

founded every action upon them and established every deed [upon] their [ways]. And He loves the one **IV** everlastingly and delights in its works for ever; but the counsel of the other He loathes and for ever hates its ways.

These are their ways in the world for the enlightenment of the heart of man, and so that all the paths of true righteousness may be made straight before him, and so that the fear of the laws of God may be instilled in his heart: a spirit of humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, and intelligence; (a spirit of) mighty wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and leans on His great loving-kindness; a spirit of discernment in every purpose, of zeal for just laws, of holy intent with steadfastness of heart, of great charity towards all the sons of truth, of admirable purity which detests all unclean idols, of humble conduct sprung from an understanding of all things, and of faithful concealment of the mysteries of truth. These are the counsels of the spirit to the sons of truth in this world.

And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit, it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light.

But the ways of the spirit of falsehood are these: greed, and slackness in the search for righteousness, wickedness and lies, haughtiness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds (committed) in a spirit of lust, and ways of lewdness in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart, so that man walks in all the ways of darkness and guile.

And the visitation of all who walk in this spirit shall be a multitude of plagues by the hand of all the destroying angels, everlasting damnation by the avenging wrath of the fury of God, eternal torment and endless disgrace together with shameful extinction in the fire of the dark regions. The times of all their generations shall be spent in sorrowful mourning and in bitter misery and in calamities of darkness until they are destroyed without remnant or survivor.

15 The nature of all the children of men is ruled by these (two spirits), and during their life all the hosts of men have a portion of their divisions and walk in (both) their ways. And the whole reward for their deeds shall be, for everlasting ages, according to whether each man's portion in their two divisions is great or small. For God has established the spirits in equal measure until the final age, and has set everlasting hatred between

their divisions. Truth abhors the works of injustice, and injustice hates all the ways of truth. And their struggle is fierce in all their arguments for they do not walk together. But in the mysteries of His understanding, and in His glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for injustice, and at the time of the visitation He will destroy it for ever. Then truth, which has allowed in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of injustice until the appointed time of judgement, shall arise in the world for ever. God will then purify every deed of man with His truth: He will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of injustice from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and injustice. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification, that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of injustice shall be put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and injustice struggle in the hearts of men and they walk in both wisdom and folly. According to his portion of truth so does a man hate injustice, and according to his inheritance in the realm of injustice so is he wicked and so hates truth. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the determined end, and until the Renewal, and He knows the reward of their deeds from all eternity. He has allotted them to the children of men that they may know good [and evil, and] that the destiny of all the living may be according to the spirit within [them at the time] of the visitation.

V And this is the Rule for the men of the Community who have freely pledged themselves to be converted from all evil and to cling to all His commandments according to His will

They shall separate from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of the men of the Community who hold fast to the Covenant. Every decision concerning doctrine, property, and justice shall be determined by them.

They shall practise truth and humility in common, and justice and uprightness and charity and modesty in all their ways. No man shall walk in the stubbornness of his heart so that he strays after his heart and

eyes and evil inclination, but he shall circumcise in the Community the foreskin of evil inclination and of stiffness of neck that they may lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Community of the everlasting Covenant. They shall atone for all those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness, and for those in Israel who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth, and for those who join them to live in community and to take part in the trial and judgement and condemnation of all those who transgress the precepts.

On joining the Community, this shall be their code of behaviour with respect to all these precepts.

Whoever approaches the Council of the Community shall enter the Covenant of God in the presence of all who have freely pledged themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the Priests, Keepers of the Covenant and Seekers of His will, and to the multitude of the men of their Covenant who together have freely pledged themselves to His truth and to walking in the way of His delight. And he shall undertake by the Covenant to separate from all the men of injustice who walk in the way of wickedness.

For they are not reckoned in His Covenant. They have neither inquired nor sought after Him concerning His laws that they might know the hidden things in which they have sinfully erred; and matters revealed they have treated with insolence. Therefore Wrath shall rise up to condemn, and Vengeance shall be executed by the curses of the Covenant, and great chastisements of eternal destruction shall be visited on them, leaving no remnant. They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure Meal of the men of holiness, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness: for all who transgress His word are unclean. Likewise, no man shall consort with him in regard to his work or property lest he be burdened with the guilt of his sin. He shall indeed keep away from him in all things: as it is written, *Keep away from all that is false* (Exod. xxiii, 7). No member of the Community shall follow them in matters of doctrine and justice, or eat or drink anything of theirs, or take anything from them except for a price; as it is written, *Keep away from the man in whose nostrils is breath, for wherein is he counted?* (Isa. ii, 22). For all those not reckoned in His Covenant are to be set apart together with all that is theirs. None of the men of holiness shall lean

upon works of vanity: for they are all vanity who know not His Covenant, and He will blot from the world all them that despise His word. All their deeds are defilement before Him, and all their property unclean.

But when a man enters the Covenant to walk according to all these precepts that he may be joined to the holy Congregation, they shall examine his spirit in community with respect to his understanding and practice of the Law, under the authority of the sons of Aaron who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to restore His Covenant and to heed all the precepts commanded by Him, and of the multitude of Israel who have freely pledged themselves in the Community to return to His Covenant. They shall inscribe them in order, one after another, according to their understanding and their deeds, that every one may obey his companion, the man of lesser rank obeying his superior. And they shall examine their spirit and deeds yearly, so that each man may be advanced in accordance with his understanding and perfection of way, or moved down in accordance with his distortions. They shall rebuke one another in truth, humility, and charity. Let no man address his companion with anger, or ill-temper, or obduracy, or with envy prompted by (4Q258) the spirit of wickedness. Let him not hate him [because of his uncircumcised] heart, but let him rebuke him on the very same day lest VI he incur guilt because of him. And furthermore, let no man accuse his companion before the Congregation without having admonished him in the presence of witnesses.

These are the ways in which all of them shall walk, each man with his companion, wherever they dwell. The man of lesser rank shall obey the greater in matters of work and money. They shall eat in common and bless in common and deliberate in common.

Wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community there shall not lack a Priest among them. And they shall all sit before him according to their rank and shall be asked their counsel in all things in that order. And when the table has been prepared for eating, and the new wine for drinking, the Priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the firstfruits of the bread and new wine.

And where the ten are, there shall never lack a man among them who shall study the Law continually, day and night, concerning the right conduct of a man with his companion. And the Congregation shall watch in community for a third of every night of the year, to read the Book and to study the Law and to bless together.

This is the Rule for an Assembly of the Congregation

Each man shall sit in his place: the Priests shall sit first, and the elders second, and all the rest of the people according to their rank. And thus shall they be questioned concerning the Law, and concerning any counsel or matter coming before the Congregation, each man bringing his knowledge to the Council of the Community.

No man shall interrupt a companion before his speech has ended, nor speak before a man of higher rank; each man shall speak in his turn. And in an Assembly of the Congregation no man shall speak without the consent of the Congregation, nor indeed of the Guardian of the Congregation. Should any man wish to speak to the Congregation, yet not be in a position to question the Council of the Community, let him rise to his feet and say: 'I have something to say to the Congregation.' If they command him to speak, he shall speak.

Every man, born of Israel, who freely pledges himself to join the Council of the Community shall be examined by the Guardian at the head of the Congregation concerning his understanding and his deeds.

If he is fitted to the discipline, he shall admit him into the Covenant that he may be converted to the truth and depart from all injustice; and he shall instruct him in all the rules of the Community. And later, when he comes to stand before the Congregation, they shall all deliberate his case, and according to the decision of the Council of the Congregation he shall either enter or depart. After he has entered the Council of the Community he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation until one {full} (4Q256) year is completed, and until he has been examined concerning his spirit and deeds; nor shall he have any share of the property of the Congregation. Then when he has completed one year within the Community, the Congregation shall deliberate his case with regard to his understanding and observance of the Law. And if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Priests and the multitude of the men of their Covenant, to enter the company of the Community, his property

and earnings shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Congregation who shall register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation. He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community. But when the second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Congregation, to enter the Community, then he shall be inscribed among his brethren in the order of his

Handwritten note: He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community. But when the second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgement of the Congregation, to enter the Community, then he shall be inscribed among his brethren in the order of his

rank for the Law, and for justice, and for the pure Meal; his property shall be merged and he shall offer his counsel and judgement to the Community.

Handwritten note: 118 Sid "Manual of Discipline" to 84
These are the Rules by which they shall judge at a Community (Court of) Inquiry according to the cases

If one of them has lied deliberately in matters of property, he shall be excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance with respect to one quarter of his food.

Whoever has answered his companion with obstinacy, or has addressed him impatiently, going so far as to take no account of the dignity of his fellow by disobeying the order of a brother inscribed before him, he has taken the law into his own hand; therefore he shall do penance for one year [and shall be excluded]. *Handwritten note:* He none glorified above all

If any man has uttered the [Most] Venerable Name VII even though frivolously, or as a result of shock or for any other reason whatever, while reading the Book or blessing, he shall be dismissed and shall return to the Council of the Community no more.

If he has spoken in anger against one of the Priests inscribed in the Book, he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded for his soul's sake from the pure Meal of the Congregation. But if he has spoken unwittingly, he shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately lied shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has deliberately insulted his companion unjustly shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded.

Whoever has deliberately deceived his companion by word or by deed shall do penance for six months.

If he has failed to care for his companion, he shall do penance for three months. But if he has failed to care for the property of the Community, thereby causing its loss, he shall restore it in full. And if he be unable to restore it, he shall do penance for sixty days.

Whoever has borne malice against his companion unjustly shall do penance for six months/one year; and likewise, whoever has taken revenge in any matter whatever.

Whoever has spoken foolishly: three months.

Whoever has interrupted his companion whilst speaking: ten days.

Whoever has lain down to sleep during an Assembly of the Congregation: thirty days. And likewise, whoever has left, without reason, an

Assembly of the Congregation as many as three times during one Assembly, shall do penance for ten days. But if he has departed whilst they were standing he shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has gone naked before his companion, without having been obliged to do so, he shall do penance for six months.

Whoever has spat in an Assembly of the Congregation shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has been so poorly dressed that when drawing his hand from beneath his garment his nakedness has been seen, he shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has guffawed foolishly shall do penance for thirty days.

Whoever has drawn out his left hand to gesticulate with it shall do penance for ten days.

Whoever has gone about slandering his companion shall be excluded from the pure Meal of the Congregation for one year and shall do penance. But whoever has slandered the Congregation shall be expelled from among them and shall return no more.

Whoever has murmured against the authority of the Community shall be expelled and shall not return. But if he has murmured against his companion unjustly, he shall do penance for six months.

Should a man return whose spirit has so trembled before the authority of the Community that he has betrayed the truth and walked in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall do penance for two years. During the first year he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation, and during the second year he shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation and shall sit below all the men of the Community. Then when his two years are completed, the Congregation shall consider his case, and if he is admitted he shall be inscribed in his rank and may then question concerning the Law.

If, after being in the Council of the Community for ten full years, the spirit of any man has failed, so that he has betrayed the Community and departed from the Congregation to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall return no more to the Council of the Community. Moreover, if any member of the Community has shared with him his food or property which . . . of the Congregation, his sentence shall be the same; he shall be expelled].

VIII In the Council of the Community there shall be twelve men and three Priests, perfectly versed in all that is revealed of the Law, whose

works shall be truth, righteousness, justice, loving-kindness and humility. They shall preserve the faith in the Land with steadfastness and meekness and shall atone for sin by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction. They shall walk with all men according to the standard of truth and the rule of the time.

When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses to the truth at the Judgement, and shall be the elect of Goodwill who shall atone for the Land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall, that precious corner-stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place (Isa. xxviii, 16). It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the Land and determining the judgement of wickedness, and there shall be no more iniquity. When they have been confirmed for two years in perfection of way in the Foundation of the Community, they shall be set apart as holy within the Council of the men of the Community. And the Interpreter shall not conceal from them, out of fear of the spirit of apostasy, any of those things hidden from Israel which have been discovered by him.

And when these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall separate from the habitation of unjust men and shall go into the wilderness the way of . . . , make straight in the desert a path for our God (Isa. xl, 3). This (path) is the study of the Law which He commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do according to all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the Prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit.

And no man among the members of the Covenant of the Community who deliberately, on any point whatever, turns aside from all that is commanded, shall touch the pure Meal of the men of holiness or know anything of their counsel until his deeds are purified from all injustice and he walks in perfection of way. And then, according to the judgement of the Congregation, he shall be admitted to the Council and shall be inscribed in his rank. This rule shall apply to whoever enters the Community.



5 there
"Hebe"
Temple

10 Do not all the peoples loathe iniquity? And yet it is spread by them all. Does not the fame of truth issue from the mouth of all the nations? Yet is there a lip or tongue which holds to it? Which nation likes to be oppressed by another stronger than itself, or likes its wealth to be wickedly seized? And yet which nation has not oppressed another, and where is there a people which has not seized [another's] wealth? ...

4Q300 I ii 4=4Q299 2 i 14

... [the sorcerers, experts in sin, have uttered the parable and proclaimed the riddle in advance. And then you will know if you have considered ... and the attestations of heave[n] ... your foolishness for the [s]eal of the vision is sealed away from you. And you have not considered the mysteries of eternity and have not comprehended understanding. Th[en] you will say ... for you have not considered the root of wisdom. And if you open the vision, it will remain shut from you ... all your wisdom for the ... is for you ... his name for [wh]at is the hidden wisdom ...

Fr. 5

5 ... And what shall man be called ... wise and righteous, for man has no ... , nor concealed wisdom save the wisdom of wicked cunning and the [de]sign of] ... a deed that shall not be done again except ... the word of his Maker. And what shall a m[an] do ... who rebels against the word of his Maker, his name shall be expunged from the mouth of all ... Listen, you who hold up [truth (?)] ...

Time of Righteousness (4Q 215A) 410
 To Renewed Earth (4Q 475) ^{new} 411

A Messianic Apocalypse

(4Q521)

412

Commonly referred to as the 'Resurrection fragment', this writing consists of eleven fragments, and possibly six further tiny pieces. Fragment 2 is the largest and contains the remains of three columns of which the second, translated here, is the best preserved. The script is dated to the beginning of the first century BCE. Whether the designation 'apocalypse' is fully justified is a moot point: the writing comes across as a composition in verse akin to the poetry of the late biblical period. The surviving fragments do not appear to include anything patently sectarian. The term 'Messiah', probably in the singular, is used without the addition of Aaron or Israel, and the noun '*basidim*', absent from the big scrolls and little attested elsewhere, figures in lines 5 and 7. The divine name 'Lord' represents, not the Tetragram, but *Adonai* (four times). The poem incorporates Ps. cxlvi, 6-7 and Isa. lxi, 1, the latter cited also in the New Testament (Lk. iv, 18). As in the Gospels, healing and resurrection are linked to the idea of the Kingdom of God. Line 12 furnishes the most explicit evidence concerning the raising of the dead. Fragment 7, line 6, repeats the same idea, referring to God as 'He who revives the dead of His people'.

For preliminary publications, see E. Puech, 'Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)', RQ 15 (1991-2), 475-522; G. Vermes, 'Qumran Forum Miscellanea I', JJS 43 (1992), 303-4.

see JJ Collins To Apoc. Esay. 165-6 see Trabelsi 213
 p. 214-215 see el-Abidine (Irania)
 Anylio de-sa-ku-llie en Islam
 Scepter-Star 205
 Fr. 2

II ... [the hea]vens and the earth will listen to His Messiah, and none therein will stray from the commandments of the holy ones.

Seekers of the Lord, strengthen yourselves in His service!

All you hopeful in (your) heart, will you not find the Lord in this?

For the Lord will consider the pious (*basidim*) and call the righteous by name.

גנל^ר 5 Over the poor His spirit will hover and will renew the faithful with
כף ד' 5 b:2 p^h His power.

hasidim

And He will glorify the pious on the throne of the eternal Kingdom.
He who liberates the captives, restores sight to the blind, straightens
the bent] (Ps. cxlvi, 7-8). Isa 61¹ Isa 35³

And [for] ever I will cleave to the hopefull and in His mercy ...

And the fruit ...] will not be delayed for anyone

10 And the Lord will accomplish glorious things which have never been
as [He ...] Ezk 34¹⁶ Isa 26¹⁹

For He will heal the wounded, and revive the dead and bring good
news to the poor (Isa. lxi, 1).

... He will lead the uprooted and knowledge ... and smoke (?)

...

E. Wisdom Literature



'The Seductress',
Israel Antiquities Authority

Commentary on an Unidentifiable Text

(4Q183)

Three fragments of a biblical commentary, indicated by the introductory formula, 'And that which he said', which is common in *pesher* literature, have been published by J. M. Allegro (*DJD*, V, 81-2). None of the quotations has been preserved, but the phraseology and the historical allusions recall the Habakkuk Commentary and other *pesherim*. The divine names 'God' (el) and 'the Lord' (*Yhwh*) are written in palaeo-Hebrew script. Only fr. 2 is suitable for translation. 4Q172 (*DJD*, V, 50-1) is also an amalgam of commentaries on unidentified texts, but the fragments are so small as to preclude altogether any translation.

II their enemies. And they profaned their sanctuary . . . from them. And they rose for battles one [with another] against his covenant. God saved and delivered . . . goodwill. And he gave them a single heart to walk in the way of his truth. And they despised] all the wealth of wickedness and kept apart from the way of wickedness] . . . the erring spirit and with a tongue of truth . . . And they atoned for their iniquity through [their] strokes . . . their iniquity. *vacat* And that which he said, . . .

Florilegium or Midrash on the Last Days

525

(4Q174)

This collection of texts assembled from 2 Samuel and the Psalter, and combined with other scriptural passages, serves to present the sectarian doctrine identifying the Community with the Temple, and to announce the coming of the two Messiahs, the 'Branch of David' and the 'Interpreter of the Law'. Originating from Cave 4 (4Q174) and known also as 'Florilegium', the composition was edited by J. M. Allegro (*DJD*, V, 53-7); it probably belongs to the late first century BCE.

I . . . [I will appoint a place for my people Israel and will plant them that they may dwell there and be troubled no more by their] enemies. No son of iniquity [shall afflict them again] as formerly, from the day that [I set judges] over my people Israel (2 Sam. vii, 10).

This is the House which [He will build for them in the] last days, as it is written in the book of Moses, *In the sanctuary which Thy hands have established, O Lord, the Lord shall reign for ever and ever* (Exod. xv, 17-18). This is the House into which [the unclean shall] never [enter, nor the uncircumcised,] nor the Ammonite, nor the Moabite, nor the half-breed, nor the foreigner, nor the stranger, ever; for there shall My Holy Ones be. [Its glory shall endure] for ever; it shall appear above it perpetually. And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the Sanctuary of Israel because of its sin. He has commanded that a Sanctuary of men be built for Himself, that there they may send up, like the smoke of incense, the works of the Law.

And concerning His words to David, *And I [will give] you [rest] from all your enemies* (2 Sam. vii, 11), this means that He will give them rest from all the children of Belial who cause them to stumble so that they may be destroyed [by their errors,] just as they came with a [devilish] plan to cause the [sons] of light to stumble and to devise against them a wicked plot, that [they might become subject] to Belial in their [wicked] straying.

10 *The Lord declares to you that He will build you a House* (2 Sam. vii, 11c). *I will raise up your seed after you* (2 Sam. vii, 12). *I will establish the throne of his kingdom [for ever]* (2 Sam. vii, 13). *[I will be] his father and he shall be my son* (2 Sam. vii, 14). He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law [to rule] in Zion [at the end] of time. As it is written, *I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen* (Amos ix, 11). That is to say, the fallen tent of David is he who shall arise to save Israel.

15 *Explanation of How blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked* (Ps. i, 1). Interpreted, this saying [concerns] those who turn aside from the way [of the people] as it is written in the book of Isaiah the Prophet concerning the last days, *It came to pass that [the Lord turned me aside, as with a mighty hand, from walking in the way of] this people* (Isa. viii, 11). They are those of whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the Prophet, *The Levites [strayed far from me, following] their idols* (Ezek. xlv, 10). They are the sons of Zadok who [seek their own] counsel and follow [their own inclination] apart from the Council of the Community.

[Why] do the nations [rage] and the peoples meditate [vanity]? Why do the kings of the earth] rise up, [and the] princes take counsel together against the Lord and against [His Messiah]? (Ps. ii, 1). Interpreted, this saying concerns [the kings of the nations] who shall [rage against] the elect of Israel in the last days. II This shall be the time of the trial to co[m]e concerning the house of Judah so as to perfect . . . Belial, and a remnant of the people shall be left according to the lot (assigned to them), and they shall practise the whole Law . . . Moses. This is the time of which it is written in the book of Daniel the Prophet: *But the wicked shall do wickedly and shall not understand, but the righteous shall purify themselves and make themselves white* (Dan. xii, 10). The people who know God shall be strong. They are the masters who understand . . .

Testimonia or Messianic Anthology 527

(4Q175)

This short document from Cave 4 (4Q175), dating to the early first century BCE and similar in literary style to the Christian *Testimonia* or collections of messianic proof-texts, includes five quotations arranged in four groups. Only the last of them is followed by an interpretation.

The first group consists of two texts from Deuteronomy referring to the prophet similar to Moses; the second is an extract from a prophecy of Balaam about the Royal Messiah; the third is a blessing of the Levites and, implicitly, of the Priest-Messiah.

The last group opens with a verse from Joshua, which is then expounded by means of a quotation from the sectarian *Psalms of Joshua* (cf. 4Q379 below, p. 547). Most experts hold that the commentator, bearing in mind the biblical passage, is alluding to three characters: a father ('an accursed man') and his two sons. However, the verb 'arose' in the second sentence is in the singular, and it would seem correct to interpret this text as referring to the two brothers only.

For the *editio princeps*, see J. M. Allegro, *DJD*, V, 57-60.

The Lord spoke to Moses saying:

You have heard the words which this people have spoken to you; all they have said is right. O that their heart were always like this, to fear me and to keep my commandments always, that it might be well with them and their children for ever! (Deut. v, 28-9). *I will raise up for them a Prophet like you from among their brethren. I will put my words into his mouth and he shall tell them all that I command him. And I will require a reckoning of whoever will not listen to the words which the Prophet shall speak in my Name* (Deut. xviii, 18-19).

He took up his discourse and said:

Oracle of Balaam son of Beor. Oracle of the man whose eye is penetrating. Oracle of him who has heard the words of God, who knows the wisdom of the Most High and sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls and his eyes are

The Heavenly Prince Melchizedek

(11Q13)

A striking first-century BCE document, composed of thirteen fragments from Cave 11 and centred on the mysterious figure of Melchizedek, was first published by A. S. van der Woude in 1965. It takes the form of an eschatological midrash in which the proclamation of liberty to the captives at the end of days (Isa. lxi, 1) is understood as being part of the general restoration of property during the year of Jubilee (Lev. xxv, 13), seen in the Bible (Deut. xv, 2) as a remission of debts.

The heavenly deliverer is Melchizedek. Identical with the archangel Michael, he is the head of the 'sons of Heaven' or 'gods of Justice' and is referred to as *elohim* and *el*. The same terminology occurs in the Songs for the Holocaust of the Sabbath. These Hebrew words normally mean 'God', but in certain specific contexts Jewish tradition also explains *elohim* as primarily designating a 'judge'. Here Melchizedek is portrayed as presiding over the final Judgement and condemnation of his demonic counterpart, Belial/Satan, the Prince of Darkness, elsewhere also called Melkiresha' (cf. pp. 380, 534). The great act of deliverance is expected to occur on the Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth Jubilee cycle.

This manuscript sheds valuable light not only on the Melchizedek figure in the Epistle to the Hebrews vii, but also on the development of the messianic concept in the New Testament and early Christianity.

For the text, see A. S. van der Woude, 'Melchizedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt ...', *Oldtestamentische Studien*, Leiden, 1965, 354-73; M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, '11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament', *NTS* 12 (1966), 301-26; J. T. Milik, *JJS* 23 (1972), 96-109; E. Puech, 'Notes sur le manuscrit de 11Q Melkisédek', *RQ* 12 (1987), 483-513.

... And concerning that which He said, *In [this] year of Jubilee [each of you shall return to his property (Lev. xxv, 13); and likewise, And this is the manner of release:] every creditor shall release that which he has lent [to his neighbour.*

He shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother], for God's release [has been proclaimed] (Deut. xv, 2). [And it will be proclaimed at] the end of days concerning the captives as [He said, To proclaim liberty to the captives (Isa. lxi, 1). Its interpretation is that He] will assign them to the Sons of Heaven and to the inheritance of Melchizedek; [for He will cast] their [lot] amid the portions of Melchizedek, who will return them there and will proclaim to them liberty, forgiving them [the wrong-doings] of all their iniquities.

And this thing will [occur] in the first week of the Jubilee that follows the nine Jubilees. And the Day of Atonement is the [end of the] tenth Jubilee, when all the Sons of [Light] and the men of the lot of Melchizedek will be atoned for. [And] a statue concerns them [to provide them with their rewards. For this is the moment of the Year of Grace for Melchizedek. [And h]e will, by his strength, judge the holy ones of God, executing judgement as it is written concerning him in the Songs of David, who said, ELOHIM has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement (Psalms lxxxii, 1). And it was concerning him that he said, (Let the assembly of the peoples) return to the height above them; EL (god) will judge the peoples (Psalms vii, 7-8). As for that which he said, *How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? Selah* (Psalms lxxxii, 2), its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot [who] rebelled by turning away from the precepts of God to ... And Melchizedek will avenge the vengeance of the judgments of God ... and he will drag [them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the spirits of] his [lot]. And all the 'gods [of Justice'] will come to his aid [to] attend to the destruction] of Belial. And the height is ... all the sons of God ... this ... This is the day of [Peace/Salvation] concerning which [God] spoke [through Isaiah the prophet, who said, [How] beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who proclaims peace, who brings good news, who proclaims salvation, who says to Zion: Your ELOHIM [reigns] (Isa. lii, 7). Its interpretation; the mountains are the prophets ... and the messenger is the Anointed one of the spirit, concerning whom Dan[iel] said, [Until an anointed one, a prince (Dan. ix, 25)] ... [And he who brings] good [news], who proclaims [salvation]: it is concerning him that it is written ... [To comfort all who mourn, to grant to those who mourn in Zion] (Isa. lxi, 2-3). To comfort [those who mourn: its interpretation], to make them understand all the ages of [time] ... In truth ... will turn away from Belial ... by the judgement[s] of God, as it is written concerning him, [who says to Zion]; your ELOHIM reigns. Zion is ... , those

25 who uphold the Covenant, who turn from walking [in] the way of the people. And *your* ELOHIM is [Melchizedek, who will save them from] the hand of Belial.

As for that which He said, *Then you shall send abroad the trumpet in] all the land* (Lev. xxv, 9) ...

Consolations or Tanhumim

(4Q176)

A large number of small fragments from a Cave 4 manuscript (4Q176), edited by J. M. Allegro in 1968 (*DJD*, V, 60-67), represent a scriptural anthology centered on the theme of divine consolation. Originally, each citation was accompanied by a sectarian exegesis, but only a few examples of the latter survive. The majority of the extant remains belong to Isaiah xl-lv (Ps. lxxix, 2-3; Isa. xl, 1-5; xli, 8-9; xlix, 13-17; xlili, 1-2, 4-6; li, 22-3; lii, 1-3; liv, 4-10; lii, 1-2; Zech. xiii, 9). The translated passage is based on Psalm lxxix, 2-3, and is followed by a new title - From the Book of Isaiah: Consolations - and the quotation of the opening verses of Isa. xl. The four asterisks symbolize the Tetragram indicated in the manuscript simply by dots.

I And he shall accomplish Thy miracles and Thy righteousness among Thy people. And they shall ... Thy sanctuary, and shall dispute with the kingdoms over the blood of ... Jerusalem and shall see the bodies of Thy priests ... and none to bury them (Ps. lxxix, 3). From the Book of Isaiah: Consolations [*Comfort, comfort, my people*] - *says your God - speak to the heart of Jerusalem and cry to her that] her [bondage is completed], that her punishment is accepted, that she has received from the hand of **** double for all her sins ...* (Isa. xl, 1-3).

Testaments of the Patriarchs: the Testament of Levi (ii)

(4Q537-41)

An Aramaic work of which numerous fragments are extant in Cave 4 resembles the Testament of Levi from among the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The central figure is Levi, but the testament is probably that of his father, Jacob. Hence 4Q537 is referred to also as the Jacob Apocryphon (4QAJa ar). Palaeographically, its proposed date is the end of the second century BCE. The text alludes to an eschatological priestly figure (recalling the pseudepigraphic Testament of Levi xvii-xviii) whose mission encounters opposition due to the wickedness of the men of his generation. 4Q537 probably represents Jacob's dream at Bethel. Minute fragments (4Q538-9), unsuitable for translation, are conjecturally identified as belonging to a Testament of Judah and a Testament of Joseph by J. T. Milik, Écrits pré-esséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram, in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor (Gembloux, 1978), 91-106.

For a preliminary edition of the Testament of Levi, see Emile Puech, 'Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique 4QTestLévi^{c-d}) et 4QAJ^a', in *MQC*, II, 449-501.

4Q537

... and how will be the buildin[g] ... [and how will the prie]sts be dressed and [their hands] be purified, and how will they [offer sacrifices on the altar, and hol[w] ... [on the who]le earth they shall eat part of their sacrifices [and how they shall drink the water] which will come out of the city under the walls ...

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I ... wisdom. He will atone for all the sons of his generation and will be sent to all the sons of his [people]. His word is like a word of heaven, and his teaching is according to the will of God. His eternal sun will shine, and his fire will spring forth to all the ends of the earth, and will shine over darkness. The darkness will pass away [fr]om the earth, and deep darkness from the dry land. They will utter many words against him and many [...]s. They will invent stories about him, and will utter everything dishonourable against him. Evil will overturn his generation [because ...] will be, and because lies and violence will (fill) his existence, and the people will go astray in his days and will become perplexed.

4Q541, fr. 24 ii

... Search and seek and know what is sought by the dove and do not smite one who is exhausted with consumption and troubles ... And you will make a joyous name for your father and a tried foundation for your brothers. And you will see and rejoice in the everlasting light ...

re Test. of Leah + Joseph (4Q538-9)
New 563