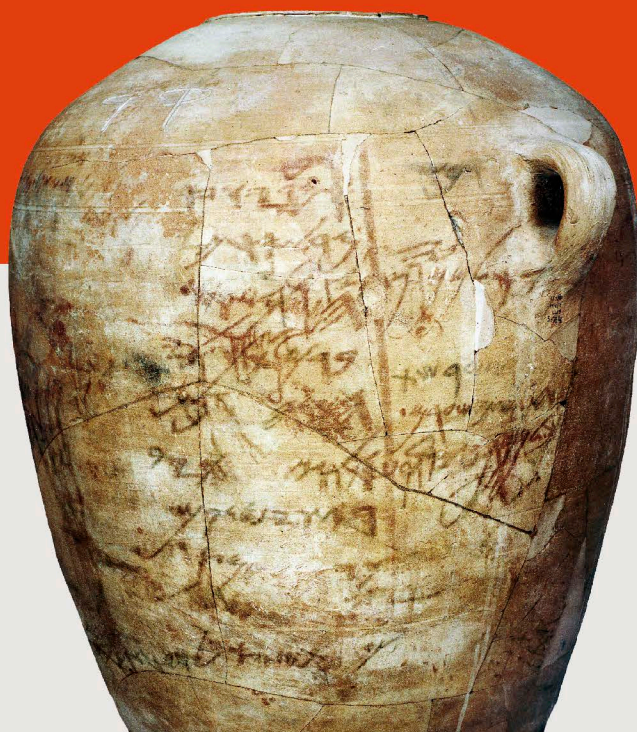


Esther Eshel / Yigal Levin (ed.)

**“See, I will bring a scroll
recounting what befell me”
(Ps 40:8)**

Epigraphy and Daily Life
from the Bible to the Talmud

Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Hanan Eshel



Esti Eshel / Yigal Levin, "See, I will bring a scroll recounting what befell me" (Ps 40:8)

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Volume 12

Esti Eshel / Yigal Levin, "See, I will bring a scroll recounting what befell me" (Ps 40:8)

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With 60 figures

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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מרכז יסלון
לחקר תולדות ישראל לאור האפיקרפיה

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Cover image: Pithos B inscription (and alphabets)

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Preface

"See, I will bring a scroll recounting what befell me" (Ps 40:8)

In January 2011, the David and Jemima Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History held its second international conference at Bar-Ilan University, the center's home institution. The conference was dedicated to the memory of Professor Hanan Eshel, the founding academic director of the center who passed away on April 8th, 2010. In a very special convergence of scholarship, mentorship and collegiality, three academic sessions of three papers each were followed by a special memorial session. In this tribute, Professor Lawrence H. Schiffman outlined Hanan's contribution to the study of the history of the Jewish People in antiquity and to the study of epigraphy in particular, and spoke of their deep friendship. The session was chaired by Dr. David Jeselsohn, the founder of the center who spoke eloquently of Hanan's humanity and capacity to inspire academic adventure and integrity.

This volume is the culmination of that conference achieved through the extensive efforts and determination of its presenters and authors as well as the steadfast support of the Jeselsohn Center. This is not to be taken for granted. Not all academic conferences are followed by full publication, as not all scholars who present at such conferences are willing or able to prepare their papers for publication within the time allotted, nor are all papers presented at such conferences ultimately worthy of publication, nor do all conference organizers have the resources necessary to prepare a book for publication. But Hanan was a firm believer in publication; to him, papers read before an audience of experts that were not then made available to the wider community of scholars and students were hardly worth presenting. Back in 2005, when asked to participate in a session on the Persian Period in the World Congress of Jewish Studies, he only agreed on the condition that the papers read at the session be published – and of course he then did what he could to ensure that they indeed were. So from that point of view as well, we believe that Hanan would have been pleased to see this volume in print.

However as happens with such publications, several of the presenters at the conference preferred not to participate in this volume, while several additional articles have been added in order to fill out the picture. So this book is not really a conference proceedings. It is a collection of articles, that, when taken together, trace daily life in the land of Israel from the First Temple Period through the time of the Talmud, as seen in the various types of inscriptions from those periods that have been discovered and published.

The book, like the conference itself, is divided into four sections. Lawrence H. and Marlene Schiffman's summary of Hanan's work, which ended the conference, serves as an introduction to the book. The second section begins with Shmuel Aḥituv's discussion of the language and religious outlook of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions. This discussion was facilitated by the final publication of the finds from this unique Iron-Age site in the northern Sinai Peninsula, with the chapter on the inscriptions having been written by Aḥituv, together with Esther Eshel and Ze'ev Meshel.¹ In the paper published here, Aḥituv comments on the origin, religious outlook and literacy of the writers of the various inscriptions.

Moving from the southern deserts to the north of Israel and to a slightly earlier time, in the second paper Amiḥai Mazar and Aḥituv survey the quite large corpus of short inscriptions found in Mazar's excavation of Tel Reḥov, south of Beth-Shean. In their view, these finds attest to this site being a major urban center in the early Israelite kingdom, during the 10th and 9th centuries BCE, as well as exhibiting a fairly high level of literacy in early Iron Age II society. In the third paper in this section, Aren M. Maeir and Esther Eshel deal with four very short more-or-less contemporary inscriptions found at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, identified as the major Philistine city of Gath. These inscriptions, written in the Canaanite/Hebrew alphabet and language, help us trace the level of acculturation that the Philistines had undergone since their arrival on the Levantine coast in the early 12th century BCE.

The final paper in this section, by Aaron Demsky, deals with the theoretical aspects of literacy in ancient Israel, summarizing the author's many years of work on the subject.² The article deals with the relationship between literacy and orality and re-examines three early alphabetic inscriptions from Iron Age Israel and Judah.

In the third section of the volume, the papers are actually arranged in such a

1 Shmuel Aḥituv, Esther Eshel and Zeev Meshel, "The Inscriptions", in Z. Meshel, *Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), 73 – 142. The publication of this volume was also aided by the Jeselsohn Center.

2 Since the conference, Demsky's book on the subject has also been published, aided by a grant from the Jeselsohn Center. See Aaron Demsky, *Literacy in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 2012) [Hebrew].

way as to go from the theoretical to the particular. In the opening article, Lester L. Grabbe discusses the functions of the scribe during the Second Temple Period, using evidence from Ben-Sira and comparative examples from Hellenistic Egypt in establishing the model for the function of the village scribe during this period. In Grabbe's view, the function of scribes in the Jewish society of this period was probably not much different from that of scribes in Hellenistic societies in general, and the same could probably be said for the levels of literacy in society at large.

In the next paper in this section, Boaz Zissu, Boaz Langford, Avner Ecker and Esther Eshel report on both an Aramaic-language graffito and a Latin one, inscribed on the wall of a first and 2nd century CE oil press in a chamber beneath the village of Khirbet 'Arâk Hâla in the Judean Shephelah. This late-Second Temple Period Jewish village seems to have been occupied by Roman troops during or after the Jewish revolts, perhaps explaining the use of Latin at the site. Uriel Rappaport's survey of Jewish coins from the Persian Period through the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, focusing on the Hasmonean coins, their inscriptions and their political messages, closes this section.

In the final two papers of the volume, we are taken from the Second Temple Period to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. David Amit describes a group of bread stamps and oil seals, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin, found in different parts of the country. Seals such as these are mentioned in rabbinic literature and Amit discusses the historical and halakhic significance of these finds.³

In the final article in the book, Eitan Klein and Haim Mamalya describe two Byzantine Period Nabatean Christian burial sites and their epitaphs, reminding us that the Land of Israel was home to different ethnic groups as well, and that we, as scholars, are committed to studying all of the cultures that left their mark on the land and its epigraphy.

Thanks are due to the presenters and participants, all of whom contributed to the success of this conference dedicated to Hanan's memory and to all who contributed to this volume. We are grateful to Dr. David and Jemima Jeselsohn who sponsored the conference. Thanks to all who helped with the technical arrangements. Special thanks to Orit Kandel, whose official capacity was that of secretary, but who actually took care of each and every aspect of the conference, and without whom the conference would not have taken place. The English copy-editing was greatly enhanced by the professional work of Mrs. Miriam Brenner.

³ Dr. David Amit passed away on March 23, 2013, as this volume was being prepared for publication. David, a long-time colleague and friend of Hanan, was a true "man of the field", director of many studies and excavations, especially in the Judean hills, a scholar and an educator of a generation of students. He will be sorely missed by us all.

And finally, we would like to express our thanks to the editors of the Journal of Ancient Journal Supplement series, Armin Lange, Bernard M. Levinson and Vered Noam, and to the entire production team at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, without whom this volume would have never been published.

The title of both the conference and the book is taken from the fortieth Psalm, למנצח לדוד מזמור. In this Psalm, the writer praises God for bringing him out of tribulation and allowing him to worship God, not with sacrifices, but with righteousness, song and joy. וְלֹא-פָנָה אֶל-רְהֻבִים וְשָׁמֵי כָּזָב אֲשֶׁר הִנְבֵּר אֲשֶׁר-שָׁם יְהוָה מִבְּטְחוֹ; וְלֹא-פָנָה אֶל-רְהֻבִים וְשָׁמֵי כָּזָב. "Happy is the man who makes the LORD his trust, and turns not to the arrogant, or to followers of falsehood" (v. 5).

אֲזַ אֲמַרְתִּי הִנֵּה-בָאתִי; בְּמַגֵּלֶת-סֵפֶר כְּתוּב עָלַי. לַעֲשׂוֹת-רְצוֹנְךָ אֱלֹהֵי הַפְּצֹתִי; וְתוֹרְתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מִעֵי. "Then I said, 'See, I will bring a scroll recounting what befell me'. To do what pleases You, my God, is my desire, Your teaching is in my innermost parts" (vv. 8 – 9). Hanan Eshel, a man of the scroll and the book, a man who was not arrogant, but fully believed that he was fulfilling God's commandments with every word he wrote, every class he taught and every stone he unturned, would have approved.

Esther Eshel and Yigal Levin

Marlene Schiffman and Lawrence H. Schiffman

The Contribution of Hanan Eshel to the Study of the Judean Desert Documents

Try to describe Hanan Eshel, of blessed memory, as a scholar. Was he an archaeologist, philologist, or historian? Which contribution was most important and most central? Or perhaps we should not try to place him in the usual, narrow, framework of the names of the departments in the university – disciplines – but rather accept him as he was: a multifaceted individual who located himself, in general, in the Judean Desert and studied everything that was connected to it, from all points of view, and with the help of all possible tools. This man, our friend and colleague, was taken from among us and we continue to mourn his loss, but, nonetheless, we remember and continue to benefit from his contributions to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Judean Desert texts. In what follows, we will concentrate our discussion on this field, but we should not forget his work in the fields of Bible, archaeology, the history of the Land of Israel and the Samaritans. Nor should we forget that we are not talking here about books, articles and lectures; we are talking about a scroll that was written on our hearts and a person who made a profound mark on the material that he studied and loved so much.

In our view, a successful scholar must bring to his field a specific perspective based on a new combination of fields, methods, sources, and more. For Hanan, this combination was archaeology, texts and history. As is well known, Hanan, as is the Israeli custom, wrote and published many articles on the way to his doctorate. In his articles, he prepared the way for a career in Dead Sea Scrolls studies, and in the study of other ancient documents and the archaeology of the Judean Desert. However, he decided to write his doctoral dissertation on the history of the Samaritans.¹ There he showed his ability to intertwine history and

1 "The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism" 1994, Hebrew University [Hebrew]. His interest in the Samaritans continued and he published with Boaz Zissu. "Two Notes on the History and Archaeology of Judea in the Persian Period," in *"I will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. A.M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji; Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 823 – 32 and a volume of collected studies on the

archaeology. He even succeeded in connecting this subject to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls in several articles.² He continued this combination of history and archaeology in his book on the relation of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the history of the Hasmoneans,³ in two books that he edited – and to which he is a major contributor – that deal with the refuge caves from the Bar Kokhba period,⁴ and in another volume of studies on the Bar Kokhba revolt.⁵ At the same time he continued to excavate, in particular, in the area of the Judean Desert. There he was the only one who found texts after the time of Yigael Yadin. For both of them, it was not a matter of luck but rather of knowledge and scientific thought. Hanan simply knew, as did Yadin, where to expect to find material and where to excavate.⁶

Samaritans: Hanan Eshel and Ephraim Stern, eds. *The Samaritans*, (Yad Ben-Zvi, Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Staff Officer for Archaeology, Civil Administration for Judea and Samaria, 2002) [Hebrew]. See also his article, "The Prayer of Joseph from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on APGAPIZIN," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125 – 36 [Hebrew].

- 2 "Wadi ed-Daliyeh Papyrus 14 and the Samaritan Temple," *Zion* 61 (1996): 359 – 65 [Hebrew]; with Esther Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft, L.H. Schiffman and W.W. Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215 – 40, showing that the primary version of the Samaritan Pentateuch can be dated after the second century BCE. The Samaritan Pentateuch exhibits approximately 6000 variants compared to the MT. Many of the variants arise from a need to harmonize the text or to emphasize the sanctity of Mt. Gerizim over that of Jerusalem as God's chosen place. The Eshels compared the Samaritan Pentateuch to the biblical texts from Qumran. The Samaritans adopted Jewish versions with harmonistic editing that were extant in the second century BCE when they were in contact with the Jews. Later on, they solidified the text and prohibited further revisions. Jewish scribes, however, in later Hasmonean and Herodian script, continued to make changes and harmonize the text. Those subsequent changes are not reflected in the Samaritan MSS after the second century BCE thus providing the date for the primary version of the Samaritan Pentateuch.
- 3 *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonaean State* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2004) [Hebrew]; *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonaean State* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans and Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008). Cf. "The History of the Qumran Community and Historical Aspects of the *Pesharim*," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. M. Kister; Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2009), 191 – 207 [Hebrew]; "The Opposition to the Hasmonaean Priesthood in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Spiritual Authority: Struggles over Cultural Power in Jewish Thought* (ed. H. Kreisel, B. Huss and U. Ehrlich; Beer Sheva: Bialik, 2009), 9 – 20 [Hebrew].
- 4 With David Amit, *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society, College of Judea and Samaria, C.G. Foundation, 1998) [Hebrew]; with Roi Porat, *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Second Volume* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center of Jewish History, 2009) [Hebrew].
- 5 Hanan Eshel and Boaz Zissu, eds., *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (Proceedings of the 21th Annual Conference of the Department of Land of Israel Studies; Ramat Gan: 2001) [Hebrew]. Cf. also "The Bar-Kokhba Era," *Cathedra* 110 (2003): 29 – 42 [Hebrew].
- 6 "How I Found a Fourth-Century B.C. Papyrus Scroll on My First Time Out!" *BAR* 15 (1989): 44 – 53. Cf. "Gleaning from the Judean Desert: Scrolls Discovered in the Past Few Years,"

What assured Hanan's success in research was the combination of the spade with the pen, and the scroll with the book. For reasons of space, we will survey here only a representative sample of his work. However, unlike most archaeologists, from the days of his studies in yeshiva, Hanan was a text scholar, and his textual research was on the highest level. He dealt with all kinds of texts, biblical,⁷ from the Judean Desert, from Second Temple literature, as well as from the Mishnah and Talmud.⁸ He always contributed to our understanding.

Hanan actually began as an archaeologist, and completed his BA in this field. Until the end of his life he saw archaeology as the basis for all his later research on the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁹ In his view, this method was the one that fixed the actual scientific basis – the empirical facts – for all of his work. Thus Hanan returned, together with Magen Broshi, to excavate at Qumran.¹⁰ Through the examination

Cathedra 128 (2008): 19 – 50 [Hebrew]; "Gleaning of Scrolls from the Judean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. C. Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 49 – 87.
 7 "Isaiah 8:23: An Historical-Geographical Analogy," *Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 7 – 8 (1984): 250 – 53 [Hebrew]; "A Note on Joshua 15:61 – 62 and the Identification of the City of Salt," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 37 – 40; with John Strugnell, "It's Elementary: Psalms 9 and 10 and the Order of the Alphabet," *BRev* 17 (2001): 41 – 44; "6Q30, a Cursive *Šin* and Proverbs 11," *JBL* 122 (2003): 544 – 46; with Yosi Baruchi and Roi Porat, "Fragments of a Biblical Scroll from the Judean Desert," *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 259 – 60 [Hebrew].

8 With Boaz Zissu, "A Note on the Rabbinic Phrase: 'Cast them into the Dead Sea,'" in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 12* (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 2003), 91 – 96 [Hebrew].

9 "Qumran Studies in Light of Archeological Excavations between 1967 and 1997," *The Journal of Religious History* 26 (2002): 179 – 88. This article includes a catalog of excavations that have taken place in the 30 years after the discovery of the main scrolls, especially of Hanan's excavations in 1995 – 96. Hanan ends this survey by stating that archaeological forays should continue to be made and that new discoveries are sure to result. See also "A History of the Discoveries at Qumran," in *A Day at Qumran* (ed. A. Roitman; Israel Museum Catalogue 394; Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1997), 11 – 17, and the later article, "The History of the Discoveries at Qumran," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. M. Kister, Jerusalem: Yad ben Zvi, 2009), 1.3 – 14 [Hebrew] that summarizes archaeological exploration including Hanan's own observations.

10 With Magen Broshi, "The Archeological Remains on the Marl Terrace around Qumran," *Qadmoniot* 30 (1997): 129 – 133 [Hebrew]; with Magen Broshi, "How and Where did the Qumranites Live?" in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 267 – 73; with Magen Broshi, "Excavations at Qumran, Summer of 2001," *IEJ* 53 (2003): 61 – 73; with Magen Broshi, "Three Seasons of Excavations at Qumran," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17 (2004): 321 – 32; with Magen Broshi, "Residential Caves at Qumran," *DSD* 6 (1999): 328 – 48. For six weeks in the winter of 1995 – 96, Magen Broshi and Hanan excavated the caves, many now collapsed, north of Qumran that had been accessed by a system of trails in the first century BCE and first century CE. They found dwelling caves north of Qumran, two of them, C and F, that they assessed were fit for human habitation and close enough to the main buildings as to be within the Sabbath limit for the sectarians. The objects found in these caves – jars, lamps, cooking pots, jugs, leather

of the caves in the marl terrace, they tried to explain where and how the sectarians lived. They concluded that the sectarians lived, some on the second floor at the Qumran site, some in the marl caves, and some in tents the archaeological evidence of which they found. In a number of articles they dealt with the small finds that they discovered,¹¹ and their relationship to the Qumran sect. The more Hanan studied the site, and the more that others put forward exaggerated theories about it, Hanan continued to see Qumran as the sectarian center of the Essenes.¹²

One of Hanan's strongest claims against the anti-sectarian theories that these scholars put forward was that they completely ignored the finding of the scrolls at Qumran. They explained the site as if the scrolls – the most important find – did not exist. In his opinion, the scrolls were an integral part of the site without which it could not be explained.¹³ It is important to mention that he published an article to prove that Qumran was the biblical Secacah.¹⁴

In one article he investigated the large number of stone vessels that were found at Qumran, Ein Feshka and Wadi Ghuweir,¹⁵ which in his view were also sectarian settlements. He treated the question of why hundreds of stone vessels were found at Qumran, En Feshka and En el-Guweir explaining that the sect believed that stone vessels could not acquire impurity. The Temple Scroll mentions that liquids, wine, water and especially oil, are susceptible to defilement. According to Hanan, CD 12:15 – 17 states that stone and unfired clay

strips, remains of food items – indicate that they were inhabited. There was also evidence of tents, paths strewn with nails from sandals, and coins. These finds were understood to corroborate the number of possible residents at Qumran, no more than 200.

- 11 With Magen Broshi, "Daily life at Qumran," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63 (2000): 136 – 37; Hanan Eshel, "A Three Shekel Weight (?) from Qumran," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume Ten* (ed. Y. Eshel, Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 2001), 33 – 34 [Hebrew].
- 12 "Qumran and the Scrolls: Response to the Article by Yizhar Hirschfeld," *Cathedra* 109 (2003): 51 – 62 [Hebrew]; "Qumran Archaeology: Review article of Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*," *JAOS* 125 (2005): 389 – 94. Hirschfeld argued that Qumran had originally been a fortress, a view that Hanan totally rejected. See also his article with K. Atkinson Kenneth, R. and Jodi Magness, "Do Josephus' Writings Support the 'Essene Hypothesis?'," *BAR* 35/2 (2009): 56 – 59. Here the authors explain the centrality of the Essenes to Josephus who devotes most of his description of the Jewish sects to the Essenes. Josephus is the best evidence of the Essene hypothesis other than the scrolls themselves.
- 13 Cf. with Magen Broshi, "Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The contention of twelve theories," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine* (ed. D.R. Edwards; New York: Routledge, 2004), 162 – 69.
- 14 "A Note on Joshua 15:61 – 62 and the Identification of the City of Salt," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 37 – 40.
- 15 "CD 12:15 – 17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. J. M. Baumgarten, E. G. Chazon and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45 – 52. See also with Joseph Yellin and Magen Broshi, "Pottery of Qumran and 'Ein Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenience," *BASOR* 321 (2001): 65 – 78.

vessels can become impure after being exposed to oil. Therefore the sectarians most likely used stone vessels to store all kinds of dry foods and liquids, but not oil. He concluded that they used these vessels to protect against ritual impurity, a view that he based on the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll, compared to biblical and rabbinic sources. According to these sources, vessels made of stone are not susceptible to ritual impurity.

Hanan also took an interest in burial in the area of Qumran and studied the cemetery in Hiam al-Sagha, which demonstrates parallels to the cemetery at Qumran.¹⁶ He joined a group of scholars that surveyed and afterwards published a new map of the cemetery at Qumran with the help of ground penetrating radar.¹⁷ This article must be the basis for any future research in this topic.

In a number of lectures and articles Hanan made detailed comparisons between Qumran and other sites, in Israel and outside, in order to prove that Qumran indeed was not an agricultural estate, nor a military fortress, nor a commercial center.¹⁸ The more that these ideas were put forward in nonscientific and non-archaeological contexts, Hanan investigated and answered as a professional scholar. Whoever wants to understand the special character of Qumran can turn to these studies by Hanan.¹⁹

Connected to the archaeological aspect was his study regarding the aqueducts described in the Copper Scroll.²⁰ This text knew Wadi Qumran, Hyrcania and

16 With Zvi Greenhut, "Hiam El-Sagha: A Cemetery of the Qumran type, Judaeen Desert," *RB* 100 (1993): 252 – 59.

17 With Magen Broshi, Richard A. Freund and Brian Schultz, "New Data on the Cemetery East of Khirbet Qumran," *DSD* 9 (2002): 135 – 65. Led by Hanan on behalf of Bar-Ilan University and Magen Broshi on behalf of Israel Exploration Society, an excavation was conducted in 2001 to determine the exact number of tombs, their orientation and how many were illegally dug up. By observation and with the help of Ground Penetrating Radar, they produced a map of 1138 graves, 999 of north-south orientation that are assumed to be from the Second Temple period. The archaeologists discovered remains of two women in secondary burials dated to the Second Temple period, a mourning enclosure, and a zinc coffin, that may indicate the burial of an important person. See also with Magen Broshi, "Whose Bones? New Qumran Excavation, New Debates," *BAR* 29 (2003): 26 – 33, 71; with Magen Broshi, "Zias' Qumran Cemetery," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 487 – 89.

18 "Review of Lena Cansdale, Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 89 (1999): 411 – 14.

19 With Magen Broshi, "Review of J. Magness: The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11 (2004): 361 – 64. Hanan agreed with Magness who dispels theories that range "from the bizarre to the improbable" and gives solid evidence for the Essene hypothesis. Hanan also concurred with her when she stated that, "The 900 manuscripts of Qumran are amazingly homogeneous and represent the theology and practices of a sect."

20 "Aqueducts in the Copper Scroll," in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke and P.R. Davies; JSPS Supplement 40; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 92 – 107. Cf. with Zeev Safrai, "The Copper Scroll: A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple Were Hidden," *Cathedra* 103 (2002): 7 – 20 [Hebrew].

Wadi Kelt. Hanan showed that the author of the scroll was familiar with the Judean Desert and used these aqueducts as points of reference.

Together with Magen Broshi, he authored an article regarding the question of agriculture at Qumran, in which he showed that there could not have been agriculture at the site itself, but rather that Ein Feshka could have served to grow dates.²¹ They proved, against the theory that claimed that Qumran was an agricultural estate, that it was impossible that balsam was raised at Qumran. In this article it is possible to discern Hanan's wide ranging knowledge of the Land of Israel, in matters of geography, economy, climate and agriculture.²² Here we also feel, as in the guide books that he wrote, his years of experience as a tour guide. There was no better guide than Hanan for Qumran and the surrounding Judean Desert area.

Hanan looked at all the sites and collections of manuscripts from the Judean Desert as one field, and therefore he worked on all of them. He would have agreed that there exists a continuity and a connection between these sites and texts, ranging from the period of Alexander the Great through the Roman-Byzantine period. Throughout this long period, the area of the Judean Desert served as a refuge or shelter for all kinds of groups of ascetics, sectarians and rebels that together left us the historical memory not only of themselves but also of their enemies and of the Jewish people as a whole.

Since many groups left their mark on the Judean Desert, he investigated not only the Qumran scrolls, but also the Samaritan texts from Wadi Daliyeh, the scrolls from Masada and the texts from the Bar Kokhba period. Since these additional sites generally had been excavated less thoroughly than Qumran, the possibility, at a later date, to excavate them and to contribute to the archaeological aspect was greater. Thus, Hanan surveyed and excavated a number of sites connected to the Great Revolt and to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

We will concentrate here on sites, numismatics and the discovery of new texts:

Several of his articles attempted to show the geographic extent of the Bar Kokhba revolt. He used the numismatic evidence to prove that the regions of Benjamin and Judah were in the hands of the rebels almost to the end of the revolt and that the Bar Kokhba government became unstable only towards the end of the war.²³ The wide geographic extent of the revolt was supported also by new studies on the networks for concealment and escape that are found throughout

21 With Magen Broshi, "Was There Agriculture at Qumran?," in *Qumran The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates* (ed. K. Galor, J.B. Humbert and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 249 – 52.

22 With Zeev Safrai, "Economic Life," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.228 – 33.

23 With Boaz Zissu, "The Geographical Distribution of Coins of the Bar Kokhba War," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 14 (2002): 157 – 67.

almost all of the Jewish Land of Israel during this period. His two edited books on this issue, one together with David Amit²⁴ and the other together with Roi Porat,²⁵ dealt primarily with the area of the Judean Desert and created an entirely new field of academic research. These books are full of details regarding the finds in these caves and archaeological illustrations, and they constitute almost a final publication. There are even included in the second volume two new texts, Mur 174²⁶ and a contract from year 4 of the revolt.²⁷

He also made many contributions in the area of numismatics. He showed that many of the coins of the rebels were struck on top of Roman coins.²⁸ One study showed that the cave of upper Naḥal Ḥever served as a refuge for the rebels. In it a Bar Kokhba coin of one tetradrachm was found.²⁹ Eshel and Amit pointed to the presence of one willow on these coins, which agreed with the opinion of Rabbi Akiva (M. Suk. 3:4), whereas on the coins of the Great Revolt there are more than one, following the opinion of Rabbi Ishmael.³⁰ The Bar Kokhba period coins have been particularly fruitful in yielding historical information. For example, Hanan found evidence of the history of the revolt from coins that had not been overstruck.³¹ Through surveys in caves to find new coins and meticulously cataloging

24 *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt* (1998).

25 *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Second Volume* (2009). Cf. with Roi Porat, "Fleeing the Romans: Judean Refugees Hide in Caves," *BAR* 32/2 (2006): 60 – 63 and with Roi Porat and Amos Frumkin, "Three Bar-Kokhba Refuge Caves in Naḥal Arugot," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 15* (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria, 2006), 107 – 32 [Hebrew].

26 With Esther Eshel and Gregor Geiger, "Mur 174: A Hebrew I.O.U. Document from Wadi Murabba'at," *Liber Annuus* 58 (2008): 313 – 26. The same article appears in Hebrew in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Second Volume*, 527 – 38.

27 With Esther Eshel and Ada Yardeni, "A Document from 'Year Four of the Destruction of the House of Israel' in Which a Widow Declared that She Received All Her Rights," *Cathedra* 132 (2009): 5 – 24 [Hebrew]. Also appears in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Second Volume*, 539 – 53.

28 "The Policy of Overstriking Roman Coins during the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Light of Finds in the Judean Desert," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Volume 5* (ed. Y. Eshel; Kedu-mim-Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 1996), 173 – 82 [Hebrew].

29 With David Amit, "A Tetradrachm of Bar Kokhba from a Cave in Naḥal Ḥever," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 11 (1991): 33 – 35. In 1991 Hanan excavated in a large cave in Naḥal Ḥever and found objects from the Bar Kokhba period: potsherds, glass vessels, arrowheads, ostraca and a coin minted by the rebels. From contracts found in this area from the same period, it can be deduced that the value of the tetradrachm was quite high; in one case, two were recorded as the purchase price of a house.

30 See "A Tetradrachm of Bar Kokhba". This coin, minted by the rebels, had been overstruck on a tetradrachm of the provincial mint at Antioch and featured the four species and the legend "For the freedom of Jerusalem" on one side. The Four Species feature the one myrtle and one willow branch as advocated by Rabbi Akiva rather than multiple branches as ruled by Rabbi Ishmael.

31 A numismatic study with Boaz Zissu, "Roman Coins from the 'Cave of the Sandal' West of

and classifying them, Hanan made important contributions on several historical issues of this period.

He also determined by the investigation of weights that there had been inflation during the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.³² Exceedingly important is his determination, based on numismatic evidence, that the founding of Aelia Capitolina occurred in the middle of the Revolt, and not at the end.³³ In his opinion, Aelia Capitolina was founded before 135 CE. He suggested that the rebels changed the legend of the coins from "year 1 of the freedom of Israel," etc., to "for the freedom of Jerusalem" as a reaction to the Roman coins which had been minted in Aelia Capitolina. In one article regarding the dating of the founding of Aelia Capitolina, he accepts the date of 130 CE that was suggested by Cassius Dio.³⁴ He also determined that the Bar Kokhba coins all had been minted only up to 132 CE. Hanan explained the nature of the scanty evidence for the revolt. There is no historical work, either Roman or Jewish, on the military progress of the revolt, and a brief mention of it in Cassius Dio's *Roman History* does not even give the name of its leader. Seventeen letters and several coins discovered in the Judean Desert established that Simeon ben Kosiba led the

Jericho," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 13 (1999): 70 – 77 discusses the finds of a refuge cave from the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The cave contained many coins and was full of skeletons of people who had been killed by the Romans. Only a portion of these coins were overstruck by the rebels, perhaps due to difficulties getting them to Bar Kokhba's mint or in order to use them in trade beyond the Bar Kokhba borders. Another example of a coin that was not overstruck comes from "A Coin of Bar Kokhba from a Cave in Wadi el-Mackuk," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9 (1987): 51 – 52. Hanan surveyed the cave in October 1986. The findings proved that Jews fled to this cave at the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The denarius from Wadi el-Mackuk is an example of Roman coin belonging to Jews who were connected to the Bar Kokhba revolt although the coin was not overstruck by the rebels.

32 "On Harps and Lyres: A Note on the Bronze Coinage of the Bar Kokhba Administration," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 16 (2008): 118 – 30. Hanan found that the weight of bronze coins struck in the second year of the revolt was less than the first year, about half the value, indicating an economic decline. Silver coins could be tetradrachms (*sela'im*) that featured a picture of the Temple and the four species; didrachms (*shekalim*) featuring Temple and three species (no etrog); denarii (*zuzim*) that had different symbols. Some had harps and some lyres. In year three, the harp was succeeded by the lyre in order to distinguish between coins in year one and two that resembled each other but were of very different weights. A detailed catalog of all harp/lyre coins is included.

33 With Boaz Zissu, "Coins from the el-Jai Cave in Nahal Mikhmarsh (Wadi Suweinit)," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 14 (2002): 168 – 75.

34 "The Date of the Founding of Aelia Capitolina," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. Vanderkam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 637 – 43; "Aelia Capitolina: Jerusalem No More," *BAR* 23/6 (1997): 46 – 48. "Bethar was Captured and the City was Plowed: Jerusalem, Aelia Capitolina and the Bar Kokhba Revolt," in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies, Teddy Kollek Volume 28* (ed. J. Aviram, D. Bahat, G. Barkay, Y. Ben-Arieh, M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2007), 21 – 27 [Hebrew].

revolt, and the names of some of his commanders and administrators were also revealed. Archaeological evidence includes tunnels, shafts, caves and other underground passages where people hid. Hanan believed that Bar Kokhba took control either in the summer or early fall of the year 132. From the documents of refugees found in caves it is possible to ascertain what areas were affected by the revolt, causing their inhabitants to flee, and what areas were in control of Bar Kokhba to which refugees were fleeing.³⁵ Numismatic evidence points to the absence of Bar Kokhba's control in the Galilee and Jerusalem.³⁶

Hanan also contributed greatly to the discovery and explanation of texts from the Bar Kokhba period.³⁷ Together with Magen Broshi, he dated anew four papyri and showed that these texts do not prove that Bar Kokhba conquered Jerusalem.³⁸ He found that it was possible through the texts to follow the economic decline in the last years of the revolt.³⁹

It is worth singling out the excavation of Ketef Jericho that he conducted in 1986, followed in the framework of Operation Scroll,⁴⁰ the search for scrolls that took place right before the attempt to put into effect the Oslo Accords in 1993. There Hanan found texts, some of which he edited in the series Discoveries in the

35 "A Survey of the Refuge Caves and their Legal Documents," in *Halakhah in Light of Epigraphy* (ed. A.I. Baumgarten, H. Eshel, R. Katzoff, S. Tzoref; Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 103 – 53. Texts were found at Wadi Murabba'at, Nahal David, Nahal Hever, Nahal Mishmar, Nahal Se'elim, and Nahal Harduf. Hanan discussed letters by and to Bar Kokhba, describing the civil administration of the time, and contracts that reveal the dire economic conditions during the war.

36 "The Bar Kokhba Revolt 132 – 135," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, vol 4: The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period* (ed. S.T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105 – 27. An interesting discovery was that the Roman legions brought bronze Bar Kokhba coins from Palestine to various Roman army camps in Europe such as London, Vienna, Carnuntum, Szony, Hungary and Roman bases along the Danube. Roman troops who had served in Judea were later located in Roman forts in Europe or some units in Europe were mobilized to serve in the Bar Kokhba war (with Boaz Zissu, Gabriel Barkay, "Sixteen Bar Kokhba Coins from Roman Sites in Europe," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17 (2009 – 10): 91 – 97.

37 See "A Case of Negotiation: P. Yadin 2 and P. Yadin 3," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 17* (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria, 2008), 103 – 20 [Hebrew].

38 With Magen Broshi and Timothy A.J. Jull, "Four Murabba'at Papyri and the Alleged Capture of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba," in *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert* (ed. R. Katzoff and D. Schaps; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 45 – 50. By dating the papyri of Murabba'at containing the phrase "for the freedom of Jerusalem," Hanan shows that they were written during the First Revolt and not the revolt of Bar Kokhba. Therefore, they cannot prove that Bar Kokhba conquered Jerusalem.

39 The Murabba'at Papyri analyzed by Eshel, Broshi and Jull (see note 35) attest to the difficult economic circumstances at the conclusion of the war in the winter of 134 – 135.

40 "Nailed Sandals in Jewish Sources and in the Excavation of a Cave at Ketef Jericho," *Zion* 53 (1988): 191 – 98 [Hebrew]; "Finds and Documents from a Cave at Ketef-Yericho," *Qadmoniot* 21 (1988): 18 – 23 [Hebrew].

Judean Desert, together with Esther Eshel and Haggai Misgav.⁴¹ Among the texts were economic documents, such as lists of loans, contracts of sale or lease, and others, written in Aramaic,⁴² Hebrew⁴³ and Greek. Together with Boaz Zissu he wrote an archaeological survey of Ketef Jericho.⁴⁴ He also excavated additional caves with Zissu and wrote of his finds.⁴⁵

As a result of his interest in the Bar Kokhba rebellion in general, he edited a volume together with Boaz Zissu regarding new research about the rebellion.⁴⁶ In it he published an article that seeks to explain how Babatha reached the cave of Naḥal Hever, namely, because of business connections between her husband and the son of the commander of Ein Gedi.⁴⁷ In Hanan's opinion, her husband was forced to flee because of his connections with the Bar Kokhba administration. His article in the *Cambridge History of Judaism*⁴⁸ summarized his views on the revolt and is based on a combination of earlier knowledge with the new material that resulted from the discovery of the texts in the Judean Desert⁴⁹ and from archaeological and numismatic research in the area.⁵⁰

Hanan dealt not only with research on texts, as we have showed, but also with the scrolls themselves. It fell to his lot to be involved in activity centering on fragments that circulated in private hands and to serve as an address for those

41 One of the editors of *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. J. Charlesworth, N. Cohen, H. Cotton, E. Eshel, H. Eshel, P. Flint, H. Misgav, M. Morgenstern, K. Murphy, M. Segal, A. Yardeni and B. Zissu; DJD 38; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Hanan also edited three texts in this volume from Ketef Jericho: with Haggai Misgav, "Ketef Jericho: Jericho papList of Loans ar," 21 – 30; with Esther Eshel, "Jericho papDeed of Sale or Lease ar," 31 – 6; with Esther Eshel, "Jericho papDeed of Sale ar," 3.

42 Note Hanan's article in which he discusses divorce documents: with Yoel Fixler, "The Tearing of Divorce Documents in Light of the Documents from the Judean Desert," *Sidra* 22 (2007): 81 – 87 [Hebrew].

43 See above, n. 26.

44 With Boaz Zissu, "Ketef Jericho; Jericho: Archaeological Introduction," in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 3 – 20.

45 With Boaz Zissu, "Survey and Excavations of Caves along the Cliff Slopes of Triangulation Point 86, on the Fringes of Jebel Ma'ar el-Bas," *'Atiqot* 41 (2002): 117 – 123; with Boaz Zissu, "The Excavation of Cave VIII/9 ('The Large Caves Complex')," *'Atiqot* 41 (2002): 151 – 166 [Hebrew].

46 *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, 17 – 40.

47 "Why did Babatha Flee to the Cave of Letters?" in *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, 105 – 09.

48 "The Bar Kokhba Revolt 132 – 135," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, 4.105 – 27.

49 "The Contribution of Documents and Other Remains Found in the Judean Desert between 1979 and 1993 to the Understanding of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 15 (1997): 108 – 110.

50 With Esther Eshel, "Fragments of two Aramaic Documents which were Brought to the Abi'or Cave during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt," in *Eretz-Israel 23: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies: Avraham Biran Volume* (ed. E. Stern and T. Levi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew Union College, 1992), 276 – 85 [Hebrew].

who were selling fragments. Thus, he merited locating and publishing new fragments and bringing them to academic light. In a series of articles, most together with Esther Eshel, he published biblical fragments⁵¹ and fragments of the songs of the Sabbath sacrifice,⁵² fragments of an Enoch Scroll⁵³ and of other poems (including the Jonathan Prayer).⁵⁴ Together with Esther Eshel he published 4Q471, a fragment of a short recension of the War Scroll.⁵⁵ They showed

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- 51 In "Two Scroll Fragments in the Hecht Museum Collection," *Michmanim* 17 (2003): 11 – 16 [Hebrew] and in "A Second Fragment of XJudges," *JJS* 54 (2003): 139 – 41, Hanan identified small fragments of Judges 10 and Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat (4Q401) [See below, next note]. With Esther Eshel and Magen Broshi, "A New Fragment of XJudges," *DSD* 14 (2007): 354 – 58, several new fragments were integrated into one whole section of Judges 4:5b – 9a. With Yosi Baruchi and Roi Porat, "Fragments of a Biblical Scroll from the Judean Desert," *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 259 – 60 [Hebrew] he published fragments of a Leviticus scroll; with Yosi Baruchi and Roi Porat, "Fragments of a Leviticus Scroll found in Nahal Arugot," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 15* (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria, 2006), 101 – 106 [Hebrew].
- 52 "Another Fragment (3a) of 4QShirot 'Olat HaShabbat (4Q401)," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E.G. Chazon; STJD 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 89 – 94. Cf. "When Were the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice Recited?" *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 3 – 12 [Hebrew]. He proposed that a 13-song cycle was designated for each quarter of the year and recited four times. Hanan showed that the Song of the First Sabbath (4Q400) hints at the Day of Atonement, and the Sabbath of the third quarter falls between Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur, proving that the cycle was repeated four times.
- 53 With Esther Eshel, "A New Fragment of the Book of Watchers from Qumran (XQpapEnoch)," *Tarbiz* 73 (2004): 171 – 79 [Hebrew]; with Esther Eshel, "New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGen^f, 4QIsa^b, 4Q226, 8QGen and XQpapEnoch," *DSD* 12 (2005): 134 – 5. Other contributions on Enoch include: "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005) 102 – 10; with Esther Eshel, "Toponymic Midrash in 1 Enoch and in Other Second Temple Jewish Literature," *Henoch* 24 (2002): 115 – 130; with Esther Eshel, "Separating Levi from Enoch: Response to Enoch, Levi and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," in *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (ed. J. Neusner and A.J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 2.458 – 68. He also pursued issues of the interpretation of Enochic literature. Cf. "An Allusion in the Parables of Enoch to the Acts of Matthias Antigonus in 40 B.C.E.?, " in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 487 – 91.
- 54 With Esther Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "448, 4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer," in *Qumran Cave 4, VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts part 1* (ed. E. Eshel, et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 403 – 25.
- 55 With Esther Eshel, "4Q471 Fragment 1 and Ma'amadot in the War Scroll," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11/2; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2.611 – 20. This article analyses one Herodian fragment of what has been identified as some 9 lines of the War Scroll. The authors discuss the possible reconstructions of the missing part of the manuscript by reference to the Bible and other War Scroll manuscripts, and suggest that 4Q471 is an early recension of the War Scroll or one of its sources. This text appears in DJD with Esther Eshel as: "4QWar Scroll-like Text B," in *Qumran Cave 4, XXVI* (ed. P. Alexander, et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 439 – 45. See also "Two

that IQM agreed with the view of the Pharisees regarding the funding of the daily sacrifice, in that they had determined that IQM required that the sacrifice had to be paid for by public funds. However, 4Q471 agreed with the Sadducees according to whom the priest could pay.

He dealt also with matters pertaining to Masada. As was the case with Qumran, he wrote a tour guide for one who visits the site.⁵⁶ His guidebook is a fully illustrated description of Masada beginning with the structures of the palace built by Herod, such as the bathhouse, the pillars, and the frescoed walls. The book then introduces some of the imported luxury items found at the palace such as jars of Italian wine, honey, and pickles. Next it proceeds to the remains of the Jewish sectarian occupation with local goods, objects of daily life such as sandals, braids, ropes, Hebrew manuscripts, etc. Finally, we glimpse the Roman remains of coins, pay slips, Latin texts, models of the battering rams used by the Tenth Legion. Hanan also published an article in which he proved that the Romans built a second rampart at Masada after they broke into the fortress and that it took them some two weeks to finish the process of conquest.⁵⁷ In this article Hanan mentions the murder of seven hundred people at Ein Gedi by the Sicarii, a matter that has not received sufficient attention. What emerges from this study is that the conquest of Masada was not as simple as one would gather from Josephus's narrative.

He also wrote about Ein Gedi,⁵⁸ an oasis in the Judean Desert on the western side of the Dead Sea that was almost continually inhabited from the fourth millennium BCE. Hanan himself excavated in the adjacent Moringa Cave and wrote archaeological studies of it, including excavation reports.⁵⁹

Notes on Column 2 of the War Scroll," in *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (ed. J. Geiger, H.M. Cotton and G.D. Stiebel; Raanana: 2009), 85 – 98 [Hebrew].

56 *Masada: An Epic Story: A Carta Field Guide* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2009) in both Hebrew and English.

57 "Josephus' View on Judaism without the Temple in Light of the Discoveries at Masada and Murabba'at," in *Community without Temple* (ed. B. Ego, A. Lange and P. Pilhofer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 229 – 38.

58 *Ein Gedi: Oasis and Refuge: A Carta Field Guide* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2009 [Hebrew and English editions]). Because of its reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is worth mentioning: with Roi Porat and Amos Frumkin, "A Bronze Scribe's Case from En Gedi," *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology* 6 (2007): 3 – 12.

59 With Y. Shai and Roi Porat, "Moringa Cave," in *En-Gedi Excavations I: final report (1961 – 1965)* (ed. E. Stern; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society 2007), 391 – 403; with Roi Porat, Amos Frumkin, Uri Davidowitz, and Itzhaq Shai, "The Moringa Cave at the En-Gedi Oasis," *Qadmoniot* 40 (2007): 27 – 31; with Sorin Lisker, Roi Porat, Uri Davidovich, S.E. Lauritzen and Amos Frumkin, "Late Quaternary Environmental and Human Events at En Gedi, Reflected by the Geology and Archaeology of the Moringa Cave (Dead Sea Area, Israel)," *Quaternary Research* 68 (2007): 203 – 12; with Itzhaq Shai, Roi Porat, and Amos Frumkin, "The Moringa Cave: A Burial Cave near 'Ein Gedi from the Persian Period," in *The Qumran*

Upon the archaeological and textual layers, he built his historical framework. Hanan entered this field by way of an article in which he explained a peshet on Joshua's curse against anyone who would rebuild Jericho, found in 4QTestimonia and the Psalms of Joshua from Qumran.⁶⁰ He showed that this text referred to John Hyrcanus and his sons Aristobulus I and Antigonos. He came to this conclusion with the help of the excavations of the Hasmonean palaces in Jericho. After a number of articles regarding the historical significance of the Qumran scrolls,⁶¹ Hanan came to write a complete book (that was published in Hebrew and English) regarding the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean state.⁶² (He had already edited a book on the Hasmonean period together with David Amit,⁶³ in which he wrote on the sects).⁶⁴ In addition to all the original suggestions and explanations of texts – from Qumran and from Josephus – the

Scrolls and their World (ed. Y. Eshel; Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 2009), 59 – 78 [Hebrew].

- 60 "The Historical Background of 4QTest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries," *Zion* 55 (1990): 141 – 50 [Hebrew]; "The Historical Background of the Peshet Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409 – 20. Hanan explained that 4QTestimonia (4Q175) and the Psalms of Joshua (4QPssJos, 4Q378 and 4Q379) are similar to peshet texts because they explain that the curse mentioned in Josh 6:26 has been fulfilled in events of the Hasmonean period, in "A Note on a Recently Published Text: the Joshua Apocryphon," in *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical Perspectives* (ed. M. Poorthuis and Ch. Safrai; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 89 – 93, he was able, by reconstructing the text of 4Q522, to discern what part of the text was actually composed by the Qumran sect and what was composed by scribes outside the sect.
- 61 "The Two Historical Layers of Peshet Habakkuk," *Zion* 71 (2006): 143 – 52 [Hebrew]; "The Two Historical Layers of Peshet Habakkuk," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003 – 2006* (ed. A.K. Petersen, T. Elgvin, C. Wassen, H. von Weissenberg, M. Winninge, and M. Ehrensverd; STJD 80; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 107 – 17; "The History of the Qumran Community and Historical Aspects of the Pesharim," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. M. Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 1.191 – 207 [Hebrew].
- 62 *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, 2004, Hebrew; English ed. 2008. See also earlier studies: "The History of the Qumran Community and the Historical Details in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Qadmoniot* 30 (1997): 86 – 93 [Hebrew]; "The History of the Qumran Community and Historical Aspects of the Pesharim," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* (ed. M. Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 1.191 – 207 [Hebrew]; "New Information Regarding the Sects of the Second Temple Period from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Volume 3* (ed. Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel; Kedumim-Ariel: The Research Institute, The College of Judea and Samaria, 1994), 147 – 155 [Hebrew]; "Alexander Jannaeus in the Pesharim: Two Notes on 4QpNah and 4QpHos^b," in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research* (ed. G. Brin and B. Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi 2001), 220 – 30 [Hebrew]; "4Q386: An Allusion to the Death of Pompey in 48 B.C.E.?" *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 14 (2004): 195 – 203 [Hebrew].
- 63 *The Hasmonean State* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1995) [Hebrew].
- 64 "Sects, Approaches and Centers of Power in the Hasmonean State," in *Hasmonean State*, 171 – 84.

importance of Hanan's book is that in it the scholar of the Hasmoneans will find all the Qumran material, and the scholar of Qumran will find all the historical material that was known before the discovery of the scrolls. The entire exposition is founded on the basis of archaeology that also provides a chronological framework for the texts from Qumran and for the events that are described there in the enigmatic style of the *pesharim* and the sectarian texts. In this book Hanan investigated all the historical evidence that can be found in Qumran literature; all in all, he was able to deal with fifty-eight scrolls. Bringing together texts, history and archaeology and their interpretations was Hanan's unique contribution. It is possible to see this book as a collection of his original interpretations and researches on the historical side of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In his guidebook to Qumran⁶⁵ he put forward his general understanding of the site: Hanan pointed out that the Yaḥad people traced their ancestry to the wealthy House of Zadok, who held the high priesthood in the time before the Hasmoneans usurped it, and adopted the sharing of their possessions as a reaction against the pursuit of wealth by the Jerusalem priests. Their dream of the messianic future did not come to pass during the several hundred years they lived at Qumran, and he described a somewhat fluid membership comprising those who lived at Qumran and those who gave up the ideal of imminent messianic redemption and returned to Jerusalem. Nevertheless, they influenced the development of Judaism and Christianity. The Qumran group, in his view, was first to institute fixed prayer, adopted by the Sages after the destruction of the Temple. Hanan called attention to a certain affinity between Jesus' sermons and particular scrolls, especially the Thanksgiving Scroll, and the ideas of the Jerusalem Church such as "the sharing of property, the common meals, the overseer's office, [biblical *mevaqquer*, called *Episcopus* in the early church], praying while facing east, and more."⁶⁶

It is difficult to summarize the contributions and original ideas of Hanan in the interpretation of texts from Qumran. We will mention only a small number of examples to point out his prolific and original contributions.

Together with Esther Eshel, he examined the recensions of the War Scroll.⁶⁷ He wrote about the concept of prophecy in the literature of the Second Temple period⁶⁸ and about the relations of Abraham and his father in this literature.⁶⁹

65 *Qumran: Scrolls, Caves and History: A Carta Field Guide* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2009 [English and Hebrew editions]).

66 *Qumran*, 136.

67 With Esther Eshel, "Recensions and Editions of the War Scroll," in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 351 – 63. This article investigates the composite nature of the War Scroll and the methods of the redactor of the scroll and his use of previous sources.

68 "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy," "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," in *Teshurah Le-'Amos: Collected Studies in Biblical Exegesis Presented to 'Amos*

Together with John Strugnell he wrote about alphabetic acrostic poetry in ancient Hebrew literature, especially at Qumran.⁷⁰ By paying particular attention to their acrostic formats, he and Strugnell were able to more accurately identify 4QPs^f that had been called Eschatological Hymn and the Apostrophe to Judah. These texts were determined to be parts of the same alphabetical acrostic. The authors also offer a reconstruction of the Apostrophe to Zion and some insights on Psalms 9 – 10, all based on the acrostic patterns of these compositions. Hanan also contributed an article about the non-canonical Psalms, suggesting that they were an integral part of the book of Psalms for some groups in second Temple times.⁷¹

He wrote a seminal study, together with Esther Eshel and Ada Yardeni, regarding a fragment that includes a section from Psalm 154 and a prayer for the peace of King Jonathan.⁷² After constructing a detailed history of the composition of this text, they assert that this prayer was intended to refer to Alexander Jannaeus and is not sectarian. However, it was brought to Qumran and placed in its library.

Hanan also investigated the term *Kittim* in the scrolls, and made original suggestions here as well.⁷³ Its usage in the Second Temple period seems to refer to

Hakham (ed. M. Bar-Asher, N. Hacham and Y. Ofer; Alon Shevut: Tvunot, 2007), 429 – 44 [Hebrew].

69 "Abraham's Honoring His Father in Early Jewish Exegesis and in Qumran," *Megadim* 46 (2007): 9 – 15 [Hebrew].

70 With John Strugnell, "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441 – 58.

71 "Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran," in *The Qumran Scrolls and their World* 1.209 – 24 [Hebrew]. Cf. with Shlomit Kendi-Harel, "Psalm 155: A Hymn about Repentance," in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron* (ed. D. Sivan, D. Talshir and C. Cohen; Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University, 2009), 29 – 51; "A Note on 11QPsalms^d Fragment 1," *Revue de Qumran* 23 (2008): 529 – 31.

72 With Esther Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20 and 4QpIsa^a," *JBL* 119 (2000): 645 – 59. This article of 2000 updates several publications of this text: with Esther Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom," *IEJ* 42 (1992): 199 – 229; Hanan Eshel, Esther Eshel and Ada Yardeni, "4Q448, Psalm 154 and 4QpIsa^a," *Tarbiz* 66 (1997): 121 – 30 [Hebrew]; and with Esther Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "448. 4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer," *DJD* 11, 403 – 25. The new reconstruction shows a link between 4Q448 Col. A and Syriac Ps. 154. The material in 4Q448 is the nucleus of the hymn that was later expanded in 11QPs^a and the Syriac manuscripts. Another literary unit of lines 5 – 10 of Col. A of 4Q448 was also expanded in Ps 154, 11QPs^b and the Syriac manuscripts. 4Q448 is also related to the prayers of King Hezekiah and Isaiah when Jerusalem was besieged by Sennacherib. Then the prayer for King Jonathan was attached to this prayer in a "pesher-style exegesis" so that what happened in the reign of Sennacherib refers to the time of King Jonathan and the campaign of Ptolemy Lathyrus. This reevaluation of the prayer for King Jonathan may allow it to be seen as a composition copied at Qumran because of the *pesher* connection. See also, with Esther Eshel, and Ada Yardeni, "Rare DSS Text Mentions King Jonathan," *BAR* 20/1 (1994): 75 – 78.

73 "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives from the*

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In January 2011, the David and Jemima Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History held its second international conference at Bar-Ilan University, dedicated to the memory of Professor Hanan Eshel, the founding academic director of the center who passed away on April 8th, 2010. It is a collection of articles, that, when taken together, trace daily life in the Land of Israel from the First Temple Period through the time of the Talmud, as seen through the various types of inscriptions from those periods that have been discovered and published. With contributions by Marlene Schiffman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Shmuel Ahituv, Amihai Mazar, Aren M. Maeir, Esther Eshel, Aaron Demsky, Lester L. Grabbe, Boaz Zissu, Boaz Langford, Avner Ecker, Uriel Rappaport, David Amit, Eitan Klein and Haim Mamalya.

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