

How the Dead Sea Scrolls Influenced Reform Judaism

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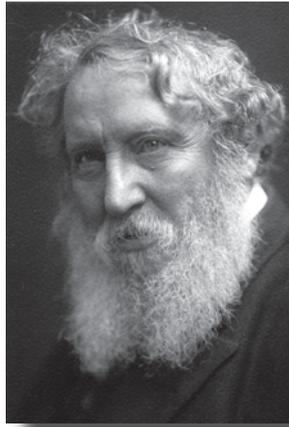
The Dead Sea Scrolls are acknowledged as the greatest discovery of Hebrew manuscripts in modern times. For modern Jews and Judaism the question is, what impact do the scrolls have, beyond the obvious contributions to the understanding of ancient manuscript readings of the Hebrew Bible and verification 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

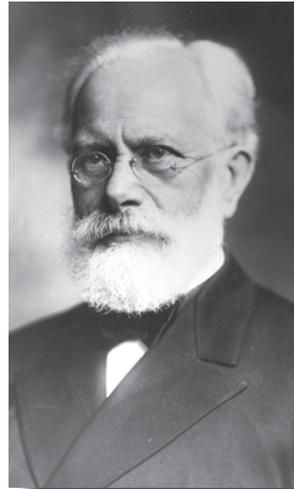
Few manuscripts uncovered in the modern period have had an effect upon modern Jewish practice and doctrine like the Cairo Geniza. The Cairo Geniza in the Ben Ezra Synagogue of Old Fostat, Cairo, is unique because Egypt was the crossroads of Babylonian, North African, and European Judaism of the Islamic 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)

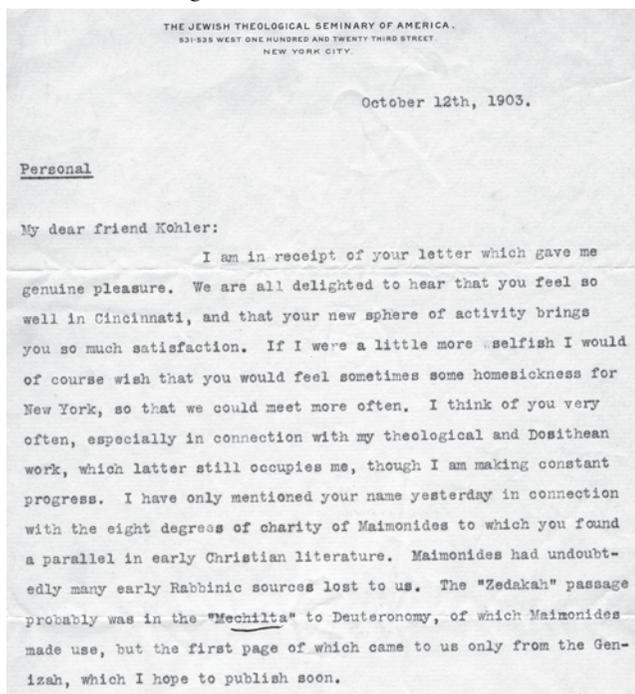


Kaufmann Kohler

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).¹ 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.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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?⁹

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 1954.¹⁰ It continues through the present day, with scholars at the HUC-JIR campuses playing a key role in research.¹¹

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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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?"¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Indeed, at rabbinical gatherings—e.g., the biennial Reform movement conferences—there were presentations on the Dead Sea Scrolls and their importance.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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 2000.²¹ 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).²² 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.²³ On Friday night, 16 December 1955, he preached a sermon simply titled: "The Dead Sea Scrolls"²⁴ (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.²⁵

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 1950.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.³¹

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.³²

On 29 March 1957, Ferdinand M. Isserman of Temple Israel in St. Louis delivered a sermon on the Dead Sea Scrolls.³³ 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 1957.³⁴ 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.³⁵

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.³⁶

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.”³⁷

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.³⁸

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.³⁹

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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³

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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶

The third example is from the Israeli Reform *siddur* and *mahzor*, *Ha'Avodah Shebalev* and *Kavanat Halev*.⁴⁷ 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)⁴⁸ 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).⁴⁹

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*.⁵⁰ In the *Shaharit Musaf* (concluding prayer) the meditations following the *Amidah* are other *Hodayot* verses.⁵¹ 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,⁵² 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 Geniza⁵³) 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.⁵⁴

Similarly, for example, in Genesis 12, *TMC*⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

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."⁶⁰ 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 Discipline⁶¹ 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.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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 example⁶⁴) 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*.⁶⁵ 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.”⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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.⁶⁹

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).⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ 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

¹Solomon 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).

²Louis 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).

³Kaufmann Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch, and his Relations to Jewish and Christian Doctrines and Sects," *American Journal of Theology* 15 (1911): 406.

⁴For 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.

⁵For 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).

⁶In 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 9th 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."

⁷Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Volume I, Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

⁸This 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.

⁹Nelson Glueck, "Out of Yesterday, A Symbol for Today," *The New York Times* (11 May 1958): 6.

¹⁰This 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.

¹¹The 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.

¹²For more on this see Kalman's article in this volume.

¹³William 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.

¹⁴Robert 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.

¹⁵Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005), 2.

¹⁶Thanks to Jason Kalman for identifying this syllabus and the information on the coursework at the three campuses.

¹⁷Yehuda 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.

¹⁸Union 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.

¹⁹For 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.

²⁰Marshall 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.

²¹In 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.

²²Edith Brodsky, "The Case of the 7 Dead Sea Scrolls," *American Judaism* 5 (1955): 16.

²³Harold 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.

²⁴Rabbi Harold I. Saperstein, "12/16/55 Sermon," Manuscript Collection 718/Box 2/ Folder 5, Sermons 1954–1955, AJA, Cincinnati.

²⁵For the fuller account see Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

²⁶*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.

²⁷"Israel Acquires Ancient Scrolls," *The New York Times* (14 February 1955): 21.

²⁸Many 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).

²⁹H. Saperstein, MS 718/Box 4/Folder 3, AJA, Cincinnati.

³⁰Rabbi Edward Klein, MS 702/Box 3/Folder 7, AJA, Cincinnati. This was a follow-up to an earlier sermon on the scrolls.

³¹Rabbi Roland Gittlesohn, MS 704/Box 36/Folder 4, AJA, Cincinnati.

³²Cave 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.

³³Ferdinand M. Isserman, (b. Belgium, 1898) entered HUC in 1914 and graduated in 1922.

³⁴In 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]."

³⁵Isserman, MS 6/Box 20/Folder 3, AJA, Cincinnati.

³⁶Rabbi 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.

³⁷Glueck 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.

³⁸Accessed on 24 April 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/faculty/faculty/pubs/hyman.shtml>.

³⁹Accessed on 24 April 2009 at 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*.

⁴⁰Accessed on 24 April 2009 at <http://www.huc.edu/newspubs/GradSpeeches/2006/Peter%20von%20der%20Osten-Sacken%20Graduation%20LA%202006.pdf>.

⁴¹Moshe Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer As a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

⁴²For insight into this period, see Lawrence A. Hoffman, *The Canonization of the Synagogue Service*.

⁴³Sometimes 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.

⁴⁴On the character and significance of the Thanksgiving–*Hodayot* literature of Qumran see Menachem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1961).

⁴⁵The 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.

⁴⁶Accessed 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.

⁴⁷*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).

⁴⁸For more on the 1QSb 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.

⁴⁹The 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*.

⁵⁰*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.

⁵¹*Kavanat Halev*, 227, *Hodayot*, page vii, lines 26–31 (Vermes, 212).

⁵²The 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.

⁵³See Louis Finkelstein, "The Birkat Ha-Mazon," *JQR* 19 (1928–1929): 211–262.

⁵⁴*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.

⁵⁵In *Gleanings*, 101, the text is cited in full:

"Of all the virgins and brides
That walk beneath the canopy
None can compare with Sarah."

⁵⁶The 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."

⁵⁷See Mark Washofsky, *Jewish Living: A Guide to Contemporary Reform Practice* (New York: UAHC Press, 2001), 93ff.

⁵⁸David 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.

⁵⁹Adolfo 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.

⁶⁰*TMC*, 9 and 1149. None of this is found in *EH*.

⁶¹*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*.

⁶²TMC'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.

⁶³TMC, 1181. Note 30 is on 1753.

⁶⁴TMC, xlvii and 616. Found in *EH* as well.

⁶⁵Frank 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.

⁶⁶Joanne 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.

⁶⁷For 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).

⁶⁸*Discovery in the Judean Desert* (New York: Desclee, 1956), 6.

⁶⁹Joseph Baumgarten, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," *Orthodox Jewish Life* 22, no. 5 (May–June 1955): 14.

⁷⁰In 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.

⁷¹Accessed 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).