

JESUS, QUMRAN AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls

EVER SINCE THE discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in caves surrounding the ancient Essene settlement of Qumran by the northwest shoreline of the Dead Sea in 1946, these scrolls have been the subject of intensive scholarly analysis and research.¹ But because publication of the Scrolls in their entirety is still today something quite recent, perhaps not surprisingly some scholars have claimed a conspiracy over what might be contained within them in a cover-up of the possible dangers those contents pose to universal religious institutions like Christianity. Although with publication it is clear that there is no cause for concern about the scrolls' contents, claims of a conspiracy still persist.

This article seeks to reassure the reader that such claims are groundless and that the content of the Dead Sea Scrolls need not shake the foundations of one's Christian faith. As Klaus Berger puts it, there was never any conspiracy concerning the Scrolls' contents, although I would disagree with Berger in that I believe that this all would still make exciting material for a 'spy' thriller—were it not for the simple fact that, as Berger rightly observes, there is nothing within the scrolls to warrant one.² What actually delayed publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls were in fact the usual international political jousting and regional unrest between nations in the Middle East, as well as international ownership disputes over them and the sizable egos of scholars trying to monopolise their study. That is often the case with the most important archaeological discoveries. Still, the scrolls' recent publication offers lay readers the opportunity to make some fresh insights about the scrolls and their authors for themselves. As for the remaining thousands of small fragments still left

unpublished, there is no cover-up there either. They are still being studied by a team of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish scholars, who hope to translate and publish them in the near future.

The area in and around Qumran has also been a centre of archaeological analysis. The fruits of excavation and research tell us that Qumran was once inhabited by the Jewish sect called the Essenes who were very active throughout Judaea between the second century BC and the first century AD. Before the scrolls' discovery the only items of information we had about the Essenes were from brief descriptions of the sect by the Jewish historian Josephus. Although Josephus is a very useful when it comes to Jewish history in the first centuries BC and AD, his remarks about the Essenes are of limited value. However, when Jewish experts began comparing the writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls to Josephus' account, the scholars discovered they now had a virtual whole Essene library at their fingertips.

Sensationalised Claims

Scholarship regarding the Dead Sea Scrolls and their place in Judeo-Christian studies essentially falls into two camps: the sensationalised, and the more serious. That has been a feature of Dead Sea Scrolls study ever since their discovery. Almost immediately after their discovery some scholars, eager for fame however fleeting, announced that they could only have been written by the early Christians.³ These were fabulous claims to make, and especially so since some who made them were respected scholars for their time. Indeed, that is why a minority of scholars still, even today, maintain such a line. Yet, even

among exponents of such a theory the desire to stand out has meant that there are now many diverting splinter-arguments as to how to link the scrolls to the early Christians.

The earliest sub-argument in this trend was that formulated in the early 1980s by R. H. Eisenman, who put forward the notion that Jesus' brother James must have been a great leader in the group at Qumran; and that the scrolls generally, and the Commentary on Habakkuk in particular, should be viewed in light of James' life and career. Given James was a leader of the Christian Church in Jerusalem following Jesus' death together with the disciples John and Peter, Eisenman claimed that his influence must have extended to Qumran as well.⁴

While Eisenman was crystallising these views, Australian academic Barbara Thiering, began formulating a different splinter-argument. According to Thiering, the cryptically labelled 'Righteous Teacher' who is referred to in the Dead Sea Scrolls repeatedly as the religious founder of the group at Qumran, was John the Baptist, while the 'Wicked Priest', who the scrolls say was his rival for power, was Jesus. According to Thiering, both were active at Qumran between 26 to 30AD during the last four years of the lost years of Jesus' life before the start of his ministry.⁵ In addition to this wild theory, Thiering claimed that Jesus had actually been married during this time, and that he even divorced and then remarried, this second time to Mary Magdalene. Furthermore, Thiering claimed that Jesus had four children with her during this time. All of these things, Thiering argues, mark Jesus out more as an anti-Christ than as a true Messiah.⁶

Notwithstanding all this, at the same time Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, whose best-selling book *The Holy Blood and The Holy Grail* inspired Dan Brown to write his now infamously dubious *The Da Vinci Code*, weighed heavily into the debate. In a follow-up book *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, Baigent and Leigh proposed that the Dead Sea Scrolls were actually written between 66 and 74AD by



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Christians living in Qumran. Hence, they claimed that all similarities between early Christianity and the writers of the Scrolls are proofs that they must have been one and the same religious group. Therefore, Baptism was a form of the same ritual cleansing that was practiced at Qumran. Furthermore, the communal sharing, the Messianic hopes, and the fact that at Qumran there were twelve male leaders all point to the conclusion, these authors suggest, that Qumran had been populated by early Christians and that the Dead Sea Scrolls had been written by them.⁷ These two authors also proposed that the Righteous Teacher was actually Jesus. Given that the Scrolls portray the Righteous Teacher as a simple man without any claim to divinity, Baigent and Leigh argue that the divine nature of Jesus must have been a later construct by the apostle Paul.⁸ Inspired by these claims, as well as Baigent and Leigh's fame, Upton Clary Ewing and others have rather too hastily accepted that the Righteous Teacher must have indeed been Jesus.⁹

But even these claims were not the final say on the spurious link between Jesus and Qumran. Other writers have also put forward their own splinter-arguments too. One such argument is that put forward by Walter Parks. Parks disputes that the Scrolls were written by Christians. Instead, he follows established scholarship and upholds that they were indeed, written by Essenes, not Christians, at a point in time sometime before Christ's birth. But from there Parks diverges, and claims that during the 'lost years' of Jesus' life between ages thirteen to twenty-nine Jesus was sent by his parents to be schooled in Qumran by

Essene teachers, and that his textbooks were the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves!¹⁰

However, needless to say, Jesus could not have been all these things at the same time. Moreover, all of these sensationalised claims have been countered by many of the most reputable of historians and archaeologists who have extensive expertise with regard to Qumran and early Judeo-Christian history.

Offerings by Serious Scholarship

Essentially, the aforementioned sensationalisms fail to convince on three counts as set forth by more serious scholars. The first count concerns the actual dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves. Independent scientific testing of the scrolls has shown that they are much older than is sometimes presumed. Palaeographic testing has proven they were written between the start of the second century BC and the mid-first century AD; Radio-carbon testing of a scroll's wrapping in 1951 gave a date during the start of the first century AD; and independent radio-carbon testing carried out during the 1990s on eight manuscripts dated them all to the first century BC. Accordingly, there is consensus among serious scholars today, that given these tests and the contents of the scrolls themselves, the Dead Sea Scrolls must have been written between 200BC and just prior to Qumran's destruction by the Romans in the Great Jewish War in AD70 when the Essenes hid them in their caves to preserve them. As a result the Righteous Teacher could never have been either Jesus or John the Baptist, but has to be someone who lived centuries earlier. In fact, it is now accepted that this person was the original founder of the Essene sect and the Qumran community. According to this view first introduced by renowned Jewish scholar Geza Vermes, the Righteous Teacher had been a priest of some standing in Jerusalem in the early second century BC, but became despondent with the established priesthood's moral corruption there, whereupon he left Jerusalem and founded the Essene sect which, in turn, founded Qumran -

hence his celebrated posterity there in the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves.¹¹

The second count which proves the above sensationalised claims as untenable is derived from what the Gospels and the Dead Sea Scrolls actually say about Jesus' standing with the Essenes themselves. The scrolls certainly do say that the Righteous Teacher had certain qualities which Bible readers would also notice in Jesus as well: a burning desire to preach salvation, a view of himself as a prophetic figure, and a sense that the end times were immanent.¹² But Jesus and the Righteous Teacher also had glaring differences which discount the idea that they were the same person. It must be noted that, for one thing, the Dead Sea Scrolls never mention Jesus at all, and nor do they give the slightest hint that Jesus and the Righteous Teacher were the same person. For another, whereas the Righteous Teacher fled Jerusalem and sought self-preservation in the wilderness near the Dead Sea, Jesus went boldly to Jerusalem, even though he knew he was going to face death and martyrdom there.¹³

Furthermore, whilst it is certainly true that the Gospels and the Dead Sea Scrolls both refer to Isaiah's prophecy that the way of the Messiah would be prepared 'in the wilderness', their definition of that preparation is quite different. The Community Rule Dead Sea Scroll says explicitly that the whole purpose of the Essene sect's presence in isolated Qumran was to 'prepare the way in the desert' for the Messiah; for they believed that in this way they might endear themselves to God and to His Messiah when he should arrive on the scene.¹⁴

However, the idea that the wilderness was one place where God chooses to reveal his will to humankind was a long and popular one, and it was one that was widespread in Jesus' time. As for Jesus himself, he never once identified himself with the Essenes of Qumran throughout the Gospels. Instead, Jesus taught that it was not the Essenes of Qumran, but rather it was John the Baptist, who was baptising and calling people to repentance along the Jordan River, who was really preparing his way in the wilderness in

accordance with God's plan. Therefore, it is impossible to trace any Isaianic lines of direct influence by the Essenes over Jesus in this regard.¹⁵

The third count upon which these sensationalised claims fail is with regard to the finer details of the actual arguments themselves. Put simply, they lack historical accuracy. Baigent and Leigh claim a link between the Essene use of ritual washing and the baptism practiced by John the Baptist and Jesus and his disciples. But ritual washing was practiced throughout the whole Jewish world as Jews for the purpose of becoming ritually pure for worship. That was the case at Qumran too. At Qumran, as elsewhere throughout Jewish settlements in Judaea and Galilee, ritual washing pools called Mikva'ot were built to accommodate this very Jewish practice, and the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves speak of 'sprinkling' with 'purifying water.'¹⁶ But the Gospels state that the baptism that John the Baptist and Jesus taught was a once-off immersion, and a sign of personal repentance and devotion to God.¹⁷ Other details fray under closer scrutiny as well. The Essenes' Messianic hopes, for instance, were very different to that of Jesus'. Jesus taught that he was the one and only Messiah, and that followers should beware of others claiming to be him or of having the same divine status as him. But the Dead Sea Scrolls actually refer to several expected Essene messiahs.¹⁸ In regard to the pooling of resources, Essene practice was very different in nature to the early Church's. The Essenes forced devotees to pool their resources, whereas in the Christian context that sharing was voluntary.¹⁹ In other words, Jesus was very different to the 'Righteous Teacher', and the early Christians were very different to the Essenes.

Jesus, The Righteous Teacher, and Love

If anything, we discover a glaring fundamental difference between Jesus and the Essenes as we read the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospels

that shows that Jesus and the Righteous Teacher of Qumran were two very different kinds of teachers: that difference concerns the place in one's life for love and friendship. Whereas the Righteous Teacher of Qumran taught his followers to keep to the Law of Moses on pain of punishment and even the death penalty, Jesus preached a message of love, forgiveness and grace. The Righteous Teacher advocated harsh compliance; yet Jesus brought to common people the possibility of a loving and understanding relationship with God and with each other.²⁰

These two very different types of teaching had marked effects upon their respective followers. The Essenes became famous for their displays of justified indignation. Josephus wrote that the Essenes 'showed indignation when justified.'²¹ That was putting it mildly. Qumran's Community Rule scroll encouraged its Essene inhabitants to hate all of those who lived outside their sect.²² It states that all those 'chosen' by God (i.e. the Essenes) should 'hate all that He [God] has rejected' (i.e. everybody else).²³ The Community Rule then goes on to stipulate that the Essenes were to 'love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design', and also 'hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance.'²⁴ In this Community Rule's there is even a pledge and motto to the effect, 'Everlasting hatred in a spirit of secrecy for the men of perdition!'²⁵ In fact, at Qumran the Essenes prided themselves so fiercely on hating outsiders that they even composed a War Scroll. This scroll actually set down guidelines that Essene members were expected to honour when taking on the Romans and the rest of the world in the final eschatological battles between good and evil, light and darkness. Indeed, such was the sense of spite for those outside the Essene community at Qumran that the Community Rule even lays down that they should not have anything to do with outsiders at all. It states:

Likewise, no man shall consort with him in regard to his work or property lest he be

burdened with the guilt of his sin. He shall indeed keep away from him in all things... No member of the community shall follow them in matters of doctrine and justice, or eat or drink anything of theirs, or take anything from them except for a price... For those not reckoned in His Covenant are to be set apart, together with all that is theirs.²⁶

Jesus, however, preached very differently, and he appears to have strongly criticised the Essenes for their sanctioned hatred in his Sermon on the Mount. If this is a correct interpretation, then Jesus actually sought to correct the Essenes and steer other people in his audience away from the Essenes' spiteful rules and teachings as contained in the Community Rule and the War Scroll. Hence, in his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus told his audience which was made up from people of all walks of life, including Essenes or at the very least those who knew Essenes, that:

You have heard that it was said, 'Love your neighbour and hate your enemy.' But I tell you: Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven. He causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and unrighteous. If you love those who love you, what reward will you get? Are not even the tax collectors doing that? And if you greet only your brothers, what are you doing more than others? Do not even pagans do that? Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect.²⁷

Of course, these are teachings for all time, but they applied no less to Jesus' own day as they do ours. Indeed, they seem to be a critique of Christ's contemporary Essenes. To love one's neighbour might have been a well-known Biblical teaching in Leviticus 19: 18, but hating one's enemy finds no mention whatsoever in the whole Bible. But it was an Essene doctrine and it was promoted in the Community Rule of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Therefore, far from being the Essene Righteous Teacher, as James H. Charlesworth has put it, Jesus was probably familiar with the Essenes' doctrine of sanctioned hatred, and 'abhorred it, and spoke out against it.'²⁸

Children of Light

It is true that both the Essenes and Jesus had much to say about the 'Children of Light', as opposed to the 'Children of Darkness'. But the Dead Sea Scrolls placed a very different emphasis upon these to Jesus. According to the Community Rule, the 'Sons of Light' were made up of those among the Essenes who followed God's commandments with their actions. They 'walk' in God's ways and are protected by God against the forces of evil.²⁹ The 'Sons of Darkness', by contrast, are those who practice evil actions and who seek to overthrow the Sons of Light.³⁰ Conflict between these two groups, the War Scroll states, would escalate exponentially until their last final battle, whereupon the Sons of Darkness will be exterminated by God and the Sons of Light shine forever like stars over the earth.³¹

In Luke 16: 8 Jesus does indeed comment that 'the sons of this world are more clever in dealing with this generation than the sons of light'; but to draw the conclusions that Jesus was here making reference to the Essene community at Qumran and that he was saying that they were not as clever in dealing with that generation as the sons of this world as some have,³² is too hasty. Other parts of the New Testament illustrate this point. In John's Gospel Jesus clearly stated that he considered his own followers, and not the Essenes, are those who 'trust in the light', and who are true 'sons of light.'³³ This same motif was also adopted by the early Christians themselves. In his letters, John taught that Jesus is this world's true light and that all who love their neighbour walk 'in the light' of Jesus.³⁴ Paul also taught through his letters—in the same vein—that Jesus is the Lord of light and that all who follow him should 'live as children of light' and not in their former sinful lifestyles.³⁵ In essence, for Jesus and for his followers, to live as children of light meant to live as exposed lights for all the world to see, and not as people who practice their lives in secret and the dark. According to Jesus that was the best way for one to live a righteous life before the God who sees all.³⁶

Armed with this knowledge the conclusion that the 'Sons of Light' Jesus was referring to in Luke 16:8 were not the Essenes at all is solid. Jesus was simply stating his observation that his own followers lacked the shrewdness of the children of the world. Granted, he used the same imagery and symbolic language as the Essenes in the DSS, but as Geza Vermes puts it sharply, that can only be put down to the 'Palestinian religious atmosphere of the epoch' generally, 'without entailing any direct influence.'³⁷

Jesus and Mary Magdalene

Of all the sensationalised theories, it is that of Jesus' relationship with Mary Magdalene during the lost years which has received the most attention in recent times; especially since screening of *The Da Vinci Code*. Therefore it is to that claim, that Jesus married Mary Magdalene and had a family with her in Qumran during the lost years that we now turn.

According to Barbara Thiering, Mary Magdalene anointed Jesus' feet once at a dinner party in Bethany, a small township near Jerusalem, with expensive perfume, and on other occasions as well. This was a sign, Thiering argues, that Jesus and Mary Magdalene had been married because the tenth century BC Biblical Song of Solomon portrays marital affection by a wife as pouring perfume on a husband's feet.³⁸ Thiering then goes on to cite the Gospel of Philip, which says that Jesus often kissed Mary Magdalene, (although upon what part of her has dropped out of this very fragmentary gospel) and that he loved her more than his other disciples. Thiering thereby concludes by adding that Jesus had married Mary in order to preserve his bloodline and dynasty.³⁹

However, this claim, imaginative to a point, falls flat in light of the ancient evidence itself. The Gospels of Luke and John clearly state that it was not Mary Magdalene who anointed Jesus' feet with the expensive perfume nard at this dinner party at all, but another Mary, the sister

of Martha and Lazarus—the same Lazarus who Jesus had raised from the dead. She washed Jesus' feet with nard and her own hair on one occasion, six days before his crucifixion. Now, this Mary had originally purchased the nard to embalm Jesus' body after he died, but when he began to teach Mary and Martha and the rest at the party that his death was imminent, Mary decided to use the nard on him in worship and humble gratitude. It was not a marital act. It was an act of a different kind of love: a love for the divine Lord who had raised her own brother, Lazarus, back to life; a love for her Messiah; and a love for her Master who would be killed in less than a week.⁴⁰

As for the use of the Gospel of Philip, this now very fragmentary gospel was not even a Christian Gospel at all. Nor was it even an Essene gospel. Rather, it was a Gnostic gospel written centuries after the events it 'describes', for the purpose of capturing the reader's imagination. It was never intended to be factual, researched history. Nor was it factual biography for that matter even by ancient standards. Rather, its purpose, as for all Gnostic gospels, was to imaginatively fill out an image of Jesus that is wholly missing from the earliest Christian Gospels in the Bible and thereby attract converts to the Gnostic religion.⁴¹ Gnostic 'gospels' were never written for the sake of serious historical enquiry, but to compete with the Christian religion and claim excitable Christians for the Gnostic religion.

Yet, even if we presume that on this occasion this particular Gnostic gospel was actually stating the truth, and that Jesus did on occasion kiss Mary Magdalene—even that is not in itself proof that they were ever married. Quite the contrary, in fact. In some modern Western countries kissing often implies a deep level of intimacy, but in ancient times people often kissed each other as a greeting, and this was especially so among the early Christians themselves whenever they met together for worship. The apostle Paul often wrote in his letters encouragements to Christians that when they meet to greet each other with 'a

holy kiss.¹⁴² So even if Mary and Jesus had ever kissed, they would only ever have done so as a greeting between siblings under their heavenly Father, and not as husband and wife. They would have kissed out of faith and as a mutually respectful greeting.

Conclusion

Attempts to link Jesus with Qumran Essenes fall short at every turn, except of course where Jesus actually criticises the rules of the Essenes in the Gospels. There is no unequivocal evidence whatsoever anywhere in the ancient sources that proves that Jesus spent any time at Qumran, or even why he should have. As a result, serious scholarship concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls ultimately soars well above the sensationalised

claims which link Jesus to them. Qumran was one of many Essene communities whose inhabitants Jesus must have come into contact with or heard about, but we must inevitably conclude, however, that Jesus did not establish Qumran as its Righteous Teacher, and nor was he tutored at Qumran, and nor did he ever live there in a marital relationship. In fact, Jesus probably never went to Qumran at all. That is not to say that studying the Dead Sea Scrolls has no future role to play in the ongoing study of early Christianity. Both the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Christianity emerged out of the same ancient Jewish cultural ferment and milieu. But they progressed in two very different directions from the very beginning, starting with the life of Jesus himself.

NOTES

1. On the site of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls generally, see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), and James VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002).
2. Klaus Berger, *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Truth Under Lock and Key?* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993) 108.
3. See Godfrey Driver, *The Times*, 23rd August, 1949.
4. R. H. Eisenman, *Maccabees, Christians and Qumran* (Studia Post-Biblica 34; Leiden: 1983); R. H. Eisenman, *James the Just in the Habakkuk Peshet* (Studia Post-Biblica 35; Leiden: 1986).
5. Barbara Thiering, *The Gospels and Qumran: A New Hypothesis* (Australian and New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion; Sydney: 1983) 11.
6. Barbara Thiering, *Jesus the Man: A New Interpretation From the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Doubleday, 1992); Barbara Thiering, *Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper, 1992).
7. Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (London: Corgi Books, 1991) 114-116, 201-202.
8. Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, 313-321.
9. Upton Clary Ewing, *The Prophet of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Joshua Tree: Tree of Life Publications, 1994) 19, 49.
10. Walter Parks, *Jesus: The Missing Years* (Orlando: UnKnown Truths, 2011).
11. Geza Vermes, *Les Manuscrits du desert de Juda* (Tournai and Paris: 1953). Geza Vermes, 'Introduction', *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2004) 4, 12-14.
12. James H. Charlesworth, 'Jesus as 'son' and the Righteous Teacher as 'Gardener'', in James H. Charlesworth (ed.) *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Controversy Resolved* (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 158-159.
13. James H. Charlesworth, 'Jesus as 'Son'', 161.
14. See Isaiah, 40-44. *Community Rule* 1QS 9.17-22. See also Craig A. Evans, 'Jesus, John and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Assessing Typologies of Restoration', in John J. Collins and Craig A. Evans, *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006) 48-51.
15. For a good overview on the Biblical background for God's actions in the wilderness, see Craig A. Evans, 'Jesus, John and the Dead Sea Scrolls', 46-47. On the impossibility that exists in tracing lines of influence about this theme in Jesus' own time, see page 52.
16. On Mikva'ot at Qumran, see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 134-162. See also 1QS, 3.7.
17. Luke, 3: 3.

18. Mark, 13: 21; 1QS, 9. 11.
19. 1QS, 1. 7; Acts, 2: 44-47.
20. Geza Vermes, 'Introduction', 25.
21. Josephus, *The Jewish War*, 2. 129.
22. *Community Rule* 1QS, I. 4-5, 9-11. 4Q258, IX. 16, 22.
23. 1QS, I. 4-5.
24. 1QS, I. 9-11.
25. 4Q258, IX. 22.
26. 1QS, 5. 12-18.
27. Matthew, 5: 43-48.
28. James H. Charlesworth, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Historical Jesus', in James H. Charlesworth (ed.) *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24.
29. 1QS, 1. 5-10; 3. 20-25; 4. 1-2; 4Q266, fragment 1a-b, 1.
30. 1QS, 2. 5-10; 3. 20-25.
31. 1QM, 1. 5-10; 3. 9.
32. David Flusser, 'The Parable of the Unjust Steward: Jesus' Criticism of the Essenes', in James H. Charlesworth (ed.) *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 176-197.
33. John, 12: 36.
34. See 1 John, 1: 5-7; 2: 8-10.
35. Ephesians, 5: 8; 1 Thessalonians, 5: 5.
36. Matthew, 5: 14-16; 6: 22-23; Luke. 11: 33-36; John, 3: 19-21.
37. Geza Vermes, 'Introduction', 22.
38. Barbara Thiering, *Jesus the Man*, 117.
39. *Gospel of Philip*, 63. 30 - 64. 10. Barbara Thiering, *Jesus the Man*, 118.
40. Luke, 10: 38-41; John, 11. 1-44, 12: 1-8.
41. Donald Guthrie, 'Apocryphal New Testament', in J. D. Douglas and Earle E. Cairns (eds.) *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978) 54.
42. Romans, 16: 16; 1 Corinthians, 16: 20; 2 Corinthians, 13: 12; 1 Thessalonians, 5: 26.

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