Berrin, Shani L.
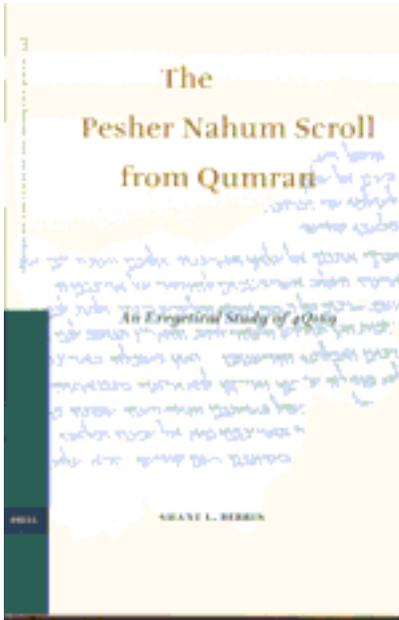
The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 53

Leiden: Brill, 2004. Pp. xviii + 351. Hardcover. $148.00. ISBN 9004124845.

Gregory Doudna
Bellingham, WA 98225

Shani Berrin's *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran* is a revision and publication of a Ph.D. dissertation written at New York University under a committee headed by Lawrence Schiffman and including Baruch Levine, Mark Smith, Frank Peters, and Moshe Bernstein. It is a study of a text, 4QPesher Nahum (4Q169), that has been one of the most controversial Qumran texts due to its tantalizing historical allusions.

As the author of the other book-length treatment of this text (*4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* [Sheffield, 2001]), the present review can hardly be objective but is written from my own perspective. As described by Berrin, "Unbeknownst to each other, Gregory Doudna and myself each set out to produce Ph.D. theses [in my case, Dr. not Ph.D.] devoted to 4Q169. When each of us later learned of the other's work, we determined to continue our respective projects independently, later exchanging copies of our penultimate drafts" (2).

Berrin's study contains an incredible amount of work and detail, and it crackles with possibilities, suggestions, and insights—especially of interest to someone who has engaged the existing scholarship on Pesher Nahum and longs for fresh, original suggestions or approaches to longstanding problems. I did not read Berrin looking for where I could disagree (inevitably, there was plenty of that) but rather for light she might shed on

problems that had baffled me—and I was rewarded. However, in the limited space available in a review I will focus on what may be of greatest interest to readers: selected points of difference or contrast between our respective treatments of *Pesher Nahum.*

Berrin's study takes a three-stage approach in which she first discusses readings and transcriptions, next historical context considerations that are used to make reconstructions, and finally lemma/pesher correspondences and exegesis on the basis of the readings and reconstructions. There are discussions of orthography, textual variants, and scribal use of spacing at the end, as well as indices of ancient sources, subjects, and modern authors.

4QPesher Nahum is one of the "continuous" pesharim, so called because it quotes the biblical text of Nahum in sequence. Berrin discusses the five surviving columns of *Pesher Nahum* in terms of individual "pesher units," which in turn are grouped into four natural clusters or "pericopes". A "pesher unit" consists of a quotation from Nahum followed by its "pesher" or interpretation written by the ancient author. For each pesher unit, Berrin has charts of words from the quotation (the lemma) on the left side of a page, then "equivalents" or what Berrin terms "arithmetic correspondence" (i.e., systematic correspondences) to the words of the quotation on the right side of the page, with explanatory footnotes and discussion. "An appropriate interpretation of any lemma/pesher unit will thus reflect contextual correspondence and it will allow for direct arithmetical alignment between the individual elements of the lemma and the corresponding pesher," Berrin writes (19). A variety of literary/exegetical/wordplay devices with multisyllabled technical terms (helpfully defined in a comprehensive list early in the book) are used to describe the way the ancient author developed the pesher interpretation from the lemma.

Berrin calls words in the pesher that have no correspondence to words in the lemma "un-pegged pluses." Building on analysis of Bilhah Nitzan of *Pesher Habakkuk,* Berrin argues that "un-pegged pluses" derive from biblical passages that shed light on the thought of the pesher. Berrin's discussions of these interrelated biblical text allusions are fascinating, as are frequent detailed and often highly interesting associated word studies. Especially notable is an outstanding comprehensive excursus on "Hanging in Pesher Nahum: A Literary and Exegetical Study of Unit 9" (165–92).

Berrin's study, like mine, is dense. One has to search back and forth through cross-references to fully investigate what Berrin has to say on points of interest. Berrin goes through the text, pesher-unit by pesher-unit in sequence, three times. There are some contradictions internal to the book indicative of uneven final editing. For example, is there a vacat between the end of the pesher and the start of the quotation at 4QpNah 3–4 I 1? Berrin says no at page 47 n. 36 but yes on pages 34 and 87 and in a table of vacats on

page 297. Is ומעונתו at 3–4 I 6 a defectively written plural noun? No, says Berrin at page 34 n. 7 and page 53. Yes, says Berrin in a summary of orthography at page 287. Some of the page references to my study are incorrect. It is not always easy to report Berrin's views accurately, since she sometimes favorably represents a position of another scholar and end the discussion on that note, without an explicit statement confirming that that is her own view, although she goes on as if it is. In this review I have sought only to represent views as Berrin's that she has explicitly confirmed are her views.

Berrin can appear sometimes to take both sides of a disputed issue. For example, did the pesharim authors intentionally alter their quotations from the biblical text to serve their interpretations? Against widespread secondary scholarship assuming that they did, I argued that this was not done in the composition of the pesharim. Berrin writes with respect to my dissent: "Doudna presents some important arguments against the view of Brooke and Lim that pesharim create exegetical variants or even deliberately use pre-existing variant texts. In our opinion, the evidence remains inconclusive" (23). But after saying it is "inconclusive," time after time suppositions of this phenomenon appear at the very heart of Berrin's exegetical analyses (e.g., 136 n. 18, 238 n. 10, 244, 263 n. 102, and many more).

Berrin at times seems to assume citation of scholarly consensus is sufficient to establish basic things as facts. For example on page 118 Berrin asserts a restoration in a lengthy lacuna in line 3–4 I 3 as a starting point and builds her argument upon it. Earlier on page 48 Berrin explains that the restoration is established because "most commentators restore some variation of the following" (and then gives the restoration). Thereafter Berrin undertakes historical and exegetical analyses of *Pesher Nahum* on the premise that that restoration is correct. Berrin seems to accept it because other scholars have done so and it seems plausible ("This proposal is likely to reflect the basic idea of the original pesher, and it has not been seriously challenged.… Despite the lack of real parallels of content, the restoration does seem lexically justifiable" [48 and n. 44]). Berrin seems to hold a standard that might be termed "plausibility plus scholarly consensus" as sufficient for accepting restorations and then basing historical and literary analysis on it.

Berrin cites approach to restorations as a difference between her work and mine: "One of the more significant methodological differences in our works is Doudna's objective of achieving maximal reconstruction of the text of 4QpNah. My own approach has favored minimal reconstruction, emphasizing literary analysis, and particularly 'lemma/pesher correspondence' " (2–3). Furthermore, "It is our strong contention that text should be reconstructed as little as possible within transcriptions themselves. The 'readings and restorations' section provides an outlet for exploring possible restorations" (23). But there seems to be an element of sleight of hand here. I think Berrin has about as many restorations

at the basis of her lemma/pesher analyses as me, viewed quantitatively. The difference is Berrin never presents her restorations in a single transcription at the end, whereas I do. I also have an earlier "extremely minimal transcription" (with absolutely nothing restored at all) and a second stage of minimally restored transcription roughly equivalent in complexity to Berrin's transcriptions, before my restored text at the end, which is roughly equivalent quantitatively to the text that could be compiled from restorations that Berrin accepts as part of the text and analyzes for lemma/pesher correspondences. In fact, Berrin spends a great deal of time on lemma/pesher analysis of hypothetical restorations. How meaningful is it, then, to say that one of our editions is more or less conservative than the other concerning restorations?

Although Berrin does an excellent job of defining uses of literary terms, and obviously is at home with the language of literary criticism and its nuances, there are problems with some other terms that are heavily used but never defined. For example, Berrin uses the term "Qumran Community" extensively but never defines it. It is assumed that the reader knows what the term means and that the term needs no definition. Another term is "sectarian," which Berrin uses quite a lot without defining. What, exactly, does "sectarian" mean? On page 270 Berrin refers favorably to an argument of Eyal Regev that priests of Aristobulus II who were offering sacrifices in the temple when killed by Pompey had, as Berrin puts it, "sectarian" views ("these Sadduceean priests were also Aristobulus' fighting force, and their *sectarian* views required them to abstain from any military activity on the Sabbath" [emphasis added]). That is, priests *in control of the Jerusalem temple* are spoken of here as holding "sectarian" views. A common notion is that "sectarian" means opposed to the temple or out of power in Jerusalem, but Berrin evidently understands the term here in some sense other than that common meaning. If priests in control of the temple can hold "sectarian" views, what then does it mean to speak of "sectarians" at Qumran or "sectarian" texts found at Qumran?

My most important criticism, however, has to do with Berrin's use of external historical scenarios in adopting restorations and in lemma/pesher analyses. Like many past commentators on 4QpNah, Berrin restores text on the basis of external historical scenarios, then does exegesis on the text generated by this method. To Berrin's credit she makes this explicit, so there is no ambiguity concerning this description of Berrin's stated method and ideal. Berrin writes, "Potential text restorations were thus generated and adapted to fit promising historical scenarios. After the historical and textual viability of these restorations was tested within each pesher unit, the results were carried through to the next unit. In each case, some interpretations were eliminated while others generated a number of permutations for hypothetical continuations of the scenario" (22). Berrin opens her discussion of *literary* analysis of the pivotal column 3–4 I with these straightforward words: "The following analysis is predicated upon the understanding that this pericope of

4QpNah focuses upon the downfall of the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus and his powerful Pharisaic opponents" (131). By contrast, I argued in my book that as a matter of method historical context considerations for the pesharim should be segregated or quarantined until after the text is established, as carefully as possible on the basis of the text itself and comparisons with closely neighboring texts. Only after this process is completed should points of contact with external historical contexts be considered. That this is no idle or inconsequential matter may become clear in the rest of this review.

In the remaining space I will offer selected comments on individual lines and topics in *Pesher Nahum.*

3–4 I 1–4

At page 87 Berrin translates the quotation from Nah 2:12b at 4QpNah 3–4 I 1–2, אשר הלך ארי לביא שם גור ארי [ואין מחריד, "whither the lion went to bring the lion's cub, and there was none to frighten." Berrin understands the pesher author as having read לביא of the quotation as a hiphil infinitive, "to bring." I understand the pesher author to have read לביא as a male lion, a noun, following another male lion word ארי (with the two male lion words in apposition meaning a single lion). In the second part of the same quotation Berrin understands the ancient author to have read גור ארי of the quotation as the lion's *cub,* whereas I think the ancient author read גור as an infinitive construct, the second lion's *dwelling.*

Berrin offers three possible interpretations of lemma/pesher correspondences and says, "Any of the following sets of alignments may be valid, and each poses its own difficulty" (135). Here are Berrin's three possibilities for this critical unit.

> Model 1: first lion Demetrius sought to bring second lion SST to Jerusalem
> Model 2: first lion SST sought to bring second lion Demetrius to Jerusalem
> Model 3: first lion Demetrius sought with second lion SST to enter Jerusalem

My analysis of the lemma/pesher correspondence was not included in Berrin's list of three possibilities. If it had, it would look like this.

> Model 4: first lion Demetrius failed to conquer Jerusalem; second lion, Lion of Wrath, conquers Jerusalem

3–4 I 4–6

Berrin independently agrees with an argument of my study, that against the renderings of many editions of *Pesher Nahum* (e.g., Yadin, Horgan, Vermes, Maier, García Martínez)

the *bet* preposition prefixed to בגדוליו of על כפיר החרון אשר יכה בגדוליו ואנשי עצתו [of line 5 is "unquestionably prefixed to the direct object of the transitive verb, introducing the victim of attack" (51 n. 51). On page 122 Berrin also argues for restoring the start of the pesher of line 5 at the beginning of line 5, following the end of the previous quotation at the end of line 4, the so-called "Carmignac structure" (so named after the first scholar to suggest this). As Berrin puts it, "the beginning of the pesher will have named an opponent of the Young Lion of Wrath" (122). Up to this point Berrin and I agree.

However, Berrin and I differ on the identity of this opponent of the Lion of Wrath. Who is this mystery figure? Berrin's first suggestion is on page 122: it "could have been Demetrius III or the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things ('Pharisees')." Later Berrin rejects the Demetrius suggestion ("it still seems preferable not to have unit 8 return to Demeterius after having disposed of him in unit 7" [124 n. 114]). Berrin also considers "Ephraim" but rejects it as doubtful, since a masculine singular personal figure seems called for. But, Berrin laments, "it is difficult to offer specific restorations" (123 n. 113). Berrin keeps trying, however, and suggests two more possibilities: "Candidates for this lacuna may be the Spouter of Lies, or the Scoffer, or both epithets in apposition if they refer to the same person" (123 n. 113).

Strangely, though, after considering and rejecting "Ephraim," who is never a personal figure in *Pesher Nahum,* and casting outside the text for a suitable name for this personal figure, Berrin never considers "Manasseh," who *is* a personal figure in *Pesher Nahum, is* masculine singular, and *is* spoken of in later columns in language of doomed subordinates identical to that of the mystery figure of the present unit. That is, Berrin suggests every possible candidate except one suggested in the text itself: "Manasseh," the only personal figure ruling Israel named in 4QpNah (אשר תשפל מלכותו ביש[ראל], "whose reign over I[srael] will be brought down" [3–4 iv 3]).

3–4 I 6–8

(1) On page 155 Berrin says of this unit: "the fragmentary nature of the pesher precludes any possibility of recovering accurate original correspondences." I think my study established the basic structure. The quotation speaks of a lion and his prey. The pesher speaks of a Lion of Wrath crucifying Seekers-after-Smooth-Things. I argued that the correspondences are: lion = Lion of Wrath; prey = Seekers-after-Smooth-Things. Berrin, however, denies that the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things correspond to the lion's prey of the quotation ("There appears to be no exegetical peg for the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things … does not seem to have a specific equivalent in the lemma" [156 n. 81]). The problem here is that Berrin follows a long line of scholars who construe אנשים "men," as the direct object of the verb יתלה, "hangs up," in מות בדורשי החלקות אשר יתלה אנשים חיים[

of line 7. (Berrin renders: "]*mwt* on the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things, that he will hang people alive" [88].) In my view that is not right syntactically. The direct object of יתלה, "hangs (up)," is not אנשים but instead the relative pronoun אשר, whose antecedent is דורשי החלקות, and אנשים חיים follows adverbially, modifying or elaborating the nature of the "hanging." This gives the sense as "]*mwt* the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things, whom he hangs up as living men" (i.e., whom he hangs up alive).

(2) Like most exegetes, Berrin identifies the Lion of Wrath's crucifixions of lines 7–8 as the crucifixions of Alexander Jannaeus of 88 B.C.E. Of interest is that the pesherist seems to say in lines 7–8 that the crucified Seekers-after-Smooth-Things are "accursed" (or equivalent), with some allusion to the sense of Deut 21:22–23, in which publicly displayed bodies are accursed. To Berrin, this allusion requires a Jewish, rather than a Roman (as I proposed), crucifier of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things of lines 7–8 ("we argue that the use of Deut. 21:22–23 in 4QpNah 3–4 II [*sic*] will only work with a Jewish Lion of Wrath" [24 n. 75]).

Berrin rejects my argument that allusion to the crucified victims as accursed is no different in kind than other traumatic or bloody actions of foreign conquerors that are given divine-judgment significance with biblical language in the world of texts. ("[Doudna] views the Lion of Wrath as a Gentile.... He suggests that 'any such allusion [to Deut 21 or 11QT[a] 64] is easily understood as authorial comment on a coming invader or a noting of irony.' We disagree" [174 n. 27].) But to my reading Berrin comes very close to saying the same thing when she argues that the sense of the pesher is that "the crucifixions were the fulfillment of the prophecy of *Nahum*.… In fact, no reference to Deuteronomy 21:23 is mandated by our interpretation" (188–89), and, "The echo of Deuteronomy here is not legal but theological and deterministic, evidence for prophetic fulfillment" (192). Berrin also rejects my argument that in column I there are two sets of crucifixions in the world of the text: one associated with the Demetrius episode of line 2 of the past (with the crucifixions implied, to readers familiar with that episode); the other crucifixions of lines 7–8 of the contemporary present, either real or imagined, involving a Roman Lion of Wrath. Berrin is certain that the crucifixions of the Lion of Wrath of lines 7–8 are past in the world of the text, arguing that "the graphic specification of crucifixion indicates a well-known historical event" (24 n. 75). But Berrin gives no grounds internal to the text calling for lines 7–8 to be read as past in the world of the text—with the exception of a discussion concerning an expression חרית הימים at 3–4 II 2 (see below).

3–4 I 8–II 1

This unit has the downfall of an unnamed ruler of Israel, using the same language of the doomed adversary of the Lion of Wrath of line 5 and the same language of the doomed

Manasseh in later columns. Berrin says this unit alludes to the downfall of the Lion of Wrath, instead of the Lion of Wrath's doomed opponent of line 5 (who after having been introduced in line 5 is never, by Berrin's reading, heard from again). This is one of the most important differences between Berrin's and my reading of *Pesher Nahum.* Berrin concedes, "it is contextually possible to read the pesher [of 3–4 I 8–II 1] as referring to the opponent of the Lion" (126 n. 119). Again, "Assuming continuity with the previous units, the subject of the pesher [of 3–4 I 8–II 1] may be either the Young Lion of Wrath or his opponent.… The allusive nature of these lines, and their poor state of preservation, precludes a determination of whether the message is directed against the Lion of Wrath or his opponent" (159).

However, after disclaiming certainty on textual grounds that the text is directed against the Lion of Wrath in this unit, Berrin goes on through the rest of the book as if it *is* established that the object of imprecation is the Lion of Wrath ("as established above … Unit 10 [3–4 I 8–II 1] describes the decline of Jannaeus's power" [130]). On page 159 n. 90 Berrin notes my argument that the object of polemic in this unit is "Manasseh," continued from the pesher of line 5, but does not comment or suggest a refutation of it.

3–4 II 1–2

On pages 208–17 Berrin has a good discussion of "end of days" terminology in the pesharim and expresses agreement with Steudel and Elliger ("Prophecy refers to the End-time, and the End-time is now"). With this background Berrin correctly objects to a distinction argued by Horgan between present/noneschatological in column I and a shift to future/eschatological in column II based on an "end of days" expression לאחרית הימים at 3–4 II 2. Berrin says, "The Seekers-after-Smooth-Things in col. I must be understood as located in לאחרית הימים, even without an explicit statement to that effect" (214). But then Berrin seems to switch and go in the other direction; after objecting to Horgan's interpretation, Berrin ends up with essentially the same view renamed. Berrin writes: "The author apparently does not relate to the period of Demetrius's attack with the same immediacy as he does to the events in the subsequent columns. This earlier event would have been perceived on some level as occurring in 'the End of Days'.… Still, the author relegated it to a somewhat different category than the events in the subsequent columns. Pericope 2 [3–4 I 1–II 1] simply seems 'less eschatological' " (214–15). And, "The use of the term לאחרית הימים and related eschatological glosses in cols. II–IV of 4QpNah frags 3–4, but not in col. I, remains a factor in associating the later columns with later events" (217). In fact, it is not clear that an "end of days" expression is missing from column I, due to the lacunas in that column (in line 7, for example, such an expression would be very natural and is highly plausible). But that is not the important point.

The important point is that Berrin repeatedly states—without ever establishing the point on grounds internal to the text—that *all* of column I is "the period of Demetrius's attack." Berrin, like Horgan, has column I as all past (except for the trampling of Jerusalem of line 3) with a breakpoint at II 2; the expression "at the end of days" of II 2 is believed to be "a factor in associating the later columns with later events." However, Berrin is not consistent in this. Berrin reads the imperfect "trampling" תרמס of line 3–4 I 3 as future ("it may be significant that תרמס is in the imperfect whereas בקש לבוא was in the perfect.… the imperfect tense may be understood as an indication that the 'trampling' will occur much later than the other events described in unit 7 and in pericope 1 [*sic*] as a whole" [142 n. 39]). But then Berrin has the "smiting" יכה of line 5 and the "hanging" יתלה of line 7 revert to the time of בקש לבוא of line 2, instead of in agreement with תרמס of line 3, even though they too are imperfects like תרמס. The assumptions for these verbs made by Berrin are not readings called for by the text. They are brought about by Berrin's historical scenario read into the text. Then the resulting text reading is believed to support the historical scenario.

3–4 II 7–10

 On pages 198–99 Berrin argues for reading מתעי אפרים of 3–4 II 8 as a partitive genitive (with the sense "Ephraimite leaders-astray") rather than objective genitive, as I had it ("ones leading-astray Ephraim"). Berrin's discussion of the grammatical issues causes me to wonder if I maybe got the interpretation of this expression's syntax wrong. I do not know. Is Berrin right here and my reading wrong?

3–4 III 1–5

On page 206 Berrin says the expression ובה[ג]לות כבוד יהודה of 3–4 III 4, "*glwt* of the glory of Judah," can be read either with a positive or negative sense for "Judah." Normally this line of 4QpNah has been taken as a vision of triumph for Judah ("when the glory of Judah is *revealed*"). The negative sense would read this as language of downfall of Judah ("when the glory of Judah is *taken away*"). Somewhat surprisingly, in retrospect, Berrin's suggestion that ובהגלות could be read negatively had never before been made in the history of scholarship on 4QpNah. This suggestion of Berrin sparked an extended discussion in my book, in which I argued (crediting Berrin for the suggestion) that this "negative" sense of Judah is in fact correct. I argued that biblical Hebrew parallels at Isa 16:14; 17:4; 21:16; and Hos. 9:11 leave little doubt on this. But after giving this significant suggestion for the sense of the expression and citing no argument against it, Berrin abandons it, saying simply, "However, we follow the majority of commentators in viewing Judah in 4QpNah as the (Essene) Community of Qumran" (206).

Here is a case where Berrin made a suggestion that, although she then rejected it, proved so convincing to me that I rewrote my treatment of this key line, crediting Berrin for it. (Interestingly, Berrin credits a point in my discussion of this phrase—a suggestion I noted but rejected—as influencing and supporting *her* argument [208 n. 48], so there is irony going both ways on this.) The point concerning ובה[ג]לות כבוד יהודה is an important one. To me, this suggestion—and Berrin's book is filled with intriguing suggestions like this—alone is worth the price of the book.

3–4 III 5–8

On page 66 Berrin says I read עוד of line 7 as having originally been written incorrectly by the ancient scribe, with a medial *yod* and a final *resh* (then the final letter corrected by the ancient scribe to *dalet* and the medial *yod* not corrected, intended to correct the word to עוד). Berrin objects that my suggestion does not seem warranted. That is not correct; I read that word in line 7 exactly as does Berrin. It is the identical word עוד in *line 8* that I read in the manner described by Berrin. No wonder Berrin could not see anything out of the ordinary in the word in line 7, since there is none. (Berrin does not comment on the palaeography of the line 8 word with which my comment was concerned.)

Pronominal Opening Formulas

On page 295 Berrin makes this statement concerning grammatical agreement of pronouns and nouns in pronominal opening formulas of peshers: "There are not many preserved pronominal formulas in 4QpNah, and certainly not enough data to provide the basis for extrapolating a general rule." I found this statement puzzling, since there is a simple rule in these cases, both in 4QpNah and other texts: the pronoun agrees in gender and number with the noun or nouns that follow. In the one case in 4QpNah that is an exception, אמון הם מנשה at 3–4 III 9, literally "Amon [fem. sing.]—these [masc. pl.] are Manasseh [masc. sing.]," Berrin argues that "Manasseh" is here understood as a collective because of the preceding pronoun. That is, Berrin seems to assume a grammatical agreement rule as the basis for this conclusion concerning Manasseh's collective nature, even while denying that a rule exists. (In my book I concluded הם מנשה must be an uncorrected scribal copying error, either from an omitted plural word or influence from the plural formation which follows, or else from a sound confusion in which הוא מנשה was heard and mistakenly written as הם מנשה. The key point is that Manasseh everywhere else in 4QpNah has masc. singular verbs and masc. sing. possessive pronominal suffixes.)

What is surprising is that Berrin does not see a pronoun/following-noun grammatical agreement rule. If one construes "Manasseh" as actually plural in meaning at 3–4 III 9, as Berrin does at the bottom of page 296, then by her reading there is not a single

discrepancy, and in every case of this formula there is agreement between the pronoun and the following noun—as is only to be expected. The other eight cases visible in 4QpNah uncontroversially show such agreement.

"At the Final Age"

At 3–4 IV 3 the expression מנשה לקץ האחרון occurs, which Berrin renders "Manasseh at the final age." However, in Berrin's reconstruction Manasseh's downfall is *past* from the perspective of the text's authors, in contrast to a future downfall of the wicked ones of Ephraim. As Berrin puts it concerning the "wicked ones of Ephraim" of 3–4 IV 4–6 and 6–8, "It seems likely that these latter units [3–4 IV 4–8] are truly predictive, and do not reflect an actual historical event known to the author. The pesher clearly treats Manasseh's downfall as an accomplished fact" (276). Berrin does not say directly why it is clear that Manasseh's downfall is an accomplished fact in the world of the text. Nothing in the text says Manasseh's downfall is past, and the downfall is expressed with the usual imperfect verbs of present/future, not the perfect form usually used to express past (תשפל מלחותו ביש[ר]אל, and ילכו בשבי). Berrin speaks as though she sees the "accomplished fact" of Manasseh's downfall by analogy from Manasseh's analogue in the lemma, "Amon." In Nahum, Amon's past downfall provides a contrast to the coming doom of Nineveh (= wicked ones of Ephraim). The unspoken logic would be that the tenses of the pesher equivalents must agree with the tenses of the lemma (i.e., because Amon's fall is past in Nahum, Manasseh's fall is regarded as past in *Pesher Nahum*). But that assumption (if that is Berrin's logic) is unsound: there is no such rule of quotation/pesher verb tense agreement in the pesharim and numerous counterexamples. (The present case is a counterexample, since in fact Manasseh's downfall is expressed with imperfects תשפל and ילכו in the pesher compared to perfect ה]לכה of the quotation [Nah 3:10 at 4QpNah 3–4 IV 1].) Another possible (but unexpressed) argument that could be in the background of Berrin's logic is that the downfall of Manasseh seems more specific than usual. That too cannot be considered decisive, however, for the simple reason that the pesher could be genuine imprecation directed against a still-ruling figure foreseeing imminent doom upon him and his household (his women, children, warriors, etc.). A third possible reason that may have influenced Berrin is the external historical scenario driving Berrin's exegetical interpretation (276, 271, 275–76).

In any case, the downfall of Manasseh, which Berrin says is past *from the point of view of the text,* is situated in the text temporally לקץ האחרון, "at the last time" (lit. "the end of the end"). At 3–4 III 3 the expression באחרית הקץ is the time of the downfall of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things and conversion of the "simple of Ephraim," which Berrin understands as future (260 n. 93). Berrin recognizes the contradiction and deals with it this way: "Though לקץ האחרון [at IV 3] appears to be nearly identical to באחרית הקץ,

which appeared in III,3, we suggest that its meaning is quite different. Unit 21 [IV 1–4] uses the term 'the last time' to mean, the 'previous period,' 'recently.' Unit 15 [III 1–5] used 'the end of time' to indicate the final stage of the eschatological era" (282 n. 52).

Berrin's suggestion to read לקץ האחרון of IV 3 as "previous period" is unusual. Berrin herself does not read this expression this way in texts outside of *Pesher Nahum.* On page 212 n. 55 Berrin notes that this identical expression, קץ האחרון, at 1QpHab 7.7 and 7.12 "similarly indicates the period just prior to the end," just like other "last days" terms. The assumption that Manasseh's downfall is past in Pesher Nahum seems to be the problem here.

Pesher Hosea B

Berrin goes part way in endorsing my argument (see ch. 15 of my 2001 study and a 2003 *DSD* article) that in 4QpHos[b] frag. 3, line 3, the Last Priest is not the one who "stretches forth his hand to smite Ephraim" in לן ה]כוהן האחרון אשר ישלח ידו להכות באפרים [. Berrin concedes that the traditional assumption that the "Last Priest" is the smiter of Ephraim is textually uncertain ("The figure named after the lacuna may be the subject of the pesher interpretation, following immediately upon the formulaic *'pishro'*; or it may be the object of a preposition, coming some words after the formula and the subject of the pesher, which will have been lost in the lacuna.… See Doudna's reconstruction of Pesher Hosea" [105 n. 55]). But then Berrin proceeds as if this concession makes no difference and writes repeatedly as if it is certain that the Last Priest is the attacker of Ephraim in 4QpHos[b] (111, 147 n. 55, 205 n. 39). Here is Berrin's explanation: "[Doudna] has some very important observations about physical aspects of 4Q167 [4QpHos[b]], pertaining to column length, line length, and placement of fragments. The overall assessment of the text described above, however, does not depend upon specific restorations, but rather upon key terminology in the extant portions of the pesher interpretation and in the base-texts" (107). But it is not just that column width and text reconstruction considerations argue against the Last Priest being the grammatical subject of the verb of violence. Parallels with 4QpNah suggest who the agent of the "smiting" verb of that line *is.* In *Pesher Nahum* the Lion of Wrath exercises violence upon an adversary's subordinates and then the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things. Similarly in 4QpHos[b] the Lion of Wrath (not the Last Priest) is the indicated figure who smites Ephraim and Judah. The "Last Priest" of 4QpHos[b] corresponds to the opponent of the Lion of Wrath of 4QpNah 3–4 I 5. Berrin's study assumes the conventional historical construction read into 4QpHos[b] by other scholars and does not engage the nuts and bolts of the restoration or show how the conventional restoration can reasonably continue to be maintained in light of my published chapter and article on this point.

Ephraim, Manasseh, Judah, and Israel as sobriquets

At page 108 (ch. 4) Berrin, like many before, says the "house of Judah" "elsewhere refers to the Qumran Community." A footnote following this sentence says, "see ch. 6 for the equation Judah=Community." In chapter 6 one finds a discussion on page 205 that again asserts the point ("At times the term 'Judah' clearly serves as a symbolic epithet for the Community or part of the Community") and again on page 206 ("we follow the majority of commentators in viewing Judah in 4QpNah as the [Essene] Community of Qumran"). However, I could find only two cited examples in a pesharim text where Berrin is willing to state that she is sure "Judah" was used by an author to mean the righteous, outside of the single case in *Pesher Nahum* at 3–4 III 4, which she argues on the basis that this is allegedly the case elsewhere. These are at 1QpHab 12.4 and 12.9, concerning which Berrin says, somewhat unconvincingly to me, that "Judah represent[s] the Community" in the expressions "the simple ones of Judah" and "the cities of Judah" of those lines (205 and n. 39). At page 205 n. 37 Berrin notes a reference to 1QpMic 8–10 3, but there "Judah" is part of the quotation only and is not used in the pesher at all, which is the point at issue. Where is actual evidence that "Judah" ever was used as a sobriquet or epithet for the righteous in a Qumran text? Berrin never provides any.

Similarly, Berrin says (like many others), "[I]t is likely that 'Ephraim' came to be used specifically of the Pharisees, as is probably the case in 4QpPs[a]" (117). But 4QpPs[a] variously speaks of the wicked of Ephraim, of Manasseh, of Judah, and of Israel (4QpPs[a] 1–10 II 14–16 [wicked of Judah]; II 18–20 [wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh]; III 12 [wicked of Israel]). These are like saying the four corners of the map; there are wicked ones everywhere. Is there any basis in 4QpPs[a] for saying the authors meant wicked Pharisees, wicked Sadducees, wicked Qumran sect, and wicked Qumran sect? Berrin assumes along with many other scholars that these terms were sobriquets for groups and has extensive discussion in her study working from this premise. I have a chapter in my study of *Pesher Nahum* arguing that this notion is unsubstantiated. The differences in reading these texts depending on one's view of this question are considerable.

Historical Context

Berrin tends to assume and amplify the historical scheme traditionally understood concerning *Pesher Nahum,* but with some significant variations. Interestingly, Berrin argues that Pharisees in some sense continued to hold power and influence until the time of the arrival of Pompey and that from the point of view of *Pesher Nahum* Pharisee power was destroyed by Pompey. In Berrin's reconstruction there was an otherwise historically unattested "independent Pharisaic bid to maintain authority during this period [the reign of Aristobulus II]" (229), and, "We propose that Pharisees were divided among

themselves in the years 67–63 BCE, but sought nonetheless to retain the mantle of national authority" (229–30). With this backdrop Berrin sees in *Pesher Nahum three* violent destructions of Pharisee regimes ruling in Jerusalem. The first was by Alexander Jannaeus, the second by the Romans at the arrival of Pompey, and the third, of IV 4–8, after Pharisee resurgence late in the time of Hyrcanus II. Berrin regards this third destruction of Pharisee power, of IV 4–8, as future and imaginary in the world of the text ("likely … had no particular historical analog, being predictive in nature" [276 n. 34]). Berrin sets out a picture in which the successive pericopes of *Pesher Nahum* were composed, one at a time, each a few years after the last one. She writes: "In Pericope 2 [3–4 I 1–II 1], the pesher focuses upon the corruption, violence, and downfall of the Jerusalem establishment, particularly Jannaeus's crushing of the Pharisees.… Pericope 3 [3–4 II 1–III 8] describes a hostile takeover of Jerusalem (by Pompey, in our opinion), applying the words used by Nahum in his vivid picture of the anticipated sack of Nineveh" (306–7). "[W]e understand this pericope [3–4 II 1–III 8] to comment upon the decline of Pharisaic power associated with Pompey's conquest of Judea in 67 BCE [*sic*]" (235, similarly 266).

But if Pericope 3 is about a violent downfall of the Pharisee establishment to the Romans, and if Pericope 2 is about a violent downfall of the Pharisee establishment to a Lion of Wrath, why assume the two are different? Perhaps the Lion of Wrath does not simply do the same thing as the Romans in the text. Perhaps the Lion of Wrath *is* the Romans. Perhaps what Berrin sees as three distinct Seekers-after-Smooth-Things downfalls between I 5 and IV 8 (Lion of Wrath, Roman, and future-imaginary) are redundant images of *one* context in the world of the text. In fact, evaluation of these verbs in column 3–4 I—בקש (the *past* attempt of Demetrius expressed with perfect), contrasted to the series of identically framed imperfects תרמס (tramples) of line 3, יכה (smites) of line 5, יתלה (hangs) of line 7, and ינתן (is given to be a spoil) of line 12—illustrates the difference in how the text is read between Berrin's study and mine.

Berrin says: "verbal tenses are not suitable chronological indicators in pesher. The use of the imperfect may indicate that a particular event was being predicted and had not yet occurred in fact; however, it may instead be a sign of *vaticinium ex eventu.* The Community's perception of the ongoing nature of the eschatological era creates a kind of transcendence of time" (228). I say: "The fundamental principle in reading the verb forms of 4QpNah urged here is that they should be read as they would be read if encountered in similar types of sentences in biblical Hebrew. As basic as this sounds, there has been a surprising amount of demurral within the Qumran field on this point" (Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum,* 62). "[T]here is no clear or demonstrable instance of *ex eventu* prophecy at any point within a Qumran pesharim text.… they have the appearance of being written representations of present-time oracles (the kind that often do not come to pass as

expected)" (Doudna, 614–15). "These texts do, on occasion, refer to the world of the past, the world of tradition, a world inhabited with Antiochuses and Demetriuses of the relatively more recent past, and farther back Israel and the prophets and the Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors from old times. But when these texts do refer to the past, they explicitly make it clear that they are referring to the past through routine linguistic markers" (Doudna, 617).

Finally, a word on Hyrcanus II, the long-lived high priest of varying fate and fortune of the first century B.C.E. Berrin departs from a view held by some scholars that Hyrcanus II is identified with the Pharisees. Berrin notes that "there is no direct evidence of Pharisaic support for Hyrcanus II" (222), and, "It may be assumed that the Pharisees opposed Arisobulus II in the civil conflict.… However it may not be automatically supposed that the Pharisees supported Hyrcanus II" (229).

During Hyrcanus II's earliest phase as high priest (76–67 B.C.E.) Berrin suggests there was some interaction between Pharisees and Hyrcanus II. But Berrin points to certain clues that Hyrcanus II and the Pharisees diverged. Berrin writes, "In *Ant* 14 §§40–41 Josephus writes of a hearing before Pompey that includes a delegation representing 'the nation,' in opposing both of the Hasmonean brothers. Earlier, in *Ant* 14 §§34–37, delegations to Pompey included only envoys from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. If the representatives of 'the nation' were Pharisees, in consonance with the conventional characterization of the popular Pharisees, then perhaps they split with Hyrcanus at some point between these two audiences" (229). As Berrin reconstructs it, the arrival of Pompey in Judea reinforced and confirmed a violent and devastating Pharisee loss of power. Hyrcanus II became high priest again (63–40 B.C.E.), but the Pharisees remained crushed during the first part of these years ("It appears from Josephus that the Pharisaic party was dormant from the death of Salome until the rise of Herod" [232]). At some point late in Hyrcanus II's high-priesthood, however, Berrin suggests, the Pharisees regained their strength and rose back to prominence. Hyrcanus II came to face opposition and open criticism from the resurgent Pharisees. Berrin writes:

> It is likely that the composition of [*Pesher Nahum*] pre-dates the apparent resurgence of the Pharisees later in Hyrcanus's administration.… the Pharisees do appear again as a major force under Herod, and it is likely that they began to reconsolidate their power even while Hyrcanus was still nominally leading the nation. *Ant* 14 §§163–65 describes the emergence of a faction that is hostile to Hyrcanus. These "leading Jews" or "chief Jews" lie low at first, but finally confront Hyrcanus with the accusation that he had abandoned control of Judea to Antipater and his sons. (Cp. *BJ* 1 §§208–09 where those who approach Hyrcanus are referred to as "a number of malicious persons"). The role of the Sanhedrin and

its relationship to the Pharisees could potentially be brought to bear on the question of Pharisaic resurgence, but a thorough investigation is beyond our scope here.… The dating of the body known as the Sanhedrin and its nature has been much discussed.… There is likely to be a connection between Josephus's association of the Sanhedrin with Hyrcanus's tenure and a Pharisaic revival. We suggest that Pesher Nahum was composed [in the time of Hyrcanus II] prior to that time. (233 n. 132)

This is original analysis Berrin is proposing, and it has the potential to transform previous scholarly historical paradigms.

Despite the significant differences in our two studies, it may come as a surprise to consider how similar in some ways Berrin's historical picture and that of my book are in the end. Both Berrin's and my study focused on Pompey's conquest as central to *Pesher Nahum,* "Manasseh" of 3–4 IV 1–4 as Aristobulus II, and the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things as probably Pharisees. In my book I go on to propose that Hyrcanus II—whom Berrin sees as opposed by Aristobulus II and later by Pharisees, the same opponents as those of the authoring perspective of *Pesher Nahum*—is the iconic figure from whose perspective the pesharim and many other Qumran texts were written. However, Berrin does not go there. Berrin does not seem to say clearly what she thinks was the relationship between the later Hyrcanus II and "the Qumran sect."

(Note: Since the publication of my 2001 study suggesting that Pompey was the Lion of Wrath I have subsequently suggested possible later first-century B.C.E. contexts for *Pesher Nahum* in which the Lion of Wrath could be a slightly later Roman figure. See G. Doudna, "Who Is the Lion of Wrath of Pesher Nahum? A Brief Analysis," in *Historie og konstruktion: Festskrift til Niels Peter Lemche I anledgning af 60 års fødselsdagen den 6. September 2005* [ed. M. Müller and T. L. Thompson; Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2005], 87–105.)

Conclusion

In this review I have focused on points of difference as being more fruitful for discussion than agreements. This focus understates how much I like Berrin's study. From my point of view, what stands out are the wide-ranging, insightful, and creative suggestions and possibilities as Berrin engaged the issues. Time after time some point made by Berrin would suggest new lines of thinking or threaten to upset old applecarts. Berrin's study is an important, substantial contribution to the study of the Qumran pesharim.