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## **Reconsidering Habakkuk 1:8**

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The Book of Habakkuk is famous for containing an amount of textual problems inversely proportional to its size.<sup>1</sup> Many of these textual problems involve factors beyond those mechanical ones that are usually taken into account in text-critical and philological analysis, like variant readings caused by errors of textual transmission or by linguistic deficiencies of the ancient translators. Habakkuk is a literary composition in the deepest sense of the word, so that the need for increased awareness and heightened sensitivity to literary language in reconstructing the textual history of the prophecy can hardly be overemphasised. Nonetheless, this study deals with a controversial phrase from Hab 1:8c(d), where the original meaning of the prophecy seems to have been lost due to well-observable historical factors in the process of textual transmission. The evidence is, however very complex and requires careful examination.

Hab 1:8 is part of a longer description of the Chaldean enemy in vv. 6–11, a nation directly raised and set in motion by YHWH. The endless debates around the rhetorical function of this portrayal of the enemy within the structure of the larger context of Habakkuk 1–2, in particular the relationship between vv. 6–11 with the preceding and following pericopes, need not concern us now. Suffice it to say that beyond similarities with other accounts in the Old Testament (cf. Deut 28:49–50; Isa 5:26–30; 13:17–18; 18:1–2; Jer 4:13; 5:15–16; Joel 2; Nah 2:3–7), the presentation of the Chaldean protagonist on the stage set by Judah's God is purposefully meant to astonish the audience of the prophet (cf. Hab 1:5–6). From a rhetorical point of view, the exotic language prevalent in the poetical characterisation of this enemy parallels this explicit determination of the prophecy.

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<sup>1</sup> István Karasszon authored two important essays in Hungarian on the redactional history of the book of Habakkuk: *Próféta* 2002, 108–112. 129–137, and *Habakuk* 2004, 251–267. This short study is offered to him as a small token of appreciation for his inspiring scholarship.

The Masoretic Text of v. 8 is structured as follows:

MT	NRSV
וְקָלוּ מִנִּמְרִים סוּסָיו	a Their horses are swifter than leopards,
וְחִבְרֵי מִזְאָבִי עֶרֶב	b more menacing than wolves at dusk;
וּפָשְׁוּ פָרָשָׁיו	c their horses charge.
וּפָרָשָׁיו מִרְחֹק יָבֵאוּ	d Their horsemen come from far away;
יַעֲפוּ כַּנְּשֵׁר חָשׁ לְאַכּוֹל:	e they fly like an eagle swift to devour.

While this rendering certainly makes sense, the repetition in the phrase פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו is strange. It is true that the current poem uses closely similar terms on different occasions, and the type of word play assumed by this formulation appears to belong to the basic repertoire of the poet. Nonetheless in all other instances there are minor differences between the lexemes evoked for such rhetorical purposes.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is exactly the minute alterations of consonants and vocals that ultimately makes the difference between an ingenious poem and epigonic redundancy.<sup>3</sup>

Modern renderings of this phrase of the Masoretic Text intend to diminish redundancy by arguing that פָּרָשׁ may refer both to ‘horseman’ and ‘team of horses’, and alternate the two in translation.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless using distinctive terms or synonyms hardly mirror the poetics of the verse line and only emphasise the problem instead of solving it. In spite of all semantic ambivalence, for the Hebrew reader of this verse פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו remains redundant phrasing.<sup>5</sup>

This problem is addressed in the exegetical literature and in bible translations in three specific ways. (1) A first group of scholars intend to keep פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו together, contrary to the demarcations of the MT. So Sellin proposed a minor

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hab 1:5: וְהִתְמַהוּתָּהּ תִּמְהוּ, וְהִתְמַהוּתָּהּ תִּמְהוּ; 1:10: מִשְׁחָק / יִשְׁחָק. See further also Isa 10:16: הַשְׁתַּעֲשֵׂעוּ וְשִׁעוּ, הִתְמַהְמְהוּ וְתִמְהוּ; 29:9: מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד; 28:16: יָקַד יָקַד פִּיקוּד; 29:14: הַפְּלֵא וְפְלֵא etc.

<sup>3</sup> This is not to deny that repetition can have a rhetorical function, as observable in, for example, פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו in Isa 28:16; אֲרִיאֵל אֲרִיאֵל in Isa 29:1; etc. Yet these cases are clearly different from this point of view from Hab 1:8, where such legitimation is hard to be granted.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the New Revised Standard Version; Nederlandse Bijbelgenootschap 1951; Einheitsübersetzung 1980; New International Version 2011; R. D. Haak, Habakkuk 1992, 41; R. D. Patterson, Habakkuk 2003, 140.

<sup>5</sup> Choosing for an ambivalent equivalence in translation, such as English ‘cavalry’ (cf. D. J. Clark et al., Handbook 1989, 77; F. Andersen, Habakkuk 2001, 135), covers semantically the intention of the Hebrew text, but poetically it hardly offers any better solution.

emendation, dropping the ׀ connecting the two identical words, and taking **וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו** as one cola.<sup>6</sup> Others take a bolder step towards conjectural emendation, reading **פָּרָשִׁי פָּרָשָׁיו** ‘the horses of their cavalry’.<sup>7</sup> (2) A second group of scholars aim to keep **וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו** separate, and thus far they concur with the MT. But in order to achieve a smoother style, they combine emendation with a more radical restructuring, reassigning one of the two **פָּרָשָׁיו** to different locations. Ewald removes the connective ׀ from the beginning of **וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו** and attaches the phrase to the end of v. 8b.<sup>8</sup> Even more radically, Ellinger proposes to insert 9aβ (מִגְּמַת פְּנִיחֵם קְרִימָה) between v. 8c and d.<sup>9</sup> (3) A third way to address stylistic unevenness was to simply drop **וּפָשׁוּ**, invoking scribal dittography as an argument in the history of the text of Habakkuk.<sup>10</sup>

The arbitrary nature of these alterations is, however, seriously challenged by the ancient witnesses of Hab 1:8cd, as the table below illustrates.

MT	וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרָשָׁיו מִרְחוֹק יָבֵאוּ
LXX	καὶ ἐξιππάσονται οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν
QpHab	פשו ופרשו פרשו מרחוק
8HevXIIgr <sup>11</sup>	καὶ ὀρμή[σουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἵπ]τεῖς αὐτοῦ πόρρ[ωθει ἐλεύσονται]

<sup>6</sup> E. Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch* 1930, 390. He points to Judg 5:22 as a poetic parallel.

<sup>7</sup> B. Duhm, *Habakuk* 1906, 24–25; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* 1922, 266; W. Rudolph, *Habakuk* 1975, 204; C.-A. Keller et al., *Habacuc* 1990, 149.

<sup>8</sup> H. Ewald, *Propheten* 1840, 1:378: ‘und schneller als Parder sind seine Pferde, und hitziger als Abendwölfe springen seine Rosse’.

<sup>9</sup> Ellinger, *Die Kleinen Propheten* 1956, 29. This suggestion is also included in the critical apparatus of BHS<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. W. H. Ward, *Habakkuk* 1911, 10; F. Delitzsch, *Schreibfehler* 1920, 82; I. Karasszon, *Proféta*, 130. See also *New American Bible* 2010; L. Perlitt, *Habakuk* 2004, 52. 55 both drops one of the duplicate terms and manipulates the verse structure as follows: ‘Schneller als Panther sind seine Rosse, ‘schärfer’ als Wölfe am Abend seine Reiter. Sie stürmen heran, kommen von fernher geflogen...’. For further, more radical solutions, see the list in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:827.

<sup>11</sup> The Nahal Hever manuscript of the Twelve is variously dated between the mid-first century BC and mid-first century AD. See the extensive discussion in E. Tov, *Greek Minor Prophets* 1990, 22–26. The reconstructions of the broken text follow this edition (8HevXIIgr 16:33–34).

MurXII <sup>12</sup>	וּפְשׁוּ [ו] פְּרָשׁוּי [וּפְרָשׁוּי מוֹרַח] וּקַי יבאו <i>wntwswn pršwhy wn 'twn pršwhy mn rwhq'</i> וּיְרִדוּן פְּרָשׁוּהִי וּפְרָשׁוּהִי מוֹרַחִיק יִיתוֹן <i>et diffundentur equites eius equites namque eius de longe venient</i>
Pesh.	
Targ.	
Vulg.	

In spite of the differences with respect to the details of rendering their respective Hebrew originals, it is clear that the versions all presuppose פְּרָשׁוּי וּפְרָשׁוּי in some form.<sup>13</sup> All but 1QpHab presuppose the connective ׀ before וּפְשׁוּ, and all but 1QpHab and the Pesh. presuppose the connective ׀ between וּפְרָשׁוּי וּפְרָשׁוּי. None of these deviations from the Masoretic tradition is a sufficient nature to challenge seriously the MT in a way set out by the above mentioned approaches.

At the same time, one can observe a significant deviation from the MT in the pre-Masoretic textual tradition of the LXX and 1QpHab exactly with respect to the phrase וּפְשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּי וּפְרָשׁוּי addressed in this study.<sup>14</sup>

Source	Text	Syntactic structure
MT	וּפְשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּי וּפְרָשׁוּי	(w)Predicate + Subject + (w)Subject
LXX	καὶ ἐξιππάσονται οἱ ἵππειοι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρμήσουσιν	(w)Predicate + Subject + (w)Predicate
1QpHab	פְּשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּי וּפְרָשׁוּי	Predicate + (w)Predicate + Subject

However we interpret it, it is clear that one of the פְּרָשׁוּי in the Habakkuk pesher is a verb rather than a noun, contrary to what we now have in the MT. Likewise the LXX also presupposes a *Vorlage* which includes two predicates and one subject. This evidence for another reading is intriguing but requires some comments as it has elicited various interpretations. It remains a question how far these two non-Masoretic traditions can be correlated and considered as witnessing to a more reliable earlier reading or be isolated as idiosyncrasies with little relevance

<sup>12</sup> The reconstruction of the second century AD manuscript from Wadi Murabba'at follows B. Ego et al., *Biblia Qumranica* 2005, 129. See also J. T. Milik et al., *Rouleau* 1961, 181–205; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:827.

<sup>13</sup> This has been questioned with regard to the Greek καὶ ὀρμήσουσιν, which some unjustly hold to be a free rendering of Hebrew וּבֵאוּ instead. See discussion below.

<sup>14</sup> The other traditions mentioned above basically follow the MT and do not add to the discussion.

for the textual history of Hab 1:8. I shall first consider both textual traditions separately.

1QpHab 3:7–8 containing the reference to the text of Hab 1:8 shows several differences compared to the MT of Hab 1:8cd. First, the connective ׀ is lacking both before **וּפְרָשָׁיו**, as well as before the second **וּפְרָשָׁיו**, while it is present in the second position, contrary to the MT. Second, in both instances of **פְּרָשָׁיו** the pesher has a variant lacking the ׀. Third, **יבא** is clearly missing from the phrase of the Habakkuk citation. All these variations need to be analysed first synchronically within the context of the pesher itself before a role is assigned to them within the diachronical reconstruction of the text of Habakkuk.

In 1QpHab 3:7, the phrase **פְּשׁוֹ וּפְרָשָׁיו מְרַחֵק פְּרָשָׁיו** is clearly delimited from the previous sentence by a distinctive space, one that in this manuscript usually demarcates the comments (peshers) appended to the biblical citations.<sup>15</sup> 1QpHab's different use of the connective ׀-s compared to the MT is to be regarded as intentional variation for which several other examples have been pointed out in case of this scroll.<sup>16</sup> The other ancient witnesses of Hab 1:8 support in this respect the MT.<sup>17</sup>

With regard to the lack of ׀ in the Qumranic **וּפְרָשָׁיו פְּרָשָׁיו**, this implies two things. The first expression, **וּפְרָשָׁיו** connected to a preceding verb must be a verbal form to be vocalised either as **וּפְרָשׁוּ** or as **וּפְרָשׁוּ**, a semantic option to which I shall return later in this study. The second **פְּרָשָׁיו** is, however, most probably a plural noun written defectively with a suffix and not a verb,<sup>18</sup> corresponding to the Masoretic **פְּרָשָׁיו** 'his cavalry'. As Barthélemy has shown, 1QpHab preserved several other examples of the final long suffix **וִי** rendered defectively as **וּ**.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/habakkuk> (accessed on 12.03.2015) for a digital photograph.

<sup>16</sup> For the general phenomenon of intentional variants in 1QpHab, see especially J.-H. Kim, *Intentionale Varianten* 2007, 23–37; for Hab 1:8 see especially p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> See the table above. The Pesh. is the single exception for its lack of the connective waw between **וּפְרָשָׁיו וּפְרָשָׁיו**, but that is hardly more than a stylistic variation.

<sup>18</sup> J. J. M. Roberts (*Habakkuk* 1991, 92) considers this as a possible option, but in his rendering of the verse he ultimately opts for translating both as verbs.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. **סוּסוֹ > סוּסוֹ** (1:8), **אֱלֹוֹ > אֱלֹוֹ** (2:5 2x), **עֲלוֹ > עֲלוֹ** (2:6 2nd occurrence). See D. Barthélemy, *Studies* 2012, 449–451, concluding that the premasoretic *Vorlage* of the Qumranic text contained this shortened suffix spelling. The two verbs preceding the noun **פְּרָשָׁיו** in 1QpHab are plurals, which makes clear that the author of the pesher understood the suffix of **פְּרָשָׁיו** as a plural.

The phrase *καὶ ἐξῆππάσονται οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀρμήσουσιν μακρόθεν* in the LXX conforms to the MT with respect to the copulatives. However, the precise equivalence between the MT and the Old Greek text is debated. When compared to the phrase *וּפָשׂוּ פְּרָשָׁיו וּפְרָשָׁיו מִרְחוֹק יָבֵא* it becomes clear that the LXX lacks the translation for one word.

Two different suggestions have been proposed in this respect. It is often argued that the LXX disregarded *וּפְרָשָׁיו* and rendered *יָבֵא* rather freely by *ὀρμήσουσιν*.<sup>20</sup> Some exegetes saw in this an ancient confirmation for the assumed erroneous dittography in the history of the Hebrew text of Hab 1:8 (see above). Others, however, strongly doubt this interpretation of the Greek term and maintain that the LXX rather rendered a predecessor, a verbal form of the Masoretic *וּפְרָשָׁיו*. Based on Nah 3:16, where *ὀρμάω* ‘to rush’ (mis)translates *פָּשַׁט* ‘to strip’, Humbert believed that *וּפְרָשָׁיו* in Hab 1:8 was an error for *וּפָשַׁט*.<sup>21</sup> More to the point, taking into account the evidence of the Habakkuk peshet from Qumran discussed above, Bosshard suggested that the Greek *ὀρμήσουσιν* actually overlaps with the Qumranic *וּפְרָשָׁיו* rendered by him as ‘to go away, to depart’.<sup>22</sup> The lack of translation in the LXX for the Masoretic *יָבֵא* coincides in his view with 1QpHab, questioning the originality of *יָבֵא* in the prophecy of Habakkuk. *יָבֵא* is then viewed as a secondary insertion in the MT, related to the verbal > nominal development of the form *וּפְרָשָׁיו* > *וּפָשַׁט*.<sup>23</sup>

Bosshard rightly rejected the earlier view that *ὀρμήσουσιν* would be a rendition of Hebrew *יָבֵא*, and correctly intended to correlate the LXX and the peshet. However, his concrete conclusions, viz. equating *ὀρμάω* and Hebrew *פָּרַשׂ*, as well as dropping *יָבֵא* as a secondary development, remain unconvincing.

To begin with his second point, the lack of *יָבֵא* at 1QpHab 3:7, albeit striking at first sight, when examined synchronically within the peshet itself, it turns out to be an intentional change, related to the inner rearrangement of the text by

<sup>20</sup> Cf. B. Duhm, *Habakuk* 1906, 24; W. H. Ward, *Habakkuk* 1911, 10; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* 1922, 266; W. Rudolph, *Habakuk* 1975, 204; F. I. Andersen, *Habakuk* 2001, 154.

<sup>21</sup> P. Humbert, *Problèmes* 1944, 36.

<sup>22</sup> M. Bosshard, *Bemerkungen* 1969, 481–482.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. M. Bosshard, *Bemerkungen* 1969, 481–482. The secondary intrusion of *יָבֵא* in the Hebrew text has already been suggested by K. Ellinger, *Propheten* 1956, 29; and it was more recently also taken over by D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:828; D. Barthélemy, *Studies* 2012, 453. 464.

the relocation of the copulatives. The above noted regrouping of the pesher's Habakkuk-citation as Predicate + (w)Predicate + Subject does not require a further predicate within this phrase and it necessarily leads to a logically superfluous יבאו. However, the later section of 1QpHab 3:10–11, which contains the explanation of the biblical citation, clearly shows that the author of the pesher was familiar with a biblical text containing מִמְרַחֵק יבֹאוּ. 1QpHab is therefore not supporting the LXX in its presumed unawareness of the verb יבאו but backs the MT. The only correspondence that can be pointed out between the pesher and the LXX at this point is their common adherence to stylistic and syntactic harmony.

With respect to the correlation between ὀρμάω and the Hebrew פִּרַשׁ, the problem is first of all a semantic one. Biblical Hebrew פִּרַשׁ means 'to give a decision' (qal) and 'to be explained, decided' (pu).<sup>24</sup> Hebrew פִּרַשׁ certainly does not appear with the meaning 'to go away, to depart' assumed by Bosshard. A verb with this sense is attested only in post-biblical Jewish Aramaic.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Greek ὀρμάω presupposes moving *towards* rather than *away from* something, so that the two connotations would hardly overlap.

The question may then be raised whether ὀρμάω could eventually render Hebrew פִּרַשׁ instead? This does not appear to be directly the case in any other location of the Old Testament. In one instance in Nah 3:16 ὀρμάω renders Hebrew פִּשַׁט. This Hebrew term can have the sense of qal 'to strip off / spread out' (cloth etc.), a meaning partially also covered by פִּרַשׁ.<sup>26</sup> It is probably this particular sense that the term indicates in this concrete location of Nah 3:16. Nevertheless, the rendering of the LXX suggests that it understood פִּשַׁט in its usual sense of 'to rush upon' (e.g. the enemy), a nuance frequently connected to this verb.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore neither יבאו, nor וּפָרְשׁוּ, nor וּפָרְשׁוּ that Greek ὀρμήσουσιν renders in Hab 1:8.

It is safer to conclude that the author of the LXX actually interchanged the two Hebrew verbs פִּרַשׁ (!) and פִּשַׁט. He translated וּפָרְשׁוּ by καὶ ὀρμήσουσιν 'to rush

<sup>24</sup> L. Koehler et al., Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon 2000, 976.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. M. Jastrow, Dictionary 1926, 1241–1243; M. Sokoloff, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic 2002, 939–941; M. Sokoloff, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic 2002, 451–452.

<sup>26</sup> The hiph. of פִּשַׁט and the qal of פִּרַשׁ are both used together in Mic 3:3. But here פִּרַשׁ (=פִּרַשׁ?), cf. H. Ringgren, TWAT 6, 780) has the sense 'to split up' (flesh in small pieces).

<sup>27</sup> Judg 9:33–34; 20:37; 1 Sam 27:8.10; 30:1.14; 2 Chron 14:9.13; 25:13; 28:18; Job 1:17.

upon' and the verb וּפָרְשׁוּ by καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἵπποι αὐτοῦ 'they ride forth'.<sup>28</sup> With respect to the first part of the verse this is also confirmed by the Nahal Hever text of Habakkuk. Although fragmentary at this point, this early revision of the LXX<sup>29</sup> underlines the correspondence between פֹּשֵׁשׁ and ὄρμαῶ in rendering the MT as καὶ ὄρμαῖ[σουσιν οἱ ἵπποις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἵπ]ποις αὐτοῦ (...). As for the second part, it is noteworthy that the verb ἐξῆλθον οὐκ does not appear elsewhere in the LXX. This word is etymologically related to ἵππεύς 'horseman, cavalry', also translating the nominal פָּרָשׁ in Hab 1:8.

What appears to have happened is that the Greek translator considered the second וּפָרְשׁוּ in its retroversion a unique instance of the verb פָּרַשׁ 'to ride (forth)', adhering stylistically to the Hebrew text in using an exotic Greek term as an equivalent of what he deemed to have been an equally unique instance of a Hebrew verb.

To conclude, 1QpHab presupposes a Hebrew version of Hab 1:8 in which one of the two terms of וּפָרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ known from the MT is a verb (either וּפָרְשׁוּ or וּפָרְשׁוּ), the other one is a plural noun with sg. 3 masc. suffix (פָּרְשָׁיו). The deviant use of the connective ו- within this three-word sequence is a peculiar evolution that should be explained within the textual history of the pesher itself. After filtering out the characteristic traces in the synchronic inner-textual development of the LXX, we arrive at a *Vorlage* presupposing the text וּפָרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ, thereby backing the MT with respect to the copulatives, and supporting the Habakkuk pesher in reading one of the two פָּרְשׁוּ of the current MT as a verb.

This common evidence of two pre-Masoretic traditions is enormously significant for the history of Hab 1:8. The different syntactic structure of 1QpHab 3:7–8 and the LXX of Hab 1:8 is a sign that these textual traditions are indeed completely distinctive. It is therefore all the more remarkable that from unrelated perspectives both traditions arrive at virtually the same conclusion: one of the Masoretic פָּרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ must be read as the verbal form וּפָרְשׁוּ.<sup>30</sup> When syn-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:827; D. Barthélemy, *Studies* 2012, 451 presupposes that the LXX may have found a phrase ordered as וּפָרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ in its *Vorlage*, but the presupposition of such a Hebrew original is hardly necessary to account for the misplaced Greek terms in the LXX.

<sup>29</sup> For the Nahal Hever text as a revision of the LXX, see E. Tov, *Greek Minor Prophets* 1990, 103.

<sup>30</sup> There is actually another similar case, namely Hab 1:5, where the LXX (also 8HevXIIgr and Pesh.) and 1QpHab basically agree in their reading בְּגַדִּים over against



chronic characteristics of these two witnesses are strained against the larger background of the other ancient sources for the purposes of diachronic textual reconstruction, we arrive at the following pre-masoretic Hebrew version of the phrase from Hab 1:8: **וּפָשׂוּ פָּרְשֵׁי וּפָרְשָׁי**.

The precise interpretation and vocalisation of **וּפָרְשׂוּ** still requires some comment. As we have seen, the LXX presupposed **וּפָרְשׂוּ**, thereby implying a unique case of the Hebrew verb **פָּרַשׂ** meaning ‘to ride out’, a denominative of **פָּרָשׂ** ‘rider’.<sup>31</sup> This connotation, however, has no support either in the biblical texts, or in Semitic etymology. As we have seen, Bosshard’s suggestion to assign the verb **פָּרַשׂ** the meaning ‘to depart’ is also problematic both linguistically and in the context.<sup>32</sup> A third proposal to regard **פָּרַשׂ** a phonetic variant of **פָּרַץ** ‘to break down, break through’ put forward by Van der Woude<sup>33</sup> also lacks solid biblical or etymological support. As a fourth option, **פָּרַשׂ** can eventually have the sense of ‘to separate, divide’.<sup>34</sup> The idea of a cavalry splitting up into several cohorts

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**בְּנִימִים** of the MT (and MurXII). Although 1QpHab is fragmentary when citing the text of Habakkuk directly, the pesher section makes clear that it is this term that the author reckons with in his version of the prophecy. The Nahal Hever Greek text of Habakkuk is also fragmentary, but its single preserved letter probably also supports reading **בְּנִימִים** (8HevXIIgr 16:22; cf. E. Tov, *Greek Minor Prophets* 1990, 51. 91). From the perspective of 8HevXIIgr this is all the more remarkable as this Greek version revises the LXX according to a *Vorlage* usually very close to the MT. The testimony of the LXX, 8HevXIIgr, 1QpHab and the Pesh. is in my view a strong case for an earlier version of the prophecy different from the MT. Contra e.g., P. Humbert, *Habacuc* 1944, 33; W. Rudolph, *Habakuk* 1975, 203; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:824; D. Barthélemy, *Studies* 2012, 452, and the vast majority of modern bible translations. Three other less significant and more easily explainable cases where 1QpHab and the LXX agree over against the MT are found in Hab 1:17 (MT **הַעֵל כֵּן** (= 8HevXIIgr) / 1QpHab **עָל כֵּן** = LXX **ἐὰν τοῦτο**), 2:6 (MT **וַיֵּאמֶר** / 1QpHab **וַיִּזְמַר** = LXX **ἔλαλε**), 2:19 (MT **דִּימָם** / 1QpHab **רִימָה** = LXX **ὑψώθητι**).

<sup>31</sup> This is also taken over in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 1992, 3:828: ‘depuis le lointain ils chevauchent’. Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Studies* 2012, 251. 464.

<sup>32</sup> M. Bosshard, *Bemerkungen* 1969, 482. It is not clear how R. L. Smith (*Micah* 1984, 99–100) arrives to the translation ‘they spring forward’, but neither is this specific connotation covered by the verb **פָּרַשׂ**.

<sup>33</sup> A. S. van der Woude, *Habakuk* 1978, 23. He also suggested that the **ו** in the Masoretic **וּפָרְשֵׁי** is a remnant of an earlier final **ו**, and the final **ו** is a copulative thus arriving to the reconstruction **וּפָרְשׂוּ וּמְרָחֹק**. But in the light of the examination above, this presupposition is hardly necessary.

<sup>34</sup> See J. Hoftijzer et al., *Dictionary* 1995, 944. For late Aramaic, see M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary* 2002, 939.

would suite the context. However, this connotation would require here a niph. or hitp. form of the verb.

It is more convincing to argue that the earliest form of Hab 1:8 contained the form *וּפָרְשֵׁי*, i.e. the qal of *פָּרַשׁ* ‘to spread (out), stretch (over)’. This option has been measured by Brownlee and Roberts.<sup>35</sup> The latter opted for the translation ‘his steeds gallop and fly’, suggesting that *פָּרַשׁ* actually refers to the spreading of wings even when wings are not directly mentioned in relation to the verb. While the concretisation of the metaphor in this sense remains uncertain,<sup>36</sup> the verb can refer to the spreading out of a large horde of army.<sup>37</sup>

Opting for the verb *פָּרַשׁ* in particular may have been an intentional decision. For it creates a semantic allusion to the following *עָרַף* ‘to fly’ that makes the more obvious transition from the imagery of the rushing cavalry to that of the flying eagle. But *פָּרַשׁ* also makes good sense with *פֹּשֵׁשׁ*, which although rarely used, appears to refer to the abrupt gambolling of animals (Jer 50:11; Mal 3:20). As noted, *פָּרַשׁ* may also cover the meaning of ‘to break in pieces’ (Mic 3:3), that correlates well with this impetuous trampling. On the other hand, the niph. of *פֹּשֵׁשׁ* is used in Nah 3:18 with the sense of ‘to scatter’, i.e. coming close to *פָּרַשׁ*.<sup>38</sup>

The reconstruction of the middle section of Hab 1:8 argued for above in this study necessarily leads to a new restructuring and interpretation of the remaining lines of this verse.

<sup>35</sup> W. H. Brownlee, Peshet 1979, 70: ‘trample and scatter’; J. J. M. Roberts, Habakkuk 1990, 92–93.

<sup>36</sup> J. J. M. Roberts builds his idea on the single difficult text of 1 Chr 28:18. The reading of this passage is, however, problematic, and can hardly be used as evidence for the assumption that *פָּרַשׁ* means the spreading of wings without adding *עָרַף*.

<sup>37</sup> The Dt (?) form of the Akkadian (Neo-Babylonian) *parāsu* II appears to bear this sense in relation to an army according to W. von Soden, Handwörterbuch 1972, 2:832 (*hi’ālu ittaparras*, ‘the troops swarmed out’; cf. also J. Black et al., Akkadian 2000, 266). R. D. Biggs et al. (Assyrian Dictionary 2005, 178) derives the word from the better known *naprušu*, which often has the sense ‘to speed, to rush’, also used of quick moving messengers.

<sup>38</sup> Note the Vulg. rendering *diffundentur* ‘to spread out’. A. S. van der Woude (Habakkuk 1978, 23) proposed to consider *פֹּשֵׁשׁ* a variant of Hebrew *פָּצַץ* ‘to break into pieces’ (cf. note 33 above). In the commentary on this passage, 1QpHab 3:9–10 also uses the verb *דָּוַשׁ* (cf. Jer 50:11) to explain the meaning of Hab 1:8. But unfortunately, it is not clear whether the interpreter wanted to semantically correlate or equate *פֹּשֵׁשׁ* with *דָּוַשׁ*. At any rate, there is no need to redraw the connotation of *פֹּשֵׁשׁ* along the lines proposed by A. S. van der Woude.

Reconstructed text	v. 8	Translation <sup>39</sup>
וּפָשׁוּ פָּרָשָׁיו וּפָרְשׁוּ	c	Their horses gambol and swarm out,
מִרְחֹק יָבֵאוּ יָעִפוּ	d	from afar they come, they fly,
כְּנֹשֶׁר חָשׁ לְאֹכֹל	e	like an eagle swift to devour.

Strikingly the text so obtained is formally much smoother than the current Masoretic variant, providing regular three word long colas that are typical for most other lines of the prophecy in Hab 1:6–11. This formal synchronism could be another retrospective confirmation for the probability of the above proposed reconstruction of the earliest version of Hab 1:8c.

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<sup>39</sup> For connecting יָבֵאוּ and יָעִפוּ within one cola, see also B. Duhm, *Habakuk* 1906, 25; W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* 1922, 266; E. Sellin, *Zwölfprophetenbuch* 1930, 288. 300; W. Rudolph, *Habakuk* 1975, 204.

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## Errata

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114	4	וְחָדוּ	וְחָדוּ
114	5	וּפְשׁוּ פְּרָשִׁיו	וּפְשׁוּ פְּרָשִׁיו
114	6	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
114	9	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
114	21	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
114	23	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
114 n. 2	25	פִּעֵל פִּעַל	פִּעֵל פִּעַל
114 n. 2	26	פִּיקוּד	כִּיקוּד
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115	1	וּפְשׁוּ	וּפְשׁוּ
115	3	פְּרָשִׁי פְּרָשִׁיו	פְּרָשִׁי פְּרָשִׁיו
115	4	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו
115	10	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
116	6	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו
116	8	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו	פְּרָשִׁיו וּפְרָשִׁיו
116	9	tradition is a sufficient nature to	tradition is sufficient to
116	13	וּפְרָשִׁיו	וּפְרָשִׁיו
116	18	פְּשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּ	פְּשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּ
116	19	פְּרָשׁוּ	פְּרָשׁוּ
117	6	פְּרָשִׁיו	פְּרָשִׁיו
117	11	the phrase וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּ is מרחוק	the phrase פְּשׁוּ וּפְרָשׁוּ is מרחוק
117	18	וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּ	וּפְרָשׁוּ פְּרָשׁוּ
117	19	וּפְרָשׁוּ	וּפְרָשׁוּ

117	21	פרשו	פרשו
117 n. 19	36	פרשו	פרשו
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121	5	ופרשו	ופרשו