Hanan Eshel

Exploring the Dead Sea Scrolls

Archaeology and Literature of the Qumran Caves
edited by Shani Tzoref and Barnea Levi Selavan



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"ויטע אשל בבאר שבע וגו' " (בראשית כא, לג) -- רבי יהודה ורבי נחמיה.
רבי יהודה אמר: אשל, פרדס: שאל מה תשאל, תאנים, וענבים, ורמונים.
ר' נחמיה אמר: אשל, פונדיק: שאל מה תשאל, עיגולא, קופר, חמר, ביעין.
רבי עזריה בשם ר' יהודה בר סימון: אשל, סנהדרין: היך מה דאת אמר (שמואל א כב, ו): ושאול יושב בגבעה תחת האשל ברמה.
על דעתיה דרבי נחמיה דאמר אשל פונדיק: אברהם היה מקבל את העוברים ואת השבים ומשהיו אוכלין ושותין אמר לון: בריכו! והן אמרין: מה נימור? ואמר להון: ברוך אל עולם שאכלנו משלו, הה"ד (בראשית כא): ויקרא בשם ה' אל עולם (בראשית רבה נד, ו)

"*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)

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Preface

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 (1[a], 1[b] 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

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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 Hasmoneans 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-

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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 (4QM^{b}). 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 1QM^{a}. 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

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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-

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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*$^{a\text{-}b}$, 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

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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-

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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^{f} col. 9–10, in the *Apostrophe to Zion* (attested in 11QPs^{a} and in 4QPs^{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^{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-

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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-ל 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, "Psalm 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

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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-fruits 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 "Yehohanah 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

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year of "[…]*os* high priest" (וס 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.

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> 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

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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*
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archeological Society*
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
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
CIIP	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (3 vols.; ed. Hannah Cotton et al.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 210–2014)
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium.* Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
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*

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JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JPS	*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)
JSem	*Journal for Semitics*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Judea and Samaria Publications
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGWJ	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PTSDSSP	*The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 7 vols.; Tübingen: Möhr Siebeck, 1994–2011)
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
StPB	Studia post-biblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*

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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).

1. "The *Damascus Document*'s 'Three Nets of Belial:' A Reference to the *Aramaic Levi Document*?" in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 243–55.

2. "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," in *Teshura Le-Ämos: Collected Studies in Biblical Exegesis Presented to Ämos Hakham* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher, Noah Hacham, and Yosef Ofer; Alon Shvut: Tevunot, 2007), 429–44.

3. "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February 1998* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52.

4. "Recensions of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," co-authored with Esther Eshel, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–35, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 351–63.

5. "Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," in *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (ed. Joseph Geiger, Hannah M. Cotton, and Guy D. Stiebel; Raanana: The Open University of Israel, 2009), 87–98.

6. "The Two Historical Layers of *Pesher Habakkuk*," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al.; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, *Zion* 71 [2006]: 143–52).

7. "What Treasures are Listed in the *Copper Scroll*," co-authored with Ze'ev Safrai, *Cathedra* 103 (2002): 7–20 (Hebrew), with the Hebrew title אילו אוצרות נרשמו במגילת הנחושת? and the English title, "The Copper Scroll: A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple were Hidden."

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8. "Aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*," in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 92–107.

9. "The *Prayer of Joseph* from Qumran, A Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–36.

10. "*Dibre Hame'orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks," in *Things Revealed; Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 149–54. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 3–8.

11. "When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?" *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 3–12.

12. "Abraham's Fulfillment of the Commandment 'Honor Your Father' in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Megadim* 46 (2007): 9–15.

13. "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the *Temple Scroll*," *Moed* 18 (2008): 42–54.

14. "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew," co-authored with John Strugnell, *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441–58.

15. "Psalm 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period," co-authored with Shlomit Kendi-Harel, *Revue Biblique* 84 (2015): 34–66. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron* [ed. Daniel Sivan, David Talshir, and Chaim Cohen; Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press], 29–51).

16. "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," co-authored with Esther Eshel, in *Emanuel; Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, in *The Samaritans* (ed. Ephraim Stern and Hanan Eshel; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002), 129–52.

17. "*Megillat Ta'anit* in Light of Holidays Found in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll*," *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 253–57.

18. "Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE," *Tarbiz* 64, 4 (1999): 495–504.

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The Damascus Document

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Chapter 1:
The *Damascus Document's* "Three Nets of Belial": A Reference to the *Aramaic Levi Document*?*

Two exceptions to the rarity of allusions to, or quotations from, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works in the Dead Sea Scrolls are found in the *Damascus Document*. CD 16:3–4 makes reference to the book of *Jubilees*, and CD 4:15 quotes the words of Levi, the son of Jacob, attributed by most scholars to a pseudepigraphical Levi composition.[1] The existence of these allusions in CD has significant bearing on the question of the dating of *Jubilees* and of the composition from which the Levi quote derived. The first part of this article attempts to identify the source of the aphorism attributed to Levi in CD, and to explain how it was interpreted by the author of CD; the second part suggests that this Levi citation was understood as reflecting the reasons for the Qumranites' split from Jerusalem.

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 243–55, a volume produced in celebration of the career of Prof. Betsy Halpern-Amaru. The following note of acknowledgment by the author appeared in the original.] I thank my friend Professor Menahem Kister for his pertinent comments. This article was translated by Dena Ordan, who is delighted to have this small part in her friend Betsy's Festschrift.

1 Apart from the references in CD treated here, only three other Qumran scrolls (4Q228, 4Q166, and 4Q390) appear to quote *Jubilees*. See James C. VanderKam, "228. Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*," in Harold Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 177–85. Menahem Kister ("Two Formulae in the Book of Jubilees," *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 289–300, at 297 n. 44 [Hebrew]) is not convinced that the quotes in 4Q228 are from *Jubilees*; similarly, he doubts that the quote in CD refers to *Jubilees*. In a personal communication he commented that this reservation holds for 4Q228 as well. Evidently, *Pesher Hosea*[a] (4Q166=4QpHos[a])'s interpretation of Hosea 2:13 cites *Jub.* 6:34–38, and 4Q390 (1 7–8; 2 i 10) twice cites the same verses from *Jubilees*. See Moshe J. Bernstein, "Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles: 4QpHosea[a] 2.15–17 and *Jubilees* 6.34–38," *JSP* 9 (1991): 21–34. For the view that CD 16:3–4 does not quote *Jubilees*, see Devorah Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The so called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint, James C. VanderKam, and Emanuel Tov; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49.

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The Three Nets of Belial

CD's pesher to Isa 24:17–18 contains a statement attributed to Levi ben Jacob:

12. …ובכל השנים האלה יהיה
13. בליעל משולח בישראל כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא בן
14. אמוץ לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ פשרו
15. שלושת מצודות בליעל אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב
16. אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם לשלושת מיני
17. הצדק הראשונה היא **הזנות** השנית **ההון** השלישית
18. **טמא המקדש** העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש
19. בזה[2]

12. …But during all those years,
13. Belial will run unbridled amidst Israel, as God spoke through the hand of the prophet Isaiah, son of
14. Amoz, saying, "Fear and a pit and a snare are upon you, O inhabitant(s) of the land." This refers
15. to the three nets of Belial, of which Levi, the son of Jacob, said
16. that he (Belial) entrapped Israel with them, making them seem as if they were three types of
17. righteousness. The first is *fornication*, the second *avarice*, and the third
18. *defilement of the sanctuary*. He who escapes from this is caught by that and he who is saved from that is caught
19. by this…[3]

I interpret lines 16–18 as follows: Belial has placed before Israel three nets of [un]righteousness: the first is fornication, the second is avarice, and third is defilement of the Temple. In what follows, CD goes on to detail some of the laws relating to fornication and defilement of the Temple (4:19–5:21).[4]

In suggesting this pesher, its author seems to have not only Isa 24:17 but also Jer 48:43–44 in mind: "Terror, and pit, and trap upon you who dwell in Moab! – declares the Lord. He who flees from the terror shall fall into the pit; and he who

2 The transcription follows Magen Broshi, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 17, col. 4; emphases here and in succeeding quotes are mine [—*HE*. *Eds*.: Note that in line 17, the manuscript contains the word ההין, but Eshel follows Broshi and others in correcting this to ההון. The reading השניה in the same line in Eshel's original publication is probably an inadvertent error].

3 Translation, slightly revised, from Joseph Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 2: *The Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Möhr Siebeck, 1995), 19.

4 A small fragment of this section was preserved in 4QD[a] (4Q266) 3 i. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 40.

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