



VITENSKAPELIG  
HØYSKOLE  
Norwegian School of  
Theology, Religion and Society

# Lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments

A Database and Analysis of the Losses

**Signe Marie Hægeland**

Supervisor

Associate Professor Matthew Phillip Monger

MF Norwegian School of Theology, Religion and Society,

AVH5010: Thesis for master's in theology (60 ECTS), Spring 2023

Word count: 33 007





## Acknowledgment

I would like to give thanks to Årstein Justnes, who included me in the Lying Pen of Scribes research project that he is leading when I was only a bachelor's student. Working with him and the other scholars in the project has been incredibly insightful, and I have learned so much from every single one. Scholars associated with the project whom I have directly been in contact with regarding this thesis include Michael Press, Ingrid Breilid Gimse, Ludvig A. Kjeldsberg, Dana Ryan Lande, Liv Ingeborg Lied, Stephen A. Reed, and Torleif Elgvin. In addition, because of my work with the Lying Pen of Scribes, I have met and gotten help from Jonathan Ben-Dov and Charlie Comerford. I am so grateful to everyone who has answered my emails and questions; this thesis would not have been what it is without you. I obviously take full responsibility for the result.

I am also very grateful for my supervisor Matthew P. Monger. It has been incredible to have a supervisor who has been maybe even more excited than me about this project sometimes. Matthew has been available to answer all my questions, and every time I have gotten feedback the feedback was concrete, and I always left our conversations feeling encouraged.

## Abstract

Despite many extraordinary claims about the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls in religious, cultural, and political contexts, a systematic analysis of the editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls found in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series and a multitude of other sources reveals that the whereabouts of well over 500 Dead Sea Scroll fragments were unknown to the editors. How can this be? There is a seemingly massive gap between the lofty words of scholars and the media about the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the fact that the whereabouts of well over 500 fragments might be unknown, let alone the fact that no one seems to know how many Dead Sea Scroll fragments there are in total.

The background for this thesis is a project initiated at the beginning of 2021 by Professor Årstein Justnes at the University of Agder, head of the “Lying Pen of Scribes” project. Justnes asked Martin S. Stomnås and me to systematically look for any mention of lost Dead Sea Scroll fragments. The three of us started looking systematically through several sources and compiled the information we collected into a database. That database includes about 500 entries with at least one fragment per entry.

## Abbreviations

DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DJD 1	Barthélemy, Dominique, and Józef T. Milik. 1955. <i>Qumran Cave 1</i> . DJD I. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 5	Allegro, John M. 1968. <i>Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)</i> . DJDJ V. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 13	Attridge, Harold W., et al. 1994. <i>Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1</i> . DJD XIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
DJD 15	Ulrich, Eugene C., et al. 1997. <i>Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets</i> . DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 16	Ulrich, Eugene C., et al. 2000. <i>Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles</i> . DJD XVI. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 25	Puech. 1998. <i>Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579): Qumran Cave 4.XVIII</i> . DJD XXV. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 29	Chazon, Esther G., et al. 1999. <i>Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2</i> . DJD XXIX. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 30	Dimant, Devorah. 2001. <i>Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts</i> . DJD XXX. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 33	Pike, Dana M., Skinner, Andrew C. 2001. <i>Unidentified Fragments</i> . DJD XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 34	Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. 1999. <i>Sapiential Texts, Part 2: Cave 4.XXIV</i> . DJD XXXIV. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 36	Pfann, Stephen J. 2000. <i>Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts</i> ; Philip S. Alexander et al., <i>Miscellanea, Part 1</i> . DJD XXXVI. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 37	Puech 2009. <i>Qumran Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575a, 580–587</i> . DJD XXXVII. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 39	Tov, Emanuel. 2002. <i>Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series</i> . DJD XXXIX. Oxford: Clarendon.
DJD 40	Stegemann, Hartmut and Schuller, Eileen. 2009. <i>1QHodayot<sup>a</sup></i> . DJD XL. Oxford: Clarendon
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority

## Table of Contents

1	Introduction .....	1
1.1	The Importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls .....	1
1.2	What are the Dead Sea Scrolls? .....	3
1.3	Lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments .....	4
1.4	Theory .....	5
1.4.1	New Philology .....	6
1.4.2	The Three Dimensions of Scriptures.....	7
1.5	Method .....	8
1.6	Ethics .....	11
2	Database .....	12
2.1	Introduction .....	12
2.2	How to use the Database .....	14
2.2.1	Siglum/-a .....	14
2.2.2	Columns/Fragment(s).....	15
2.2.3	Name(s)/Description .....	16
2.2.4	Sources .....	17
2.2.4.1	The Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series .....	17
2.2.4.2	Stephen Reed’s Inventory Project .....	19
2.2.5	Found-Replies .....	20
2.2.6	Plates .....	20
2.3	Conclusion.....	22
3	Destroyed Fragments.....	23
3.1	Introduction .....	23
3.2	Unintentional Destruction .....	23
3.2.1	Shrinking .....	24

3.2.2	Decaying Material .....	25
3.2.3	A Single Fragment Becoming Three Fragments .....	26
3.2.4	Causes of Destroyed Fragments .....	27
3.3	Intentional Destruction .....	30
3.3.1	Modern Cutting .....	30
3.3.2	<sup>14</sup> C Analysis.....	32
3.3.2.1	Examples .....	35
3.4	Conclusion.....	40
4	Missing Fragments .....	41
4.1	Migrating Fragments .....	41
4.1.1	Introduction .....	41
4.1.2	Examples of Migrating Fragments .....	42
4.1.3	Fragments with two Identifications .....	44
4.1.4	DJD 33: Miscellaneous Fragments .....	49
4.1.4.1	Examples from DJD 33 .....	51
4.1.5	A Possibly Located Migrating Fragment .....	52
4.1.6	Conclusion.....	53
4.2	Loot, Souvenirs, and Gifts: Fragments Intentionally Removed from the Collection 55	
4.2.1	Stolen Fragments.....	55
4.2.1.1	Introduction .....	55
4.2.1.2	Examples .....	56
4.2.2	Fragments as Gifts and Souvenirs .....	61
4.2.2.1	Examples .....	62
4.2.2.2	Conclusion.....	64
4.2.3	Conclusion.....	65

4.3	Unaccounted for Fragments .....	66
4.3.1	Introduction .....	66
4.3.2	Examples of Missing Fragments Without Explanations .....	66
4.3.2.1	Cave 5 Material .....	67
4.3.3	Examples of Possible Explanations.....	68
4.3.3.1	Movement Between Different Institutions.....	68
4.3.3.2	Fragments Going Missing Due to the Six Day War.....	70
4.3.3.3	Fragments Going Missing Due to Wind .....	71
4.3.3.4	A Fragment Under a Shoe.....	72
4.3.4	Conclusion.....	72
5	The Scrolls as Texts and Objects .....	73
5.1	Introduction .....	73
5.2	The Scrolls as Holy Texts .....	74
5.2.1	Introduction .....	74
5.2.2	Text Equals Value .....	75
5.2.3	Connection to the Biblical Canon .....	76
5.2.4	Canon as Capital.....	77
5.2.5	The First Scholars.....	79
5.2.6	Fundraising for the Scrolls .....	81
5.2.7	New Philology.....	82
5.2.8	Possible Effects of this Understanding.....	83
5.3	The Scrolls as Holy Objects .....	84
5.3.1	Introduction .....	84
5.3.2	The Dead Sea Scrolls as Modern Protestant Relics .....	85
5.3.3	Examples .....	86
5.3.3.1	Scholars .....	86



5.3.3.2	Non-scholars.....	87
5.3.3.3	Evangelical Institutions .....	88
5.3.4	Connection to Humanity and the Modern Man.....	89
5.3.5	Possible Effects of this Understanding.....	89
5.4	Conclusion.....	90
6	Conclusion and Outlook.....	92
7	Bibliography.....	94
8	Appendices .....	102
8.1	Bibliography for the Database.....	102
8.2	Database: Lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments .....	108

# 1 Introduction

The Dead Sea Scrolls - tens of thousands of fragments representing hundreds of ancient manuscripts - were found over a period of 10 years in the caves near Qumran, close to the Dead Sea. Many big words have been used in the past 75 years to describe the Dead Sea Scrolls. They have been described as the “most coveted and significant discoveries in recent history”<sup>1</sup> and the “most important archeological textual discovery in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>2</sup> Despite these lofty claims, over 500 fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls are gone without a trace. This thesis is an exploration of fragments identified as lost and possible explanations for these losses.

## 1.1 The Importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Some have called them “some of the most important religious texts in the ancient world.”<sup>3</sup> And said that it’s “hard to overstate how important the Dead Sea Scrolls are to biblical archeology.”<sup>4</sup> Before an exhibition in New Zealand, this was written about the scrolls:

*The Dead Sea Scrolls are a collection of fragmentary manuscripts of humble presence but extraordinarily powerful evocation. The remains of these texts hint at the values, structures and sensibilities of Jewish communities in the pre-Christian era upon which so much of our common ethos is now founded. As such they are of fundamental significance for the history of Judaism and for the emergence of Christianity.*<sup>5</sup>

Another exhibition, this one at the Royal Ontario Museum from 2009 to 2010, makes an even more massive claim in its title: “Dead Sea Scrolls – Words that Changed the World”<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Rosie Knight, “The Museum of the Bible’s Dead Sea Scrolls Are Fake,” 16 March 2020, [https://nerdist.com/article/dead-sea-scrolls-museum-of-bible-fake-forgeries/?fbclid=IwAR2EOHwAiryAhn2pyLW7bMYI-Cj9AP3UG1KyvN2q9wbQXwFjnBctg\\_NAtAA](https://nerdist.com/article/dead-sea-scrolls-museum-of-bible-fake-forgeries/?fbclid=IwAR2EOHwAiryAhn2pyLW7bMYI-Cj9AP3UG1KyvN2q9wbQXwFjnBctg_NAtAA).

<sup>2</sup> Torleif Elgvin, “Dødehavsrullene,” 15 September 2022, <https://snl.no/Dødehavsrullene>.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Pierre Isbouts, “Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? Science May Have the Answer,” 3 August 2022, <https://www.nationalgeographic.co.uk/history-and-civilisation/2022/08/who-wrote-the-dead-sea-scrolls-science-may-have-the-answer>.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Burke, “Mystery at the New Bible Museum: Are Its Dead Sea Scrolls Fake?,” 18 November 2017, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/17/us/bible-museum-fakes/index.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Art Gallery of New South Wales, National Gallery of Victoria, and Auckland War Memorial Museum, eds., *Dead Sea Scrolls: An Exhibition of Scrolls and Archaeological Objects from the Collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia, 14 July - 15 October 2000, National Gallery of Victoria, Australia, Early 2001, Auckland Museum, New Zealand, Late 2001* (Sydney, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> The Royal Ontario Museum, “Dead Sea Scrolls: Words That Changed the World,” n.d., <https://www.rom.on.ca/en/about-us/newsroom/press-releases/dead-sea-scrolls-words-that-changed-the-world>.

James Charlesworth writes in the first of his three-part series, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, that:

*These volumes serve as more than an invaluable reference work. They are also an invitation to enter the world in which the biblical documents were shaped. They challenge us to rethink our origins and contemplate what makes us men and women of integrity and hope. Our Western world has betrayed its origins and lost the meaning of times. By returning to our shared origins, perhaps we may again, correctly find our way to a better future.*<sup>7</sup>

Even though it is unclear whether he is referring to the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves, or his own three-part book series, the point still stands: He claims that the scrolls, or knowledge about the scrolls, is what defines us as humans and will be the foundation for a better future for humanity.

The importance and relevance of the scrolls have been proclaimed from their discovery and all the way into modern times. William Albright, the man who dated the first scrolls, is said to have called the scrolls: “the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times.”<sup>8</sup> Dr. Awni Khalil Dajani, director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, said, “the scrolls are of unparalleled, enormous historical and religious significance.”<sup>9</sup>

All of these various voices point in the same direction, which can be summed up in the words of the (in)famous antiquities dealer Lee Biondi: “The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the years after World War II, is the most important discovery ever made in the study of Biblical texts.”<sup>10</sup>

Despite all these extraordinary claims about the importance of the scrolls in religious, cultural, and political contexts, a systematic analysis of the editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls found in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD) series and a multitude of other sources reveals that the

---

<sup>7</sup> James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins, Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2006), xxv.

<sup>8</sup> Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 15.

<sup>9</sup> Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 459.

<sup>10</sup> Lee Biondi, *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: A Brief History of the Bible from Antiquity to Modern America: Told through Ancient Manuscripts and Early European and American Printed Bibles* (Camarillo, Calif.: Spire Resources, Inc., 2009), 4.

whereabouts of well over 500 Dead Sea Scroll fragments were unknown to the editors. How can this be? There is a seemingly massive gap between the lofty words of scholars and the media about the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the fact that the whereabouts of well over 500 fragments might be unknown, let alone the fact that no one seems to know how many Dead Sea Scroll fragments there are in total.<sup>11</sup>

The background for this thesis is a project initiated at the beginning of 2021 by Årstein Justnes at the University of Agder, head of the “Lying Pen of Scribes” project. Justnes asked Martin S. Stomnås and me to systematically look for any mention of lost Dead Sea Scroll fragments. The three of us started looking systematically through several sources<sup>12</sup> and compiled the information we collected into a database. That database includes almost 500 entries with at least one fragment per entry.

In the following, I will present the database I have developed with my colleagues. This database will be the primary source material, the evidence of lost fragments, that the rest of this thesis is based on. Some of the cases of lost fragments in the database can be explained. Some of the missing fragments have been rediscovered. Finally, I will discuss how different factors, both theoretical and methodological, have contributed to the situation that allowed these losses to happen.

This thesis is a systematic analysis of the database, an exploration of some specific cases and some possible explanations for the massive loss that the material of the Dead Sea Scrolls have suffered.

## ***1.2 What are the Dead Sea Scrolls?***

Before I begin, I will briefly present what the Dead Sea Scrolls are and how I have chosen to limit the material in this thesis. The Dead Sea Scrolls are a collection of scrolls, fragments, and archeological artifacts discovered in the late 1940s in the area around the Dead Sea. Most of the scrolls and fragments were discovered in the vicinity of ancient ruins located at *Khirbet Qumran*. Still, other places of discovery are found along the western bank of the Dead Sea and

---

<sup>11</sup> Årstein Justnes and Signe Marie Hægeland, “Missing: Have You Seen These Scrolls?,” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 2022.

<sup>12</sup> See the second attachment for a complete bibliography.

the embankment that leads to the Judean highlands. This explains why the official publication series is called Discoveries in the Judean Desert: it's to encompass all the different find sites. The fragments have been organized and identified as various manuscripts, and we have over 900 manuscripts that are part of the Dead Sea Scrolls collection. In this thesis, I will focus mainly on the scrolls and fragments discovered in the 11 caves of Qumran.

### **1.3 Lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments**

In an article from 1991 by journalist Felice Maranz in "The Jerusalem Report"<sup>13</sup>, Maranz investigates the rumor that as many as ten fragments could be missing. Emanuel Tov, editor of the DJD series at the time, "says he expects that the 'so-called missing fragments will be located during a review of the material now in progress."<sup>14</sup> John Strugnell, former editor of the DJD series at the time, claimed he "can't remember if the loss was ever reported to the police."<sup>15</sup> When Maranz asks Joe Zias, an archeologist with the IAA at the time, he says that scholars would move fragments from plate to plate, and the scholars had to keep track of these interventions themselves. He concludes by saying that the lost fragments are primarily due to human error and adds that the problem is a "miniscule problem."<sup>16</sup> The preliminary research done by Årstein Justnes, Stephen Reed, Martin S. Stomnås, and myself shows that the problem is a lot bigger than "miniscule" and that there are a lot more fragments affected than the ten mentioned in the 1991 article.

Whenever scholars have been confronted with the suspicion that fragments might be lost in the past, they have tried to undermine the whole issue. An example of this attitude is found in an article from 1967 regarding the Six-Day War. William G. Dever says, "... they feel that nearly all of the thousands of fragments will eventually be accounted for."<sup>17</sup> It doesn't seem like they, Dr. Magen Broshi and Dr. Joseph Naveh, take the issue seriously. This is especially concerning when our preliminary research shows that the problem of lost fragments is massive.

---

<sup>13</sup> Felice Maranz, "The Case of the Missing Scrolls," *The Jerusalem Report* (Jerusalem, 26 December 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Maranz, "The Case of the Missing Scrolls," 1.

<sup>15</sup> Maranz, "The Case of the Missing Scrolls," 2.

<sup>16</sup> Maranz, "The Case of the Missing Scrolls," 2.

<sup>17</sup> William G. Dever, "Archaeology and the Six Day War," *Biblic. Archaeol.* 30.3 (1967): 105.

In 1992, Hershel Shanks published an article in *Biblical Archeology Review* about the conservation of the scrolls. He has this to say about the whereabouts of the fragments:

*Some of the fragmentary scrolls have been stolen, lost or misplaced. Even when they are where they are supposed to be—in the room dubbed the Scrollerly in the basement of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem—it can take two or three days to find a particular fragment, according to one prominent researcher who has access to the scrolls.*<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note that Shanks here also points to another aspect of lost fragments: Fragments that people cannot locate in the museum.<sup>19</sup> Later in the same article, Shanks speaks about “the deterioration and occasional disappearance of the fragmentary scrolls.”<sup>20</sup> In short, Shanks describes the issue that I aim to shed more light on in this thesis, namely lost fragments. It is startling that despite acknowledgment of lost fragments, there has never been a systematic evaluation of the problem. This is what I have attempted to do in this thesis.

#### **1.4 Theory**

This is a historical project. I am not asking questions regarding the historical making of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but I am asking questions regarding what happened to the fragments from their discovery until now and how scholars have worked with the fragments. Many of the entries in the database are based on written sources from the time of their discovery until today’s date. Thus, the database reflects a systematic evaluation of secondary literature. I have looked for possible explanations for the lost fragments within different books and articles. I have gathered information from scholars, experts, and media outlets. The primary material is collected in the database where we show that some fragments documented in the museum, were no longer to be found at a later point in time. This thesis is not focused on the actual finding of the lost fragments, but the research has been done through analyzing secondary sources.

---

<sup>18</sup> Hershel Shanks, “Preserve the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Biblic. Archaeol. Rev.* 18.1 (1992): 62–63, 70.

<sup>19</sup> When I use the generic term “museum” in this thesis, it is because the exact location for the Dead Sea Scroll fragments has changed a lot since their discovery. Museums have changed names, fragments have been moved around, etc. The term “museum” refers to the institution where the fragments in question were housed at the relevant time. This also applies to all future uses of “museum” in this thesis.

<sup>20</sup> Shanks, “Preserve the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

The work presented in chapters three and four is a categorical analysis of the data found in the database of lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments. While handling the data, I observed some patterns and asked what I believe to be relevant questions. I have gathered information regarding different aspects of the preservation of the Dead Sea Scroll fragments. Throughout this analysis, I have explored the limited knowledge we have about the preservation of the scrolls. Since I am not focusing on losses that happened before the fragments reached the scholars, I have gathered information about how the scrolls were treated by scholars and how their handling allowed for over 500 fragments to go missing. Knowledge about how the scrolls were treated and handled is sometimes scarce to come by. This, I believe, is another symptom of the larger issue at hand, namely the overwhelming focus on the publication of the texts, and not the fragments as physical objects.

The final chapter will explore the wider cultural and theoretical trances that have influenced the way scholars and the media have conceptualized the value of the fragments. In this analysis I have been influenced by two theoretical perspectives on the relationship between physical objects and their text. These will be presented in the following pages.

#### 1.4.1 New Philology

I will move on to present the theories of New Philology. Mark James Driscoll, in an article from 2010, outlines three bullet points that he claims to be “among the key principles of “new” or “material” philology”<sup>21</sup>. In short, these are the bullet points:

1. Literary works do not exist independently of their material embodiments, and the physical form of the text is an integral part of its meaning.
2. Physical objects came into being at particular times, in particular places, and for particular purposes, all of which are socially, economically, and intellectually determined.
3. Physical objects continue to exist through time.

---

<sup>21</sup> Mark James Driscoll, “The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New,” in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge, The Viking Collection volume 18 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010).

One of the phenomena that has crystalized while working on this topic is how scholars and other experts create a hierarchy of the scrolls, sorting both fragments and manuscripts on a vertical line between good and bad. How do they make these priorities? According to New Philology, the question is not whether a text is good or bad. Every fragment or scroll is interesting, not because of the actual words on the parchment or papyrus, but because of “what they can tell us about the process of literary production, dissemination, and reception to which they are witnesses.”<sup>22</sup> The ideas of New Philology is very relevant regarding the value of the scrolls and the praxis of conservation.

### 1.4.2 The Three Dimensions of Scriptures

James W. Watts presents three dimensions of scriptures: The semantic dimension, the performative dimension, and the iconic dimension. Watts developed these three dimensions because he noticed the field of scriptural research was lacking in some areas. He proposes that these three dimensions will “explain their [the scriptures’] cultural functions and religious significance.”<sup>23</sup>

The semantic dimension describes the written text. This is the dimension that biblical scholarship has focused mostly on, see e.g., historical-critical method, exegesis, etc.... The performative dimension describes the performance of the written text. This includes ritualized private or public reading, singing, memorization, etc.... The iconic dimension describes the physical form of the scripture. This is expressed through e.g., decoration of texts, texts displayed on special podiums, texts written in beautiful calligraphy, etc....<sup>24</sup> These three dimensions of understanding scriptures can also be found within the way people talk about the Dead Sea Scrolls in modern times. In the last chapter, I will explore how two of the three dimensions, the semantic and the iconic, is relevant to understanding what led to over 500 fragments being lost.

---

<sup>22</sup> Driscoll, “The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New.”

<sup>23</sup> James W. Watts, “The Three Dimensions of Scripture,” in *Iconic Books and Texts*, ed. James W. Watts, Paperback edition. (Bristol, CT: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2015), 14.

<sup>24</sup> Watts, “The Three Dimensions of Scripture,” 15–16.



## **1.5 Method**

This thesis is based on the database with data compiled by Årstein Justnes, Martin Stomnås, and me. The database will be added as an attachment, and in the next chapter, I will show examples and explain the database in depth. Before I get to the database itself, it is necessary to present and discuss some terms and phenomena. Firstly, it is important to state that when I speak of lost fragments, I don't refer to fragments becoming lost in antiquity. I am always referring to fragments either going missing or becoming destroyed after the discovery in modern times.

While working on this thesis, it has become apparent that finding the right vocabulary is a challenge. One reason for this challenge is that there is no consistency when it comes to the use of terms in the past. Editors of the DJD series and other scholars have used terms like "missing", "lost", "misplaced", "gone", "not in the museum", "couldn't be located" etc... These terms seem to have been used interchangeably and without much concern for the specific definitions of the different terms. As far as I know, the terms have never been put in any system, and the chances of the terms overlapping each other when it comes to content is overwhelming. Because of all of this, I will include a brief discussion of the phenomena of loss and give definitions to the terms I am choosing to use throughout this thesis.

What does it mean for a fragment to be lost? What does it mean for anything to be lost? Can anything be truly lost? This question has proved to be more essential to this thesis than I first thought. In everyday life, the term lost can refer to several objects and a number of phenomena. Let's use keys as an example: I've lost my keys. What does that completely mundane phrase really mean? It means that I don't know where my keys are at the moment. My keys could just be in a different place than I expected them to be, they could be left at a hotel in a foreign country, or they could even be where they were supposed to be, I just didn't find them at the moment. When I rumble through my bag looking for my keys without locating them right away, in my mind they are lost. I start thinking through where I last saw them and where I could have put them in the meantime. Then I discover that they were in my bag the whole time. Were they not lost for a few seconds? What has crystalized through this work is that an object being lost can both refer to its whereabouts being unknown or inaccessible, and the object being unable to be rediscovered. Really, the only way Dead Sea Scroll fragments can be lost from the surface of the earth is if the fragment has completely disintegrated. If that has not happened, the

fragment is only inaccessible or has unknown whereabouts. Fragments that have disintegrated cannot be retrieved; they are gone forever. But fragments that have unknown whereabouts or are inaccessible, can be discovered and retrieved.

In this setting, I would like to argue that fragments that are unavailable to scholars are, in reality, gone. Hypothetically, imagine a fragment in a drawer at the museum. It is very well preserved; no complaints can be made regarding the preservation of the fragment. It has not shrunk, and no pieces have broken off. For the sake of this thought experiment, let's pretend that it is the best-preserved fragment out of all the Dead Sea Scroll fragments. But it has been left in a drawer in the museum. No one has seen it since it was photographed in the 50s. If a scholar were to show the old photo of the fragment and ask if they could see it, then no one at the museum would be able to find it. Is this fragment not lost? Even though it is not lost from the surface of the earth, it is practically lost: It is unavailable.

A fragment can be referred to as lost in a publication, when in fact the fragment does exist somewhere in the museum. Likewise, a fragment can in fact be lost, while no publication ever records it as lost because no one has thought to look for it. As far as scholars know, when a scholar has made the claim that a fragment is lost, it is in fact lost. The only way to discover if a fragment is, in fact, lost from the face of the earth is by doing a physical inventory of the institutions the Scrolls are located in. Even if this is done, there is still the potential for fragments that were never photographed or registered to begin with to be lost without anyone knowing.

When it comes to my use of terms in this thesis, the term "lost" will refer to all the fragments in the database. The term refers to both fragments categorized as missing, and fragments categorized as destroyed.

After the database has been thoroughly presented, I will move on to splitting the data in the database into two categories: destroyed and missing fragments. Some of the fragments in the database are not completely gone, they are just partially destroyed in different ways. Some just due to natural deterioration, some because scholars have cut pieces for <sup>14</sup>C testing, etc... These will be collectively referred to as destroyed fragments in this thesis. The other fragments in the database are missing fragments. The term missing, in this thesis, refers to fragments that have been referred to as missing in different publications or in other ways are suspected of being

missing. As opposed to the destroyed fragments, in the cases of the missing fragments the whole fragment is lost, not just parts of it.

For a fragment to get an entry in the database, the fragment must be suspected of being lost, that means either destroyed or missing. There are mainly two ways we claim that a fragment is suspected of being lost; (1) For someone to claim that a fragment is lost in a publication. Most often the publications cited in the database are the DJD series or Stephen Reed's Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project. Or (2) If photographs show deterioration of the fragments, or we can't locate any recent photographs of the fragment.

In addition to separating between destroyed and missing fragments, I have made two other divisions for analyzing the lost fragments of the database. The first division is between what we know and what we don't know. Sometimes I have discovered explanations of specific fragments so that I can say exactly what happened to a lost fragment from the database. Other times, I didn't find explanations for why a specific fragment has been lost, but I have stories and anecdotes that show opportunities for fragments to become lost. In these cases, I don't know what happened to specific fragments, but I have suggestions as to what could have happened to some fragments. There are also many fragments in the database that I don't know what might have happened to. I have also tried to separate between what has been done intentionally and what has been done unintentionally. Sometimes people have intentionally moved fragments or caused their destruction, but other times the fragments have gone missing or gotten destroyed not due to anyone's intention. It happened unintentionally.

In the next chapter, I will explore the database and at the same time present some necessary background information and explain some terms needed throughout the rest of the thesis. Chapter three will deal with all the destroyed fragments, both what I know and what I don't know, what happened intentionally and unintentionally. The fourth chapter is all about the missing fragments and will likewise deal with all relevant aspects of them. In the fifth chapter, I will deal with the Dead Sea Scrolls as holy text and as holy objects. Using both New Philology and the theory from James W. Watts, I will look at the relationship between text and object.

## 1.6 Ethics

To begin a brief discussion on ethics I have read and adhere to the Policy of Professional Conduct “approved by the ASOR Board of Trustees on April 18, 2015, and amended by the ASOR Board on November 24, 2019.”<sup>25</sup>

Especially considering the post-2002 Dead Sea Scroll-like fragment scandal that surfaced in 2016<sup>26</sup>, and the recent focus on authenticity and provenance, it is necessary to write a few reflections on the ethics related to this project. Other scholars have pointed out the possibility of the database being used to make modern forgeries, and as author of this thesis I find it necessary to show some of the reflections I have done when it comes to this concern. I find it highly unlikely that the database can be used to make modern forgeries for several reasons. The first is that many of the fragments in the database are not actually missing, so the possibly forged fragments would have to not overlap with the fragments located, either now or in the future. The missing fragments are also small and do not seem to fit the desires of the market for scrolls. In the case of the post-2002 Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments, the market seemed to seek fragments including specifically biblical text and the market was predominately evangelical Christian institutions in the US. There is no indication that the fragments listed in the database would be desirable for that market. If someone would introduce the fragments of the database to the scholarly public, I also believe that everything learned after the post-2002 Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments incident and the subsequent focus on provenance makes the scholars extremely careful when dealing with new material trying to enter the corpus. I would at least promote such caution and healthy skepticism. The work presented both in the database and in this thesis will be important for scholars in gaining knowledge about the material of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some of the preliminary research done by the Lying Pen researchers has shown that there are a lot of things regarding the physical material of the Dead Sea Scrolls that we do not know everything about, and the knowledge of possible lost fragments will be a small step on the way to complete knowledge about the full corpus.

---

<sup>25</sup> ASOR Board of Trustees, “Policy on Professional Conduct,” 24 November 2019, <https://www.asor.org/about-asor/policies/policy-on-professional-conduct/>.

<sup>26</sup> This is the realization that fragments appearing on the market after 2002 are most likely to be modern forgeries. The story of this discovery can be read about in this short book, among other places: Årstein Justnes, *De falske fragmentene og forskerne som gjorde dem til dødehavsruller.*, 2019.

## 2 Database

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the database of lost fragments created by me, Martin S. Stomnås, and Årstein Justnes. A version of this database is included as appendix 8.2. The database consists of fragments from the 11 Caves of Qumran. The information in the database comes from two main sources. Most of the fragments in the database are claimed to be lost in the DJD series or other publications. The rest of the entries are due to observations, meaning that someone has seen that a fragment is missing or has deteriorated when looking at photographs, or that there simply are no new photographs of some fragments or manuscripts. These photographs have been accessed online through either the Leon Levy<sup>27</sup> or the SQE<sup>28</sup> website, we have not been to Israel and looked at the physical plates. It is important to note that we are not claiming that everything in the database is gone forever, or even missing from the IAA, but rather that the whereabouts and conditions of these fragments are uncertain at best.

The version of the database presented here consists of around 500 entries. Many of these entries refer to more than one fragment each. The database mainly consists of fragments that have been referred to as missing or destructed in some written source. For example, fragment 8 of 4Q417 “has gone astray in the Museum”<sup>29</sup> according to editors John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. The database also includes fragments that are not on any new photographs or that show deterioration when new photographs are compared to older photographs. In the cases of fragments not appearing on new photographs, we assume that the fragments are gone until the opposite is proven. Even if there might be other reasons for not taking new photographs of some fragments, these fragments are practically lost to scholars as well. The new photographs provide opportunities for research that are being withheld from some fragments if they are not photographed with the latest technology. That is, if the whereabouts of the fragment in question are still known, and the fragment is physically available for photographs. In addition, it makes it impossible to follow a fragment from the photos of the plates and see what the fragment looks

---

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il>

<sup>28</sup> <https://sqe.deadseascrolls.org.il>

<sup>29</sup> Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin in DJD 34:198  
See line 284 in database.

like now if there are no photos from any time later than the late 40s or early 60s. Essentially, no new photographs are also a type of loss.

Through the database, we gain greater insight and knowledge about the corpus we call the Dead Sea Scrolls. For a long time, the predominant idea among scholars was that work on manuscripts was work on the text. This meant text as something other than the manuscripts on which the text was written. With the growth of New Philology, a different understanding emerged. The text could no longer be understood and researched isolated from the material they were conveyed through. The Dead Sea Scrolls are not predominately a textual discovery but a physical discovery. The Dead Sea Scrolls are physical artefacts that we need to conserve physically. Within this way of understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is important to have as much knowledge about the corpus as possible. When the research on the Dead Sea Scrolls is research on physical manuscripts, knowledge about the condition and whereabouts of the physical manuscripts are crucial. Doing research on physical objects without knowledge about these objects is unthinkable. This database will contribute to the growth of knowledge about the physical corpus.

In many cases, we don't know exactly what happened to the possibly missing fragments. In some cases, they have appeared with other manuscripts than initially published as, and some fragments are well-documented victims of theft. But, more often than not, we don't know the exact whereabouts of the possibly missing fragments. In this thesis, I have also gathered several stories about the fragments' deterioration. Likewise, we don't know the cause behind much of the destruction presented in the database. Often the destruction is probably caused by natural deterioration, but this thesis will show that other processes are at play here as well. All of this is a part of the higher goal of gaining more knowledge about the corpus. Knowledge about the concrete whereabouts and condition of certain fragments is essential, but knowledge about the conservation also adds to our comprehensive knowledge of the text corpus.

The database does not aim to be exhaustive, nor does it need to be. There are several lost fragments and objects related to the Dead Sea Scrolls discovery that are not in the database. Likewise, as research is being conducted on this topic, some of the missing fragments in the database are discovered again. Even when this happens, the entries are not deleted from the database. Our goal is for this database to be a place of reference. When a scholar works with a

manuscript or a fragment and notices that someone has claimed that it is missing, they could check the database. Maybe the database can say that the fragment has been moved to another plate? Or perhaps the fragment is not in the database? Then we hope that scholars will submit the example, and subsequently, the database will continue to grow and contribute to the growth of knowledge about the Dead Sea Scroll corpus. That is to say, this is not an exhaustive list, it is still a work in progress.

## 2.2 How to use the Database

Lf	Siglum/-	Columns/Fragmer	Name(s)/Description	Sources	Found - Replies	Missing/Destroyed
96	4Q38n	13	Deuteronomy <sup>k2</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 43.056		Missing
97	4Q42	12	Deuteronomy <sup>o</sup>	DJD 14:133		Missing
98	4Q43		Deuteronomy <sup>p</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing
99	4Q45	1	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:135		Unknown
100	4Q45	25*	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:142		Destroyed
101	4Q45	46	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:149		Missing
102	4Q45	50	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:150		Missing
103	4Q45	54	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:151		Destroyed
104	4Q45	59	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:151		Destroyed
105	4Q51		Samuel <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing
106	4Q51	III fig a	Samuel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 17:40		Destroyed
107	4Q51	9.1	Samuel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 17:207		Missing
108	4Q51a		pap Unclassified Fragments	DJD 17:217		Missing
109	4Q52, 4Q114, 4Q525	6	Samuel <sup>b</sup>	Fields 2006:51 Fields 2009:464	Stolen?	Missing
110	4Q52	6	Samuel <sup>b</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates] Reed 1994:481 DJD 17:231		Missing
111	4Q56	16	Isaiah <sup>b</sup>	Not on Plate 1141 or in SQE		Missing
112	4Q56	19	Isaiah <sup>b</sup>	Not on Plate 1141 or in SQE		Missing
113	4Q57	50	Isaiah <sup>c</sup>	DJD 15:51	This fig. Is now on plate 432 Asaf Gayer, 25.03.21	Missing (Found)
114	4Q57	70	Isaiah <sup>c</sup>	DJD 15:73		Missing

The illustration above shows what an excerpt of the database looks like. Now I will explain the different columns and give the information the reader needs to be able to use and understand the database. This will be both an introduction to the database itself and an introduction to some central terms and knowledge about Dead Sea Scroll research. This will help contextualize the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls in general and this thesis in particular.

### 2.2.1 Siglum/-a

The sigla can contain different amounts of information, with the most basic form indicating the location of the find (i.e., which cave at Qumran) and an identifying number, e.g., 4Q2, which would be understood as the second manuscript from Qumran Cave 4. This does not mean that

it was discovered second, the sigla are given a long time after initial excavation or purchase. The sigla may also indicate the language (when the language isn't Hebrew), the script (when paleo-Hebrew), or the material of the manuscript (when papyrus instead of parchment/skin). Further, manuscripts were given titles related to their content, using traditional titles for known works and novel titles for previously unknown works. Thus, 4Q2 is also known as 4QGenesis<sup>b</sup>. The "4Q" indicates that the manuscript was found in Qumran Cave 4, "Genesis" identifies the contents, and "b" indicates that this is the second manuscript with text from Genesis found in Cave 4.

### 2.2.2 Columns/Fragment(s)

This column in the database tells if it was a specific fragment that went missing, or if it was one or several column(s). For it to be meaningful to speak of columns, either the fragments must be big enough to show several columns or several fragments must have been matched so that several columns are made visible. The fragments are marked using Latin numbers, and the columns are marked using Roman numerals. In some cases, there is no information in this column. This usually means that the entry is regarding the whole manuscript, not just some specific fragments. In some cases, it means that the source is unclear regarding which specific fragments it describes.

When talking about fragments, it is essential to begin by asking the most basic question: What is a fragment? Intuitively, one might think that a fragment is one piece of the remains of a manuscript, perhaps belonging together with other fragments to form a complete scroll. But, according to the 1994 article *What is a fragment?* By Stephen A. Reed,<sup>30</sup> several of the fragments labeled as a "fragment" in the DJD series consist of groupings of several fragments that the editor believed belonged together. Sometimes they consist of two or more fragments joined together in a way that is especially difficult to notice in photographs and in real life. A single piece of a fragment is called a "real fragment," according to Reed's article, and he calls multiple "real fragments" joined together in an edition a "reconstructed fragment." Following Reed's article, I will try to use the term "fragment" and only refer to what Reed calls a "real fragment." This way, I will also be able to identify fragments from a "reconstructed fragment"

---

<sup>30</sup> Stephen A. Reed, "What Is a Fragment?," *J. Jew. Stud.* 45 (1994): 123–25.



that has gone missing. One issue with this simplification is that not every source I site will have the same understanding, and it would be beside the point of the thesis to always check and make sure I use the correct term according to Reed’s article. Therefore, I will call it a fragment if that is what a source I use call it, and sometimes I will include a clarification about the correct terminology when useful.

### 2.2.3 Name(s)/Description

The individual fragments were not given initial inventory numbers like some other archeological artifacts discovered around the same time. According to Christina Riggs, Professor at Durham University, in her book about the discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb, "Each ‘primary’ object was assigned a registration number while still in the tomb."<sup>31</sup> When it came to the Dead Sea Scrolls over 20 years later, the manuscripts consisting of several fragments were only named in the process of publication. This causes a number of challenges when working on the scrolls. First, the lack of inventory numbers makes identifying a single fragment that has been moved around very difficult. Second, it is clear from the ordering of the sigla that the manuscripts were organized based on content from the very beginning. This says something about what the Dead Sea Scrolls scholars thought to be most important, namely the content of them. The labeling system also reveals a focus not only on the text but on text from the Hebrew Bible. Some texts are favored over other text as is evident when we look at the manuscripts found in cave 2:

2Q1	2QGen	2Q14	2QPs
2Q2	2QExod <sup>a</sup>	2Q15	2QJob
2Q3	2QExod <sup>b</sup>	2Q16	2QRuth <sup>a</sup>
2Q4	2QExod <sup>c</sup>	2Q17	2QRuth <sup>b</sup>
2Q5	2QpaleoLev	2Q18	2QSir
2Q6	2QNum <sup>a</sup>	2Q19	2QJub <sup>a</sup>
2Q7	2QNum <sup>b</sup>	2Q20	2QJub <sup>b</sup>
2Q8	2QNum <sup>c</sup>	2Q21	2QapocrMoses
2Q9	2QNum <sup>d?</sup>	2Q22	2QapocrDavid
2Q10	2QDeut <sup>a</sup>	2Q23	2QapocrProph
2Q11	2QDeut <sup>b</sup>	2Q24	2QNewJerusalem ar
2Q12	2QDeut <sup>c</sup>	2Q25	2QJuridical text
2Q13	2QJer	2Q26	2QEnGiants

---

<sup>31</sup> Christina Riggs, *Photographing Tutankhamun: Archaeology, Ancient Egypt, and the Archive*, First edition. (London ; New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018), 88. (Kindle edition).

Here we see that none of the sigla are given randomly, the labeling follows a clear hierarchy. The manuscript given the first number, 2Q1, is also a Genesis manuscript, the first book in the Hebrew Bible. Further on, we see that the labeling system begins by listing the manuscripts in the order of the Hebrew Bible, then apocryphal or deuterocanonical works, and then other previously unknown works. All this substantiates the claim that the Dead Sea Scrolls were first and foremost valued for the text and the text's closeness to the Hebrew Bible, not for them being physical artifacts.

The ideas of value we see in the labeling choices are also evident in other types of systems created for the Dead Sea Scrolls. See how the Leon Levy website reduces the scrolls into two categories: Biblical and non-biblical:

*The Qumran Caves Scrolls contain significant religious literature. They consist of two types: "biblical" manuscripts—books found in today's Hebrew Bible, and "non-biblical" manuscripts—other religious writings circulating during the Second Temple era, often related to the texts now in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>32</sup>*

In this way of thinking, the defining trait of a Dead Sea Scroll fragment is if and how it relates to the Hebrew Bible.

## 2.2.4 Sources

In the database, there are a few main sources for the lost fragments. Most often, the source is the DJD series, but Stephen Reed's Inventory Project is also often cited. The other sources are listed in a bibliography which can be found under attachment 8.1.

### 2.2.4.1 The Discoveries in the Judean Desert Series

One of the primary sources to the Dead Sea Scrolls is the DJD series. The DJD series consists of 40 volumes published over the course of 55 years and is the main place of the publication of

---

<sup>32</sup> Israel Antiquities Authority, "Learn About the Scrolls," n.d., <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/learn-about-the-scrolls/introduction>.

principal editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls. As it is a vital source for the data in the database and this thesis, I will discuss the DJD series, and which questions the series tries to answer.

In DJD 39, editor-in-chief at the time Emanuel Tov looks back on the series and claims that “the general philosophy behind the DJD editions is to provide the scholarly public with a workable edition of the text, which, while presenting the best possible edition according to its editor, may be improved upon by subsequent generations of scholars.”<sup>33</sup> Tov recognizes that this is written after the series is finished, which means it cannot be regarded as a guiding light used throughout the publication process. It should rather be considered as a conclusion to what the DJD series turned out to be in Tov’s eyes. It should be noted that what Tov says here at the end of the publication process is similar to what Gerald Lankester Harding said before the DJD series was started: “Their interest was to make the material available to everyone as soon as possible.”<sup>34</sup> In the early correspondence, Harding seems to prioritize keeping the publication of the scrolls, both price-wise and content-wise, available for the general public.<sup>35</sup> This is something that Harding didn’t succeed in, and Tov instead talks about the “scholarly public” in the quote above. The idea of who the targeted reader is will affect the content of the series. Fields briefly mention how Roland de Vaux was in charge of choosing what to include and what to leave out regarding archeology.<sup>36</sup> These choices are directly affected by ideas of who the targeted reader is. It seems like there never was a consensus regarding the targeted audience, so there would be a few different ideas floating around among the editors thought the long publication process. In DJD 1, they claim that they deemed it “unnecessary” to publish every single fragment.<sup>37</sup> The fact that they do not offer criteria for this selection makes it challenging to evaluate in posterity what priorities the selection reflects.

When the publication of the DJD series began, no one knew how extensive the whole series would be. Initially, they only anticipated publishing five volumes<sup>38</sup>, but in the end, they published a total of 40 volumes. During the production of the first two volumes of the DJD series, Gerald Lankester Harding and Roland de Vaux, both archeologists by trade, were in

---

<sup>33</sup> Tov in DJD 39:4

<sup>34</sup> Harding in a letter to Oxford University Press in 1952. Quoted in Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172.

<sup>35</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 172–73.

<sup>36</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 193.

<sup>37</sup> Barthélemy and Milik in DJD 1:4

<sup>38</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 171.

charge. Harding’s job was to oversee all archeological matters, and de Vaux was the first editor-in-chief of the DJD series. Although de Vaux was “administratively subordinate” to Harding who was the director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan at the time, “their relationship seems to have been more of a partnership, one based on friendship and mutual respect.”<sup>39</sup>

When the time came to start publishing the Cave 4 material, Gerald Lankester Harding contacted four archeological schools in Jerusalem. He was the curator of PAM at the time, and he asked them to each send two scholars that could be a part of a new publication team tasked with publishing the cave 4 material. Interestingly, these schools largely decided to recommend textual/biblical scholars rather than, e.g., archaeologists. When everything was settled, the scholars who had been nominated and accepted went to Jerusalem, where Roland de Vaux functioned as the supervisor of the Cave 4 team.<sup>40</sup> Both the volumes published by the Cave 4 team and the other volumes of the DJD series are mainly edited by textual scholars.

In addition to being the primary source of the Dead Sea Scrolls to this day, the DJD series is also a vital source in the database. It is not rare for the DJD series to include sentences like: “This fragment cannot be found in the Rockefeller Museum.”<sup>41</sup>

#### 2.2.4.2 Stephen Reed’s Inventory Project

Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, CA, initiated the Dead Sea Scrolls Inventory Project in 1988. The goal of the project was to make a “complete inventory of Dead Sea Scrolls documents, photographs and museum inventory numbers.”<sup>42</sup> Stephen A. Reed worked first with photographs in Claremont, and he later traveled to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. In 1990 Reed started publishing his preliminary results in a series of 14 fascicles.<sup>43</sup> The work that resulted from this project was also published as a book edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg and Michael B. Phelps in 1994.<sup>44</sup> In short, what Reed did was cross-check photographs and museum

---

<sup>39</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 229–30.

<sup>40</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 192–93.

<sup>41</sup> Attridge et al. in DJD 13:207

<sup>42</sup> Stephen A. Reed, Marilyn J. Lundberg, and Michael B. Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs, and Museum Inventory Numbers*, Resources for Biblical Study no. 32 (Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1994), xiii.

<sup>43</sup> These have been published on the Lying Pen of Scribes website at [uia.no](https://lyingpen.uia.no/databases/dssinventoryproject/):

<https://lyingpen.uia.no/databases/dssinventoryproject/>

<sup>44</sup> Reed, Lundberg, and Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*.

inventory numbers with what was actually on the plates in Jerusalem. The work Reed did is often cited in the database, meaning that he discovered several discrepancies between what was supposed to be on the plates, and what was actually on the plates in Jerusalem.

### 2.2.5 Found-Replies

This column includes information about fragments that have been located again. The example in the illustration above shows how Asaf Gayer commented on a post Årstein Justnes published on Twitter. On line 113, Gayer says that a fragment that DJD 15 claims to be missing, has just been moved IAA plate 432.<sup>45</sup> The fragment cannot be found on the Leon Levy website, but it can be seen on the Scripta Qumranica Electronica website.<sup>46</sup>

Asaf Gayer has also discovered<sup>47</sup> that fragment 8 from 4Q417 (see line 284 in the database), noted as being missing in DJD 34<sup>48</sup>, is still found among the fragments of manuscript 4Q417.<sup>49</sup> On the Leon Levy Website, the fragment is called fragment 4 instead of fragment 8. Thus, this fragment is not missing anymore. The only problem was that no one could find it at the moment of publication.

### 2.2.6 Plates

The last term that is necessary to explain before we dive into the main part of this thesis is the museum plates. Relating to the plates is also information about the process of photography and two key websites that will be referred to frequently in this thesis.

When fragments arrived at the Palestine Archeological Museum (now known as the Rockefeller Museum) in Jerusalem, they were collected, sorted, and identified. Scholars worked to find which fragments belonged together, and collections of fragments were placed between two pieces of glass on what scholars call plates, and each plate was assigned a museum inventory number. Photographs were taken of the plates numerous times during the initial process of sorting fragments and identifying manuscripts. The series of photographs taken at the Palestine Archeological Museum (PAM) in Jerusalem is the most complete documentation of this

---

<sup>45</sup> Asaf Gayer, 25 March 2021, <https://twitter.com/AsafGayer/status/1375012008479838212>.

<sup>46</sup> <https://sqe.deadseascrolls.org.il/editions/536/imaged-objects/IAA-432-37>

<sup>47</sup> Asaf Gayer, 25 March 2021, <https://twitter.com/AsafGayer/status/1375025944075833352>.

<sup>48</sup> Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin in DJD 34:199: “This fragment has now gone astray in the Museum.”

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360772>

process, and most fragments are photographed numerous times during the 1950s and 1960s. Each photograph was given an identification number, e.g., 43.150, known to scholars as the PAM number. It is important to note that while plates have inventory numbers, fragments could be moved between plates, and individual fragments did not receive an inventory number.

To sum up, the PAM numbers correspond to a *photograph* of a plate, while the inventory numbers correspond to a plate. Not to be confused with the DJD plates given Roman numerals, these plates correspond mostly to manuscripts as the editor imagines them in a DJD volume. These plates are also often digitally edited, meaning they don't correspond to actual plates.

If anyone wants to see either the PAM photos, or the newer photos of the plates, they need to use the Leon Levy website.<sup>50</sup> The Leon Levy website is run by the Israel Antiquities Authority (the IAA). The main benefit of this website concerning this thesis topic is that it includes the PAM photos. The older photographs are invaluable in the search for missing fragments and are sometimes the basis of the claim that a fragment is missing. The PAM photos are also important in the works of comparing the state of deterioration of the fragments from the 1950s until today.<sup>51</sup> All the photos from the Leon Levy website in this thesis has been used with the approval and consent of the IAA. The dates of all the PAM photos I refer to in this thesis are checked against "The Photographer's Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 21.12.1947 and March 1961" published as an appendix to *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* by Emanuel Tov.<sup>52</sup>

There is a new website that launched recently called the Scripta Qumranica Electronica (SQE).<sup>53</sup> The goal of this project is to provide an online platform for scholars to not only view the photos but also create digital editions. However, this website includes none of the PAM photos but many high-quality photographs of the single fragments, including the recto (backside), which can be valuable for research.

---

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il>

<sup>51</sup> Some of this work has been done by Martin S. Stomnås already. See Årstein Justnes, 6 October 2021, <https://twitter.com/arsteinjustnes/status/1445770102427643908>.

<sup>52</sup> The dates of all the PAM photos are checked against "The Photographer's Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 21.12.1947 and March 1961" published as an appendix to Emanuel Tov et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, microfiche (Leiden : New York: IDC ; E.J. Brill, 1993), 91, 162.

<sup>53</sup> <https://sqe.deadseascrolls.org.il>

### **2.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have presented the database, shown what it contains, and given explanations of the things that are needed to understand regarding both the database and the thesis going forward. Going forward, the contents of the database will be analyzed and categorized. The database and its content have been developed over the course of a long time. Since we did not know how the database would turn out and what we would learn from the data, there are other columns we could have included. Likewise, there are columns we have included that we could have excluded. For the sake of the issue I am trying to shed light on and the questions I am trying to answer, the information in the columns provides me with the information needed for that.

I could have focused more on the editors responsible for the publications that mention lost fragments. This could have been interesting, but since some fragments probably are lost without any written mention of it, then it would be hard to find a specific editor to connect to each individual lost fragment. Also, it would be impossible for me to know if all the editors had the same attitude towards lost fragments, i.e., if all the editors felt obliged to add information about a lost fragment to their publication. Since I do not have this information, there is a chance that I would have incorrectly identified some editors as more likely to be responsible for lost fragments, when the truth is that they are just more likely to report losses. Even if some editors report lost fragments in their publications, the fragment could have become lost by a number of other people's hands. Often a manuscript would change editors, especially if the editor first made responsible for the publication either died or had too much on their hands. In these cases, it would be unfair to blame the last editor for a loss that possibly a former editor was responsible for. It would also be wrong to assume that the editors are always responsible for the losses, there are other people who are handling the fragments and who could have caused cases of either destruction or disappearance.

Because of the scope of this dissertation, I won't be able to present every single entry in the database, but I will pull several examples from the database to substantiate some of the explanations for the destroyed and missing fragments I propose in this dissertation.

## 3 Destroyed Fragments

### 3.1 Introduction

As discussed previously, I have organized the entries in the database into two main categories: destroyed fragments and missing fragments. This is an analytical tool and not the only possible way of doing this. The categories I have chosen to use are based on the themes I want to explore in this thesis. The category of destroyed fragments is the smallest category in the database. Still, this category is vital in understanding the data in the database more clearly. The examples of the destroyed fragments also help us gain more knowledge about the conservation and handling of the fragments and can aid us in understanding what led to fragments also going missing. How do I determine which fragments are missing, and which fragments are destroyed? Firstly, I use the following definition to have a clear sense of the difference between the two categories: The term *destroyed fragments* describes any fragments where changes have occurred to the material since its initial discovery. This definition includes several different phenomena both intentional and unintentional, such as the fragment breaking or becoming smaller, the leather changing, or modern cutting. Fragments that are claimed to still be on a plate in the Rockefeller Museum, but parts of them have broken off, fall into this category. This category also includes fragments that have been cut for <sup>14</sup>C testing. Typical examples of how a destroyed fragment is described in the DJD series is something like this: “A small section at the bottom (containing the remains of line 9) which is visible in the photograph is no longer to be seen on the original fragment.”<sup>54</sup> Or something like this: “The scroll is in a poor state of preservation and has deteriorated considerably since the two main photographs (PAM 43.023 and 43.156) were taken; for instance the top of frg. 6 is now missing with line 1 no longer extant.”<sup>55</sup>

### 3.2 Unintentional Destruction

A number of fragments described as being destroyed in DJD and in the database do not seem to have become destroyed due to someone’s intentional actions. In this section, I will look at a few examples of what these fragments look like, how they are discussed in DJD and other

---

<sup>54</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:464, see line 336 in the database.

<sup>55</sup> Ulrich in DJD 16:49, see line 125 in the database.



publications, and offer a few suggestions for conservation issues that may have led to the destruction of these fragments.

### 3.2.1 Shrinking

In DJD 40, in the description of 1QHodayot column XIV (line 3 in the database), the editors say that “some parts of the leather have shrunk due to further decay; new tears have occurred and the surface has been damaged in some places.”<sup>56</sup> Earlier in the paragraph, the editors state that “some of the damage occurred when the scroll was still rolled up, and some must have been inflicted after it was opened.”<sup>57</sup> In addition to this being an example of a type of destruction that can happen to fragments, it is also an example of one of the issues with working on this specific topic. Namely that sometimes it is hard to understand whether the editors are describing damages that had already happened when the fragments were brought out of the cave, or if they are describing damages that happened since the fragments came to the Palestine Archeological Museum. This was also an issue when compiling the data for the database. For example, when the editor of 4Q393 (see line 267 in the database) in DJD 29 made the following comment on the reading of fragment 3, line 8: “The first letter of this line is now completely lost.”<sup>58</sup> Since the editor uses the word “now”, it is plausible to believe that they have observed a change in the fragment since the first discovery. But it is also possible for the letter to have become lost in antiquity. In conclusion, it is hard to know with full certainty when this letter disappeared. In the same way, it is hard to know whether the shrinking recorded about 1QHodayot happened before or after the scroll reached the museum.

---

<sup>56</sup> Stegemann and Schuller in DJD 40:184

<sup>57</sup> Stegemann and Schuller in DJD 40:183

<sup>58</sup> Chazon et al. in DJD 29:54

### 3.2.2 Decaying Material

Another example of decaying material is found on 4Q171 (see line 171 in the database). Compare PAM 42.627 to the photo taken in 2015.<sup>59</sup>

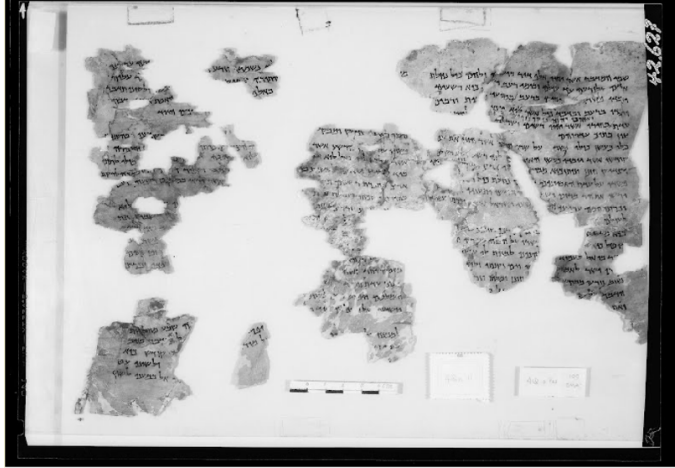


Illustration 1<sup>60</sup>



Illustration 2<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> This example has been published on Twitter:

Årstein Justnes, 7 September 2021, <https://twitter.com/arsteinjustnes/status/1435114768843616256>.

<sup>60</sup> PAM 42.627 from July 1958. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284038>

<sup>61</sup> Plate 600/1 from July 2015. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-508179>

Here we see that the deterioration of the fragments is visible and very apparent. This seems to be caused by natural deterioration. Some natural deterioration is to be expected, but the present state of the fragments should always be made known and accessible.

In an article from 1991, Stephen Pfann talks about “the deteriorating condition of the collection.”<sup>62</sup> Pfann is concerned with the physical state of the material, and although he does acknowledge that some of the handling done by the scholars at the PAM museum is to blame for the deterioration, he begins by blaming the Bedouins for their “careless handling.”<sup>63</sup> The two pictures of 4Q171 show that the Bedouins are not the only ones to blame for deterioration. It should be noted that Kando, the antiquities dealer from Bethlehem forever tied to the selling and purchase of Dead Sea Scrolls, also was responsible for some destruction of the scrolls. Frank Moore Cross tells Weston Fields the story of how Kando buried some scrolls over the winter in the early 1950s. When he dug them up, the whole basket has “dissolved into glue.”<sup>64</sup> This is only one out of several similar stories. But these losses are not included in the database since they happened before the fragments reached the museum.

### 3.2.3 A Single Fragment Becoming Three Fragments

Sometimes, the fact that fragments have changed, degraded, or been destroyed causes confusion when working with the different photographs and editions of the scrolls. For example, Eibert Tigchelaar has located a *missing fragment* from DJD 33, found on line 478 in the database. Fragment 33 of PAM 43.689 is listed as missing at the very beginning of the entry in DJD 33.<sup>65</sup> The editors of PAM 43.689 add that “Three small illegible fragments not appearing on the PAM photograph of Mus. Inv. 90 has been placed below frgs. 80-82 on the museum plate.”<sup>66</sup> Tigchelaar says that these three illegible fragments noted by the editors as being on the museum plate are the aforementioned ‘missing’ fragment 33. In his short publication, he compares the photo of fragment 33 in PAM 43.689 and a digital reconstruction he has done with the three fragments from plate 90. Tigchelaar does not leave it with that, he argues for identifying the fragment as Genesis 32.29-30. He stresses that no

---

<sup>62</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls.”

<sup>63</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls.”

<sup>64</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 296.

<sup>65</sup> Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:213

<sup>66</sup> Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:213

identification to a specific known manuscript can be made certain, but he believes in a textual identification with Genesis 32.29-30.<sup>67</sup>

This example shows how the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus can change at any moment, and suddenly we have three new fragments. The only issue with these “new” fragments is that they are not *new* at all. Occurrences like this make it very hard to gain certain knowledge about the material because it turns out that the material keeps changing. The material that makes up the Dead Sea Scroll corpus is a living and breathing material. It is not static, nor has it ever been. Therefore, it is not helpful to speak about it as static, unchanging material, as it has been since its initial discovery.

### 3.2.4 Causes of Destroyed Fragments

There are a number of reasons as to why fragments deteriorate and some ultimately are completely destroyed. On the one hand, natural processes will inevitably lead to the destruction of leather and papyrus except in certain environments. Even John C. Trever, one of the first scholars to lay his hands on the scrolls, said this about deterioration of the scrolls: “Several small fragments of leather from the outer margins of the Isaiah Scroll, bits of ancient repair material and linen thread, remained in the satchel, and a few had fallen to the table during the repair work.”<sup>68</sup> Here we see how just the first scholarly handling and unrolling of the manuscripts caused them to deteriorate. It is only natural for the organic material to be heavily affected by any handling and change of climate.

Conservation techniques have played a role in causing more destruction than would have naturally occurred. One way many fragments seem to have become destroyed is through the use of scotch tape. The first scholars used scotch tape to make the fragments stick together, either to other fragments making a reconstructed fragment, or sticking it to the plate. It turns out that the moisture in the tape reacted badly with the writing surface of the fragments, turning the surface into jelly. In an article from 1997, the authors write that “in these first years irreversible damage was caused by using cello tape<sup>TM</sup> for joining fragments and covering

---

<sup>67</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.689 Frag. 33 (IAA Plate 90 Frags. 86-88) Identified as a 4Q1 (4QGen-Exoda) Fragment (Gen 32:29-30?),” 2021.

<sup>68</sup> John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1965), 43–44.

cracks.”<sup>69</sup> The damage that the tape caused the fragments was even known in the 1960s. In 1962 a letter was written to Father Roland de Vaux by Francis Frank, Principal Librarian of the British Library: “The fragments must be freed of the cellulose acetate tape which was used to hold them together.”<sup>70</sup> It was not only the use of cello tape that caused damage to the already fragile fragments. Four years after the letter written to de Vaux, John Allegro wrote a letter to the editor of the *Observer*: “On a recent visit to the museum, I saw for myself just how perilous is the situation. Fragile fragments, which have been out of their desert habitat now for more than 14 years, are still lying between glass plates where we left them many years ago, mostly unsecured, and in some cases, as I was horrified to see, subjected to intolerable pressure by the plates lying on top of one another in a large cabinet.”<sup>71</sup> When time came to remove these pieces of tape from the fragments, Esther Boyd-Alkalay with the assistance of “specialists of the Paul Getty Institute for Conservation”<sup>72</sup>, began the tedious work. The article by Boyd-Alkalay and Libman from 1997 describes them performing “experiments with blank samples of parchment.”<sup>73</sup> I have not found any description of the experiments performed, which fragments were used, and the results of the experiments. It is possible that some of these fragments became completely destroyed, and then would fall into the category of *actually missing fragments*. The material of cave 5 seems to be an example of this, see chapter 3.4 for more information on this case.

Ira Rabin writes in the article *Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls* in *Dead Sea Discoveries* that “Humidity, castor oil and glycerin, adhesive tape and glass plates, plastic consolidants, and, during the last twenty years, Fullers earth and reinforcement with Japanese paper with water-soluble adhesive are some of the treatments to which the scrolls have been subjected.”<sup>74</sup> She continues by describing how these preservation techniques have affected the material: “Extraction of adhesives with the help of Fullers earth is associated with ... changes in the

---

<sup>69</sup> Esther Boyd-Alkalay and Lena Libman, “The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem,” *Restaurator* 18.2 (1997): 94.

<sup>70</sup> Boyd-Alkalay and Libman, “The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem,” 95.

<sup>71</sup> Boyd-Alkalay and Libman, “The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem,” 95.

<sup>72</sup> Boyd-Alkalay and Libman, “The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem,” 96.

<sup>73</sup> Boyd-Alkalay and Libman, “The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem,” 96.

<sup>74</sup> Ira Rabin, “Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Discov.* 20.1 (2013): 136–37.

structure of the scroll material”<sup>75</sup> and how the “humidification with subsequent freezing, used customarily to unroll and flatten the scrolls, led to extensive gelatinization and re-crystallization of the salts.”<sup>76</sup>

Another cause of destroyed fragments that is unintentional, but not due to specific conservation methods is the storage of the fragments. According to Niccolo Caldararo in an article from 1995, “considerable damage to the Scrolls resulted from their storage in the basement of a bank. The humidity caused extensive microorganism growth, rendering some of the Scrolls illegible. The Scrolls were cleaned but no report has been published.”<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that the fragments stored in a bank are probably the fragments that were moved to Amman during the Suez crisis in 1956.<sup>78</sup>

In a paper presented in 2008 this was said regarding the preservation of the fragments:

*In the first years after their discovery, text analysis and attribution of the fragments were the main concern of the scholars dealing with DSS and no special attention was paid to their preservation: castor oil was lavishly spread on the fragments to enhance the contrast; pieces were held together by scotch tape and/or squeezed between glass plates. Moreover, they were kept under conditions of pollution, light and constantly changing climatic environment. As a result the fragments started to degrade speedily.*<sup>79</sup>

This shows that it was not only the conservation techniques used by the scholars that lead to destroyed fragments, but it was also the conditions and climate the fragments were kept under.

These conservation techniques could be questioned, but the fact remains that the preservation of the scrolls is and always will be a battle against the natural process of decay. However, as we shall see in the next section, scholars have often intervened and caused destruction to the

---

<sup>75</sup> Rabin, “Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 137.

<sup>76</sup> Rabin, “Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 137.

<sup>77</sup> Niccolo Caldararo, “Storage Conditions and Physical Treatments Relating to the Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 26.

<sup>78</sup> Florentino García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, Netherlands ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 27.

<sup>79</sup> Olivia Hahn et al., “Non-Destructive Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Jerusalem, 25 May 2008), 2.

fragments in addition to the natural process of decay. These next paragraphs are examples over interventions done by scholars without the goal of preserving the scrolls.

### **3.3 Intentional Destruction**

While there are many fragments that have decayed for reasons related to their natural properties or conservation issues, there are also a number of fragments that have been altered intentionally by scholars. Here, I will discuss two different techniques that scholars have used when working on the scrolls that have caused destruction to them: Cutting the scrolls and taking samples for radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) dating.

#### **3.3.1 Modern Cutting**

Torleif Elgvin and Årstein Justnes have written a forthcoming article that discusses the phenomenon of modern cutting and tearing of Dead Sea Scrolls.

DJD 15 describes this phenomenon when it describes 4Q72. This is also registered in the database on line 118:

*Columns XX–XXIII have been preserved in one long fragment, which includes most of columns XXI and XXII and portions of the preceding (XX) and following (XXIII) columns. In modern times these columns were separated from each other with a knife, before and after column XXI, as evidenced by photograph 41.175 taken prior to the cutting.*<sup>80</sup>

According to Elgvin and Justnes, this was mostly done to make storing and photographing easier. The conclusion states that “between 1954 and 1960, a small number of fragments were cut vertically, chiefly along intercolumnar margins, and seams were unpicked to separate pieces that had been sewn together (the linen thread appears to have been discarded).”<sup>81</sup> In addition to 4Q72, this probably explains 4Q76 (line 119 in the database), 4Q171 (line 167 in the database), and 4Q186 (lines 192 and 193 in the database) according to Elgvin and Justnes.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Ulrich et al. in DJD 15:181

<sup>81</sup> Forthcoming: Torleif Elgvin and Årstein Justnes, “Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments” (n.d.).

<sup>82</sup> Elgvin and Justnes, “Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments.”

4Q114 (line 137 in the database) is a special case. A fragment from 4Q114 was cut some time around 1956: “In order to mount all the fragments vertically, frg. 4 was cut between cols. II and III and divided into two sections (4a and 4b).”<sup>83</sup> After this happened, this fragment was stolen together with other fragments of the same manuscript: “That afternoon I noticed the further loss of three pieces from Daniel<sup>c</sup>; there too the plate was the top one in a pile—it had been opened in the same way—and the largest pieces taken.”<sup>84</sup> Theft is a phenomenon I will discuss more in-depth in Chapter 4.

Another special case is 4Q365, line 237 in the database. A fragment from this manuscript has been described as missing in DJD 13<sup>85</sup>, but DJD 13 also says this:

*The two photographs on plate XVI show two stages in the transmission of frg. 23. PAM 41.402 shows frg. 23 in its original condition, while PAM 43.366 shows the fragment after it was cut into two pieces with a razor blade (so we have been told) during the process of restoration in order to make readable the letters in the crease.*<sup>86</sup>

In the database, it is placed in the category of missing fragments because it is missing now, but we also know that it was destroyed by modern cutting before it went missing. This is also a brilliant example that shows the flexibility and movement of the material. This fragment went from being destroyed to going missing, did the latter have anything to do with the former? It’s hard to tell. This also tells us that we need to keep updating our information and knowledge about the material, it is not enough to have them photographed a few times in the 1950s and 1960s. Since the material is changing, we need to try to keep track of these changes. As will be made clear, this work has not been done in the past, but that only means that we need to strive towards full knowledge about the material right now and keep updating our knowledge going forward.

This phenomenon does not explain the majority of the destroyed fragments but certainly is important to include in our discussion here. The most important aspect of this is the fact that these cuts do not seem to be documented properly when they happen, making it difficult for

---

<sup>83</sup> Elgvin and Justnes, “Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments.”

<sup>84</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 464.

<sup>85</sup> Attridge et al. in DJD 13:265 says “This fragment cannot be located in the Rockefeller Museum.”

<sup>86</sup> Attridge et al. in DJD 13:291 n. 2



scholars to explain the current material properties of the fragments. Transparency and documentation can ease many of the challenges with this issue.

### 3.3.2 <sup>14</sup>C Analysis

Another process by which fragments have been destroyed is through destructive testing methods such as <sup>14</sup>C analysis. According to some sources, about 25 scrolls have been tested using this method, but as I will show in the following chapter, not all information regarding <sup>14</sup>C analyses has been published.

The <sup>14</sup>C analysis is a destructive analysis because the piece being tested must be burned to even perform the test. The <sup>14</sup>C analysis looks for a special type of carbon isotope, namely the unstable carbon isotope carbon 14. “Plants and animals assimilate carbon 14 from carbon dioxide throughout their lifetimes. When they die, they stop exchanging carbon with the biosphere and their carbon 14 content then starts to decrease at a rate determined by the law of radioactive decay.”<sup>87</sup> Because the decreasing of carbon 14 follows a “law”, then it is possible to know how long this process has been going on for. Following that information, we can know how long it has been since a living organism was alive on earth.

The main point I want to make regarding <sup>14</sup>C analysis in connection with the topic of this thesis is that <sup>14</sup>C analysis causes destruction of the fragments. Whether this destruction is worth it when we look at what knowledge we gain from the analysis is a valid question, but not the main point of this specific discussion. Although it is not relevant for this thesis to do an in-depth exploration of this question, I will look at some of the aspects regarding this question.

On the one hand, if we see and value the fragments as ancient physical artifacts, then destroying parts of them on purpose is a very serious matter. No matter how you look at it, the pieces that are cut off and sent to <sup>14</sup>C analysis are gone forever. This is not something that happens by accident, this is something that people have done intentionally. On the other hand, how can we know that these fragments in fact are ancient artifacts without <sup>14</sup>C analysis? There is another way of dating an object with writing on it, the method is called paleography. Paleography is the knowledge about what handwriting looked like for a certain language at different times in

---

<sup>87</sup> Beta Analytic Testing Laboratory, “How Does Carbon Dating Work,” n.d., <https://www.radiocarbon.com/about-carbon-dating.htm>.

history. Based on this knowledge experts can determine when something was written. Frank Moore Cross writes this about paleography and the Dead Sea Scrolls:

*In the present state of paleographical study, therefore, we are enabled to draw a typological line of development of several script types, each appearing in scores if not hundreds of documents inscribed on a variety of materials, the evolution pegged by a series of absolute datings at intervals throughout the Herodian Age and the subsequent era between the two Jewish Revolts against Rome.*<sup>88</sup>

Even though Cross here is very positive and optimistic about paleographical dating, there are some issues with this method. It is not as certain as <sup>14</sup>C analyses but claims to be more exact. Meaning that <sup>14</sup>C analyses can with a higher level of certainty than paleography date something, but the dating spans sometimes over 100 years. Paleography dates writing with less certainty than <sup>14</sup>C analyses, but scholars often propose dates spanning only 10-25 years. While this level of precision is highly questionable, the combination of <sup>14</sup>C analyses and paleography can date the fragments with more certainty than one of the methods can do alone.<sup>89</sup>

On the other hand, the material of the Dead Sea Scrolls is so massive that destroying a few minor pieces, mostly pieces without writing, can be justified. The question is only if the knowledge gained from the <sup>14</sup>C analysis is worth the destruction it causes. This is not a question that can be answered scientifically, we cannot correctly put numbers into a calculator and receive the correct answer.

Regarding the topic of destroyed fragments, the thing I will prioritize in this chapter, is the fact that <sup>14</sup>C analyses caused irreparable destruction to several fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The main issue that is relevant to the topic of this thesis is transparency. It doesn't matter if the changes that happened to the fragments were accidental, natural, or done with intention. It doesn't matter if the changes done to the fragments were *good* or *worth the damage*. The problem is that things are being done to the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus without

---

<sup>88</sup> Frank M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Paleography and Epigraphy* (Brill, 2003), 5.

<sup>89</sup> See Mladen Popovic's research project: European Research Council, "The Hands That Wrote the Bible: Digital Paleography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 2015, <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/640497>.

any decent documentation, sometimes without any documentation at all. The DJD series was published before many of these changes to the fragments happened, so only looking there to gain knowledge about the state of the physical fragments is not adequate.

We know that a handful of fragments have been cut in order to perform  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses on them<sup>90</sup>, but it has proved to be incredibly hard to find out which specific fragments have been tested. Because of this difficulty, I will not present any conclusive total number. I assume that at least 30 fragments have been tested, but I the number is with all probability higher.

In the early to mid-nineties, two different series of  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses were performed. The first series of tests performed by the Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) at a lab belonging to the Zurich Institute of Technology in 1991.<sup>91</sup> The other series of tests was also performed by the AMS at a lab belonging to the University of Arizona in 1994-1995.<sup>92</sup> In addition to these two series of tests, Willard Libby performed a test of a piece of linen.<sup>93</sup> Libby is the man who invented the  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis. According to Taylor and Bar-Yosef, the lab in Zurich performed tests on eight fragments and the lab at the University of Arizona performed tests on eighteen fragments.<sup>94</sup>

There is an ERC funded project headed by Mladen Popovic<sup>95</sup> that is also doing  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing on Dead Sea Scroll fragments. In a YouTube video<sup>96</sup>, Hans van der Plicht from the University of Groningen says that they have taken 30 samples starting from the end of 2016. These tests were taken on both papyrus and parchment, but not on any thread. According to Popovic, the selection of which material to sample happened in close collaboration with the IAA. Some of

---

<sup>90</sup> The  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses prove the antiquity of the scrolls, even though the dating often spans over 100 years while dating using paleography is more exact. Sometimes the use of Castor oil on the fragments has affected the  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses because the  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses have dated the modern Castor oil, and not the ancient parchment/papyrus.

<sup>91</sup> Georges Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 34.3 (1992): 834–49.

<sup>92</sup> A. J. Timothy Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 11–19.

<sup>93</sup> Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls."

<sup>94</sup> R. E. Taylor and Ofer Bar-Yosef, *Radiocarbon Dating: An Archaeological Perspective*, Second edition. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc, 2014), 40.

<sup>95</sup> European Research Council, "The Hands That Wrote the Bible: Digital Paleography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

<sup>96</sup> Religion, Culture and Society: University of Groningen, "Hans van Der Plicht (University of Groningen) Radiocarbon Dating the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Youtube.Com*, 20 April 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z0osmcXwggY&t=>.

the examples in the following paragraphs will also show that there has (probably) been taken more samples for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing than the ones listed by Taylor and Bar-Yosef. In the same video, van der Plicht also says that out of the 30 samples that was taken, not all of them were completely destroyed<sup>97</sup>, only up to ten of fifteen percent of the individual samples. Also, because of new  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing methods, the samples only need to be “less than fifteen micro grams of carbon.”<sup>98</sup>

### 3.3.2.1 Examples

In this first example, we will look at a fragment that was tested by the University of Arizona in 1994/1995<sup>99</sup>, but there is still something peculiar about the test performed on this fragment. The fragment in question is from 4Q258 (line 213 in the database).

Compare this PAM photo from 1960, to the photograph taken in 2015:

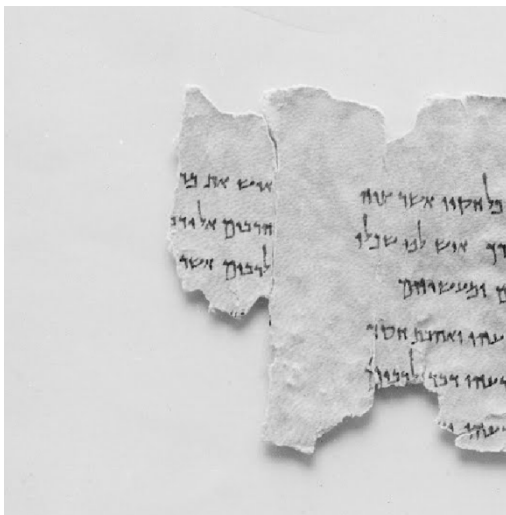


Illustration 3<sup>100</sup>

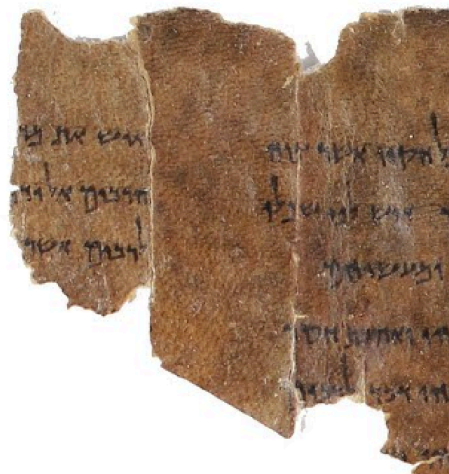


Illustration 4<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Religion, Culture and Society: University of Groningen, “Hans van Der Plicht (University of Groningen) Radiocarbon Dating the Dead Sea Scrolls.” 26.30-26.48

<sup>98</sup> Religion, Culture and Society: University of Groningen, “Hans van Der Plicht (University of Groningen) Radiocarbon Dating the Dead Sea Scrolls.” 31.00-31.07

<sup>99</sup> Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert.”

<sup>100</sup> PAM 43.244 from February 1960. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284690>

<sup>101</sup> Plate 140 from April 2015. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496193>

This is a piece that seems to be without any writing that has been cut for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing. It seems to have been the practice to cut pieces without any writing on them and use that for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing. But in this case, the piece that is removed is very large, larger than other known examples.

Because it is known that  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing was performed on this fragment, and because the cut is so clean, it is natural to assume that this piece is also missing due to  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing. But when it comes to the  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing, we don't really know a lot. We don't know why the piece taken from this fragment was larger than other examples of  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing (see illustrations 7-10 on the following pages). Could something else have happened to the fragment in addition to the  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing? As the situation is now, we only know that this manuscript is on a list of manuscripts that have had  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing performed on them.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> Taylor and Bar-Yosef, *Radiocarbon Dating*, 40.

Some fragments have probably or certainly been cut for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing, but they are not published in any official record. One of these examples is 4Q216 (line 202 in database). In the images available it is easy to spot the small piece that has been removed for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing:

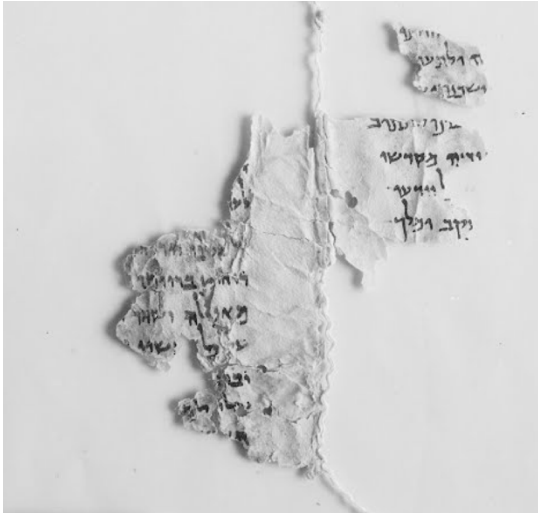


Illustration 5<sup>103</sup>

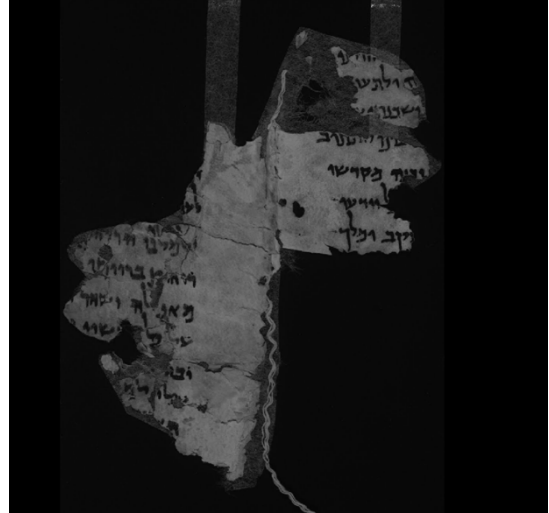


Illustration 6<sup>104</sup>

Here we see that the small piece just right of the string connecting the two pieces of parchment has been cut. The cut is straight, so we know it's unlikely to be due to natural deterioration. According to the PAM photo, there doesn't seem to have been any text on the piece that was removed for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing. That claim is also substantiated by the fact that the piece is taken from the left margin. Also, note how the thread used to sew the two pieces together has become distinctly shorter since 1960. According to Matthew Monger, this was also cut for  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis.<sup>105</sup>

Matthew Monger has published an article on this specific manuscript and has dedicated a few paragraphs to the  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing that has been done on this fragment. He writes that "I discovered that 3 separate samples were taken from the fragments of sheet 1 of 4Q216 in 2003 and 2004

---

<sup>103</sup> PAM 43.185 from January 1960. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284632>

<sup>104</sup> Plate 385, fig. 11 from June 2013. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-361565>

<sup>105</sup> Matthew Phillip Monger, "4Q216 - A New Material Analysis," *Semitica*.60 (2018): 320–22.

by Magen Broshi and sent for  $^{14}\text{C}$  analysis ... Two samples were from blank space in the margins and one sample is from the thread used to stitch together the two sheets of 4Q216.”<sup>106</sup>

How do we know that this piece was removed for  $^{14}\text{C}$  testing? Monger continues by saying that “At the positions where the samples were taken, the plates were marked with an outline of the fragment, the date, and ‘Carbon 14.’”<sup>107</sup>

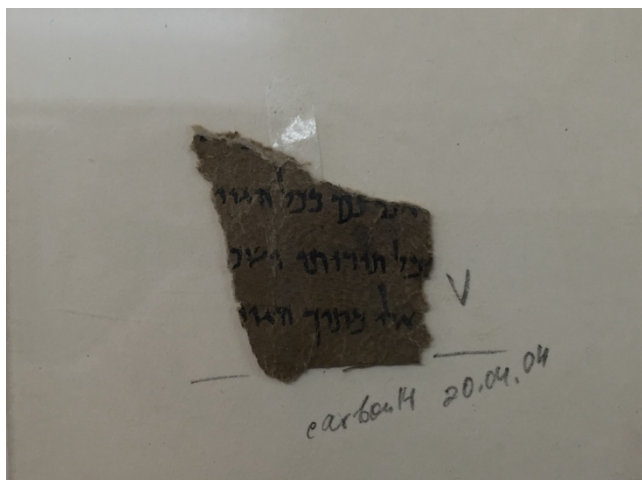


Illustration 7<sup>108</sup>

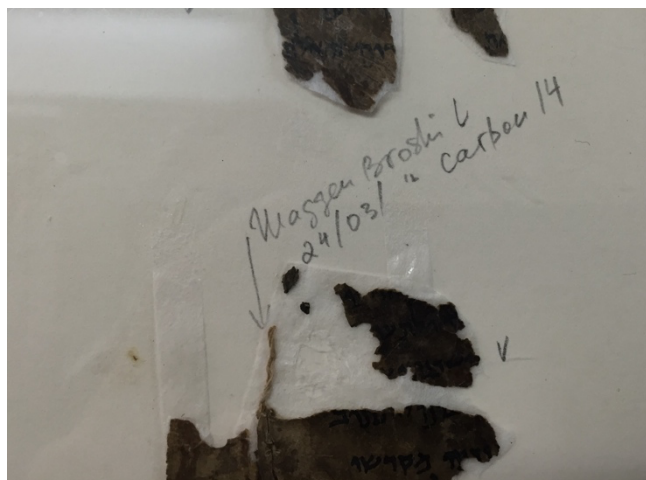


Illustration 8<sup>109</sup>

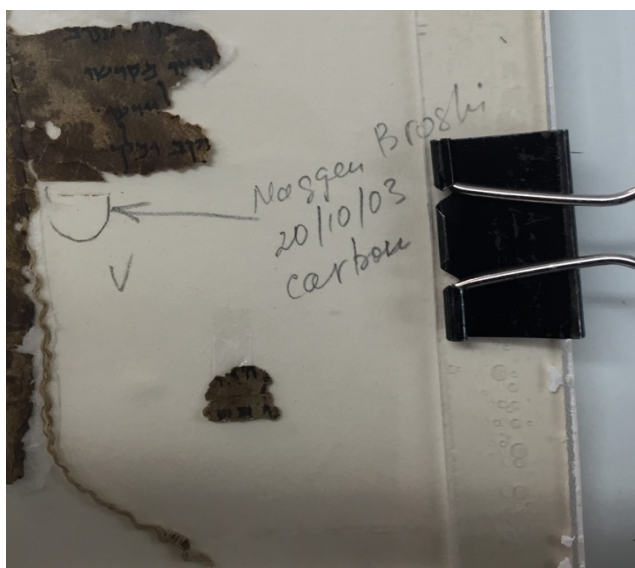


Illustration 9<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Monger, “4Q216 - A New Material Analysis,” 320.

<sup>107</sup> Monger, “4Q216 - A New Material Analysis,” 230.

<sup>108</sup> Photo taken by Matthew Monger, 2016

<sup>109</sup> Photo taken by Matthew Monger, 2016

<sup>110</sup> Photo taken by Matthew Monger, 2016

According to Monger, the IAA has a database of the <sup>14</sup>C testing that has been performed on Dead Sea Scroll fragments and the results of said testing. But this database is not available to the public, and neither are the results of the analysis of these three pieces. Monger got to look at the IAA database back in 2016 when he worked on this article, and he said that the results of one of these analyses dated the piece to the period 160-1 BCE.<sup>111</sup> Before Monger published his article in 2018, there was no record of what happened to 4Q216 or any report of <sup>14</sup>C testing. It is a problem on our road toward full knowledge of the material of the Dead Sea Scrolls that scholars have altered the fragments without making information public about what has been done.

Another possible example of a fragment cut for <sup>14</sup>C testing is 4Q76 (line 120 in the database). A photo taken in 2013 clearly shows three pieces being cut from the fragment (see illustration 10). Without any additional information, we cannot confirm whether this cutting was done to perform <sup>14</sup>C testing or not, but it is hard to imagine any other reasons for cutting a fragment in such a way.<sup>112</sup>

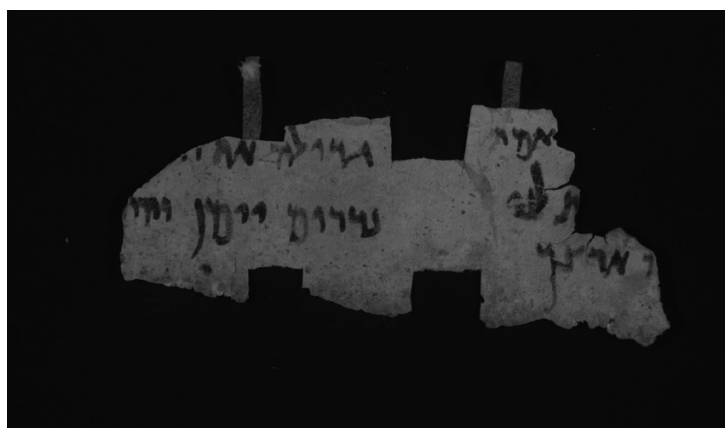


Illustration 10<sup>113</sup>

Both examples presented above show that there is no full overview over <sup>14</sup>C analyses performed on the Dead Sea Scroll material. The physical evidence, namely the information

---

<sup>111</sup> Monger, “4Q216 - A New Material Analysis,” 320.

<sup>112</sup> This is also commented on in Elgvin and Justnes, “Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments.” (They refer to the fragment as frg. 18 in the DJD series, but on the Leon Levy site the fragment is called frg. 6)

<sup>113</sup> Plate 314, frg. 6 from July 2013. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360666>



written down by Magen Broshi in the first case, and the photograph in the second case, seem to point very clearly toward  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses. To conclude, there are no official record of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  analyses that have been performed. That means that we don't know how many fragments have been cut for this testing, and we don't know which fragments have been cut.

### ***3.4 Conclusion***

In this chapter, I have looked at the category of destroyed fragments. I have shown different ways, either intentional or unintentional that fragments have been destroyed. The most concerning category is the unknown number of fragments have been cut to perform  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating. These are intentional and largely undocumented permanent alterations done to the fragments in scholarly hands.

Going forward in this thesis, my focus will be on the fragments in the “missing fragments” category, not the “destroyed fragments.” In the following chapter, I will show that while we have explanations for a few of the missing fragments, there are still a lot on unanswered questions regarding these fragments as well.

## 4 Missing Fragments

In the previous chapter, I dealt with the phenomenon of destroyed fragments. In this chapter, I will be moving move on to the phenomenon of missing fragments. In the last chapter, I explained that the category *destroyed fragments* describes fragments that have changed since their discovery. This means fragments that have become smaller due to small pieces having been chipped off, either intentionally or unintentionally, fragments where the leather has changed due to conservation techniques or natural deterioration. Following from the definition of destroyed fragments, missing fragments are fragments where the whole fragment is missing or claimed to be missing. When we take a step away from the destroyed fragments in the database, we are left with the missing fragments which will be focus of this chapter. This chapter will look at examples of actual and possible explanations for how or why fragments are missing.

In this chapter, I will present the subcategories of missing fragments, *Migrating fragments*, *loot*, *souvenirs*, and *gifts*, and *unaccounted for fragments*. The two first categories explain a handful of the specific missing fragments. The last category shows other possible explanations for the missing fragments that have not been explained by the two first categories.

### 4.1 Migrating Fragments

#### 4.1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we are looking at a few fragments that are identified as missing in different volumes of DJD, but which have recently been located *on a different plate* than where the editors expected to find them. These are what Stephen A. Reed calls *Migrating Fragments*.<sup>114</sup> This category explains some of the losses noted in the database: The fragments are described as missing even though they are actually on different plates together with different manuscripts, indicating that the later editors did not know that the fragments had been moved. Stephen A. Reed has noted several occasions where a fragment was initially grouped with one manuscript and then grouped with another at another time. When this happened, the fragment was first photographed on one plate before being photographed on another plate. This has led to one

---

<sup>114</sup> Stephen A. Reed, “Migrating Fragments of Cave 4,” Forthcoming.

editor reporting a fragment as missing, not knowing that the fragment in question was placed with a different manuscript.

This phenomenon is, as of now, the phenomenon that provides explanations for the highest number of concrete missing fragments. In this thesis, I will only give examples of some of them, but Stephen A. Reed and Eibert Tigchelaar have done more work on this topic and have published more examples of this than I will do here. Future systematic research will likely reveal that additional fragments that are categorized as missing may be explained as migrating fragments.

At least the possibility of migrating fragments was described as early as 1991. Back in 1991, journalist Felice Maranz quotes archeologist Joe Zias from Israel Antiquities Authority saying this: “For example, someone will take a fragment from plate 1 and put it on plate 5. These things are in a state of flux. The scholars keep track of it themselves.”<sup>115</sup> Despite the fact that this phenomenon had been recorded, there was no systematic research done on the topic until Stephen A. Reed and Eibert Tigchelaar started working on the matter.<sup>116</sup> They have been able to explain the current location of a number of the fragments that are described as missing in DJD. In my research, I have found no evidence pointing towards the scholars actually keeping track of these changes that Zias mentions to Maranz, no one mentions any record of the movements. This seems to be evidence of a lack of communication between the scholars in charge of editing the fragments and the scholars in charge of the “bigger picture.” There was no central registry that kept track of the whereabouts of the individual fragments.

#### 4.1.2 Examples of Migrating Fragments

A fragment noted as missing in DJD 15 is found on line 115 in the database. The fragment is from 4Q68, and this is what DJD 15 says about the disappearance: “The fragment cannot be located in the museum, but the photograph is presumably clearer than the fragment itself.”<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

<sup>116</sup> Reed, “Migrating Fragments of Cave 4”; KU Leuven Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, “Eibert Tigchelaar,” n.d., <https://theo.kuleuven.be/en/research/researchers/00062160/view?pubsonpage=20&sortby=scdate&fromnr=1&pubtype=#pubs>.

<sup>117</sup> Ulrich et al. in DJD 15:137

In the forthcoming article by Stephen A. Reed<sup>118</sup>, he gives several examples of Migrating Fragments, and the missing fragment from 4Q68 is one of them. Reed writes that fragment 2 of 4Q68 (4QIsaiah<sup>o</sup>), is also published as fragment E of 4Q364 (4QRP<sup>b</sup>). The fragment can be seen as part of 4Q364 4QRP<sup>b</sup> in DJD 13 on plate XXI in (1994)<sup>119</sup>, and again as part of 4Q68 in DJD 15 on plate XXIII in (1997).<sup>120</sup> In PAM 42.029 taken in April 1956 we see the fragment is placed as part of 4Q68. In PAM 43.158 from November of 1959, the fragment has been moved again and is now placed among fragments of 4Q364 and some Isaiah fragments.<sup>121</sup> In PAM 43.363 from April of 1960, things have shifted again, and the fragment is now placed among only the fragments of 4Q364.<sup>122</sup> On PAM 43.014, taken in July 1969, the fragment is back with 4Q68.

According to Reed, Eugene Ulrich did not believe the fragment belonged with the 4Q68 manuscript, and according to Ulrich, neither did Patrick W. Skehan, who originally worked with 4Q68.<sup>123</sup> Ulrich notes that the fragment is missing in DJD 15,<sup>124</sup> but we can know that this fragment is not physically missing because the Leon Levy website has pictures of the fragment in question from June 2013 (B-363885<sup>125</sup> and B-363884<sup>126</sup>). Reed continues discussing the matter by claiming that maybe Skehan and John Strugnell, the original editors, both knew about the shifting of this fragment. Still, it does not seem to have been communicated to the new editors, Eugene Ulrich, Emanuel Tov, and Sidnie White.<sup>127</sup>

This example proves that fragments migrating from one plate to another, from one manuscript to another, is something that actually happened. It also shows the lack of communication between editors and the obvious lack of any individual inventory registry. If there had been a registry where every fragment had an individual inventory number, and the placement of every fragment was written down with room for updates, then Ulrich probably wouldn't have claimed that the fragment is missing in DJD 15. Even if there had been a mistake, and Ulrich didn't

---

<sup>118</sup> Reed, "Migrating Fragments of Cave 4."

<sup>119</sup> See Attridge et al. in DJD 13:187

<sup>120</sup> See Ulrich et al. in DJD 15:135

<sup>121</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284940>

<sup>122</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284395>

<sup>123</sup> See Ulrich et al. in DJD 15:137

<sup>124</sup> See Ulrich et al. in DJD 15:135

<sup>125</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363885>

<sup>126</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363884>

<sup>127</sup> Reed, "Migrating Fragments of Cave 4."

check the registry to see where the fragment could have gone, then having a registry would make it easier for scholars after him to track down the fragment. As the situation is now, scholars are left with looking at old PAM photos and trying to find recognizable fragments.

### 4.1.3 Fragments with two Identifications

Another type of migrating fragments that Reed presents in his article are fragments that have been identified as belonging to two different manuscripts and have two different transliterations.<sup>128</sup> A fragment on the bottom left of PAM 43.514<sup>129</sup> is also found on the left side, on the lower part of PAM 43.534<sup>130</sup> (see line 293 in the database). The same fragment has been identified as part of both 4Q185 and 4Q419 by two different editors. In DJD 5, editor John Allegro understood the fragment as being a part of 4Q185 and transliterated the fragment like this:

5  
 ]ו  
 מיפ  
 הדו

Illustration 13<sup>131</sup>

While in DJD 36, editor Sarah Tanzer understood the fragment as being a part of 4Q419 and transliterated the fragment like this:

ח	1
מיפ]	2
הדבר	3

Illustration 14<sup>132</sup>

<sup>128</sup> I owe this example to Charles Comerford and Stephen A. Reed

<sup>129</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284542>

<sup>130</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284562>

<sup>131</sup> Allegro in DJD 5:87

<sup>132</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:332

This example shows how a single fragment can be transliterated differently and be used in two distinct manuscripts. Tanzer, editor of the later volume, doesn't seem aware of the double publication. She does comment that the small fragments of 4Q185 could be a part of 4Q419, and highlights how "the script of 4Q185 closely resembles that of frg. 11."<sup>133</sup> It is very peculiar that she mentioned the specific fragment 11 and says it's similar to 4Q185 without noting that the fragment was actually published as part of 4Q185 35 years earlier. If she knew about the double publication, it would make sense for her to note the movement of the fragment. Because she doesn't mention it, I assume she hadn't noticed. Reed notes that the fragment was not "physically moved to museum plate 509 (B-371371) of the fragments of 4Q419."<sup>134</sup> Reed makes this remark probably because in June of 1960, the fragment in question is among 4Q185 on PAM 43.514 and among 4Q419 on PAM 43.534. They are from the same group of negatives, meaning that they might have been taken on the same day even. The fragment in question is now on plate 801 together with 4Q185, the same manuscript it was originally published with. This I assume because there is a photograph of the fragment on plate 801<sup>135</sup> from 2012 where the fragment is present. Knowing all this information, the most likely scenario is that the fragment was moved back and forth between plate 509 and 801 on the same day. With limited to no information about this move available, I am left with guessing about how the fragment moved. I find it most likely that the fragment was moved from plate 509 to 801 one day in June 1960 and stayed there at least until 2012.

Sarah Tanzer, the editor who published 4Q419 and thought the fragment belonged to this manuscript most likely worked with PAM photos, and not the physical plates. If she had worked with the physical plates, then the fragment in question would not even be there, and it would never have been published as a part of two manuscripts at all.

I have made a table to show the movements of the fragment over time. On several of the PAM photos, there are multiple plates and sigla listed. I only list either plate 509 and 801, and 4Q185

---

<sup>133</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:321

<sup>134</sup> Reed, "Migrating Fragments of Cave 4."

I believe Reed makes this statement based on physical observation of the plates in question.

<sup>135</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298321>

and 4Q419 since they are the only relevant ones to the specific fragment. There is no way of understanding which fragments the scholars at the time of photography thought belonged to which plates of manuscripts.

<b>Date</b> <sup>136</sup>	<b>PAM photo</b>	<b>Plate</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>
October 1954	41.320 <sup>137</sup>	801	4Q185
August 1955	41.798 <sup>138</sup>	509	4Q419
August 1955	41.798 <sup>139</sup>	801	4Q185
April 1956	41.999 <sup>140</sup>	801	4Q185
April 1960	43.439 <sup>141</sup>	801	4Q185
June 1960	43.514 <sup>142</sup>	801	4Q185
June 1960	43.534 <sup>143</sup>	509	4Q419
January 2012	Not a PAM photo, but B-298321 <sup>144</sup>	801	4Q185

It is interesting to make note of the fact that the fragments are placed differently on PAM 43.439 and PAM 43.514 (see PAM photos on the following page), even though the pictures were taken only two months apart. In addition to someone adding some fragments, the three fragments in

---

<sup>136</sup> The dates of all the PAM photos are checked against “The Photographer’s Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 21.12.1947 and March 1961” published as an appendix to Emanuel Tov et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, microform (Leiden : New York: IDC ; E.J. Brill, 1993) 158-160.

<sup>137</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-288558>

<sup>138</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280217>

<sup>139</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280217>

<sup>140</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280449>

<sup>141</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284473>

<sup>142</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284542>

<sup>143</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284562>

<sup>144</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298321>

the bottom left corner of PAM 43.439 are placed much closer together than they are in PAM 43.514. What prompted this movement of the fragments on the same plate? This shows how much fluctuation there was on the plates in these early years. Not only did fragments get moved to different plates, but they were also moved around on the same plate. Again, without any inventory lists, the work of tracing all of these moves are almost impossible.



Illustration 10<sup>145</sup>



Illustration 11<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>145</sup> PAM 43.439 from April 1960. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284473>

<sup>146</sup> PAM 43.514 from June 1960. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284542>



It is also apparent from the photo from 2011 that the fragment has deteriorated since being photographed in June 1960. What used to be a single fragment, has become a reconstructed fragment.

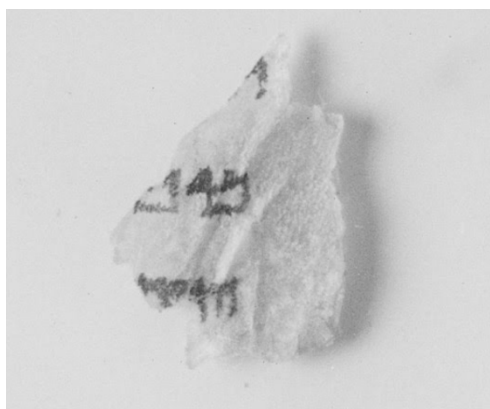


Illustration 12<sup>147</sup>



Illustration 13<sup>148</sup>

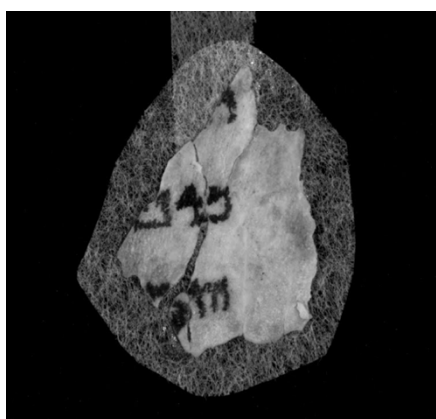


Illustration 14<sup>149</sup>

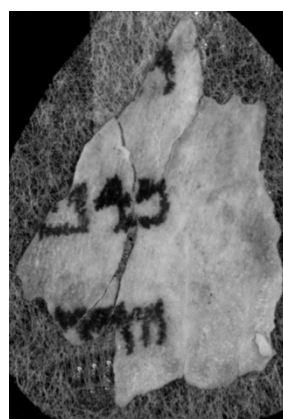


Illustration 15<sup>150</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> PAM 43.534 from June 1960 (here the fragment is placed together with 4Q419). Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284562>

<sup>148</sup> PAM 43.514 from June 1960 (here the fragment is placed together with 4Q185). Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Najib Anton Albina. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284542>

<sup>149</sup> Plate 801, frg. 6 from November 2011. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295937>

<sup>150</sup> Reconstruction by Matthew Monger based on the photo from November 2011. Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). Photograph: Shai Halevi. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295937>

The original single fragment has split into at least three single pieces. It appears that at some point between 1960 and the early 2010s, the fragment came apart, and a piece at the bottom was placed upside down in this physical reconstruction that was photographed in 2011 (see illustration 19). Matthew Monger made a digital reconstruction of how the three pieces should fit together (see illustration 20). Here, the small piece on the bottom that was placed wrong in the physical reconstruction has been turned the right way digitally.

This example shows that sometimes it is not just the placement and whereabouts of the fragment that is affected by migrating fragments. Sometimes the words/letters of the fragment gain two different meanings. Migrating fragments don't just affect the Dead Sea Scrolls as physical artifacts, but it affects the content of them. Maybe it is also possible to argue that the transliteration and translation of small fragments are affected by which context the editor views the fragment in light of. This example also shows the type of deterioration of the fragments that is not unusual and happens to the fragments over time.

#### 4.1.4 DJD 33: Miscellaneous Fragments

Reed deals separately with the migrating fragments of DJD 33 since DJD 33 is a volume containing miscellaneous fragments. The fragments of DJD 33 distinguish themselves from other fragments published in other DJD volumes because they are not published as manuscripts. In the introduction of DJD 33, Emanuel Tov describes the volume like this:

*Volume XXXIII contains unclassified and unidentified fragments from Qumran which are herewith brought to the attention of specialists with the idea that some fragments may be identified subsequently as belonging to specific compositions published elsewhere.*<sup>151</sup>

To sum up, DJD 33 is a volume comprised of fragments that have not been connected to an identified manuscript or composition. As one of the editors of the volume writes, “the official publication of the fragments in this volume assists in obtaining the goal of publishing all of the

---

<sup>151</sup> Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:xi

textual material from cave 4.”<sup>152</sup> In the general introduction, the editors also clarify what is meant by the term “unclassified” and “unidentified”:

*The term ‘unclassified’ relates to groups of fragments which reflect an undetermined number of compositions, while the term ‘unidentified’ refers to the remains of a specific unidentified composition.*<sup>153</sup>

What I believe the editors are trying to say here is that ‘unidentified’ means fragments that have been grouped together because they are believed to belong to the same, but currently unidentified, manuscript. These groupings are likely based on similarities in handwriting, the color of the ink, color, thickness, and surface of the parchment or papyrus. An example of one of these unidentified compositions is 4Q346a (4QUnidentified Fragment A).

Subsequently, I believe they understand ‘unclassified’ to mean fragments to unknown or unidentified manuscripts or compositions. To say it more clearly: the unclassified fragments are not connected to any other fragments. The fragments published in DJD 33 are often very small, so they have few distinguishing factors, making it very hard to make any certain identifications.

Eibert Tigchelaar has done extensive work identifying miscellaneous fragments from DJD 33. One example is that he identifies fragment 81 from PAM 43.660<sup>154</sup> as a fragment belonging to 4Q319. Tigchelaar bases this on the script, saying that the handwriting is the same as in 4Q319.<sup>155</sup> This is an example of what the editors of DJD 33 hoped would happen: Scholars would connect the miscellaneous fragments published in DJD 33 to other known manuscripts.

Another interesting thing about DJD 33 regarding the topic of this thesis is the overrepresentation of fragments from DJD 33 being reported as missing. The database includes around 450 possibly missing fragments in DJD 33 alone. The editors of DJD 33 believed that these possibly missing fragments had been identified and have been put together with other fragments from the same manuscript. Still, it does not seem that effort was made to check this

---

<sup>152</sup> Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:xiii

<sup>153</sup> Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:l

<sup>154</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285439>

<sup>155</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.660 Frag. 81 (IAA Plate 92, Frag. 63) a 4Q319 (4QOtot) Fragment,” 2021.

at the museum, and there is no record of which manuscripts these fragments were matched with. In 39 of the 41 entries in DJD 33, the editors have copied and pasted this exact sentence: “In most cases they have been identified, but their present location is not known.” The suspicion that this is a sentence that has just been copied and pasted is further substantiated when the sentence is used both regarding, e.g., 19 missing fragments, but also regarding, e.g., two missing fragments.<sup>156</sup> It makes sense to use the wording “in most cases” when talking about over ten fragments, but it seems artificial when talking about only two fragments.

The way the fragments of DJD 33 have been published and dealt with after publication shows something I will discuss more in-depth in the last chapter, namely that fragments are valued based on their identification, not because they are ancient artifacts. This contributes to the dissonance between the way the Dead Sea Scrolls are talked about by the media and the way scholars have treated the scrolls. Examples of this are shown in the introduction to this thesis.

#### 4.1.4.1 Examples from DJD 33

In the database, there are several entries from DJD 33. They are entered under their PAM numbers since the fragments have not been identified with any manuscripts. Stephen Reed writes<sup>157</sup> that fragments 14 and 15 on PAM 43.679<sup>158</sup> (see line 470 of the database) were moved by John Strugnell. The fragments were placed among 4Q158 to make a reconstructed fragment together with fragment 14 originally from 4Q158. This move can be seen on PAM 44.180<sup>159</sup> from 1963 and, more recently, on plate 138<sup>160</sup> in 2012. The first photograph where the fragments are presented, PAM 43.679, is taken in 1960, so the fragments were moved within three years and many years before the publication of DJD 33 in 2001. By the time of publication of DJD 33 the editors didn't seem to have full knowledge of which fragments in DJD 33 had been identified with and moved another manuscript/plate. Reed also writes that fragment 21 on

---

<sup>156</sup> 19 missing fragments: PAM 43.660, Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:11

2 missing fragments: PAM 43.695, Pike and Skinner in DJD 33:257

<sup>157</sup> Reed, “Migrating Fragments of Cave 4.”

<sup>158</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285458>

<sup>159</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285021>

<sup>160</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298174>

PAM 43.676<sup>161</sup> (see line 467 of the database) has been moved and is now fragment 8 of 4Q91. The fragment can be seen on plate 1151.<sup>162</sup>

#### 4.1.5 A Possibly Located Migrating Fragment

In DJD 5, John Allegro published a manuscript he called 4Q172 pUnid.<sup>163</sup> What is called fragment 6 in this manuscript is also published as fragment 8 of manuscript 4Q390 in DJD 30.<sup>164</sup> Interestingly, the fragment is not included in the introduction written by the editors in DJD 30, where they only mention the other seven fragments.<sup>165</sup> The fragment is first found on PAM 41.858<sup>166</sup> (october 1955), a PAM photo that includes both 4Q172 and 4Q390, then on PAM 42.623<sup>167</sup> (july 1958) as a part of 4Q172, and lastly on PAM 43.421<sup>168</sup> (april 1960) also as a part of 4Q172. There are no photographs of 4Q172 other than the old PAM photos from the late 40s and early 60s. There are newer photographs of 4Q390, but this fragment is not on any of them. Since the two latest sightings of the fragment is in PAM photos, including 4Q172 I find it likely that the fragment is grouped with 4Q172 and not 4Q390. But since no new photos on the Leon Levy website are available, I have no way of knowing where the fragment is today.<sup>169</sup> This specific fragment is not noted as missing in either DJD 5 or DJD 30, but it is in the database since there are no new photos of it.<sup>170</sup>

It is unclear what the photo of the fragment on plate XVIII in DJD 5 represents. The photo looks very different from the photo on plate XI in DJD 30. The plates in the DJD volumes are not always actual plates; the fragments are sometimes digitally cut from possibly several photos and edited together on an ‘artificial’ plate. For example, plate XI in DJD 30 says that the fragments are taken from PAM 41.858 and PAM 43.506. It is noted under fragment 8 that this specific fragment is from PAM 41.858.<sup>171</sup> The term ‘plate’ can be confusing because the fragments are also organized on museum plates with individual numbers. The plates in the DJD

---

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285455>

<sup>162</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496188>

<sup>163</sup> Allegro in DJD 5:52

<sup>164</sup> Dimant in DJD 30:253

<sup>165</sup> Dimant in DJD 30:235

<sup>166</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280298>

<sup>167</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284034>

<sup>168</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284454>

<sup>169</sup> I owe this example also to Stephen A. Reed: Reed, “Migrating Fragments of Cave 4.”

<sup>170</sup> See line 172 in the database.

<sup>171</sup> Dimant in DJD 30 pl. XI

volumes and the plates in the Rockefeller Museum do not correspond to each other, though sometimes complete museum plates were photographed and printed as plates in the DJD volumes.

This missing fragment is not clearly located again. We know that the fragment has migrated, but this migration does not explain the disappearance since we don't know the fragment's location today. But this example substantiates that the plates were in a state of flux for many years and that fragments did in fact migrate from plate to plate.

#### 4.1.6 Conclusion

What can we learn from migrating fragments? Firstly, we can learn that plates and manuscripts are not stable entities, they have been in a state of flux for many years. Especially manuscripts that have been edited by several editors are vulnerable to having their fragments moved around. If the final editor is not aware of the previous work done on the manuscript, it is more likely that changes in the fragments within the manuscript will occur. Although my goal of this thesis is not to pass blame, it becomes obvious that if a better system for inventory had been in place before the publication process began, the migrating fragments might have been less chaotic, and easier to follow.<sup>172</sup> I am not the first one to point out the lack of an inventory list, in 1967 William G. Dever also points out the difficulties the lack of an inventory list causes in research. In an article where he provides the readers of *The Biblical Archeologist* a status rapport after the Six Day War, he writes this: “Although the lack of a complete inventory of what was formerly in the possession of the Museum makes it difficult to be certain, they feel that nearly all of the thousands of fragments will eventually be accounted for.”<sup>173</sup>

Because the actual fragments have not been given individual inventory numbers, the only way to identify the miscellaneous fragments is their location on the museum plate. When these museum plates are in constant flux, as Strugnell wrote in the late 50s<sup>174</sup>, it becomes extremely difficult to keep track of the fragments. It seems like the scholars mostly cared about the reconstructed compositions, and not about the physical fragments and their whereabouts. I am not aware of any scholars attempting to keep track over these movements. When fragments

---

<sup>172</sup> Reed, “Migrating Fragments of Cave 4.”

<sup>173</sup> Dever, “Archaeology and the Six Day War,” 105.

<sup>174</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 439.

went from being miscellaneous, and they became a part of a composition, it seems like the scholars viewed the fragment as a prodigal son coming home. Now that the fragment was where it belonged all along, no need to look back at where it used to be. The fragments were moving towards a telos, a place of meaning. It was getting to the goal of this journey that mattered, not knowledge about the destination the fragment came from or what the road looked like. One concrete issue with this way of thinking is that now we have less knowledge about the physical fragments and the development of the manuscripts.

## ***4.2 Loot, Souvenirs, and Gifts: Fragments Intentionally Removed from the Collection***

This category contains fragments that have gone missing due to someone's intentional actions. This means that someone has either stolen them, or they have been given away or sold. It may sound unbelievable that fragments were just given away as souvenirs, but some examples of this exist. In addition to the examples we are aware of, we can only speculate that it may have happened more times than we don't know about.

The fragments that are discussed in this section are considered missing because they are no longer found in the museum collections and are not readily available elsewhere.<sup>175</sup> Further, all of the fragments discussed here are specific cases of missing fragments that we can explain. We know of specific fragments that have been stolen and given away. These cases are also intentional, as opposed to unintentional. When looking at all the missing fragments listed in the database, there is only a small percentage that the following phenomena can explain. But they are nonetheless an important contribution to understanding how so many fragments could be missing.

### **4.2.1 Stolen Fragments**

#### **4.2.1.1 Introduction**

Stories about stolen fragments have been known for a long time within the Dead Sea Scroll research community, but there has been a limited amount of critical investigation into the matter. Usually, the stories are told as interesting anecdotes rather than as something worth looking further into. There has not been any formal police investigation, and no one has been sentenced for theft of Dead Sea Scroll fragments in any court of law. In that regard, it may be more accurate to call these fragments "claimed to be stolen." One of the very few publications that attempt to gather information about the proposed thefts and understand what might have happened is an article from 1991 by journalist Felice Maranz. Her article has been cited several times during this thesis, and it will be cited several times in the following paragraphs.

---

<sup>175</sup> A number of authentic Dead Sea Scroll fragments are kept in other institutions. There are several plates of fragments housed at the National Library of France (*Bibliothèque nationale de France*) in Paris, some in Manchester (John Ryland's library), and others in Jordan.



William G. Dever reports from the time shortly after the Six Day War that the British School of Archaeology “had suffered only minor damage and some looting.”<sup>176</sup> Dever doesn’t report which specific fragments or objects he suspects to be stolen, but he claims that it did happen.

I will present three categories of sources for knowledge about the stolen fragments. At first, I will look at what Weston Fields writes about the stolen fragments. His source material is letters written by the earliest scholars right after the fragments disappeared. Second, I will look at what journalist Felice Maranz has written about the matter. According to my research, she is the only one, outside of Weston Fields, who has attempted to gather several stories of stolen or missing fragments into a coherent story. Unfortunately, this proved to be difficult since some of the scholars she talks to wouldn’t comment on the losses when the article was written. Lastly, I will present a few of the times other scholars have referred to stories about stolen fragments in other publications. One thing that will become clear is that although all these stories with high probability refer to the same five stolen fragments, some of the details don’t add up.

#### 4.2.1.2 Examples

##### 4.2.1.2.1 *Weston Fields*

Weston Fields is the founder of the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation, a foundation that “will initially direct its efforts toward raising funds for the preservation and publication of the scrolls. It will try to accelerate the publication process by funding the work of the more than 50 scholars who make up the official publication team.”<sup>177</sup> According to his own website, Fields is an “author and expert in the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”<sup>178</sup> He is maybe most known as the one who wrote and published the most complete version of the history of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 2009: *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History*.

Weston Fields cites several letters in his book from 2009. First, he writes about how Father Starcky, a member of the team of international scholars working on Qumran Cave 4 material, discovers that a fragment has disappeared. In a letter from the 26<sup>th</sup> of April 1960, Father Starcky reports a missing fragment. He doesn’t say anything about which manuscript the fragments are

---

<sup>176</sup> Dever, “Archaeology and the Six Day War,” 104.

<sup>177</sup> “Dead Sea Scroll Research Burgeoning,” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 1992.

<sup>178</sup> “Weston Fields,” n.d., <http://www.westonfields.com>.

from, but he says that the fragment is in the bottom left corner of PAM 41.894.<sup>179</sup> According to Weston Fields, the fragment was a Deuteronomy fragment.<sup>180</sup> James Tucker, on the other hand, claims that it is a fragment from 4QBeatitudes (see line 353 in the database).<sup>181</sup>

John Strugnell had also written a letter to Yusef Saad that Weston Fields has cited. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of April of the same year Strugnell reports the theft of a large Cave 4 Samuel fragment (see line 109 in the database):

*This morning at 1 p.m. [sic] I happened to notice that the large piece of the archaic manuscript of Samuel from Cave 4, which was bought for the museum by McCormick Seminary in 1958, was no longer on the plate where it had been. It was the largest piece on the plate - the other smaller pieces were still there.*<sup>182</sup>

When it comes to how the thief stole the fragment, Strugnell said this: “the thief broke one of these with an object blunter than a razor blade, and took the largest piece.”<sup>183</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1960, Strugnell adds that another three fragments from 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup> (see line 137 in the database) had been stolen. He claims that the method was the same as with the fragment from Samuel.<sup>184</sup>

In an interview with Weston Fields, Strugnell tells the story of how he was working on some 4QSamuel<sup>b</sup> fragments, took his lunch break, and returned to his desk where the fragments he had been working on were stolen. According to his recollection, a group of Scandinavian diplomats was there and whom he subtly blames for the theft.<sup>185</sup>

*When coming back after lunch, I noticed they were missing, and I called for Yusef Saad, and I told him they were missing. And he said, ‘I think I know what’s happened ... We were ... showing around a group of diplomats.’ And the question was, [would] there*

---

<sup>179</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280335>

<sup>180</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 464.

<sup>181</sup> James M. Tucker, 25 February 2021, [https://twitter.com/James\\_M\\_Tucker/status/1364831453637472260](https://twitter.com/James_M_Tucker/status/1364831453637472260).

<sup>182</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 463–64.

<sup>183</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 464.

<sup>184</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 464.

<sup>185</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 238.

*[be] any way that we could diplomatically find out and tell these people that we knew. There was no way of doing it.*<sup>186</sup>

Weston Fields reports a total of five fragments as stolen (see lines 109, 137, 353 in the database) in his book from 2006: “Unfortunately, from time to time, fragments were stolen from the scrollery: one of Deuteronomy<sup>187</sup>, a large one of Samuel, and three of Daniel.”<sup>188</sup> In a very vague way, Fields also adds that “a few other incidents of disappearing or stolen scrolls are even more mysterious.”<sup>189</sup> He does not elaborate on which fragments or incidents he speaks of here.

#### **4.2.1.2.2 Felice Maranz**

In Maranz’s article from 1991, she begins by saying that between three and ten fragments could be missing. John Strugnell confirms that “in terms of large fragments, altogether 10 are missing.”<sup>190</sup> In the rest of the article, she asks several key people within the publication team at the time. Emanuel Tov expresses certainty that the fragments will turn up again, and Frank Moore Cross claims that he knows what is missing and he knows that the missing fragments have been stolen. He does not disclose which fragments he knows are stolen. John Strugnell confirms that ten large fragments are missing, but he won’t tell the journalist which fragments are missing, while Joe Zias, an archeologist with the IAA, refuses to talk about the missing fragments at all.<sup>191</sup>

In her article, Maranz quotes John Strugnell as telling seemingly the same story he also told Fields. Strugnell has this to say to Maranz: “I came back after lunch, and noticed that some fragments were gone. I called the curator, and we decided to install a more efficient system of locks.”<sup>192</sup> Maranz says that according to her sources, the fragments that went missing at this incident were 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup>, she also adds that this supposedly happened in 1966.<sup>193</sup>

---

<sup>186</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 238.

<sup>187</sup> This is the aforementioned fragment that James Tucker confirms to be 4QBeatitudes.

<sup>188</sup> Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Short History*, 1st ed. (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2006), 51.

<sup>189</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 51.

<sup>190</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 1.

<sup>191</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 1–2.

<sup>192</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

<sup>193</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

Maranz gets Cross to comment on a possibly stolen fragment from 4QSamuel<sup>b</sup>: “It was the largest Samuel fragment we had ... Before the Six Day War, it was on display at the Rockefeller Museum. ‘We have no idea what happened to it. I don’t know how to explain it – whether it was Arabs in control of the museum, or soldiers, or some outside party.’”<sup>194</sup>

Steven Pfann confirms that some Daniel fragments are missing, but he is more concerned with the deterioration of the material as a whole.<sup>195</sup>

In summary, Maranz does very important work that no one has done before her. She confronts the scholars with critical questions about the whereabouts of the fragments. She is also the first, to my knowledge, who puts several of the stories of stolen fragments together. Usually, the stories of theft are told individually and without any critical work connected to it. Maranz’ article proved that missing fragments have been an issue for quite some time, and it shows how missing fragments have been an uncomfortable topic for scholars at least since the early 90s.

#### **4.2.1.2.3 Other sources**

There are also a few other places where scholars mention stolen fragments in passing. Hanan Eshel mentions stolen fragments in a chapter on the movements of the fragments after their discovery (see line 140 in the database):

*We should also mention three biblical fragments stolen from the Rockefeller Museum in 1966, when the members of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Kingdom of Jordan had been invited to view the scroll fragments. The three missing items are the largest fragment of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> and two fragments from the oldest Daniel scroll, 4QDan<sup>c</sup>. No one knows the whereabouts of these fragments today.*<sup>196</sup>

---

<sup>194</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

<sup>195</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 3.

<sup>196</sup> Hanan Eshel, “The Fate of Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present,” in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michaël Langlois (London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016), 41–42.

Eugene Ulrich also says in his edition of the Daniel fragments in DJD 16 that two fragments from Daniel<sup>c</sup> have been stolen: “the other two large fragments were lost (allegedly stolen) in 1956.”<sup>197</sup>

Finally, according to Stephen Reed’s catalog, fragments 1 and 2 from 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup> (4Q114) have been missing since 1957, although Reed does not say anything about the fragments having been stolen.<sup>198</sup> It is interesting to note that Eshel, Ulrich, and Reed claim that only two 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup> fragments are missing, while Strugnell (quoted by Fields) claims that three 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup> fragments were stolen.

#### **4.2.1.2.4 Conclusion**

There seem to be five fragments that we know have been stolen: One fragment from 4QBeatitudes, one fragment from 4QSamuel<sup>b</sup>, and three 4QDaniel<sup>c</sup> fragments. Weston Fields confirms this number in his book from 2006.<sup>199</sup> Where Maranz and Strugnell get ten missing fragments from is unknown.

The story where Strugnell left some fragments unsupervised while he had lunch, and came back to find them missing, has been claimed to have happened in both 1956 (Ulrich), 1960 (Fields), and 1966 (Maranz). We may assume that Fields is the one who got the year right since he cites both an interview he conducted with Strugnell and a letter that was written by Strugnell right after the incident. But it is interesting to note that it is so difficult to just find out exactly when a presumed theft happened. It is also difficult to know exactly what was stolen, and how many fragments were stolen in total.

Two things connect four of the five claimed to be stolen fragments presented above: The size of the fragments and their content: Biblical.<sup>200</sup> The four fragments that Strugnell reports as missing were all quite large and were all placed with other fragments that were not taken, meaning that if the thief or thieves wanted to steal as much material as possible, they could have

---

<sup>197</sup> Ulrich et al. in DJD 16:269

<sup>198</sup> Reed, Lundberg, and Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, 482.

<sup>199</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 51.

<sup>200</sup> All of the five confirmed stolen fragments are biblical except for 4QBeatitudes. This fragment was thought to be a Deuteronomy fragment by Weston Fields, and since I don’t know how or when he came to this conclusion, it is possible that the thief (thieves) also thought that the fragment was Deuteronomy.

stolen more than they did. But they chose to use a sharp object to remove only one or a few of the fragments on the plate. This substantiates the claim of theft, the thief (or thieves) knew what they wanted and only took what they wanted. However, it may not be a coincidence that mainly Biblical material was reported as stolen, since Biblical material was more valuable<sup>201</sup> and other fragments might not have been missed, since their texts were not easily recognizable to scholars.

One fascinating aspect about these stories is how they fit into the overarching narrative about the scrolls. I believe these stories are told more because they also fit the narrative of the importance of the scrolls. What I mean by that is that stories of theft substantiate the claim of importance. Why would fragments be stolen if they were not important? The question of what makes the Dead Sea Scrolls valuable and how different answers to this question have affected the treatment of the scrolls will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 5.

According to the research I have done on this phenomenon, there are only five fragments that can be identified as stolen. There could be a few more, but there seems to be no way of confirming or denying any specific number. In contrast, the stories of the stolen fragments are told several times and in several different publications.<sup>202</sup> The vast majority of the missing fragments are not stolen, but the stories of theft are told unproportionally.

#### **4.2.2 Fragments as Gifts and Souvenirs**

Another group of fragments that were intentionally removed from the museum is the several fragments that have been given away as gifts or sold as souvenirs. There is no reason to assume that the known examples of this phenomenon are the only times this happened. These phenomena belong in this chapter because these losses are also intentional, someone moved these fragments intentionally. What do these phenomena say about the fragment's importance or value? That depends on the thought behind the actions. Were the fragments given away and sold because they had little value as physical material? Or were they given away or sold because they had huge value as holy objects?

---

<sup>201</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 464–65.

<sup>202</sup> A handful of these publications were presented in this chapter.

#### 4.2.2.1 Examples

##### 4.2.2.1.1 *The Ishmael Papyrus*

The first example I will present will be called the “Ishmael Papyrus” going forward. The story of this fragment has been told in several sources, and most of them refer to the fragment as a Dead Sea Scroll. According to the press release from the IAA, the fragment was conserved and documented by the Dead Sea Scrolls Unit, but nowhere in the press release is the fragment called a Dead Sea Scroll fragment. The closest thing they say is that the fragment is probably from the Judean desert.<sup>203</sup> In the other articles cited in the following paragraph, the fragment is always referred to as a fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I choose to use the Ishmael Papyrus as an example anyhow because it shows how a fragment, at least, very similar to the Dead Sea Scrolls could have left the country without being in the hands of scholars and without the knowledge of scholars.

After Dr. Ada Yardeni, Dead Sea Scroll scholar, passed away in 2018, Professor Shmuel Ahituv was asked to finish the publication of a manuscript that Dr. Yardeni was working on. Which manuscript this was is still unknown. In the work with this publication, Ahituv noticed a picture of a fragment that he couldn't locate. After extensive research, Ahituv discovered that a picture of the fragment was attached to an email sent to Professor Bruce Zuckerman from the University of Southern California. From Zuckerman, they located the owner of the fragment in Montana. The story told to Ahituv was that the owner's mother was either gifted or purchased the fragment when she visited Jerusalem in 1965.<sup>204</sup> This story cannot be verified, so there are a number of problems with using it as a historical account relating to the authenticity and provenance of the fragment. Even if this fragment turns out to be authentic, then the

---

<sup>203</sup> Israel Antiquities Spokesperson, “Extremely Rare Document from the First Temple-Period Repatriated to Israel,” 7 September 2022, <https://www.gov.il/en/departments/news/extremely-rare-document-from-first-temple-period-repatriated-to-israel-7-sep-2022>.

<sup>204</sup> Vittoria Benzine, “A Missing Scrap of a Dead Sea Scroll That Mysteriously Ended Up in Montana Has Been Returned to Israel,” 9 September 2022, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/dead-sea-scroll-montana-2172612>; Jasper King, “Lost Dead Sea Scroll Found 6,000 Miles from Where It Vanished 2,700 Years Ago,” 11 September 2022, <https://metro.co.uk/2022/09/11/dead-sea-scroll-dating-back-2700-found-6000-miles-away-in-the-us-17350948/>; Michael Havis and Sam Tonkin, “Mysterious Dead Sea Scroll That Was Lost to History Turns up More than 6,000 Miles Away in the US after Being given as a Gift in Jerusalem Nearly 60 Years Ago,” 8 September 2022, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-11194033/Dead-Sea-Scroll-lost-history-turns-6-000-miles-away-US.html>.

provenance-story is not without issues. When it comes to the question of authenticity, this is what the IAA says in their press release from September of 2022:

*First Temple-period document, dated to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE. The document is written in ancient Hebrew script on papyrus, and it was probably found in the Judean Desert caves. ... Based on the writing, it is proposed to date the 'Ishmael Papyrus' to the seventh to sixth centuries BCE, joining only two other documents from this period in the Israel Antiquities Authority Dead Sea Scrolls collection. All three papyri come from the Judean Desert, where the dry climate enables the preservation of the papyri.*<sup>205</sup>

The quote above does not reflect an acceptable provenance. When looking at the press release, it seems like it was more important to the authors to prove that the fragment is in fact ancient, i.e., authentic. The reasoning behind them deciding that the fragment is from the Judean Desert seems to only be based on paleography and comparison to other similar fragments. If we accept that the fragment is from the Judean Desert, what about the list of ownership from the cave to the woman in Montana?

This example show how it is possible for one of the Dead Sea Scroll fragments to travel all the way from Jerusalem to Montana undocumented and in private hands.

#### ***4.2.2.1.2 Mar Athanasius Samuel***

Another example of fragments being given away as gifts is told by John Trever (see line 6 in the database). He describes unrolling and working on the Isaiah scroll and says that several small pieces from the scroll and the cover that had been attached to the scroll. Regarding these pieces, Metropolitan Athanasius Samuel “suggested that I [Trever] keep them as souvenirs.”<sup>206</sup> Mar Athanasius Samuel is also said to have given away a small fragment from 1QS to William Brownlee in 1973.<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> Israel Antiquities Spokesperson, “Extremely Rare Document from the First Temple-Period Repatriated to Israel.”

<sup>206</sup> Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 43–44.

<sup>207</sup> Eshel, “The Fate of Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present,” 42–43.



#### 4.2.2.1.3 Dr. Ronald Reed

At some unspecified time<sup>208</sup>, Dr. Ronald Reed from Leeds University was “given a wide assortment of samples, originating from the Palestine Archaeological Museum’s ‘Scrollery’ in Jordanian Jerusalem.”<sup>209</sup> Dr. Reed and his coworkers received the material to perform several experiments on the fragments, but nowhere in the article is it reported which specific fragments they received. The article even seems to point to the fact that even Dr. Reed didn’t know what fragments he had samples of: “The samples contained no text and there was no way to trace any of them to a certain document. This was done on purpose: the dating needed to be independent of textual influence.”<sup>210</sup>

The article makes clear that the fragments Dr. Ronald Reed received did not include any text, and this might be a common denominator for the fragments given away as gifts or sold as souvenirs: They were viewed as significantly less valuable compared to the fragments with writing on them, and especially less valuable than the fragments containing biblical writing.

#### 4.2.2.2 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown several stories of fragments being given away or purchased. The exact cause for this has been hard to understand. On the one hand, the fragments given away by Mar Athanasius Samuel to John Trever seems to have been given away because Mar Athanasius Samuel recognized some intrinsic value to them, because he thought they would be valuable to Mr. Trever. On the other hand, the story of the fragments given to Dr. Ronald Reed did not seem to be given away because of their massive value. They were given fragments without any writing on them so that the destructive testing in the lab wouldn’t cause any damage to the valuable fragment. To conclude on this brief topic, it is hard to determine the cause of fragments being given away and sold.

---

<sup>208</sup> Sometime before 1959, based on Reed’s and student John Poole’s first publication.

<sup>209</sup> Ira Rabin et al., “The Ronald Reed Archive at the John Rylands University Library,” *E-Preserv. Sci.* 4 (2007): 10.

<sup>210</sup> Rabin et al., “The Ronald Reed Archive at the John Rylands University Library,” 10.

### 4.2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has been about loot, souvenirs, and gifts. Fragments have been reported as stolen, they have been sold or gifted to women from Montana, and they have been given away to scholars as gifts. Getting an overview of how many fragments this has happened to, has proved to be very difficult, and I have not managed to provide any secure number of fragments or identification.

Since the thefts has not been subjected any police-investigation, it is very hard to confirm or deny any of the thefts. Because of the circumstances around the alleged thefts and the number of times theft have been written about, I think it is plausible that between three and ten fragments have been stolen, most likely five fragments. After the research I have done on the matter, that is the only thing I can say for certain. And that says something about how difficult it is to gain certain knowledge about the matter.

In the following chapter, we will move on from these specific examples and explanations for the missing fragments, and we will move into the vaguer explanations. That means the explanations that are not tied to specific fragments, but that give examples of how the fragments were treated and handled.

## 4.3 *Unaccounted for Fragments*

### 4.3.1 Introduction

Now that we have seen a number of examples of ways fragments have become missing, this chapter discusses some possible explanations for the missing fragments that haven't yet been explained. These possible explanations do not necessarily include any specific fragments, but they are stories – anecdotes – from several different sources with one thing in common: They show gaps in the stories of the handling and storing of the scrolls since their initial discovery and publication, gaps that might have allowed for fragments to go missing.

In her 1991-article, which I have cited often previously, Felice Maranz writes about missing Dead Sea Scroll fragments: “An indeterminate number of tiny fragments are gone. These fragments, which consist of only a few words or uninscribed pieces, may have slipped out of the glass casing which once held them.”<sup>211</sup> Maranz also quotes Joe Zias, an archeologist with the IAA, telling a short anecdote which show one of these gaps that allow for fragments to go missing: “When you're talking about Dead Sea Scrolls, you're talking about thousands of fragments. When you're talking about that many fragments – things get misplaced.”<sup>212</sup> Both Maranz and Zias here openly says that there are fragments that go missing during the handling and storing of the fragments, Zias even seems to claim that these losses should be expected.

### 4.3.2 Examples of Missing Fragments Without Explanations

An example of fragments that seems to just have gone missing without any explanation are fragments 21 and 22 from 4Q524 (see lines 351 and 352 in the database). According to editor Émile Puech, these fragments had gone missing already in the 1950s. This information he gathers from the notes of previous editor Jean Starcky.<sup>213</sup> Schiffman and Gross, editors of a new volume on the Temple Scroll, also say that the two fragments are missing and cite DJD

---

<sup>211</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

<sup>212</sup> Maranz, “The Case of the Missing Scrolls,” 2.

<sup>213</sup> Puech in DJD 25:104, note 32

25. The two fragments were photographed on PAM 41.948<sup>214</sup>, but are not found in any newer photos.<sup>215</sup>

Another example of a fragment that is unaccounted for is a small fragment from 4Q31 (see line 89 in the database). Ingunn Aadland published an article about this case in *Revue de Qumrân* in 2014<sup>216</sup>, and Eibert Tigchelaar<sup>217</sup> also confirms that this fragment is missing. The fragment is photographed on plate 801 together with 4Q185 on PAM 41.585<sup>218</sup> in 1955, but there are no other photographs of the fragment on plate 801 and it has not been located elsewhere.

Both of these examples show fragments that have gone missing without any clue as to their whereabouts. In this chapter, I will show some possible explanations for these losses, but there is a lot more work needed on this in the future.

#### 4.3.2.1 Cave 5 Material

The Cave 5 material is a very peculiar case. In Reed's catalog of the content of the different plates at the Rockefeller Museum from 1994<sup>219</sup>, the Cave 5 material stuck out compared to the other material:

*In his brief annotations, Reed sometimes pondered the whereabouts of the missing pieces: "Missing at Rockefeller, possibly at Shrine of Book," or, more often, just "Shrine?" Building on his work, our preliminary investigation indicates that the Cave 5 manuscripts are neither at the Rockefeller nor at the Shrine of the Book. No one seems to know where they are.*<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>214</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280390>

<sup>215</sup> Lawrence H. Schiffman and Andrew D. Gross, *The Temple Scroll: 11q19, 11q20, 11q21, 4q524, 5q21 with 4q365a*, Dead Sea Scrolls Editions 1 (Boston: Brill, 2021), 271.

<sup>216</sup> Ingunn Aadland, "A Forgotten Deuteronomy (4Q31) Fragment," *Rev. Qumrân* 26.3 (2014): 425–29.

<sup>217</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, "Identifications of Qumran Cave 4 Deuteronomy Fragments since DJD 14," 2021.

<sup>218</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299038>

<sup>219</sup> Stephen A. Reed, Marilyn J. Lundberg, and Michael B. Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs, and Museum Inventory Numbers*, Resources for Biblical Study no. 32 (Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1994).

<sup>220</sup> Justnes and Hægeland, "Missing: Have You Seen These Scrolls?," 48:23.

The so-called “preliminary investigation” mentioned in the quote above was Torleif Elgvin asking around and looking in both the Shrine of the Book and the Rockefeller Museum. No one could locate the material.

Reed noted that the Cave 5 material was especially fragmentary when he saw the physical fragments in the early 90s.<sup>221</sup> But as of now, it all seems to be missing. There are at least no photos of them on the Leon Levy website newer than the aforementioned photos from the 1950s.<sup>222</sup>

This example shows that fragments having undergone changes, possibly natural deterioration, can become missing fragments in the future. It is important to document all changes to the material well so that our knowledge about the material is as close to complete as possible.

### 4.3.3 Examples of Possible Explanations

#### 4.3.3.1 Movement Between Different Institutions

During the Suez crisis in 1956, the Cave 4 material was moved for security reasons to the Ottoman Bank in Amman, the capital of Jordan. Florentino García Martínez claims that “some manuscripts came back in a hopeless condition.”<sup>223</sup> Weston Fields quotes John Strugnell writing this in December of 1956: “At the moment of crisis the manuscripts were transferred to the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Amman: a pity, but it can’t be helped.”<sup>224</sup> During this period, the scrolls were moved several times. This was because of the unstable situation in the area at the time.

Fragments were also moved back and forth between different institutions in Jerusalem. In a private email correspondence, Jonathan Ben-Dov tells the story of how he was working on editing scrolls from Masada as an assistant to Shemaryahu Talmon around 1994/1995. He says

---

<sup>221</sup> Stephen A. Reed, “Cave 5 Material,” 24 October 2022.

<sup>222</sup> Justnes and Hægeland, “Missing: Have You Seen These Scrolls?,” 48:23–24.

<sup>223</sup> García Martínez and Treballe Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27.

<sup>224</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 355.

that the fragments he was used to working with were mounted between glass plates, but one day they experienced quite a different way of handling the scrolls:

*We were led into a room with many scrolls placed in it. I remember that some of them were not mounted on glass but rather kept in boxes (I recall shoeboxes) in some plastic wraps. I recall holding in my hand one of the Bar Kochva documents, as well as a roundish fragment from Qumran, possibly a patch from the 11QTargum Job. We were not able to find ‘our’ scrolls and thus gave up on our work that day.*<sup>225</sup>

Ben-Dov prefaced that this happened when a shipment of scrolls came from the Shrine of the Book to the Rockefeller Museum and that this was not the normal way of handling the scrolls in his experience.<sup>226</sup>

Already after the very first manuscripts were gathered and prepped for publication, they were shipped to different institutions. In DJD 1<sup>227</sup> there is a list that shows how fragments were equally distributed between the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in Amman, École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, and the PAM in Jerusalem. It should be noted that the fragments distributed to École Biblique et Archéologique Française were “subsequently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.”<sup>228</sup> These moves were based on ownership, again based on who had donated towards the conservation and publication of the manuscripts. After scholars had finished their work, the manuscript was moved to their rightful owners. Research on the scrolls was funded during the first decade by institutions buying the scrolls. This meant that institutions would buy a collection of fragments and the right to publish and exhibit the fragments. After Gerald Lankester Harding was removed from his position as director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in 1956, the new director imposed new ways of doing things: “At most, institutions will be allowed to ‘donate’ toward their purchase.”<sup>229</sup> According to Weston Fields, there were at least one positive and one negative side to this decision: Firstly, this led to the fragments staying in one place, not shipped back and forth

---

<sup>225</sup> Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Misplaced Fragments,” 11 December 2022.

<sup>226</sup> Ben-Dov, “Event Account on DSS in Rockefeller.”

<sup>227</sup> Barthélemy and Milik in DJD 1:xi

<sup>228</sup> Barthélemy and Milik in DJD 1:xi

<sup>229</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 362.

between different institutions and countries. Secondly, this made it harder to fundraise since donating money would no longer provide ownership or publication rights over the fragments.<sup>230</sup>

According to a private email correspondence with Stephen Reed, materials were also moved from the Rockefeller Museum to Israel Museum in 1989/1990 for conservation purposes. The fragments were also removed from the glass plates and placed between pieces of rice paper on cardboard plates. He also confirms stories about fragments falling out of both glass- and cardboard plates because they were not sealed.<sup>231</sup>

Torleif Elgvin agrees, in a private email correspondence, with the information Reed provides. All the fragments belonging to IAA stayed in the Rockefeller Museum (formerly known as the PAM) until 2004 when they were moved to the Israel Museum. In addition to these fragments, a few fragments were scattered in different institutions, but Elgvin says that he believed that almost everything eventually ended up in the Rockefeller Museum before 2004.<sup>232</sup>

A theme has crystallized throughout my research on this phenomenon: There is not a lot of information about these movements. Three of the sources I am citing here are private correspondence, meaning that those have not been officially published. We know movements happened, and we know that fragments became missing and destroyed during these processes, but we don't know how much was moved, which specific manuscripts were moved, or how the movement happened.

#### 4.3.3.2 Fragments Going Missing Due to the Six Day War

Other reports of missing fragments are connected to the Six Day War in 1967. The PAM was badly damaged after the Six Day War. A tower that is placed in the inner courtyard of the PAM “had been used as a gun position by the Jordanians.”<sup>233</sup> Further, William Dever describes that “inside, nearly every window was smashed, as were many showcases. Precious objects which had survived in the soil thousands of years lay broken by ricocheting bullets ... A few things I had come to know seemed to be missing. The Dead Sea Scrolls Gallery was empty.”<sup>234</sup> Dr.

---

<sup>230</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 362.

<sup>231</sup> Stephen A. Reed, “Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls Material,” 8 March 2023.

<sup>232</sup> Torleif Elgvin, “Flytting Av Fragmenter,” 22 March 2023.

<sup>233</sup> Dever, “Archaeology and the Six Day War,” 104.

<sup>234</sup> Dever, “Archaeology and the Six Day War,” 104.

Magen Broshi, who was the curator of the Shrine of the Book at the time, and Dr. Joseph Naveh from the Department of Antiquities, dismissed so-called “reports about the ‘mysterious disappearance’ of the Scrolls.”<sup>235</sup> This rapport is a preliminary rapport, written for the readers of the *Biblical Archaeologist*. It does not provide a lot of concrete information, but I interpret it as an attempt at providing some information amid a very chaotic situation.

#### 4.3.3.3 Fragments Going Missing Due to Wind

Some fragments are also described as simply vanishing in the wind. In DJD 36 the editor, Stephen J. Pfann, explains to the reader that especially the papyrus fragments are so small and thin that many of them have just blown away. Further he writes that “when dealing with fragmentary papyrus, extreme care is necessary to avoid moving about an open plate because the fragments blow off easily.”<sup>236</sup> Pfann makes a distinction between papyrus fragments and parchment fragments, claiming that parchment “is more substantial and sits more ‘heavily’ on the plate.”<sup>237</sup> As a concluding remark to the short paragraph on *method* before beginning the analysis of 4Q249 and 4Q250, he writes this: “No doubt a significant number of papyrus fragments have been lost due to wind and, more recently, from the time of their extraction from the cave and their final placement between plates of glass at the museum.”<sup>238</sup>

This example shows how the storing of the fragments was not perfect. It is apparent that the most important to the scholars were not the preservation of the scrolls but reading and photographing the scrolls. John Strugnell says it very clearly when he is interviewed by Weston Fields about the theft of a 4QSamuel<sup>b</sup> fragment: “But we had decent photographs. It didn’t matter. I mean, it would be nice for a museum to have the Samuel<sup>b</sup> [fragments]<sup>239</sup>, but we’ve got the pictures on the wall beside you. That’s better than the original.”<sup>240</sup> As long as they had good photographs, there is no need to be too upset over missing fragments. At least that is what Strugnell here seems to convey.

---

<sup>235</sup> Dever, “Archaeology and the Six Day War,” 104–5.

<sup>236</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:517

<sup>237</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:517

<sup>238</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:517

<sup>239</sup> Here Fields talks about fragments, as plural, but this is wrong. It is only one 4QSamuel<sup>b</sup> fragment that is missing.

<sup>240</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239.



#### 4.3.3.4 A Fragment Under a Shoe

A story written down by Seymour Gitin says that an unnamed Albright fellow had gotten a fragment stuck to his shoe. According to the story, he and some other fellows met for a tea break, and when he spoke about the difficulties he experienced working with the scrolls, he crossed one leg over the other. When he crossed his legs, he exposed that a fragment was stuck to the bottom of his shoe. It should also be noted that the Albright fellow had walked for about ten minutes from the Rockefeller Museum to the Albright Institution for tea. He almost threw the fragment in the garbage before he realized that it was in fact a fragment of the Dead Sea Scrolls written on parchment. Gitin says that the fragment “must have dropped onto the floor in the room, the fragment stuck to the bottom of his shoe.”<sup>241</sup> Although, according to this story the fragment was completely fine after its adventure under an Albright fellow’s shoe, this was maybe not always the case. If it happened one time, it could have happened several times.

#### 4.3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how there exist several individual stories about missing fragments. These stories have not been connected to any specific fragments, but they show how there have been several openings in the preservation processes and the storing of the fragments that allow for fragments to go missing.

These stories also show the dissonance between the idea of the Dead Sea Scrolls being the most valuable archaeological discovery in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the fact that so many fragments turn out to be lost. I believe that a clue to understanding this dissonance is asking what is meant when people praise the scrolls for their importance. Are they talking about the scrolls as holy texts, or are they talking about the scrolls as holy objects?

To help us understand what ideas have made this situation possible, we will spend the next chapter looking at which mechanisms that lead to today’s situation.

---

<sup>241</sup> Seymour (Sy) Gitin, *The Road Taken: An Archaeologist’s Journey to the Land of the Bible* (Penn State University Press, 2021), 147.

## 5 The Scrolls as Texts and Objects

### 5.1 Introduction

I started this thesis by presenting a database including over 500 missing and destroyed fragments (collectively called lost fragments). In the two following chapters, I described my two main categories: destroyed and missing fragments. In the introduction, I showed some of the things that have been said about the scrolls in different sources, over a longer period of time. These quotes predominately spoke about the high value and the immense importance of the scrolls. This chapter will discuss the incongruity between how the Dead Sea Scrolls have been talked about in the public and the large amount of lost fragments.

The database, and the analysis, have shown that not an insignificant amount of Dead Sea Scroll fragments have become destroyed or have gone missing since their initial discovery. I have shown several examples of how fragments become lost, and have studied migrating fragments, carbon dating of the scrolls, theft, etc. These examples of how fragments became lost reveal that different people valued different things regarding the scrolls. An analysis of these different ways of valuing the scrolls shows us the different mechanisms that have led to our current situation. Thus, in this final chapter, I want to explore how different ideas about value are expressed, and how these different ideas have affected the preservation of the scrolls. To help frame this discussion, I will use James W. Watts' theory of the three dimensions of scriptures that were presented in the introduction, to explore the mechanics that lead to so many Dead Sea Scroll fragments being lost.

To briefly recap, Watts<sup>242</sup> argues that all scriptures (and really all texts) are ritualized on three different levels or dimensions. These three dimensions of scripture are the semantic dimension, the performative dimension, and the iconic dimension. These three dimensions are an attempt by Watts to provide a new framework for understanding the function of texts generally, and books or manuscripts specifically. The dimensions are valid for all kinds of books, but they are especially relevant when it comes to religious texts. Watts' three dimensions are a helpful tool

---

<sup>242</sup> Watts, "The Three Dimensions of Scripture."

for understanding how one text (the Dead Sea Scroll fragments in this case) can be understood as important or valuable because of different aspects of said text.

In the following paragraphs, I will show examples of how the semantic and iconic dimensions can help explain the actions and narratives told concerning the scrolls by different actors. Watts' theory of the semantic dimension is represented in the first chapter (The Scrolls as Holy Text), and his theory about the iconic dimension is represented in the second chapter (The Scrolls as Holy Objects).

## **5.2 *The Scrolls as Holy Texts***

### **5.2.1 Introduction**

There are a number of different contexts where it seems that the *texts* of the Dead Sea Scrolls are valued more highly than the fragments themselves. The focus on the Dead Sea Scrolls as holy text is not only visible through quotes in different publications (which I will show examples of in the following paragraphs), the focus is also visible through what we know about conservation in the early years. When it comes to the conservation of the scrolls, DJD 1 describes the way of finding a method for unrolling the scrolls as trial and error. There is no reference to any archeological protocols, only unnamed people trying different degrees of humidity and other solvents to open the scrolls.<sup>243</sup> The lack of transparency and best practices in the work with and conservation of the scrolls by the earliest scholars is also confirmed by the IAA themselves.<sup>244</sup>

Joe Uziel, head of the Dead Sea Scrolls unit at the Israel Antiquities Authority, reveals an understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls as holy texts when talking, in 2022, about the original research performed on the Scrolls: “The original study of the scrolls was primarily text-based, as it should have been. However, there is much to be learned by studying the scrolls as artifacts – exploring their materiality alongside their texts – and examining the parchment, papyrus, and ink with which the scrolls were written.”<sup>245</sup> This confirms that the earlier scholars were mostly

---

<sup>243</sup> Barthélemy and Milik in DJD 1:39-40

<sup>244</sup> “Conservation,” *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*, n.d., <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/learn-about-the-scrolls/conservation>.

<sup>245</sup> Nathan Steinmeyer and Joe Uziel, “From Dirt to Decipherment: An Interview with the IAA’s Joe Uziel,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Past, Present, and Future* (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Review, 2022), 68.

concerned with the text and that there is a growing focus today on the fragments as material objects. Uziel continues by saying: “The material research is important for conservation purposes because if we understand the chemical composition of the various components, then we can better treat them and prevent deterioration.”<sup>246</sup> It seems here that Uziel has very a clear goal of what he wants to achieve by doing material research on the scrolls. Even though Uziel acknowledges the movement in the field of textual research toward New Philology, there is still a clear hierarchy in how Uziel talks about these things; he confirms that the research on the scrolls was mainly “text-based” and also claims that he agrees with this way of conducting research. He only adds that in addition to conducting more traditional textual research, it is valuable to also look at the material side of the text. Material research seems to be valuable to Uziel only because it can give us more knowledge about the text written on the object.

Emanuel Tov confirms this way of understanding the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls in DJD 39 when he states: “The identification often determined the nature of the commentary.”<sup>247</sup> This makes it even more clear that the focus of the publications done in the DJD series was on the text, and not the ancient artifacts. If it was the ancient artifacts that were in focus, then it wouldn’t have mattered whether the text was identifiable or not, the artifacts would carry the same value.

### 5.2.2 Text Equals Value

Weston Fields quotes Frank Moore Cross as also promoting the “holy texts” way of understanding the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls: “In 1956 we also photographed a box of blanks – set aside as of no value – but photographed with infrared film to make sure we had not overlooked something.”<sup>248</sup> Here it seems like Cross assumes that fragments without any text on them are “of no value.” At the same time, Cross insinuates that fragments with text are valuable. The infrared film they used to take new photographs aims towards discovering text invisible to the naked eye. If they discovered text on these fragments, the assumption set forth by Cross is that the fragments would no longer be deemed “of no value.”

---

<sup>246</sup> Steinmeyer and Uziel, “From Dirt to Decipherment: An Interview with the IAA’s Joe Uziel,” 70.

<sup>247</sup> Tov in DJD 39:10

<sup>248</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 353.

Another incident with blank fragments recently had a new development. In chapter 4.2.2.1.3, I tell the story of how some fragments were given to Ronald Reed, who worked at the University of Leeds. In 1997, this collection of fragments was donated to the University of Manchester. Since their initial donation to Ronald Reed, it was thought that these fragments were without writing. Since they were “blank and relatively worthless”,<sup>249</sup> they were used for scientific testing performed by Reed and a student named John Poole. After recent research, 6 fragments, out of the 51, turned out to have text on them. Some of the other 51 fragments also had “ruled lines and small vestiges of letters.”<sup>250</sup> This is an example of fragments that were deemed worthless because they did not have any text on them, and then with new technology, it turned out that they did have text on them, and then their value seems to have increased because of this discovery. The point of this example is to show how the value of the fragments was decided based on whether there was text on them. When it was thought that the fragments didn’t have any text, then they were deemed worthless. According to this statement, we can deduce that the value of the fragments is primarily connected to their texts, not the objects themselves.

### 5.2.3 Connection to the Biblical Canon

In 2015 Eva Mroczek published an article titled *The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature*. In this article, she explores how the study of Second Temple Judaism literature has been affected by a focus on the biblical canon that diminishes other aspects. The abstract includes this quote: “Often, non-biblical materials are read either as proto-biblical, para-biblical, or biblical interpretation, assimilated into an evolutionary narrative with Bible as the *telos*.”<sup>251</sup> What Mroczek is pointing at here is the tendency to orient research on much of the ancient literature around the Bible. When scholars have done research on ancient texts from the middle east, the first question they have asked is if the text itself can be found in the biblical canon. If the text is not part of the biblical canon, the next question is whether it can be related to the biblical canon in any way. When this has been the leading way of thinking about ancient texts, I argue that it seeps in and affects every aspect of scholarship and research. Mroczek both

---

<sup>249</sup> Joe Strafford, “Dead Sea Scroll Fragments Thought to Be Blank Reveal Text,” *The University of Manchester*, 15 May 2020, <https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/dead-sea-scroll-fragments-thought-to-be-blank-reveal-text/>.

<sup>250</sup> Strafford, “Dead Sea Scroll Fragments Thought to Be Blank Reveal Text.”

<sup>251</sup> Eva Mroczek, “The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature,” *J. Anc. Jud.* 6.1 (2015): 2.

begins and ends her article with a similar quote, which I think sets the perspective in a good way: “Early Jews were not marching toward the biblical finish line, but lived in a culture with diverse other traditions and concerns that cannot always be assimilated into the story of scripture.”<sup>252</sup> The reason Mroczek is criticizing this way of reading Second Temple Judaism literature is that it has for a long time been read as texts marching towards the Bible as their finish line. This way of viewing the canonical texts as the focal point of research also shows a prioritization of the text and its meaning as central. In the following paragraphs, we will see some more examples of this.

#### 5.2.4 Canon as Capital

The introduction to DJD 16 shows how a focus on the closeness or connection to the biblical canon has been used to give value to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

*Many of these manuscripts are older by a millennium than those which previously held claim to being the most ancient Hebrew manuscripts of particular biblical books. **The importance of these scrolls, however, is due not to their great antiquity, but principally to the new and richly illuminating advances they provide for our knowledge about the text of the Bible, the complex history of the biblical text, and the process by which the Scriptures were composed and transmitted to posterity. Thus, they will be permanently valuable, providing a sounder basis for the Hebrew text of the Bible and for the translation of the Bible into modern languages.***<sup>253</sup>

To summarize this quote, the fragments are not valuable because they are ancient artifacts, or simply because of the text on them, but they are valuable because they can confirm that the text we find in our modern Bibles, the basis of Christian faith today, is the same as it has been. This attitude or understanding will be called *canon as capital* going forward.

Canon as capital has been regarded as a default by many. It is seen in this quote from a letter sent by John Marc Allegro to his wife in November of 1953: “I spent two and a half hours this morning trying to find the home of a piece having about three words, and in the end had to

---

<sup>252</sup> Mroczek, “The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature,” 2.

<sup>253</sup> Ulrich et al. in DJD 16:1. My own highlight of the second sentence.

decide it was non-biblical.”<sup>254</sup> I find this quote peculiar, and I have a hard time interpreting the last part. Does he mean that since the fragment is not biblical, it does not carry the same value as a biblical fragment? Is the statement completely neutral to him, or does it carry a positive or negative connotation in his ears? Anyway, this states that the categories of *biblical* and *non-biblical* were present from a very early stage of research.

Canon as capital has had effects when it comes to several aspects of scroll research. One aspect it affects is the naming of compositions. When scholars have the idea that the thing that makes fragments valuable is how they relate to the biblical canon and especially if they can verify the Christian canon, it affects what the scholars are looking for when reading and translating the fragments. This, in turn, affects what they find and how they name compositions. I have already shown an example of this in chapter 2.2.3 where I presented the names of the cave 2 material. In that example, we saw that the manuscripts were given sigla that correspond to their placement in the protestant canon. Even in the process of naming the manuscripts, their content and connection to the canon were deciding factors for their identity and perceived value. This was not only the case for the cave 2 material, the cave 2 material only functions as one example of this practice.

Another example of this is the composition 4Q250b. In DJD 36<sup>255</sup> it is referred to as only one fragment, when in fact it is a reconstructed fragment made up of two actual fragments from two different plates that have been digitally placed together on plate XLVI in DJD 36. This is apparent from plate XLVI, which shows that the photographs of the two fragments placed together to make a reconstructed fragment, in fact, come from two different PAM photos (PAM 41.410<sup>256</sup> and PAM 43.313.<sup>257</sup>) It should be noted that the editors have made a mistake here, the reconstructed fragment is in fact made up of PAM 41.410 and PAM 43.413.<sup>258</sup> According to the editor, the text on the fragment (including the reconstructed ך) in the second line only occurs within two lines in Isaiah 11.6-7. Because of this, he names the fragment 4Qpap cryptA

---

<sup>254</sup> Judith Anne Brown, *John Marc Allegro: The Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Kindle Edition. (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005), 453. (Kindle edition)

<sup>255</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:682

<sup>256</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284443>

<sup>257</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284350>

<sup>258</sup> <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284446>

Text Related to Isaiah 11.<sup>259</sup> Like that, one reconstructed fragment including 12 Hebrew letters has become a manuscript relating to Isaiah.

The attitude shown in these examples, canon as capital, is also seen in modern times. In a book written about the much-written-about Museum of the Bible, the authors have this to say about the market for Dead Sea Scrolls in early 2000: “The high percentage of biblical texts represented reflects the higher value that such manuscripts fetch on the open market.”<sup>260</sup> The question of what makes the Dead Sea Scrolls valuable keeps being a relevant question.

An opposite example, an example of an ancient artifact being overlooked because it did not have a connection to the biblical canon, is the jars of Timothy’s cave. This cave was discovered in 1953 by Jozéf Milik and contained empty jars. According to Weston Fields these jars “are possibly stored among those stored for so long in the basement of the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.”<sup>261</sup> Note that Fields’ description of these jars doesn’t seem to contain much exact knowledge about the jars’ whereabouts, he only proposes where the jars maybe could be found. The reason behind the treatment of the jars was, according to Fields’ retelling, due to Roland de Vaux being in a bad mood. No explanation was given for de Vaux’ bad mood, Milik just said that “de Vaux was sometimes ‘moody’”<sup>262</sup> Because of his *bad mood*, de Vaux didn’t even listen to Milik’s report or record the discovery. What was the real reason for this discovery to go largely unnoticed? Was it de Vaux’s bad mood? Would his mood have drastically improved if the artifacts had a connection to the biblical canon? Would de Vaux’s mood have allowed for a fragment of biblical text to go unreported? These are all hypothetical questions, but this example shows that at least some ancient artifacts without any biblical connection or any writing at all have gone under the radar.

### 5.2.5 The First Scholars

We see this hope and anticipation for the Dead Sea Scrolls being biblical texts from the very beginning. In John Trever’s book, he tells his story as one of the first scholars to be shown and to photograph the Dead Sea Scrolls. After he was shown the first scrolls and was allowed to

---

<sup>259</sup> Pfann in DJD 36:682

<sup>260</sup> Candida R. Moss and Joel S. Baden, *Bible Nation: The United States of Hobby Lobby*, Kindle Edition. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 704. (Kindle edition)

<sup>261</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 137.

<sup>262</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 137.



transliterate a few columns from the scrolls that were brought to him, he has this to say about the following process:

*As he copied the lines, we noted the double occurrence of the unusual form llw'. Literally, it would mean 'by not,' which seemed senseless at the moment. It was the kind of evidence, however, which could lead to quick identification if the document were Biblical, I decided.*<sup>263</sup>

Trever says in the earlier pages of his book that he has the Nash papyrus on his mind, and he also early on refers to the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, both biblical texts. When it comes to the language, he says that “the script was puzzling to eyes more accustomed to Kittel’s Biblia Hebraica in modern printed Hebrew ...”<sup>264</sup> Here again the connection is made to the Hebrew Bible, and this might be the first time a scholar laid their eyes on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In an article from 2010, Jaqueline du Toit and Jason Kalman write that Robert Balgarnie Young Scott, from McGill University in Canada, thought that “the value of the scrolls are therefore to be found in the combined ‘closeness’ these manuscripts allow us to the ‘original text’ of the Old Testament.”<sup>265</sup>

The interest of the public in the Dead Sea Scrolls has also mainly been connected to the scrolls being religious texts. Millar Burrows had this to say about the interest of the public:

*The experience of speaking to many audiences about the scrolls, usually with a time for questions after the lecture, has convinced me that the chief factor in this extraordinary public interest in the scrolls was religious. People wanted to know what these documents would mean for traditional beliefs. Some were anxious lest the foundation of their faith might be weakened; some welcomed what they thought might justify their own rejection of the faith of their fathers; still others were rather amused by what looked like an embarrassment for beliefs and institutions in which they were not interested ... We who*

---

<sup>263</sup> Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 26.

<sup>264</sup> Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 22.

<sup>265</sup> Jaqueline S. du Toit and Jason Kalman, “Albright’s Legacy? Homogeneity in the Introduction of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Public,” *J. Northwest Semit. Lang.* 36.2 (2010): 39.

*had been studying the texts were asked over and over again what effect they would have on 'the uniqueness of Christ.'*<sup>266</sup>

He says that it is the scrolls' connection to religion, that is; the Hebrew Bible, that makes them interesting. Whether the audience had a personal faith or a personal vendetta towards institutions of faith, they wanted to hear more about the scrolls because of their connection to Christianity. Emanuel Tov also confirms this focus on the person of Jesus: "the very beginning, when the Dead Sea Scrolls were found, there were high expectations. Everyone was looking for Jesus in the scrolls."<sup>267</sup>

In September of 1948, Millar Burrows published a book regarding the significance of the scrolls. In it, he discusses the Sectarian Document (now known as the Community Rule). Since the first part of this document is missing from the original discovery, he tries to imagine what the contents of that part could have been. He immediately goes straight to Deuteronomy and suggests several passages that the missing part of the Sectarian Document could have included. Burrows bases his claims on the similar language in the two texts, especially when looking at the use of infinitives.<sup>268</sup> Burrows' proposal might be right, but the way that he turns so quickly to the biblical book of Deuteronomy also reveals his confirmation bias and what he thought about the text in the first place, namely that they must be connected in some way. This reminds me of what Eva Mroczek wrote about in her article: Some have understood the Bible as the telos that all other ancient near eastern texts move towards.<sup>269</sup> Here Watts' theory helps us make sense of this phenomenon. The central motivating factor for Canon as capital is connecting the scrolls to the meaning of the canonical texts of the Hebrew Bible and securing a better understanding of them. And this started as early as with the first scholars.

### **5.2.6 Fundraising for the Scrolls**

In a letter written by Gerald Lankester Harding to the Bechtels regarding funding for the purchase and restoration of the scrolls in October of 1952, Harding writes this:

---

<sup>266</sup> Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), 4.

<sup>267</sup> Hershel Shanks, "Chief Scroll Editor Opens Up—An Interview with Emanuel Tov," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 2002, 28 no. 3 edition.

<sup>268</sup> Millar Burrows, "The Contents and Significance of the Manuscripts," *Biblic. Archaeol.* 11.3 (1948): 57–61.

<sup>269</sup> Mroczek, "The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature."

*The importance of the material grows with every new piece that comes in, for it appears that not only are there large pieces of most Old Testament books, but also known and unknown apocryphal books and works which it would seem must have a profound effect on the study of the early growth of Christianity.*<sup>270</sup>

Kenneth and Elizabeth Bechtel were a married couple who early showed interest in and donated toward the scholarly work on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Already in 1952, the idea of the Dead Sea Scrolls having a profound effect on the study of the early growth of Christianity was present. In a letter from Mr. Bechtel, he writes this regarding the donation he is about to make:

*... I should like to express the preference that the directors of your organization see fit to make the enclosed contribution available to the Palestine Archeological Museum, Attention of Mr. G. Lankaster Harding, Curator, for the acquisition of biblical scrolls and other manuscripts recently unearthed in the Bethlehem region.*<sup>271</sup>

How did the scrolls' connection to the Hebrew bible become so vital for understanding their value? Maybe we can find one explanation in the fundraising for the preservation and publication of the scrolls? In search for funding for this massive project Gerald Lankaster Harding contacted and was rejected by both the British Museum and the Library of Congress. But he got his first acceptance from the Bechtels.<sup>272</sup> Notice how Mr. Bechtel prefaces how he hopes to aid Harding in acquiring biblical scrolls, not just scrolls.

Is this signifying that in order to receive funding, it was effective to appeal to the biblical aspect of the scrolls?

### **5.2.7 New Philology**

Turning back to Watts' model, it seems clear that much of the scholarship outlined above has focused on the text and its meaning being somehow disconnected from the artifacts. This is a key focus in traditional philological models of textual scholarship where the goal was to find

---

<sup>270</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 164.

<sup>271</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 171.

<sup>272</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 168.

the meaning of the so-called original text. As a reaction to this focus on ancient texts as only semantically valuable, a new direction in textual scholarship has evolved over the past decades: New Philology. This new focus claims that it is impossible to separate the text from the material artifact. The text does not exist immaterially; it can only be mediated through the material. According to Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, New Philology arose to address an issue relevant to “editors and interpreters of ancient and medieval texts ... The problem of manuscript variation and the contradictory objectives of retrieving the authentic form of a text while taking seriously the available manuscript evidence.”<sup>273</sup> Following this understanding, it is not only the words, or sentences, that are worth researching, all aspect of the text, including the material it is mediated through, is worth researching. Lied says it very well in a podcast episode, when she says that “These texts are actually a part of these manuscripts, exactly these manuscripts, and there was someone who wrote them down, and someone used these manuscripts, and there was someone who cared for them, they belonged to certain places.”<sup>274</sup> Proponents of this method describe it as “New Philology” or “Material Philology” and focus on treating the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls as materially, as well as textually, important.

In light of this new development within the research field, the way the Dead Sea Scrolls were treated since their discovery can be called into question. How can scholars value and research the material side of the Dead Sea Scrolls if we don’t even know where they physically are now? With over 500 fragments missing, and several undocumented moves of the material between institutions, it is hard to gain full knowledge about the whereabouts of the material.

### 5.2.8 Possible Effects of this Understanding

This understanding of the value of the Dead Sea Scrolls can result in an overemphasized focus on the content, or the writing, of the scrolls. I believe this has been a predominant understanding, especially among the early scholars which has led to stories of lost fragments or thefts not being taken seriously. At least according to John Strugnell<sup>275</sup>, as long as they had

---

<sup>273</sup> Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, eds., “Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology,” in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, Texte Und Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte Der Altchristlichen Literatur Band 175 (Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 3.

<sup>274</sup> Translated by me from Norwegian from Signe Marie Hægeland, “Tapte Fragmenter,” *Dødehavsrullene*, n.d., <https://open.spotify.com/episode/4Mci7VIqdMmNFzZtbZpQUP?si=rSBfmbTGTv-snlZQeQ1BoA>.

<sup>275</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239.

decent photographs, why bother spending energy locating the lost fragments? This understanding leaves little room for viewing the scrolls as not only conveyors of text but as valuable artifacts in and of themselves.

This understanding also leads to an overemphasized focus on whether the fragments can be connected to biblical texts in any way. This focus can cause scholars to overlook other important or interesting aspects of the scrolls. This understanding points to an underlying attitude found often within research on the ancient near east, namely what Eva Mroczek discusses in her article.<sup>276</sup> When scholars assume that the Bible is the telos, or end goal, of all texts from the ancient near east, then other aspects of the texts are overlooked and the materiality of the fragments can be so neglected that they go missing or become destroyed.

### ***5.3 The Scrolls as Holy Objects***

What is striking about the discussion above is the fact that while scholars were transcribing the texts and laying aside the manuscripts, the scrolls were also being presented in the media and other contexts as being sacred or divine. We find a number of fascinating examples of this from a very early date. According to Watts' theory about the three dimensions, all three dimensions exist within all texts. But his main point is that the three dimensions are being emphasized or ritualized by people differently. People emphasizing the dimensions differently when it comes to the Dead Sea Scrolls has led to fragments being lost today.

#### **5.3.1 Introduction**

At times when different people, both scholars and non-scholars, talk about the scrolls they make them out to be sacred or divine objects. This can be done by claiming that they have had spiritual or religious experiences when being in the same room as them or by prescribing spiritual "powers" to the physical fragments. These spiritual "powers" can be experienced when being in the same room, or just seeing the scrolls. The common denominator for these types of narratives is that the sanctification is related to the physical fragments, not the text itself. This view is often present in a situation relating to the sale or purchase of Dead Sea Scroll fragments.

---

<sup>276</sup> Mroczek, "The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature."

One example of the sanctification of the Dead Sea Scrolls is demonstrated through antiquities dealer Lee Biondi. He tells this story of how he acquired Dead Sea Scroll fragments in 2002 and he ends the story by talking about the “spiritual power of the material.”

*It was October 2002. Lee Biondi was in a Swiss hotel room when he received the most scintillating phone call of his life. The caller’s question was simple, but astounding: Was Biondi interested in buying fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls? ... The fragments were on a hotel conference table in small jewelry boxes resting on cotton. “Some of them still had Scotch tape on the back,” he said. After agreeing on a price and making a down payment, Biondi took the fragments back to his hotel room and spent what he called “an inspirational night.” Biondi, an evangelical Christian, said he felt the “spiritual power of the material.” ...<sup>277</sup>*

This is also a great example of the mixing of roles and ideologies because Lee Biondi is both an antiquities dealer and a person with what seems to be a strong religious conviction. That means that he professionally deals with antiquities, not as a scholar, but as someone who makes money off the objects he manages to purchase and subsequently sells. The quote also reveals that he did not relate to the fragments as ancient artifacts but as sacred objects.

### **5.3.2 The Dead Sea Scrolls as Modern Protestant Relics**

This phenomenon has been studied by Ludvig A. Kjeldsberg, who has written about post-2002 Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments as modern protestant relics.<sup>278</sup> Even though I am not specifically writing about the post-2002 Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments, many of Kjeldsberg’s observations are very helpful for this discussion as well. Kjeldsberg says that the Dead Sea Scrolls play a part “in the evangelical imagination as miraculous guarantors of the accurate transmission of the biblical text from antiquity to the present.”<sup>279</sup> In Kjeldsberg’s article he uses the term “relics”, and to understand what he means by that term, he looks to how the word was used in medieval times and says that “relics were the main channel through which supernatural power

---

<sup>277</sup> Robert Boyer, “Making Scrolls Accessible,” *The Pilot*, 15 March 2005,

<https://web.archive.org/web/20050317052903/http://www.thepilot.com/features/r031605Scrolls.html>.

<sup>278</sup> Ludvig A. Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” in *The Museum of the Bible, A Critical Introduction* (London: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019), 207–18.

<sup>279</sup> Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” 208.

was available for the needs of ordinary life.”<sup>280</sup> Kjeldsberg observes that when a journalist is writing a story about a Dead Sea Scroll exhibition, they first talks about the fragments as seemingly worthless and compares them to trash, before he goes on to say that the fragments are “invested with sacrality by virtue of their ability to verify the ‘accurate transmission’ of the Bible.”<sup>281</sup> In conclusion, Kjeldsberg writes that “scholars, journalists, and antique dealers have framed them as Protestant relics-both in order to link them to an evangelical narrative about the authority of the Bible and to connect the audience to the divine.”<sup>282</sup> Kjeldsberg ends the chapter with this: “Fake or real, the Dead Sea Scrolls have come to play the role of mediators of the divine for evangelical audiences, relics that testify to the faithful transmission of the Protestant Bible.”<sup>283</sup>

This understanding of what makes the Dead Sea Scrolls valuable, namely that they are sacred, has several consequences. In particular, it affects how we conserve and handle the fragments. Sacred objects cannot be lost, they must be preserved and kept for the future at all costs. One can also argue through this understanding that the fragments should be displayed to as many people as possible.

### 5.3.3 Examples

#### 5.3.3.1 Scholars

When John C. Trever describes the first night after he saw the Isaiah scroll and worked on a transcription of it, he refers to the Bible and read from Isaiah 65.1 in a Gideon bible he has available.<sup>284</sup> He does not describe being in the same room as, looking at, or working with the scrolls as a religious experience as we see other people do later. But he does still make a connection between the words of God in the Protestant biblical canon, and his work with the Isaiah scroll. Although he doesn’t say it explicitly, I interpret him as experiencing that the words in Isaiah 65 came to him in a supernatural or spiritual way.

---

<sup>280</sup> Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” 210.

<sup>281</sup> Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” 212.

<sup>282</sup> Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” 214.

<sup>283</sup> Kjeldsberg, “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics,” 214.

<sup>284</sup> Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, 27.

Another example of the sanctification of Dead Sea Scrolls is described by Weston Fields when he talks about the experience of Józef Milik working on the cave 4 material: “He himself says that he sometimes felt a “paranormal” force, something divine, even, was helping him find joins in the fragments.”<sup>285</sup> This expresses a belief that not only are the fragments holy objects, but the scholarly work on them is willed, condoned, and aided by God.

### 5.3.3.2 Non-scholars

There have also been several campaigns to bring the Dead Sea Scrolls to America. Bruce Porter claims that completing this mission will make the youths of America understand that “the Scripture is real and that the nation and freedom that we enjoy was founded on the old and the teachings of the Old and the New Testament.”<sup>286</sup> These are very big expectations to put on some old pieces of papyrus and parchment. Porter’s point seems to be not that the text itself will change the youths of America, but change will happen to them simply by seeing the fragments. The “power”, according to Porter, lies not in the content, but in the actual physical fragments. Because if the power had been in the actual words, then a transcription would do the same for the youths of America as the physical fragments are claimed to do. If we follow the logic of Bruce Porter, then all the fragments containing non-biblical text would be very dangerous and turn the youths of America into second temple Jewish sectarians. It should also be added that this presentation was promoted on Facebook like this: “All of the content is scripturally grounded and faith-promoting. The material is entirely consistent with scripture, drawn from historical documents, archaeology and the Bible.”<sup>287</sup> This presentation is pretty far away from the scholarly research I have referred to in this thesis, but it is nevertheless part of the discussion and shows a way of understanding the value of the scrolls that are also represented in the more scholarly community.

---

<sup>285</sup> Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 206.

<sup>286</sup> Bruce Porter, “New Developments with the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 25 April 2016, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KcF1\\_JAm04](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KcF1_JAm04). 1:13:44-1:13:55

This quote is interesting, especially since there is no fragment/manuscript from the New Testament among the Dead Sea Scrolls

<sup>287</sup> Nephite Explorer, 19 April 2016, [https://www.facebook.com/NephiteExplorer/posts/bruce-porter-will-be-presenting-the-latest-developments-regarding-the-dead-sea-s/947634972023521/?paipv=0&eav=AfYdn5loq69PdBug\\_PDGPizzNkgv2QMrYezUQPVK8VnJYTx17EcFT\\_5GxXhm9yDuZ-g&\\_rdr](https://www.facebook.com/NephiteExplorer/posts/bruce-porter-will-be-presenting-the-latest-developments-regarding-the-dead-sea-s/947634972023521/?paipv=0&eav=AfYdn5loq69PdBug_PDGPizzNkgv2QMrYezUQPVK8VnJYTx17EcFT_5GxXhm9yDuZ-g&_rdr).



### 5.3.3.3 Evangelical Institutions

Azusa Pacific University, a California University, bought five Dead Sea Scroll fragments in 2009. David Le Shana, from the APU board of trustees, went to an exhibit of the Dead Sea Scrolls presented by Legacy Ministries International in Arizona before the purchase. He describes the exhibit as “a spiritually moving experience.”<sup>288</sup> Sometime after the exhibition in Arizona, APU ended up acquiring five fragments. President Jon A. Wallace said this about the acquisition: “Having these documents also reinforces APU’s history and commitment to the authority of Scripture.”<sup>289</sup> To APU, the Dead Sea Scrolls are so much more than just ancient artifacts. Andrew Stimer, chair of the Legacy Ministry International, describes the process like this: “It was evident from the beginning that God was linking together people with a oneness of spirit and purpose.”<sup>290</sup> The five fragments bought by APU are now well-known modern forgeries or post-2002-Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments. Here we see that the scroll fragments function as sacred objects leading to emotional and religious experiences and objects that give credibility to Christian institutions as they “reinforce APU’s history and commitment to the authority of Scripture.” This again underscores that the Dead Sea Scrolls are not perceived as valuable by virtue of being ancient artifacts, but they are valuable by virtue of confirming the biblical canon and the authority and accuracy of the Bible.

Another evangelical Christian institution that has bought Dead Sea Scroll fragments is Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. In January of 2010, they purchased several fragments from the book of Daniel, and Paige Patterson, the seminary president at the time, had this to say about the acquisition: “I am particularly grateful for having the Daniel fragments,’ ... ‘Daniel is one of the most attacked books in the Bible.’”<sup>291</sup> Patterson considered the fragments to support his early dating of the book of Daniel.<sup>292</sup> Here, we see another example of Dead Sea Scroll fragments being used to verify the biblical canon and a specific theological understanding.

---

<sup>288</sup> Cynndie Hoff, “Treasures of the Bible: Discovery and Scholarship (Part 1),” *Azusa Pacific University*, 23 April 2010, <https://www.apu.edu/articles/15455/>.

<sup>289</sup> Hoff, “Treasures of the Bible: Discovery and Scholarship (Part 1).”

<sup>290</sup> Hoff, “Treasures of the Bible: Discovery and Scholarship (Part 1).”

<sup>291</sup> Keith Collier, “SWBTS Obtains Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments,” *Baptist Press*, 21 January 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20100122021332/http://www.bpnews.net/Bpnews.Asp?Id=32100>.

<sup>292</sup> Collier, “SWBTS Obtains Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments.”

### 5.3.4 Connection to Humanity and the Modern Man

In addition to connecting the Dead Sea Scrolls to the biblical canon, Christianity, and Judaism, some even connect the scrolls to humanity. James Charlesworth begins the first chapter of the two-volume-work *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* like this:

*Origins are fundamental. We are each what we have become because of the way we began genetically and socially. Often our choices are dictated because of our beginnings, even though we may be only tacitly aware (if at all) of that dimension of our lives.* <sup>293</sup>

The topic Charlesworth is exploring in this chapter is “The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years of Discovery and Controversy” and it is an attempt at summing up the last fifty years of scholarship on the scrolls. When he opens this discussion with the paragraph cited above, he makes lofty claims regarding the importance of the scrolls. Even if you are not a Christian, a Jew, or have any interest in the Bible or ancient history, the Dead Sea Scrolls are still vital to you and your existence if you identify as a human being. This way of understanding the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls reaches out and attempts, as one last hail Mary, to compel literally everyone. If you are a person, if you are alive today, these ancient texts are important to you.

### 5.3.5 Possible Effects of this Understanding

Valuing the scrolls as holy objects leads to the scrolls being treated differently than viewing them as holy texts. According to the examples shown above, this view has led to an overemphasized focus on gaining access to the scrolls. Evangelical institutions like APU and SWBTS have spent millions of dollars on getting to own and house some fragments (although they all turned out to be modern forgeries). The fragments have also been paraded around in museum exhibitions, especially in the US.<sup>294</sup> This seems to be because of the belief that the Dead Sea Scroll fragments are holy objects. While the text plays a key role in allowing the

---

<sup>293</sup> James H. Charlesworth, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Texas: BIBAL Press, 2000), 1:1.

<sup>294</sup> Ludvig A. Kjeldsberg, “A Database of Dead Sea Scrolls Exhibitions,” n.d., [https://ludvik-a-kjeldsberg.com/academic\\_research/projects-dsexhibitions/](https://ludvik-a-kjeldsberg.com/academic_research/projects-dsexhibitions/).

scrolls to be viewed in this way, their spiritualization moves beyond the semantic dimension to the iconic.

A further consequence of this way of viewing the scrolls is that their value has grown out of proportion to the textual value of the fragments. This is most clearly illustrated by the modern forgeries that have been sold for millions of dollars but are also evident in some of our missing Dead Sea Scrolls: The fact that some of the fragments have been stolen, kept as keepsakes, or given as gifts shows that the value for the artifact as holy item is prized and valued above the worth of the materials.

#### ***5.4 Conclusion***

According to James W. Watts, all texts carry the three dimensions at the same time. The only difference is how the dimensions are ritualized, emphasized, and perceived by the people relating to the texts in different ways. Losses have been known and tolerated for a very long time. How has viewing the Dead Sea Scroll fragments as holy texts or holy objects contributed to that?

In the examples I have shown above, the dimensions are not represented completely apart from each other. The value of the scrolls is both because of the religious text on them and because of the ancient material it is written on. In addition, most people are unable to read the Hebrew or Greek text on the fragments. This makes the translation and identification more relevant, and thus removes the text further from the physical object in the mind of the non-scholar.

When looking at the phenomena I have described in this thesis, the different phenomena that either explain or help explain missing or destroyed fragments, we see that two of Watts' dimensions are emphasized differently. Phenomena like modern cutting, migrating fragments and the subsequent lack of register, fragments dropping out of unsealed plates during movement, and fragments blowing away in the wind seem to emphasize the Dead Sea Scrolls as holy text (the semantic dimension). Phenomena like theft, souvenirs, and parading fragments around in museum exhibitions seems to emphasize the fragments as holy objects (the iconic dimension). The Dead Sea Scroll fragments that have been given away as gifts, e.g., the Ishmael Papyrus, seem to me like a peculiar phenomenon. Either fragment are given away because the physical artifact is not the most valuable aspect, or fragments are given away as precious gifts because they are viewed as holy objects. Another example that is hard to pin down is the

example from chapter 4.3.3.4 where a fragment was stuck under a scholar's shoe. On the one side, this shows that the fragments were handled in such a way that this could even happen. On the other side, everyone in this narrative, the storyteller included, seems mortified that this could even happen. If they had viewed the value as mainly holy text, then they would probably not react like that. But if the fragments were handled like holy objects, then the fragment would not have been in a position for it to end up under someone's shoe.

In conclusion, there has not been a consistent narrative about what makes the scrolls valuable. The two narratives I have presented in this chapter have been evoked in different settings, aiming at different goals.

## 6 Conclusion and Outlook

One of the essential takeaways after the work on this thesis is that the Dead Sea Scroll material is not static; the fragments have been moved and destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally, they have disappeared because of theft, or when they were moved in between different institutions, and some fragments has been given away as souvenirs. More knowledge about the physical material of the Dead Sea Scrolls is needed; several times during my work with this thesis, I've had unanswered questions. I wish more knowledge about conservation practices existed, but I fear that knowledge might be, ironically, lost.

I hope to have shown how the perception of the scholars affects the handling of the material, which again affects the knowledge about the material in the years after the initial scholarly work. It is true that research continually evolves, and that new questions are always asked. But the problem when researching physical material is that the way it was handled by the first scholars affects the knowledge contemporary and future scholars have of the material.

In the last chapter, I looked at what I believe to be part of the reason for the lost fragments: How their value has been perceived. Using the framework of a text's three dimensions introduced by James W. Watts and the ideas of New Philology, I showed how especially the semantic and iconic dimension has guided much of the physical treatment of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The last chapter shows that when people have emphasized the Dead Sea Scrolls as holy text over them as holy objects, losses have occurred.

What is left now is publishing a complete inventory list. I have heard rumors that the work of making such a list has already started, but I am not aware of how long this work has progressed. A complete inventory list will give scholars a much-needed overview of what the physical material that is the Dead Sea Scrolls looks like today. Scholars do not only need to know what the material used to look like in the 50s and early 60s, but what the material looks like today. The need for this type of knowledge is partially based on the emergence of New Philology.

With this thesis, I hope to have contributed to more knowledge and awareness regarding lost Dead Sea Scroll fragments. I hope to have shown that this is not a miniscule problem and that the explanations are manifold and complex. There is still much more work that can be done with the database. Nowhere near every entry has been analyzed, and only a few out of all the

relevant questions have been asked. I hope to have provided scholars with a starting point for asking more questions about lost fragments and the physical material of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

## 7 Bibliography

Aadland, Ingunn. "A Forgotten Deuteronomy (4Q31) Fragment." *Rev. Qumrân* 26.3 (2014): 425–29.

Art Gallery of New South Wales, National Gallery of Victoria, and Auckland War Memorial Museum, eds. *Dead Sea Scrolls: An Exhibition of Scrolls and Archaeological Objects from the Collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia, 14 July - 15 October 2000, National Gallery of Victoria, Australia, Early 2001, Auckland Museum, New Zealand, Late 2001*. Sydney, 2000.

ASOR Board of Trustees. "Policy on Professional Conduct," 24 November 2019. <https://www.asor.org/about-asor/policies/policy-on-professional-conduct/>.

Ben-Dov, Jonathan. "Misplaced Fragments," 11 December 2022.

Benzine, Vittoria. "A Missing Scrap of a Dead Sea Scroll That Mysteriously Ended Up in Montana Has Been Returned to Israel," 9 September 2022. <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/dead-sea-scroll-montana-2172612>.

Beta Analytic Testing Laboratory. "How Does Carbon Dating Work," n.d. <https://www.radiocarbon.com/about-carbon-dating.htm>.

Biondi, Lee. *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: A Brief History of the Bible from Antiquity to Modern America: Told through Ancient Manuscripts and Early European and American Printed Bibles*. Camarillo, Calif.: Spire Resources, Inc., 2009.

Bonani, Georges, Susan Ivy, Willy Wölfli, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell. "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 34.3 (1992): 834–49.

Boyd-Alkalay, Esther, and Lena Libman. "The Conservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Laboratories of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem." *Restaurator* 18.2 (1997).

Boyer, Robert. "Making Scrolls Accessible." *The Pilot*, 15 March 2005. <https://web.archive.org/web/20050317052903/http://www.thepilot.com/features/r031605Scrolls.html>.

Brown, Judith Anne. *John Marc Allegro: The Maverick of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Kindle Edition. Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2005.

Burke, Daniel. "Mystery at the New Bible Museum: Are Its Dead Sea Scrolls Fake?," 18 November 2017. <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/11/17/us/bible-museum-fakes/index.html>.

Burrows, Millar. *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Secker & Warbug, 1958.

———. "The Contents and Significance of the Manuscripts." *Biblic. Archaeol.* 11.3 (1948): 57–61.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Secker & Warbug, 1956.

Caldararo, Niccolo. "Storage Conditions and Physical Treatments Relating to the Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 21–32.

Charlesworth, James H. *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Vol. 1. Texas: BIBAL Press, 2000.

———, ed. *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*. Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2006.

Collier, Keith. "SWBTS Obtains Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments." *Baptist Press*, 21 January 2010. <https://web.archive.org/web/20100122021332/http://www.bpnews.net/Bpnews.Asp?Id=32100>.

Cross, Frank M. "The Development of the Jewish Scripts." Pages 1–43 in *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Paleography and Epigraphy*. Brill, 2003.

Dever, William G. "Archaeology and the Six Day War." *Biblic. Archaeol.* 30.3 (1967): 73, 102–8.

Driscoll, Mark James. "The Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New." *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*. Edited by Judy Quinn and Emily Lethbridge. The Viking Collection volume 18. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010.

Elgvin, Torleif. "Dødehavsrullene," 15 September 2022. <https://snl.no/Dødehavsrullene>.



———. “Flytting Av Fragmenter,” 22 March 2023.

Elgvin, Torleif, and Årstein Justnes. “Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments” (n.d.).

Eshel, Hanan. “The Fate of Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present.” Pages 32–49 in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection*. Edited by Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michaël Langlois. London ; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2016.

European Research Council. “The Hands That Wrote the Bible: Digital Paleography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 2015. <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/640497>.

Fields, Weston W. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

———. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Short History*. 1st ed. Leiden Boston: Brill, 2006.

García Martínez, Florentino, and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera. *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden, Netherlands ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1995.

Gayer, Asaf, 25 March 2021. <https://twitter.com/AsafGayer/status/1375012008479838212>.

———, 25 March 2021. <https://twitter.com/AsafGayer/status/1375025944075833352>.

Gitin, Seymour (Sy). *The Road Taken: An Archaeologist's Journey to the Land of the Bible*. Penn State University Press, 2021.

Hægeland, Signe Marie. “Tapte Fragmenter.” Dødehavsrullene, n.d. <https://open.spotify.com/episode/4Mci7VIqdMmNFzZtbZpQUP?si=rSBfmbTGTv-snlZQeQ1BoA>.

Hahn, Olivia, Ira Rabin, Timo Wolff, Birgit Kanngiesser, Wolfgang Malzer, Ioanna Mantouvalou, Ulrich Schade, Admir Masic, and Gisela Weinberg. “Non-Destructive Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” Jerusalem, 25 May 2008.

Havis, Michael, and Sam Tonkin. “Mysterious Dead Sea Scroll That Was Lost to History Turns up More than 6,000 Miles Away in the US after Being given as a Gift in Jerusalem Nearly 60

Years Ago,” 8 September 2022. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-11194033/Dead-Sea-Scroll-lost-history-turns-6-000-miles-away-US.html>.

Hoff, Cynndie. “Treasures of the Bible: Discovery and Scholarship (Part 1).” *Azusa Pacific University*, 23 April 2010. <https://www.apu.edu/articles/15455/>.

Isbouts, Jean-Pierre. “Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? Science May Have the Answer,” 3 August 2022. <https://www.nationalgeographic.co.uk/history-and-civilisation/2022/08/who-wrote-the-dead-sea-scrolls-science-may-have-the-answer>.

Israel Antiquities Authority. “Learn About the Scrolls,” n.d. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/learn-about-the-scrolls/introduction>.

Israel Antiquities Spokesperson. “Extremely Rare Document from the First Temple-Period Repatriated to Israel,” 7 September 2022. <https://www.gov.il/en/departments/news/extremely-rare-document-from-first-temple-period-repatriated-to-israel-7-sep-2022>.

Jull, A. J. Timothy, Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov. “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert.” *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 11–19.

Justnes, Årstein. *De falske fragmentene og forskerne som gjorde dem til dødehavsruller.*, 2019.

———, 6 October 2021. <https://twitter.com/arsteinjustnes/status/1445770102427643908>.

———, 7 September 2021. <https://twitter.com/arsteinjustnes/status/1435114768843616256>.

Justnes, Årstein, and Signe Marie Hægeland. “Missing: Have You Seen These Scrolls?” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 2022.

King, Jasper. “Lost Dead Sea Scroll Found 6,000 Miles from Where It Vanished 2,700 Years Ago,” 11 September 2022. <https://metro.co.uk/2022/09/11/dead-sea-scroll-dating-back-2700-found-6000-miles-away-in-the-us-17350948/>.

Kjeldsberg, Ludvig A. “A Database of Dead Sea Scrolls Exhibitions,” n.d. [https://ludvik-a-kjeldsberg.com/academic\\_research/projects-dsexhibitions/](https://ludvik-a-kjeldsberg.com/academic_research/projects-dsexhibitions/).

———. “Christian Dead Sea Scrolls? The Post-2002 Fragments as Modern Protestant Relics.” Pages 207–18 in *The Museum of the Bible, A Critical Introduction*. London: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019.

Knight, Rosie. “The Museum of the Bible’s Dead Sea Scrolls Are Fake,” 16 March 2020. [https://nerdist.com/article/dead-sea-scrolls-museum-of-bible-fake-forges/?fbclid=IwAR2EOHwAiryAhn2pyLW7bMY1-Cj9AP3UG1KyvN2q9wbQXwFjnBctg\\_NAtAA](https://nerdist.com/article/dead-sea-scrolls-museum-of-bible-fake-forges/?fbclid=IwAR2EOHwAiryAhn2pyLW7bMY1-Cj9AP3UG1KyvN2q9wbQXwFjnBctg_NAtAA).

KU Leuven Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies. “Eibert Tigchelaar,” n.d. <https://theo.kuleuven.be/en/research/researchers/00062160/view?pubsonpage=20&sortby=sdate&fromnr=1&pubtype=#pubs>.

Lied, Liv Ingeborg, and Hugo Lundhaug, eds. “Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology.” Pages 1–19 in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*. Texte Und Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte Der Altchristlichen Literatur Band 175. Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.

Maranz, Felice. “The Case of the Missing Scrolls.” *The Jerusalem Report*. Jerusalem, 26 December 1991.

Monger, Matthew Phillip. “4Q216 - A New Material Analysis.” *Semitica* 60 (2018): 309–33.

Moss, Candida R., and Joel S. Baden. *Bible Nation: The United States of Hobby Lobby*. Kindle Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Mroczek, Eva. “The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature.” *J. Anc. Jud.* 6.1 (2015): 2–35.

Nephite Explorer, 19 April 2016. [https://www.facebook.com/NephiteExplorer/posts/bruce-porter-will-be-presenting-the-latest-developments-regarding-the-dead-sea-s/947634972023521/?paipv=0&eav=AfYdn5Ioq69PdBug\\_PDGPizzNkgv2QMrYezUQPVK8VnJYTx17EcFT\\_5GxXhm9yDuZ-g&\\_rdr](https://www.facebook.com/NephiteExplorer/posts/bruce-porter-will-be-presenting-the-latest-developments-regarding-the-dead-sea-s/947634972023521/?paipv=0&eav=AfYdn5Ioq69PdBug_PDGPizzNkgv2QMrYezUQPVK8VnJYTx17EcFT_5GxXhm9yDuZ-g&_rdr).

Porter, Bruce. “New Developments with the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 25 April 2016.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KcF1\\_JAm04](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2KcF1_JAm04).

Rabin, Ira. "Archaeometry of the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discov.* 20.1 (2013): 124–42.

Rabin, Ira, George Brooke, John Hodgson, Manolis Pantos, and John Prag. "The Ronald Reed Archive at the John Rylands University Library." *E-Preserv. Sci.* 4 (2007): 9–12.

Reed, Stephen A. "Cave 5 Material," 24 October 2022.

———. "Migrating Fragments of Cave 4," Forthcoming.

———. "Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls Material," 8 March 2023.

———. "What Is a Fragment?" *J. Jew. Stud.* 45 (1994): 123–25.

Reed, Stephen A., Marilyn J. Lundberg, and Michael B. Phelps. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs, and Museum Inventory Numbers*. Resources for Biblical Study no. 32. Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1994.

Religion, Culture and Society: University of Groningen. "Hans van Der Plicht (University of Groningen) Radiocarbon Dating the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Youtube.Com*, 20 April 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z0osmcXwggY&t=>.

Riggs, Christina. *Photographing Tutankhamun: Archaeology, Ancient Egypt, and the Archive*. First edition. London ; New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018.

Schiffman, Lawrence H., and Andrew D. Gross. *The Temple Scroll: 11q19, 11q20, 11q21, 4q524, 5q21 with 4q365a*. Dead Sea Scrolls Editions 1. Boston: Brill, 2021.

Shanks, Hershel. "Chief Scroll Editor Opens Up—An Interview with Emanuel Tov." *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 2002, 28 no. 3 edition.

———. "Preserve the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Biblic. Archaeol. Rev.* 18.1 (1992): 62–63, 70.

Steinmeyer, Nathan, and Joe Uziel. "From Dirt to Decipherment: An Interview with the IAA's Joe Uziel." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Past, Present, and Future*. Washington: Biblical Archaeology Review, 2022.

Strafford, Joe. “Dead Sea Scroll Fragments Thought to Be Blank Reveal Text.” *The University of Manchester*, 15 May 2020. <https://www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/dead-sea-scroll-fragments-thought-to-be-blank-reveal-text/>.

Taylor, R. E., and Ofer Bar-Yosef. *Radiocarbon Dating: An Archaeological Perspective*. Second edition. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, Inc, 2014.

The Royal Ontario Museum. “Dead Sea Scrolls: Words That Changed the World,” n.d. <https://www.rom.on.ca/en/about-us/newsroom/press-releases/dead-sea-scrolls-words-that-changed-the-world>.

Tigheelaar, Eibert. “Identifications of Qumran Cave 4 Deuteronomy Fragments since DJD 14,” 2021.

———. “PAM 43.660 Frag. 81 (IAA Plate 92, Frag. 63) a 4Q319 (4QOtot) Fragment,” 2021.

———. “PAM 43.689 Frag. 33 (IAA Plate 90 Frags. 86-88) Identified as a 4Q1 (4QGen-Exoda) Fragment (Gen 32:29-30?),” 2021.

du Toit, Jaqueline S., and Jason Kalman. “Albright’s Legacy? Homogeneity in the Introduction of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Public.” *J. Northwest Semit. Lang.* 36.2 (2010): 23–48.

Tov, Emanuel, Stephen J. Pfann, Stephen A. Reed, Marilyn J. Lundberg, Palestine Archaeological Museum, Israel, Hekhal ha-sefer (Jerusalem), and Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*. Microform. Leiden : New York: IDC ; E.J. Brill, 1993.

Trever, John C. *The Untold Story of Qumran*. Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1965.

Tucker, James M., 25 February 2021. [https://twitter.com/James\\_M\\_Tucker/status/1364831453637472260](https://twitter.com/James_M_Tucker/status/1364831453637472260).

Watts, James W. “The Three Dimensions of Scripture.” Pages 9–32 in *Iconic Books and Texts*. Edited by James W. Watts. Paperback edition. Bristol, CT: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2015.

“Conservation.” *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*, n.d.

<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/learn-about-the-scrolls/conservation>.

“Dead Sea Scroll Research Burgeoning.” *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 1992.

“Weston Fields,” n.d. <http://www.westonfields.com>.

## 8 Appendices

### 8.1 Bibliography for the Database

“ATS Acquires Artifacts.” 2005. *ATS Koinonia*, January: 4.

Biondi, Lee. 2009. *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: A Brief History of the Bible From Antiquity to Modern America – Told Through Ancient Manuscripts and Early European and American Printed Bibles*. Camarillo: Legacy Ministries International.

Brady, Christian. 2007. “New Genesis Text from the Judaeen Desert,” Targuman, 17 July, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170416224751/http://targuman.org:80/2007/07/17/new-genesis-text-from-the-judaeen-desert>

[Catalogue]. Not dated (2007–2009?). SCHØYEN COLLECTION, THE. Short Description Catalogue. Dead Sea Scroll materials.

Charlesworth, James H. 2007. “35 Scrolls Still in Private Hands.” *BAR* 33.5: 60–63, at 62.

Charlesworth, James H. 2008. “Announcing a Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of Nehemiah.” *Institute for Judaism and Christian Origins*, 20(?) July. <https://web.archive.org/web/20081026024708/http://www.ijco.org/?categoryId=28681>

Charlesworth, James H. 2009. “What Is a Variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of Deuteronomy.” *Maarav* 16: 201–12.

Davila, Jim. 2011. “OKC ‘Passages’ exhibition Dead Sea Scroll.” *PaleoJudaica*, 19 July. [https://paleojudaica.blogspot.com/2011\\_07\\_17\\_archive.html#815551511619373183](https://paleojudaica.blogspot.com/2011_07_17_archive.html#815551511619373183)

Davis, Kipp, Ira Rabin, Ines Feldman, Myriam Krutzsch, Hasia Rimon, Årstein Justnes, Torleif Elgvin and Michael Langlois. 2017. “Nine Dubious ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments from the Twenty-First Century.” *DSD* 24: 189–228.

Drawnel, Henryk. 2019. *Qumran Cave 4: The Aramaic Books of Enoch: 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Elgvin, Torleif. 2018. *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs During the Hasmonean and Early-Herodian Periods*.
- Elgvin, Torleif and Årstein Justnes. Forthcoming. *Cutting and Tearing in Dead Sea Scrolls and Fragments*.
- Eshel, Esther, and Hanan Eshel. 2005. "New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGen<sup>f</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XQpapEnoch." *DSD* 12:134–57.
- Eshel, Esther and Hanan Eshel. 2007. "A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran." *Meghillot* 5–6: 271–78.
- Eshel, Hanan. 2010. "Gleaning of Scrolls from the Judean Desert." Pages 47–87 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*. Edited by Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 90. Leiden: Brill.
- Eshel, Hanan. 2016. "The Fate of Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present." Pages 45–70 in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collections*. Edited by Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis and Michael Langlois. The Library of Second Temple Studies 71. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.
- Eshel, Hanan. 2016. "The Fate of Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present." Pages 33–49 in *Gleanings from the Caves*.
- Feltman, Rachel. 2017. "Scientists just found signs of a stolen Dead Sea Scroll." <https://www.popsoci.com/dead-sea-scroll-cave-stolen/>
- Fields, Weston W. 2006. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Short History*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 2008. *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Revised and expanded edition. Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans.
- Flint, Peter W. 2014. "Unrolling the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls." Pages 229–50 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*. Edited by William P. Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



- Frank, Harry Thomas. "How the Dead Sea Scrolls Were Found," *BAR* 1.4 (1975): 1, 7–11, 14–16, 28–29, at 10.
- Greshko, Michael. 2020a. "Exclusive: 'Dead Sea Scrolls' at the Museum of the Bible Are All Forgeries." *National Geographic*, 13 March. Original version.  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20200313165948/https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/03/museum-of-the-bible-dead-sea-scrolls-forgeries/>
- Greshko, Michael. 2020b. "Exclusive: 'Dead Sea Scrolls' at the Museum of the Bible Are All Forgeries," *National Geographic*, 13 March. Updated and revised version.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20200316092635/https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/03/museum-of-the-bible-dead-sea-scrolls-forgeries/?fbclid=IwAR3hv1skM\\_T1z7brNwuA\\_6KOPZJccR5Y-bqqykh3EqnztuYwkQ-1cxV2Bs4](https://web.archive.org/web/20200316092635/https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/2020/03/museum-of-the-bible-dead-sea-scrolls-forgeries/?fbclid=IwAR3hv1skM_T1z7brNwuA_6KOPZJccR5Y-bqqykh3EqnztuYwkQ-1cxV2Bs4)
- Hahn, Oliver et al. 2017. "Non-Destructive Investigation of the Scroll Material: '4QComposition Concerning Divine Providence' (4Q413)," *DSD* 14: 414–16.
- Johnson, Nick. 2007. "Ancient items, modern wonder." *St. Petersburg Times*, 12 August.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20111108031145/http://www.sptimes.com/2007/08/12/Neighborhoodtimes/Ancient\\_items\\_modern.shtml](https://web.archive.org/web/20111108031145/http://www.sptimes.com/2007/08/12/Neighborhoodtimes/Ancient_items_modern.shtml)
- Kapera, Zdzisław J., and Robert Feather. 2011. *Doyen of the Dead Sea Scrolls: An in depth biography of Józef Tadeusz Milik (1922–2006)*. Kraków — Mogilany: Enigma, 2011.
- Lange, Armin. 2009. *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Totem Meer*. Vol. 1 of *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Magness, Jodi. 2002. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids, MI / Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans.
- Maranz, Felice. 1991. "The Case of the Missing Scrolls." *The Jerusalem Report*, 26 December: 6.

- Popovic, Mladen. 2011. “4Q186. 4QZodiacal Physiognomy: A Full Edition.” Pages 221–258 in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays*. Edited by George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven. Leiden: Brill.
- Puech, Émile. 1980. “Fragment d’un Rouleau de la Genèse provenant du Désert de Juda (Gen. 33, 18 – 34,3).” *RevQ* 38: 163–66.
- Reed, Stephen A. 1990. “Missing Items Missplat 5–8–90”. Unpublished list.
- Reed, Stephen A. 1991. *Dead Sea Scroll Inventory Project: Lists of Documents, Photographs and Museum Plates. Fascicle 1: Qumran Cave 1*. Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center.
- Reed, Stephen A. 1994. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers*. Revised and edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg with the collaboration of Michael B. Phelps. SBL Resources for Biblical Study 32. Georgia, Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Reed, Stephen A. Forthcoming. *Migrating Fragments of Cave 4*
- Schøyen, Martin. 2016. “Acquisition and Ownership History: A Personal Reflection.” Pages 27–32 in *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts in The Schøyen Collection*. Edited by Torleif Elgvin, with Kipp Davis and Michael Langlois. LSTS 71. London: T&T Clark.
- Trever, John C. 1948. “Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 111: 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1355982>.
- Tigchelaar, Eibert. 2004. ““These are the names of the Spirits of ...”: A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a).” *Revue de Qumran* 21:529-547
- Tigchelaar, Eibert. 2017. “A Provisional List of Unprovenanced, Twenty-First Century, Dead Sea Scrolls-like Fragments.” *DSD* 24:173–88.
- Tigchelaar, Eibert. 2019. “Peshar on the True Israel, Commentary on Canticles?” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 26: 61-75

Tigheelaar, Eibert. 2021 “PAM 43.689 frag. 33 (IAA Plate 90 frags. 86-88) Identified as a 4Q1 (4QGen-Exoda) fragment (Gen 32:29-30?)”

Tov, Emanuel. 1992. “The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11.” *JJS*.

The DJD-series’ abbreviations:

- DJD 1        Barthélemy, Dominique, and Józef T. Milik. 1955. *Qumran Cave 1*. DJD I. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 5        Allegro, John M. 1968. *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*. DJDJ V. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 9        Skehan, Patrick W., Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson. 1992. *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. DJD IX. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 10        Qimron, Elisha, and John Strugnell. 1994. *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah*. DJD X. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 11        Eshel, Esther, et al. 1998. *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. DJD XI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 12        Ulrich, Eugene C., and Frank Moore Cross. 1994. *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers*. DJD XII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 13        Attridge, Harold W., et al. 1994. *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*. DJD XIII. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- DJD 14        Ulrich, Eugene C., et al. 1995. *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy to Kings*. DJDXIV. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 15        Ulrich, Eugene C., et al. 1997. *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 16        Ulrich, Eugene C., et al. 2000. *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*. DJD XVI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 17        Cross, Frank Moore, et al. 2005. *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel*. DJD XVII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 19        Broshi, Magen, et al. 1995. *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. DJD XIX. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 20        Elgvin, Torleif, et al. 1997. *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. DJD XX. Oxford: Clarendon.

- DJD 21 Talmon, Shemaryahu, Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Uwe Glessmer. 2001. *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts*. DJD XXI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 22 Brooke, George J., et al. 1996. *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. DJD XXII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 23 García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude. 1998. *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)*. DJD XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 25 Puech 1998. *Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579): Qumran Cave 4.XVIII*. DJD XXV. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 26 Alexander and Vermes. 1998. *Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. DJD XXVI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 28 Gropp, Douglas M. 2001. *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri for Wadi Daliyeh*; Eileen Schuller et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. DJD XXVIII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 29 Chazon, Esther G., et al. 1999. *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*. DJD XXIX. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 30 Dimant, Devorah. 2001. *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*. DJD XXX. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 31 Puech 2001. *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549*. DJD XXXI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 32/2 Ulrich and Flint. 2010. *Qumran Cave 1. II: The Isaiah Scrolls*. DJD XXXII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 33 Pike, Dana M., Skinner, Andrew C. 2001. *Unidentified Fragments*. DJD XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 34 Strugnell, John, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin. 1999. *Sapiential Texts, Part 2: Cave 4.XXIV*. DJD XXXIV. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 36 Pfann, Stephen J. 2000. *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts*; Philip S. Alexander et al., *Miscellanea, Part 1*. DJD XXXVI. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 37 Puech 2009. *Qumran Grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575a, 580–587*. DJD XXXVII. Oxford: Clarendon.
- DJD 40 Stegemann, Hartmut and Schuller, Eileen. 2009. *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*. DJD XL. Oxford: Clarendon

## ***8.2 Database: Lost Dead Sea Scroll Fragments***

Line	Siglum/-a	Columns/Fragment(s)	Name(s)/Description	Sources	Found - Replies	Missing/Destroyed (Found?)
1			"Ancient looking and disintegrating scroll" of Daniel?	Fields 2009:498		
2			"Large pieces of scrolls"	Trever 1977:150 Fields 2009:296 Hanan Eshel 2016:49 note 51		Destroyed
3	1QH <sup>a</sup>	XIV*	Hodayot <sup>a</sup>	DJD 40:183-84		Destroyed
4	1QH <sup>a</sup>	XX:31*	Hodayot <sup>a</sup>	DJD 40:259		Destroyed
5	1QH <sup>a</sup>	XXV:8 (frg. 46 i 1)	Hodayot <sup>a</sup>	DJD 40:292		Destroyed
6	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	Cover Sheet	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	Trever 1948:5; see also Trever 1965: 196 n.19 DJD 32/2:7		Destroyed
7	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	Six pieces	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	Trever, The Untold Story, 43 (cited from DJD 32/2:17)		Destroyed
8	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	Small pieces	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 32.2:7-8		Destroyed
9	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	XVI-XIX	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 32.2:59		Destroyed
10	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	II (bottom)	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 32.2:98		Destroyed
11	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	V (bottom)	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 32.2:100		Destroyed
12	1QIsa <sup>a</sup>	VII (bottom)	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 32.2:100		Destroyed
13	1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	General	Isaiah <sup>b</sup>	DJD 32.2:22		Destroyed
14	Gen	5*	Genesis	DJD 1:50		Destroyed
15	Gen	11*	Genesis	Martin S. Stomnás 21.12.21		Destroyed
16	1Q4	50	Deuteronomy <sup>a</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
17	1Q5	11*	Deuteronomy <sup>b</sup>	Martin S. Stomnás' observation		Destroyed
18	1Q5	49	Deuteronomy <sup>b</sup>	Missing from PAM 43.751		Missing
19	1Q8	frg	Isaiah <sup>a</sup>	DJD 1:66		Missing
20	1Q19	6*	Noah	Reed 1994:20		Missing
21	1Q21	6	Testament of Levi ar	Reed 1994:21		Missing
22	1Q21	20	Testament of Levi ar	Reed 1994:21		Missing
23	1Q21	43	Testament of Levi ar	Reed 1994:21		Missing
24	1Q22	29	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
25	1Q22	30	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
26	1Q22	31	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
27	1Q22	32	Words of Moses	Reed 1994:21		Missing
28	1Q22	37	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
29	1Q22	38*	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
30	1Q22	38*	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
31	1Q22	40	Words of Moses	Reed 1994:21		Missing
32	1Q22	46	Words of Moses	No new photographs		Missing
33	1QS	Cover sheet	Rule of the Community	Trever 1977/2003, pp. 149-150, p. 210 n. 2 (h/t Torleif Elgvin)		Missing
34	1QS		Rule of the Community	Frank 1975:10		Destroyed
35	1Qsb/1Q28b MS 1909	V:22-25	Rule of Benedictions	DJD 26:228		Destroyed
36	1Q28b	9	Rule of Benedictions	Reed 1994:24		Missing
37	1Q28b	10	Rule of Benedictions	Reed 1994:24		Missing
38	1Q28b	11	Rule of Benedictions	Reed 1994:24		Missing
39	1Q28b	12	Rule of Benedictions	Reed 1994:24		Missing
40	1Q28b	28	Rule of Benedictions	Missing from plate		Missing
41	1Q29	6	Liturgy of the Three Tongues of	Reed 1994:24		Missing
42	1Q29	8	Liturgy of the Three Tongues of	Reed 1994:24		Missing
43	1Q29	9	Liturgy of the Three Tongues of	Reed 1994:24		Missing
44	1Q29	12	Liturgy of the Three Tongues of	Reed 1994:24		Missing
45	1Q34bis	2*?	Festival Prayers	Brent Nongbri <a href="https://brentnongbri.com/2021/09/05/the-dead-sea-scrolls-of-new-jersey/">https://brentnongbri.com/2021/09/05/the-dead-sea-scrolls-of-new-jersey/</a>		Destroyed
46	1Q40	9*	Hymnic Composition?	No new photographs		Destroyed
47	1Q42	3	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:27		Missing
48	1Q44	6	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:27, 499	This frg. is now on plate 615	Missing (Found)
49	1Q45	9	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:27		Missing
50	1Q47	3	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:27		Missing
51	1Q47	5	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:27, 500		Missing
52	1Q69	29	Unclassified Fragments	Reed 1994:31		Missing
53	2Q16		Ruth <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994:34	This manuscript is now on plate 62	Missing (Found)
54			Cave 4	Fields 2006:113 Fields 2009: 149		Missing/Destroyed

55			General	Maranz 1991:6		Destroyed
56			General	DJD 31:xv-xvi		Missing
57			General	DJD 37:xxii		Missing
58		"Three tiny fragments"	Exod 1:10-11 + Gen?	DJD 12:1		Missing
59	4Q1	1	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (26.01.2023)		Missing
60	4Q1	3	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (27.01.2023)		Missing
61	4Q1	5 line 18	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	DJD 12:13		Destroyed
62	4Q1	5 line 19	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	DJD 12:13		Destroyed
63	4Q1	7	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (27.01.2023)		Missing
64	4Q1	8	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (28.01.2023)		Missing
65	4Q1	10	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (28.01.2023)		Missing
66	4Q1	11	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (30.01.2023)		Missing
67	4Q1	12	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (30.01.2023)		Missing
68	4Q1	13	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (30.01.2023)		Missing
69	4Q1	14	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (31.01.2023)		Missing
70	4Q1	15	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (31.01.2023)		Missing
71	4Q1	16	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (31.01.2023)		Missing
72	4Q1	18	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	DJD 12:18		Missing
73	4Q1	28	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (1.02.2023)		Missing
74	4Q1	57	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (1.02.2023)		Missing
75	4Q1	58	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (2.02.2023)		Missing
76	4Q1	61	Genesis-Exodus <sup>a</sup>	Justnes (2.02.2023)		Missing
77	4Q8		Genesis <sup>h-para</sup>	DJD 12:62		Missing
78	4Q8		Genesis <sup>h-title</sup>	DJD 12:64		Destroyed
79	4Q14	39	Exodus <sup>c</sup>	DJD 12:124		Destroyed
80	4Q20		Exodus <sup>j</sup>	DJD 12:149		Destroyed
81	4Q23	96	Lev-Num <sup>a</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
82	4Q27	X 12 line 5	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:223		Missing
83	4Q27	81d	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:261		Destroyed
84	4Q27	82a	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:261		Destroyed
85	4Q27	104 (T)	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:266		Missing
86	4Q27	105 (U)	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:267		Missing
87	4Q27	109 (X4)	Numbers <sup>b</sup>	DJD 12:267	The fig. is on plate 194 Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
88	4Q30	12*	Deuteronomy <sup>c</sup>	Cf. Tigheleaar		Missing
89	4Q31	I:13*-15*	Deuteronomy <sup>d</sup>	Aadland 2014		Missing
90	4Q37	35	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (3.02.2023)		Missing
91	4Q37	36	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (4.02.2023)		Missing
92	4Q37	37	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (5.02.2023)		Missing
93	4Q37	38	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (6.02.2023)		Missing
94	4Q37	39	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (6.02.2023)		Missing
95	4Q37	40	Deuteronomy <sup>j</sup>	Justnes (7.02.2023)		Missing
96	4Q38n	13	Deuteronomy <sup>k2</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 43.056		Missing
97	4Q42	12	Deuteronomy <sup>o</sup>	DJD 14:133		Missing
98	4Q43		Deuteronomy <sup>p</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing
99	4Q45	1	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:135		Unknown
100	4Q45	25*	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:142		Destroyed
101	4Q45	46	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:149		Missing
102	4Q45	50	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:150		Missing
103	4Q45	54	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:151		Destroyed
104	4Q45	59	paleoDeuteronomy <sup>f</sup>	DJD 9:151		Destroyed
105	4Q51		Samuel <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing
106	4Q51	III frg a	Samuel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 17:40		Destroyed
107	4Q51	9.1	Samuel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 17:207		Missing
108	4Q51a		pap Unclassified Fragments	DJD 17:217		Missing
109	4Q52, 4Q114, 4Q525	6	Samuel <sup>b</sup>	Fields 2006:51 Fields 2009:464	Stolen?	Missing
110	4Q52	6	Samuel <sup>b</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates] Reed 1994:481 DJD 17:231		Missing
111	4Q56	16	Isaiah <sup>b</sup>	Not on Plate 1141 or in SQE		Missing
112	4Q56	19	Isaiah <sup>b</sup>	Not on Plate 1141 or in SQE		Missing
113	4Q57	50	Isaiah <sup>c</sup>	DJD 15:51	This frg. Is now on plate 432 Asaf Gayer, 25.03.21	Missing (Found)
114	4Q57	70	Isaiah <sup>c</sup>	DJD 15:73		Missing

115	4Q68	2	Isaiah <sup>o</sup>	DJD 15:137	According to Reed this is identical to frg E of 4Q364 (Reed forthcoming).	Missing (Found)
116	4Q69a	One tiny fragment	Isaiah <sup>q</sup>	DJD 15:141		Missing
117	4Q69b	One tiny fragment	Isaiah <sup>r</sup>	DJD 15:143		Missing
118	4Q72	XX-XXIII	Jeremiah <sup>c</sup>	DJD 15:181 Elgvin, mail 24 Sept 2021	Modern Cutting Elgvin and Justnes,	Destroyed
119	4Q76	4	Minor Prophets <sup>a</sup>	DJD 15:221	Modern Cutting Elgvin and Justnes, forthcoming	Destroyed
120	4Q76	no. 18 (in DJD) and no. 6 on Leon Levy (one frg)	Minor Prophets <sup>a</sup>	Email from Beatriz Riestra confirm modern cutting	<sup>14</sup> C testing?	Destroyed
121	4Q78	9	XII <sup>c</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items on Plates] DJD 15:242		Missing
122	4Q78	9	XII <sup>c</sup>	Justnes (22.01.2023)		Missing
123	4Q83	7	Psalms <sup>a</sup>	DJD 16:14		Missing
124	4Q83	9 ii	Psalms <sup>a</sup>	DJD 16:7 DJD 16:15		Destroyed
125	4Q85	6*	Psalms <sup>c</sup>	DJD 16:49		Destroyed
126	4Q97	1	Psalms <sup>p</sup>	DJD 16:143		Missing
127	4Q100	4	Job <sup>b</sup>	DJD 16:179		Missing
128	4Q106	1	Canticles <sup>a</sup>	DJD 16:199 Elgvin 2018:8		Missing
129	4Q106	3	Canticles <sup>a</sup>	DJD 16:200		Missing
130	4Q106	4	Canticles <sup>a</sup>	Not on Plate 1118 or in SQE		Missing
131	4Q106	1-2*	Canticles <sup>a</sup>	Elgvin 2018:6		Missing
132	4Q106	2*	Canticles <sup>a</sup>	Elgvin 2018:15		Missing
133	4Q109	7	Qohelet <sup>a</sup>	DJD 16:225		Missing
134	4Q112	3 (perhaps others as well)	Daniel <sup>a</sup>	Plate 388		Missing
135	4Q113	14	Daniel <sup>b</sup>	DJD 16:256 DJD 16: 265		Missing
136	4Q113	19	Daniel <sup>b</sup>	DJD 16:256		Missing
137	4Q114, 4Q52, 4Q525		Daniel <sup>c</sup>	Fields 2006:51 Fields 2009:464	Stolen?	Missing
138	4Q114	1-2	Daniel <sup>c</sup>	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]; see also Reed 1994:482 DJD 16.269		Missing
139	4Q114	2 frgs.	Daniel <sup>c</sup>	Maranz 1991:6		Missing
140	4Q114	2 frgs.	Daniel <sup>c</sup>	Eshel 2016:41-42	Stolen?	Missing
141	4Q119	1* and 2	Septuagint Leviticus <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994:514		Missing
142	4Q131	1	Phylactery D	Justnes (8.2.2023)		Missing
143	4Q131	2	Phylactery D	Justnes (9.2.2023)		Missing
144	4Q131	3	Phylactery D	Justnes (11.2.2023)		Missing
145	4Q131	4	Phylactery D	Justnes (14.2.2023)		Missing
146	4Q131	5	Phylactery D	Justnes (15.2.2023)		Missing
147	4Q131	6	Phylactery D	Justnes (15.2.2023)		Missing
148	4Q132	1	Phylactery E	Justnes (17.2.2023)		Missing
149	4Q132	2	Phylactery E	Justnes (17.2.2023)		Missing
150	4Q132	3	Phylactery E	Justnes (18.2.2023)		Missing
151	4Q132	4	Phylactery E	Justnes (19.2.2023)		Missing
152	4Q132	5	Phylactery E	Justnes (19.2.2023)		Missing
153	4Q132	6	Phylactery E	Justnes (21.2.2023)		Missing
154	4Q134		Phylactery G	Reed 1994: xxxi; cf. pp. 67 and 507	On plate 809 in Feb. 2000	Missing (Found?)
155	4Q135		Phylactery H	Reed 1994:481		Missing
156	4Q136		Phylactery I	Reed 1994: xxxi; cf. p. 67 and 507	On plate 809 in Feb. 2000	Missing (Found?)
157	4Q138		Phylactery K	Reed 1994: xxxi; cf. p. 67 and 507	On plate 809 in Feb. 2000	Missing (Found?)
158	4Q143		Phylactery P	Reed 1994: xxxi; cf. p. 68 and 507	On plate 809 in Feb. 2000	Missing (Found?)
159	4Q147		Phylactery T	Reed 1994:68	On plate 809 in Feb. 2000	Missing (Found?)
160	4Q159	6	Ordinances <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"]		Missing
161	4Q159	9	Ordinances <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"]		Missing
162	4Q167	18	pHos <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
163	4Q167	24	pHos <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
164	4Q167	26	pHos <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs		Missing



165	4Q167	28	pHos <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
166	4Q167	36	pHos <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
167	4Q171	II	Psalms Peshera	John M Allegro, The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls [New York: Doubleday, 1958], 86; via Stephen Reed	Modern Cutting Elgvin and Justnes, forthcoming	Destroyed
168	4Q171		Psalms Peshera	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"] Reed 1994:74		Missing
169	4Q171		Psalms Peshera	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"] Reed 1994:74		Missing
170	4Q171	frg	Psalms Peshera	No new photographs		Missing
171	4Q171		Psalms Peshera	Frgs. visibly deteriorating		Destroyed
172	4Q172	8	Unidentified Peshera Fragments	No new photographs	Reed forthcoming	Missing
173	4Q172		Unidentified Peshera Fragments	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"] Reed 1994:75		Missing
174	4Q174		Florilegium	Reed 1994:75		Missing
175	4Q174	6*	Florilegium	No new photographs	Frag 6 is intact, but the lower part has been moved on the plate	Missing (Found)
176	4Q174	18*	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
177	4Q174	21	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
178	4Q174	?	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
179	4Q174	?	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
180	4Q174	?	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
181	4Q174	?	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
182	4Q174	24	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
183	4Q174	?	Florilegium	No new photographs		Missing
184	4Q174	1-2	Florilegium	Reed 1994:75		Missing
185	4Q176	1 frg	Tanhumim	Reed 1994:484		Missing
186	4Q176		Tanhumim	No new photographs		Missing
187	4Q176		Tanhumim	No new photographs		Missing
188	4Q176		Tanhumim	No new photographs		Missing
189	4Q177	Some frgs missing	Catena A (Midr Eschat <sup>b</sup> )	Reed 1994:76	Migrating frg, see Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
190	4Q177	Some frgs missing	Catena A (Midr Eschat <sup>b</sup> )	Reed 1994:76		Missing
191	4Q180	4	Ages of Creation	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"] Reed 1994:77		Missing
192	4Q186		Horoscope	Popovic 2011: 223	Modern Cutting Elgvin and Justnes,	Destroyed
193	4Q186	2	Horoscope	DJD 5:91	Modern Cutting Elgvin and Justnes,	Destroyed
194	4Q186	3	Horoscope	Popovic 2011:254		Missing
195	4Q197	4c	Tobit <sup>b</sup> ar	DJD 19:44–45		Missing
196	4Q202	9	Enoch <sup>b</sup>	Drawnel 2019:158		Missing
197	4Q203	12	Book of 4QGiants <sup>a</sup> ar	DJD 36:40		Destroyed
198	4Q204	14*	Enoch <sup>c</sup> ar	Drawnel 2019:258		Destroyed
199	4Q205	8 l. 4	En <sup>d</sup> ar	Drawnel 2019:335		Destroyed
200	4Q208	4	Astronomical Enoch <sup>a</sup> ar	DJD 36:109		Destroyed
201	4Q209	15	Astronomical Enoch <sup>b</sup> ar	DJD 36:154		Destroyed
202	4Q216	cut (minute piece)	Jub <sup>a</sup>	Monger 2023	<sup>14</sup> C testing?	Destroyed
203	4Q223	5	papJub <sup>h</sup>	No new photographs		Missing
204	4Q233		Places Fragments with place names	Fitzmyer 2008:57 Tov 2010:37		Missing
205	4Q238	Lines 3-6	Words of Judgement	DJD 28:119		Missing
206	4Q243	17	Pseudo-Daniel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 22:97 and 109		Missing
207	4Q243	29	Pseudo-Daniel <sup>a</sup>	DJD 22:117		Missing
208	4Q249z	65	Pap cryptA Miscellaneous Texts	DJD 36:631		Destroyed
209	4Q252	2*	Commentary on Genesis A	DJD 22:186–87		Destroyed
210	4Q252	3*	Commentary on Genesis A	DJD 22:187		Destroyed
211	4Q252	6*	Commentary on Genesis A	DJD 22:187		Destroyed
212	4Q254	1*	Commentary on Genesis C	DJD 22:217		Destroyed
213	4Q258	Lower part of the margin between ii–iii	S <sup>d</sup>	Visibly cut (plate 40 in 2015)	<sup>14</sup> C testing?	Destroyed
214	4Q265	4ii*	Miscellaneous Rules	Justnes (7.02.2023)		Destroyed
215	4Q266	large piece	Damascus Document <sup>a</sup> (M61)	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates] Reed 1994:501	704 is distributed into two plates: 704 and 704/1	Missing (Found)
216	4Q293	1	Work Containing Prayers C	DJD 29:19–20		Missing

217	4Q293	2	Work Containing Prayers C	DJD 29:21		Missing
218	4Q298	3–4 ii 9	cryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn	DJD 20:26		Missing
219	4Q299	30	Mysteries <sup>a</sup>	DJD 20:63		Missing
220	4Q299	63	Mysteries <sup>a</sup>	DJD 20:79		Missing
221	4Q308–312			Fitzmyer 2008:69		Missing
222	4Q308		Sapiential frags.?	Tov 2010:43		Missing
223	4Q309		Cursive Work ar	Tov 2010:43		Missing
224	4Q310		papText ar	Tov 2010:43		Missing
225	4Q311		papUnclassified text	Tov 2010:43		Missing
226	4Q312		Heb text in Phoenician cursive?	Tov 2010:43		Missing
227	4Q319		Otot	DJD 21:196		Missing Destroyed
228	4Q319	34–35	Otot	DJD 21:234		Missing
229	4Q319	48–110	Otot	DJD 21:234		Destroyed
230	4Q320	9	Calendrical Document/Mishmar	DJD 21:62		Missing
231	4Q329	2 frags.	Mishmarot G	DJD 21:143		Missing
232	4Q334	9	Ordo	DJD 21.167		Missing
233	4Q335–336	Manuscript	Astronomical Fragments?	Fitzmyer 2008:72 Tov 2010:45 See also Kapera and Feather 2011:222		Missing
234	4Q338		Genealogical List?	Fitzmyer 2008:72		Destroyed
235	4Q364	1 fig.	Reworked Pentateuch <sup>b</sup>	Reed 2021		Destroyed
236	4Q364	4a	Reworked Pentateuch <sup>b</sup>	DJD 13:207		Missing
237	4Q365	4	Reworked Pentateuch <sup>c</sup>	DJD 13:265 DJD 13:291 n. 2		Missing
238	4Q365	E	Reworked Pentateuch <sup>c</sup>	DJD 13:313		Missing
239	4Q365	L	Reworked Pentateuch <sup>c</sup>	DJD 13:315		Missing
240	4Q365	1, 4, 5	Temple <sup>a</sup>	DJD 13:320		Destroyed
241	4Q372	7	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:187		Missing
242	4Q372	21	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195		Missing
243	4Q372	22	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195		Missing
244	4Q372	23	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195–96		Missing
245	4Q372	24	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195–96		Missing
246	4Q372	25	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195–97		Missing
247	4Q372	26	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:195–97		Missing
248	4Q373	2	Narrative and Poetic Compositio	DJD 28:199		Missing
249	4Q376	1	Apocryphon of Moses <sup>b</sup>	DJD 19:121		Destroyed
250	4Q376	2	Apocryphon of Moses <sup>b</sup>	DJD 19:129		Missing
251	4Q377	4	Apocryphal Pentateuch B	No new photographs		Missing
252	4Q379	39	Apocryphon of Joshua <sup>b</sup>	DJD 22:287		Missing
253	4Q381	63	Non-Canonical Psalms B	DJD 11:147		Missing
254	4Q381	65	Non-Canonical Psalms B	DJD 11:147		Missing
255	4Q381	67	Non-Canonical Psalms B	DJD 11:148		Missing
256	4Q382	147	pap paraKings et al.	DJD 13:plate XLI		Missing
257	4Q382	150	pap paraKings et al.	DJD 13:plate XLI		Missing
258	4Q382	152	pap paraKings et al.	DJD 13:plate XLI		Missing
259	4Q382	153	pap paraKings et al.	DJD 13:plate XLI		Missing
260	4Q382	154	pap paraKings et al.	DJD 13:plate XLI		Missing
261	4Q384	27	papApocryphon of Jeremiah B?	Cut out photo on PAM 43.468		Missing
262	4Q386	1i 9	Pseudo-Ezekiel <sup>b</sup>	DJD 30:61		Destroyed
263	4Q386	3	Pseudo-Ezekiel <sup>b</sup>	DJD 30:69		Missing
264	4Q388	1	Pseudo-Ezekiel <sup>d</sup>	DJD 30:78		Missing
265	4Q388	2	Pseudo-Ezekiel <sup>d</sup>	DJD 30:78		Missing
266	4Q388	4	Pseudo-Ezekiel <sup>d</sup>	DJD 30:78, 80		Missing
267	4Q393	3*	Communal Confession	DJD 29:54		Destroyed
268	4Q397		MMT <sup>d</sup> ?	Reed 1994:477		Missing
269	4Q397	14–21 l. 9*	MMT <sup>d</sup>	DJD 10:28		Destroyed
270	4Q401	26	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>b</sup>	DJD 11:215		Missing
271	4Q405	41*	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	DJD 11:374		Missing
272	4Q405	45	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 44.498		Missing
273	4Q405	52	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	DJD 11:379		Missing
274	4Q405	75	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	Not on plate 503 anymore		Missing
275	4Q405	86	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 42.968		Missing
276	4Q405	89	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 43.500		Missing
277	4Q405	94	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	DJD 11:392		Missing
278	4Q405	95	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice <sup>f</sup>	Not on plate 503 anymore		Missing
279	4Q413	1*	Exhortation (earlier: Compositio	2007:414		

280	4Q413a	1*	Apocryphal Psalm B (earlier: Cc)	2007:414		
281	4Q415	26	Instruction <sup>a</sup>	DJD 34:69		Missing
282	4Q416	12, 13, 15	Instruction <sup>b</sup>	DJD 34:137		Missing
283	4Q417	1*	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	Email from Jonathan Ben-Dov 27 Nov 22		Destroyed
284	4Q417	8	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:198	Frg. 4 on plate 321 Asaf Gayer, 25.03.21	Missing (Found)
285	4Q417	9	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:199		Missing
286	4Q417	10	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:199		Missing
287	4Q418	286–295	Instruction <sup>d</sup>	DJD 34:467		Missing
288	4Q418a	203	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:424		Missing
289	4Q418a	6	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:483		Destroyed
290	4Q418a	13 (Wad C, layer 1)	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:487		Missing
291	4Q418a	15 (Wad D, layer 1)	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:488		Destroyed
292	4Q418a	18	Instruction <sup>c</sup>	DJD 34:491		Destroyed
293	4Q419	11	Instruction-like Composition A	Reed forthcoming	Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
294	4Q420	6	Ways of Righteousness <sup>a</sup>	DJD 20:182		Missing
295	4Q420	7	Ways of Righteousness <sup>a</sup>	DJD 20:182		Missing
296	4Q422	9	Paraphrase of Gen and Exod	Justnes (24.1.2023)		Missing
297	4Q422	E	Paraphrase of Gen and Exod	Justnes (25.1.2023)		Missing
298	4Q422	I	Paraphrase of Gen and Exod	Justnes (25.1.2023)		Missing
299	4Q422	M	Paraphrase of Gen and Exod	Justnes (25.1.2023)		Missing
300	4Q422		Unidentified fragments	DJD 13:434		Missing
301	4Q426	5*	Sapiential-Hymnic Work A	DJD 20:218		Destroyed
302	4Q426	12a	Sapiential-Hymnic Work A	DJD 20:223		Destroyed
303	4Q427	8i	Hodayot <sup>a</sup>	DJD 29:111		Missing
304	4Q428	2	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514		Missing
305	4Q428	29	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514		Missing
306	4Q428	30	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514		Missing
307	4Q428	31	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514		Missing
308	4Q428	33	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	DJD 29:164		Missing
309	4Q428	35	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
310	4Q428	37	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
311	4Q428	40	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
312	4Q428	41	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
313	4Q428	50	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
314	4Q428	51	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
315	4Q428	52	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Not on plate 514 or in SQE		Missing
316	4Q428	64	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	DJD 29:174		Missing
317	4Q428	69	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	DJD 29:174–175		Missing
318	4Q428	frg	Hodayot <sup>b</sup>	Cut out photo on PAM 43.515		Missing
319	4Q432	8 (Col XII)	papHodayot <sup>f</sup>	DJD 29:224		Missing
320	4Q432	11 (Col XVII)	papHodayot <sup>f</sup>	DJD 29:226		Missing
321	4Q432	23–24	papHodayot <sup>f</sup>	DJD 29:231		Missing
322	4Q434		Barkhi Nafshi <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1990 ("Missing Items—Plates Unknown")		Missing
323	4Q437	2 i	Barkhi Nafshi <sup>d</sup>	DJD 29:312		Destroyed
324	4Q440a		Hodayot-like Text D	DJD 36:347 note 3		Missing
325	4Q443	13	Personal Prayer	DJD 29:347		Missing
326	4Q445		Lament A	No new photographs		Missing
327	4Q446		Poetic Text A	No new photographs		Missing
328	4Q449	3	Prayer A?	Not on plate 186		Missing
329	4Q462	3	Narrative C	Justnes 23.1.2023		Missing
330	4Q463	3	Narrative D	No new photographs		Missing
331	4Q463	4	Narrative D	DJD 19:214		Missing
332	4Q466	1	Poetic Text A	DJD 29:385		Missing
333	4Q466	2	Poetic Text A	DJD 29:385		Missing
334	4Q466	3	Poetic Text A	DJD 29:385		Missing
335	4Q470		Text Mentioning Zedekiah	DJD 19:241		Destroyed
336	4Q475	Line 9	Renewed Earth	DJD 36:464		Destroyed
337	4Q476	All three fragments	Liturgical Work B	DJD 29:437		Destroyed
338	4Q476a	1	Liturgical Work C	DJD 29:437		Missing
339	4Q476a	2	Liturgical Work C	DJD 29:437		Missing
340	4Q481d	5	Fragments with Red Ink	noted by Reed Nov 2022		Missing
341	4Q481d	6	Fragments with Red Ink	noted by Reed Nov 2022		Missing
342	4Q481d	8	Fragments with Red Ink	noted by Reed Nov 2022		Missing
343	4Q484		papTestament of Judah?	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing

344	4Q489		papApocalypse ar	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]		Missing
345	4Q490		papFragments ar + heb	Reed 1990 [Missing Items in Plates]	Frgs 7-8 are on plate 15	Missing (Found)
346	4Q504		Words of the Luminaries <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994:128, cf. 513	On plate 982	Missing (Found)
347	4Q513	8	Ordinances <sup>b</sup>	DJD 31:150	On plate 310 with 4Q513	Missing (Found)
348	4Q513	14	Ordinances <sup>b</sup>	No new photographs	Reed forthcoming	Missing
349	4Q516		papUnclassified frags.	Reed 1990 ["Missing Items—Plates Unknown"]		Missing
350	4Q524	2	Temple Scroll[b]	Schiffman and Gross 2021: 242		Destroyed
351	4Q524	21	Temple Scroll[b]	Schiffman and Gross 2021: 271		Missing
352	4Q524	22	Temple Scroll[b]	Schiffman and Gross 2021: 271		Missing
353	4Q525, 4Q52, 4Q114	[23]	Beatitudes	Fields 2006:51 Fields 2009:464	Stolen?	Missing
354	4Q525	[23]	Beatitudes	Fields 2009:463		Missing
355	4Q525	10*	Beatitudes	DJD 25:140		Missing
356	4Q525	23	Beatitudes	DJD 25:160–61, planche XII		
357	4Q525	32	Beatitudes	DJD 25:170		Missing
358	4Q525	39	Beatitudes	DJD 25:174		Missing
359	4Q529	2	Words of Michael ar	DJD 31:1		Missing
360	4Q530	11	Book of Giants <sup>b</sup> ar	DJD 31:28–29		Missing
361	4Q534	4	Birth of Noah <sup>b</sup> ar			
362	4Q541	24*	Apocryphon of Levi <sup>b?</sup>	DJD 31:253		Missing
363	4Q563	3	Wisdom Composition ar	DJD 37:335		Missing
364	Uninscribed	Unknown	Fragments sent from Harding to Allegro	Fields 2009:262		Missing (Found)
365			Frgs	Kapera and Feather 2011:33		Destroyed
366	5Q1	col. I, most of II, part of fig. 1 and other tiny frgs.	Deuteronomy	Reed 1994:476		Missing
367	5Q1	2–5	Deuteronomy	No new photographs		Missing
368	5Q2		Kings	Reed 1994:476		Destroyed
369	5Q3		Isaiah	No new photographs		Missing
370	5Q4		Amos	No new photographs		Missing
371	5Q5		Psalms	Reed 1994:476		Destroyed
372	5Q5		Psalms	Reed 1994:477		Missing
373	5Q6		Lamentations[a]	No new photographs		Missing
374	5Q7		Lamentations[b]	No new photographs		Missing
375	5Q9		Work with Place Names	No new photographs		Missing
376	5Q10		apocrMal (5QpMal?)	No new photographs		Missing
377	5Q11		Rule of the Community	No new photographs		Missing
378	5Q12		Damascus Document	No new photographs		Missing
379	5Q13		Rule	No new photographs		Missing
380	5Q13	21	Rule	Reed 1994:149		Missing
381	5Q14		Curses	No new photographs		Missing
382	5Q15		New Jerusalem	No new photographs		Missing
383	5Q15	1*	New Jerusalem	Reed 1994:149	Probably missing on the pictures, not on the plate	Missing (Found)
384	5Q16		Unclassified frags.	No new photographs		Missing
385	5Q17		Unclassified frags.	No new photographs		Missing
386	5Q18–5Q22		unclassified frgs	Reed 1994:477		Missing
387	5Q18		Unclassified frgs.	Reed 1994:477		Missing
388	5Q19		Unclassified frgs.	Reed 1994:477		Missing
389	5Q20	1–3	Unclassified frgs.	Reed 1994:477		Missing
390	5Q21	1–3	Unclassified frg.	Schiffman and Gross 2021:272 n.17–18		Missing
391	5Q22	1	Unclassified frg.	Reed 1994:477		Missing
392	5Q23		Unclassified frg.	No new photographs		Missing
393	5Q24		Unclassified frg.	No new photographs		Missing
394	5Q25		Unclassified frg.	No new photographs		Missing
395	11Q1	B	paleoLeviticus <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
396	11Q1	E	paleoLeviticus <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
397	11Q1	M	paleoLeviticus <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
398	11Q2	1 ii	Leviticus <sup>b</sup>	DJD 23:3		Destroyed
399	11Q2	2	Leviticus <sup>b</sup>	DJD 23:4		Destroyed
400	11Q2	5+6	Leviticus <sup>b</sup>	DJD 23:7		Destroyed
401	11Q4	Scroll and frgs deteriorated	Ezekiel	DJD 23:16		Destroyed
402	11Q7	1*–2*	Psalms <sup>c</sup>	DJD 23:53		Destroyed
403	11Q8	6	Psalms <sup>d</sup>	DJD 23:69		Missing

404	11Q10	1a	tgJob	DJD 23:90		Destroyed
405	11Q10	2	tgJob	DJD 23:92		Destroyed
406	11Q10	XXIX and frgs	tgJob	DJD 23:146		Destroyed
407	11Q10	XXXI E	tgJob	DJD 23:152		Missing
408	11Q10	XXXI U	tgJob	DJD 23:153		Missing
409	11Q10	XXXIII frg I	tgJob	DJD 23:158		Missing
410	11Q10	B-W	tgJob	DJD 23:79		Missing
411	11Q11	I 1a and 1b	apocryphal Psalms	No new photographs		Missing
412	11Q11	III 1	apocryphal Psalms	DJD 23:181		Destroyed
413	11Q11	II:1	apocryphal Psalms	DJD 23:190		Destroyed
414	11Q12	3	Jubilees	DJD 23:212		Missing
415	11Q12	9	Jubilees	DJD 23: 217		Missing Destroyed
416	11Q14	1c	Sefer ha-Milhamah	DJD 23:246		Missing
417	11Q14	1ii	Sefer ha-Milhamah	DJD 23:247		Missing
418	11Q15	1	Hymns <sup>a</sup>	DJD 23:254		Destroyed
419	11Q17	5 frgs.	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:259		Missing
420	11Q17	3	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:270		Destroyed
421	11Q17	5	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:271		Missing
422	11Q17	18	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:284		Destroyed
423	11Q17	20	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:288		Destroyed
424	11Q17	26b	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:296		Missing
425	11Q17	27	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:297		Missing
426	11Q17	30	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:299		Missing
427	11Q17	31	Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat	DJD 23:300		Missing
428	11Q18	2*	New Jerusalem ar	DJD 23:311		Destroyed
429	11Q18	9	New Jerusalem ar	DJD 23:318		Destroyed
430	11Q18	10ii	New Jerusalem ar	DJD 23:320		Destroyed
431	11Q19	One third	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Schiffman and Gross 2021: 1 n.10		Destroyed
432	11Q19	57:1*	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Schiffman and Gross (2021: 166)		
433	11Q19	60:1*	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Schiffman and Gross 2021:174		Destroyed
434	11Q19	9	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
435	11Q19	13	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
436	11Q19	14	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
437	11Q19	15	Temple <sup>a</sup>	Reed 1994: xxxvi		Missing
438		A fragment		Schøyen 2016:30		
439	11Q20		Temple <sup>b</sup>	Reed 1994:498		Missing
440	11Q20	31b*	Temple <sup>b</sup>	Schiffman and Gross 2021: 274 n.26 See also DJD 23:403		Destroyed
441	11Q20	39	Temple <sup>b</sup>	DJD 23:408		Missing
442	11Q22	1	paleoUnidentified Text	DJD 23:415		Missing
443	11Q22	2	paleoUnidentified Text	DJD 23:415		Missing
444	11Q22	5	paleoUnidentified Text	DJD 23:415		Missing
445	11Q23	1	CryptA Unidentified Text	DJD 23:419		Destroyed
446	11Q30	1	Unclassified Fragments	DJD 23:435		Missing
447	11Q30	7	Unclassified Fragments	DJD 23:438		Missing
448	11QX2	tiny frgs		Reed 1994:498		Destroyed
449				Reed 1994: 485		Missing
450				DJD 33:6		Destroyed
451		1, 4, 6, 8, 32, 40-42, 47-48, 50, 55, 57, 59, 63-64, 70, 83	PAM 43.660	Reed 2022 DJD 33:11		Missing
452		9-10, 12, 19, 27, 30, 51-54, 58, 60, 67, 70, 72, 77, 86, 92	PAM 43.661	DJD 33:13		Missing
453		Whole plate	PAM 43.662	DJD 33.17		Missing
454		20, 31, 48, 62-63, 71, 75, 77, 79, 81, 89, 90	PAM 43.663	DJD 33:19		Missing
455		32, 40, 42, 65, 71	PAM 43.664	DJD 33:25		Missing
456		1, 7-10, 16, 35, 54, 56, 58, 60	PAM 43.665	DJD 33:29		Missing
457		15, 21, 23, 35, 46, 78, 82, 93-97	PAM 43.666	DJD 33:33		Missing
458		4, 10, 54, 59, 76, 87-88, 91	PAM 43.667	Reed 2022 DJD 33:37		Missing
459		7, 9, 16, 26, 36, 47, 54, 56, 60, 65, 70, 77-78, 82-86	PAM 43.668	DJD 33:39 Reed 2022		Missing

460		1, 30, 48, 61, 63, 97, 100	PAM 43.669	DJD 33:45 Reed 2022		Missing
461		5, 17-19, 38, 56, 57	PAM 43.670	DJD 33:47 Reed 2022		Missing
462		10, 24, 28, 33, 52, 72, 75, 76	PAM 43.671	DJD 33:53 Reed 2022		Missing
463		1, 16, 65, 78, 86	PAM 43.672	DJD 33:55 Reed 2022		Missing
464		1, 8, 35, 38, 42, 44, 47-48, 76	PAM 43.673	DJD 33:61 Reed 2022		Missing
465		1-4, 9, 13, 53, 67, 72	PAM 43.674	DJD 33:69		Missing
466		5-6, 12, 16, 20, 23, 34-35, 38, 42-47, 50, 61, 62	PAM 43.675	DJD 33:79 Reed 2022		Missing
467		3, 8-9, 19, 21, 24- 25, 34-35, 38, 44, 52-54, 60, 63-64	PAM 43.676	DJD 33:87 Reed 2022	Fig. 21 is fig. 8 of 4Q91 Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
468		3, 7-8, 11, 21, 24, 28, 30, 36	PAM 43.677	DJD 33:103 Reed 2022		Missing
469		13-14, 16, 21, 35, 37, 42-43, 45, 53, 60	PAM 43.678	DJD 33:117 Reed 2022		Missing
470		2, 12, 14, 15	PAM 43.679	DJD 33:137	Frags. 14 and 15 is fig. 14+ of 4Q158 Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
471		5, 7, 14, 18, 25-27, 31, 34-36, 43, 45, 49, 55, 58, 64-67, 69	PAM 43.680	DJD 33:147		Missing
472		6, 8, 11, 18-19, 21, 27, 34, 49, 56-59, 64, 65	PAM 43.682	DJD 33:161		Missing
473		10, 12, 15, 17, 25- 28, 32, 34-36, 38, 40, 44-46, 51, 53, 60, 63, 67, 78, 80- 81, 84-85, 101	PAM 43.683	DJD 33:175		Missing
474		16, 25, 27, 31, 33, 36, 39, 53, 67-69, 71, 78, 82, 85, 89, 96, 99	PAM 43.684	DJD 33:181		Missing
475		1, 30, 42-43, 54, 63- 64, 66, 70, 73, 75	PAM 43.685	DJD 33:187		Missing
476		3-6, 8, 16, 18, 20- 21, 28, 39, 42-47, 56-57, 60, 64, 74	PAM 43.686	DJD 33:197		Missing
477		12, 27, 58, 62, 66, 86, 104	PAM 43.688	DJD 33:205		Missing
478		13, 33, 56	PAM 43.689	Reed 2022 DJD 33:213	Fig. 33 is still on the plate, but has been separated into three figs. Tigchelaar 2021	Missing (Found)
479		4, 8, 10, 34, 54, 56, 69, 76, 81, 94	PAM 43.690	DJD 33:219		Missing
480		24, 51, 55, 85	PAM 43.691	DJD 33:225		Missing
481		6, 23, 38, 76, 87-88	PAM 43.692	Reed 2022 DJD 33:233		Missing
482		13, 38-39, 83, 87, 103, 107, 110	PAM 43.693	Reed 2022 DJD 33:245		Missing
483		11, 29, 31, 35-36, 48	PAM 43.694	DJD 33:251		Missing
484		67, 74	PAM 43.695	DJD 33:257		Missing
485		2-4, 15-16, 23, 30- 34, 36-37, 41-44, 46, 49, 52-54, 63, 67-68, 71, 76, 78, 90	PAM 43.696	DJD 33:261		Missing
486		3, 5, 7-9, 11-13, 18, 21	PAM 43.697	Reed 2022 DJD 33:269		Missing
487		30, 56-57, 65, 75- 76, 80	PAM 43.698	DJD 33:275	Fig. 80 is on PAM 44.102 Reed forthcoming	Missing (Found)
488		65, 68, 98	PAM 43.699	Reed 2022 DJD 33:287		Missing
489		1, 12, 14, 18, 48, 54, 61, 65, 88-89, 97, 104	PAM 43.700	DJD 33:295		Missing
490		8-9, 37, 75, 118	PAM 43.701	DJD 33:303		Missing

491	3, 5-6, 9, 17-18, 24, 27, 52-54, 64-65, 71, 74, 76-77	PAM 44.102	DJD 33:305		Missing
-----	---	------------	------------	--	---------