

Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran

Devorah Dimant

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Abstract

The authors of the Pesharim from Qumran interpreted biblical prophecies in symbolic and allegoric manner. They read into these prophecies allusions to events of their own times. This type of actualization was applied even to prophecies which were said in the Hebrew Bible to have been fulfilled in the past. This exegetical method, which assumes that a prophecy may be fulfilled more than once, is illustrated by three examples : the interpretation of 1 Samuel 2 : 35 and Ezekiel 44 : 15 by the Damascus Document III-IV, the pesher of the curse uttered by Joshua against Jericho (Joshua 6 : 26) as interpreted by 4Q379 22 ii//4Q174 21-30, and the interpretation of Jeremiah 25 : 11 et 29 : 10 by Daniel 9.

Résumé

Les auteurs des pesharim de Qumran pratiquaient l'interprétation allégorique ou symbolique des prophéties bibliques et voyaient en elles des allusions aux événements de leur propre génération, même quand la Bible hébraïque renvoie aux réalisations précédentes des mêmes prophéties. Cette méthode exégétique est illustrée par trois exemples : l'interprétation de 1 Samuel 2 : 35 et Ezéchiel 44 : 15 dans le Document de Damas III-IV, le pesher sur la malédiction de Josué (Josué 6 : 26) dans 4Q379 22 ii// 4Q174 21-30, et l'interprétation de Jérémie 25 : 11 et 29 : 10 dans Daniel 9.

Devorah DIMANT

University of Haifa

EXEGESIS AND TIME IN THE PESHARIM FROM QUMRAN

RÉSUMÉ

Les auteurs des pesharim de Qumran pratiquaient l'interprétation allegorique ou symbolique des prophéties bibliques et voyaient en elles des allusions aux événements de leur propre génération, même quand la Bible hébraïque renvoie aux réalisations précédentes des mêmes prophéties. Cette méthode exégétique est illustrée par trois exemples: l'interprétation de 1 Samuel 2:35 et Ezéchiel 44:15 dans le Document de Damas III-IV, le pesher sur la malédiction de Josué (Josué 6:26) dans 4Q379 22 ii//4Q174 21-30, et l'interprétation de Jérémie 25:11 et 29:10 dans Daniel 9.

SUMMARY

The authors of the Pesharim from Qumran interpreted biblical prophecies in symbolic and allegoric manner. They read into these prophecies allusions to events of their own times. This type of actualization was applied even to prophecies which were said in the Hebrew Bible to have been fulfilled in the past. This exegetical method, which assumes that a prophecy may be fulfilled more than once, is illustrated by three examples: the interpretation of 1 Samuel 2:35 and Ezekiel 44:15 by the Damascus Document III-IV, the pesher of the curse uttered by Joshua against Jericho (Joshua 6:26) as interpreted by 4Q379 22 ii//4Q174 21-30, and the interpretation of Jeremiah 25:11 et 29:10 by Daniel 9.

The actualizing exegesis of biblical prophecies, cast in a peculiar kind of commentary, the pesher, is one of the hallmarks of the Qumran sectarian literature. Qumran texts belonging to this genre are constructed as lemmatic citations of biblical passages, each followed by its respective interpretation. The interpretative components in such commentaries treat single prophetic utterances as encoded messages, which the exposition sections decode by means of various exegetical techniques. The decoded meaning always applies to contemporary events and personalities related to the circumstances surrounding the community, which owned the Qumran library and authored part of its scrolls. The first specimen of these peculiar commentar-

ies to be discovered was the *Pesher to Habakkuk* (1QpHab)¹. Being one of the first scrolls to be discovered and published, this pesher attracted much attention in the early phase of the Qumran research². But when John Allegro brought out most of the pesharim of Qumran cave 4 a few years later³, the methods, terminology and style of the pesharim became the object of intense study⁴. It appeared that beside pesharim on successive verses in single prophecies, the so-called Continuous Pesharim, such as the *Pesher to Habakkuk*⁵, the sectaries also authored pesharim on various prophecies grouped around one or several themes, such as 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) or the *Melchizedek Pesher* (11Q13). Such a variety of pesher forms afforded better understanding of the sporadic units of explicit pesharim embedded in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and the *Rule of the Community* (1QS)⁶.

The pesharim attracted scholarly attention because of their peculiar form and import, but also because they are the Qumran texts which contain most of the allusions to historical realities. They are therefore the main source for reconstructing the history of the community reflected by part of the scrolls, so-called the sectarian literature⁷.

With the publication of the entire Qumran collection it became evident that not all the pesharim are restricted to prophetic texts and not all the comments using the pesher method actually employ the term “pesher”⁸. In

1. First published by M. BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery I* (New Haven 1950).

2. Cf. e.g. K. ELLIGER, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen 1953).

3. Cf. J. M. ALLEGRO, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)*, (DJD V; Oxford 1968).

4. Cf. The critical examination of the pesharim performed during the first phase of Qumran research, summarized by M.P. HORGAN, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Washington 1979).

5. Of this continuous type, extant are pesharim of Isaiah, Hosea, Micha, Nahum, Zephania and Psalms, considered prophetic. For a re-edition see M.P. HORGAN, “Pesharim”, in J.H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents* (The Dead Sea Scrolls 6B; Tübingen-Louisville 2002), pp. 1-202. Cf. the survey of D. DIMANT, “Pesharim, Qumran,” in D.N. FREEDMAN (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York 1992), vol. 5, pp. 244-251; EAD., “Pesher”, in L. JONES (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York 2004), vol. 10, p. 7065.

6. Cf. e.g. the explicit pesharim of Ezekiel 44:15 in CD III, 21-IV, 1-4, and of Num 21:18 in CD VI, 2-11, and the pesher of Isaiah 40:3 in 1QS VIII, 13-16. In the *Damascus Document* these explicit pesharim are interwoven into a fabric of additional, non-explicit pesharim. For a survey of the different types of pesharim cf. DIMANT, “Pesharim” (n. 5 above).

7. See the surveys of this aspect of the pesharim, recently published by J.H. CHARLESWORTH, *The Pesharim and Qumran History* (Grand Rapids 2002); T.H. LIM, *Pesharim* (Sheffield 2002), pp. 64-78; H. ESHEL, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonaean State* (Jerusalem 2004, Hebrew).

8. For a pesher on the Torah law of jubilee (Lev 25:3; Dt 15:2) see the *Melchizedek*

The exegetical methods employed by the pesharim have been examined by several studies⁹. But unexplained is the predilection of the Qumranites for this type of commentary and its relationship with the sectaries' particular beliefs. I have suggested elsewhere that the peculiar concept of the historical temporal sequence underlying the pesharim accounts for this preference and explains their import for the sectarian literature¹⁰. This concept emerges from the description by the *Pesher to Habakkuk* of the special role of the community's leader, nicknamed the Teacher of Righteousness. In the comment on Habakkuk 1:5 the *Pesher* explains that the prophet alludes to the traitors "who will not believe when they hear all that is going to co[me up]on the last generation from the mouth of the priest (i.e. the Teacher), to whom God gave into [his heart discernme]nt to interpret all the words of his servants the prophets, [whom] by their hand God recounted all that is going to come upon his people..." (1QpHab II, 6-10¹¹). That the Teacher of Righteousness was endowed with special understanding of the biblical prophecies is repeated by the comment to Habakkuk 2:2, "and when he¹² says 'so that the reader may read it easily' its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab VII, 3-5¹³).

9. Most of the discussions center on the actualization method. See e.g. W.H. BROWNLEE, "Bible Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BA* 19 (1951), pp. 54-76; ELLIGER, *Studien* (n. 2 above), pp. 118-164; HORGAN, *Pesharim* (n. 4 above), pp. 244-259; G.J. BROOKE, *Exegesis at Qumran* (SuppJSOT 29; Sheffield 1985), pp. 279-352; ID., "Qumran Pesher" (n. 8 above), pp. 483-503; ID., "The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in M.O. WISE et al. (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (Annals of the New York Academy of Science 722, New York 1994), pp. 339-352; B. NITZAN, *Pesher Habakkuk* (Jerusalem 1986), pp. 33-79 (Hebrew).

11. פשר הדבר [על הברגדים]... אשר לוא יאמינוא בשומעם את כול הבאות [על] הדור האחרון מפי הכוהן אשר נתן אל בן[לבו בינה] לפשור את כול דברי עבדיו הנביאים אשר בידם ספר אל את כול Following the text edition by HORGAN, "Pesharim", (above n. 5), p. 162. Her translation *ibid.* is reproduced with slight changes.

13. ואשר אמר למען ייזק הקורא בו פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את כול רוי דברי עבדיו.

This statement affirms that the prophetic discourse speaks of “all that is going to come upon his people”, namely of the events to take place in the course of time. However, the details of this course elude direct and immediate understanding for the oracle’s words are enigmatic. Since Habakkuk’s mysterious utterances embody a divine message, their hidden meaning may be divulged only with the help of another divine disclosure. Such additional revelation is granted to the one who, according to the *pesher*, is called by the prophet “the reader” (הקורא), decoded as an epithet of the Teacher of Righteousness¹⁴. The *Pesher* seems to anchor this interpretation to the prophecy’s verb ירוץ, literally meaning “will hurry”¹⁵. Yet the *Pesher* appears to understand it in the sense of “will hurry to read,” namely “will hurry to understand (the prophecy)”¹⁶.

The sharp distinction between the prophet, receiver and transmitter of the mysterious divine message, and the interpreter of the message, the Teacher of Righteousness, requires explanation. The two lived in periods separated by several centuries. Some scholars explained this gap by attributing to the *Pesher* the view that the Prophets were unaware of the full meaning ingrained in their own prophecies, and they merely transmitted the mysteries divulged to them¹⁷. But this explanation is discordant with the deep

הנבאים. For text and translation, with slight changes, see HORGAN, “Pesharim” (n. 5 above), pp. 172-173.

14. The Massoretic text to Habakkuk has the indeterminate קורא (“a reader”). The quotation of the verse located at the end of 1QpHab column VI has not been preserved, but the interpretative section in the following column quotes the word in the determinate form הקורא (“the reader”). It is difficult to know whether this change reflects a real variant biblical text (not attested by any of the ancient biblical versions) or stems from the interpretation of the *pesher*. In any case the determinate word is used here to support its application to a known figure, the Teacher of Righteousness. The *Melchizedek Pesher* (11Q13 ii 19-20) may provide further evidence for his role of divulging the sense of the historical “periods.” It understands the prophecy of Is 61:2 about the one who will comfort the afflicted as alluding to the one who comes “to instruct them in all the periods of the world.” If the reference is to the Teacher of Righteousness, it tallies with the role assigned to the Teacher by the *Pesher to Habakkuk*. Moreover, the statement comes in a passage referring to the words of the prophets (11Q13 ii 17) so even though the text is fragmentary we propose that it evinces an idea of history similar to that of the *Pesher to Habakkuk* II, 6-10; VII, 3-5. Cf. also nn. 19 and 29 below.

15. In this sense it is translated by the Septuagint (διώκει) and the Vulgate (percurrat). See Rashi’s comment ad loc. Cf. L. KOEHLER, W. BAUMGARTNER, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden-New York-Köln 1996), p. 1207.

16. In a similar way it is understood by the *Targum Jonathan* to Hab 2:2: בדיל דיוחי ... למחכם מן דקרי בה (“...so that whoever reads in it [i.e. the book of the Torah] may hasten to be wise”). For other interpretations of this word see W.H. BROWNLEE, *The Midrash Pesher to Habakkuk* (SBL Monographs Series 24; Missoula 1979), p. 111; BROOKE, “Qumran Pesher” (n. 8 above), p. 497.

17. See e.g. BROWNLEE, *Midrash Pesher* (n. 16 above), p. 110. CHARLESWORTH, *The Pesharim* (n. 7 above) p. 15, defines the *pesharim*’s attitude to the prophetic message in the

respect the sectaries had for the biblical Prophets, and with their belief in the Prophets' role as expounders and transmitters of the Torah of Moses¹⁸. So the import of the *Pesher*'s statements should be sought elsewhere.

Indeed, some scholars have offered a different explanation for the temporal gap between the oracle and its exposition. They suggest that the Teacher's function in this respect should be understood in light of the sectarian idea that the meaning of the biblical prophecies is revealed in an ongoing process effected through the generations, hence the Prophets were unable to fathom it in its entirety¹⁹. But these observations were never pursued, nor were their consequences spelt out. A closer look at the pertinent passages of the *Pesher to Habakkuk* shows that precisely the gap between the moment of the prophetic revelation and that of the Teacher's interpretation points to the nature of the temporal sequence involved.

A similar gap in time is found in the ancient Jewish apocalyptic writings, such as *I Enoch* and the *Book of Daniel*, for they share with the Qumran scrolls the same view of history²⁰. A comparison between the approach to the historical process, evinced by the apocalyptic visions and the one adopted by the Qumran pesharim, may therefore clarify the attitude to history they share. According to the apocalyptic literature, as well as to the Qumran sectarian literature, the temporal sequence of history consists of a string of well defined periods, קצרים in the sectarian nomenclature. Each period is determined by a precise duration, by the events taking place during its course, and by its position within the entire temporal chain. Implied

following way: "History and time had a meaning, and that meaning had been understood only obliquely and imperfectly by the ancient prophets..."

18. See e.g. 1QS I, 3; VIII, 16; CD VII, 17-18; 4Q375 1 i 1; 4Q504 1-2 ii 12-13. Cf. G. BRIN, "Biblical Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls," in M. FISHBANE et al. (eds.), *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake 1992), pp. 101*-112*, esp. p. 105* (Hebrew).

19. See e.g. what Michael Fishbane wrote on the ongoing revelation in connection with the Torah, but also with the prophetic message included in it. Such a connection is also reflected in Fishbane's view that the Teacher of Righteousness was a divinely inspired interpreter of both the Torah and the Prophets. Cf. M. FISHBANE, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in M.J. MOULDER (ed.), *Mikra* (CRINT 2/1; Assen-Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 264, 361. However, the sectarian literature explicitly assigns Torah interpretations to the Interpreter of the Torah, a figure distinct from the Teacher of Righteousness (cf. CD VI, 7-8; VII, 18-19). The two are never linked. Even the prescription of CD XX, 32, "and they listen to the voice of a Teacher of Righteousness," (והאזינו לקול מורה צדק) does not necessarily refer to the Teacher, or to Torah exegesis. It may refer to the ordinances of the community (cf. CD XX, 28). The references to a special torah given by the Teacher (4Q171 3-10 iv 8-9; 4Q177 1-4 14) may also allude to the particular teaching of the community rather than the Torah of Moses. Cf. below and n. 29.

20. I have analyzed this common concept in D. DIMANT, "Election and the Laws of History in Apocalyptic Literature," in S. ALMOG & M. HEYD (eds.), *Chosen People, Elect Nation and Universal Mission* (Jerusalem 1991), pp. 59-69 (Hebrew).

in this view is the idea that the temporal sequence is finite and may be calculated with precision²¹. The authors of the scrolls, as well as the writers of the apocalyptic visions such as Daniel 9 or the *Animal Apocalypse* (*I Enoch* 85-90), attempted to do just that²². These computations were usually done in terms of septenary units, namely of year-weeks and jubilees²³. Although Daniel 9 and the *Animal Apocalypse* offer computations for only the last part of the historical course, other contemporary writings, such as the *Book of Jubilees* and Qumran 4Q180, compute the first section of this sequence, while the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*I Enoch* 91:11-17; 93:1-10) produce calculations for the entire historical process²⁴. This suggests that the authors of the apocalyptic literature, as well as those of Qumran, were familiar with a comprehensive computation of the complete temporal sequence²⁵.

Another aspect of the temporal sequence as viewed by the apocalyptic and Qumran writings is its enigmatic character. The historical process lost the transparency it possessed in the times of the biblical Prophets and

21. Cf. e.g. CD II, 10; 1QS III, 15, 23; IV, 16; IX, 1; 1QpHab VII, 13; 1QH^a XXV[V], 13; IX, 16; 4Q180 1 1,13; 4Q417 1 I 7; 4Q418 2 6; 11Q13 ii 20. The fact that *Jubilees* 1:4, 26, 9 and 4:4 link also the term עת ("period, age") with the jubilees' computation shows that in certain contexts it is synonym for קץ ("period"). In fact, J. Licht showed long ago that in some sectarian texts קץ ("period") and עת ("age"; "specific time") both designate the determined ages within the sequence of periods. Cf. J. LICHT, "The Doctrine of 'Times' according to the Sect of Qumran and Other 'Computers of Seasons'," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1957), p. 65 (Hebrew). See recently D. DIMANT, "What is the Book of the Divisions of Time?" in M. BAR-ASHER et al. (eds.), *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Language* (Jerusalem 2007), pp. 273-285 (Hebrew).

22. That such calculations were in fact entertained by the Qumranites may be inferred from the exposition of Hab 2:3 in 1QpHab VII, 10-12: "Its interpretation concerns the men of truth, those who practice the Torah, whose hands do not grow slack in the service of the truth, when the final period (הקץ האחרון) is prolonged for them..."

23. Cf. K. KOCH, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte", *ZAW* 95 (1983), pp. 403-430.

24. For recent perspectives on the *Apocalypse of Weeks* see G. BOCCACCINI (ed.), *Enoch and the Qumran Origins* (Grand Rapids 2005), pp. 185-246. A small fragment about historical periods in terms of jubilees turned up in Qumran, 4Q247. The first editor has labeled this text *Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks*. Cf. M. BROSHI, "247. 4QPesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks," in P. ALEXANDER et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36), Oxford 2000, pp. 187-191. However, this is a misleading and unwarranted title: nothing in the few surviving words matches the Enochic *Apocalypse of Weeks*, nor is the term "pesher" mentioned by the fragment.

25. In an early article Jacob Licht stressed the importance of the periods as a temporal framework in the apocalyptic visions and the interest of the scrolls in such framework. Cf. J. LICHT, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran," *JJS* 16 (1965), pp. 177-182. For more recent discussions see D. DIMANT, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9:24-27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts," in A.S. VAN DER WOUDE (ed.), *The Book of Daniel* (Leuven, 1993), pp. 57-76; EAD., *Qumran Cave 4. XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford 2001), pp. 113-115.

became cryptic. It was therefore taken to reflect the mysterious predetermined divine plan for history. In a graphic way this notion is presented by the enigmatic symbols of Daniel's visions in the Book of Daniel 2-7²⁶. These curious and puzzling symbols were purposely chosen to represent the cryptic nature of the historical process, the details of which are hidden in the unfathomable mysteries of the divine plan. Therefore these symbols cannot be understood by the human observer. Only another vision explains their meaning to Daniel (e.g. Dan 2:19). Similarly, the *Pesher to Habakkuk*, like other Qumran pesharim, considered the prophetic utterances to constitute encoded cryptograms. For the pesharim, the Teacher of Righteousness was the recipient of divine wisdom, enabling him to unravel the meaning of the enigmatic predictions. The cryptic character of the prophecies was likened to dream visions and thus permitted the pesher to apply methods of dream interpretation to the exegesis of prophecies²⁷. Note in passing that precisely this sort of contrast between the oracle and its exposition shows that the Teacher of Righteousness does not stand as a prophet. He does not receive enigmatic messages, only their elucidation. Therefore the Teacher of Righteousness should not be equated with the prophetic character of Moses the lawgiver, as some scholars maintain²⁸, or with the prophets themselves²⁹. He stands on a different level.

The full significance of a detailed, calculable and predetermined historical sequence comes to the fore when its unfolding is observed. In the scrolls this sequence is part of the overall predetermined plan for created existence, brought about by the divine creative act. This notion is presented most explicitly by the *Rule of the Community*, columns III-IV, especially 1QS III, 15-17. Although only the *Rule* describes this idea systematically and in detail, it undoubtedly underlay other sectarian texts as well as the apocalyp-

26. In particular Daniel 2. Cf. D. DIMANT, "The Four Empires of Daniel, Chapter 2, in the Light of Texts from Qumran," in R. ELIOR & J. DAN, *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought* 12 (1996), pp. 33-41 (Hebrew). Cf. also the references in nn. 32, 66 below.

27. See A. FINKEL, "The Pesher of Dreams and Scriptures," *RQ* 4 (1963-64), pp. 357-370. Also the use of exegetical techniques similar to the ones exploited by the Rabbis such as Notarikon, interchange of words, Gezerah Shavah and various etymological puns are means of filling the gap between the "mystery", and its inner meaning. Cf. BROOKE's survey, *Exegesis at Qumran* (n. 9 above), pp. 283-292.

28. Cf. e.g. O. BETZ, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (WUNT 6; Tübingen 1960), p. 62; FISHBANE, *Use, Authority* (above n. 19), p. 361.

29. The reappearance of the two figures in the redemptive era (CD VI, 11 — "the one who will teach justice"; 4Q174 1 i 11-12 — the Interpreter of the Torah), emphasizes their difference and their distinct roles. But this does diminish the historical reality of such figures mentioned in historical contexts. It only shows that the Qumranites expected the same roles to be filled again in the final redemptive era. Cf. nn. 14, 19 above.

tic visions³⁰. In the apocalyptic visions the notion is expressed through the attribution of the revelations to ancient sages, implying the predetermined and structured character of the process³¹. According to the *Animal Apocalypse* (1 Enoch 85-90) Enoch, the seventh generation of humanity, saw the historical process from beginning to end, indicating that the details and character of the course of time were already fixed at that early stage. Moreover, the same lines of development, which according to this *Apocalypse* run through the entire sequence, lead from creation to sin, thence to punishment, thence to the final redemption. They thereby emphasize the cohesion of the historical process and its nature as one and the same entity. This idea is clearly expressed by Daniel chapter 2, where history is represented by one gigantic statue, whose limbs stand for various historical periods³². A similar view is expressed by the vision of 4 Ezra 5:46-55, in which the historical course is depicted as a single pregnant woman giving birth³³.

The coherence and unity of the historical process has important implications for its character and manner of unfolding. Among other things it means that what takes place in one period is connected with, and impacts events in another. This idea is expressed, for instance, in the resemblance between the generation of the Flood and the Last Generation. Several writings state that they are similar in structure and in the laws governing them³⁴. Another aspect of this idea is expressed by the single process of

30. Compare the presentations of 4Q180 1 1-5; 4Q266 2 1 5-6(= 4Q268 1 7-8); 4Q416 1; 11Q13 ii 15-21. Cf. nn. 38, 39 below.

31. Cf. J.J. COLLINS, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 16; Missoula 1977), p. 87.

32. Elias Bickerman stressed that the fact that various historical kingdoms are symbolized by Dan 2 one statue implies that the statue stands for the activity of ruling, rather than for various kingdoms. Cf. E. BICKERMAN, *Four Strange Books in the Bible* (New York 1967), p. 67. The view of history as a unified process is shared also by the apocalyptic visions, as pointed out by J. LICHT, "The Doctrine of 'Times'" (n. 21 above), p. 69. A similar observation in relation to the apocalyptic visions was made by D.S. RUSSEL, *The Method and Message of the Apocalyptic* (London 1964). However, only Licht connected it with the scrolls. Cf. DIMANT, "Election" (n. 20 above); EAD., "Temps", (n. 10 above).

33. Cf. the comments of M.E. STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis 1990), p. 146, especially n. 17. In the vision of Syriac *Baruch* 53: 1-11 Baruch sees the sequence of historical events as one great sea, in which bright and dark waters interchange, or a single cloud, which shows bright and dark waters.

34. See e.g. the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 Enoch), 93:4, 9; Matthew 24:37-39; Luke 17:26-27. Matthias Henze has recently commented on the three aspects of the laws governing the historical process in the *Apocalypse*: the numerical value, the binary character, and the alternate periods of wickedness and righteousness. Cf. M. HENZE, "The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Architecture of the End Time", in G. BOCCACCINI (ed.), *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (Grand Rapids 2005), pp. 207-209. Yet the three elements present various aspects of the same temporal process.

deterioration and growing sinfulness that runs through the entire temporal sequence. This is the concept behind the apocalyptic visions of history in many apocalyptic works³⁵.

The concept of history as an integral progressing sequence, unfolded through consecutive stages, must bear on the manner of understanding it; the comprehension of such a sequence must also be dynamic, gradually revealed over time. So perceiving the real significance of historical events depends on the place of the observer in the temporal sequence. Each generation may gain the measure of understanding corresponding to its location along the historical string of epochs, although this is imparted only to the worthy few. Such a concept fully explains the form and attitude of both the apocalyptic visions and the Qumran pesharim.

The fact that history is enigmatic and its mysteries may be fathomed only by means of an ongoing revelation implies a distinction between the mystery and its interpretation. In the Book of Daniel chapter 2 the mysteries of history are given in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar, but without their meaning (2:1-6). Only Daniel receives both the mystery and its significance (2:19-24). The *Pesher to Habakkuk* distinguishes the enigmatic revelation from its decoding by introducing the temporal gap separating the prophetic message and the disclosure of its meaning to the Teacher of Righteousness. The positioning of two on distinct points of the temporal sequence suggests that they differ in meaning and character.

As noted above, the similarity between the techniques of interpreting apocalyptic visions and the peshar exegesis of biblical prophecies stems from the view that the prophetic utterances are in fact akin to visionary forecasts. But the two differ in important ways: in the sources of explanation, in the object explained and in the recipients' places in the historical process. Firstly, the apocalyptic visions are interpreted by heavenly beings or objects while in the pesharim prophecies are explained by inspired human figures, namely the Teacher of Righteousness or other sectarian teachers. Secondly, the apocalyptic compositions concern interpretations of dreams and visions while the pesharim interpret written biblical prophecies. Thirdly, and most importantly, the apocalyptic visions are revealed to pseudepigraphic ancient seers in primeval or early historical times, while the meaning of the biblical prophecies is divulged to historical figures living close to the author's times. Set at the beginning or early history, the visions of the apocalyptic seers are a kind of forecasts. Thus Enoch of the

35. See e.g. Daniel 9, the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85-90), the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 91:11-17; 93:1-10), *4 Ezra* 5:46-55, *Syriac Baruch* 56:1-11. Cf. n. 32.

Enochic apocalypses could have received visions about the enigmatic events of history, but could not have known their full details. Daniel too needed divine revelation (2:19) or angelic explanations (7:16; 8:15-18; 9:20-23; 10:5-12) to comprehend the visions about history divulged to him and to the gentile kings. But living at the end of the historical process, at the threshold of the Last Generation, as the sectaries believed, the Teacher of Righteousness, and through him the community as a whole, witnessed the entire historical process. Only they can perceive the true meaning of the events which take place in relation to the community. This special knowledge is alluded to in several sectarian texts. Some speak of it as given to the entire community. The *Damascus Document* notes: "And he (God) uncovered their eyes to hidden things and they opened their [e]ars and heard profundities, and they understood all that is to be before it comes upon them" (4Q266 2 i 5-6 + 4Q268 1 7-8³⁶). But in a different statement the *Damascus Document* refers to a specific person who received this special knowledge, namely the Teacher of Righteousness: "And he (the Teacher) informed the latter generations that which He (God) did in the last generation to the congregation of traitors..." (CD I, 11-12³⁷). Similarly the *Melchizedek Pesher* speaks of the messenger who will instruct the afflicted, namely the covenanters, in the laws of history. Apparently he will do so through interpretation of the prophets: "... 'the mountains' (Is 52:7) [are] the prophet[s]; they [] every [] and the 'messenger' i[s] the anointed of the spir[it], as Dan[iel] said [about him: 'Until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks' (Dan 9:25). And the messenger of] good who announ[ces salvation] is the one about whom it is written: '[] to comfort the [afflicted] (Is 61:2) its interpretation:] to [in]struct them in all the ages of the world" (11Q13 ii 17-20³⁸). Perhaps the "messenger of good" is the Teacher himself³⁹.

36. ויגל עיניהמה בנסתרות ואחזמה פתח וישמעו עמוקות ויבינו בכול נהיות עד מה יבוא במ. Compare also 4Q177 1-4 10-13.

37. Brin rightly notes that this formulation alludes to the pesher interpretation of prophecy and thus agrees with the views of the *Pesher to Habakkuk*. Cf. BRIN, "Biblical Prophecy" (n. 18 above), p. 111*.

38. ההרין המה הנביאים המה א [] מ [] לכול אשן [] והמבשר הו[א]ה משיח הרו[ח]ת כאשר אמר דנ[אל] עליו עד משיח נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר טוב משמי[ע] ישועה הו[א]ה הכ[ת]וב עליו אשר [] לנה[ם] האבלים פשרו ל[ה]שכילמה בכול קצי העולם. For the text see É. PUECH, "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkisédeq," *RQ* 12 (1987), p. 489; F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, E.J.C. TIGCHELAAR, *Qumran Cave 11, II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23; Oxford 1998), p. 225.

39. The pesher identifies the 'messenger' of Is 52:7 with "the anointed of the spirit" of Dan 9:25. However, "the messenger of good" of Is 52:7 is explained by in a new sentence and is identified with a different prophetic verse, Is 61:2. Most commentators take the two to refer to one and the same figure, either the messiah or the Teacher of Righteousness. Cf. Puech, "Notes" (n. 38 above), p. 509 for summary of the discussion. However, the clear

According to the view expounded in the above discussed passages the Prophets may have well understood their own messages but only to the extent permitted by their own temporal circumstance. Their forecasts seem, then, to have contained hidden dimensions which could be fully deciphered only at later period or even at the end of the temporal process. Living close to such a termination, only the Teacher of Righteousness could have been granted the complete meaning of the entire sequence. In its way, this presentation of the Teacher's role also implies the idea that the full significance of history may become known only at the consummation of time.

The enigmatic and multifaceted character of the temporal sequence, governed by an inner logic, gradually unfolding and gradually fully grasped, is expressed by another phenomenon, not yet recognized, namely that a given prophecy may be fulfilled more than once, each time on a different level and in a different manner. In other words, the divine message encoded in the prophetic prediction may be realized over and over, depending on its location in the course of time. Correspondingly, this process may be perceived by the observer of the temporal sequence, depending on his position in this sequence and on the means he possesses to obtain accurate understanding of the phenomenon. In fact, a similar principle is applied by the sectarian literature to the interpretation of the Torah, namely that it is to be interpreted according to each period (e.g. 1QS VIII, 15; IX, 12-15; CD XII, 20-21)⁴⁰. David Flusser already associated this notion with the sectarian view of time: "Thus the person who wishes to live according to the will of God is obliged to adopt in each period a fresh attitude to the events of his time and his generation"⁴¹. But Flusser did not apply his observation to the interpretation of prophecy. In general it has not been noticed that according to the sectarian view the dynamic dimension of time operates not only in the domain of the practice and interpretation of the Torah but also in the fulfillment and understanding of biblical prophecies. Such a view emerges from the foregoing analysis, but is also explicitly stated by the pesharim and related compositions. In the following I illustrate by three examples that the developing aspect of history, which permits a given pre-

stylistic distinction between two statements, the different verses adduced to support their interpretation, and the two distinct roles, suggest that two figures are intended. The first one is the eschatological messiah, the other one is the comforter, living in historical times, probably the Teacher of Righteousness.

40. As noted e.g. by LICHT, "The Doctrine of 'Times'" (n. 21 above), p. 63; FISHBANE, "Use, Authority" (n. 19 above), pp. 361, 364; J.M. BAUMGARTEN, "La loi religieuse de la communauté de Qoumrân," *Annales* 51 (1996), p. 1010.

41. D. FLUSSER, "The Sect of the Judean Desert and Its Ideology," *Zion* 19 (1953), p. 90 (Hebrew).

diction to be fulfilled more than once, was known and applied in specific instances by Qumranic and affiliated texts.

a. The pesher of the Sure House (CD III-IV)

Among the explicit pesharim in the *Damascus Document* is one of Ezekiel 44:15 (CD III, 18-IV, 4), discussed by a number of scholars⁴². It has been noted that attached to the pesher on Ezekiel is another on the prophecy to the priest Eli, pronounced by the Man of God (1 Samuel 2:35)⁴³. But no analysis to date has indicated that the pesharim on the two prophecies constitute two stages of fulfillment applied to one and the same forecast⁴⁴.

The pesher reads as follows:

But God in his wonderful mysteries atoned for their⁴⁵ iniquity and forgave their sin and built them a sure house in Israel, such as never stood from the earliest times until now. Those who hold fast to it are to have eternal life and all human glory (is) theirs. As God swore to them through the hand of Ezekiel, the prophet, saying "The priests and the Levites and the Sons of Zadok, who kept the watch of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall present to me fat and blood" (Ezek 44:15). "The priests" are the penitents of Israel who depart(ed) from the land of Judah, ["the Levites" are those] who accompany them, and "the Sons of Zadok" are the chosen ones of Israel, those called by name, who stand in the end of days. (CD III, 18- IV, 4⁴⁶).

The paragraph recounts through pesharim what befell on the members of the Qumran community. In the section preceding this pesher the author describes the sins of the Qumranites (III, 17-18) in a way similar to CD

42. Cf. e.g. Ch. RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford 1958²), pp. 12-13; É. COTHENET, "Le Document de Damas," in J. CARMIGNAC, É. COTHENET and H. LIGNÉE (eds.), *Les Textes de Qumran* (Paris 1963), vol. 2, pp. 158-159; F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, "L'interprétation de la Torah d'Ézéchiél dans les mss de Qumran," *RQ* 13 (1988), pp. 442-445.

43. See the comment of RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents* (n. 42 above), p. 13.

44. This fact is passed over in silence in the commentaries of RABIN and COTHENET (n. 42 above). LIM, *Pesharim* (n. 7 above) does not mention the passage in question from the *Damascus Document*.

45. A reference to the members of the Qumran community, who are the subject of this passage.

46. ואל ברזי פלאו כפר בעד עונם וישא לפשעם ויבן להם בית נאמן בישראל אשר לא עמד כמהו למלפנים ועד הנה המחזיקים בו לחיי נצח וכל כבוד האדם להם הוא כאשר הקים אל להם ביד יחזקאל הנביא לאמר הכהנים והלויים ובני צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל מעליהם יגישו לי חלב ודם. הכהנים הם שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה והנלויים עמהם ובני צדוק הם בחירי ישראל קריאי השם העמדים באחרית הימים ...

I, 8-10. Page I tells the story of the initial stage of the community, its appearance on the historical scene and how, in response to their repentance, God raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to direct them “in the way of His heart” (I, 10-11). The present passage (III, 18-19) relates the sequel of this initial stage stating that God rewarded the genuine repentance of Qumran covenanters by erecting for them “a sure house in Israel”. The locution “a sure house” (בֵּית נֶאֱמָן) is unique in the scrolls, and rare in the Hebrew Bible. In the biblical texts it occurs only three times, twice in the sense of royal dynasty (of David in 1 Samuel 25:28 and of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11:38), and once in the sense of a priestly lineage, in the prophecy to Eli (1 Samuel 2:35). From the priestly context of the CD pesher, the locution must refer to the priestly house in the oracle to Eli⁴⁷. The prediction foretells the end of Eli’s priestly line and its replacement by another priest and a different priestly house. This future priestly lineage will be steadfast and enduring, as indicated by the term “a sure house”. The pesher links the prophecy of the sure house with the oracle of Ezekiel 44:15, and views the reality of the Qumran community as the fulfillment of both Ezekiel’s oracle and the promise of a priestly sure house. The link between Ezekiel’s prediction and the one delivered to Eli is established on basis of two elements: a. 1 Kings 2:27, 35 states that the prophecy to Eli was accomplished when King Solomon replaced Eli’s offspring Ebiathar by the priest Zadok. The account in the Book of Kings thus viewed the replacement of Ebiathar by Zadok as fulfillment of the double forecast to the old Eli concerning the disappearance of the Eliades and the emergence of a new, sure priestly dynasty, that of Zadok. b. The locution “sons of Zadok” in Ezekiel 44:15 connects the prophet’s words with the event at the time of King Solomon.

The Qumran pesher could connect the oracle of the sure house to Ezekiel’s prophecy only because the pesher knew that the Eli oracle had been fulfilled in the figure of Zadok, the founder of the high priesthood lineage in the time of King Solomon. This fact permitted the pesher to link the sure house, namely Zadok’s house, with the Sons of Zadok of Ezekiel 44:15. By linking the two prophecies the author of CD asserts that both speak of the future sure priestly house, and that this sure house is in fact identical with the Sons of Zadok, the sectarian self-appellation of the Qumran covenanters. This passage, then, is to be connected with other

47. This was early recognized. Cf. e.g. R.H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II: *Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford 1912), p. 808; RABIN, *The Zadokite Documents* (n. 42 above), p. 13; G. KLINZING, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen 1971), p. 77.

sectarian texts which consider the community a “holy house,” namely a temple (1QS VIII, 6; 4Q164 1 1-8; 4Q174 1-2 i 6-7). The idea holds the members of the community to be officiating priests, the communal framework being perceived as a sacred space rather than a physical replacement of the actual temple⁴⁸. That the “sure house” of 1 Samuel 2 as well as CD III stands for a priestly line rather than a temple supports such understanding.

The structure and intention of the CD pesher betrays a particular attitude to prophecy. The author of the CD was undoubtedly familiar with the story of 1 Kings 2, which relates the implementation of the prediction to Eli, but this did not prevent him from applying it to another period and to different circumstances⁴⁹. Yet the two applications are different: 1 Kings interprets the prophecy literally, while the pesher does so figuratively. The sure house is not an actual priestly dynasty, as it is in 1 Kings, but symbolizes the community, its organization and its practices. For the present purpose it is important to see that the CD pesher does not disregard the earlier fulfillment of the prophecy but builds on it a new interpretation. It is as if the implementation of the prophecy in the first instance is further developed in the Qumran pesher. The prophecy was fulfilled once in the days of Solomon, but that does not exhaust its potential for another, later actualization. Significantly, the transition from one realization of the prophecy to another also marks the transition from a literal, simple fulfillment to a figurative one on a different level. Such a shift fits the sectarian approach to the biblical prophecy as an enigmatic and mysterious revelation.

48. Cf. D. DIMANT, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in A. CAQUOT et al. (eds.), *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à V. Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven 1986), pp. 165-189 with further references. This interpretation is supported by the sectarians’ self-image as voluntary sacrificial gifts in such a temple. See the discussion in D. DIMANT, “The Volunteers in the Rule of the Community — A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RQ* 23 (2007), pp. 233-245. Perceived as a community of officiating priests the idea of the community as temple, evidenced in many sectarian texts (e.g. 1QS VIII, 5-10; 4Q174 (*Florilegium*) 1-2 i 6-7), is wholly in harmony with the general worldview of the Qumran community. Such an understanding belies the arguments advanced by Daniel Schwartz against attributing this idea to the sectaries. See D.R. SCHWARTZ, “The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium,” *RQ* 10 (1979-1981), pp. 83-91; ID., “To Join Oneself to the House of Judah (Damascus Document IV, 11),” *RQ* 10 (1979-1981), pp. 435-446.

49. The account of the Book of Kings speaks of the materialization of the oracle a century after it was delivered to Eli. This temporal gap implies that already in the biblical worldview it was assumed that a prophecy may be fulfilled several generations after it was pronounced. Similarly, Elijah foretells the death of Jezebel in the time of Ahab (1 Kings 21:23), but it was fulfilled only in the time of Ahab’s son Yoram (2 Kings 9:36). Still, in biblical thought this idea is not associated with the notion of history as a string of periods as it is in the Qumran sectarian literature.

b. The pesher on the curse of Joshua (4Q379 22 ii//4Q175 21-30)

The sectarian literature provides a pesher interpretation of the curse of Joshua, pronounced against whomever would build Jericho in the future (Joshua 6:26). The curse, then, is considered a prophetic prediction, as it is in 1 Kings 16:34⁵⁰. The pesher is known from two sources. It is contained in the so-called *Testimonia* (4Q175), dated around 100 BCE, and in a later copy of the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (4Q379 22 ii 7-15)⁵¹. *Testimonia* consists of one column, preserved in a single sheet, and contains a sundry string of biblical citations (Deut 5:28-29; 18:18-19; Num 24: 15-17; Deut 33:8-11), the pesher on Joshua's curse being the last in the series. For more than two decades only *Testimonia* was available in print, and attempts were made to identify the historical figures behind the pesher's figurative language, often identified with the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus (120-102 BCE) and his two sons⁵². However, when two copies of the *Apocryphon of Joshua* were published, 4Q378-4Q379, one of which contained the curse, it became evident that the *Apocryphon* was the source of the quotation in *Testimonia* rather than the reverse. That much is clear first from the anthological character of *Testimonia*. Admittedly the pericope about the curse is somewhat different from the other citations in that it is not biblical and it contains a pesher-interpretation. However, following a collection of biblical citations the scribe would hardly introduce a passage of his own invention. It stands to reason that in keeping with the anthologi-

50. Alexander Rofé remarks that the presentation of the curse as a prediction by the *Apocryphon of Joshua* highlights the prophetic powers of Joshua, and thus takes up the Deuteronomistic picture of this biblical figure as a prophetic leader. Rofé views the curse in Joshua 6 as of magical character, turned into a simple prophecy by the later author of 1 Kings 16:34. Cf. A. ROFÉ, "Joshua Son of Nun in the History of Biblical Tradition," *Tarbiz* 73 (2004), pp. 339-342; 360-361 (Hebrew).

51. I have re-edited and commented on the curse in D. DIMANT, "Between Sectarian and Nonsectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua and Related Texts from Qumran," in E.G. CHAZON, D. DIMANT & R.A. CLEMENTS (eds.), *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 58; Leiden 2005), pp. 121-133. See also EAD., "The Apocryphon of Joshua — 4Q522 9 ii: A Reappraisal," in S.M. PAUL et al. (eds.), *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and the Dead Sea Scrolls in honor of Emanuel Tov* (SuppVT 94; Leiden 2003), pp. 179-204; EAD., "Two Discourses from the *Apocryphon of Joshua* and Their Context (4Q378 3 i-ii)," *RQ* 23 (2007), pp. 43-61. On the ensemble of manuscripts which should be assigned to the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, cf. E. TOV, "The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada," in M.E. STONE & E.G. CHAZON (eds.), *Biblical Perspectives: Early use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 58; Leiden 1998), pp. 233-256.

52. Cf. J.M. ALLEGRO, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL* 75 (1956), pp. 182-187; ID., *Qumran Cave 4.1 (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford 1968), pp. 57-60.

cal character of *Testimonia* the section about Joshua's curse must also stem from another source. This was confirmed by the publication of the fragments from the *Apocryphon of Joshua* containing the curse. In contrast to the anthological character of *Testimonia*, the pesher on Joshua's malediction fits very well into the context and literary character of the *Apocryphon*, for this work recounts the exploits, discourses and prayers of the biblical Joshua⁵³. Consequently most scholars agree that *Testimonia* copies from the *Apocryphon*. Since *Testimonia* was penned around 100 BCE the *Apocryphon* was probably authored in previous decades at the latest. Any future interpretation of the historical allusions incorporated in the pesher of the curse must take this fact into account. In passing it should be noted that this dating is to be added to Daniel 9 (cf. below) in attesting the use of the pesher technique during the second century BCE.

For the present purpose it is significant that the author of the *Apocryphon* applies Joshua's curse to events taking place during the second century BCE or slightly before, unconcerned by the statement of 1 Kings 16:34 that the curse was fulfilled in the time of Ahab, king of Israel. According to this statement the curse was actualized once, several centuries after it was pronounced by Joshua and a few centuries prior to the historical reality reflected in the Qumran pesher of the curse⁵⁴. Yet the difference between the two moments of fulfillment is telling. In the report of 1 Kings the event is couched in factual and literal terms. It is stated that one Hiel Beit Haeli rebuilt Jericho and lost his two sons for it⁵⁵. The *Apocryphon* presents the matter figuratively, weaving a fabric of biblical allusions. Most strikingly it applies the prediction to Jerusalem instead of Jericho. For this purpose the pesher employs a textual version of the biblical pronouncement, transmitted by the Septuagint⁵⁶. This version does not mention Jericho but only the locution "this city" (העיר הזאת), an expression which often designates Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible⁵⁷. That the author relates the curse to

53. Given this literary framework, Hanan Eshel's claim that the *Apocryphon* cites *Testimonia* is unwarranted. Cf. H. ESHEL, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RQ* 15 (1992), pp. 409-420.

54. According to the chronology of 1 Kings 6:1 it took place around 500 years after Joshua's conquest of Jericho.

55. On the role of this note in the Book of Kings' account of Ahab see M.A. SWEENEY, "On the Literary Function of the Notice Concerning Hiel's re-establishment of Jericho in 1 Kings 16.34," in M.A. O'BRIEN & H.N. WALLACE (eds.), *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: The Art of Exegesis: Studies in Honour of Antony F. Campbell, S.J. for his Seventieth Birthday* (SuppJSOT 415; London 2004), pp. 104-115.

56. Cf. L. MAZOR, "The Origin and Evolution of the Curse upon the Rebuilder of Jericho," *Textus* 14 (1988), pp. 2-7.

57. See e.g. 2 Kings 18:30; Isaiah 30:15; Jeremiah 33:5; Nehemiah 13:18.

Jerusalem rather than Jericho is confirmed by the pesher's last surviving lines: "...[and they shall pour blo]od like water on the rampart of Daughter of Zion and in the district of [] Jerusalem..." (4Q175 29-30⁵⁸). This pesher furnishes another interesting instance of an ulterior fulfillment of a prophecy, embedded in the curse. Moreover, even though the author is clearly aware of the curse's utterance in the context of Jericho, and its effectuation with the rebuilding of Jericho in the time of Ahab, king of Israel, he does not hesitate to connect it with Jerusalem. In this case too the first account of 1 Kings is set in factual terms, while the application of the prophetic curse in later times is presented in figurative terms. The mere fact that the pesher of the curse occurs in a work about Joshua shows that the author built it on the original context of the curse, and was probably also aware of its first implementation⁵⁹. This case provides another illustration of the idea that a prophecy may be realized more than once, and in different periods.

c. The Prophecy of Jeremiah interpreted by Daniel 9

The Book of Daniel does not belong with the Qumran documents but it displays numerous links with them⁶⁰, and five copies of it were uncovered in the Qumran caves. They attest to the interest the Qumranites show to this book⁶¹. Moreover, the Hebrew chapters of Daniel 7-12 were composed, and

58. ועשו חנופה בארץ ונצה גדולה בבני יעקוב ושפכו דם כמים על חל בת ציון ובחוקן [ירושלם.
Text and translation by F. CROSS in J.H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents* (The Dead Sea Scrolls 6B; Tübingen-Louisville 2002), pp. 318-319.

59. Most of the commentators see the curse in Joshua 6:26 and its fulfillment in 1 King 16:34 as notices of the Deuteronomistic editor. See for instance G. HENTSCHEL, *1 Könige* (Würzburg 1984), p. 104; V. FRITZ, *1 & 2 Kings*, tr. by A. Hagedorn (Minneapolis 2003), pp. 178-179; K. BIEBERSTEIN, *Joshua-Jordan-Jericho* (OBO 143; Göttingen 1995), pp. 394-397. But this does not affect the present argument since the version of the Book of Kings with the notice on Hiel was probably known to the second century BCE author of the pesher to the curse. Fragments from a single copy of Kings survived at Qumran (4Q54). The fact that some Qumran manuscripts rewrite passages from the historical books (e.g. 4Q160, 4Q382) also attests to their familiarity with these biblical works.

60. See for instance Daniel's view of history (cf. above) and the use of the pesher method of interpretation of biblical prophecies (Dan 9 explaining Jer 25 and Dan 11:29 interpreting Num 24:24). On the similarity of Daniel 9's method of interpretation to the pesharim see e.g. L.F. HARTMEAN & A. DI LELLA, *The Book of Daniel* (Anchor Bible 23; Garden City, NY 1978), pp. 247, 250; J.J. COLLINS, *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids 1984), p. 10.

61. The Qumran sectarian texts provide two instances of pesharim to Daniel. Daniel 9:25 is interpreted by 11Q13 ii 18 and offer another instance of an ongoing fulfillment of a single

the entire book edited, around 164 BCE. This date brings the final stage of the Book of Daniel close to the early stages of the Qumran community. Therefore Daniel chapter 9 is of great interest and relevance to the present discussion for it offers another, more complex case of successive fulfillments of the same prophecy. Of special importance to the Book of Daniel is the prophet Jeremiah's prediction that the subjugation of Israel to Babylon will endure seventy years and at the end of this period the exiled will return to Judea (Jeremiah 25:11-12; 29:10). The Chronicler (2 Chronicles 36:21-22) and the Book of Ezra (Ezra 1:1-2) considered this prophecy to have been fulfilled with the Edict of Cyrus, which permitted the Judean exiles to return and erect the temple (538 BCE). These two sources reflect a computation of the seventy-year period from the ascent of Nebuchadnezzar to the throne in Babylon (in 605 BCE; cf. Jeremiah 25:1) to Cyrus's Edict⁶². The prophet Zechariah (1:12; 7:5) offers another calculation, from the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the First Temple (586 BCE) to the inauguration of the Second Temple in the reign of the Persian king Darius (515 BCE)⁶³. Both numbers are obtained by computation of plain years and consider that Jeremiah's oracle was fulfilled in specific historical events⁶⁴.

Living more than three centuries later, under the reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, the author of Daniel 9 pondered over the meaning of the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah. He was undoubtedly familiar with the view that the prophecy had come to pass in earlier events. Since the prediction of seventy years was attributed to Jeremiah, a prophet of authority and perhaps even of canonical standing at the time of the Danielic composition, it is unlikely that the author of Daniel 9 rejected the literal interpretation of the prophecy presented by 2 Chronicles and Ezra 1:1⁶⁵. In fact, the pseudo-

prophecy. Daniel 11:32 is explained by 4Q174 1-3 ii 3-4a. On the interpretation of Daniel in the *War Scroll* (1QM) see D. FLUSSER, "The Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll", in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Jerusalem 2002), 119-137 (Hebrew).

62. On the computation in Ezra cf. e.g. H.G. WILLIAMSON, *Ezra Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco 1985), pp. 9-10. Sara Japhet has convincingly argued that the passage in question from 2 Chronicles is incongruous with the style and themes of this book and therefore depends on Ezra rather than the reverse. Cf. S. JAPHET, *I & II Chronicles* (OT Library; Louisville 1993), pp. 1075-1077.

63. On this computation see e.g. P.R. ACKROYD, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* (London 1973), p. 213; M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford 1985), pp. 481-482, and the summary of R.G. KRATZ, *Translatio imperii* (WMANT 63; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991), pp. 38-39, n. 107.

64. See FISHBANE's formulation in *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 63 above), p. 481: "...both the Chronicler and Zechariah attempted to apply the Jeremiah oracle of wrath and reconstruction quite literally: seventy years means seventy years..."

65. As argued by J.J. COLLINS, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis 1993), p. 349.

historic narrative framework of the Book of Daniel shows that it embraces the literal interpretation, for the narrative presents Daniel as living in the royal courts of Babylonian and Persian kings precisely through the seventy-year period foretold by Jeremiah, as computed by Ezra and 2 Chronicles. In fact, the pseudepigraphic Daniel learns the meaning of Jeremiah's prophecy at the time of "Darius of Median descent" (Dan 9:1), who, according to the fictional chronology of the Book of Daniel, reigned before Cyrus, mentioned only in the following chapter (Daniel 10:1). If so, the pseudepigraphic Daniel discovers the meaning of the prophecy before it is fulfilled in the time of Cyrus, implying the same simple calculation of Ezra and Chronicles. This notwithstanding, the interpretation imparted to Daniel calculates the seventy-year period in terms of "large years", that is, sabbatical cycles, in which a single "large" year equals seven ordinary years. Jeremiah's seventy years thus become 490 ordinary years, an understanding far removed from that of Ezra and Chronicles. So while the pseudepigraphic narrative framework is built on the simple computation of Ezra and Chronicles, the interpretation of Jeremiah's oracle divulged to Daniel places the realization of the oracle several centuries later. Yet even this second phase of implementation is built on the first, literal, one offered by Ezra and 2 Chronicles. For while the straightforward seventy-year period of Jeremiah is represented by the lifespan of Daniel, the broadening of the computation units to seventy "large years" is based on the link made by 2 Chronicles 36: 21-22 to sabbatical years. According to the Chronicler the seventy years of waste and subjugation activated the Covenant Curses (Lev 26:34-35) as punishment for disregard of the Torah commandment to keep sabbatical years. This statement provided Daniel 9 with the exegetical basis for reading the seventy years of Jeremiah's pronouncement as seventy sabbatical years⁶⁶. Daniel's interpretation then, preserves the number seventy and its connection with the sabbatical years of Lev 26 and 2 Chronicles 36, but at the same time opens a temporal gap between the first fulfillment of the oracle and the next one in the distant future.

The exposition of Daniel 9 thus offers another instance of two different fulfillments of one and the same prophecy. The first is set in early historical times, and is presented in a simple, literal way. It is reflected by Ezra and

66. Cf. Japhet's comments referred to above in n. 62. Kratz studied in detail the link of Daniel 9 to the Chronicler and its chronology. See KRATZ, *Translatio imperii* (n. 63 above), pp. 260-267. Kratz suggests that Daniel 9 sees in the seventy-year period of Ezra and the Chronicler a representation of Babylon, the first in the scheme of the four kingdoms (Daniel 2:7). On the septenary chronology at Qumran see the references in nn. 23, 25 above, and J.C. VANDERKAM, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London and New York 1998), pp. 93-109.

the Chronicler. The prophecy is to be effected once again in a later period, described in figurative language. This stage is represented by the seventy year-weeks chronology. The first interpretation is embodied in the narrative section of Daniel, the second is presented in chapter 9 exposition of Jeremiah's oracle. The exposition of this oracle indicates that the numerical value of "seventy" in Jeremiah's prophecy should be understood in a "figurative" way, namely as seventy year-weeks. It thus conveys the enigmatic character and hidden dimension of the oracle⁶⁷. Indeed, only the angel Gabriel is able to uncover its deeper import (9:22). By fusing the literal chronology with the figurative one, interpreted by a figure living under the Babylonian and Persian kings, the author of Daniel 9, a contemporary of Antiochus IV, imparts the idea that the oracle had not been fully realized and some aspects of it would be revealed only in a subsequent epoch. A similar notion underlies the pescharim from Qumran.

Daniel 9 illustrates in a particularly interesting way the repeated implementation of the same prophecy. The Qumran *Melchizedek Pesher* (11Q13 ii 18) expounds a line of precisely Dan 9 discussed above. In explaining the term "messenger" (מבשר) of Is 52:7 this pesher equates it with the "anointed one" of Daniel 9:25. Even when both Isaiah and Daniel are taken to refer to the same figure of the eschatological messiah, stringing together the implementations of the same prediction in this way attests to its progressive character.

The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that the exegetes who expounded prophecy by the pesher method recognized that an oracle may be realized more than once and based their interpretations on this likelihood. This notion goes hand in hand with the concept of historical time as an integral sequence, unfolding according to a single divine master plan. This view gives a particular meaning to the lapse of time between the prophetic utterances and their interpretation by the Teacher of Righteousness centuries later. Equally significant is the analogical gap between the ancient apocalyptic seers and their visions of the entire or final section of history.

The dynamic unfolding of the historical events, through which the divine premeditated plan comes into being, dictates the manner of understanding this process. The sense and direction of the temporal course also unfolds gradually, but is revealed only to the worthy. In this way the author of the *Damascus Document* can interpret Deut 32:33 by the pesher method yet at the same time state that his opponents understand nothing about

67. A similar observation was made by FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 63 above), p. 482.

it (CD VIII,12=XIX, 25-XX,1). Indeed, both the opening section of the *Damascus Document* (4Q268 1 7-8) and *Melchizedek Pesher* (11Q13 ii 20) stress the particular understanding of the historical periods granted to the covenanters, which singularize the members of the Qumran community. For the true meaning of the prophecies was revealed only to covenanters; their opponents remained ignorant of it. In the Qumranites' view, the interpretation of Prophecy is similar to that of the Torah. Both are based on the conviction that the temporal sequence is a gradual unfolding and being realized, as is the understanding of it. Each period is defined by a precise measure of understanding, attainable at the time⁶⁸. If so, exegesis of the Torah as well as of Prophecy depends on the place of the exegete at this temporal sequence.

In conclusion, the views surveyed here are shared by well defined circles, namely the authors of the sectarian scrolls and those who composed the apocalyptic writings. The understanding of history as a sequence of periods, described above, harmonizes with other notions shared by these two literary bodies, namely, predestination and the dualistic framework⁶⁹.

Devorah DIMANT
ddim@research.haifa.ac.il

68. In this sense 1QS IX, 12-13.

69. The influence of these ideas on other literary corpuses, such as the New Testament, is a subject for another paper.