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Quoting, Writing, and Reading.

Authority in *Pesher Habakkuk* from Qumran

Jutta Jokiranta

1. Introduction

The *pesharim* from Qumran are, from the later perspective, non-canonical. They quote texts that later became canonical besides including new material that did not enter into any known canon. Earlier scholarship has early on shown how the *pesharim* clearly belong to the dream/oracle (Aramaic) interpretative traditions.[1] A known (biblical) text was first quoted and then explained similar to a dream vision or an oracle that needed an inspired interpreter in order to be able to identify its significant elements. Scholars have moreover searched for forerunners to this sort of commentary form in the Ancient Near Eastern evidence, and recently investigated some potential closer directions of influence from the Hellenistic commentary literature and from the Egyptian Demotic Chronicle. Yet from another perspective, the *pesharim* can be studied as precursors themselves to later commentary forms in the Jewish and Christian traditions.[2] The purpose of this study is to investigate, in this larger framework, the more detailed ways in which the *pesharim,* especially *Pesher Habakkuk,* promote their authority and how we should

[1] E.g., Lou H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 323–64; I. Rabinowitz, "'Pesher/Pittaron': Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 8 (1973): 219–32; Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979).

[2] For all these perspectives, see the recent thematic volume 19 of *Dead Sea Discoveries* (2012): "The Rise of Commentary: Commentary Texts in Ancient Near Eastern, Greek, Roman and Jewish Cultures," and the literature therein. For comparison to Greek commentaries, see also Reinhard G. Kratz, "Text and Commentary: The *Pesharim* of Qumran in the Context of Hellenistic Scholarship," in *The Bible and Hellenism: Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (ed. Thomas L. Thompson and Philippe Wajdenbaum; Durham: Acumen, 2014), 212–29, and to Greek and Latin commentaries, see Bockmuehl, Markus. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–29.

actually understand the fact that these texts, for the first time in Jewish history, despite the notable forerunners, represent an explicit "commentary" form.

The texts quoted in the *pesharim* were most probably seen by the ancient authors and readers as ancient for them and in some ways authoritative, although one should never assume that the quoted texts were automatically authoritative or that they were similarly authoritative for all the people of the Second Temple era. Quoting texts may also be a means of promoting the status and accessibility of texts, as noted by George Brooke.[3] Writing itself in ancient times could be seen as a new rising phenomenon in the Israelite religion that not only enhanced the durability of significant traditions but had "a special symbolic significance and efficacy, promise, or consolation."[4] Nevertheless, previous scholarship on the *pesharim* has often emphasized the interpretations over the quotations (literally, by often quoting only the *pesher* section without the preceding quotation), or sought to understand what is new in the interpretations in comparison to the quotations. Quotations are the past tense and the interpretations are considered the present or future tense (even if containing past events in the movement's history). For this reason, my special focus is here rather on the act of quoting.

The question of authority conferring strategies has received growing attention during the past decade. Hindy Najman has illuminated the "interpretative authority" and the role of "writtenness" in understanding scripture and its interpretation in many late Second Temple sources.[5] According to Najman, these strategies are many and various: words are ascribed to God or to Moses who becomes an authority-carrying figure; words are presented as mediated by angels (*Jubilees*); the special status of writing itself (not only seeing, hearing, or speaking) is appealed for and written words are presented as testimony or consolation of future divine help (as in the case of Prophet Habakkuk); written and forgotten words are discovered anew (King Josiah's case); prophetic ideas and terminology are reused; laws are claimed to have universal significance by connecting them to the laws of nature (Philo).[6]

Florentino García Martínez identifies similar strategies in the Dead Sea Scrolls as indications of the status of texts. According to him, such strategies also allow us to see which texts were authoritative and normative for the ancient people. Such an authoritative corpus for them would have included

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[3] George J. Brooke, "Some Comments on Commentary," *DSD* 19 (2012): 249–266, 250, 255: "[…] often the base text acquires part of its authority by virtue of the commentary itself"; and 261: "The presentation of lemma and interpretation in explicit commentaries may indicate that the base text has partially lost its authority."

[4] Hindy Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity* (JSJSup 53; Leiden Brill, 2010), 5.

[5] Najman, *Past Renewals (cf. n. 4)*. The volume collects Najman's earlier published articles.

[6] Najman, *Past Renewals (cf. n. 4)*, esp. 3–38.

both "canonical" (what later became canonical) and "sectarian" works.[7] He outlines four strategies for expressing the special status of texts: (1) the claim of *divine origin*, (2) *rewriting* of the tradition, which both insists on the authority of what is rewritten and adds something to it, (3) explicit *interpretation,* distinguished from the tradition, but claiming to be inspired and revealed by God (typically the *pesharim*), (4) appeal to *founding figures*, especially to the Teacher of Righteousness and his voice.

Whereas most of these aspects exist at the level of texts themselves (*within* texts: 1, 2, 4) or *between* two or more texts (3), George Brooke notes that this inner-textual world is only one of the three levels where authority is endorsed. The other two are the audience receiving the text (or rather the interplay between the actual and implied author and actual and implied audience) and the outside world in which the actual physical manuscripts exist and where speech acts are being performed and ideological frameworks are shared.[8]

Where, then, did the authority lie in the *pesharim*, and which main strategies of conferring authority can be identified? All of the three levels are important to investigate: the inner-textual, the reception (reader-response), and the outside (material) world. In the following, I will examine some of the possibilities of legitimizing, directing, and locating the authority in *Pesher Habakkuk* from these perspectives.

2. Scribal minutes and authority through performance

Starting from the level of the material world, the *pesharim* have been studied for their physical features to discover how scribal marks and structural systems influence the way in which the texts were being perceived or performed. Recently, George Brooke has investigated, in several articles, the physical features of the *pesharim* to learn about their function, usage, and nature.[9]

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[7] Florentino García Martínez, "Parabiblical Literature from Qumran and the Canonical Process," *RevQ* 25 (2012): 525–556. Terminology here is a sensitive matter. García Martínez helpfully makes it explicit that, for him, even sectarian writings could be "canonical," that is, authoritative and normative.

[8] George J. Brooke, "Authority and the Authoritativeness of Scripture: Some Clues from the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 25 (2012): 507–523.

[9] George J. Brooke, "Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features of Some Cave 4 'Continuous' Pesharim," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, et al.; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 133–150; George J. Brooke, "Some Scribal Features of the Thematic Commentaries from Qumran," in *Writing the Bible: Scribes, Scribalism and Script* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Thomas Römer; Durham: Acumen, 2013), 124–143; George J. Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk," in *On the Fringe of Commentary: Metatextuality in Ancient Near*

About the physical measurements and layout of the continuous *pesharim*, he draws the following conclusion:

Thus, although it is certainly possible to argue that in some ways the commentaries proper are prophetically continuous with the prophetic texts on which they comment, even revealing "mysteries" that were unknown to the original prophets, it is also important to keep in mind that manuscripts chosen for copying out these commentaries, their sizes and preparation, do not seem to signal any particular authority for these compositions.[10]

In other words, the *pesharim* are not particularly unique artefacts as such (as regards their size, material or layout). Nevertheless, we may note some significant material features about *Pesher Habakkuk*. For example, its second sheet was cut from a larger, already ruled sheet of leather, visible from the fact that ruling exists also in the top margin.[11] Such cutting indicates that the need for producing this particular manuscript copy was significant: it was worth sacrificing an existing larger sheet, perhaps a leftover from another manuscript production or a sheet prepared for another manuscript. The scribe(s) could not wait for a more suitable, smaller sheet of leather to be prepared or become available.[12]

Furthermore, we learn much from the *vacat*-system and the scribal marks about the perception of the base text and its relation to the commentary. *Vacat*s normally occur in 1QpHab before the *pesher* sections, right after the quotations. No *vacat* occurs in *Pesher Habakkuk* after a *pesher* section and before the beginning of a new quotation.[13] For Brooke, this indicates that the reader must have known the Habakkuk base text very well in order to know

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Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures (ed. Sydney H. Aufrère, Philip S. Alexander, Zlatko Pleše, and in association with Cyril Jacques Bouloux; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 232; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 175-93. I am grateful to Prof. Brooke for sharing the last article with me prior to publication.

[10] Brooke, "Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features" (cf. n. 9), 139.

[11] Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 35; Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 179.

[12] Note that 1QpHab had at least two different scribes, one who wrote the lines up to XII, 13 and another who wrote the rest;Tov, *Scribal Practices (cf. n. 11)*, 28; Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 180–181.

[13] H. Gregory Snyder, "Naughts and Crosses: Pesher Manuscripts and Their Significance for Reading Practices at Qumran," *DSD* 7 (2000): 26–48, at 38. Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), discusses the exceptional *vacats* within *pesher* sections in II, 5; III, 7; V, 11; IX, 7; XII, 5. The one in III, 7 was caused by a scribal misreading, and the others show explanatory glosses and possible reworking in the *pesher* sections. See further below.

where the interpretation ended and the lemma started.[14] That the text was probably read aloud and used in public is also indicated by some material features. The marginal crosses at the ends of some dozen lines most likely indicate that the reading (performance) should be continued to the following line.[15] Even though *Pesher Habakkuk* may not have been exceptionally prepared or highly regarded as a manuscript, it was prepared to be fluently and accurately performed. In human communication, quotations serve to demonstrate selected aspects of what is communicated. Non-verbal aspects such as the tone and volume of voice, gestures, and bodily movements, are important parts of the communication.[16] In performing *Pesher Habakkuk,* the reader may, for example, have depicted the prophetic voice in a certain way to convey aspects of it.[17] The reverence for the divine name was one aspect that was mediated through the performance. The Tetragrammaton is always written in paleo-Hebrew letters instead of square script, which also suggests a pronounced attention to reading the text aloud.[18] We do not know which other aspects may have been depicted and how: if the woes were performed with emotional raised voice, or accompanied with certain gestures, for example.

[14] Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 186–187. Another alternative is that, by not distinguishing the *pesher* and the next quotation with a *vacat*, the pesherist underlined the similarities of the past and present experiences. At places, the reader/hearer may indeed have mixed the end of the *pesher* with the beginning of the quotation if the sentences ran smoothly from one to the other. See below on the idea of quotations as re-enactment of past experiences.

[15] Snyder, "Naughts and Crosses" (cf. n. 13), 42–43.

[16] See further the demonstration theory of quotations below.

[17] There are some scribal marks in 1QpHab whose meaning remains uncertain (IV, 12; VI, 4); see Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 187, 189. Furthermore, there are a number of marks than look like ink dots in the photographs (as distinguished from many marks that look like spots in the leather): below the third word in III, 8; in the left hand margin between lines VII, 1 and VII, 2; an erased mark? at the end of VIII, 1; below the seventh word in VIII, 7; below the sixth word in VIII, 11; above the *waw* in לוא in VIII, 13; close to the sixth word in IX, 6; below the first word and under the fifth word in X, 5; before the last word in X, 6; below the fifth word in XI, 5; a vertical stroke above the last word in XI, 6; in the right hand margin of line XI, 9; in the left hand margin between lines XII, 3 and XII, 4; below the third word in XII, 9; below the first and second word in XII, 10; in the right hand margin between lines XII, 8 and XII, 9. In most cases, these do not make sense as cancellation dots. Some marks are probably spatters of ink, but one wonders whether some have to do with the pronounciation or identification of some (key) words. Once the dot is below the same word חמס: VIII, 11 and XII, 9.

[18] Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 189–190.

3. Authority of writing and of transmitting the writing

Not just the oral performance of *Pesher Habakkuk* contributes to its authority – its writtenness and claims about writing (inner-textual level) also do. The associations on writtenness and orality in the *pesharim* are not two opposites but in close interaction with each other. The *pesharim* have been seen to convey the "voice of the teacher," even if not authored by him, nevertheless presenting themselves as continuing the same interpretative tradition and claiming to mediate revelation of divine secrets.[19] This view, however, needs to be understood correctly. It is correct to think, in my view, that some of the *pesharim* clearly promote as their role model their view of the "righteous teacher" who suffered and persisted and also used that image in their own identity struggle and threats about commitment.[20] On the other hand, the *pesharim* do not rely on the authority of one historical person, the teacher,[21] and do not explicitly present him as responsible for the scribal activity. Rather, at least *Pesher Habakkuk* is troubled by the failure of his authority and the failure of the community to commit to the chosen path.

Pesher Habakkuk is often referred to for its famous passage in 1QpHab VII, 1–5a to claim that the "Teacher of Righteousness" has revealed what Prophet Habakkuk did not yet know. But *Pesher Habakkuk* actually does not stop at the authority of the teacher but rather proceeds to promote the authority and the right to interpret of the faithful followers of the teacher, that is, the collective, the movement, including the pesherist.[22] The complete passage 1QpHab VI, 12b–VII, 8 is significant, not just the claim at the beginning:

על משמרתי אעמודה 12 '*At my station I shall stand* [13] *and post my*

[19] Florentino García Martínez, "Beyond the Sectarian Divide: The 'Voice of the Teacher' as an Authority-Conferring Strategy in Some Qumran Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, et al.; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 227–244. See also a different type of perspective by George J. Brooke, "The 'Apocalyptic' Community, the Matrix of the Teacher and Rewriting Scripture," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 37–53, who studies the ways in which the teacher is portrayed. He argues that because of the teacher's several roles this figure functioned to attract several types of people and was able to keep together a diverse set of followers.

[20] See further Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (STDJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 173–175.

[21] Thus I would not state as John J. Collins, "Tradition and Innovation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, et al.; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–23, 14, does in explaining why sectarian texts do not have pseudepigraphy – a claim that itself is somewhat uncertain – that "the authority of the Teacher rendered appeal to primeval and patriarchal authorities unnecessary."

[22] Cf. Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 170. For a similar conclusion, see Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 190.

ואתיצבה על מצורי ואצפה לראות מה ידבר
בי ומה[אשיב ע]ל ת{ו}כחתי ויעננ֯י יהוה
[ויומר כתוב חזון וב]אר על הלוחות למען ירוץ
[הקורא בו פשר הדב]ר אשר
וידבר אל [אל] חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על
{על} הדור האחרון ואת גמר הקץ לוא הודעו
ואשר אמר למען [ירוץ] הקורא בו *vacat*
פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את
כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים כיא עוד חזון
vacat למועד יפיח לקץ ולוא יכזב
פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול
אשר דברו הנביאים כיא רזי אל להפל{א}ה

13 *at my fortification, and I shall watch to see w*
14 *he will say* [14)] *to me and [what he will answer*
15 *my rebuke. Then the* ***LORD*** *answered me* [15)] *[*
16 *said: – Write down the vision and make it pl*
V *on tablets, so that he can run* [16)] [*who reads i*
II,1 (Hab 2:1–2)]
2 [*vacat* Thi]s[refers]t[o] [VII, 1)] God
3 Habakkuk to write down the things that are g
4 to come upon [2)] {upon} the last generation; but
5 fulfilment of that period he did not make know
6 him.
7 [3)] *vacat* When it says, *'so that* [he can run] *who re*
8 *it,'* [4)] this refers to the Teacher of Righteousnes
whom God made known [5)] all the mysteries of
words of his servants the prophets.

'For there is yet a vision [6)] *concerning the*
pointed time; it speaks of the end-time, and
not deceive.' (Hab 2:3a)

vacat [7)] This means that the last period wil
prolonged, it will be greater than anything [8]
which the prophets spoke, for the mysteries of
are awesome.[24]

I have argued elsewhere that the revelatory pattern conceived by the pesherist[25] goes as follows: the visions are revealed to the prophets – the mysteries of the prophets are revealed to the teacher – but the vision for the end goes *beyond* the prophets → the teacher's revelation was restricted to the prophets and he could not have access to the full picture – now the task is to

[23] Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library: Texts and Images* (Partially based on The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Edited by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006) (hereafter: DSSEL) translates: "so that [with ease] someone can read it." MT reads קורא without the definite article. The word הקורא recalls the herald (קורא) in Isaiah who proclaims the message in the desert (Isa 40:3). For the verb ירוץ, see Lou Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle" (cf. n. 1), 323–364, at 344–345, who considers other possible interpretations besides those from the root רוץ 'run.'

[24] The translation follows mostly Bilhah Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture. Vol. 1* (ed. Louis H. Feldman, et al.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 648–649, with some changes from DSSEL.

[25] By 'pesherist,' I here mean the implied author of the final form of *Pesher Habakkuk*. There may have been more than one *pesher* interpreter behind the present form of 1QpHab—thus I am not claiming that there existed only one interpreter. Clearly there was more than one scribe that produced 1QpHab; see above.

remain faithful, obedient, even suffering, and continue to wait for the revelation (which may be found in the *pesher* activity: identification of the prophets – as dreams to be explained – and their interpretation).[26]

We may now note further how the writing activity is referred to in this passage. Writing itself can be an authority-conferring strategy: the written vision works as a witness for later persons to verify or falsify the vision. So when Prophet Habakkuk receives from God the command to write down the vision, that writing functioned as a testimony and a guarantee that the vision would not fail.[27] In this passage of *Pesher Habakkuk*, the principle *writer* is still Prophet Habakkuk: the pesherist comments on the quotation of Hab 2:1–2 by saying that "God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon the last generation" (1QpHab VII, 1–2). The *reader* of the prophetic vision is the teacher, as shown by the quotation and interpretation in 1QpHab VII, 3–5a. It is noteworthy that the pesherist does not use the opportunity to identify the command to write (addressed to Prophet Habakkuk) as referring to the teacher, or to identify the reader as the pesherist. The teacher is not associated with the writing activity, not here or elsewhere in *Pesher Habakkuk*.[28] Instead, the teacher is depicted in prophetic terms to the extent that he is a visionary who has access to Habakkuk's *vision* (see Hab 2:1–3) and to whom the divine mysteries are revealed – rather than a reader of the present prophetic book.[29] Implicitly, *Pesher Habakkuk* refers to other proph-

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[26] Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 166–170.

[27] Najman, *Past Renewals (cf. n. 4)*, 24–26. George J. Brooke, "Les mystères des prophètes et les oracles d'exégèse: Continuité et discontinuité dans la prophétie à Qumran," in *Comment devient-on prophète? Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 4–5 avril 2011* (ed. Jean-Marie Durand, et al.; Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 265; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2014), 159–166, suggests that double writing is referred to here: the prophet saw the heavenly tablets and was asked to transcribe that vision.

[28] Compare especially 1QpHab I, 16–II, 10 where the oral activity of the teacher/priest is clear, although the peshering (II, 8) as an interpretative activity could also have connotations that refer to *written pesharim* in this context; see Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 170–172. There is the possibility that the priest who knows how to "pesher" actually refers to the self-portrayal of the pesherist, see below on the possibility of reworking in this passage. In the *Psalms Pesher* (4QpPs^{a}) IV, 26–27, the teacher is associated with oral activity. Ps 45:2 is quoted in the *Psalms Pesher* in two parts: "My heart overflows with a goodly theme; I address my verses to the king," and "My tongue is like the pen of a ready scribe." The latter part is identified with the teacher and "purposeful speech." A scribal pen functions here as a metaphor: the verses refer to eloquent speech that the psalmist is as able to produce as a skilled scribe whose pen runs smoothly. See Brooke, "The 'Apocalyptic' Community" (cf. n. 19), 37–53, 41–42. Brooke, "Les mystères des prophètes" (cf. n. 27), 162–263, points out how the prophet Habakkuk was associated with both the oral and writing activity.

[29] Martti Nissinen highlights this prophetic, divinatory role: "Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scripture*

ets too (who presumably also had their visions written down), to whom the teacher had access. By contrast, the pesherist, who is doing the faithful task of documenting the complete prophetic story and telling his audience what is going on in the present time, is the writer comparable to Prophet Habakkuk.

There is a further implicit reference to the writing activity in the following section, 1QpHab VII, 9–14, which brings forward the problem of 'delayed vision.' Now God is referred to as having insribed or decreed (חקק)[30] the periods:

אם יתמהמה חכה לו כיא בוא יבוא ולוא
פשרו על אנשי האמת *vacat* יאחר
עושי התורה אשר לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת
האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון כיא
כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם כאשר חקק
להם ברזי ערמתו

'*If it tarries, wait for it, for it will surely come and it will not* [10)] *be late*.' (Hab 2:3b)

vacat This refers to those loyal ones, [11)] obedient to the Torah, whose hands do not cease from [12)] loyal service when the last period is drawn out for them, for [13)] all of God's periods will come according to their fixed order, as he inscribed [14)] for them in the mysteries of his prudence.[31]

Table 1 illustrates how these passages associate and depict the writing and reading activity:

	writer	***object***	***medium***	***contents***	***reader***
Quotation of Habakkuk 2:2–3 (1QpHab VI,	*Habakkuk*	*vision*	*tablets*	*vision concerns appointed time; does not lie*	*someone who*

in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 513–33; idem, "Pesharim as Divination: Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy," in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical And Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange; Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 43–60.

[30] On the periods and the idea that they were written on tablets, see further Shani Tzoref, "*Pesher* and Periodization," *DSD* 18 (2011): 129–154, at 139–140.

[31] The translation mostly follows Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 24), 649, with some changes from DSSEL.

12b–16)					
Pesher 1QpHab VII, 1–5a	Habakkuk	(vision)	(–)	what is going to happen to the last generation – but *not*[32] the fulfilment	righteous teac
Pesher 1QpHab VII, 3–5a	(prophets)	secrets	(–)	(– what is going to happen to the last generation in 1QpHab II, 7)	righteous teac (= now also "to whom God m
Pesher 1QpHab VII, 5b–8	(pesherist)	(quotation of Habakkuk)	(Pesher scroll)	the last time is prolonged and is greater than what the prophets said; God's secrets are wonderful	(pesher audier
Pesher 1QpHab VII, 13–14	God	periods of God	(–)	(periods that will come in due course to those loyal)	(future loyal c

Table 1. Writing and reading activity as they appear in the quotations and interpretations of 1QpHab VI, 12b–VII, 14. The parentheses indicate information that is implicit in *Pesher Habakkuk*.

As the table is meant to show, the pesherist as the implied author of *Pesher Habakkuk* continues the writing activity of the prophet as he preserves the prophetic text. His writing will be testimony of the divine plan being unravelled. At the same time, the pesherist takes upon himself the revelatory prophetic task of which the teacher proved himself worthy.

But to complicate matters in the section further, it is remarkable that the requotation of Hab 2:2b "so that $^{\text{he can run}}$ who reads it" is exceptionally preceded by a *vacat*. Normally in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, repeated quotations are not preceded by any *vacat*.[33] If one follows the suggestion by Brooke, that exceptional *vacats* may be an indicator of possible glosses or reworkings in the Pesher, then a significant possibility emerges that either (1) this requotation and interpretation about the teacher as the reader is secondary, or, alternatively, (2) this interpretation about the teacher is perhaps the original interpretation of verses Hab 2:1–2, and the preceding interpretation (about the prophet Habakkuk in VII, 1–2) has entered the Pesher secondarily. The hypothetical original text of Option (1) would have looked like this:

(1)

'At my station I shall stand and post myself at my fortification, and I shall watch to see what he will say to me and what he will answer to my rebuke. Then the LORD answered

[32] See below on the possibility of deletion of the negation in the sentence.

[33] Snyder, "Naughts and Crosses" (cf. n. 13), 26–48; Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 185. See above n. 13.

me and said: – Write down the vision and make it plain on tablets, so that he can run who reads it.' (Hab 2:1–2)

vacat This refers to [ ] God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon {upon} the last generation; but the fulfilment of that period he did not make known to him.

'For there is yet a vision concerning the appointed time; it speaks of the end-time, and will not deceive.' (Hab 2:3a)

vacat This means that the last period will be prolonged; it will be greater than anything of which the prophets spoke, for the mysteries of God are awesome.

In Option (1), the text runs smoothly and does not raise many questions. Prophet Habakkuk wrote down what he knew but he himself was promised yet another vision. For the pesherist, this is evidence of the mysterious nature of the final period; everything is not yet known of it. The addition towards the existing form may have been felt necessary merely for the sake of having an interpretation for the latter part of the quotation too ("so that he can run who reads it"), and in order to stress and specify the teacher's role.[34]

However, there is a further remarkable thing in the commentary: two scribal dots exist around the negation לוא in the sentence in VII, 2.[35] The meaning of the dots is not clear.[36] Normally the scribes use dots or strokes above and below the writing to delete a letter or a word. If these dots are interpreted as cancellation dots, the sentence would read:

…God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon {upon} the last generation, and the fulfilment of the period he made {did not make} known to him.

If so, the sentence would have envisioned all relevant information revealed to Prophet Habakkuk and written in those tablets (interpretation on Hab 2:1–2) – indeed such tablets would function as written testimony of divine trustworthiness. Habakkuk can even be envisioned to have known the coming of

[34] This option needs to be considered together with the section in 1QpHab I, 16b–II, 10a that has three different traitor-groups in the commentary and one extra *vacat* within the pesher section, which may indicate that some part of the pesher was reworked or added later. The teacher occurs together with the liar only in the first part of the interpretation – the *pesher* section would run smoothly without it, from II, 5 onwards. The section in II, 1–4 is material similar to the *Damascus Document*: the liar recalls the man of mockery of CD I; the new covenant is central in D.

[35] This is discussed by Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk," 181–182. The dots are weak but probably ink marks. However, see above note 17 on other possible ink marks in the manuscript.

[36] Tov, *Scribal Practices (cf. n. 11)*, 194, says that the meaning of this sign is not clear but lists it under the title "Cancellation dots below the letters and to the right and left of a linear word, canceling or replacing the word." 1QpHab also contains the more usual cancellations dots above and below letters (II, 10; IV, 6), and cancellation strokes (II, [16]; VII, 2; VIII, 14), which are rare.

the teacher and his sufferings if the teacher belonged to that final generation.[37] At the same time, there is a further vision to the end time, and thus divine revelation goes beyond the prophets (interpretation on Hab 2:3a).

The addition on the teacher would have emphasized the teacher's role in the history of periods and his privileged access to the revealed knowledge of the prophets. Perhaps the scribe who made the addition followed a different understanding of Habakkuk than the previous one: in order to explain that the teacher did indeed have revelation but not yet the full revelation, he argued that the prophetic knowledge was not yet complete either and added the לוא. This option becomes, however, quite complicated when it needs to be further explained why someone then again wished to delete the word לוא. Did some later scribe have knowledge of the previous form of the *Pesher* without the negation?

The original text of option (2) is perhaps slightly more simple:

(2)

'At my station I shall stand and post myself at my fortification, and I shall watch to see what he will say to me and [what he will answer t]o my rebuke. Then the LORD answered me [and said: – Write down the vision and make it pl]ain on tablets, so that he can run [who reads it.' (Hab 2:1–2)]

vacat This refers to the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.

'For there is yet a vision concerning the appointed time; it speaks of the end-time, and will not deceive.' (Hab 2:3a)

vacat This means that the last period will be prolonged, it will be greater than anything of which the prophets spoke, for the mysteries of God are awesome.

In this option, the commentary included the teacher at the very beginning: the teacher was identified by the pesherist with the latter part of the quotation, that is, with the one who can read the prophetic vision with ease. The teacher was the reader and the receiver of divine revelation, as in the present form too. The following quotation refered to a further vision and things going beyond the prophets – implying that the teacher did not have a complete revelation.[38] What then was the motivation behind the reworking? It is conceivable that a later interpreter saw a need to add comments on the first part of the quotation and to specify the role of Prophet Habakkuk. He made the addition about Prophet Habakkuk (with or without the לוא), and then added the requotation, which now continued to refer to the teacher. The addition may

[37] I wish to thank Jeremy Penner and other CSTT members for this observation.

[38] God has full knowledge of the coming of the periods (קצים, קציהם) as noted by the *Damascus Document* (CD) II, 9–10 and *Pesher on Periods* (4Q180) 1 1–4. This enabled the inquiry on how those periods would be unfolded. See further Tzoref, "*Pesher* and Periodization" (cf. n. 30), 130–137.

also have been motivated by the fact that the end-time prolongment needed further explanation. If Prophet Habakkuk did not have complete revelation (with the לוא), then the teacher too was excused for not being able to reveal the final vision.[39]

These options remain tentative and the reworking in the *pesharim* needs further study.[40] Nevertheless, in the present form of the text, the writing activity is explicit and thus implicitly contributes to the idea of the pesherist as emulating both the prophetic writing task and the teacher's revelatory role of reading and understanding the visions.

4. Authoritative base texts: quotations

As noted at the beginning, the most obvious strategy that is often suggested to indicate the appeal to authority in the *pesharim* is that they quote authoritative texts. It is stressed that the clear separation between quotations and inter-

[39] These options need to be considered together with the section in 1QpHab I, 16b–II, 10a, as noted above, since this section has three traitor-groups and one extra *vacat* within the *pesher* section. Hanan Eshel, "The Two Historical Layers of Pesher Habakkuk," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen, et al.; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17, has also presented a theory of changed attitude towards the Chaldean-Kittim-foreign enemy: in the second century BCE – when, according to Eshel, the first version of *Pesher Habakkuk* was written – the Gentile enemy was thought to be soon vanquished, but in the first century BCE the Kittim were identified with the powerful Romans. I do not see grounds for that type of reworking, however, since *Pesher Habakkuk* as a whole sends a clear message as it is, both using the image of a cruel and powerful enemy and explaining their own role in the divine plan – and these two themes were already part of the prophetic text of Habakkuk.

[40] Another recent suggestion that influences the way in which the teacher is depicted in the overall *Pesher Habakkuk* is presented by Pieter B. Hartog, "Re-Reading Habakkuk 2:4b: Lemma and Interpretation in 1QpHab VI 17–VIII 3," *RevQ* 26 (2013): 127–132. He suggests that the pesherist understood the Hebrew of the quotation in Hab 2:4b as "the righteous shall give life through faith in him," rather than "the righteous shall live through his faith." The 'righteous' was then identified by the pesherist with the teacher in 1QpHab VIII, 1–3a (as elsewhere in the Pesher: I, 13; V, 9–10), and not the collective, 'those who obey the Torah.' The suggestion remains tentative, but shows the elusive character of the well-known quotation of Hab 2:4b. The fact that the 'righteous' is elsewhere in the Pesher identified with the teacher is, in my opinion, not conclusive evidence to think that that must be the case here too. The *Psalms Pesher* (4Q171) is a good example of a singular figure in the quotation being interpreted both individually and collectively to promote the view that the movement and its ideal figure follow the same pattern; see Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism*, *(cf. n. 20)*, 137. Naturally, not all *pesharim* were the same in this regard, but the commentary section in 1QpHab VIII, 1–3a can very easily be read as a collective interpretation of the singular character of the quotation.

pretations represented a new attitude to the received text.[41] The text and the interpretation were not mixed, and even though the base text did not exist in fixed or canonized form during this time, the commentary form relied on the text being known[42] and understood as worth commenting upon but also seen as *not* suitable for being revised itself, at least not in the manner that "rewriting" is assumed to do. Whether or not Prophet Habakkuk was unambiguously among the "authoritative" writings at this time is, however, not self-evident. At least the three chapters of MT Habakkuk were not the source for *Pesher Habakkuk,* but only the first two chapters.

Also, as George Brooke notes, "the commentary can occupy a position of pre-eminence and take priority as the authoritative means of *access* to the base text."[43] It is not only the fact that the base text was authoritative on an ideational level, it is its writing and representation in the manuscripts adjunct to the interpretation that provided meaning and influenced the perception of the base text. Moreover, the *pesharim* are seen to gain authority by references to other authoritative texts besides the base text: in the interpretations, pesherists add other quotations and allusions. This has been extensively studied.[44]

The *pesharim* are certainly actualizations and interpretations of the past prophetic message but, in my view, they are not suitable to be strictly understood as fitting the kind of fulfilment model that assumes that the events and

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[41] E.g., recently, Daniel A. Machiela, "The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development," *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–362, at 317: "The pesharim signal that the scriptural base-text had by this time achieved a status which demanded its reification and clear separation from later interpretation, and as such figure into discussions of canon formation." See also Alex P. Jassen, "The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation," *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–398, 382–385; Brooke, "Some Comments on Commentary" (cf. n. 3), 249–66, 249–250; Collins, "Tradition and Innovation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 1–23, 19. The quotations have mostly been of interest for their textual form and variant readings to known traditions as well as for possibilities of changing the *Vorlage* by the pesherist, see Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

[42] See above for what can be said, based on scribal marks and *vacats*, about the reader knowing or not knowing the base text well.

[43] Brooke, "Some Comments on Commentary" (cf. n. 3), 249–266, 250 (emphasis mine).

[44] For example, on the interpretation of the Kittim, see George J. Brooke, "The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim," in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 135–159. Even some of the sobriquets are intertexts. For example, the 'House of Absalom' as the identification of the traitors (1QpHab V, 8–9) is a catchy name for stereotypical traitors to anyone who knows the biblical history of David and his sons. This name, however, has surprisingly not spread to other sectarian texts.

persons in the *pesher* sections are the final (and/or only) meaning of the quoted text.[45] On the contrary, it seems that the *pesher* interpretations themselves continued to be updated and expanded, as Brooke and others have suggested for the Pesher Habakkuk.[46] Nor can the *pesharim* be interpreted only within the proof-text model where the quotations serve to underline and authorize the desired message. That the quotations are leading and controlling the presentation in the continuous *pesharim* is significant in comparison to texts where proof-texts are additional elements after the stated claim (such as quotations introduced with כאשר כתוב or similar formulas, e.g., 1QS 5:17).

However, more can be said about this in light of the demonstration theory of quotations: this theory claims that demonstrations and descriptions are fundamentally different ways of communicating. The interpretation could not be transmitted in the same manner without quoting the received text in an explicit way. This will become clearer in what follows.

5. The mantic model and skill as authority

The overall cultural model that presents an authority claim in the *pesharim* is the mantic dream interpretation tradition. Its application in the *pesharim* was an innovative strategy among the Qumran corpus to demonstrate the skilfulness and inspiration of the interpreter and thus promote the message and ideology that they deemed as acute for transmission. In other words, the *pesharim* did not derive their authority only from the appeal to authoritative texts by quoting them explicitly, but from the claim of knowing what to quote and how to interpret them.

The mantic dream and omen interpretation traditions led scholars to inquire how those pesherists who wrote the continuous type of *pesharim* revealed the hidden message of the received text and how they explored the secrets as skilled and chosen interpreters, almost as if the quotations were closed boxes whose contents were only revealed by the *pesher* sections.[47]

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[45] Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 191–194. However, this is not to deny that periodization of history played a great role in their theory of the present era, and that the pesherists saw the final era taking place, also connecting the Roman empire to the fourth beast in Daniel 7. See Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 24), 642; Tzoref, "*Pesher* and Periodization" (cf. n. 30), 129–154. Kratz, "Text and Commentary" (cf. n. 2), 225–226, suggests a hermenutics according to which the the prophetic text and its commentary meant the same thing; it was just the timing and the persons involved that were not known.

[46] Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9). See above.

[47] Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle" (cf. n. 1), 332, is one representative of this tradition, seeing the *pesher* in full disregard of the context of the biblical text, and deriving the interpretation by atomizing the keywords (dream words) of the biblical text and re-

While I am not challenging that the pesherists saw themselves as revealing and transmitting divine messages, I hope to place this idea in the wider context of mediating the divine wisdom. The hidden message and the need to understand the ongoing world order and events were everywhere in their existing experiences of the world. Thus the pesherists can be seen as skilled persons who sought the best ways to reveal the secrets, to demonstrate the correct knowledge and the right view on the present reality. Therefore, *the selection of the texts* to be interpreted in the first place and the way in which each quoted text was divided and worked as a demonstration of the message to be conveyed is part of that skilfulness and authority that needs to be noted.

One can thus suggestively ask if the *pesharim* are to be seen as commenting on events in the "natural world," similar to the Ancient Near Eastern cases commenting on natural phenomena, rather than commenting on existing *texts*. The problems to be solved were not (only) in the texts in hand and in the need to understand the ancient divine message they contained, but rather in their experiences of the world and in the available, existing resources that were somehow not completely satisfying or sufficient. The solution would be both to find the proper resources and to apply or promote them – and this is different from thinking of a setting in which resources (texts) were already an accepted entity that everyone had at their disposal and needed to be understood because they were of divine origin. Taking the Danielic dream interpretation as a comparison, the problem in the first place (Dan 2) was not that Nebuchadnezzar had a dream and did not understand it, the problem was in that his diviners were not able to *tell* the dream (let alone to interpret it). One who knew the (proper) dream had knowledge of its secret, and could reveal things that were important to know about the present age.[48] Similarly, the *pesher* activity and authority starts with the selection of the proper thing to be enclosed. This activity of identifying and quoting the "text" can be illumined by the help of the modern literary theory of quotations.

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interpreting their roots, inventing similar-sounding or -looking words or using other such techniques.

[48] The interpretation of the dream in Dan 2 is connected to a periodized view of history. On the other hand, the dream in Dan 4 is told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. There the interpretation of the dream is a doom proclamation to the king. Both of these models could be seen to lie behind the *pesharim*: their authors both selected the texts that best revealed the periodic folding out of history (like the wise Daniel in Dan 2 who was able to tell the dream) as well as interpreted the known texts as proclamations of doom on the adversaries – and the adversaries now included even those who had transmitted the prophetic texts (like Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4 who told the dream but did not know that it predicted his doom).

6. Quotations as Demonstrations

Demonstration theory by Herbert Clark and Richard Gerric and Elizabeth Wade is a general theory of the function of quotations in spoken and written language.[49] In communication, people have three choices: they may indicate, describe, or demonstrate. For example, a person may *indicate* how Lisa frowns, or *describe* how Lisa frowns, or *demonstrate* the way in which she frowns. I may *indicate* the theory of demonstration (by pointing to a journal where it is presented), or *describe* the theory (which is what I am now doing), or I may *demonstrate* the theory (e.g., by quoting it).

The theory claims that demonstration belongs to the family of nonserious actions, together with playing, acting, and pretending. People demonstrate to make others understand what an event, a state, a process, or an object feels, looks, or sounds like.[50] According to the demonstration theory, *quotations* depict *selective* aspects of the original speech act (source).[51] "Quotations are intended to give the audience an experience of what it would be like in certain respects to experience the original event."[52] Quotations offer the recipient the vivid original experience of the events, which is easier to demonstrate than to describe (ineffability) and which provides the direct perspective of the other by re-enacting it (engrossment in the other's actions).

Many would perhaps immediately think that quotations in speech, or in narrative or prose texts can be demonstrations, but not in a commentary. However, the commentary form is only just emerging during the time of the *pesharim*.[53] Demonstration theory is one means by which we may try and distance ourselves from our presumptions about (later) commentaries and prevent us from importing our understandings of a commentary into the ancient ones. It enables us to investigate the quotations as part of the communication, rather than as given entities that stand on their own and separate from

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[49] Herbert H. Clark and Richard J. Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations," *Language* 66 (1990): 764–805; Elizabeth Wade and Herbert H. Clark, "Reproduction and Demonstration in Quotations," *Journal of Memory and Language* 32 (1993): 805–19. There are other theories on quotations, briefly discussed and rejected by Clark and Gerric in their article. See also the discussion for the purpose of biblical studies: Christopher D. Stanley, "The Rhetoric of Quotations: An Essay on Method," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals* (ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders; JSNTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 44–58.

[50] Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 766.

[51] Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 774–786.

[52] Wade and Clark, "Reproduction and Demonstration in Quotations" (cf. n. 49), 805–819, 808.

[53] Machiela, "The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries" (cf. n. 41), 315–316, and Bockmuehl, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary" (cf. n. 2), 3.

what the scribes were attempting to transmit. What type of communication are the continuous *pesher* commentaries? Instead of *describing* how the prophetic message is experienced – by alluding to prophetic words, by proof-texting them, or by paraphrasing them – the *pesharim* are actually *demonstrating* how the prophetic words are experienced by quoting and explaining the prophetic words. In demonstrating by quoting the prophetic events and actors, the demonstrator takes the role of those events and actors and enables the recipients to experience them as if they were observing and feeling those events.[54] Quotations serve to provide a *verbatim* reproduction (or a sense of such). One does not have to guess what the original prophetic saying was but it becomes clear from the direct quotation. However, it is to be noted that quotations are always selective in their reproduction and mimicking of the original speech or writing: they cannot convey all the nuances and meanings inherent in the original. Meanings are also attached to the layout, scribal marks, structural divisions, material and quality of the scroll, etc.

To find out what their overall message and crux of interpretation was, the *pesharim* should be approached as complete entities, not as individual comments or atomistic quotations.[55] Most of the prophetic text of Habakkuk[56] presents a dialogue between the prophet, who is named Habakkuk in 1:1, and God (Hab 1:2–2:5). Besides these two actors, other speakers include the (hypothetical) people who present five mocking woes against the wicked (Hab 2:6–20). The speakers, however, are not always clearly introduced (except for Hab 2:2 and 2:6). Nevertheless, because of the beginning of the text, one is intuitively guided to understand the text as a conversation and to look for a reply to the address. The reader/hearer enters the conversation by reading/hearing the prophet's complaint, in the first person, about the violence, being addressed to YHWH in Hab 1:2–3. The following new "I" (כִּי־הִנֵּנִי , 1:6) is then understood as being YHWH's a reply to the complaint – and so

[54] Cf. Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 768.

[55] Brooke, "Some Comments on Commentary" (cf. n. 3), 249–266, 265, raises this as one of the issues that has not been sufficiently studied. See further on *Pesher Habakkuk* as a whole and its plot in Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 148–153. The conversation in Habakkuk can be understood as telling a story of some kind, but what about the Pesher? Collins, "Tradition and Innovation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 1–23, 21, argues that the knowledge of the historical past of the movement must have been around in oral form, since the *pesharim* "presuppose a historical narrative that is never spelled out in narrative form" (concerning, e.g., the wicked priest, etc.).

[56] Terminology influences the way in which we think of ancient traditions. The "book" of Habakkuk is certainly anachronistic, since it assumes a closed, often "published" entity. Here the term is even more problematic since *Pesher Habakkuk* only includes two chapters of the biblical book of Habakkuk and not chapter 3. "Text" is no less ambiguous but perhaps better serves the purpose here.

on, even though some ambiguity is left as to where each line ends and where the next starts.

The work of Habakkuk itself is thus a good example of how quotations work: the conversation between the prophet and YHWH vividly demonstrates the lived experiences so that those who hear the conversation can first of all feel, see, and hear for themselves what the prophet felt, saw, and heard, with all the anxiety that is expressed in the 'why' and 'how long' questions, complaints, and appeals. Those who hear the conversation are also invited to see what God is telling them to see and look at (the horrible Chaldeans in all their terror), and to write down and wait for the vision that God told the prophet to write down and wait for. Lastly, the readers/hearers of the woes that are placed in the mouth of 'everyone' are able to hear 'everyone' (a crowd) mocking and shouting their woes.

According to Clark and Gerric, one function of quotations is to offer the recipient the vivid original experience of the events, which is easier to demonstrate than to describe (ineffability) and which provides the direct perspective of the other by re-enacting it.[57] Let us just take one example from the *Pesher Habakkuk* about what is selected to be vividly experienced about the foreign enemy in 1QpHab III, 6–14:

וקול מנמרים סוסו וחדו
מזאבי ערב [58]*vacat* פשו ופרשו פרשו קוחרמ
יעופו כנשר חש לאכול כולו לחמס יבוא מגמת
פניהם קדים *vacat* פ[שר]ו על הכתיאים אשר
ידושו את הארץ בסוס[יהם] ובבהמתם קחרממו
יבואו מאיי הים לאכול[את]כול העמים כנשר
ואין שבעה ובחמה וכ[עס וב]חרון אף וזעף
אפים ידברו עם כו[ל העמים כי]א הוא אשר
אמר מג[מת פניהם קדים

6 '*And their horses are swifter than leopa*
7 *more fierce* [7)] *than the wolves of the evenin*
8 *They paw the ground, and their riders spr*
9 *from a distance.* [8)] *They fly like the eagle,*
1 0 *hastens to devour all. They come for violen*
horror of [9)] *their faces is an east wind*.' (Hab
1 1 *vacat* Its in[terpretation] concerns the Kittim
trample the earth with [their] horses and w
1 2 beasts. And from a distance [11)] they come,
islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples
1 3 eagle,[12)] and there is no satiety. And with
hos[tility, and with] burning anger and fury
1 4 speak with all [the peoples, fo]r this is what [1
'*The horro*[*r of their faces is an east wind*.'[59]

[57] Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 792–795.

[58] This *vacat* is a mistake by the scribe, as noted by many scholars, see Snyder, "Naughts and Crosses" (cf. n. 13), 40; Brooke, "Physicality, Paratextuality and Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 9), 186. In 1QpHab III, 7, the scribe started to write פשר, thinking that this is the beginning of a *pesher* section, but noticed the mistake and transformed the word into the verb פשו, which continues the quotation of Hab 1:8–9a. The beginning of a *pesher* section required a *vacat* according to the system followed in *Pesher Habakkuk*.

[59] Translation by Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 24), 636–666, with minor changes.

Besides direct re-quotations from the quotation – [the swiftness] their horses, [the coming] from a distance, [being] like an eagle, [coming] to devour— there are other similarities between the quotation and interpretation which are not verbatim quotations: *leopards*, *wolves* – beasts,[60] *paw* – trample,[61] *fly* – come, *east wind* – rage, hostility, burning anger, fury.[62] The *pesher* is vividly making one see the horses of the Kittim *as* the horses of the Chaldeans in the past, as coming from afar and devouring all like a vulture.[63] *Pesher Habakkuk* is filled with similar depictions where the reader/listener can see and hear what the Chaldeans–Kittim look and sound like and what their cruelty feels like, that is, most of the sections that deal with the Kittim in 1QpHab II, 10b–IV, 16a and V, 12b–VI, 12.

Secondly, demonstrations are always selective in the way they present the experience of an event or a person.[64] The *pesher* lemmata are full quotations of their *Vorlage* but yet at the same time they are selective in the way they choose to cut the continuous text into pieces and re-quote some parts but not others. For example, noteworthy in the fragmentary Column I of *Pesher Habakkuk* is the breaking of the prophetic words in Hab 1:4 into three different quotations (1QpHab I, 10–15). Normally in *Pesher Habakkuk*, the pesherist quotes the prophetic text in quite large pieces. But here the pesherist first writes the short and thus marked quotation of Hab 1:4a,b '*therefore* (על כן), *torah is numbed* [*and judgment does not go forth to victory*]' (1QpHab I, 10–11).[65] Then there is the next part Hab 1:4c ['*for the wicked surrou*]*nd the righteous*'(1QpHab I, 12). And in the end, the pesherist quotes again the short

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[60] In Jer 5:6, different animals (lion, wolf, leopard) are said to come and destroy the people of Jerusalem.

[61] There is an intertextual link connecting these verbs (פוש, דוש) through Jer 50:11 where Chaldeans are described, Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 24), 642. Trampling (דוש) and eating (אכל) are connected in Dan 7:23 in the vision decribing the four beasts.

[62] The punishment and destruction coming like the east wind is a common image, e.g., Jer 18:16–17 (רוח קדים). Here the image is connected to faces and thus to the hostile speech that burns like the east wind.

[63] Only at the end of the interpretation are there more words that are not part of the quotation. That is where the pesherist explains what he means by re-quoting a part of the quotation: that the speech and the actions of the Kittim are fully hostile is demonstrated by the image of the 'east wind' and by explaining at the same time what the *hapax* expression מָגַפַּת means.

[64] Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 768. In this manner, the demonstration theory of quotations is reminiscent of the Metaphor theory by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live by* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), which sees metaphors as a fundamental way in which language works: metaphors are always selective ways of representing the source domain in order to demonstrate something of the target domain.

[65] According to the reconstruction and translation by Nitzan, "Pesher Habakkuk" (cf. n. 24), 638. Alternatively, the latter part of Hab 1:4b is quoted only in line 1QpHab I, 12.

pronounced Hab 1:4d '*therefore* (על כן), *justice goes forth perverted*' (1QpHab I, 14–15). As noted by Brooke, the division of the quoted text is the first step in the interpretation. [66] This division of the quotation of Hab 1:4 stresses the experience of the loss of *torah* and justice, and allows the pesherist to demonstrate which individual characters the 'wicked' and the 'righteous' bring forward in the very first column. Even though we do not have the full commentaries on these quotations preserved, we may learn what is demonstrated from the way in which the division of the quotations is made.

Thirdly, quoting may be a means to distance the responsibility of the speaker/writer. *Pesher Habakkuk* as a whole is consistent in always identifying the Chaldeans with the Kittim in the first half (1QpHab II, 10b–IV, 16a; V, 12b–VI, 12a), and the final woes at the end mostly with the (wicked) priest(s) (1QpHab VIII, 3b–XIII, 4).[67] The Chaldeans-Kittim are the obvious foreign enemy, and this part of the *Pesher Habakkuk* hardly produces any strong counterarguments in any hearer of the text who condemns the cruelty of the enemy. The only objections may have concerned the role that the Kittim-Romans are conceived to have, and what their coming means in the overall divine plan of history.[68] However, quoting the woes at the end demands more: demonstrating by them the wickedness of the priestly rulers assumes *solidarity* between the pesherist and his audience.[69] It is assumed that they both understand the quotations similarly and agree on the clever examples that the pesherist comes up with when he chooses the matching actions between the general woes and the prototypical acts of the wicked priests of his era: plunder, violence, defilement, and drunkenness. This part, if successfully received by the audience, could even have been seen as entertaining: the listener may have eagerly waited to hear how the woes fitted in their contemporary world and which examples were selected in the commentary to best illustrate the quotations.

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[66] Brooke, "Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features" (cf. n. 9), 143.

[67] See the chart in Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 153. The woes are also identified with the liar (once in X, 5b–13), and the Gentiles (twice in XII; 10b–XIII, 4).

[68] The identification of the Chaldeans-Kittim as referring to Romans is of course one claim that could be debated, but the fact that the text uses sobriquets makes it possible to identify the foreign enemy with different representatives of enemy peoples. For the possible change of identifying the Kittim first with the Selecids and then with the Romans in war texts, see Brian Schultz, "Not Greeks but Romans: Changing Expectations for the Eschatological War in the War Texts from Qumran," in *The Jewish Revolt Against Rome : Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (ed. Mladen Popović; JSJSup 154; Leiden Brill, 2011), 107–128.

[69] Cf. Clark and Gerrig, "Quotations as Demonstrations" (cf. n. 49), 792–795. Sowing together the experience of the past and the present also creates solidarity between the past audience and the present one.

This is not to deny that the *pesharim* are full of word plays tying the quotation and the commentary together. There are several cases in *Pesher Habakkuk* in which the meaning of the quoted text or its particular terms are not unambiguous or could be played with and the meaning of the quotation is thus not self-evident, at least to the modern reader. For example, in 1QpHab IV, 9–13, the quotation reads אז חלף רוח ויעבר וישם זה כוחו לאלוהו "Then a wind passes and they are gone, having made might their god." (Hab 1:11). The meaning of the verb חלף 'to pass' is taken to mean 'to pass again/renew' and the pesherist takes the quotation to demonstrate how the Kittim come in turns, one by one: "This refers [t]o the rulers of the Kittim, who enter the land by the advice of a family of criminals: each in his turn, [their] rulers come, [o]ne after the other, to devastate the la[nd."

However, there are also cases in *Pesher Habakkuk* where the interpretation seems to twist the meaning of the quotation even to its opposite. Can these be studied from the demonstration perspective? Let us look, for example, at the difficult passage in 1QpHab IV:16–V:12. The left-hand column gives the possible *Vorlage* of Hab 1:12–13, and *Pesher Habakkuk* is quoted in translation:[70]

Hab 1:12–13: possible *Vorlage* of the pesherist

הלוא אתה מקדם יהוה
אלוהי קדשי לוא נמות
יהוה למשפט שמתו
וצור למוכיחו יסדתו
טהור עינים מראות ברע
והבט אל עמל לוא תוכל
למה תביט בוגדים ותחריש בבלע
רשע צדיק ממנו

Are you not from of old, O LORD, my God, my Holy One? We shall not die.

O LORD, you have marked him for judgment;

O Rock, you have established him for his reprover.[71]

***Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab IV:16–V:12)**

['*Are you not from of old, O LORD, my God, my holy one? We shall not die.*
O LORD,] *you have marked him for judgment;*
O Rock, you have established him for ***his*** *reprov*
Eyes too pure to see evil,
and to look on wrongdoing you cannot.'[75] (1:12
cat This passage means that God will not exter
people through the Gentiles; on the contrary, he wi
power to pass judgment on the Gentiles to his cho
is at their rebuke that all the wicked of his peopl
condemned. The chosen are those who have ob
commandments in the time of their distress, for th
it means when it says, '*eyes too pure to see evil*'
means that they have not let their eyes lead them
cation during the time of wickedness.

[70] For the variants and interpretation, see the discussion in Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 156–58. Translation DSSEL, with minor changes.

[71] The MT reads here להוכיח "for rebuke." The reading למוכיחו is possibly part of the pesherist's *Vorlage* since the LXX reads ἔπλασέν με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ "he has formed me to chasten with his correction". William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979), 84–89, interprets the sentence as "To suffer has Thou established him, as their chastiser." The word צור was

(Your) eyes (are) too pure to see evil,[72]
and to look[73] *on wrongdoing you cannot.*
Why do you (sg.) look[74] *on traitors and are (sg.) silent when a wicked one swallows one more righteous than he?*

'*Why do you (pl.) look, (you) traitors, and are when the wicked swallows one more righteous* (1:13b)

vacat This refers to the family of Absalom and bers of their party, who kept quiet when the T Righteousness was rebuked, and they did not against the Man of the Lie, *vacat* who had rejecte in the presence of their entire company.

The Chaldeans were understood to be sent by God as punishment in the text of Habakkuk, but now, in contradiction to potential expectations, *Pesher Habakkuk* does not admit this role for the Kittim. Instead, punishment belongs to the Elect of God. This is enabled by reading the pronoun suffix in the word למוכיחו: the referent is no longer the enemy (which was established for judgment and rebuke) but the chosen ones who now judge both the Gentile enemy and the wicked of the people. Furthermore, it is quite clear that in Habakkuk, the 'eyes' that are 'too pure to see evil' belong to God: the latter part of the verse uses the second person singular ("to look on wrongdoing *you cannot*"). In *Pesher Habakkuk*, however, this sentence on eyes is detached from the second half, leaving the quotation "to look on wrongdoing you cannot" completely unexplained. The first half "eyes too pure to see evil," does not have an explicit referent, and no grammatical form in it requires reference to God.[76] The pesherist demonstrates by it, not that God cannot see evil, but

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sometimes read as a verb by translations (LXX, Syriac), and Brownlee concludes that the likely verb here is 'to be troubled, suffer' as the pesher refers to time of suffering צר. This is possible, but the pesherist could also have played with word similarities. For these possibilities, see also Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 156.

[75] Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle" (cf. n. 1), 341, suggest that the pesherist understood this sentence as "(The one who has) eyes too pure to see evil and to look at wrongdoing, you will not destroy." According to Silberman, the pesherist intepreted the verb תוכל as a pi.-form from the root כלה 'destroy', rather than the root יכל 'be able', as shown by his *pesher* יכלה. But Silberman does not explain how the pesherist made that grammatical interpretation, and there remain many other possibilities to explain the *pesher*. Concerning the contents, the simpliest explanation is that the pesherist started his *pesher* by explaining the "we shall not die" of the quotation. Thus also Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher (cf. n. 71)*, 85.

[72] The MT reads here רע.

[73] The MT reads here והביט.

[74] 1QpHab reads here a plural תביטו, changing the traitors from an object to a vocative, see Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher (cf. n. 71)*, 92.

[76] Similarly Lim, *Holy Scripture (cf. n. 41)*, 103.

that the faithful cannot see evil: they cannot fall into treachery themselves.[77] However, in this context, the claim of the quotation that God cannot look on wrongdoing is perhaps also present: God cannot see his faithful ones exterminated by their enemy. Those who are proper followers of God in keeping the Law and thus keeping their eyes pure are those who will be given the final word.[78] The divine plan included even the time of distress in order to qualify for the task of reproving and judging. If this is indeed one of the cruxes of *Pesher Habakkuk,* in agreement with the other central passage in column VII that demanded loyalty in the face of the prolonged vision (see above), then the quotations can be seen as a skilful demonstration of the message the pesherist has to convey: in due time, the chosen will judge their enemies.[79]

The next question, "Why do you look on traitors and are silent when a wicked one swallows one more righteous than he?" (Hab 1:13b) is also detached from what preceded it: its reference to God's pure eyes and the impossibility of His looking at evil. In *Pesher Habakkuk*, this quotation is not a question or accusation to God but an address in the plural to the traitors (plural in the first half) and to an anonymous singular 'you' (the second half). Whether an intentional modification of the *Vorlage* or not,[80] this quotation then demonstrates something that is important to the pesherist: the treacherous opponents (the House of Absalom – a sobriquet alluding to the traitor-son of David) were in conflict with the righteous teacher. However, the quotation does not work well as a description of the traitors' behaviour since it is a question. As a question, the quotation rather demonstrates an accusation against the House of Absalom. An accusation against God is turned into an accusation against the traitors – a change which itself could be seen as conveying an important message if it was a conscious choice: the pesher audience were not to dwell on the divine unsolved mysteries but rather on guarding themselves from becoming traitors.

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[77] There is an allusion to Num 15:39 of not letting their eyes lead them into fornication. That biblical verse speaks of seeing the fringes on their garments and thus remembering the commandments.

[78] There is also the option that the pesherist is aware of the referent as God, and makes the quotation demonstrate that the chosen ones are imitating God, their eyes being as impossible to be led to evil as divine eyes are. See Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism (cf. n. 20)*, 156.

[79] The continuation of the passage in Column VII is significant in this regard. It is fragmentary but refers again to the judgment of the wicked: "This means that their sins will be doubled against them [and they will]n[ot] find favour when they come to judgement [ ]" (1QpHab VII:14–16).

[80] Lim, *Holy Scripture (cf. n. 41)*, 98–104, considers this as an intentional modification, solving the problem that might arise from God looking on traitors, comparable to the textual change that is attested in the change from "you (i.e., God) cannot die" to "we cannot die" in Hab 1:12.

7. Conclusions

In the prophetic book of Habakkuk, the claim for divine authority can be located in the prophetic dialogue with God and the answers and the written vision that the prophet receives. In *Pesher Habakkuk,* something else is going on. In continuation with the mantic dream interpretation model, the divinely inspired interpreter, the pesherist (as the implied author), was first selecting and identifying the text to be interpreted, which already could be seen as a matter of revealed knowledge. Then he was writing and quoting that text, choosing where to make divisions in quoting the text and thus selecting aspects of it for demonstrating his revealed message. Finally, he was reading and explaining the text for those aspects that he wished to demonstrate: making a powerful claim most of all about reward and judgment (the future fate of both the foreign enemy and the wicked priestly leaders) and the periodization of history that was revealing itself in due time.

I have here argued that the authority in the *pesharim* should not be looked for in *individual* separate aspects of the genre, like the distinction between the explicit quotation and the commentary, or the inspired nature of the interpretation, or in the pronounced role that the teacher figure receives in some passages. Rather, claims to authority largely understood are distributed in many features and background assumptions, and they can be found both in the material aspects of the manuscripts and in the way in which the texts were structured, as well as in the wider cultural framework and the way in which the texts were performed. *Pesher Habakkuk* was examined for such ways of legitimizing itself and endorsing its authority for it to be taken seriously and transmitted further.[81]

Writing has potential to be seen as carrying authority: writings can be testimonies for later generations about the truthfulness of the message and reservoirs of memory to be learned about. *Pesher Habakkuk* is interesting in this regard since the quoted text of Habakkuk itself refers to a divine command to write down a vision. According to *Pesher Habakkuk*, it is the prophet Habakkuk who retains the role of the principal writer of the vision, and the righteous teacher is the able reader of that and other prophetic visions. The teacher's instruction is thus not the main object to be written down; rather he pro-

[81] Even in the present-day scholarly world, *Pesher Habakkuk* can be seen to be legitimizing itself so that it is being quoted, studied and referred to—transmitted forward and not forgotten. In the case of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the mere sensation of the antiquity of the discovery was of course one major factor for advancing scholarship on these texts. *Pesher Habakkuk* is ancient, well preserved and was among the first finds, which is significant considering the degree to which the text is quoted in scholarly publications and popular books. Moreover, it includes passages that are thought to speak of access to revelation for the end times as well as references to individual figures that trigger imagination, perhaps more than the speech of past times and collectives does.

vides an apt model of reading: looking for prophetic visions to be interpreted and revealed. This model is followed in *Pesher Habakkuk* as the pesherist not only preserves in writing the prophetic text but also vividly shows with it how that text illuminates their lives, the lived history, and what their lives should be. Implicitly the pesherist is the writer, making the past prophetic vision known and accessible and making inferences from it for the present situation, and the *pesher* audience is the reader. God too has written the time periods (in heaven) and nothing will occur out of that time and order.

Material aspects of *Pesher Habakkuk* give several hints of the text being meant to be performed and thus potentially, to say the least, for having been spread on an ideational level – authority is power over which ideas win the day. Later performers of the text were not only carriers of the authority that the pesherist inherently had as divinely inspired interpreter but could also influence the way in which the prophetic text (quotations) and the *pesher* sections were or were not distinguished from each other. The prophetic voice itself could be heard and even mixed with their own "prophetic" voice of interpretation. The manuscript also reveals that more than one scribe had inscribed and corrected this manuscript. The material evidence may be the strongest evidence to consider reworking having taken place in the text. Exceptional *vacat*s, corrections, and deletion of words may hint at a form of the text that was slightly different from what is preserved in this manuscript, as has been suggested by George Brooke. The nature of some scribal mistakes suggests that the scribes copied the text from a written exemplar. Authority did not lie in the final interpretation that the *pesher* sections are sometimes thought to contain. Rather, authority lay in the interpretative activity of the faithful ones: to those who remain loyal, God will reveal his secrets in the future as well. Some reworking possibly had also taken place in the famous passage in Column VII of *Pesher Habakkuk,* where the exceptional *vacat* before the re-quotation gives reason to suspect this. If the teacher was added in this column, one may start suspecting similar reworking in Column II as well. The theory of the teacher determines much of the way in which scholars read these passages. Also noteworthy is the possibility that the teacher references derive from different times/interpreters; thus not all of them necessarily made the same claim about the teacher or through the teacher.

In addition to previous studies that have highlighted the nature and structure of the *pesharim* as exegesis and interpretation from different angles, I wanted to give space here to a different perspective – that of the quotations. The theory of quotations as demonstration was used to suggest that the *pesher* quotations deserve to be looked at as demonstrating the communicated message, not as fixed entities whose meaning is located only in the *pesher* sections. The *pesher* sections do not empty the quotations of meaning. The divisions of quotations and re-quotations in *Pesher Habakkuk* highlight certain aspects of the prophetic text and hide or undermine some others. Quotations

as human communication can vividly draw the hearer/reader to the world of the past event and its experiences. In *Pesher Habakkuk*, the hearer/reader is drawn to experience the terrifying coming and actions of the enemy (Chaldeans-Kittim). Quotations distance the responsibility of the pesherist: he is not saying directly that Prophet Habakkuk was speaking of the wicked priests of his era. He is demonstrating it: how the woe descriptions of Habakkuk bring forward the worst parts of the contemporary wicked leaders. Authority lies in the manner of convincing the hearer/reader and drawing him to the side of the implied author: if one accepts the Chaldeans-Kittim identification, one has to accept the following wicked priest identifications too.

There certainly are even more aspects and locations of authority than have been discussed here. For example, the emotions that *Pesher Habakkuk* might evoke have not been studied, but emotions in general play an important role in the understanding of the reception and impact of any text. Furthermore, intertextuality, the invocation of other texts to the world of *Pesher Habakkuk* by means of explicit or implicit allusions certainly has a significance for which elements in the text may become more pronounced than others. Authority is a multivalent thing.

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