup>

Klein did contact Skehan and he replied, but the result was not positive for either scholar. In responding to Klein, Skehan wrote:

Since I note that your letter included a carbon copy to Dr. Magen Broshi, I feel obliged to tell you in addition, that I should not under any circumstance grant through any Israeli functionary, any permission to dispense, for any purpose, or to any extent, of anything whatsoever that is lawfully housed in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.<sup>352</sup>

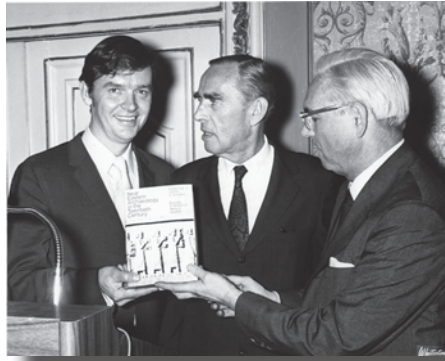
Klein did not get to see the texts; and Skehan's response had shades of anti-Israel bias and, as some suggested, antisemitism.<sup>353</sup>

From HUC-JIR's perspective, the matter was laid to rest until January 1980, when by coincidence two events took place. First, HUC-JIR professor Jacob Rader Marcus suggested to Zafren that the College library explore the possibility of acquiring a security copy of photographs of all the manuscripts in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem.<sup>354</sup> This led to Zafren's suggestion to Gottschalk that they take up the issue of permission to use the negatives again with Broshi, since neither the complete inventory list nor the positives had been received.<sup>355</sup>

Almost simultaneously, James Sanders and Elizabeth Hay Bechtel of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in California approached Harman at the Hebrew University for permission to store archival-quality copies of the negatives of the scrolls for security purposes.<sup>356</sup> The approach was made after consultation with Yadin and Benoit, the editor-in-chief following de Vaux's death, and was based on Sanders's assumption that he was helping to fulfill Yadin's desire to have a security copy of the scrolls stored away from Israel.<sup>357</sup> It is clear from his original request to Harman that Sanders did not know of the agreement with HUC-JIR or the negatives housed in Cincinnati. As a result of that meeting, Sanders learned that HUC-JIR had a copy of the negatives. Sanders turned to Avraham Biran, the director of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of the Jerusalem Campus of HUC-JIR.<sup>358</sup> Biran directed Sanders to Gottschalk and Zafren, since the negatives were in Cincinnati. Zafren in particular was disturbed by what he thought was Sanders's "desire to 'relieve' [HUC-JIR] of the Dead Sea Scrolls material,"<sup>359</sup> but neither was opposed to an additional set of negatives being made, providing that no group would have access to the material for research purposes and publication before HUC-JIR. Zafren also suggested that it might be best if HUC-JIR provided the funds for the positives to be made.<sup>360</sup> At least then they would be assured of having a copy. The letters between Zafren and Sanders are quite cordial, and it should

be remembered that Sanders was the first graduate student to complete a doctorate at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati in 1954, during Zafren's first years following his appointment as librarian of the Cincinnati Klau Library in 1950. Sanders's request created no bad blood, and he spoke at the College several times subsequently.<sup>361</sup> In the end, however, new positives were made from the negatives at the Shrine of the Book between 1984 and 1986, and these were deposited at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center.<sup>362</sup> The communication from Sanders did raise some concerns for HUC-JIR. It had been a decade since the original agreement was made. The College still had not received the positive prints or the complete inventory list that they had, in essence, paid for. Further, they still had not been able to use the materials for publicity purposes. Finally, the deposition of another copy of the negatives in the United States meant that the six-month head-start on scholarship and exhibition promised to Glueck was at risk.<sup>363</sup>

Broshi and Zafren met in Jerusalem in late May 1980.<sup>364</sup> Although Gottschalk had encouraged Zafren to use the meeting "to break this open and free the issue,"<sup>365</sup> the meeting did not achieve this goal. The men agreed that a new inventory list would be supplied and that inquiries would be made as to the cost of producing prints from the negatives.<sup>366</sup> By the end of June Broshi informed Zafren that Elisha Qimron<sup>367</sup> was at work on the new inventory lists, with Bechtel supplying the funds for the project. It was expected that the cost of producing the prints from 2,500 total negatives would amount to between \$1,850 for 13x18cm contacts and \$3,700 for 18x24cm prints.<sup>368</sup> HUC-JIR did not want to supply the funds for images that could not be used, particularly since the original \$10,000 contribution was supposed to guarantee copies for them. However, at least in their discussions, the College representatives hoped that if they put forward the funds for positives, Broshi might be able to arrange more access to the materials.<sup>369</sup> By that point, though, Gottschalk was becoming more troubled by the restrictions and encouraged Zafren to approach Biran in Jerusalem to work on the College's behalf to get more access.<sup>370</sup> Biran joined HUC-JIR in 1974 after retiring from his position as director of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel (since September 1989, the Israel Antiquities Authority, or IAA), where he had served from 1961 until 1974. Prior to his appointment to the Department of Antiquities he had served as the Israeli consul in Los Angeles, the military governor of Jerusalem, and liaison between the



*James A. Sanders, Nelson Glueck, and  
G. Ernest Wright, New York, 7 June 1970*

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

United Nations and the Israeli military. His relationship with Nelson Glueck went back to his participation in the latter's archaeological excavations in the 1930s.<sup>371</sup>

Although primarily an archaeologist concerned with Iron Age Israel, Biran had a special connection to the Dead Sea Scrolls. During the Six Day War of June 1967, Yadin served as the liaison among the Israeli Prime Minister, the military chief of staff, and the defense minister. On Thursday, 15 June, Yadin was informed that the Rockefeller Museum had been captured by Israeli troops from the Jordanian Arab Legion. He contacted Hebrew University professor Nahman Avigad and the director of the Department of Antiquities, Biran, to go to the museum and ensure that the scrolls were in safes to protect them during the continued mortar fire. Biran and Avigad, as Yadin notes, were the first Israeli scholars to have access to the Cave 4 material since its discovery fifteen years earlier.<sup>372</sup> Further, Biran was involved in establishing Israel's agreement with de Vaux and the editorial committee. Several weeks following the war, de Vaux met with antiquities director Biran and Yadin on behalf of the Shrine of the Book. They met at Biran's new office at the Rockefeller, where it had been moved from its previous location at the Israel Museum. Biran described the meeting as follows:

De Vaux was worried that we would not honor the agreement they had with Jordan.... We assured him that we would. We felt that we had to honor the rights of scholars working on the material. It would be completely unfair for us to come and say: 'You can't work on something' after they had spent years on it.<sup>373</sup>

Despite the possibilities that Biran's history and connections offered, the College decided to wait until the inventory list had been received before involving him. If the Israelis decided not to send the list because of Biran's interference, the College would be left with \$10,000 in unidentifiable negatives.<sup>374</sup> The desire to hold off in pushing for access may have also been influenced by direct contact from Sanders in late August. The possibility remains that HUC-JIR saw Sanders as an ally in getting the material released. Sanders informed Zafren that Broshi, Benoit, and others had agreed to allow new negatives to be made and stored at the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center. Sanders turned to Zafren to get a better idea of the quantity of negatives in HUC-JIR's collection to delineate which materials still needed to be photographed.<sup>375</sup> The discussion preserved in the correspondence focuses on the issue of whether HUC-JIR's 1,347 negatives accounted for the whole collection.<sup>376</sup> It seems that Zafren, in particular, wanted to make sure that when access was granted, HUC-JIR would have copies of all the Qumran material. The discussion Sanders initiated encouraged Zafren to approach Broshi once again for a copy of the inventory list so that HUC-JIR might see if its collection was complete and to finally inform him that the College

could not supply the funds to produce the positives.<sup>377</sup> A preliminary inventory list by Qimron was supplied in early January 1981. The final inventory, a total of three lists, was completed in July 1981<sup>378</sup> and turned over to Zafren during a visit to Jerusalem in mid-August.<sup>379</sup>

However, despite these moves forward, the issue of access to the material remained. In July 1982, Gottschalk approached Harman, with whom the original agreement had been made, to have him lift the restrictions. According to Gottschalk, Harman acceded to his request in a personal conversation. However, in August, Gottschalk was still waiting for written confirmation.<sup>380</sup> And so, the College waited. In fact, for the next nine years the College took no explicit action to release the material. In part there was no need to release it. With the exception of Klein in Jerusalem, who had already had his hand slapped by the editorial team, no HUC-JIR faculty members were calling for access to the material; and among outside scholars only Sanders, who had access to a copy at his own institution, knew the details of HUC-JIR's collection, since no publicity had ever been prepared.

In 1989 things changed. That June, Hershel Shanks, publisher of *Biblical Archaeology Review*, made the first bold challenge to the scrolls' editorial team in public.<sup>381</sup> His call was not entirely new, as he had raised the issue of the delayed scroll publication in print already five years earlier.<sup>382</sup> But the 1989 effort was the beginning of a crusade to get the material released to the public and to scholars outside the Dead Sea Scroll editorial team.<sup>383</sup> The public outcry, which resulted in response to Shanks's challenge, encouraged Gottschalk and Zafren to make another attempt to get permission to release their material to HUC-JIR's faculty and students. On 28 September 1989 Zafren (with Gottschalk's approval) wrote to Broshi that the College intended to give access to the negatives to the faculty and students for study purposes in line with oral arrangements made with Harman in 1982.<sup>384</sup> As well, by this point Ben Zion Wacholder, professor of Talmud and rabbinics at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, claimed to have heard rumors that students in Jerusalem and California had been given access to the material and took this information to Zafren and Gottschalk.<sup>385</sup> Wacholder had good reason to want the scrolls released.

Wacholder joined the Cincinnati faculty in 1963 after six years as the librarian of the Los Angeles campus.<sup>386</sup> Although his academic background was in Greek historiography, his early serious interest in the scrolls is evidenced by his first publications on the topic in 1964 and 1966.<sup>387</sup> Over the next forty years he published more than a dozen articles and two books, the most recent in 2007.<sup>388</sup> The first evidence of Wacholder's explicitly teaching about the scrolls at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, appears in the 1964–1966 course catalogue, where he was scheduled to teach a Talmud elective (Talmud E-10) titled "The Qumran Texts and Early Halakhah." The course was offered for the next decade and a half. Beginning with Yadin's publication of the Temple Scroll in 1977,<sup>389</sup> Wacholder

began teaching seminars on it<sup>390</sup> and offering more general introductory courses, which he continued to offer until his retirement.<sup>391</sup> His students, including Martin Abegg,<sup>392</sup> James Bowley,<sup>393</sup> and John Kampen,<sup>394</sup> have continued to make contributions to Dead Sea Scrolls studies.<sup>395</sup>

In 1983 Wacholder published *The Dawn of Qumran*. The book argues that the scroll identified previously as the Temple Scroll should best be understood as a new Torah, superior to the Mosaic Torah, written by the Teacher of Righteousness, Zadok, for the community established at the end of days. At the time, the book was lauded for the theses it put forth. As James VanderKam suggested in his review of the book, “Wacholder’s theses are extremely important.... It would come as no surprise if the book should prove to be one of the most important and widely discussed publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls.”<sup>396</sup> With time, Wacholder’s views have come to be seen as idiosyncratic, but the challenges he raised to the accepted convention in 1983 are still appreciated for their importance.<sup>397</sup> The issue here, though, is not to judge the quality of the argument but to set the context for the events that follow.<sup>398</sup>

In his earliest efforts, Wacholder notes that his conclusions were provisional.<sup>399</sup> He was well aware that the limited body of Qumran material available made substantial conclusions difficult for those who were not privy to the content of the unpublished scrolls. The acknowledgements in *The Dawn of Qumran* indicate Wacholder’s appreciation to John Strugnell, who shared “his notes on the hitherto unpublished fragments of the sectarian Torah.”<sup>400</sup> Wacholder, like most other scholars, was forced to rely on the kindness of the editors to see Qumran materials even thirty years after their discovery, and the situation was not soon to change.

In May 1985 Wacholder attended a New York University conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of Yigael Yadin.<sup>401</sup> The activities at the conference inspired Shanks, among others, to question the lock that the editorial team had on the scrolls. Strugnell, who at that time was still editor-in-chief, gave a paper and shared photos of his text.<sup>402</sup> Wacholder was impressed with the



*The New York University Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Yigael Yadin, New York, May 1985.*

Left to right, standing: Elisha Qimron, Daniel R. Schwartz, Hartmut Stegemann, John J. Collins, Johann Maier, Lawrence Schiffman. Left to right, seated: Joseph M. Baumgarten, Harry M. Orlinsky, Ben Zion Wacholder, John Strugnell, Carol A. Newsom

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

new texts, but the level of aggravation that he and others scholars must have felt at having to wait for bits and pieces of new scrolls information can only be imagined.<sup>403</sup> Recounting another incident, Shanks reported that later in the conference Strugnell described the progress that was being made on publishing the material:



*Ben Zion Wacholder,  
Cincinnati, Undated*  
(Courtesy American  
Jewish Archives)

Strugnell's report on publication progress was followed, as were other sessions, by an opportunity for questions. A question was posed to Strugnell by Ben Zion Wacholder who recently completed an important book-length study, entitled *The Dawn of Qumran*, on the Temple Scroll and fragments of it already published. Wacholder, a white-haired concentration camp survivor, is almost totally blind (he can tell time by holding his watch to within an inch of his right eye), so he has perforce almost memorized the contents of the Temple Scroll and its fragments. His interest in the subject is understandably keen. He would love to "see"—have read to him, as is his customary method of learning—a still unpublished fragment of the Temple Scroll. Docilely, Wacholder asked Strugnell if he knew whether the unpublished fragment of the Temple Scroll contained any portions of text that were not in the published scroll and its fragments.<sup>404</sup> Strugnell replied that the unpublished fragment did contain additional text, but that the new material probably did not add anything especially significant; he then said, however, that the unpublished fragment was approximately 25 years older than the published texts of the Temple Scroll. Grateful, Wacholder thanked Strugnell for the information.<sup>405</sup>

Describing the event in a later interview, Shanks described Wacholder and other scholars on the outside like him:

'These guys are sitting around the table wide-eyed,' Shanks recalled, acidly mimicking the Eastern European accent of one prominent scholar, 'Vunderful ... vunderful!' 'And they can't even see the material. Inside they're seething with anger.'<sup>406</sup>

Shanks's recollections are somewhat problematic because his reporting of these stories deliberately served his propagandist agenda of pushing for the release of the scrolls. That is, he needed to portray Wacholder as the sympathetic old man. In fact, Wacholder would use a similar tactic in his sole description of these events. In a 1991 interview, when asked why he pushed so hard to have the scrolls released, Wacholder's response was consistent with Shanks's view: "I'm sick and tired of all this waiting," he said. Wacholder said he would not live to see many more texts at the rate the translators [*sic*] are releasing them."<sup>407</sup>

Shanks's intuition about the general situation was accurate. The scholars were caught. If they wanted those who had access to share what they knew, they could not attack them for not releasing the material. Certainly it must have been a frustrating situation. The rumors Wacholder heard in 1989 of others selectively gaining access to the materials must have been all that much more frustrating, and that he saw them as an opportunity to have HUC-JIR open access to their negatives to him is certainly understandable.

But, Broshi denied the rumors. His response, which he claimed to have penned within a half hour of receiving Zafren's letter that suggested that the College would be breaking the contract, came with an implicit threat: "I am afraid that a decision like this will create a scandal, I do not see how you could defend yourself."<sup>408</sup>

Gottschalk and Zafren fundamentally agreed that the fact that the original negatives had been sent based on Gottschalk's agreement not to use the material for a purpose other than study gave them the unilateral right to release the material to their staff and students. What remained was the question of whether they should do so, as Zafren noted: "The bottom-line may be that we have a 'legal' basis to act unilaterally, but this won't resolve the question of whether we *want* to do what the Shrine of the Book asks us not to do."<sup>409</sup> They decided to approach Broshi for the rights to make the negatives of already published material available.<sup>410</sup> The motivation for releasing already published material is unclear. If it was already published, who needed to see the negatives? One may suppose that the negatives included some images of previously published scrolls that had not appeared and that, if part of the collection was made available, the rest might soon follow. In response to this approach to Broshi, the board of the Shrine of the Book had Harman reply to Gottschalk. The reply indicated that the board was only the trustee for the original seven scrolls acquired by Sukenik and Yadin and not any of the fragments.<sup>411</sup> The College could use negatives of the original scrolls. By contrast, permission to use images of the fragments would require permission of Amir Drori, the director of the Division of Antiquities of the Israel Ministry of Education and Culture.<sup>412</sup> Harman copied Drori on the letter; Drori concurred with Harman's assessment and emphasized that no use whatsoever could be made of the negatives of unpublished material without the permission of the IAA and the editor responsible for the fragments.<sup>413</sup> Harman's letter highlights an important issue. Part of the difficulty HUC-JIR and others faced by wanting the release of the scrolls was that it was never clear who had control of any particular piece. The players were numerous: the IAA, the board of the Shrine of the Book, Broshi, and the editors individually and collectively.

During this same period a potential ally contacted HUC-JIR. At the end of December, Shanks contacted the College for an explanation of its agreement regarding the negatives in its collection. Shanks's particular interest was in whether there was a written agreement between the College and Israeli

authorities.<sup>414</sup> As Shanks acknowledged in the letter, the news of HUC-JIR's having the negatives was never made public. Shanks's inquiry is even more interesting in light of the fact that he announced before a crowd of 325 people at the University of Cincinnati on 31 October, more than a month earlier, that HUC-JIR had copies of the scrolls for safekeeping, "[b]ut their scholars cannot look at them."<sup>415</sup> He certainly seemed to know the details of the agreement. Exactly who told whom what, or who leaked the information, remains unclear. However, Shanks had frequent contact with Wacholder at various conferences (see below) and with Michael Klein. His friendship with Klein went back to 1973 and was close enough that their families had traveled together.<sup>416</sup> Of this period Shanks notes, "Michael gave me greatly needed emotional support in the dark days of the fight to free the Dead Sea Scrolls, when most of Israel—the scholars, the archaeologists, the media and the courts—seemed to be against me."<sup>417</sup> Klein supported Shanks's efforts and had supplied him with the letter he had received from Skehan (see above). Klein, in fact, suggested to Zafren that HUC-JIR support Shanks's efforts by pushing Broshi to let the College make the negatives available to the faculty and students. After Gottschalk informed Broshi that he intended to make the materials available for study, Broshi approached Klein. Concerning this meeting Klein reported:

Finally, I told Broshi that I thought that your decision might even have the favorable effect of putting additional pressure on the assigned scholars who have been tarrying for decades and delaying the publication of important texts to which they have had exclusive access. I thought that this might help the campaign that Hershel Shanks has been waging in *BAR* for several years. I think this shocked Broshi and he begged me not to 'pour oil on the fire by communicating this to you.<sup>418</sup>

However, Shanks was not the ally HUC-JIR wanted at that particular moment, although the relationship between Wacholder and Shanks later proved quite significant. Zafren's response to Shanks made clear that the College had no plans to release the material without Israeli approval. The letter is carefully worded. According to Zafren, the College agreed "not to allow any further reproduction or publication of the material in [HUC-JIR's] trust." He made no mention of allowing study access to the students and faculty, thereby not allowing the Israelis this point. Zafren highlighted that the Israeli interpretation of the agreement was that the negatives were a security copy, not to be used, and that the College "was honor-bound by a commitment made twenty years ago."<sup>419</sup> Highlighting the Israeli interpretation may have been Zafren telling Shanks that he disagreed, but nothing came of this interaction except to provide Shanks details he could use in his campaign.

The College's efforts to make photographs of the early published scrolls available continued. At least initially, the goal was to make these available to

faculty and students. However, Zafren in particular wanted to make the material available to scholars everywhere. On the one hand, the issue was simply doing what was right regarding the role of a library;<sup>420</sup> on the other, he did not want the College accused of engaging in unfair competition practices.<sup>421</sup> In an early draft of Gottschalk's letter to Harman, he responded that he was grateful that the board of the Shrine of the Book made the "scrolls open for study by our students and faculty,"<sup>422</sup> while the final letter was changed to read simply "open for study."<sup>423</sup> Further, the College requested that positive photographs of at least these scrolls be provided to HUC-JIR in line with the original letter of agreement between Harman and Glueck in 1969, just as the College continued to honor that agreement by not releasing the negatives in its care.<sup>424</sup> By May 1990, no response was received from Harman,<sup>425</sup> and the situation remained stagnant well into August 1991.<sup>426</sup> Although Shanks shared the news of HUC-JIR's collection of negatives in *Biblical Archaeology Review* (BAR) in late 1989,<sup>427</sup> the College continued to keep the news of their negatives quiet. A synagogue lecturer approached Zafren for material about the negatives, and while he shared limited information he noted:

We have never publicly announced that we have these materials nor have we ever publicly denied it. I suppose it is no longer a secret, and I trust that you will use your best judgment in introducing information into your discussion.... and, as you can see, no useful purpose would be served by announcing that we have unusable material.<sup>428</sup>

In any case, limiting the requests for access that the College would have to deny would only have proven an inconvenience. Shanks hoped that the publicity would promote a public backlash, that the team of editors, the IAA, and the institutions housing negatives, would all feel pressured to ensure that "outside scholars are given access to the unpublished documents for their own research."<sup>429</sup>

### *Taking Matters into Their Own Hands: A Professor, a Student, a Concordance, and a Personal Computer*

In 1988 Ben Zion Wacholder approached John Strugnell, the editor-in-chief, for permission to photocopy the Dead Sea Scrolls concordance assembled in Jerusalem. It is reported that the two scholars were traveling together in a taxi to give papers at a conference at Haifa University to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the scrolls when Wacholder raised the issue of the concordance.<sup>430</sup> The concordance had been compiled on 3 inch by 5 inch cards in the scrolleries in Jerusalem in the late 1950s by Joseph Fitzmyer, Raymond Brown, Willard Oxtoby, and Javier Teixidor. The fact of its existence had largely been kept a secret until its limited publication for the editors' use in 1988.<sup>431</sup> In a mid-1986 interview that Shanks conducted with Avi Eitan, Israel's then-director of

antiquities, Shanks could not get Eitan to confirm that the concordance existed. Only in reviewing the transcript of the interview did he finally confirm it.<sup>432</sup> In the interview, Shanks kept pushing Eitan to admit the importance of the concordance to scholars since they could not see the scrolls themselves, but he would not take up the issue. In any case, Strugnell granted the permission in a private letter to Wacholder and sent him a formal authorization to be used if Wacholder could find a party willing to copy the 2,500 pages of the concordance.<sup>433</sup> Wacholder's relationship with Strugnell was quite positive, and Strugnell had helped Wacholder by making his own notes about unpublished texts available to him when Wacholder was preparing *The Dawn of Qumran*.<sup>434</sup> The official release indicated that the copy was for "Prof. B.Z. Wacholder"<sup>435</sup> but includes no specific restrictions as to its use. Wacholder approached David Gilner, the librarian at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati, for aid in acquiring a copy.<sup>436</sup> Gilner agreed on condition that in exchange for covering the amount it would cost to copy and bind the volumes,<sup>437</sup> Wacholder should allow it to become library property rather than a personal copy. According to Gilner, Wacholder did not want to pay for the copy and agreed to the conditions.<sup>438</sup> Since there were no particular restrictions, ownership of the copy was not an issue. Gilner approached Baltimore Hebrew College professor Joseph Baumgarten, who granted permission for his college to copy the volumes.<sup>439</sup> However, the copying had to be delayed because he would be taking the copy for his personal use to Jerusalem between January and May 1990.<sup>440</sup> In March, a notice appeared in *BAR* about the availability of the concordance. According to the notice, a copy was deposited in the Harvard Divinity School library for in-library use. Baltimore Hebrew College likewise had a copy for in-library use (although the notice points out that at press time it was unavailable because it was in the possession of Baumgarten.)<sup>441</sup> Of particular interest is a statement in the notice that one of the reasons for avoiding broad availability of the concordance was possibly the concern of the editors that "an unauthorized person might reconstruct an unpublished text by using" it.<sup>442</sup> Perhaps the *BAR* editors meant for the statement to inspire efforts. In the meantime, Gilner asked the Harvard University Library to acquire a copy for Wacholder.<sup>443</sup> In April 1990 Harvard declined to copy the material because unbinding the five volumes and copying the material would be too complex.<sup>444</sup>

Meanwhile pressure was building on the editorial team to release more of their material. In response, Strugnell, the editor-in-chief, said in an interview with ABC's *Good Morning America* of those applying pressure: "It seems we've acquired a bunch of fleas who are in the business of annoying us." Responding, *BAR* published what journalist Neil Asher Silberman has called the "most famous and most outrageous of Hershel Shanks's *BAR* covers."<sup>445</sup> The cover depicts an image of Strugnell at center on a television with the quote below. Surrounding the image are large silhouettes of fleas with the names of the

“annoying” scholars and various institutions identifying them. Wacholder’s name is emblazoned on a flea in the lower right corner and is quoted inside as simply noting that, “Almost anybody who doesn’t have access is frustrated.”<sup>446</sup> An editorial note suggests that anyone else who “wants to be an acknowledged flea” should communicate with *BAR*. Two volumes later, among the identified fleas, was Stephen Kaufman, Wacholder’s Cincinnati colleague.<sup>447</sup> Kaufman noted that the pressure tactics were working and that Wacholder had been granted permission to publish several fragments and photographs of previously unpublished Temple Scroll fragments.<sup>448</sup> On 5 March 1990, Wacholder received copies of five plates of the fragments of 11QT<sup>b</sup> and official permission from the IAA to publish them.<sup>449</sup> The article appeared in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* in 1991.<sup>450</sup> The problem with these fragments, however, was that they were from Cave 11. In contrast to the Cave 4 material, which the editorial team controlled tightly, permission to publish some Cave 11 material, including these particular fragments, had been granted to the Dutch Academy of Sciences in exchange for financial support in 1962.<sup>451</sup> It was the Dutch who owned the publication rights and not the editorial team who had granted Wacholder permission to publish the texts. However, all the photographic plates included in the article indicate that permission to reproduce them was granted by both the Dutch and the IAA who appear to have shared control of the images. Thus, Kaufman’s assertion was correct regarding the Dutch but not the Cave 4 editorial team.

Returning to the issue of the concordance, because of Harvard’s refusal to cooperate, Gilner approached Baumgarten again in May 1990.<sup>452</sup> The copies were completed in early August<sup>453</sup> and bound and sent in October.<sup>454</sup> The HUC-JIR library catalogued the volumes as reference works and stored them in the reserved cage for added security, with the intention of having open in-library use by November. The concordance drew no immediate publicity, and its primary user was Martin Abegg, Wacholder’s research assistant and a graduate student working on a doctoral dissertation on the War Scroll.<sup>455</sup> He received permission to remove the material from the cage for more extended periods.<sup>456</sup>

At the 1990 Society of Biblical Literature meeting in New Orleans, Abegg offered a paper based on his dissertation research, “4Q491 (4QMilhamah<sup>a</sup>)—An ‘Ensemble’ of Manuscripts?”<sup>457</sup> The response to his paper was troubling, as he and Wacholder noted the following September: “As is common in Dead Sea research, the unknown contents of unpublished scroll manuscripts were used to challenge our ideas.”<sup>458</sup>

Of the same meeting, Shanks noted that the status quo regarding Dead Sea Scroll research continued as before. Harvard students could establish names for themselves because their teachers, Strugnell and Frank Moore Cross, could, as members of the editorial team, grant them exclusive access. Meanwhile, senior scholars stood on the sidelines with bated breath, waiting for someone to share news of the unpublished manuscripts:

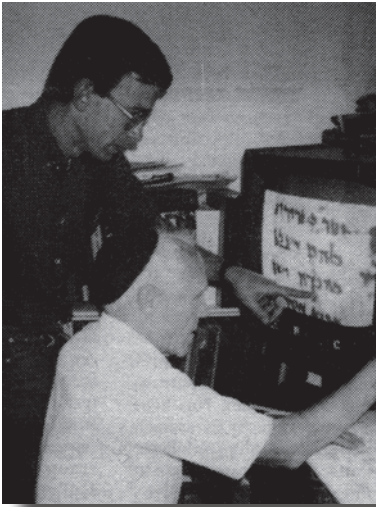
There is something demeaning about senior scholars having to ask Sidnie White, already a major Qumran scholar at age 31, if she would identify and spell certain Hebrew words in unpublished texts that she, through Cross and Strugnell, has access to. As this inquiry was taking place in one session, I looked over at the white-haired Ben-Zion Wacholder of Hebrew Union College, who was listening intently to absorb in his legendary capacious memory the facts young Sidnie White was generously divulging.<sup>459</sup>

Upon his return to Cincinnati, Abegg set to work examining the concordance, which had just recently been catalogued and made available. He hoped to garner more information about the texts that had been discussed in response to his paper. He was particularly interested in examining two texts related to the War Scroll, 4Q280 and 4Q285, which had appeared in preliminary studies by scroll editor Jozef Milik.<sup>460</sup> Looking for the texts in the concordance, Abegg realized that the entire text could be reconstructed because each word was provided in context. He started first with the War Scroll fragments, then a series of calendars (4QMishmarot haKohanim, 4Q320–330), and then, as a treat for his teacher, the texts of the Damascus Document, preserved in Cave 4 (4Q266–273).<sup>461</sup>

Initially Abegg reconstructed the texts by cutting and pasting the entries manually into a word processor on a Macintosh computer. Because the computer could only accept texts that were typed from left to right, the Hebrew words had to be entered in reverse, starting with the last letter first.<sup>462</sup> Eventually Abegg created a computer program that he called “Glue,”<sup>463</sup> which automatically placed the words in their correct position once entered.<sup>464</sup> He described the process of reconstruction in a September 1991 interview:

My first attempt at reconstructing the manuscripts began by locating words in the Preliminary Concordance common to any text, such as prepositions, and then allowing the context to lead me through the work. For example, the preposition “in” might have revealed the phrase: “in the beginning” with the reference of Genesis 1:1. By then looking up the word “beginning,” one would find the phrase: “the beginning God created,” which when added to the first phrase would produce “in the beginning God created.” In this fashion I was able to “cut and paste” a text on the computer screen. The quality of these texts gave us the impetus to tackle the concordance on a larger scale. After entering every entry with its corresponding reference into a data base, I programmed the computer to sort material by manuscript, fragment, column, and line number. I then wrote a program to recognize overlapping phrases in each line and to perform the “cut and paste” job that I had done manually.<sup>465</sup>

To reconstruct the unpublished corpus, Abegg entered 42,000 lines of Hebrew and 10,500 lines of Aramaic.<sup>466</sup> He approached Wacholder with the first fifty pages of reconstructed texts in early 1991. Wacholder wanted to publish, but



*Scan of original halftone plate of Martin Abegg and Ben Zion Wacholder, Cincinnati, September 1991*

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Abegg was concerned that bootlegging the texts might cost him a career before he had even completed his doctorate. Wacholder understood his concerns well, as is apparent from an interview he and Abegg gave in September 1991:

“He was taking a risk,” Wacholder said of Abegg. “I am untouchable. I am old, I am tenured.” But ultimately, Wacholder predicted, the work [would] be helpful to Abegg.

Abegg hoped Wacholder was right.

“I certainly would like to work,” he said.<sup>467</sup>

Colleagues, including Edward Cook<sup>468</sup> and Bruce Zuckerman, recommended to Abegg that he avoid publishing the material.<sup>469</sup> HUC-JIR professor

Stephen Kaufman likewise counseled him against it.<sup>470</sup> Shanks encouraged him to publish the material to circumvent the editorial team that had hoarded the material for decades.<sup>471</sup> Ultimately, Abegg agreed to publish the material, even while completing his dissertation. More than a decade later, Abegg explained his reasoning in moving forward with a project that could have derailed his scholarly career before it started:

The straw that broke the camel’s back was Ben Zion [Wacholder] himself. Here was a man who was one of a very special generation who had been uprooted from Eastern Europe during World War II, who had spent their whole lives studying Jewish literature and law and knew it by heart, and yet had been kept away from this material all these years. For Ben Zion and others like him, I finally made the decision.<sup>472</sup>

The initial publication was to consist of five volumes of reconstructed texts, work primarily done by Abegg, and an English translation to be done primarily by Wacholder.<sup>473</sup>

Wacholder approached the Dutch publishing firm of E J. Brill in Leiden first.<sup>474</sup> Brill had a long history of publishing scroll-related volumes and text editions. Its series *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* began with the publication of the *Manual of Discipline* in 1957.<sup>475</sup> Wacholder’s discussion with Brill was not fruitful, and he eventually sought another publisher. The reason for Brill’s disinterest in the project is not clear. However, at the same 1990 SBL

meeting where Abegg's paper had been challenged, Robert Eisenman, of the University of California at Long Beach, met with Brill representatives to discuss publishing a facsimile edition of a collection of black and white photos of all the scroll fragments in his possession. The source of these photos remains anonymous. Brill agreed, in principle, to publish the volumes. Initially the volumes were scheduled to appear in March 1991, but the ongoing work of studying the photographs delayed their appearance. That same March, a Polish scholar, Zdzislaw Jan Kapera, was taken to task at the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Madrid for providing an anonymous transcription of the unpublished text of 4QMMT to subscribers of his journal *Qumran Chronicle*. In the week before the congress, Kapera received a letter from Amir Drori, the director of the IAA, challenging the unauthorized distribution of the text. The very public challenge to Kapera at the conference, along with the news of the IAA's response, scared Brill and led to the cancellation of the contract with Eisenman.<sup>476</sup> Collectively, these issues may likewise have kept Brill from accepting Wacholder and Abegg's reconstructed texts for publication.

Wacholder turned to Shanks in the spring of 1991 to publish the material, and with the financial support of the Manfred and Anne Lehmann Foundation, the first volume appeared on 4 September 1991. *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four, Fascicle I*<sup>477</sup> included the texts that Abegg had prepared following the 1990 SBL meeting for his dissertation work and for Wacholder's research.<sup>478</sup>

The response to the publication was immediate. Members of the editorial team were less than pleased about having their own work undermined and their rights to produce first editions circumvented. They responded in three ways.

First they challenged the morality and legality of what Abegg and Wacholder had done. Cross called the texts pirated and said they would have no real effect on the pace of publication of the scrolls. "About the only good thing it should do," Cross said, "is to remove the paranoia surrounding the unpublished scrolls."<sup>479</sup> New York University professor Lawrence Schiffman was quoted as saying, "I don't know if what they've done is ethical. You're really publishing another person's work."<sup>480</sup> Finally, Strugnell of the Harvard Divinity School, who headed the official committee until he was forced to resign amid charges of incompetence and antisemitism in late 1990, said he had given the concordance to Wacholder only for his scholarly use. Concerning the texts he commented most bluntly: "What else would you call it but stealing?"<sup>481</sup> In general, the media noted, "critics charged that Dr. Wacholder violated an agreement by which he received the concordance from then-scrolls committee head John Strugnell."<sup>482</sup>

An examination of the authorization Strugnell gave Wacholder shows no restriction on its use: "To whom it may concern: If you are willing, for my part I authorize making one complete photographic or Xerox reproduction of

your copy of our publication 'A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran cave II-X' (5 vols., Gottingen 1988) for *Prof B Z Wacholder*.<sup>483</sup>

Given that copies were also available for in-library use at Harvard and Baltimore Hebrew College, the only real advantage Wacholder and Abegg had was the ability to use the concordance for longer time periods. That they chose to reconstruct the text with the concordance did not violate any agreement Wacholder had with Strugnell.

As a side note, this particular challenge did not die easily; it appeared again in a 1993 review of the second fascicle of Wacholder and Abegg's work. In May 1993 David Gilner responded to the suggestion in the previous volume of *BAR* that HUC-JIR had given access to the concordance without permission.

Joseph Fitzmyer states that a copy of the preliminary concordance that he helped to prepare 'was deposited at Hebrew Union College (along with a few other institutions) for safekeeping.' This assertion is incorrect. The library purchased a copy of the work in 1990, catalogued it and made it available ... [with regard to the concordance and the negatives]. The library kept in trust what it was given in trust, and made open that which had been openly acquired.<sup>484</sup>

Fitzmyer replied in that same volume that he never claimed safekeeping and that the *BAR*'s editors added it to his article.<sup>485</sup> The editors admitted that it was their change and apologized.<sup>486</sup> It is clear, though, that the College remained sensitive to the perception that it had behaved inappropriately.

Charging the participants with impropriety led to a second type of challenge from the editorial team. Since the material was now available, the editors, at best, could only discourage people from purchasing and using it. Strugnell commented, "The concordance was not meant to produce a version of the scrolls. The reconstruction of the scrolls is about 20 percent wrong, and the people who will try to use it will never know what is right and what is wrong."<sup>487</sup> Eugene Ulrich of the University of Notre Dame "agreed that the volume was about '80 per cent accurate.' But he called it a 'pastiche' of material that contained very little that was new."<sup>488</sup> Further, he asked, "How can you trust it?" The concordance was known to contain errors, as such reconstructions based on it would also prove problematic.<sup>489</sup> Interviewed on the *MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour* he stated, "The reliability of such a document is highly questionable."<sup>490</sup> Emanuel Tov, by then editor-in-chief, commented that in examining the texts he found many imprecisions.<sup>491</sup> James VanderKam wrote the whole thing off; he was quoted predicting that the edition would be outdated by 1997: "It seems to be just a last-ditch kind of ploy by some people who feel they don't have access to the scrolls."<sup>492</sup>

The team's final reaction came with the most serious threat. In response to the announcement of the publication, Emile Puech, a member of the editorial committee, told a *Chicago Tribune* reporter that they would sue.<sup>493</sup> Although Wacholder and Abegg's agreement with Shanks did not come with an offer of legal protection, Shanks had given them the name of a Washington, DC law firm that would agree to take their case pro bono if a legal challenge was raised to their text edition.<sup>494</sup> However, a trial never became an issue because news of another infringement of the editors' rights inspired by Wacholder and Abegg was soon to break.

Wacholder and Abegg mounted their own public defense to these challenges. First, they argued for the ethics of their actions. Wacholder was concerned that part of the reason for the monopoly was to keep Jewish scholars out. This he ascertained from Strugnell's comments about Judaism and the fact that, despite Israeli control, the core of non-Jewish editors had remained in place without interference since the capture of the materials. Based on his reconstructions, he told *The Jerusalem Post* that, in contrast to accusations that publication was being delayed because the scrolls contained material that might undermine the theological positions of rabbinic Judaism or Christianity, he found no evidence in the scrolls of anything that might undermine them.<sup>495</sup> Further, Abegg argued that the ability to reconstruct the scrolls from the concordance made in the 1960s suggested that preliminary editions of the scrolls could have been made available then, too. The scrolls were already generally deciphered, or the concordance would not have been possible. What was unethical, Abegg asserted, was the unnecessary hoarding of the scrolls for so many decades.<sup>496</sup> Some of the scholars feared that erroneous material in the reconstructions would be used as the basis for numerous scholarly treatises and dissertations. Wacholder, however, played down those fears: "These scholars, with all their eminence and the best ability, have themselves introduced misconceptions.... They will have to eat their words, and these texts will show it."<sup>497</sup>

Wacholder and Abegg did not go undefended by outsiders either. No less than the editors of *The New York Times* took up their cause. In the days immediately following the announcement of the publication and the outcry from the editorial team they wrote:

Some on the committee might be tempted to charge the Cincinnati scholars with piracy. On the contrary, Mr. Wacholder and Mr. Abegg are to be applauded for their work—and for sifting through layer upon layer of obfuscation. The committee with its obsessive secrecy and cloak and dagger scholarship, long ago exhausted its credibility with scholars and laymen alike.

The two Cincinnatians seem to know what the scroll committee forgot: that the scrolls and what they say about the common roots of Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism belong to civilization, not to a few sequestered professors.<sup>498</sup>

Ziony Zevit of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles responded positively to the publication, noting:

For years we have been trying to open up access to the scrolls to qualified scholars ... but those who are in charge of deciphering and publishing them have made the scrolls available only to their students. Serious scholars have found themselves closed out.<sup>499</sup>

A prominent leader of the Reform movement, Rabbi Gunther Plaut, came out in their support as well:

I have no idea whether Prof. Wacholder and Company have done a good job, but they have succeeded in breaking a scholarly stranglehold. The fragments should long ago have been photographed and surrendered to anyone who wanted to study them. Too much hangs on their understanding to continue scholarly hide-and-seek games.<sup>500</sup>

Commenting on the ethical issues he noted:

'Pirated version' implies that the scrolls belong to someone who has violated a copyright. No such thing; they belong to the world and its time that the veil of secrecy is torn away so that a lot of scholars may have a go at deciphering material.<sup>501</sup>

*Reform Judaism*, an official publication of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (now Union of Reform Judaism) showed its support as well, publishing in 1992 a volume devoted to the scrolls that included an article by Wacholder and an interview with Abegg.<sup>502</sup> Even Schiffman, a member of the editorial team who had challenged the ethics of bootlegging the scrolls, had to concede the value of Wacholder and Abegg's efforts: "For my own research, this is very important," said Schiffman.... "When you get rid of the hoopla, they have put a lot into the arena that some scholars have been wanting for a long time."<sup>503</sup>

A thorough study of the first volume later proved it to be far more accurate than anyone had supposed previously. Hartmut Stegemann of Gottingen University examined the edition and concluded that it was "a trustworthy representation of about 98% of the textual evidence."<sup>504</sup> That it had gone into a second printing by the time the second volume of texts appeared in July 1992 proves its success.<sup>505</sup> The difficulty Abegg and Wacholder faced in the wake of the first volume was finding funding to support the work on the remaining volumes.

To help recoup costs and maintain the work of reconstructing the texts, a public plea was made for donations to "The Dead Sea Scroll Project, Institute for Mediterranean Studies," which Wacholder had established. Donors who contributed \$500 or more received an inscribed copy of Volume 1.<sup>506</sup> *BAR*

likewise ran the plea for funds to support the publication.<sup>507</sup> As a result, various individuals, companies, and nonprofit foundations came forward with help.<sup>508</sup> Apple Computer, which had received much publicity in the news coverage, provided two new computers and a printer for Wacholder and Abegg to use.<sup>509</sup>

The two men set to work. Over the next three years, two more volumes of texts and a concordance to the reconstruction appeared. However, publication did not go entirely smoothly. The publication of the first reconstructions changed the relationship between HUC-JIR and the Israeli authorities in the matter of the scroll negatives; but more important, it had begun to undermine the editorial team's control over the unpublished scroll material. Wacholder and Abegg's work continued as these changes unfolded.

### *Bringing the Monopoly to an End*

In 1969, when Glueck formulated his deal with Harman, HUC-JIR was the sole North American institution with a set of security negatives; however, by 1991 things had changed significantly. As noted above, James Sanders approached HUC-JIR in 1979 about making duplicates of its negatives for the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California. Instead of making copies the Manuscript Center decided to produce a new set of negatives from the originals in Israel and from photographs of previously unrecorded materials. The photographer of the Huntington Library, Robert Schlosser, made diapositive photographs between 1984 and 1986 with Elizabeth Hay Bechtel's monies (she had previously helped acquire the publication rights for the Cave 11 Psalms scroll).<sup>510</sup> Prior to her death in 1987, Bechtel had, because of various disagreements, ended her relationship with Sanders and the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center and had turned over a duplicate of the negatives for storage at the Huntington Library.<sup>511</sup> Finally, in May 1990, the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies came into possession of a set of negatives as the result of an agreement to help fund the official editorial project.<sup>512</sup> On 22 September 1991 the Huntington Library announced its plan to release its scrolls photographs.<sup>513</sup>

Abegg and Wacholder responded publicly to Huntington's decision to make their copy of the negatives public:

What has delighted us most is that barely three weeks after the appearance of our "A Preliminary Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls," the Huntington Library in San Marino, despite threats of lawsuits and heated criticisms from biblical scholars and Israeli authorities, decided to make available its cache of photographs of ancient texts.<sup>514</sup>

In California, reporters turned to Lewis Barth, Dean of HUC-JIR's Los Angeles campus, for a response to the announcement:

What the scrolls should provide ... is more information on the patterns of life among the Jews who lived in Qumran, of the sect known as the Essenes. During the first century, the time of John the Baptist and of Jesus, the Essenes were an important part of Jewish life in Israel. For Christians these scrolls provide more information on the background out of which Christianity developed. From a Jewish perspective this was a very important historical period because of the emergence of rabbinical Judaism. Until now we have been dependent for this information mainly on the writings of Josephus and on some of the already published scrolls.... Scholars will want this information not to confirm or deny what the past should have been but what the past actually was. ... In the world of scholarship, libraries tend to keep the original documents they are studying and make copies available to others for their research. In these matters each library sets up its own requirements and generally they require an acknowledgment of the source library if the material is published based on documents they have made available. When the Israelis originally obtained the scrolls such precautions were sensible until they could determine what they actually had. But the restrictions have long since outlived their usefulness.<sup>515</sup>

Several newspapers linked the actions of the Huntington Library to Wacholder and Abegg's publication. *The New York Times* came out in their support again:

The Dead Sea Scrolls, held captive for four decades by researchers, are now under welcome attack from guerrilla scholars. Earlier this month, a pair of biblical scholars published a computer-generated version of a scroll reproduced from an index called a concordance. Now the Huntington Library, in California, has surprised the world with its photographs of the scroll manuscripts. It is opening them to all scholars—a just and valuable act.<sup>516</sup>

*The Cincinnati Post* editorialized: "Anyone with even the mildest interest in mankind's religious heritage owes thanks to Wacholder and Abegg, and to the Huntington Library."<sup>517</sup> However, not everyone was pleased. *The Jerusalem Post* was not nearly as enthusiastic as the American newspapers had been:

Although applauded by *The New York Times* for "breaking the scrolls cartel," the moves raise serious ethical, moral and legal questions. In the first instance, the bootleg version of the scrolls—inaccurate versions, say Israeli scholars—undermines the work of scholars who have been laboring over these documents for years and are in the process of bringing them to publication.<sup>518</sup>

In response to Huntington's announcement, HUC-JIR held a press conference on 24 September 1991 to announce that it could not release its cache of negatives to the public. Gottschalk cited several reasons for not releasing them. First was that Glueck had promised to keep them secure. Second, unlike HUC-JIR and the other institutions, Huntington's copies were unauthorized and therefore could be released. Finally—and this issue was likely the most

significant—HUC-JIR maintained major rabbinic and archaeological programs through its campus in Jerusalem. At the time it was in the midst of preparing to renovate its campus, and Israel had given the College a \$500,000 construction grant.<sup>519</sup> Acting unilaterally to open Israel's national treasures to the public was politically unwise. Gottschalk was attempting to serve two masters. On the one hand, he did not want to upset the Israelis who, at least in Jerusalem, held the purse strings; on the other, public sentiment was against the College's helping the editorial team maintain its monopoly on scroll access. In the same release, Gottschalk made certain to highlight that the College was working to have the Israelis increase access to the materials. HUC-JIR was trying to get the authorities to allow a "more liberal reading" of its contract. HUC-JIR's president also suggested an alternative possibility: If all the institutions that had signed agreements with the authorities agreed that given the current circumstances there was no longer a good reason for the contracts, they could collectively open the material.<sup>520</sup> Presumably this could protect them from legal action; it would be difficult for the IAA to initiate legal proceedings against them all. As for Abegg and Wacholder, Gottschalk was enthusiastic in suggesting their actions had changed the status quo regarding control of the scrolls: "They blew the lid off."<sup>521</sup>

The following day, in response to Huntington's declaration and the public support for releasing the material, Emanuel Tov and Amir Drori invited an HUC-JIR representative to appear at a meeting in Jerusalem on 4 December 1991 to discuss the issue of access to the scrolls. Also invited were participants from the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, the Huntington Library, and the Qumran Centre at the Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies.<sup>522</sup>

The press picked up notice of the meeting, which suggested that the goal was to solve the problems with Huntington and the other libraries without legal action; the IAA preferred discussion, negotiation, and compromise.<sup>523</sup> Given the public outcry, Israel could not afford the bad press that a lawsuit would almost certainly bring. On 9 October 1991, Gottschalk indicated his willingness to attend.<sup>524</sup>

In late September, Zafren began formulating the College's response to the IAA. First, he noted that Harman's letter in 1989 was the first the College knew of the two different authorities controlling different collections of the scrolls. Harman's letter was a runaround, intended to confuse the situation and to make challenging it more difficult. Second, it was not clear that the College had, in fact, ever received negatives of the original seven scrolls. Zafren's examination of the negatives showed that 1QpHab, 1Qh (Thanksgiving), 3Q7, and much of 6Q8 of the Genesis Apocryphon were also not included. As far as Zafren was concerned, HUC-JIR had laid out funds for what Broshi claimed in his letter of 7 May 1972 was a complete set of the unpublished fragments. However in comparing the inventory lists to the negative numbers, it appeared that 151

negatives were in the collection but did not appear on the inventory list. Broshi later indicated that there were 2,500 negatives but HUC-JIR only received 1,378. At the very least, Zafren surmised, the College could request help identifying what it did or did not have in its collection, it could ask for a complete set for when the material was eventually released, and it could ask for positives of the available scrolls. Alternatively, since Harman insisted that the relationship was with the board of the Shrine of the Book for the seven scrolls, HUC-JIR could argue that there was, in fact, no agreement with the IAA for the other materials. Thus, they could do as they liked with them.<sup>525</sup> Ultimately, Zafren recommended that Gottschalk request a complete set of prints, even if they had to lay out the funds to do it. Asking that they be made in Israel would ensure that all the institutions ended up with the same collection of prints. Zafren had Gilner explore the cost for producing prints from the negatives in HUC-JIR's collection.<sup>526</sup> The price that Gilner estimated—between \$6 and \$10 per print—would prove prohibitive, given that the set would remain incomplete.<sup>527</sup>

The other institutions that held negatives also needed to decide how to respond to the IAA's invitation for the 4 December meeting in Jerusalem. William Moffett, director of the Huntington Library, contacted Wacholder to congratulate him on the preliminary edition and to indicate that it had inspired him to release his photographs. He also told Wacholder that he would send a complimentary facsimile of the manuscripts, compliments of the Huntington Library, and asked for cooperation with the other institutions in responding to the IAA.<sup>528</sup> The press did not explicitly make the connection between the preliminary edition and Moffett's actions, although a single article noted that this connection was generally accepted among scholars: "Many scholars believe that Wacholder's work provided the impetus for the Huntington Library to open its photographic collection of the scrolls."<sup>529</sup>

David Patterson of Oxford contacted Gottschalk directly. From Oxford's perspective, there was hope that the restrictions might be lifted, as they did not wish to encourage the exclusive rights of editors who had kept the material from other scholars for a long period. They were concerned, however, for young students at work on unpublished materials who might have their work derailed if the ban on access was lifted.<sup>530</sup>

Ultimately, Gottschalk did not want to release the material unilaterally; he wanted the Israelis to grant him permission. He emphasized to Patterson that he had worked for ten years, with no effect, to have the scrolls released. As far as he was concerned, "The only ones who have a copyright on the Dead Sea Scrolls ... are the authors and editors of the original scrolls, and they are not around to give advice at this time."<sup>531</sup> Moffett also contacted Gottschalk to discuss the possibility of formulating a coordinated response to Tov and Drori.<sup>532</sup> Moffett had likewise contacted James Sanders and scheduled a meeting for the two men at the Huntington Library on 1 November 1991.<sup>533</sup>

In responding to Moffett, Gottschalk indicated admiration for the Huntington Library's release of the material but highlighted the fact that unlike HUC-JIR, the library was not bound by an official agreement. Again he pointed out that he had correspondence that spanned more than a decade trying to release the scrolls.<sup>534</sup> Gottschalk's suggestion that his hands were tied in this regard but that he had tried to have the Israelis change the rules again indicates Gottschalk's sense of the public outcry. When Shanks announced that HUC-JIR held scroll negatives, he essentially directed public attention, and perhaps scorn, in the direction of the College. To help protect HUC-JIR's reputation, Gottschalk wanted to write an op-ed piece for *The New York Times* that would highlight that HUC-JIR could not release its negatives but that for more than five years the institution had worked, despite the constant Israeli refusal, to have them released.<sup>535</sup> Although no op-ed piece appeared, Gottschalk's intention was consistent with his other correspondence and statements to the press. The College must have been pulled in two directions. It needed to keep the confidences of those it promised on the one hand, but it could have been a hero to the antimonopoly movement on the other. The College was torn, and the efforts to get the scrolls released within the system were the best it could do.

In contrast to Oxford and HUC-JIR, the Huntington Library could afford to be more adversarial in dealing with the authorities. Both schools relied on cooperation from the Israelis in scholarly matters, but they also held rights to various manuscripts. They could not afford to set the precedent of undermining scholarly publishing rights if they wanted their own preserved. The Huntington Library, in communicating with Gottschalk and Patterson, indicated that it had still not decided whether to participate in the meeting but that it wanted to assure all parties that it was only interested in allowing access to its photos, not making text editions or facsimiles. Further, Moffett noted, he was not sympathetic to Tov, who had suggested that competition was beneficial only after *editiones princeps* were completed. Neither was Moffett sympathetic to young scholars who had just received their allotments while others had stood by for decades to see material. Mostly, he was convinced that the editors should get to work finishing their editions instead of "policing the activities of others."<sup>536</sup> In releasing the library's scrolls Moffett announced, "When you free the scrolls, you free the scholars. If we had sat quietly we would have violated our own policy of unrestricted access."<sup>537</sup> The Oxford Centre's reply to Moffett was similar to HUC-JIR's: It was bound by written agreement not to give access to its negatives until the IAA lifted the restrictions.<sup>538</sup>

Abegg and Wacholder were against Gottschalk's participating in the meeting for two reasons. First, they were concerned that the meeting would create a situation in which the IAA and the editors could seek retribution for the College having published the bootleg edition. After all, Puech had already

threatened to sue. Second, they saw the meeting as another attempt by the IAA and the editors to reassert control over the negatives that the various institutions possessed. As far as they were concerned, the only “happy result could be the official release of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the world.”<sup>539</sup> There was general concern that if HUC-JIR stood by its agreement, remaining committed to the contents of its September press release,<sup>540</sup> the institutions collectively would backtrack and lose support of all those scholars who had applauded them for helping to break the monopoly.<sup>541</sup>

### *A Busy October*

In mid-October Harman approached Gottschalk with the hope of resolving the situation. According to Harman, in looking back at his files over the past twenty years, he was “surprised” to see the changes that had taken place in the implementation of his 1969 agreement with Glueck. He understood that the original agreement referred to “high quality negatives of all the Dead Sea Scrolls [*sic*] in the custody of the Shrine of the Book. This meant precisely what it said, namely the seven Dead Sea Scrolls in the custody of the Shrine of the Book.”<sup>542</sup> Harman blamed Broshi for the situation. In contrast to the original agreement, Broshi, for some unexplainable reason, had sent copies of negatives of all the scrolls and fragments in the custody of both the Shrine of the Book and the Department of Antiquities (now the IAA). Harman’s letter of 1989 gave permission to open the original seven scrolls discussed explicitly in the 1969 letter to Glueck, since these were the only ones for which the board of the Shrine of the Book could give permission. According to Harman, Broshi’s error explained why the \$10,000 was so quickly spent without positives having been made. Harman’s clear implication was that from the beginning Broshi mishandled the situation: “The people in charge of the Shrine of the Book went way beyond the undertaking I gave in my letter to Nelson Glueck.” Harman hoped that this would end any dispute between HUC-JIR and the Hebrew University.<sup>543</sup> Gottschalk, in responding, likewise showed surprise, since it had never been made clear to him that there were two authorities HUC-JIR was dealing with—The Shrine of the Book on the one hand, and the IAA on the other.

In attempting to keep the historical record straight, Harman later laid the blame completely on Broshi:

He apparently interpreted the agreement [between Harman and Glueck] as being that he had to send to H.U.C.-J.I.R. negatives not only of the scrolls in the Shrine of the Book, but also all the scrolls and scroll fragments which were in the custody of the Department of Antiquities at the Rockefeller Museum. He had access to these owing to his relations with the Department of Antiquities.<sup>544</sup>

Neither Gottschalk nor Zafren agreed with Harman's explanation of the events. Gottschalk responded to Harman with a rather sarcastic tone. He found it mysterious that HUC-JIR had received its materials in error. Had Claremont and Oxford received their materials by accident as well?<sup>545</sup> Zafren's reading was far more pointed. For one, he could not understand why, if the purpose of sending the original negatives to HUC-JIR was security, there would have been a need to only send copies of the published material. It was precisely the unpublished materials that needed a complete backup set in storage away from Israel. Further, every letter between 1969 and 1989 suggested to him that all parties understood and operated as if HUC-JIR was responsible for safeguarding copies of all the scrolls. The 1989 letter from Harman was the first to suggest otherwise. Everything depended on whether one believed that Broshi had erred two decades earlier and never corrected the error.<sup>546</sup> Given that the earliest letters from Broshi to the College had even been copied to Harman and Yadin, Harman's position is difficult to accept. In fact, it appears that Zafren and Gottschalk were operating without all the available documentation that could impugn Harman. Neither of their archival files includes a June 1969 letter from Harman to Glueck explaining how the sum of \$10,000 was calculated, nor do they ever make reference to it. It is now preserved only in Glueck's general correspondence files. Most important, Harman notes in the letter that two thousand negatives were to be made and that HUC-JIR's \$10,000 would cover the entire cost. The letter states explicitly that it is a "breakdown of the costs of the work of photographing *the scrolls and fragments*"<sup>547</sup> (emphasis added). Further, in Glueck's diary entry about his meeting with Harman in July 1969, he summarized his understanding of the agreement. He noted that at the meeting he,

took the occasion to tell the President of the University [Harman] that [he] had gotten the generous agreement of Mr. Philip D. Sang to give the Hebrew Union College \$10,000 which would be turned over to the Hebrew University for the copies of the photographs and negatives of *all the Dead Sea Scroll material*, which would be deposited in our great Library at Cincinnati, with various reservations about their future use (emphasis added).<sup>548</sup>

Finally, Harman wrote to Glueck's donor, Philip Sang, thanking him for his help as the Shrine of the Book undertook the "necessary project of photographing in both negative and positive all the *Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments*... As a result of this, Hebrew Union College will be the repository in the United States of a *complete set of negatives and positives of all the Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments*." (emphasis added)<sup>549</sup>

However, whether Harman was being entirely honest about his recollections had little role in the ongoing process of making the negatives available to the scholarly community. In mid-October, Hershel Shanks contacted Gottschalk

to inform him of his intentions to release, on 19 November 1991, a facsimile edition of the scrolls made from negatives from a confidential source. He invited HUC-JIR to join a Dead Sea Scroll consortium with the Biblical Archaeology Society in support of the publication. Gottschalk indicated that he was not ready to participate in a consortium to publish what may have been “bootlegged” materials.<sup>550</sup> Participating in Shanks’s efforts could only serve to further upset the Israelis, given Wacholder and Abegg’s activities and the concern that HUC-JIR might release its negatives.

Also in October, Avraham Biran at HUC-JIR in Jerusalem took it upon himself as a former director of IAA to approach Amir Drori, the then-current director, to have him release the scrolls to all scholars for “the sake of Israel’s good name.”<sup>551</sup> Drori hoped that the 4 December meeting would allow for the adoption of a formula that would satisfy the “need of the public to know.”<sup>552</sup> Following up on the meeting, he faxed a copy of a *Jerusalem Post* article, “Antiquities Authority Reverses Its Policy on Dead Sea Scrolls Photos,” to Gottschalk. The IAA then faxed a press release to HUC-JIR dated 27 October 1991, titled “The Israel Antiquities Authority to Permit Access to Judean Desert Scroll Photos.”<sup>553</sup> By this point, Oxford, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, and HUC-JIR had accepted the IAA’s invitation for the meeting on 4 December. Moffett at the Huntington Library had not yet responded, but neither had he released his photos.<sup>554</sup> The issue was moot, though, since the change in the Israeli position meant that the meeting was cancelled. *The Jerusalem Post* article noted that the IAA intended to make the scroll photographs available to scholars through HUC-JIR, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, and the Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies at Oxford.<sup>555</sup> On 27 October 1991, Gottschalk announced publicly (at the HUC-JIR associates dinner)<sup>556</sup> that very soon the College would make the negatives available to those who would like to view them, although it had no authority to allow publication.<sup>557</sup> Wacholder publicly stated, “We welcome the new guidelines”; but, with the restriction that those accessing them could not publish editions and could only cite limited portions, he was convinced the new policy would not be effective.<sup>558</sup>

On Monday 28 October the material became available for viewing, but only the media were immediately interested.<sup>559</sup> When the press asked how the public had responded, David Gilner, the Klau librarian replied, “The response has not exactly been overwhelming.”<sup>560</sup> Gilner suggested that a number of explanations were possible but that the biggest issue was that there was no clear index of the material and “scholars can’t ask for what they don’t know.”<sup>561</sup> The other institutions faced similar problems.<sup>562</sup>

Under these circumstances, Wacholder and Abegg were committed to the particular importance of their reconstructions: “Our work provides a transcribed, readable text. You have to be able to interpret the photos... [The publication of the photos] increases the reliability of our work [and makes it] less speculative.”<sup>563</sup>

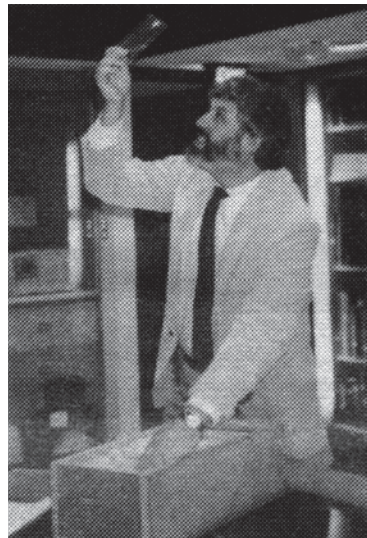
The media interest provided another forum for Gottschalk and Wacholder. Gottschalk credited Wacholder for providing the impetus for the photographs finally to be made public: “The painful part was that we couldn’t let him use what was at HUC.” Gottschalk’s statement is significant for two reasons. First, by highlighting Wacholder’s efforts, he attempted to place HUC in a leadership role in breaking the monopoly rather than its role in keeping the negatives secured and away from other scholars. Second, scholars accused Wacholder and Abegg of having had access to materials other than the concordance to aid their reconstruction efforts. In writing about their edition’s accuracy, Hartmut Stegemann suggested the reconstructions were simply too accurate: “In general, everything is perfectly done. I wonder if the editors, indeed, used the concordance only, or whether they also had Milik’s transcription or some photos.”<sup>564</sup> As early as November 1989, Broshi had suggested that HUC-JIR released copies of negatives to Wacholder.<sup>565</sup> As Gottschalk made clear, and Abegg and Wacholder maintained, they made no use of HUC-JIR’s negatives because they were never given access to them.<sup>566</sup>

Interest in HUC-JIR’s scroll collection might have increased, but the school was caught in a strange situation, as Gilner reported:

We were given this in trust to hold safely, but nothing came with it to fund us as a scroll institute, so we don’t have the staff or the funds to go about doing the things we’re being asked to do.... This is not something we have much experience with, but we’re learning.<sup>567</sup>

It was clear, though, that HUC-JIR was not in a position to make the negatives useful to inquiring scholars. Gilner noted of the negatives, “It was intended to be an archive.... We don’t have a light table to use the negatives.”<sup>568</sup> In fact, in the only photograph of Gilner examining the negatives, he is holding one up in the air so that the ceiling light shines through it, making it readable.<sup>569</sup> The College needed equipment to study the negatives. Zafren was raising funds to help support research and preservation efforts. He received a \$5,000 donation from Oliver Birkhead, retired CEO of Central Bancorporation, to be used in these matters.<sup>570</sup>

Despite the difficulties, HUC-JIR and Gilner were pleased the material had finally been opened. “No librarian,” Gilner



*Scan of original halftone plate of David Gilner examining negative, Cincinnati, October 1991*

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commented, “could be happy with keeping this hidden away... The first rule for librarians is that books are for use.”<sup>571</sup> Gilner’s response was consistent with the comments of Patricia Glass Schuman, president of the American Library Association, and John A. Fleckner, chief archivist at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of American History. In response to the Huntington Library’s offer to release its diapositives, Glass noted, “As librarians we strongly believe that all information should be affordable, available, and accessible.” Fleckner concurred: “We have a commitment to the notion of equal access, the philosophical idea that the more eyes you get looking at a document, the more likely you are to come to truth.” Regarding the meeting of the philosophical ideal and the actuality of contracts and restrictions, Fleckner commented, “It can often be a difficult balancing act.”<sup>572</sup>

In November 1991, Gilner asked the IAA how he was to proceed with handling requests for access to the negatives. The IAA had announced the release of the material two weeks previous, in the press release of 27 October 1991. The first request, by Martin Abegg, had been honored, but HUC-JIR was seeking a clear explanation of the procedure.<sup>573</sup> The HUC-JIR form Abegg used was quite specific that the user requested access and that the negatives “would not be used for the production of a text edition,” thus protecting the rights of the editorial team to produce the *editio princeps*.<sup>574</sup> The only response Gilner received was that the photographic images were to be stamped “Copyright of the Israel Antiquities Authority” to prevent unlawful publishing.<sup>575</sup>

### *The Final Chapter*

Although HUC-JIR’s negatives were released, the story was not quite over. On 19 November 1991 Shanks announced the publication of the two-volume facsimile edition that had previously been contracted with Brill.<sup>576</sup> The volumes were coming at a good time. HUC-JIR’s material remained in negatives, which made it difficult to access. The Huntington Library announced that it would be at least another month before it could share its photographs with other libraries.<sup>577</sup> The source of the pictures Shanks used remained anonymous. This led to the suggestion that HUC-JIR and the other institutions had leaked their negatives, but they were ultimately cleared.<sup>578</sup> The facsimile edition proved to be the final straw, and on 26 November Emanuel Tov finally announced that all restrictions were removed from use of the scrolls, including production of text editions.<sup>579</sup>

Unfortunately, Shanks’s facsimile edition led to the first legal action involving HUC-JIR. Included in the editors’ preface to the volume was a reproduction of a transcription of 120 lines of the unpublished text 4QMMT. Elisha Qimron of the Hebrew University, who, along with John Strugnell, had produced the transcription, sued Shanks for copyright infringement.<sup>580</sup> On 30 March 1993 the Jerusalem District Court ruled in Qimron’s favor and awarded him

approximately \$55,000 USD in damages.<sup>581</sup> Although the case had no direct impact on HUC-JIR, Qimron had his attorneys assert his copyright over any edition of 4QMMT—and this affected Wacholder and Abegg, who were at work on the third volume of their preliminary edition series:

It has come to our attention that you might be in possession of Professor Qimron's composite text of MMT. Moreover, we have been informed that you might be using portions of Professor Qimron's reconstruction in a publication planned by you and Professor Abegg.

On behalf of Professor Qimron, please accept this letter as notification that any use of Professor Qimron's reconstructed text is a violation of his copyright and Professor Qimron will take all steps available to him under both American and Israeli law to protect that copyright.<sup>582</sup>

Qimron essentially asserted that Wacholder and Abegg would have to clear any knowledge of his reconstruction from their mind before reconstituting the texts themselves—a difficult task, to say the least. Legal scholar Cindy Carson comments on this particular issue:

With regard to Professors Wacholder and Abegg, there is no intent to copy, although it is likely that their work will be very similar if not virtually identical [to Qimron's]. To avoid infringement, then Professors Wacholder and Abegg will need to ensure that their wording is at least slightly different from Professor Qimron's. However, if Professor Qimron's work is accurate, Professors Wacholder and Abegg will be forced to be less accurate merely to avoid infringement.... If the first interpolator is allowed to obtain protection, the fear of rushed and haphazard scholarship voiced by those who object to open access may be realized in a different context.<sup>583</sup>

In May, Abegg and Wacholder were still at work on the materials for the third fascicle, but because of the threat of legal action, they were concerned about including a reconstruction of the text. As *BAR* noted in reporting on the case, Abegg and Wacholder, like most other scholars in the field, had seen Qimron's reconstruction and agreed with the majority of it.<sup>584</sup> Even though their reconstruction would be done independently, they still risked the accusation. According to Abegg, he spent hundreds of hours comparing the bootlegged version of Qimron's text, which Kapera made available in 1988 and which Shanks had published, with the facsimile edition. Abegg established that in 95 percent of cases, Qimron agreed with the original transcription work Milik did, which had served as the basis for the concordance.<sup>585</sup> Abegg and Wacholder hoped to use this material to demonstrate that Qimron did not hold the copyright for the text, and on 29 July 1993, in response to the letter and with the hope of preempting action by Qimron, they took him to federal court in Philadelphia, where he was visiting the Annenberg Research Institute.<sup>586</sup> In essence, they

were “asking the court to break Qimron’s stranglehold on one of the most important still-unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls.”<sup>587</sup> Abegg and Wacholder’s legal team included David Nimmer, a copyright specialist who also served on the legal team defending Shanks. The previous February, Shanks had turned to the same Philadelphia court for declaratory relief.<sup>588</sup> The lawsuits were certainly intertwined, as Shanks himself later noted:

We are going to appeal. The principal reason for [this] is the courageous action of two American scholars—Professor Ben Zion Wacholder of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Professor Martin Abegg of Grace Theological Seminary in Winona Lake, Indiana—who have instituted their own suit against Qimron.<sup>589</sup>

Shanks, who was a well established and connected lawyer before turning his attention to publishing, certainly had a role to play in both cases. Ultimately, both Philadelphia suits were dropped. Shanks continued his appeal through the Israeli Supreme Court. For Abegg and Wacholder, the situation had simply changed. Because Qimron was an Israeli, the court system in Philadelphia proved a complicated locus of legal action to fight this particular battle.<sup>590</sup> Further, they became convinced that Qimron would not come after them.<sup>591</sup> The likelihood is that they had only been targeted because of their relationship with Shanks and not for their own work in reconstructing the text. Finally, Qimron’s official publication of the text appeared in 1994<sup>592</sup> and their “preliminary edition” followed soon after.<sup>593</sup> The case, and the story of HUC-JIR’s participation in the freeing of the scrolls, was put to rest.

## Conclusion

From 1948 until 1993, HUC-JIR, its faculty, and its administration devoted significant resources to studying, teaching, and preserving the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their efforts showed various commitments, from supporting the State of Israel, to preserving its cultural heritage and that of the Western religions, to the importance of archaeology in the teaching of Bible and ancient Jewish history, to fully participating in international academe. As a seminary, the College considered the scrolls both in the context of its desire to participate in the life of the academy but also to exploring these types of discoveries in the context of Jewish life. As Glueck noted in his second review in *The New York Times*, the ability to establish the antiquity of the biblical text had profound implications for the beliefs of those committed to it and the ability to inspire others.

Additionally, exploring the study of the scrolls on campus provides insight into the scholarly life of the HUC-JIR community, the debates and concerns of its members, and its dedication to scholarly freedom. Faculty members were committed to appearing in public forums of all sorts, to writing for the public press, and to sharing their honest evaluation of the scrolls with the Jewish

community and the public at large. These efforts highlight the role of the faculty as American spiritual leaders who used the newest scientific findings to help maintain the religious commitments of those who otherwise might perceive them as dangerous or be misled by those who sought to undermine their faith.

Although this story ends in 1993, the story of HUC-JIR and the scrolls has certainly not ended. Its faculty continues to research and teach about the scrolls. The critical views of Ellis Rivkin and Samuel Sandmel have been replaced by those of faculty who have had access to more of the material—in part due to the efforts of Wacholder and Abegg—and students who continue to explore the implications of these ancient texts for their understanding of the Jewish past and of the present.

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## Notes

\*For Charlie, with love.

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Unless otherwise indicated, all archival material cited is from the American Jewish Archives (AJA), Cincinnati, Ohio, or the Klau Library, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR), Cincinnati, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup>HUC-JIR president Alfred Gottschalk to Hebrew University president Avraham Harman, 24 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library, HUC-JIR.

<sup>2</sup>The earliest group of Jewish scholars in the United States to publish articles or to give scholarly conference presentations about the scrolls included Isaiah Sonne and Harry Orlinsky of HUC-JIR; Saul Lieberman, H.L. Ginsburg, and Robert Gordis at the Jewish Theological Seminary; Sydney Hoenig at Yeshiva University; and Solomon Zeitlin at Dropsie College. Among the major non-Jewish scholars first to be attached to the scrolls were William Albright of Johns Hopkins University and Millar Burrows of Yale University.

<sup>3</sup>On the discovery and sale see the overview provided by Harry Thomas Frank, "How the Dead Sea Scrolls Were Found" reprinted in *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Washington, DC: Biblical

Archaeology Society, 2007), 7–19. Originally published in Harry Thomas Frank, “How the Dead Sea Scrolls Were Found,” *Biblical Archaeology Review (BAR)* 1, no. 4 (December 1975): 1, 7–16, 28–30.

<sup>4</sup>Kando (1910–1993) was a Syrian Orthodox Christian who, although he began as a cobbler, later opened an antiquities shop. In addition to arranging these sales, he would eventually act as the intermediary between the Bedouin and the Jordanian Department of Antiquities for the sale of the ancient materials discovered in other caves. See Jacques Briand, “Shahin, Khalil Iskander (Kando),” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 869–870.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel (1907–1995) was the Turkish-born archbishop of Jerusalem until he left for the United States, settling in New Jersey, in 1949. He would eventually sell his scrolls in 1954. They were purchased for the State of Israel by Yigael Yadin (1917–1984), son of the eminent Hebrew University scholar Eleazar Sukenik. Samuel recounts the tale of his involvement with the scrolls in his autobiography, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966).

<sup>6</sup>Sukenik (1889–1953), a Lithuanian-born, American-trained archaeologist, joined the faculty of Hebrew University in the late 1920s and became involved with the scrolls as the curator of the National Museum of Antiquities at the Hebrew University. See Neil Asher Silberman, “Sukenik, Eleazar L.,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 902–903.

<sup>7</sup>Sukenik describes the events in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1955), 13–21. He does not mention the antiquities dealer by name. This information is taken from Silberman, “Sukenik,” 902. See also Neil Asher Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls: Christianity, Judaism, and the War for the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1994), 43–46.

<sup>8</sup>The Bedouin discovered Cave 2 in February 1952. Although archaeologists found Caves 3 and 5, the Bedouin discovered Caves 4 and 6, also in 1952. The interchange of discovery between archaeologists and Bedouin, indicated by the naming of the caves by number in sequence of discovery, clearly reveals the close race between the discoverers to find additional caves. Archaeologists discovered Caves 7, 8, 9, and 10 in 1954; but Cave 11, again a source of significant and relatively intact material, was discovered by the Bedouin, in 1956.

<sup>9</sup>See John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1965), 1–76.

<sup>10</sup>They receive mention in passing in his *Rivers in the Desert* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1959), 143.

<sup>11</sup>Wise to Orlinsky, 3 May 1948, MS 19, Jewish Institute of Religion/29/2. Orlinsky, Harry M., Correspondence 1945–1948.

<sup>12</sup>Judah L. Magnes, *A Treatise as to 1) Necessary Existence 2) The Procedure of Things from Necessary Existence 3) The Creation of the World*, by Joseph ibn Aknin, Edited and Translated (Berlin: H. Itzkowski, 1904); and, Nelson Glueck, *Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftgemässe Verhaltensweise* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1927).

<sup>13</sup>Glueck described their similar paths in a tribute commemorating the tenth anniversary of Magnes’s death. See Nelson Glueck, *Lion of Judah* (Jerusalem: American Friends of the Hebrew University, 1958), 7–8.

<sup>14</sup>Glueck served three times as director of ASOR Jerusalem: 1932–1933, 1936–1940, and 1942–1947.

<sup>15</sup>The May 1988 interview is cited in Jonathan M. Brown and Lawrence Kutler, *Nelson Glueck: Biblical Archaeologist and President of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 2005), 73. In his biography of Magnes, Norman Bentwich reports that during this period Glueck often took Magnes along to visit archaeological sites throughout

- Israel and Trans-Jordan. See Bentwich, *Judah L. Magnes: A Biography* (London: East and West Library, 1955), 137.
- <sup>16</sup>Brown and Kutler, *Nelson Glueck*, 112.
- <sup>17</sup>“Dr. Judah Magnes, Dead at Age 71,” *The New York Times* (28 October 1948): 29.
- <sup>18</sup>Glueck to Albright, 8 November 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>19</sup>“The Thayer Fellowship, 1924–25,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR)* 13 (1924): 14–15. See also Bentwich, *Judah L. Magnes*, 137.
- <sup>20</sup>See George Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz’s Dead Sea Scroll Archive* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2005), xxi; Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 155–156.
- <sup>21</sup>Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 27.
- <sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 29.
- <sup>23</sup>Burrows to Magnes, 9 June 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup>Magnes to Burrows, 17 June 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>27</sup>Magnes to Burrows, 2 July 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>28</sup>Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz’s Dead Sea Scroll Archive*, xvii–xxxiv.
- <sup>29</sup>Burrows to Magnes, 19 June 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm. For Samuel’s account of these activities and the trouble stirred by Kiraz’s claims see Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran*, 167–169.
- <sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup>Burrows to Magnes, 6 July 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>32</sup>Magnes to Glueck, 12 July 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/13, M, General.
- <sup>33</sup>Magnes to Glueck, 3 September 1948 (erroneously dated 3.IX.49), MS 20/A1a-8/13, M, General.
- <sup>34</sup>Landesberg to Glueck, 22 October 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>35</sup>Glueck to Albright, 8 November 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup>Albright to Glueck, 12 November 1948, MS 20/A1a-8/26, Albright, Wm.
- <sup>38</sup>Sukenik to Kiraz, 1 October 1948, reprinted in Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz’s Dead Sea Scroll Archive*, 2.
- <sup>39</sup>Nelson Glueck, “Judah Leon Magnes,” *BASOR* 114 (1949): 3
- <sup>40</sup>Cited in Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, 29.
- <sup>41</sup>Millar Burrows with John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery* (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research [ASOR], 1950).
- <sup>42</sup>Nelson Glueck, “Light From a Dim Past,” *The New York Times* (20 November 1955): BR54–BR55. Quote on BR55.
- <sup>43</sup>Blank to Glueck, 16 November 1948, MS 20/ J1-5/2, Society of Biblical Literature (SBL).
- <sup>44</sup>Marx to Glueck, 19 January 1949, MS 20/A1a-8/13, M, General.
- <sup>45</sup>“Proceedings, December 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>, 1948,” *Journal of Biblical Literature (JBL)* 68 no.1 (1949): v.
- <sup>46</sup>Milton Robertson, “Hebrew Union College to be Host to National Meetings of Bible Instructors and Society of Biblical Literature,” for release 23 December 1949, MS 20/J1-5/2, SBL.
- <sup>47</sup>The proceedings of the SBL meeting are recorded in “Proceedings, December 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>, 1949,” *JBL* 69, no.1 (1950): i–xli; and the ASOR proceedings are recorded in Robert H. Pfeiffer,

“The Annual Meeting of the Corporation,” *BASOR* 117 (1950): 6–8. The American Oriental Society (AOS) held its meeting from 4 to 6 April 1950.

<sup>48</sup>Milton Robertson, “American Bible Instructors Convened at Hebrew Union College Dec. 27–28,” for release 20 December 1949, MS 20/J1-5/2, SBL.

<sup>49</sup>Milton Robertson, “Hebrew Union College to be Host to National Meetings of Bible Instructors and Society of Biblical Literature,” for release 23 December 1949, MS 20/J1-5/2, SBL.

<sup>50</sup>Milton Robertson, “Jewish Messiah and Pauline Christ Will be the Subject of Biblical Society Symposium at Hebrew Union College,” for release 26 December 1949, MS 20/J1-5/2, SBL.

<sup>51</sup>This was not the first SBL conference where the scrolls were discussed. A panel, “The Jerusalem Hebrew Scrolls,” was presented at the 1948 annual meeting and included Millar Burrows, William H. Brownlee, and John C. Trever. See Ernest W. Saunders, *Searching the Scriptures: A History of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1880–1980* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 44.

<sup>52</sup>Pfeiffer, “The Annual Meeting of the Corporation,” 7.

<sup>53</sup>A copy of the abstracts of the papers is preserved in: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis (SBLE, later SBL), Nearprint File.

<sup>54</sup>For public discussion see, *inter alia*, William G. Weart, “Bible Scroll ‘Find’ Suspected as Hoax; Dr. Zeitlin of Dropsie College Splits With Other Scholars on Dead Sea Discovery,” *The New York Times* (4 March 1949): 19; Eleazer L. Sukenik, “Antiquity of Hebrew Scrolls: Scholar Presents Evidence for View That Manuscripts are Authentic,” *The New York Times* (19 March 1949): 14; and, Solomon Zeitlin, “Origin of Hebrew Scrolls; Authenticity of Manuscript Said Not to Be Established,” *The New York Times* (2 April 1949): 14. For the academic discussion see the articles collected in the *Jewish Quarterly Review (JQR)* between 1949 and 1964. Although Zeitlin wrote many of the articles against the antiquity of the scrolls and was editor of the journal, he freely made space available to scholars who disagreed with his views and wished to debate them.

<sup>55</sup>The first news of the St. Mark’s Scrolls appeared in “Ancient MSS. Found in Palestine: Earliest Known Copy of Isaiah,” *Times of London* (12 April 1948): 4. Formal news of Israel’s purchase followed in “Isaiah Find Described: Bible manuscript 2,000 Years Old,” *Palestine Post* (27 April 1948): 3. See also Julius Louis Meltzer, “10 Ancient Scrolls Found in Palestine,” *The New York Times* (25 April 1948): 6.

<sup>56</sup>That SBL, ASOR, and the National Association of Biblical Instructors (NABI) agreed to meet in Cincinnati was even more prestigious because they had traditionally met only in New York. In 1948 SBL voted to hold meetings outside New York once every four years. See “Proceedings, December 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>, 1948” *JBL* 68, no.1 (1949): iv.

<sup>57</sup>“Bible ‘Find’ Discussed: Pottery Containing Manuscripts Held of 1<sup>st</sup> Century B.C.,” *The New York Times* (29 December 1949): 46.

<sup>58</sup>“Experts Dispute Age of Bible Documents,” *The New York Times* (30 December 1949): 4.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup>“Scroll Comment Denied: Biblical Scholar Says Date of Text Was Not at Issue,” *The New York Times* (8 January 1950): 149. Orlinsky’s remarks should be contrasted with those of Gordis from the same conference, who suggested:

The extraordinary discoveries of Ain Feshka, particularly the Isaiah Scroll, shed most welcome light on Hebrew Orthography and other aspects of the Biblical text and suggest a radical revision with regard to the date and origin of the early Masoretes. Evidence from Rabbinic sources previously overlooked or ignored also substantiates the conclusion that the beginnings of Masoretic activity are to be sought in the period before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. [From the abstract preserved in SBLE, Nearprint File.]

<sup>61</sup>A copy of the conference papers abstracts is preserved in MS 20/J1-1/6, 1948–1955, AOS.

<sup>62</sup>See previous note.

- <sup>63</sup>Fanny K. Berg and Isaac Goldberg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Chronological Bibliography* [Unpublished manuscript] (Cincinnati: HUC Library, 1949).
- <sup>64</sup>After his death in 1985, HUC-JIR acquired Yadin's personal library for its Jerusalem campus library. The collection included more than seven thousand books, many on the Dead Sea Scrolls and many containing Yadin's marginal notes. See "HUC Gains Yadin's Personal Library," *The American Israelite* (3 July 1986): 1.
- <sup>65</sup>Ross Parmenter, "World of Music: Dead Sea Scrolls Hint that Hebrew had an Early System of Notation," *The New York Times* (6 January 1957): D9. Werner's findings were published in "Musical Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Musical Quarterly* 43, no.1 (1957): 21–37.
- <sup>66</sup>The syllabus is preserved in MS 20/L5/15. The primary readings for the course included Millar Burrows's two volumes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955) and *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1958); and Theodore Gaster's *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1956).
- <sup>67</sup>See, for example, "Rule of the Community III," *Revue de Qumran* 5, no.2 (1965): 239–243.
- <sup>68</sup>See Michael A. Meyer, "The Refugee Scholars Project of the Hebrew Union College," in *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus*, ed. Bertram Korn (New York: Ktav/American Jewish Historical Society, 1976), 359–375.
- <sup>69</sup>See MS 513, Isaiah Sonne/2343b/Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>70</sup>James A. Sanders, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, IV. The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). A second expanded edition also appeared, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967). Sanders's contribution to scroll scholarship continued for the next four decades. In addition to his work on the Psalms Scroll, he published the first catalogues and indices to the scroll material in "Palestinian Manuscripts, 1947–1967," *JBL* 86, no. 4 (1967): 431–440; and "Palestinian mss. 1947–1972," *Journal of Jewish Studies (JJS)* 24, no. 1 (1973): 74–83. His work on the development of the biblical canon has also relied heavily on scroll research. See, for example, James A. Sanders, "The Judaean Desert Scrolls and the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (North Richland Hills, TX: Bibal Press, 1998), 1–17; and "The Scrolls and the Canonical Process," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Volume 2*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–23. In 1977, Sanders founded the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California. He remained director until his retirement in 1997.
- <sup>71</sup>Email communication with James Sanders, 24 May 2008.
- <sup>72</sup>The joint meeting of the Mid-West Sections of the AOS and the SBLE was held on 15 and 16 April 1949. Along with Sonne's paper, David Noel Freedman spoke on "'The House of Absalom' in the Habakkuk Scroll." A copy of the program is preserved in MS 20/J1-1/6, 1948–1955, AOS. For a brief overview of Sonne's contribution to scroll scholarship, see also Lewis Barth, "Rabbinics," in *Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion at One Hundred Years*, ed. Samuel Karff (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1976), 345–346.
- <sup>73</sup>Undated notes to prepare the talk included with his manuscript for the annual SBLE meeting in December 1949 are preserved in MS 513/2343b/Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>74</sup>Trever to Glueck, 21 December 1949, MS 20/J1-5/2, SBL.
- <sup>75</sup>Rivkin to Orlinsky, 30 November 1949, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/ Ellis Rivkin.
- <sup>76</sup>From the text of Sonne's presentation to the SBLE annual meeting preserved in MS 513/2343b/Dead Sea Scrolls. Trever discusses the two Daniel fragments in *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 123–133.
- <sup>77</sup>Trever to Sonne, 28 February 1950, MS 513/2343g/Correspondence, 1950. According to his report published more than a decade later, the archbishop offered Trever the scrolls at a meeting in New Jersey. See Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 123.

<sup>78</sup>Trever to Sonne, 13 March 1950, MS 513/2343g/Correspondence, 1950.

<sup>79</sup>Trever to Sonne, 6 April 1950; Sonne to Trever, 10 April 1950; and, Trever to Sonne 19 April 1950, MS 513/2343g/Correspondence, 1950.

<sup>80</sup>Isaiah Sonne, "A Hymn Against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls," *Hebrew Union College Annual (HUCA)* 33 (1950–1951): 275–313.

<sup>81</sup>Just over half were written by HUC-JIR faculty. Among the other contributors were Emanuel Tov, the editor-in-chief of the Cave 4 editorial team, and Esther Eshel, an important Israeli scroll scholar.

<sup>82</sup>Burrows to Sonne, 23 May 1952, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1952.

<sup>83</sup>*Vetus Testamentum* 7, no.4 (1957): 405–408.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, 406.

<sup>85</sup>See Burrows to Sonne, 30 January 1957; Sonne to Burrows, 5 February 1957; Burrows to Sonne, 12 February 1957, all included in MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1957.

<sup>86</sup>Davies to Sonne, 12 December 1952, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1952; Davies to Sonne, 4 February 1953, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1953; and an undated copy of Sonne's reply is preserved in MS 513/2343/Articles on Essenes, Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>87</sup>Jeffery to Sonne, 18 April 1951; Jeffery to Sonne, 29 April 1951; Sonne to Jeffery, 4 May 1951, all preserved in MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1951; and Jeffery to Sonne, 20 May 1952, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1952.

<sup>88</sup>From 1943 until 1948, Rosenthal was lecturer in Jewish art and assistant professor of Bible and Semitic languages on the HUC, Cincinnati campus. Like Sonne, Rosenthal had been brought to the United States by HUC as part of its Refugee Scholars Project. See Meyer's, "The Refugee Scholars Project," 359–375.

<sup>89</sup>Rosenthal to Sonne, 9 January 1955, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1955.

<sup>90</sup>Abraham S. Halkin, "Isaiah Sonne (1887–1960), the Historian," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 29 (1960–1961): 9–15. Quote on 15.

<sup>91</sup>Sonne, "A Hymn Against Heretics in the Newly Discovered Scrolls," 275–276.

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, 276–277.

<sup>93</sup>Birnbaum to Sonne, 1 December 1952, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1952.

<sup>94</sup>A draft of the talk with copyediting in pencil is preserved in MS 513/2343b/Dead Sea Scrolls. See p. 4.

<sup>95</sup>*JBL* 70, no.1 (1951): 37–44.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>97</sup>Sonne to Dentan, 15 September 1950, MS 513, Isaiah Sonne/2343g/Correspondence, 1950.

<sup>98</sup>*JQR* 42, no. 2 (1951): 133–192. On Sonne specifically, see 156–162.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>100</sup>Isaiah Sonne, "The Newly Discovered Bar Kokeba Letters," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research* 23 (1954): 75–108.

<sup>101</sup>Solomon Zeitlin, "The Propaganda of the Hebrew Scrolls and the Falsification of History," *JQR* 46, no.1 (1955):1–39. Quote on 25.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>105</sup>Halkin, "Isaiah Sonne," 9.

<sup>106</sup>Wolfgang Saxon, "Dr. Harry Orlinsky, 84, Professor Specializing in Biblical Literature," *The New York Times* (24 March 1992): D22.

<sup>107</sup>Harry M. Orlinsky, "An Analysis of the Relationship Between the Septuagint and Masoretic Text of the Book of Job," doctoral dissertation (Dropsie College, 1935).

<sup>108</sup>Orlinsky began studying with Zeitlin in October 1931. See Harry Orlinsky, "The Masorah" in *Solomon Zeitlin: Scholar Laureate: An Annotated Bibliography, 1915–1970, with Appreciations of his Writings*, ed. Sidney Hoenig (New York: Bitzaron; Philadelphia: Dropsie University Alumni Association, 1971), 46. Orlinsky went to Dropsie to work with Max Margolis, who died soon after Orlinsky's arrival. See Orlinsky, "Margolis' Work in the Septuagint" in *Max Leopold Margolis: Scholar and Teacher*, ed. Robert Gordis (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1952), 35–44. Despite the limited contact, Margolis had a tremendous influence on Orlinsky's scholarly trajectory.

<sup>109</sup>See S. David Sperling, *Students of the Covenant: A History of Jewish Biblical Scholarship in North America* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 78–80. On Orlinsky's relationship to Albright and his students, see Burke O. Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997), 71–109.

<sup>110</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 25 October 1945, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Albright, W. F.

<sup>111</sup>Orlinsky published eight articles specifically on the scroll: "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *JBL* 69, no.2 (1950): 149–166; "Photography and Paleography in the Textual Criticism of St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *BASOR* 123 (1951): 33–35; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll III: Masoretic םמ׀ in Isaiah XLII, 25," *JJS* (1951): 151–154; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll II: yiswāhū in 42.11," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11 (1952): 153–156; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll IV (7.1; 14.4; 14.30)," *JQR* 43 (1952): 329–340; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll V (15.9)," *Israel Exploration Journal* 4 (1954): 5–8; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll VI (34.16; 40.12)," *HUCA* 25 (1954): 85–92; "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll VII (49:17)," (Heb.) *Tarbiz* 24 (1954): 4–8.

<sup>112</sup>Orlinsky published close to a dozen popular reviews of books on the scrolls in *In Jewish Bookland* between 1950 and 1962. Collectively he published more than 140 reviews for that publication. A bibliography through 1982, along with a complete list of these reviews, is in Philip E. Miller, "A Selective Bibliography of the Writings of Harry M. Orlinsky," in *Eretz-Israel 16: Orlinsky Volume*, ed. Baruch Levine and Abraham Malamat (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and HUC-JIR, 1982), xii–xxviii.

<sup>113</sup>"Proceedings of the American Oriental Society Meeting at New Haven, Connecticut, 1949," *Journal of the American Oriental Society (JAOS)* 69, no.3 (1949): 185.

<sup>114</sup>*JQR* 39, no.3 (1949): 235–247.

<sup>115</sup>For a summary of the paper see Harry Orlinsky, "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *JBL* 69, no.2 (1950): 151–152.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, 164–165.

<sup>117</sup>On the merger see Michael A. Meyer, "A Centennial History," in *Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion At One Hundred Years*, ed. Samuel Karff (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1976), 185–192.

<sup>118</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 5 January 1950 (misdated 1949), MS 661, Harry Meyer Orlinsky/6/14, Glueck, Nelson, 1950–1974.

<sup>119</sup>See note marked \* for discussion of the conference and the problems with the newspaper coverage of his comments (as also discussed above) in Orlinsky, "Studies in St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *JBL* 69, no.2 (1950): 149.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, 165, n. 21. Biographical information for Wechsler is quite limited. In December 1949 he claimed that he had been shown two scrolls at St. Mark's Monastery: the Isaiah Scroll and a Haftarah Scroll used for liturgical readings on the Sabbath. He concluded, based on marginal notes in the latter scroll, that it was of late provenance and that the former, by relation to it, likewise could not be ancient. See his newspaper article, "*HaGenizah haGluyah v'ha Genizah haGnuzah*," *Ha'Olam*, 1 December 1949, 156–157; and Tovia Wechsler, "The 'Hidden Geniza' Once More or Mr. Trever versus Mr. Trever," *JQR* 41 no. 3 (1951), 247–250 and "The Origin of

the So Called Dead Sea Scrolls,” *JQR* 43 no. 2 (1952): 121–139. In secondary literature Wechsler is occasionally addressed as Doctor or Professor and more often as Mister. Sometimes he is described as a professor and at times as a journalist. According to his own account, he was a “researcher of ancient Israel history” born in Libau, Latvia, in 1889. Wechsler received his higher education in Tübingen and Hamburg and made aliyah to Palestine in 1935. See “Wechsler, Tovia,” in *Who’s Who in Israel, 1966–67* (Tel Aviv: Mamut, 1966), col. 653.

<sup>121</sup>Orlinsky to Sonne, 29 June 1950, MS 513/2343g/Correspondence, 1949–1950.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Sonne to Orlinsky, 4 July 1950 (translated from the Hebrew), MS 513/2343g/Correspondence, 1949–1950.

<sup>124</sup>At the 1953 SBL meeting Orlinsky publicly accused Sonne of stealing ideas in his conference paper from the doctor of Hebrew letters dissertation of one of the College’s graduate students. Orlinsky to Glueck, 6 August 1953, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson, 1950–1971. Sonne only grew more aggravated with Orlinsky when, in 1956, Orlinsky published a critical review of the first volume of the official Dead Sea Scrolls publication. See Orlinsky, “Barthelemy, D., and Milik, J. T., *Discoveries in the Judean Desert; I, Qumran Cave I* (Book Review),” *Jewish Social Studies* 18 (1956): 217. The review angered Sonne enough that he wrote to the editor, Salo Baron, to ask why he did not prevent the publication of the review. See Baron to Sonne, 24 September 1956, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1957. Sonne remained on watch for Orlinsky’s book reviews. When Orlinsky wrote negatively about Kittel’s *Biblia Hebraica* in the *JBL* [“Review of: *The Text of the Old Testament, an Introduction to Kittel-Kahle’s Biblia Hebraica* by Ernst Würthwein and Peter R. Ackroyd,” *JBL* 78, no.2 (1959): 176–178], Sonne was so angered that he wrote a short article reviewing the review (which he called an “unfair and intemperate attack”) and sent it to the former *JBL* editor David Noel Freedman and his successor, Morton Enslin. When Enslin suggested that Sonne write directly to Orlinsky instead, because the journal could not publish replies to its articles and reviews, Sonne replied, “[R]egarding your suggestion to write directly to Dr. Orlinsky, I frankly do not see what purpose it could serve. Do you think Dr. Orlinsky could be persuaded to retract his attack?” See Sonne to Freedman, 22 January 1960; Sonne to Editor (*JBL*); 22 January 1960; Freedman to Sonne, 26 January 1960; Enslin to Sonne, 3 February 1960; and, Sonne to Enslin, 5 February 1956. These are preserved along with a draft of the article in MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1960.

Sonne was much in the habit of writing sharp reviews. As a result of his 1948 review of Cecil Roth’s *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1946), he began what the prominent American Jewish historian Jonathan Sarna has called “one of the great literary exchanges in the history of book reviewing.” [*JPS: The Americanization of Jewish Culture, 1888–1988* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1989), 203]. In the review Sonne critiqued Roth for ascribing the title “the circumciser” to the late ninth or tenth century Italian liturgical poet Menahem Corizzi and challenged him to provide a source for this information. [Sonne, “Review: *The History of the Jews of Italy* by Cecil Roth,” *JQR* 38, no. 4 (1948): 469–472]. Roth replied in a later volume that he had, in fact, taken the information from an Italian language article by Sonne himself! [Roth, “Critical Notes: A Reply to a Reviewer,” *JQR* 39, no. 2 (1948): 217].

<sup>125</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 11 May 1949, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>126</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 9 May 1949, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>127</sup>See John Trever, “A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls,” *BASOR* 113 (1949): 16–17 n. 39.

<sup>128</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 11 May 1949, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971. With regard to Zeitlin’s knowledge of this period’s material, Orlinsky commented to Albright (already in 1945) that he had demonstrated “that he has no equal in the world today in historical perspective of the intertestamental period combined with a first-hand knowledge of the rabbinic material and a reliable knowledge of the hellenistic data. All his critics will pounce upon him ... but the fact always remains that their criticism is scarcely worth a hoot.” Orlinsky to Albright, 25 October 1945, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Albright, W. F.

<sup>129</sup>Orlinsky, "The Masorah," 48.

<sup>130</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 10 February 1949, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Albright, W. F.

<sup>131</sup>Although the discussion here relies heavily on the correspondence with Albright, among Orlinsky's papers are letters discussing the scrolls with Millar Burrows, John Trever, Eugene Ulrich, Michael Klein, Lawrence Schiffman, and many others. See MS 661/Harry Meyer Orlinsky, Sub-series 1: Correspondence. The reliance on Albright has to do with his stature and the extensiveness of the correspondence.

<sup>132</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 9 October 1950, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971. Orlinsky made a similar comment to H.H. Rowley of the University of Manchester: "I am very dubious that the Scrolls are at all Karaitic. I read them with that in mind, and then reread Karaite commentaries on some biblical Books and Karaite polemics against Jewish Orthodoxy. It was my judgment that no connection could be found." Orlinsky to Rowley, 29 September 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/R.

<sup>133</sup>Pinkas Rudolf Weis, "The Date of the Habbakuk Scroll," *JQR* 41, no. 2 (1950): 125–154. Weis suggested that variant spellings and the like found in the scroll resulted from the influence of Arabic.

<sup>134</sup>Harold Henry Rowley (1890–1969) was Weis's colleague as professor of Hebrew at University of Manchester from 1945 until 1959. Beginning in the early 1940s Orlinsky corresponded with Rowley as the editor of the *Journal of Semitic Studies* and as secretary of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament. In August 1950 Rowley informed Orlinsky that Weis had an article in press on the relationship between the scrolls and the Karaites. Rowley to Orlinsky, 18 August 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/R. Orlinsky replied the next month with his doubts about Karaite origins for the scrolls but looked forward to seeing Weis's work (see n. 132 above). Rowley replied that, at least with the Isaiah Scroll, "I am reacting against the pre-Christian date ... though I think the limit of lateness would be about the seventh century A.D." Rowley to Orlinsky, 15 October 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/R. In 1952 Rowley published *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Macmillan), wherein he concluded that certainly the nonbiblical scroll materials predated 131 BCE.

<sup>135</sup>Orlinsky to Rivkin, 8 November 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin. Orlinsky made a near-identical claim to Nelson Glueck earlier that same week: "As I see it now, unless and until someone can prove Weis wrong, a pre-Islamic date can scarcely be assumed for the Scrolls." Orlinsky to Glueck, 3 November 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>136</sup>As late as 1957 Rivkin wrote to Orlinsky asking, "Are you taking any definite stand as yet with respect to the scrolls?" Rivkin to Orlinsky, 18 January 1957, Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin. Concerning Orlinsky's position on the text of the St. Mark's Scroll, S. David Sperling has noted, "It was Orlinsky who demonstrated the textual unreliability of the St. Mark's Isaiah scroll at a time when most scholars were hailing it as an important source of valuable variants to the received Hebrew texts of Isaiah." S. David Sperling, *Students of the Covenant* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 80.

<sup>137</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 19 December 1949, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>138</sup>Albright's only public disagreement with Orlinsky in the matter appeared in his "The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery," *BASOR* 118 (1950): 5–6. On the fact that the Isaiah Scroll would not undermine the value of other early textual witnesses, Albright noted: "In this respect Dr. H.M. Orlinsky ... is certainly correct (though his second example, Is. 43:19, is unhappy...)" (p.6). Orlinsky later wrote to Albright to thank him for his comments: "I am sorry that I cannot agree with your statement that "the textual value of the Scroll" will become increasingly clear. I appreciate very much your fair attitude towards my June *JBL* article ... and I wish most heartily that I could agree with your estimate of the value of the scroll." Orlinsky to Albright, 1 October 1950, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>139</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 3 December 1952, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>140</sup>Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright*, 98–99, n. 72. Orlinsky was well aware of the schism with Albright, and in his correspondence with Nelson Glueck he noted the impact the scrolls debate was having on the relationship: “And yet, with all our disagreements, I believe that Albright and I will yet come to common ground in the evaluation of the scrolls. Certainly I am the happiest person that our relationship is once again as cordial as it had always been.” Orlinsky to Glueck, 9 October 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>141</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 22 November 1953, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 26 February 1954, and Albright to Orlinsky, 22 May 1954, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>144</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 11 June 1954, MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971. In the 1970s Orlinsky was still quite critical of Cross. Describing one of Cross’s students, Orlinsky suggested that he knew he was a Cross student because he was “subservient and uncritical (to Cross) ... [and] that he is superficial and knows little about methodology.” Orlinsky to Wacholder, 30 June 1973, MS 661/15/32, Wacholder, Ben Zion. By the 1990s Orlinsky’s position on Cross had softened rather significantly. In 1990 Orlinsky reported that when he was working on translating the Revised Standard Version of the book of Samuel in the mid-1970s, Cross gave him access to his unpublished allotment of Dead Sea Samuel texts. Cross’s act received acknowledgement in the RSV (note to 1 Sam. 1:23), and Orlinsky commented that he wanted to repeat the story because people were largely unaware of Cross’s graciousness in this matter. Harry Orlinsky, “Closing Remarks,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990*, ed. Avraham Biran and Joseph Aviram (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 411.

<sup>145</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 20 April 1951; Orlinsky to Albright, 21 April 1951; MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>146</sup>Albright to Orlinsky, 12 May 1951; Albright to Orlinsky, 11 June 1954; MS 661/1/11, Albright, William F., 1941–1971.

<sup>147</sup>See Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright*, 98–99.

<sup>148</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 12 April 1953, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson, 1950–1974. John Bright, also an Albright student, came out in support of Orlinsky’s view: “While I am no specialist in textual criticism, as you know, I think that your general verdict on DSIa is correct. May it prevail.” Bright to Orlinsky, 27 February 1957, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/B.

<sup>149</sup>“The New Scrolls from the Judaean Desert (Heb.)” *Reshit* 1, no.3 (1950): 3–4, 6–8. Throughout his career Orlinsky took the opportunity to share scroll scholarship with the lay public. Often his synagogue or Jewish Community Center talks included the scrolls, and he was often interviewed for newspaper articles. In 1956, he gave a long interview for broadcast in early 1957 on the BBC, which was rebroadcast by the University of Wisconsin Radio. Orlinsky to Bridson, 25 April 1957, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/B. The text of the interview is included in this same file. Much of the discussion points to the importance of the Masoretic text and the integrity of its transmission: “Most of the Dead Sea Scroll fragments by far, even though they be a thousand years older than the oldest dated manuscript of the Hebrew Bible known to us ... are inferior in their text to our traditional text; they were received and copied and transmitted by far less careful and learned and interested scribes.”

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.*, 5–6.

<sup>151</sup>Gordon to Orlinsky, 3 March 1959, MS 661/6/22, Gordon, Cyrus, 1940–1959, 1981–1990. Orlinsky added his own note to the margin of the letter, indicating that he wanted the title of the course changed to “The Masoretic Text of the Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

<sup>152</sup>Orlinsky to Brickman, 18 June 1957, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/B.

<sup>153</sup>What follows summarizes the story as recounted by Orlinsky in Harry Orlinsky, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green,” in his *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 245–256.

<sup>154</sup>Orlinsky knew the volume well, having sat on the publication committee of ASOR, which approved the publication, and having carried on a long correspondence with Burrows concerning it and especially the Isaiah Scroll. E.g., Burrows to Orlinsky, 9 January 1950; and Orlinsky to Burrows, 13 January 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/B.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., 255.

<sup>156</sup>Orlinsky to Belliveau, 25 June 1956, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/B.

<sup>157</sup>A copy of the statement is transcribed in Orlinsky, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green," 255.

<sup>158</sup>"Israel Acquires Ancient Scrolls," *The New York Times* (14 February 1955): 21.

<sup>159</sup>Orlinsky to Albright, 15 June 1954, and Albright to Orlinsky, 23 June 1954, MS 661, Harry Meyer Orlinsky Papers/1/11, Albright, William.

<sup>160</sup>In the article Orlinsky specifically attacked the carbon 14 dating of the scrolls, which had actually been done on fabric coverings and not the scrolls themselves. In 1957 the issue was brought up again in correspondence with Ellis Rivkin. Additionally, in 1956–1957, the topic of carbon 14 dating had been in the news as a result of an article in *The New York Times* that argued that the magnetic force of the Earth had diminished over time, thus throwing off carbon 14 dating by up to two hundred years. See John Hillaby, "Earth As Magnet Said to Weaken," *The New York Times* (26 December 1956): 24. Ellis Rivkin drew Orlinsky's attention to the issue. Rivkin to Orlinsky, 18 January 1957, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/ Ellis Rivkin.

Sonne was displeased with the published interview and what he perceived as an attack by Orlinsky on the scrolls. When Millar Burrows wrote to the magazine in response to the article laying out why he believed the scrolls were important and significant ancient documents [*American Judaism* 5, no.3 (1956): 2], Sonne wrote to Burrows to thank him for taking a stand against Orlinsky's "presumptuous statements regarding the Dead Sea Scrolls." Sonne to Burrows, 29 January 1956, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1956.

<sup>161</sup>Edith Brodsky, "The Case of the 7 Dead Sea Scrolls," *American Judaism* 5, no.2 (1955): 16.

<sup>162</sup>For Yadin's description of the events surrounding the purchase, see his *The Message of the Scrolls*, 39–52. The archbishop provides his version of the events in *Treasure of Qumran*, 197–201.

<sup>163</sup>See n. 153 above.

<sup>164</sup>Rabbi Richard F. Steinbrink, New York class of 1961, recalled Orlinsky telling his class the story. Email communication, 16 May 2008. Rabbi Professor Marc Saperstein recalls being told the story in 1968. Email communication, 8 June 2008.

<sup>165</sup>"Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls is Leitmotif of New York University Scroll Conference," *BAR* 11, no.6 (Sept./Oct. 1985): 4.

<sup>166</sup>Harman to Orlinsky, 7 September 1981, MS 661/1/10, Harman, Avraham, 1982–1989.

<sup>167</sup>*BAR* 18, no.4 (July/Aug. 1992): 26–29.

<sup>168</sup>A copy of the invitation is preserved in Harry M. Orlinsky—Near Print Biography. Orlinsky coordinated a similar event as president of the American Academy of Jewish Research. On 22 October 1980 the academy hosted a seminar on "The Temple Scroll and Halachah," which also included Ben Zion Wacholder, Joseph Baumgarten, and Baruch Levine. Orlinsky to Wacholder, 23 July 1980, MS 661/15/32, Wacholder, Ben Zion.

<sup>169</sup>By 1990 a number of voices were raised against the Essene hypothesis. See, for example, Lawrence Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *Biblical Archaeologist* (BA) 53 no. 2 (1990): 64–73.

<sup>170</sup>Orlinsky, "Closing Remarks," 411–415.

<sup>171</sup>Orlinsky to Wacholder, 18 December 1989, MS 661/15/32, Wacholder, Ben Zion.

<sup>172</sup>"Abraham in Normative and Hellenistic Traditions," doctoral dissertation (Yale University, 1949).

<sup>173</sup>Samuel Sandmel, "Judaism, Jesus and Paul: Some Problems of Method in Scholarly Research," in *Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities* Volume 1, ed. Richmond C. Beatty, J. Philip Hyatt, and Monroe K. Spears (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1951), 220–250.

<sup>174</sup>Professor Norman Golb indicated in a conversation on 25 May 2008 that when he arrived at the College as a new faculty member in 1958 no courses on the scrolls were offered, and he volunteered to fill the lacuna.

<sup>175</sup>For Sandmel's declaration of the antiquity of the scrolls see, for example, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1956), 201, and "The Jewish Scholar and Early Christianity" (1967), reprinted in his *Two Living Traditions* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1972), 17.

<sup>176</sup>In more sober terms he published a similar idea the same year: "The Dead Sea Scrolls serve conspicuously in undermining the limitations on, and the uncertainties in, our knowledge [of first century Judaism]; they do not materially increase our specific knowledge, but only offer some corroboration of what was already known." Samuel Sandmel, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1957), 201.

<sup>177</sup>"Dead Sea Scrolls: Sharp Divergences in Scholarly Views," *The Montreal Star* (9 February 1956): 12; and, Douglas J. Wilson, "Biblical Study Intensified: Debate Goes on About the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Montreal Star* (11 February 1956): 10.

<sup>178</sup>"Dead Sea Scrolls Held Overvalued," *The New York Times* (6 February 1956): 25. The same article was reprinted in the Canadian national press as, "Caution Urged by Theologians," *The Globe and Mail* (7 February 1956): 10. Sandmel was not the only HUC-JIR faculty member to publicly criticize Wilson. In reviewing Wilson's book, Harry Orlinsky noted, "If you want to know the whole truth about how, when, where and by whom the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, Wilson's Chapter I . . . is not recommended; it is incomplete and misleading in several important matters. If you want to know what Jewish group, or groups, wrote these scrolls, you had better not rely on what he has to say in his chapter II." He continues chapter by chapter, liking only chapter III on the monastery at Qumran "because Wilson knows how to describe men and things and nature." Harry Orlinsky, "Author Wilson Played the Role of Advocate," *In Jewish Bookland* (May 1956): 2.

<sup>179</sup>Edmond Wilson, "A Reporter at Large: The Scrolls from the Dead Sea," *The New Yorker* 31, no.13 (14 May 1955): 45–121.

<sup>180</sup>Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

<sup>181</sup>Lawrence Schiffman, "Inverting Reality: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Popular Media," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 12, no.1 (2005): 27. On the volumes' reception by scholars see Shalom Goldman, "A Long Affair: Edmund Wilson on Judaism, the Hebrew Language, and the American Jewish Community," *Modern Judaism* 12, no.2 (2001): 119–120.

<sup>182</sup>On 6 February 1956, references appeared in *The Des Moines Tribune*, *The Baltimore Sun*, *The New York Times*, and *The Rochester Times Union*. In the days following they were reported in *The Springfield Ohio News*, *The Omaha Morning World-Herald*, *The Two-Rivers Wisconsin Reporter*, Canada's *Globe and Mail*, *The Worcester Massachusetts Gazette*, *The Flint, Michigan Journal*, *The Montreal Jewish Chronicle*, Cincinnati's *The American Israelite*, Philadelphia's *Jewish Exponent*, and Baltimore's *The Jewish Times*.

<sup>183</sup>John Hillaby, "Christian Bases Seen in Scrolls," *The New York Times* (5 February 1956): 2.

<sup>184</sup>On McGill's purchase see Jason Kalman and Jaqueline Du Toit, *Canada's Big Biblical Bargain: A History of McGill University's Purchase of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (forthcoming).

<sup>185</sup>Until recently the only preserved copy of the lecture was found in the library of Christ the King Seminary in East Aurora, New York. I am grateful to the seminary for making a copy of the lecture available to me.

<sup>186</sup>"The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," 2.

<sup>187</sup>*Ibid.*, 2–3.

<sup>188</sup>André Dupont-Sommer (1900–1983) was a French scholar who greatly influenced Wilson. Dupont-Sommer argued that the unidentified “Teacher of Righteousness” in the scrolls prefigured Jesus in that, as a result of his teachings, he was put to death by the Romans, and his followers—in fact, his church—awaited his return. See his *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

<sup>189</sup>Stanley Edgar Hyman, “Reviewed works: *The Dead Sea Scrolls* by Millar Burrows, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* by Edmund Wilson,” *Journal of American Folklore* 69 (Oct.–Dec., 1956): 406–409. Quote on 409.

<sup>190</sup>John Haverstick, “The Battle of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Saturday Review* (3 March 1956): 28–29. Quotation on 29.

<sup>191</sup>Sandmel to Cousins, 2 March 1956, MS 101, Samuel Sandmel/1/1, A-K, General. Cf., Sandmel’s letter to the editor and Haverstick’s correction, *Saturday Review* (31 March 1956): 25. In the letter Sandmel made clear that while he disagreed with Dupont-Sommer, he respected him as a serious scholar who published his works in a scholarly forum where they could be legitimately debated by his peers. He also lauded Millar Burrows: “The lay person may find it more difficult to read Burrows’s book than Wilson. But then let him know that the choice is between authenticity and romance.” In an unpublished essay, Sandmel also showed appreciation for Theodore Gaster’s work on the scrolls, noting that, “Broad and acute scholarship distinguish it from many other writings in the field, and Dr. Gaster writes with a grace that Edmund Wilson might well envy.” Samuel Sandmel, “Theodore H. Gaster’s *The Dead Sea Scrolls*” preserved in, MS 101, Samuel Sandmel/15/6, Draft Articles.

<sup>192</sup>In this Sandmel followed his doctoral supervisor, Erwin Goodenough, who noted that by definition two parallel lines could never meet. For discussion see, Joseph Fitzmyer, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 101.

<sup>193</sup>Samuel Sandmel, “Parallelomania,” reprinted in his *Two Living Traditions*, 295.

<sup>194</sup>John Wicklein, “Scrolls Doubted as Link to Jesus: Biblical Scholar says They Represent an Exaggeration,” *The New York Times* (31 December 1961): 17.

<sup>195</sup>*Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>196</sup>Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 13 volumes (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1953–1965).

<sup>197</sup>Samuel Sandmel, “Reviewed work: *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Volume Four: The Problem of Method; Symbols from Jewish Cult; Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Volumes Five and Six: Fish, Bread, and Wine* by Erwin R. Goodenough,” *JBL* 77, no.4 (1958): 380. In volume nine, on the artwork in the ancient synagogue at Dura-Europus, Goodenough adopted Sandmel’s view of the relationship between his work and the scrolls, noting, for example, “The synagogue had quite as radical implications for our knowledge of Judaism as the Dead Sea Scrolls, if not far deeper; but whereas hundreds of people were prepared to read the Scrolls, no one alive knew how to read the language of the murals.” Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, Volume Nine: Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), 4.

<sup>198</sup>Samuel Sandmel, “Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough: An Appreciation,” in *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 3.

<sup>199</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>200</sup>Sandmel likewise called the scrolls a fad in *The Genius of Paul* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1958), 227.

<sup>201</sup>Samuel Sandmel, “Jesus in World History (1966)” reprinted in his *Two Living Traditions*, 188.

<sup>202</sup>Seven of the twenty-four essays by Sandmel written between 1956 and 1967 and included in his *Two Living Traditions* include passages downplaying the importance of the scrolls.

<sup>203</sup>“Parallelomania” reprinted in *Two Living Traditions*, 303.

<sup>204</sup>New York: Farrar, Straus, Cudahy, 1958; and reprinted New York: Schocken, 1970.

<sup>205</sup>Wayne G. Rollins, “Reviewed work: *The Genius of Paul: A Study in History* by Samuel Sandmel,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion (JAAR)* 39, no.3 (1971): 388.

<sup>206</sup>Raymond E. Brown, “Reviewed work: *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity: Certainties and Uncertainties* by Samuel Sandmel,” *JAAR* 39, no.2 (1971): 235.

<sup>207</sup>Samuel Sandmel, *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 82.

<sup>208</sup>*Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>209</sup>*Ibid.*, 84–85.

<sup>210</sup>Sandmel’s unpublished lecture, “Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity: The Question of the Comfortable Theory,” takes issue with Albright’s “Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John,” in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, ed. W.D. Davies and David Daube (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 153–171. The lecture is found in MS 101/15/6, Draft Articles.

<sup>211</sup>According to James Sanders, whose HUC-JIR dissertation, “Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-Biblical Judaism,” (HUC-JIR, 1954), was written under the supervision of Sandmel and Sheldon Blank, Sandmel never discussed the scrolls in class or in private consultation with him. Further, Sanders excluded analysis of the scrolls from his dissertation, although he continued to study them on his own for the sake of his scholarly career. Sanders had previously studied the scrolls with J. Philip Hyatt at Vanderbilt University and André Dupont-Sommer at the École des Hautes Études. In conjunction with the work he did with Sonne, these studies prepared him to continue to work on the scrolls independently. Email communications from James Sanders, 14 May 2008 and 28 August 2008.

<sup>212</sup>Ellis Rivkin, “Leon da Modena,” doctoral dissertation (Johns Hopkins University, 1946).

<sup>213</sup>For a biography of Rivkin, see Francis Barry Silberg, “Aspects of the Life and Work of Ellis Rivkin: An Intellectual Biography with Annotated Bibliography,” doctoral dissertation (University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, 2004).

<sup>214</sup>Daniel A. Weiner, “The Dead Sea Scrolls as Historical Sources: The Zeitlin Critique and His Critics,” rabbinic thesis (HUC-JIR, 1991), 177–178. Weiner has since concluded that the scrolls are ancient:

The Dead Sea Scrolls “give us firsthand insights into the [era] that produced Christianity and the Judaism we know today,” said Rabbi Daniel Weiner of Temple De Hirsch Sinai in Seattle and Bellevue. “It provides a grounding for our faith.... For Jews to have literally texts that are not only ancient in their content but in terms of their existence is extremely meaningful to a people who bind themselves to God through text.”

Janet I. Tu, “A Rare Window into Biblical Times,” *The Seattle Times* (17 September 2006): B1.

<sup>215</sup>Orlinsky taught Rivkin at Baltimore Hebrew College in the mid-1930s. From there a friendship and mentorship developed, as is shown by dozens of letters about research and family that Orlinsky—whom Rivkin always addressed as “Doc”—preserved. Rivkin’s unfortunately unpublished monograph on Zeitlin (discussed below) was begun with the encouragement of Orlinsky, who wanted it for inclusion in the SBL’s centenary publication series. Although Silberg notes their relationship, he does not give adequate attention to Orlinsky’s influence on Rivkin or, for that matter, Rivkin’s reliance on Orlinsky. See Silberg, 23.

<sup>216</sup>In a subsequent letter to Orlinsky, Rivkin described Trevor rather unflatteringly:

What did you think of Zeitlin’s latest article on the scrolls? It seems to me that he had many excellent points among which was the evidence that the various peculiar spellings can be duplicated in later manuscripts. When I spoke to Albright he was convinced as ever that there could be only one answer to the problem. What annoyed me immensely was the way in which he elevated Trevor [*sic*]—a complete am ha-aretz if there ever was one into an authority not only on paleography but on comparisons of manuscripts. How anyone so ignorant could dare right [*sic*] the article that he wrote in the last issue of the Quarterly is hard to imagine.

Rivkin to Orlinsky, 17 October 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin.

<sup>217</sup>Rivkin to Orlinsky, 30 November 1949, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin.

<sup>218</sup>In 1957 he noted to Orlinsky that he was “becoming more and more convinced of the strength of Zeitlin’s case.” Rivkin to Orlinsky, 18 January 1957, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin.

<sup>219</sup>Orlinsky to Rivkin, 8 November 1950, Harry Orlinsky, HUC-JIR, Unprocessed Material/Ellis Rivkin.

<sup>220</sup>Phone conversation with Ellis Rivkin, 3 June 2008.

<sup>221</sup>Ellis Rivkin, “Solomon Zeitlin’s Contribution to the Historiography of the Inter-Testamental Period (Review-Essay),” *Judaism* 14, no.3 (1965): 354–365. Quote on 360.

<sup>222</sup>See Weiner, “The Dead Sea Scrolls as Historical Sources,” 156–157.

<sup>223</sup>From Rivkin’s unpublished intellectual biography of Solomon Zeitlin, 123. I am grateful to Professor Rivkin for permitting me to read the manuscript.

<sup>224</sup>Shaye J. D. Cohen, “Reviewed work: *A Hidden Revolution* by Ellis Rivkin,” *JBL* 99, no.4 (1980): 627–629. Quote on 628.

<sup>225</sup>Robert M. Seltzer and Jack Bemporad, “Ellis Rivkin on Judaism and the Rise of Christianity,” *CCAR Journal* 43, no.3 (1996): 1–16. Quote on 4.

<sup>226</sup>Bailey’s defense of Rivkin’s method is understandable in light of his being Rivkin’s student while earning his doctorate at HUC-JIR in the 1960s. In his doctoral dissertation he credits Rivkin, who “completely revolutionized my thinking with respect to the Documentary Hypothesis, and several of his ideas have been utilized in the study.” Lloyd Richard Bailey, “The God of the Fathers,” doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1967), iii.

<sup>227</sup>Lloyd Bailey, “The Pharisees,” in *The Historiographic Method of Ellis Rivkin: Structural Analysis*, ed. Allen Podet (Potsdam: Abraham Geiger College Press, 2002), 53–58. Quote on 55.

<sup>228</sup>Rivkin, unpublished intellectual history of Solomon Zeitlin, 130.

<sup>229</sup>Although Rivkin attempts in the monograph to avoid dating the scrolls, trying to simply highlight the methodological issues Zeitlin raised, he certainly works hard to demonstrate that Zeitlin convincingly argued that they could not be intertestamental. First, he notes that Zeitlin proved that the line-by-line commentaries found in the pesharim are atypical of the period and only appeared for the first time among the Karaites. Second, technical terms such as “Teacher of Righteousness” are only found outside the scrolls in Karaite writings. Third, certain terms used to designate the scroll community appear nowhere else in the extant Second Temple writings. Fourth, during the Second Temple period there were no messianic ascetic communities. Fifth, Zeitlin demonstrated that various orthographic and scribal practices in the scrolls were not attested before the Karaites. Sixth, Zeitlin proved that Josephus’s Essenes and the Qumran community could not be the same, as they disagreed on fundamental beliefs such as immortality of the soul. As Rivkin notes, “These facts—and facts they are—are vital for Dead Sea Scroll studies.” Rivkin, unpublished intellectual biography of Zeitlin, 129. Rivkin’s point-by-point summary of Zeitlin’s conclusions is found on 128–129.

<sup>230</sup>Ibid.

<sup>231</sup>According to Rivkin’s biographer, Francis Barry Silberg, “Sandmel questioned Rivkin’s confidence in Ben Sira as a control text, doubted his synagogue hypothesis, and dismissed in a footnote the weight Rivkin assigned to Paul’s self-affirmation in Philippians and his reference to *paradosis* in Galatians.” Silberg, “Aspects of the Life,” 77.

<sup>232</sup>The language that the two use in describing this problem is so similar it is difficult to imagine they did not discuss the issue. Sandmel wrote, for example, “Several years ago I wrote that to identify the Qumran community with the Essenes is to explain one unknown by another...”

Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," 299. Rivkin wrote, "[A] principle that affirms that since unknown can only be made known by the known, the first order of scholarly business is to compare the unknown with the known." Unpublished intellectual history of Solomon Zeitlin, 130.

<sup>233</sup>Phone conversation with Ellis Rivkin, 3 June 2008. James Sanders, who studied with Rivkin in the early 1950s, recalled that Rivkin "never mentioned the Scrolls except to ridicule them as of any importance to Ancient Judaism. It was to me rather irritating that he wouldn't even engage them in any way." Email correspondence from James Sanders, 28 August 2008.

<sup>234</sup>See "Students of Philology," *The New York Times* (28 December 1894): 10; "Society of Biblical Literature," *The New York Times* (15 June 1895): 9; and, "Society Split Over Babylonian Tablets," *The New York Times* (27 November 1910): 5.

<sup>235</sup>See "Experts Dispute Age of Bible Documents," *The New York Times* (30 December 1949): 4; "Theologian Warns of Pressure Groups," *The New York Times* (29 December 1955): 26; "Scholars Dispute Scrolls' Validity," *The New York Times* (28 December 1956): 14; Farnsworth Fowle, "Recent Discoveries Of Biblical Texts Hailed by Scholars," *The New York Times* (30 December 1958): 37; John Wicklein, "Scrolls Doubted as Link to Jesus," *The New York Times* (31 December 1961): 17; and, Peter Steinfels, "Dead Sea Scrolls Free of Last Curb," *The New York Times* (27 November 1991): A22.

<sup>236</sup>Orlinsky did not speak on the Dead Sea Scrolls but gave a paper titled, "Diviner vs. Prophet in Ancient Israel." See "Proceedings, December 29–31, 1958," *JBL* 78, no.1 (1959): iv.

<sup>237</sup>Glueck to Albright, 4 November 1968, MS 20/A1a-156/3, Albright, Wm.

<sup>238</sup>Nelson Glueck, "New Light on the Dim Past," *The New York Times* (20 November 1955): BR54–BR55.

<sup>239</sup>*Ibid.*, BR54.

<sup>240</sup>*Ibid.*, BR55.

<sup>241</sup>"Unearthing the Past: A Decade of Discoveries," *Time Magazine* (13 December 1963): 50–60. Quote on 60.

<sup>242</sup>Glueck, "New Light," BR54.

<sup>243</sup>Nelson Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert: A History of the Negev* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1959), 31.

<sup>244</sup>Nelson Glueck, "Out of Yesterday, A Symbol for Today," *The New York Times* (11 May 1958): BR6.

<sup>245</sup>Brown and Kutler, *Nelson Glueck*, 130–131.

<sup>246</sup>Samuel Johnson Woolf, "To Teach 'Not Science, but Eternal Laws,'" *The New York Times* (7 March 1948): SM15.

<sup>247</sup>Orlinsky to Sonne, 21 December 1955, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1955; and Orlinsky to Blank, Lewy, and Sandmel, 27 January 1956; MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1956. The list is preserved in MS 20/Aia-53/4, O, General.

<sup>248</sup>Sonne was pushed into retirement at the end of the 1955–1956 school year, which may explain his decision not to participate in organizing a conference for 1957. It is also plausible that Sonne preferred not to work with Orlinsky in matters relating to the scrolls in light of their previous relationship.

<sup>249</sup>Press release, "Reform Rabbinic School Schedules International Scholarly Symposium on Dead Sea Scrolls," 10 November 1955, MS 20/A1a-45/3, O, General.

<sup>250</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup>Orlinsky to Blank, Lewy, and Sandmel, 27 January 1956; MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1956.

<sup>252</sup>Sonne to Orlinsky, 2 February 1956, MS 513/2343h/Correspondence, 1956.

<sup>253</sup>Dinur to Orlinsky, 19 February 1956, MS 20/A1a-45/3, O, General. See also Orlinsky to Glueck, 25 September 1956, and Glueck to Dinur, 30 March 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>254</sup>The papers from the session are published in *Scripta Hierosolymitana Volume IV: Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958).

<sup>255</sup>Dinur to Orlinsky, 19 February 1956, MS 20/A1a-45/3, O, General. Orlinsky to Glueck, 25 September 1956, and Glueck to Dinur, 30 March 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>256</sup>See Norman Golb, "The Second World Congress of Jewish Studies," *Judaism* 7, no.1 (1958): 30–36.

<sup>257</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 25 September 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>258</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 25 September 1956, and Glueck to Van Dusen, 18 December 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>259</sup>Albright to Glueck, undated response to letter of 11 April 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>260</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 20 April 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>261</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 20 April, 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.; and, Orlinsky to Glueck, 2 May 1956, MS 20/Aia-45/3, O, General.

<sup>262</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 2 May 1956, MS 20/Aia-45/3, O, General.

<sup>263</sup>Glueck to Albright, 25 April 1956, MS 20/A1a-41/7, Albright, Wm.

<sup>264</sup>Albright to Glueck, 30 April 1956, MS 20/A1a-41/7, Albright, Wm.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid.

<sup>266</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 10 May 1956, MS 20/Aia-45/3, O, General.

<sup>267</sup>Glueck to Orlinsky, 14 May 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>268</sup>Orlinsky to Glueck, 3 October 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson. His pushing does not appear to have created any particular ill will. In July 1956 Dinur invited Glueck to chair the closing session of the congress, which would be used as an opportunity to sum up deliberations from the sessions. Dinur to Glueck, 21 July 1956, MS 20/Aia-50/1, D, General. Glueck accepted the invitation. (See Ostrov to Dinur, 17 August 1956, and Glueck to Dinur, 17 September 1956, MS 20/Aia-50/1, D, General.) Golb describes Glueck's participation in the congress, "Second World Congress," 32.

<sup>269</sup>Glueck to Van Dusen, 18 December 1956, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>270</sup>Albright highlighted this conflict in his response to Glueck having informed him of the conference's indefinite deferral: "I think it very wise to defer the Dead Sea Scroll conference for next September. The direct conflict between it and the Munich Congress of Orientalists, which you did not mention, should be alone enough to make the postponement necessary." Albright to Glueck, 4 February 1956, MS 20/Aia-47/9, Albright, Wm.

<sup>271</sup>Glueck to Van Dusen, 1 February 1957, MS 661/6/14, Glueck, Nelson.

<sup>272</sup>See Solomon Zeitlin, "Critical Notes: The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fantasies and Mistranslations," *JQR* 48, no.1 (1957): 71–85; see especially 75–76; and Edward Y. Kutscher, "Dating the Language of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 76, no.4 (1957): 288–292; see especially 288.

<sup>273</sup>By December 1956 Orlinsky had already prepared the full program. He planned to have Yigael Yadin and William Albright speak on the discovery, recovery, and archaeology of the scrolls; Patrick Skehan, James Muilenberg, Harry Orlinsky, H.L. Ginsburg, and Frank Cross to speak on the scrolls and the Hebrew Bible. On the scrolls and the Second Jewish Commonwealth he hoped to have Samuel Sandmel, Isaiah Sonne, Saul Lieberman, Solomon Zeitlin, Isaac Rabinowitz, Millar Burrows, and Joseph Baumgarten. Millar Burrows, William Brownlee, Frank Cross, H.H. Rowley, André Dupont-Sommer, Oscar Cullman, and Morton Enslin were to be invited to speak on the scrolls and the New Testament. On the scrolls and linguistics he hoped Isaac Rabinowitz, Ezekiel Kutscher, H.L. Ginsburg, Henoah Yalon, and G.R. Driver might speak.

On the scrolls and later Christianity he wanted Paul Kahle, Jozef Milik, and Leonhard Rost; on the scrolls and Jewish history he hoped to have Pinkas Weis, Joseph Baumgarten, and Leon Nemoy. Orlinsky also wanted to encourage the active participation of Dominique Barthelemy, Roland de Vaux, G. Lankester Harding, A.M. Habermann, Solomon Birnbaum, John Allegro, Erwin Goodenough, Otto Eissfeldt, David Noel Freedman, and Jacob Licht. See “Symposium, Dead Sea Scroll, September 17, 1957,” 12 December 1956, MS 20/Aia-53/4, O, General.

<sup>274</sup>Harry Orlinsky, undated manuscript, MS 661/4/18, Dead Sea Scrolls Intro. Orlinsky reminisced about the seminar (including repeating his joke about covering everything from A to Z) in his closing remarks at the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology held in Jerusalem during the summer of 1990. Orlinsky, “Closing Remarks,” 412.

<sup>275</sup>Glueck did manage to attract some publicity for the College when he arranged two speaking events for Yigael Yadin in New York and Cincinnati in November 1956. Yadin had recently made known the contents of the Genesis Apocryphon, and in New York on 29 November and Cincinnati on 30 November, he gave lectures titled, “Tales of Genesis: An Illustrated Lecture on the Newly-Deciphered Dead Sea Scroll.” The invitations are preserved in Near Print–Yigael Yadin. A photo of the meeting between Yadin and Glueck in Cincinnati appears on the cover of this volume. The lectures came out of a discussion between Glueck and Yadin that September. Yadin was disappointed that they had not been able to see each other in either Tel Aviv or at his Hazor excavation while Glueck was in Israel, and he informed Glueck that he would be in New York in November and December. Yadin to Glueck, 6 September 1956, MS 20/A1a-155/10, XY, General.

<sup>276</sup>Samuel Sandmel, “Theodore H. Gaster’s *The Dead Sea Scrolls*,” unpublished manuscript, preserved in MS 101/15/6, Draft Articles. Here Sandmel appears to be referring to John Allegro. Allegro, a member of the team assigned to edit the scrolls found in later caves, particularly Cave 4, broadcast on the BBC in January 1956 his conclusion that the scrolls discussed a crucified leader of the sect similar to, or perhaps inspiring, the story of Jesus and his crucifixion. The other team members were dismayed by his having shared this news based on manuscripts no one else had seen or evaluated. Allegro’s comments and the editorial team’s response were carried in the international press. For discussion of the events see Judith Anne Brown, *John Marco Allegro: The Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 76–97. Allegro’s conclusions were discussed in *The New York Times* just a few days before Sandmel gave his lecture in Montreal (See above).

<sup>277</sup>Phone conversation with Norman Golb, 25 May 2008.

<sup>278</sup>*JQR* 47, no.4 (1957): 354–374.

<sup>279</sup>*JJS* 8 (1957): 51–69.

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid.*, 374.

<sup>281</sup>Glueck informed Golb of his employment on 21 February 1958. The board appointed him officially in late May or early June. See Glueck to Golb, 4 June 1958, MS 20/Aia-59/2, G, General.

<sup>282</sup>Phone conversation with Norman Golb, 25 May 2008.

<sup>283</sup>The course catalogue was for the two academic years, and there is no clear indication of when the course was actually offered. In conversation, Golb was relatively certain that he actually taught the course in 1959–1960.

<sup>284</sup>Conversation with Norman Golb, 25 May 2008.

<sup>285</sup>A copy of the proposal is found in MS 20/Aia-67/5, G, General.

<sup>286</sup>Glueck, reference letter regarding Dr. Norman Golb, 1 May 1959, MS 20/Aia-67/5, G, General.

<sup>287</sup>Golb provided a summary of his activities and his research in England during the Summer of 1959 in “Grant No. 2574 (1959), \$1,200. Relationship of Qumran sectarianism to that of later Jewish sects,” *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society* (1960): 488–491.

<sup>288</sup>The conference presentations included: “The Qumran Sectarians, the ‘Maghāriya,’ and the Qaraites,” at the 1958 SBL Meeting [see “Proceedings, December 29–31, 1958,” *JBL* 78, no.1 (1959): v.]; “The Redactions of the Damascus Covenant and Their Importance for the Problem of the Sect’s Migration to Damascus,” at the 1959 SBL Meeting [see “Proceedings December 29–31, 1959,” *JBL* 79, no.1 (1960): iv]; “The Cairo Genizah and its Bearing on the Qumran Problem,” at the 1960 Midwest Branch of the AOS Meeting [see “Proceedings of the Middle West Branch American Oriental Society April 22–23, 1960,” *JAOS* 80, no.3 (1960): 296]; and, “Who Were the Maghāriya,” at the 1960 AOS Meeting [see “Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, Meeting at New Haven, Connecticut, 1960,” *JAOS* 80, no.3 (1960): 285]. The articles included: “Who Were the Magariya?” *JAOS* 80, no.4 (1960): 347–359; “The Qumran Covenanters and the Later Jewish Sects,” *Journal of Religion* 4, no.1 (1961): 38–50.

<sup>289</sup>“Dead Sea Scrolls Subject of Talk,” *The Montreal Star* (7 February 1961): 13.

<sup>290</sup>Phone conversation with Norman Golb, 25 May 2008. For Rivkin’s response to this “insult,” see Silberg, “Aspects of the Life,” 78–79.

<sup>291</sup>In conversation, Golb recalled that the rabbinical students were rather docile about the scrolls. However, they had very limited contact with the material.

<sup>292</sup>Golb to Glueck, 18 February 1963, File: Golb, Norman—Correspondence, SC-3986.

<sup>293</sup>Conversation with Norman Golb, 25 May 2008.

<sup>294</sup>On the history of the Shrine of the Book see Adolfo D. Roitman, “Shrine of the Book,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence Schiffman and James VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 874–875.

<sup>295</sup>He discusses his effort in John Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 1–76.

<sup>296</sup>On the photographic work of the Bieberkrauts see Magen Broshi, “The Negatives Archive of the Shrine of the Book,” in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Stephen Pfann (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 135–136.

<sup>297</sup>On Albina’s efforts see Frank Moore Cross, “On the History of the Photography” and John Strugnell, “On the History of Photographing the Discoveries in the Judean Desert for the International Team,” in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, ed. Emanuel Tov and Stephen Pfann, 121–122 and 123–134, respectively.

<sup>298</sup>Harman (1915–1992) served as university president from 1968 until 1983, and later as chancellor.

<sup>299</sup>The volume in Albright’s honor is *Eretz-Israel 9: W.F. Albright Volume*, ed. Abraham Malamat (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969).

<sup>300</sup>Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek discussed publicly the difficulty of translating the Hebrew title when the award was presented to Albright. See James Feron, “Jerusalem Hails U.S. Archaeologist: Names Albright a ‘Worthy’ for Long Scholarship,” *The New York Times* (24 March 1969): 11.

<sup>301</sup>Glueck’s Jerusalem Diary, 30, MS 20/A1a-149/10, Diary, Jerusalem.

<sup>302</sup>Meeting of the Board of Governors, 90, 5 June 1969, MS 20/B1/13, 1969–1970.

<sup>303</sup>Harman to Glueck, 14 April 1969, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>304</sup>Harman to Glueck, 14 April 1969, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>305</sup>Glueck to Harman, 2 May 1969, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>306</sup>Glueck to Sang, 28 April 1969, MS 20/A1a-154/1, S, General. Sang (1902–1975) was president of Goldenrod Ice Cream Co. of Chicago. He collected rare manuscripts of Americana and Judaica Americana, as well as art and jazz memorabilia. He was also a board member of the Jewish Publication Society. A long-term friendship between Sang and Glueck is attested by the materials collected in the AJA, Cincinnati. See Sang, Philip D., Nearprint Box—Biographies. Sang’s donations to HUC began in 1946 and continued until his death. He particularly supported the building program of the Jerusalem campus and early efforts to introduce the students to computers and the “computerization” of rabbinic texts. Martin Holstein to Jacob Rader Marcus,

20 June 1972, Sang, Philip D., Nearprint Box—Biographies. For his financial support and service to the College, HUC-JIR awarded Sang a doctor of humane letters, honoris causa, in 1973. A biography can be found in Clyde C. Walton, "Philip David Sang, 1902–1975," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 68, no.5 (1975): 429–434.

<sup>307</sup>Sang is referred to as chairman in several of the reports to the committee preserved in MS 20/G-1/ Reports of the Libraries, 1944–1991.

<sup>308</sup>Glueck to Sang, 14 May 1969, MS 20/A1a-154/1, S, General. In June, Harman wrote to Glueck explaining that the \$10,000 would cover the entire cost of making the two thousand negatives of the scrolls and fragments, duplicate copies of the negatives and several sets of positives. As such, HUC-JIR was funding the entire project. Harman to Glueck, 18 June 1969, MS 20/A1a-151/3, H, General.

<sup>309</sup>Glueck to Harman, 15 May 1969, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>310</sup>Glueck to Sang, 28 April 1969, MS 20/A1a-154/1, S, General.

<sup>311</sup>Glueck to Sang, 14 May 1969, MS 20/A1a-154/1, S, General.

<sup>312</sup>Glueck to Sang, 14 May 1969, MS 20/A1a-154/1, S, General.

<sup>313</sup>The records of the purchase are not preserved, but Glueck discusses it and the assessment of the vessel when it reached the Los Angeles campus of HUC-JIR in 1969. Glueck to Berkowitz, 10 July 1969, MS 20/K2-2/1969 July. The pot and lid are now on exhibit in the Cincinnati branch of the Skirball Museum on the HUC-JIR campus. Accession number: 1982 49.1A+B/A0869A+B. A photograph of the vessel accompanies Jerry Stein, "Hebrew Union's Little Gem: Museum a Treasury of Jewish Art," *The Cincinnati Post* (5 February 1996): 1B.

<sup>314</sup>Only a few days after writing Glueck with the details of the proposed scroll transaction, Harman wrote to Harold P. Manson of the American Friends of Hebrew University (copying Glueck and HUC-JIR Jerusalem dean Ezra Spicehandler) for help in arranging housing for between twenty-six and forty HUC-JIR students. Harman to Manson, 17 April 1969, MS 20/A1a-151/3, H, General. This correspondence might be interpreted as encouraging Glueck to find the funds for the work on the scrolls.

<sup>315</sup>Presumably Glueck is referring to "writing tables." These items were found in what Roland de Vaux identified as the "scriptorium" at the settlement of Qumran; as early as 1958, their description as "writing tables" for scribes copying scrolls was challenged. See *inter alia*, Bruce M. Metzger, "The Furniture in the Scriptorium at Qumran," *Revue de Qumran* 1, no. 4 (1958–1959): 509–515. The problem of identifying these items and explaining their use remains. See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 60–61.

<sup>316</sup>Glueck's diary entry for 21 June 1967. See Nelson Glueck, *Dateline: Jerusalem* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1968), 26–27. William G. Dever was then the executive officer of the HUC-JIR Biblical Archaeology School and was preparing to begin the excavation at Gezer. He provides a first-hand description of the events in Jerusalem in "Archaeology and the Six Day War," *BA* 30, no. 3 (1967): 73, 102–107. Glueck was in Jerusalem from 12 June to 27 August 1967. The topic of the scrolls came up frequently during the visit, first regarding the exploration and repair of the Rockefeller Museum. During the visit Glueck met with Israeli Supreme Court justice Haim Cohn, who was judging the case of a journalist who had been denied a permit to excavate at Qumran (*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 65). Since the discovery of the scrolls there had been rumors of an eighth intact scroll circulating among scholars and collectors. On 23 June Glueck visited with Kando, the antiquities dealer who had helped arrange the original sale of scrolls to Athanasius Samuel. During the visit Glueck was informed that some of Kando's merchandise—the rumored scroll, Glueck supposed—had been confiscated by Israeli authorities (*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 29–30). In the last part of the diary, on 22 August 1967, Glueck noted, "One of my favorite diversions since coming here this June has been to pursue the story of the missing Dead Sea Scroll." (*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 116). What follows the statement is five pages of Glueck recounting his discussions about the scroll with Kando and his advice to the dealer that he approach the Israelis for compensation as provided for in the Israeli antiquities law.

(*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 116–120.) The scroll turned out to be the longest one found, what is called the Temple Scroll. See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (New York: Random House, 1985), 39–55 for an account of the confiscation of the scroll from Kando. Clearly, from the time of their discovery until the years immediately preceding his death, Glueck was very much caught up in the adventure of the scrolls.

<sup>317</sup>Glueck, diary entry for 14 July 1969, MS 20/A1a-158/11, Diary. The conversation was followed with a letter from Harman and a confidential memorandum about the project. The project of cataloguing and microfilming the approximately three thousand manuscripts was expected to last through 1972 with a budget of \$100,000. The idea was that the costs would be split evenly between Hebrew University and a single donor institution, which would then receive a complete copy of the films. Harman to Glueck, 14 July 1969, with attached document “CONFIDENTIAL: Monastery of Mount Sinai Manuscripts,” MS 20/K2-2/1969 July.

<sup>318</sup>In 1961 a new library building was constructed on the Cincinnati campus. The library was named for David W. Klau, who supported the construction of the new building and who passed away in the months preceding its dedication in June 1961.

<sup>319</sup>Glueck to Zafren, 15 August 1969, MS 20/A1a-164/6, X, Y, Z, General.

<sup>320</sup>Broshi to Glueck, 23 February 1970, negative enclosed, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>321</sup>Cross reference to the inventory list indicates that it is negative number 42.553, photographed by Albina in December 1958. See Tov and Pfann, eds., *Companion Volume*, 161.

<sup>322</sup>Pierre Benoit, Jozef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II: Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 1: 155–159, 2: Plate XLV.

<sup>323</sup>He is described thusly by Meyer, “A Centennial History,” 220.

<sup>324</sup>Bamberger to Zafren, 3 November 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>325</sup>Zafren to Glueck, 17 November 1970; Glueck to Broshi, 20 November 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>326</sup>Broshi to Glueck, 2 December 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>327</sup>For a brief overview see Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1961), 35–40.

<sup>328</sup>See Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1995), 21–22. Yadin, who engaged in discussions with de Vaux following the change in authority, describes them in *The Temple Scroll*, 45–46.

<sup>329</sup>Broshi to Glueck, 18 December 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>330</sup>Cited from draft response to Broshi by Glueck, enclosed with Zafren to Glueck, 31 December 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>331</sup>Zafren to Glueck, 31 December 1970, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>332</sup>Glueck to Broshi, 11 January 1971, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>333</sup>Gottschalk to Board of Directors, Shrine of the Book Fund, 23 November 1971, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>334</sup>Ibid.

<sup>335</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 6 March 1972, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>336</sup>Air Waybill, El Al Israel Airlines LTD., 114–574234 3, 24 March 1972, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>337</sup>Broshi to Gottschalk, 11 April 1972.

<sup>338</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 20 April 1972.

<sup>339</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 7 May 1972, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

- <sup>340</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 12 June 1972; Zafren to Gottschalk, 16 June 1972, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library. The first complete catalogue of the material was not published until 1994: Stephen A. Reed, Marilyn J. Lundberg, and Michael B. Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs, and Museum Inventory Numbers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).
- <sup>341</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 25 January 1973, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>342</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 27 October, 1975; and Klein to Zafren, 24 August 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>343</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 17 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>344</sup>Gottschalk to Zafren, 4 November 1975, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>345</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 3 June 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>346</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 13 July 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>347</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 25 July 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>348</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>349</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 30 July 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>350</sup>Summary of meeting in Broshi to Gottschalk, 22 August 1976; Klein to Zafren, 24 August 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>351</sup>Klein to Zafren, 24 August 1976, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>352</sup>Letter cited in Hershel Shanks, "Silence, Anti-Semitism, and the Scrolls," *BAR* 17, no.3 (March/April 1991): 54–60. Quote on 56.
- <sup>353</sup>Ibid., 55–57.
- <sup>354</sup>Marcus to Zafren, 11 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library. On Skehan's anti-Israel bias, see also Geza Vermes, *Providential Accidents* (London: SCM Press, 1998), 191.
- <sup>355</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 15 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>356</sup>For a brief history of the center see James A. Sanders, "Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, President's Report, 1997" online at: [web.mac.com/sandersja1/iWeb/James%20A.%20Sanders/ABMC.html](http://web.mac.com/sandersja1/iWeb/James%20A.%20Sanders/ABMC.html). Accessed 25 June 2008.
- <sup>357</sup>Sanders to Harman, 27 December 1979, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>358</sup>Biran to Gottschalk, 30 December 1979, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>359</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 17 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>360</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>361</sup>On 17 May 1992, Sanders gave the second annual Lily Rosman lecture, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: New Perspectives for Christians and Jews," at the HUC-JIR Skirball Museum in Los Angeles. From 5–9 November 2001, Sanders was graduate-alumnus-in-residence at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati.
- <sup>362</sup>See James VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 71.
- <sup>363</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 17 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

- <sup>364</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 12 June 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>365</sup>Gottschalk's handwritten note to Zafren added at the bottom of Zafren to Gottschalk, 15 January 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>366</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>367</sup>Qimron completed his doctorate at the Hebrew University on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1976. He and Emanuel Tov were appointed as the first Israeli members of the editorial team in 1980.
- <sup>368</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 29 June 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>369</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 10 July 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>370</sup>Gottschalk to Zafren, 19 August 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>371</sup>Elaine Hoter, "Biran, Avraham," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Vol. 3 (Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), 710–711.
- <sup>372</sup>For an overview of the events surrounding the scrolls during the war see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 44–46. For Biran's description of the events see his comments in "Captured Museum Yields Scrolls Bits," *The New York Times* (17 June 1967): 19, and James Feron, "Israel Repairing Ravaged Museum," *The New York Times* (9 July 1967): 11.
- <sup>373</sup>"New Wind in the Scroller," *The Jerusalem Post International Edition* (Week ending 26 October 1991): 10–11. Quote on 10.
- <sup>374</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 8 September 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>375</sup>Sanders to Zafren, 22 August 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>376</sup>Zafren to Sanders, 2 September 1980, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>377</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 4 February 1981, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>378</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 19 July 1981, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>379</sup>Although there is no letter of confirmation of receipt in Zafren to Broshi, 7 July 1981, the former indicates that he planned to be in Jerusalem at the HUC campus between 11 and 23 August. Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library. The follow-up letter, Broshi to Zafren, 19 July 1981, indicates the former wanted to hand the material over in person. Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>380</sup>Gottschalk to Harman, 20 October 1982, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>381</sup>John Noble Wilford, "Keepers of the Dead Sea Scrolls Accused of Blocking Research," *The New York Times* (26 June 1989): A6.
- <sup>382</sup>Hershel Shanks, "Jerusalem Rolls out Red Carpet for Biblical Archaeology Congress," *BAR* 10, no.4 (July/Aug. 1984): 12–18.
- <sup>383</sup>For a survey of Shanks's efforts and a discussion of his motivations see Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls*, 213–245.
- <sup>384</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 28 September 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>385</sup>Zafren to Broshi, 28 September 1989; Zafren to Gottschalk, 19 October 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library. Although in the latter letter Zafren indicates that he did not think Wacholder's evidence for the rumors was reliable, he used the suggestion in his earlier letter to Broshi with the hope of pushing HUC-JIR's case.
- <sup>386</sup>Wacholder was brought to the Los Angeles school as a librarian to prepare the library for review by the Western College Association. At the time he was working on his doctorate at UCLA. The original appointment had been limited to two and a half months, but he was hired full time by Nelson Glueck beginning in January 1957. See Zeldin to Zafren, November 1956, MS 20/A1a-49/1, Faculty; and Lyons to Glaser, 23 January 1957, MS 20/A1a-49/2, California School.

He was appointed assistant professor in Los Angeles in January 1962. Glueck to Wacholder, 14 February 1962, MS 20/A1a-90/11, Faculty. In June 1963 Wacholder was promoted to associate professor of Jewish history and rabbinics (untenured with a renewable three-year contract) and moved to the Cincinnati campus. Glueck to Wacholder, 14 June 1963; and Wacholder to Glueck, 25 June 1963, MS 20/Aia-96/10, Faculty.

<sup>387</sup>Ben Zion Wacholder, "How Long Did Abram Stay in Egypt: A Study in Hellenistic, Qumran, and Rabbinic Chronology," *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56; and Wacholder, "A Qumran Attack on the Oral Exegesis? The phrase *šr btlmud šqrm* in 4Q Peshar Nahum," *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1966): 575–578.

<sup>388</sup>See Ida Cohen Selevan and Laurel Wolfson, "A Bibliography of the Works of Ben Zion Wacholder," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 410–412. The two Qumran-related books are *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983) and *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).

<sup>389</sup>*The Temple Scroll* (Heb.) (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977).

<sup>390</sup>See his acknowledgments page in *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983), xi.

<sup>391</sup>His 1987 syllabus for "Introductory Readings in the Dead Sea Scrolls" concentrated on the sectarian texts including the Community Rule and the Damascus Document, and Qumranic biblical interpretation as found in the Pesharim. Wacholder's 1994 class "Hellenistic Literature 5: Introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls" offered extensive readings from the newly published computer-reconstructed texts on which he worked with Martin Abegg (see below). The syllabi are on record with the HUC-JIR registrar's office in Cincinnati.

<sup>392</sup>Martin G. Abegg, "The War Scroll From Qumran Caves 1 and 4: A Critical Edition," doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1992).

<sup>393</sup>James Bowley, "Traditions of Abraham in Greek Historical Writings," doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1992).

<sup>394</sup>John Kampen, "The Hasideans and the Origins of Pharasaism," doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1985).

<sup>395</sup>Wacholder was involved in the supervision of almost all graduate students working on the scrolls (sometimes as second reader). Other students included Oliver S. Howard, "The Greek text of Job in Light of the Ancient Qumran Targum," doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1978); and Wave E. Nunnally, "The Fatherhood of God at Qumran," doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1992). Steven L. Jacobs wrote a dissertation for a doctor of Hebrew letters degree under the supervision of David B. Weisberg, "The Biblical Masorah and the Temple Scroll (11QTorah): Some Problems and Solutions," D.H.L. dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1990).

<sup>396</sup>James C. VanderKam, "Review: *The Dawn of Qumran*," *Biblical Archaeologist* 48, no.2 (1985): 126–127. Quote on 127.

<sup>397</sup>Florentino García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 933.

<sup>398</sup>The book unfortunately drew the ire of a strong supporter of HUC-JIR, Yigael Yadin. Yadin accused Wacholder of plagiarizing the volume from his Hebrew edition of the Temple Scroll. Wacholder wrote a long defense of his work, and the matter was settled when Jacob Neusner, an independent third party, reviewed Yadin's claim and Wacholder's defense and concluded that the work was not plagiarized. See Yadin to Gottschalk, 10 October 1983; Wacholder to Gottschalk, 9 December 1983; Neusner to Wacholder, 17 December 1983; Wacholder to Neusner, 27 December 1983; and Neusner to Wacholder, 30 December 1983. Preserved in SC-12641, Wacholder, Ben Zion.

<sup>399</sup>See, for example, "A Qumran Attack," 578.

<sup>400</sup>*The Dawn of Qumran*, xi.

<sup>401</sup>Wacholder's paper, "The Ancient Judaeo-Aramaic Literature (500–164 BCE): A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," appears in the conference volume *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence Schiffman (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 257–281.

<sup>402</sup>John Strugnell, "Moses Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 248–254.

<sup>403</sup>Hershel Shanks, "BARview: Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls is Leitmotif of New York University Scroll Conference," *BAR* 11, no. 6 (Sept./Oct. 1985): 4,6, 66–72.

<sup>404</sup>Wacholder knew Strugnell was working on these fragments at least as early as 1983. See *The Dawn of Qumran*, xiv.

<sup>405</sup>Shanks, "BARview: Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls," 68, 70.

<sup>406</sup>Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls*, 215. Interview 27 July 1993. The East European Scholar was Wacholder, see Shanks, "BARview: Failure to Publish Dead Sea Scrolls," 66.

<sup>407</sup>Ben L. Kaufman, "Secrets of Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered," *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (4 September 1991): A1, A10. Quote on A10.

<sup>408</sup>Broshi to Zafren, 11 October 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>409</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 21 November 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>410</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>411</sup>Isaiah A and B, the Manual of Discipline, the War Scroll, the Thanksgiving Hymns, Peshet Habakkuk, and the Genesis Apocryphon.

<sup>412</sup>Harman to Gottschalk, 7 December 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>413</sup>Drori to Harman, 25 December 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>414</sup>Shanks to HUC-JIR Librarian, 27 December 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library. Shanks does not seem to have been aware of HUC-JIR's collection much before this. In an early article written when he began his efforts to have Israel release the scrolls, he seems to have only been aware of the negatives held by the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California. See "Israeli Authorities Now Responsible for Delay in Publication of Dead Sea Scrolls," *BAR* 11, no.6 (Sept./Oct. 1985): 71.

<sup>415</sup>Shanks was at the University of Cincinnati to discuss "The Bible and Archaeology in Jerusalem." However, it was his discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls that caught the people's attention. See Scott Burgins, "Dead Sea Scrolls being kept secret, lecturer says," *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (31 October 1989): A-9.

<sup>416</sup>Hershel Shanks, "Michael L. Klein, 1940–2000," *BAR* 27, no.2 (March/Apr. 2001): 18.

<sup>417</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>418</sup>Klein to Zafren, 5 November 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>419</sup>Zafren to Shanks, 16 January 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>420</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 18 January 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>421</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 8 January 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>422</sup>Draft included in Zafren to Gottschalk, 3 January 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>423</sup>Gottschalk to Harman, 22 January 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>424</sup>Ibid.

<sup>425</sup>Gottschalk to Harman, 10 May 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>426</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 13 August 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>427</sup>Hershel Shanks, "New Hope for the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls," *BAR* 15, no.6 (Nov./Dec. 1989): 55–56, 74. Shanks reported, "But the agreements with the depositories—the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California, and Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati—forbid their giving access to outside scholars. One prominent HUC scholar has written his administration that this restriction is no longer binding because of the selective access given to outside scholars by members of the publication team" (56). Given the content of the communication from an HUC-JIR faculty member, it appears likely that Wacholder shared with Shanks his discussion with Zafren and Gottschalk about rumors of access in Jerusalem and California. However, no letter from Wacholder to the administration is preserved in the archives.

<sup>428</sup>Zafren to Rosenberg, 15 January 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>429</sup>Shanks, "New Hope for the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls," 56.

<sup>430</sup>See Martin Abegg, Michael Phelps, and Hershel Shanks, "Will Marty Abegg Ever Find A Job? Scroll Scholar Thrives Despite Unauthorized Publication," *BAR* 29 no. 1 (2003): 37. The conference proceedings are available. See Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

<sup>431</sup>See Hershel Shanks, "Leading Dead Sea Scroll Scholar Denounces Delay," *BAR* 16, no.2 (March/Apr. 1992): 22–25. The concordance was published as: Raymond E. Brown, et al., *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Caves II-X, Including, Especially, the Unpublished Material from Cave IV: Arranged and Prepared for Printing by Hans-Peter Richter* (Göttingen: Privately Printed, 1988). For a description of how the concordance was compiled see Joseph Fitzmyer, "More Computer-Generated Scrolls," *BAR* 19, no.1 (Jan./Feb. 1993): 62–63.

<sup>432</sup>Hershel Shanks, "Antiquities Director Confronts Problems and Controversies," *BAR* 12, no.4 (July/Aug. 1986): 38.

<sup>433</sup>Strugnell to Wacholder, 12 October 1989, "Release" enclosed, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>434</sup>Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran*, xi.

<sup>435</sup>"for B.Z. Wacholder" is inserted in Strugnell's hand.

<sup>436</sup>In 1989 Gilner was deputy librarian of Cincinnati's Klau Library. Herbert Zafren was the head librarian in Cincinnati, as well as the national director of HUC-JIR's libraries. In July 1991 Gilner was promoted to head librarian in Cincinnati. Following Zafren's retirement in 1994, Gilner was promoted to national director of libraries.

<sup>437</sup>The cost to the College was \$551.72. See Lesley to Gilner, 2 November 1990.

<sup>438</sup>Gilner to Zafren, 24 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>439</sup>Gilner to Baumgarten, 1 December 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>440</sup>Baumgarten to Gilner, 6 December 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>441</sup>"Dead Sea Scroll Concordance Now Available for Use by Scholars," *BAR* 16, no.2 (March/April 1990): 23.

<sup>442</sup>Ibid.

<sup>443</sup>Gilner to Verba, 21 March 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>444</sup>Gilner to Zafren, 24 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>445</sup>Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls*, 221. See *BAR* 16, no. 2 (March/April 1990).

<sup>446</sup>“Quotes from the Fleas,” *BAR* 16, no.2 (March/April 1990): 25.

<sup>447</sup>Kaufman has made his own significant contribution to Qumran scholarship. See, for example, Stephen A. Kaufman, “The Temple Scrolls and Higher Criticism,” *HUCA* 53 (1983): 29–43. Additionally, Kaufman was appointed to the editorial team following the Israeli change in policy and the promotion of Tov to editor-in-chief. While assigned Aramaic texts, the actual texts were never found, having likely been incorporated into other allotments. As a result, Kaufman never edited them. Conversation with Stephen Kaufman, 2 June 2008.

<sup>448</sup>“More Fleas,” *BAR* 16, no.4 (July/Aug. 1990): 6.

<sup>449</sup>Durocher to Wacholder, 5 March 1990, with bill dated 9 March 1990 for \$56 dollars, to be cancelled in lieu of copy of publication. Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>450</sup>Ben Zion Wacholder with Martin Abegg, “The Fragmentary remains of 11QT<sup>a</sup> (Temple Scroll): 11QT<sup>a</sup> and 11QT<sup>b</sup> plus 4QparaTorah integrated with 11QT<sup>a</sup>,” *HUCA* 62 (1991): 1–116. The first line of the references includes an acknowledgement: “I thank the Israel Department of Antiquities and its archivist Sophie Durocher for their prompt and efficient service in furnishing all the plates requested along with the authorization to publish. The department’s photographer, Mrs. Tsila Sagiv, deserves special attention for her beautiful facsimiles. Professor J.P.M. van der Ploeg made his plate of 11QT<sup>a</sup> available and was instrumental in providing me the authorization to use the copyrighted material from the Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences.”

<sup>451</sup>García Martínez, “Temple Scroll,” 928.

<sup>452</sup>Gilner to Baumgarten, 24 May 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>453</sup>Lesley to Gilner, 7 August 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>454</sup>Lesley to Gilner, 2 November 1990, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>455</sup>Martin G. Abegg, “War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness: The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4: a critical edition,” doctoral dissertation (HUC-JIR, 1992).

<sup>456</sup>Gilner to Zafren, 24 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>457</sup>See *Abstracts AAR/SBL* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 378.

<sup>458</sup>Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg, “After 30 Years of Yearning, We Saw the Texts Suddenly Appear,” *The Los Angeles Times* (29 September 1991): 3.

<sup>459</sup>Hershel Shanks, “When 5,613 Scholars Get Together in One Place: The Annual Meeting, 1990,” *BAR* 17, no.2 (March/April 1991): 62–66. Quote on 63.

<sup>460</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 2 May 2008. Milik’s publication is, “Milki-sedeq et Milki-resha’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144.

<sup>461</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 2 May 2008. See also Martin Abegg, “‘Rabbi Computer’ Recreates Unpublished Texts,” *BAR* 33, no.3 (May/June 2007): 51–52.

<sup>462</sup>Ben L. Kaufman, “Secrets of Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (4 September 1991): A1, A10. Quote on A10.

<sup>463</sup>Martin Abegg, “‘Rabbi Computer’ Recreates Unpublished Texts,” 52.

<sup>464</sup>“Focus on the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Textbusters,” *Reform Judaism* 20, no.3 (Spring 1992): 54

<sup>465</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>466</sup>Kaufman, “Secrets of Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered,” A1, A10.

<sup>467</sup>*Ibid.*, A10.

<sup>468</sup>Cook was a staff member of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project housed at HUC-JIR, Cincinnati from 1988–1997. He is the author of *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Light on the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994). In Chapter 4, “The Rediscovery of the

Dead Sea Scrolls,” he provides a brief account of the reconstruction of the Cave 4 texts based, at least in part, on conversations with Martin Abegg and his own recollection of events.

<sup>469</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 10 May 2008.

<sup>470</sup>Following the release of the volumes, Kaufman editorialized against their work, offering (1) that he thought the result of their efforts created a problematic text from a scholarly perspective, and (2) that the action was immoral in that it “scooped” scholars who had devoted much of their lives to preparing texts for publication and had been promised the rights to publish first editions. See “The Ethical Issues: A Position Statement,” *Newsletter of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* 9 (Feb. 1992): 1, 5.

<sup>471</sup>Kaufman, “Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered,” A1, A10.

<sup>472</sup>Abegg, Phelps, and Shanks, “Will Marty Abegg Ever Find A Job?” 38.

<sup>473</sup>According to Kaufman (“Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered,” A10), Wacholder was so enthusiastic about the project that he acted to provide financial support for the work himself, mortgaging his home for \$26,000. In recent discussion with Wacholder and his family it appears that this was not the case, and the details were erroneously reported. Interview with Ben Zion Wacholder and his daughter Nina Wacholder, 25 October 2008. Following the interview, email communications from other Wacholder children showed surprise at the report.

<sup>474</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 10 May 2008.

<sup>475</sup>Preben Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STJD 1, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957).

<sup>476</sup>For a fuller discussion of the activities surrounding the Eisenman-Brill arrangement, see Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls*, 231–234.

<sup>477</sup>Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1991.

<sup>478</sup>Wacholder and Abegg, “After 30 Years of Yearning,” 3.

<sup>479</sup>John Noble Wilford, “Computer Breaks Monopoly on Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The New York Times* (5 September 1991): A1, A7.

<sup>480</sup>Ibid.

<sup>481</sup>Ibid.

<sup>482</sup>Noam M.M. Neusner, “Scholars Feud Over Bootlegged Scroll,” *Detroit Jewish News* (13 September 1991): 32–33. Quote on 32.

<sup>483</sup>The italicized portion is added by hand to the typed letter. It is signed by “Professor John Strugnell, Editor-in-Chief, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,” 12 October 1989.

<sup>484</sup>David J. Gilner, “H.U.C. Violated No Trust Over Scrolls Concordance,” *BAR* 19, no.3 (May/June 1993): 17.

<sup>485</sup>Joseph Fitzmyer, “Reply to Gilner,” *BAR* 19, no.3 (May/June 1993): 17–18.

<sup>486</sup>Ibid., 18.

<sup>487</sup>“Bootleg Volume of Long-Secret Dead Sea Scrolls Is Published,” *The Los Angeles Times* (5 September 1991): 18.

<sup>488</sup>Ellen K. Coughlin, “Biblical Scholars Construct Bootleg Version of Some Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (11 September 1991): A9, A12. Quote on A12.

<sup>489</sup>Wilford, “Computer Breaks Monopoly,” A7.

<sup>490</sup>Neusner, “Scholars Feud Over Bootlegged Scroll,” 32.

<sup>491</sup>Abraham Rabinovich, “Bootleg Scrolls,” *The Jerusalem Post International Edition* (week ending 26 October 1991): 11. Tov had been Abegg’s first teacher of the scrolls during a seminar at the Hebrew University in 1986–1987. Of his relationship with Tov following the publication of the unauthorized reconstructions, Abegg wrote:

You might wonder what my relationship with Emanuel Tov is these days. After all, he is not only the editor in chief of the scroll publication team, but he is the man who introduced me to the scrolls back in 1986. The first time I talked to him after the publication by Ben Zion and me was at the book exhibit of the SBL meeting in Kansas City. He walked up to me and simply quoted part of Isaiah 1:2 in Hebrew: *Banim Gidalti v'romumti*, which is roughly, "I have raised up children." And he left it at that. He was doing a very Rabbinic thing. He wanted to lead me on to his point, but without being specific. It took me by surprise. I recognized that it was from Isaiah, but that's all. Only in my hotel that night did I realize his point. It is in the completion of the verse, *v'hem pashu vi*, "And they have rebelled against me." I was crestfallen.

That's where Emanuel and I were in the fall of 1991. That's all changed, however... Emanuel is now my editor in chief and we are very good friends.

Abegg, Phelps, and Shanks, "Will Marty Abegg Ever Find A Job?" 70.

<sup>492</sup>Wilford, "Computer Breaks Monopoly," A7.

<sup>493</sup>The *Tribune* contributed to the story in the Cincinnati paper. See also Ron Grossman (*Chicago Tribune*), "Computer Gives Life to Ancient Texts. Dead Sea Scrolls, Unseen, Were Pieced Together From Phrase List," *The Kansas City Star* (5 September 1991): A1.

<sup>494</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 2 May 2008.

<sup>495</sup>Jonathan Schachter, "Scholars Issue Unauthorized Version of 'Secret' Scrolls," *The Jerusalem Post* (5 September 1991): 1 and back page. Reprinted in, "A Tale of an Unauthorized Scroll," *Jewish Exponent* (Philadelphia) (13 September 1991): 5, 79. Abegg's suggestion on 79. Also reprinted in "Exposing the 'Secret Scrolls,'" *The Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles* (13-19 September 1991): 19-20.

<sup>496</sup>Jonathan Schachter, "A Tale of an Unauthorized Scroll," 5, 79.

<sup>497</sup>*Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>498</sup>"Breaking the Scroll Cartel," *The New York Times* (7 September 1991): 22.

<sup>499</sup>Yehuda Lev, "Our Town—Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles* (13-19 September 1991): 4.

<sup>500</sup>W. Gunther Plaut, "Dead Sea Scrolls are Taking too Long to Decifer [*sic*]," *Canadian Jewish News* (24 October 1991): 11.

<sup>501</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>502</sup>"Focus on the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Reform Judaism* 20, no.3 (Spring 1992): 42-56.

<sup>503</sup>Neusner, "Scholars Feud Over Bootlegged Scroll," 32. The following month, Schiffman outlined the contribution made by the texts reconstructed by Wacholder and Abegg for understanding the Jewish community that produced the scrolls, especially regarding their calendar, ritual practices, and even the Sadducean origins of the sect. Lawrence Schiffman, "Piecing together the saga of the scrolls," *The Jewish World* (11-17 Oct. 1991): 3, 14.

<sup>504</sup>Hartmut Stegemann, "Computer-Generated Dead Sea Scrolls Texts 98% Accurate," *BAR* 18, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1992): 70.

<sup>505</sup>"BAS Publishes Fascicle Two of DSS Transcripts," *BAR* 18, no.4 (July/Aug. 1992): 70.

<sup>506</sup>Phyllis Singer, "Wacholder's Work on Scrolls Sparks Controversy," *The American Israelite* (5 September 1991): A3, A24.

<sup>507</sup>"Help Needed for Dead Sea Scrolls," *BAR* 17, no.5 (Sept./Oct. 1991): 4.

<sup>508</sup>Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts From Cave Four: Fascicle Two* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1992), v, xvi.

<sup>509</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 6 May 2008.

<sup>510</sup>VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 70.

<sup>511</sup>Ibid., 391–393.

<sup>512</sup>For a thorough discussion of the arrangements and the agreement that forbade anyone from consulting the negatives without official permission see Vermes, *Providential Accidents*, 196–199.

<sup>513</sup>Russel Chandler, “Library Lifts Veil on Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Los Angeles Times* (22 September 1991): A1, A30–A31. The article also discusses Wacholder and Abegg, although there is no suggestion of their having motivated the Huntington Library to act.

<sup>514</sup>Wacholder and Abegg, “After 30 Years of Yearning,” 3.

<sup>515</sup>Yehuda Lev, “Dead Sea Scroll Furor: HUC Scholar Defends Huntington Library,” *The Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles* (27 September–3 October 1991): 7.

<sup>516</sup>“Flash! From 200 B.C.,” *The New York Times* (24 September 1991): A30.

<sup>517</sup>“Opening the Scrolls,” *The Cincinnati Post* (26 September 1991): A14.

<sup>518</sup>“New Wind in the Scrollery,” *The Jerusalem Post International Edition* (Week ending 26 October 1991): 10–11.

<sup>519</sup>Ben L. Kaufman, “HUC Won’t Release Its Copies of Scrolls,” *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (25 September 1991): B4.

<sup>520</sup>Ibid.

<sup>521</sup>Ibid.

<sup>522</sup>Drori and Tov to Director, HUC, Cincinnati, 25 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>523</sup>Hugh Orel and Tom Tugend, “Israel Invites Scrolls Scholars to End Dispute,” *The American Israelite* (3 October 1991): 1, 24.

<sup>524</sup>Gottschalk to Drori and Tov, 9 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968-1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>525</sup>Undated handwritten notes.

<sup>526</sup>Reiley to Gilner, 30 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>527</sup>Zafren to Gottschalk, 3 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>528</sup>Wacholder to Gottschalk, 27 September 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>529</sup>Orel and Tugend, “Israel Invites Scrolls Scholars to End Dispute,” 24.

<sup>530</sup>Patterson to Moffett, 23 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>531</sup>Gottschalk to Patterson, 4 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968–1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>532</sup>Moffett to Patterson, 18 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>533</sup>Ibid.

<sup>534</sup>Gottschalk to Moffett, 4 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>535</sup>Gottschalk to Rosensaft, 2 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968–1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>536</sup>Moffett to Patterson, 18 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.

<sup>537</sup>Clyde Haberman, “Israel Angry as Library Opens Access to Scrolls,” *The New York Times* (23 September 1991): A8.

<sup>538</sup>Patterson to Moffett, 23 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968–1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.

<sup>539</sup>Wacholder and Abegg, “After 30 Years of Yearning,” 3.

- <sup>540</sup>Kaufman, "HUC Won't Release Its Copies of Scrolls," B4; and, "College to Keep Scrolls Secret," *The Cincinnati Post* (25 September 1991): A5.
- <sup>541</sup>Gottschalk to Moffett, 4 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>542</sup>Harman to Gottschalk, 10 October 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>543</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>544</sup>Harman to Gottschalk, 13 November 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>545</sup>Gottschalk to Harman, 25 November 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>546</sup>Draft letter composed by Zafren for Gottschalk to send to Harman, enclosed with Zafren to Gottschalk, 27 November 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>547</sup>Harman to Glueck, 18 June 1969, MS 20/A1a-151/3, H, General.
- <sup>548</sup>Glueck, Diary entry for 14 July 1969, MS 20/A1a-158/11, Diary.
- <sup>549</sup>The letter was copied to Glueck as well. Harman to Sang, 14 July 1969, MS 20/K2-2/1969 August.
- <sup>550</sup>Gottschalk, Confidential notes, dated 18 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968-1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>551</sup>Biran to Gottschalk, 22 October 1991, MS 20/A2b-4/1968-1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>552</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>553</sup>MS 20/A2b-4/1968-1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>554</sup>John Noble Wilford, "Officials in Israel Ease Stand on Access to Ancient Scrolls," *The New York Times* (27 September 1991): A14.
- <sup>555</sup>Abraham Rabinovich, "Antiquities Authority Reverses Its Policy on Dead Sea Scrolls Photos," *The Jerusalem Post* (28 October 1991): 55.
- <sup>556</sup>Phyllis Singer, "HUC Opens Access to Photos of Dead Sea Scrolls," *The American Israelite* (31 October 1991): 1, 25.
- <sup>557</sup>Molly Kavanaugh, "Public, as Well as Scholars, Soon to View Ancient Scrolls," *The Cincinnati Post* (28 October 1991): 1B.
- <sup>558</sup>Larry Yudelson, "Group Relinquishes Some Control over Access to Dead Sea Scrolls," *JTA Daily News Bulletin* (29 October 1991): 4.
- <sup>559</sup>Singer, "HUC Opens Access to Photos of Dead Sea Scrolls," 25.
- <sup>560</sup>Laurie Petrie, "Ancient Secrets Stirring: Hebrew Union College Unlocks Door to Past," *The Cincinnati Post* (4 November 1991): 6a-7a. Quote on 7a.
- <sup>561</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>562</sup>John Noble Wilford, "Officials in Israel Ease Stand On Access to Ancient Scrolls," A14.
- <sup>563</sup>Larry Yudelson, "Photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls to be Published," *The American Israelite* (5 December 1991): A29.
- <sup>564</sup>"Computer-Generated Dead Sea Scrolls Texts 98% Accurate," 70.
- <sup>565</sup>Klein to Zafren, 5 November 1989, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>566</sup>See "Focus on the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Text Busters," *Reform Judaism* 20, no.3 (1992): 54-55.
- <sup>567</sup>Petrie, "Ancient Secrets Stirring," 7a.
- <sup>568</sup>Larry Yudelson, "Group Relinquishes Some Control over Access to Dead Sea Scrolls," *JTA Daily News Bulletin* (29 October 1991): 4.

- <sup>569</sup>Singer, “HUC Opens Access to Photos of Dead Sea Scrolls,” 1.
- <sup>570</sup>Gottschalk to Zafren, 10 January 1992, MS 20/A2b-4/1968–1991, Dead Sea Scrolls.
- <sup>571</sup>Petrie, “Ancient Secrets Stirring,” 6a.
- <sup>572</sup>Ellen K. Coughlin, “Opening the Dead Sea Scrolls Archive Underlines Problems That Can Complicate Access to Research Material,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (2 October 1991): A6, A10, A11. Quotes on A10.
- <sup>573</sup>Gilner to IAA, 8 November 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>574</sup>Sample form signed by Abegg, 7 November 1991, appended to Gilner to IAA, 8 November 1991.
- <sup>575</sup>Sussman to Gilner, 11 November 1991, Administrative File: Dead Sea Scrolls, Klau Library.
- <sup>576</sup>John Noble Wilford, “Dead Sea Scrolls to be Published: Two Scholars Report Access to 1,787 Documents That had not Been Issued,” *The New York Times* (20 November 1991): A7.
- <sup>577</sup>Ibid. Ultimately, the Huntington Library never actually released their negatives, and they were turned over to the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont after Moffett’s death in 1995. The center now keeps one copy in Claremont for research and another in a climatized vault near Tahoe City, California. Email correspondence from James Sanders, 28 August 2008.
- <sup>578</sup>Larry Yudelson, “Photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls to be Published,” *The American Israelite* (5 December 1991): A7, A29.
- <sup>579</sup>Peter Steinfelds, “Dead Sea Scrolls Free of Last Curb,” *The New York Times* (27 November 1991): A22.
- <sup>580</sup>For an overview of the case see the essays collected in *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Hector L. McQueen, and Calum M. Carmichael (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). See, more recently, Raphael Israeli, *Piracy in Qumran: The Battle over the Scrolls of the Pre-Christ Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2008).
- <sup>581</sup>For discussion see Cindy Albert Carson, “Raiders of the Lost Scrolls: The Right of Scholarly Access to the Content of Historic Documents,” *Michigan Journal of International Law* 16 (1994–1995): 199–248. A copy of the court’s ruling is translated in Lim et al., *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, 26–62. The case eventually ended up in the Supreme Court of Israel. The ruling with a summary of the previous court action is likewise found in *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, 233–258.
- <sup>582</sup>Zachary L. Grayson of Wolf, Block, Schorr and Solis-Cohen to B.Z. Wacholder, 16 February 1993, Ben-Zion Wacholder, Biography—Nearprint File. The letter is also cited in David Nimmer, “Copyright in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Authorship and Originality,” *Houston Law Review* 28 (2001): 69–70.
- <sup>583</sup>Carson, “Raiders of the Lost Scrolls,” 335. Further discussion can be found in Nimmer, “Copyright in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Authorship and Originality,” 1–222.
- <sup>584</sup>“Bits & Pieces: Qimron Threatens More Scholars,” *BAR* 19, no.3 (May/June 1993): 72.
- <sup>585</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 10 May 2008.
- <sup>586</sup>“Dead Sea Scrolls Scholars Seek Protection From Suit,” *St. Paul Pioneer Press* (1 August 1993): 16a. See also Nimmer, “Copyright in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 70.
- <sup>587</sup>“American Professors Seek to Block Qimron’s Control of MMT,” *BAR* 19, no.6 (Nov./Dec. 1993): 65.
- <sup>588</sup>Nimmer, “Copyright in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 69.
- <sup>589</sup>“*BAR* Decides to Appeal Qimron Decision, After All,” *BAR* 19, no.6 (Nov./Dec. 1993): 66.
- <sup>590</sup>Email communication with Martin Abegg, 10 May 2008.
- <sup>591</sup>Hershel Shanks, “Intellectual Property Law and the Scholar: Cases I Have Known,” in *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, 70.

<sup>592</sup>Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 10: Qumran Cave 4, V-Miqsat Maase Ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

<sup>593</sup>Abegg and Wacholder's edition was announced in March 1995, although they had completed their work by June 1994. See the advertisement for the volume in *BAR* 21, no.2 (March/Apr. 1995): 95; and Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew and Aramaic Texts From Cave 4: Fascicle Three* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995), xxvi.

# How the Dead Sea Scrolls Influenced Reform Judaism

*Richard A. Freund*

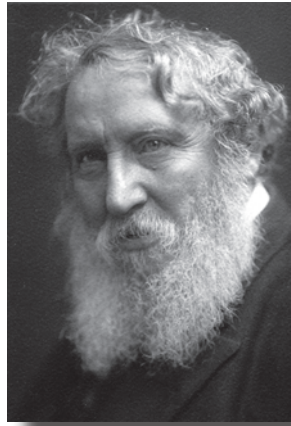
The Dead Sea Scrolls are acknowledged as the greatest discovery of Hebrew manuscripts in modern times. For modern Jews and Judaism the question is, what impact do the scrolls have, beyond the obvious contributions to the understanding of ancient manuscript readings of the Hebrew Bible and verification of certain historical beliefs Jews held in the first centuries before and after the Common Era? Do the Dead Sea Scrolls actually affect modern Jewish synagogue theology and customs? Are they used to establish (or re-establish) ancient customs and beliefs in modern Jewish life? Do they translate into changes in modern Jewish life in any substantive way? This article will investigate how the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls played a role in the pulpits of American Jewish life—especially in Reform Judaism—from the 1950s onward.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 had little immediate influence on Reform Jews and their religious practice. However, the influence of their study, translation, and popular dissemination over subsequent decades is identifiable in the development of Reform liturgy and, more generally, in the understanding of the place and authenticity of Reform Judaism in Jewish history and tradition. Since they contain the oldest texts of the Hebrew Bible, there can be little doubt that the Jewish world would have seen the scrolls as significant in their own terms. Their place in Judaism was made even more significant, however, by the earlier discovery of the Cairo Geniza, in the first part of the twentieth century. The appropriation of the Geniza's contents by Conservative and Reform scholars established the framework in which these movements explored the value of the scrolls' later discovery for the spiritual lives of their coreligionists.

## The Reception of the Cairo Geniza Anticipates the Reception of the Dead Sea Scrolls

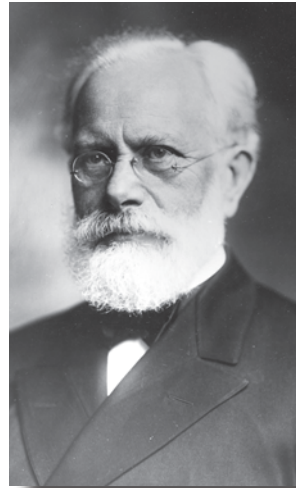
Few manuscripts uncovered in the modern period have had an effect upon modern Jewish practice and doctrine like the Cairo Geniza. The Cairo Geniza in the Ben Ezra Synagogue of Old Fostat, Cairo, is unique because Egypt was the crossroads of Babylonian, North African, and European Judaism of the Islamic period (eighth century onward) and a center of medieval Jewish life. Cairo's hot, dry conditions facilitated the preservation of many of these texts, and visitors had sought out and commented on the Geniza since the eighteenth century. In the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Geniza was not well known, the Hebrew Union College (HUC) and the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) developed two different attitudes toward these unknown

fragments of Jewish life from the past. Most of the texts included rabbinic correspondence, responsa recorded elsewhere (but some that had no parallels), rabbinic texts in manuscripts that were different from our published editions, fragments of materials discussing Jewish life and customs that were



*Solomon Schechter*

(Photos courtesy  
American Jewish Archives)

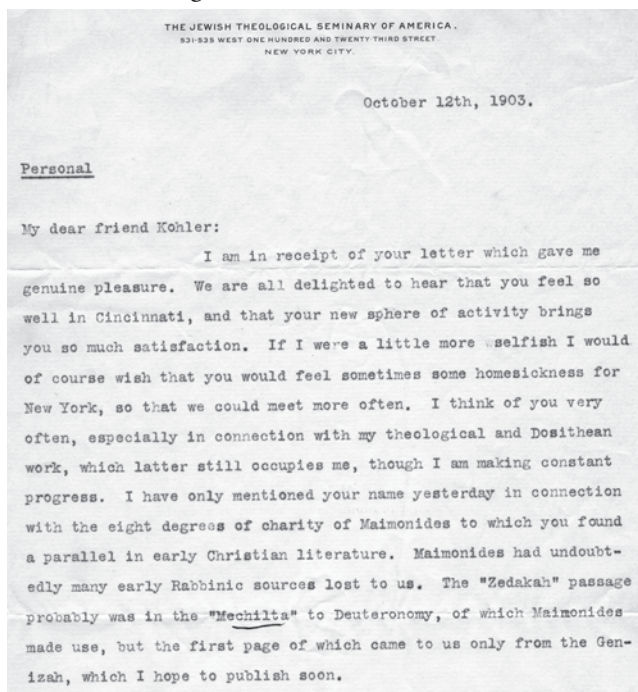


*Kaufmann Kohler*

otherwise only hinted at in rabbinic texts, and fragments of documents that had no parallel in any rabbinic literature. One example is the famous “Zadokite Fragments” (now Taylor-Schechter 10K6 and 16.311).<sup>1</sup> Solomon Schechter, a Jewish scholar of rabbinics at Cambridge and then later the president of JTS, came to regard some of the fragments as originating from a heretofore unknown ancient sect of the Sadducees (hence he called them by the name “Zadokite”). Louis Ginzberg, whom Schechter appointed as a professor of Talmud in 1903, worked on the Geniza texts, among other things, for the next fifty years at JTS until his death in 1953. He came to a very different conclusion about who wrote the fragments that Schechter had earlier identified as “Zadokite.” He concluded that the Zadokite fragments represented a proto-rabbinic Pharisaic group whose practices could be compared to the kinds of talmudic and Geonic work that were normative parts of the tradition.<sup>2</sup> If anything, these fragments were seen as Jewish precedents that added to the understanding of the development of the halakhah and could be used as such. The halakhah was, therefore, to be understood and treated as a progressive legal system that was not as canonized as was once thought. This became one of the fundamental points for the Conservative movement’s view of Jewish law.

The Reform movement at the turn of the century was itself engaged in a campaign to demonstrate the variety of different Judaisms, and so the Geniza interested HUC scholars as well. In 1903, soon after Schechter had settled in the United States, he discussed the Geniza fragments with the distinguished scholar and leader of Reform Judaism, Kaufmann Kohler, head of the Cincinnati-based HUC. For Kohler, the “Zadokite” fragments were a remnant of that religious system of the ancient Zadokites, Sadducees, Samaritans, and Karaites, all of

whom preserved ancient and elitist traditions and practices in contrast to the progressive and populist notions of the Pharisees.<sup>3</sup> Despite some who questioned the origins of the Geniza fragments, both HUC and JTS scholars began the arduous task of unraveling the unknown texts and readings of the Geniza, and most began to use them to interpret the more well-known corpus of rabbinic texts. As they began this comparison, a new and more complex system of Jewish life and custom emerged that indirectly demonstrated to the Jewish world how diverse medieval Judaism had been. Slowly, over the next one hundred years, the Geniza fragments revealed that Judaism was indeed more diverse—even a thousand years ago—than was once known.<sup>4</sup> The Geniza's forgotten texts and readings came to influence not only the then-contemporary understanding of ancient Judaism but also became a vehicle for reinterpreting modern rabbinic Judaism. These “new/old” texts of the Geniza were used as precedents for modern Jewish liturgical, legal, and theological innovations.<sup>5</sup> It was a reciprocal process. Twentieth-century Reform and Conservative scholars influenced the understanding of the Geniza by their translations and use of the texts as precedents for innovations in Reform and Conservative Judaism. By the same token, the modern, developing ideologies of those movements influenced the interpretation of the Geniza fragments. Citations from the Geniza materials have not only been



*First paragraph of two-page letter from Solomon Schechter to Kaufmann Kohler, October 1903*

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

found in scholarly works but, thanks to the widespread use of the Geonic and *piyyut* (liturgical) materials found in the Geniza, they have been integrated into Jewish law and practice in the twentieth century in Conservative and Reform responsa and have even affected the formulation of prayer books.<sup>6</sup>

In many ways, the Geniza discovery and subsequent research anticipated the

Reform and Conservative movements' discovery and research on the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments. First, because so many scholars from HUC and JTS had earlier concluded that the Geniza fragments were significant as legitimate rabbinic precedents, the Dead Sea Scrolls, a thousand years earlier than the Geniza fragments, were immediately accorded relevance. Second, since the Geniza fragments revealed a heretofore unknown, highly eclectic, and diverse Jewish life and customs, the Dead Sea Scrolls likewise were accorded importance because they revealed similar Jewish diversity in the ancient world. The Geniza had earlier suggested that there were Jewish textual remains that showed a richer and more complex Jewish community than was suggested by the canon of rabbinic texts that was being used in the Ashkenazic or the Sephardic world.

The connection between the Geniza fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls was almost immediately apparent. When Schechter identified Geniza fragments fifty years before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as representing an unknown Zadokite sect (albeit in a medieval copy), he unknowingly provided the future framework for the acceptance of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>7</sup> This Geniza fragment was indeed one of the Dead Sea Scrolls sectarian texts later called the "Damascus Document." The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscript called the Manual of Discipline (fragments 4Q265-73, 5Q12, and 6Q15) corroborated Schechter's early identification of this unknown sect of Jews. It was a significant corroboration because it simultaneously gave the Dead Sea Scrolls an immediate pedigree (of sorts) as an authentic Jewish text that could not be easily dismissed.

### **Reform Judaism, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, and the Dead Sea Scrolls**

It is clear that Reform Judaism had a very close connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls because of HUC's president, famed Negev archaeologist Nelson Glueck. Glueck's involvement with Israeli archaeology, especially in the southern region of Israel and Jordan (where the scrolls were discovered), gave him an instant understanding of the larger archaeological context of the discovery, certainly earlier than almost any other Jewish scholar in the United States. In addition, Glueck's connection with the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Jerusalem, where he served as director in the period right before the discovery, gave him insight into the context of the place where the discoveries were first brought for photographing and identification. If the president of HUC had not been an archaeologist who had worked in this area of Jordan in the 1930s and 1940s and who knew all of the major scholars involved in the scrolls, HUC (later Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion [HUC-JIR]) might not have been so actively involved in the scrolls' early history.

The circumstances that unfolded in the late 1940s and early 1950s are the subject of Jason Kalman's article in this volume, so I will not include an

extensive discussion of the role of HUC-JIR in the early interpretation and study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I do think, however, that the central role that Glueck played in the scrolls' drama is important when compared with the role of Louis Finkelstein, a very well-known Second Temple scholar and chancellor of JTS in the same time period.<sup>8</sup> Finkelstein, for example, did not comment publicly on the scrolls at the same time that Glueck made regular comments in the media. Even though he was the president of a major Jewish institution of higher learning, Glueck rarely offered his own assessment of the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the movement, but he did present a small insight into his thinking in a *New York Times* book review of major books written on the scrolls in the 1950s. Glueck expressed his impressions about the scrolls' importance for modern Jews when he wrote:

Could it be that the Dead Sea Scrolls, so amazingly exhumed from their long forgotten cave-burials and suddenly transported over the space of some twenty centuries to the attention of the world, were hailed unconsciously by myriads as a symbol of luminescent hope in an age of otherwise unrelieved darkness?<sup>9</sup>

In this pronouncement he seems to be alluding to the “dark days” of the Holocaust, the wars of Israel, the Cold War, and the Korean conflict; and he saw the scrolls not as museum pieces but rather as a “message in a bottle” from a divine hand. Glueck, the archaeologist, knew the importance and scarcity of archaeological finds and ancient manuscripts and also the state of biblical studies before the discovery of the scrolls. The discovery energized both Judaism and biblical studies with a new appreciation for the faith and the “authenticity” of ancient Israel. At the same time, Glueck, the rabbi and president of a major rabbinical institution, also knew the importance of the hope that new and unexpected finds such as the Dead Sea Scrolls offered to the Jewish people still recovering from the Holocaust and of American and Israeli Jews living in countries that were full of new challenges.

The connection between the scrolls and HUC-JIR, the flagship institution of the Reform movement, went beyond the original authentication of the scrolls purchased by the State of Israel in a “clandestine” operation by Dr. Harry Orlinsky in 1954.<sup>10</sup> It continues through the present day, with scholars at the HUC-JIR campuses playing a key role in research.<sup>11</sup>

Isaiah Sonne, the first professor to include the scrolls in his coursework at HUC-JIR's Cincinnati campus in the 1950s, used them to compare and contrast readings of the Masoretic text. By the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, the Dead Sea Scrolls became part of the HUC-JIR curriculum, first at Cincinnati and New York and then later at the Los Angeles campus.<sup>12</sup> This means that nearly all Reform rabbinical students over the past fifty years had the opportunity to study the Dead Sea Scrolls as part of their rabbinic

studies. It does not mean, however, that all Reform rabbinical students availed themselves of the opportunity. In fact, as we discover from Kalman's work, the understanding of the scrolls' significance was uneven because of the varied views of certain faculty among the campuses. The *Hebrew Union College Annual* from 1950–1951 until the present has a number of articles on various aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and while members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR, the professional organization of Reform rabbis) received the *Annual*, it is hard to know what the influence of the scholarship was on the rabbinical knowledge base. Although it is possible to say that the curriculum of the HUC-JIR rabbinical schools and the graduate programs included Dead Sea Scrolls coursework on all of its campuses, it is unclear what the rabbinical students took away from these diverse presentations. What is clear, however, is that a whole generation of rabbis who trained at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati, for example, under the influence of Samuel Sandmel and Ellis Rivkin, came away with views about the Dead Sea Scrolls' importance that were very different from the views of scholars at most other seminaries. The coursework that HUC-JIR faculty chose to present reflects a clear indifference toward the scrolls. For example, Sandmel was supposed to replace the HUC-JIR coursework in 1955–1956 on the scrolls that Sonne had started, but he did not. It was not until Professor Norman Golb was hired in the 1958–1959 academic year that a course in the scrolls was reinstated in Cincinnati.

One of the main voices on the importance of the scrolls at HUC-JIR (and at Yeshiva University and JTS as well in the same time period) was, interestingly, not on the faculty of any of these institutions. The thinking of Solomon Zeitlin (and his students) of Dropsie College influenced faculty and scholarship in the Jewish world for nearly a generation. Early in 1949, Zeitlin began his attacks on the scrolls as medieval Karaite documents. His criticisms, based upon his own evaluation of the limited corpus of published pieces available to the public, continued until his death in 1976. He held that the texts had little or no importance for the development of normative, historical, rabbinic Judaism.<sup>13</sup> His arguments, which have been all but rejected by everyone except his most ardent supporters, were mainly found in articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (of which he was the editor). A scholar with a vast knowledge of Jewish texts, Zeitlin challenged almost every part of the scrolls research. He found contradictions in the initial reporting of the discoveries, found contradictory historical references and identifications among the researching scholars, and challenged archaeological discoveries at Qumran (associated with the dating of the scrolls) as well as the paleography studies and carbon 14 dating.

Zeitlin's ideological influence at HUC-JIR came mainly through Ellis Rivkin. Rivkin, who came to teach at HUC in 1949 and continued for nearly a half century, was one of the most influential faculty members at the College. He was also a disciple of Zeitlin's thinking on the medieval provenance of the

scrolls.<sup>14</sup> At the same time that Rivkin was conveying ambivalence about the scrolls to the HUC-JIR community, Sandmel became equally ambivalent about their significance. Very few references to the importance of the scrolls can be found in the writings of Rivkin, Sandmel, or their rabbinical students. Part of their legacy at the Cincinnati campus continued until the HUC-JIR scrolls photos were released in the early 1990s and new scrolls translation teams began. The current generation of faculty is markedly different with regard to the Dead Sea Scrolls. The scrolls now figure in Bible, liturgy and Second Temple Judaism coursework on all three campuses. The Reform Movement has reclaimed the Dead Sea Scrolls in many ways. In the introduction to the book *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, published in 2005 by Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, the sense of the scrolls' importance for modern Judaism in general and Reform Judaism in particular is clear:

For Jews, the Qumran texts say, 'Our family was larger than you knew.' The watchword is *diversity*. Modern Judaism comes from Pharisaism, but in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. there were also other kinds of Judaism, and it was not obvious that the Pharisees would be the ones still standing at the end of the day.<sup>15</sup>

The current state of affairs can be traced back to Ben Zion Wacholder. Wacholder joined the Cincinnati faculty in the 1960s, when the scrolls still were explicit parts of the curriculum. Kalman in his article points out that from 1964 through the 1980s, the HUC-JIR bulletin lists a Talmud elective titled, "The Qumran Texts and Early Halakhah." A syllabus of the course "Introductory Readings in the Dead Sea Scrolls" from spring 1987 reveals that Wacholder had a clear idea of the scrolls' significance for the Reform movement. In the syllabus, Wacholder writes about the scrolls and their authors: "What were their Jewish ideology? Were they Hasidim, Mitnagdim, or perhaps Sefardim? Perhaps they were not Jews at all?"<sup>16</sup> Despite Wacholder being at an institution that, it turns out, had a copy of the photographs of the scrolls that nobody was allowed to use (see the Kalman article for more on this), he based his lectures right up until the 1990s almost entirely upon published materials or materials that were available to him through the generosity of the Dead Sea Scrolls' editors. In the 1990s, the HUC-JIR faculty in Cincinnati taught a small seminar on the scrolls and another course in the palaeography of the scrolls, but they did not have a large rabbinical following at the school. Despite this, the scrolls did ignite the interest of some rabbis in the field.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, at rabbinical gatherings—e.g., the biennial Reform movement conferences—there were presentations on the Dead Sea Scrolls and their importance.<sup>18</sup>

Beginning in the 1950s it was Reform rabbis, and not the academics at the seminaries, who ultimately found a way to embrace the scrolls as vehicles for understanding modern Jewish life.

## The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Friday Night Sermon

This investigation of the scrolls' influence began at JTS and at the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (AJA) at HUC-JIR in Cincinnati with the late Friday night service and sermon. Beginning in the 1920s, this Friday night venue was one of the main documented sources for disseminating ideas about modern Judaism and Jewish life in the United States.<sup>19</sup> Most of the rabbis who were trained at HUC, JTS, Yeshiva University, the Jewish Institute of Religion, and later the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, used the sermon as a forum for educating and probing the interests of the American Jewish public. Homiletics was (and is) a central part of the rabbinical school curriculum, and it developed into one of the main pillars of the American rabbinate. This Friday night service and the required Friday night sermon was one of the central educational forums of American Jewry. It was one of the major differences between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Friday night services. Part of the development of the late Friday night service in American life assumed that Jews living in the far-flung sprawl of the suburbs could not easily accommodate an early Friday night service because of the demands of family, work, and travel time. The development of the late Friday night service as the main Shabbat experience for many Jews in the post-World War II period also assumed that many Jews might have to work on Saturdays and would otherwise not be available for services on Saturday morning.<sup>20</sup> The Friday night sermon itself was a modern innovation in American life (and very unlike the sermon's role in the nineteenth century), primarily designed to attract the better-educated children of immigrants who were interested in serious topics of discussion.

In homiletics classes starting in the 1920s at JTS and HUC, rabbinical students were taught to prepare their sermons with extreme care and to write or type them out, in full, often with citations, just as if they were writing a research paper. This innovation of the sermon, which had begun in the nineteenth century as a part of the Reform and Positive Historical schools in Europe, required training in many of the hallmarks of writing and public discourse. The sermon was the vehicle for discussing the basic ideas of Jewish practice, but it was also the forum for presenting (often for the first time) the innovations that became hallmarks of Reform Judaism. Questions such as patrilineal descent, women as rabbis, theological problems related to the Holocaust, gay and lesbian relations, Jewish-Christian relations, divorce, and many of the teachings that later became parts of Reform Jewish practice and life were presented in sermons on Friday night and other major occasions, such as Rosh HaShanah and Yom Kippur, by far-thinking rabbis ordained at the campuses of the Reform and Liberal movements' rabbinical schools. These sermons also preserved a "snapshot" of what Jews were being taught and how rabbis perceived the discoveries and significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1950s and 1960s. In looking through hundreds of sermons from rabbis across the nation at the AJA in Cincinnati from this

time period, one notes sermons on the major events of the day—the new State of Israel, the sexual revolution, the status of women, wars across the world, books, movies, major figures, civil rights, Communism, and major American holidays, among many others—but very little from the world of archaeology. In fact, I did not encounter any other archaeological discovery featured in the nearly sixty years of sermons from the 1940s to 2000.<sup>21</sup> The most revealing insight is that the scrolls, which were greeted with ambivalence by some on the HUC-JIR faculty, were a part of the sermons of scholarly Reform rabbis who were ordained *prior* to their discovery.

### Reform Rabbis With a Cause: The Dead Sea Scrolls in 1950, 1955, 1957, and 1968

Many of the rabbis who preached sermons on the Dead Sea Scrolls had studied at HUC and JIR prior to the scrolls' discovery. The academic and scholarly debates over the scrolls, their origins, provenance, antiquity, and authenticity do not seem to have affected the Reform rabbis in the field, who did their own "research" and came to unambiguous conclusions of their own.

Rabbi Harold Saperstein, who for almost fifty years was rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Lynbrook, Long Island, was trained at the JIR and ordained in 1935. He obviously did not study under any of the noted scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR, 1950 onward), but he did study and read the materials of Harry Orlinsky (he mentions specifically an article in *American Judaism*, 1955).<sup>22</sup> Orlinsky was a particularly influential and beloved teacher at the new HUC-JIR, and in the 1950s he taught at many of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) and Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) conventions as well as professional institutes for rabbis. Saperstein was a well-known figure starting in the 1950s at most of these events, and he was a prolific writer and activist, as well. His sermons are meticulously typed and arranged, and his collection shows the entire diversity of the American rabbinate in this period.<sup>23</sup> On Friday night, 16 December 1955, he preached a sermon simply titled: "The Dead Sea Scrolls"<sup>24</sup> (the sermon is reprinted in this volume). Edmund Wilson's article in *The New Yorker* on 14 May 1955 began the popular interest in the scrolls for Jews and Christians and apparently motivated Saperstein to give this sermon.<sup>25</sup>

A very scholarly and community-involved individual, Saperstein drew many of his sermons directly from the events of the day. *The New York Times* was one of the places where Jewish and Christian scholars debated issues concerning the scrolls from the end of 1948 through 1950.<sup>26</sup> The closest in time to the delivery of Saperstein's sermon was Nelson Glueck's review in *The New York Times* of Millar Burrows's book *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* and another book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, which had recently been published by Magnes Press. The review appeared on 20 November 1955 and was probably

the motivation for Saperstein to deliver his sermon between Thanksgiving and Christmas. The article some months earlier in the Times about Israel's acquiring the remainder of the intact scrolls discovered in 1947 was itself a catalyst for rabbis to discuss the issue of the scrolls and the fledgling State of Israel, although only the later articles provided enough information upon which to build a sermon.<sup>27</sup>

Saperstein's theme includes elements from the scrolls that demonstrate the close relationship between Judaism and Christianity, a constant motif in the scrolls sermons that I read.<sup>28</sup> Saperstein, like other rabbis of his period, assiduously followed *The New York Times* and its book reviews. On that Friday night in December 1955, he exposed the Reform Jews of Long Island to a topic they might not otherwise have seen as a subject for modern Jews, i.e. the significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Reform Jews. Saperstein wrote:

Now what do these discoveries have to tell us about religious history, first for Jews and then for Christians? As Jews, as Professor Burrows of Yale Divinity School has said, there was more variety and flexibility in Judaism than we have ever before supposed. It helps us to realize that there was in ancient times in Judaism room for minority groups and freedom for minority people. But more important it helps us to know more about our own religious literature.

Saperstein's interest in the scrolls is demonstrated by his follow-up sermon thirteen years later. While very few American rabbis preached on the scrolls even once, Saperstein preached a second time, with the scrolls and their interpretation for modern Judaism as his topic. I was at Temple Emanu-El on Friday evening, 5 January 1968, when he preached this sermon, and it made an impact upon me. As a thirteen-year-old, in my bar mitzvah year, I remember hearing about the scrolls for the first time that evening.<sup>29</sup> After Saperstein's return from his sabbatical in Israel in 1967, he frequently reported with particular vigor on the major events in Israel. But in 1968 I remember hearing about the scrolls and understood something totally different about the way that Jewish life had developed in antiquity to the present. Saperstein held that Reform Jews were a continuation of the life and times of the Jews that extended back to the biblical world. He wrote:

Now what is the importance for the understanding of Judaism of these greatly publicized ancient scrolls? Outside of the fascination of dealing with something which goes back 2000 years-do they throw light on our heritage? I think they do.

First, they add great support to the accuracy of our current Bible texts....

Secondly, these discoveries make us realize that we are not the people of the book but the people of books. We had come to feel that the only book that

has come down from ancient times was the Bible. We suspected that there were many other books which had somehow got lost—there are hints of some in the Bible itself. But we had never seen any. Now suddenly we have come across a group of these books, each with a character of its own, and can better appreciate how rich the total literary heritage of our people must have been.

Thirdly, we are reminded of the great variety of Jewish religious thought and practice during the time that the Jews were in an independent nation. Judaism was never a monolithic faith. There was a great deal of free religious searching. There were many differing, sometimes conflicting groups. The break away from tradition by Reform Judaism in our day is not an innovation in Jewish history at all.

He is one of many rabbis who made the intellectual leap that the Dead Sea Scrolls really did reflect as much about Reform Judaism's emergence in the nineteenth century as it did about the Qumranites' emergence in the second century BCE. Reform rabbis saw themselves in the twentieth century in much the same way as the Qumranites must have seen themselves in the first century. Rabbi Saperstein concluded his sermon: "The ancient scrolls that come from the area of the Dead Sea still have the potential of life and light and inspiration for the people of Israel. Amen."

While Saperstein was not alone in bringing this message of the scrolls' significance for Reform Judaism to his congregation, his insights are by far the most profound of any of the other sermons in the archives. (Read Saperstein's sermons in full in this volume together with Marc Saperstein's introduction).

Most of the sermons available from this period that dealt with the Dead Sea Scrolls were given in anticipation of Jewish-Christian ecumenical events and holidays (the other popular period was before Easter), when rabbis attempted to demonstrate the close relationship between Jews and Christians. Edward Klein, JIR-ordained rabbi of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York City, delivered such a sermon on Friday night 6 December 1957. The sermon is titled, "More on the Dead Sea Scrolls":

The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls speak to us across two millennia of the amazing vitality and creativity of an ancient people, the rag-tag and bobtail of the ancient world, a tiny people over-run by Greeks and Romans, able nonetheless to give humanity its God idea, its Bible, its prophets, its commandments, to give more than half the world its faith. They bid Christianity to recognize a new and even greater debt to Judaism, than had before been known. On the eve of Chanukah and Christmas, the Qumran covenanters urge that Christianity and Judaism, unique in their separate beliefs, yet even closer than before in the things they share, fulfill their mission as Children of Light, doing battle against the forces of darkness.<sup>30</sup>

Roland Gittlesohn, born in 1910 and a graduate of HUC in 1936, is another example of the Reform rabbis who read about the scrolls on their own and felt they were important enough to be mentioned. Gittlesohn was rabbi of Temple Israel in Boston for almost thirty years and delivered a sermon on Friday night, 4 January 1957, titled, “The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Do They Teach Us About Judaism and Christianity?” He notes in passing that on 3 February 1957, Cyrus Gordon of Brandeis University, a member of his congregation, was going to address the brotherhood breakfast and speak more about the technical issues of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In Gittlesohn’s Friday night sermon he spoke about the religious significance of the discoveries for Jews and Christians. He saw the two thousand-year-old scrolls as a vehicle for modern Jews and Christians to understand their own theological positions.<sup>31</sup>

Many sermons delivered in December 1957 were inspired by the numerous critiques, published during 1956, of Edmund Wilson’s 1955 book, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*. In general, 1957 was a critical year for public discourse about the scrolls. It marked the tenth anniversary of the discovery, and it came on the heels of a publishing flurry in 1956 that yielded new books and major articles in many scholarly journals. There were also, in 1957, ongoing discoveries in the area of the Dead Sea.<sup>32</sup>

On 29 March 1957, Ferdinand M. Isserman of Temple Israel in St. Louis delivered a sermon on the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>33</sup> It was, in part, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the discovery of the scrolls, and it followed the twentieth anniversary of the “Institute for Judaism” that Temple Israel hosted on 12 February 1957.<sup>34</sup> At that gathering, HUC-JIR professor Samuel Sandmel had presented his negative assessment of the value of the scrolls. A month and a half after Sandmel’s presentation, Isserman delivered his own, more positive, assessment. On that Friday night he conveyed the idea that many Reform rabbis had begun to formulate—i.e., that the scrolls were particularly important for Reform Judaism. He saw the direct connection between the newly published hymns from Qumran and the “new” hymns composed by the movement that appeared in the *Union Prayer Book*. He stated:

It is the literary record of this community that has been found. Among them is a book of hymns. These hymn books draw on biblical sources, but they reveal the originality of the community. They did exactly what we have done. We have a Union Prayer Book. In it there is a song centered around the 23rd Psalm. It is, however, not the 23rd Psalm, but it centers about it. That is what they did too. They were inspired by biblical literature and the biblical point of view, but they composed their own songs.<sup>35</sup>

The recognition that it was possible to compose new liturgy was not a new idea; scholars, especially liturgical scholars, at JTS and HUC-JIR had written about it. What Isserman was pointing to was the ability of the inspired ancient

author to compose a hymn based upon the Bible and having the same type of inspiration that the ancient biblical author had had. The scrolls provided for Reform Jews (especially the rabbis) a validation of many of the kinds of changes that had been made in the *Union Prayer Book* and that had been going on for nearly a century before the discovery of the scrolls.

Despite all of the controversies that swirled about opposing views of authenticity, most rabbis seem to have viewed the scrolls as an exciting and ancient Jewish discovery. They compared it to the launching of Sputnik and the discussions of ballistic missiles that were a common part of the Cold War threats of the day. Richard C. Hertz at Temple Beth El in Detroit, for example (who delivered two back-to-back “scrolls” sermons in December 1957), reflects in his sermon on 6 December the tenor of the various views being presented:

In the 20th century of sputniks and rocket ballistics, it is good to gain a little perspective on the values of life and realize that there is still fascination in an ancient Jewish time, that new discoveries are constantly being unearthed. And it is also a little humbling to realize that modern man, for all his vaunted scientific and technical wizardry, still does not know everything about the long ago and far away.<sup>36</sup>

The Dead Sea Scrolls did provide this opportunity. Glueck observed already in 1955 that the discovery was not only reserved for the professional archaeologists and Bible scholars but had a potential influence upon Judaism in his own times. In his *New York Times* review, “New Light on the Dim Past,” he wrote, “Their very names [the Dead Sea Scrolls] excite the interest of all who are alert to the ideas and tendencies related to some of the main theological tenets of our own times.”<sup>37</sup>

### After the Release of the Scrolls: 1990–Present

It seems that after the 1990s, with the release of the scrolls to the greater public (and the release of the scrolls copy at HUC-JIR to the public) and the groundbreaking work of Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg, HUC-JIR re-embraced the central role that it had played in the entire scrolls history. In many events from 2000 onward, the scrolls became a *leitmotif* for many HUC-JIR events. They have been quoted at more HUC-JIR events and rabbinic installations since 2000 than during the entire period beforehand. The use of the scrolls and their content as an appropriate Jewish metaphor in Reform gatherings is evident both from the invited speakers and the faculty of HUC-JIR. At the 13 May 2002 commencement at the Los Angeles campus, for example, the invited speaker, Professor Paula Hyman, a well-known historian of modern Judaism at Yale University, spoke on the topic of “Jewish Identity on the Global Frontier.” She used the scrolls as an example of an important issue in modern Jewish identity that affects Reform and Conservative Jewish life—the question of the “Who is a Jew?” controversy in Israel:

To be sure, the Dead Sea Scrolls and recent scholarship on sectarianism in the ancient world have made it apparent that “who is a Jew” was a hot question in the first centuries of the Common Era. And religious syncretism was not unknown. Jewish Christians, for instance, straddled the boundaries of two groups.<sup>38</sup>

It is an inspired and timely connection, but it assumed that the audience and students at the commencement would be well-versed enough in the content of the scrolls to find the connection meaningful. It is in fact the pioneering and courageous work of Wacholder and Abegg at HUC-JIR in the 1990s that allowed this metaphor to be especially important at an HUC-JIR commencement.

One of the most unusual examples of the Dead Sea Scrolls’ influences is found in the 2006 installation of Rabbi Evan Moffic. Most installations of Reform rabbis are accompanied by an investment or installation by a scholar or rabbi from the ordaining institution or a senior rabbi who either mentored the rabbi or represents the ordaining authority. Often this ceremony is very ritualized and formal, and citations from the Bible and rabbinic literature accompany the blessings that are invoked upon the new rabbi. There are, indeed, written formulae that ordaining institutions have suggested. Often the installation is accompanied by sermons on Friday night and/or Saturday morning and weekends of study and teaching to invest the event with dignity. Usually the Torah reading is the central pillar of this teaching. The use of the scrolls in an installation is meaningful because it implies that the congregation would see the “sectarian” Dead Sea Scrolls as representing normative Jewish authority. On this particular occasion, Michael A. Meyer of HUC-JIR in Cincinnati was involved in installing Rabbi Moffic, at Chicago Sinai Congregation, as assistant rabbi. Professor Meyer in his Friday night sermon used a scrolls reading from the Book of Numbers to reinforce his message and stated:

But I should like to conclude my remarks this Shabbat evening of your installation not with the usual text as it is found [in the Book of Numbers] in the Bible, but with a variant version, one that was found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, those ancient parchment accounts discovered only in our own times but that date back two millennia. Here is the text: ‘May God bless you with all that is good and protect you from all that is evil. May God illumine your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you knowledge of those things that are eternal. May God’s love and kindness extend to you so that you may always have peace.’ May it be so.<sup>39</sup>

The citation of this textual expansion found in the Dead Sea Scrolls suggests that the scroll may indeed preserve an original and authoritative Jewish message. The use of this variant reading in an installation assumes many levels of acceptance of the scrolls. On the one hand, it assumes that the congregation will be aware of how the scrolls interpret traditional biblical texts and offer new

meanings to those texts, much the same way as rabbinic midrash. On the other hand, it accepts the scrolls' interpretative expansions as authentic expressions—as authentic as rabbinic midrash—of the Jewish people. Meyer does all of this as a representative of HUC-JIR who had embraced his role in the unraveling story of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In that same year, 2006, the commencement speaker at HUC-JIR in Los Angeles, Peter von der Osten-Sacken, invoked the scrolls in his commencement address. Von der Osten-Sacken, who received a degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, *honoris causa*, at the 15 May ceremony, titled his speech, “To Get To Know, To Understand and To Respect.” In it, he first cited a verse from Micah 6:8 and then cited how this verse is expounded in the scrolls:

Most of the summarizing rules of life are much shorter. The community of the Dead Sea Scrolls chose the one sentence of the prophet Micah just cited, enriching it by two or three terms of their own.<sup>40</sup>

The implication of this speaker at an HUC-JIR-sponsored event is that the scrolls provide an authentic slice of Jewish life and that they are authentic primary sources for the history of Judaism. The scrolls' rendering of this Micah quote demonstrates that the Bible's revelation was an ongoing and continuous process.

These two settings, an installation of a new Reform rabbi and the commencement speeches at HUC-JIR, reflect the scrolls' new role that HUC-JIR and the Reform movement seem to have embraced after 2000. I found nothing like this in the archives from the more than forty years that followed the early role that HUC-JIR played in the story of the scrolls.

### Modern Reform Liturgy and Responsa Literature

Liturgy and its partner, the official prayer book, are results of the rabbinic innovation following the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70 C.E.<sup>41</sup> The development of rabbinic prayer is diverse and multifaceted and may parallel the development of a Christian prayer book in the early Church. By the period of the Geonim in the seventh and eighth centuries, the need for a more formal prayer book and authorized blessings became a priority, especially because of the growth of the Karaite movement. Responsa literature—that is, responses to letters of requests for rabbinic decisions—became a medium for authorizing one blessing or tradition over another. By the ninth to tenth centuries, Rabbis Amram Gaon and Saadia Gaon developed more standardized prayer books.<sup>42</sup> Translations of the prayer book into the spoken languages of the Jews (Judezmo/Ladino, Yiddish, German, and English) began in the late Middle Ages and were influenced by poetic allusions that continued through the modern period. These collections often included translations of prayers, with additional readings that spiritually enhanced the congregants' sense of the prayer book as a reflection of the times in which they lived.

This trend of using translation and manuscripts, and the ability to create new liturgy, was indirectly affected by the discovery and deciphering of the Geniza. Suddenly a plethora of manuscript readings were available. The standardized *Amidah* (literally: “standing prayer”), which many had assumed to have been canonized in the first centuries of the Common Era, suddenly was seen to be more fluid than was first thought, thanks in part to the new manuscript readings available in the Geniza. The Reform and Conservative movements used this fluidity to demonstrate that there was strong historical precedent for liturgical creativity in formulating prayers.<sup>43</sup>

Psalm fragments were found in almost all of the eleven caves, and texts of the psalms represent the largest number of manuscripts of any book in the Dead Sea Scrolls discoveries. This suggests that Qumran prayer was similar to Temple prayer, but the unique Qumran original psalm compositions, or *Hodayot*, suggests that the Qumranites were not just following the rites of Jerusalem but summoned the authority to create (and innovate) new prayers.<sup>44</sup> The existence of new prayers in original manuscript versions (albeit with Dead Sea Scrolls) further legitimated the Reform prayer book innovations that were created in the twentieth century.

Three examples from the Reform movement’s use of the scrolls will suffice. First, the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues (based in the United Kingdom) introduced a new prayer book in 1995, *Siddur Lev Chadash*—“A New Heart” prayer book—which uses extracts from the scrolls as they might use readings from normative Jewish thinkers throughout the ages, including the Geniza fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The title of the *siddur* is taken from Ezekiel 36:26: “I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit in you.” Besides changing the masculine pronouns for God in the liturgy, it includes the matriarchs and extracts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, alongside normative citations from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, Maimonides, Judah HaLevi, Hasidic masters, and Samson Raphael Hirsch.<sup>45</sup>

The second example involves the newest prayer book of the Reform movement, *Mishkan T’filah*. The inclusion of citations from the Dead Sea Scrolls as readings, benedictions, and liturgical versions was a conscious decision by the editors of the new *siddur*. They map out their view in the introduction to *Mishkan T’filah*, where they specifically demonstrate why the scrolls reflect an ideological stance of a movement that developed its own liturgical formulation. HUC-JIR professor and member of the *Mishkan T’filah* editorial board Richard Sarason writes:

Some groups of Jews outside the Land of Israel who did not have access to the Temple, and others, like the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls who withdrew from the Temple in protest against the perceived illegitimacy

of the Maccabean priesthood in the second century before the Common Era [B.C.E.], engaged in regular communal prayer even before the Temple was destroyed.<sup>46</sup>

The third example is from the Israeli Reform *siddur* and *mahzor*, *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* and *Kavanat Halev*.<sup>47</sup> In *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* the scrolls' "midrashic" version of the *Birkat Kohanim* (Numbers 6: 22–27) is featured in one of the most important parts of the service. This version of the priestly blessing is indeed a liturgical innovation on the famous biblical verses (1QSb)<sup>48</sup> that links the Qumran community with the holy angels. Reform rabbis use the Aaronide blessing in various contexts—for blessing bar and bat mitzvah candidates, at weddings, and at the benediction at the end of services. The Israeli prayer book uses it at the end of the Kabbalat Shabbat service (90) as an alternative concluding benediction (the benediction is an important innovation in Reform liturgy).<sup>49</sup>

In the Israeli *Kavanat Halev*, the High Holiday Reform *mahzor*, several passages from the Thanksgiving Scroll (*Hodayot*) were incorporated as well. For the *Shaharit* (morning) service for Yom Kippur, a number of *Hodayot* were selected for inclusion. Among the suggestions for "opening readings" between the tallit blessing and the Torah blessing, for example, the Reform *mahzor* incorporated several readings from the *Hodayot*; and several other *Hodayot* lines were chosen as readings in the meditations after the morning *Amidah*.<sup>50</sup> In the *Shaharit Musaf* (concluding prayer) the meditations following the *Amidah* are other *Hodayot* verses.<sup>51</sup> These *Kavanat Halev* inclusions seem to serve two very different purposes. First, they demonstrate the development of the Hebrew language and the importance of a larger canon of Hebrew literature, which has significance for the development of Israeli Reform Judaism. But these citations in a modern prayer book make the Dead Sea Scrolls equivalent to ancient rabbinic citations. The idea that the Qumranites created new blessings based on biblical verses and that these blessings became authentic expressions for modern Israeli Reform Jews is also significant. This embracing of the Dead Sea Scrolls is unprecedented in modern Judaism.

The translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls that emerged during the late 1990s and early 2000s have made more of these texts available to the larger public. The discovery of Dead Sea Scrolls prayers that parallel rabbinic prayers, such as the *Birkat ha-Mazon* (grace after meals) fragment,<sup>52</sup> for example, demonstrate differences between the Qumran version of the blessing and the rabbinic version. The discovery of the scrolls version (in addition to the well-known versions discovered in the Geniza<sup>53</sup>) demonstrated that for different groups this fundamental blessing was, for thousands of years, more fluid than was once thought. Since the Reform and Conservative movements usually use a shortened version of the *Birkat ha-Mazon*, the scrolls version gave further antiquity to this practice.

## The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Synagogue

As much as the *siddur* was a mediator of the ideological views of Reform Judaism, the *humash* in the pews was just as influential. The weekly use of the Torah and *haftarah* and the translations and interpretations



Bernard J. Bamberger

(Photos courtesy American Jewish Archives)



W. Gunther Plaut

that accompanied the Hebrew were affected by new information and understandings of the ancient Near East that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Geniza and the Dead Sea Scrolls discoveries had a similar effect upon the creation of new *humash* and *haftarah* translations and commentaries.

Little of the wealth of readings/manuscript variants and interpretations of the Dead Sea Scrolls that would emerge in the 1990s through the present were available to W. Gunther Plaut and Bernard J. Bamberger for their work, *The Torah: A Modern Commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981; abbreviated as *TMC*). First published in 1981 (with research that was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s), its references show the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the canon, but there is not enough in the text notes to indicate that the authors had sufficient information for a full article in the commentary. Most of the insights in the *TMC* were intended for rabbis and congregants to study Torah. The insertion of the scrolls texts, therefore, needed to serve either as a homiletic cue or to enable a Reform congregant or rabbi to form an opinion about ancient Judaism. It also needed to reflect some aspect of Reform Judaism. There were some well-known textual variants or comparable readings in the *TMC*. In Genesis 5, when describing the elusive Enoch figure, the *TMC* presents the more extensive ancient Books of Enoch that are present in the Dead Sea Scrolls to demonstrate that much more was known about the figures of the Torah than is reflected in the canonized Bible.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, for example, in Genesis 12, *TMC*<sup>55</sup> cites the Genesis Apocryphon (Yadin and Avigad edition of 1956) with additional information about Sarah that is only found in the later rabbinic midrash. In the Apocryphon, for example, Sarah's beauty is a much more important literary device in the text than in the canonical Genesis 12. That the Genesis Apocryphon predates rabbinic midrash by hundreds of years and presents a fuller interpretation of the

Abraham and Sarah story is significant. This citation in the *TMC* gives the reader the impression that Torah revelation was followed by additional information about the patriarchs and matriarchs in a scrolls text that clarifies the original Torah revelation. The *TMC* cue here seems to be that we have only fragmented stories of the Bible and that the revelation of God went beyond the Masoretic text. Also, again (as in the case of the Enoch text), the *TMC* used the Genesis Apocryphon as if it was a normative rabbinic midrash.

The comparison between the way that the editors of the *TMC* viewed the Dead Sea Scrolls—that is, as normative and significant—and how some of the HUC-JIR faculty viewed them in relatively the same time period echoes the disconnect noted above, in which Reform rabbis' sermons reflected a greater appreciation of the scrolls than the scrolls received in the classrooms of some HUC-JIR faculty members. The *TMC* goes further than most of the sermons, however. In *TMC* Leviticus, for example, there are allusions to differences between the calendar of the Qumranites and the Jerusalemites.<sup>56</sup> This idea of differing calendars demonstrates that even in antiquity Jews often celebrated their holidays on different dates and in different ways. So, for example, the Qumranites would celebrate Passover, Sukkot, or Shavuot on different dates than the Jerusalemites did. Although I am not suggesting that the scrolls calendar issues are the same as the Reform movement's calendar issues, these differences allowed the *TMC* to present an issue that represented a contemporary debate among Reform and Conservative Jews in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>57</sup> In that period, debates raged in the Conservative movement as to whether to follow the Reform movement's decision to eliminate the second day of the pilgrimage holidays.<sup>58</sup> In the American Jewish community of this period, this type of confusion—whether Reform and Conservative Jews were observing the same days of a holiday—was problematic for many reasons. The *TMC*'s insights on the ancient calendar controversies do not appear in *Etz Chaim* (the newest Conservative *humash*), despite the fact that by the 1990s the research clearly showed that the Qumranites maintained a solar calendar.<sup>59</sup>

William Hallo's introductions to the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy in the *TMC* do refer specifically to the scrolls. In "Genesis and the Ancient Near East," Hallo establishes the understanding of the Qumran discoveries as presenting pre-Masoretic textual variants for comparison. His introduction to "Deuteronomy and the Ancient Near East" references a comparison between the Book of Deuteronomy and the Temple Scroll, which "took pains to eliminate all references to Moses and rephrased the Deuteronomic record in third person terms."<sup>60</sup> It appears that these references both present the scrolls as authentic ancient precedents (as opposed to the Zeitlin/Rivkin presentation) and are cues for rabbis and congregants to understand that the figure of Moses is grasped in different generations with different emphases—a view that would resonate with Reform views of how the ancient leaders of Israel help understand the

contemporary world. That Moses disappears in the Temple Scroll and that the account is written in the third person (versus the first person in Deuteronomy) makes Moses an even more humble figure than he is in the Masoretic text of Deuteronomy.

In the *TMC*'s section entitled *Gleanings*, a collection of additional related readings on the Torah portions, (*parashat Naso*, p. 1068), on the priestly blessing of Numbers 6, the *TMC* introduces the Qumran extended version that appears in the Community Rule from Qumran. The priestly blessing was a part of many Reform benedictions and ceremonies and, as we saw above, even figured in the rabbinic installation remarks of Professor Michael A. Meyer in 2006. The scrolls version is a much more detailed priestly benediction that was bestowed upon the initiates of the sect. The *TMC* chose to use Theodore Gaster's translation of the Manual of Discipline<sup>61</sup> in the *Gleanings* section because Gaster's translation clearly presents the priestly blessing of Qumran as a creative version of the Numbers 6 benediction. (Capitalizations are Gaster's attempts to show how this is a direct expansion of the priestly blessing.)

Then the priests are to invoke a blessing on all that have cast their lot with God, that walk blamelessly in all their ways and they are to say: MAY HE BLESS THEE with all good and KEEP THEE from all evil, and ILLUMINE thy heart with insight into the things of life, and GRACE THEE with knowledge of things eternal, and LIFT UP HIS gracious COUNTENANCE TOWARDS THEE to grant thee peace everlasting.<sup>62</sup>

Gaster shows that the intent of the Qumran priestly blessing is to draw upon the more ancient Numbers 6 prayer and to use it as a springboard, in a midrashic sense, for a more appropriate prayer for the Qumran initiate. Its use in the *Gleanings* is as an authentic Jewish creative prayer.

The *TMC* attempts to make the connection between the Kittim, a group of foreigners mentioned in Numbers 24:24 and the more expansive meaning that the Kittim are given in the scrolls.<sup>63</sup> The scrolls demonstrate that a code name or word, "Kittim," could refer to different foreign enemies in different periods. Again, even though little was known about the references to the Kittim when the *TMC* was edited, the editors chose to present this insight. It is not just an arcane piece of information; its inclusion shows that the scrolls provided authentic Jewish insights. Clearly, the *TMC* sees the scrolls as ancient and normative Jewish sources (and not as "illegitimate" Karaite readings) that provide not only ancient data but also are religious signposts for modern Jews to read and understand their own differences. It is also clear that the *TMC*'s editors went out of their way to include whatever comparative information from the scrolls that was available so as to enhance the scrolls' reputation.

This is similar to the *TMC*'s basic use of the Septuagint readings, as well. They provide not only additional or parallel readings of the Torah but also

insights into the Jewish interpretations that were circulating in antiquity and that suggest a much more fluid text of the Torah than the traditional Masoretic presentation would allow. The Septuagint readings, however, were very well known, and there was little controversy over including these readings as legitimate, ancient Jewish texts. In the 1996 *haftarah* commentary Plaut edited, he shows where possible comparisons can be made that the Septuagint and Qumran (4QSamuel “A” on the *haftarah* of Shemini, for example<sup>64</sup>) demonstrate a text that is different than the Masoretic text. The Book(s) of Samuel in the Masoretic text is (are) quite different from that in the Septuagint and Qumran scrolls. Although the entire text of the scrolls version of Samuel was not available to the editors of the *haftarah*, Harvard Professor Frank Cross (and others) had, by the 1960s, made many of the major differences between the Masoretic and scrolls texts of Samuel available in scholarly articles and in his book, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*.<sup>65</sup> By presenting the differences between these readings of the Book of Samuel, Plaut here, as in the *TMC*, indicates how the scrolls may preserve a better and more complete version than the Masoretic text. Although the *haftarah* commentary was prepared when attitudes had already begun to change at HUC-JIR regarding the importance of the scrolls, Plaut’s insightful use of the Scrolls from the beginning of the project proved to be visionary.

Although small in number, the citations in the *TMC* and Plaut’s *haftarah* commentary demonstrate that the scrolls were authentic expressions of “lost” traditions of Judaism. Although their editors did not have access to much scrolls information, they presented them as authentic texts of ancient Jews that spoke to modern Jews in the same way that the words of midrash, Rashi, Rambam, and others spoke to modern Jews. This is all the more remarkable because of what we now know was the attitude of most of the faculty teaching the scrolls at HUC-JIR during the same period. The message that the *TMC* and the *haftarah* commentary sent was one that Reform Jews could readily understand: The scrolls were a continuation of “an original conversation or interaction between God and the Jewish people that began at Mount Sinai and that continues to this day.”<sup>66</sup>

## A Postmodern Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Through the Lens of Modern Religious Movements

Postmodernism, a movement in various disciplines in the humanities but especially in literature, has at its root the attempt to demonstrate how one’s background and ideological bent affects one’s understanding of information and writing. In general, postmodernism shows that every writer is a reflection of the cultural, political, and ideological environment in which he or she writes. Recently, among academics in many fields, postmodernism has emerged as a way to understand how ideological attitudes influence the way that individuals view almost any phenomenon, including ancient history. Most of the analysis

in this article shows how Reform treatment of the scrolls became a reflection of Reform ideology. This is not surprising—we might expect that the movement’s ideology would be reflected in its Bible commentaries, responsa, and liturgical preparation. The presence of the scrolls materials in this literature is unusual because, as discussed previously, in the same period that some major HUC-JIR professors were ambivalent about the importance of the scrolls, the scrolls were integrated into Reform literature. The reasons for this may have more to do with the recognition of the ideological proclivities of the so-called “objective” researchers themselves and the changes in Jewish scholarship on the scrolls that began after the death of Solomon Zeitlin.

We can see an ideological bent in the translations and interpretations of the scrolls from the beginning of the research, since almost all of the original researchers were Christians. Christian writers used the scrolls all too often in the 1950s as an opportunity to present (in not a very veiled way) their own theological biases under the cover of writing about ancient texts. For them, the Qumranites were the precursors of Christianity. The leader of the sect, the Teacher of Righteousness, prefigured either John the Baptist or Jesus and gave their roles greater antiquity. Father Roland De Vaux’s interpretations of Qumran as a monastery-like settlement that paralleled the later Roman Catholic monasteries that he knew so well is well-documented.<sup>67</sup> His descriptions of Qumran used terminology from the medieval monastery model, with depictions of such spaces as a refectory and scriptorium. No one doubts that De Vaux’s background influenced his interpretation of the Qumranites as either prefiguring Christianity or as proto-Christians. The recognition that one’s background influences how one interprets data (even among “objective” scholarship) is a tenet of postmodern interpretations.

Another scholar’s writing on the scrolls reflects another aspect of how ideology influences scholarship. Geza Vermes, a major figure in scrolls research from the 1950s onward, seems to have reflected his newly acquired Christian faith in his 1956 *Discovery in the Judean Desert*. In his translation and analysis, Vermes eliminated from the texts he analyzed any allusion to divorce and seemingly set up the Qumranites as if they were proto-Catholics. In addition, he shows his ideological bent in clear pronouncements such as:

And we know that their (i.e. the Qumranites’) expectation of the imminent coming of the Lord, whether they knew it or not, was soon to be truly fulfilled.<sup>68</sup>

A postmodern interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls reminds us that as much as the ancient precedents influence modern movements, the modern religious ideologies of these movements influence our understanding of the scrolls.

There are examples of Orthodox Jewish scholars writing in Orthodox publications on the scrolls and attempting to understand them as Orthodox (read rabbinic/halakhic) Jewish documents. In the 1955 edition of the magazine *Orthodox Jewish Life*, for example, Joseph Baumgarten wrote in his article, “The Dead Sea Scrolls”:

Here are texts stemming from the pre-Tannaitic period, perhaps reaching down to the period of Hillel and Shammai. Although their sectarian nature separates them from the main current of Pharisaic tradition, they can add greatly to our understanding of Rabbinic thought and the transmission of the Oral Law in one of the most turbulent times of Jewish history.<sup>69</sup>

Baumgarten, a respected Orthodox spokesperson of the period, brought the scrolls into the authentic rabbinic tradition despite their obvious deviation from the rabbinic tradition. Some Orthodox rabbis even today use the scrolls as if they were a form of normative Judaism (albeit a Sadducean position).<sup>70</sup> One could say that the scrolls in the 1950s and 1960s became a vehicle for interpreting modern Judaism as much as modern Jews were interpreting the scrolls. Some might assume that this ideological bent was possible because so little of the materials were available for overall review. In fact, it appears that despite more material being available for more Jewish scholars to analyze, an ideological perspective may inevitably be a part of all future scrolls scholarship. Professor Tzvi Zahavy assessed the work of three well-known Jewish scholars and showed that their scholarship may indeed reflect their own religious backgrounds.<sup>71</sup> According to Zahavy, the scholars and their books, which include extensive interpretations of the scrolls, are Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism*; and Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children*. Zahavy shows how each scholar's religious background (in the Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform movements, respectively), like the Christian interpreters, influenced their interpretations of the scrolls. He writes:

An Orthodox Jewish analysis will search for “Torah-true” ideals, emphasize ritual (e.g., prayer), focus on a textual canon, on elite rabbinic leadership, highlight internal sectarian debate and differentiation, downplay interfaith relations, ignore populist involvements in religious decision, deny the prominence of changes and adaptations based on social and historical circumstance, consider acculturation an evil, and emphasize particularism.

A Conservative Jewish investigation will emphasize the analysis of family structures, democratic ideals, evolutionary change, institutional development (e.g., synagogues), communal leadership patterns, the interface of scholarship and rabbinic learning, rites of passage as opposed to other rituals, and treat acculturation as a struggle fraught with contradiction and ambivalence.

A Reform Jewish approach will seek to differentiate Jews from Christians and highlight the opportunities for interfaith understanding and cooperation. It will emphasize theology in a Protestant model, acculturation as a positive force and universalism. Just how much do these three introductory surveys of the Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Judaism by three well-known Jewish scholars reflect their respective religious affiliations? Let us stipulate that all to some degree do come not only out of the minds, but also from the souls of their authors. There is no such animal as a 'neutral academic account.'

If Zahavy is right, Reform Judaism's contribution to the understanding of the scrolls and the scrolls' contribution to Reform Judaism may continue to resonate even as the debate over their meaning, now that they are all translated, continues.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1910). For citations on the work of Schechter and an in-depth understanding of the Geniza see S.C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>2</sup>Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, Moreshet Series 1 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976), 15. Ginzberg is responsible for the publication of some of Schechter's materials that were not ready for publication before his untimely death. Ginzberg's *Ginzei Schechter*, reprint (New York: Hermon Press, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Kaufmann Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects," *American Journal of Theology* 15 (1911): 406.

<sup>4</sup>For example, Louis Finkelstein's "The Development of the Amidah," in *Contributions to the Scientific Study of Jewish Liturgy*, ed. Jakob Petuchowski (New York: Ktav, 1970), 91–177.

<sup>5</sup>For an excellent review of the Geniza sources and their implications for liturgical, legal, and theological changes see Lawrence A. Hoffman's *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).

<sup>6</sup>In a series of important articles, Jacob Mann presents fragments from the Geniza that reveal reasons for many of the ancient rulings. For example, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual (HUCA)* 4 (1927): 241–311, with many collected in *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, 2 vols.

(Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1931). See also Solomon Freehof's "The Structure of the Birchos Haschachar," in *HUCA* 23, pt. 2 (1950–1951): 339–355. Also in the *Siddur Lev Chadash* (London: Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues, 1995) the Reform movement used the Geniza as the justification for formulating innovations in prayers. In the notes to the *siddur* on 664 of *Lev Chadash*, it reads:

The version of the "You are Holy..." from the morning prayers—Our version is taken from the Cairo Genizah reflecting ancient Palestinian usage down to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The version of the *Amidah* chosen on page 24: "Let righteousness.... This benediction was not featured in the ancient Palestinian liturgy as reflected in the Genizah."

<sup>7</sup>Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Volume I, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

<sup>8</sup>This is despite the fact that JTS had been in the forefront of Geniza research. Finkelstein only makes reference to the scrolls twice in his many works on the Second Temple Period during this critical period of scrolls research (1950–1970), even when information was available. Finkelstein makes odd citations—once in his *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950) and six times in the 1962 revised version of *The Pharisees* (originally 1938)—in which "Qumran" is misspelled "Qumram"; and it is clear that he is relying upon the opinion of others rather than his own insights on the scrolls. It demonstrates his non-interest in the subject matter.

<sup>9</sup>Nelson Glueck, "Out of Yesterday, A Symbol for Today," *The New York Times* (11 May 1958): 6.

<sup>10</sup>This entire episode is recorded in a number of presentations but especially by Harry Orlinsky, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Mr. Green," in his *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: Ktav, 1974), 245–256; and in *Reform Judaism* 20, no. 3 (Spring, 1992): 47–48.

<sup>11</sup>The rabbinic theses at HUC-JIR reflect an interest in scrolls research, although they also reflect the ambivalence of the instructors. Into the present day an entire generation of HUC-JIR graduates question the antiquity of the scrolls because of critiques written in the 1950s by Ellis Rivkin and his mentor Solomon Zeitlin. See, for example, Daniel Alan Weiner "The Dead Sea Scrolls as Historical Sources: The Zeitlin Critique and His Critics," rabbinic thesis (HUC-JIR, 1991), 177–178. Weiner, who was supervised by Rivkin, questions the antiquity of the scrolls. He writes: "Concerning Zeitlin's dating of the Scrolls as medieval, I suspect that he may be correct. . . . [The] Scrolls are, as Rivkin contends, opaque and atypical—hence not utilizable as a source for **any** period." Thanks to the work of Jason Kalman, we have research that suggests that HUC-JIR graduates in the 1960s and 1970s who studied with Sandmel and Rivkin received ambivalent impressions about the scrolls. Only Ben Zion Wacholder provided a clear and unambivalent embracing of the authenticity of the scrolls.

<sup>12</sup>For more on this see Kalman's article in this volume.

<sup>13</sup>William G. Weart, "Bible Scroll 'Find' Suspected as Hoax; Dr. Zeitlin of Dropsie College Splits With Other Scholars on Dead Sea Discovery," *The New York Times* (4 March 1949): 19. Zeitlin's works are remarkable in their breadth and number, as well as in their steadfast reluctance to accept the scrolls as anything but medieval Karaite works. The first salvo began with Professor Zeitlin's 1949 article, "A Commentary on the Book of Habakkuk: Important Discovery or Hoax?" *Jewish Quarterly Review (JQR)* 39, no. 3 (1949): 235–247. It continued unabated throughout the 1950s. See "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship," *JQR Monograph Series* no. 3 (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1956), xvi–154; "The Idolatry of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JQR* 48, no. 3 (1958): 243–278; and "More Literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls—More Pseudo-Scholarship," *JQR* 49, no. 3 (1959): 221–238, among many more articles and book chapters.

<sup>14</sup>Robert Seltzer and Jack Bemporad, "Ellis Rivkin on Judaism and the Rise of Christianity," *Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) Journal* 43, no. 3 (1996): 1–16.

<sup>15</sup>Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 2.

<sup>16</sup>Thanks to Jason Kalman for identifying this syllabus and the information on the coursework at the three campuses.

<sup>17</sup>Yehuda Lev, "Our Town—Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Jewish Journal of Greater L.A.* (13–19 September 1991), 4; W. Gunther Plaut, "Dead Sea Scrolls are taking too long to Decifer [*sic*]," *Canadian Jewish News* (24 October 1991): 11; "Focus on the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Textbusters," *Reform Judaism* 20, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 42–56.

<sup>18</sup>Union for Reform Judaism (URJ) Biennial Conference, San Diego, 12–16 December 2007, San Diego. Saturday study: SL 4: "Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Leadership Models for the Present Day and the End of Days," Rabbi Aaron Panken, HUC-JIR Scholar-in-Residence.

<sup>19</sup>For more on this topic see Jeffrey Gurock, "The Late Friday Night Orthodox Service: An Exercise in Religious Accommodation," *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 2006): 137–156.

<sup>20</sup>Marshall Sklare's early study, *Conservative Judaism* (New York: Schocken, 1954), 102–111, devotes a major section to the Friday night service and sermon and its importance in modern Judaism.

<sup>21</sup>In the AJA there is a wealth of information on the sermons of Reform Judaism and many of the faculty connected with HUC-JIR. I want to thank Kevin Proffitt and Dr. Dana Herman, who helped me with many of my research requests, and Dr. Jason Kalman of HUC-JIR for his editing insights and for sharing his research with me.

<sup>22</sup>Edith Brodsky, "The Case of the 7 Dead Sea Scrolls," *American Judaism* 5 (1955): 16.

<sup>23</sup>Harold I. Saperstein, *Witness from the Pulpit: Topical Sermons 1933–1980*, ed. Marc Saperstein (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000). I cite the sermon as I found it in the archives.

<sup>24</sup>Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, "12/16/55 Sermon," Manuscript Collection 718/Box 2/ Folder 5, Sermons 1954–1955, AJA, Cincinnati.

<sup>25</sup>For the fuller account see Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

<sup>26</sup>*The New York Times* "debate" over the authenticity of the scrolls began in March 1949 (after the initial notice in April 1948) and continued through the 1950s. Much of the debate was between Zeitlin, whose views of the scrolls as medieval were controversial, and the other experts, who saw the discoveries as ancient and monumental. See, for example, "Bible Scroll 'Find' Suspected as Hoax; Dr. Zeitlin of Dropsie College Splits With Other Scholars on Dead Sea Discovery," *The New York Times* (4 March 1949): 19 and Eleazar Sukenik's rejoinder in the "Antiquity of Hebrew Scrolls: Scholar Presents Evidence for View That Manuscripts are Authentic," *The New York Times* (19 March 1949): 14; "Origin of Hebrew Scrolls; Authenticity of Manuscript Said Not to Be Established," *The New York Times* (2 April 1949): 14 and "Experts Dispute Age of Bible Documents," *The New York Times* (30 December 1949): 4; "Scroll Comment Denied: Biblical Scholar Says Date of Text Was Not at Issue," *The New York Times* (8 January 1950): 14. Only if one was aware of public "debate" over the authenticity of the scrolls in *The New York Times* could one understand how influential Zeitlin was in the public arena. It makes Saperstein and the other rabbis who did not follow Zeitlin's lead all the more independent thinkers.

<sup>27</sup>"Israel Acquires Ancient Scrolls," *The New York Times* (14 February 1955): 21.

<sup>28</sup>Many writers, such as André Dupont-Sommer, held that the leader of the Qumranites, the "Teacher of Righteousness," prefigured Jesus and added much to our understanding of the circumstances of Jesus's crucifixion. See Dupont-Sommer's *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

<sup>29</sup>H. Saperstein, MS 718/Box 4/Folder 3, AJA, Cincinnati.

<sup>30</sup>Rabbi Edward Klein, MS 702/Box 3/Folder 7, AJA, Cincinnati. This was a follow-up to an earlier sermon on the scrolls.

<sup>31</sup>Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn, MS 704/Box 36/Folder 4, AJA, Cincinnati.

<sup>32</sup>Cave 11 near Qumran was the last major discovery made there in 1956. Scholarly articles abound in 1957 in the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, *Vetus Testamentum*, and *JQR*; and popular works such as John Haverstick's, "The Battle of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Saturday Review* (March 1956) and books such as Theodore Gaster's *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1956); Samuel Sandmel's *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: HUC-JIR Press, 1956); and Yigael Yadin's *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957) made their impact as well.

<sup>33</sup>Ferdinand M. Isserman, (b. Belgium, 1898) entered HUC in 1914 and graduated in 1922.

<sup>34</sup>In Sandmel's book, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: HUC-JIR Press, 1957), 201, he opines, "The Dead Sea Scrolls serve conspicuously in undermining the limitations on, and the uncertainties in, our knowledge [of first century Judaism]."

<sup>35</sup>Isserman, MS 6/Box 20/Folder 3, AJA, Cincinnati.

<sup>36</sup>Rabbi Richard C. Hertz delivered sermons on the Dead Sea Scrolls two Friday nights in a row, 6 and 13 December 1957. Rabbi Richard C. Hertz, MS 675/Box 5/Folder 6, AJA, Cincinnati.

<sup>37</sup>Glueck had already reported in the *CCAR Yearbook* 51 (1941) on "How Archaeology Has Contributed to Our Knowledge of the Bible and the Jew." Years before the discovery of the scrolls and before he assumed the presidency of HUC, Glueck understood how archaeological discoveries inspired modern Jews. He saw archaeology as a way to elucidate how Israelites and Jews lived in antiquity, but he held that it also revealed insights into the way Jews lived in the modern world.

<sup>38</sup>Accessed on 24 April 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/faculty/faculty/pubs/hyman.shtml>.

<sup>39</sup>Accessed on 24 April 2009 at [http://www.chicagosinai.org/liberal\\_reform\\_judaism/michael\\_meyer\\_6\\_06.pdf](http://www.chicagosinai.org/liberal_reform_judaism/michael_meyer_6_06.pdf). The same text appears as an alternative in the new Reform prayer book *Mishkan Tfilah* (99), where it is taken from Nahum Glatzer's anthology *Language of Faith*.

<sup>40</sup>Accessed on 24 April 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/newspubs/GradSpeeches/2006/Peter%20von%20der%20Osten-Sacken%20Graduation%20LA%202006.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup>Moshe Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer As a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>42</sup>For insight into this period, see Lawrence A. Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service*.

<sup>43</sup>Sometimes the creativity of the ancient rabbis is shown by having students compare manuscripts with the printed text traditions. For an example, see, "Regarding the Inclusion of the Names of the Matriarchs in the First Blessing of the *Amidah*" by Rabbi Joel E. Rembaum (Conservative Jewish Law and Standards Committee, 1990). This study guide shows how the idea of introducing the matriarchs into the liturgical formula of the *Amidah* was indirectly learned from the flexibility of the Geonic formulas found in the Geniza. Article accessed on 24 April 2009 at [http://www.uscj.org/images/06\\_2006\\_commitment\\_2\\_halakha\\_imahot\\_teshuvah.pdf](http://www.uscj.org/images/06_2006_commitment_2_halakha_imahot_teshuvah.pdf).

<sup>44</sup>On the character and significance of the Thanksgiving–*Hodayot* literature of Qumran see Menachem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1961).

<sup>45</sup>The citation that is included is a section from the Manual of Discipline, chapter ten. "With the coming of day and night," *Lev Hadash*, 114, from the *Pesukei DeZimra* from the morning service.

<sup>46</sup>Accessed on 24 April 2009 at <http://urj.org/Articles/index.cfm?id=10471>. No doubt that this is an accepted academic explanation of the Qumranites' motivations. Its appearance as an introduction to the movement's new prayer book, however, presents the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumranites as an actual precedent for the Reform movement itself.

<sup>47</sup>*Ha'Avodah Shebalev* (Jerusalem: IMPJ—The Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, Service of the Heart, 1982; revised printing, 1991) and a *mahzor* for the High Holidays, *Kavanat Halev* (Jerusalem: IMPJ—Meditations of the Heart, 1989).

<sup>48</sup>For more on the 1Q5b text, see James Charlesworth and Frank Moore Cross, *The Dead Sea Scrolls I: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr, 1994), 119ff. Thanks to Jason Kalman, who shared this from his correspondence with Rabbi Mordechai Rotem, who pointed out these additions.

<sup>49</sup>The source given there is the Jacob Licht edition of *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 2, lines 2–4. This text also appears in *Mishkan T'filah* (99) as a creative alternative to *Sim Shalom*.

<sup>50</sup>*Kavanat Halev*, 169 has *Hodayot*, page x, lines 14–17, which are cited from the translation of the G. Vermes edition (London: Penguin Books, 1995) for the opening readings. *Kavanat Halev*, 195 has the meditations after the *Amidah*, cited from Vermes, 220 *Hodayot*, page xi, lines 26–31.

<sup>51</sup>*Kavanat Halev*, 227, *Hodayot*, page vii, lines 26–31 (Vermes, 212).

<sup>52</sup>The most comprehensive volume is *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature International Symposium), ed. Esther G. Chazon, Ruth Clements, Avital Pinnick (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), especially Stephan C. Reif's insights on the interpretation of the *Birkat ha-Mazon*, 140ff.

<sup>53</sup>See Louis Finkelstein, "The Birkat Ha-Mazon," *JQR* 19 (1928–1929): 211–262.

<sup>54</sup>*TMC*, 31. A much shorter insight is found in the *Etz Hayim* (*EH*) of the Conservative movement on 32. *Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary*, ed. David I. Lieber and Jules Harlow (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society and New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 2001). Many of the editors of the *EH* were well-known biblical scholars and were using the Jewish Publication Society translation of the text that many had worked on earlier. My comparison is based upon the fact that the *TMC*, written in a time when very few scrolls were available to the public, seems to place more importance upon the scrolls materials than does the *EH*, which was written in a time when the Dead Sea Scrolls texts were available to its editors.

<sup>55</sup>In *Gleanings*, 101, the text is cited in full:

"Of all the virgins and brides  
That walk beneath the canopy  
None can compare with Sarah."

<sup>56</sup>The Festival Calendar, 922. "Some time during the Second Commonwealth, a sectarian group tried to introduce an entirely new—apparently solar—calendar; this attempt is recorded in two apocryphal books, Jubilees and I Enoch. These proposals seem to have influenced the group that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *TMC*, a note on 922 directs the reader to a footnote on 1740, regarding Millar Burrows's book *Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1955) and his follow-up, *More Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1958). The same *TMC* article specifically states: "In the Land of Israel, the only occasion observed for two days is the Festival of the New Year. Reform Judaism follows the one-day biblical rule."

<sup>57</sup>See Mark Washofsky, *Jewish Living: A Guide to Contemporary Reform Practice* (New York: UAHC Press, 2001), 93ff.

<sup>58</sup>David Golinkin, *Proceedings of the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Conservative Movement 1927–1970*, Vol. III (New York: Rabbinical Assembly, 1997), 1228–1272.

<sup>59</sup>Adolfo Roitman, *A Day at Qumran. The Dead Sea Sect and Its Scrolls* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1997). Op Cit., VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 176.

<sup>60</sup>*TMC*, 9 and 1149. None of this is found in *EH*.

<sup>61</sup>*The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 40. This as opposed to the other major translation of the time, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, published by Geza Vermes in 1962, which barely acknowledges in his translation of the same section that it is a version of the Numbers 6 priestly benediction (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1962), 73. None of this is found in *EH*.

<sup>62</sup>TMC's use of this *Birkat ha-Kohanim* reference may have indirectly influenced the editorial liturgical changes that were noted in the Israeli Reform *siddur*, *Avodah Shebalev*, and the *Mishkan T'filah*, noted above.

<sup>63</sup>TMC, 1181. Note 30 is on 1753.

<sup>64</sup>TMC, xlvii and 616. Found in *EH* as well.

<sup>65</sup>Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (New York: Doubleday, 1961) and in "The Oldest Manuscripts of Qumran," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 74 (1955): 147–172.

<sup>66</sup>Joanne Doades and Alan Levin, *Chai: Revelation Study Guide for Teachers*, (New York: URJ, 2005). The curriculum for Bible and theology study by many prominent Reform educators demonstrates this. See for example, [www.urj.org/\\_kd/go.cfm?destination=ShowItem&Item\\_ID=8033](http://www.urj.org/_kd/go.cfm?destination=ShowItem&Item_ID=8033).

<sup>67</sup>For more on how Qumran and the scrolls were interpreted as a part of the rise of Christianity, see James H. Charlesworth and Walter P. Weaver, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith. In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1. Faith and Scholarship Colloquies* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998).

<sup>68</sup>*Discovery in the Judean Desert* (New York: Desclee, 1956), 6.

<sup>69</sup>Joseph Baumgarten, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," *Orthodox Jewish Life* 22, no. 5 (May–June 1955): 14.

<sup>70</sup>In his *Covenant and Conversation, a Dvar Torah*, Britain's (Orthodox) Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks cites the scrolls, for example, as if they were a normative expression of Jewish future time speculation, 5–6 May 2006, *Aharei Mot-Kedoshim*, accessed on 12 April 2009 at the Orthodox Union website: [www.ou.org/shabbat/5766/tsacks/achareiked66.htm](http://www.ou.org/shabbat/5766/tsacks/achareiked66.htm).

<sup>71</sup>Accessed on 12 April 2009 at <http://tzvee.blogspot.com/2006/aa/my-postmodern-review-of-three-jewish.html>. The page no longer exists. Originally, Zahavy's study appeared on the page as, "Three Noble Surveys: A Post-Modern Reading of Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism*; and Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children*." Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, (Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1987); Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1991); and Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College, 1986).



*Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein*  
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

# A Spiritually Powerful Sect of Judaism: Two Sermons on the Dead Sea Scrolls by Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein

*Introduced by Marc Saperstein*

*Annotated by Jason Kalman*

## Introduction

Harold I. Saperstein served as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El of Lynbrook, Long Island, from autumn 1933, when he was still a student at the Jewish Institute of Religion, until his retirement in June of 1980. For two and a half years starting in the summer of 1943, he was on leave as a chaplain in the United States Army, European Theater. The two sermons reproduced below were delivered to his congregation in 1955 and 1968.

Temple Emanu-El, composed of some seventy families when he arrived, grew significantly as a result of the massive move to the New York suburbs following the war. At the time the second sermon was delivered, it had close to one thousand families. Many of the original members had grown up in traditional families with rudimentary formal Jewish education and made the break from Orthodoxy as adults by choosing a Reform congregation. Sociologically, with relatively few exceptions, it was middle to upper-middle class.

As in most Reform and Conservative congregations of this period, the major preaching occasion was at a late Friday evening service. It began at 8:30, after dinner, lasted for about an hour and a quarter, and was followed by a leisurely “Oneg Shabbat” that filled the rest of the evening. Average attendance in the 1960s would have been about three hundred. The relatively brief liturgy allowed time for a twenty-minute sermon. These sermons were generally not based on the scriptural reading for the Shabbat; that would be discussed in the Saturday morning sermon, generally in the form of an address to the bar mitzvah. The two sermons printed here are characteristic of those not linked with an occasion in the Jewish calendar, but rather addressing a particular theme, often of some current interest. The topic could be generated by an event in the news; a popular play, movie, or book of Jewish interest; or a cause related to Israel, Soviet Jewry, civil rights, or economic justice.<sup>1</sup> For those who attended these services regularly, the sermons would have served as an ongoing program of adult education.

Saperstein read widely in preparation for his preaching—newspapers, periodicals, and books in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish—but he did not think of himself as an original thinker or even a first-rate intellectual. He took pride

in the role of a popularizing teacher: making ideas and information “come to life” for those who listened to him preach and for those he taught in his classes. In writing and speaking style, he favored clear exposition over high rhetoric. His sermons were delivered in a natural, conversational style, with engaging enthusiasm, conveying excitement about ideas, often expressed with intensity and passion, and leaving a powerful emotional impact on the listeners. While he admired preachers whose sermons were filled with memorable phrases and beautifully crafted sentences, he preferred clarity and directness, his points made in a clear structure that helped the listener follow and remember.

The trigger for the first sermon was a long article called, “The Scrolls from the Dead Sea,” published in the 14 May 1955 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine by the literary critic Edmund Wilson, followed by his widely read, somewhat expanded book-length treatment with the same title.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Professor Harry Orlinsky, who taught Bible at the New York school of HUC-JIR and who himself played a role in Israel’s acquisition of the scrolls, was interviewed in a more popular article in *American Judaism*, a periodical published by the Reform movement.<sup>3</sup> Much of the information in the narrative section of the first sermon is taken from these works; Orlinsky’s article is mentioned in this first sermon, and the *New Yorker* article is mentioned retrospectively in the second sermon.

Saperstein begins his December 1955 sermon with a hook to capture the interest of the listeners, promising “an adventure story of discovery and publication” and “a detective story of interpretation.” He was a master at the art of telling stories, especially in his story-sermons for children’s services. The story here is told as if by an omniscient narrator, summarizing dozens of pages replete with complex detail in a clear presentation. The second “story”—actually a summary of the then-current scholarly consensus about the significance of the scrolls—is punctuated by a series of rhetorical questions: “How do we know?” “How did they get there?” “What happened to them?” “What do these discoveries have to tell us about religious history?” “What does all this mean?” In the responses, Saperstein frequently introduces information with the phrase, “We know . . . ,” suggesting an identification with the scholars who had actually read the texts rather than with those dependent on secondary reports.

Like the first sermon, the second, delivered more than twelve years later, has two major sections. Referring back to the earlier sermon, Saperstein tells his listeners that he will not repeat the story of the discovery, providing only a quick summary. Instead, the first part is devoted to a more detailed characterization of the actual texts. In the first sermon, they were a conglomerate: the Dead Sea Scrolls. Here they are an array of specific documents, of several different genres, their content briefly outlined.

More important for the listeners is the second part, which—like the second part of the first sermon—explains why twentieth-century Jews should

be interested in the scrolls. Several cogent points are made. By including biblical texts almost a millennium older than the previously oldest-known Hebrew *Tanakh*, the scrolls demonstrate the reliability of that text, which is the basis of all traditional biblical scholarship. They vividly show the diversity of Jewish religious thought two thousand years ago as contrasted with the model of a unified, “mainstream” religious tradition that prevailed until the nineteenth century—a point of obvious relevance to the legitimacy of Reform Judaism. The light they shed on the origins of Christianity shows that it was less radically innovative and more extensively derived from Judaism than many had thought. And they provide evidence for the presence of the Jewish people in Israel, thereby undermining the claim that the modern State of Israel is an alien intruder in the Middle East. These are ideas that may well have remained with the listeners long after the sermon was delivered.

### **The Dead Sea Scrolls**

*Harold I. Saperstein*

*16 December 1955<sup>4</sup>*

In the last eight years a strange detective story has been written in the realm of scholarship. It is linked up with what are known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are actually two stories: one, an adventure story, dealing with the discovery and publication of the scrolls, the other, a detective story of interpretation. There are those who think that Biblical scholarship is dull and dry. This refutes them.

The first story begins back in November, 1947, when an Arab Bedouin boy named Muhammad the Wolf was tending goats near a cliff on the western shore of the Dead Sea. He was one of a group of Arab smugglers who carried contraband across the border into Palestine. One of his goats, a little more adventurous than the rest, started to climb the cliff and he went up after it. From his higher vantage point he noticed an opening in the wall of the cliff leading into a cave. Idly he picked up a stone and tossed it in. To his amazement, he heard a crash. Something inside had broken. Frightened, he ran away, but he later came back reinforced by a companion, and entered the cave. Inside they found a number of earthen sealed jars. They broke open some and inside them were lump objects wrapped in linen and saturated in a kind of tar. They unwrapped some and found manuscripts. The writing was definitely not Arabic.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly afterward when they came into Bethlehem, where they went to sell their contraband and buy supplies, they showed them to some merchants. One was a Syrian who brought it to the attention of the local Metropolitan of the Syrian Church in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> This is a kind of Bishop of the Syrian branch of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan, whose name was Samuel, was interested. He was not a great scholar, but he knew that nobody had lived

in that area near the Dead Sea for many centuries, and he said he would be interested in buying them. The Bedouin came, but Samuel—after waiting all morning—had gone out to lunch.<sup>7</sup> Another priest, knowing nothing of the scrolls, being shown dirty manuscripts<sup>8</sup> with what looked like Hebrew writing, sent them to a Jewish school. As luck would have it, the Arab-Jewish situation was very tense, and the Syrian merchant persuaded them that if they went into the new State<sup>9</sup> they would be trapped. So they waited, and eventually four of the scrolls were purchased for about \$50 by the Metropolitan.<sup>10</sup>

In the meantime, Professor Sukenik,<sup>11</sup> head of the Department of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, learned that some scrolls had been found near the Dead Sea. The political situation was becoming more and more tense, but he managed to arrange interviews with an intermediary who, after looking at the scrolls, was convinced that they were old and extremely important.<sup>12</sup> An arrangement was made for Sukenik to go to Bethlehem to examine them. The day was November 29: the day the U.N. approved of the partition of Israel. Fighting was going on already and the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem was closed. He consulted with a high officer of the Israel Defense Forces, Yigal Yadin, now Commander-in-Chief of the Israeli Army, who was himself something of an archaeologist and incidentally the son of Professor Sukenik. “As an army officer,” he said, “I must tell you that you cannot go; as an archaeologist, I agree that you must go; as your son, I cannot counsel you.” The older man went. He managed to get through safely. And eventually he purchased three of the scrolls.<sup>13</sup>

Several weeks later, news representatives in Jerusalem received a call to come to a press conference. It was not a simple thing. As they gathered together in the Jewish Agency building, Arab shells were falling in the vicinity. They didn’t know what to expect. To their amazement, instead of an announcement about military or political matters, Professor Sukenik held up some tattered shreds with barely decipherable writing on them and said, “Gentlemen, we have here the oldest Hebrew manuscripts known. Among them is a copy of the Book of Isaiah, nine centuries older than the oldest one in existence. Another is a hitherto unknown book, “The War of the Children of Light Against the Children of Darkness.” As he announced the title, a shell burst close at hand. The old man went on talking without blinking an eye.<sup>14</sup>

But the adventure story isn’t over yet. In the summer of 1954, General Yigal Yadin, son of Professor Sukenik, who had died in the meanwhile, was in America. He came back to his hotel late one night to find a strange message: “Look in today’s *Wall Street Journal*.” Not knowing what to expect, he did. Searching through it under the head “Miscellaneous for Sale,” he found this ad: “The Four Dead Sea Scrolls—Biblical manuscripts dating back to at least 200 BC. Ideal gift to educational or religious institution.”<sup>15</sup> How did they get here? That brings us back to the Metropolitan Samuel.

Having purchased the scrolls, he found himself getting the run-around. All the scholars to whom he went refused to pay any attention. “These scrolls are valueless and relatively modern.”<sup>16</sup> Finally he went to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. They recognized the scrolls, photographed them and published them,<sup>17</sup> and urged him because of the insecure political situation to bring them for safety to America. And so it was that these scrolls were purchased in America by and for the Israeli government. \$250,000 was paid for the four, so that today the government of Israel has all seven.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, other expeditions went back to the caves and archaeological study of these and surrounding caves brought to light a multitude of scraps of other documents—and a large building near the shores of the Dead Sea.<sup>19</sup>

Now for our other story. What value do these have in understanding religious history? First we must make sure of their dates. We must admit that there has been considerable controversy over this matter. There are some Jewish scholars who maintain that the scrolls are of medieval origin—Professor Zeitlin of Dropsie.<sup>20</sup> Others like Professor Orlinsky, whose views many of you read in the recent article in *American Judaism*, still counsels caution.<sup>21</sup> But by and large we can reach the conclusion that these scrolls come from the period of the century before the beginning of Christianity and the century after.<sup>22</sup>

How do we know? For one thing, there are only scrolls, no parchment or paper, no collection of sheets; that would have been very unusual in medieval times.<sup>23</sup> In archaeological studies, a number of coins were found, none dated later than 68 CE.<sup>24</sup> The jars were definitely of the Roman period.<sup>25</sup> And a carbon 14 test of linen wrappers dated them from the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>26</sup> Now it is conceivable that the wrappers and containers were old and the contents from a later date, but that is very unlikely. The style of writing and contents also indicate an early date.<sup>27</sup> We are not going overboard in agreeing that these are almost 2000 years old.<sup>28</sup>

How did they get there? We know that during the Roman period there were three major groups of Jews: The Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Present day Jewry grew out of the Pharisees. The others disappeared. We know a little about them from Jewish historians like Josephus and Roman historians like Pliny, who came to Palestine with Vespasian for the war against the Jews. We know for example that the Essenes were a monastic group who lived apart in the wilderness. They lived celibate lives, shared all their property, believed in ritual bathing. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls is one which has been called a “Manual of Discipline.” It is the rules of this monastic order, agreeing in large part with what Josephus has to tell about them.<sup>29</sup>

The large building which has been unearthed had a central kitchen, a large central dining room, a room for scribes with inkpots still standing there and dried up ink inside them. Nearby were caves, where the people lived. Pliny mentions that not far from the Dead Sea was a colony of Essenes. Apparently here we have the very colony he was talking about.<sup>30</sup>

What happened to them? We know that in the year 68, Vespasian came down to Jericho, which is less than ten miles from the site of this ancient Essenic monastery.<sup>31</sup> The Essenes, from [what] we have learned about them, were very meticulous in ritual observance. Apparently suspecting they would be attacked, they placed their library into earthen pots, sealed them in, and hid them in inaccessible caves.<sup>32</sup> The colony was then apparently destroyed. After a lapse of some years, other caves show evidence of occupancy again. This habitation ended, according to coins and other clues, about the year 135, when the Bar Cochba rebellion reached its tragic end.<sup>33</sup>

Now what do these discoveries have to tell us about religious history, first for Jews and then for Christians? Regarding Jews—as Professor Borroughs [*sic*] of Yale Divinity School has said—there was more variety and flexibility in Judaism than we have ever before supposed.<sup>34</sup> It helps us to realize that there was in ancient times in Judaism room and freedom for minority groups.

More important, it helps us to know more about our own religious literature. Remember that for centuries our Bible was copied by hand. You know the possibilities of scribal errors creeping in. The oldest Hebrew copy of the entire Bible until now was the so-called St. Petersburg codex. By that time, the Massoretic text had been fixed and no more changes could come in. The question is, Is this the original form? Have additions or omissions or changes been made, voluntarily or involuntarily, during the centuries when they were first written until they were cased into a fixed form? The texts of the Book of Isaiah and other discoveries throw some light. They happen to be rather bad copies. In a number of cases they differ from our accepted version. In some of these places they give us a better version than we have, making clear what was confused sometimes by just the change of a letter. In other cases these copies give inferior readings: misspellings, etc., which show that the scribes were not particularly good. But in general—to the amazement of many scholars—they support the Massoretic text of our Bible. In every essential sense, our Bible is the same as it was back 1000 years earlier than any copy we have previously seen.<sup>35</sup>

What about Christians? The study of the Essenes has thrown new light on the beginnings of Christianity. We see a great deal in common in the customs and institutions of the Essene sect and in the practices of the early Christian Church. For instance, the Essenes shared all things in common, and so did the early Christian Church, which was economically a pure communistic society. The Essenes had the custom of meals in common, and whenever ten or more came together, the priest at first partook of the wine and the bread.<sup>36</sup> Here we have what seems like the origin of the communion or mass, which we had always thought came from the Passover Seder. But the Seder is a family observance, and the communion was a congregational observance, and originally—as with the Essenes—for men alone.

The Essenes believed in ritual bathing and baptism. John was very likely influenced by them. Baptism became an essential part of early Christianity.

The Essenes spoke of a Teacher of Righteousness, who lived during the first century before the Common Era, who was oppressed by a wicked priest, who taught many of the things that Jesus taught, and after whom the career of Jesus seems to have been patterned. It leads to this in the words of a Christian scholar: **the monastery near the Dead Sea, more than Bethlehem or Nazareth, was the cradle of Christianity.**<sup>37</sup>

What does all this mean? It brings out the fact that Jesus was not a unique phenomenon, but part of the history of his time. The teachings of Christianity represent the result of several centuries of a Jewish group working in their own tradition. Previously we as Jews had insisted that Jesus was a Jew, and that Christianity came later, largely from foreign sources. Now we realize that while some foreign influences came into Christianity in later years, from the outside, just as Jesus emerged from the Jewish people, so much of Christianity grew out of Judaism. Not mainstream Judaism, but this small but spiritually powerful sect of Judaism.<sup>38</sup>

This is our story. An Arab goatherd, a stone, and a cave. And new light shed on an ancient story. There are those who would close their eyes and minds to such new knowledge for fear it would shake the foundations of their faith. We believe in light—this is our festival of light. As we conquer the darkness, our faith emerges in clearer perspective. As the mysteries disappear, its essential truth remains, more beautiful and powerful than ever.

### **A New Look at the Dead Sea Scrolls**

*Harold I. Saperstein*

*5 January 1968*<sup>39</sup>

The Museum in Jerusalem is one of the most impressive museum complexes in the world. It is located on a commanding site on the outskirts of the New City not far from the campus of the Hebrew University and from the new Knesset building. As you approach the Museum you see a sign which says, “To the Shrine of the Book.” It leads to a strangely shaped structure. On one side is a wall of black basalt, on the other is a white-colored dome. The Shrine of the Book is the edifice in which are kept the famous Dead Sea Scrolls. The structure itself is symbolic. The white and black colors are intended to represent the struggle between light and darkness, a theme which is expressed in many of the scrolls. The dome is in the shape of the covers of the ancient jars in which the scrolls were found. The Shrine itself is subterranean, symbolizing the caves in which the scrolls were discovered.<sup>40</sup>

The story of how the scrolls were discovered and acquired by the Israel government is fascinating in itself, combining story book coincidence and cloak-and-dagger mystery. I have spoken about it some years ago and will not take the time to repeat it here. Let me merely say that they were discovered by Bedouins in caves near the Dead Sea not very far from Masada. Near them

was an ancient ruin called Khirbet Qumran, later excavated, and apparently the site of an ancient monastic community whose members had escaped into the desert and lived there during the time of the Roman conquest, ending in the destruction of the Temple. It was assumed that these scrolls had been part of the library of the monastic community and had been hidden in the caves prior to the destruction of the Qumran community by the Romans.

The publicity given to the Dead Sea Scrolls after they had been acquired, including two lengthy articles by Edmund Wilson in the *New Yorker* magazine, precipitated what might be called the Battle of the Scholars.<sup>41</sup> There were two major problems. One was the dating of the scrolls. The other was the identity of the monastic group.

Several reputable scholars, particularly Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, insisted that they were not ancient at all—that they were written in medieval times and were being passed off as being authentically ancient. However as the evidence came in, the authenticity of the scrolls was quite conclusively established. A Carbon 14 test was made of the linen wrappers in which the scrolls were found. The conclusion was that they went back to the first century before the Common Era—allowing 150 years either way. This was further supported by paleographic evidence: that is, the study of the style of writing, by pottery found in the vicinity and by dated Roman coins also found in the vicinity. All point quite definitely to the fact that these manuscripts were in use some time before the end of the war against Rome in the year 70. In other words they are almost 2000 years old.<sup>42</sup>

As for who the group which had written, used and preserved them were, again there has been considerable debate. Many people believe them to have been Essenes, a Jewish sect described by Josephus and Philo. They do have much in common with the Essenes insofar as we have information about this group—all of it relatively limited. However there are some respects in which the group seems to differ.<sup>43</sup> All we can say definitely is that it was a group similar to the Essenes, who existed in the last years of the Jewish nation. This much is clear however: that in these scrolls we hear the voice of long dead kinsmen, speaking to us across the gap of 2000 years.

Just what do the Scrolls contain? The Jerusalem Museum exhibits 7 of them: three of them purchased originally by Professor Sukenik of the Hebrew University, and 5 purchased by his son Professor Yigal Yadin from the Metropolitan of St. Mark's Monastery in Jordan. Of the latter, two proved to be different parts of the same scroll thus making the total of seven. Of these, two are manuscripts of the Biblical Book of Isaiah: one is fragmentary and in poor condition, the other covers the complete text of that book.

A third is a Habakkuk commentary. In this the Biblical Book of the prophet Habakkuk is interpreted in terms of the contemporary situation. A fourth is called a Genesis Apocryphon. This is a retelling of the stories of Genesis with additional detail. The fragment covers the material from Noah until Abraham

and Sarah. This was the last to be unrolled as it had deteriorated and become congealed into a solid mass. It was first called the Lamech Scroll because the part that was legible mentioned the character of Lamech, and it is known that there was an apocryphal Book of Lamech which has been lost.

The fifth is the Thanksgiving Scroll—containing Psalms of Thanksgiving similar in style to those of the Bible. The sixth is the Manual of Discipline. This is in essence the constitution of the monastic group that lived at Khirbet Qumran. It describes the initiation ceremony, their religious calendar and observances, the structure of their community, the practice of joining in common meals, of giving up individual possessions etc.

The final one is called The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. This gives a prophecy of the ultimate war of the forces of good against evil. It details the organization, the military equipment, the technical formations, the signals of the military force, etc.<sup>44</sup>

It is reported that an eighth scroll has been taken over by the Israeli government from an antique dealer in Bethlehem in the aftermath of the June War. This however has not yet been published or officially described.<sup>45</sup>

Now what is the importance for the understanding of Judaism of these greatly publicized ancient scrolls? Outside of the fascination of dealing with something which goes back 2000 years, do they throw light on our heritage? I think they do.

First, they add great support to the accuracy of our current Bible texts. You see, the problem was always this. In ancient times there were no printing presses. As a result, every copy of every book had to be copied by hand. Try having a long manuscript passed from one person to another to be copied dozens of times, and see how the end result may differ from the original. The Hebrew scribes had developed careful techniques for avoiding errors. Yet the fact remained that the oldest copy of the entire Bible in existence goes back to the middle 900s. The oldest copy of the Book of Isaiah goes back to 875. Before that we could only compare our texts with translations into Greek and Latin which had been made much earlier—but comparisons on the basis of translations are always very tricky.<sup>46</sup>

Suddenly, in these texts of Isaiah and fragments of other books, we have Hebrew copies of Biblical books a thousand years earlier than any we have had previously. How do they compare? There were some differences in the Book of Isaiah for example: some 13 of them. The surprising thing is that there were so few. Several of them gave us improved readings. Others seem to represent errors of the scribes of the scrolls, and our accepted text is preferable. In general these scrolls give strong support to the accuracy of the accepted text.

Secondly, these discoveries make us realize that we are not “the people of the book” but the people of books. We had come to feel that the only book that has come down from ancient times was the Bible. We suspected that

there were many other books which had somehow got lost—there are hints of some in the Bible itself. But we had never seen any. Now suddenly we have come across a group of these books, each with a character of its own, and we can better appreciate how rich the total literary heritage of our people must have been.

Thirdly, we are reminded of the great variety of Jewish religious thought and practice during the time that the Jews were an independent nation. Judaism was never a monolithic faith. There was a great deal of free religious searching. There were many differing, sometimes conflicting, groups. The break away from tradition by Reform Judaism in our day is not an innovation in Jewish history at all. Only after the destruction of the Temple was an authoritative norm fixed and some of the lesser branches growing out of the trunk of Judaism were lopped off.

Fourth, these books give us a new concept of the vitality of pre-Christian Judaism. Christian tendentious literature seeks to give the impression that at the beginning of the common era Judaism had lost its inspirational faith and had become a dry strict legalism. Here however we have an example of intensive religious loyalties, of spiritual aspirations reflected in the Psalms—all similar in spirit to that of the Bible itself.

Finally these books give us a new perspective on the background of early Christianity. There are some people who have tried to identify the Qumran group as being an early Christian sect. This is far-fetched. It is true, however, that there are a number of similarities between ideas found in this literature and those found in early Christianity. And there is a lot of similarity between the structure of the Qumran community and that of the early Christian church. Where does this lead us? We had long assumed that though Christianity grew out of Judaism, it had drawn many of its ideas from other sources. Now we find that some of what we had thought to be original or at least non-Jewish in Christianity is also derived from Jewish sources or influence—except that they are derived from sectarian groups outside the main stream of Judaism, of whose existence we had not known previously.

To me there is a special significance in the timing of the acquisition of these scrolls. As in so many other aspects of contemporary Israeli history, there is a certain mystic element and dramatic appropriateness in the working out of destiny. The original scrolls were obtained by Professor Sukenik on the very day when the Partition Plan had been voted by the United Nations—and a barrier was being erected separating Jewish from Arab areas.<sup>47</sup> The Jewish nation was about to emerge and as though symbolically it was associated with this tie to the heritage of the Jewish past. The second batch of scrolls was obtained by his son Professor Yigal Yadin—who had been Chief of Staff of the Israeli army during the War for Independence. And the final scroll was obtained after the last war, the one in June.

Does it not seem as though there is a mystic pattern through it all? The modern State of Israel is linked to its historic past. The nation which won its right to live by force of arms remains the “People of the Book.”

May we never lose sight of the inspiration that comes to us from knowledge of our past. May we never forget that Israel—one of the world’s newest nations—is also one of the world’s oldest nations. May we never become insensitive to the spiritual imperatives of our very existence. The ancient scrolls that come from the area of the Dead Sea still have the potential of life and light and inspiration for the people of Israel.

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*Marc Saperstein became the Principal of the Leo Baeck College on 1 July 2006. Previously he held prestigious positions at Harvard Divinity School, Washington University in St. Louis, and The George Washington University in Washington, DC. Author of five books and more than fifty articles on various aspects of Jewish history literature, and thought, he is widely recognized as perhaps the preeminent authority on the history of Jewish preaching. Before leaving the United States, he was Vice President of the American Academy for Jewish Research.*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>See the examples in Harold I. Saperstein, *Witness from the Pulpit: Topical Sermons 1933–1980*, ed. Marc Saperstein (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000).

<sup>2</sup>The article appeared as Edmund Wilson, “A Reporter at Large: The Scrolls from the Dead Sea,” *The New Yorker* 31, no. 13 (14 May 1955): 45–121. The book, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (London: W.H. Allen, 1955) appeared soon afterward and was reviewed twice in *The New York Times* in October 1955. See Charles Poore, “Books of the Times,” *The New York Times* (13 October 1955): 29; and Frank M. Cross, “From Manuscripts Found in a Cave,” *The New York Times* (16 October 1955): BR1, BR 31.

<sup>3</sup>Edith Brodsky, “The 7 Dead Sea Scrolls,” *American Judaism* 5, no. 2 (1955): 14–16.

<sup>4</sup>The annotations here serve to indicate, where possible, the original sources of Saperstein’s information and to provide reference for the reader to more extensive and more recent discussion of the particular topic.

<sup>5</sup>Wilson, 45, col. 1. For discussion of the identification of these Bedouin discoverers and on the reliability of the story and the efforts of scholars to validate it, see Hershel Shanks, *The Mystery and Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Random House, 1998), 3–23.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. Athanasius Yeshue Samuel (1907–1995) was the Turkish-born archbishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Jerusalem until he left for the United States, settling in New Jersey in 1949. Samuel recounts the tale of his involvement with the scrolls in his autobiography, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966).

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 45, col. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. Wilson describes how the priest called the scrolls, “dirty old rolls.”

<sup>9</sup>The “new” State of Israel did not yet exist. The U.N. partition plan for Palestine was only ratified later that year as U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 on 29 November. The British mandate ended on 14 May 1948. Wilson devotes several paragraphs to explaining the division between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem in the period when the scrolls were first for sale and the difficulty that would have existed for the Bedouin to have moved back and forth between the two communities (45, cols. 2–3). Saperstein’s statement should better be understood as “Jewish territory,” as he was well aware of these facts and discusses them later in the sermon.

<sup>10</sup>According to Wilson, the amount was £50. *Ibid.*, 45, col. 3. From here, Saperstein passes over Wilson's long discussion of the archbishop's role in examining the scrolls and his reputation among scholars while he was in Jerusalem and after his departure for the United States in 1948. Wilson, 46 (col. 3) – 48 (col. 1). He returns to it briefly later in the sermon. Sukenik's account of the events, including diary entries, is published by his son, Yigael Yadin, in the book, *The Message of the Scrolls* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 16–21.

<sup>11</sup>Eleazar Lipa Sukenik (1889–1953), educated at Dropsie College in Philadelphia (doctorate, 1926). Sukenik taught at the Hebrew University from 1935 until his death in 1953. From 1926 until 1935 he was affiliated with the university as a field archaeologist.

<sup>12</sup>Both Saperstein and Wilson, as well as Sukenik's diary, leave the intermediary unnamed. Sukenik describes him as an old friend, an Armenian dealer of antiquities acting on behalf of an Arab dealer in Bethlehem (Yadin, 16). Accounts by other contemporary participants provide the name "Mr. Ohan" for the Armenian. See, for example, George Kiraz, ed., *Anton Kiraz's Archive on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005), 244–245. He has since been identified as an Armenian Christian named Nasri Ohan. See James VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 6.

<sup>13</sup>Yadin is quoted in Wilson, 48, col. 3.

<sup>14</sup>For the quotation and the description of the press conference see Wilson, 49, cols. 1–3. The press conference was covered by the American press. See, for example, Julius Louis Meltzer, "10 Ancient Scrolls Found in Palestine," *The New York Times* (25 April 1948): 6.

<sup>15</sup>Wilson, 129 (col. 1) – 130 (col. 2). The information about Yadin's hotel stay is not in the Wilson article. Its source is unidentified. For Yadin's account see *The Message of the Scrolls*, 39–52.

<sup>16</sup>Although not a direct quote from Wilson, it accurately captures the attitude of many of the metropolitan's contacts. Wilson notes that Tovia Wechsler, an Israeli Hebrew scholar, was:

unable to believe that [the scrolls] were as old as the Metropolitan hoped. Mr. Wechsler pointed at the table on which the manuscripts had been laid ... and declared [to the metropolitan], "If that table were a box, and you filled it with pound notes, you couldn't even manage the value of the scrolls if they are two thousand years old, as you say." (Wilson, 47, col. 1.)

<sup>17</sup>Concerning the activities of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) and the photographing of the scrolls see the account by photographer John Trevor, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1965). The ASOR publication of the scrolls appeared as Millar Burrows, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery Vol. 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary; Vol. 2, fasc. 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, CT: ASOR, 1950–1951).

<sup>18</sup>Wilson, 129 (col. 1) – 130 (col. 2) and Brodsky, 15, col. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Wilson., 54 (col. 2) – 55 (col. 1); 74 (col. 2) – 82 (col. 2). The discovery of the first cave began a race between the Bedouin and the professional archaeologists to find additional material. Cave 2 was discovered in February 1952 by the Bedouin. That same year caves 3 and 5 were found by archaeologists; caves 4 and 6 were discovered by the Bedouin. Caves 7, 8, 9, and 10 were found in 1954 by the archaeologists. But, in 1956, cave 11, a source of very significant and relatively intact material, was discovered by the Bedouin. See Weston W. Fields, "Discovery and Purchase" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 1, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 208–212.

<sup>20</sup>Solomon Zeitlin (1892–1976) was professor of rabbinics at Dropsie College in Philadelphia and longtime editor of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (*JQR*). Between 1949 and 1964, Zeitlin wrote some two dozen academic articles questioning the scrolls' age and authenticity. Zeitlin is discussed only briefly in Wilson, 119, col. 1. Although a teacher of Orlinsky, he does not appear in the interview in the Brodsky article. It seems most likely that Saperstein knew Zeitlin's views concerning the scrolls from several articles in *The New York Times*. See, for example, his letter to the editor of 6 November 1955, just a month before this sermon was given:

I have on numerous occasions in articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* contested the view that these scrolls date from a pre-Christian period. My reasons for so holding are that the scrolls contain terms and phrases, as well as punctuation, which originated among the Jews in the medieval period, and that there are references to Jewish laws which we know definitely were enacted long after the rise of Christianity (*The New York Times* [6 November 1955]: BR60).

<sup>21</sup>Brodsky, 15–16. Harry M. Orlinsky (1908–1992) was, after all, a student of Zeitlin. While he did not suggest in the article that the scrolls were medieval, Orlinsky argued that the evidence for a clear dating of the material to the Second Commonwealth period of Jewish history was not well grounded. For one, Orlinsky challenged the evidence for dating the material based on carbon 14 testing, since the work carried out had been on fabric found with the scrolls and not the scrolls themselves. He indicated that the jars in which the scrolls were found dated to the Roman period (first century CE) and not the Hellenistic period (second century BCE). Additionally, the script of the scrolls had now contemporary inscriptions on parchment with which to be compared, making paleography a poor tool for solving the dating dilemma. Finally, the identification of the community that produced the scrolls with the Essenes was troublesome, as the description of them from ancient witnesses, such as Josephus and others, disagreed with some of the materials in the scrolls. Brodsky, 15. For further discussion of Orlinsky's positions see the article by Kalman in this volume.

<sup>22</sup>The scrolls do not all date from the same time. General consensus now places the copying process between the second century BCE and the year 68 CE, when the community at the settlement of Qumran near where the caves were discovered was destroyed. For a brief overview of the methods for dating the scrolls, see VanderKam and Flint, 20–33. The authors provide a bibliography of more extensive material on this topic.

<sup>23</sup>The source of this conclusion is not clear. By “no parchment,” Saperstein must have intended “individual sheets of parchment,” as almost all the Dead Sea material is ink on parchment. Additionally, the statement here refers to the first scrolls discovered rather than the thousands of individual fragments found later in the additional caves.

<sup>24</sup>This statement is Saperstein's attempt to simplify a far more complex issue. No coins were found in the caves with the scrolls, as Wilson makes clear (77). At the site of Qumran, however, more than 1,200 coins were found, dating from 136 BCE to 37 BCE and from 4 BCE to 68 CE; additionally, thirteen coins from 132 CE to 135 CE were found, along with a very small handful of coins dating from the period “gaps.” See Wilson, 77–78. Saperstein's conclusion is based on his reading that the destruction of the site in 68 CE and the limited number of later coins suggests a primary settlement of those who produced the scrolls in the period before 68 CE. For more recent discussion of the coinage, see Yaakov Meshorer, “Numismatics,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, 619–620. For the importance of the coins in dating the settlement at Qumran see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), especially 49–68, 188–193.

<sup>25</sup>Brodsky, 15.

<sup>26</sup>According to Wilson, the testing gave a date range of between 168 BCE and 233 CE (Wilson, 82, col. 3). According to Orlinsky in the Brodsky article, the test showed that the linen was dated to 33 CE, plus or minus two hundred years! (15). Saperstein has accepted the dating while, for certainty's sake, he has chosen to overlook the problems with the testing. In fact, his subsequent statement, “Now it is conceivable that the wrappers and containers were old and the contents from a later date, but that is very unlikely,” takes up Orlinsky's critique that the wrappers were tested and not the scrolls, but ultimately he dismisses it. For recent discussion of the carbon 14 dating for the actual scrolls see George Doudna, “Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 2 Vols., ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1998), 1:430–471.

<sup>27</sup>Wilson provides rather limited discussion (50 [col. 3] – 51 [col. 2]) of the efforts of paleographers to date the scrolls according to the script. He only briefly mentions the conclusion of Professor William F. Albright, of the Johns Hopkins University, that the script dated the material to c. 100 BCE. By contrast (see n. 18 above), Orlinsky was concerned that paleography could not supply a date because it required contemporary inscriptions with which to compare the script of the scrolls. Since these had not come to light, no comparison could be made, and the dating remained open: “[I]t is impossible for anyone to determine the date of the scrolls within several hundred years” (Brodsky, 15).

<sup>28</sup>Saperstein’s insistence as to the early date of the scrolls may have been reinforced by HUC-JIR president and well-respected researcher and popularizer of archaeology, Nelson Glueck. In Glueck’s *New York Times* book review in November 1955, he agreed with a dating of the scrolls between 100 BCE and 70 CE. See “New Light on the Dim Past,” *The New York Times* (20 November 1955): BR54–BR55. Glueck’s influence in these matters in this period should not be underestimated.

<sup>29</sup>Here Saperstein summarizes Wilson, 56 (col. 2) – 70 (col. 3). For an extensive discussion of Jewish sectarianism and the Essene hypothesis see Lawrence Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1995), 65–157; and Flint and VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239–292.

<sup>30</sup>Here Saperstein summarizes Wilson, 70 (col. 3) – 77 (col. 1). Wilson devotes these pages to his discussion with Roland de Vaux concerning the ruins at Qumran. De Vaux (1903–1971) was director of the French-Dominican École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem and a trustee of the Palestine Archaeological Museum. At the request of G. Lankester Harding, the director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, de Vaux would become the chief excavator at Khirbet Qumran. From 1954 until 1970 he served as the editor-in-chief for the publication of the manuscripts. De Vaux summarized the findings of his excavations in *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: The British Academy and Oxford University Press, 1973). For a more recent assessment of the material finds, see Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

<sup>31</sup>Wilson, 79, col. 1.

<sup>32</sup>This conclusion, while generally accepted, has been challenged by some. See, for example, Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

<sup>33</sup>Wilson, 82, col. 2.

<sup>34</sup>Saperstein intended to identify Millar Burrows, not Burroughs. The quotation can be found in Wilson, 121, col. 2. Millar Burrows (1889–1980) was Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology at the Yale Divinity School from 1934 to 1958. As noted above, he was largely responsible for the ASOR Dead Sea Scrolls publication project and, in addition, was the author of two popular books on the scrolls: *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1955) and *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1958).

<sup>35</sup>The topics of the age and reliability of the received text of the Hebrew Bible was of limited interest to Wilson, who notes, importantly, that “[i]n order to understand the importance of the Dead Sea manuscripts . . . one has to realize that, except for a fragment or two, our earliest text of the Hebrew Bible—the so-called Masoretic text—is no more ancient than the ninth Christian century” (Wilson, 46, col. 3). The topic is far more prominent in the Brodsky article, which includes an explicit discussion of the “Codex Petropolitanus, [which] is lodged in Leningrad and was produced in the year 916c.e.” (Brodsky, 16). Saperstein used the more popular name, the St. Petersburg Codex, to identify this volume. Current scholarship dates the copying of the manuscript to the first decade of the eleventh century. Although this manuscript served as the base text for many later editions of the Hebrew Bible, the Aleppo Codex, copied in 930 CE and preserved incompletely, is an earlier witness to the state of the Hebrew Bible in the Middle Ages. However, it only garnered public attention when it was turned over to the president of the State of Israel, Itzhak ben Zvi, in 1958.

The Brodsky article highlights some of the difficulties that Saperstein lists, but it is the Glueck review of Burrows in *The New York Times* a month prior (see above) that emphasized the importance of the scrolls from this perspective:

IMAGINE the excitement attendant upon discovering leather scrolls of the Biblical book of Isaiah written in the square or Aramaic alphabet of a type common in Palestinian inscriptions from about the first century B.C. It was from this alphabet that the Hebrew script still used for printing Hebrew texts was developed in later times. This and thousands of fragments of other books of the Old Testament were found, being some nine centuries earlier than the previously, earliest known Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible. In addition to fairly complete texts of Isaiah and two of the three chapters of Habakkuk, there are fragments of practically all the other books of the Old Testament. They furnish invaluable evidence of the fidelity of the later Masoretic text (Glueck, "New Light," BR54).

For recent discussion on the Hebrew Bible text and the scrolls see, Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999).

<sup>36</sup>Wilson, 64 (col. 3) – 66 (col. 3).

<sup>37</sup>Quote from Wilson, 118, col. 2. The discussion of John the Baptist is found in Wilson, 112 (col. 2) – 116 (col. 2). In the 1950s, much attention was paid to the relationship among the scrolls, the Qumran community, and early Christianity. Much of the discussion was polemical and was aimed at undermining Christian faith. For more recent, and level-headed, discussion, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000) and the essays collected in James R. Davila, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah)* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2003), 46.

<sup>38</sup>Glueck challenges this reading of the relationship of Christianity and the scrolls in his review of Burrows (BR54). However, this argument better served the homiletical aim of the sermon, to highlight Reform Judaism as a modern, spiritually powerful sect of Judaism.

<sup>39</sup>The inspiration for this sermon seems to have been twofold. First, Saperstein and his wife were on sabbatical from his congregation from January to August 1967. The first few months they traveled in Southeast Asia, and from March until June they resided at the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion campus in Jerusalem. Although scheduled to leave in early June, they were delayed as a result of the Six Day War. Following their departure they continued their travels in Ethiopia and South Africa. Saperstein recounted his experiences during the war in a sermon he delivered on 8 September 1967, titled, "A Great Miracle Happened There." The sermon, with annotation, is reprinted in Saperstein, *Witness from the Pulpit*, 259–266. In the period immediately following the war, Nelson Glueck was in Jerusalem and at HUC-JIR. As a result of the fighting there was damage to the Rockefeller Museum, where the thousands of scroll fragments that had been the property of Jordan and that were captured by Israel were housed. As a result the scrolls became a regular part of conversation in the HUC-JIR community in Jerusalem. See Nelson Glueck, *Dateline: Jerusalem—A Diary* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1968). In addition, on 19 August 1967 Edmund Wilson published a second article on the scrolls in the *New Yorker*, "A Reporter at Large," 38–74. In May of that year Wilson had returned to Israel to follow up on his earlier reporting on the scrolls. In his discussions with Yigael Yadin and Hebrew University professor David Flusser, it became clear that growing hostility between Israel and her neighbors echoed for these men the ancient battles they studied in relation to the scrolls. This notion of the continuity of the relationship between Jews and the land of Israel is an underlying theme of the article and is reflected quite clearly in Saperstein's sermon.

<sup>40</sup>The Shrine of the Book was inaugurated on 20 April 1965. Although Saperstein had visited Israel many times before, including leading the first National Federation of Temple Youth (NFTY) tour in 1953, the quality of the description here suggests a recent visit to the museum, likely during the 1967 sabbatical. On the history of the Shrine of the Book see Adolfo D. Roitman, "Shrine of the Book," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, 874–875. Certainly Glueck would have encouraged a visit had the couple not done so before. In 1965, following the opening,

*Time Magazine* reported, “And from Hebrew Union College’s President Nelson Glueck came the shrine’s greatest compliment: ‘A book is a shrine in itself, but it is doubly so when housed in a shrine like this. Time becomes timeless here.’” (“Endless Cave in Jerusalem,” *Time Magazine* [30 April 1965], accessed online 22 January 2009 at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,898691,00.html>).

The description of the Shrine of the Book was not explicitly shaped by recourse to Wilson. In his 1967 article he describes the new Israel Museum but not the Shrine of the Book (Wilson, 1967, 49, col. 3). When the article was published as part of an updated book, Edmund Wilson, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: 1947–1969* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), an extensive description of the Shrine of the Book was appended to the discussion of the Israel Museum (240–243).

<sup>41</sup>Saperstein appears to have returned to the first Wilson article in preparing this sermon. The concept of a “Battle of the Scholars” appears in quote from William F. Albright, describing the fights over dating in the period following the discovery of the first scrolls. Commenting in 1951 he offered, “During the past three years . . . there has been a debate about the chronology of the scrolls which has at times attained the status of a veritable *guerre des savants*.” Wilson (1955), 102, col. 3.

<sup>42</sup>This paragraph summarizes his statements about the dating in the first sermon. By the very early 1960s, although he did not change his opinion, Zeitlin by and large refrained from writing about the scrolls in the public and academic press.

<sup>43</sup>Certain similarities in theology, rites, and practices are similarly described in the Qumran manuscripts and in Josephus and Philo’s depictions of the Essenes. These include, for example, a commitment to divine foreknowledge and a certain type of fatalism. Additionally, the rites of membership in the group and a commitment to shared community property are quite similar. Both groups also had strong commitment to stringent Sabbath observance and ritual purity. The differences include Philo’s description of the Essenes as avoiding commercial activities, city-dwelling, swearing oaths, and marriage. The scrolls provide allowances for all of these.

For discussion see, Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998). In recent months, Professor Rachel Eilior of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has argued that the Essenes were a fictional group created by Josephus to defend against antisemitic charges made by the Romans. Josephus “wanted to explain to the Romans that the Jews weren’t all losers and traitors, that there were many exceptional Jews of religious devotion and heroism. You might say it was the first rebuttal to anti-Semitic literature. . . . He was probably inspired by the Spartans. For the Romans, the Spartans were the highest ideal of human behavior, and Josephus wanted to portray Jews who were like the Spartans in their ideals and high virtue.” (Tim McGirk, “Scholar Claims Dead Sea Scrolls ‘Authors’ Never Existed,” *Time*, 16 March 2009, accessed online on 31 March 2009 at <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1885421,00.html>).

<sup>44</sup>It is impossible to identify the source of Saperstein’s descriptions of the scrolls. This may have been material he learned while at the Shrine of the Book. Wilson’s 1955 article makes reference to some of the scrolls (e.g. The Habbakuk Commentary, 93, col. 1.), but in 1955 he did not know the name “Genesis Apocryphon”—the scroll at that time was still known as the Lamech Scroll—and he did not discuss it in the 1967 article. For general overview of the content of these scrolls see James VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), especially the section titled, “The Seven Original Scrolls,” 3–7.

<sup>45</sup>Since the discovery of the scrolls there had been rumors of an eighth intact scroll circulating among scholars and collectors. On 23 June Glueck visited with Kando, the antiquities dealer who had helped arrange the original sale of scrolls to Athanasius Samuel. During the visit Glueck was informed that some of Kando’s merchandise—the rumored scroll, Glueck supposed—was confiscated by Israeli authorities (*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 29–30). In the last part of the diary, on 22 August 1967, Glueck noted, “One of my favorite diversions since coming here this June has been to pursue the story of the missing Dead Sea Scroll” (*Dateline: Jerusalem*, 116). Whether Glueck had begun pursuing the question while the Sapersteins were still in Jerusalem is unclear.

However, on 23 October 1968 *The New York Times* made public Israel's acquisition of an eighth scroll ("Israel Discloses Discovery of Dead Sea Scroll," [23 October 1967]: 3). This was followed several weeks later by a challenge to Israel for inappropriately confiscating the scroll (Terence Smith, "Scroll's Acquisition by Israel Criticized," *The New York Times* [11 November 1967]: 1). It would have been difficult for Saperstein to have missed these stories. The scroll, eventually called the Temple Scroll, was published by Yigael Yadin. For his description of its acquisition see Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (New York: Random House, 1985), 39–55.

<sup>46</sup>Wilson, 1955, 46, col. 3.

<sup>47</sup>Wilson, (1955), 48 (col. 1) – 49 (col. 3).



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Naomi W. Cohen, *What the Rabbis Said: The Public Discourse of Nineteenth-Century American Rabbis* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2008), x + 261 pp.

In Naomi Cohen's distinguished scholarly career, she has contributed amply to our understanding of the social, political, religious, and intellectual life of the American Jewish community. She has concentrated on the crucial period between the 1880s and 1940, when that community emerged as the most important Jewish community in the world. In particular, she has specialized in "the Germans"—that part of the American Jewish community that had emigrated from central Europe by the mid-nineteenth century and had constituted itself, by the beginning of the twentieth century, as a sort of American Jewish "establishment." Though its hegemony would be challenged in the twentieth century by American Jews of eastern European origin, the "German" Jews maintained a significant hold on communal power well past midcentury.

In the nineteenth-century American Jewish community, dominated by the "Germans," the rabbinate was largely subordinated to the congregational lay leadership, regardless of whether the congregation was traditionalist or Reform. Rabbis typically did not have the freedom to speak from their own pulpit without prior authorization. Only fairly prominent rabbis in this era, such as Stephen S. Wise, could demand and receive their "freedom of the pulpit." Thus, one of the major trends Cohen tracks in her informative book is the way in which rabbis attempted, despite these constraints, to get their message to their congregants and to a wider public—Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

Sermons constitute an important and hitherto largely underused source for understanding the history of American Judaism. That they have been underused is attributable to the many methodological problems connected with the study of sermons, of which Cohen is keenly aware. Just to begin the relation of these problems, Cohen states (11): "Many sermons were lost or survived in fragmentary form. And, very likely the edited or published version of the sermon differed substantially from the one actually delivered." That she was able to overcome the limitations of her sources and give her readers important insights into the history of American Judaism in this era, and of the American rabbinate in particular, is a tribute to the care with which she handles her primary sources.

The personalities of prominent nineteenth-century American rabbis such as traditionalist Sabato Morais and reformers David Einhorn and Kaufmann Kohler come to life, as do the challenges facing them. However, perhaps the most interesting parts of the book do not concern rabbis directly, though rabbis are heavily implicated in both. I refer to the chapters "Rabbis Under Attack," which chronicles the attack on the character of the American rabbinate by a

prominent layman, Leo N. Levi of Texas ( 131ff.), and “The World’s Parliament of Religions” (177ff.), which speaks of Jewish participation in the interfaith Parliament held in conjunction with the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

Naomi Cohen’s book brings important new evidence to our attention and thus helps us better understand a crucial era in the history of American Judaism and of the American rabbinate.

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### **John Cooper, *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), vii + 338 pp.**

What immediately strikes one with the publication of John Cooper’s biographical study of Raphael Lemkin—the legal scholar who coined the term “genocide” and fought tirelessly for the genocide convention—is the startling awareness that there is no prior scholarly study of this man. *Raphael Lemkin and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention* fills this lacuna as a meticulously researched historical narrative that methodically examines Lemkin’s lobbying efforts on behalf of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Cooper recounts Lemkin’s relationship with notable public figures, such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Pearl Buck, Henry Wallace, John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Aldous Huxley, among others, in his lobbying efforts for the genocide convention. He reflects upon Lemkin’s pioneering role in the identity of genocide as a criminal violation of international law.

To Cooper’s credit, he provides a microanalysis of the complexities of the negotiations and positions of state delegations that were often contextualized and framed through their political, historical, ideological, and philosophical lenses. Cooper helpfully illuminates for the reader all the technical nuances—as legally complex as they were—in the language of disputed particular proposals, including amendments that articulated different points of contention. We learn from Cooper that Lemkin used his skills of persuasion and negotiation, including compromising on certain issues—most notably on the criterion of “cultural genocide.” Given the Holocaust, inclusion of “cultural genocide” was a high priority for Lemkin, yet he agreed, reluctantly, to its deletion.

Cooper analyzes Lemkin’s passionate lobbying for the genocide convention in the context of an exceptionally fluid and politically charged, contentious global environment, including, for example, the onset of an intense Cold War. He chronicles with great detail the political maneuvers Lemkin deployed as he attempted to mobilize support for the ratification of the genocide convention.

As Cooper demonstrates, it is striking that Lemkin's relentless attempts to shape global public opinion, recruit support, and lobby for the adoption of the genocide convention mobilized a broad global coalition of diverse nation-states (including many Latin American countries), Central and Eastern European refugee associations, women's organizations, global Jewish organizations (e.g., World Jewish Congress), Christian associations, and eventually much of organized American labor. Lemkin almost single-handedly orchestrated a vigorous, systematic public relations campaign to adopt and ratify the convention.

Cooper's discussion of the powerful obstructionist force of southern segregationist Democrats in the U.S. Senate is especially revealing. These senators were concerned about the potential identification of racist segregation policies (i.e., Jim Crow) with genocide and human rights violations and, secondly, that the genocide convention would be a catalyst for the promotion of African-Americans' civil rights. In addition, Cooper documents the surprising fact of Britain's initial reservations and opposition to the adoption of any proposed genocide convention. Furthermore, some opponents of the convention claimed that, given other human rights projects pursued by the United Nations, it was unnecessary to implement a convention on genocide. In particular, what struck me was Cooper's revelation that Lemkin viewed the genocide convention and the global human rights movement as not collaborative, but as mutually exclusive endeavors.

We discover in this work that Lemkin's passionate love of and natural ability for learning languages served his creation of the new word *genocide* well. Lemkin's intellectual comprehension of and emotional sensitivity to genocide should be framed and integrated to a great extent—as Cooper systematically and successfully does—within the context of his own personal background and identity as a Polish Jew. Cooper's study reveals that in drafting the genocide convention, Lemkin was particularly sensitive to the survivability of global ethnic, national, racial, and religious minorities. This was especially true in the context of potential or real threats of the destruction of their cultural identities in conjunction with their quest for national identity and independence.

Lemkin's understanding of the ethical content or implicit moral principles and moral arguments underpinning the genocide convention is not fully explored. The reader would have greatly benefited if Cooper had commented on Lemkin's critique of genocide not only as a global legal subject, but also as a rejection of various moral and ethical standards. It would also have been fruitful for Cooper to have focused on the range of political philosophical and ethical sources that possibly had an intellectual impact on Lemkin's conceptualization of genocide and the UN Convention on Genocide. Furthermore, it would have been helpful if Cooper had expanded upon Lemkin's understanding of the reasoning for a global collective moral responsibility for humanitarian interventions in cases of genocide.

Thanks to the author, we learn that Lemkin took very seriously his role as researcher, which was realized with his magnum opus—*Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, published in 1944. It is in this work that Lemkin created the powerful, compelling, and provocative word *genocide*—replacing the linguistic precedent that he created of “crimes of barbarity and vandalism.” What is profoundly insightful and greatly contributes to the scholarly literature both on Lemkin and the Nuremberg Tribunal are Cooper’s revelations of Lemkin’s decisive role in, and influence upon, the proceedings of the Nuremberg prosecutions—including the impact of his aforementioned book.

Without hyperbole, Cooper richly captures Lemkin the human—a true Renaissance man and a brilliant intellectual. However, he does not present Lemkin without any weaknesses. The author depicts the life of a man focused almost exclusively on his life’s calling and preoccupation—his public role as the relentless architect and lobbyist of a genocide convention—to the point of sacrificing his health and most private relationships. It is sad that although Lemkin was nominated several times, he was never awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Readers—both scholars and the nonacademic audience—will be equally impressed with the meticulous detail and comprehensive scope of Cooper’s study.

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**Carole S. Kessner, *Marie Syrkin: Values Beyond the Self* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008), 416 pp., illus.**

Carole S. Kessner’s biography of Marie Syrkin (1899–1989) is a welcome addition to the small but growing body of work on this brilliant, mercurial woman, whose career as journalist, poet, educator, and Zionist activist is paradigmatic of her time, place, and cultural milieu. The daughter of Nachman Syrkin, the founder of Labor Zionism, Marie Syrkin was born in Switzerland and spent her early years moving with her parents from one European city to another, as Nachman became increasingly active in Zionist politics. Immigrating with her parents to New York City in 1908, Marie, who already spoke four languages, adjusted to American life with relative ease. Her mother’s death from tuberculosis in 1915 and her increasing estrangement from the charismatic, strong-willed, and decidedly patriarchal Nachman (who left for Russia to court

and marry his wife's younger sister!) led the beautiful Marie to a tempestuous young adulthood. At sixteen she eloped with writer Maurice Samuel, and when Nachman intervened to have the marriage annulled, she soon after married Aaron Bodansky, a chemistry instructor at Cornell, where Marie studied English. This marriage, too, lasted only a short time; the couple lost their first child, had a second, and divorced soon after. Syrkin found herself back in New York City, a single mother making her way as a high school teacher, though she always aspired to an academic career. In 1930, after a stay in Reno to obtain the divorce from Bodansky, she married Charles Reznikoff, arguably the greatest Jewish American poet of the twentieth century but a failure as a breadwinner. Charles and Marie often lived apart: he mostly in New York City (except for a stint in Hollywood as the factotum of his childhood friend, the producer Albert Lewin), she traveling to Europe and Palestine (including the occasional rendezvous with Maurice Samuel) in her increasingly engaged career as a journalist and Zionist organizer. In 1950, she was hired by the English department of Brandeis University, where she taught for seventeen years. (Charles stayed in Manhattan.)

Kessner subtitles her biography "Values Beyond the Self," a phrase Irving Howe, Syrkin's sometimes condescending but ultimately admiring colleague at Brandeis, applied to the life she lived. Kessner leads us to see in this biography how much Syrkin grew beyond herself and into those values. What emerges is a figure of unusual integrity. The headstrong, romantic young woman, whose dedication to the Zionist cause was the true inheritance of her headstrong, romantic father, responded gradually but with increasing passion and insight to the events that shaped the fate of world Jewry from the 1930s on. Syrkin's varied accomplishments—her work on educational reform, her reports on Palestine prior to the establishment of Israel, her visits to and writing about the displaced persons camps, her biography of her close friend Golda Meir, and her book on Jewish resistance, *Blessed Is the Match*—are all described in detailed counterpoint to these crucial events. One sees much of twentieth-century Jewish history through the lens of this unique life, a life of both an observer of and actor in this extraordinary drama. Brought back from relative obscurity through careful research and obvious devotion, Marie Syrkin deserves the attention of a new generation of readers and scholars.

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*Norman Finkelstein is a poet, critic, and professor of English at Xavier University in Cincinnati, OH. His new book, On Mt. Vision: Forms of the Sacred in Contemporary American Poetry, is forthcoming from the University of Iowa Press.*

Julian Levinson, *Exiles on Main Street: Jewish American Writers and American Literary Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), vii + 239 pp.

*Exiles on Main Street* addresses the development of Jewish-American identity and literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, providing a vital model for analyzing Jewish literary production in America, and Jews' own representations of Jewishness. Levinson positions his analysis as a corrective to critics who tend to interpret nineteenth and twentieth-century Jewish-American life primarily as a story of the "drive to assimilate" and who correlate such assimilation with a loss of "Jewish distinctiveness" (8). He shows how Jewish writers from Emma Lazarus to Alfred Kazin combine Jewish traditions with American literary movements, particularly Transcendentalism, to create a distinctly modern Jewish identity that is at once subversive, visionary, and essentially redemptive—the necessary foundation for rethinking American idealism. Writers he covers include Mary Antin, Waldo Frank, Irving Howe, Anzia Yezierska, and Yiddishists such as Joseph Bovshover and I. J. Schwartz, an expansive list that enables him to demonstrate how, over the course of the "long twentieth century," Jewish writers have productively transformed non-Jewish culture in multiple and complex ways.

Levinson opens the book by analyzing the influence of Emersonian notions of inspiration on Emma Lazarus, notions that she combines with Jewish prophetic tradition to proclaim a "rising of the Jew" and a "spiritual rebirth in ... America" (31). In Lazarus's work, Levinson explains, the "Eastern Jew redeems the American Jew by reconnecting her to the Jewish past," albeit a past in which "[t]hemes such as Israel's abominations and ... God's punishments, which are central to the discourse of biblical prophesy, are absent" (34, 32). He then turns to Mary Antin, emphasizing her interest in "interiority and revelation," and what he characterizes as a "pure doctrine of ancient Judaism": the belief that "rituals [are] secondary to the underlying relationship between the individual Jew and God" (41, 47). To observe Antin's engagement with such views, he concludes, is to recognize how fully committed Antin is to the idea of "a spiritual core beneath the accretions of rabbinic Judaism," but also how she transforms this core into a trope for "spiritual power" and perseverance in "modern American Jewish culture" (47, 52). In short, Levinson argues that Lazarus and Antin "imagine an enduring Judaism" by replacing "the institutions of rabbinic culture" with "a rhetoric of spirituality whose providence is largely Romantic and Victorian" (15). Thus Levinson sets the stage for his rich analysis of Jewish-American writers' engagement with a "spiritualized" Judaism, a Judaism reliant on both Jewish and seemingly non-Jewish "visionary literary tradition[s]" (39, 3). For instance, we learn how Lewis Lewisohn evokes both Jewish "biblical vocabularies" and Whitman to "castigate Americans for their failure to live up to their alleged ideals" (64, 63). For Lewisohn, Levinson argues, "Whitman's 'great idea' [is]

betrayed by a belligerent ... America; yet, since America's 'great idea' is ... originally Jewish, it can be retrieved by the Jew who 'returns' to Judaism" (73). Similarly, the modernist Waldo Frank discovers a Jewish "spiritual language for elucidating ... and augmenting the project of the avant-garde" and, in the process, demonstrates how "the Jew *as Jew* could be woven into the narrative of America's coming-into-fulfillment" (77, 90; italics Levinson).

Such thoughtful reassessments of both popular and lesser known Jewish-American writers illustrate the dynamic ways in which Jewish writers reinvigorate their traditions to create a new version of Jewish identity in America. In this sense, the book is eminently optimistic, articulating a narrative in which Jewishness is reformulated as Jews assimilate, but never disappears. There is also a political story at the heart of Levinson's work: providing a useful primer on Jews' adaptation of Romantic and transcendentalist ideas, he demonstrates how transcendentalist vocabularies are employed by Jewish writers for utopian ends. "More than 'identity,'" he tells us, these writers "offer an ideal; more than ethnicity, ethos; more than a set of rituals or group behavior, a mandate and a mission" (107). This sense of mission is informed by historical events, and more significantly, by images of Jews and other immigrants, both positive and negative, circulating in the culture at large. Indeed, in Levinson's history, Jews respond to the narratives of cultural pluralism advocated by such thinkers as Randolph Bourne as productively as they do to the anti-immigrant diatribes of Henry Ford.

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**John P. Marschall, *Jews in Nevada: A History* (Reno and Las Vegas, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2008), 390 pp.**

In *Jews in Nevada*, University of Nevada, Reno, professor emeritus John P. Marschall offers an outstanding local history of a dynamic Jewish population in the West. Casting a wide net encompassing mid-nineteenth-century Jewish immigrants to a sparsely populated desert, the development of business and commerce in the generations that followed, the growth of Las Vegas as a gambling and tourist mecca, and, eventually, contemporary concerns over the nature and limits of Nevadan Jewish identity, Marschall brings his training as a scholar of American religion as well as his knowledge of Nevada history to bear in this work. His is a meticulous research effort, animated by details of Nevada's Jews as well as a sense of how their stories fit into the larger historiographic questions for both religionists and local historians.

*Jews in Nevada* is divided into sixteen chapters, chronologically arranged from 1850 until 2005. In the final chapters, Marschall abandons a straight chronology in favor of thematic chapters covering antisemitism, civil rights, religious observance, and Yiddishkeit, as well as a last chapter that details Jewish life in twenty-first century Nevada. Most of his scholarly attention is focused on the mid- and late nineteenth centuries, with detailed descriptions of daily economic life in the 1850s and 1860s, political developments during the years of the American Civil War, and the growth of population and business with the growth of railroads in the 1870s.

Marschall presents a work that is classic social history, telling the stories of ordinary local people. Some emerged to significance in Nevada social life, while others are detailed for their ability to communicate day-to-day living on what was then the western frontier. Of particular interest is Marschall's treatment of the rise of Las Vegas. The subject of other studies, as well as a major motion picture, Jewish associations with organized crime and with the development of the gambling industry are well documented. Instead of following the traditional historiographic line, Marschall devotes a chapter to the religious lives of Nevada Jews, charting synagogue development in both the northern and southern parts of the state in the post-war years.

The history of Nevada's Jews, as Marschall explains, offers an important challenge to conventional, northeastern-centered analyses. In what was largely an extension of San Francisco, Nevada's first Jewish settlers often identified more as Californians, shuttling back and forth and eventually returning "home" to San Francisco when the Nevada economy faltered. The existence of a transient population challenges historians, and especially local historians, to assess the nature and influence of regionalism as a causal agent in our analyses.

Nevada also offers a highly assimilated Jewish population. This is true both in the early years of settlement, when few Jews resided in desert outposts, and in the twentieth century, when the sprawling metropolis of Las Vegas attracted a large population of Jews who expressed far less interest in Jewish identity than did Jews in similarly sized communities elsewhere in the country.

*Jews in Nevada* is most important because it brings American Jewish history, and local American Jewish history at that, into larger historiographic folds. Marschall's primary scholarly interests in American religion and in the history of Nevada set an important, and broader, context for the study of Jews. In this book, the nexus between Jewish history, Nevada history, and religious history creates a powerful and important synthesis.

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Michael A. Meyer, ed., *Joachim Prinz, Rebellious Rabbi: An Autobiography—The German and Early American Years* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 320 pp.

The memoir of Joachim Prinz (1902–1988) is a remarkable document. It is a rare, intimate reflection of a Jewish theologian and leading Zionist who experienced some of the most decisive and trying moments of the twentieth century, notably the early years of the Nazi dictatorship and the American Civil Rights Movement, up close. The well-written and absorbing autobiography surpasses many scholarly monographs in providing an insightful portrayal of Jewish life in Germany between World War I and the early years of Nazi rule. What makes this personal account so valuable is the far-sighted decision by editor Michael A. Meyer to present the autobiography in its original form. Had Prinz published the memoir during his lifetime, some of the most interesting passages would have almost certainly been sacrificed. But its posthumous publication enables the reader to look over the shoulders of a man who was certainly vain when it came to enumerating his own achievements—but also strikingly honest and frank, even in regard to his own weaknesses.

Who was Joachim Prinz, and why does his story matter? In 1926, when he was just twenty-four years old, Prinz became a rabbi in Berlin. He quickly made himself a name as an uncompromising Zionist, a charismatic speaker, and a prolific author. Prinz redefined the role of the rabbinate in almost revolutionary terms. He openly preached a Zionist message and revived his congregation by launching numerous social activities for younger people. After 1933 Prinz emerged as one of the most outspoken opponents of the Nazi regime, frequently putting his life at risk. In 1937, he immigrated to the United States and served Temple B'nai Abraham in Newark until his retirement in the 1970s. After the war Prinz played a prominent role in American Jewish life. In the 1950s and 1960s he worked closely with Martin Luther King Jr. Indeed, minutes before King gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech during the March on Washington on 28 August 1963, Prinz spoke to the crowd of 200,000, reflecting on his own experiences as a persecuted Jew under the Nazi regime (his address is reprinted in the volume).

In Philip Roth’s counterfactual novel, *The Plot Against America*, Prinz makes a brief appearance as a Newark rabbi fiercely critical of a pro-Nazi American presidency. But astonishingly, no author has examined the record of this outstanding personality in any detail. Meyer has invested his expertise to explain in a concise and insightful introduction both sides of Prinz: his upbringing and first career in Germany, and the difficult transition to and ultimate success in America. Throughout the memoir Meyer has added a number of short comments, background information, and corrections.

The memoir ends with the death of Prinz’s American mentor, Stephen S. Wise, in 1949. But even so, the description of Prinz’s childhood and youth offers

rare glimpses on the everyday life of German Jews in the countryside; so do his personal observations of the sexual revolution after 1918. His frank comments on America and American Jewish life in the 1930s and 1940s are remarkable, as are the countless personal encounters recorded here, ranging from famous Yiddish writers in Berlin to notorious Nazis, and even an infamous American Jewish gangster.

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**Andrew Muchin, “Chosen Towns: The Story of Jews in Wisconsin’s Small Communities” (DVD) (Milwaukee, WI: docUWM and the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning, 2008)**

The small Jewish communities of Wisconsin are now on the decline, as are similar communities elsewhere, but they will certainly go out with a bang and not a whimper. Since 2001, the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning (WSJL), which has supported Jewish scholarship and cultural programming in the state for more than fifty years, has sponsored the Wisconsin Small Jewish Communities Project. This project, directed by journalist and lecturer Andrew Muchin, documents the history of Jews in an estimated three hundred localities throughout the state. For “Chosen Towns,” Muchin and the WSJL teamed with graduate filmmaking students from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to feature the experiences of Jews in eight representative towns around the state.

The film provides a fine introduction to the small-town Jewish experience. Blending contemporary interviews with archival photographs and film, it offers brisk pacing and visual variety. The student filmmakers did a fine job technically, but they also managed to create a narrative that encapsulates both the positives and negatives of small-town Jewish life. (That said, there is some imprecision in the adjective “small.” Only two of the featured towns have a current population of less than 10,000, and four have populations of more than 50,000. On the other hand, the Jewish communities of these towns are indeed small; only half ever had more than one hundred Jewish residents. The combination of large total population and small Jewish population—as in Kenosha, with figures of 95,000 and 300, respectively—reflects that Jews are only one-half of 1 percent of the state’s population overall.)

The backbone of these communities was families operating retail establishments founded by an immigrant forebear, though the film also includes a segment on a short-lived experimental Jewish agricultural project. The communities’ populations generally peaked soon after World War II; then economic success led Jewish children to university and to professions elsewhere, though two of the

interviewees are forty-somethings who remained in their hometowns. The film portrays honestly the plusses and minuses of small-town community life. It does not ignore the cultural conflicts within communities as early twentieth-century east European immigrants, largely Orthodox, joined veteran central Europeans with Reform affiliation. Nor does it idealize small-town life by ignoring anti-semitism or the logistical difficulties of providing Jewish education and seeking potential marriage partners. Most interviewees, not surprisingly, were people who loved their small-town life, but there was one who found it limiting, even stifling. They discuss the pressures of—and the resultant increase in Jewish consciousness created by—the necessity to be “ambassadors to Christians.” A regional Jewish historian provides important historical context and explanations of concepts such as chain migration throughout the film.

“Chosen Towns” does not keep the small Jewish community experience in a box; it uses it to reflect on issues of American Jewish identity generally that are made more acute in a small setting. Through thoughtful interviews, the film gives personal insights on questions of generational change and religious faith. It is a useful viewing experience, then, not only for those with either a local or an academic interest in small Jewish communities, but for anyone interested in the breadth of the American Jewish experience.

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**Marc Lee Raphael, ed., *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 490 pp.**

This collection of articles is a welcome addition to the growing literature on American Jews and Judaism. Edited by the former long-time editor of *American Jewish History*, the book includes eighteen articles broken into two sections. This review will focus on the structure of the collection rather than the individual essays. Suffice it to say that many of the articles are fascinating, covering a wide spectrum of material: from the definition of American Jewish culture, to rites of citizenship exploring how American Jews celebrated national holidays, to “fun and games”—a study of the American Jewish social club.

Editor Marc Lee Raphael points out that there had been relatively little written on many specific topics in American Jewish history. Much of what had been published focused on either important communal leaders such as Jacob Schiff, or major Jewish organizations such as the American Jewish Committee, or aspects of urban Jewish history in the major cities such as New York or Chicago. He writes that this lacuna “has been remedied, to some extent” by work published over the past twenty years. Despite the progress made, Raphael writes, there is still much to do. This work is an attempt to help address this need.

The title of the book, *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, would seem to suggest that attention will be paid to both Jews as an ethnic group and Judaism as a religion. However, in his introduction, the editor makes the argument that such a distinction is artificial and counterproductive. He believes that Jewish religion can be written about as an integral part of broader cultural and societal trends and does not need to be picked out and analyzed in isolation. This reviewer is not convinced, however, finding that the mixing of Jews and Judaism tends to favor the former at the expense of the latter.

Raphael begins with a partial listing of previous writings on Jews and/or Judaism in the United States. He points out that most of the single-volume histories written over the past two generations focused on Jews rather than Judaism (1). The editor argues that most writers see “cultural Jews” as being completely secular and having almost nothing to do with anything Judaic. From Woody Allen to Jon Stewart, it is easy to think of many examples of American Jews who express an overt Jewishness that has virtually no discernable religious component.

The phrase “Jewish culture” usually refers to expressions of secular Jewishness in art, music, literature, and television, rather than anything that might occur in synagogues. American Jews “divide into those who are involved in the religious community (for Judaism *is* community)” versus “those who define themselves as Jewish in secular or cultural ways” (14–15). Raphael argues strongly against this simplistic distinction, pointing out that Mordecai Kaplan warned against this conceptual error many decades ago. Jewishness and Judaism are “complimentary” [*sic*] rather than, as one of Raphael’s contributors phrases it, “inherently conflicted” (14–15).

This is of particular interest to me because I recently edited *The Cambridge Companion to American Judaism*, in which I encouraged the contributors to focus as much as possible on Judaism rather than Jews. While it is obviously impossible to completely separate Jews from Judaism, or Judaism from Jews, a collection of essays can certainly emphasize one over the other. Raphael writes that he intends to include both Jews and Judaism—“[T]his is a history of American Jews and American Judaism” (8)—but in my view, the essays heavily emphasize the former. Nevertheless, the volume includes far more on Judaism than many of the earlier single-volume works on American Jews.

*The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America* is divided into two sections: “Chronological Essays” and “Topical Essays.” The first section consists of six chronological essays covering the years 1654 to 2000. These essays cover 145 pages, which is sufficient to describe the many changing trends that developed over that time period. This allows Raphael to bring a nuanced view of American Jewish history, something that would not have been possible in, say, thirty or forty pages. The authors present a number of different perspectives, and are—with one unfortunate exception—well versed in their subjects.

This makes it lively reading even for those who have read numerous books on the subject.

The second section, “Topical Essays,” includes twelve articles covering a number of subgenres. I was surprised that Raphael does not attempt to further break the topical essays into cohesive and logical subsections. There are a number of ways that he could have split them up, any of which would have made it easier for the reader to understand the interrelationships among the essays. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous wealth of information and commentary that will reward the diligent reader.

It was difficult to understand why Raphael makes the choices that he does. For example, the editor does not include commissioned articles on each of the religious movements, with the single exception of an essay on Orthodoxy from 1824 to 1965. It sticks out even more because it is the first essay of the topical section. Raphael needed to either include overviews on the other major denominations or leave this essay out, because the reader is left wondering why Orthodoxy merits individual treatment but the other movements do not. Also, the author should have added a few more pages to bring the story up to the present, instead of stopping in 1965.

A few articles do attempt to give comprehensive overviews, including one on the history of Jewish education, but—while I enjoyed reading many of the topical essays—I could not figure out what was the purpose of publishing these articles together. The essays do not share a particular viewpoint nor do they analyze their topics using a specific approach. For example, there are two essays on American Jews in specific regions, one covering 1880–1930 in the Northwest and the other presenting a multithematic approach to southern Jewish history. This could have formed an interesting subsection, but the authors start from such different points of view that they really do not “match.” It would have been preferable to have a subsection with four or five articles exploring the different geographical regions, covering roughly the same time periods, and approaching the subject with certain common methodologies.

In his introduction, Raphael mentions that many of the authors were able to meet in Williamsburg, Virginia, and numerous contributors read the essays of other authors. He writes that “this resulted in considerable intertextuality—authors in conversation with one another.” He adds that “in imitation of the final editor of the Torah, where there were different interpretations of the same phenomenon, they have not been reconciled.” Having multiple interpretations makes a collection more interesting. So too does a variety of methodologies, perspectives, and approaches. All of this is good. What I personally would like to see in Raphael’s next edited book is a more structured collection of articles that focuses on one particular subject or, alternatively, a comprehensive work that truly gives a broad overview of the entire field.

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**Walter Roth, *Avengers and Defenders: Glimpses of Chicago's Jewish Past* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2008), 235 pp.**

The history of Chicago is jam-packed with outsized characters; and even its Jews have often seemed a little more vivid, a little more cynical, a little more colorful, and a little more dangerous than the rest of us. From Studs Terkel to David Mamet, from Jake Arvey to Rahm Emanuel, from Nelson Algren to Judy Chicago, the city's Jewry has not lacked for pungency—or for influence. Consider the two leading contenders in the 2008 Democratic presidential primaries: the former Hillary Rodham had written her senior honors thesis at Wellesley College on the tactics of community organizer Saul Alinsky, the Chicago-bred agitator who invented the very vocation that Barack Obama mastered on his way to the White House. The Jewish heritage of the “Second City” has sometimes been hideous, as when Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb committed “the crime of the century” by murdering Bobby Franks. Often, this history has been so juicy that it remains a mystery as to why there has not been a truly satisfactory scholarly account of the community. No first-rate overview exists.

Into that breach has stepped Walter Roth, an attorney who has long served as the president of the Chicago Jewish Historical Society. For his essays in the society's newsletter, Roth has made a habit of retrieving episodes, profiling important and sometimes merely curious figures, and evoking a sense of the richness of the city's Jewish past. Roth's 2002 book, *Looking Backward: True Stories from Chicago's Jewish Past*, constituted a first installment, ranging from the Jewish role in the 1893 World's Fair to the emergence of Zionism. *Avengers and Defenders* is a worthy successor, offering more than three dozen short pieces on the murderers and the *machers*, the butchers and other businessmen, the philanthropists and the storytellers who have enlivened the Jewish community of Chicago (and beyond). There is no scholarly apparatus; Roth's intended audience is popular, not academic, and his touch is light. In making the city's Jewish legacy interesting, however, *Avengers and Defenders* is successful.

The title reflects something of the range of characters resurrected in this book. The “avenger” is Sholom Schwartzbart, the Russian-born French radical who in 1926 assassinated a Ukrainian national hero, Simon Petliura, a pogromist whose hordes engaged in the mass murders of Jews (including nearly twenty

of Schwartzbart's own relatives). He shot Petliura dead in Paris, where a jury acquitted him. Fearing Ukrainian retaliation, Schwartzbart fled to the United States, where he wrote poetry in Yiddish and tried in vain to reach Palestine under the Mandate. Communal organizations sponsored his visits to Chicago, though Roth could find no evidence of permanent residence.

The "defenders" the title refers to are usually attorneys, like Moses Salomon and Sigmund Zeisler, who represented the anarchists framed for the deaths of Chicago policemen in Haymarket Square on May Day, 1886. A more problematic kind of defense occurred in *Terminello v. Chicago* (1949), in which a rabble-rousing antisemite was charged with breach of the peace when stones were thrown and windows broken, though not by Arthur Terminello himself. Prosecuted by a couple of Jewish attorneys representing the city of Chicago, he charged that his freedom of speech had been violated. The American Jewish Congress filed an *amicus curiae* brief arguing that the conviction of this defrocked priest should be upheld. Splitting five to four, the Supreme Court disagreed, however, and insisted that the First Amendment protected even hate-mongers.

A perhaps surprising feature of this sprightly volume is its attention to members of the city's intelligentsia, such as the philosopher Leo Strauss, the novelist and critic Isaac Rosenfeld, the economist Aaron Director, the legal scholar Edward H. Levi, and the biochemist Martin D. Kamen. Three separate chapters of *Avengers and Defenders* are devoted to novelist Meyer Levin. Except for Saul Bellow, no Jewish novelist has produced a body of fiction that is more closely associated with the untamed energies of Chicago than Levin, the author of *The Old Bunch*. And no novelist was more luckless in getting drawn into controversies that required legal resolution. To get the dramatic rights to Anne Frank's diary, Levin was even foolish enough to try to sue her father, who was, of course, a Holocaust survivor. Writing *Compulsion*, Levin somehow managed to get sued for libel by Nathan Leopold, who was serving a sentence of life plus ninety-nine years. Though the novelist eventually won his case, which is recounted in Roth's *Looking Backward*, such raw and weird conflicts seem downright indigenous to Chicago.

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Leonard Saxe and Barry Chazan, *Ten Days of Birthright Israel: A Journey in Young Adult Identity* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2008), 256 pp.

Whether you are convinced by the recent argument that young Jews are "beyond distancing"<sup>1</sup> in terms of their connection to Israel, one thing is clear to the authors of *Ten Days of Birthright Israel*: Over the last fifteen years,

informal Jewish educational travel to Israel has been one of the most effective and profound ways to stimulate a deep sense of connection to Judaism and Jewish life. Saxe and Chazan demonstrate that persuasively in this text.

Through rich ethnographic description and longitudinal evaluation, the authors describe and analyze the ways Birthright uses informal education to fully engage (and sometimes overwhelm) all of the participants' senses. As two of the key architects of the program, their overarching goal, in the program's development and their analysis, is to stimulate a sense of shared connection among Diaspora and Israeli Jews to deeper questions of history, land, and peoplehood. Birthright Israel, as described in *Ten Days*, is a distinctly *modernist* project of cultivating emotional, ethnic, nationalist, and cultural ties in a postmodern era of increasing individualism, secularism, nondenominationalism, and the privatization of religious experience.

The authors provide a deep insider account about the historical context that led to the creation of the program. The book's early chapters analyze how and why Birthright emerged as a radically different and innovative approach. Its mission was, and remains, to engage young Jews with Israel, with the organized Jewish community, with themselves, and with each other Jewishly. Saxe and Chazan offer an in-depth ethnography of the programmatic structure, participant experiences, and complexities involved in the selection and interpretation of key sites. Further chapters describe the concept and interactions of *mifgashim* (encounters between Americans and Israelis), the extensive evaluation conducted since the program's inception, and the voices of participants themselves.

The book's strength is also, paradoxically, its greatest weakness. It has been a long time since I read a Jewish studies monograph so richly "thick" with ethnographic description and thoughtful analysis. Similarly, the book's longitudinal perspective and insider knowledge are immeasurably valuable. However, because the authors are *so inside* the enterprise, the narrative sometimes suffers from a lack of critical distance and a somewhat congratulatory, if occasionally triumphant, tone about its impact on individuals and the wider Jewish community. For example, early in the book, when describing the incentive for signing up to participate, they write of "accepting the gift." A more critical outsider (indeed, perhaps an observer with a more detached or neutral stance toward Israeli politics and society) might have eschewed such celebratory language. No doubt Birthright has changed the landscape of global Jewish relationships and informal educational travel to Israel. But had the book been written by a more independent author with fewer professional and emotional commitments to the program, the analysis (and perhaps, critique) might have been more pointed.

Surely, a range of scholars, educators, communal professionals, and philanthropists would benefit from reading Saxe and Chazan's work. Israel studies scholars and lay readers might also want to learn more about how

American Jews engage with Israelis and Israeli culture. *Ten Days of Birthright Israel* provides an important glimpse into one of the most recent and innovative chapters in the overlapping histories of American and Israeli Jews, and global Jewish cultures.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Steven M. Cohen and Ari Y. Kelman, "Beyond Distancing: Young Adult American Jews and Their Alienation from Israel" (New York: The Jewish Identity Project of Reboot, 2007).

Edward S. Shapiro, ed., *Yiddish in America: Essays on Yiddish Culture in the Golden Land* (Scranton, PA and London: University of Scranton Press, 2008), 206 pp.

During the early days of Yiddish radio, broadcasters tried just about anything to attract an audience, including broadcasting bar mitzvahs and weddings. Rubin Goldberg, an early star of Yiddish radio, broadcast his own wedding and even got a sausage company to sponsor it (117). Ari Y. Kelman's brilliant article, "The Worldly Sounds of Yiddish Radio," is full of such anecdotes that frame the fascinating, in-depth account of the heyday of Yiddish radio in America in the 1920s and 1930s. Kelman situates the Yiddish radio industry as an entity that mediated religion and secularism, reflecting the newly created American-Jewish identity. It is articles such as Kelman's, along with Joel Berkowitz's analysis of the counter-Maskilic impulse of American Yiddish drama; and Daniel Soyer's study of language, YIVO, and the autobiography contest of 1942, that make the reading of *Yiddish in America: Essays on Yiddish Culture in the Golden Land* such a pleasurable and rewarding experience.

*Yiddish in America* is edited by Edward S. Shapiro, a professor emeritus of history at Seton Hall University and the author of *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II* (1992) and *Crown Heights: Blacks, Jews, and the 1991 Brooklyn Riot* (2006). It aims at tracing secular Yiddish culture in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. The volume examines a specific moment in American-Jewish life, a few decades in which Yiddish was a vernacular, a living language, spoken by the first and second generations of eastern European immigrants, outside of Borough Park or Kiryas Joel. During this time, to borrow Ruth Wisse's wording in the opening article of the volume,

“[Yiddish] language was not merely a vehicle of expression, but a determinant of identity.” (9)

The cultural umbrella forms a productive platform for an interdisciplinary assessment of various Yiddish productions. In that respect, a collection of essays—a somewhat endangered genre in American publishing of recent years—is arguably the best outlet for such an endeavor. Indeed, *Yiddish in America* brings together eight articles on Yiddish theatre, film, poetry, language and autobiography, popular music, political cartoons, radio, and Yiddish writing in the United States. The volume, however, makes no claim to be exhaustive. Rather, Shapiro’s goal is to offer a step toward a more complete view of the cultural world of the new Americans.

Twenty scholars, Shapiro tells us, initially agreed to contribute an article to the volume. The extensive list of worthy topics that are not included in the book contains, among other themes, Yiddish politics, labor unions, schools and schools’ curricula, food, Yiddish summer camps, publishing houses and book stores, and Yiddish-American slang. The book’s main problem, however, is not the absence of these topics but rather the uneven quality of the articles that are included. This problem is exacerbated by the collection’s failure to target a specific audience. While some articles offer deep and thoughtful scholarly analysis, others have a more journalistic bent and seem better suited for a textbook or a popular reader. Scholars and students of Yiddish will also find it hard to navigate the volume with the absence of an index. Finally, it is difficult to overlook the lacuna of gender as a conceptual category. The role of women as agents of education and language preservation in both domestic and public spheres is crucial for understanding the cultural phenomenon the book describes.

Despite these reservations, *Yiddish in America* is a valuable contribution to the increasingly growing bookshelf on real and imagined Yiddishlands. The paperback edition, which suggests an attempt to appeal to the general public, makes the book accessible and easy to use. The volume will certainly spur interesting discussions in graduate and advanced undergraduate seminars on the history and culture of American Jewry.

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Shlomit Steinberg, *Orphaned Art: Looted Art from the Holocaust in the Israel Museum* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2008), 72 pp. (English and Hebrew)

From February 2008 to August 2008, the Israel Museum stepped forward and made its contribution to the growing movement within museums internationally to focus on the issue of Nazi-era looted art. Although it was neither the first nor the last museum to host such an exhibition, this show would be distinct because the objects showcased were from the museum's own collection. The impact would be that much more powerful because it was the first museum in Israel to mount such an exhibition. On display were more than two dozen ceremonial objects and more than forty paintings, drawings, prints, and books that were brought to Israel during the 1950s by the New York-based Jewish Cultural Reconstruction, Inc. (JCR), the cultural arm of the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO). The JRSO was an umbrella organization established to serve as trustee of heirless Jewish property found in the American zone of Germany after World War II.

The development of this exhibition was not without context. On 3 December 1998, forty-four governments participating in the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets endorsed the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art. Support for these principles brought a new focus and change in attitudes throughout the world toward governmental responsibility in restitution and return, involving banks, insurance, and other property. The proceedings of this conference drew attention to the collections of all major museums as well; none were exempt. As Philippe de Montebello of the Metropolitan Museum quipped, "The genie is out of the bottle."<sup>1</sup>

The Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Assets, held in 2000, continued the process by which governments and museums were encouraged to implement the Washington Principles and other European legislation. For various and complicated reasons, Jewish museums were slower to respond to the call to examine their collections, though Judaica had been specifically identified as a top priority by President Clinton's Presidential Advisory Commission on Holocaust-Era Assets in 1998.

In November 2006, the Association of European Jewish Museums passed a resolution that required its member institutions to follow the Washington Principles in regard to their own collections.<sup>2</sup> The Council of American Jewish Museums followed suit at its annual meeting in January 2007, unanimously adopting a similar resolution on Nazi-era looted art that charged Jewish museums to "make currently available object and provenance information on those objects (potentially looted) accessible."<sup>3</sup>

Only in the past few years have exhibitions been devoted specifically to the issue of looted art and the return of Jewish property. In the fall of 2007, art

owned by museums in the Netherlands that was known to have been looted from Jewish collections but whose heirs had not yet been identified was arranged by the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam in an exhibition titled, “Looted, but from Whom?” Exhibitions that seek to tell the history of looted art and its consequences have been mounted in New York (Leo Baeck Institute and the Jewish Museum), London (Ben Uri Gallery), Berlin (Jewish Museum), Munich (Jewish Museum), and Vienna (Jewish Museum).

In the context of this larger history, *Orphaned Art: Looted Art from the Holocaust in the Israel Museum*, together with the museum’s website identifying objects from its collections that heirs may still claim, is an important contribution by a Jewish museum—an Israeli museum—to transparency. The catalogue has two sections: The first is an essay, in both Hebrew and English, describing the organized process of looting in Europe and postwar efforts for collection and redistribution; the second is an illustrated catalogue of selected works from the collection, including paintings by Max Liebermann, Mark Chagall, and Egon Schiele, as well as ceremonial objects such as Torah shields, Torah finials, and spice boxes.

The topic of Holocaust-era looted art and Judaica is woven into the larger history of the period, and the identification and restitution of these objects is a chapter in progress. Though it may not be possible to determine with clarity the importance of this catalog in the scope of restitution issues, any museum’s attempt for transparency that may open the possibility of return of objects is welcome, particularly at a time when museums and the world look to Jewish institutions and Israeli museums for ethical guidance.

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*Karen S. Franklin, a guest curator at the Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York, is a past president of the Council of American Jewish Museums. She is a coauthor of the Council of American Jewish Museums Resolution on Nazi-era Looted Art. Franklin consults frequently on cases of looted art and Judaica.*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Stuart E. Eizenstat, concluding statement, Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets, Washington, DC, 3 December 1998, quoting Philippe de Montebello. Accessed on 22 April 2009 at <http://fcit.usf.edu/HOLOCAUST/RESOURCE/Assets/concl2.htm>.

<sup>2</sup>Resolution on Looted Art, Association of European Jewish Museums, passed 20 November 2006, Venice. Accessed on 22 April 2009 at <http://www.claimscon.org/forms/AEJM.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup>Council of American Jewish Museums Resolution on Nazi-era Looted Art. Accessed on 22 April 2009 at <http://www.claimscon.org/index.asp?url=artworks/cajm>.

Hollace Ava Weiner, *Jewish "Junior League": The Rise and Demise of the Fort Worth Council of Jewish Women* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 188 pp.

Drawing on archival materials and interviews, Hollace Ava Weiner's extensive notes and insightful commentary provide an excellent historical resource about the Fort Worth section of the National Council of Jewish Women (hereafter Fort Worth Council) from its inception in 1901 to its closure in 2002. Contrary to Weiner's statement that the book "explores the journey of Jewish women in Fort Worth, Texas" (xiv), the journey presented is of Fort Worth's well-to-do Jewish women "blending in and passing" in order to participate in the civic life of Fort Worth. According to Weiner, the Council's success in helping its members participate in non-Jewish communal life contributed to its demise. At the end of the nineteenth century, Jewish women had limited access to the public sphere; the entrée into non-Jewish society made available by membership in Fort Worth's Council was significant. "Acculturation was the unstated goal" in the work of the Fort Worth Council (37). An issue not fully addressed is the group's decision to offer programs and engage in activities that lacked any identifiable Jewish content. As many of its members belonged to the Reform synagogue, perhaps there was less inclination to emphasize the Council's Jewish component.

In her introduction, Weiner outlines the role of women in the nineteenth century. She describes how club work, viewed as an extension of the domestic role, became the venue where women could pursue their interests within a socially acceptable framework. Her discussion of the Jewish women's participation in the 1893 Chicago exposition is vividly drawn, recreating for the reader the excitement these women experienced at being able to gather to discuss matters beyond home and family.

Chapter two details how Fort Worth's Council positioned itself to be the tool through which Jewish women could demonstrate their acculturation. Members did not gather out of religious need but to socialize with like-minded women (31). While they were happy to raise funds and purchase goods for the arriving eastern Europeans, they avoided personal interactions with these newcomers (35).

Chapters three and four demonstrate how Fort Worth's Council was instrumental in the development of the Americanization school that assisted immigrants in their integration, and in hosting an annual book fair that raised funds to build and then maintain a residence for troubled young boys. Weiner reveals throughout her narrative that Fort Worth's Council focused on issues that were nonsectarian and of universal concern.

Chapter five addresses the group's inability to adapt to the professional and social changes Jewish women were experiencing. By the 1970s, the Council had ceased to be the "bridge" Fort Worth's Jewish women once needed to enter

into the non-Jewish world. Weiner notes that the Council had become “an anachronism” (106). Over the years, its image as “affluent and elitist,” its emphasis on universal concerns as opposed to Jewish and feminist concerns, had reduced the Council to irrelevance for Fort Worth’s Jewish women.

While there are still unanswered questions, this richly detailed history is a valuable contribution to the literature on women’s voluntary groups.

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*Susan Landau-Chark recently received her doctorate in religion from Concordia University in Montreal, Canada. Her thesis, “Community, Identity, and Religious Leadership as Expressed through the Role of the Rabbi’s Wife,” examines the place of the contemporary Canadian congregational rabbinical wife.*

Jack Wertheimer, ed., *Imagining the American Jewish Community* (Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life), (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2007), xiii + 346 pp.

The Olympus of American Jewish historians (missing only a handful of heralded scholars) assembled first by Jack Wertheimer at a conference at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in March 2004 and now in this volume, impressively demonstrate the breadth and strength of our relatively young field. The eclectic essays collected here offer a future historian wishing to trace the burgeoning of American Jewish history a useful snapshot of its present historiographic fecundity. Indeed, fecundity is the subject of this collection: the myriad creative ways that American Jews have created, structured, sustained, and remade their communities over 350 years in a challenging voluntaristic environment. The sixteen contributors broach a wide array of topics, including commemoration and memory, schooling and education, sports and pastimes, material culture, memoirs and immigrant narratives, museology, technological innovation, commerce, domestic life, womanhood, and feminism, revealing the roles that each played as engines and agents of community formation.

As would be expected in such an eclectic collection, the central thread only loosely binds the essays together. In part, this reflects the internal diversity of American Jewish communal life over its history and the difficulty of representing this polymorphism in a single volume. Nonetheless, some sections cohere better than others. Some of the more successful essays are those by Karla Goldman, Joyce Antler, and Paula Hyman on the role of women in defining the boundaries of Jewish life. In another successful section, several argue for a reappraisal and expansion of our existing notions of community. Holly Snyder identifies the limitations of the synagogue-community as a descriptive tool for understanding Jewish life during the colonial period; Daniel Soyer highlights the compatibility and coexistence of Americanizing and transnational impulses within *lansmanschaftn*; Hasia Diner points to the community-creating daily interactions and interdependences of commerce and consumption in the Jewish

street; Riv-Ellen Prell warns that historians who echo the tone and rhetoric of the original debates about postwar suburbanization risk overlooking evidence of dynamism and ferment in the decade following the end of World War II.

In another section, contributors examine how public behavior and self-representations reflect the values and aspirations of subsections of the community. Beth Wenger, for example, argues that conspicuous displays of patriotism and valorization of war service have simultaneously acted as self-serving posturing and as a reflection of a genuine conviction that Jewish military service from the Revolution onward has made Jews part of the fabric of the nation. Marianne Sanua and Jeffrey Gurock interpret the shifting values of the Orthodox communities respectively through a close reading of a pastime for girls and sporting culture. Jeffrey Shandler contextualizes the emergence of virtual subcommunities in the Internet age within a lively discussion of Jewish adaptation and embrace of “new media” (radio, film, and video) as tools of community earlier in the twentieth century. Jenna Weissman Joselit offers a fascinating insider’s view of the role of museum exhibitions in cultivating community and collective memory.

In all, this volume offers a challenging and often entertaining collection of contributions. Although together these essays do not comprise a systematic reexamination of Jewish communal life, like the American Jewish community itself, this collection’s strength is in its diversity and creativity.

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