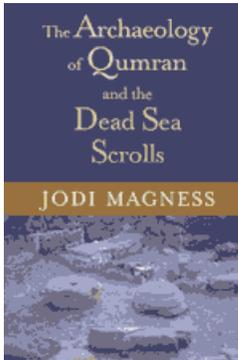


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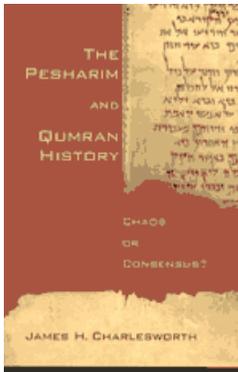


Magness, Jodi

The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls

Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. xlvi + 238. Hardcover. \$26.00. ISBN 0802845894.



Charlesworth, James H.

The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. xiv + 171. Paper. \$28.00. ISBN 0802839886.

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The two books examined in this review, both written by leading authorities in Qumran studies, explore the historical background of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the archaeological site of Khirbet Qumran. Informed by a judicious use of textual evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jodi Magness's book, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, seeks to reconstruct the history of the Qumran settlement primarily through an analysis of its archaeological remains. James H. Charlesworth's study, *The Pesharim and Qumran History*, examines whether historical episodes are reflected in the pesharim and if there is currently a consensus regarding the most likely reconstruction of Qumran history in light of these documents. Archaeological analysis not only plays a central role in Charlesworth's reconstruction of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history but to some extent provides the basis for his analysis of the pesharim and related Dead Sea Scrolls that likely reflect historical events. Because Magness and Charlesworth present new analyses or interpretations of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history that substantially impact our understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this review will examine some of the most

significant issues raised in these two publications and their possible implications for Qumran studies.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the excavation of Khirbet Qumran have greatly enriched our understanding of Second Temple Judaism. For several decades scholars wishing to understand the history of these documents were denied access to the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially those from Cave 4, as well as their photographic plates. Oxford don Geza Vermes, writing at the time of the thirtieth anniversary of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, warned that the lack of publication of the Qumran texts “is likely to become the academic scandal *par excellence* of the twentieth century” (Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* [London: Collins, 1977], 24). By the late 1980s the continued denial of access to the complete corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls became an international *cause célèbre*. Following a protracted media campaign, the unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls were made accessible to scholars in 1991 (for a detailed account of these events, see Neil Asher Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls: Christianity, Judaism, and the War for the Dead Sea Scrolls* [New York: Grosset/Putnam, 1994]). Under the able leadership of Emmanuel Tov, editor-in-chief of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series, the number of translators was increased. Since 1992 Tov has supervised the publication of the majority of DJD volumes, twenty-nine of which were released between 1992 and 2002, as compared with eight that appeared during the first forty years of the project (for these figures, and information on the entire series, which will comprise thirty-eight volumes with a separate introductory volume with indexes, see E. Tov, “The Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series: History and System of Presentation,” in DJD 39, 1–25). The delegates at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature celebrated the immanent completion of the DJD series, which will also include several re-editions of previous volumes. The major problem for Qumran scholars now is merely keeping abreast of the rapidly increasing number of publications, most of which are in some manner indebted to the DJD series; the list of publications is updated weekly on the Hebrew University’s Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature Web Site (<http://orion.msc.huji.ac.il>). Magness and Charlesworth provide a valuable scholarly service by summarizing the best of recent Qumran scholarship as well as providing succinct assessments of the current debates concerning the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran.

While the battle to free the Dead Sea Scrolls has been won, Magness and Charlesworth highlight a lesser-known problem with Qumran scholarship: the complete records and artifacts from Roland de Vaux’s excavations of Khirbet Qumran have still not been published in full or made accessible to all interested scholars. Magness comments on this situation: “In other words, the secrecy and delays in publication that created the Dead Sea Scrolls scandal still surround the material from de Vaux’s excavations” (4). Although

some of the lost skeletal remains from Khirbet Qumran have recently turned up in Jerusalem, Germany, and France and have been published in several articles, Magness comments that the status of the remaining artifacts from de Vaux's excavation are uncertain. Some finds, including many coins, have simply disappeared. For this reason, Magness warns her readers that "most of the interpretations and conclusions presented in this book are tentative" (4), since a definitive work on the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran is impossible without access to the full array of artifacts uncovered during de Vaux's excavations. Nevertheless, in 1991 Magness was permitted to view the unpublished pottery from the Khirbet Qumran excavations that is stored in the Rockefeller Museum. Her volume benefits enormously from access to this material, which, in many instances, allows her to offer some new interpretations concerning the specific uses of rooms at Khirbet Qumran based on their architectural design and ceramic remains. These observations alone make her book an essential reference work for all Qumran scholars, since they bear profound implications for understanding some of the halakic materials in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Although Magness and Charlesworth did not have access to the complete repository of unpublished finds from Khirbet Qumran, both benefit from some recent publications pertaining to Khirbet Qumran archaeology. Until recently, Roland de Vaux's popular Schweich Lecture of his Khirbet Qumran excavations, first issued in French (*L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte* [London: Oxford University Press, 1961]) and later printed in an expanded and revised English edition (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [London: Oxford University Press, 1973]), has served as the primary source for many scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls seeking to understand Khirbet Qumran's occupational history. For archaeologists, de Vaux's preliminary reports, which appeared in a series of articles in *Revue Biblique* between 1953 and 1959 (see 60 [1953]: 83–106; 61 [1954]: 206–36; 63 [1956]: 533–77; 66 [1959]: 225–55), still provide the major source of information for some of the ceramics, and other archaeological data, from Khirbet Qumran. Although de Vaux never wrote a final excavation report, the English edition of his popular synthesis is nearly one-third longer than the French original and shows that he was still working on the Khirbet Qumran materials at the time of his death (see further de Vaux's thoughts in "Qumran, Khirbet and 'Ein Feshka," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* [ed. E. Stern; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993], 4:1235–41). The thesis presented in de Vaux's publications, namely, that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian settlement, most likely the home of the Essene community that Pliny (*Nat.* 5.17.4 [73]) situated on the western shore of the Dead Sea, became the consensus interpretation until the late 1980s.

Because de Vaux failed to complete his final report, it is not surprising that some scholars gradually began to pose alternative theories regarding the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran

and the purpose of this site. In 1988, de Vaux's competence as an archaeologist was even called into question when one prominent Qumran scholar assessed his excavation as an example of how archaeology should not be conducted (see Philip R. Davies, "How Not to Do Archaeology: The Story of Qumran," *BA* 51 [1988]: 203–7). The 1994 appearance of a new volume containing original photographs of de Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran, accompanied by some plans (line drawings) and original field notes (Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I* [Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1994]), rather than settling the debate, has fostered new competing interpretations. Several scholars, some of whom base their views on material contained in this report, propose, among other theories, that Khirbet Qumran was a *villa rustica*, a manor house, or a commercial entrepot. The release of additional material from de Vaux's excavations (Roland de Vaux, *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feschcha* [ed. F. Rohrhirsch and B. Hofmeir; NTOA 1A; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1996]), especially numismatic discoveries and a list of extant archaeological artifacts, has not resolved this debate concerning the purpose of Khirbet Qumran. The field of Qumran studies is clearly in a state of flux and in dire need of a competent assessment that takes into consideration the evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the available archaeological data. Magness and Charlesworth boldly accept this challenge by seeking to understand the Khirbet Qumran community through a careful analysis of its archaeological and textual remains. When read together, these two books represent the best available sources for current information on Khirbet Qumran and its connection with the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Magness and Charlesworth accept de Vaux's thesis that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian community of Essenes. Both believe that the presence of numerous workshops, the excessive number of *miqva'ot*, the large assembly room (L77) with an adjacent pantry containing more than one thousand dishes (L86 in de Vaux's Period Ib which he divided into L86, L87, and L89 in his Period II), clearly demonstrate that Khirbet Qumran was built for communal living as proposed by de Vaux. They both believe that the great assembly hall (L77) was also used as a communal dining room for meals such as those mentioned in several Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus (1QSa 2.11–22; 1QS 6.4–6; Josephus, *War*, 2.129–31). Magness also comments that the small room (L4) containing a low plastered bench (20 cm. high) likely functioned as an assembly room. Neither author, however, discusses the recent suggestion put forth by several scholars that these two rooms (L4 and L77), and possibly others at the site, were synagogues (see further the evidence cited in Kenneth Atkinson, "On Further Defining the First Century CE Synagogue: Fact or Fiction?" *NTS* 43 [1997]: 491–502; and Donald D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts: The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period* [SBLDS 162; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999], 453–71). This proposal is significant in

light of Magness's suggestion that there were several dining rooms at Khirbet Qumran that, in light of their similarities with L77, could have also served as places of worship. Although L77 is the only communal dining room identified by de Vaux, Magness believes that the northern cluster of animal bones (located in L130, L132, L135) points to the existence of an upstairs dining room located in the secondary building situated in the western sector (L111, L120, L121, L122, and L123) of Khirbet Qumran (59, 124–26; for photographs of these loci, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, nos. 201–10). Magness's conclusion is supported by the presence of an additional store of dining dishes (L114; for photographs of these dishes, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, nos. 222–23), which are similar to those found in the pantry (L86) adjacent to the great assembly hall (L77), as well as a staircase (L113) that turned 180 degrees, like the staircase in L13 (photograph in Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, nos. 96, 97) of the main building, which provided access to the area above these loci (L111, 120, 121, 122, and 123; for a photograph of the staircase, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, nos. 227, 231, 233, and 236). Magness also shows that the great assembly room (L77) was likely rebuilt and moved upstairs following the earthquake of 31 B.C.E. (123). This not only demonstrates that meeting rooms were important to Khirbet Qumran's inhabitants, but suggests that the same community occupied the site after 31 B.C.E. The presence of these two dining rooms raises the intriguing possibility that these meeting halls, located in the western and the eastern portions of the site, were each restricted to particular members of the community.

Although Magness and Charlesworth accept de Vaux's thesis that Khirbet Qumran was a sectarian settlement that met in common assembly rooms and practiced strict purification rites, as evident by the presence of numerous *miqva'ot*, they nevertheless offer competing chronological scenarios of Khirbet Qumran's occupational history. Because the manner in which they use the archaeological data affects the way in which they treat the historical references in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is important to provide a brief discussion of stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology, which Magness and Charlesworth each believe support their views. Although many Dead Sea Scrolls scholars may not be conversant with archaeological methodology, Magness and Charlesworth both demonstrate that such a knowledge is necessary for anyone who wishes to understand the Scrolls' historical references, several of which may refer to events that took place at Khirbet Qumran.

Archaeologists seeking to uncover Khirbet Qumran's history have two primary tools at their disposal: stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology. In archaeology, stratigraphy is as important as a critical edition of a Scroll is to Qumran scholars: it provides the foundation for all subsequent scholarship and interpretation. As archaeologists excavate successive layers of occupation, called strata (singular, stratum), they must meticulously

document these deposits as well as all objects with which they are associated. For example, any ceramic or numismatic remains connected with a particular stratum, such as a floor, could prove crucial to dating that particular level of a structure. Because many rooms at Khirbet Qumran were altered, particularly after the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., it is important to distinguish between the different strata in each room in order to distinguish between their original and subsequent uses, which may not necessarily have been identical. Although methods such as radiocarbon dating of organic remains and evidence supplied through numismatics are sometimes helpful in dating archaeological strata, neither is able to furnish the exact dates necessary for precise historical reconstruction; both only provide a likely range of dates.

After carefully recording the layers of earth they uncover, archaeologists compare the remains associated with each stratum, especially pottery and coins, or—if they are extremely fortunate—texts, to determine the date and possible use(s) of that particular occupational layer. For archaeologists, pottery remains the best dating tool, since ceramic styles and shapes periodically changed. Through the study of ceramic typology, the examination of a vessel's fabric, rim, base, and shape, archaeologists can determine its likely use and approximate date of manufacture. Certain ceramics, such as fine wares and oil lamps, are best for dating purposes since they tend to change form and decoration more rapidly than utilitarian vessels like storage jars or cooking pots. Because utilitarian vessels often display little change for considerable periods of time, pottery typologies frequently differ from region to region: ceramics discovered in strata from one site cannot necessarily be used to date strata from other sites since typological changes may have been restricted to a particular geographical region.

Despite the great advances that have been made in both stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology since de Vaux's excavations of Khirbet Qumran, archaeology is still to a great extent a subjective discipline. Archaeological excavation and analysis alone cannot precisely date a particular stratum at Khirbet Qumran to within a few years. For this reason, archaeology must rely upon other evidence, such as the historical references from the Dead Sea Scrolls or clear signs of destruction like the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., which provide definitive dates for the strata in which they are associated. In the case of Khirbet Qumran, which by all assessments is a unique site, the presence of associated documents, some of which contain clear historical references, should provide enough evidence to offer a precise historical reconstruction of the community that inhabited the site. Unfortunately, the imprecise nature of archaeological procedures, combined with the often elusive sobriquets employed by the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls, continues to frustrate scholars seeking to determine the precise times and circumstances behind these texts as well as the nature and dates of the archaeological remains uncovered at Khirbet Qumran. Neither the dating procedures commonly used by archaeologists nor

paleographical analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls is able to provide a precise date for an occupational layer at Khirbet Qumran or when a particular scroll was actually copied by a scribe. For scholars of the Second Temple period, even a narrow span of dates is not precise enough for historical reconstruction: a range of dates to around the time of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., for example, is still imprecise, since the world of ancient Palestine was a very different one preceding and following this event. Because of their imprecise nature, all of the dating tools currently available must be used with some measure of caution.

For the reasons described above, correlating Khirbet Qumran's archaeology with the Dead Sea Scrolls is a difficult endeavor. Unfortunately, de Vaux complicated matters by frequently using a single locus number for an entire room to designate all of its features and levels. Normally, each archaeological feature, such as an oven or a particular floor of a room, is given a separate locus number. When archaeologists are uncertain if they have reached a new floor, for example, they typically give the new layer a different locus number and record all objects found in this locus by this new designation. If they are mistaken and there is only one floor, they can later collapse the two numbers into a single locus. Because archaeological excavation is a one-time process, since once earth is removed it cannot be returned into its original stratum, it is essential to exercise extreme caution whenever there is any doubt as to whether a new occupational level has been reached. By using a single locus number for an entire room during all its phases of occupation, de Vaux increased his chances of mixing remains from different occupational levels. Despite this methodological flaw, which is easy to recognize with the benefit of hindsight, Magness notes that these same recording methods were still used a decade later by Yigael Yadin at Masada (7). While it is easy to criticize de Vaux's methods when compared with today's procedures, Magness effectively demonstrates that he was a competent archaeologist who used the best techniques available in his day. Nevertheless, the chronological confusion that to some extent resulted from de Vaux's excavation methods continues to frustrate contemporary Qumran scholars and, in part, accounts for the incompatible historical reconstructions offered by Magness and Charlesworth.

Although this brief discussion of archaeological methodology may sound rather arcane to many textual specialists, it is nevertheless important for all Dead Sea Scrolls scholars: the stratigraphy and ceramic remains from Khirbet Qumran provide a basis for dating the historical references in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as the site's history. The debate over the presence of other possible Essene settlements along the Dead Sea provides one small example that demonstrates the importance of acquiring a basic competence in archaeological methodology and dating techniques. While Magness (39–44) and Charlesworth (61–62) accept the consensus interpretation that associates Qumran with the Essene settlement situated by Pliny on the western shore of the Dead Sea (for the

debate over Pliny's description of the site as *infra hos fuit* Ein Gedi, see R. A. Kraft, "Pliny on Essenes, Pliny on Jews," *DSD* 8 [2001]: 255–61), they make the important distinction that not all Essenes resided at this site. Charlesworth uses the reference to Jericho in the recently discovered ostrakon found at Khirbet Qumran to place one Essene settlement in this city (66). He differs from Magness (41, 45–46) by accepting Yizhar Hirschfeld's interpretation of the stone structures above Ein Gedi as huts that belonged to Essenes (61, 66). A close look at Hirschfeld's publication ("A Settlement of Hermits Above 'En Gedi," *Tel Aviv* 27, no. 1 [2000]: 103–55) of these structures suggests that Magness is correct: the Ein Gedi site was not a sectarian settlement, but merely a constellation of agricultural installations such as storage cells and irrigation pools. The plates of ceramics in Hirschfeld's report, moreover, display a noticeable absence of clearly identifiable first-century B.C.E. wares such as dining dishes to support his conclusion and dating of any supposed Essene habitation prior to 70 C.E. (see further the thoughts of David Amit and Jodi Magness on the Ein Gedi site, followed by Hirschfeld's rebuttal, in *Tel Aviv* 27/2 [2000]: 273–91). This disagreement between Magness and Charlesworth over the interpretation of Ein Gedi's ceramic profile is significant for the light that it sheds on the importance that ceramic typology continues to play in Qumran studies. The debate concerning ceramic typology becomes even more pronounced when Magness and Charlesworth offer different historical scenarios for Khirbet Qumran's occupational history based on its pottery.

Roland de Vaux divided the sectarian settlement at Khirbet Qumran into three major occupational phases: Period Ia (roughly 130–100 B.C.E.), Period Ib (approximately 100 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E.), and Period II (approximately 4–1 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.). According to de Vaux, a late Iron Age settlement preceded these periods while a short Roman occupation, referred to as Period III (68 C.E. to 73 or 74 C.E.), marked the site's final occupational period. Magness comments that de Vaux based these periods on the discernible changes that he saw in the occupation levels and architectural remains at the site. Her most controversial proposal regarding de Vaux's excavation is her rejection of the existence of his Period Ia. Here Magness points out a flaw in de Vaux's retrieval methods. Nearly all of the pottery that he saved consisted of whole vessels, whether intact or restored. Such ceramics normally originate from destruction levels that mark the end of an occupation phase, when they were smashed or dropped and subsequently abandoned in their entirety upon a surface and then buried by collapsed debris. Because de Vaux used whole vessels for dating purposes, which tend to reflect the latest date of occupation for a particular archaeological strata, it is difficult to determine when each occupational phase at Khirbet Qumran actually began. Because none of the published pottery from Khirbet Qumran has to antedate the first century B.C.E., with the exception of a single storage jar, Magness

concludes that the majority of architectural remains associated with Period Ia actually belong to de Vaux's Period Ib.

Magness offers a new chronology of Khirbet Qumran that divides de Vaux's Period Ib into two periods: a pre-31 B.C.E. phase (100–50 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E.) and a post-31 B.C.E. phase (31 B.C.E. to approximately 9/8 B.C.E. or sometime thereafter [4 B.C.E.?]). She attributes the majority, if not all, of the architectural remains from de Vaux's Period Ia to her pre-31 B.C.E. phase of Period Ib. De Vaux's Period Ib, therefore, includes both pre-31 B.C.E. and post-31 B.C.E. remains (64). Echoing other scholars who have suggested that de Vaux was influenced by the content of the Dead Sea Scrolls in his interpretation of the site's stratigraphy, Magness suggests that he pushed the foundation date of the Khirbet Qumran settlement earlier than archaeologically sustainable based on his understanding of the apparent reference to the establishment of the site as reflected in CD 1.3–11. Magness proposes that Khirbet Qumran began around 100 B.C.E. and that the site was not abandoned after the 31 B.C.E. earthquake but was immediately repaired and strengthened by its inhabitants. The settlement continued without apparent interruption until 9/8 B.C.E. She bases this reconstruction on the silver coin hoard (L120), most of which are Tyrian tetradrachmas dating from 126–9/8 B.C.E. which provides a *terminus post quem* when the site suffered a deliberate and violent destruction (67). Magness believes that the jar in which these coins were buried was actually associated with the post-31 B.C.E. phase of her Period Ib, a phase that de Vaux did not recognize, and not with de Vaux's Period II (67–68). Based in part on this numismatic evidence, Magness proposes that Khirbet Qumran was abandoned for a short time around 9/8 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter and reoccupied early in the reign of Herod Archelaus in 4 B.C.E. This settlement lasted until 68 C.E. (p. 68). Because she recognizes the imprecise nature of archaeological dating, Magness suggests that, in light of her reassessment of Qumran's stratigraphical sequence, it is possible that the site was destroyed during the revolts and turmoil that erupted following the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. (68). Magness's chronology, if correct, bears profound implications for understanding Qumran's history as evident in Charlesworth's challenge.

While Magness primarily focuses on archaeological matters, Charlesworth's book is a little more ambitious: he seeks to correlate Khirbet Qumran's occupational phases with references to historical events in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In this regard, his study is reminiscent of Jean Starcky's ("Les quatre étapes de Messianisme à Qumrân," *RB* 4 [1963]: 481–505) famous attempt to associate the site's occupational phases with the Dead Sea Scrolls as a basis for understanding the community's evolving concept of messianism (see also the rebuttal of Starcky's effort by Raymond Brown, "J. Starcky's Theory of Qumran Messianic Development," *CBQ* 28 [1996]: 51–57). Charlesworth, who was able to incorporate Magness's book in his study, rejects her thesis that de

Vaux's Period Ia does not exist. He accepts de Vaux's chronology of Khirbet Qumran as well as his dating of the coin hoard to Period II. Charlesworth suggests this hoard was hidden around 40 B.C.E. when the site was invaded by the Parthians (50–52). It was the latter who were responsible for the site's extensive abandonment and not the 31 B.C.E. earthquake. He believes that the site's abandonment was extensive and lasted from 40 B.C.E. to 4 B.C.E. (44–52). Charlesworth, moreover, suggests that de Vaux's Period Ib, which he dates "from ca. 102 to ca. 40 or 31 B.C.E.," was the period during which "virtually all the pesharim and related commentaries were composed" and likely received their final editing (49).

Charlesworth attempts to support his historical reconstruction by proposing that the renovation of the earliest Hellenistic phase of Khirbet Qumran removed all evidence of de Vaux's Period Ia. He writes: "Also, those living at Qumran would have removed, intentionally or unintentionally, *realia* from the first occupation level" (44). Commenting upon the ceramics, Charlesworth states: "Finally, the sequence of pottery chronology does not change from Period Ia to Ib. To claim that none of the pottery found at Qumran must date before 100 B.C.E. is not insightful or helpful" (44). Although Charlesworth does not discern any significant changes between the ceramic profiles from de Vaux's Periods Ia and Ib, it is important to note that de Vaux relied upon whole vessels for dating Khirbet Qumran's archaeological strata, which would reflect the final use of an occupational stratum rather than its earliest use. Nevertheless, the absence of early ceramic remains from Khirbet Qumran as well as its vicinity is perplexing: archaeological structures, even when renovated, tend to leave behind traces of earlier strata, especially potsherds. The lack of ceramic remains that can be dated with confidence before 100 B.C.E. tends to favor Magness's reconstruction despite the potential consequences it poses for understanding the historical references and allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Charlesworth recognizes that Magness's dating of Khirbet Qumran's occupational phases poses some significant difficulties for the traditional identification of Jonathan or Simon as the Wicked Priest, and Khirbet Qumran as the place where a dissident group of Essenes moved. He accepts the established view, which holds that Khirbet Qumran was the locale where the Teacher of Righteousness—a *terminus technicus* that Charlesworth for grammatical reasons prefers to translate as "the Righteous Teacher" (28–30)—led a small group of his followers to live a monastic lifestyle in the wilderness (30–42). Charlesworth does suggest that the designation Wicked Priest may have been used as an epithet early in Qumran history: there may have been several Wicked Priests but only one Teacher of Righteousness (37, 66). According to his extensive analysis and discussion of all clearly recognizable historical references and sobriquets in the pesharim, he concludes that all datable events in these documents can be identified with historical people who were active after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and before Herod the Great

(117). Because Charlesworth's historical reconstruction of Khirbet Qumran, as read through its archaeological remains and the Dead Sea Scrolls, demands the existence of de Vaux's Period Ia, he also uses evidence from CD to place the origin of the Khirbet Qumran group sometime in the first half of the second century B.C.E. (27). Commenting on Magness's rejection of the existence of de Vaux's Period Ia, Charlesworth states that "her position makes sense if one looks only at the archaeological evidence; much of the pottery and coins do not lead to conclusive evidence that de Vaux's Period Ia existed" (37 n. 97). While Magness's revision of de Vaux's stratigraphy certainly complicates matters, as Charlesworth recognizes, it is perhaps easier for Qumran scholars to take the numbers in CD *cum grano salis* and revise their dating of the historical references in this particular Dead Sea Scroll than to argue for the existence of a settlement at Khirbet Qumran for which there is as yet no discernible archaeological trace.

Despite their differences as to whether archaeological evidence, primarily stratigraphical analysis and ceramic typology, or the historical allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls should be used to resolve debates concerning the existence or absence of de Vaux's Phase Ia, the works of Magness and Charlesworth contain more similarities than differences. Both recognize that the numerous *miqva'ot* at the site demonstrate that Khirbet Qumran was home to a sectarian community that emphasized purity. Magness devotes much of her work to addressing how archaeological remains, including ceramics, can assist scholars in understanding the importance of purity for Khirbet Qumran's residents. She sees in the design of the site evidence that the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran conceived of their settlement as a series of spaces with varying degrees of purity and impurity. One of the more insightful chapters in the book concerns the unique sanitary habits of the Essenes, documented in Josephus, the *Temple Scroll*, and 4Q472. She notes that the toilet (L51), located on the eastern side of the main building to the north of the *miqveh* in L48–L49 (105–13; for photographs of the toilet, see Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, nos. 149–51), demonstrates that this part of the site was considered an impure space (127). Magness comments that this toilet, along with its adjacent *miqveh*, went out of use after the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., thereby suggesting that Khirbet Qumran's inhabitants, at least until 31 B.C.E., did not believe that this portion of the site corresponded to the "temple city" or wilderness camp of the *Temple Scroll*, which prohibits toilets within the city (contra Charlesworth, who believes that the toilet was added by the Romans sometime after 68 C.E. [58]). The disappearance of such facilities, along with animal bone deposits from communal meals within the settlement after Period Ib (either after 31 B.C.E. or 9/8 B.C.E.), suggests a reorganization of space along the lines of the sectarian ideal Jerusalem (129). This archaeological evidence discerned by Magness suggests that there is physical evidence at the site for changes in the community's theology that may be reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Magness and Charlesworth present insightful discussions regarding living space and the presence of women at Khirbet Qumran, topics which continue to be among the most contested aspects of Qumran scholarship. Both rightly raise some objections to Joseph Zias's recent study ("The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 [2000]: 220–53) concluding that the burials at Khirbet Qumran are those of recent Bedouin, which would make the debate concerning whether or not the graves of women belonged to female members of the community, some of whom may be mentioned in some Dead Sea Scrolls, irrelevant. The manner in which the skeletons excavated from Khirbet Qumran have been handled during the decades when their whereabouts were unknown, in part described in the recent study of the skeletons from the Paris and Jerusalem segments of the Khirbet Qumran collection (see Susan G. Sheridan, "Scholars, Soldiers, Craftsmen, Elites? Analysis of French Collection of Human Remains from Qumran," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 199–242), should urge scholars to study these remains with caution. A new book containing unpublished evidence from de Vaux's Khirbet Qumran cemetery excavations (Robert Donceel, *Synthèse des observations faites en fouillant les tombes des necropoles de Khirbet Qumrân et des environs* [Cracow: Enigma Press, 2002]) provides some valuable information, including an early aerial photograph, concerning its original appearance and number of burials. The recent excavation of the cemetery and region surrounding Khirbet Qumran by Hanan Eshel and Magen Broshi has demonstrated that some of the graves clearly contain Second Temple period remains as indicated by the presence of diagnostic sherds, including a cooking pot similar to one found by de Vaux in L30 where the inkwells and tables were discovered (Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, Richard Freund, and Brian Schultz, "New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9 [2002]: 135–65). Despite these new discoveries and publications, the debate over the presence of women in the Qumran graves cannot as of yet be settled apart from new archaeological excavations.

While the recently published evidence pertaining to the Qumran cemeteries has added much to our knowledge of Khirbet Qumran, Magness and Charlesworth do not believe that it alters the traditional interpretation of the site as a sectarian settlement of male Essenes. Both note that there are several explanations that account for graves of women and children, such as their temporary presence in the site as part of the annual Renewal of the Covenant ceremony. The *Damascus Document* even points to the existence of married Essenes mentioned by Josephus, some of whom may have occasionally visited the site. Nevertheless, Magness suggests that although there may have been female sectarians at Khirbet Qumran, they were present in such small numbers as to have left behind scant traces. Concerning the absence of living spaces for Khirbet Qumran's permanent residents, which would have provided little or no room for members of the opposite sex, Magness and Charlesworth accept the recent findings of Magen Broshi and

Hanan Eshel from the marl terrace (“Residential Caves at Qumran,” *DSD* 6 [1999]: 328–48), which suggest that many of Qumran’s inhabitants lived in caves and tents surrounding the site (Magness, 70–71; Charlesworth, 46).

Charlesworth’s book contains many insightful discussions of the pesharim that place their composition at Khirbet Qumran during de Vaux’s Period Ib (ca. 100–40 B.C.E.) with the possibility that one or two may have been written near the end of Period Ia between 110 and 100 B.C.E. (118). Because Magness was given access to the unpublished ceramic materials from the Khirbet Qumran excavations, her observation that there is a noticeable lack of diagnostic shards from de Vaux’s supposed Phase Ia poses a serious challenge to all theories of Qumran history, such as Charlesworth’s, that seek to associate historical events reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls with de Vaux’s Period Ia. In this instance, the old archaeological adage that absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence does not hold: if the numbers contained in CD 1.3–11 are meant to be taken literally, then the chronology they provide, as recognized by Magness, should be understood as referring to the origin of the sect around the mid-second century B.C.E. and not to the establishment of the sectarian settlement of Khirbet Qumran which likely postdated 100 B.C.E. (65–66). If CD does refer to a settlement in the wilderness that was established by the Teacher of Righteousness, it cannot have been Khirbet Qumran but must have been somewhere else (for a recent interpretation that places the Teacher of Righteousness and his movement to between approximately 80 B.C.E. and 30 B.C.E., which incorporates Magness’s dating of Khirbet Qumran, see the recent analysis and insightful discussion in Michael O. Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the *Floruit* of his Movement,” *JBL* 122 [2003]: 53–87).

Magness’s findings suggest that although Qumranology may not be in a state of chaos, it is far from the “impressive consensus” that Charlesworth believes the field has reached (21). A deeper look into the issues raised in these two outstanding books raises the disturbing thought that we would perhaps be closer to a consensus regarding the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran if not for the perplexing references contained in the pesharim and related Dead Sea Scrolls (for an examination of the pesharim apart from the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran, see the excellent treatment of Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* [Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002]). Rather than serving as a model for the integration of texts and archaeological remains, the findings from Khirbet Qumran and the Dead Sea Scroll caves continue to defy all efforts toward reaching any kind of a consensus. Let us hope that the appearance of these two exceptional books will urge scholars to call for the prompt publication of all the archaeological findings and records from de Vaux’s excavations, lest the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran become the academic scandal par excellence of the twenty-first century.