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ON THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN QUMRANOLOGY

My article The Present State of Qumranology was written and sent to the Academy's printers a year ago¹. In the meantime a lot has happened in Qumranology. I am able to-day (in July 1989) to mention a few factors only.

1. AN ATTACK ON THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSENSUS ABOUT KHIRBET QUMRAN

Philip R. Davies, who has published an interesting new book, this time on some historical aspects of the Qumran scrolls², has launched a continuous strong attack on the consensus of the 1950s. Some commonly accepted archaeological opinions of Father R. de Vaux now have a question mark over them. He accuses the head of the archaeological expedition to Khirbet Qumran of interpreting the ruins "with the idea of a monastery already in mind"³. Davies notices that without publication an archaeological excavation is "criminal", and this has happened in the case of Khirbet Qumran. He is certainly right, but not entirely so. We should not forget how quickly reports of all of de Vaux's excavation seasons were published in the *Revue Biblique*⁴ and that he also left French and English (revised) versions of his full preliminary report⁵. His book was very highly praised at the time of its publication⁶.

I am afraid that two factors should be taken into consideration: the premature death of Father R. de Vaux and lack of funds for finishing the necessary analyses of the Qumran archaeological material. How complicated and expensive the preparation of such publications is I think I do not have to explain. I have referred above to an announcement in the *Revue de Qumran* concerning collecting funds for the project⁷. In fact, Prof. G. Vermes rightly pointed in June 1987 to two main factors in the present disease of the Qumran research: lack of Academic control (in the sense of good organization) and lack of funds⁸.

Coming back to Davies' accusation of R. de Vaux, we should also take into account that de Vaux cooperation with the Qumran team was good. Witness

the quick publication of the archaeological excavations in all caves (1Q, Murabba^cat, small caves, 4Q) suitable for presentation in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series⁹. That R. de Vaux's final report was left unfinished is obvious. What is equally obvious is that he had been working on his final version all the time: the difference in size between the 2nd and the 1st edition of Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls is 35%¹⁰. Let us note in addition that he also needed results of varied expert research. That his work is still unfinished, is another problem, but I do not know who should be blamed for that. We should certainly press J.-B. Humbert and R. Donceel (from the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem and the Catholic University in Louvain respectively) to prepare the most important ready chapters for print at once¹¹.

2. A GRANT OF THE WOLFSON FOUNDATION FOR QUMRAN RESEARCH

As the problem of founding repeats so many times in the article and also in the paragraph above, it is worth mentioning that "a grant of \$ 350.000 has been made by an offshoot of the Wolfson Foundation to provide the scholars with the expense money inevitably required". The new head of the Qumran enterprise, prof. J. Strugnell, says "This should be enough"¹². I would prefer not to comment, but what about the cost of publication? We expect 18 volumes of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. Who will be able to pay for their print? My proposal concerning this publication still seems valid¹³.

3. PROGRESS IN PUBLICATION OF THE QUMRAN CAVE 4 SCROLLS (1988-1989)

There is some small (but evident) progress in the publication of the scrolls of Qumran Cave 4. Professor John Strugnell has accepted that the deadline for completing all manuscripts for publication is the year 1996. Thanks to the efforts and negotiations of the new Director of the Israeli Department of Antiquities, general Amir Drori, Strugnell has retreated from his original offer to prepare the texts by the year 2000¹⁴.

The reassignments of scrolls is finally accepted (except by J. T. Milik). At least fourteen scholars have received materials for publication, as is known from the list established by H. Shanks in his recent article on the subject Shanks calls them "The Next Generation of Scroll Scholars"¹⁵. That is all right, but when we realize that the fourteen of them are expected to do the same amount of work in ten years as Milik has done by himself in thirty-five years Shanks' subsequent attack on the latter is really astonishing (160 new plates against the more than 160 plates of Milik).

It is worthy of notice that the "Suggested Timetable for Future DJD and Hors Series Vols" offers quite a long list of 22 titles to be ready by 1977¹⁶. Like Shanks, I find the list strange and even shocking, but for a different reason than he does. I do not think that, as Shanks puts it, the members of the new Qumran team "will never do it. They will never do it because they cannot do it". They really have failed so far — but not "utterly and completely" as Shanks says, because the sin will not ultimately be theirs. If the main editor has \$ 350.000 for twenty people for ten years, that means \$ 1.750 each per year to spend for the preparation of a manuscript. That is not enough even to fly from the USA to Jerusalem, not to mention the cost of stay in the Rockefeller Museum. I am afraid that instead of fighting for the necessary moral and financial support Mr. Shanks has just taken the easiest way: that of accusing everybody connected with publication of the 4Q scrolls. We need scrolls published in a scholarly way, not rows about scrolls. At least several million US dollars are necessary, to publish the remaining scrolls, in my opinion. Who will pay for the publication of twenty-six big volumes (including the concordance scheduled for 1997)? Maybe the Oxford University Press? Jokes aside. To maintain a special editorial section for a quarter of a century and rising costs of paper and print would make a gaping hole in the budget of any publishing house. Who would fill it? Certainly not copies to be sold. It is true that volumes 1-6 of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert have been sold. But we must not forget that the Temple Scroll is still in print, 6 years after publication by Y. Yadin (in English).

I do not support the view that Milik will fail. I am convinced that if he goes on working he will certainly finish what he promised in time. My belief is connected with the fact that Milik has been preparing about five plates a year, and that even though he is sitting on perhaps fifty documents, quite a few of them are in fact available in preliminary form (a point overlooked by H. Shanks). It is enough to mention 4QTestNapht, 4QTestLevi, 4QTob aram, plus probably a few more, but I am unable to compare the preliminary names of documents (quoted in Shanks' list) with final ones¹⁷. If Milik has finished publication of the several versions of the Book of Jubilees, at least 20 per cent of the texts will be available by the end of this year. The chances are that Milik will be able to prepare 4Q201-363 (Sectarian texts) in two volumes for 1993 and 1996. That is calculated according to his rhythm of work. We can contrast that with some other cases, to quote a point from H. Shanks of 1985: "Ulrich is energetically attempting to complete Skehan's work". I should like to stress the words "to complete". And all that Prof. E. Ulrich has completed in five years is a sub-team of six young scholars; he is now saying that the first of his volumes will be ready in 1990 at the earliest¹⁸. That means that thirty five scholar-years will be spent on the publication of the first volume of the easiest (that is Biblical) texts! Maybe this comparison will

bring home the truth that so far Milik is the best and unrivalled despite his age.

May I repeat again: we have very few (considerably fewer than necessary) Hebrew scholars prepared to undertake publications of manuscripts like the scrolls and we should not obstruct those who have decided to continue work, nor accuse Milik who has done more than anyone else in publishing Cave No 4 from Qumran! People should try to help him rather than placing obstacles in the path of the giant. What is regrettable and criminal in fact is that the French CNRS did nothing to enable young Qumran scholars to prepare under Milik's supervision. There are very few young French scholars able to work on such documents (maybe two or three). Perhaps it still is not too late. Perhaps.

I am sorry to have to stress some of my points anew, but if I am not mistaken attacking Milik has now become a minor leit-motif of the Biblical Archaeology Review. This is not the way to publish the Dead Sea Scrolls faster.

4. PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In the last few months two scholars, Prof. E. Eisenman (from Long Beach in California) and Prof. Ph. R. Davies (from Sheffield) undertook an effort to get access to the Dead Sea Scrolls. They sent two official letters, one to J. Strugnell on March 16, 1989 and the second to A. Drori, new Head of the Department of Antiquities in Israel on May 2, 1989¹⁹. Rumours spread throughout the world thanks to articles like Secret Scrolls. Scholars Frustrated Over Limited Access to the Dead Sea Discoveries in the "Los Angeles Time" of June 24, 1989 (part II, page 20) and Keepers of the Dead Sea Scrolls Accused of Blocking Study. Scholars Demand Access to the Dead Sea Scrolls by J. N. Wilford in "The New York Times" of June 26, 1989. Eisenman and Davies stress that their "interests are historical and text critical only, not editorial" declaring "restrictions of copyright law" and undertaking "not to do a definitive edition of the [released] materials"²⁰. Both scholars have also openly declared their readiness to go even to court, if not allowed access to the Qumran documents. I think it is not bad to make a precedent, but involving scholars in spending their time and money in court instead of publishing texts is ridiculous. We should express our opinion in a different way. Perhaps it might be a good idea at the beginning to prepare here in Mogilany during the 2nd International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls an open letter to the people and institutions interested which we will sign and publish together, both in the Polish and foreign press, also sending it to all the relevant addresses. This is an international conference; we represent several generations of scholars and we are numerous enough. We should all like to have an

access to the Dead Sea Scrolls now, not in the next millennium, which is near but still too far away. We should require free access first to all the documents ready for print. We should not have to wait for publication in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. The most important documents should be published in journals as soon as possible.

It may be interesting to add that in the early spring of 1989 Mr. Lowell Robertson from Kansas City released a mimeographed article under the heading The Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. A crippling loss of knowledge, in which he stressed the role of J. M. Allegro in the fight for urgent publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and announced "a forum to convene [...] in Kansas City initially, the purpose of which is to familiarize ourselves with the details of the Scrolls controversy, examine the alternatives we may use to achieve full publication, and investigate means of gaining further support to accomplish our objective: claiming our right to know all that's available about our cultural and religious heritage". He is probably right in saying that "the responsibility for either coercing Strugnell and Company to release the Scrolls, or persuading the Israelis to make them available for publication now is ours, the resolute, enterprising individuals who chose to defend their right to know"²¹.

To sum up: single scholars started to press on the team of the late Father R. de Vaux. Now is the time that the pressure should be organized and requests expressed by international forums like ours in Mogilany.

Mr. Robertson incidentally reminded us that legally "the international Scrolls editing team was organized under the auspices of His Majesty King Hussein" (of Jordan). It was G. Lancaster Harding, the then Director of the Department of Antiquities in that country who appointed that team in 1953. And the scrolls were bought from the hands of the Bedouins with the money of the Jordan Government!²² Today, L. Robertson says in another place, "the physical custody of the Scrolls lies with the Israelis, but ownership remains with the Jordanians"²³. So, perhaps instead of fighting the Israeli authorities it would be better to get an opinion concerning the publication of the scrolls from King Hussein and his Department of Antiquities? They still remain legal owners (according to the international law).

5. NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE DEAD SEA AREA

It is worth stressing that in the present decade, for the first time since the discoveries of the 1950s, new archaeological research and excavations have been done. The Judaean Desert survey of caves started in October 1983 with Y. Yadin as head and J. Patrich as field work director, both from the Institute of Archae-

ology of the Jerusalem University. At the beginning all the known caves of Nahal Se'elim, Nahal Mishmar, Nahal Hever, Nahal David as well as the caves of Wadi Murabba^cat, the Qumran region and Wadi Daliyeh were visited. The researchers extended their survey area to the whole Judean Desert in the subsequent expeditions, which took place in October 1983 – May 1984, in 1985 and in November 1985 – March 1986²⁴. During the latter season new excavations were done in the Qumran Cave 3, where the Copper Scroll had been found. The remains of the collapsed roof were removed and the floor of the cave was finally reached. It seems that the "roof" of the cave "had collapsed long before the Copper Scroll and the other documents had been placed there"²⁵. The objects found were of the Chalcolithic period. A new analysis of the placement of jars with parchment scrolls supports the view – according to J. Patrich – that the Qumran Cave 3 was a kind of geniza during the Second Temple. I would not agree with this view, but I can agree that the Copper Scroll requires further study²⁶.

Prof. R. Eisenman, Chairman of the Department of Religious Studies and Professor of Middle Eastern Religions, California State University, Long Beach, California, whose name has been mentioned here several times and who was present at our first Qumran colloquium in Mogilany, organized another expedition to the Judean Desert area from December 29, 1988 to January 28, 1989. Its purpose was to "resume the search for the Dead Sea Scrolls", to "locate new and unexplored rock cavities, pockets and crevices, excavate cave fall-ins and rock slides in Judean Desert cliff formations", to "penetrate Jewish revolutionary and early Christian ascetic hideouts". I have not yet found any published notice concerning the results of the 1988/1989 research of the Eisenman-Patrich team, but I find it easy to agree with the following opinion of Prof. Eisenman: "Most of the open caves have been picked clean by the Bedouins and other peoples but they were not able to get into the caves that required instrumentation. One out of four caves in this region had manuscript finds in them, so if we can open up four caves of that kind, we believe we should be able to find something". We can only wish the expedition success. It would be a great thing to discover new manuscripts which could "throw light on the 1st and 2nd century Jewish/Christian revolutionary and ascetic interaction"²⁷.

6. NEW IMPORTANT TOOLS

In the paragraph on the Dead Sea Scrolls concordances I mentioned a new perfect tool connected with the use of the Greek pseudepigrapha concordance prepared by the team of Father A.-M. Denis of Louvain University²⁸. More recently another new tool has been offered to us, namely the materials for the Hebrew

language dictionary for the period 200 B.C. – 300 A.D. We owe this publication, unfortunately available only on microfiche, to the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem²⁹. A temporary edition for internal use was ready in 1973. We have now received an edition following an overall revision begun in 1985. The sources of the dictionary were "all works, literary and non-literary, written in Hebrew from the close of the Biblical canon to the end of the Tannaitic era". The Dead Sea Scrolls are not fully included, as none of the Biblical Qumran texts are taken into account. Anyhow "the concordance includes all non-Biblical fragments which contain at least one complete word"³⁰.

I think that E. Tov and J. Cook knew the contents of the historical Hebrew dictionary from the beginning. That was the reason that in 1984 they published first information about their project of a computerized database for the Qumran Biblical scrolls. They chose as their database the Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies directed by Professor R. A. Kraft and prepared with the assistance of E. Tov. The component of the Masoretic text in this database was originally encoded by Professor R. Whitaker. The Jerusalem team compared the text with the one established by the Centre Informatique et Bible in Maredsous (Belgium). Procedures developed in the original project were adapted for recording Qumran documents. Work is in progress. We should soon have another useful tool in our hands³¹.

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This supplementary article was prepared in July 1989. I was unable to describe fully the state of Qumranology at the present moment. I expect that after the 2nd International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Mogilany I will be able to collect more information. However, I expect that even the data presented here show the current trends of the discipline. Crisis is evident and public discussion is necessary. That was one of reasons why I decided to write the above words.

Notes

¹ Cf. *Folia Orientalia* 26, 1989.

² Ph. R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes. History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, GA 1987.

³ Ph. R. Davies, *How not to do Archaeology: The Story of Qumran*, *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, No 4, Dec. 1988; cf. a summary in H. [h]anks],

The Meeting Season. A Time to Learn, A Time to Drowse, A Time to Mingle with Colleagues from Around the World, Bible Review 4, No 6, Dec. 1988, p. 43.

⁴ Cf. R. de Vaux, Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire, Revue Biblique 60, 1953, pp. 83-106 (concerning his excavations in Nov.-Dec. 1951); Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne, Revue Biblique 61, 1954, pp. 206-236 (concerning excavations in Febr.-Apr. 1953); Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân. Rapport préliminaire sur les 3^e, 4^e et 5^e campagnes, Revue Biblique 63, 1956, pp. 533-577 (concerning excavations in Febr.-Apr. 1954; Febr.-Apr. 1955; Febr.-March 1956); Fouilles de Feshkha. Rapport préliminaire, Revue Biblique 66, 1959, pp. 225-255 (concerning excavations in Jan.-March 1958).

⁵ Cf. R. de Vaux, L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte, London 1961 and a revised translation: Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Oxford University Press, London 1973.

⁶ "On archaeological grounds, his conclusions seem to me incontrovertible". Cf. K. M. Kenyon, Father Roland de Vaux, O.P., Levant 4, 1972, p. IV.

⁷ Cf. Revue de Qumrân No 48, Nov. 1987, back cover.

⁸ Cf. G. Vermes, Symposium on the Manuscripts from the Judean Desert. London 1977 Introductory Remarks, Journal of Jewish Studies 39, 1988, 2-4. Cf. also his article: Biblical Studies and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1947-1987: Retrospects and Prospects, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament No 39, Oct. 1987, p. 117.

⁹ Cf. R. de Vaux, La poterie [in:] D. Barthelemy, J. T. Milik, Qumran Cave I (DJD I), Oxford University Press, Oxford 1955, pp. 8-17; idem, Archéologie [in:] P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, Les grottes de Murabba'ât (DJD II), Oxford 1961, pp. 1-63; idem, Archéologie [in:] M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân (DJD III), Oxford 1962, pp. 1-36; idem, Archéologie [in:] R. de Vaux, J. T. Milik, Qumrân Grotte 4. II (DJD VI), Oxford 1977, pp. 1-22.

¹⁰ Respectively XV + 142 and XV + 107 pages.

¹¹ Cf. information about their work in H. S [hanks], At Least Publish The Dead Sea Scrolls Timetable, Biblical Archaeology Review 15, No 3, May-June 1989, p. 58.

¹² Cf. H. S [hanks], At Least..., p. 56.

¹³ Cf. Z. J. Kapera, The Present State of Qumranology, Folia Orientalia 26, 1989.

¹⁴ Cf. H. S [hanks], Dead Sea Scrolls Scandal. Israel's Department of Antiquities Joins Conspiracy to Keep Scrolls Secret, Biblical Archaeology Review 15, No 4, July-Aug. 1989, pp. 18-22; cf. suggested timetable on p. 20.

¹⁵ Cf. H. S [hanks], At Least..., p. 57.

¹⁶ Cf. note 14 above.

¹⁷ Cf. the list (unfortunately not yet published) "Textes non-bibliques publiées depuis 1976" prepared originally by F. Garcia Martinez as an appendix to the article of M. Delcor, La recherche qumrânienne pendant la dernière décennie, Folia Orientalia 25, 1989, pp. 5-31.

¹⁸ Cf. H. S [hanks], Israeli Authorities Now Responsible for Delay in Publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Biblical Archaeology Review 11, No 5, 1985, p. 71 and his, At Least..., p. 57.

¹⁹ I am very much obliged to Prof. R. Eisenman for xerox copies of both letters.

²⁰ Cf. their letter to A. Drori, pp. 3-4.

²¹ Cf. L. Robertson, The Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls, (mimeographed; Kansas City 1989), p. 8.

²² Cf. G. Lancaster Harding, The Antiquities of Jordan, Lutterworth Press, London 1963 (=1959), pp. 201-202; J. [M.] Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Reappraisal, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1987 (=1964), pp. 22-23, 41, 46-47, 51; J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, SCM Press Ltd, London 1963 (=1959), p. 17; J. C. Trever, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Personal Account, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1977, p. 230, note 14.

²³ Cf. L. Robertson, op. cit., p. 4.

²⁴ Cf. J. Patrich, Judean Desert, Secret Passages and Caves [in:] Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1984, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 61-62; Deir Mukallik [in:] Excavations [...] 1985, Jerusalem 1985, p. 21; Judean Desert Caves - 1985/86 [in:] Excavations [...] 1987/88, Jerusalem 1987/88, pp. 66-70.

²⁵ Cf. J. Patrich [in:] Excavations [...] 1987/88, pp. 68-69.

²⁶ Especially in connection with Norman Golb's Jerusalem theory. Cf. Z. J. Kapera, Bibliography of Norman Golb's Hypothesis of the Jerusalem Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Folia Orientalia 27, 1990 (in press).

²⁷ Cf. leaflet issued by the Department of Religious Studies, California State University, Long Beach, CA Judean Desert Explorations/Excavations December 29, 1988-January 22, 1989; Chris Franzen, Alive Again. Explorations Revive Dead Sea Scrolls, "Discovery 88", 6, No 1, 1988, p. 11.

²⁸ A.-M. Denis, Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament, Louvain University Press, Louvain-la-Neuve 1987.

²⁹ The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language. Materials for the Dictionary. Series I. 200 B.C.E.-300 C.E., The Academy of the Hebrew Language, Jerusalem 1988.

³⁰ Materials..., p. VIII.

³¹ Cf. E. Tov and J. Cook, A Computerized Database for the Qumran Biblical Scrolls, Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages 12, 1984, pp. 133-137.

P.S.

1. Concerning paragraph 3:

Some of the materials "have been since quite some time transferred from Milik's lot and entrusted by him to other editors" (information from the letter of Prof. J. Strugnell to Prof. R. Eisenman of May 15, 1989). So even J. T. Mi-

lik accepted the idea of the reassignment of scrolls and certainly no longer "sits on more than 50 Dead Sea Scroll documents!"

2. Concerning paragraph 4:

List of most recent articles on the problem of access
to the Dead Sea Scrolls

E. K. Coughlin, Dead Sea Scrolls Editors Criticized for Delays in Releasing Documents, "The Chronicle of Higher Education" 35, No 43, July 5 - 1989, pp. A 1, A 7; J. Dart, Secrecy Keeps Controversy Over Dead Sea Scrolls Alive, "Los Angeles Time", July 1, 1989 (part II), pp. 20, 21; D. Izenberg, No Ban on Publication of Scrolls, "The Jerusalem Post. International Edition" July 8, 1989; M. R. Lehmann, Israelis Have Much to Offer to Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship, (a letter to:) "The New York Times" July 9, 1989; N. B. Tatro, Secrecy on Dead Sea Scrolls Hit. Official Scholars Stalling on Making Their Findings Public. Magazine Charges "Washington Post" July 1, 1989; N. Wade, The Vanity of Scholars. Some Rush to Publish: For Others, Data Perish, "The New York Times" July 9, 1989; L. Witham, Dead Sea Scrolls: A Scholarly Duel Unfurls, "The Washington Times" June 28, 1989, pp. E 1, E 5.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE COPPER SCROLL (3Q15)

The Copper Scroll, which is a catalogue of treasure hidden within the territory of Palestine, is among the most significant documents from the Judean Desert. Although 35 years have elapsed since the text was discovered, the controversy around the Scroll is still going on. During this time, it has resulted in a great number of publications. The most important of them are the works by K. G. Kuhn, J. T. Milik, J. M. Allegro, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. M. Laperrousaz, B. Z. Luria, M. A. Rodriguez, M. R. Lehmann, G. R. Driver, N. Golb, B. Pixner. The discussion about the Scroll can be looked upon from the point of view of several events which mark its main stages. The events in question are: the opening of the document, successive text issues and various proposals for its interpretation that have been appearing throughout the years. The work on the Copper Scroll has raised the questions of: 1) determining the quality of the signs engraved as well as the understanding of the meaning of the words, 2) solving the puzzle of the Greek letters, 3) topographic identification, 4) explanation of linguistic matters and 5) establishment of the origin, the circumstances and the date of the composition, and also the character of the document.

- J. M. ALLEGRO, The Dead Sea Scrolls, Harmondsworth 1956. Cf. pp. 181-184.
 - The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Reappraisal, Harmondsworth 1964. Cf. pp. 101-102, 193-195.
 - Die Botschaft vom Toten Meer. Das Geheimnis der Schriftrollen, Frankfurt 1957. Cf. pp. 161-164;
 - The Copper Scroll from Qumran, TrGlasgUOrS 18, 1959/1960, pp. 56-65;
 - The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Text and Pictures, London 1959. Cf. pp. 46-47.
 - The Treasure of the Copper Scroll, Garden City (New York) - London 1960;
 Reviews: BL 1961, p. 58 (by B. J. Roberts); Blackfr 42, 1961, pp. 533f. (by R. Potter); JEH 12, 1961, pp. 121f. (by W. D. McHardy); JSS 6, 1961, pp. 275-278 (by G. R. Driver); KirSeph 36, 1960, pp. 326-330 (by J. Licht); TS 22, 1961, pp. 292-296 (by J. A. Fitzmyer);