Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period

*Proceedings of a Sixth International Symposium
on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*

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Contents

The Nature of Qumran Hebrew as Revealed through *Pesher Habakkuk*

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1.0. One of the major accomplishments of Hebraists in the 20th century was the establishment of a reliable methodology for the diachronic study of Biblical Hebrew.[1] Based on the foundations laid by S. R. Driver and others,[2] the two scholars who stand out in this field are E. Y. Kutscher and Avi Hurvitz, mentor and disciple, respectively.[3] The results of their investigations led to a scholarly consensus regarding the periodization of Biblical Hebrew, with recognition of three chronological strata: Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ca. 1150–1000 BCE), Standard Biblical Hebrew (ca. 1000–550 BCE), and Late Biblical Hebrew (ca. 550–200 BCE).

Just as this consensus emerged, however, a challenge arose, mainly from the pens of Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd.[4] These scholars aver that the differences between Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) result not from matters of diachrony, but rather from matters of style.[5] Hence, according to this view, both registers were in use during the post-Exilic period, with the former a more conservative style, used by certain scribes who continued to write in an older form of the language, and with the latter a more liberal style, used by other scribes who wrote in a more contemporary fashion. To demonstrate the manner in which the former style still could be employed deep into the Second Temple Period, Young, Rezetko,

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1   For an excellent survey, see Aaron Hornkohl, "Biblical Hebrew: Periodization," *EHLL* 1:304–14.

2   See especially the many references to language issues scattered throughout S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (12th edition; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

3   E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), esp. 12, 44–45, 77–85; Avi Hurvitz, *Ben Lašon le–Lašon* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1972); Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel* (Paris: Gabalda, 1982); and numerous articles written by Avi Hurvitz over the course of almost half a century.

4   Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008).

5   In addition to the abbreviations included in this sentence, note also: QH = Qumran Hebrew; MH = Mishnaic Hebrew.

and Ehrensvärd present the case of *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab).[6] To their mind, this composition evinces relatively few LBH features, to such an extent, in fact, that it may be compared with other SBH texts such as portions of Samuel and Kings.

2.0.   The LBH features identified by Young in 1QpHab are the following:

2.1.   פשרו אשר—with two separate items inherent in this phrase:

a) The noun פשר "solution, interpretation" (cf. Qoh 8:1; פשרה Sir 38:14 MS B).

b) אשר introducing complement clause (much more common in Qohelet, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, than in SBH).[7]

2.2.   Preference for Hiphil over Qal:

a) 4:2 ילעיגו "mock" (cf. Ps 22:9, Job 21:3, Neh 2:19, 3:33, 2 Chr 30:10; elsewhere 12x as Qal)

b) 9:11 הרשיע "acted wickedly" (cf. 1 Sam 14:47, Ps 106:6, Job 34:12, Dan 9:5, 11:32, 12:10, Neh 9:33, 2 Chr 20:35, 23:3; elsewhere 9x as Qal)[8]

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6   Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 1:255–62, 271–76. In light of the more detailed article written by Young alone ("Late Biblical Hebrew and the Qumran Pesher Habakkuk," *JHS* 8 [2008], 1–38, art. 25), one assumes that he is the main contributor to this particular subject. Henceforth, accordingly, I shall refer to the view of Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd as simply "Young."

7   See the list compiled by Robert D. Holmstedt, "The Story of Ancient Hebrew *ʾăšer*," *ANES* 43 (2006): 7–26, at 10 n. 10.

8   The outlier here is 1 Sam 14:47, since it appears in a clearly SBH composition. But as Noam Mizrahi pointed out to me during the oral presentation of this paper in Leuven, the passage is textually difficult and suspect, especially in light of LXX ἐσῴζετο "he was being kept safe" (thus the *NETS* rendering), the last word in the verse. Note that Greek σῴζω frequently renders Hebrew י־ש־ע "save, rescue," which presumably was present in the LXX Vorlage. One could imagine, for example, an "original" text which read יושיע (= יוֹשִׁיעַ Hiphil) or יושע (= יִוָּשַׁע Niphal) "he would save, he would be victorious," which eventually served as the LXX Vorlage (the latter option is suggested by the passive voice in the Greek), but which was changed (purposefully?) by a later scribe to ירשיע "he would transgress" during the Persian period, during which time the Hiphil served to express this semantic notion, as opposed to the Qal. See S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1890), 91–92. Alas, the last word that can be read in 4QSamᵃ 6 2 is יפנֹה— and how often does this happen in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship!

2.3. Eighteen verbal object suffixes vs. zero instances of את plus suffix;[9] as follows:

4:7	יקיפום	"they overtake them"
4:7	לתפושם	"to capture them"
4:8	והרסום	"and they destroy them"
5:11	ולוא עזרוהו	"and they did not help them"
7:2	לוא הודעו	"he did not make known to him"
7:4	הודיעו	"he made known to him"
8:2	יצילם	"he will rescue them"
9:10	נתנו	"he gave him"
10:4	יעלנו	"he will bring him up"
10:5	ירשיענו	"he will condemn him"
10:5	ישפטנו	"he will judge him"
11:7	לבלעם	"to swallow them"
11:8	ולכשילם	"and to cause them to stumble"
11:15	תבלענו	"it will swallow him"
12:5	ישופטנו	"he will judge him"
12:13	יצרום	"they made them"
12:13	לעובדם	"to worship them"
12:14	לוא יצילום	"they will not save them"

2.4. Preference for על (40x vs. 2x אל, even if this count includes 20 instances of the characteristic phrase פשרו על); one notes especially the following passages:

a) 1:4 ז[עֹ]קו על (even though the lemma Hab 1:2 reads אֶזְעַק אֵלֶיךָ)

b) 4:2 ילעיגו על רבים (cf. Neh 3:33; elsewhere in BH typically with -לְ, sometimes with -בְּ)

c) 4:2 יבזו על מבצרי העמים / 4:5–6 ובזו על נכבדים (cf. Neh 2:19; elsewhere in BH with -לְ)

d) 12:3 גמל על אביונים (cf. Joel 4:4, Ps 13:6, 103:10, 116:7, 119:17, 142:8, 2 Chr 20:11; elsewhere with direct object or with -לְ)

e) 7:12 בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון (cf. Neh 9:30 וַתִּמְשֹׁךְ עֲלֵיהֶם שָׁנִים רַבּוֹת; elsewhere in BH with -לְ)

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9 For discussion, see Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 28–31; Mark F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* (JSOTSS 90; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 86–87; and Richard M. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-Exilic Date of the Yahwist Source* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 37–41.

2.5.   Double plurals:
a) 11x) כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה BH .cf) כלי מלחמותם 6:4
b) תּוֹעֵבוֹת BH .cf) ודרכי ת]וע[בות 8:12–13)
c) תּוֹעֵבוֹת BH .cf) מעשי תועבות 12:8)

2.6.   רז "secret, mystery," appearing as the construct plural רזי 3x in col. 7 (7:5, 7:8, 7:14).[10]

2.7.   To quantify these data, and to place them within the context of other ancient Hebrew compositions, Young invokes sample 500-word texts from the literary corpus. The 6 above-listed LBH traits all appear within the 500 words that span 1QpHab 5:3–12:13,[11] a datum which places this portion of *Pesher Habakkuk* on par with SBH texts such as 1 Sam 13:1–14:9; 2 Sam 6:1–20a, 7:1–12; 1 Kgs 2:1–29—i.e., other 500-word extracts which include 6 LBH features. These stand in contrast to selected 500-word excerpts from core LBH books such as Ezra, Daniel, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther, which have 25, 24, 22, 20, and 17 LBH traits, respectively, within the same span of material. Which is to say: a writer in the 1st century BCE, the presumed date of *Pesher Habakkuk*, still was capable of writing SBH, notwithstanding the development of LBH in the preceding centuries spanning the Persian and Hellenistic periods. This is thus far Young's position, though, as we shall see, he neglected to include in the mix a host of other LBH features present in 1QpHab.

3.0.   Prime among these LBH traits are matters of style and syntax identified by Frank Polak in his extensive researches into the different registers of the biblical Hebrew literary corpus.

3.1.   One of the most crucial discoveries made by Polak is the increased use of hypotaxis (subordination) in LBH prose, in contrast to the more typical parataxis that dominates in SBH.[12] Moreover, the hypotaxis of LBH at times works downward through several levels, with subordination upon subordination. *Pesher Habakkuk* reveals a number of such instances:[13]

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10   See further below, §8.7.

11   "Biblical quotes are excluded from the sample," according to Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 1:274 n. 42.

12   See, amongst his many studies, Frank Polak, "Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew," HS 47 (2006): 115–62, esp. 127–36.

13   Since Polak treats mainly narrative prose in his research, I have limited my selections from 1QpHab to those passages which relate past events. These are not quite narrative prose, of course, but they are the closest approximation thereto in our document. The translations (which are mine) are included in order to help the reader apprehend the hypotaxis, especially since the subordinating particles are indicated by italics. The Hebrew originals are taken from *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Program* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Brigham

1QpHab 2:6–10

המה עריצֿ֗י הבר]ית **אשר** לוא יאמינוא
בשומעם את כול הבאֿ[ות ע]לֿ[ ]הדור האחרון מפי
הכוהן **אשר** נתן אל בֿ[לבו בינ]ה לפשור אֿת כול
דברי עבדיו הנביאים[**אשר**]בֿ֗ידם ספר אל את
¹⁴כול הבאות על עמו וֿע[דתו]

6.   They are the oppress[ors of the covena]nt *who* will not believe
7.   when they hear all that is to co[me up]on the latter generation from the mouth of
8.   the Priest *whom* God has placed in [his heart the understand]ing to interpret all
9.   the words of his servants the prophets, through [*whom*] God has foretold
10. all that is to come upon his people and [his] com[munity].

1QpHab 5:9–12

פשרו על בית אבשלום
ואנשי עצתם **אשר** נדמו בתוכחת מורה הצדק
ולוא עזרוהו על איש הכזב *vacat* **אשר** מאס את
התורה בתוך כול עדֿתם

9.   Its interpretation is about the house of Absalom
10. and the men of their council, *who* kept quiet upon the rebuking of the Teacher of Righteousness,
11. and they did not help him against the Man of the Lie, [*vacat*] *who* has rejected
12. the Torah in the midst of their entire congregation.

Young University; Leiden: Brill, 2006) (henceforth DSSEL), though I have kept an eye on other editions as well, e.g., Maurya P. Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, vol. 6B*: *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 157–85; and Elisha Qimron, *Megillot Midbar Yehuda: ha-Ḥibburim ha-ʿIvriyim* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Ben–Zvi, 2010–2015), 1:243–57.

14   Qimron, *Megillot Midbar Yehuda*, 1:246 restores כיא instead of אשר at the lacuna, though for our purposes this matters not.

1QpHab 7:7–8

פשרו **אשר** יארוך הקץ האחרון יותר על כול
אשר דברו הנביאים **כיא** רזי אל להפל{א}ה

7. Its interpretation, *that* the end time will be long, more so than all
8. *that* the prophets had said, *because* the mysteries of God are wondrous.

1QpHab 7:10–14

פשרו על אנשי האמת
עושי התורה **אשר** לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת
האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון **כיא**
כול קצי אל יבואו לתכונם **כאשר** חקק
להם בֿרזי ערמתו

10. Its interpretation is about the men of truth,
11. observers of the Torah, *whose* hands do not slacken from the worship of
12. truth, even when the end time is drawn out upon them, *because*
13. all the fixed–times of God will come about in their due course, *as* he ordained
14. for them through the mysteries of his discernment.

1QpHab 8:1–3

פשרו על כול עושי התורה בבית יהודה **אשר** X
יצילם אל מבית המשפט **בעבור** עמלם ואמנתם
במורה הצדק

1. Its interpretation is about all the observers of the Torah in the house of Judah *whom*
2. God will rescue from the house of judgment, *on account of* their labour and their loyalty
3. to the Teacher of Righteousness.

1QpHab 9:4–7

פשרו על כוהני ירושלם
האחרונים **אשר** יקבוצו הון ובצע משלל העמים
ולאחרית הימים ינתן הונם עם שללם ביד
חיל הכתיאים *vacat* **כיא** המה יתר העמים

4. Its interpretation is about later priests of Jerusalem,

5. *who* will gather wealth and spoil from the plunder of the peoples,

6. but in the end of days their wealth and their plunder will be given into the hand of

7. the army of the Kittim, [*vacat*] *because* they are "the rest of the peoples".

1QpHab 9:9–12

פשרו על הכוהן ה[ר]שע **אשר** בעׄוון מורה
הצדק ואנשי עצתו נתנו אל ביד] [אויביו לענותו
בנגע לכלה במרורי נפש **בעבור אׄשר** הרשיע
על בחירו[15]

9. Its interpretation is about the [W]icked Priest, *because* of the crime against the Teacher of

10. Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave him into the hand of his enemies, to humiliate him

11. with a consuming affliction, with bitterness of soul, *on account that* he had done wrong

12. to his chosen-ones.

1QpHab 10:9–13

פשר הדבר על מטיף הכזב **אשר** התעה רבים
לבנות עיר שוו בדמים ולקים עדה בשקר
בעבור כבודה לוגיע רבים בעבודת שוו ולהרותם
במ[ע]שי שקר להיות עמלם לריק **בעבור** יבואו
למשפטי אש **אשר** גדפו ויחרפו את בחירי אל

9. Its interpretation is about the Spreader of Lies, *who* deceived many,

10. by building a worthless city by bloodshed and by founding a congregation by lies,

11. *on account of* its glory, by making many weary with worthless work, and by teaching them

12. about false d[ee]ds. Their labour will be for naught, *on account of which* they will enter

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15 I have adopted the reading לכלה (with *kaf*) in line 11, following Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," 176, especially upon checking the photograph; though the reading with *bet* (as per DSSEL and Qimron, *Megillot Midbar Yehuda*, 1:253) is possible and would fit the context as well.

13.   into judgments of fire, *because* they blasphemed and reviled the chosen ones of God.

1QpHab 11:12–14

פשרו על הכוהן **אשר** גבר קלונו מכבודו
כיא לוא מל את עורלת לבו וילך בדרכי
הרויה **למען** ספות הצמאה

11.   Its interpretation is about the priest *whose* disgrace became greater than his honour,

12.   *because* he had not circumcised the foreskin of his heart, and he followed the paths of

13.   indulgence, *in order to* bring to sweep away the thirsty.

1QpHab 12:2–6

פשר הדבר על הכוהן הרשע לשלם לו את
גמולו **אשר** גמל על אביונים **כיא** הלבנון הוא
עצת היחד והבהמות המה פתאי יהודה עושה
התורה **אשר** ישופטנו אל לכלה *vacat*
כאשר זמם לכלות אביונים

2.   The interpretation of this matter is about the Wicked Priest, to recompense him

3.   his due *for what* he did to the poor, *because* "Lebanon" refers to

4.   the council of the Yaḥad, and "the beasts" refers to the simple ones of Judah who obey

5.   the Torah, *because* God will judge him for destruction, [*vacat*]

6.   *just as* he had planned to destroy the poor.

3.2. A second important LBH feature identified by Polak is the much more nominal, and hence less verbal, style. Which is to say, writers in the Persian period were wont to use many more nouns in their prose (and indeed poetry as well), so that the Noun-Verb ratio in later texts is markedly higher.[16] While I do not engage in the specific statistical analysis regularly presented by Polak, the highlighting of the nouns and verbs in the following passages will demonstrate the point. I indicate the nouns with the bold Hebrew font (and note how

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16   See Frank Polak, "The Oral and the Written: Syntax, Stylistics and the Development of Biblical Prose Narrative," *JANES* 26 (1998): 59–105.

many of these are noun groups, on which see below, §3.3); whereas verbs are designated via the light Hebrew font.[17]

1QpHab 5:9–12

פשרו על **בית אבשלום**
ואנשי עצתם אשר נדמו **בתוכחת מורה הצדק**
ולוא עזרוהו על **איש הכזב** *vacat* אשר מאס את
התורה בתוך **כול עדֿתֿם**

1QpHab 7:4–5

פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו **אל** את
כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים

1QpHab 9:9–12

פשרו על הכוהן הנ**ר**שע אשר **בעוון מורה**
הצדק ואנשי עצתו נתנו **אל ביד**[ ]**אויביו** לענותו
בנגע לכלה במרורי נפש בעבור אׁשר הרשיע
על **בחירו**

1QpHab 11:4–8

פשרו על הכוהן הרשע אשר
רדף אחר **מורה הצדק** לבלעו **בכעס**
חמתו אבית גלותו ובקץ מועד מנוחת
יום הכפורים הופע אליהם לבלעם
ולכשילם **ביום צום שבת מנוחתם**

3.3. Not surprisingly, given the greater nominal style inherent in LBH, the number of "noun groups" increases in Persian-period literature.[18] Such is to be seen in *Pesher Habakkuk* as well, as witnessed by the following lists.

3.3.1. The first type of noun group is comprised by the collocation of two (or more) individual nouns (A+B). In six instances, as indicated below, the *Pesher* comment expands upon a single noun present in the interpreted lemma, thereby further highlighting this practice.

17　Once more these selections are taken from those sections of *Pesher Habakkuk* which narrate past events and hence most closely approximate BH narrative prose storytelling.

18　See n. 12; and see also Frank Polak, "Parallelism and Noun Groups in Prophetic Poetry from the Persian Era," in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics, and Language Relating to Persian Israel* (ed. E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. Polak; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009), 199–235.

1:6	בעשק ומעל
2:12	קלים וגבורים
3:1	(infinitives) לכות ולבוז
3:4	פחדם וֹאֹמֹתֹםֹ
3:5	ובנכל ומרמה
3:10	(סוּסָׁיו בסוס]יהם[ובבהמתם (lemma Hab 1:8
3:12–13	ובחמה וכ]עס וב]חרֹן אף וזעף אפים
4:2–3	(וְרֹזְנִים ‖ בַּמְּלָכִים במלכים ושרים (lemma Hab 1:10
4:7	ובאמה ופחד
5:9	(בֹּוֹגְדִים בית אבשלום ואנשי עצתם (lemma Hab 1:13
6:1	את הונם עם כול שללם
6:6	את עולם ואת מסם
6:11	(גּוֹיִם נערים אשישים זקנים נשים וטף (lemma Hab 1:17
8:2	(בֶּאֱמוּנָתֹו עמלם ואמנתם (lemma Hab 2:4
9:5	הון ובצע
9:6	(שַׁלֹוֹתָ הונם עם שללם (lemma Hab 2:8
9:9–10	מורה הצדק ואנשי עצתו
11:7–8	(infinitives) לבלעם ולכשילם
12:13–14	(infinitives) (sic) לעובדם ולשתחות להמה
13:3–4	את כול עובדי העצבים ואת הרשעים

3.3.2. The second type of noun group is comprised of construct phrases (A–B). On four occasions, *Pesher Habakkuk* expands a single noun in the lemma to a construct phrase in the interpretative comment. Moreover, fifteen of the following items include a complex construct phrase, that is, with three or more nouns in construct, or two constructs back-to-back with the second standing in apposition to the first, and so on.

1:11	(תֹּוֹרָה תורת אל (lemma Hab 1:4
1:13, etc.	(הַצַּדִּיק מורה הצדק (lemma Hab 1:4
2:1–2, 5:11	איש הכזב
2:2–3	מֹפיא אל
2:4	ברית אל
2:6	עריצֹ[י הבר]ית
2:7	כול הבֹא]ות[
2:7–8	מפי הכוהן
2:8–9	(complex) כול דברי עבדיו הנביאיֹם
2:10	כול הבאות
2:13	ממשלת הכתיאים
2:15	חוקי]א[ל
3:4–5	כול הגואים

3:6	כול העמים
4:5	מושלי הכתיאים
4:6	מבצרי העמים (lemma Hab 1:10 לְכָל־מִבְצָר)
4:10	מושלי הכתיאים
5:5	כל רשעי עמו (complex)
5:7–8	בקץ הרשעה
5:10	בתוכחת מורה הצדק (complex)
7:2	גמר הקץ
7:5	כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים (complex)
7:8	רזי אל
7:10–11	אנשי האמת עושי התורה (complex)
7:11–12	עבודת האמת
7:13	כול קצי אל (complex)
7:14	רזי ערמתו
8:1	כול עושי התורה בבית יהודה (complex)
8:2	בית המשפט
8:9	שם האמת
8:9	בתחלת עומדו
8:11	הון אנשי חֿמס (complex)
8:12	הון עמים
8:12	עוֹן אשמה (cf. Lev 22:16)
8:12–13	דרכי ת]וע[בֿות
8:13	בכול נדת טמאה (complex)
9:1	במשפטי רשעה
9:2	בגוית בשרו
9:5	שלל העמים
9:6	לאחרית הימים
9:7	חיל הכתיאים
10:12	מֿ]ע[שי שקר
10:13	משפטי אש
10:13	בחירי אל
11:1–2	כמי היים (sic)
11:5–6	בכעס חמתו
11:6	בית גלותו
11:6–7	בקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים (complex)
11:8	ביום צום שבת מנוחתם (complex)
11:14–15	כוס חמת א[ל] (complex) (cf. Isa 51:17)
12:4	עצת היחד
12:4	פתאי יהודה עושה התורה (complex)
12:8	מעשי תועבות

12:9	מקדש אל
12:12–13	כול פסלי הגוים (lemma Hab 2:18 פֶּסֶל) (complex)
12:14	ביום המשפט
13:2–3	ביום המשפט (*sic*)
13:3	כול עובדי העצבים (complex)

The most revealing of these passages is 11:6–8, which includes a five-word construct string בקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים "at the time of the festival of the repose of the Day of Atonement" (11:6–7), followed by a four-word construct string ביום צום שבת מנוחתם "on the day of the fast of the Sabbath of their repose" (11:8). Such complex constructs are very rare in the Bible; the following represents more or less a complete list:[19]

Gen 47:9	יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיַּי . . . יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי אֲבֹתַי
Isa 10:12	אֶפְקֹד עַל־פְּרִי־גֹדֶל לְבַב מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר
Isa 21:17	וּשְׁאָר מִסְפַּר־קֶשֶׁת גִּבּוֹרֵי בְנֵי־קֵדָר יִמְעָטוּ
Job 12:24	מֵסִיר לֵב רָאשֵׁי עַם־הָאָרֶץ

4.0. We now turn to other grammatical items classified as LBH (that is, beyond the items investigated by Polak), though these too were not included by Young in his study of *Pesher Habakkuk*. The first of these is the non-repetition of the preposition in a noun series.

The difference between SBH and LBH may be seen by comparing the following passages:[20]

SBH:	בְּתֻפִּים וּבִמְחֹלֹת (Gen 31:27); בְּשִׂמְחָה וּבְשִׁרִים בְּתֹף וּבְכִנּוֹר (Exod 15:20)
LBH:	בְּמִנִּים וְעוּגָב (Ps 150:4); בְתֹף וּמָחוֹל (Ps 149:3); בְּתֹף וְכִנּוֹר (Ps 150:4)

The latter system continues in post-Biblical texts, as seen in the following passages from a Judean desert document:[21]

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19   P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), 465.

20   See Abba Bendavid, *Lešon Miqraʾ u-Lšon Ḥakhamim*, (2 vols.; Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1967–1971), 2:455–56; and the more detailed study of Misop Park, "Ḥazara we-ʾi-Ḥazara ʿal Miliyot bi-Lšon ha-Miqraʾ u-vi-Lšon Megillot Midbar Yehuda" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002–2003). I am grateful to Steven Fassberg for this latter reference and to Dr. Park for supplying me with a copy of her work.

21   Uri Mor, "Diqduq ʿIvrit šel Teʿudot Midbar Yehuda ben ha-Mered ha-Gadol le-Mered Bar-Kokhva" (Ph.D. diss., Ben-Gurion University, 2009), 241.

| Mur 30:15 | מהמערב והדרום |
| Mur 30:18 | ברשותו וביתו |

In light of this picture, one is not surprised to find five examples of this usage in *Pesher Habakkuk*:

1:6	בעשק ומעל
3:5	ובנכל ומרמה
3:12–13	ובחמה וכ]עס וב[חרׄן אף וזעף אפים
4:2–3	במלכים ושרים
4:7	ובאמה ופחד

5.0. Among the noun groups of the construct phrase type surveyed above (§3.3.2), two collocations deserve special notice.

5.1. The first of these places the word אמת "truth" in the *nomen rectum* position, with a variety of nouns serving in the *nomen regens* slot. Five such phrases occur in the Bible, with only one from a pre-exilic text, one from an exilic text, and three from post-exilic texts—thus pointing to the late usage inherent here:[22]

אַנְשֵׁי אֱמֶת	(Exod 18:21)
מִשְׁפַּט אֱמֶת	(Ezek 18:8, Zech 7:9)
אִישׁ אֱמֶת	(Neh 7:2)
וְתוֹרֹת אֱמֶת	(Neh 9:13)

This pattern continues throughout Qumran Hebrew, as the following representative examples demonstrate:[23]

ברכות אמת	יחד אמת
גמולי אמת	מעשי אמת
דיין אמת	נחלת אמת
חוקי אמת	פעלות אמת

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22   Note that the first of these occurs in the mouth of Jethro, whose speech is replete with atypical usages. See further Mordecai Mishor, "On the Language and Text of Exodus 18," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Environment: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), 225–29.

23   I do not include the specific references here, which may be located via a search in any of the DSS concordances; the same holds for the list in §5.2 below.

Three examples of this phraseology occur in *Pesher Habakkuk*:

7:10	אנשי האמת
7:11–12	עבודת האמת
8:9	שם האמת

5.2. The second relevant phrase places the word מעשי "deeds of" in the *nomen regens* position, with a panoply of terms in the *nomen rectum* slot. To be sure, such construct phrases occur in SBH, but they are limited to prescribed usages.

The first such usage places מַעֲשֵׂה before a specific artisan term, as in the following exemplary phrases:

מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ
מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב
מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם
מַעֲשֵׂה אֹרֵג
מַעֲשֵׂה אֹפֶה

The second typical usage occurs with a specific product or material in the *nomen rectum* locus, as illustrated by the following expressions:

מַעֲשֵׂה עִזִּים
מַעֲשֵׂה עֲבֹת
מַעֲשֵׂה שׁוֹשָׁן

The third standard usage is the well-known expression with יָד "hand" (singular or plural) serving as *nomen rectum*, hence, for example:

מַעֲשֵׂה יָדְךָ
מַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ
מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו

Finally, we may point to the two parallel usages in Lev 18:3:

מַעֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם
מַעֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ־כְּנַעַן

The picture in LBH is totally different, since here one finds authors utilizing a host of different words following מַעֲשֵׂה "deeds of." The impression one gains is that late authors no longer felt constrained by the traditional phraseology

summarized above. Rather, they began to express their literary and linguistic freedom through the use of expressions such as these:

מַעֲשֵׂה הַצְּדָקָה   (Isa 32:17)
מַעֲשֵׂה הָרָעָה   (Qoh 8:11)
כְּמַעֲשֵׂה הָרְשָׁעִים   (Qoh 8:14)
כְּמַעֲשֵׂה הַצַּדִּיקִים   (Qoh 8:14)
כְּמַעֲשֵׂה יִשְׂרָאֵל   (2 Chr 17:4)
מעשה כל בשר   (Sir 39:19 MS B)

This LBH trend continues, indeed increases to a remarkable extent, in Qumran Hebrew, as witnessed by the following examples:

מעשי אמת	מעשי רוח
מעשי אפעה	מעשי רמיה
מעשי אשמה	מעשי רשע
מעשי הדור	מעשי שקר
מעשי טוב	מעשי תועבה
מעשי כבודו	מעשי התורה
מעשי נדה	

Two such expressions occur in 1QpHab:

מ[ע]שי שקר   10:12
מעשי תועבות   12:8

6.0. In this section we present a series of other late usages, of various types and in no particular order, found in *Pesher Habakkuk*.

6.1. The expression זה אחר זה "one after another" occurs in our text in the following passage:

ז[ה אחר זה יבואו לשחית את הא]רץ
[on]e after another they shall come to destroy the la[nd] (1QpHab 4:12–13)

A second instance of this syntagma in QH appears in 1QS 2:19–20 הכוהנים יעבורו ברשונה בסרך לפי רוחותם זה אחר זה "the priests shall pass first in order, accord-ing to their spirits, one after another." The closest BH parallel occurs in Qoh 7:14 גַּם אֶת־זֶה לְעֻמַּת־זֶה עָשָׂה הָאֱלֹהִים "indeed this-one and that-one God has done." Most strikingly, the expression זה אחר זה "one after another" occurs 38x in Tannaitic Hebrew (Mishnah 7x; Tosefta 27x; Midreshe Halakah 4x).

6.2. The prepositional phrase אבית "in the house" (in place of standard Hebrew בבית) occurs in *Pesher Habakkuk* in the expression:

אבית גלותו   in the house of his exile (1QpHab 11:6)

A second attestation within the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus (albeit in an Aramaic composition) occurs in the book of Tobit:

אבֹ֯ת] רעואל   in the house of [Reuel] (4Q197 [4QTob[b] ar] 4 i 16)

For another occurrence in a Hebrew text of several centuries later, note the following from a Wadi Muraba'at document:[24]

אבית משכו   in Bet-Mašiko (Mur 42:4)

Finally, the form אבית "in the house" occurs 9x in MH, especially within specific locutions, such as אבית הדשן "at the ash-heap" and אבית הבליעה "in the pharynx." The evidence points to this unusual usage as a feature of Hebrew (and Aramaic) within the prescribed period of ca. 200 BCE (or whenever we may date the book of Tobit, or at least the relevant Qumran manuscript thereof) through ca. 300 CE. Its presence in 1QpHab surely must be accorded status as an LBH trait.

6.3. The noun גמר "fulfillment" occurs in 1QpHab 7:2 גמר הקץ "fulfillment of the end," and in two other DSS texts:

4Q249p 10   הגמר   (‖ הקֹ֯ץ הקצֹ]ים (ב])
4Q381 24a+b 2   כֹגֹֽמֹֽר   (‖ לכלה)

The word is used more regularly in MH (28x in Tannaitic texts),[25] especially in the phrase גמר מלאכה "completion of the work."[26]

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24   For this specific reference and for general discussion of the phenomenon treated here, see Mor, "Diqduq 'Ivrit," 109–10.

25   Data according to *Ma'agarim* (database of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language project).

26   See already E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 99, where גמר is included in the list of "Words Mainly Attested in the DSS and in the Tannaitic and Amoraitic (MH²) Literature."

6.4. The noun עמל "engagement" occurs in *Pesher Habakkuk* as follows:

בעבור עמלם ואמנתם במורה הצדק

On account of their engagement and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 8:2–3)

This usage is not attested in BH, where instead the noun עָמָל means "toil, labour" and by extension "trouble, distress." But the QH usage is continued in MH, especially with the collocation of the verbal root ע-מ-ל "be engaged" and the key noun תורה "Torah," e.g.:[27]

Mekilta Devarim 12:1   הוי עמל בתורה כל ימיך

6.5. The same passage in *Pesher Habakkuk* attests to the noun אמנה "faith, support":

בעבור עמלם ואמנתם במורה הצדק

On account of their engagement and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 8:2–3)

While in theory this word could be read as *ĕmūnā* (= Masoretic אֱמוּנָה), in light of the fact that in MT 48 out of 49 attestations of this noun are written *plene* (the exception is Ps 143:1)—not to mention the greater propensity for *plene* orthography in the Qumran scribal tradition when compared to MT—almost without a doubt the relevant word above should be read as *wa-ʾămānātām* (= Masoretic וְאָמְנָתָם), with the base word אֲמָנָה *ămānā* as in Neh 10:1, 11:23 (with the meanings "pact" and "agreement," respectively).[28]

A second postbiblical attestation of this word may occur in the *Damascus Document*:[29]

בברית { } ואמנה   the covenant { } and (the) pact (CD 20:12)

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of the reading here, most likely, especially with the preceding word ברית, we are to understand the second word in this

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27   Again, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 102, where עמל occurs in the same list of lexical items noted in the previous footnote.

28   Once more, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 88, where אמנה is included amongst "Words Mainly Attested in the DSS and in the Late Biblical Books."

29   DCH, 1:318.

phrase as the noun אמנה meaning "pact" (though in theory it could be functioning as an adjective here).

6.6. The next term to be considered is לרב "in abundance," occurring in *Pesher Habakkuk* as follows:

כמי הים לרב   like the waters of the sea, in abundance (1QpHab 11:1–2)

While this adverbial occurs in SBH (e.g., 15x in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), it develops into a more salient feature of LBH. The single attestations of לָרֹב in both Zechariah and Nehemiah do not disclose this, but the 36 occurrences in the book of Chronicles demonstrate the point clearly, especially when one considers the difference between parallel passages such as these:[30]

| 1 Kgs 10:2 | בְּשָׂמֶים וְזָהָב רַב־מְאֹד |
| 2 Chr 9:1 | בְּשָׂמֶים וְזָהָב לָרֹב |

| 1 Kgs 10:10 | מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים ׀ כִּכַּר זָהָב וּבְשָׂמֶים הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד |
| 2 Chr 9:9 | מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים ׀ כִּכַּר זָהָב וּבְשָׂמֶים לָרֹב מְאֹד |

The Kings passages use adverbials such as רַב־מְאֹד and הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד (the latter is particularly common in SBH), while the Chronicler updates the text linguistically by using לָרֹב in both cases (once with מְאֹד following).

The pattern discernible here continues in other Qumran texts, as witnessed by the attestation of לרב / לרוב in 1QS 4:12; 1QHᵃ 20:14, 23:14; 4Q381 (4QNon-Canonical Psalms B) 46a+b 4; 4Q285 (4QSefer ha-Milḥamah) 8 7 // 11Q14 (11QSefer ha-Milḥamah) 1 ii 10.[31] We exemplify the usage with the last passage: דגן תירוש ויצהר לרוב "grain, wine, and oil in abundance."

6.7. Yet another late usage occurring in *Pesher Habakkuk* is the adverb יותר "more than, very much":

פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון יותר על כול אשר דברו הנביאים
Its interpretation, that the last end time will be longer than anything about which the prophets spoke. (1QpHab 7:7[–8])

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30   Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 535; and Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 140.

31   See Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 95, for the inclusion of this item in his list of "Words Mainly Attested in the DSS and in the Late Biblical Books."

This term is a true marker of LBH, as indicated by the following passages:[32]

Qoh 2:15   וְלָמָּה חָכַמְתִּי אֲנִי אָז יוֹתֵר
Qoh 7:16   אַל־תְּהִי צַדִּיק הַרְבֵּה וְאַל־תִּתְחַכַּם יוֹתֵר
Qoh 12:9   וְיֹתֵר שֶׁהָיָה קֹהֶלֶת חָכָם
Qoh 12:12   וְיֹתֵר מֵהֵמָּה בְּנִי הִזָּהֵר
Esth 6:6   לְמִי יַחְפֹּץ הַמֶּלֶךְ לַעֲשׂוֹת יְקָר יוֹתֵר מִמֶּנִּי

This usage continues in the book of Ben Sira:[33]

Sir 8:13 (MS A)   אל תערב יתר ממך
Sir 10:31 (MS A)[34]   [המ]תכבד בדלותו בעשרו מתכבד יתר
Sir 10:31 (MS A)[35]   והנקלה בעשרו בדלותו נקלה יותר

Other Qumran texts also reflect the usage of יותר "more than, very much":

1Q30 1 5   ויותר על ארבעת   and more than four
4Q274 3 ii 4   לטהור יותר   for one more pure

Finally, one notes that this feature occurs in Tannaitic texts, indeed one might even consider it a distinguishing characteristic of MH.[36]

6.8. The noun הבאות "the coming things" is a common feature of *Pesher Habakkuk*:

1QpHab 1:3   הב]אֹות עליהם
1QpHab 2:7   כול הבא[ות ע]ל הדור האחרון
1QpHab 2:10   כול הבאות על עמו
1QpHab 7:1–2   לכתוב את הבאות על {על} הדור האחרון

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32   For extended discussion, see A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth, Part I: Grammar* (OLA 41; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 114–15, and Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth, Part II: Vocabulary* (OLA 143; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 215–18.

33   Several of these perhaps should be read as *yātēr* (as opposed to *yōtēr*), but the picture remains the same essentially.

34   The restoration is rather obvious, but in any case is confirmed by the reading of Ben Sira MS B, which is not damaged at this point.

35   MS B has יתר as the final word.

36   Moshe Zvi Segal, *Diqduq Lešon ha-Mišna* (Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1936), 193; and Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 81. According to *Maʾagarim*, the counts for יותר in Tannaitic texts are as follows: 18x Mishnah, 43x Tosefta, 60x Midreshe Halakah.

This usage developed in BH only during the exilic period, as evidenced by the following two texts:

Isa 41:22 וְנֵדְעָה אַחֲרִיתָן אוֹ הַבָּאוֹת הַשְׁמִיעֻנוּ
Ezek 16:16 לֹא בָאוֹת וְלֹא יִהְיֶה

Notwithstanding the fact that these phrases represented the totality of this usage in ancient Hebrew (which is to say, the term הבאות "the coming things" does not occur in the intervening material from the Persian period or in Ben Sira, nor does it occur in rabbinic texts, as far as I am able to determine), one still may see in this usage a feature linking LBH (albeit from the transitional period during the 6th century BCE) and QH.

6.9. The noun נכבדים "honoured ones" occurs in *Pesher Habakkuk* in the following passage:

> ילעיגו על רבים ובזו על נכבדים במלכים ושרים יתעתעו וקלסו בעם רב
> They mock the great ones, and they deride the honoured ones; at kings and princes they jeer, and they scoff a throng of people. (4:2–3).

The source for this usage may be found in the following biblical passages:

Isa 23:8 אֲשֶׁר סֹחֲרֶיהָ שָׂרִים כִּנְעָנֶיהָ נִכְבַּדֵּי־אָרֶץ
Isa 23:9 לְחַלֵּל גְּאוֹן כָּל־צְבִי לְהָקֵל כָּל־נִכְבַּדֵּי־אָרֶץ
Nah 3:10 וְעַל־נִכְבַּדֶּיהָ יַדּוּ גוֹרָל וְכָל־גְּדוֹלֶיהָ רֻתְּקוּ בַזִּקִּים
Ps 149:8 לֶאְסֹר מַלְכֵיהֶם בְּזִקִּים וְנִכְבְּדֵיהֶם בְּכַבְלֵי בַרְזֶל

These passages (especially the first three) suggest a non-native Hebrew idiom, which first was employed as a style-switching feature and which only later was expanded to general usage.[37] Note that the two Isaiah passages are part of the prophet's oracle against Tyre; while the Nahum passage is directed towards (as throughout this book) the Assyrians, even if the term here refers to the Egyptian notables. The fourth passage above also refers to the dignitaries of foreign countries, though one notes that the author of Ps 149 in the post-exilic period now uses the word in a generic fashion, without an association to specific foreign notables.

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37   On style-switching, see Gary A. Rendsburg, "Style-switching," *EHLL* 3:633–36, along with the sources cited there. Though one must admit that in the present instance no Phoenician or other cognate evidence exists.

This generalization of the word נכבדים (always in the plural, one notes) continues and may even be expanded in the book of Ben Sira. In the passages below, the "honoured ones" could just as easily (and indeed may) refer to Israelite dignitaries as to foreign ones:

Sir 11:6 (MS B)   ונכבדים נתנו ביד זעירים
Sir 48:6 (MS B)   המוריד מלכים על שחת ונכבדים [.]מטותם

The first verse occurs in a typical wisdom context, while the second appears in the praise of Elijah.

When we turn to the Dead Sea Scrolls, we find the word נכבדים "honoured ones" attested in 1QpHab 4:2 cited above, and then three times in *Pesher Nahum* (4Q169):

4QpNah 3–4 ii 9   נ[כ]בֿדים ומוש[לים]
4QpNah 3–4 iii 9   פשרו אמון הם מנשה והיארים הם גד[ו]לֿי מנשה נכבדי ה]
4QpNah 3–4 iv 4   גבוריו ונכבדיו

Only the third of these is elicited by the lemma of Nah 3:10 (see above for the verse), whereas the first and second are used in pesher comments to passages occurring earlier in Nah 3. To be sure, the *Pesher* author presumably anticipated the attestation of נכבדיה in Nah 3:10; nevertheless one notes the more common usage of this word in QH, continuing the picture suggested by Ben Sira.

7.0. A characteristic feature of *Pesher Habakkuk* in particular is the omission of the *he* in the Hiphil infinitive.

While examples of this general phenomenon occur sporadically in other DSS texts (with Niphal and Hitpael, in addition to Hiphil),[38] the seven-fold presence of *laqṭīl* infinitives in our text is truly striking.

Examples of this grammatical feature appear more or less equally distributed throughout the Bible (Exodus/1; Numbers/2; Deuteronomy/2; Samuel/2; Kings/1; Isaiah/4; Jeremiah/3; Amos/1; Psalms/3; Proverbs/1; Qohelet/1; Daniel/1; Nehemiah/1; Chronicles/1), as evidence for the colloquial dialect of ancient Hebrew which penetrated the written standard (= BH) at various times.[39]

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38   Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 48.

39   Gary A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (AOS 72; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990), 95–103. See also my earlier study, with a slightly different focus: "*Laqṭîl* Infinitives: Yiphʿil or Hiphʿil?" *Orientalia* 51 (1982): 231–38.

I am aware of three other instances of the loss of *he* in the Hiphil infinitive in the Qumran documents:[40]

4Q169 (4QpNah) 3–4 iii 7	לתעות
4Q171 (4QPsᵃ) 1–10 ii 16	לפיל
4Q511 (4QShirᵇ) 2 i 4	לאיר

As is well known, this feature becomes standard in MH.[41] In this case, accordingly, *Pesher Habakkuk* does not represent the continuation of a feature observable in LBH (examples of which have dominated our discussion unto this point), but the regular use of the *laqṭīl* infinitive by the author/scribe of 1QpHab demonstrates nonetheless that his language is "on the way" to the still later attested register of the Tannaim.

8.0. I do not wish to give the impression, however, that there are no early features of ancient Hebrew in *Pesher Habakkuk*. Indeed, there are a number of linguistic usages that evoke SBH from the pre-exilic period, and in some cases these items even suggest Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH). Moreover, in the famous case of the 3rd person masc. sg. independent pronoun (see below, §8.6), we must contend with a feature that occurs nowhere else in the history of the Hebrew language.

Before presenting these items, however, I must state clearly that I do not consider these traits to be natural usages of the Qumran author/scribe, but rather conscious archaisms (or, in the one case, even an invention), used in imitation of earlier strata of the Hebrew language.[42] Together these elements constitute evidence for understanding QH as an anti-language, used by the Yaḥad to distinguish itself intentionally from other Jews of the period, while

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40   This may represent a slight increase in the ratio of occurrences, when compared to BH, though someone would have to produce a pure mathematical calculation to demonstrate the point (or to deny it).

41   M. H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 58; Segal, *Diqduq Lešon ha-Mišna*, 114, 120; and Gideon Haneman, *Torat ha-Ṣurot šel Lešon ha-Mišna* (Tel-Aviv: University of Tel-Aviv Press, 1979–1980), 37–38.

42   Hence, most or all of these items would fall into the category of grammatical "pseudo-classicisms," to use the term employed by Jan Joosten, "Pseudo-classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew," in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59.

at the same time providing their texts with a patina of antiquity and hence authority.[43] The following features fall into this category.

8.1. In the two places where the option was available, the Qumran author/scribe elected to use the older 3rd masc. pl. pronominal suffix attached to nouns ending in ות-, i.e., *-ōtām* (as opposed to the later form *-ōtēhem*):[44] 1QpHab 6:4 אותותם "their signs [sc. military standards]"; 1QpHab 6:4 מלחמותם "their wars."[45] Note that the former term has biblical precursors in Ps 74:4 אֹתֹתָם and Job 21:29 וְאֹתֹתָם.

8.2. 1QpHab 5:6 includes the phrase בצר למו "in their distress," using the archaic form למו "their." This morpheme is limited to poetry in the Bible (57x; mainly in Job, Psalms, and Isaiah, though also 2x each in the archaic poems of Deut 32 and 33), whereas in QH it occurs quite "naturally" in prose compositions (see 1QS 4:14, 9:22, for example). Note that the *Pesher* comment here interprets Hab 1:12–13a, and not Hab 2:7, where the word למו occurs.

8.3. As is true throughout QH, so also in *Pesher Habakkuk*: the preferred term for God is אל "God." For QH as a whole, אל "God" occurs 694x; for the key text 1QS, this lexeme appears 56x. *Pesher Habakkuk* employs the term 23x: 1:6, 1:11, 2:3, 2:4, 2:8, 2:9, 2:15[(r)], 5:3, 5:4, 7:1, 7:4, 7:8, 7:13, 8:2, 8:10, 8:11, 9:10, 10:3, 10:13, 11:15[(r)], 12:5, 12:9, 13:3.[46] For many of these attestations, see the construct phrases listed above, §3.3.2.

8.4. One of the main discriminants between SBH and LBH is the choice between עֵדָה "community, congregation," used in the former (including P), versus its LBH equivalent קָהָל.[47] Contrary to what one might expect, given the late linguistic profile observable in *Pesher Habakkuk*, our text utilizes the former

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43   See William M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–52; Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245–55; and Gary A. Rendsburg, "Qumran Hebrew (with a Trial Cut [1QS])," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and Sh. Tzoref; STDJ 89; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 217–46. See also Steven Weitzman, "Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?" *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45.

44   For general discussion, see Moshe Bar-Asher, "Lešon Qumran ben ha-Miqraʾ li-Lšon Ḥazal ('Iyyun bi-Sʾif be-Morfologya)," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 137–49.

45   The full phrase is כלי מלחמותם "their instruments of war," but to bring out the grammatical point in the translation I present here simply מלחמותם "their wars."

46   The symbol [(r)] indicates that the text has been slightly restored.

47   Indeed, this conclusion was one of the first of many such findings emanating from the pen of Avi Hurvitz; see his article, "Le-šimušo šel ha-Munaḥ ha-Kohani *ʿēdā* ba-Sifrut ha-Miqraʾit," *Tarbiz* 40 (1970–1971): 261–67.

word: לקים עדה בשקר (1QpHab 10:10). This usage is indicative of QH as a whole, with עדה occurring 153x and קהל occurring 46x.[48]

8.5. A full-scale study of the difference(s) (if any) between בַּעֲבוּר and לְמַעַן in ancient Hebrew, both meaning "on account of, in order that," remains a desideratum.[49] I here present some basic information concerning the distribution of the two forms. The former occurs 51x in the Bible, as follows: Gen-Exod 22x; Josh 2x; Sam 15x; Jer 1x; Amos 2x; Mic 1x; Ps 3x; Job 1x; Chr 4x (3 of which ‖ Samuel), suggesting a decidedly early usage, which becomes less and less common with the passage of time. The latter occurs 272x, more or less equally distributed throughout the biblical corpus, though by the very nature of the decreased use of בַּעֲבוּר in late texts, one may assume an increased use of לְמַעַן in Persian-period compositions. In order to highlight this dichotomy between the two options, note the data provided in the following chart:

בַּעֲבוּר	Samuel 15x / LBH corpus 4x (3 of which ‖ Samuel)
לְמַעַן	Samuel 3x / LBH corpus 16x

To complete the picture, note that Ben Sira uses each form 10x, a point that seems to run counter to the trend for decreased use of בעבור in LBH. I would posit, somewhat tentatively, that the unexpected increase in בעבור in Ben Sira is due to the poetic nature of this composition, with its tendency to evoke biblical language quite consciously.

Regardless, what is clear is *Pesher Habakkuk*'s undoubted preference for בעבור, which occurs in 1QpHab 8:2, 8:10, 9:11, 10:11, 10:12 (with only one instance of למען in 11:14). This stands in contrast, moreover, to the choice between these two synonyms in the base text, with לְמַעַן occurring twice (Hab 2:2, 2:15), versus no instances of בַּעֲבוּר. In short, by favouring בעבור, *Pesher Habakkuk* resounds the more classical language found in SBH, as another instance of intentional archaism in support of the goal of anti-language.

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48   These numbers, taken from *DSSEL*, reflect some double counting, since the same word that occurs in two different copies of the same composition is counted twice. See, for example, עדה in the specific form (בעדתם) in both CD 3:9 and its parallel text 4Q269 = 4QD^d 2 3; and קהל in both CD 12:6 (אל הקהל) and its parallel text 4Q271 = 4QD^f 5 i 21 (לקהל). Such instances, however, are relatively few and do not skew the data presented in any significant way.

49   The essential equality of the two terms may be determined by noticing the use of לְמַעַן in Gen 18:24 alongside the three instances of בַּעֲבוּר in Gen 18:29, 31, 32; the use of לְמַעַן in Gen 27:25 alongside its parallels in Gen 27:4, 19, 31; and so on. For an entrée to the subject, see Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 634–35.

8.6.   The uniquely QH feature represented by הואה "he" occurs in 1QpHab 1:9. And while the more normative הוא predominates thereafter (in 1QpHab 1:13, 3:2, 3:13, 5:6, 10:3, 12:3; in addition to several occurrences within the biblical lemmata), we nonetheless may observe how the author/scribe of *Pesher Habakkuk* sets the tone with his initial choice. This long form, moreover, is not an isolated morpheme, but rather stands as part of a much larger mix, with longer spellings of various types, all of which serve to create, at least in the eyes of the Yaḥad members, "a more official text, a more literary text, indeed a more archaic text."[50]

8.7.   One final characteristic feature of the language of *Pesher Habakkuk*, and indeed of QH in general, is the lack of foreign loanwords (Aramaic, Persian, or Greek).[51] To my mind, this stratagem fits the overall picture perfectly, as another indication of the Yaḥad's commitment to produce "a more official text, a more literary text, indeed a more archaic text" (to repeat Steven Fassberg's felicitous phrase).[52] The main exception, of course, is the word רז "secret, mystery" (borrowed from Persian), a key term in Qumran theology, which occurs 119x in the

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50   Steven Fassberg, "Ha'adafat Ṣurot Mu'rakhot bi-Mgillot Midbar Yehuda," *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 227–40, at 235 (the English rendering is mine). See also in the present volume, Fassberg, "The Nature and Extent of Aramaisms in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls," 21.

51   Contrary to the opinion of many if not most scholars, I am not convinced that the key noun פשר "interpretation" is an Aramaic loanword within Hebrew. True, the Aramaic form occurs 34x in Daniel vs. its more limited spread in Hebrew, with Qoh 8:1 as the sole attestation in the Hebrew portions of the Bible, in addition to Sir 38:14 (MS B) (as feminine noun פשרה, albeit with the meaning "diagnosis" *vel sim.*, given the medical context), and then QH (*passim*). But the picture is far from clear. First, note that the Tiberian Masorah transmitted the vocable in Qoh 8:1 as a Hebrew segolate noun פֵּשֶׁר, reflecting no influence from Aramaic. Secondly, the semantic range of the word is greater in Hebrew than it is in Aramaic, a point stressed by Jonas C. Greenfield, "Etymological Semantics," *ZAH* 6 (1993): 26–37, at 27; repr. in *Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. S. M. Paul, M. E. Stone, and A. Pinnick; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 2:821–32, at 822. For further discussion, see Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words, Part II: Vocabulary*, 466–67.

52   In addition to the parallels brought in my earlier article, "Qumran Hebrew (with a Trial Cut [1QS])," 241 (including n. 56), note the following analogues from a period closer to the composition of the DSS: (a) the Hebrew register used for the prayers, which strikingly lack Greek and Latin loanwords, on which see Moshe Bar-Asher, "Les formules de bénédiction forgées par les sages: étude préliminaire," *REJ* 166 (2007): 441–61; and (b) the Syriac employed by Jacob of Edessa in his letters, which is distinguished by a lack of Greek loanwords, in conspicuous contrast to the writings of other Syriac Orthodox authors of the previous generation (information courtesy of Aaron M. Butts, Yale University).

Hebrew texts and 19x in the Aramaic documents from Qumran.[53] Amongst the former are three attestations in 1QpHab, always as the construct plural רזי: 7:5 7:8, 7:14 (see above §2.6). Most likely this noun was admitted into the QH lexis because its morphology was well suited to the Hebrew language, with so many other basic nouns bearing this shape (אָב, אָח, יָם, דָּם, עָם, רַב, רָע, זָב , דָּג, יָד,דַּד, etc.)— in contrast to words such as פַּרְתְּמִים "nobles" or פִּתְגָּם "word, speech," which do not fit a Hebrew paradigm, not to mention such exceedingly long (for Hebrew, that is) vocables as אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים "satraps," and אֲחַשְׁתְּרָנִים "royals."[54]

Within *Pesher Habakkuk* there is only one other item that discloses foreign influence, namely, עלוֹהי (1 QpHab 12:11), in the citation of the scriptural lemma (= MT Hab 2:18 עָלָיו). While this pronominal suffix constitutes a patent Aramaism, its presence may be explained if we follow Fassberg's lead and regard the form as one further instance of the Qumran scribes' preference for longer forms,[55] again, as part of their "baroque" style.[56]

9.0. This study demonstrates that, contrary to the opinion expressed by Young (and Rezetko and Ehrensvärd), the language of *Pesher Habakkuk* is representative of LBH, as opposed to SBH. These two varieties of ancient Hebrew do not constitute coeval stylistic taxons, but rather chronologically determined dialects. By the time of the main floruit of the Qumran community, ca. 150 BCE to ca. 50 BCE, during which period *Pesher Habakkuk* presumably was written,[57]

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53 Count according to DSSEL. Again, there are some double countings, e.g., in the phrase ברזי פלא in both 1QS 9:18 and its parallel text 4Q258 = 4QSᵈ 8 3, but the number of such examples is relatively insignificant.

54 Naturally, I do not mean to imply that Qumran scribes had paradigm charts of the sort found in language primers. But individuals who spend their time (lives?) copying, studying, and composing texts gain more than facility in orthography and literary flair. They are just as likely to gain a firm understanding of the mechanics of the language, especially if their prose is girded by linguistic ideology.

55 See the very short comment in Fassberg, "Haʿadafat Ṣurot Muʾrakhot bi-Mgillot Midbar Yehuda," 231, and then the extended discussion in the present volume, Fassberg, "The Nature and Extent of Aramaisms in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls," 21–22.

56 For this use of the descriptive term "baroque," though with special attention to the trend of "baroque orthography" in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Frank Moore Cross, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11.1; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:1–15, at 4.

57 In fact, *Pesher Habakkuk* most likely was composed towards the end of this century span, given the repeated reference to the Kittim, a code name for the Romans, in 1QpHab 2:12, 2:14, 3:4, 3:9, 4:5, 4:10, 6:1, 6:10, 9:7. On the use of this code name, see Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the *War Scroll* and the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans*

no Hebrew author was capable still of composing in SBH. Notwithstanding his noble effort to produce an ancient-looking text—through the use of archaisms, the adaptation of poetic forms for normal prose usage, the invention of specific forms, the non–use of foreign words, and more—the author of *Pesher Habakkuk* reveals the true nature of his "native" and "natural" Hebrew by the LBH features that dominate throughout, in both the morphological and syntactic realms.
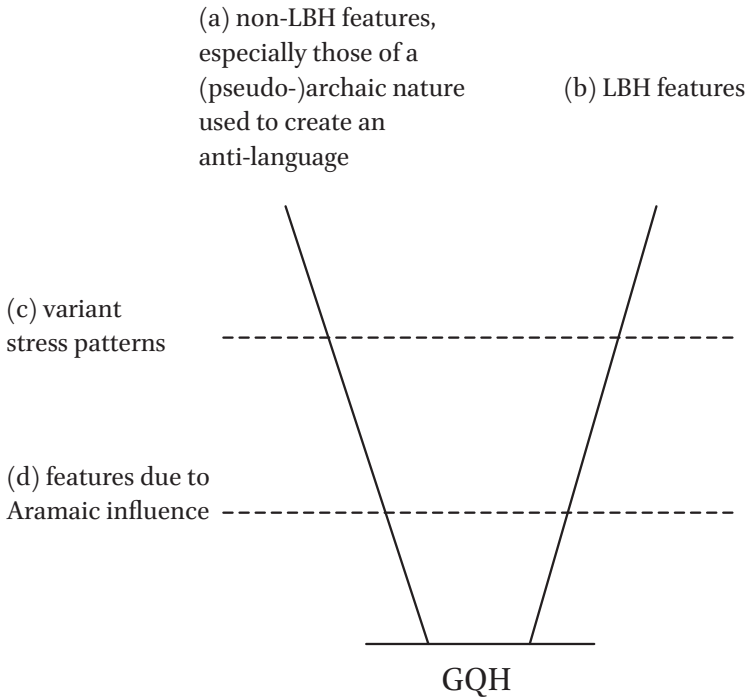
To expand upon this last statement, I repeat here the conclusion of my earlier article on QH, with special attention to *Serekh ha-Yaḥad*, but which is equally applicable to this study focused on *Pesher Habakkuk*. Two counter trends are visible in this document:

a) The first trend is the purposeful development and employment of an anti-language, in order to create an internal idiom for the members of the sect. This brand of Hebrew attempts as much as possible to utilize archaic features, in order to provide an air of authenticity and authority to the new documents under formation in the hands of the sect's leaders.

b) At the same time, though, a second trend is noticeable throughout: try as they might, the Qumran authors could not swim upstream against the billowing surge of LBH incursions into their prose.

The result is a most unusual Hebrew dialect, which may be visualized in the following manner (adapting the chart developed by Shelomo Morag to depict his understanding of QH):[58]

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to *Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 27–31 January 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D. R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44, esp. 41–42.

[58]   Shelomo Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," *VT* 48 (1988): 148–64, with the chart on p. 162. As the reader is by now aware, the present article has focused on elements (a) and (b) of the chart, with an occasional nod to element (d) and no discussion of element (c). The lack of treatment of variant stress patterns is not to minimize their importance, though. In a word, I would argue that they too could serve the goal of linguistic ideology. For examples in *Pesher Habakkuk*, note 1QpHab 4:6 ישחוקו (with dots both above and below the *waw* in the manuscript), 4:11 יעבורו, 9:5 יקבוצו. The reading in 1QpHab 1:8 is presumably יגז[ו]לו, but the lacuna occurs at the crucial spot. For additional comments, see Fassberg, "The Nature and Extent of Aramaisms in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls," 12. For some recent data on the subject, see Martin G. Abegg, "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More than (Initially) Meets the Eye," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 48–68, esp. 61–62.

(a) non-LBH features,
especially those of a
(pseudo-)archaic nature   (b) LBH features
used to create an
anti-language

(c) variant
stress patterns

(d) features due to
Aramaic influence

GQH

Adapted from Vetus Testamentum 48 (1988), p. 162