

THE CASE OF SHAPIRA'S DEAD SEA (DEUTERONOMY) SCROLLS OF 1883*

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A. Background.

In 1883, Moses Wilhelm Shapira, a Polish Jew who was converted to Christianity and settled in Jerusalem as an antique dealer and "agent to the British Museum," offered for sale to the Museum fifteen leather fragments containing portions from Deuteronomy, including the Decalogue.¹

The fragments, wrapped in linen, were found by an Arab in caves overlooking Moujib,² in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. The circumstances³ of the finding tally almost exactly with those of the Qumran discoveries. The text was written in archaic (Phoenician) Hebrew script, similar to but not identical with the script used in the Mesha stone,⁴ and exhibited significant variations from the Masoretic text.⁵

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¹A great portion of the text appears twice. Two-thirds of the text was in fairly good condition. H. Guthe. Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift enthaltend Mose's letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel. Leipzig, 1883, p. 63. For detailed contents see footnote 183.

²The Biblical river Arnon, also known as the Wadi Moujib, cuts across Moab running near the ancient city of Dibon, and empties into the Dead Sea.

³See next section on "External Evidence."

⁴As we shall see later, in the section discussing the script, almost all the 1883 scholars who actually inspected the original document suggested dates ranging from the period of the Captivity, the Maccabean period, and even the first two centuries A.D. (The Standard, August 14, 1883.)

⁵All the important variations are discussed in the section on "Internal Evidence."

Ginsburg⁶, acting for the British Museum, transcribed and translated about two-thirds of the texts, which were published in the contemporary, leading newspapers and journals. The French scholar, Clermont-Ganneau⁷, after a brief examination, branded the Manuscripts as a forgery. Several of the objections produced as external evidence, if acceptable, may equally apply to the Qumran scrolls⁸, such as the claim that no fragment can be preserved for over 2000 years in as damp a country as Palestine⁹; the fact that the fragments were sewn together, and that the manuscripts were found wrapped in linen¹⁰.

Shapira was distraught. He committed suicide a few months later in Holland¹¹, and the whole "incident" was almost forgotten. Unfortunately we are yet unable to trace the manuscripts themselves¹².

⁶ Christian David Ginsburg, 1831-1914. Famed Massoretic scholar who edited and published editions of many Hebrew MSS. Ginsburg's familiarity with the Phoenician script of the Shapira MSS. stemmed from his work on the Mesha Stone, prior to his publishing a most elaborate account of that monument written in English. He was a Jewish convert.

⁷ Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 1846-1923. A noted French Orientalist, instrumental in discovering the Mesha stone in 1870, and author of a number of volumes dealing with the archaeological exploration of Palestine. Ganneau was well-known as a critic of suspected forgeries and frauds and claimed the honor of revealing the fraudulent nature of the Moabite pottery connected with Shapira, as well as the famous "tiara of Saitapharnes" owned by the Louvre.

⁸ In the opinion of this writer the authenticity of the Qumran scrolls is unquestionable.

⁹ One of Claude R. Conder's main arguments against the authenticity of the document was that no leather manuscript could exist for more than 2000 years "... in the damp atmosphere of a country which has a rainfall of twenty inches." (The Times Weekly Edition, August 24, 1883, p. 9)

¹⁰ Strong objection to the document was raised because of Shapira's account about the existence of the linen. "The mention of the linen seems somehow a mistake since even believers in leather can hardly be expected to assign equal staying power to mere flax." (The Times Weekly Edition, August 22, 1883, p. 12) For a complete account of these objections see below.

¹¹ According to information received from the Population Registry in Rotterdam, Moses Wilhelm Shapira died on March 9, 1884, at the age of fifty-one. This is the only document in which the full name of Shapira is given.

¹² See section below on "The Whereabouts of Shapira's Scroll."

Among the recent Qumran finds¹³ there are several Pentateuchal fragments, especially of Deuteronomy¹⁴, also written in Archaic Hebrew script¹⁵, though admittedly of later date¹⁶. In the summer of 1956, the present writer spent several weeks at the British Museum studying among other things the eighty-two page dossier¹⁷ on this scroll. It is clear from this dossier that it was mainly the internal evidence which prompted Ginsburg, Sayce¹⁸, Neubauer¹⁹, and other scholars to reach their decision. By no means

¹³For full details see P. Benoit, O.P. "Editing the Manuscript Fragments from Qumran." Biblical Archaeologist XIX, December 1956; or, in its original French version, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran." Revue Biblique LXIII, 1956, pp. 49-67.

¹⁴Frank M. Cross, (BASOR, no. 141; 1950, p. 111) referring to the single copy of the Book of Chronicles found in Cave IV, points out that this manuscript is found on a three-inch strip of leather; parts of six lines and two columns are preserved. He also points out that the most popular books among the sectarians, to judge from the number of copies preserved in Cave IV, are Deuteronomy--13 MSS; Isaiah--12 MSS; and Psalms--10 MSS. Some will note that these same books figure most frequently in New Testament quotations from the Old Testament. The scrolls in Paleo-Hebrew are virtually all Biblical, including the five Pentateuchal manuscripts and some fragments from Job.

¹⁵Several Pentateuchal fragments have been found in 1Q, 4Q, (for instance Gen. 6, 13-21; Lev. 8, 13), written in Paleo-Hebrew script, again of much later date. "There is no reason to date /the paleo-graphical series of MSS. discovered in Qumran/ outside the normal range of Qumran materials in the square-letter script." P.W. Skehan's report in BA XIX, 1956, no. 4, p. 86.

¹⁶The inscription on Shapira's Deuteronomy is similar to but not identical with that on the Mesha Stone (ninth century B.C.). For the date of the scripts of Shapira's document see below chapter on script.

¹⁷British Museum, Add. 41294. Papers Relating to Shapira's Forged Manuscript of Deuteronomy. This dossier contains relevant, though incomplete, papers relative to M.W. Shapira's allegedly forged MSS. of Deuteronomy, consisting chiefly of some of the original letters from Shapira to Walter Besant, Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund; to E.A. Bond, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and to Dr. Christian D. Ginsburg, who was appointed to report on the Manuscript for the British Museum. The dossier does not contain the original MSS., but happily there are reproductions in photograph and lithograph of the text prepared by Ginsburg. Most valuable also are several contemporary European newspaper clippings on the heated controversy.

¹⁸A.H. Sayce, 1846-1933. British Orientalist and Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. One of the foremost contemporary authorities on Oriental scholarship.

¹⁹A. Neubauer, 1832-1907. British Semitic scholar born in Hungary. In 1868 he became associated with the Bodleian Library, where he subsequently became sub-librarian. He was reader of Rabbinical literature at Oxford from 1886-1900 and published a number of books, one being a catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

did the opinions of all scholars and experts of the day condemn the MSS. as a forgery²⁰. On August 13, 1956, a preliminary report of this writer's study of the Shapira case was published in the form of an interview²¹ and was subsequently reproduced in some of the leading newspapers in several countries.

Following the publication of this report, but before this writer was able to publish a documented article on the subject, Oskar K. Rabinowicz²² and M.S. Goshen-Gottstein²³ strongly criticized the re-opening of the case, each concluding categorically that the Shapira document was a forgery²⁴. There are good reasons, however, to

²⁰It is regrettable that the scholars who have recently objected to my re-opening the case did not see fit to refer to any of the reports in favor of the Shapira documents. (See Gottstein, Rabinowicz; notes 22 and 23 below.)

²¹The New York Times. August 13, 1956, pp. 1, 6.

²²Oskar K. Rabinowicz. "The Shapira Forgery Mystery." Jewish Quarterly Review XLVII, 1956, pp. 170-182. (Rabinowicz further published two articles on the subject in the Jewish Chronicle, London, August 9th and 16th, 1957, respectively.) Rabinowicz mainly repeated the arguments advanced in 1883. He concluded with a sweeping statement in support of S. Zeitlin's views on the Qumran Scrolls. See footnote 32.

²³"megillôt qumrān veziyyûf sēfer debārīm šel šappirā." Hā'ares. December 28, 1956, Tel Aviv. Gottstein, while in essence following Rabinowicz's 1883 arguments, raised an important question involving the paleographic issue, to be discussed later. A similar item was published by him in the Jewish Chronicle of February 15, 1957. Again, he published an article in the Journal of Jewish Studies, "The Shapira Forgery and the Qumran Scrolls," VII, Nos. 3 and 4, 1956, pp. 187-193. The latter Journal was published only in July 1957.

²⁴Perhaps it is relevant to point out here that this writer has never made a claim to the effect that Shapira's Deuteronomy is not a forgery. It was J. L. Teicher ("The Genuineness of the Shapira Manuscripts." The Times Literary Supplement, March 22, 1957) who wrote that he had reached the "inescapable conclusion that the Shapira manuscripts were genuine and that their contents are most fittingly described as representing the Book of Deuteronomy, which was re-drafted for liturgical and catechetical purposes in the Jewish Christian Church." Obviously, apart from raising the question of re-examining the Scroll, the present writer cannot be held responsible for J. L. Teicher's conclusion on the genuineness of the Shapira manuscripts.

believe that, for the sake of true scholarship, the whole case merits re-examination. It was in this spirit that the writer read a paper before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis²⁵ and another one at the joint Midwest meeting of that Society and the American Oriental Society.²⁶ At both meetings the members received a sixteen page mimeographed pamphlet containing documents, quotations, and sources relating to the subject under review. It was at these meetings that an attempt was made to refute the arguments of O.K. Rabinowicz, as well as those advanced in 1883. Several eminent scholars²⁷ have since written to this writer encouraging him to pursue the matter further. J. Philip Hyatt, President of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, in his presidential address to the ninety-second meeting, expressed the belief that the Qumran discovery might eventually lead to the authentication of the Shapira documents.²⁸ S. Yeivin²⁹, reviewing the finds of Qumran IV, independently called for the re-examination of the Shapira document in the light of the Qumran discoveries.³⁰

The purpose of the present paper is to attempt to analyze and refute the evidence--- both internal and external---advanced not only by the scholars of 1883 but also by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein and O.K. Rabinowicz.

²⁵ "The Case of Shapira's Dead Sea (Deuteronomy) Scroll of 1883," read at the ninety-second meeting, held at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, December 27-28, 1956.

²⁶ "Further Evidence Relating to the Case of Shapira's Deuteronomy," at Dubuque, Iowa, April, 1957.

²⁷ Out of courtesy and respect to these eminent scholars this writer refrains from referring to their names, which may be obtained on request by any would-be investigators of the Shapira case.

²⁸ See also L. Philip Hyatt, "The Dead Sea Discoveries: Retrospect and Challenge." *JBL* LXXVI, 1957, p. 3.

²⁹ Noted Israeli archaeologist and director of the department of Antiquities in Jerusalem.

³⁰ *Hā'āreḡ*. April 20, 1956.

This writer wishes to reiterate that at no time has he made any claim that the Shapira documents are authentic.³¹ He leaves such decisions to more qualified and competent scholars to re-examine the case and reach a new decision in the light of our present more advanced knowledge of paleography and Biblical archaeology. Furthermore, this writer will not in the least feel unhappy or disappointed should competent scholars today re-examine the case and re-establish the forgery on a sounder scholarly basis.

The most startling statement in Rabinowicz's article³² is his intimation that the Qumran Scrolls might be a forgery too. His conclusion is as follows:

If it should be possible to prove--as is indicated in John Hillaby's report--that these fragments are textually similar to or in some parts even identical with certain scrolls discovered since 1947 at Qumran, then a mystery of unparalleled importance would be woven around the latter, and thus justify to a great extent what Professor Zeitlin of Dropsie College Philadelphia has been claiming about the Dead Sea Scrolls on the basis of internal evidence.

The motive which has prompted Rabinowicz to embark upon a "holy war" against this writer is quite appreciated in this light.

³¹Gottstein, op. cit., p. 187, quoting John Hillaby, correspondent of the New York Times, attributes the following to me: "My impression is that there is a good chance of this scroll [viz. The Shapira Scroll] emerging as a genuine one. It is quite feasible that Shapira might have suffered a great injustice seventy years ago, and that even if his Deuteronomy did not date from King Josiah's times it might have been copied by one of the members of this Qumran sect." This quotation by Gottstein is correct as far as it goes; however, this quotation originally belongs to Theodor F. Meysels, of Jerusalem. (See Jerusalem Post, November 20, 1953.) It was only natural for this writer to entertain the possibility of the Shapira document emerging as a genuine one, but certainly not the "only possibility," as Gottstein infers.

³²JQR, op. cit., p. 182.

The External Evidence.B. The Discovery.

The following is an account of the discovery and descriptions of fragments, as related in Shapira's own handwritten letter to Professor Herman Strack, of Berlin³³, and in Shapira's own handwritten account to the British Museum.³⁴

I am going to surprise you with a notice and a short description of a curious manuscript, written in old Hebrew, or Phoenician letters upon a small strip of embalmed leather, and seems to be a short unorthodox book of the last speech of Moses in the plain of Moab....

In July 1878, I met several Bedouins in the house of the well-known Sheikh Mahmud el Arakat, we came of course to speak of old inscriptions.³⁵ One Bedouin asserted that the antique brings blessedness to the place where it lays, and began to tell...the following....

³³The original letter in its entirety is found in the above-mentioned British Museum Dossier, fol. 1, and is dated "Jerusalem, May 9, 1883." The writer has made very few changes in grammar and style.

³⁴"A Few Notes as a Preface to the Manuscript of Deuteronomy." British Museum Dossier, pp. 26-32.

³⁵It was only natural for Shapira to discuss inscriptions, seeing that he was an "agent for the British Museum." It is relevant to say here in passing that Shapira in this capacity had sold a large number of ancient authentic rabbinic and Arabic documents which are still in the possession of the Museum. Guthe, the well-known German scholar who was the first to carry out intensive study of the Shapira documents states in his book (*op. cit.*, p. 1) that he had visited Shapira's antique shop several times "to look at several Hebrew and Arabic MSS., especially concerning the Bible, which Shapira had bought in Yemen and which he had sold in the meantime partly to the Royal Library in Berlin and partly to the Library of the British Museum in London." A number of manuscripts were at that time purchased by Mayor Adolf Sutro of San Francisco, according to a letter recently received by this writer from the librarian of the San Francisco public library. On Shapira's arrival in London, several reports appeared in the contemporary press stressing that he was a distinguished member of the Hebrew-Christian community. The *Jewish Chronicle* of London, August 10, 1883, p. 10, reported that in Jerusalem Shapira had become a pillar of the London Mission and that as a leading antique dealer in Jerusalem he used to acquire great numbers of old MSS. from Arabs in South Palestine and sold them all over Europe. Some of these documents were of great importance such as the beautiful MSS. of Maimonides' Commentary on the Mishna which he sold to Berlin. As O.K. Rabinowicz himself points out, (*op. cit.*, JQR, p. 173) this made possible the editing of the whole work of the philosopher. In fact, the announcement about the edition of the Mishna Torah on the basis of Shapira's MSS., giving him full credit for it, was made in April 1884--eight months after his fragments had been declared a forgery and one month after his suicide in Rotterdam. (*ibid.*, p. 174) Ginsburg, in a letter published in the *London Times*, August 27, 1883, and addressed to E.A. Bond, principal librarian of the British Museum, dated August 22, 1883, reporting on the forgery, pointed out that in November, 1877, the British Museum purchased from Shapira a large number of ancient Pentateuchal scrolls from Yemen.

Several years ago, some Arabs had occasion to flee from their enemies and hid themselves³⁶ high up (in caves) in a rock facing the Moujib.³⁷ They discovered there several bundles of very old rugs. Thinking they may contain gold, they peeled away a good deal of cotton or linen and found some black charms and threw them away; but one of them took them up and since having the charms in his tent, he became a wealthy man, having sheep, etc....³⁸

Only the goat and the jars are missing here to show the striking similarity with the circumstances of the Qumran original discovery of Cave One.

Shapira's account goes on:

We marvelled of the dryness of the place. The Arabs told us that no rain are able to approach the place because the north and south rocks sheltered it from rain. We thought at that time that such a dry land may preserve for us the oldest documents, being like the Egyptian soil.³⁹ I therefore took an interest in the story.... with the help of Sheikh Arakat, an Arab brought me [i.e., Shapira] slowly all I now possess, which seemed to me to belong to three different documents--one nearly complete, one a very little wanting, and of one I have only a very little piece and much decayed.

Some scholars doubted the truthfulness of Shapira's account as fantastic and the fruit of his imagination. Yet today, in the light of the Qumran account of the discovery of Cave One, Shapira's story does not sound so incredible.

According to Guthe's⁴⁰ description of the manuscript, there were sixteen strips of leather whose breadth varied between 7.6 and 9.7 centimetres. Their lengths, however, were of greater variations. Five strips were only fifteen to eighteen centimetres long; the others consisted of two, three, four, or five connected layers, each of which had the length mentioned above so that strips up to eighty or ninety centimetres in length were found. In addition there were several smaller pieces.

³⁶ "...in order to escape the persecution of the Turkish government." B.M. Dossier, p. 26.

³⁷ According to Shapira's account to Guthe, Bedouins of the East Jordanian tribes were forced by the Wali of Damascus to recognize Turkish rule which they hated. So they escaped to a cave, supposed to be between Aroer and Wadi-l-Moujib. There they found a black bundle next to a pile of old linen. (op. cit., p. 5)

³⁸ These three excerpts are from the Dossier, p. 1.

³⁹ From a letter from Shapira, Dossier, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Op. cit., p. 2.

C. The Role of the German Scholars.

In a memorandum addressed to Ginsburg,⁴¹ Shapira stated that upon receipt of the Manuscripts in 1878, he had made copies⁴² and had sent them to Konstantine Schlottmann.⁴³ Shapira went on to say:

Schlottmann wrote that they were fabrications and blamed me for calling them a sacred text...and wrote in similar terms to the (German) consul at Jerusalem, Baron von Muenchausen, and desired him to prevent me from making the find public.

Shapira placed the fragments in a Jerusalem bank upon receiving Schlottmann's opinion. However, he soon began to consider the German's case more critically. He stated:

I began to reconsider Schlottmann's objections and found that they were partly grounded on mistakes I had made in deciphering the writing. I felt better able to judge them myself because I had had more experience in manuscripts. It was before Easter of the present year that I re-examined them, and deciphered them a second time. Professor Schroeder, Consul in Beyrout, saw them in the middle of May, 1883, and pronounced them genuine.⁴⁴ He wanted to purchase them. I took the writings to Leipzig at the end of July to have them photographed. Professors there saw them. Professor Guthe, who intends

⁴¹ Dated August 7, 1883, and reprinted in the *Athenaeum* and *Academy*, both of August 11, 1883, pp. 179 and 99, respectively. It is also reproduced by Rabinowicz in the *JQR*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁴² This may account for the observation made by his daughter (pseudonym Myriam Harry) in her book, *La Petite Fille de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1914: "Son père copiait ces lettres vingt fois, cent fois....cherchant de nouvelles combinaisons; et, chaque fois qu'il établissait un mot ou complétait une phrase, il exprimait sa joie." p. 31. Gottstein in the space of one page, *JJS*, *op. cit.*, p. 189, makes several contradictory observations: (a) "It cannot be maintained with certainty that Shapira was involved in the forgery himself." (b) "That he [Shapira] was versed in the art of skillfully writing Paleo-Hebrew letters is beyond doubt." (c) "It is possible that his desire to prove his learning...drove him to being involved in the forgery, which by the way, could not be accomplished by one person." Again, Gottstein (*ibid.*) describes Shapira's daughter as a person who "idealized her father"; in the same breath, Gottstein uses the French quotation to prove that Shapira was training himself for the forgery. The general view expressed by most of the contemporary writers was that Shapira himself was not the forger.

⁴³ A theologian and Professor of Old Testament at Halle.

⁴⁴ According to Shapira's account to Guthe, Dr. Schroeder, the German consul in Jerusalem, inspected the leather strips in May 1883, and had no doubt concerning their genuineness. Guthe adds, "It is undoubtedly certain that Schroeder had seen the manuscripts in Jerusalem and is inclined to consider them genuine. (*op. cit.*, p. 7)

to write about them, believes in them. The manuscripts have been smeared with asphalt originally as a kind of embalment. They became subsequently further darkened by the use of oil and spirit. The oil was used by the Arabs to counteract their brittleness, and to prevent their suffering from wet.⁴⁵

According to Rabinowicz,⁴⁶ Guthe finished his investigation on July 6⁴⁷;

four days later Shapira appeared in Berlin and offered the fragments for sale to the Royal Library. One would expect that Guthe would have warned the Royal Library and later the British Museum about the forgery but nothing was heard from him. Moreover, Richard Lepsius, keeper of the Royal Library, decided to accept the offer. The Times correspondent in Berlin reported to his paper⁴⁸ that Lepsius

...at once convened a Committee of the most learned of his colleagues to examine into their [the fragments'] nature and value. This committee consisted of Professor (August) Dillmann, of the Hebrew Chair; Professor (Eduard) Sachau, the distinguished Orientalist; Professor (Adolf) Ermann, another scholar (prominent Orientalist); and Dr. (Moritz) Steinschneider, who in the years between 1852 and 1860 compiled the valuable catalogue of Hebrew books, etc. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. ...The Committee met at the house of its convener, Professor Lepsius, on the 10th July last; while Mr. Shapira, of Jerusalem, was waiting in expectant trepidation in an adjoining room, spent exactly one hour and a half in a close and critical investigation into the character of the goatskin wares. At the end of the sitting they unanimously pronounced the alleged codex to be a clever and impudent forgery. There was some thought of calling in a chemist to look at the matter from his particular point of view; but so satisfied were the Committee with the general internal evidence against the presumption of the antiquity of more than

⁴⁵Memorandum from Shapira to Ginsburg, op. cit.

⁴⁶JQR, op. cit., p. 178.

⁴⁷The result of Hermann Guthe's work appeared in Leipzig in September 1883, under the title Fragmente einer Lederhandschrift enthaltend Moses letzte Rede an die Kinder Israel. Rabinowicz, in JQR, p. 175, gives an incorrect description of Guthe's work when he writes: "This booklet contains almost 100 pages--41 for the Introduction and 94 for the text--reproduces the entire wording of the Shapira fragments in one column--There are also some facsimiles of the MSS. at the end of the book...." A more accurate description will read as follows: "This booklet contains 94 pages--2 for the Introduction, 40 for the text, and 52 pages are devoted to description and discussion of the MSS. and the texts. There are no facsimiles at all of the MSS. and the book has only one page containing a table of the forms of the Phoenician alphabet." Moreover, the text in Guthe's book does not cover all the Shapira fragments.

⁴⁸On August 28, 1883. It is worthy to note that although the correspondent reported on events which took place on July 10th, his dispatch was published in the Times only after Clermont-Ganneau's conclusion against the authenticity of the document. The Times in the meantime published Ginsburg's transcriptions and translations of almost two-thirds of the text.

2000 years claimed, for the strips, that they deemed it unnecessary to call for further proof.⁴⁹

Rabinowicz claims that the German scholars knew that the scroll was a hoax. If so, why did they not warn their British colleagues? Surely they knew what was going on in the British Museum.⁵⁰ In the strong words of the Athanaeum:⁵¹ "If the professors detected the forgery why should they have offered to buy the fragments? And while they read in German and English newspapers the sensational news from London, why did they keep quiet? Not a word of warning to the British Museum!" The article also doubted that Dr. Lepsius, "with the limited opportunity he had of examining them, came to a decided opinion about them." Nonetheless, the German savants did not share their knowledge with the English scholars. One naive excuse advanced was that these learned gentlemen were on vacation.⁵² Why did all the German scholars--some of whom wanted, nevertheless, to purchase the document⁵³--wait until Clermont-Ganneau had made his decision and only then join the band-wagon?

⁴⁹It is interesting to note that the London Editors of the Times pointed out that, notwithstanding their verdicts, the Berlin scholars were willing to acquire those fragments at a price Shapira could not accept. Rabinowicz in JQR (see note 22) remarks, "This made him [Shapira] think that the MSS. might after all have been genuine, for why should scholars be willing to purchase forgeries?" and that he therefore brought them to London to try his luck with the British Museum.

⁵⁰Professor Albert Socin of Tuebingen also confirmed, but a year later, (in Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 240-241,) that a whole committee of important scholars in Berlin recognized the forgery immediately, long before it created such a stir in England.

⁵¹September 1, 1883, p. 275.

⁵²A. Neubauer, The Athenaeum, September 8, 1883.

⁵³The Times, which had reported the Shapira controversy in a thorough and objective manner, often consulting experts on the subject, apparently instructed its correspondent in Berlin to look into the authenticity of the offer by the Berlin scholars to buy the fragments from Shapira. This was confirmed in the Times of August 28, 1883. The ingenious reason given for the purchase was to enable the German professors to study and exhibit to their students "an example of what could really be done in the way of literary fabrication." (*ibid.*) Rabinowicz, in JQR, XLVII, 1956, p. 178, conveniently confuses the events chronologically without giving sources or documentations and naively concludes triumphantly, "One of the most striking facts

(Continued next page, please.)

D. Shapira's Offer of the MSS. for One Million Pounds Sterling Not Rejected.

Shapira offered his Deuteronomy scroll for sale to the British Museum authorities asking one million pounds for it. The fact is that the offer was not turned down even after several days of examination of the document, not only by Ginsburg but also by a group of experts who met at the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund for the sole purpose of inspecting the scroll.⁵⁴ Moreover, a number of fragments were put on display, and on August 13, Mr. Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, paid a special visit to look at them. One of the London newspapers⁵⁵ reporting the Prime Minister's visit to the British Museum remarked that he was seen "chatting" with both Shapira and Ginsburg and that he had expressed an astonishment at the close similarity of the Manuscripts to the Moabite and the Siloam stones. The paper went on to say:

The battle which is now waxing hot among Orientalists will be the renewal of the old war of the Moabite stone. The question is partly one of paleography. Obsolete words and words regarded as late Hebrew appear. Among those who hold that the Manuscript is genuine, the divergency of opinion as to the date is very great. Some 8th century, some the time of captivity, while a third party places it to be the Maccabean period.

Had the British Museum scholars been convinced that Shapira's documents were a forgery, they would have neither displayed them to the public nor troubled the Prime Minister to come and inspect them.

⁵³ (cont) with regard to the finality of the finding that the fragments were a forgery is that the scholars in Germany and England arrived at their conclusions independently." Just that, German scholars who knew about the forgery several weeks before their British colleagues kept silent about it.

⁵⁴ In his autobiography, Sir Walter Besant, one of the persons present at this meeting, comments that the MS. was examined "amid such excitement as is very seldom exhibited by scholars." Besant also mentions that one of the learned gentlemen, a professor of Hebrew "...exclaimed with conviction, 'This is one of the few things which couldn't be a forgery and a fraud.'" Sir Walter Besant. The Autobiography of Sir Walter Besant. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1902, pp. 161-162.

⁵⁵ The London Standard, August 14, 1883.

E. Ginsburg's Reluctance to Reach a Decision.

For almost three weeks Ginsburg, the expert on behalf of the British Museum, had been publishing transcriptions and translations from Shapira's Deuteronomy.⁵⁶ Almost three-fourths of the entire text with translation was published in the London Times during the period. Had he thought the whole thing was a forgery, what was the purpose of publishing the texts? It took Clermont-Ganneau only a few moments (sic!) to reach his sensational conclusion that the document was a forgery.

Two weeks after the arrival of the Manuscript in the British Museum we read:

Dr. Ginsburg is still busily engaged at the British Museum in deciphering Mr. Shapira's latest antiquarian find; and the reticence Dr. Ginsburg displays leads many to put faith in the original assertion that these scraps of leather are hundreds of years older than the Christian era. It is argued by these believers that, if the skins had been forgeries, such an acute scholar as Dr. Ginsburg would have been able long before this to have detected the fraud.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Ginsburg's translations appeared in the London Times of August 10, 17, and 22; and in the Athenaeum for August 11, 18, and 25. Many other newspapers copied the translations for the enlightenment of their own readers.

⁵⁷Report to the Liverpool Daily Post, August 16, 1883, from its correspondent in London.

F. The coup de grace.

The coup de grace in the external evidence was dealt primarily by Clermont-Ganneau⁵⁸ and was repeated in Ginsburg's first report⁵⁹ to Bond: "The narrow slips of leather on which [Shapira's text] is written are cut off from the margin of Synagogue scrolls."

Clermont-Ganneau, in his devastating conclusion, admitted that he had entertained in advance most serious doubts as to the authenticity of the documents.⁶⁰ His decision was reached only after a glance at two⁶¹ or three fragments, grudgingly permitted by Ginsburg,⁶² and only for a few minutes.⁶³ Clermont-Ganneau added that he could easily forge another scroll which "would make a fitting sequel to the Deuteronomy of Mr. Shapira," adding sarcastically that his "would have the slight advantage over it of not costing quite a million sterling." Clermont-Ganneau's supercil-

⁵⁸The Times, August 21, 1883.

⁵⁹Dated August 22, 1883, and published in the Times August 27, 1883.

⁶⁰Upon his arrival in London, Clermont-Ganneau, in his letter to the Times, published on August 15, writes: "I will not conceal the fact that I entertained in advance serious doubts as to their authenticity."

⁶¹The painstaking scholar Guthe (op. cit., p. 2) tells us that when Shapira came to see him in Leipzig in June 1883 with a view to examining the document, he (Guthe) told him that no conscientious scholar could reach a conclusion until he had "acquired a perfect knowledge of the entire manuscript...and this is a labour which would take weeks or even months." It took Clermont-Ganneau only a "few moments," Neubauer--less than a week (even without seeing the document), and Ginsburg about twenty days, to brand the document as a forgery.

⁶²All accounts indicate that there was no love lost between these two scholars.

⁶³Clermont-Ganneau writes, "I set to work with the meagre means of information at my disposal: (1) The hasty inspection of two or three pieces which M. Ginsburg had allowed me to handle for a few minutes on my first visit; (2) the examination of two fragments exposed to public view in a glass case in the manuscript department of the British Museum, a case very ill-lighted and difficult of approach, owing to the crowd of the curious pressing round these venerable relics." (Times, August 21, 1883.)

ous attitude was met with hostility by some of the British press,⁶⁴ and apparently the Daily News was not prepared to accept Clermont-Ganneau's conclusion at face value. The newspaper sent its own unnamed expert to examine and report on the scholar's conclusion. His verdict reported in the Daily News⁶⁵ stated:

...the portion of the Deuteronomy manuscript examined by the present writer was written on leather of a thicker character, differing very considerably from that usually employed in synagogue-rolls. Moreover, it is questionable whether on a purely speculative business it would have been worth while to mutilate and spoil a valuable roll. M. Clermont-Ganneau's evidence is also vitiated by the strong prejudice which he confesses he had previously entertained.

⁶⁴Nearly every London newspaper took the chance to attack the French scholar, often with no attempt at subtlety. The Echo (August 23, 1883) commented that "...the flippant offer of a French archaeologist to provide us with an entire Pentateuch of similar apparent antiquity is about equal in value to Dr. Lardner's promise that he would swallow the first steamship that succeeded in traversing the Atlantic." The Manchester Guardian (September 6, 1883) remarked that Ganneau had "shown the hand of the critic a little too soon for British notions of fair play." When a controversy arose regarding the original discoverer of the forgery the press leaped to the defense of Ginsburg and accused Clermont-Ganneau of bad faith and falsification. The Daily News (August 27, 1883) commented caustically on the Frenchmen "whose special function it is to discredit Mr. Shapira's antiquities...." By the end of October, however, Ganneau was being pitied, and the Nation (October 25, 1883) reassuringly published its view that the persecution of Ganneau resulted from a failure on the part of Ginsburg and that "English newspapers...endeavored to disentangle /Ginsburg/ by accusing the Frenchman of acting from a preconceived notion and anti-Biblical prejudices, of haste in forming his decision and greater haste in making it known, of making use in his discovery of the fraud previous hints by Dr. Ginsburg, etc...."

⁶⁵August 22, 1883.

G. The Whereabouts of Shapira's Document.

In an article to the Jewish Chronicle on the subject,⁶⁶ the present writer remarked, "The scroll may be lying in some repository of the British Museum⁶⁷ which, however, denies possession;⁶⁸ may have been thrown out long ago, or may have been returned to the Shapira family."

In this connection it was stated⁶⁹ that in July, 1884, Shapira's widow wrote to the Museum inquiring about the documents of her late husband.⁷⁰ The present writer also remarked that there was no indication in the dossier of a reply having been sent or of the fate of the documents.

Both Gottstein⁷¹ and Rabinowicz⁷² have attempted to exploit this remark. Gottstein, with baffling over-confidence and sarcasm⁷³ claims, "Mansoor seems to have overlooked some pertinent facts when he states that a reply was sent to Shapira's

⁶⁶M. Mansoor, "Shapira's Dead Sea Scroll." December 28, 1956, p. 13.

⁶⁷This claim was first advanced by Theodor Meysels in the Jerusalem Post, November 20, 1953.

⁶⁸This writer wishes to put on record that the British Museum authorities have done everything possible to extend the facilities of the Museum to him, including the making of several photographs and a microfilm of the entire dossier. He has never doubted the statement by the British Museum that they believed the Shapira document was returned. This writer only stated that he could find no written record in the dossier to this effect.

⁶⁹M. Mansoor, loc. cit.

⁷⁰The relevant evidence is in folio 25 of the British Museum dossier (Add. 41294) dated July 7, 1884: "Dear Dr. Ginsburg: Mrs. Shapira in a letter just received asks to have sent to her a letter of recommendation of her late husband from Lepsius and a similar one written by myself which she states are in your hands.... She inquires after the Deuteronomy fragments and says she found two small pieces among her husband's papers and sent them to Professor Schlottmann./ Signed E.A. Bond."

⁷¹JC, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

⁷²JC, August 16, op. cit.

⁷³"We can answer with absolute certainty," "beyond any doubt," "there is no doubt whatsoever," "every scholar can rest assured and sleep soundly at night," "it is an obvious fake," to quote only a few (JC, op. cit.) Gottstein's article a few months later in the JJS (op. cit.) is moderate in tone. (See also note 80 below.)

widow. In fact, we find a note to the effect that she afterwards submitted the material to the German scholar, Schlottmann, for further study."⁷⁴ In view of the document quoted above,⁷⁵ Gottstein's statement is clearly misleading, all the more so since he does not refer to the sources. All the letter states is that "two small fragments"⁷⁶ were sent to Schlottmann. Surely Mr. Bond, the Curator of the British Museum, would not have written such a letter to Ginsburg had the MSS. been returned by that time. In view of the one million pound sterling demanded by Shapira, this fact could not have escaped his mind. Furthermore, the "further study" by Schlottmann, mentioned in Gottstein's statement above is pure conjecture. There is nothing to support it. Building up his conjecture, Gottstein, referring to Schlottmann, remarks⁷⁷ that he "had already played a doubtful part in inducing the Berlin Museum to buy [through Shapira] the well-known 'Moabite pottery fakes,' and Shapira had got in touch with him before he came to England." Gottstein's implication is clear: Schlottmann was perhaps the first scholar, as early as 1878, (i.e. five years before Shapira came to London) to denounce the document as "obvious forgeries, because they contradicted the Bible."⁷⁸ Shapira himself, in a memorandum addressed to Ginsburg⁷⁹ writes, "Schlottmann wrote that they were fabrications and blamed me for calling them a sacred text."

⁷⁴ *JC*, loc. cit.

⁷⁵ British Museum Dossier, fol. 25, Add. h1294.

⁷⁶ Shapira brought only fifteen strips to the British Museum. (*Times*, August 3, 1883; *Athenaeum*, August 4, 1883.) According to Guthe (see note 40) Shapira had at least sixteen strips. This explains the fact that Mrs. Shapira found two fragments among her husband's papers after he had committed suicide. Gottstein's arguments in the *JC* (op. cit.) and in the *JJS* (op. cit., p. 191 n. 19) are far from convincing, whereas Rabinowicz's statement on this subject (*JC*, August 16, 1957) is irrelevant in the light of Guthe's evidence. (For the entire contents of the strips, see note 183.)

⁷⁷ *JC*, loc. cit.

⁷⁸ Letter from Shapira to Dr. Strack, May 9, 1883. British Museum Dossier, fol. 2.

⁷⁹ August 7, 1883. Published in the *Academy*, August 11, 1883, pp. 99-100; *The Athenaeum*, August 11, 1883, p. 179.

Having built up his conjecture, Gottstein concludes "with absolute certainty" that "there is no doubt whatsoever that in 1884 the British Museum returned the Scroll."⁸⁰ Here too Gottstein's conclusion is fully endorsed by Rabinowicz.⁸¹

Let the following facts speak for themselves: (a) Mr. Bond's letter (dated July 1884) to Ginsburg inquiring about the documents.⁸² (b) Shapira left London in ignominy in September 1883 obviously without the MSS. In Clermont-Ganneau's book⁸³ we read that a re-examination of the documents⁸⁴ by a number of scholars, including Clermont-Ganneau himself, took place at the British Museum in January, 1884. (c) Finally, the most relevant evidence in this connection is the following excerpt from A.R.C. Carter's book:⁸⁵

After the exposure he (Shapira) wrote a piteous letter of regret for the trouble and unrest which he had caused, and he thankfully accepted a few pounds from the British Museum for his once "priceless" manuscript to be kept as a warning to others. With this small sum he went to Amsterdam and died by his own hand in an obscure inn.

This last evidence certainly supports the evidence given in (a) and (b) above.⁸⁶

⁸⁰It is perhaps relevant to state that despite his initial overconfidence Gottstein had not a word to say about the whereabouts of the MSS. in his subsequent JJS article (op. cit.).

⁸¹JC, August 16, 1957.

⁸²See above, note 53.

⁸³Les Fraudes archéologiques en Palestine, Paris, 1885, pp. 254 ff.

⁸⁴Obviously Clermont-Ganneau by re-examining the documents at the British Museum in 1884 indicated that he was not certain that his condemnation of the documents was "indisputable" as he had thought six months earlier.

⁸⁵A.R.C. Carter, Let Me Tell You. London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1940. A whole chapter, pp. 216-19, is devoted to the Shapira case. Mr. Carter, who is happily still with us, was born in 1864, so he was about twenty years old when the Shapira "incident" took place. Since 1894 he has been editor of the Year's Art and a regular contributor to the Daily Telegraph on art and literature.

⁸⁶In a private communication from Dr. Cecil Roth, of Oxford (dated June, 1957), it is stated that fragments from Shapira's Deuteronomy were exhibited in London by the Quaritch firm. It is referred to as "Item 2091 in the Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London, 188." Further inquiries in this direction have failed to produce further results as to the whereabouts of the document.

H. Character of the Script.

A significant feature of the investigation was the fact that no objection or suspicion about the script itself was voiced against the document by the scholars of 1883; especially by those who had examined the original strips. On the contrary it seems that both Ginsburg and Guthe were favourably impressed by it. Ginsburg himself stated:⁸⁷

The writing of the Shapira MSS. seems not to be a picked alphabet, but current, and this is in favour of the genuineness of the document. It is pretty clear that, whatever the age of the leather, the writing must either date from somewhere about 800 B.C. or from A.D. 1880.

The Standard⁸⁸ said:

Among those who hold that the MSS. are genuine...some incline...to the period of Captivity, while a third party places the documents as late as the Maccabees.

This view was given support in the Saturday Review which was able to report⁸⁹ that "the latest estimate is that they are of the Maccabean period."

Gottstein's Inaccurate Argument on Paleography.

Gottstein's main contention⁹⁰ is that the forger "imitated Paleo-Hebrew monumental letters, i.e. letters used on inscriptions (or coins). Neither he nor any scholar in the 1880's could know--and this decisive fact seems to have escaped Mansoor's notice--that a written Paleo-Hebrew document exhibits altogether different characteristics."

Perhaps Gottstein should be referred here to a statement on the subject by an authority. W.F. Albright's classical work⁹¹ contains an important statement which clearly refutes Gottstein's. The statement reads, "Palestine itself has yielded a

⁸⁷Athenaeum, August 4, 1883.

⁸⁸August 14, 1883.

⁸⁹August 18, 1883.

⁹⁰JJS, op. cit., p. 189.

⁹¹The Archaeology of Palestine. Penguin edition, p. 221.

number of Aramaic ostraces from Samaria, Tell Far'ah, and elsewhere, written in exactly the script and language of Jewish papyri and ostraces of the fifth century B.C. which have been found in Egypt."

While the above observation speaks for itself, archaeological finds also contradict Gottstein's statement.

Yohanan Aharoni, who headed the 1955 expedition to Massada, conducted under the auspices of the Hebrew University, the Israel Department of Antiquities, and the Israel Exploration Society, reported⁹² among other things that "two Hebrew inscriptions were found...inscribed in black ink on a potsherd and on a fragment of papyrus...written in the square script found on the Dead Sea Scrolls."

Elsewhere in the Jewish Chronicle⁹³ Gottstein categorically declares that the manuscript is "an obvious fake" on paleographical data. Here again Gottstein should be reminded of W.F. Albright's general observation⁹⁴ that "The paleographic criteria are insufficient to establish their dating beyond doubt."

It should be borne in mind that the character of the script in Shapira's document is not exactly that of the Mesha or Siloam inscriptions, as is generally assumed. After spending several months studying the texts Guthe pointed out⁹⁵ that at least seven Hebrew letters כ, ט, י, ז, ח, ע, פ are different from those in the Mesha inscription while four others (ד, ב, ג, נ) display a minor deviation. Moreover, Guthe found at least three letters (ו, פ, י) with a "consistent difference" from the Siloam inscription.⁹⁶

⁹²As reported in Israel Digest, April 20, 1956.

⁹³op. cit., April 19, 1957, p. 15.

⁹⁴op. cit., p. 221.

⁹⁵op. cit., p. 65.

⁹⁶ibid.

It is also significant that Guthe remarks⁹⁷ that "the symbols collected from Hebrew seals and coins yield the most numerous and closest similarities. The forms for the Hebrew letters K , ך , ל , ך , ם are found most faithfully on Hebrew coins, whereas the letters ך , ך , ך , ך offer the best parallel with those on old Hebrew seals." Another revealing observation by Guthe⁹⁸ is that Shapira's script contains three letters ך , ך , ך in entirely new form. Hence, Guthe⁹⁹ (who nevertheless condemned the document as a forgery on internal evidence) observes, "the writing therefore does not lack certain features which become especially appealing only after prolonged occupation with the manuscript."

Perhaps it is appropriate to finish this section on the character of the script with Guthe's own conclusion:

In spite of the differences mentioned,...the impression of uniformity predominates so much that I am now able to write the same symbols with an oriental reed pen on leather without effort or hesitation....In this experiment I was surprised to observe that the sharp corners and the pointed angles of the letters can be produced without any difficulty on a piece of leather which has been smoothed for writing. This characteristic is apt to arouse a prejudice in favor of the manuscript.

As I have reported in my "Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem"¹⁰⁰ I am in possession of several reproductions of really forged or still to be forged inscriptions which inhabitants of Jerusalem showed me. Their letters however were with few exceptions so faulty and strange that a rewriting from memory would have been impossible. With those common forgeries this manuscript has doubtless nothing to do. Compared to those the manuscript makes a so-to-speak distinguished impression.

A full facsimile of the alphabet is given in Guthe's work.¹⁰¹

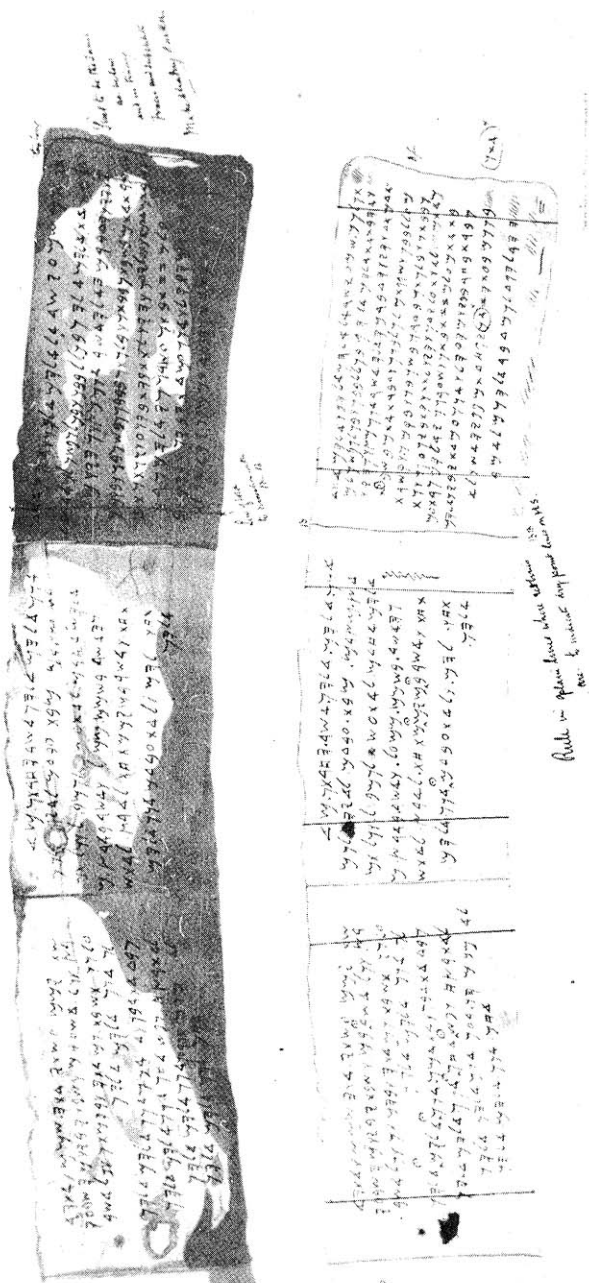
⁹⁷ op. cit., p. 66.

⁹⁸ ibid.

⁹⁹ ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ The separate edition, Leipzig, 1883. p. 174.

¹⁰¹ op. cit., p. 94.



The upper section is a photographic reproduction from the Shapira Scroll; the middle and left columns are portions of the Decalogue. The lower section is a facsimile of the upper part. (From British Museum dossier, Add. No. 41294, by courtesy of the British Museum.)

I. The Internal Evidence.

It is most significant that both Neubauer and Ginsburg became convinced that the manuscripts were a forgery, not on the basis of external evidence but mainly on internal evidence.¹⁰² Again, Rabinowicz states,¹⁰³ "But it was on internal evidence that Professor Guthe came to the conclusion that the fragments were a forgery." He further points out¹⁰⁴ that the Rev. Albert Lowy¹⁰⁵ was "one of the first in England to repudiate the genuineness" of the document and that "it was the voice of Professor Neubauer and his extensive analysis in the Academy¹⁰⁶ that sounded the death knell for the Shapira fragments." This statement, therefore, constitutes the argument par excellence of Rabinowicz.

¹⁰²Rabinowicz, JQR, op. cit., p. 173: "Certainly, these external findings were important, but it was on the internal evidence that the Shapira fragments were finally proclaimed a forgery without any shred of doubt." See also Ginsburg's enumeration of his conclusions based on internal evidence, in his report to Bond of the British Museum, dated August 21, 1883. Again, in the Academy, September 8, 1883, pp. 161-62, we read that Guthe's condemnation of the forgery is based upon internal evidence.

¹⁰³JQR, op. cit., p. 176.

¹⁰⁴Rabinowicz, JQR, op. cit., p. 179.

¹⁰⁵The entire statement relating to Rev. A. Lowy, to whom Rabinowicz refers, is found in The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, November, 1883. Vol. VI, Fourteenth Session. (Published at the Offices of the Society, Bloomsbury, W.C., 1884, p. 5.) The report given in the proceedings is typical of the unscholarly treatment of the subject. For the sake of reference it is reproduced here in full: "The Rev. A. Lowy, at the request of the President, made some remarks on the well-known forgeries called the Shapira MS. He stated that in the month of August, when he saw the reproduction in the Athenaeum of some portions of the alleged ancient text, he had no hesitation in mentioning before a large audience that a most daring fraud had been committed by some unscrupulous speculators. The forger had eliminated from the text nearly all the vavs and yods which serve as matres lectionis, in order to bring his work in harmony with the ancient Phoenician inscriptions. But he had forgotten to be consistent. For example, Sihon was written with a yod after the samech. The interpolations were suggested by the Samaritan system of garbling the text of the Pentateuch. The innovations introduced by the forger were ridiculous." As an example Mr. Lowy observed that it could be noticed that the forger, in his search after the sensational, had parodied some of the verses in Deuteronomy, ch. xxvii, where curses are pronounced upon the commission of such and such a sin. The forger had introduced new benedictions by the insertion of phrases in which it is said, "Blessed is he who shall not /commit such and such a sin/". The interpolations were in many instances specimens of bad Hebrew and bad logic, and in all instances specimens of bad faith. It is significant to note that the Rev. Lowy "definitely proved" that the Mesha Stone was also a forgery! (A. Lowy, "The Apocryphal Character of the Moabite Stone." Scottish Review ix, April 1887, pp. 215-245.

¹⁰⁶August 18, 1883, p. 116. Neubauer's views were also published in the Academy, August 25 and September 8, 1883.

The absurdity of the whole argument is that Neubauer's articles are far from extensive and are written for the layman. The articles are undocumented. Rabinowicz in his articles¹⁰⁷ has simply reproduced the arguments, incorrectly in some instances.¹⁰⁸

This writer has been conducting research for over a year on all the available material published in the contemporary newspapers and periodicals.¹⁰⁹ An attempt will be made to quote, where possible, not only the arguments advanced by Ginsburg, Neubauer, and Guthe against the authenticity of the document, but also those recently advanced by Gottstein and Rabinowicz, and to analyze them in the light of our knowledge today. The writer leaves it to the reader to reach his own unbiased conclusion.

¹⁰⁷op. cit., p. 174. See also, Jewish Chronicle, August 9, 16, 1957.

¹⁰⁸For such errors, see notes 110, 111, 121, 124, 128, 129, 131, 132, 142, and 148.

¹⁰⁹Over 70 books, articles, and reports relating to the Shapira document have been consulted. A copy of the relevant bibliography is available on request.

J. Main Arguments Advanced Against the Document.

(1) "...we are struck by the verb החלתי , 'I liberate thee.' The usual verbs employed for liberating from Egypt and from the house of bondage in the historical as well as in the prophetic books of the Bible are either נצח in the Hiphil form (as the received text has it here) or פדה . The roots חרר or חרר ¹¹⁰ are not used as verbs in the Old Testament, but only in the Targum and in the Talmud, and then not in the Hiphil form ¹¹¹ or with the particle מן .¹¹²

While the statement is correct, the argument is not valid. We find derivatives of these roots: חרים *hōrīm* "free born, nobles" at least ten times in the Old Testament.¹¹³ Moreover the root is used in Aramaic in Aphel: אחררנה "I shall liberate her."¹¹⁴

Neubauer's argument is rather dubious. Can one say that the Siloam inscription of the seventh century B.C. is a fake because the word נקבה "hole" (from the Biblical root נקב) is not found as a noun in the Old Testament? Again, the word תכמי "bowels," "inward part," "midst," is found at least four times in the Qumran writings¹¹⁵ but not in any other Hebrew text. Can we reasonably condemn the Qumran writings because תכמי or its derivative is not found in the Old Testament or elsewhere in Hebrew literature?¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰Erroneously, Rabinowicz writes that the root is חרר which is impossible here. See JC, op. cit., August 16, 1957.

¹¹¹Rabinowicz, loc. cit., following Neubauer, asserts that this verb is not used in Aramaic in Aphel form. This is incorrect. It is found at least once in Targum Y. to Gen. 16:2 (See M. Jastrow's Dictionary s.l.).

¹¹²Neubauer, loc. cit. (see note 106 above.)

¹¹³I Kings 21:8, 11; Isa. 34:12; Eccl. 10:17; twice in Jer. and seven times in Neh. (see S. Mandelkern's Concordance s.l.).

¹¹⁴Targum Y. to Gen. 16:3. The verb was quite common in the Targum, Midrash, and Talmud. Also found as Hebrew inscription in coins שני לחי' ישראל "second year to the liberation of Israel." Cf. S. Zeitlin, The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship, p. 45.

¹¹⁵IQS iv. 20; IQH xxxix. 28; xli. 4; and Qumran Cave I 36.14.2.

¹¹⁶For a comprehensive discussion of the word branded a scribal error by several scholars see M. Mansoor, "Studies in Hodayot-IV" JBL, lxxvi, 2, 1957, pp. 147-8, and Y. Yadin. JBL (1955), pp. 40-43.

(2) "In the Second Commandment the document reads וַשְׁבַּתִּי for וַאֲשַׁבֵּת¹¹⁷."

Neubauer rightly argues that the form is ungrammatical. That an expression in a text is ungrammatical, cannot be brought as evidence against the authenticity of the document. We all are aware of the numerous ungrammatical expressions in the Old Testament and the Qumran texts.

(3) It is further argued by Neubauer that "the root שָׁבַת does not mean 'to rest' but 'to cease from work,' and in this sense only it is found in the Old Testament."¹¹⁸ He adds that the verb נָחַם should have been used. This is a pointless argument. The text used in the document reads: וַשְׁבַּתִּי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי עַל כֵּן

וְנָחַם The verb שָׁבַת in this sense is used regularly in the Old Testament. Cf. שָׁבַת מְכַל מְלֹאכֶתָּה Gen. 2:3; וַיָּשָׁבֶה הַשְּׁבִיעִי תְּשַׁבֵּתָּה Exod. 23:12; 34:21 and several other instances.¹¹⁹ Neubauer concludes that the "forger made a blunder in not leaving the root נָחַם as in the received text."¹²⁰

(4) Shapira's document is also condemned by Neubauer because "the word ought to be repeated according to Classical Hebrew: Exod. 17:31 [and] 32 and elsewhere." This is a surprising statement on the part of Neubauer, whose argument is repeated and supported by Rabinowicz¹²¹ who, in turn, did not check the validity of such a statement. He asserts that the text should have read וְגַם אַתָּה וְגַם בְּהִמְתֵּךְ and hence the charge that Shapira's Hebrew is "unclassical" and "ungrammatical." While it is correct to say that the repetition of וְגַם is required in accordance with Biblical usage, its absence surely cannot constitute a proof against the relevant

¹¹⁷ Neubauer, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ See also Gen. 2:2; Exod. 16:30; Lev. 26:34, 35.

¹²⁰ Neubauer, *loc. cit.*

¹²¹ "The Shapira Scroll," *Jewish Chronicle*, August 16, 1957, p. 13. "In classical Hebrew one would expect a repetition of וְגַם in this commandment instead of וְגַם אַתָּה וְגַם בְּהִמְתֵּךְ."

text. A mere glance in the Concordance would have sufficed. There are numerous passages in the Old Testament¹²² where ל is not repeated, e.g. Exod. 34:3

$\text{כִּי לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי וְלֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$ Est. 4:16 and Eccl. 8:16 $\text{כִּי לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$.

$\text{לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$ Shapira's text in the fourth Commandment reads $\text{לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$.

Now, Neubauer argues, "Here a clumsy use has been made of the Chaldean paraphrase."¹²³

This writer sincerely fails to see his point. In the words of Rabinowicz, Neubauer's proponent, in the JQR¹²⁴, "...the word ל in the Fourth is used in a way utterly unparalleled in Biblical usage." As is the case in all the short Commandments, the

compiler of Shapira's text paraphrased this Commandment too. This writer does not accept Neubauer's verdict as to the "utterly unparalleled in Biblical usage." We

find $\text{לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$ in Deut. 22:26, and $\text{לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$ in II Sam. 14:7.

The latter is certainly in accordance with Biblical usage and can be favourably compared with Shapira's text. The use of the preposition ל in Samuel should not

raise any insurmountable difficulty, for the irregularities in the use of prepositions in the Old Testament is not uncommon. The same can be said in respect to the Qumran texts.

Yet, Rabinowicz in his JC articles¹²⁵ surprisingly declares, "It was this phrase which convinced a group of scholars in Berlin at first glance that they had

¹²²See also Deut. 28:61; II Kings 17:41, et. al.

¹²³Neubauer, loc. cit.

¹²⁴op. cit., p. 179, and in the Jewish Chronicle, op. cit. Here too, Rabinowicz has not checked his sources when he reproduced the text in the JC. Had he checked the facsimile in the British Museum dossier, he would have observed that Shapira's text contains neither ל nor ב in $\text{לֹא תִסַּח בְּפִי אֶת שְׁמִי}$. (A reproduction of part of the Decalogue is published in the Journal of Jewish Studies, VII, 1956, p. 187, where this writer's statement may be readily verified.)

¹²⁵JC, op. cit., p. 13.

been presented with a forgery." To authenticate his statement, Rabinowicz relies on a passage published in the *Athenaeum*¹²⁶ by Neubauer: "If I remember rightly, there occurred a passage in there, 'Thou shalt not kill the person of thy brother,' which Professor Dillman and I considered quite sufficient for the recognition of a forgery." Thus, these two eminent scholars condemned the Shapira document as a forgery on this basis. Is this true scholarship?

(6) Neubauer also objects to Shapira's paraphrase of the Fifth Commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery with the wife of thy neighbour."¹²⁷ He contends that the forger merely copied Lev. 20:10 אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִנָּאֵף אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֵהוּ being the same text used by the scribe of Shapira's Deuteronomy.

(7) Shapira's Sixth Commandment reads: לֹא תִגְנוֹב הֵן רֶעֶךָ. Neubauer maintains that " הֵן is not found in the Pentateuch, the word חֵיל being employed there instead of it in the sense of 'wealth'." Rabinowicz adds his blessing to this statement by writing in the *JQR*¹²⁸ that " הֵן (sic!) is equally unbiblical" and refers to Gen. 34:38 and Deut. 8:17. This writer leaves it to the judgement of the readers as to the validity of this point. הֵן is commonly used in the Bible as "wealth". In this sense it appears three times in Psalms, four times in Ezekiel, once in Song of Songs (הֵן בִּיתָּהּ), and sixteen times in Proverbs. Can Rabinowicz justify his comment that הֵן is unbiblical? Yet, this is one of the arguments advanced in 1883 in condemnation of Shapira's text.

(8) Shapira's Seventh Commandment contains the expression לְנֹשֵׂא שְׁמִי לְטָקָר "to him who taketh My name falsely." Neubauer points out that here the expression לְנֹשֵׂא is rabbinical; in Classical Hebrew we would expect לֹאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִטָּא .

¹²⁶September 8, 1883, p. 306.

¹²⁷Neubauer, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁸*op. cit.*, p. 179. By mistake, again, Rabinowicz substitutes הֵן for הֵן .

The usage of עֵד is certainly Classical Hebrew. In the Decalogue alone we have several such forms,¹²⁹ not to mention the very numerous illustrations in the Old Testament.

(9) The document's Ninth Commandment contains the expression

"false testimony" for עֵד כָּזָב "false witness" in Deut. 5:20. The variant reading עֵד כָּזָב for עֵד כָּזָב should cause no difficulty, for the parallel version of the Decalogue in Exodus 20:16 also uses עֵד כָּזָב , as in Shapira's, and not as the Deuteronomic version. Moreover, seventeen MSS. read עֵד כָּזָב in the Deuteronomic version, and not עֵד כָּזָב .¹³⁰

Neubauer's main contention, however, is that עֵד is rabbinic.¹³¹ This is questionable. First עֵד "testimony" is more appropriate here than עֵד . ("Thou shalt not bear false testimony [rather than 'witness'] against thy neighbour." The word עֵד "testimony" is found in this sense at least six times in Psalms.¹³² Again, according to Kittel,¹³³ the Versions render testimonium (עֵדוּת)¹³⁴ for the עֵד in the Decalogue.

¹²⁹Cf. Deut. 5:9 $\text{לִשְׁנֵי$; 5:10 לְמִצְוֹתֵי . Rabinowicz quotes 5:9 but overlooks 5:10. In his JQR article (*loc. cit.*) he regards the use of עֵד (lenosē) a "grave grammatical error." Rabinowicz transcribes as *lenossey*. The cannot be doubled here. See also JC, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁰Cf. *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel, Stuttgart, 1954, p. 271

¹³¹Whereas Neubauer was content to say that עֵד is Rabbinic, Rabinowicz in his JQR article (*op. cit.*, p. 179) commented that it is "not Biblical Hebrew." After reading my refutation of his assertion in the JC (April 19, 1957, p. 20) he "mitigated" the issue with this statement: "Thus, while the phrase appears nowhere in the Bible, the very phrase is, on the other hand, used for expressing 'false testimony' in the Talmud, Succah 29a. It is therefore correct to state that עֵד in the Shapira texts is not Biblical but rabbinical." (JC, *op. cit.*, p. 13)

¹³²Psalms 78:85; 80:1; 81:6; 119:88; 122:4. In the JC article of April 19, 1957, p. 25, this writer stated: "The word is עֵדוּת , meaning 'testimony,' and is more appropriate here than עֵד . It is found mainly in the later books of the Bible at least six times." When Rabinowicz attempted to refute this statement, he wrote in JC (August 16, 1957) as follows: "For עֵדוּת appears seven times (not in the later books!)--the Psalms." This writer used the word "later" and not "latter"; moreover, he stated "at least six times."

¹³³Cf. *Biblia Hebraica*, p. 109.

¹³⁴Cf. Exod. 20:16.

Here, Targum Onkelos, too, renders טקרא טהרתא לשקר for ער שקר, clearly "a false testimony" and not "a false witness," thus in agreement with Shapira's text. All the versions could not have invented a word when the translations were made. This does not imply that Shapira's text is superior or more authentic; on the other hand, this deviation from the Massoretic text cannot be taken as an evidence against the authenticity of the document.

(10) Another argument raised by Neubauer, and blindly reproduced by Rabinowicz in the JQR¹³⁵ is that "Jehovah is used at the beginning of a document which is elsewhere entirely Elohistic." Gottstein¹³⁶ of the Hebrew University leads his readers to believe that the text presented "a pure 'Elohist' document of the Book of Deuteronomy." He, too, at the time of writing had not checked his sources. Shapira's text is not purely Elohist. Neubauer, too, is wrong in making this claim, for the Hebrew tetragrammaton, Yahweh, occurs in the Shapira text at least twice, at the beginning and at the end.¹³⁷ However, this 'hoax'¹³⁸ was used as one of the evidences against the document.

(11) In his JQR article,¹³⁹ in summarizing Neubauer's objections to the authenticity of Shapira's Deuteronomy, Rabinowicz writes, "That the word עיר is written plane contrary to the custom in early inscriptions." This is indeed an important argument against Shapira's document. Now, the word עיר "city" appears in the

¹³⁵op. cit., p. 179.

¹³⁶The full statement reads: "Indeed, we can only smile when we see how a clever forger intended to hoax Bible critics of the day by producing a pure 'Elohist' document of the Book of Deuteronomy." "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Shapira Forgery." Jewish Chronicle, February 15, 1957, p. 15.

¹³⁷See Hermann Guthe, op. cit., p. 22... וְכָל הַיְהוָה אֵל כָּל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל...and the last verse on p. 62 וְכָל הַיְהוָה אֵל כָּל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. Surely a forger who would embark upon such a task would not have made such serious omissions at the beginning and at the end of the text.

¹³⁸In M. Gottstein's wording.

¹³⁹loc. cit.

document twice in the singular but in each case it has the defective spelling, in conformity with orthography in early inscriptions. Nowhere does it occur with Yod, (י'י), as Neubauer and Rabinowicz first claimed. In the meantime enough damage has been done to discredit the document on this score, too. This careless statement provoked a justified attack on Neubauer by the Daily News¹⁴⁰ which claimed that he had made statements against the Shapira Scroll without ever seeing the documents themselves. This state of confused and careless 'scholarship' is clearly reflected in the fact that Neubauer, in The Academy¹⁴¹, blames Ginsburg for this error and corrects himself.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ August 22, 1883; see also the Academy, August 18, 1883. Neubauer here admits that he was convinced the scroll was a forgery before he saw it.

¹⁴¹ August 25, 1883. Neubauer writes: "I see from the published text of the first two chapters of Deuteronomy, according to the Moabite sheepskins, that il. 9 has Ar and not ir; why is it, then, translated by city, and not as Ar? City as a conjectural rendering of the last word may be right in an exegetical commentary, but not in a faithful reproduction of a new text. Such a method leads to misunderstanding." Neubauer later calls attention to some of Ginsburg's "other blunders."

¹⁴² Rabinowicz presumably relied on Neubauer who relied on Ginsburg who made the incorrect statement. Rabinowicz reproduces Neubauer's false claim about the plene spelling of י'י as evidence against the document. Nowhere in that article does he refer to the fact that it was subsequently corrected by Neubauer. He does so in his JC article of August 9, 1957, p. 13, only after having read this writer's reply to Gottstein in the JC (April 19, 1957, p. 20). Even here, Rabinowicz declares that nowhere in his article did he regard י'י "city," written plene, with a Yod as the main argument against the genuineness of the Shapira document. "In fact," Rabinowicz continues, "after including it as a part of the statement made by Neubauer and quoted as such in my article, I did not refer to it further at all; for I am aware of the correction made subsequently by Dr. Neubauer on that point." (JC, op. cit., August 9, 1957, p. 13) To begin with, Rabinowicz did not quote but summarized Neubauer's objections but the general picture is quite disturbing. It seems that Rabinowicz quoted Neubauer that י'י was written plene, was aware of the subsequent correction, but he did not subsequently inform his readers about it; yet the plene form was a weighty argument against the authenticity of the document.

(12) Another careless statement, subsequently corrected,¹⁴³ was published by Ginsburg¹⁴⁴ to the effect that the combination אלהם אלהך does not occur in the Old Testament and hence, he concluded, its presence in Shapira's text was caused by a forger. In fact, two identical combinations plus two very similar ones are found in Psalms.¹⁴⁵ Despite the corrections, enough prejudice has been spread by these incorrect statements.

(13) Ginsburg, in his report to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum,¹⁴⁶ after having stated that "the compiler of the Hebrew text was a Polish, Russian, or German Jew, or one who had learned Hebrew in the North of Europe," remarks that Jews there¹⁴⁷ pronounce alike the letters ת t and ט t. Ginsburg goes on to state, "This accounts for the otherwise inexplicable spelling in this document of the word rendered 'frontlets' in our Authorized Version." He points out that the word לַתְּשֻׁפֹּת "frontlets"¹⁴⁸ in Deut. 6:8 is spelled לַתְּתֵהֵת, "thus betraying not only the ignorance of the scribe but also the nationality of the compiler."¹⁴⁹ It

¹⁴³This correction has escaped my notice in the reply which was published in the *Jewish Chronicle*, April 19, 1957. This writer is indebted to Rabinowicz for drawing his attention to this fact. (JC August 9, 1957, p. 13)

¹⁴⁴*The Athenaeum*, August 18, 1883, p. 206.

¹⁴⁵Psalms 45:8 מִשְׁחָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ
 48:15 כִּי זֶה אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ
 50:7 אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲנֹכִי
 67:7 יִבְרַכְנֻךְ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶינֻךְ

¹⁴⁶Dated August 22, 1883. Published in the *Times* on August 27, 1883. It is also found in the British Museum dossier.

¹⁴⁷i.e. in Poland, Russia, or Germany.

¹⁴⁸JC, August 9, p. 13.

¹⁴⁹As explained by Rabinowicz, JC, *op. cit.*, p. 13. This is rather a surprising observation by a scholar like Ginsburg who had done a great deal of work on the Massoretic text. (See next paragraph.) Here, Rabinowicz, as in the other instances, quotes the 1883 arguments by Neubauer and Ginsburg against the authenticity of the scroll, yet he shifts the responsibility of the errors which he quoted to these two authors.

is admitted that this is a gross error but certainly in the light of the textual history of the Massoretic Text this is not "inexplicable."

To begin with, one would obviously expect an ignorant scribe from Northern Europe to confuse his "gutturals" more so than the letters η and ψ ; but this is not the case in Shapira's text. Secondly, we find the same "inexplicable spelling" in the Old Testament, in the Qumran texts, and elsewhere. Is Rabinowicz, who endorses Ginsburg and Neubauer's views, prepared to condemn (חלילה) several books of the Old Testament because of the following "scribal errors," also committed because of the similarity of their phonetic value?

In II Chron. 10:18 we read $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ for $\kappa\kappa\kappa\kappa$ in the parallel passage of I Kings 12:18; in Jeremiah 52:15 $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ for $\kappa\kappa\kappa\kappa$ as in the parallel passage of II Kings 25:11; in I Chron. 13:12 we read $\eta\eta$ for $\kappa\kappa$ in II Sam. 6:9 in the parallel account. The Jewish compilers (of the Massoretic text) who made these errors were certainly not Hungarian Jews who usually confuse the η and κ .

Again in I Sam. 17:7 we find $\eta\eta$ as ketfb and $\psi\psi$ as Qerf as read by LXX and Vulgate. An Oriental Jew will normally not confuse his gutturals and surely the Biblical scribe cannot be of Polish or Russian origin. The argument here is that such errors were common.¹⁵⁰ Kennicott¹⁵¹ refers to their variant readings in the Pentateuch, where η and ψ are confused: cf. Gen. 4:7 M.T. לפתח -Var.K. לפטח; Exod. 7:14 M.T. בשפטים -Var.K. בשפתים; Gen. 33:14 M.T. לאטי -Var.K. לאתי.¹⁵²

Again we find that the Samaritan scribes also confused these two letters: Gen. 15:10 M.T. בתרר Sam. Pent. בטרר; Deut. 12:3 M.T. ונתתם -Sam. Pent, ונתתם.¹⁵³ In LQIs^a 26:12 we read תשפוט for M.T. תשפת.

¹⁵⁰There are numerous similar scribal errors cited by A. Sperber, "Hebrew Based Upon Biblical Passages in Parallel Transmission." *HUCA*, XIV, 1939. pp. 153-249.

¹⁵¹*Vetus Testamentum cum variis lectionibus*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1776-80. The variant reading is here designated Var. K.

¹⁵²It is left for the reader to guess the nationality of this scribe.

¹⁵³For more illustrations, cf. A. Sperber, op. cit., p. 166.

(14) Using the same argument,¹⁵⁴ Ginsburg points out that חבל in Deut. 3:14¹⁵⁵ is found as חבל in Shapira's. "Hence, when the compiler¹⁵⁶ of the text dictated to the scribe the word חבל, the latter spelled it חבל." Ginsburg and Rabinowicz, who reproduces this argument, conclude that this error is impossible unless the copyist was a Polish or German Jew who pronounces ח as כ without a Dagesh.

The validity of this argument is dubious. The letter כ at the beginning of a word assumes the stronger sound k and it is therefore unlikely that a scribe will begin a word with כ when the sound is ח. Even a Polish ignoramus is unlikely to make such a mistake.¹⁵⁷

But a careful examination of the photographic reproduction of the text in the British Museum dossier¹⁵⁸ will clearly indicate that the reading is not חבל but גבל (for גבל equals גבול "border," "territory.")¹⁵⁹ In Shapira's document both כ and ל are almost identical in this Paleo-Hebrew script: 7 and 7 respectively.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, even if we read it as חבל there is a possibility that

¹⁵⁴In his above-mentioned report. See above, note 146.

¹⁵⁵חבל ארגוב "the region of Argob."

¹⁵⁶Presumably a Jew from the North of Europe.

¹⁵⁷Gottstein apparently subscribes to this view too when he writes that the "mistake חבל ארגוב (sic!) would be impossible!" *op. cit.* JSS, 1956, p. 190. חבל ארגוב in Gottstein's article is probably a misprint for ארגוב and so is חבל ארגוב for חבל ארגוב on p. 191. This writer, however, admits the use of חבל ארגוב in Shapira's for the M.T. חבל ארגוב is a gross scribal error, but such errors existed in the M.T., cf. חבל ארגוב in Isa. 33:1 (1Q Isa. 33:1).

¹⁵⁸See above, note 17.

¹⁵⁹גבל implies not only "boundary" but also "territory" (enclosed within boundary). In this sense it is employed in Deut. 2:4 and 19:3 and in numerous other passages. (See W. Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1952, p. 148.) If so, גבל ארגוב is a variant reading of חבל ארגוב both meaning "The territory of Argob."

¹⁶⁰This can clearly be seen from (a) H. Guthe's facsimile of the script, given in his book, (*op. cit.*, p. 94), and (b) the reproduction of the text in the British Museum dossier. See also "Character of the Script" in this article.

this interchange is due to a partial assimilation of ל and כ. This peculiarity is quite common in the Semitic languages,¹⁶¹ in the Samaritan Pentateuch¹⁶² and possibly in the word אַכְזָרִי in IQIs^a 13:19 (for M.T. אַכְזָרִי "cruel.")¹⁶³

(15) Neubauer argues that the זולתי "except" in Deut. 1:36 is changed in Shapira's documents to בלתי, because the latter is "certainly less emphatic."¹⁶⁴ This is hardly convincing. Does any reader believe that the following verses in the M.T. will become more emphatic if we substitute זולתי for בלתי?

הילכו שנים יחדו בלתי אם נועדו Amos 3:3

היתן כפיר קילו ממענתו בלתי אם לכר Amos 3:4

לא תראו פני בלתי אחיכם אתכם Gen. 43:3

זבח לאלהים יחרם בלתי ליהרה לבדו Exod. 22:19

(There are other numerous illustrations from the Old Testament.) The reason for the use of בלתי is to be sought elsewhere. זולתי was probably a word more commonly used than זולתי. It occurs over eighty times in different forms whereas זולתי occurs only sixteen times. The argument can be advanced that the scribe believed he was rendering a service to his readers by employing a more frequently

¹⁶¹In Aramaic ג'ף (Y. Ketubboth vi. 31a) and כ'ף (Koheleth R. to verse 11,1) for "shore of sea or river." Cf. Ugaritic gp ym (C. Jean, "Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Semitiques de l'Ouest, s.l."); Place name "Kezib" is found in the Mishna as כזיב (Halla iv. 8) and זזיב (Y. Halla iv. 8); Heb. גזע, Aram. כעא "call out," "bellow;" in Syriac ܟܬܝܬ and ܟܬܝܬ both forms are used; Heb. כחך and Arab. كحك gahada, "to deny" (a right); "disown;" Aram. כנפא equals גנפא "wing." (Cf. M. Mansoor, "Linguistic Aspects of the Qumran Texts." JSS III, no. 1, 1958, pp. 40-55.)

¹⁶²Gen. 14:23 M.T. שרן -Sam. Pent. שרן; Gen. 21:23 M.T. לנכדי -Sam. Pent. וילנגדי. (For more illustrations cf. A. Sperber, op. cit., p. 165.)

¹⁶³Not necessarily a scribal error as some writers asserted. Cf. S. Zeitlin, "The Hebrew Scrolls Once More and Finally." JQR, XII, p. 30 (1950-1951). These and other scribal errors in Shapira's Deuteronomy refute M. Gottstein's contention in "The Shapira Forgery and the Qumran Scrolls." (JJS 1956, p. 191,) that such "textual types" do not occur in the Qumran texts.

¹⁶⁴The Academy, August 25, 1883, p. 130.

used word. A similar tendency is observed in the Qumran version of the Isaiah scroll.

The copyist deliberately used more common words for less common ones: אִרְיָ for הִרְיָ in Isa. 13:10; לְשׁוֹנִים for לְשׁוֹן in Isa. 47:2.

Ginsburg records a similar charge against the document in his report to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum,¹⁶⁵ pointing out that the forger substituted מַעְלָם (mā'ālām) for לְפָנַי . Again, Gottstein categorically states that¹⁶⁶ "...not even one of the many peculiarities of the Qumran scrolls can be found in the Deuteronomy scroll." This is clearly not valid.

(16) Rabinowicz, referring to Neubauer, states¹⁶⁷ that "Another proof of the ignorance of the compiler can be found in the omission to notice the transposition of the two letters in the predicate applied to God, which, instead of saying אֵלֵינוּ ("He was angry") declares אֵלֵינוּ ("He committed adultery"). Ginsburg testified that the compiler must have been very shrewd. Can we really believe that he would make such a defamatory mistake deliberately?

This type of transposition of letters, especially in the presence of laryngeals, is made easier by the lack of vowel signs and is therefore not uncommon. We witnessed the same phenomenon in the Samaritan texts and in the Qumran texts.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Dated August 22, 1883. Published in the Times on August 27, 1883. It is also found in the British Museum dossier.

¹⁶⁶ op. cit., JJS (1956), p. 190. Gottstein (p. 191) also refers to the "impossible" עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל in the paraphrase of Deut. 27:21 instead of עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל . We know that this type of "grammatical deviation" is found in the Qumran texts, as stated above.

¹⁶⁷ JC, op. cit., August 9, 1957.

¹⁶⁸ Several writers have already pointed out this peculiarity in both the Samaritan and the Qumran writings. For numerous illustrations see M. Burrows, "Orthography, Morphology and Syntax of St. Mark's Isaiah Manuscript," JBL (1949), pp. 195-214; G.R. Driver, The Hebrew Scrolls, London, 1951; M.H. Gottstein, "Studies in the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls," JJS, 3 (1953); H. Yalon, "Lileson Ham-Megillot Hag-Gemuzot," Sinai (1950), pp. 267-293, Jerusalem; P. Kahle, "Zur Aussprache des Hebraischen bei den Samaritanern," Festschrift A. Bertholet, Tübingen, 1950; and M. Mansoor, "Linguistic Aspects of the Qumran Texts," JSS III, no. 1, 1958, pp. 40-55.

THIS concludes the original and the translation of the MS. as far as it was necessary for the continuity of the narrative. The rest of the slips either contain duplicate matter or are undecipherable. It will be seen that we have here nearly the whole of Deuteronomy in an abridged form.

ויבאר אליהם אלי שילח אנשים לרגל את
 יתרו תלכו [את] עיר משב בער החמיר.
 ויצא ער מלך הבשן קבוע למסלמה
 ובכחו ער לא השאר לו שרד תלכו מאתם
 ששם ער כל ככל הארבע בפרת הדב
 דלהם וברחם... לבר עיר והפחיר ורבה
 מאד וכל עיר הבשן וכל הגלגל וכל הבשן
 ער סלכו וארדע... ארץ הרחוקים...
 הוא כי ער מלך הבשן קבוע הרחוקים...
 וכן תעס נבנה תבס כל בית שער...
 בית הדואה בנת מאד מירן מלך הבשן
 ותקרא [לכם] לאכל מוכחחן ותאכל מוכחחן
 ותשטן מוכחחן ותשטחן ליהודים ותטען את
 עיר הירדנים ותפוצרן לבער עיר את הדואה
 וחרה אף אליהם עלכם ורגע בכם בעת
 ההוא כנפח הדואה שלחתי ככב אנשים אליהם
 את המרים וירכסו אתם לפי דבר שבתם
 מאתם שכי' הרבה למאד ולעזר המפחיר...
 ואח' שירא אליהם בעת הדואה ואתכם
 דחקו וספספם וישעמו בארץ אשר עיר
 ששה לרשתה. מספרן כלם לא תספור לא
 סמורו ולא תרגש מספר... השכר כלם
 תשחזו ועשמו כלם פסל ותמנה תבנת
 לא סכל אשר בששם כמלך ואנשי
 מוחלת ואחר בסיס מוחלת לארץ...
 אפי' בכם ויחשבוני אתכם מדרה ס'
 הארץ קטנה הוצאתו... ירע... היום [תעשר]
 את חקני ויחשבוני לבער ישוב כלם [ולמס]
 ותארכו יכם על האדמה אשר אליהם
 טעו לכם... שטעו ישראל אליהם
 אחר ואתכם אתם אליהם אלהם בכל לבב
 ובכל נפש למאד לאו אחי הירבב הוציא
 אתכם מצד הרחל על הרבב ושנעמו
 לבבך ודברת אתם בשבתך בבתך ובלכתך
 בדרך ובשכבך ובקצתך וקשתים אלהם
 על ידי אחי ויחשבוני בך עקר ונתחלם
 על מות ביום שושעך יך אלהם עמד
 ברת חרות ביום קדל ואנך עשתי בן
 אליהם ויבנסם... קדל חותא כי שדרתם
 פניו הוצא לו... יהוד לרגל לכם דבר
 פניו הוצא לומר...

(Here follows the Decalogue already printed,
Athen. No. 2911.)

..... ששע ישראל אתם עברים היום זאת הדרך לבא לירושל' נרם רבם תעצבם שרם נדלת ובצירת הסח לא נאסרו בלבבכם רבם הסח הנירם החלל לא נכל להרשעם לא רבם סדם וכו' אתא אסור עשה אילרם לפרעה לכלל מסרם כו' תעשה אילרם לכל איבר כו' אילרם הוא העבר לפיכך שרם אכילה חותה הוא ישרדסו יכענעם סחירה לפיכך . נס אהה . ארעסות אילרם בם עש אבר אבר

הבשרות הנשארם כספדן רק את וישנו
את משרתו השמים ודקתו אשר אנך ספדן
היום ודעת היום כי את בשרקתך ואלה
אלה נתן לשפך את הארץ ואתה לשרתה
כי עש ערף דות כן היום אשר זאת
מספרם עד היום מספרם היום את אלהם
אלה. בחרב ביום עליה היר לקחת את
שני לית אלהם ואלהם כתבם על הדברים
אשר דבר אלהם ועמכם בחר סתך האש
שני הקהל... קשעוהם את אלהם ושעתם
לכם על מסכה ואלהם לשני אלהם בחר
הבער כאש... ושני לית ביד וואר
ואתמכמו ואשכר את שני לית לעמכם
ואתמלל בערכם בעת היום ארבעים יום
וארבעים לילה. ובתבשרה ובמסה ובקברת
ההואה מסרת דהתם את אלהם. בעת
ההואה אשר אלהם אל פלך לית שני לית
אנכם כראשכם ועלה אל ההרה ואעל ההרה
ושני [לחלח] אלהם על אלהם
את שעתה הדברים אשר דבר אלהם בחר
ביום הקהל ויהם אל העם בארן אשר
ישעו ויבשרו ברנע באמר אל אלהם
עשו את הארץ כמסר היום את אלהם
ואלה עמכם ושמעו בקלו ויבשר אלהם
הלשכרם ואתמלל בערכם בעת בחר
ארבעים יום וארבעים לילה בירכם וישעו
אלהם עם כפעם היום אל השעת אתכם
ברנע על בשרקתך אלהם נתן רק כל כשת
היה... [רק חשן] אלהם באבתכם לאהבה
אתם בחרת ברוחם אחרים סתך הימים
אלהם [אלהם] היום את אלהם [אלהם]
ואתה האדמים האל גבר והנרא [הוא]
האלהך דהתם אשר עשה אתך את גרלת
ואת ההואה. כשבועם עשך ידך אבתכם
למסרם [והעלה] הית לעם עמך דרב. כי אך
אלהם [תשפוט] את כל המצוה אשר אנך
מצוה חיים לעשת לאהבה את אלהם
לעלות בכל דרבו ובכל הקול. ודשש אלהם
אלהם כל אנש הפסל כל אשר תדרך כן
לעמכם. כי אל יתעב [אנש] לעמכם כן
הדברים וכו' אבם ידעו על פני כל הארץ
משפוט ודורטו בו. ראה אנך נתן לשפכם
חיים ברכה וקללה את הברכה אם תשמעו
אל מצותי [דקתך] וקללה אם לא תשמעו
סירתם ודקתך אשר אנך מצוה אתכם היום
ויהי כי [באך] אלהם אל הארץ אשר
אתה בא שמה לשרתה תתת את הברכה
על דר [העם] וקללה על הר עבלי אלה
[הברכה] עבלי הדרך דרך סבא השמש
הארץ בעניני [גנך] גלגל אצל אלהם. ארץ
אלהם יעשו על הר [עבלי] ראשון ובזמן
גנך אשר דן ובפלתו ואלה יעמדו על הר
ששעם והיהו ישר יבשר כשעם ואחרם
בנימן. ועמדו והיהו ישר כשעם [ועבלי]
אחרים בקל [באך] האש אשר יאכר
אלהם ואלו לבדו וישפוטו ואת לבדו
יבשרו ועל כל העם [ואחרם] אמן. ויבשרו

הַדָּאִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי קִדְּשׁ אֶת יְיָ הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְשֵׁשֶׁת
בָּרָעִינָה לֵב הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין (בְּרַךְ הַחַיִּים)
מִכֹּכֵר וְעוֹבֵד וְאִשְׁמֵן כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין.
בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי לֹא יֵקֵם וְלֹא יִכֹּחַ אֶת
נַפְשׁ אֲחֵי וְעָנִי. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי לֹא
יִסְמֹחַ אֶת אֲחֵי וְרֵעֵי וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ
אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי לֹא יִנְחֵה אֶת רֵעֵי
וְעָנִי. כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ
אִשְׁרֵי לֹא יִשְׁבַּע בְּשׁוֹמֵם לִשְׁקֹר וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם
וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי לֹא יִכְחֹשׁ
לֹא יִשְׁכַּח בְּרֵדְעוֹ וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין
בְּרַךְ (הַחַיִּים) דְּרֵאֵוּ אֶת נִשְׁא עַל אֶת הַחֲרִיבִשׁ
רֵעֵי וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ
אִשְׁרֵי אֵיבֹחַ אֶת רֵעֵי (וְעוֹל) כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ
אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי יֵקֵם אֶת כִּל דְּבִיר
הַדְּהִיר הַזֶּה לֹא לִשְׁמֹעַ (וְאֵינֶם) וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם
וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. רֵעֵי הַלֵּוִיט יִשְׁמְעוּ (וְאִמְרוּ) בְּרַךְ
אֵין וְאֵם אֵם שְׁמַע תִּשְׁמַע בְּקֹל אֲחֵיךְ לִשְׁמֹר
לִישְׁמֹעַ אֹתָל כִּל מִצְוֹתָ וְאִבֹּא עֲלֶיךָ כִּל
הַבְּרִית אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ אֲחֵיךְ
וְשִׁיר אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ מִנְחָה וְשִׁיר אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ פִּינְקֹן
וְשִׁיר אֲחֵיךְ כִּל אֶת (וְאֵינֶם) וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם
אֲחֵיךְ בְּבֹאֵר בְּרַךְ אֲחֵיךְ בְּצִוְיֹתָ בְּרַךְ אֲחֵיךְ
אֶת אֲחִיךְ נִנְפֵס לִפְנֵי יְיָ אֵלֵיךְ אֶת הַבְּרִית
כִּל מִשְׁעֵי דִּין יִקְבֹּץ אֲלֵיכֶם לֹא לֵעָם קִדְּשׁ דְּרֵאֵוּ
כִּל יְיָ הַחַיִּים דְּרֵאֵוּ מִכֹּכֵר פִּתְחֵי אֲלֵיכֶם לֹא
אֶת הַשְּׁמֵם לֹחֵת מִכֹּכֵר אֲרֵיךְ בְּעִנְיֹתָ
וְהַלְּחֵה טִיט וְרֵבֵם וְהַלְּחֵה לֹא (תִּלְחֵה)
וְהוֹת (מִכְלֵה) וְלֹא תִתֵּן (וְלִכְבֹּשׁ).
אֵין (מִכְבֹּשׁ) (וְעוֹל הַלְּחֵה) אֵין
פִּנְקֹן (גִּלְדֵר דֵּן עֲבֵל אֲחֵיךְ וְיִתְאַדֵּר) אֵין
(רֵם) אֲחֵיךְ הַחַיִּים אִשְׁרֵי (יִשְׁמְעוּ) פִּנְקֹן
וְכִסְבֵּי מִשְׁמֵה) יִתְּן דִּישׁ וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם
(וְאִמְרוּ) אֵין אֲחֵיךְ הַחַיִּים אִשְׁרֵי עֲשֵׂה
מִלֻּאכָה בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי לְחֹלּוֹ וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם
וְאִמְרוּ אֵין אֲחֵיךְ מִקְלָה וְאִבֹּא עֲלֵיךְ
כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ כֹּכֵה רֵעֵי
בְּסִתֵּר וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ
הַחַיִּים אִשְׁרֵי אֲחֵיךְ אֵין כִּל שִׁאֵר שִׁאֵר וְאִשְׁרֵי
נִינְחֵה אֶת אֲשֵׁר רֵעֵי אֲחֵיךְ יִבְעֵל עִם כִּל
בְּהִבָּה בְּרַךְ כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ
סֹסֵב נִבֵּל רֵעֵי וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין
בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי יִשְׁבַּע לִשְׁקֹר וְעוֹל
כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ לֵקֵחַ שִׁחַד
לְרֵעֵיךְ עֲשֵׂיךְ וְכִיבְרוּ וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ
אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ הַחַיִּים אִשְׁרֵי שִׁאֵר שִׁאֵר עֲנֵה אֶת
אֲשֵׁר רֵעֵי וְאֵל בֹּא וְאֵל אֲמִתּוֹ וְלֹכֵל
אִשְׁרֵי לֹא וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. אֲחֵיךְ
אִשְׁרֵי שִׁאֵר שִׁאֵר אֵין אֲחֵיךְ בְּלֹב וְעוֹל כִּל
הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. בְּרַךְ הָאִשׁ אִשְׁרֵי לֹא
לִקְחֵם אֶת כִּל דְּבִיר הַחֲרִיבִשׁ (וְהוֹת) עֲשֵׂה
וְעוֹל כִּל הָעֵם וְאִמְרוּ אֵין. (רִם) וְעוֹל
הַלֵּוִיט קִרָּא בְּקֵם רֵם וְאִמְרוּ הִידֵה אֵם לֹא
תִשְׁמַע בְּקֹל אֲחֵיךְ (לִשְׁכֹּר) לִשְׁמֹעַ אֶת כִּל
מִצְוֹתָ וְתִתְּנֵהוּ וְאִבֹּא עֲלֶיךָ לֹא וְהַלְּחֵה
הַלְּחֵה אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ (וְאֵינֶם) אֲחֵיךְ בְּרַךְ
וְשִׁיר אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ
וְשִׁיר אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ אֲחֵיךְ

E. Würtheim also refers to such cases as Isa. 9:18 M.T. נָתַתָּם and לְקִיָּא^a נָתַתָּם ; Isa. 32:19 הָעִיר and לְקִיָּא^a הָעִיר , etc.¹⁶⁹

(17) The fact that Shapira's text uses the word עַר "neighbour" once instead of אָח "brother" as in the remaining three times is also taken as internal evidence against the scroll. Is there any criterion in Hebrew or in the Old Testament relating to the use of עַר and אָח synonymously? The Pentateuch alone uses these two words as synonyms scores of times. Why neither some of the 1883 scholars nor Mr. Rabinowicz explained what was wrong with the usage of either word meaning "brother" or "neighbour" is mystifying.

(18) One of the "minor slips" in the document, according to Neubauer,¹⁷⁰ is the use of the singular in the remaining part of the Decalogue. Some of the verbs cited are תַּעֲנֶנּוּ for תַּעֲנֶנּוּ and תִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ for תִּשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ . This so-called irregularity occurs in the text with לִי verbs only. Rabinowicz, in referring to the analysis of the text made by Neubauer and Ginsburg, explains¹⁷¹ that this was intended by the forger to be the second person singular from the root עָנַן , "in imitation of the archaic form on the Moabite Stone, where it occurs twice."¹⁷² Rabinowicz, however, fails to point out that תִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ , which occurs in the document, does not appear in the Moabite Stone. It seems that anything that did not suit the purposes of Ginsburg and Neubauer has been regarded either as an imitation of the Moabite

¹⁶⁹E. Würtheim. *The Text of the Old Testament*. English Edition, Oxford, (1957), p. 72. See also Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language*. Madrid, 1954, p. 89.

¹⁷⁰Cf. Rabinowicz, *JQR*, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

¹⁷¹*op. cit.*, *JC*, August 16, 1957.

¹⁷²It is interesting to note that Ginsburg in his translation of the text in the *London Times*, August 8, 17, 1883, used the singular throughout. Guthe also did not regard this as an error.

Stone or as a clever fabrication by the forger.¹⁷³ The same charge had been applied to the separation of the words in the Decalogue and the insertion of a full stop after every word, "exactly as it is in the Moabite Stone, which here was obviously imitated."¹⁷⁴

(19) In sum, Rabinowicz in his articles in the Jewish Chronicle¹⁷⁵ overlooked¹⁷⁶ the fact that in December 1956¹⁷⁷ before a gathering of about three hundred Bible and Semitic scholars, and again in April 1957,¹⁷⁸ this writer refuted most of the arguments advanced by Neubauer, Ginsburg, Clermont-Ganneau, and those repeated by Rabinowicz. By suitable documentation¹⁷⁹ it was also pointed out that Rabinowicz made at least ten errors in his 1956 contribution to the JQR.¹⁸⁰ Most of

¹⁷³The following is a typical instance: In the Fourth Commandment, the clause למען יאריכון ימיו is absent in one of the Shapira fragments but appears in the duplicate. Ginsburg, in his report, argues that the forger cleverly suggests the "existence of a different recension." (In his report to E. A. Bond, published in the Times, August 27, 1883.) It is worthy to point out that here in the following excerpt from the Decalogue למען ייטב לך ולמען יאריכון ימיו the Exodus version has lost the first clause למען ייטב לך though it is preserved in LXX.

¹⁷⁴op. cit., JC, August 9, 1957.

¹⁷⁵August 9, 16 respectively. Rabinowicz writes (August 16) "It is significant that in his lengthy attack against everybody who regards the texts as a forgery, Professor Mansoor refers to one single criticism only and keeps completely silent on all others."

¹⁷⁶For in a letter to the Editor of the JC (April 19, 1957) this writer referred to the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature.

¹⁷⁷At the ninety-second meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held at the Union Theological Seminary in New York (December 27-28). See also "Proceedings, Dec. 27-28, 1956," JBL (1957) LXXVI, Part I, p. i.

¹⁷⁸At the joint mid-west meeting of the SBLE and AOS held in Dubuque, April, 1957.

¹⁷⁹At both meetings a sixteen page pamphlet was distributed to the members. It included an abstract, Ginsburg's conclusions, Rabinowicz's objections in the JQR, the Decalogue, parallel texts, excerpts from the document, the refutation of internal evidence, Guthe's facsimile of the Phoenician alphabet, and finally an extensive bibliography spread over three pages. All quotations and sources referred to in the papers were documented. Copies of these pamphlets were sent at the time to some of the leading scholars in the United States, Israel, and Europe including W. F. Albright, S. Mowinckel, G. R. Driver, E. Vogt, H. H. Rowley, and the Editor of the Jewish Chronicle.

¹⁸⁰op. cit.

these errors have been mentioned above. Surely Rabinowicz could not have expected this writer to produce all these documentations in the Jewish Chronicle.¹⁸¹

K. Contents and Nature of Texts.

(20) It is important to bear in mind that this new text is greatly compressed, occupying less than a third of the space taken up by the corresponding text in the Old Testament. It also contains the same text twice.¹⁸²

The corresponding text in the Old Testament as given by Guthe¹⁸³ is as follows:

Deut. 1:1,5,7,8-9,19,20; Num. 14:21ff; Deut. 1:34ff; Deut. 2:24-37; 3:1a; 2:17-23; Num. 21:31-33; Deut. 3:1b, 2-11; Num. 25:1-8; 16-18; Num. 31:1-20; Deut. 4:3,14,2,23,39-40; Deut. 6:4-9; 5:2; 5:5-19; Exod. 20:19; Deut. 5:25; Deut. 9:1; 7:17-19; 9:3; 7:20; 9:6-11; 9:22; 10:1-4; 9:23-25; 10:15-17; 10:21-22; 11:22-29; 27:11-14; 28:1-13; 27:14-26; 20:15-20,25,37,43-44,63; 31:1-6.

The sequence of the texts is significant. The selection of the Deuteronomical texts is a logical one, the theme of which being Moses' last speech to the Israelites before his death.¹⁸⁴

It can be summarized as follows: First there is an historical survey of the experiences of Israel in the desert. Here Moses mentions that, at Beth Pe'or, after the victory over the Midianites, he had received from Elohim the injunction to teach the Israelites laws and rules which they were to observe in the land about to be conquered. This is followed by the Decalogue. Then a series of blessings and curses

¹⁸¹In fact, after Rabinowicz's allegations a thirteen page article was sent to the Jewish Chronicle, the Editor of which justifiably thought the article too long for a reply in a non-professional weekly.

¹⁸²Guthe, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁸³Ibid., pp. 22-62.

¹⁸⁴A fuller analysis is given in Guthe's work, ibid., pp. 86 ff.

is given to the people by Moses. Finally Moses indicates that Joshua will be his successor as the leader of the people into the Promised Land. The main emphasis seems to be the love of only one God and of His commandments. All the remaining material in the canonical text is--whether deliberately or not--excluded.

It is clear that Shapira's Deuteronomy displays a skilfully abridged manual compiled from Deuteronomy with interpolations from other books of the Pentateuch with Moses' last speech as a theme. It is also probable that the "Dires de Moise"¹⁸⁵ is a similar compilation. In these Qumran Deuteronomic texts we find interpolations from Leviticus, Numbers, just as is the case with Shapira's text.

Shapira's Decalogue.

(21) Another main internal argument against the document was given in Ginsburg's report¹⁸⁶ to Bond, in respect to the form of the Decalogue. It reads as follows:

Taking for granted that because the canonical text already contains two recensions of the Decalogue no insurmountable objection would be raised against a third recension provided it exhibited the Biblical precepts, the forger manifestly made the Ten Commandments the groundwork of his text. Accordingly he not only modelled the Decalogue after the pattern of Leviticus XVIII and XIX, but derived his additions from those chapters. Thus the refrain, 'I am God, thy God,' which he inserted ten times is simply a variation of the longer refrain, 'I am the Lord your God' which occurs exactly ten times at the end of the ten precepts or groups of precepts, Leviticus (XVIII, 2,4,30; XIX, 2,3,4,10,25,31,34). Again, what is here the seventh commandment is made up from Leviticus XIX, 12, while the additional tenth commandment is simply Leviticus XIX, 17."

Several other scholars such as Neubauer published similar conclusions.

Again this is not unusual. We find two recensions of the Decalogue in the M.T. itself; the Samaritan version again manifests some differences from the M.T. The Decalogue was an important and well-known text, hence it must have contained several

¹⁸⁵Qumran Cave I, pp. 91-94.

¹⁸⁶See note 165.

variations. This can be confirmed by comparing the versions. The combinations presented by Shapira's form of the decalogue do not seem to harmonize with any plan that is likely to have occurred to a forger.

It seems more plausible to assume that the passage of the Decalogue, for instance, reads more like a paraphrase, like part of a manual of instruction for popular use, than as a recension of part of the Bible.

An analogy may be seen in the Nash Papyrus¹⁸⁷ which contains a somewhat-damaged copy of the decalogue in a form which follows partly Exod. 20:2 ff. and partly Deut. 5:6 ff., followed by Deut. 6:4 f. "This arrangement shows that we have here not a fragment of a Bible scroll, but a short collection of texts for liturgical, edifying, or educational purposes."¹⁸⁸ Albright,¹⁸⁹ in 1937, declared, on the basis of paleographical indications that it was of Maccabean origin.¹⁹⁰ It is interesting to note here that the sixth and seventh commandments appear in reverse order and that the second portion from Deuteronomy, mentioned above, is introduced by a phrase not in the M.T., but found in LXX.

The practice of interpolations or insertions from other Pentateuchal books was not unknown in the Qumran texts. Frank M. Cross, Jr., in his report¹⁹¹ observes, "Additions of so-called 'Samaritan' type are often found; thus after Num. 27:23 there is an insertion taken from Deut. 3:21, which occurs otherwise in the Samaritan tradition...." Again, we read in that report¹⁹² that "Deut. 5:28-29 is combined with Deut. 18:18-19 followed by Num. 24:15-17 and Deut. 33:8-11."

¹⁸⁷First published by S.A. Cook in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (1903), pp. 34 ff.

¹⁸⁸E. Wurtheim, op. cit., p. 24.

¹⁸⁹W.F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: the Nash Papyrus." Journal of Biblical Literature, LVI, 1937, pp. 145-176.

¹⁹⁰P. Kahle assigns it on internal grounds to the time before the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. See E. Wurtheim, loc. cit.

¹⁹¹"Editing the Fragments from Qumran." Biblical Archaeologist, XIX, December 1956, pp. 75-96. See report of Frank M. Cross, "Cave 4 of Qumran (4Q)", p. 83.

¹⁹²Ibid., see report of John M. Allegro, p. 92.

The present writer believes that, in the light of recent discoveries and of what has been stated above, neither the internal nor the external evidence, so far as yet published, supports the idea of a forgery. Therefore, this writer firmly believes that there is justification in his suggestion for a re-examination of the case.

Perhaps it is appropriate to conclude with the words of The Echo,¹⁹³ "From the moment that the discoveries were declared to the world there was an eagerness in many quarters, quite inconsistent with the true spirit of criticism or scholarship, to stigmatize them as forgeries."

"The freedom to ask questions, to search for truths through careful and honest inquiry and to teach the results of such inquiry is the heart and core of one great freedom of mankind."*

¹⁹³August 23, 1883.

*From a public address on academic freedom by Dr. E.B. Fred, President of the University of Wisconsin, delivered on February 15, 1957. This writer wishes to express his thanks to the University Research Committee in the Graduate School for making this research possible.

