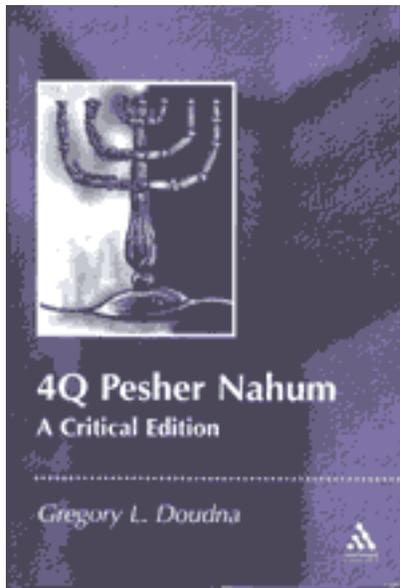


RBL 11/2004



Doudna, Gregory L.

4Q Peshar Nahum: A Critical Edition

Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
Series 35; Copenhagen International Series 8

Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001. Pp. 836.
Cloth. \$185.00. ISBN 184127156X.

Ian Werrett
University of St. Andrews
St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland KY16 9AJ

Gregory Doudna's 2001 publication entitled *4QPeshar Nahum: A Critical Edition* represents a major contribution to the field of Dead Sea Scrolls research that will no doubt stimulate much discussion in the years to come. Divided into three sections, Doudna's work starts cautiously in part 1 by taking a minimalistic approach to the fragmentary manuscripts of 4QpNah that focuses primarily on the visible material in the document. In the second section Doudna builds upon his efforts in part 1 and attempts to reconstruct 4QpNah in a manner not unlike that of the DJD series by offering new readings for both the visible and damaged portions of the manuscripts through the implementation of various text-critical techniques. This is followed by a lengthy discussion in part 3 on Doudna's reconstructions and their impact on both the interpretation of 4QpNah and the Qumran-Essene hypothesis: the dominant theory concerning the group or groups who may have been responsible for the authorship of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Also included in this volume is Doudna's reconstructed text of 4QpNah in Hebrew, with English translation on facing pages, and two appendices: one dealing with the issue of paleography and the other concerning his controversial suggestion that the Teacher of Righteousness should be understood as none other than Hyrcannus II.

Given Doudna's previous work on the issue of radiocarbon dating and his efforts to argue for an early date for the depositing of the scrolls in the caves around Qumran, it should come as no surprise to the reader that he has chosen 4QpNah as his subject matter for this volume. With its references to Demetrius, Antiochus, and the Kittim, 4QpNah has been widely regarded as one of the most important historical documents in the Qumran corpus and has been used repeatedly in the attempt to reconstruct the history of the group or groups behind the authorship of the scrolls. What may surprise the reader of this volume, however, is the way in which Doudna has approached 4QpNah. Unlike his highly specialized work with radiocarbon dating, which, for a variety of reasons, has enjoyed only limited success, Doudna has opted to approach this material from the more traditional angle of text criticism. Rather than working from the outside in, Doudna has adopted the methodology of the very people he hopes to convince, and herein lies the strength of Doudna's volume.

Doudna's text-critical work on the individual pesharim in part 1 of this volume is incredibly detailed yet, at the same time, incredibly cautious. As noted above, he leaves much of the fragmentary passages as they are without attempting to reconstruct them, which can be frustrating for those who are accustomed to working with the DJD volumes. This is a purposeful move for Doudna, however, in that it affords him the opportunity to discuss the readings of the visible words and letters in 4QpNah without having to defend his reconstructions of the missing portions of text, which is the focus of part 2. Furthermore, this approach also gives him the opportunity to challenge the readings of other scholars in a very detailed way through a close examination of the photographs of the scrolls and his strong grasp of text-critical issues and Qumranic Hebrew. For example, regarding the "unquestioned assumption in almost all secondary literature that the subject of the sentence starting in [4QpNah 3-4 i] line 2 is 'Demetrius, king of Yavan (Greece)'" (118), Doudna calls attention to the fact that "line-length considerations indicate unaccounted-for space [prior to the partially reconstructed word Demetrius], and therefore the possibility of a missing word or phrase preceding the name 'Demetrius'" (118). Given the historical significance of this line and the fact that such a possibility may well affect the subject of the sentence, as well as the historical context of the document as a whole (i.e., Was Demetrius the one who attempted to enter Jerusalem, as traditional renderings of 4QpNah 3-4 i 2 suggest, or did some other person who was related to Demetrius try to enter Jerusalem?), Doudna goes on to emphasize the importance of this point by showing how previous attempts to reconstruct the line either have been unaware of the issue or have neglected to recognize its potential importance. Doudna's intention here, which is also the intention of part 1 as a whole, is not to convince the reader to accept a particular reconstruction. On the contrary, his goal is simply to point out

potential problems with the consensus position regarding the reconstruction and translation of the Demetrius passage as well as other passages in 4QpNah.

Part 2 begins with a discussion on *vacats* and wordplay in 4QpNah, which forms the basis for much of Doudna's reconstructions. Using 1QpHab and 4QpPs^a as examples, Doudna details various scribal patterns regarding the purposeful use of *vacats* and wordplay in the pesharim in an attempt to identify similar patterns in 4QpNah. Evidence of such patterns, according to Doudna, enables him to predict with a high degree of probability when and where a *vacat* or wordplay can be expected, "which can assist in repair of broken text" (259). In addition to these concerns, Doudna also takes into account various chronological issues. For example, in relation to the aforementioned Demetrius passage, Doudna not only considers how the tense of a verb locates particular individuals within a certain period of time (i.e., Does Demetrius seek to enter Jerusalem in the past, present, or future?), but he also analyzes the temporal relationships between different figures in the document so as to reconstruct the chronological world of the text itself. In this way Doudna focuses entirely on the witness of the text, and it is not until part 3 that he uses various ancient sources to refine his theories on the chronology of 4QpNah by comparing them with the known personalities and recorded historical events in Josephus and the like. At the end of his discussion on the Demetrius passage in part 2, Doudna simply concludes that Demetrius was a historical figure from the past who was used as a foil by the authors of 4QpNah in order to contrast his failed attempt to conquer Jerusalem with the contemporary figure of the Lion of Wrath who will lead his armies (the Kittim) to victory over Jerusalem in the near future.

Having spent nearly six-hundred pages on text-critical concerns and the reconstruction of 4QpNah (compare this with Allegro's 111-page reconstruction of 4QpNah in DJD VI!), Doudna moves aggressively into the third section of his volume, where he challenges virtually every paradigm in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls research. Starting with the widely accepted notion that the terms *Ephraim*, *Manasseh*, and *Judah* were employed by the authors of the pesharim as code words for the three Jewish sects described by Josephus (i.e., the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes), Doudna argues that "there is no evidence that such a notion would have occurred to any reader of these texts at the time these texts were written" (599) and suggests instead that the terms represent an oppressed people (Ephraim), a personal figure (Manasseh), and a geographical location (Judah). Following this, Doudna then challenges the equally popular belief that the Lion of Wrath in 4QpNah should be identified as Alexander Jannaeus. According to Doudna, "the crucifixions of the Seekers-of-Smooth-Things [4QpNah 3-4 i 6-8] sounded like Alexander Jannaeus's crucifixions of his opponents in the aftermath of the Demetrius incident. But in the world of the text Demetrius is past, whereas the crucifixions of 4QpNah are set in the future" (607). This, argues Doudna, suggests that the Lion of

Wrath figure in 4QpNah should be understood as the leader of the Kittim, whom he later identifies as the Roman general Pompey. In addition to these concerns Doudna also challenges (1) the high-precision dating claims of the paleographic dating method pioneered by Cross; (2) the notion that 4QpNah was written *ex eventu* by claiming that 4QpNah represents “genuine prophecy” (615); and (3) the Qumran-Essene hypothesis itself by suggesting that the authors of the scrolls were not a small sectarian branch of the Essene movement. Rather, they were the supporters of Hyrcannus II, who, Doudna suggests, was none other than the Teacher of Righteousness himself. According to Doudna, “The authors of the Teacher of Righteousness texts . . . were partisans of Hyrcannus II when Hyrcannus was out of power 67–63 BCE” (699), which, argues Doudna, overcomes the major question posed by those who have argued against the Jerusalem origins hypothesis for the Dead Sea Scrolls: Why would those in a position of power within the temple establishment have documents in their possession that are critical of themselves? Doudna’s answer: because they represent a polemic against Aristobulus II (aka the Wicked Priest) and his followers, who were responsible for removing Hyrcannus II from his position as high priest. After Hyrcannus regained his position in the temple establishment in 63 B.C.E., continues Doudna, he remained in office as high priest until 40 B.C.E., when the Parthians invaded Judea and subsequently exiled Hyrcannus to Babylon. It was at this time, suggests Doudna, that the scrolls were hidden in the caves surrounding Khirbet Qumran, based on the lack of any historical references in the scrolls to events occurring after 40 B.C.E. and on Doudna’s own interpretation of de Vaux’s archaeological findings at Qumran.

To adequately do justice to all of the arguments and suggestions forwarded by Doudna in this volume would require far more space and time than available here. With that in mind, I would like to make one or two overarching comments regarding this volume. First, while Doudna’s text-critical work in parts 1 and 2 represents some of the most thorough and detailed work this reviewer has ever encountered, one cannot help but feel as if Doudna could have benefited from a more economical approach. For example, in part 1 Doudna describes, in detail, Allegro’s personal notes and papers on 4QpNah as if he is describing a scroll itself: “The personal papers of Allegro on 4QpNah consist of 33 sheets of thin, ruled, long sheets of paper with transcriptions and notes written in pen in neat, compact handwriting. In addition to the handwritten sheets there are 11 sheets of typed transcriptions and notes which are virtually identical to what was published in DJD V” (91). This level of detail pervades Doudna’s work and frequently bogs down his discussions with interesting yet unnecessary details. Furthermore, if Doudna had been more frugal in his approach, he may well have been able to combine parts 1 and 2 together, which would have prevented him from having to reiterate some of his observations from part 1 during his discussions of the same material in part 2. Second,

while there is no doubt that Doudna is well equipped for the task at hand (i.e., a critical edition of 4QpNah), one cannot help but question his attempt to include detailed discussions on such wide-ranging fields as paleography, archaeology, and ancient history in his discussion. By far and away the strongest part of Doudna's volume is his detailed text-critical analysis of 4QpNah, but when he begins to discuss the archaeology of Qumran he does so as a textual critic, not as a trained archaeologist, which, while not necessarily damaging his argument, places him in the position of doing interdisciplinary work in a field where he is not an expert. Although there were no obvious flaws in these areas of his discussion, his interdisciplinary arguments were not as strong as those that dealt with text criticism. Finally, while Doudna has created a strong case for the Jerusalem origins hypothesis, his argument is built almost entirely upon his interpretation of 4QpNah and its historical references. Not dealt with are the theological and halakic similarities between Josephus and Philo's descriptions of the Essenes and the so-called "sectarian" texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which raises a question: If the authors of the scrolls were partisans of the high priest Hyrcannus II, then why is it that they exhibit so many characteristics of a group who was not known to have had a major role in the function of the temple?