Reading Hosea in Qumran

ROMAN VIELHAUER
Göttingen

How was the Book of Hosea understood in Qumran? Or, put differently: can we detect a consistent perspective of reading for a discrete prophetic book? And if so, how does it relate to the overall understanding of the book itself? These questions will be addressed in the following. In this regard I will confine myself to those explicit Hosea quotations marked as such by quotation or interpretation formulas. They are encountered in the two *pesharim* on the Book of Hosea, the Damascus Document, and the so-called Midrash on Eschatology. One further quotation might be found in the *pesher* on Isaiah C.

1. The *pesharim* on the Book of Hosea

Two Qumran *pesharim* are attested for the Book of Hosea: 4Q166 known as 4QpHos[a] and 4Q167 known as 4QpHos[b]. A material reconstruction of both manuscripts has shown that we have to distinguish between two formally very distinct works, the first of which merely draws on elect passages of Hosea while the latter quotes and comments the entire book.[1] Hence, both manuscripts have to be dealt with discretely.

a) 4QpHos A

4QpHos A consists of a single fragment with remains of two columns and might according to palaeographic evidence be dated back into the late Herodian period. In contrast to the fragmentary preservation of the first column, the second column can be reconstructed almost entirely. This *pesher* is concerned with Hos 2, a judgement discourse, portraying Israel as God's spouse, an unfaithful adulteress.

1 See Roman Vielhauer, "Materielle Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der beiden Pescharim zum Hoseabuch (4QpHos[a] und 4QpHos[b])," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 39-91. First edition of the entire text by John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJDJ V; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 31-36, pl. X-XI; corrections and additions: John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des «Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan»," *RevQ* 7 (1969–1970): 199-203; cf. further the editions by Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 138-158 (textbook, 38-45); eadem, "Pesharim," in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 6B: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 113-117, 119-131; for 4QpHos B see also Gregory L. Doudna, "4QPesher Hosea[b]: Reconstruction of Fragments 4, 5, 18, and 24," *DSD* 10 (2003): 338-358.

4Q166 (4QpHos A) ii:1-19

1 [לוא ידעה כיא] אנוכי נתתי לה הדגן[והתירוש]
2 [והיצהר וכסף]הרביתי וזהב{ה○○} עשו[לבעל פשרו]
3 אשר [אכלו וי]שבעו וישכחו את אל המא[כילם ואת כול]
4 מצוותיו השליכו אחרי גום אשר שלח אליהם[ביד]
5 עבדיו הנביאים ולמתעיהם שמעו ויכבדום[ ]
6 וכאלים יפחדו מהם בעורונם *vacat* [ ]
7 *vacat*
8 לכן אשוב ולקחתי דגני בעתו ותירושי[במועדו]
9 והצלתי צמרי ופושתי מלכסות את[ערותה]
10 ועתה אגלה את נבלותה לעיני מאה[ביה ואיש]
11 לוא יצילנה מידי *vacat*
12 פשרו אשר הכם ברעב ובערום להיות לקלון[]
13 וחרפה לעיני הגואים אשר נשענו עליהם והמה
14 לוא יושיעום מצרותיהם והשבתי כול משושה
15 ח[גה חד]שה ושבתה וכול מועדיה פשרו אשר
16 [את ימי ה]עדות יוליכו במועדי הגואים *vacat* ו[כול]
17 [שמחתם]נהפכה להם לאבל והשמותי [גפנה]
18 [ותאנתה] אשר אמרה אתנם הם לי [אשר נתנו]
19 [לי מאהב]י ושמתים ליער ואכלתם ח[ית השדה]

1. ["*She did not know that*] *I myself had given her the grain*[*and the new wine*]
2. [*and the oil, and*] (*that*) *I had supplied* [*silver*] *and gold* (*which*) *they made*[*into Baal.*" (Hos 2:10) Its interpretation is]
3. that [they ate and] were satisfied, and they forgot God who had f[ed them; and all]
4. his ordinances they cast behind them, which he had sent to them[by the hand of]
5. his servants the prophets. But to those who led them astray they listened, and they honoured them[
6. and, like divine beings, they dread them in their blindness. *vacat* [
7. *vacat*
8. "*Therefore, I again shall take back my grain in its time and my wine*[*in its season,*]
9. *and I shall withdraw my wool and my flax from covering* [*her nakedness.*]
10. *And now I shall uncover her private parts in the sight of* [*her*] *lov*[*ers and*]
11. *no* [*one*] *will withdraw her from my hand*." (Hos 2:11-12) *vacat*
12. Its interpretation is that he smote them with famine and with nakedness so that they became a disgra[ce]
13. and a reproach in the sight of the nations on whom they had leaned, but they
14. will not save them from their afflictions. *"And I shall put an end to all her joy,*
15. [*her*] *pilgr*[*image,*] *her* [*new m*]*oon, and her sabbath, and all her appointed times."* (Hos 2:13) Its interpretation is that
16. they conduct [the days of the] testimony according to the feasts of the nations. *vacat* And [all]
17. [their joy] has been turned for them into mourning. "*And I shall make desolate* [*her vine*]
18. [*and her fig tree*] *of which she said, They* (*are*) *my hire* [*that*] *my* [*lovers have given me.*]
19. *And I shall make them a forest, and the w*[*ild beast of the field*] *will devour them."* (Hos 2:14)

Three *pesher* interpretations have been preserved: the first one, lines 2-7, an interpretation of Hos 2:10, is dominated by a depiction of delinquencies. Drawing on phrases in Deut 8, Neh 9:26, and 2 Kgs 17:13 Israel's adultery is construed as their abandoning God, expressed accordingly in their rejection of the commandments transmitted through the prophets and their godlike veneration of those "who led them astray". It is especially this latter reproach which surpasses substantially our biblical evidence. The second interpretation in lines 12-14 addresses the divine punishment. In relative agreement with Hos 2:11-12 this penalty consists of "hunger and bareness" – a condition, which might not be countermanded by any former allies, represented by the lovers in the biblical text. The last *pesher* interpretation is found in

lines 15-17. It combines the penalty of Hos 2:13 with a further delinquency. This issue, as Moshe Bernstein[2] has rightly pointed out, concerns the use of a calendrical system leaning on a pagan arrangement. It harkens back to a phrase in Jubilees (Jub. 6:35).

Following Joseph Amusin[3], the events alluded to in 4QpHos A are generally dated back to the year 65 B.C.E., when the Nabatean king Aretas III was incited by Hyrcanus II to siege Jerusalem as a means to decide the latter's fratricidal war with Aristobulus II in his own favor. Josephus' portrayal in Antiquities XIV, 2, 1-3 usually serves as evidence in this regard. According to this evidence Hyrcanus II would have relied heavily on the Pharisees – "those who led them astray" (מתעיהם) in line 5 of the *pesher* – as far as domestic policies are concerned. As far as the siege of Jerusalem is concerned, his bet would have been placed on the Nabatean military, which had to withdraw upon Roman intercession – cf. lines 12-14. Moreover, the siege coincided with passover – cf. lines 15-17. As the besiegers rejected to let the sacrificial animals pass, divine punishment is thought to have evoked a famine – cf. line 12.

However, this interpretation is problematic for two reasons. First, the identification of "those who led astray" in line 5 with the Pharisees is opposed by the fact, that the Pharisees seem to be the object of divine veneration in line 6. Second, the reference to the passover of the year 65 B.C.E. in lines 15-17 is difficult, as this passage is not primarily concerned with an actual perpetration – i.e. the withholding of sacrificial animals – on an actual holiday, but with polemicising a calendrical system, leaning on a pagan, in this case the Seleucid, arrangement.

Thence, I would like to suggest a different interpretation of 4QpHos A.[4] In my view, the key crucial to an understanding of this *pesher* is the interpretation of lines 5-6, especially the identification of "those who led them astray" (מתעיהם) in line 5. While the wording תעה Hiphil might initially evoke the idea of inner-Judean adversaries within the congregation, the characterization of such in line 6 as objects of divine veneration denies this construal. The peculiar reproach, that Jews would have venerated a group of people in a godlike manner, is reminiscent of events related to the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.), who favored the introduction of a godlike veneration of the monarch in Jerusalem. As well as his successors, Antiochus was met with such veneration by hellenophile Jews, who saw their

2 See Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles': 4QpHosea[a] 2.15-17 and *Jubilees* 6.34-38," *JSP* 9 (1991): 21-34.

3 See Joseph D. Amusin, "Observatiunculae Qumraneae," *RevQ* 7 (1971): 545-552; idem, "Historical Events in Qumran Commentaries," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 146-150.

4 See Vielhauer, "Materielle Rekonstruktion," 78-80.

political center in the Acra, until their dissipation in 141 B.C.E.[5] Thus, "those who led them astray" (מתעיהם) might easiest be identified with the Seleucid kings from Antiochus IV Epiphanes to Demetrius II Nicator. At least in Dan 11:32 Antiochus IV is explicitly referred to as the enticer (יחניף בחלקות) of a covenant breaking group within Israel.

The remaining text might easily be integrated into this respective historical context. This is, for one, true for the indictments mentioned, since the abrogation of the Torah, lines 3-5, as well as the reformation of the cult, broken down as the use of the Seleucid calendar, line 16, and a participation in the godlike veneration of the monarch, lines 5-6, both address the quintessence of the religio-political measures connected with the construction of the Acra as a heathen-Jewish *polis* (Dan 7:25; 1 Macc 1:44-51).[6] Moreover, the judgement stated in lines 12-14 – hunger and bareness – and lines 15-17 – supersession of the cult – can readily be linked to the Maccabean actions taken against the inhabitants of the Acra: In 143 B.C.E. Simon had built a wall around the Acra to cut off the inhabitants' food supply (1 Macc 12:36; Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 5, 11). Even though supported by the Seleucid troops under General Tryphon, who – hindered by a sudden onset of winter – had to withdraw empty-handed (1 Macc 13:21-22; Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 6, 5; cf. 4QpHos A ii:13-14), the Acra was forced to surrender due to famishment in 141 B.C.E. (1 Macc 13:49-50; Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 6, 6). Hence, the conquest of the Acra might as well have put an end to the Hellenistic cult in Jerusalem.

Should these observations be right, we might conclude that unlike Hos 2 the *pesher* 4QpHos A comprehends both indictment and judgement as referring to merely one sacrilegious group within Israel – i.e. the hellenophile Jews of the Acra – as opposed to her entirety. It was exactly those Jewish circles, the religio-political measures of whom triggered schisms in Judaism, which eventually resulted in the emergence of groups like the Qumran community.

I will now continue with the second *pesher* on Hosea, 4QpHos B.

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5 For the historical background cf. Elias Bickermann, *Der Gott der Makkabäer: Untersuchungen über Sinn und Ursprung der makkabäischen Erhebung* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937); Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.* (WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 486-554; Vielhauer, "Materielle Rekonstruktion," 79-80.

6 See Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 532-537. For the introduction of the Seleucid calendar in Jerusalem by extremely Hellenophile Jews, cf. James C. VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6,7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 (1981): 52-74; idem, "Calendrical Texts and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Kirbeth Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 371-386, drawing on Dan 7:25; 1 Macc 1:59; 2 Macc 6:7a.

b) 4QpHos B

40 fragments of this *pesher* have been preserved. According to material reconstruction, more than half of those fragments can be attributed to five subsequent columns, located in the middle of the book. Attested are the text and partly the commentations on Hos 2:2 as well as Hos 5, 6 and 8, maybe even 7. This manuscript might as well be dated back to the late Herodian period.

Solely, fragment 2 includes noteworthy remains of commentations:

4Q167 (4QpHos B) 2:1-4

1	[ולוא יגהה מכ]ם מזור *vacat* פ[שר	[
2	[וככפיר לבית יהודה] ס כפיר החרון כי אנוכי כשחח[ל לא]פ[רי]ם	[
3	[ל [ה]כוהן האחרון אשר ישלח ידו להכות באפרים	[יהודה פשרו
4	*vacat* ד[ו	[

1. ["*nor can he heal you*]*r sore*" (5:13). *vacat* The in[terpretation
2. [ ] the Lion of Wrath. "*For I am like a young l*[*ion to E*]*ph*[*rai*]*m* [*and like a lion to the house*]
3. [*of Judah*" (5:14). Its interpretation]*l* the last priest; he will stretch out his hand to smite Ephraim
4. [ ]*dw vacat*

The interpretation concerns two verses of Hos 5, in which God is portrayed as a lion fighting his people of Ephraim and Judah. The *pesher* connects the biblical menace of judgement with two apparently contemporary persons: the "Lion of Wrath" and the "Last Priest". Due to a parallel in 4QpNah 3-4 I:5-6 the "Lion of Wrath" is generally identified with the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus.[7] The interrelation of this "Lion of Wrath" with the "Last Priest" – perhaps a designation for the contemporary High Priest –[8] remains uncertain. The only certain fact is, that one of the two "stretches out his hand to smite Ephraim", line 3. John Allegro assumes both figures to be identical.[9] Hartmut Stegemann and Gregory Doudna, on the other hand, suggest to distinguish between the two. Stegemann understands the "Last Priest" to be the subject of hitting.[10] Doudna, however, takes both "Ephraim" and the "Last Priest" to be the object of the „Lion of Wrath's" judgement.[11] Owing to the fragmentary character of the

7 See John M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect," *JBL* 75 (1956): 92, and recently Shani L. Berrin, *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 105-107. Gregory L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (JSPSup 35; Copenhagen International Series 8; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 572-573, however, thinks of a gentile ruler.

8 For the "Last Priest", see Hartmut Stegemann, "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrichs-Wilhelm-Universität Bonn, 1971), 115-120.

9 Allegro, "Further Light," 93.

10 Stegemann, "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde," 123-124; idem, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* (4th ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 182. More precisely, he historically identifies the "Last Priest" with Aristobulus II (67-63 B.C.E.), who upon the death of his Pharisee-friendly mother Salome (cf. Josephus, Antiquities XIII, 16) is said to have deprived the Pharisees, known as "Ephraim", of their political influence.

11 Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum*, 557-573.

text, a definite solution seems unlikely. Yet, a comparison with other Qumran texts suggests, that "Ephraim" might be seen as referring to a group opposed to the Qumran community (cf. 4QpNah 3-4 II:2, 8; III, 5; 4QpPs A 1-10 II:18), which might even be connected with the supporters of the "Man of the Lie".[12] Thence, one might conclude, that 4QpHos B like 4QpHos A limits the judgement, which was targeted at the entirety of Israel in the biblical book of Hosea, to just one sacrilegious group within Israel, even though caution is in order, as the manuscript breaks off immediately following the word „Ephraim".

Let us now draw our attention to a less corrupt manuscript: the Damascus Document.

2. The Damascus Document (CD)

The so-called Damascus Document[13] includes four explicit Hosea quotations, all of whom are part of the paraenetic parts of the work (the "admonition": CD I-VIII/XIX-XX). Basis for the following interpretation will be the Cairo Geniza text.[14]

a) CD I:11-17

CD I:11-17 quotes and interprets Hos 4:16a:

ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריכם בדרך לבו *vacat* ויודע	11
לדורות אחרונים את אשר עשה בדור אחרון בעדת בוגדים	12
הם סרי דרך היא העת אשר היה כתוב עליה כפרה סורירה	13
כן סרר ישראל בעמוד איש הלצון אשר הטיף לישראל	14
מימי כזב ויתעם בתוהו לא דרך להשח גבהות עולם ולסור	15
מנתיבות צדק ולסיע גבול אשר גבלו ראשנים בנחלתם למען	16
הדבק בהם את אלות בריתו להסגירם לחרב נקמת נקם	17

11. […] *vac* And he informed
12. the latter generations that which he did in the last generation among the congregation of traitors,
13. who are those who depart from the Way; that is the time of which it was written, "*As a wayward cow,*

12 See Stegemann, "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde," 69-82. For the use of the term "Ephraim" in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see recently Berrin, *Pesher Nahum Scroll*, 109-118.

13 For introductory questions, see the overview by Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), as well as Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen/Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 483-550. For an overview of the use of scripture, see Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document* (BZAW 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), and recently Liora Goldman, "Biblical exegesis and pesher interpretation in the Damascus Document" (Ph.D. diss., University of Haifa, 2007).

14 Text according to Martin Abegg in DSSEL; cf. also Samuel Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Documents of Jewish Sectaries 1; Cambridge: Cambrigde University Press, 1910); Magen Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992). Translations according to Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Damascus Document," in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 2: Damascus Dovument, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 13 (CD I), and Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 550-581 (CD IV, VIII, XIX, XX).

14. *so did Israel stray"* (Hos 4:16) – when the man of mockery arose, who sprinkled upon Israel
15. waters of falsehood and led them astray in a chaos without a way, bringing low the eternal heights and departing
16. from paths of righteousness and moving the border marked out by the first ones in their inheritance so as
17. to apply to them the curses of his covenant, surrendering them to the avenging sword of the covenant's vengeance.

Hos 4:16ss compares Israel to a wayward cow, replacing her God by idols. Within the Damascus Document quotation and interpretation are part of a historical portrayal comprising the time from the Babylonian exile to the emergence of a certain „Teacher of Righteousness" (CD I:1-II:1).[15] This teacher is opposed by the „congregation of traitors", the date of origin of which is alluded to in Hos 4:16a. Twice, the group's behaviour is referred to as going astray – סור – line 13, an action which the "Man of Mockery"[16] enticed them to take, lines 14-15. The root סור onomatopoetically draws on Hosea's סרר (wayward). Again, the reproach targeted at the entirety of Israel in the book of Hosea is now addressed to a sacrilegious group in her midst.

b) CD IV:19-20

A further Hosea quotation is found in the famous subsequence CD IV:12-V:19 concerning „the three nets of Belial" – fornication, wealth and polluting the sanctuary –, in which the contemporary Israel is ensnared. Here CD IV:19-20 draws on Hos 5:11 – a verse addressing Ephraim's delinquencies and his fate in a fratricidal war with Judah –[17] while providing antitheses:

CD IV:19-20

19 בזה *vacat* בוני החיץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו הוא מטיף
20 אשר אמר הטף יטיפון ...

19. […] *vac* The builders of the wall who "*go after Zaw*" (Hos 5:11) – Zaw is the preacher
20. of whom he said: "Assuredly they will preach." (Mic 2:6) […]

15 For details regarding the interpretation, cf. Stegemann "Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde," 131-145.

16 For the "Man of Mockery" (איש הלצון), cf. CD XX:11; Isa 28:14; Prov 29:8. In other texts, he is referred to as the "Man of the Lie" (איש הכזב: CD XX:15; 1QpHab II:2; V:11) or the "Spouter (or Preacher) of the Lie" (מטיף הכזב: CD VIII:13; XIX:26; 1QpHab X:9). For the figure, see Timothy H. Lim, "Liar," *EDSS* 1.493-494.

17 For basic remarks on the fratricidal war in Hos 5:8-11, cf. Albrecht Alt, "Hosea 5,8-6,6: Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel 2* (3rd ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1964), 163-187; repr. from *NKZ* 30 (1919); further Francis I. Andersen and David N. Freedman, *Hosea* (AB 24; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980), 399-410; James L. Mays, *Hosea* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 85-98; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea* (ATD 24,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 78-89; Reinhard G. Kratz, "Erkenntnis Gottes im Hoseabuch," *ZTK* 94 (1997): 7-11; A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 193-213; Roman Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (BZAW 349; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 45-62.

In CD IV:19-20 as in Ezek 13:10 the supporters of an adverse group are described as "the builders of the wall" (cf. CD VIII:12/XIX:24-25) and with reference to Hos 5:11b broken down as those „who go after Zaw". The – even within the book Hosea – uncertain word "Zaw"[18] applies to the "Man of Mockery", the founder of the opposing group, whose agency – like in CD I:14 and alluding to Mic 2:6 – is specified as „preaching" (נטף Hiphil). Just as is the case in CD I, the Hosea text is associated with a conflict with the "Man of Mockery" congregation. It is noteworthy, however, that even the original Hosea phrase is found in the context of a fratricidal war.

c) CD VIII:1-5 par XIX:13-17

A further Hosea quotation is encountered in connection with an extensive judgement scene addressing opponents of the congregation. This quotation is attested in both recensions of the Geniza text. The quotation is taken from Hos 5:10, a causal announcement of judgement against the "princes of Judah", belonging to the above context of a fratricidal war between Ephraim and Judah.

CD VIII:1-5

והנסוגים הסגירו לחרב וכן משפט כל באי בריתו אשר 1
לא יחזיקו באלה לפוקדם לכלה ביד בליעל הוא היום 2
אשר יפקד אל היו שרי יהודה אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה 3
כי יחלו למרפא <וידבק מום> כל מורדים מאשר לא סרו מדרך 4
בוגדים ... 5

1. […] Thus will be the judgement of all those entering his covenant but who
2. do not remain steadfast in them; they shall be visited for destruction at the hand of Belial. This is the day
3. when God will make a visitation. "*The princes of Judah are those upon whom the rage will be vented*" (Hos 5:10),
4. for they hope to be healed but <the defect sticks (to them)>; all are rebels because they have not left the path of
5. traitors […]

CD XIX:13-17

והנשארים הסגרו לחרב נוקמת נקם ברית וכן משפט לכל באי 13
בריתו אשר לא יחזיקו באלה החקים לפקדם לכלה ביד בליעל 14
הוא היום אשר יפקד אל כאשר דבר היו שרי יהודה כמשיגי 15
גבול עליהם אשפך כמים עברה כי באו {באו} בברית תשובה 16
ולא סרו מדרך בוגדים ... 17

13. […] Thus will be the judgement of all those entering
14. his covenant, but who do not remain steadfast in these precepts; they shall be visited for destruction at the hand of Belial.
15. This is the day when God will make a visitation, as he said: "*The princes of Judah will be like those who move*
16. *the boundary, upon them I will pour out fury like water*" (Hos 5:10). For they entered the covenant of conversion,
17. but have not left the path of traitors […]

18 Cf. Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 47-48.

Recension A offers a loose quotation of Hos 5:10 combined with Deut 13:18 or Job 31:7. Instead of such a further allusion, recension B renders the quotation explicit, by completing it and identifying the "princes of Judah" more clearly: "they entered the covenant of conversion, but have not left the path of traitors". Elsewise, the "covenant of conversion" is neither attested in the Hebrew Bible nor in Qumran. Yet, it is highly probable, that we are facing a self-designation of the Qumran community.[19] The "princes of Judah" seems to be an enigmatic designation for a group, which once belonged to the Qumran community, but has since apostized, not leaving the path of traitors.[20] The use of שר "prince" is reminiscent onomatopoetically of סור "go astray".[21] A comparison with further Qumran texts (cf. e.g. 1QpHab V:9-12) suggests to identify this group with the supporters of the "Man of the Lie". Thus, we might conclude that, again, the quotation was chosen wisely, as both quotation and interpretation allude to a fratricidal war.

d) CD XX:13-20

Finally, a quotation of Hos 3:4 is found in CD XX:13-20:

13 ולוֹא יִהיה להם {ו}ולמשפחותיהם חלק בבית התורה ומיום
14 האסף יורה היחיד <היחד> עד תם כל אנשי המלחמה אשר שבו
15 עִם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים *vacat* ובקץ ההוא יחֹרה
16 אף אל בישראל כאשר אמר אין מֹלך ואין שר ואין שופט ו[אי]ן
17 מוכיח בצדק { } ושבי פשע יעקֹב שמרו ברית אל אז ידברו איש
18 אל רעהוּ להתּצדיק אישׁ את אחיו לתמוך צעדם בדרך אל ויקשב
19 אל אל דבריהם וישמע ויכתב סֹפֹר זכרון [לפניו] ליראי אל ולחושבי
20 שמו עד יגלה { } ישע וצדקה ויראי אל ...

13. […] And from the day
14. of the gathering in of the unique teacher, until the end of all the men of war who turned back
15. with the Man of the Lie, there shall be about forty years. *vac* And in this age the wrath
16. of God will be kindled against Israel, as he said: "*There shall be no king, no prince, no judge, no-one [who]*
17. *reproaches in justice*" (Hos 3:4). But those who revert from the sin of Jacob, have kept the covenant of God. "They shall then speak", each
18. to his fellow, acting just with one's brother, so that their steps become steady in the path of God, and God "will pay attention" to
19. their words. "And he will listen; and it will be written in a book of remembrance [before hi]m for those who fear God and think on
20. his name" (Mal 3:16), until salvation and justice are revealed to those who fear God. […]

This passage describes a time span of "about forty years" (cf. Deut 2:14 as well as 1QM II; 4QpPs A 1-10 II:7-8) from the death of the "unique teacher" to the final annihilation of all

19 This is at least indicated by the return/covenant phrasings in CD XV:9; XVI:1-2; cf. Maxine Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 163-164.

20 Cf. André Dupont-Sommer, *Die essenischen Schriften vom Toten Meer* (trans. W. W. Müller; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960), 148.

21 For the pun on סור, cf. CD I:13, and VII:12-13.

those who support the "Man of the Lie" (line 14) and to the advent of salvation for the God-fearing (line 20). The quotation of Hos 3:4, predicting Israel a period devoid of all political and cultic institutions, is here related to the teacher-less time of the Qumran community. In this regard, the teacher reference is owing to a secondary act of interpretation by the Damascus Document, which reads "no-one who reproaches in justice" instead of the original "no Ephod and no Teraphim".[22] Again, a quotation addressed to the whole of Israel in Hosea is limited to a group within her midst, this time, however, not aiming at an adverse group, but at the Qumran community itself.

Two explicit Hosea quotations still remain: one quotation in the, as Annette Steudel put it, Midrash on Eschatology, the other one in a *pesher* on the book of Isaiah, 4QpIsaiah C. Let us commence with the Midrash on Eschatology.

3. The Midrash on Eschatology

Following the reconstruction of Annette Steudel[23], two manuscripts of the Midrash on Eschatology have been preserved. 4Q174 "Florilegium" provides us with text stemming from the beginning of the work, 4Q177 "Catena A" with fragments of its middle. According to palaeographic evidence 4Q174 needs to be dated to the last third of the 1st century B.C.E., 4Q177 somewhat later. The work itself was most likely composed between 71 and 63 B.C.E. Thematically speaking, we have to deal with a midrash, concerned with the אחרית הימים, i.e. the last inauspicious epoch of salvation time.[24] The work can be divided into a brief introductory part, drawing on both the blessing of the tribes in Deut 33 and the Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam 7, and a main section, which grapples with eschatological issues while alluding to Psalms and, to a lesser extent, other biblical books. In this regard, col. X (4Q177 1-4:13-14) likewise quotes and interprets Hos 5:8a, an appeal to sound the trumpet, found,

22 For "reproaching" (יכח hi.) as an action taken by the "Teacher of Righteousness" (מורה הצדק), see 1QpHab V:9-12. Further the targum reads „teacher" (מחוי) at the end of Hos 3:4 .

23 Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat$^{a.b}$): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 („Florilegium") und 4Q177 („Catena A") repräsentieren Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994). *Editio princeps* of the entire text: Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I*, 53-57, pl. XIX-XX (4Q174), and 67-74, pl. XXIV-XXV (4Q177); corrections and additions: Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 220-225, 236-248; cf. further the edition by Jacob Milgrom with Lidija Novakovic, "Catena A (4Q177 = 4QCat^{a})" in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 6B: Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; PTSDSSP; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 286-303.

24 For the אחרית הימים, see Annette Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 225-246.

once more, within the context of Ephraim's and Judah's fratricidal war:[25]

4Q177 (4QCatena A) 1-4:13-14 = 4QMidrEschat X:13-14

13]תקעו שופר בגבעה השופר הואה ספר עולם ויקום משמה ללכתֹ מִן אֹוֹתָם[ ]ולזרעו [עד] ל[ו]]○○[ ]

14 [התורה חצוצרה ברמה הח]צֹ[צרה הי]אה ספר התורה שנית אשרֹ מאסו כֹ[ול א]נשֹי עצתו וידברו עליו סרה וישלֹח

13. […] "*Blow Shophar in Gibeah*" (Hos 5:8a). The "Shophar", that is the book of
14. [the Torah. "*(Blow) Chazozrah in Ramah*" (Hos 5:8a). The "Cha]zo[zrah", that i]s the book of the Torah again which a[ll the me]n of his council have spurned and they have spoken rebelliously against him. [...]

Due to the merely fragmentary preservation of the column, the integration of both quotation and its interpretation cannot be determined for certain. The quotation itself consists of two parts. First, solely the first sentence of Hos 5:8a is cited: "Blow Shophar in Gibeah!" The following brief interpretation identifies "Shophar" with a book, presumably the Torah. Very few, but explicit remains of letters found in line 14 render the reading of "Chazozrah" as part of an interpretation highly likely. The preceding lacuna might well have contained a quotation of the second part of Hos 5:8a – the part which addresses the "Chazozrah". As is the case with the first part of the Hosea quotation, a single element is being interpreted, namely now "Chazozrah" as compared to "Shophar". Like "Shophar" the term "Chazozrah" is identified with the Torah: "The Chazozrah, that is the book of the Torah again which all the men of his council have spurned and they have spoken rebelliously against him" (line 14). Against the background of the remaining Qumran texts, this interpretation gains in clarity: The "Men of his Council" are best identified as the supporters of the "Man of the Lie", who – disagreeing on the interpretation of the Torah – broke with the "Teacher of Righteousness" and his followers (cf. e.g. 1QpHab V:9-12). Again, the Hosea quotation is connected with a schism within Israel. Its relation to the fratricidal war is already suggested by the biblical context.
Let us conclude with the Hosea quotation encountered in the *pesher* on Isaiah C.

4. The *pesher* on Isaiah C

The *pesher* on Isaiah C, 4Q163, is usually considered to comprise 61 fragments.[26] Due to the usage of papyrus as writing material, the fragments are but poorly preserved. According to palaeographic evidence, two different handwritings can be discerned, a semi-formal Hasmonean and a more cursive one.[27] The work represents the oldest preserved *pesher*

25 For the respective text and its interpretation, cf. Steudel, 1994, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 106-109.

26 *Editio princeps* of the entire text: Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I*, 17-27, pl. VII-VIII; corrections and additions: Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 188-195; cf. further the editions by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 94-124 (textbook, 20-33); eadem, "Pesharim," 47-81.

27 Cf. Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 188-189.

manuscript we know of (first third of the 1st century B.C.E.). It deals with elect passages of the Book of Isaiah, quotations of which are preserved for chapters 8-10, 14, 19, and 29-31. In addition, further prophetic books are considered in the commentations part, amongst them the Book of Hosea with one reference.

Regardless of its fragmentary preservation, a quotation of Hos 6:9a can be detected with relative certainty in fragment 23, col. ii, line 14. Yet, the formulaic embedding of the quotation into its context is lost. Since all non-Isaianic references are marked by citation formulas, we might expect the same to be true for our Hosea quote. Thus, it seems justified to include 4QpIsa C into our overview of explicit Hosea quotations found in Qumran texts.

Hos 6:9 describes the priests of the Northern kingdom as a community of thieves and sneaky murderers. In 4QpIsa C, the quotation is found within the context of an interpretation of Isa 30:15-18:[28]

4Q163 (4QpIsa C) 23ii:3-14a

3	[כי]אָ כ[ו]ה אמר יהוה קדוש ישראל בשובה ונ[ח]ת[תושעון]
4	[בה]שקט ובטח תהיה גבורתכמה ולוא אביתמה ות[ואמרו]
5	לֹוֹאָ כיא על סוס ננוס על כן תנוסון ועל קל נרכב על כֵּן
6	יָקָלו רודפיכמה אלף אחד מפני גערת אחד מפני גערת
7	חמשה תנוסון עד אם נותרתמה כתרן על רואש הר
8	וכנס על גבעה לכן יחכה אדוני לחנֹ[נכ]מה ולכן ירום
9	לרחמכמה כיא אלוהי משפט יהוה אשרי כול חוכי לו
10	פשר הדבר לאחרית הימים על עדת ד[ורשי] החלקות
11	אשֶׁ בירוֹשלים ○○○ ה○[ ]
12	בתורה ולוא יהֶ[ ]○○[ ]
13	לב כיא לדוש○[ ]
14	כיחכה איש גדוד[ים חבר כוהנים]
14a	התורה מאסו [ ]

3. ["*Fo*]*r th*[*u*]*s says YHWH, the Holy One of Israel: 'With return and r*[*es*]*t* [*you will be saved*.]
4. [*In*] *quiet and in trust will be your strength.' But you were not willing, and you* [*said,*]
5. *'No! For on horseback we will flee.' Therefore, you shall flee! 'And on swift* (*steeds*) *we will ride.' Therefore*
6. *swift shall your pursuers be! A thousand before the threat of one, before the threat of*
7. *five you shall flee, until you are left like a flagstaff on a mountaintop,*
8. *and a standard on a hill. Therefore the Lord waits to be gracious to you, and therefore rises up*
9. *to be merciful on you, for YHWH is the God of justice. Happy* (*shall be*) *all who wait for him!"* (Isa 30:15-18)
10. The interpretation of the passage (with regard) to the latter days concerns the congregation of the S[eekers-after-]Smooth-Things
11. who are in Jerusalem *h* [ ]
12. in the Torah, and not *yh*[ ] [ ]
13. heart, for to trample [ ]
14. "*As the raider*[*s*] *lie in wait for a man,* [*a band of priests"* (Hos 6:9)]
14a. they have rejected the Torah. [ ]

Among scholars, it is highly disputed, whether the quotation, line 14, or its interpretation, line 14a, need to be considered secondary. In this passage the line spacing is reduced considerably.

28 The text and its translation follow Horgan, "Pesharim," 70-73 (the numbering of lines 14 and 14a are taken from Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I*, 24).

Maurya Horgan advocates the quotation to be added "as a gloss on the commentary, perhaps inspired by the verb *ḥkh*, 'to wait for,' in both Isa 30:18 and Hos 6:9a"[29]. With reference to the indent, John Allegro and John Strugnell, however, assume line 14a to be a later addition.[30] Regardless of the decision favored, the following might be suggested as to the Hosea quotation within the context of the Isaiah *pesher*: In lines 10-13 the quotation Isa 30:15-18 is interpreted as relating to the אחרית הימים and "the congregation of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things" (line 10) "who are in Jerusalem" (line 11). Considering other Qumran texts, this group might be identified with the supporters of the "Man of the Lie" (cf. e.g. CD I:13-21; 4QpIsa B ii:6-7, 10). This fits well with the reproach of line 14a: the abrogation of the Torah (cf. 1QpHab I:11; V:9-12; 4QpIsa B ii:6-7, 10). Again, a Hosea quotation is used in connection with a dispute of the Qumran community and their opponents – an interpretation, which is even suggested by the quotation (Hos 6:9) itself, seeing as it addresses a sacrilegious group within Israel, namely the priests.

Conclusions

This overview of explicit Hosea quotations present in the Qumran manuscripts shows an amazingly coherent pattern on how the book of Hosea was read in Qumran. Constitutive for the comprehension of the book seems to be a differentiation within Israel, separating the righteous from the sinners.

The bulk of quotations addresses the sinners. They are once identified as the hellenophile Jews living in the Acra (4QpHos A). Elsewise they mostly represent the supporters of the "Man of the Lie" (4QpHos B; CD I:11-17; IV:19-20; VIII:1-5/XIX:13-17; 4QMidrEschat; 4QpIsa C). One quotation addresses the Qumran community itself, i.e. the righteous ones (CD XX:13-20).

In detail, the Qumranic interpretation of Hosea shows a bifocal perspective: first, certain Qumran texts solely refer to Hosean passages, that are either dealing with the fratricidal war between Ephraim and Judah or concerned with a distinction within Israel by accusing one group only. In this context we might mention the three references to Hos 5:8-11 (Hos 5:8a in 4QMidrEschat; Hos 5:10 in CD VIII:1-5/XIX:13-17; Hos 5:11b in CD IV:19-20), which deals with the fratricidal war, or Hos 6:9 (in 4QpIsa C), which addresses the delinquencies especially of the priests. Second, passages referring to the entirety of Israel in the Book of

29 Horgan, *Pesharim*, 120.

30 Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4.I*, 24; Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 193.

Hosea are limited to a single group within her midst (Hos 2:10-13 in 4QpHos A; Hos 3:4 in CD XX:13-20; Hos 4:16 in CD I:11-17, Hos 5:14 in 4QpHos B).

If we have thus rightly described the Qumran perspective of Hosea as one distinguishing between the righteous and the sinners, the question arises: How did the authors reach this conclusion? On the one hand, this reading is already suggested by the special historical situation of the Qumran community, namely one of serious conflict between opposing groups. On the other hand – and this is in my view the decisive fact – such an interpretation is inherent in the Book of Hosea itself. Especially seeing as the final verse of the book, Hos 14:10, already includes a separation of the righteous and the sinners as the hermeneutic key to the understanding of the entire book – a fact which has repeatedly been pointed out by various biblical scholars:[31]

Hosea 14:10

10 מִי חָכָם וְיָבֶן אֵלֶּה נָבוֹן וְיֵדָעֵם
כִּי־יְשָׁרִים דַּרְכֵי יְהוָה
וְצַדִּקִים יֵלְכוּ בָם
וּפֹשְׁעִים יִכָּשְׁלוּ בָם׃

10. Whoever is wise, let him understand these things;
whoever is discerning, let him know them.
For the ways of the LORD are straight,
and the righteous walk in them,
but the sinners stumble in them.

Thence, the Qumran exegetes might have interpreted the overall understanding of the book purported by Hos 14:10[32] while transferring it to their own, presently dolorous situation. Unlike the final verse of Hosea, however, the Qumran exegetes do not understand the comprehension of the scripture as a result of their own efforts. As other Qumran texts have shown, the comprehension is owing to a special revelation, offered to the Teacher of Righteousness by God himself (cf. e.g. 1QpHab II:7-10; VII:1-8). This divine revelation warrants the interpretation's authenticity and enables the Qumran exegetes to understand the prophetic book as a testimony for their own time given by the one and ever consistent God.

31 E.g. Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament* (BZAW 151; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 129-136; Mays, *Hosea*, 190; Jeremias, *Das Buch Hosea*, 174; Kratz, "Erkenntnis Gottes im Hoseabuch," 17-18; Ehud Ben Zvi, *Hosea* (FOTL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 313-317; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 201-203.

32 In this regard it can hardly be a coincidence, that Hos 14:10 is generally considered one of the latest additions to the Book of Hosea among biblical scholars (cf. e.g. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct*, 129-136; Jeremias, *Das Buch Hosea*, 174; Kratz, "Erkenntnis Gottes im Hoseabuch," 17-18; Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 201-203). The Qumran interpretation starts off where the inner-biblical interpretation came to its (provisional) end. Hence it seems legitimate to say, that both inner- and extra-biblical interpretation show a certain correlated continuity (cf. Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea*, 207-223).