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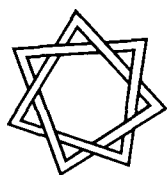
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Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 9 No. 1 March 2003



THESA
St. Petersburg

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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MELCHIZEDEK AND THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS: SOME PECULIARITIES OF MESSIANIC AND ESCHATOLOGICAL TEXTS FROM QUMRAN *

I. The Figure of Melchizedek in Jewish and Early Christian Sources

First, I would like to dwell briefly on the figure of Melchizedek as he is represented in the Hebrew Bible, the 2 (Slavonic) Enoch, Philo of Alexandria's treatises, the New Testament, and early Christian and Rabbinic literature. In the Hebrew Bible, Melchizedek (מֶלְכִּי צֶדֶק) [1] is mentioned twice. 1) *Genesis* 14:18–20 relates that Abram (Abraham), following the defeat of the coalition of kings headed by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, is greeted by Melchizedek, king of Salem (*sc.* most probably Jerusalem [2]) and priest of God the Most High, that is, a figure who combines the lay and sacerdotal functions. Since Chedorlaomer is described in *Gen.* 14 as the suzerain over the Promised Land, Abram's military triumph could mean that the patriarch had gained the rights to the country. Melchizedek brings Abram bread and wine and blesses him and God the Most High; in turn, Abram gives Melchizedek "tithes of all", thus acknowledging his superiority [3]. 2) The enthronement oracle, attested in *Psalms* 110 [4], mentions the king of Salem in the following context: "The Lord (יְהוָה) said unto my Lord (אֲדֹנָי): 'Sit (enthroned) [5] at My Right Hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool'. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength from Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Honour is with thee [6] in the day of thy power, in the glory of holiness; from the womb before the dawn [7] like the dew have I begotten thee (יְלִדְתִּיךָ) [8]. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: 'Thou art a Priest for ever (כֹּהֵן לְעוֹלָם) after the order of Melchizedek' [9]" (verses 1–4).

Thus, proceeding from the texts of *Gen.* 14 and *Ps.* 110, one could assume that the priesthood of God the Most High, the Possessor of heaven and earth, and the kingship had existed in Jerusalem long before David and Solomon. Melchizedek appears as the *eternal* (and thus in a certain sense a "returning") high priest. Melchizedek is the *prototype* of the ideal Jerusalem priest-king; thus he

could be considered the fore-runner of David, or Davidic heir, and hence — the *first(-begotten) Son of God* (cf. *Pss.* 110:3 and 2:7) [10]. On the other hand, in the light of *Ps.* 110:4 one could conclude that the personality designated as אֲדֹנָי (110:1) would come to be a new Melchizedek; or one could even identify this figure with Melchizedek *redivivus* (at least symbolically).

In his *Jewish War*, VI, 438, Josephus Flavius notes that Melchizedek had been a "righteous king" (βασιλεὺς δίκαιος), and "therefore was the first (πρώτος) to become the priest of God, the first (πρώτος) to build the sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν), renaming the city, then called Salem (Σόλυμα), Jerusalem". (Cf. *idem*, *Antiquities*, I, 180–181.)

The 2 (Slavonic *Apocalypse of*) *Enoch* [11] tells the story of Melchizedek's miraculous birth [12]. This composition (or at least, its shorter recension), abounding in Semitisms, could possibly be a translation of a medieval Hebrew record which has not been preserved, going back to the Essene-Qumran original [13]. According to 2 *Enoch*, not long before the Flood Melchizedek was immaculately conceived — judging by the context, from God [14], — by Sothonim, wife to Nir the priest, Noah's brother [15]. Melchizedek was a child fully developed physically with the badge of priesthood on his chest and glorious in his appearance; he spoke with his lips, and he blessed the Lord. The Lord informed Nir in a night vision that before the Flood the miracle-child would be taken to the Paradise of Eden to be preserved by the Archangel Michael [16]. When the child had completed 40 days in Nir's tent, he was taken to Paradise. The Lord informed Nir that after the Flood Melchizedek would be the Priest to all holy priests, and He would sanctify him and establish him so that he would be the head of the priests of the future, or *for ever* [17]. The Lord would change him "into a great clan who bless" Him [18]. The longer version adds that "there will be

* The present article is an extended version of my lecture "On some sources of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls and the apocryphal literature", delivered at the Department of Philosophy of the St. Petersburg State University on 13 March 1996 (see also *Vostok—Oriens*, 5 (1996), p. 182).

another Melchizedek, the head of priests reigning over the people, and performing the liturgy for the Lord" [19]; the shorter version runs as follows: "Melchizedek will become the head of the priests reigning over a royal people who serve Thee, O Lord". In other words, the author possibly implied here that Melchizedek would be in a certain sense a "returning" Priest; or that he (his spirit, essence?) would be incarnate in (all/some) of the high priests after the Flood, including the High Priest of the End of Days [20]. (This idea could arise as a "midrash" on *Psalms* 110:4.)

In his treatise *On the Preliminary Studies*, 99, Philo of Alexandria ascribes to Melchizedek an "instinctive" (αὐτομαθῆ) and "self-taught" (αὐτοδιδάκτων) priesthood. In the treatise *On Abraham*, 235, Philo calls Melchizedek "the great priest (sc. high priest) of the Greatest God" (ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ). He also adds certain details to the account of *Genesis* 14:18–20. In particular, he writes that Abram (Abraham) had returned safely from battle against the coalition of kings without having lost a single member of his army. Melchizedek raised his hands towards the heavens in prayer, offering victory sacrifices for all those who participated in the battle. He was happy about Abram's victory over the coalition of kings as though it were his own. In fact, it was, since "the affairs of friends were held in common", especially the affairs of good men whose common objective is to please God [21]. Finally, in his *Allegorical Interpretation*, III, 79–82, Philo, commenting upon *Genesis* 14:18–20, notes that God had not pre-figured any work of Melchizedek, but set him out from the very first as priest and ("peaceable" [εἰρηναῖον]) [22] king (so that he would not have antecedents in the priesthood-kingship). Philo considers Melchizedek the incarnation of the *Logos* (*ibid.*) [23]. In this regard, let us note that Philo, depicting the polymorphic activities of the *Logos*, designates it as the *man* or *shadow of God*, the *image of God*, the *tool of God*, the *shepherd of the Universe*, the *helmsman*, the *archangel*, the *chief of the angels*, the *high priest* (ἀρχιερεὺς) of the *Universe*, the *first-born son of God* (πρωτόγονος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), the *lieutenant of God*, the *second God*, and even "God" (θεός) [24]. Incarnate in a true man, the *Logos* becomes a certain intermediate divine nature, higher than human but lower than the Divine Being Himself, neither born like a man nor unborn like God, but in the middle, touching both their natures and combining them in itself, the beginning and source of wisdom and good activities, the true high priest of God, intercessor (παράκλητος) and mediator (μεσίτης), praying before his Father for suffering mankind, expiator and saviour (σωτήρ) of mankind; thanks to the links with the *Logos*, the human soul is endowed with transcendent existence.

On the basis of Philo's idea concerning the *Logos* being embodied in Melchizedek, one could try to puzzle out the meaning of the mysterious phrase, ascribed in *John* 8:56–58 to Jesus-the incarnate "Word", that he "was" "before Abraham", and that Abraham saw him and "was glad" and "rejoiced". (Cf. Philo's remark in the treatise *On Abraham*, 235, that Melchizedek and Abraham were friends and therefore happy about each other's successes.) Possibly, this passage contains a hint of the fact that the "Word" prior to being incarnate in ("becoming") Jesus was once incarnate in Melchizedek. (Cf. *Gen.* 14:18–20 and *Heb.* 7:1–11.) In this context, other enigmatic words by Jesus are worth mentioning (*John* 3:13): "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, the Son of

man [25]" [26]. It seems that this passage can imply that he, the *Logos*-the Son of man, had already visited the earth (was incarnate?), "ascended" to heaven, and then "descended" again, being revealed to the world as Jesus of Nazareth. (Cf. *John* 3:11–12, 31–32.) Taking into account the passage mentioned above from *John* 8:56–58 (where Jesus speaks of Abraham's joy at seeing him), Melchizedek appears to be the most suitable "candidate" for the "first incarnation" of the *Logos*. Perhaps this was the way in which this fragment was perceived by certain early Christians; in this connection we can cite, for example, Epiphanius' *Panarion*, LV, 4, 1–2; 9, 3, 6–8, and especially 7, 5–6: "But some who are members of the Church, make various assertions about this Melchizedek. Some suppose that he is the actual Son of God (φύσει τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ; sc. Christ), and that he appeared to Abraham then in the form of a man" [27]. One can also note that the Egyptian monk Mark the Hermit, a student of John Chrysostom, in his treatise *On Melchizedek* challenged the claims of those who maintained that Melchizedek was the *Logos* and the Son of God before he entered the womb of the Virgin; Mark's opponents believed that he was the "God-Logos" (θεὸς λόγος) "before he was incarnated or born out of Mary" as Jesus.

In this connection, D. R. Swartz's suggestion is also of interest. In comparing the text of *Luke* 1:76–79 (a part of the *Benedictus*) and the Qumran *Midrash Melchizedek* (11QMelch; see below, section II), he came to the conclusion that John the Baptist was described in the passage in *Luke* as a precursor of Melchizedek [28].

The New Testament *Epistle to the Hebrews* devotes special attention to the comparison between Jesus and Melchizedek. As noted by I. D. Amusin, "the main idea of the author (of the *Epistle* — *I. T.*) arrives at the conception — declared as the essence and 'the beginning of Christ's doctrine' (τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς Χριστοῦ λόγον — VI, 1) — that realization of the mission intended for Jesus was connected with his incarnation in Melchizedek" [29]; or rather one can say that in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* he appears as a new Melchizedek. The author of that composition tried to persuade his addressees (possibly, Judaeo-Christians, ex-Essenes? [30]) that Jesus, although "having risen out (of the tribe) of Judah", upon offering himself as a sacrifice and entering the heavenly Temple, "became a (High) Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek" (*Ps.* 110:4; *Heb.* 5:6, 6:20, 7:17). The following characteristic is ascribed to Melchizedek in *Heb.* 7:3: "Without a father, without a mother, without pedigree, having neither beginning of days, nor end of his life, becoming like (unto) the Son of God (ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ; or 'having been) made like (unto) the Son of God' — *I. T.*), remaineth (or 'abideth' — *I. T.*) a Priest continually (or 'constantly', 'for ever' — *I. T.*)" [31]. Also let us mention here that in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ch. 1, the verse of *Ps.* 110:1 is cited along with some other biblical passages (*Ps.* 2:7, 2 *Sam.* 7:14–1 *Chr.* 17:13, *Pss.* 97:7, 104:4, 45:7–8, 102:26–28) as a proof-text, according to which the Son of God is superior to the angels.

In connection with *Heb.* 7:3 it should be noted that in an early Christian Gnostic composition in Coptic (translated from Greek), called conventionally *Melchizedek* (*Nag Hammadi* IX, 1) [32], Melchizedek, remaining in the heavens until a certain time, seems to be identified with Jesus Christ, the Son of God [33]. The author describes Mel-

chizedek as the “true High Priest of God” and “Holy Warrior”, i.e. as the priestly and lay Messiah to be revealed to the world (for the third time) at the End of Days [34].

A peculiar description of Melchizedek has come down to us by way of the *Panarion*, heresy LV, where Epiphanius describes a Jewish (?) gnostic sect of the Melchizedekians. (Possibly, the sect consisted of the Essenes' spiritual heirs or was even founded by former Essenes [35].) The Melchizedekians considered their eponym the Son of God, the High Priest in the heavenly Temple and the true Mediator between God and people. According to Epiphanius, this sect makes its offerings in Melchizedek's name [36], and says that people must offer to God through him, because he is the Ruler of Righteousness (ἄρχων δικαιοσύνης) ordained in heaven by God for this very purpose, a spiritual being and (*varia lectio*;) the Son of God (πνευματικός τις καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ) [37] (8, 1). They say that (they) may attain salvation through him [38]. In the *Panarion*, LV, 9, 6, Epiphanius, polemicizing against the Melchizedekians' views of the identity of their eponym, Melchizedek, remarks that *John* 1:1 had not stated “In the beginning was Melchizedek” (ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Μελχισεδέκ), or “Melchizedek was God” (θεὸς ἦν ὁ Μελχισεδέκ), implying that those sectarians identified Melchizedek with the “Word” (ὁ λόγος in *John* 1:1) and even “God” (θεός in *John* 1:1) [39]. In the *Panarion*, LV, 7, 1, Epiphanius writes: “The Jews keep saying that he (*sc.* Melchizedek — *I. T.*) was righteous, good, and the priest of the Most High, as the Holy Scripture states, but since he, they say, was a son of a harlot (διὰ δὲ τὸ υἱὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πόρνῃς, φασί), his mother is not mentioned, and his father is unknown” [40]. (Cf. *Heb.* 7:3 [41].)

Melchizedek is attested several times in Rabbinic literature. The *Babylonian Talmud*, Sukkah, 52b, the Munich Codex, mentions Melchizedek together with the Messiah son of David, the Messiah son of Joseph, and Elijah (R. Hana bar-Bizna, citing Tannai R. Simeon Ḥasida (the Pious), interprets the allegory of the “four craftsmen

(חרשים)” in *Zechariah* 2:3 [*LXX*: 1:20]). Other manuscripts designate the Messianic figure (Melchizedek) in that passage as כהן צדק (lit. “Righteous Priest”, “Priest of Righteousness”) [42]. In the Midrash *Shir Hashshirim Rabba*, II, 13, 4, Elijah, Messiah the King, Melchizedek, and the one Anointed for War are identified with the figures of “four craftsmen” from *Zechariah* 2:3. (It seems that this could imply that Melchizedek was taken to the heavens (like Elijah) and would reappear in the Messianic epoch.) In the so-called *Fragmentary Targums*^{PVNL}, the *Targum Neofiti I*, the *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan* on *Genesis* 14:18, and the *Babylonian Talmud*, Nedarim, 32b, Melchizedek is identified with Shem, Noah's son (who, according to the chronology of *Genesis*, survived Abraham by 25 years) [43]. Thus Melchizedek is considered to be a forefather of the Hebrews. According to *B. Nedarim*, 32b (R. Zechariah on the authority of R. Ishmael), God originally gave the priesthood to Shem (Melchizedek); but because he blessed Abraham before God the Most High (*Gen.* 14:19–20), the priesthood was withdrawn from his descendants (not from Shem-Melchizedek himself) and given to the descendants of Abraham. *Ps.* 110:4 was interpreted: “Thou (Abraham) art a priest for ever because of the words of Melchizedek”. Also the term אדני in *Ps.* 110:1 was interpreted with respect to Abraham. The *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan A*, 34 runs as follows: “‘These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth’ (*Zech.* 4:14). This is Aaron and the Messiah, but I do not know which of them is beloved except that it is said: ‘The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: ‘Thou art a priest for ever [after the order of Melchizedek]’ (*Ps.* 110:4). One is given to know [through this] that the King-Messiah is more beloved than the Righteous Priest (כהן צדק)”.

In certain medieval Jewish texts, Melchizedek is apparently identified with the Archangel Michael [44]. In the midrashic literature, Michael is described as the heavenly High Priest who offers daily sacrifices [45].

II. The Qumran Midrash Melchizedek (11Q Melch)

In the very fragmentary Qumran text the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, or the *Angelic Liturgy* (4Q401=4QShirShabb^b), Melchizedek possibly appears as the High Priest in the heavenly Temple — frg. 11, 3: “[Melchi]zedek, Priest (כהן) in the Communi[ty] of God (or ‘gods’, i.e. the angels) ...” [46]; cf. also 11Q17=11ShirShabb, column 2, line 7: [ראשי נשיאי כהנות פ] לא למלכ[י צדק] [47]. In the *Visions of ‘Amram* (4Q544=4Q‘Amram^b ar), frgs. 1–3, [he] [48] is represented as the ruler of all that is bright (i.e. the head of the Sons of Light) and the antagonist to Melchiresha’ (lit. “my king is wickedness”; or interpreted as “king of wickedness”, “wicked king”), “who rules over all darkness” and is probably identical to Belial [49]. In 4Q‘Amram^b ar, frg. 3, 2, [Melchizedek] informs ‘Amram in a night vision that he has “three names”; unfortunately, the names themselves have remained unknown because of a lacuna.

Most data on Melchizedek is provided by the *Midrash Melchizedek* (11QMelch=11Q13) [50]. Melchizedek dwells in the heavens as the leader of angelic beings (2:10–11,

13–14), but at the end of the “tenth” (“the la[s]t”) jubilee he will have to present himself on earth “to atone (לכפר) for (the sins) of all the sons of [Light (or ‘his generation’ — *I. T.*) and] the me[n] of the l[ot] of [Melchi]zedek” (2:7–8) and to carry out the “Judgement of Go[d]” ([משפטי אן]) over the wicked, Belial and his spirits (2:11–14, 23, 25; cf. 2:9–11) [51]. In the composition, we meet with the interpretation of *Isa.* 52:7: “[How] beautiful upon the mountains are the feet [of] him that pre[acheth] good tidings, that [pu]blisheth peace, that pre[acheth] good tidings of good, that publisheth salva[tion]; that [sa]lith unto Zion, Thy God [reigneth]!” (11Q Melch 2:15–25). In 11Q Melch 2:18, the figure of the “Preacher (Messenger, Herald) of good tidings” (המבשר) from *Isa.* 52:7 is identified with the “Messiah of the Spiri[t]” ([משיח הרוח]) [52], as well as probably with the figure of the “Messiah” (משיח) in *Dan.* 9:25 (or 26) [54]. The designation משיח הרוח arose in all probability under the influence of the text of *Isa.* 61:1–2 [55]: “The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed (משח) me to preach good tidings unto

* Here and further, the sign (˙) above the letter (ח) indicates its probable reading, while the sign (˘) above the letter (כ) (see below) — its possible reading.

the meek (לְבַשֵּׁר עֲנוּיִים); he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to *them that are bound*; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn” [56]. Further, in the interpretation of *Isa. 52:7*, the preacher of good tidings is identified with the comforter of all that mourn from *Isa. 61:2* (11Q Melch 2:19–20). Since in the *Midrash Melchizedek*, the text of *Isa. 62:1–2* is linked several times with Melchizedek and his activities (2:4–6, 9, 13), this fact allows one to suppose that the מְשִׁיחַ-מְבַשֵּׁר of 11 Melch can be identified with Melchizedek himself. The identification seems to be confirmed by line 23 of 11Q Melchizedek, column 2: [...]בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי [...] אֵל כְּאִשֶּׁר כָּתוּב עָלָיו [...]אֹמֵר לְצִיּוֹן מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ [...] (“... by the judgement[s] of God, as is written about him: ‘that [saith unto Zi]on, Thy God reigneth!’” [Isa. 52:7]). Since, according to 11Q Melch 2:13–14, it is Melchizedek who will carry out the “Judgement of Go[d]” (מִשְׁפָּטִי אֵל), then the one “that [saith unto Zi]on [57], Thy God reigneth!” (sc. the מְבַשֵּׁר) is the same person [58].

The interpretation of “the mountains” upon which the feet of the messenger stand (*Isa. 52:7*) as “the prophet[s]” (11Q Melch 2:17) possibly implies that the author of the *Midrash Melchizedek* considered the figure of the מְשִׁיחַ-מְבַשֵּׁר as a someone superior to the prophets who had predicted his coming [59].

Some other biblical passages are interpreted with respect to Melchizedek and correlated with his functions in 11Q Melchizedek. In particular, the corresponding fragments of commentaries on *Ps. 82:1*: “God (אֱלֹהִים) stand[eth] in the congreg[ation] of God (אֵל); He judgeth among the gods (אֱלֹהִים)” (11Q Melch 2:9–11) [60] and *Ps. 7:8b–9a*: “Above it (sc. above ‘the congregation of the people’; 7:8a — I. T.) return Thou on (celestial) high, God (אֵל) will judge the peoples” (11Q Melch 2:10–11) have been preserved. In the Masoretic text of *Ps. 7:9a*, it is written: יהוה the Lord; probable Qumran “substitution” of the designation אֵל God for the TETRAGRAMMATON is evidence in favour of the supposition that the text of *Ps. 7:8b–9a* was correlated by the Qumranites with the mission of Melchizedek. Probably we find the same fact in 11Q Melch 2:3–4 with respect to the text *Deut. 15:2* [61]. In this connection let us mention once again that the verse *Isa. 52:7* is also interpreted with respect to Melchizedek, including, judging by the context, the phrase “Thy God reigneth” (11Q Melch 2:24–25) [62]. Also let us note the expression “the time of the year of grace for Melchizedek” (הַקֵּץ שְׁנַת הַרְצוֹן לְמִלְכִּי צִדְקָן; 11Q Melch 2:9), which apparently arose under the influence of the text of *Isa. 61:2*: “To proclaim the year of Grace of the Lord...” (לְקַרְא שְׁנַת רְצוֹן לַיהוָה). (The fragments of interpretation of the verses *Isa. 61:2b–3a* have been preserved in 11Q Melch 2:19–20.) Several times we find the expression “the lot of God” in the Qumran manuscripts [63]; in the *Midrash Melchizedek*, the notion “the [l]ot of [Melchi]zedek” appears (2:8). Also in this Qumran composition, the expression “the inheritance of Melchizedek” (11Q Melch 2:5) is attested, which was possibly correlated

somehow by the members of the community with the notions “the inheritance of God” and “the inheritance of the Lord”, attested in the Bible.

Thus in the Qumran composition under consideration, Melchizedek is in all probability regarded as a Messianic personality carrying out some functions of God (אֱלֹהִים, אֵל). On the other hand, one can assume that he implicitly appears here to certain extent as a Divine hypostatisation through which the transcendent Lord-Creator realizes His relative immanence in regard to the created world [64].

In connection with the probable usage of the terms אֱלֹהִים and אֵל with respect to the Messianic figure of Melchizedek in 11Q Melch, one can point out the texts of *Ps. 45:7–8* and *Isa. 9:5* as possible biblical sources of this idea. The passage from the Psalm, in which the ideal righteous king is spoken of, runs as follows: “Thy throne, god (אֱלֹהִים), is for ever and ever (עוֹלָם וָעֶד); the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness (צֶדֶק), and hatest wickedness (רָשָׁע); therefore thy God (אֱלֹהֶיךָ) hath anointed thee (מָשַׁחְךָ), god (אֱלֹהִים), with the oil of gladness above thy fellows”. In *Heb. 1:8–9*, the text of *Ps. 45:7–8* is quoted as a proof-text, according to which the Son of God is superior to the angels. In the verse from Isaiah mentioned above, the ideal Ruler is called “mighty god” (אֵל גִּבּוֹר) and “father of eternity”.

Also, in this connection it is worth noting that the composition, conventionally called the *Damascus Document*, and most probably composed in a community not identical but closely connected with the Qumran congregation, speaks several times about the Visitation (הַפְקוּדָה) of the earth by God (אֵל) Himself [65]; probably, the author(s) of the composition believed that this Visitation would be carried out through the “Messiah of (from) Aaron and of (from) Israel” (מְשִׁיחַ (מ) אַהֲרֹן וְ(מ) יִשְׂרָאֵל) [66], i.e. the Messiah, combining functions of the priestly and lay Anointed Ones, like Melchizedek. The Messiah “will atone for the sin (יִכַּפֵּר עוֹן) (CD 14:19) of the faithful (a function of the priestly Messiah) and “will deliver up to the sword” the wicked from Israel and the foreign enemies of the Judaeans (CD 7:9–8:3, 19:10–15; a function of the lay Messiah). As was noted above, according to 11Q Melch, at the End of days Melchizedek will atone (לִכְפֹּר) for (the sins) of all the sons of [Light and] the me[n of the l]ot of [Melchi]zedek (2:7–8) and will carry out the Judgement of Go[d] (מִשְׁפָּטִי אֵל) over the wicked (2:13–14, 23; cf. 2:9–11). In this connection also significant is the text 4Q 541, fig. 9, col. 1, ll. 2–3, which speaks of the Messianic figure depicted in it as follows: “And he will atone for all the sons of his generation (וְיִכַּפֵּר עַל כּוֹל בְּנֵי דָרָה); and he will be sent to all the sons of his [gene]ration (?). His word (will be) like the word of the Heavens, and his Teaching, according to the Will of God. His eternal sun (שֶׁמֶשׁ עֹלָמָה) will shine...”. The Qumran Commentary on *Habakkuk* (1QpHab 4:16–5:6) mentions the eschatological “Elect One” of God [67], who will commit the Judgement of God over all the wicked (cf. e.g. 1QpHab 10:3–5, 12–13; 13:3–4; 4QpPs37 4:10–12) [68].

III. The Messianic Apocalypse (4Q 521)

In several messianic, eschatological, and apocalyptic texts from Qumran, the idea of the Divine nature (origin) of the Messianic figure seems to be expressed (at least, implic-

itly) through whom the Lord God carries out His Soterological functions. We do not know exactly whether all of these texts were composed by the members of the Qumran com-

munity (or in the Essenic-Qumranic milieu), and who specifically was originally implied by their authors in the capacity of the eschatological Saviour and Judge sent by the Lord and carrying out His Will. But, proceeding from the whole corpus of the Dead Sea scrolls, one can assume that finally the Qumranites possibly came to identify this figure with Melchizedek (*redivivus*) [69]. In this regard one should bear in mind that the messianic expectations of the Qumran community in all probability underwent the following evolution: the expectation of two Messiahs — the priestly Messiah and the lay One of Davidic origin — at the first stage in the history of the Qumranites; then the belief in the coming of one Messiah (most probably of priestly origin), combining the priestly and lay functions (it was the Messiah of (from) Aaron and of (from) Israel in the community of the Damascus Document, at least at the later stage in its history). And in certain Essenic circles, including the Qumran community, this figure could be identified with Melchizedek [70].

Let us begin our review with the Qumran text 4Q 521, frgs. 2 ii+4, 1—15, conventionally called the *Messianic Apocalypse*. Here, the Messiah of the Lord is mentioned, whom the Universe will obey. According to the fragment of the *Messianic Apocalypse* cited below, אדני the Lord carries out and realizes His *Soterological functions* through His Messiah [71], or, in other words, one can say that here the Messiah carries out a *Soterological mission* of the Lord Himself. The passage runs as follows: “[... for the hea]vens and the earth will listen to His Messiah (משיח), [and all t]hat is in them will not turn away from the holy precepts. Be encouraged, you, who are seeking the Lord (אדני), in His service. Will you not encounter the Lord (אדני) in it, all those who hope in their heart? For the Lord (אדני) will visit the pious, and call the righteous by name; and over the poor (or ‘meek’ — *I. T.*) His Spirit will hover, and the faithful He will renew (יחליף; in the sense of ‘transfigure’; lit. ‘change’, ‘exchange’, ‘alter’ — *I. T.*) with His Strength [72]. He will honour the righteous upon the Throne of the eternal Kingdom [73], freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, raising [them that are] bo[wed down] [74]. And for [e]ver shall I cling to [those who] hope, and in His Mercy He [...], and from no-one shall the fru[it of] good [deeds] be delayed. And the Lord (אדני) will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as He sa[id], [for] He will heal the badly wounded (חללים) and will make the dead live (מתים יחיה) [75], he will preach good tidings unto the meek (ענוים יבשר) [76], give lavi[shly to the need]y, lead the exiled, and enrich the hungry [77], and the wi[se...], and them all like the sai[nts...].” Let us also note frgs. 7 1—8+5 ii 7—16, l. 6 of the *Messianic Apocalypse*, where the following phrase is attested: “The One Who Vivifies (המחיה) [will rai]se (יקים) the dead of His people (מתי עמו)”.

In all fragments of 4Q 521, which have been preserved, God is designated exclusively as אדני, the Lord [78]. The phrase מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקק כפופים, “freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, raising [them that are] bo[wed down]” (line 8), is a citation of the *Psalms* 146: 7b—8a—b — יהיה מתיר אסורים יהיה פוקח עורים יהיה זוקק כפופים. But the author of the composition omits the TETRAGRAMMATON: all the actions listed here are carried out by אדני, the Lord (see line 5). Also the biblical expression מבקשי יהוה (*Isa.* 51:1, *Ps.* 105:3; cf. further *Pss.* 40:17, 70:5) is attested in the *Messianic Apocalypse* in the

form מבקשי אדני (line 3) [79]. We meet with the analogical methodology in the *Midrash Melchizedek*, where the term אל is substituted for the TETRAGRAMMATON in those biblical passages and phrases which are considered to be related to Melchizedek.

Just as in 11Q Melch Melchizedek acts to a certain extent in the capacity of אל, אלהים, the Messiah of the *Messianic Apocalypse* acts to some extent in the capacity of אדני. The main function of אל-אלהים (one of whose root meanings is “might” [80]) in 11Q Melch is the Expiation of the righteous, the Judgement over the wicked people and Belial and his spirits (the central moment), and the Regent Power. The central function of אדני in 4Q 521 is almost exclusively to be the Beneficent Power and the giver of Mercy. As a parallel, one can point to the fact that the rabbis connected the TETRAGRAMMATON, interpreted as אדני, the Lord, with God's Mercy and אלהים — with His Judgement, His Punitive and Regent Power [81].

In connection with the text 4Q 521 it is worth mentioning the title κυριος κύριος (*Lord Messiah*) attested in the *Psalms of Solomon* (17:32 [82]) [83], the Hebrew original of which some scholars considered to be composed in the milieu of the Essenes [84]. In *Luke* 2:11, Jesus is called Christ the Lord (χριστος κύριος).

The author of 4Q 521 supposes that the Lord will carry out through His Messiah, in particular, the functions of the Preacher of glad tidings mentioned in *Isa.* 52:7 and 61:1. Just these very texts are considered to be related to Melchizedek in 11Q Melch. It seems that at a certain stage in their history the Qumranites could compare the figure of the Messiah in 4Q 521 to the Messiah of the Spirit, *id.* Melchizedek, in 11Q Melch 2:18 (see above), or even identified both personalities. In this connection I would like to dwell on the New Testament interpretations of *Ps.* 110, verse 1: “The Lord (יהוה) said unto my Lord (אדני): ‘Sit (enthroned) at My Right Hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool’” and verse 4: “The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: ‘Thou art a Priest for ever (כהן לעולם) after the order of Melchizedek’” (cf. *Hebrews* 5:6, 7:17).

In *Matthew* 22:42—45, *Mark* 12:35—37, and *Luke* 20:41—44, Jesus, citing *Ps.* 110:1, identifies ὁ κυριος, *sc.* the Messiah, with אדני; emphasizing that אדני in this verse cannot be the son of David, Jesus implies that he as the Christ is the Son of God. (Cf. also *1 Cor.* 15:25.) In *Matt.* 26:63—64 and *Mark* 14:61—62, Jesus identifies himself with the Son of God, the Son of the Blessed, the Christ, the (One like) a Son of man from *Dan.* 7:13—14 [85], and אדני of *Ps.* 110:1. According to the *Acts* 2:31—36, Jesus came to be both κύριος, Lord of *Ps.* 110:1 and κυριος after resurrection. Here, the terms κύριος, Lord and κυριος, the Messiah, seem to be employed as synonyms. In *Hebrews*, both verses 1 and 4 of *Ps.* 110 are interpreted with respect to Jesus (1:13, 5:6, 10, 6:20, 7:17, 21). The author of *Hebrews* cites two biblical verses as proof-texts of the fact that Jesus is the High Priest (5:5—6): the first text is: “Thou art My son; this day have I begotten thee” (*Ps.* 2:7), and the second one is: “Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek” (*Ps.* 110:4). On the whole, the author of the *Epistle* conflates entirely the figure of Jesus with the figure of Melchizedek, who “becoming like (unto) the Son of God (or ‘having been) made like (unto) the Son of God’), remaineth (or ‘abideth’) a Priest continually (or ‘for ever’)”. (*Heb.* 7:3).

It is not impossible that at a certain stage in their history the Qumranites came to identify אֲדֹנִי in the *Messianic Apocalypse* (4Q 521) with אֲדֹנִי who is sitting at the Lord's Right Hand and who is a Priest for ever *after the order of* Melchizedek (Ps. 110:1, 4). As a result of such an exege-

sis, אֲדֹנִי of 4Q 521 could be identified finally with Melchizedek *redivivus* or a new Melchizedek. It is the text of Ps. 110:1—4 that influenced first of all the image of Melchizedek in 11Q *Melch*, who is the heavenly ruler and redeemer [86].

IV. The Aramaic Apocalypse, or Pseudo-Daniel^d (4Q 246=4Q psDan^d)

In connection with the probable process of deification of the Messianic figure(s) in Qumran one can cite the manuscript conventionally designated as the *Aramaic Apocalypse*, or *Pseudo-Daniel*^d (4Q 246=4Q psDan^d). The passage of col. 1, 6—col. 2, 9 runs as follows: "... king of Assyria [and E]gypt [...] and will be great (רַב) over the earth [...] they [will d]o, and all will serve [him... And he] will be called [...] (of / like) G[reat] [God] (אֱלֹהִים), and he will be designated by His name (רַבשֶׁמָה יְהוֹנָה) [87]. He will be called Son of God (בְּרֵה דִּי אֱלֹהִים), and they will call him Son of the Most High (בְּרֵה עֲלִיּוֹן). Like the sparks that you saw, so will their kingdom (sc. the kingdom of the heathen enemies of Israel — *I. T.*) be; they will rule (several) year[s] over the earth and trample upon everything; a people will crush another people, and a city (another) cit[y], until he arises with God [88], and makes everyone rest from the sword. His kingdom (will be) an eternal kingdom (מַלְכוּת עֲלָם) and all his paths in righteousness (בְּקִשּׁוּת). He will jud[ge] the earth with righteousness (בְּקִשּׁוּת), and all will make peace. The sword will cease in the earth, and all the provinces will worship him. The Great God is his Power, and (render) him (support) in waging war; He will place the peoples in his hand, and He will cast all them before him. His dominion (is / will be) an everlasting dominion (שְׁלֹטְנָה שְׁלֹטָן עֲלָם) ..." [89].

J. A. Fitzmyer [90], identifying the "Son of God" of the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q 246) with a *Davidic heir*, compares the references to this figure, attested in the text, with a fragment of the Annunciation, attested in Luke 1:32—33: "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end". (Cf. also the apocryphal *Protogospel of Jacob*, XI.) In Mark 5:7 and Luke 8:28, Jesus is called the Son of God the Most High (υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψίστου).

Some scholars interpret this text as referring to the messianic Davidic figure [91]. F. García Martínez [92] considers the "Son of God" in 4Q 246 an angelic, heavenly figure [93].

The phrase of 4Q 246 1:9 "[... and he] will be called [...] (of / like) G[reat] [God] [94] (אֱלֹהִים) [95], and he will be designated by His name (רַבשֶׁמָה יְהוֹנָה)" implies that the Messianic figure will be called "the Lord" or "God" (cf. Ps. 45:7—8 cited above about the ideal righteous King). In 4Q 246 1:9—2:1 we have a parallelism: He will be designated by the name of God — he will be called Son of God. As a parallel one can point out John 20:28, where the resurrected Jesus is called ὁ κύριος, the Lord and ὁ θεός, God [96], and 20:31 where he is designated ὁ Χριστός, the Christ and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the Son of God. (Cf. also John 10:33—38.)

In this connection one can also draw on the phrase "the Great God is his Power (אֱלֹהִים רַבָּה בְּאִילָה) (2:7) [97]. Such a wordy "parallelism" as אֱלֹהִים — אֵל ("power", "might", "strength"; probably of the same root as אֱלֹהִים [98]) seems

to hint at the Divinity of the personage. According to Matt. 26:64 and Mark 14:62, Jesus, meaning Dan. 7:13—14 and Ps. 110:1, said: "... ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of Power (ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως), and coming in the clouds of heaven". According to the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* 5:19, Jesus cried out aloud, saying: "My Power, My Power, Thou hast forsaken me". In Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:34, Jesus cites the words of Ps. 22:2: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?". One can suppose that the designation *Power* in the *Gospel of Peter* is employed as a synonym, epithet of God [99]. (Cf. also Rom. 1:1—4, where Paul speaks about Jesus as the Lord, "which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power (ἐν δυνάμει), according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead".) It seems probable to suppose that the author of the *Gospel of Peter* read אֱלֹהִים [100], "My Power" instead of אֱלֹהִים, "My God" (as in Ps. 22:2) [101], especially in light of verse 20 of the same *Psalm*: "But be not Thou far from me, O Lord: O my Power (אֱלֹהִים), haste thee to help me" [102]. (The word אֱלֹהִים is a derivative from אֵל) [103].

The phrase "and all the provinces will worship (יִסְגְּדוּן) him" implies that the Son of God will be the object of worship of all peoples of the earth. Like Melchizedek in 11Q *Melch*, he will be the eschatological Judge (4Q 246 2:5).

The image of the eschatological King in the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q 246) arose undoubtedly under the influence of the passage of Dan. 7:13—14: "I (sc. Daniel — *I. T.*) saw in the night visions, and, behold, One like a Son of man (כְּבָר אָנֹכִי) came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before Him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion (שְׁלֹטְנָה שְׁלֹטָן עֲלָם), which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" [104]. The global King in Dan. 7:13—14 is probably identical with a *Man/One who looked like a man* [105] in Dan. 10—12 and the Anointed Most Holy One in Dan. 9:24. (In Dan. 10:5—6, 16, we possibly meet with an allusion to Ezek. 1:26—28, 8:2—3.) This figure, being the *world Ruler*, seems to be superior to Michael, the Prince of Israel (cf. e.g. Dan. 10:13, 10:21—11:1, 12:1). The author of *Revelation* 1:13—16 obviously identifies the person of the *One like a Son of man* (Dan. 7:13) with the *Man/One who looked like a man* in Dan. 10—12 (cf. especially Dan. 10:5—6).

It seems that as a parallel development of the concept of the *global King* of the "human" origin one can point to the passage of Philo's treatise *On the Life of Moses* I, 289: "There shall come forth from you one day a man (ἄνθρωπος) and he shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom, advancing every day, shall be exalted" [106]. (Cf. Numbers 24:7 in the *Septuagint* version: "There shall come

forth from his seed (*sc.* Jacob-Israel — *I. T.*) a man (ἄνθρωπος) and he shall rule over many nations, and the kingdom of Gog [107] shall be exalted and his kingdom shall be increased" [108].) Let us mention, on the other hand, that some scholars believe that Philo's phrase about Israel, including all the exiles, who will be guided "by a vision more divine than according to human nature" (πρός τινος θεοτέρας ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄψεως; *On Rewards and Punishments*, 165), means a vision of a "Man"-Messiah (possibly, of non-Davidic origin [109]) who is beyond human nature.

One can hardly agree with those identifying the eschatological personality of the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (4Q 246) with an angelic figure, for the author of this document specially accentuates the fact that this person will be called by the name of God and also "the Son of God", "the Son of the Most High". At the same time, one should bear in mind that the designations "gods", "sons of God" are standard denominations of the angels in the Bible and later Hebrew literature, including the Dead Sea scrolls.

V. Messianic Aramaic Text (4Q Mess ar = 4Q 534)

The so-called *Messianic Aramaic Text* (4Q Mess ar = 4Q 534) was composed, in the opinion of some scholars, in the form of the messiah's horoscope [115], probably a future priestly messiah [116]. The fragments of the first three lines of the composition contain the description of some physiological peculiarities of the "Elect One of God" (including small marks on his thigh and the colour of his hair ["red", שומק[י]ן] [117]). Further, it is said that "in his youth he will be ... [like a m]an who does not know, [until] the time when he will know the three Books. [T]hen he will acquire wisdom and will know ...", and will receive vision(s) (חזון; 1:4—6). "... And in his old age counsel and prudence will be with him; [he] will know the secrets of man, and his wisdom will reach all the peoples. And he will know the mysteries of all living things (רזי כול חייא). [A]ll their (evil) plans against him will come to nothing, although the opposition of all living things will be great. [But] his plans [will be carried out], because he is the Elect One of God (בחיר אלהא) [118], His birth (מולדה) [119] and the Spirit (or spirit) of His Breath (רוח נשמה) ... [120] His [p]lans shall be for ever ...". In the heavily damaged column 2 of the text, it is also predicted that his "deeds will be as the ones of the Watchers (עיריין) (l. 16), here *sc.* the angels of highest rank (cf. col. 2, l. 18).

So, according to this composition, the "Elect One of God" was considered by the Qumranites a spiritual son of God. (Cf. the fragment 4Q Mess ar 1:7, in which his *earthly father* (אבוהי) and his ancestors (אבותי) are mentioned, whom — according to a possible interpretation — he joined in the "upper (celestial) sphere (ארכובת[א]; layer, stratum, realm)", i.e. in the Paradise [121].)

The majority of scholars interpret the text 4Q Mess ar (4Q 534) as Noah's horoscope [122]. But in the Aramaic

Therefore, if the author of the document under consideration meant an angel, or all the more an Archangel, he would scarcely emphasize just that very designation of the kingly person. In the *Aramaic Apocalypse*, the personage called by the name of God and the "Son of God" is rather a human being who has achieved celestial dignity. In the light of the Qumran *Midrash Melchizedek* the figure of Melchizedek seems to be the most appropriate identification of the personage of the *Aramaic Apocalypse* [110]. It is not impossible that the passage of Q 246=4Q pseudo-Daniel^d 2:5—6 — "His kingdom (will be) an eternal kingdom (מלכות עלם) and all his paths in righteousness (בקשוט; or 'truth' — *I. T.*). He will jud[ge] the earth with righteousness (בקשט), and all will make peace (שלם)" — could be perceived by the Qumranites as a kind of a "midrash" on his name and title (*Gen.* 14:18a; cf. also *Ps.* 110:1 and 4): מלכי צדק Melchizedek (lit. "my king is righteousness"; as interpretation: "king of righteousness", "righteous king" [111]) [112], "the king of Salem (שלם); as interpretation: 'tranquility' [113], 'peace' [114]).

Apocryphon of Genesis (1Q Gen Apoc), cols. 2 and 5 and in *1 Enoch*, chs. 106—107, the non-heavenly origin of Noah is specially emphasized; and this is confirmed by Enoch staying in the Paradise. (See further 4Q Enoch^c ar [4Q 204], frg. 5, col. 2, 16—30 (= *1 Enoch* 106:13—107:2).) Note also that in *1 En.* 106:2, 10 (and in the corresponding Latin text respectively), it is particularly marked, that new-born Noah's hair was white ("whiter than the snow"). Lastly, the phrase about the great opposition of all living things is hardly applicable to Noah.

A. Dupont-Sommer [123] identifies the Elect One in 4Q 534 with the figure of the Elect One (the Messiah, the Son of man, the Righteous One) described in the *Similitudes of Enoch*. A. Caquot [124] has carried this idea further and proposed that the Elect One of 4Q 534 is Enoch *redivivus*, while in the opinion of J. C. Greenfield, in the text 4Q 534, Melchizedek can be implied [125]. The identification of the figure of the Elect One in 4Q 534 with Melchizedek — or possibly with Melchizedek *redivivus*, who would come on the earth anew — seems to be the most probable supposition, especially in the light of the tradition attested in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch* (see above, section I). Proceeding from that story, Melchizedek was immaculately conceived, — judging by the context, from God [126], — by Sothonim, Nir's wife, i.e. he (his essence) had the heavenly origin, but at the same time — the earthly parents. He was taken to the Paradise before the Flood. (It should be mentioned that in the heavily damaged col. 2 of the 4Q Mess ar (4Q 534) the "waters" are mentioned in connection with a certain destruction; these are usually correlated with the waters of the Flood.) He would be the High Priest for ever.

VI. The Aramaic Fragments 4Q 540—541 and the Testament of Levi, chapter 18

Some main aspects of the "biography" of the Elect One of God, "attested" in the *Messianic Aramaic Text* (4Q 534), appear to coincide in a number of features with certain references to an eschatological Messianic personage [127] in the Qumran Aramaic fragments 4Q 540—541 [128]. Judg-

ing by 4Q 541, frg. 7, 1—4, "he will reveal (?) profound[myste]ry [...], which he does not understand (or comprehend; די לא מתבנן)", probably until the time, "when the Books of wisdom (ספרי חכמה) are open[ed] (for him)". These books are possibly identical with the "three Books"

mentioned in the *Messianic Aramaic Text* (4Q 534) 1:5. (In the passage 4Q 541, frgs. 1+2, col. 1, ll. 6–7, though heavily damaged, the phrase “(one) more book and the secon[d] one” is preserved; this implies that (at least) *three* books could be meant here; also certain “book/book[s]” are mentioned in 4Q 541, frg. 7, 2.) The text 4Q 541, frg. 9, col. 1, 2–7 runs as follows: “... his [wi]sdom [will be great.] And he will atone for all the sons of his generation (וְיִכְפֹּר עַל כּוֹל בְּנֵי דֶרֶה); and he will be sent to all the sons of his [gene]ration (?). His word (will be) like the word of the Heavens, and his Teaching, according to the Will of God. His eternal sun (שֶׁמֶשׁ עֲלָמָה) will shine and his fire will be kindled in all the ends of the earth; above the darkness it will shine. Then, darkness will vanish [from] the earth, and gloom from the wilderness. They will utter many (evil) words against him, and an abundance of [l]ies; they will fabricate fables against him, and utter every kind of disparagement against him. His evil generation he will change, and [great fury] will be; and deceit and violence (will be in) his location. The people will go astray in his days and they will be bewildered” [129]. (Cf. 4Q 534 1:9: “[A]ll their (evil) plans against him will come to nothing, although the opposition of all living things will be great”.)

It seems that the image of the eschatological Expiator of 4Q 541 — whose word will be of heavenly origin, who will be a leader of the sunny (light) forces, and who will destroy darkness (dark forces) — can be compared with the image of Melchizedek *redivivus*. According to 11Q *Melch*, the members of the Qumran community believed that at the End of days — probably 490 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar [130] — Melchizedek will atone (לִכְפֹּר) for (the sins) of all the sons of [Light and] the me[n of the l]ot of [Melchi]zedek [131] and execute eschatological Judgement upon Belial and his spirits [132]. Also, in connection with the fragment 9, col. 1 of 4Q 541, it is worth noting that, according to the *Damascus Document*, the members of the community described in it expected that the eschatological “Messiah of (from) Aaron and of (from) Israel” (מְשִׁיחַ (מ) אַהֲרֹן וְ(מ) יִשְׂרָאֵל), — i.e. the Messiah (obviously non-Davidic [133]) combining functions of the priestly and the lay Anointed Ones, — “will atone for the sin” (יִכְפֹּר עוֹן) [134] of the faithful and “will deliver up to the sword” the wicked from Israel and

the foreign enemies of the Judaeans [135] probably also 490 years after the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians [136].

One can find a parallel to the phrase “his eternal sun will shine” (4Q 541, frg. 9, col. 1, 3) in *Ben-Sira* 50:7, where the high priest Simon II the Righteous (the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.E.) is likened to “the sun shining upon the Temple of the Most High”.

The text 4Q 541, frg. 9, col. 1 should be compared, first of all, with chapter 18 of the Greek version of the *Testament of Levi*, in which the *New Priest* (ἱερέα καὶ νέον) is described. It is possible that the image of the New Priest arose under the influence of this text. In the *Testament of Levi*, ch. 18, there are no direct indications concerning the origin of the New Priest. The *Test. Levi*, 18, emphasizes three times (vv. 7, 8, 13) that his priesthood endures *for ever*; in particular, the text 18:8 asserts that “there shall none succeed (οὐκ ἔσται διαδοχὴ) him for all generations for ever”. Here, we meet with a clear allusion to *Ps.* 110:4. So he shall be the Last and Eternal High Priest. “And the Glory of the Most High shall burst forth upon him” (18:7). (Cf. *Gen.* 14:18–20.) “And from the Temple of Glory (probably the heavenly Temple is meant here — *I. T.*) shall come upon him sanctification, with the Father’s Voice (μετὰ φωνῆς πατρικῆς) as from Abraham to Isaac”. According to *Test. Levi* 18:3, the New Priest will be also the King whose star (ἄστρον) will rise in the heaven (cf. *Num.* 24:17 [137]) and who will be great in the universe. “And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him” (18:7); here, we meet with a clear allusion to the verse *Isa.* 11:2 which speaks of the Davidic Messiah [138]. The New Priest will open the doors of the Paradise for the righteous and execute Judgement over the earth, “and Beliar shall be bound by him”. The latter phrase implies that the New Priest is endowed with an archangelic power. (Cf. *Tob.* 8:3; 4Q *En* ar 1 v 3–5 (= *I En.* 10:3–4); cf. also *Rev.* 20:1–3. According to *Isa.* 24:21–23, God will imprison certain of the host of heaven.) It seems that the figure of the New Priest-King — and especially his functions — in *Test. Levi* 18 could be correlated with the person of Melchizedek in the Qumran composition 11Q *Midrash Melchizedek*.

VII. The Prayer of Enosh (4Q 369)

One more manuscript which I would like to dwell on in this context is the so-called *Prayer of Enosh* [139] (4Q 369). In the fragment 1, 2:1–12, we read: “Thou hast allotted his inheritance to cause Thy Name to dwell there [...] It is the glory of Thy earthly land. And on it dw[ell...] Thy Eye is on it, and Thy Glory will be seen there fo[r ever...] to his seed for their generations an eternal possession. And al[...], and Thou hast made clear to him Thy good judgements (וּמִשְׁפָּטֵיכָה הַטּוֹבִים בְּרִרְתָּהּ לוֹ) [...] in eternal light (בְּאֹר עוֹלָמִים). And Thou hast made him the First-born Son (בֶּן בְּכֹרִית) [140] to Thee [...] like him for a prince and ruler (כְּמוֹהוּ לְשֹׁר וּמוֹשֵׁל) in all Thy earthly land [...] the cr[own of the] heavens and the glory of clouds [Thou] hath set [on him...] and the angel of Thy peace in his congregation. And H[e gave] him righteous laws as Father to [His] S[on...] (וְהוּא נָתַן לוֹ חֻקִּים צְדִיקִים כְּאֵב לִבְנֵי) [...]”. In the light of *Psalms* 89:21, 27–28 — “I have found David, My servant; with My holy oil I have anointed him... he shall

cry unto Me, ‘Thou art my Father, my God, and the Rock of my salvation...’ and I will make him the first-born (בְּכֹרִית), higher than the kings of the earth” — one can immediately identify the *First-born Son* of 4Q 369 with David or the Davidic Messiah [141]. (Cf. *Rom.* 8:29; *Col.* 1:15, 18.) But we perceive some difficulties in this position. The phrase “[the] cr[own of the] heavens and the glory of clouds [Thou] hath set [on him...] and the angel of Thy peace in his congregation (וּמוֹלָאךָ שְׁלוֹמְכָה בְּעֵדָתוֹ) (frg. 1, 2:8–9) implies that here the *heavenly* figure is meant. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the angel of peace (ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης) guides and protects Israel against Beliar (Satan) and his spirits and the kingdom of the enemy of the Jews [142]; here, he is an intercessor for Israel before God (*Test. Dan.* 6:2 [143]), in all probability identical with the Archangel Michael (cf. *Test. Levi* 5:5–6) [144]. It is possible that the angel of peace (מֹלָאךָ שְׁלוֹם) in 4Q 369, frg. 1, 1:10 and 2:9 [145] also can be identified with Michael,

who is the patron angel of Israel and plays a role in the eschatological battle against Belial and his forces (e.g. *1Q M* 9:15–16; 17:4–9; cf. *Dan.* 10:13–14, 20–21, 12:1; *1En.* 9:40, 20:5, 54:6; *Test. Moses* 10:2; cf. also *Rev.* 12:7–9) [146]. The designation מלאך שלום, the angel of peace, can imply that, among other things, he protects שלם, Salem, resp. Jerusalem, the city of peace.

In any case, the author's special emphasis that the angel of peace is "in the congregation" of the First-born Son (*4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:9) implies that the former is an angel of high rank, and that, on the other hand, the First-born Son is a/the leader of angels. The last aspect reminds us immediately of the figure of Melchizedek in *11Q Melch*, the leader in the congregation of angels in the heavens (2:10–11), who would be at the head of angels at the eschatological Judgement upon Belial and his spirits (2:11–14, 25).

The phrase of *4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:5–6 — "...and Thou hast made clear to him Thy good judgements (ומשפטיכה הטובים בררתה לו) [...] in eternal light (באור עולמים). And Thou hast made him the First-born Son (בן בכור) to Thee..." — implies that the Son dwells in the heavens, for the notion "eternal light" (no matter whether this phrase is related to the first or, which is less probable, to the second sentence) means the heavenly realm in Qumran. In this regard, the text of the *Manual of Discipline* (*1Q S*) 4:8 is, in particular, of interest: we are told that the righteous on their departure will receive "eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and garment of honour in eternal light (באור עולמים)" [147]. (Cf. *4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:8: "[the] crown of the] heavens and the glory of clouds [Thou] hast set [on him...].")

It seems that the context presupposes that the foreordained Judgement of God (*4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:5; cf. frgs. 1, 1:6; 2, 4) will be carried out by the First-born Son. This aspect also reminds us of Melchizedek in *11Q Melch* 2:13, 23, who will execute the Judgement of God (משפטי אל).

The phrase "Thou hast allotted his inheritance (נחלתו) to cause Thy Name to dwell there" (*4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:1) probably implies the priestly activity of the personage (cf. *Num.* 18:20; *Deut.* 10:9, 18:12; *Josh.* 13:33, 18:7) [148]. The expression "to cause Thy Name to dwell there" is biblical — *Deut.* 12:11, 14:23 [149] — and is in reference to Jerusalem (cf. e.g. *Pss.* 76:3, 135:21). In this connection let us mention once again that in the *Jewish War* (VI, 438), Flavius Josephus attested a tradition, based first of all on *Gen.* 14 and *Ps.* 110, according to which Melchizedek had been a "righteous king", and "therefore was the first (πρωτος) to become the priest of God, the first (πρωτος) to build the sanctuary (τὸ ἱερὸν), renaming the city, then called Salem, Jerusalem". Also one can note here the *Allegorical Interpretation*, III, 79–82, where Philo, comment-

ing upon *Genesis* 14:18–20, writes that God had not prefigured any work of Melchizedek, but set him out from the very first as priest and king, so that he had not had antecedents in the priesthood-kingship. Special attention should be given to the passage of *Ps.* 110:2–4: "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength from Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Honour is with thee in the day of thy power, in the glory of holiness; from the womb before the dawn like the dew have I begotten thee (יְלִדְתִּיךָ). The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek'". Thus in relation to David, or to Davidic heir, Melchizedek is a *prototype*; or, in other words, the fore-running, first Ruler-Priest and hence — the first(-begotten) Son. In any case, since in *Ps.* 110:4, the Davidic personage is "only" likened to Melchizedek [150], the descriptions of the former could easily be extrapolated onto the figure of the latter. On this basis some other characteristics of David, attested in the *Psalms* could be readdressed to the figure of Melchizedek. This could take place in the period when the Qumranites renounced their conception of the two Messiahs, the High Priest and the King-Davidite, and transferred the functions of both to one figure.

As the eternal High Priest and King, Melchizedek could be regarded as dwelling in eternity (cf. the eternal light in *4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:6), i.e. in the heavenly realm — and thus be depicted in *11Q Melchizedek*. (Cf. *4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:8–9.)

In connection with the text *4Q 369*, frg. 1, 2:1, with its clear allusions to *Deut.* 12:11 and 14:23, it is worth pointing out that in *11Q Melch* 2:2–4, 6, three passages from the Torah — *Lev.* 25:13, 10 and (*NB*) *Deut.* 15:2 — are employed in relation to Melchizedek.

The mentioning of the "righteous laws" (חוקים צדיקים) and the "angel of peace" (מלאך שלום) "in the congregation" of the personage of the text *4Q 369* could serve as a sort of a hint at Melchizedek's name and title: the Righteous king of Salem.

Using Ockham's razor — *not sunt multiplicanda entia praeter necessitatum* — one can suppose that Melchizedek *redivivus* appears to be the most appropriate figure, mentioned in the Qumran community's composition(s) hitherto discovered, with whom the Messianic personages described in the *Messianic Apocalypse* (*4Q 521*), the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (*4Q 246*), the *Messianic Aramaic Text* (*4Q 534*), the text *4Q 540–541*, and possibly even in the *Prayer of Enosh* (*4Q 369*) could be identified by the members of the congregation at a certain stage in the evolution of their ideological views [151]. On the other hand, the compositions mentioned above could exert influence upon the formation of the messianic image of Melchizedek in Qumran.

VIII. The Self-Glorification Hymns From Qumran, Melchizedek, and the Teacher of Righteousness

In connection with the problem of the "apotheosis" of personality in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls let us consider the hymnic fragment of *4Q 491^c*, frg. 1, ll. 4–12 [152], where its author, in particular, exclaims: "... and the council of the poor for an eternal congregation. [God the Most High shall give me the seat amongst the eternally perfect, the throne of might in the congregation of gods (כסא עז בעדת אלים; sc. the angelic beings and the 'deified' righteous — *I. T.*), which none of the kings of old

(מלכי קדם; or 'the kings of the East' — *I. T.*) shall ever sit on (ישבו), and their nobles shall [not] approach it. And none can compare [to] my glory (ל[א] דומי [ל] כבודי). And none has been risen (to the heavens — *I. T.*) without me (וולחי; besides me, apart from me — *I. T.*) [153], and none can oppose me. I sit (ישבתי) on [high], exalted in heaven, and none [surround] (me) [154]. I am reckoned among the gods (אלים) and established in the holy congregation. [My] desire [is] not according to the flesh (כבשר; i.e. unlike the

desires of the fleshly world — *I. T.*), for my [lo]t is to be in the Glory of the Holy [Ab]ode (מַעֲבֹד הַקֹּדֶשׁ). [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? [155]. And who is like me (i.e. who is comparable to me — *I. T.*) in my glory (וְהַמְּכָבֵד יִדְמָה לִּי)? Who... [like] me? Who has born[e] afflictions like me, and who compares to me for [la]ck of evil? Never have I been instructed; and no teaching (הוֹרִיָּה) compares [to m]y [teaching] [156]. Who can attack me (i.e. polemicize against me — *I. T.*), when I op[en] my mouth? And who can endure the flow of my speech? And who can challenge me and be like me at my judgement (בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי)? [None compares to me, for [my] statio[n] is with gods (אֱלֹהִים), [and my g]lory is with the sons of the King (i.e. the sons of God, the angels — *I. T.*). Neither [the best go]ld, nor pure gold of Ophir [can be compared with my word...] *vacat*

{The beginning of the so-called song of the righteous, ll. 13–16:} Be overjoyed, o righteous (צַדִּיקִים), with God [...] in the Holy Abode, hymn H[im]... [...] Pr[o]claim with expressions of gladness, [burst forth in] eternal joy without cea[sing...] in order to raise the horn of [His] Mess[iah] ([157] מִשְׁיָּחֹר) ... to proclaim his mighty hand...".

Proceeding from the contents of this text, one can conclude that the person who speaks is a *human being*, not an angel, for it is senseless for an *angel* to emphasize several times the fact of his staying among the *angels* ("gods"), as well as to underline his superiority to the earthly kings and their nobility. He is a human being who achieved on his departure the *leading position in the heavenly hierarchy*: The speaker *sits* [158] on the *throne of might* in the congregation of gods; none has been raised to the heavens without him, i.e. the heavens will be achievable for a person, — or, in other words, a person can be saved, — only *via the mediation of the speaker*; "none can oppose" him; and (NB:) *none can compare with him in glory* [159], even in the heavens. This last statement concerning the speaker's *peerlessness* in glory deserves special consideration. In a broader, and probably later, redaction of the Hymn 4Q 491^c, frg. 1, which was interpolated into the collection of the *Hodayot* (*Thanksgiving Hymns*) [160], the following statement has been preserved: "Who is like me among gods (i.e. angels; מִי כְמוֹנִי בְּאֱלֹהִים)?" (4Q 431 [earlier 4Q 471b] 1:14; cf. 4Q 427, 7, 1:8). One can assume that this idea could appear in one of the (intermediate) redactions of the Hymn under consideration *before* its inclusion in the *Hodayot* collection. Both statements imply that the speaker considers himself to be *superior to the angels* and nearly equal in Glory to the Most High Himself. In connection with these self-glorifying phrases let us point out, first of all, the text of *Exodus* 15:11: "Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord? (מִי כְמוֹכָה בְּאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה)", which the author of 4Q 431 1:14 obviously bore in mind. Also let us cite three verses from the *Psalms*: "For who in the heavens can be compared unto the Lord? *Who* among the sons of God can be likened (יִדְמָה) unto the Lord?" (89:7) [161]; "My God, what god is like (דָּמִי) Thee" (83:2) [162]; "What god is greater than Thou, O God?" (77:14) [163]. In the light of these and other biblical texts [164], which attest to the Incomparability of the Lord [165], one can suppose that the speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn hints at his pretensions to Divinity. It immediately reminds us of the figure of Melchizedek in 11Q Melch.

The assertion by the author of the Hymn that nobody from just the *kings* of old is worthy of sitting on his throne

of might among אֱלֹהִים ("gods"), together with the statement about his peerlessness in glory, implies that the throne of the *King-Messiah* (or even the Throne of Glory of the Lord God, destined for the Messiah) [166] is meant here (cf. 4Q 491^c, frg. 1, ll. 15–16 (a fragment of the so-called *song of the righteous*): "... in order to raise the horn of [His] Mess[iah] (מִשְׁיָּחֹר) ... and to proclaim his mighty hand..."; 4Q 427 (*Thanksgiving Hymns*), frg. 7, 1:12: "Not by pure gold I crow[n] myself (לִּי אֶכְתֹּרֶנִּי) ..." [167]) [168]. In the mention of the kings of old (מְלָכֵי קֶדֶם; or "the kings of the East") in this context, one can perceive an allusion to the texts of *Isaiah* 14 and *Ezekiel* 28. In *Isa.* 14:13–14, we read of the king of Babylon: "For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne (כִּסְאִי) above the stars of God (כְּרוֹכְבִּי אֵל): I will sit (enthroned) also upon the mount (sc. probably the *cosmic mount* — *I. T.*) of the congregation (sc. probably of *gods* — *I. T.*), in the sides of the north (or, (the mount of) *Zaphon*; צָפוֹן — *I. T.*). I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High (אֲדִמָּה לְעֵלִיּוֹן)". The passages of *Ezek.* 28:2 and 14 concerning the king of Tyrus run as follows: "Thus saith the Lord God; Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I *am* a god (אֵל), I sit in the seat of God (אֱלֹהִים), in the midst of the seas"; "Thou *are* the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee *so*: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God", sc. the cosmic mountain.

The conviction of the speaker of the Hymn that only via his mediation can a person be saved and the assertion that his "[lo]t is to be in the Glory of the Holy [Ab]ode (מַעֲבֹד הַקֹּדֶשׁ)" (ll. 7–8) [169], i.e. apparently in the heavenly Temple [170], implies that he considers himself to be the universal High Priest.

It seems that in the phrase "who can be like me at my judgement (בְּמִשְׁפָּטִי)", the Last Judgement at the End of days can be meant. (Cf. e.g. 11Q Melch 2:13–14, 23, also 2:9–11.)

In the light of *Ps.* 110 and 11Q Melch one can suppose that the speaker of 4Q 491^c — a human being, who achieved on his departure the leading position in the heavenly hierarchy and who in all probability depicts himself as the priestly and lay Messiah — can be identified with Melchizedek [171].

Exursus. *Some Possible Biblical, Pseudepigraphal, and Hellenistic Alexandrian Jewish Parallels to the Throne Vision in 4Q 491^c.*

Speaking of possible biblical parallels to the hymnic fragment from the text 4Q 491^c quoted above, one can point out, first of all, the *Psalms*, and primarily the text of *Ps.* 45:7–8 quoted above: "Thy (sc. the ideal king — *I. T.*) throne, god (אֱלֹהִים), is for ever and ever (עוֹלָם וָעֶד): the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness (צֶדֶק), and hatest wickedness (רָשָׁע); therefore thy God (אֱלֹהֶיךָ) hath anointed thee (מִשְׁחָךְ), god (אֱלֹהִים), with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"; *Ps.* 89:37–38: "His (sc. King David — *I. T.*) seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before Me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven"; *Ps.* 61:8: "Let him (sc. David — *I. T.*) sit (enthroned) before God for ever, may kindness and truth be appointed to safeguard him"; *Ps.* 16:11: "Thou wilt shew me (sc. David — *I. T.*) the path of life (sc. eternal life — *I. T.*); Thou wilt fill me with joy before Thee (i.e. in Thy Presence — *I. T.*), with

pleasures at Thy Right Hand for ever"; and *Ps.* 110:1: "The Lord said unto my Lord: 'Sit (enthroned) at My Right Hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool'". In the light of *Ps.* 110:4 all these verses could be extrapolated in the Qumran community onto the figure of Melchizedek (as the prototype of the Davidic king-priest) who sat on the throne beside God in the heavens (= the "Land(s) of Life" [172]) for ever; he is in the "Council" of God [173], i.e. among angelic beings and the souls of the departed "righteous ones (צדיקים)" [174]. The Qumran composition *Midrash Melchizedek* seems to corroborate this supposition [175].

Further, one should bear in mind the heavenly vision of Ezekiel attested in *Ezek.* 1:26–27: "And above the firmament ... (was) the likeness of a Throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone: and upon the likeness of the Throne (was) the likeness as the appearance of a man (דמות כמראה אדם) above upon it ... from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downwards, I (saw) as it were the appearance of fire and it had brightness round about" (italics mine — *I. T.*).

To cite another example, there are the heavenly visions of Micaiah in *I Kgs.* 22:19, *2 Chr.* 18:18 ("I saw the Lord sitting upon His Throne, and the whole host of heaven stood (beside Him) on His right and on His left") and Daniel in *Dan.* 7:13–14 (cf. also *Isa.* 6), as well as the heavenly voyage of Levi in the *Testament of Levi* 2:6–5:3 [176]. It is appropriate to mention here that the *Book of the Similitudes of Enoch* (*I En.*, 37–71) describes the Messiah — the Son of man — as sitting on the Throne of Glory of the Lord God Himself [177]. (Cf. also the *Assumption of Isaiah* 6–11; the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 15–29) [178].

A close parallel to the Hymn of *4Q 491^c* can be found in a fragment of the tragedy of the Jewish Hellenistic writer Ezekiel (who lived in Egypt at the end of the third — the first part of the second centuries B.C.E.) *Ἐξαγωγή* (*Exodus*; lit. "Leading out"), 68–82 [179]. There Moses remembers how he saw what seemed a gigantic Throne "so great in size that it touched the clouds of heaven" (sc. probably the Throne of the Lord), upon which "a Man (φῶς; a poetic equivalent of the word ἀνὴρ — *I. T.*) of noble mien sat, crowned, and with a sceptre in one hand" (probably the Lord God Himself or the Messiah of the Lord are implied). He handed over to Moses the crown and the sceptre and offered him to sit on the Throne instead of Himself. Sitting on the Throne, Moses saw all the earth and everything that is in the netherworld and in the heavens. And the multitude of the stars fell down at his feet [180]. It seems that this fragment from Ezekiel's tragedy *Ἐξαγωγή* contains reminiscences from the prophet *Ezekiel* 1:26–28 (cf. especially 1:26; cf. further 8:1–4); also a possible parallel is the text *Dan.* 7:13–14 [181].

In connection with the problem of the "deification" of personality the fragment of the long version of the so-called *Orphica* [182] (ca. 155–145 B.C.E.), quoted by the Jewish Alexandrian philosopher Aristobulus (mid-2nd century B.C.E.) and recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea in the *Preparation to the Gospel*, 13, 12, 5, can be drawn on. The text runs as follows: "And no one has seen the Ruler of mortal men, except a certain unique man, an offshoot from far back of the race (the land, country? — *I. T.*) of the Chaldeans (here, Enoch [183], Abraham [184], or Moses [185] can be implied — *I. T.*). For he was knowledgeable about

edgeable about the path of the Star, and how the movement of the Sphere goes around the earth, both in circular fashion, but each on its own axis. He has ridden in spirit through the air and through the water of the Stream [186]. A comet has made evident these events [187] — he had a mighty birth [188]. Yes, after this he has been established in the great heavens on a golden throne" (25–33).

The *Wisdom of Solomon* [189] speaks of the "Righteous one" (ὁ δίκαιος), who upbraided the wicked "with the sins against the Law", professed "to have knowledge of God", named himself "servant of the Lord" and "son of God" (υἱὸς θεοῦ) (2:12–20), who is numbered among sons of God (υἱοὶ θεοῦ) and whose lot is among the saints (ἅγιοι), i.e. the angels (5:5) [190].

The Jewish author of the poetic composition, conventionally designated as the *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* and written in Greek in Alexandria most probably between 30 B.C.E. — 40 C.E., speaks simultaneously of both the apotheosis of the souls of the departed and the future resurrection of their bodies (97–115). (Cf. also *Ps. Sol.* 2:16, 3:1–9, 5:15 f. of the departed righteous [191].)

So we assume that originally the hymnic composition of *4Q 491^c* could be composed as a *Hymn* or *Song of Melchizedek*, in all probability by the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness himself [192]. It is the Teacher, who had an experience of heavenly visions and "voyage(s)" (in a certain ecstatic state). In one of his *Thanksgiving Hymns* (*IQ H^a* 11[= 3]:19–23) [193], the Teacher [194] records his reminiscences of such a "voyage" and some of his conclusions: "I thank Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast redeemed my soul from the Pit (שְׁחַת; i.e. Sheol — *I. T.*), and from Abaddon of Sheol Thou hast lifted me up (הַעֲלִיתָנִי) to the eternal height (sc. to the heavens — *I. T.*). And I walked on a limitless plain, and I have learnt that there is hope for him whom Thou hast shaped from dust for the eternal Council. And Thou hast cleansed the distressed spirit from the great transgression so that it (i.e. spirit — *I. T.*) can stay with the host of the holy ones (קֳדוֹשִׁים; i.e. the heavenly dwellers — *I. T.*), and that it may enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven (בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם). Thou hast cast for man (naturally, a righteous one is meant — *I. T.*) the eternal destiny (to be) with the spirits of knowledge so that he can praise Thy Name in the community of exultation, and tell of Thy wonders before all Thy creatures". Thus the Teacher could "meet" with the celestial dwellers and their leaders and then could record in poetic form what he had "seen" and "heard" in heaven.

It seems that one passage in *4Q 491^c* serves as a kind of a "signature" of the Hymn author. We mean the following phrase of the terrestrial recorder of the words of the celestial Teacher, his heavenly counterpart: "and no teaching compares to my teaching (וְהוֹרִיָּה לְרָא דְרַמָּה בְּהוֹרִיָּה); *4Q 491^c*, frg. 1, 9–10; see also *4Q 431* (= *4Q 471b*) 1:13; *4Q 427*, frg. 7, 1:7). From the so-called *Teacher's Thanksgiving Hymns* (*IQ H^a* 10–18) we learn that their author, in common opinion, the Teacher of Righteousness, joined the superior salutary Knowledge, including the knowledge of the miraculous mysteries, on the one hand, receiving Divine Revelations [195], and, on the other hand — ascending to heaven in a mysterious way. So his teaching — which is a *conditio sine qua non* of salvation [196] — was of the heavenly origin; in a certain sense he transmitted the salutary teaching of his heavenly "colleague" on earth

and therefore could appreciate its value exactly and pre-emptively.

It seems that during his lifetime the Teacher of Righteousness — “the Lawgiver” (המחוקק) and “the Expounder of the Law” (דורש התורה) [197] — came to be considered by his adherents a prophet-like-onto-Moses [198] and probably the priestly Anointed One (the Teacher was a priest [199] of the Zadokite lineage). At a certain stage in the history of the Qumran community — most probably after the Teacher's translation — the Hymn, attested in 4Q 491^c, was included in its broader redaction in the collection of the Hymn is attested in the fragments 4Q 431(= 4Q 471b), 1, 4Q 427, 7, 1, and 1Q H^a 25:35–26:10 [200]. Some time after the Teacher's departure, in the milieu of his followers there arose an idea that on his translation, — i.e. on his stepping over the limits of the *fleshly, material* world, — their Master would come to be also the lay Messiah, so to speak, not “after the order of David”, but “after the order of Melchizedek” [201], thus becoming the priestly and the lay Messiah. Also, it is possible that the Qumranites directly identified their Master in his heavenly hypostatization as Melchizedek (in particular, in the *Midrash Melchizedek* (11Q Melch=11Q 13), which was composed, in all probability, after the Teacher of Righteousness' departure [202]); correspondingly, the *historical* Teacher probably came to be considered an incarnate Melchizedek (Melchizedek *redivivus*, a new Melchizedek; in 11Q Melch, he is probably identical with the משיח-מבשר; cf. section II) [203]. Analogously, Jesus, of the tribe of Judah, according to the *Epistle to the Hebrews* [204], came to be the “high priest after the order of Melchizedek”, not “after the order of Aaron”, i.e. combined the functions of the Messiah-King and the Messiah-High Priest, only after his departure from the earth and ascent to the heavenly Temple. In some later Christian traditions, Jesus (historical and *redivivus*) was identified with Melchizedek (see section I).

As regards the figure of the eschatological “Messiah from (of) Aaron and from (of) Israel”, i.e. the priestly and lay Messiah (who is in all probability identical with the Unique (היחיד) [205] Teacher *redivivus* [206]), attested in the ideology of the community of the *Damascus Document* [207], this messianic conception could be an intermediate step in the process of the “messianization” of the personality of the Teacher of Righteousness, which probably took place not only in that community, but also in the Qumran congregation.

Also one can suppose that the eschatological “Elect One” of God, who, according to the *Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk* (1Q pHab 4:16–5:6), will commit the

Judgement of God over all the wicked [208], like Melchizedek in 11Q Melch (2:9–14, 23, 25), is probably identical with the “Elect One” of God — the Teacher of Righteousness *redivivus* [209].

The author of the *Teacher Hymns* speaks several times of his supernatural abilities and soterological mission. In particular, he exclaims: “... Thou showest Thy Might through me (בי; or ‘in me’ — *I. T.*) and revealeth Thyself in me [210] (or ‘to me’ — *I. T.*) with Thy Power (וְתוֹפֵעַ לִי בְכֹחָהּ) [211] as perfect Light... Through me (בי) Thou hast enlightened the face of the *many* (possibly *sc.* fully initiated members of the Qumran community — *I. T.*) and revealed Thy Infinite Might; for Thou hast given me Knowledge through Thy marvellous mysteries and showed Thy Might in me (עַמְדִּי) in the midst of Thy marvellous Council (i.e. probably, in the midst of angelic beings — *I. T.*). Thou hast accomplished marvels before the many for the sake of Thy Glory, in order to proclaim Thy mighty deeds to all living beings. Who has (ever) preached glad tidings (בִּשְׂרָר) [212] like these” (1Q H^a 12[=4]:23 (also 8), 27–29). The text 1Q H^a 10[=2]:24–25 runs as follows: “And Thou hast showed Thy Might through me (בי; or ‘in me’ — *I. T.*) before the sons of Adam...” (also 1Q H^a 13[=5]:15). One can further mention the passage 1Q H^a 15[=7]:24: “And I shall appear in radiance (וְהוֹפֵעָה) with sevenfold li[ght,] in the li[ght which] Thou hast prepared for Thy Glory” [213]. In the fragment 1Q H^a 17[=9]:25, the author speaks of his “crown of glory” (כִּלְיִל כְּבוֹד) and “everlasting might” (גְּבוּרַת עוֹלָם).

Proceeding from these passages of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, as well as from some other Qumran texts related to the figure of the Teacher, it seems possible to assume that in the Hymn 4Q 491^c its author — *ex hypothesi* the Teacher of Righteousness — creates a sort of a “myth” of his own posthumous glorious messianic destiny in the heavens [214]. On the other hand, this Hymn could be composed after the Teacher's departure by his followers who tried to describe the role and functions of their Master in heaven; later on one of its redactions was included in the *Hodayot — Thanksgiving Hymns*.

Concluding this section, we would suggest that if at a certain stage in the history of the Qumran community the sectarians really came to consider their Teacher of Righteousness an incarnate Melchizedek, that identification could allow us to assume that the “three names” of Melchizedek's antipode in the text 4Q 544=4Q Visions of ‘Amram’^b ar, frg. 3. l. 2 could be: מְלָכִי צֶדֶק, i.e. *Righteous King*, or *King of Righteousness*; כֹּהֵן צֶדֶק (*Righteous Priest*, or *Priest of Righteousness*) [215]; and צֶדֶק (מֹרֶה) (Righteous Teacher, or Teacher of Righteousness; or Master of Righteousness, i.e. the *Righteous One*) [217].

IX. The Rephaites, the Essenes, and the Therapeutae.

Etymology of the “Essenes” in the Light of the Qumran Mystical Views [218]

In the Qumranites' view, the border between the transcendent and this world is relatively “transparent” on both sides, i.e. not only angel-like beings can descend from the heavens (e.g. 1Q Sa 2:3–9; 1Q S 11:8; cf. e.g. 4Q D^b, frg. 17, 1:6–9), but also certain representatives of the earthly world are able to visit the heavenly one [219]. In particular, it follows from some of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (e.g. 1Q H^a 11[=3]:19–23; 12[=4]:27–29; cf. also the Hymn 4Q 491^c and its recension(s) included in the *Hodayot*

collection), the author of which informed his followers of his heavenly “voyage(s)” and of his firm belief that on finishing his terrestrial path he would stay with the heavenly beings in the celestial Council. Further, judging by the above-mentioned fragments of the *Hymns* and the *Manual of the Discipline* (e.g. 1Q S 4:8), the Qumranites evidently believed that the deceased righteous and wise (first of all, their own departed comrades) came to be angel-like beings (who are designated, in particular, אֱלִים, “gods”). These

passages can be correlated with the following fragment of *IQM* (*War Scroll*) 12:1–2: “For there is multitude of the holy ones in heaven, and the hosts of angels are in Thy Holy Abode, [praising] Thy [Name]. And Thou hast established in [a community] for Thyself the elect of Thy holy people (*sc.* the departed righteous — *I. T.*). [The] list (‘book’ — *I. T.*) of the names of all their host is with Thee in the Abode of Thy Holiness, and the num[ber of the righ]teous in Thy Glorious Dwelling”. (Cf. also *Dan.* 12:3: “Those who are wise (הַמְשֻׁכִּים) will shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those who lead many to the righteousness (מְצַדִּיק הַרְבֵּים), like the stars (כְּכּוֹכְבִּים) for ever and ever”). In the light of these texts, and especially the hymnic fragment of *4Q 491*^c and its recension(s) [220], one can assume that “gods” (אלים, אלוהים), mentioned in

the Qumran *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (the *Angelic Liturgy*), are not only the angelic beings, but also the deified righteous [221].

A parallel to these Qumranic texts is found in the *Refutation of all Heresies*, in which Hippolytus writes (IX, 27) that the Essenes “admit that the body will resurrect and remain immortal, exactly like the soul which is already immortal, and, separated (*sc.* from the body — *I. T.*), rests till the Judgement in a pleasant and effulgent place, which the Hellenes would call, had they heard (about it), the Islands of the Blessed”. (Cf. *War*, II, 154, where Josephus notes that the Essenes believe that the souls, “when they are set free from the bounds of the flesh”, “rejoice and mount upwards”; see further: II, 155–157 [222]) [223].

* * *

It seems that in searching for some possible parallels and sources of the Qumranites' views concerning the ascent of the deceased righteous members of their community (and probably also of the remote past) to the heavens and their transition into the category of *gods*, i.e. the angel-like beings, one should pay attention not primarily to the corresponding Iranian or Hellenic religious views, but rather to the local old Canaanite and old Israelite-Judahite people's beliefs. Some of these, one can assume, still existed in certain (esoteric) heterodox Judaeic circles during the Hellenistic period, or, at least, could be revived and modified by them in one or another form (as, for instance, the Qumranites seem to have revived and followed the old Palestinian solar calendar (of the pre-exilic epoch) in some of its basic aspects [224]). Also one could reveal some points of contiguity between the corresponding views and lifestyles of the Qumranites-Essenes and the old Canaanite and Israelite conception of the so-called *Rephaim* (or rather *Ropheim* (Ugaritic *rp'im*; Phoenician *rp'm*), i.e. “healers”, “benefactors”; see below), who are referred to as “gods” in the sources, and their cultic associations called *marzeḥim* (sg. *marzeḥ*; Ugaritic *marzaḥu* or *marziḥu*) [225]. This is the conception, some basic aspects of which seem to have been disguised and distorted in, and in many cases even apparently deleted from, the Jewish orthodox written records (extremely negative towards the cult of and contacts with the departed in any form), but in all probability, being modified, still living on in certain heterodox people's religious beliefs during the Hellenistic period. In the author's opinion, some close parallels between the ideology and mode of life of certain esoteric Essene groups of the mystico-gnostic trend and those of the old *marzeḥim* could lead to the fact that in certain circles of outsiders the Essenes came to be called *Rephaim*/*Ropheim* in Hebrew, a term which could have been interpreted as *ιατροί* or rather *θεραπευταί*, i.e. “healers”, in Jewish Hellenized circles, in particular, in Egypt, and as *אסיא* *ʾāsāyā* (“healers”) by Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of the Syro-Palestinian region. It is just the latter term that, according to some authors, may have been transliterated into Greek as *Ἐσσηῖται* (Essenes).

The Israelite-Judahite cult of the dead, and especially the concept of the רפאים (a general term for the spirits of the deceased [226], most notably their higher echelons, as well as a term for the living who possess outstanding abilities and who are concerned with the transcendent

world) [227] “is in many ways a hidden heritage — hidden because deleted from, or at least disguised and obfuscated in, the written records” [228]. The religious scholars responsible for the selection, codification, and editing of the biblical compositions were not particularly inclined to mention and allude to Israelite beliefs connected with the veneration of prominent deceased persons and therefore “endeavoured to eliminate or disarm any hints of a positive appreciation of the cult of the dead” [229]. On the same plane one should consider the Masoretic vocalization of the word for spirits of the dead — רפאים — as *rēpā'im*, “impotent ones”, instead of the original *rōpē'im*, “healers”, “benefactors” [230]. This is corroborated, for instance, by the fact that the *Septuagint* translates the term *rp'ym* in *Isaiah* 26:14 and *Psalms* 88:11 as *ιατροί*, i.e. reads it as *rōpē'im*. On the other hand, in *2 Chr.* 16:12, — where it is said of King Asa's seeking (דָּרַשׁ) help from the *rōpē'im* — “healers”, and not from the Lord, — the former seem to be none other than the spirits of the dead. Also, the vocalization *rēpā'im*, “impotent ones”, “powerless” — instead of the original *rōpē'im*, “healers”, “benefactors” — could arise as a polemical and simultaneously sarcastic reaction to the designation of the ancestors worshipped by the term אלים *resp.* אלוהים, which has the meaning “powerful”, “strong”, “potent ones”.

According to some Ugaritic texts, the Rephaites dwelling in the abode of gods, including the spirits of the deceased kings, heroes, righteous, and wise, were called “gods” (*ilnym*, *ilm*; see e.g. *KTU* [231] 1.5:v.6; 1.6:vi.45–49; 1.20:i.1), “star-gods” (*ilm kbkbm*; *KTU* 1.43:2–3) and “those-of-the-stars” (*dkkbkm*) “in the heavens” (e.g. *KTU* 1.19:iv.24–25), “divine ancestor(s)” (*il'ib*; *KTU* 1.17:i.26), “protector(s)” (*dmr*; *KTU* 1.17:i.28). In the Bible (e.g. *1 Sam.* 28:13, *Isa.* 8:19, 21), the spirits of the departed, in particular, the spirit of Samuel, are designated אלהים (“gods”, “divine ones”). Biblical narratives and prohibitions [232] show that, according to some people's beliefs, the dead, called אלהים, were regarded as possessing extraordinary knowledge and, thus, were designated as *yiddē'ōnīm* (from יָדַע, “to know”), as possessing prescient powers (*1 Sam.* 28), as well as the ability to revivify (*2 Kgs.* 13:20–21), fructify (*1 Sam.* 1:11), and perhaps harm the living (*2 Sam.* 4:12; *Isa.* 57:11) [233]. Since the root *rp'* means “to heal”, one can believe that one of the virtues, which, in the opinion of certain circles, the Rephaites acquired, was the ability for

healing the sick, which naturally arises from the possession of transcendent knowledge [234].

Side by side with the Rephaites of the other world (it could be heaven(s) or/and the netherworld), there were also the *earthly* Rephaites called more then once the “Rephaites of the earth” (*rp'i 'ars*; or “Rephaites of the land, country”) and the “son(s) of the Rephaites” (*bn rp'im*) in some Ugaritic texts [235]. These are likely to have been called the “gods of the earth” (*'ilm 'ars*) [236]. The earthly Rephaites seem to have been *liminal*, “frontier” personalities who acquired special initiation and consecration — which apparently presupposed the experience of mystical death and the subsequent rebirth to new life in the process of accomplishment of the ritual act — and through this also the sacral knowledge opening the way during the lifetime into the spheres usually accessible only for the deceased, — into the other world, — and drawing nearer to the association of gods, i.e. the other world beings [237]. There was a belief that they not only could come into contact with the other world, but also visit it. Their connection with the other world has been reflected, in particular, in the fact that the terms used for their designations coincided with the denominations of the other world dwellers, with whom they associated: the other world and the earthly רפאים-*healers*; the ancestors' spirits and those who invoke the ancestors' spirits — האבות; the knowing spirits and those who invoke the knowing spirits — הידענים.

The relative prevalence and extraordinary abilities of the earthly Rephaites found its transformed (possibly, deliberately) expression in some biblical passages, where (a part of) the Rephaites are considered to have been a sort of special people (giants) who had lived (and are still living) in various localities of Syro-Palestinian region [238]. It is not impossible that among the ancient dwellers of those localities [239] the worship of the ancestors' spirits and the corresponding cultic associations, *marzeḥim* (see below), were especially widespread, and this aspect found its reflection in their designation — *rp'ym*.

It is also worth noting that the term אלהים was employed not only with regard to the ancestors' spirits (the prominent ones and those of high rank), but also as applied to the earthly leaders and judges, who were probably considered to have been endowed with special Divine grace and abilities and in some cases acquired special consecration (cf. *Ps.* 45:3 and 7—8: “Thy (*sc.* a king — *I. T.*) throne, god (אלהים), is for ever and ever... thy God (אלהיך) hath anointed thee, god (אלהים), with the oil of gladness above thy fellows”; cf. further *Pss.* 82:1, 6; 138:1—2).

In the light of the above-said, one can interpret the obscure passages of *1 Sam.* 28:3 and 9, literally saying that Saul “removed” (הסיר) “the ancestors' spirits” (אבות) and “the knowing spirits” (ידענים); or “soothsaying spirits”) out of the land (verse 3), or even “exterminated” (הכרית) them (verse 9): since the spirits of the dead could not be “removed” or “exterminated”, one should suppose that those who practised communion with the Rephaites are meant here [240]. Indeed, judging by some Ugaritic texts, the Rephaites, both the earthly and the other world ones, were members of the cultic associations, a sort of guilds, called *marzaḥu* or *marziḥu* (Hebr. *marzeah*) [241]. Such associations are also attested in later cultures in this region. The earthly participants of a *marzeah* practised communion with the transcendent god-like (angelic) beings primarily by a communal meal, in particular, during religious

feasts [242]. Cultic associations of the consecrated and the spirits of the dead after the model of *marzeah* were spread, in particular, in Syria and Palestine, and could be established around the cult of some god (for example, the supreme god of the local pantheon [243]). In the text of *Jer.* 16:5, the *Septuagint* translates the Hebrew מרזח (*marzeah*) as θιάσος (*thiasus*). The ancient Greek cultic associations were called *thiasi*; in many respects they bore a close resemblance to the West-Semitic *marzeḥim*. The *thiasi* were the religious clubs, crystallizing around the cult of a god or a hero, practising communal meals (at times taking the form of a drinking-bout) and the funerary rites of its members [244]. The deceased apparently continued to remain the members of the *marzeḥim* and *thiasi* and were invisibly present at the sacral meals [245] and meetings [246].

In this connection let us mention that, according to Philo of Alexandria's treatises *Every Good Man Is Free*, §§ 85—86 and the *Apology*, the Essenes established associations after the model of *thiasi* and *syssitia*, *sc.* communal meals (κατὰ θιάσους ἐταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι) [247]. Here, the Greek *thiasi* may obviously be correlated with the Hebrew *marzeḥim*. Of the practice of the Essenes' and the Therapeutae' (the Egyptian branch of the Essenean movement [248]) communal meals, having evidently sacral nature [249], we learn both from the accounts of ancient authors [250] and from the Qumran texts proper [251]. According to Josephus, “before those who join the community (of the Essenes — *I. T.*) are allowed to take part in the communal meal, they are obliged to take terrible oaths”. In particular, they “swear” “to conceal nothing from the community members, but (at the same time) never inform the others (*sc.* the outsiders — *I. T.*) about them (i.e. about the members of the community — *I. T.*), even if any one should compel them (*sc.* the proselytes — *I. T.*) (so to do) on pain of death..., to preserve (keep (secret) — *I. T.*) both the books belonging to their sect and the names of the angels (or ‘messengers’; τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα — *I. T.*)” (*War*, II, §§ 139, 142). According to the Qumran texts *IQ Sa* 2:3—9 and *IQ S* 11:8 (see also *4Q D^b*, frg. 17, 1:6—9), the “angels” (or “messengers” [*sc.* of the other world]; מלאכים) used to visit the community. In particular, they seem to have been invisibly present at the “assemblies” of the plenipotent members of the Qumran congregation and also at the communal sacred meals. Judging by *IQ Sa*, col. 2, the leaders and full members of the congregation (as well as evidently the “angels”) were apparently summoned to the “assemblies” (and probably also to the would-be Messianic banquet) *by their names* [252]. (One can confer the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.161 — “On the Rephaites”, lines 1—34 — according to which the “Rephaites of old” — divine ancestors, as well as the “Rephaites of the earth”, i.e. the living consecrated, were invoked, summoned to the assemblies of Didan (*sc.* a certain ethnic community [the citizens of Ugarit?]) *by their names*.) As was noted above, the Qumranites probably believed that the deceased righteous and wise, first of all, their own departed comrades, had become angel-like beings (אלים; also possibly אלוהים). So among the “angels” visiting the Qumran community (probably, on especially solemn and important occasions), there obviously were also the spirits of the late faithful members of the congregation [253]. The knowledge of the (sacral) “name” of an angel or a spirit was evidently the most essential component of the formula of invoking them to the earth (as can be inferred, for exam-

ple, from *Judg.* 13:17–18 [254]; cf. also *Gen.* 32:30, *1 Sam.* 28:8–14). The knowledge of these names could allow the enemies of the community not only to “disturb” its transcendental, celestial friends and patrons (cf. *1 Sam.* 28:15), but also to worm or to coax the supreme secrets of the congregation out of them, the “mystery of the future” and so forth, and thus inflict irretrievable harm on the sectarians. (The dwellers in the other world who had been invoked to the earth could not evidently refuse to answer the questions of those who summoned them (or tell them lies), whoever they might be, as is seen, for instance, from *1 Sam.* 28:15.) It is possibly from this belief that the Essenes’ requirement to keep secret the “names of the angels (messengers)” springs, a requirement, which appears on its face to be such a strange one.

The mystical heavenly “voyages” were probably practised in various religious communities of the Essenean type. In the light of this proposal one could reveal the meaning of some passages that are enigmatic at first sight, found in Philo of Alexandria’s treatise *On the Contemplative Life*. Judging by this composition, one of the designations of (certain) Essenic groups (primarily those in Egypt) was the *Therapeutae* [255] (θεραπευταί; from the verb θεραπεύειν, “to heal”, “to cure”; and also “to serve”, “to worship”). Philo finds difficulty in explaining the origin of this designation: “... they are indeed called the *Therapeutai* and *Therapeutrides* (θεραπευταί γὰρ καὶ θεραπευτρίδες ἐτύμως καλοῦνται; these seem not to have been their self-designations — *I. T.*), maybe because they profess an art of healing stronger than that practised in the cities, since there it cures only the bodies, while their (art) heals the souls oppressed with grave and almost incurable diseases inflicted by pleasures, desires, griefs, fears, covetousness, recklessness, injustice, and by the countless multitude of other passions and vices. Or maybe because nature and the sacred laws have taught them to worship the Being (τὸ ὄν; i.e. God) [256]...” (§ 2). The following words of Philo from the aforementioned treatise seem to be especially significant for our topic (§§ 11–13): “... let the genus of the *Therapeutae*, constantly accustoming itself to contemplation, aspire to consider the Being (i.e. God), ascend above the visibly perceived sun (i.e. evidently spiritually rise to the (‘spiritual’) heavens towards the Lord God Himself; cf. § 26 — *I. T.*), and let it never abandon this mode of life leading to perfect bliss (sc. in the heavens — *I. T.*). They take the path of serving (God) not according to a custom, neither by exhortation nor somebody’s appeal; but (they act so) being inspired with celestial love (i.e. with love of life in the heavens — *I. T.*) [257]. Like frantic Bacchants and Corybantes [258], they are seized with an exaltation till they see what they long for (i.e. one would think so, until

they ascend to the heavens in some ecstatic state possibly caused, in particular, by the extreme ‘asceticism’ including three- and sometimes five-day-long fasts (see e.g. §§ 28, 35) — *I. T.*). Furthermore, aspiring to the immortal and blessed life and believing that the terrestrial life has already come to its end (for apparently they have already comprehended and joined the eternal blissful life in the heavens — *I. T.*), they leave their possessions to their sons and daughters or to other relatives voluntarily making them their heirs beforehand; those who have no relatives (leave everything) to their comrades and friends. For it is incumbent on those who have suddenly received the wealth of insight (i.e. evidently on those who have seen the true life in the Paradise by their spiritual sight — *I. T.*) to leave blind wealth to those who are still spiritually blind”. In the same composition, Philo defines the *Therapeutai* as the “citizens of heaven and of the universe” (οὐρανοῦ μὲν καὶ κόσμου πολιτῶν) [259] (§ 90). In this connection let us mention that the Qumranites believed that they would be the members of “the community of the sons of heaven” (see e.g. *1Q H^a* 11[3]:22; *1Q S* 4:22, 11:8; see also *4Q 491^c*, 1; *4Q 431*, *4Q 427*, 7, *1Q H^a* 25:35–26:10) and “the elect of heaven” (e.g. *1Q M* 12:5).

In the light of what was said about the conception of the Rephaites and the mystical practice of the Essenes-Qumranites, it seems plausible to suppose that the designation θεραπευταί, *Therapeutae*, is in fact a Greek translation of the Hebrew term *Rephaim* / *Ropheim*, “healers”, applied by outsiders to the members of the Essenean communities of the *mystico-gnostical trend*, to which the Qumran community appears to have appertained. It seems natural to suppose that in the Aramaic-speaking milieu the Essene mystics could be called ܐܫܝܝܐ *‘āsāyā*’ (i.e. “healers” in Aramaic). On the basis of Philo’s and Eusebius’ [260] speculative assumption that the *Therapeutai* possibly cure not only bodies, but primarily souls and Josephus’ remark that the Essenes “inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure distempers (πρὸς θεραπείαν παθόντων)” (War, II, § 136) [261], some scholars have supposed that the members of the sect were considered to be physicians and that their classical designation Ἑσσαῖοι / Ἑσσηνοί (meaningless in Greek) is none other than a transliteration of Aramaic ܐܫܝܢ / ܐܫܝܢ *‘āsāyā*’ / *‘āsēn* [262]. [263] Whether or not the Essenes-Qumranites were healers in actual fact is unknown. The contents of the Dead Sea scrolls and of the ancient authors’ accounts about the Essenes seem to testify rather against this supposition. But their aloofness from this world and their striving for the contacts and relations with the other world could really be a reason why the sectarians came to be called (possibly, with a tinge of irony) *Rephaim* / *Ropheim*, i.e. supernatural spiritual “healers” [264].

Notes

1. Lit. “my king is righteousness”; as interpretation — “king of righteousness”, “righteous king”. E.A. Speiser considers this name “the Canaanite counterpart of Akk. *Šarru(m)kēn*, ‘Sargon’, literally ‘the king is just, legitimate’; cf. Ps. cx4”. See *Genesis. Introduction, Translation, and Notes. The Anchor Bible*, 3rd edn. (New York, 1980), p. 104. See also below, notes 111–114.

2. Whatever of the original meaning or intended identification in MT *Genesis* 14:18, in Ps. 76:3 Salem (in parallelism with Zion) means Jerusalem. This identification is also that of *1Q Genesis Apocryphon* ar 22:13. See also Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War*, VI, 438; *idem*, *Jewish Antiquities*, I, 180; VII, 67; *idem*, *Against Apion*, I, 174. Cf. e.g. M. McNamara, “Melchizedek: Gen 14, 17–20 in the Targums, in rabbinic and early Christian literature”, *Biblica*, 81 (2000), pp. 8 ff. For literature on this problem see, in particular C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia. Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche (sec. II a. C. — sec. III d. C.)* (Brescia, 1984), p. 17, n. 28.

3. Cf. *1Q Genesis Apocryphon* ar 22:14–17.

4. Possibly it was composed for David by the prophet Nathan. See e.g. A. Bentzen, “Zur Geschichte der Šadoķiden”, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 10 [51] (1933), H. 2, pp. 173–6; J. W. Bowker, “Psalm CX”, *Vetus Testamentum*, 17 (1967), pp. 31–41. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament. 3. neubearbeitete Aufl.* (Tübingen, 1964), pp. 138 f., 279, 993. Some scholars consider Ps. 110 to be an enthronement hymn written for Simon Maccabaeus. Cf. *1 Macc.* 14:35, 41; see e.g. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, rev. edn. (New York, 1948), p. 630. Cf. McNamara, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

5. Cf. e.g. *Pss.* 2:4; 9:8; 45:7; 102:13. See M. Dahood, *S. J. Psalms III. 101–150*. Introduction, translation, and notes with an appendix “The Grammar of the Psalter”. The Anchor Bible (New York, 1970), pp. 112 f.

6. The vocalization is in accordance with the *Septuagint*.

7. Cf. *LXX ad loc.*

8. The vocalization is in accordance with the *Septuagint* (ἐξῆγγέννησά σε). Cf. the *Peshitta ad loc.* Cf. also Ps. 2:7: “Thou art My son (בְּנִי); this day have I begotten thee (יְהִי בְנִי)”. (The Masoretic vocalization.)

9. *LXX*: “Σὺ εἰς ἱερὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ”.

10. Originally יְהִי בְנִי in *Pss.* 2:7 and 110:3 could imply that the Lord had installed king into theocratic rights. Cf. *Heb.* 5:5–6.

11. Or *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*.

12. It is possible that “The Story of Melchizedek” in the *Slavonic Enoch* was added from another text, which has not been preserved.

13. Concerning this opinion see and cf. e.g. A. Kahana, *Hassefarim ha-ḥisonim* (Tel-Aviv, 1959), i, pp. 103 f.; N. A. Meshcherskiĭ, “Sledy pamiatnikov Kumrana v staroslavianskoĭ i drevnerusskoĭ literature” (“Traces of Qumran monuments in Old Slavonic and Old Russian literature”), *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury Instituta russkoĭ literatury Akademii nauk SSSR*, 19 (1963), pp. 130–47; *idem*, “K voprosu ob istorii teksta slavianskoĭ knigi Enokha” (“Concerning the history of the text of the Slavonic Book of Enoch”), *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, 24 (1964), pp. 91–108; *idem*, “K voprosu ob istochnikakh slavianskoĭ knigi Enokha” (“Concerning the problem of the sources of the Slavonic Book of Enoch”), *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii*, 86 (1965), pp. 72–8; *idem*, “Les apocryphes de l’Ancien Testament dans la littérature slave ancienne”, *Bulletin d’Études Karaites*, 2 (1989), pp. 47–64; I. D. Amusin, “Uchitel’ pravednosti kumranskoĭ obshchiny” (“The Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran community”), *Ezhegodnik muzeia istorii religii i ateizma*, 7 (1963), pp. 253–77; *idem*, “Novyiĭ eschatologicheskiiĭ tekst iz Kumrana (11Q Melchisedek)” (“A new eschatological text from Qumran (11Q Melchisedek)”), *Vestnik drevnei istorii*, 3 (1967), pp. 45–62; *idem*, *Teksty Kumrana* (The Texts of Qumran), fasc. I (Moscow, 1971), pp. 296–8; S. Pines, “Eschatology and the concept of time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch”, *Types of Redemption (Studies in the History of Religion)*, vol. XVIII (1970), eds. R. J. Z. Werblowsky and C. J. Bleeker, pp. 72–87; J. C. Greenfield, *Prolegomenon to the reprint of: H. Odeberg. 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York, 1973), pp. XIX–XXI, XXXVI; I. Gruenwald, “Melchizedek”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, xi, pp. 1287–9 (also his article in *Maḥannayim*, 124 (1970), p. 93 f.); *Ot beregov Bosfora do beregov Evfrata* (From the Shores of Bosphorus to the Shores of Euphrates), translation, introduction, and commentaries by S. S. Averintsev. Ed. D. S. Likhachov (Moscow, 1987), p. 318.

Some scholars point to pre-Christian writings in Hebrew or Aramaic behind the Greek version used by the Slavonic translator, see e.g. M. I. Sokolov, “Feniks v apokrifakh ob Enokhe i Varukhe” (“Phoenix in the apocryphal literature on Enoch and Baruch”), *Novyiĭ sbornik stateĭ po slavianovedeniiu*, ed. V. I. Lamansky (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 395–405; also “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch”, a new translation and introduction by F. I. Andersen in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York, 1983), i, pp. 94 ff. (here, one can find the bibliography of the problem). Other scholars believe that different parts of *2 Enoch* were written in different languages (Hebrew and Greek).

14. Seeing the wonderful baby, Noah and Nir exclaim: “This is from the Lord” (71:19 [the shorter recension, MS. A; BAN 45.13.4]). The Archangel Gabriel (cf. n. 16) calls the infant immaculately conceived a “righteous fruit” and a “gift of God” (71:11 [MS. A]). Also *2 Enoch* speaks about the creation of Melchizedek by the Word of God (71:30 [MS. A]).

15. Cf. *4Q Mess ar* (4Q 534) 1:10 (see section V of the present article).

16. The shorter version (MSS. A and U [GIM 3(18)]) has systematically substituted the Archangel Gabriel for the Archangel Michael.

17. The longer version 71:29 (MS. J; BAN 13.3.25). Cf. the shorter version *ad loc.*

18. 71:29 (MS. A).

19. 71:37.

20. Cf. B. A. Pearson, S. Giversen, *NHC IX, 1: Melchizedek. Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (Leiden, 1981), p. 30.

21. As was noted by F. L. Horton, there is the possibility that Philo is here borrowing on a tradition about Melchizedek not to be found in the Hebrew Bible sources. See his *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A. D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 58.

22. In *Heb.* 7:2, the title “king of Salem” is interpreted as βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης (the “king of peace”).

23. One should note that on more than one occasion Philo identified the high priest with the Divine *Logos*. See e.g. *On the Migration of Abraham*, 102; *On Flight and Finding*, 108 ff.

24. In his treatise *On Dreams*, I, 229, Philo remarks that the Holy Scripture (here, meaning the *Septuagint*) designates the true God, *sc.* *Supreme Father*, with a definite article — ὁ θεός, and God “in a nonliteral sense”, *sc.* the *Logos* of God, without the article, simply as θεός. It seems that this Philo’s idea could influence the famous first verse in *John*: Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος (*sc.* Christ before incarnation), καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν (*sc.* God the Father), καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Cf. Origen, *Commentaries on John*, II, 12–22. (On the other hand, the absence of the article does not necessarily make the predicate indefinite or qualitative when it precedes the verb; it is indefinite in this position only when the context demands it. See e.g. E. C. Colwell, “A definite rule for the use of the article in the Greek New Testament”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 52 (1933), pp. 12–21.)

25. Some manuscripts add: “who is in heaven”.

26. Cf. e.g. *Prov.* 30:4.

27. Cf. Justin the Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 113, 4–5: “For I have proved that it was Jesus who appeared to and conversed with Moses, and Abraham, and all the other patriarchs without exception, ministering to the Will of the Father; who also, I say, came to be born man by the Virgin Mary...”. Cf. also *Panarion*, XXX, 3, 3–5, where Epiphanius reports that the Judaeo-Christian sect of Ebionites

believes that “Christ is from above ... He comes here (*sc.* to the earth — *I. T.*) when he chooses, as he came in Adam and appeared to the patriarchs (cf. *Pseudo-Clement*, Homilies, III, 20, 2; Recognitions, I, 33—34; 52, 3 — *I. T.*) with Adam's body on. And in the last days the same Christ who had come to Abraham (cf. *Recognitions*, I, 33, 1—2 — *I. T.*), Isaac and Jacob, came and put on Adam's body, and he appeared to men, was crucified, rose, and ascended”.

28. D. R. Swartz, “On Quirinus, John the Baptist, the Benedictus, Melchizedek, Qumran and Ephesus”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 49—52 (1988), pp. 635—46.

29. Amusin, “Novyĭ èskhatologicheskii tekst iz Kumrana”, p. 54.

30. Cf. Y. Yadin, “The Dead Sea scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews”, *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 4 (1965), pp. 36—55; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer — Essener — Christen: Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung* (Leiden, 1959); C. Spicq, “L'Épître aux Hébreux, Apollos, Jean Baptiste, les Hellénistes et Qumrân”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 3 (1959), pp. 365—90; Amusin, “Novyĭ èskhatologicheskii tekst iz Kumrana”, pp. 45—62.

31. One should also mention the so-called *Kahle's Fragment* 52, 81 ff., which contains a direct paraphrase of *Heb.* 7:3. This is a fragment of a Gnostic composition discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie in 1907 at Deir El-Balaizah. The text is a revelation of the Risen Christ to John and is, at least to that extent, akin to the *Apocryphon of John*: an expanded variant (*Nag Hammadi* II, 1; IV, 1) and a shortened one (*Nag Hammadi* III, 1 and the *Berlin Codex*).

32. Only a few fragments have survived (less than 50% of the text is recoverable).

33. See also Pearson, Giversen, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—35; B. A. Pearson, “The figure of Melchizedek in Gnostic literature”, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1990), pp. 108—23. Cf. e.g. the passage 25, 4—26, 4: “And [you crucified me] from the third hour [of the Sabbath eve] until [the ninth hour]. And after [these things I arose] from the dead. [My body] came out of [the tomb] to me. [... they did not] find anyone... They said to me, Be [strong, O Melchizedek], great [High Priest] of God [Most High]”.

34. In the Gnostic treatise *Pistis Sophia*, Books I—III, the heavenly Melchizedek is depicted as the Receiver (παράλημπτωρ) of the Light, whose function is to restore the imprisoned Light to the Treasury (θησαυρός) of Light and to assist in the rescue of worthy souls. Cf. also Book IV. In the Gnostic *Second Book of Ieü*, Melchizedek is mentioned twice in two prayers. In particular, the second prayer reads: “May you cause Zorokothora Melch[izedek] to come in secret and bring the water of the baptism (βάπτισμα) of the fire of the Virgin of the ☉ (*sc.* Light — *I. T.*), the judge (κριτής)”.

35. Cf. e.g. M. Friedlaender, “La secte de Melchisédech et l'Épître aux Hébreux”, *Revue des études juives*, 5 (1882), pp. 1—26, 188—98; 6 (1883), pp. 187—99; Amusin, “Novyĭ èskhatologicheskii tekst iz Kumrana”, pp. 45—62. M. Friedlaender endeavours to show that the Melchizedekian sect must have emerged before Christianity. Also he spoke of its possible Essenic character.

36. That is, it had existed before the Second Temple was destroyed? Cf. Josephus, *War*, II, 119; also Philo, *Every Good Man Is Free*, 75.

37. The alternative reading: “... and appointed to the priesthood of God (εἰς ἱερωσύνην θεοῦ)”.

38. The Egyptian heresiarch Hieracas (probably, the second half of the 3rd century C.E.) identified Melchizedek also as the Holy Spirit (see e.g. *Panarion*, V, 5, 2—3; LXVII, 3, 1—2). See the *Epistles on the Gospels*, LXXIII, 1, 1—2; 2, 1, where Jerome attributed the idea to Origen and his secretary Didymus.

39. In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, 33, 83, and 113, Justin took Melchizedek to be a type of Jesus.

40. The basic data on the Melchizedekian sect are preserved also in Hippolytus of Rome, *Refutation of All Heresies*, VII, 35—36 (X, 23—24); the “Little Labyrinth” (usually ascribed to Hippolytus); Pseudo-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies*, 28. The Melchizedekian sect probably existed till the Middle Ages.

41. Cf. also *1QH^a* (*The Thanksgiving Hymns*) 17[=9]:35, in which the author — *ex hypothesi* the Teacher of Righteousness — says: “... my father knew me not (or “did not recognize me” — *I. T.*), and my mother abandoned me to Thee ...”. Cf. also the Qumran text *4QTestimonia*, 14—16.

42. See e.g. V. Aptowitz, “Malkizedek”, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 70 (34) (1926), p. 111, notes 3—4; cf. also Horton, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.

43. Also this tradition is attested in Jerome and Ephrem the Syrian. See e.g. McNamara, *op. cit.*, pp. 12—5. Cf. further: J. E. Fossum, *Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (Tübingen, 1985), pp. 187 f.

44. The explicit identification of Michael with Melchizedek is attested e.g. in Zohar ḥadash, *Midrash hanne'elam* on chapter *Lekh Lekhah*. Cf. also n. 64.

45. On the figure of Melchizedek see, in particular, Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, *passim*; G. Bardy, “Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique”, *Revue biblique*, 35 (1926), pp. 496—509; 36 (1927), pp. 25—45; M. Simon, “Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende”, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 17 (1937), pp. 58—93; *idem*, *Recherches d'histoire judéo-chrétienne* (Paris, 1962), pp. 101—26; Yadin, *op. cit.*, *passim*; *idem*, “A note on Melchizedek and Qumran”, *Israel Exploration Journal*, 15 (1965), pp. 152—54; A. S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI”, *Outtestamentische Studiën*, 14 (1965), pp. 354—73; M. de Jonge, A. S. van der Woude, “11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament”, *New Testament Studies*, 12 (1966), pp. 301—26; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Further light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 86 (1967), pp. 25—41; J. Carmignac, “Le document de Qumran sur Melchisédek”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 27 (1970), pp. 343—78; M. Delcor, “Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews”, *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 2 (1971), pp. 115—35; J. T. Milik, “Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens”, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 23 (1972), pp. 95—144; *idem*, “4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène”, *Revue biblique*, 79 (1972), pp. 77—97; J. A. Sanders, “The Old Testament in 11Q Melchisedek”, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, 5 (1973), pp. 373—82; Horton, *op. cit.*, *passim*; P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (Washington, 1981); Gianotto, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Pearson, *op. cit.*, *passim*; É. Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrits de 11Q Melchisédek”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 48 (1987), pp. 483—513; *idem*, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien* (Paris, 1993), ii, pp. 546—56; J. R. Davila, “Melchizedek, Michael, and war in heaven”, *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 35 (1996), pp. 259—72; F. Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (Roma,

1997); I. R. Tantlevskij (Tantlevskij), “Melchizedek” (“Melchizedek”), in *Metafizicheskie issledovaniia*. Fasc. 8: Religii (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 43–58; *idem*, *Knigi Enokha* (The Books of Enoch) (Moscow—Jerusalem, 2000/5760), pp. 63–99 (also reprint edn. of the same work, Moscow—Jerusalem, 2002/5763); McNamara, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran. Königliche, priestliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 389–417; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT”, *Biblica*, 81 (2000), pp. 63–9; F. García Martínez, “Las tradiciones sobre Melchisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán”, *Biblica*, 81 (2000), pp. 70–80; D. W. Rooke, “Jesus as royal priest: reflections on the interpretation of the Melchizedek tradition in Heb 7”, *Biblica*, 81 (2000), pp. 81–94. See also F. Manzi, “La figura di Melchisedek: Saggio di bibliografia aggiornata”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 109 (1995), pp. 331–49.

46. C. A. Newsom's reconstruction. See *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 37, 133–4; *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. XI, Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts*. Pt. 1. By E. Eshel, H. Eshel, C. Newsom, B. Nitzan, E. Schuller, A. Yardeni in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady (Oxford, 1998), p. 205; see also e.g. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, edited and translated by García Martínez F. and Tigchelaar E. J. C. Vol. 2: 4Q274–11Q31 (Leiden, 1998), pp. 810–1; García Martínez, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f. In 4Q 401, frg. 22, l. 3, Newsom reconstructs the name: [Mel]chizedek (see e.g. *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, pp. 143 f.). Cf. also n. 60.

47. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2, pp. 1214–5; *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. XXIII, Qumran Cave 11.II, 11Q 2–18, 11Q 20–31*. By F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude incorporating earlier editions by J. P. M. van der Ploeg, O. P. with a contribution by Ed. Herbert (Oxford, 1998), p. 269; García Martínez, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

48. Though the name Melchizedek has not been preserved in the Qumran fragments of 4Q ‘Amram’^b hitherto discovered, it seems that the context implies that here just this very personality is spoken of.

49. Cf. frg. 2, 2–3: “This one is ca[lled ...] and Melchiresha’”. Cf. further 11Q Melch 2:13–14; also 4Q280, frg. 1 and 4Q286, frg. 7, col. 2.

50. Some scholars date the manuscript palaeographically to 75–50 B.C.E. See e.g. Milik, “Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša’”, p. 97; Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrit de 11Q Melchisedeq”, pp. 507 f.; *DJD*, XXIII, p. 223. Cf. Kobelski, *op. cit.*, p. 3: the second half of the first century B.C.E.

51. Probably the reckoning started from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (587/586 B.C.E.). Cf. e.g. the *Damascus Document* (CD) 1:5–11; 4Q390 (*Pseudo-Moses Apocalypse*^e), frg. 1, 7–8; cf. also *Daniel* 9:24–27. Later on the date of the coming of the Eschaton is probably more than once postponed. (On the Qumran Messianic chronology see e.g. I. R. Tantlevskij, “The reflection of the political situation in Judaea in 88 B.C.E. in the Qumran commentary on Nahum (4Q pNah, Columns 1–4)”, *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 6 (1994), pp. 221–31; *idem*, *The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk* (Kraków—St. Petersburg, 1995), pp. 13–6, 33–9; *idem*, “The historical background of the Qumran Commentary on Nahum”, *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politische Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.–14. März 1994 in Berlin*, herausgegeben von Bernd Funck (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 329–39.)

52. On the reading see e.g. *DJD*, XXIII, pp. 223, 230, 232.

53. Cf. 4Q 270 (= 4Q D^e), frg. 2, 2:14.

54. See e.g. Fitzmyer, “Further light on Melchizedek”, p. 40; Milik, “Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša’”, p. 107; B. Z. Wacholder, “Chronomessianism: the timing of Messianic movements and the calendar of Sabbatical cycles”, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 46 (1975), p. 211; Kobelski, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrit de 11Q Melchisedeq”, pp. 499 f.; *DJD*, XXIII, pp. 225, 228, 230, 232.

55. See e.g. Amusin, *Teksty Kumrana*, p. 303, n. 40; *DJD*, XXIII, p. 232.

56. According to *Luke* 4:16–21, Jesus cited the words of *Isa.* 61:1–2 with respect to himself: “This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears”, — he said this in the synagogue in Nazareth on the Sabbath day, on reading that text. Cf. also *Luke* 6:20–21.

57. Here, *Zion* is probably interpreted as the Qumran Covenanters (2:23–24).

58. Cf. also 11Q Melch 2:12–14 and 22–23; 2:9–11.

59. Some scholars try to identify the משיח-מברש in 11Q Melch 2:18–20 with the Teacher of Righteousness (e.g. Milik, “Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša’”, p. 126; see also Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrit de 11Q Melchisedeq”, pp. 509 f.), or the eschatological prophet (e.g. Kobelski, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 f.), or the Davidic Messiah (e.g. Fitzmyer, “Further light on Melchizedek”, p. 30).

60. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the angels are often designated as אלים and אלוהים (e.g. 4Q 400, 403, 405).

61. See e.g. *DJD*, XXIII, pp. 224, 226, 229 f.

62. The text of the interpretation of this phrase has almost completely been destroyed.

63. See e.g. 1Q S 2:2; 1Q M 13:5, 15:1, 17:7.

64. Some scholars identify Melchizedek in 11Q Melch with the Archangel Michael, see e.g. Woude, *op. cit.*, pp. 367–73; Milik, “Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša’”, p. 125. In the Qumran texts hitherto discovered, however, there is no direct evidences in favour of this supposition. This identification is only found in certain medieval Jewish texts. In 1Q M 9:14–16, Michael is only one of the four Archangels (see also 4Q En^a ar 1 iv 6–11 (1 En. 9:1–3)); also in *Dan.* 10:13, he is designated as “one of the chief princes”. (Cf. also e.g. *Tob.* 12:15, 1Q 19, frg. 2.) At the same time in 11Q Melch, Melchizedek is described as the only one personality, superior to the angels (cf. 2:10), who is opposed to Belial (cf. also 4Q ‘Amram’^b ar, frgs. 1–3).

65. E.g. 4Q 266 [= 4Q D^a], frg. 1 a–b, 2; frg. 3, 3:22; frg. 11, 19(?); 4Q 267 [= 4Q D^b], frg. 9, 5:2(?); 4Q 270 [= 4Q D^e], frg. 7, 2:13; CD-A 7:9, 7:21–8:3, CD-B 19:6, 11–13, 15. Cf. also 4Q Sapiential Work A^c [= 4Q 417], frg. 2, 1:7–8.

66. 4Q 266, frg. 10, 1:12; CD-A 12:23–13:1, 14:9, CD-B 19:10–11, 20:1.

67. Cf. 1Q pHab 9:12, the *Commentary on Psalm* 37 (4Q pPs37) 4:10–12; also 4Q pPs37 1:14(?), 2:5, 3:5, the *Commentaries on Isaiah* (4Q pIs^d), frg. 1, 3 and *Micah* (1Q pMi), frgs. 8–10, 7(?) (cf. 4Q 374, frg. 2, 2:5). On the details of the interpretation of the term בחירי in the Dead Sea scrolls, see e.g. I. R. Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 252–60, and section V of the present article. Some scholars interpret the term בחירי in 1Q pHab 5:4 as the “elect ones of God” (cf. 1Q pHab 10:13).

68. Also one can try to find a possible parallel to *11Q Melchizedek* in the Qumran fragment of the Book of Giants *4Q Giants^b ar* (= *4Q 530*), col. 2, ll. 16–19. The text contains the description of a dream of the giant 'Ohyah, the explanation of which his comrades, the giants, want to learn from Enoch staying in Paradise. The fragment runs as follows: “I (sc. 'Ohyah) too have seen in my dream during this night an extraordinary thing: lo the Ruler of the heavens descended to the earth (שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת) [...] And thrones are set in place, and the Great Holy One si[ts]. Hundred hundreds minister unto Him, thousand thousands [worship] Him and stand [be]fore Him. And behold, [the judgment is set, and the book]s are opened, and the judgment is pronounced, and the judgment [has been writ]ten down [by script,] and inscribed by letters [...] concerning all living things [and] (all) flesh ...” (cf. *Dan.* 7:9–10). It is not impossible that the *Ruler of the heavens* (שלטן שמיא) mentioned in *4Q Giants^b ar* (= *4Q 530*), col. 2, 16, could be identified by the Qumranites with the pre-existent Messiah like unto the Son of man, staying in the heavens, whose “dominion is an everlasting dominion (שלטנה שלטן עלם), which shall not pass away”, and whose “kingdom shall not be destroyed” (*Dan.* 7:13–14; cf. *4Q 246=4Q pseudo-Daniel^d*, col. 2, 9 [“His dominion (sc. the Son of God) (is / will be) an everlasting dominion (שלטנה שלטן עלם) ...”]; cf. also *4Q 521*, frgs. 2 II+4, 1: “[...] the hea[ve]ns and the earth will listen to His Messiah”)).

The figure of Melchizedek, as he is represented in the Qumran literature, is comparable with the image of Metatron (מֵטַטְרוֹן); “(the one occupying the throne) beside the Throne (of God)” [*Greek*] in 3 (*Hebrew*) *Enoch*. Here, Metatron is depicted as “the Lesser Lord-YHWH”, the vice-regent of the Lord, the heavenly High Priest, the Prince of the angels of the Divine Presence (שר הפנים; lit. “the Prince of the Face (of God)”), “the Prince of the world”, the head of the heavenly beings, “the Ruler over all the princes of kingdoms”. It is not impossible that some essential aspects of Metatron's image could appear under the influence (at least, mediated) of the corresponding mystical tradition which goes back to the Qumran esoteric doctrines. (In this connection let us note that H. Odeberg tried to show that 3 *Enoch*, dated by him to the third century C.E., depends ideologically, lexically, and terminologically on the main body of the 2 *Enoch*, the original of which he dated to the first century C.E.; see H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 60–3.)

69. See further in I. R. Tantlevskij, “Messiansko-ěskhatologičeskie teksty iz Kumrana i ėvoliutsiia kontseptsii Bozhestvennogo proiskhozhdeniia Messii” (“Messianic and eschatological texts from Qumran and the evolution of the conception of the Divine origin of the Messiah”), *Genesis of Christianity: Problems and Studies*, ed. I. R. Tantlevskij (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 7–18.

70. On some probable stages in the evolution of the messianic expectations in Qumran see e.g. Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 189–280, especially pp. 231–51, 273–8; *idem*, *The Two Wicked Priests*, pp. 35 ff. See also below.

71. Cf. frg. 9, 3: “... כה תעזוב בן יר משיח[.]”.

72. Cf. *Matthew* 19:28: “And Jesus said unto them: Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration (τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ) when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel”; *1 Cor.* 15:51–53: “Behold, I shew you a mystery: We shall not sleep, but we shall all be changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα); in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed (ἀλλαγησόμεθα). For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality (ἀθανασίαν)”.

73. Cf. *IQ S* 2:7–8; cf. also 4:6–7.

74. Cf. *Isa.* 26:19, 42:7, 61:1, *Ps.* 146:5–10.

75. Cf. e.g. *IQ H^a* 19:15 (=11:12).

76. Cf. *Isa.* 61:1, also 52:7; *11Q Melch* 2:15–19; *IQ H^a* 23:13–16 (= 18:1+frg. 1 ii); cf. also *Matthew* 11:5 and *Luke* 4:18.

77. Cf. *Ps.* 146:5–10.

78. See frg. 1 ii 5 (?); frgs. 2 ii+4, 3–5, 11; frg. 2 iii, 3; frgs. 5 i+6, 4 (?); frgs. 7 i–8+5 ii 7–16, 4, 7; frg. 8, 10–11; frg. 9, 2 (?).

79. Cf. further line 5 and *Ezek.* 34:11–12, *Isa.* 45:4.

80. See e.g. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic Based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius* as translated by Ed. Robinson, eds. Fr. Brown, S. R. Driver, and Ch. A. Briggs (Oxford, 1999), 4th edn., pp. 41 ff.; also *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner (Tübingen, 1996), i, pp. 21, 48 f.

81. See e.g. *Sifre Deut.* 2b (ed. Finkelstein, p. 41, line 6); *Gen. R.* 33, 3; *Mid. Pss.* 56, 3; *B. Ber.*, 60b; *J. Ber.*, IX, 5, p. 13, col. a (Venice edn.).

Contrary to this, Philo of Alexandria identified the Creative or Beneficent Power with *God* or θεός, the Septuagint rendering of אלהים, and the Regent or Punitive Power with the *Lord* or κύριος, the Septuagint rendering of the TETRAGRAMMATON. Almost all scholars, beginning with Z. Frankel (*Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 26–9), suggest that the reason for Philo's reversal was his inadequate knowledge of Hebrew. See further e.g. D. Winston, *Logos and Mystical Theology in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati, 1985), pp. 21 f.

82. The same title occurs twice in the *Psalms of Solomon* 18, in the heading (ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ κυρίου) and in verse 7 (ὕπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας κυρίου). See also *Lam.* 4:20 (*LXX*). In the *Psalms of Solomon* 18:5 κυρίῳ is used with the possessive αὐτοῦ (cf. *4Q 521*, frgs 2 ii+4, 1 — משיח; cf. also *1 Enoch* 48:10).

83. On this translation of the phrase, see e.g. S. Brock in H. F. D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1984), p. 679; R. B. Wright in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (New York, 1985), ii, pp. 667 f., cf. p. 643. Most commentators have emended the text to read “the Lord's Messiah”. See e.g. M. A. Knibb, “Messianism in the pseudepigrapha in the light of the scrolls”, *Dead Sea Discoveries*, II/2 (1995), pp. 169 f. But there is no textual evidence for the latter reading. See Wright, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*.

84. See e.g. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte*, 4 éd. (Paris, 1980), p. 308; Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 209 f. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, “The Psalms of Solomon”, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. by P. R. Ackroyd (New York, 1965), pp. 610–3.

85. Cf. however the text *Rev.* 14:14, in which the One like a Son of man “seated on a cloud” “with a crown of gold on his head and a sharp sickle in his hand” is not identical with the Christ.

86. In the Aramaic fragment *4Q 544 Visions of 'Amram^b ar*, frg. 2, the antagonist of Melkiresha', most probably Melchizedek, is addressed to as מרִיא. Cf. e.g. *Dan.* 10:16–17, 19 (see also section IV).

87. Cf. 4Q 543 (4Q Visions of 'Amram^a ar), frg. 3, 1; 4Q 545 (4Q Visions of 'Amram^c ar), frg. 1, 1:17–18: “[...] you will be מלך, and angel of God (מלאך אל) you will be cal[led ...]”. Cf. also 4Q 374, frg. 2, 2:6.

88. In connection with this translation of the phrase cf. below, the passage of 4Q 246 2:7–9: “The Great God is his Power, and (render) him (support) in waging war; He will place the peoples in his hand, and He will cast all them before him”. Cf. also the *Commentary on Isaiah^a* (4Q 161), frgs. 8–10, 3:18–22 (the text is cited in n. 108).

89. It seems that the passage “[...] the king of Assyria (sc. Syria — I. T.) [and E]gypt [...] he will be great over the earth [...] they will do, and all will serve [him...]” (4Q 246 2:6–8) can have to do with the “Son of God” mentioned in the *Aramaic Apocalypse*. According to the Qumran *Scroll of War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (1Q M, col. 1), military defeat of the hosts of the “Kittians of Assyria” (the Seleucid kingdom) and the “Kittians in Egypt” (the Ptolemaic Egypt), headed by their kings (see e.g. 1Q M 15:2; 4Q 247 (=4Q ApocWeeks?), frg. 1, 6), is one of the very first aims of the light forces of Israel under the head of the Messiah-Prince (1Q M 5:1). Cf. also the text 4Q 285, frgs. 4–5, connected with the *War Scroll*, and the *Qumran Commentary on Isaiah* (4Q pIs^a=4Q161). As a result of the victorious war, the kingly Son of God could become, according to the author of the *Aramaic Apocalypse*, both the king of Syria and Egypt. (The kingdoms of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies coexisted at the end of the fourth — first centuries B.C.E., but “the king of Assyria and Egypt” was not known to Hellenistic history. In 169–168 B.C.E. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (“manifest” [as a god]; cf. e.g. Dan. 8:10–12) almost conquered Egypt, but eventually he failed (cf. e.g. Dan. 11:25–30); as to the real Son of God (from the *Aramaic Apocalypse* author's point of view), he would subjugate both Syria and Egypt (cf. n. 93).)

90. J. A. Fitzmyer, “The contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the study of the New Testament”, *New Testament Studies*, 20 (1974), pp. 382–401; *idem*, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Essays* (Missoula, 1979), pp. 102–7 (“Addendum: Implications of the 4Q ‘Son of God’ Text”); *idem*, “The Aramaic language and the study of the New Testament”, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 99 (1980), pp. 14–5; *idem*, *Responses to 101 Questions on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York—Mahwah, 1992), pp. 167–8; *idem*, “4Q 246: The ‘Son of God’ document from Qumran”, *Biblica*, 74 (1993), pp. 153–74.

91. See e.g. J. J. Collins, “The Son of God text from Qumran”, *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (Sheffield, 1993), pp. 65–82, and his later works on the subject; G. A. Evans, “A note on the ‘First-Born Son’ of 4Q369”, *Dead Sea Discoveries*, II/2 (1995), pp. 190 f.; Knibb, *op. cit.*, p. 177. Cf. É. Puech, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en araméen. (4Q 246=Pseudo-Dan^d) et le ‘Royaume de Dieu’”, *Revue Biblique*, 99 (1992), p. 130.

92. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden, 1992), pp. 173, 178–9; *idem*, “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften”, *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, B. 8 (1993): Der Messias, p. 191.

93. D. Flusser identifies the figure of the “Son of God” in 4Q 246 with Antichrist (cf. Dan. 11:36). See his “The Hubris of the Antichrist in a fragment from Qumran”, *Immanuel*, 10 (1980), pp. 31–7 (repr.: D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, Jerusalem, 1988, pp. 207–13). J. T. Milik proposed the figure envisioned is Alexander Epiphanes, also called Alexander Balas, whose self-designation “Son of God” was considered to be blasphemous. See his “Les modèles araméens du livre d’Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 15 (1992), p. 383. Cf. also Puech, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en araméen”, pp. 127–30.

94. Cf. e.g. Ps. 76:2.

95. Cf. 4Q 246 2:7: אֵל רַבָּא בְּאִילָה.

96. Cf. also of the pre-existing Logos the Christ John 1:1.

97. Cf. e.g. the translation of F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar: “The great God is his strength” (see *Dead Sea Scrolls Study*, p. 495); M. A. Knibb: “The great God will be his strength” (see his “Messianism in the pseudepigrapha in the light of the scrolls”, p. 176).

98. Cf. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, vol. I, pp. 40 and 21, 48 f.

99. Cf. also Mark 1:22.

100. The word is attested e.g. in Ps. 88:5.

101. S. Pines admits that the author of the *Gospel of Peter* read חֵילִי, “My Power” (M. Schneider's indication).

102. Cf. also Ps. 22:1 (אֵילָה; LXX: τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως).

103. Let us mention that in Rabbinic literature, the term גְּבוּרָה — Strength, Power, Force — is often used as a designation of God. (See e.g. *B. Yeb.*, 105b; *Shabb.*, 88b.)

104. In the OG, the One like a Son of man (Dan. 7:13) is said to come as an Ancient of days.

105. Most manuscripts of the Masoretic text in Dan. 10:16.

106. Cf. also Philo, *On Rewards and Punishments*, 93–97.

107. Cf. Ezek. 38:2.

108. Cf. 4Q 246 2:1: “Like the sparks that you saw, so will their kingdom be; they will rule several yaer[s] over the earth and crush everything; a people will crush another people, and a province another provi[n]ce”. Cf. also the *Qumran Commentary on Isaiah^a* (4Q 161), frgs. 8–10, 3:18–22: “[The interpretation of the word (sc. Isa. 11:1–5 — I. T.) concerns the Shoot] of David, which will sprout [in the last days, since with the breath of his lips he will execute] his enemies and God will support him with [the spirit of] courage [...] throne of glory, [holy] crown and hemmed vestments [...] in his hand. He will rule over all the peoples and Magog [...] his sword will judge all the peoples”.

109. Cf. P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 271, 276.

110. Cf. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, pp. 173, 178–9; also his “Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranschriften”, p. 191. Cf. also Knibb, *op. cit.*, pp. 176 f.

111. Cf. Josephus, *War*, VI, 438: βασιλεὺς δίκαιος. Cf. also the *Epistle to the Hebrews* 7:2: βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης.

112. Let us note that Zedek was the name of the old Canaan deity. (Cf. the name of the Canaanite king of Jerusalem 'Adonizedek [lit. “my king is righteousness (or Zedek)”), mentioned in *Joshua* 10:1, 3.) See e.g. R. A. Rosenberg, “The god Šedeq”, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 36 (1965), pp. 161–77; J. M. Baumgarten, “The heavenly tribunal and the personification of Šedeq in Jewish apocalyptic”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II.19.1 (1979), pp. 219–39; B. F. Batto, “Zedek (Righteousness)”, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, eds. K. van der Toorn, et al. (Leiden, 1995), cols. 1750–1758.

113. Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, VI, 67: ἀσφάλεια.

114. In the *Epistle to the Hebrews* 7:2, the title “king of Salem” is interpreted as βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης (“king of peace”). Philo of Alexandria in his *Allegorical Interpretations*, III, 79–82, commenting on *Gen.* 14:18–20, calls Melchizedek the *peaceable* (εἰρηναῖον) king.

115. Concerning the interpretation of this text as the horoscope of the messiah see e.g. J. Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân”, *Revue Biblique*, 70 (1963), pp. 502–4; *idem*, “Un texte messianique araméen de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân”, *Mémorial du cinquantième de l'Ecole des langues orientales de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* (Paris, 1964), pp. 51–66 (later on J. Starcky changed his point of view; cf. n. 122); A. Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques esséniens”, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes-Rendus des Séances* (1965), pp. 239–53; *idem*, “La secte des esséniens et les horoscopes de Qumrân”, *Archéologie*, 15 (1967), pp. 24–31; J. Carmignac, “Les horoscopes de Qumrân”, *Revue de Qumrân*, 18 (1965), pp. 191–217; J. Licht, “Legs as signs of election”, *Tarbiz*, 35 (1965–1966), pp. 18–26 (Hebrew); G. Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 2nd edn. (Harmondsworth, 1984), pp. 268–70. Cf., however, *idem*, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London–New York, 1997), pp. 521 f.; M. Delcor, “Qumran”, *DBSupl.*, 51 (1978), col. 956; Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–3.

116. M. Wise, M. Abegg, Ed. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco–London, 1996), pp. 427–9; T. Blanton, “4Q534: Not Noah, but the ideal Levite” (unpublished paper; 1997; cited in J. R. Davila, “4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism”, *Dead Sea Discoveries*, V/3 (1998), p. 368).

117. Cf. *1 Sam.* 16:12, 17:42 of King David's red hair.

118. In connection with this designation let us mention that in *Ps.* 106:23, Moses is called the “Elect One” of God (בְּחִיר, “His Elect One”; cf. *4Q* 374, frg. 2, 2:5). In *2 Sam.* 21:6, the designation the “Elect One of the Lord” (בְּחִיר יְהוָה) is employed with respect to King Saul. In *Ps.* 89:4, King David is denominated as the “Elect One” of God (בְּחִיר, “My Elect One”). In *Isa.* 42:1, it is said about the Servant of the Lord: “Behold My Servant, whom I uphold; Mine Elect One, in whom My Soul delighteth; I have put My Spirit upon him: he shall bring forth Judgement (in the Qumran manuscript *1Q* *Isaiah* A: ‘his Judgement’) to the gentiles”. It seems that in the *Messianic Apocalypse* (*4Q* 521), the First song of the Servant of the Lord (*Isa.* 42:1–9) is interpreted with respect to the Messiah of the Lord (cf. *4Q* 521, frg. 2, col. 2, l. 8 and *Isa.* 42:7). According to *Matthew* 12:17–21, the contents of the verses *Isa.* 42:1–4 was extrapolated onto Jesus of Nazareth. It seems that the text *1 Chr.* 28:6–7 can be a biblical parallel to the reference of *4Q* *Mess ar* 1:10 “he is the Elect One of God, His birth ...”. The text, in which David repeats the words of the Lord concerning his son and heir Solomon, runs as follows: “Solomon, thy son, he shall build My House (i.e. the Temple — *I. T.*) and My courts: for I have elected (בְּחִירָה) him to be My son, and I will be his Father. Moreover I will establish his kingdom for ever, if he be constant to do My commandments and My judgements, as at this day”. In this connection let us note that the words of the Lord “I will be his Father, and he shall be My son” (*2 Sam.* 7:14–*1 Chr.* 17:13), related to Solomon and passed to David by the prophet Nathan, are interpreted in the Qumran text *4Q* *Florilegium*, col. 1, ll. 9–13 as referring to the eschatological Davidic Messiah (the “Sprout of David”). In the *Epistle to the Hebrews* 1:5, this quotation is employed with respect to Jesus.

The “Elect One” of God is more than once mentioned in the *Book of Similitudes* (*Parables*) (= *1 Enoch*, ch. 37–71) (e.g. 39:6, 40:5, 45:3–4, 48:6, 49:2–4, 51:3, 5, 52:6, 9, 53:6, 55:4, 61:5, 8, 10, 62:1). Here, this designation is a synonym of the pre-existent Messiah (see e.g. 48:10, 52:4), the Son of man (see e.g. 42:2–4, 48:2, 62:5, 7, 9, 14), the Righteous One (see e.g. 38:2, 47:1, 4, 53:6), whose name will be secret for the time being (*1 En.* 69:26–27). At the End of Days he will sit on the Throne of the Lord, and the Judgement over all the peoples will be given into his hand (*1 En.* 51:3, 62:5, 69:27–29; see also ch. 46 ff.); having punished the wicked, the “Elect One” of God would live with the “community of the righteous, holy and elect ones” for ever and “rule over all” (*1 En.* 62:6, 8). It seems that the text *1 Enoch* 62:6–7 can be understood as follows: the Most High revealed His Elect One — the Son of man to the community of the elect ones (for the first time) before the Eschaton (cf. also 48:6–7); in other words, here the author possibly hints at a hidden historical advent, which once took place. Probably the image of the “Elect One” of God — the Son of man arose in the *Book of Similitudes*, in many respects, under the influence of *Isa.* 42:1 (cf. e.g. *1 En.* 45:3–4, 48:9, 55:4, 69:27) and *Dan.* 7:13–14. The expression “Elect One of God” (ἐκλεκτός θεοῦ) is attested in the *Testament of Benjamin* 11:4.

Jesus of Nazareth is called the *Elect One* (ὁ ἐκλεγμένος [*varia lectio*: ἐκλεκτός], ὁ ἐκλεκτός) of God in *Luke* 9:35 and 23:35–36. The designations ὁ ἐκλεκτός and ὁ Χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ are used as synonyms in the text of *Luke* 23:35–36. In some manuscripts of the New Testament (*Sinaiticus* (*prima manus*), *p*⁵ (?), *Vetus Latina* (*b*, *e*, *ff*²), *Sinaitic Syriac version*, *Curetonian Syriac version*) Jesus is called the *Elect One* of God in the text of *John* 1:34. (This reading is corroborated by Ambrosius of Mediolanum.)

In the compositions of the Qumran community the designation “His Elect One” (בְּחִיר) is employed several times most probably with respect to its charismatic leader — the Teacher of Righteousness. See the Qumran Commentaries on *Psalms* 37 (*4Q* *pPs* 37) 1:14(?), 2:5, 3:5, 4:12, *Habakkuk* (*1Q* *pHab*) 9:12, *Isaiah* (*4Q* *pIs*^d), frg. 1, 3, and *Micah* (*1Q* *pMi*), frgs. 8–10, 7 (?). Cf. also *4Q* 558. The text *1Q* *pHab* 4:16–5:6 predicts that God will give Judgement over all the peoples into the hand of His Elect One (בְּחִיר). It seems that the members of the community identified this eschatological Judge with the Teacher of Righteousness *redivivus*. On the identification of the Teacher of Righteousness with the figure of the “Elect one” of God see in detail e.g. I. R. Tantlevskii, “‘Izbrannik’ Boga i ‘izbranniki Boga’ v rukopisiakh Mërtvogo moria” (“The ‘Elect One’ of God and the ‘elect ones of God’ in the Dead Sea scrolls”), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, 24, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1991), pp. 70–80. Cf. n. 67.

119. In connection with this conception let us note further the passage of *1Q* *Sa* (*The Text of “Two Columns”*) 2:11–12: אַם יוֹלִיד אֶת הַמְּשִׁיחַ אֲתָם, “... when [God] begets the Messiah with them” (sc. the fully initiated members of the Qumran community). The sectarians probably held themselves to be the “root(s)” and “stock” of Jesse, giving life to the “holy” Davidic “Sprout” (cf. *Isa.* 11:1); or, in other words, they appear to have considered their *Yahad* (“Unity”; lit. “Oneness”) a personification of a new Jesse who would beget and bring up a new David. Thus God was considered by the members of the Qumran community the Messiah's spiritual celestial Father, while the community itself — his potential spiritual *terrestrial* father. See further in detail I. R. Tantlevsky, “Etymology of ‘Essenes’ in the light of Qumran Messianic expectation”, *The Qumran Chronicle*, VIII/3 (1999), pp. 195–212. In *1Q* *Sa* 2:11–12, probably the Messiah of Israel (see *1Q* *Sa* 2:14, 20), i.e. the lay Messiah, is meant. (See e.g. Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 f.; in the paper, one can find other possible restorations and readings of the passage.) On the other hand, M. Smith believes that יוֹלִיד refers to an anointed priest or to some other consecrated figure, not to the Messiah. (“God's Begetting the Messiah” in *1QSa*”, *New Testament Studies*, 5 (1958–1959), pp. 218–24.) In *1Q* *Sa* 2:11–12, one can see a reminiscence of *Ps.* 2:6–7: “Yet have I set My king (sc. David — *I. T.*) upon My holy

mountain of Zion'. I (sc. David — I. T.) will declare the decree of the Lord: He hath said unto me: 'Thou art My son (בְּנִי; cf. Ps. 2: 12 and 2 — I. T.); this day have I begotten thee (יָלֵדְתִּיךָ)' and Ps. 110: 2—3: "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength from Zion: rule thou in the midst of thy enemies. Honour is with thee in the day of thy power, in the glory of holiness; from the womb before the dawn like the dew have I begotten thee (יָלֵדְתִּיךָ)". (Cf. also Ezek. 36: 12 (LXX) and R. Gordis, "The 'Begotten' Messiah in the Qumran scrolls", *Vetus Testamentum*, 7 (1957), pp. 191—4.) In Acts 13: 33 and Hebrews 1: 5, 5: 5, the text of Ps. 2: 7 is cited with respect to Jesus (also possible allusions in Mark 1: 11, 9: 7; John 1: 49; Rom. 1: 3—4; see further the apocryphal Judeo-Christian *Gospel of Ebionites* [Epiphanius, Panarion, XXX, 13, 6]). Also let us note the words of the Lord in Ps. 89: 26—27: "He (sc. David — I. T.) shall call out to Me: 'Thou art my Father, my God, and the Rock of my salvation'. Also I will make him My firstborn, higher than the kings of the earth". (Cf. further 2 Sam. 7: 14—1, Chr. 17: 14 and 4Q Florilegium 1: 9—13; see the previous note.) Cf. also B. Suk. 52a; Midr. Ps. 2.9 (on Ps. 2: 7).

120. It seems that in this passage one could perceive a formation of the trinitarian conception: God-the Father — the Elect One-Messiah — the Holy Spirit of God (resting upon the Elect One). Cf. 4Q 521 (*Messianic Apocalypse*), frg. 2 II+4, 6; cf. also 4Q B^b 10: 13: "...וְנִתַּן עָלַי מְשִׁיחוֹ רוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁ..."

121. Cf. e.g. *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, ed. J. T. Milik with the collaboration of M. Black (Oxford, 1976), p. 41; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, p. 9 f.; Davila, "4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism", pp. 373 ff.

122. E.g. J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Elect of God text from Qumran Cave 4", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 27 (1965), pp. 349—72; P. Grelot, "Hénoch et ses écritures", *Revue Biblique*, 82 (1975), pp. 481—500; J. Starcky, "Le Maître de Justice et Jésus", *Le Monde de la Bible*, 4 (1978), p. 56; Milik (ed.), *The Books of Enoch*, p. 56; *idem*, *Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram*, p. 94 f.; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, pp. 1—44; R. Eisenman, M. O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (London—New York, 1992), pp. 33—7; M. E. Stone, "The Dead Sea scrolls and pseudepigrapha", *Dead Sea Discoveries*, III/3 (1996), pp. 270—95, esp. p. 288; Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, pp. 521 f.

123. Dupont-Sommer, "Deux Documents Horoscopiques esséniens".

124. A. Caquot, "4QMess ar li 8—11", *Mémorial Jean Starcky*, éd. par É. Puech et F. García Martínez (Paris, 1991), i, pp. 145—55.

125. *Prolegomenon to: Odeberg, 3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch*, pp. XX—XXI, XXXVI—XXXVII.

126. Cf. n. 14.

127. Cf. e.g. 4Q 540, 5.

128. This composition was described by J. Starcky ("Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân", p. 492) as *Aaronic text*: 4Q AhA bis [= 4Q 540] and 4Q AhA [= 4Q 541]. É. Puech (e.g. his *Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique, 4Q TestLévi^{c-d} (?) et 4Q AJa*, ed. J. Trebolle Barrera, L. Vegas Montaner. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 11, Leiden, 1993, pp. 449—501) and some other scholars admit the possibility to consider these Aramaic fragments as a part of the *Testament of Levi*: 4Q TLevi^c ar ? [= 4Q 540] and 4Q TLevi^d ar ? [= 4Q 541]. (Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2, pp. 1078—81: 4Q 540 (*4QApocryphon of Levi^a ar*), 4Q 541 (*4QApocryphon of Levi^b ar*).) However, in the fragments of 4Q 540—541 hitherto discovered, direct allusions to Levi and the Aaronic priesthood are absent; literal coincidences with the Greek text of the *Testament of Levi* have not been attested as well. (Cf. H. C. Kee in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York, 1983), p. 777.) See further below.

Some scholars consider *The Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs* to be a Christian composition with Jewish basis, composed in Greek. See e.g. M. de Jonge, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the New Testament", *Studia Evangelica* (1959), pp. 546—56; *idem*, "Christian influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *Novus Testamentum*, 4 (1960), pp. 182—235; *idem*, "Once more: Christian influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *Novus Testamentum*, 5 (1962), pp. 311—9; *idem*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The Study of Their Text, Composition and Origin*, 2nd edn. (New York, 1975); J. H. Charlesworth, "Reflections on the SNTS pseudepigrapha seminar at Duce on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *New Testament Studies*, 23 (1977), p. 304; Cf. J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda* (Paris, 1957), pp. 31 f. (English version — *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* — pp. 34 f.).

129. See also 4Q 541, frg. 24, col. 2. Cf. e.g. Isa. 53.

130. 11Q Melch 2: 7—8; cf. 2: 18 and Dan. 9: 24—27.

131. 11Q Melch 2: 7—8.

132. *Ibid.*, 2: 11—14, 25.

133. Cf. e.g. the *Damascus Document (CD)* 7: 14—8: 3, 19: 2—15, 20: 13—17.

134. *Ibid.*, 14: 19.

135. *Ibid.*, 7: 9—8: 3, 19: 10—15.

136. *Ibid.*, 1: 5—11. Cf. also 4Q390 (*Pseudo-Moses Apocalypse^e*), frg. 1, 7—8.

137. Cf. also n. 187.

138. Cf. also 1 En. 49: 3.

139. Some scholars think that the prayer (or rather prediction) is suggested by Gen. 4: 26: "And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enosh: then began men to call upon the Name of the Lord". Cf. Jub. 4: 12. (See e.g. H. Attridge, J. Strugnell in J. VanderKam, et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. VIII. Parabiblical Texts Part I. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIII* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 353—62, with pl. XXXVII.) On the other hand, it is Seth (Enosh's father, the third son of Adam and Eve) who, according to Rabbinic tradition, was destined to be the ancestor of the Messiah, and was considered a foreseer. (See e.g. L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1912), i, pp. 120—2; v, pp. 148—50, nn. 50—53.) On certain traces of Seth's glorification and literary activity in the older literature, cf. Sir. 49: 16(18); 1 Enoch 85: 8—9; Jub. 19: 24; 4Q 417, frg. 2, 1: 15—17; 2 Enoch 33: 10; Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 67—71. The Gnostic sect of the Sethiani identified Seth with the Messiah and believed that he was the author of seven books. (Cf. e.g. *Three Steles of Seth* (Nag Hammadi Codex VII,5); *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III, 2 and IV,2); cf. also *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,2).) Cf. also Syncellus' account (1.16—17) concerning the translation of Seth to the angels, who instructed him about the fall of the angels, the fall of man, the Deluge, and the advent of the Messiah, which seems to go back to an apocryphal book of

Seth, probably of Jewish origin (Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, v, p. 149, n. 52). On the figure of Seth, see further e.g. A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden, 1977).

140. Cf. 4Q458, 15, 1.

141. See e.g. Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 ff. Cf. also J. Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enoch' and ancient biblical interpretation", *Dead Sea Discoveries*, V/2 (1998), pp. 119–48.

142. *T. Dan* 6:1–5; cf. *T. Benj.* 6:1, *T. Levi* 5:5–6; *1En.* 56:2.

143. Cf. *T. Asher* 6:6, *T. Benj.* 6:1.

144. Cf. 4Q 369, 2, 1.

145. See also 3Q8 1:2.

146. Cf. further: *2En.* 22:6, 33:10; *Exod. Rab.* 18:5. Cf., however, *1En.* 40:6–7.

147. Cf. also *1QM* 17:6.

148. Cf. also *11Q Melch* 2:5.

149. Cf. *11Q T^a* 60:13–14.

150. Cf. the phrase of 4Q 369, frg. 1, 2:7 לְשׁר וּמוֹשֶׁל בְּכֹל חֵבֶל אֶרֶץ (italics ours — *I. T.*) and *Ps.* 110:2 about David, or Davidic heir, as the global Ruler.

151. Tantlevskiĭ, "Messiansko-ěskhatologicheskie teksty".

152. M. Baillet considered this text as a part of the *War Scroll* and called the hymnic fragment of ll. 1–12 the *Canticle of the Archangel Michael* in *La Grotte 4 de Qumrân. III (4Q 482–4Q 520)* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 26–9. Now it is obvious that the text 4Q 491^c constitutes a work separate from the *War Scroll*. In this connection cf., in particular, M. Smith, "Ascent to the heavens and deification in 4Q M^a", *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman (Sheffield, 1990), pp. 181–8; *idem*, "Two ascended to heaven — Jesus and the author of 4Q 491", *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York, 1993), pp. 290–301; M. G. Abegg, "4Q471: a case of mistaken identity?", *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, eds. J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen (Sheffield, 1994), p. 137, n. 6; *idem*, "Who ascended to heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness", *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. C. A. Evans and P. W. Flint (Grand Rapids, 1997), pp. 61–73. Cf. *idem* and C. A. Evans, "Messianic passages in the Dead Sea scrolls", *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger, and G. S. Oegema (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 191–203; E. Schuller, "The Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts: a preliminary description", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 85 (1994), pp. 149 f.; D. Dimant, "A synoptic comparison of parallel sections in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11 and 4Q471B", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 85 (1994), pp. 157–61; J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (New York, 1995), pp. 136–53; M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr. and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco, 1996), pp. 167 f.; E. Eshel, "4Q471^b: A Self-Glorification Hymn", *Revue de Qumrân*, 65–68 (1997), pp. 175–203; M. Wise, "מִי כְמוֹנִי בְּאֵלֵים", a study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH^a 25:35–26:10", *Dead Sea Discoveries*, VII/3 (2000), pp. 173–219. M. Smith, J. J. Collins, D. Dimant, M. G. Abegg, E. Eshel, and some other scholars believe that an individual human being is the subject of the hymnic fragment. In H. Stegemann's opinion, the Hymn is an example of "collective messianism", and the "I" who speaks is the people of Israel. (This opinion is attested in E. Schuller, "A hymn from Cave Four Hodayot manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 112 (1994), p. 627, n. 42. Cf. Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)", pp. 489 f.) M. Wise believes that in the Canticle of Michael, "each individual member of the user group spoke of himself or herself. At least by the stage of the Hodayot redaction (see below — *I. T.*), they declaimed in unison and chanted, singing of their singular significance at the behest of a worship leader, the *Maskil*. Even the structure of 4Q491c seems to require that a group recited the first-person speech contained in the short form of the Canticle. The rhetorical effect of a group reciting first-person narrative with substantial theological content must have been quasi-credal". (M. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 216.)

153. Cf. *1QH^a (The Thanksgiving Hymns)* 10[=2]:8–9, where the author — *ex hypothesi* the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness — proclaims: "I shall be a snare for transgressors, but healing (מְרַפֵּא) for those who turn from transgression". Cf. also e.g. *John* 14:6, 10:7.

154. M. Wise's reconstruction.

155. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, eds. García Martínez F. and Tigchelaar E. J. C., vol. 2, p. 981.

156. Cf. 4Q 541, frg. 9, col. 1, l. 3: "His word (will be) like the word of the Heavens, and his Teaching, according to the Will of God".

157. The reconstruction of D. Dimant, E. Eshel, García Martínez F. and Tigchelaar E. J. C., and some other scholars.

158. Possibly the speaker is allowed to sit in the Presence of God. Cf., on the other hand, e.g. the passage 4Q 405 [4QShirShabb^f], frgs. 20–21–22, 7: "The cherubim lie prostrate before Him, and bless when they rise". Cf. *1 Kgs.* 22:19, *2 Chr.* 18:18 ("I (i.e. Micaiah) saw the Lord sitting upon His Throne, and the whole host of heaven stood (beside Him) on His right and on His left"). Cf. also the text of the *Babylonian Talmud*, *Ḥagigah*, 15a, according to which "there is no sitting in heaven"; cf. further 3 (*Hebrew*) *Enoch* 18:24.

159. Cf. also the passages 4Q 491^c, frg. 12: "...and I am highness (or 'glory' — *I. T.*) of ([...] הָדָר הַזֶּה) ...".

160. See e.g. Wise, *op. cit.*, p. 214. According to this author, the redaction of the Hymn included into the collection of the *Hodayot* (4Q 431 [earlier 4Q 471b] 1; 4Q 427 7; 1QH^a 25:35–26:10), occupies about 864 letter-spaces (excluding the heading); in 4Q 491^c redaction, the Hymn occupies 571 letter spaces (*ibid.*).

161. Cf. *Psalms II. 51–100*, introduction, translation, and notes by M. Dahood, *S. J. Anchor Bible* (New York, 1968), pp. 308, 313.

162. M. Dahood's conjectural emendation. *Ibid.*, pp. 272 f.

163. M. Dahood's conjectural emendation. *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 230.

164. E.g. *Ex.* 18:11; *1 Sam.* 2:2.

165. C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of the Lord in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden, 1966).

166. Cf. "The Similitudes of Enoch": *1En.* 45:3, 47:3, 51:3, 55:4, 61:8, 62:2–5, 69:27, 29; cf. also ch. 71. According to R. Aqiba, there are two Thrones in heaven — the one being the Throne of the Lord God Himself, the other — the throne of David, i.e. the King-Messiah (*B. Ḥagigah*, 15a; cf. *B. Sanhedrin*, 38a, 67b). Cf. further 3 (*Hebrew*) *Enoch* 10:1: "He (God) made me (i.e. Meṭaṭron) a throne, similar to the Throne of Glory". Cf. also nn. 158, 168.

167. Cf. n. 200.

168. Cf. 4Q 246 (= 4Q *pseudo-Daniel*^d). In 3 (Hebrew) *Enoch*, Meṭaṭron — “the Prince of the world”, “the Ruler over all the princes of kingdoms” — is depicted as sitting upon a great throne and judging the children of heaven. The princes of kingdoms *are standing* and trembling before him.

169. Cf. *Deut.* 26:15; *Jer.* 25:30; *Zech.* 2:17; *Ps.* 68:6; 2 *Chr.* 30:27. Cf. also 1Q M 12:2; 1Q Sb (*The Blessings*) 4:24–28.

170. Cf. *Ps.* 26:8; 2 *Chr.* 36:15, and the passages mentioned in the previous note.

171. See further I. R. Tantlevskij, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls (Thanksgiving Hymns, War Scroll, Text of Two Columns) and their parallels and possible sources”, *The Qumran Chronicle*, vol. 7, No. 3/4 (1997), pp. 193–213; *idem*, “Melchisedek”, *passim*; *idem*, “Messiansko-ěskhatologičeskie teksty”, pp. 15–8; *idem*, *Knigi Enokha. Sefer Yetzirah*, pp. 89–99.

172. Cf. e.g. *Pss.* 27:13, 116:8–9. The notion “life” was frequently employed for the designation of *eternal life* in ancient languages.

173. Cf. e.g. *Ps.* 73:24.

174. Cf. e.g. *Pss.* 140:14, 69:29, 142:8.

175. As was noted above, in *Heb.* 1:8–9, 13, both *Ps.* 45:7–8 and *Ps.* 110:1 are cited along with some other biblical passages as proof-texts, according to which the Son of God is superior to the angels.

176. Cf. e.g. 1 *En.* 14:18 ff.

177. 1 *En.* 45:3, 47:3, 51:3 (1), 55:4, 61:8, 62:2–5, 69:27, 29; cf. also ch. 71.

178. Cf. also ch. 7 and ch. 15 of 3 (Hebrew) *Enoch*, according to which the departed Enoch was taken up to the heavens, to the Throne of Shekhinah, received the name of Meṭaṭron, and became the Prince of the angels of the Divine Presence (שר הפנים; lit. “the Prince of the Face (of God)”).

179. Concerning this fragment in connection with 4Q 491^c, frg. 1 see further e.g. my book *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, 1994, pp. 275 f.

180. Cf. Josephus' *Against Apion*, I, 279, where the Judaean historian wrote that the Egyptians had considered Moses a “man remarkable and divine (θεῖον)”. Cf. also e.g. Philo's treatises *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain*, 8–10; *On Drunkenness*, 94; *On the Virtues*, 177.

181. Cf. 4Q246 (= 4Q *pseudo-Daniel*^d); cf. further Philo, *On the Life of Moses*, I, 290. Cf. also *Rev.* 4:1–4, 10.

182. The Jewish Alexandrian writer and historian Artapanus (3rd–2nd century B.C.E.) attested a tradition, according to which Moses was a teacher of Orpheus. (See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparation to the Gospel*, 9, 27, 3.)

183. Cf. the books of Enoch, including *The Astronomical Enoch* (4Q *Enoch astr*^{a–d} ar and 1 *Enoch*, ch. 72–82). See also the next note.

184. Artapanus, for instance, wrote that Abraham had taught the pharaoh astrology (see Eusebius of Caesarea, *op. cit.*, 9, 18, 1). Cf. Pseudo-Eupolemus (prior to the 1st century B.C.E.): “Abraham lived in Heliopolis with the Egyptian priests and taught them much: He explained astrology and the other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and he himself had obtained this knowledge. However, he attributed the discovery of them to Enoch. Enoch first discovered astrology, not the Egyptians”. (See Eusebius of Caesarea, *op. cit.*, 9, 17, 8.) Cf. further also J. H. Charlesworth, “Jewish astrology in the Talmud, pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea scrolls, and early Palestinian synagogues”, *Harvard Theological Review*, 70 (1977), pp. 183–200.

185. Philo of Alexandria in *The Life of Moses*, 5, thinks of Moses as a Chaldaean schooled in astronomy.

186. Probably the Ocean surrounding the earth, or the Upper, heavenly Ocean, is meant. According to Biblical views, the upper waters of the Ocean are located above the celestial firmament-vault (see *Gen.* 1:6–10); the lower waters of the Ocean (the Lower Ocean) are situated under the earth (cf. *Gen.* 49:25; *Deut.* 33:13; cf. also *Prov.* 8:24a). Cf. further 4Q *Enoch astr*^b ar (4Q 209), 13 (1 *Enoch* 77:3) and the corresponding commentaries in Tantlevskij, *Knigi Enokha*, pp. 146 f.

In the upper part of a neo-Punic stele from Gorfa, reflecting, as one can suppose, much earlier Punic views, a man's soul is depicted, riding on a dolphin (on some Punic steles — on a bird or a ship) through the heavenly Ocean to the kingdom of gods; under the Ocean — on both sides from the “tree of life” — the birds are depicted, symbolizing the atmosphere. (See, for instance G. Charles-Picard, *Le monde de Carthage* (Paris, 1956), tabl. 80; *idem*, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (Tunis, 1954), pp. 32 f.; A. M. Bisi, “A proposito di alcune stele del tipo della Gofra al British Museum”, *Antiquités africaines*, 12 (1978), pp. 82 f.)

187. Cf. *Num.* 24:17: “There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre (שֵׁבֶט; or possibly a comet — *I. T.*) shall rise out of Israel”. Originally this passage probably had to do with a future (ideal) king of Israel. Beginning with the Hellenistic epoch (at least), it came to be interpreted in messianic sense; cf., for example, *Num.* 24:7 [LXX]; 4Q *Test.*, 12–13, 1Q M 11:6 ff., CD 7:18–20, *Test. Levi* 18:3, *Test. Judah* 24:1; cf. 1Q Sb 5:27. In *Rev.* 22:16, the allegory of the star (probably from *Num.* 24:17) is applied to Jesus. In *J. Ta'anit*, IV, 2, 67d, the allegory of the star from the oracle of Balaam has to do with the “prince of Israel” Shimon Bar-Kokhba (lit. “the Son of the star”), who was recognized by many people, including Rabbi Aqiba, as a Messiah. The Targums interpret the verse *Num.* 24:17 as the passage pointing out the lay Messiah. The Jewish sect of Dositheans identified its founder, Dositheus (Dôstân; 3rd–2nd century B.C.E.), with the “star out of Jacob”, *sc.* the Messiah.

188. Cf. the Qumran *Thanksgiving Hymn* 1Q H^a 11[=3]:6–18, in which the poet depicts allegorically the birth of the Man — “Wonderful Counsellor with his might” (see *Isa.* 9:5). On the other hand, it is possible that this passage contains a hint at a “new birth” in consequence of the heavenly voyage. (Cf. *Orphica*, a new translation and introduction by M. Lafargue in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York, 1985), ii, pp. 799–800, n. k.)

189. This composition was written in Greek, in Alexandria (Egypt) during the reign of Octavian Augustus (31 B.C.E.— 14 C.E.), or slightly later. The *Wisdom of Solomon* could have been composed in the milieu of the Therapeutae or at least in the circles closely connected with them. Some scholars maintain that the author may have used an earlier Hebrew (or Aramaic) document or several documents deriving from Judaea in the composition of chapters 1–10. In this regard, one should nevertheless have to admit that these materials were not simply translated by him but rather served as a source for a new literary production. It seems that some apparent parallels with several Dead Sea scrolls raise a question about the possible influence of the Qumranic-Essenic ideas and writings on the *Wisdom of Solomon*. See further my papers “Premudrost' Solomona i terapevty” (“The Wisdom of Solomon and the Therapeutae”), *Miscellanea Humani-*

taria Philosophiae: Studies in Honour of Urij Nikiforovich Solonin on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 269–83; “The Wisdom of Solomon, the Therapeutae, and the Dead Sea scrolls”, forthcoming in *The Qumran Chronicle*.

190. Cf. *Isa.* 53.

191. See section IX.

192. See further I. R. Tantlevskij, *The Teacher of Righteousness and the Qumran Messianism*, Ph. D. dissertation (St. Petersburg, 1993), pp. 190–2; *idem*, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 236–9; *idem*, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls”, *passim*.

193. This is one of the so-called “Teacher Hymns” (= *1Q H^a* 10–18, new numbering). See also the next note.

194. In *1Q H^a* 10[= 2]: 13, the author calls himself מְלִיץ דַּעַת (“Relaying Knowledge”). Cf. also *1Q H^a* 23[=18]: 11. In the *Qumran Commentary on Psalm 37* (*4Q pPs* 37) 1:27, this specific designation is a synonym of the Teacher of Righteousness. Cf. also the *Thanksgiving Hymn* *4Q* 428 (*4Q H^b*), frg. 7, l. 3 (= *1Q H^a* 15[=7]:36): “...I taught (הוֹרִיתִי) during the (period of) sinful unfaithfulness...”, i.e. the author is a teacher.

195. See further e.g. *1Q pHab* 2:2–3, 7:4–5.

196. Cf. further e.g. *1Q pHab* 7:17–8:3. See also below.

197. See *CD* 6:3–11, 7:16; *4Q PB* (*The Patriarchal Blessings*) 1:1–5; *4Q Florilegium* 1:11; cf. *4Q Testimonia*, 17–18. See further e.g. Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, p. 223; *idem*, “Etymology of ‘Essenes’ in the light of Qumran messianic expectation”, pp. 202 f.

Cf. also *Jewish War*, II, 145 and 152, where Josephus, describing the Essenes, speaks of the Lawgiver, νομοθέτης. In § 145, he notes in his description of the Essenes: “After God the name of the lawgiver was held in most respect among them, and if somebody abuses him then he is punished by death”. This phrase is present also in the Old Slavonic (Old Russian) translation of *The Jewish War*, carried out in Kievan Rus from Greek not later than in the XII century. In this connection let us mention that, according to the *Damascus Document* (*CD*) 12:2–3, “every man who preaches apostasy (or blasphemy)” with respect to the Lord God condemned to death. Cf. *Deut.* 13:6 and *Lev.* 20:6, 27.

198. *Deut.* 18:15–19.

199. See e.g. *4Q pPs* 37 2:19, 3:15. Cf. *1Q pHab* 2:8.

200. In the broader redaction of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*, one should pay special attention to the phrase “[I am] a friend of the King (יָרִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ) and a companion of the saints (i.e. angels — *I. T.*) ...]” (*4Q* 431[= *4Q* 471b] 1:16; *4Q* 427, frg. 7, 1:11). It is not impossible that the designation “friend of the King” (יָרִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ) arose as a reaction on consecutive Jonathan the Maccabee’s elevation to the rank of “friend of the king” (φίλος βασιλέως) by the Syrian rulers Alexander Balas, Demetrius II, and Antiochus VI in the period between 152 and 145 B.C.E. (see *1 Macc.* 10:20, 10:65, 89; 11:27, 30, 58). In the autumn of 152 B.C.E. Alexander Balas, appointing Jonathan the Judean high priest and making him a “friend of the king”, sent him the purple garment and gold crown — properly speaking, the signs of royal dignity (cf. *1 Macc.* 8:14). In this connection cf. also *4Q* 427, frg. 7, 1:12: “Not by pure gold I crow[n] myself (אֶכְתֹּרֶנִּי) ...”. (On the persecutions of the Teacher of Righteousness on the part of the “Wicked Priest” — *ex hypothesi* the high priest-ruler Jonathan I (152–142 B.C.E.) see e.g. my *History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 113–51, and *The Two Wicked Priests*, *passim*.)

On the other hand, cf. the text *2 Sam.* 12:25, according to which Nathan the prophet called the baby Solomon’s name יְדִידְיָה *Jedidiah*, i.e. a friend (beloved) of the Lord.

201. Cf. e.g. *Test. Levi*, 18; cf. further: *1 Macc.* 14:41; Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVI, 163; *Assumption of Moses*, 6, 1; *B. Rosh hash-Shanah*, 18b. See further Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 189–280, especially pp. 231–51, 273–8; *idem*, *The Two Wicked Priests*, pp. 35–7.

202. The eschatological chronology of *11Q Melch*, which is based on the reckoning of ten jubilees, i.e. 490 years, is akin to that of the *Damascus Document*, which is probably based on the same 490 years [390+20+40+40] (cf. the Messianic chronology of *Dan.* 9:24–27, which is based on the seventy weeks of years, i.e. 490 years; cf. also n. 51). The *Damascus Document* seems to be composed during the 40-years period between the Teacher’s departure and the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel at the End of Days. Both chronologies obviously arose after the departure of the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness.

203. Equally, the *Messianic Apocalypse* (*4Q* 521), the *Aramaic Apocalypse* (*4Q* 246), the *Messianic Aramaic Text* (*4Q* 534), the *4Q* 540–541 text (and also the original of the *Testament of Levi*, 18) could originally be composed as the compositions spoken about the future Messiah (identified with eschatological Melchizedek *redivivus* in Qumran?), but later on their contents came to be extrapolated onto the Teacher of Righteousness — the “Elect One” of God.

204. *Heb.* 6:19–20, 7:13–17, 26–27; 8:1–6; 9:11–14, 24–28.

205. *CD* 20:1, 14, 32. It seems that the semantics of the designation הַיָּחִיד, “the Only One, the Unique”, does not allow us to interpret the text of the *Damascus Document* (*CD*) 6:8–11 in the sense that the author and his adherents expected the coming of another (the second) Teacher of Righteousness “in the End of days”.

206. *CD* 6:11. On the Qumranites’ expectation of the second coming of the Teacher of Righteousness (*redivivus*) in the End of days see e.g. Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 189–280, especially pp. 231–51; *idem*, *The Two Wicked Priests*, pp. 33–7.

207. *4Q D^b*, frg. 18, 3:12; *CD* 12:23–13:1, 14:9, 19:10–11, 20:1.

208. Cf. *1Q pHab* 10:2–13; 13:3–4; *4Q pPs* 37 4:10–12.

209. See section V.

210. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, edited and translated by Garcia Martínez F. and Tigchelaar E. J. C. Vol. 1: 1Q1–4Q273 (Leiden, 1997), p. 169.

211. Cf. e.g. *4Q Aramaic Apocalypse* (*4Q* 246) 2:7 and some parallel texts, pointed out in section IV of the article.

212. Cf. *1Q H^a* 23[=18]:14; *4Q* 428, frg. 9, 4; *4Q* 432, frg. 3, 4. Cf. further *11Q Melch* 2:9–11, 13–19; *1Q S^b* 3:5. See also *Isa.* 52:7, 61:1.

213. Cf. further e.g. *1Q H^a* 11[3]:3, 12[=4]:5, 17[=9]:26. Cf. *Ex.* 34:29–30, 35; *4Q* 374, frg. 2, 2:8. Cf. also *Matthew* 17:2; *Mark* 9:2–3; *Luke* 9:29.

214. On the probability of this identification see in detail Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 236–41, 275 f.; *idem*, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls”, pp. 193–213.

215. Cf. *Ps.* 110:4; *B. Sukk.*, 52b (כהן צדק; excluding the *Munich Codex*; see above, section I); also *ARN* A, 34. Cf. further *4Q ShirShabb^b* (*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*) 11:3 (“...[Melchi]zedek, the Priest (כהן) in the communi[ty] of God...[.]”); *4Q545=4Q ‘Amram^c ar.*, frg. 3, 6; the *Commentary on Psalm 127 (4Q 173)*, frg. 1, 4–5, where the Teacher of Righteousness (*redivivus*?) appears to be designated as “[the Pri]est for (or, “at” — *I. T.*) the End of ti[me]”.

216. Cf. *1Q pMic (1Q 14)*, frgs. 8–10, 6: הַצֶּדֶק מִן הָרִי. Cf. also *4Q 544=4Q Visions of ‘Amram^b ar.*, frg. 2. l. 3.

217. The Qumranic conception of Melchizedek, described above, might shed new light on the puzzling words of the Muslim historian Muḥammad al-Shahrastani (1071–1153), that the heresiarch Arius (256–336), — who taught that the Messiah-Christ was an Angel of God and the Elect One of the created world, — borrowed his doctrine from the sect of the “cave men” (i.e. most probably the Qumranites); those sectarians believed that every occasion in the Law and the rest of the Scriptures, where God is described anthropomorphically, refers to the Angel, whom the Lord set at the head of all creatures (cf. the Qumran *Midrash Melchizedek*). The “cave men” “lived four hundred years before him (*sc.* Arius) and devoted themselves to the practice of temperance and a simple life”.

218. The present section is based on the materials of my lectures “The Rephaites and the Essenes”, delivered at the conference dedicated to the memory of *Iosif Davidovich Amusin* (the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences, November, 27, 1995), and “Some mystical elements in the Dead Sea scrolls”, presented at the 12th World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem on 30 July 1997 (in print). See also Tantlevskij, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls”, *passim*.

219. See in detail Tantlevskij, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls”. Cf. e.g. Wise, *op. cit.*, C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis’ works mentioned in n. 221.

220. Also one can mention the heavenly visions of Enoch concerning the souls of the righteous departed (e.g. *1 En.* 39:6–41:2; 102–104).

221. See also Tantlevskij, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 236–41, 275; *idem*, “Elements of mysticism in the Dead Sea scrolls”, *passim*. Cf. e.g. C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent or Incarnational Presence? A revisionist reading of the ‘Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice’”, *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, 37, 1 (1998), pp. 367–99; *idem*, “Some reflections on angelomorphic humanity texts among the Dead Sea scrolls” in *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 7, 3 (2000), pp. 292–312; *idem*, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 2002), *passim*.

Some fragments of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices* have been discovered at the fortress of Masada. It is possible that the leader of the defenders of Masada, Eleazar ben Yair, could know the text of the *Angelic Liturgy* and was inspired by it, speaking with conviction about the bliss of the immortal soul in the heavens (Josephus, *War*, VII, 320–336.) On the other hand, Josephus could be acquainted with that Essenic text and used it, when he was composing the Eleazar’s speech. (Cf. e.g. *War*, II, 153–158; *Antiquities*, XVIII, 18, about the Essenic conception of the immortality of the soul.)

222. Also let me mention that Epiphanius, describing in the *Panarion* the sect of Ossaeans (= Essenes), mentions the tradition, according to which, the name of one of the sect’s leaders — Elxai (at the time of the reign of the emperor Trajan and later), meant “hidden *el*”, i.e. “hidden *god*”. His descendants, Marthus and Marthana, “were worshipped as *goddesses* in the Ossaeen territory” (XIX, 2, 1–3). Possibly these facts are echoes of the corresponding Essene beliefs.

223. Cf. also the texts mentioned in the *Excursus* in section VIII.

224. See e.g. A. Jaubert, “Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran. Ses origines bibliques”, *Vetus Testamentum*, 3 (1953), pp. 262 f.; J. Morgenstern, “The calendar of the Book of Jubilees. Its origin and its character”, *ibid.*, 5 (1955), pp. 34–76; Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda*, pp. 73 f.; G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: the Problem and a Solution* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 318, 330; M. M. Elizarova, *Obshchina terapevtov. (Iz istorii essejskogo obshchestvenno-religioznogo dvizheniia I v. do n. é.)* (The Community of the Therapeutae: from the History of the Essene Socio-Religious Movement of the 1st Century B.C.E.) (Moscow, 1972), pp. 66–80; Amusin, *The Qumran Community*, p. 133; Tantlevskij, *Knigi Enokha*, pp. 102 ff.

225. Cf. the Masoretic vocalization in *Am.* 6:7: *mirzah*.

226. Cf. *Lev.* 24:15; *Isa.* 14:19, 26:14; *Ps.* 88:11; *Prov.* 2:18, 9:18, 21:16.

227. The first archaeological evidence of the cult of the Rephaites was attested during the excavations in ancient Ebla.

228. K. van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* (Leiden, 1996), p. 225.

229. *Idem*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

230. Cf. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner (Tübingen, 1996), iii, pp. 1274 f.

231. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartin, *Die keilalphabetische Texte aus Ugarit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976).

232. The biblical ban on the intercourse with the spirits of the deceased (see e.g. *Lev.* 19:31, 20:6, 27; *Deut.* 18:11, *1 Sam.* 28:3, 9–12, *2 Kgs.* 23:24; cf. *Ezek.* 13:17–23; cf. also *11Q T* 60:17–20) seems to point out that this practice was widely spread in ancient Palestine.

233. E. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead* (Sheffield, 1992), p. 146. Cf. B. B. Schmidt, *Israel’s Beneficent Dead* (Tübingen, 1994), *passim*; Van der Toorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–5.

234. I. Sh. Shifman, *Kul’tura drevnego Ugarita* (The Culture of Ancient Ugarit) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 81 f.

235. Cf. e.g. *KTU* 1.161, lines 2–10, where the “Rephaites of the earth (land)” and the “Rephaites of old (the past)” (*rp'im qdmym*; i.e. the spirits passed away to the other world) appear to be differentiated.

236. In particular, the “earthly” Rephaites were the heroes of the Ugaritic epos Daniel (Dannillu), Keret (Karatu) [cf. e.g. *KTU* 1.15:iii.2–4 = 13:15: “Be greatly exalted, O Keret, among the Rephaites of the earth, in the gathered assembly of Ditan” (*sc.* a certain ethnic community in which the legend of Keret was being composed; Ditan (Didan) appears in some Assyrian king-lists and is possibly

the same as the Ditan of the “Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty”], Og, King of Bashan (*Deut.* 3:11–13, *Josh.* 12:4–5, 13:12). Cf. *Gen.* 14:5, 15:20, *Deut.* 2:11; also 2 *Sam.* 21:16, 18, 20, 1 *Chr.* 20:8.

237. Shifman, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 f.; *idem*, *O Ba’lu. Ugaritiskie poeticheskie povestvovaniia* (On Ba’lu. Ugaritic Poetical Compositions) (Moscow, 1999), pp. 198, 242–4; *idem*, “Drevniaia Finikiia. Mifologiya i istoriya” (“Ancient Phoenicia. Mythology and history”), in *Finikiiskaia mifologiya* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 270 f.; Van der Toorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–77, 225–35.

238. Cf. *Gen.* 15:19–21, *Deut.* 2:10–11, 20, 3:11, 13, *Josh.* 12:4, 13:12, 15:8, 17:15, 18:16, 2 *Sam.* 5:18, 22, 21:16–22, 23:13, *Isa.* 17:5, 1 *Chr.* 11:15, 14:9, 20:4. See also *Jub.* 29:9–11. (See also, in particular, the works pointed out in the previous note.)

239. In particular, in some localities of Canaan, to the east of Jordan, in Bashan. (Cf. the previous note.)

240. Cf. Van der Toorn, *op. cit.*, p. 318, n. 6.

241. On the *marzeḥim* see e.g. K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1986), pp. 170, 196–202; Th. J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (Atlanta, 1989), pp. 80–94; M. S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Volume I: introduction with text, translation and commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2 (Leiden, 1994), pp. 140–4; F. Gangloff, J.-C. Haelewyck, “Osee 4:17–19; un marzeḥ en l’honneur de la déesse Anat?”, *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*, 71 (1995), pp. 370–82; B. A. Asen, “The Garlands of Ephraim; Isaiah 28:1–6 and the ‘marzeḥ’”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 71 (1996), pp. 73–87; Ch. Maier, E. M. Doerrfus, “‘Um mit ihnen zu sitzen, zu essen und zu trinken’ — Am 6, 7; Jer 16, 5 und die Bedeutung von ‘marzeḥ’”, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 111 (1999), pp. 45–57.

242. Cf., in particular, the text KTU 1.20–22, from which we learn that the spirits of the deified ancestors were invited to the house of *marzeḥ* during the New Year Festival.

243. Cf., for example, the text *Sifre Bemidbar*, 131, which calls the cult of the dead that was related to the pagan deity Baal Peor a *marzeḥ*.

244. Cf. e.g. Spronk, *op. cit.*, p. 202. In *Jer.* 16:5–7, the “house of *marzeḥ*” is associated with mourning.

245. Cf. e.g. *Isa.* 65:4 and *Deut.* 26:14.

246. On the problem of the Rephaites see e.g. my *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, Russian State University for the Humanities (Moscow); Jewish Theological Seminary of America (New York); YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (New York) (Moscow, 2000), pp. 355–79 (Russian).

247. This fragment from the *Apology* has been preserved in the *Preparation to the Gospel* (VIII, 11, 5) written by Eusebius of Caesarea.

248. See, in particular Elizarova, *op. cit.*, and the works mentioned in nn. 252, 260. See also below.

249. Cf., for example, Josephus, *War*, II, §§ 139–142; cf. also e.g. *IQ Sa* 2:11–22; *IQ S* 6:4–5. See further, in particular, K. G. Kuhn, “The Lord’s Supper and the communal meal at Qumran”, *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendahl (New York, 1957), pp. 65–93, 259–65; M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1958), p. 365; R. de Vaux, *L’archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1961), pp. 10, 65; Elizarova, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–90; W. S. LaSor, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1972), p. 71; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. — A.D. 135)*. A new English version revised and edited by G. Vermès, F. Millar, and M. Black. Rev. and ed. by literary editor P. Vermès (Edinburgh, 1979 [1986]), ii, p. 582.

250. See, for instance Philo, *Every Good Man Is Free*, § 86; *idem*, *Apology* (in the *Preparation to the Gospel*, VIII, 11, 5, 11); *idem*, *On Contemplative Life*, § 67 ff.; Josephus, *War*, II, §§ 129 ff. Cf. *idem*, *Antiquities*, XVIII, § 22; Hippolytus of Rome, *op. cit.*, IX, §§ 21, 23.

251. See e.g. *IQ S* 6:1–5, *IQ Sa* 2:11–22.

252. In this text, they are designated as אנשי השם, “the men of the name”, sc. probably those who are summoned to the “assembly” by their names. Cf. *CD* 4:3–4: “The sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel summoned (or “called” — *I. T.*) by the name (קריאי השם), who shall arise (i.e. resurrect (?) — *I. T.*) in the End of days”. Cf. further *CD* 2:11, where the community members are also called “those summoned (called) by the name”.

253. One can suppose that the Qumranites composed the catalogue (list) of the names of (certain) angels and spirits for the purpose of invoking them. In *IQ M* 12:2, the Lord’s “list (or “book” — *I. T.*) of the names of the host” of the angelic beings and the spirits of the righteous (“the elect” of God’s “holy people”), dwelling in heaven, is mentioned.

254. According to *Judg.* 13, “the man of God looked like an angel of God” (13:6), having descended from the heavens (cf. 13:20) and asked by Manoah, the future Samson’s father, what is his name, replies: “Why do you ask about my name? It is marvellous (mysterious; פלאי — *I. T.*)”.

255. In § 21 Philo notes that “this genus (τὸ γένος; sc. the *Therapeutai* — *I. T.*) lives everywhere, for it is incumbent on both Hellas and barbarians to join the perfect virtue. They are the most numerous in Egypt, in each of its so-called nomes, especially — in the vicinity of Alexandria”. As has been rightly noted by M. M. Elizarova, “Philo’s remark that the *Therapeutae* are spread everywhere, i.e. all through the Jewish Diaspora, can be correct only if one considers them to be a branch of the Essenean movement”. See Philo of Alexandria, *On the Contemplative Life*, in *The Texts of Qumran*, vol. I: introduction, translation, and commentaries by I. D. Amusin (Moscow, 1971), p. 387, n. 9, and M. M. Elizarova *op. cit.*, *passim*. See also n. 263.

256. Cf. also § 75.

257. Cf. Philo, *Who Is the Heir*, §§ 69–70.

258. Cf. e.g. Plato, *Banquet*, 218b; also *Phaedrus*, 253a; *Ion*, 533e. Corybantes were the priests of the Phrygian Great Mother Cybele, whose cult was notable for its licentiousness and state of frenzy.

259. The Stoics’ terminology.

260. See *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 17, 1–24.

261. Cf. *4Q Therapeia* (?).

262. See e.g. G. Vermès, “Essenes — Therapeutai — Qumran”, *The Durham University Journal*, N. S. 21 (1959/1960), pp. 97–115; *idem*, “The etymology of ‘Essenes’”, *Revue de Qumran*, 7 (1960), pp. 427–43; *idem*, “Essenes and Therapeutae”, *Revue de Qum-*

ran, 12 (1962), pp. 495—504; Schürer, *op. cit.*, pp. 591—7; J. M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (New York, 1960), p. 72; *idem*, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Reappraisal* (Harmondsworth, 1964), pp. 147 f.; F. F. Bruce, “Jesus and the Gospels in the light of the scrolls”, *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. M. Black (London, 1969), p. 74.

263. According to Epiphanius of Salamis' *Panarion* (XXIX, 5, 1—3), Philo's treatise *On the Contemplative Life* was a component part of the latter's book entitled “On Jessaeans (= Essenes; περὶ Ἰησοαίων)” — the book, which probably was at Epiphanius' disposal. It seems that in the *Panarion* (*ibid.*, 4, 9—10) we find also an echo of the tradition, according to which the designation Ἰησοαῖοι means in Hebrew (*sc.* is a translation of the Hebrew word, or a transliteration of the Aramaic word) “healer” or “physician”, and “savior” (θεραπευτῆς ἦτοι ἰατρός καὶ σωτήρ). The title of the Latin translation of Philo's treatise *On the Contemplative Life* is “On the Essenes” (the complete Latin title — *Philonis Judaei liber de statu Essaeorum, id est Monachorum, qui temporibus Agrippae regis monasteria sibi fecerunt* (“The Book of Philo of Judaea on the Life of the Essenes, that is the Monks, who Established for Themselves Monasteries during Agrippa's Reign”).) Besides, let us note that the solar calendar attested in the Dead Sea scrolls appears to have been close (at least) to the calendar which found its reflection in Philo's treatise under consideration. (See e.g. Elizarova, *op. cit.*, pp. 66—80.)

264. Cf. *IQ H^a* 10[=2]:8—9, where the author — *ex hypothesi* the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness — proclaims: “I shall be a snare for transgressors, but *healing* (מרפא) for those who turn from transgression” and *4Q 491^c*, frg. 1, the author of which (hypothetically the Teacher) asserts that the transition of the souls of the deceased to the rank of “gods” (= Rephaites?) and eternal blissful existence in the heavens are impossible without him (see section VIII of the present article). Cf. also the passage *IQ S* 4:6—7, where the Sage (משכיל) affirms that “the reward of all who walk in this Spirit (*sc.* the Spirit of Truth — *I. T.*) is healing (מרפא) and abundance peace with length of days”. Cf. also *IQ H^a* 17[=9]:24—25; *CD* 8:1—5.