Hanan Eshel

Exploring the Dead Sea Scrolls

Archaeology and Literature of the Qumran Caves

edited by
Shani Tzoref/ Barnea Levi Selavan

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
© 2015, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
“And he planted a tamarisk (Gen 21:33) …  
[The interpretation is disputed between] R. Judah and R. Nehemiah.  
Rabbi Judah said: “tamarisk” (eshel) is an orchard. Ask for whatever you would like: figs, and grapes, and pomegranates.  
R. Nehemiah said: “tamarisk” is an inn: Ask for whatever you would like: bread, meat, wine, eggs.  
R. Azariah in the name of R. Judah b. Simon said: “tamarisk” is a court (sanhedrin), as in 1 Sam 22:6, “And Saul was seated under the tamarisk tree on the hill at Gibeah.”  
According to the opinion of R. Nehemiah, who said that “tamarisk” (eshel) is an inn, Abraham used to receive all the wayfarers, and when they would eat and drink he would say to them “Bless!” And they would say: “What should we say?” And he would tell them, “Blessed is the Eternal Lord that we have eaten of His [bounty].” That is as is written (Gen 21:33), “and there he called on the name of the LORD, the Eternal God” (Midrash Genesis Rabbah 54:6)
## Contents

Preface .................................................. 9

Abbreviations .......................................... 21

Previous Publications ............................... 23

List of Figures .......................................... 25

### The Damascus Document


Chapter 2: The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran ........................................ 41

Chapter 3: CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran .......................... 61

### Cave 1

Chapter 4: Recensions of the War Scroll (co-authored with Esther Eshel) ..................... 71

Chapter 5: Two Notes on Column 2 of the War Scroll (1QM) .................................. 85

Chapter 6: The Two Historical Layers of Pesher Habakkuk ...................................... 99

### Cave 3

Chapter 7: What Treasures are Listed in the Copper Scroll (co-authored with Ze’ev Safrai) ...................... 113

Chapter 8: Aqueducts in the Copper Scroll .................................................. 131

© 2015, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
Contents

Cave 4

Chapter 9: The “Prayer of Joseph” from Qumran, A Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim ................................................... 149

Chapter 10: Dibre Hame’orot and the Apocalypse of Weeks .................... 164

Chapter 11: When Were the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Recited? ...... 170

Chapter 12: Abraham’s Fulfillment of the Commandment “Honor Your Father” in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls . . . . 183

Cave 11

Chapter 13: The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Temple Scroll ............................................................... 193

Chapter 14: Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew (co-authored with John Strugnell) .............................................. 208

Chapter 15: Psalm 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period (co-authored with Shlomit Kendi-Harel) . . 226

Beyond Qumran

Chapter 16: Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch’s Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls (co-authored with Esther Eshel) . . . 257

Chapter 17: Megillat Ta’anit in Light of Holidays Found in Jubilees and in the Temple Scroll ...................................................... 281

Chapter 18: Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE .................................................. 287

Index of Sources ........................................................................... 299

Index of Modern Authors ............................................................. 310

© 2015, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
Among the most prominent hallmarks of the late Prof. Hanan Eshel’s scholarship are generosity, passion, and an integrative approach. As he described vividly in his introduction to his book *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, Prof. Eshel strove to create and maintain conversation between archaeologists and historians, and to link texts and realia, and the specialists interested in both. This commitment is highlighted also in the Festschrift dedicated to Hanan: *Go Out and Study the Land* (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical, and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel (JSJSup 148; ed. Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 2012). Shortly before his untimely death, Prof. Eshel selected the essays in the current volume to serve as a legacy of that aim. In organizing the selections according to provenance, he contextualized the textual finds within their archaeological settings and within the contours of contemporary scholarship. The Qumran texts that stand at the center of these articles are correlated with archaeological and geographic information and with a variety of textual sources including epigraphic evidence and, especially, the Hebrew Bible, Josephus, and rabbinic texts.

It has become commonplace in recent years to describe evidence from antiquity as “snapshots” from the past. Similarly, the current volume may be seen as a sort of album or portfolio of the author’s multi-faceted contribution to the field of Qumran studies. Towards this end, the editorial approach has been one of minimal intervention. Save for occasional minor modifications for clarification and for the sake of consistency within the volume, those articles that were originally published in English have been reproduced as published. Translations of Hebrew articles have aimed for maximal faithfulness to the original; English sources have been substituted for Hebrew bibliographic references in the footnotes where possible. Unless otherwise noted, the Hebrew Bible is cited according to NJPS and the New Testament is cited according to NRSV. Where necessary, editorial notes have been added in square brackets. In the few cases where footnotes have been added, they are numbered by the addition of an alphabetic superscript (1a, 1b etc.) in order to maintain consistency with the footnote numbers in the original publication.

Despite the eclectic nature of the essays included here, some recurring themes and interests stand out. These include the 364-day calendar, Psalms, purity, the Samaritans, paleo-Hebrew script, and Hasmonean-era chronology and history. Some of the articles touch upon theological concerns. Many of them reflect personal relationships in some way, including but not limited to the
co-authored articles and those with explicit dedications. Above all, the collection signifies Hanan’s personal relationship with the academic community at large, comprising his hand-picked gifts to share with colleagues and students.

The volume is divided into six sections: the *Damascus Document*, Cave 1, Cave 3, Cave 4, Cave 11, and “Beyond Qumran.”

The initial section is devoted to the *Damascus Document*, the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls to be encountered in modern times, in the form of two medieval manuscripts found among the texts of the Cairo Geniza half a century before the discovery of ancient copies in Caves 4–6 at Qumran. In these articles, Eshel approaches the *Damascus Document* as a sectarian composition of the Qumran Community.

Chapter 1 combines philological and socio-historical examination of the warning against Belial’s “three nets” in CD 4:16–18, and the attribution of this warning to Levi. Eshel supports the identification of the “Levi” source as Aramaic Levi Document (*ALD*) 6:1–3. He proposes that the word פחז in CD reflects an interpretation of *ALD*’s פחז as “avarice,” pointing to the possibility of such a usage in scriptural descriptions of false prophets. He further discusses the scriptural background for the statement in *ALD* itself, and parallel references to the triad of sins, e.g., in *Jubilees* and Ephesians. Eshel develops Menahem Kister’s suggestion of a connection between 4QMMT and the polemical use of “the three nets of Belial” in CD to critique the Jerusalem priesthood, and proposes that in the Qumran context the list indicates the reasons for the Community’s separation from the Jerusalem establishment.

Chapter 2, “The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran,” traces the ancient reception of Jeremiah’s predictions of a seventy-year exile in the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran corpus. Scriptural sources indicate a literal understanding of the prophecy during the time of the return from the Babylonian exile (Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah), whereas Daniel 9 re-interprets the seventy years to mean seventy “weeks” of years, i.e., 490 years. In turn, the 490-year prophecy of Daniel 9 is itself re-interpreted in 4Q390 and the *Damascus Document*. Eshel suggests specific dates for the historical phases described in these compositions. He concludes that the two compositions followed different specific chronological schema, but that both the author of the *Damascus Document*—whom he identifies as a follower of the Teacher of Righteousness, and the author of 4Q390—whom he views as outside the Qumran Community, expressed opposition to the reigning Hasmonaean and interpreted Daniel 9 as predicting imminent redemption.

Chapter 3, “CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran,” integrates archaeology, halakha, biblical exegesis, and Qumran texts. Eshel investigates two passages in the Qumran corpus that relate to (im)purity of vessels, against the backdrop of the large number of stone vessels found at Qumran and related sites, and the rabbinic halakha that stone vessels are impervious to ritual defile-
ment. He suggests that the Temple Scroll pre-dated the widespread production of stone vessels for storage purposes, and that the later Damascus Document understood stone and unfired clay vessels to be generally impervious to defilement, but susceptible to defilement after coming in contact with oil.

The articles in the second section of this volume relate to compositions from Cave 1, with particular attention to how later discoveries re-shaped initial interpretations of the first scrolls.

“Recensions of the War Scroll” (chapter 4), co-authored with Esther Eshel, compares 1QM to related documents from Cave 4, supporting Duhaime’s assessment that 1QM represents a late form of the War Scroll. Focusing upon two examples of literary development, the authors aim to “establish the scroll’s composite nature, and to uncover some of the sources on which its recensions are based.” The article traces the development of a triumphal hymn on Jerusalem that is attested in three passages, showing that col. 12 of 1QM represents a late recension of the version preserved in col. 19 and 4Q492 (4QM8). The authors further argue, with recourse to the physical evidence of the manuscript, that col. 19 is actually from a separate scroll than 1QM, and suggest that it be relabeled as 1QM1. The second example compares 1QM col. 2 to 4Q471 frag. 1, with respect to the Temple service. The Eshels suggest that the War Scroll adapted the Temple Scroll’s description of the guarding of the king, extending participation in the Temple service to include laymen as well as priests and Levites. Further interaction with these proposals can be found in the work of Brian Schultz, in his Ph.D. dissertation written under the supervision of Hanan Eshel and subsequently published in the monograph, Conquering the World (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Further discussion of participation in the Temple service in the War Scroll is found in chapter 5, “Two Notes on Column 2 of the War Scroll.” Here, Eshel attempts to resolve two difficulties in the War Scroll on the basis of the special status vested in the sabbatical year. The first problem is the enumeration of twenty-six priestly watches rather than the twenty-four stipulated in 1 Chronicles and Josephus. Early scholars of the War Scroll attributed this departure from the previously known sources to the Qumran Community’s use of a 52-week solar calendar, but this explanation is deemed unsatisfactory since the calendrical Mishmarot texts from Qumran Cave 4 also attest to twenty-four watches. Eshel thus proposes that the twenty-six watches in 1QM col. 2 reflect a special accommodation for the sabbatical year, introduced by the author in order to coordinate the 6-year cycles evidenced in the Cave 4 Mishmarot texts with the 7-year sabbatical system. The second crux relates to 1QM 2:6–10. Eshel suggests that there is a corruption in this text introduced by a scribe who misunderstood the timing and duration of the stages of the eschatological war, mistakenly identifying the six years of preparation mentioned in column 1 as a reference to sabbatical years. According to Eshel’s reconstruction, the war of the War Scroll was
originally expected to last a total of forty-nine years, a full Jubilee, rather than forty as per the consensus in modern scholarship.

In “The Two Historical Layers of Pesher Habakkuk,” Eshel argues that Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab) was originally composed in the second century BCE, but was updated in the mid-first century BCE. He identifies an original textual layer, which applied Hab 1–2 to internal sectarian conflicts during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. He posits that the pesher was later revised in response to Pompey’s invasion of Judea in 63 BCE, whereupon the Chaldeans (i.e., the Babylonians) of Habakkuk’s prophecy were identified with the Romans, termed the “Kittim” in the pesher. The original publication of this article in Zion prompted Bilhah Nitzan’s response, “Are there Two Historical Layers in 1Q Pesher Habakkuk?” (Zion 72 [2007]: 91–93 [Hebrew]). She opined that the distinctions noted by Eshel can be explained as a reflection of a single author’s adherence to the content and structure of the scriptural text of Habakkuk, rather than redactional development. Eshel’s reply, “Response to Bilhah Nitzan,” was published alongside Nitzan’s critique (Zion 72 [2007]: 94–96 [Hebrew]).

The third section of the volume contains two articles on the Copper Scroll. As noted by Eshel (p. 114), the excavation of Cave 3 yielded a modest number of identifiable scrolls fragments—from Ezekiel, Psalms, Lamentations, Isaiah (perhaps the remnant of a pesher), and Jubilees, and around fifty additional unidentifiable fragments. By far the most sensational discovery from this cave, however, was the list of hidden treasures inscribed on the Copper Scroll. In ch. 7, “What Treasures are Listed in the Copper Scroll” Eshel and Ze’ev Safrai introduce an intriguing perspective to the ongoing question of the authenticity of the data recorded in the Scroll. They present a medieval parallel, Tractate Keilim, to support the assessment indicated in the sub-title of the original Hebrew publication of this essay: “A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple Were Hidden.” Tractate Keilim records the concealment of the vessels of the First Temple, alongside hoards of silver and gold, and states that the list existed in more than one copy, including one inscribed on copper. Eshel and Safrai outline further parallels between the texts, and present additional traditions regarding the concealment of the First Temple treasures. They conclude that the Copper Scroll was written by a separatist group living in the Judean Desert in order to establish authority by claiming knowledge of the hidden location of these treasures. The article contextualizes this hypothesis within traditions of opposition to the legitimacy of the Second Temple, and addresses the possible Essene identification of this group.

In “Aqueducts in the Copper Scroll,” Eshel correlates information from archaeological excavations of aqueducts in the Judean Desert with references to aqueducts in the Copper Scroll. The first part of this article describes four ancient aqueduct sites in the vicinity of Qumran, including the aqueduct to Qumran itself, as well as others that are associated with royal fortresses: Hyrca-
nia (actually, two aqueducts); the aqueduct from Wadi el-Qelt (supplying Tel el-Aqabeh and Jericho); and the aqueduct of Doq at Ras Qarantal. The second section discusses references to aqueducts in the Copper Scroll, identifying the Scroll’s Secacah with Qumran, and proposing possible identifications of references to the aqueducts of Hyrcania and a hint to the one at Wadi el-Qelt, as well as noting two additional references to otherwise unknown aqueducts.

The section on Cave 4 hints at the diversity of the finds in this cave, the site in which the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus was discovered. The first selection reflects Eshel’s interest and expertise in the Samaritans, the subject of his Ph.D. thesis (“The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism” [Hebrew University, 1993; Hebrew]); the second and third articles in this section relate to liturgy and the calendar, and the third is devoted to history and the pesharim—a topic that is given extensive treatment in Eshel’s Hasmonean State.

In chapter 9, “The ‘Prayer of Joseph’ from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim,” Eshel assembles variegated evidence to illuminate a Qumran text identified as an anti-Samaritan polemic. This article was originally published in 1991, just after Schuller’s 1990 preliminary publication of 4Q372, then designated “A Text about Joseph.” In the official DJD publication of 4Q371–372 (DJD 28, 2001), Schuller and Bernstein adopted the more cautious label 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, but maintained their characterization of the text as anti-Samaritan. Eshel suggests that the prayer was composed as an expression of opposition to the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, perhaps in order to commemorate its destruction. This leads to a discussion of the archaeological and textual evidence concerning the date and location of the Samaritan Temple(s). Eshel endorses the view that “a temple dedicated to the God of Israel was built in the city of Samaria towards the middle of the fourth century BCE,” and destroyed by Macedonian troops shortly thereafter. He dates the construction of the Mt. Gerizim Temple to the beginning of the second century BCE, under the Seleucids, and maintains that it stood for about eighty years before being destroyed by John Hyrcanus. In the final section of this article, Eshel discusses the “Mount Gerizim” fragment from Masada within this same context, demonstrating that neither the writing of the toponym as a single word nor the use of paleo-Hebrew are conclusive evidence of Samaritan provenance. This tantalizing scrap may thus be, instead, a remnant of another anti-Samaritan text.

Chapter 10, “Dibre Hame’orot and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” correlates two compositions dated to the mid-second century BCE. The liturgical composition Dibre Hame’orot (4Q504–506) is a collection of prayers for the seven days of the week. Eshel builds upon Chazon’s analysis of this text, which showed how the content of the different prayers for the successive days of the week reflects a chronological order, moving from references to creation on Sunday through
the patriarchs, Sinai, the monarchy and Temple, and possibly the destruction of Judah and the exile, before culminating in Thanksgiving on the Sabbath. Eshel demonstrates that this sequence follows that of *1 Enoch*’s “Apocalypse of Weeks,” which chronicles world history in segments of time units called “weeks”: seven weeks from the creation of the world until the end of days and three additional weeks of divine judgment of the wicked. He posits direct dependence of *Dibre Hame’orot* upon the Enochic composition, as it is most likely for the liturgical composition to have drawn upon a prior chronological source. Eshel notes further dependence upon the Apocalypse of Weeks in 4Q247 (*Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks*) and also in 11QMelchizedek, as indications of the pervasive influence of *Enochic* writings in the Second Temple era.

Chapter 11, “When Were the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Recited?” is devoted to another liturgical composition, attested in multiple copies from Qumran (ten from Cave 4 and one from Cave 11) and in a manuscript from Masada. It consists of thirteen hymns that were recited in the course of thirteen consecutive Sabbaths, i.e., one quarter of a 52-week solar year, or one season. Newsom understood the headings within the text to indicate that the hymns were intended for the first quarter of the year, identifying allusions to Passover and Shavuot—festivals that occur in this first season. Maier suggested that the cycle was repeated in each of the four annual seasons. In this article, Eshel presents support for Maier’s position, identifying allusions in the text to the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement, festivals that occur in the third quarter.

Chapter 12, “Abraham’s Fulfillment of the Commandment ‘Honor Your Father’ in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” was originally published in the journal *Moed*, with a dedication to Eshel’s father and brother. The tone of the article is geared to a broader readership than most of the specialized selections in the volume, but the approach remains representative: intertextual analysis of the treatment of a biblical crux in Second Temple writings and proposed textual reconstructions of two Qumran texts. There is an additional dimension of a theological and ethical underpinning to the question of Abraham’s neglect of his obligation to his father by leaving Terah behind in Haran when he departed to Canaan. Eshel first reconstructs the ages and departure dates of Terah and Abraham in 4Q252. These dates and calculations play a role in ancient exegesis, since some commentators aimed to eliminate the gap between Abraham’s departure and Terah’s death by moving Terah’s death earlier than in MT or by moving Abraham’s departure later. Secondly, Eshel proposes the restoration of the name Nahor in 4Q225 *Pseudo-Jubilees*, following the indication in the book of *Jubilees* that the duty of caring for Terah devolved upon Nahor rather than Abram. This complements an innovative interpretation found in *Genesis Rabbah*. According to the midrash, God stated to Abraham “I exempt you from the duty of honoring your parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty.” Eshel suggested that this compara-
tive wording was not intended merely to highlight the uniqueness of Abraham’s exemption, as it is generally understood, but rather to emphasize that the honor to Terah would be the responsibility of others, specifically Nahor and Milcah.

The fifth section of this volume contains essays devoted to two of the most significant scrolls from Cave 11, the Temple Scroll (ch. 13) and the Psalms Scroll (chs. 14 and 15). Chapters 14 and 15 are both devoted to the question of acrostics in the apocryphal Psalms from Qumran, the former co-authored with John Strugnell and the latter with Shlomit Kendi-Harel.

Chapter 13, “The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Temple Scroll,” was originally published in the journal Moed. The article is structured on the basis of Yadin’s editions of the Temple Scroll. In this overview, Eshel summarizes and interacts with Yadin’s descriptions of the discovery, acquisition, and publication of the scroll; the compositional principles and techniques of the scroll (especially “harmonistic editing”) and its major topics (festivals and 364-day calendar, Temple architecture, Law of the King); and the socio-religious provenance and status of the Scroll in antiquity. Eshel also offers updated discussion of the relationship of the Temple Scroll to other Qumran texts, including potential sources and additional manuscripts, the Aramaic New Jerusalem texts, and the Scroll’s broad impact on Qumran studies, especially, together with 4QMMT, in the shift to interest in halakha. Eshel places special emphasis on calling for a corrective to the erroneous binary framework of the scholarly controversy over whether the Scroll was “sectarian” or “non-sectarian.” He argues for a three-fold division (also advocated by Devorah Dimant), distinguishing: (1) scrolls written by the Qumran Community (i.e., “followers of the Teacher of Righteousness”), (2) sectarian scrolls authored by scribes outside of the Qumran Community, and (3) non-sectarian scrolls. This remains a valuable model, even as subsequent scholarship has introduced schema of further complexity and diversity.

Chapter 14 is a wonderful fusion of the approaches of Eshel and his esteemed mentor, John Strugnell, marked by Strugnell’s distinctively expressive style. The article begins with a general discussion of alphabetic acrostics in early Hebrew writings, followed by reconstruction and analysis of acrostics found in 4QPs\textsuperscript{f} col. 9–10, in the Apostrophe to Zion (attested in 11QPs\textsuperscript{a} and in 4QPs\textsuperscript{f}), and in MT Pss 9–10. The introductory survey contains a useful chart of alphabetical acrostics in Hebrew literature, including notes about the extent of each acrostic, its meter, and irregularities in form which are evaluated as “acceptable” deviations from the acrostic or corruptions. In the analysis of 4QPs\textsuperscript{f} col. 9–10, the authors demonstrate the unity of a text that had been previously published as two distinct psalms but is in fact the remains of a single alphabetical acrostic Eschatological Hymn. In the discussion of Apostrophe to Zion, the reconstruction of the original acrostic contributes to a greater understanding of the psalm’s content and purpose. It is suggested that the expression of yearning for the reconstruc-
tion of Jerusalem even during the time of the Temple sheds light on Luke 2:36–38 and 24:53. In the final section the authors reconstruct MT Psalms 9–10 as a single alphabetical acrostic, resolving longstanding questions about the form and order of these chapters by means of the creative suggestion that the original psalm relied on a variant order of the alphabet (the *elementum*, in which ת preceded כ–א), a convention that has been identified in early epigraphic sources.

Chapter 15 is a further investigation of alphabetical acrostics in an apocryphal psalm. Co-authored by Eshel and his student Shlomit Kendi-Harel, “Psalms 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period” applies and extends the technical and formal aspects of Eshel’s work with Strugnell, with greater focus on content, structure, and meaning. The authors’ identification of the psalm as a penitential composition is highlighted in their new edition and translation, where the arrangement into stichs emphasizes the reconstructed acrostic and the relationship between form and function. The detailed exegetical commentary, sophisticated structural analysis, and penetrating and sensitive literary discussion demonstrate how such techniques as the inclusio structure, resumptive repetition, antithesis, and strategic placement of *Leitwörter* both represent and effect the flow of the movement from the penitent’s desperate request in the opening stanza to the favorable response in its conclusion.

In the final section of the volume, the perspective is shifted, as the scrolls are brought to bear on questions with a starting point outside the corpus: the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, two minor holidays listed in *Megillat Ta’anit*, and the list of high priests in the first century CE.

Chapter 16, “Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch’s Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” co-authored with Esther Eshel and published in 2003, was a groundbreaking contribution to the field of Biblical text criticism, elaborating upon the nature of the “harmonistic” scrolls from Qumran and the question of the dating and origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The authors review the nature of the differences between the Samaritan Pentateuch and MT, noting that the Samaritan version is characterized by “sectarian” variants with specifically Samaritan valence (e.g., reference to Mt. Gerizim) and “non-sectarian” variants, most notably a tendency to harmonization of parallel biblical texts, especially inserting elements from a “rich” text into a less-detailed or “poor” parallel text. The authors survey Qumran scrolls that have been identified as having readings and tendencies characteristic of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and demonstrate overlaps, similarities, and differences in the exegetical approaches found in the two corpora, with particular focus on the treatment of the Decalogue. They urge that the Qumran exemplars ought to be designated as “harmonistic texts” rather than, as currently, “Pre-Samaritan” or “Proto-Samaritan” texts—a label that originated in Cross’ now discredited “local text theory.” On the basis of the stages identified in the types of harmonistic editing evidenced in the Qumran scrolls, they date the Samaritan break-off to the phase that is
evidenced in the second century BCE. This is separated from the dating of the emergence of the Samaritan script, which the authors date to the Common Era, on the basis of epigraphic evidence of the use of paleo-Hebrew script in late Second Temple Judea.

Chapter 17 is a short note regarding “Megillat Ta’anit in Light of Holidays Found in Jubilees and in the Temple Scroll.” Megillat Ta’anit is an early rabbinic text listing thirty-five annual holidays, most of which were established to commemorate events that occurred in the time of the Second Temple. Eshel points out that two of the holidays listed in Megillat Ta’anit occur on dates that were designated in the book of Jubilees and in the Temple Scroll as festivals of biblical character. The 15th of the third month, which is the date of Shavuot according to Jubilees and the Temple Scroll, is listed in Megillat Ta’anit as commemorating an event in which “the men of Bethshean and ‘the Valley’ were exiled.” Also, the twenty-second of Elul, which corresponds to the date of First-fruit of Oil in the Temple Scroll, marks an event in which “they resumed slaying the wicked” (תבו לקטלא משמדיא). Eshel offers some brief discussion of the origin and nature of the historical events specified, with reference to Vered Noam’s commentary in her edition of the text, and to Josephus and archaeological excavation, particularly the evidence from Tel Itztaba, Hellenistic Bethshean, for the violent Hasmonean conquest of the region in 108–107 BCE. Eshel interprets the establishment of these dates as minor holidays in Megillat Ta’anit as an indication that the author of this composition did not recognize the dates as biblical festivals. He therefore infers that the composition is the product of a group that followed a lunar calendar, in contrast to the solar calendar used in Jubilees and in the Temple Scroll.

Chapter 18, “Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE,” first published in 1999, examines references to priests in textual material discovered in Jerusalem and the Judean desert. Eshel raises the methodological question of how to go about “correlating and identifying people mentioned in the epigraphic documents with figures known from historical sources.” In this case, he seeks to fill in the gap in Josephus’ list of high priests. Josephus’ enumeration of high priests stops at time of Herod, but scholars have culled references to twenty-eight high priests in his subsequent narrative, and used these to attempt reconstructions of the genealogies of the high priestly houses. In this article, Eshel examines the impact of evidence uncovered in archaeological excavations. The first section focuses on explicit epigraphic evidence, including a stone weight with the inscription “the son of Kathros” found in Avigad’s excavations of Jerusalem’s Upper City, in “the Burnt House,” and an ossuary inscription “Yehohanan the daughter of Yohanan the son of Theophilus the high priest.” The second section is devoted to a financial document from the so-called “Seiyal collection.” The deed designated “4Q348” contains a list of personal names, many of them characteristically priestly names, and is dated according to the
year of “[…]os high priest” (وس כוהן גדול[…] ). Eshel proposes identifying the high priest as Joseph, son of Camydus, who served 46–47 CE. He suggests that the unusual formula may reflect an ideological deviation from the normal practice of dating documents according to the reigns of Roman emperors. The final section addresses the “Seal of Eliani.” As background for his interpretation of the seal, Eshel supports Joseph Naveh’s identification of the “Hananiah inscription” from Masada as a certification of purity, against the view of Yadin, followed by Wise, that it was an indication of ownership. Following Naveh’s observation that paleo-Hebrew was used in the Second Temple period for purposes of particular ideological significance or sacred matters, Eshel proposes that the Eliani seal, dated by Nahman Avigad to the first century CE, belonged to the High Priest Eliehoeinai the son of Cantheros or Eliehoeinai the son of Haqqayyaf and may have served for certification of purity.

As noted above, this volume was initiated by Prof. Hanan Eshel but, like so many of their joint ventures, it was brought to fruition through the efforts of Professor Esther Eshel, Hanan’s partner in life and in scholarship, and his successor as the head of the David and Jemima Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History at Bar-Ilan University. It goes without saying that this volume could not have seen the light of day without Esti’s invaluable cooperation and the generous support of the Jeselsohn Center. Appreciation is due as well to the editors of the Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series (Armin Lange, Bernard M. Levinson, and Vered Noam), and particularly to Armin for his vital role in the publication process, as well as to the production team at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. We are very grateful to the following colleagues who kindly offered their assistance, especially in commenting upon drafts of the translations that were produced for this volume (listed in alphabetical order): Rachel Adelman, Yonatan Adler, Albert I. Baumgarten, Jonathan Ben-Dov, Moshe J. Bernstein, Amit Gvaryahu, Sandra Jacobs, David Katzin, Haggai Misgav, Hillel Newman, Gary A. Rendsburg, Brian Schultz, Nadav Sharon, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Eibert Tigchelaar. Any errors that remain are of course the responsibility of the editors.

The epigraph at the opening of this volume references the functions of the eshel tree in the Hebrew Bible and related traditions. In particular, midrashic traditions recorded in Genesis Rabbah 54:6 interpret Abraham’s planting of a tamarisk in Gen 21:33 as a symbol for his great contributions to society and religion. The midrash credits Abraham, whose quintessential attribute is hospitality, with the planting of an orchard, or establishing an inn for wayfarers, or setting up a court of law. This quality of hospitality, of nourishing and nurturing, epitomized Hanan Eshel as a scholar and a human being. His engagement with every interlocutor, whether a small child or a renowned scholar, was infused with a sincere and intense interest, which was invariably motivating and inspiring. This volume is one more example of the generative nature of Hanan’s hospitality.
According to the opinion of R. Nehemiah, who said that “tamarisk” (eshel) is an inn, Abraham used to receive all the wayfarers, and when they would eat and drink he would say to them “Bless!” And they would say: “What should we say?” And he would tell them, “Blessed is the Eternal Lord that we have eaten of His [bounty].” (Midrash Genesis Rabbah 54:6)

How blessed are we who have partaken of the bounteous fruits of Hanan’s scholarship. May his memory be for an eternal blessing.

The editors, Shani Tzoref and Barnea Levi Selavan, Jerusalem
26 Elul, 5774
22 September, 2014
Abbreviations

AB  Anchor Bible
ADAJ  Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AJS Review  The Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies
AASOR  Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BA  Biblical Archaeologist
BAR  Biblical Archaeology Review
BAlAS  Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archeological Society
BASOR  Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BEATAJ  Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL  Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BIES  Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot)
BINS  Biblical Interpretation Series
BJRL  Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
CBQ  Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CBQMS  CBQ Monograph Series
CQS  Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
DJD  Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSR  Dead Sea Discoveries
EI  Eretz-Israel
Ej  Encyclopedia Judaica
FOTL  Forms of the Old Testament Literature
HSM  Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS  Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR  Harvard Theological Review
HUCA  Hebrew Union College Annual
HUCM  Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC  International Critical Commentary
IEJ  Israel Exploration Journal
INJ  Israel Numismatic Journal
JAJSup  Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JANESCU  Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JJS</td>
<td>Journal of Jewish Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPS</td>
<td>The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text: A New Translation with the Aid of Previous Versions and with Constant Consultation of Jewish Authorities (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSem</td>
<td>Journal for Semitics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSJ</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSJSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSOT</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSOTSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSP</td>
<td>Judea and Samaria Publications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSP</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSPSup</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JTS</td>
<td>Journal of Theological Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCL</td>
<td>Loeb Classical Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGWJ</td>
<td>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJPS</td>
<td>Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRSV</td>
<td>New Revised Standard Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTL</td>
<td>New Testament Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTOA</td>
<td>Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEQ</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue biblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RevQ</td>
<td>Revue de Qumran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVV</td>
<td>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBLEJL</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBLSP</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StPB</td>
<td>Studia post-biblica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STDJ</td>
<td>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVTP</td>
<td>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSAJ</td>
<td>Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTSup</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBC</td>
<td>Word Biblical Commentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WUNT</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDPV</td>
<td>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZKT</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Previous Publications

Following are the original publication details for the articles collected in this volume. We are grateful to Brill Publishers, the Israel Exploration Society, Sheffield Academic Press, the Catholic Biblical Association, and Revue Biblique for granting permission to reprint those articles that were previously published in English (chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 15, and 16).


List of Figures

Fig. 8.1 Map of all the fortresses in the Judaean desert .......................... 132
Fig. 8.2 Map of the aqueduct of Qumran .............................................. 133
Fig. 8.3 Map of the aqueducts of Hyrcania ........................................... 135
Fig. 8.4 Map of Hyrcania and its vicinity .............................................. 135
Fig. 8.5: Northern bridge with the pools .............................................. 136
Fig. 8.6: Map of the aqueduct of Cypros (Tel el-Aqabeh) ....................... 137
Fig. 8.7 Drawing of the large bridge carrying the aqueduct leading to Cypros (Tel el-Aqabeh) ................................................................. 138
Fig. 8.8: Map of the aqueduct of Doq ................................................... 139
Fig. 11.1: 364-Day Calendar (designed by Shlomit Kendi Harel) ............. 174