

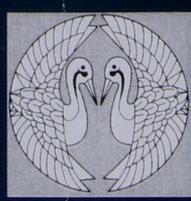
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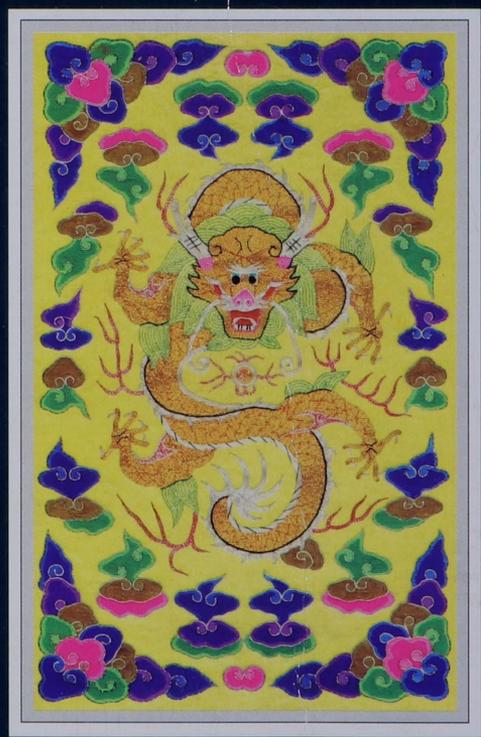
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Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 9 No. 1 March 2003



75ESA
St. Petersburg

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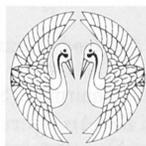
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Embroidery design of a dragon. The Qing imperial credentials of the Emperor Xuantong to the Russian Tsar Nicolas II, accordion binding cover. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 34,5×22,0 cm.

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Embroidery design on a *tao*. Same credentials, 34,5×22,0 cm.

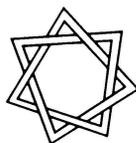
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Subscription orders may be made directly to the publisher — Thesa, 14 Dobrolyubov Str., office 358, 197198 St. Petersburg, Russia (tel./fax: + 7 (812) 238 9594; e-mail: bi@thesa.ru).

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the appearance of the relevant issue and will be met if stocks permit. Back issues are available.

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Журнал зарегистрирован Северо-западным региональным управлением Госкомитета РФ по печати 24. 03. 2000 г.
Регистрационный номер: П 4312.
Учредитель и издатель — ООО «Теза»
197198, Санкт-Петербург, ул. Добролюбова, д. 14, офис 358.
Главный редактор — Е. А. Резван
Телефон: + 7 (812) 312 3606; факс: + 7 (812) 311 5101; e-mail: rezvan@thesa.ru

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dear readers,

Our journal is entering the ninth year of its existence. Thanks to your interest and support, it has become in that time a truly independent scholarly publication, read in at least 50 countries the world over, if the mail our editors receive is any indication. The journal has become a forum for the discussion both of the basic scholarly tasks and difficulties of the moment that confront scholars and specialists in the main centres for the preservation and study of the East's cultural treasures. Over the past nine years, we have gladly made the pages of the journal available for the publication of conference proceedings in our field. This issue, for example, begins familiarizing readers with the proceedings of a Round Table that took place at the 24th Paris congress of Melcom International (The European Association of Middle East Librarians).

When we came up with the idea for an "international journal", we conceived it primarily as an opportunity to tell our non-Russian-speaking colleagues about the scholarly activities of St. Petersburg's scholars of the East, as well as the riches of our manuscript and museum collections. But we soon established strong ties with scholarly centres in Moscow, Tashkent, Makhachkala, and other cities of the former USSR. The scholars and caretakers of museum and library collections from many countries became frequent contributors. Our cooperation with St. Petersburg's institutes, libraries, and museums has grown more and more multifaceted.

We are proud to present to readers a memorable issue of our journal. Its title page displays an official announcement that the journal is now published in conjunction with the State Hermitage and Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg's famed Kunstkamera. The very building that has housed the Kunstkamera since the early 18th century has become a symbol of St. Petersburg's Academy of Sciences.

St. Petersburg's Kunstkamera was founded in 1714 by a decree from Peter the Great. Its purpose was to collect and study rarities of nature and human creation. At present, the collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography holds more than one million exhibits that reflect the diverse cultures of the Old and New Worlds. The State Hermitage, one of the world's great museums, has gathered over more than two and a half centuries a vast collection that today includes some three million works of art and treasures of world culture. A significant part of these marvellous collections is linked to the cultures of Eastern peoples.

The journal's editors are confident that these new ties will soon allow us to introduce to readers the fascinating work our colleagues are now carrying out in the collections of these outstanding museums. We will continue to publish articles by scholars from Moscow and Central Asia, the Near and Far East, Europe and America. It is our conviction that this will make our journal even more engaging and necessary.

Efim A. Rezan
Editor-in-Chief

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

M. E. Rezvan

QUR'ĀN MANUSCRIPT A 1638 FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES AND THE PRACTICE OF *ISTIKHĀRA*

The Eastern manuscript that finds its way to the desk of the European scholar was removed many decades or centuries ago from the complex context that defined its existence. Created to meet the needs of people who lived in a specific place at a specific time, the manuscript contained important knowledge. It pleased the eye with its construction and the beauty of its calligraphy. It could act as a talisman. It provided descendants with information about their forbears. It preserved the remarks of earlier owners and readers... Although many elements of this context are often lost forever with the passage of time, the attentive researcher has tools that allow him to restore at least some of them. In doing so, one can grasp the true significance of a manuscript copy, which usually goes beyond the common identification of a manuscript with its text. Moreover, many of the elements mentioned here together form a certain code that must be deciphered to grasp the true meaning of a manuscript. The present article is an attempt to demonstrate this.

Each Qur'ānic manuscript has its own tale to tell. A manuscript preserves the memory of the copyist's hand and the many owners who left their mark on its margins: *waqf* notes, commentaries on *tajwīd*, as well as varied symbols and even drawings [1]. Worn-out copies were interred with the full honour due the sacred text [2] or buried alongside their deceased owner. This did not, however, always mark the end of the manuscript's life. Even at the beginning of the last century, widows without other means often dug up manuscripts from the grave and sold them to visitors [3].

During our work on describing the Qur'ān collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, we often recorded marginal notes, some of them less than comprehensible. Among other things, our attention was drawn to a small-format (6.7×11.0 cm) manuscript in a painted lacquer binding (see *fig. 1*) copied in a minute calligraphic hand on thin light-coloured paper of local production. The margins contain regular repetitions of the words: "very good" ("بسیار خوب" "very good") (see *fig. 2*); "not so good" ("میانہ خوب" "not so good"); "good" ("خوب" "good"); "bad" ("بد" "bad"); "not so bad" ("میانہ بد" "not so bad"). Later, B. A. Donaldson's "The Wild Rue" revealed a magical explanation for these notes. In her chapter on Qur'ānic

magic, she writes: "Some Korans are especially prepared for this purpose (divination — *M. R.*) and have their pages marked with letters which indicate what the answer is to be. Some have only three letters: خ, for خیر, meaning good; ش, for شر, meaning bad or unfavourable; and م, for میانه, signifying medium. Other copies have more details. Nine letters and combinations indicate very good, good, fair, medium, not good and bad. These signs simplify the reader's task and relieve him of the responsibility for an unfavourable interpretation" [4]. Manuscript A 1638 is just such a manuscript, specially prepared for fortune-telling.

The manuscript was acquired on 24 November 1955 in an Akademkniga store for 200 rubles. It is dated 1262/1846. It was copied in Iran, probably Tehran or Shiraz [5]. The inner side of the binding's back cover bears the seal of Akademkniga and the owner's signature in red ink: *Ex Libris. Klinushin*. The manuscript contains virtually the entire text of the Qur'ān (2:4—94:8). Page 312 provides a colophon:

تمت الکلام الله المجید فی يوم السبت فی شانزدهم شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۶۲

"[Copying] completed of the Holy Word of God on Saturday, the 16th day of the month of Rabi' al-awwāl year 1262".

Page 312b (see *fig. 3*) displays an Arabic-Persian inscription that contains an injunction with reference to the authority of the *amīr* of the faithful [6] to read a special prayer upon completion (of copying, reading?) the Qur'ān:

حضرت امیر المومنین علیه السلام هرگاه ختم قرآن میفرمودند ایندعا را میخوانند

اللهم اشرح بالقرآن بصری و اطلق بالقرآن لسانی و اعنی علیه ما ا [...] بالقرآن صدری و استعمل بالقرآن بدنی و نور بالقرآن لا حول و لا قوة الا ینک

"O Lord, with the help of the Qur'ān open my eyes, with the help of the Qur'ān free my tongue, and [...] with the Qur'ān my heart, and use my body through the Qur'ān, and illuminate [me] with the Qur'ān, for there is no strength and no power save through You".

The text is copied in black ink, *sūra* titles are in red, and *juz'* and *ḥizb* beginnings are marked in the margins in red. Other *tajwīd* signs, as well as vowel signs, are in the same black ink as the main text. Custodes are set out consistently. The text is enclosed in an uneven triple border. The outer line is in gold, with a margin of 1.3 cm. The text is framed directly by a blue, and then a gold line. There are 16 lines per page. The upper margin is 0.6 cm, lower 0.8 cm, outer 0.9 cm. The interval between the lines is 0.2 cm. The end of each *āya* is marked with a red circle. The manuscript is defective (the beginning and end of the Qur'ānic text are missing, usually a sign of intensive use), but the surviving part (312 folios) has reached us in good condition [7].

As an instrument of *isikhāra* (from the root خـر "to choose, offer a choice, express a preference"), the manuscript testifies to the spread of the practice. A practitioner of *isikhāra* [8] entrusts to God the choice between possible versions of events. The practice is open to the pious, chosen man who wishes to cede his entire life to the will of God (*khayr*), and to the simple man who finds himself in a difficult situation and doubts the correctness of his decision (*mustakhīr*).

Since the tradition of divination has its roots in the most distant past (and *isikhāra* spread in the most varied parts of the Muslim world), Islam established special rules for the ritual to prevent a return to pagan traditions.

The practice of text-based divination — known as rhapsodomancy [9] or theomancy (divination on the basis of Scripture) [10] — was especially widespread in the Shi'ite world. *Isikhāra* differed from *fa'l* [11] — divination in the broader sense of the word (for example, "What will become of me?") — in that it determined only the desirability, undesirability, of performing a specific action (for example, "Should I marry Nuria?"). *Fa'l* [12], on the other hand, performs more general functions. As a rule, *fa'l* was used to foretell the future. Shi'ites consider Ja'far, Muhammad's cousin (killed 8/629 in a battle near Mu'ta) [13], the patron of rhapsodomancy.

According to tradition, the Prophet said that if a person performs *isikhāra* with the necessary veneration, he will know no loss or grief. *Isikhāra* is usually performed by professional practitioners, but any educated person can perform it in their absence. A specific ritual precedes the process of divination. B. A. Donaldson describes how this ritual was performed in Mashhad in the 1930s. First, the *al-Fātiḥa* was read, and then (in Arabic): "O God! You know what is concealed!". A part of *āya* 6:59 followed this: "And with Him are the keys of the Invisible. None but He knoweth them. And He knoweth what is in the land and the sea" [14]. Next came the traditional formula of greeting and wishing peace to Muhammad and his lineage, after which the divination began. With eyes closed and turned toward the heavens, the diviner pronounces the name of God and opens the Sacred Text at random, after which he reads the first sentence, or part of a sentence, on the page and supplies an interpretation of the text [15]. The interpretation makes use of *ta'wīl* methods (symbolic and metaphoric exegesis).

Fa'l is performed in similar fashion. The chief difference is that the diviner begins not by reading the first word on the page, but by going to the beginning of the verse: if its meaning is seen as positive, then the beginning will be good. He then examines the end to determine the nature of the outcome [16].

The practice is still popular in Iran. This year in Tehran saw the publication of the "most complete and detailed" guide to *isikhāra*, drawn up by Ghulām Riḍā Naw'āi [17]. The guide is based on one of the manuscripts specially created in accordance with the *isikhāra* tradition [18]. An analysis of this book deserves special attention, as it is a fascinating source of information on divination in today's Iran.

The practice of *isikhāra* is the subject of numerous discussions today, just as it was hundreds of years ago. Is divination acceptable? Does not recourse to *isikhāra* hinder independent thinking? Does not the practice avoid individual responsibility? Kāshānī proves that the practice of divination on the Sacred Text is lawful with references to *ḥadīth*, the authoritative *imāms* Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Riḍā, and quotes from the *imām* Khumaynī and Ṭabāṭabāi. The foreword by Dr. Aḥmad 'Abadī attempts to justify *isikhāra* by juxtaposing two concepts: *tafa'l* and *taṭayyur*. The former means "lawful divination", the latter — "forbidden divination". But the inconsistent use of these terms (and the subsequent contrast between *fa'l* and *isikhāra*) shows that until now there has been no definitive treatment of the question. Another fascinating issue is the question of whether it is possible to use *isikhāra* as legitimate proof in court. The main arguments in favour of *isikhāra* are that there is nothing reprehensible in seeking God's help in a difficult situation, that this has no relation to pagan practices, and that *isikhāra* does not give man access to concealed knowledge, but rather help and support in dealing with his doubts.

As a sign of the urgency of the question in contemporary Iranian society, the book is intended to ease the work of *imāms* in mosques who receive regular requests from people to perform *isikhāra* for them. Thanks to this book, people who do not know Arabic can appeal to God in difficult situations without intermediaries.

The book also contains information on (i) the typology of *isikhāra* (where the Qur'ān is listed as only one possible instrument of divination); (ii) the best time and place to perform it (on Saturday from sunrise to sundown; on Sunday from dawn to noon, and then from before dusk to sundown; on Monday from dawn to sunup, then from noon to sundown; on Tuesday, from dawn to noon, then from before dusk to the dark of night; on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday from dawn until the dark of night); (iii) religious and ethical requirements for the practitioner of *isikhāra* (who must be reconciled to God, sincere, entirely serious about what he is doing, with clearly formulated questions; the matter on which advice is sought cannot contradict the *shari'a*, no action contrary to the result of divination must be performed, etc.).

We cite here the prayer rule of Ḥasan 'Askarī (232—260/845—872) from this book, which precedes the divination process: first, the *al-Fātiḥa* is read one to three times, then the 97th *sūra* (*Qadr*) is read ten times, and then the following prayer is pronounced three times:

اللهم انى استخبرك لعلمك بعاقبة الامور و استشيرك لحسن ظنى بك فى المامول و المحذور ،
اللهم ان كان الامر الفلانى مما قد انيطت بالبر كه اعجازه و بواديه و حفت بالكرامه ايامه و لياليه، فخرلى .
اللهم فيه خيرة ترد شومسه دلولا و تقضى ايامه سررا ،
اللهم اما امر فانتتم و اما نهى فانتتهى ،
اللهم انى استخبرك بر حمتك خيرة فى عاقبة .

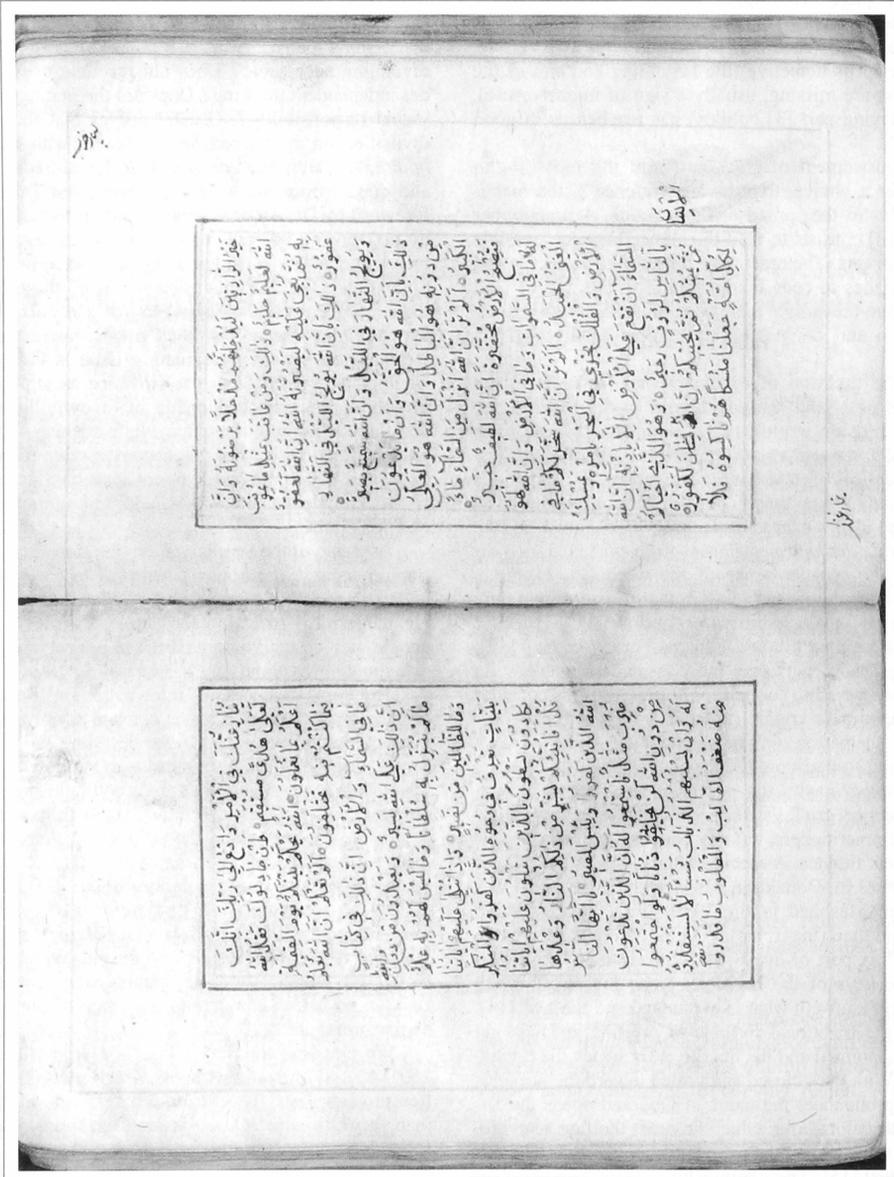


Fig. 2

الارض

هذا الارض كذا ونحوه مائة وخمسة واربعون
 الله اعلم علمه ذلك ومن عاقب غيبا ما نوب
 به الله ينجي قلبه بقوله الله ان الله اعلم
 عسوره ذلك ان الله يوجب التكاليف في التكاليف
 ويوجب التكاليف في التكاليف وان الله يجمع بين
 ذلك ان الله هو الحق وان ما بينه وبين
 من دونه فهو الباطل وان الله هو العلي
 الكبر والارض الله انزل من السماء ماء
 فصبه الارض فخرجت ارض الله الطيب حيا
 له في السموات وما في الارض وان الله هو
 الحق الحق والارض ان الله يحسن الامور
 الارض والملك يجرى في البحر باجره وسبيل
 المشاة ان تقع على الارض الا ان الله انزل
 بالارض لوتوس رجب وهو الذي انزل
 من بينك من جن جنم ان الله لطيف خبير
 ليكلن جعلنا منكم هودا مشركا فلا

الارض

ثار تملك في الارض وان في ذلك التملك
 على حاد مستقيم لان ما لوك تملك الله
 اعلم بالاعوان الله يحسن الامور
 فكلتم من فخرنا من الاعوان ان الله ينجي
 ما في السماء والارض ان ذلك في كتاب
 ان ذلك على الله ليجه ونعم ومن من في الارض
 فكلتم من به سلطانا وما ليس كمن به علم
 وما التكاليف من تكميلها في التكاليف
 يتبادر يعرف في دعوه الله ان الله اعلم
 كلادون يكون بالذنب يتوبون عليهم اياها
 كل انما يريد ان يتوب من ذلك التاد وعلمها
 الله الذي اعلمه وكن يصبها انما انزل
 عرب مثل ما سمعوا الله ان الله ينجي
 من دون الله من الجن والانس والانس
 له وان يسلمهم الا ان الله لا يستغفر
 عنه صفحا الذي يب والاعوان ما تداروا

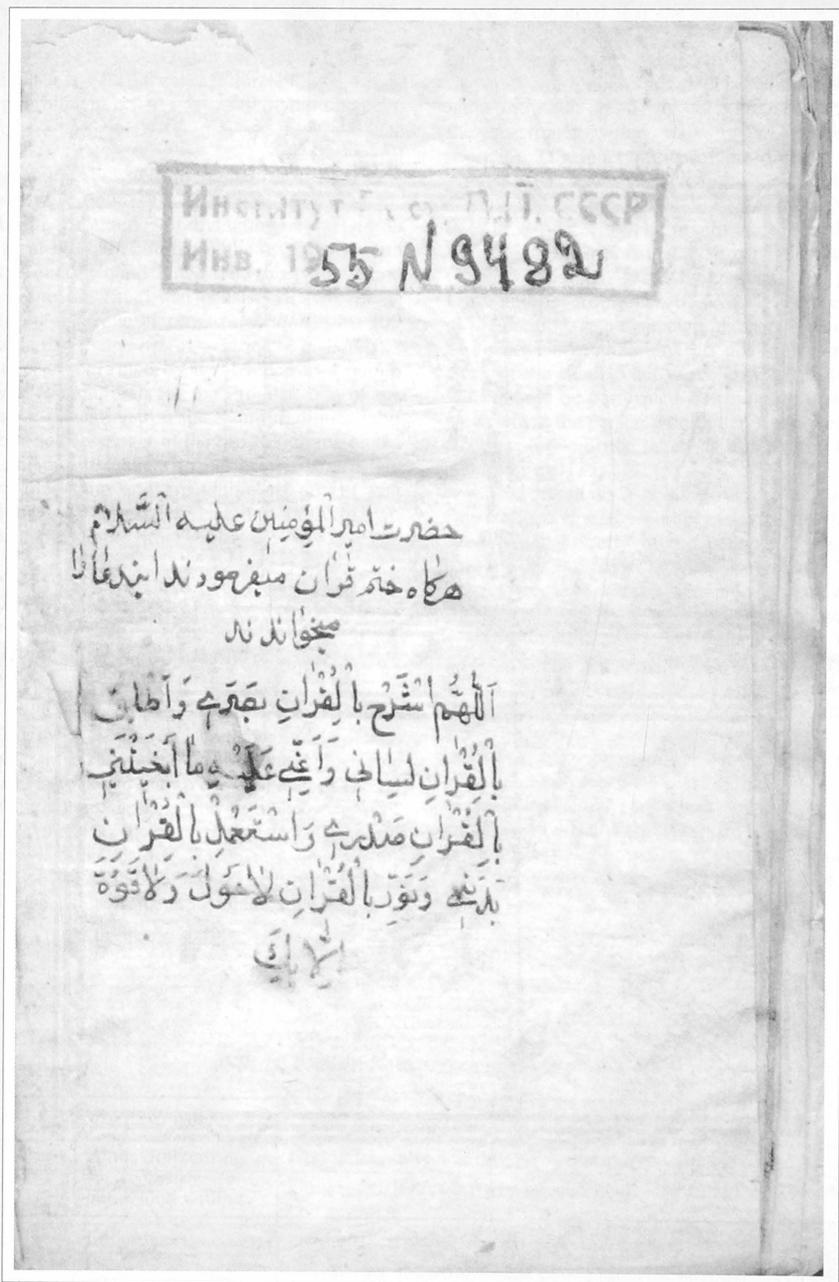


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Each page of the guide is divided into three components: in the upper part, the *āya*, or a part of it; in the central part, the Persian translation; and below, a brief commentary [19] with the result of the divination in parentheses *خوب است* (“good”); (“good”); *ان شا الله خوب است* (“good, God willing”); (“good, but in [specific] circumstances”); *خوب است اما با شرط* (“good, but selectively”); *نهی* (“forbidden”); *نهی شدید* (“strictly forbidden”); *نهی موكد* (“categorically forbidden”); *اختيار با توست* (“your choice”); *اين عمل بسيار خوب است، هر چند سرانجامش مرگ* (يا شهادت) يا تابد (“this is a fine matter, but upon its conclusion death or a martyr's demise awaits you”) (fig. 4), etc.

In Sunni Islam, the practice of divination on the Qur'ān and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, attested in the seventh — ninth centuries, was frequently condemned. The accepted method is to perform a specific ritual that consists of two *rak'as* and an established sequence of *sūras* (*al-Fātiḥa*, *sūra* 109 *al-Kāfirūn*, and in the second *rak'a* — *sūra* 112 *al-Ikhlāṣ*).

This practice is confirmed by a reference to a *ḥadīth* transmitted by a contemporary of the Prophet, one of the most authoritative transmitters in the Sunni tradition, Jābir ibn 'Abdallāh: “The Messenger of the Most High instructed us constantly and in all matters to perform *istikhāra*. He said, may God bless him and greet him, ‘If one of you should be troubled by a problem, let him perform two *rak'as* and then appeal to the Most High:

اللهم انى استخبرك بعلمك و استقدرك بقدرتك و اسالك من فضلك العظيم فانك تقدر و لا اقدر و تعلم و لا اعلم و انت علام الغيوب اللهم ان كنت تعلم ان هذا الامر [...] خير لى فى دينى و معاشى و عاقبة امرى فاقدره لى و يسره لى ثم بارك لى فيه. و ان كنت تعلم ان هذا الامر شر لى فى دينى و معاشى و عاقبة امرى، فاصرفه عنى و اصرفنى عنه، و اقدر لى الخير حيث كان ثم رضنى به [20]

“A God, I ask of You favour through Your omniscience. I ask you to show Your great strength through your omnipotence. I ask you to show Your great mercy. You are all-powerful, yet I am impotent. You are all-knowing, yet I am ignorant. All that is concealed is known to You. O Lord! If You know that this matter [...] is good for me, for my piety, for my being in this life and the next, then make it possible for me and grant me in the future a blessing in it.

If You know that this is evil for me, for my piety, for my being in this life and the next, then remove this matter from me and remove me from it. And grant me good where it may be and let me be satisfied with it”.

It is assumed that the person who performs *istikhāra* will immediately accept the correct decision from above. If this does not happen, accepted options are written on pieces of paper and lots are drawn [21]. Oneiromancy sometimes helped to elicit an answer [22]: after performing the ritual, the questioner would wait for an answer to come in a dream. The inner purity of the dreamer was especially important: a dream sent down by God could not penetrate a soul awash in passions. According to al-Nawāwī (631—676/1233—1277): “The practitioner of *istikhāra* must entirely reject inner personal desire and trust in the will of the Creator. This will grant the purchase of good from the Lord, and not from oneself” [23]. The preferred interpreter of the dream was a respected, pious person or a *mullā* [24]. The rules and regulations do not touch on the time and place of the ritual. There was, however, a belief that *istikhāra* should be performed in a mosque or other venerated place where the person would then sleep. Religious authorities disapprove of the latter, as it is closely linked with pagan traditions [25].

Istikhāra plays a notable role in contemporary Islam. One indication is the number of websites that discuss related issues (usually in the context of matrimonial matters) [26] or even offer “virtual” *istikhāra* [27].

As we have seen, a Qur'ānic manuscript dated 1846 and a book published in Tehran in 2002 are both parts of a single cultural code, a single tradition that continues in contemporary Islam despite the heated discussions it evokes. The existence and widespread nature of various forms of divination is, along with the complex fate of figurative art, an indication of the ambiguities inherent in Islam's doctrinal paradigm: on the one hand, representatives of various currents within Islam held various opinions on these issues in different times and places, from indulgent tolerance to strict prohibition; on the other hand, both the depiction of man, as well as other living things, and divination were common practices in the Muslim world.

Appendix

Sūras, āyāt and outcomes of divination

Table 1

<i>Sūra</i>	<i>Āya</i>	Result	Commentary
1	1—2	good, God willing	God will help you in this, it is good and has His blessing
2	5	good, God willing	Go through with what you have in mind — this matter is worthy of praise and approval
	24	forbidden	Do not do this, for you will be drawn into sin
	38	good, God willing	This matter conceals hidden good inducements, but [it] is the cause of privations and difficulties
	58	good, God willing	You will achieve the opposite of your goal, but despite this, it is better to begin this matter than to turn away from it
	69	good, God willing	It is possible to achieve the goal. But this is not enough, [one must] want more

Continuation of Table 1

2	84	good, God willing	Seek the opposite of what you wish (seek another means of resolving this)
	94	good, God willing	But you will not achieve what you want
	106	good, God willing	Give this up and wish for something better, or, at least, similar. On the condition that you do not have another goal
	120	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter
	135	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter
	146	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter, for you will not achieve what you want
	164	good, God willing	Very good, but you will not fully achieve what you wish
	177	forbidden	Give up and set another goal
	187	good, God willing	The beginning of this matter contains no difficulties
	196	good, God willing	Better to begin this unless an obstacle arises at the very beginning
	209	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter
	220	good, God willing	Better to undertake this
	230	good, but under [certain] conditions	This matter is not suitable unless [you observe certain] conditions
	235	forbidden	This is not the right time for this
	248	good, God willing	You will achieve not all of what you wish, but only a part of it
	257	good, God willing	Very good and worthy
	265	good, God willing	Very good and worthy
275	strictly forbidden	Very bad and pernicious	
283	good, God willing	This matter has a condition, and without [observing] this condition, it is incorrect	
3	10	forbidden	The beginning of this matter will cause unhappiness and terrible difficulties
	24	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter
	38	good, God willing	You will achieve what you wish and your goal
	53	good, God willing	Very good and worthy
	71	forbidden	Utterly damnable
	84	good, God willing	This matter is very good and worthy
	101	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this matter
	116	forbidden	This undertaking will not lead to anything good
	133	good, God willing	Quickly undertake this and do not forsake it
	149	forbidden	The result of beginning this matter is a loss and remorse
	158	—	This is very good, but upon completing it, death or a martyr's demise awaits you
	174	good, God willing	This is very good
187	good, God willing	This is very good, but you will not achieve what you want and your goal	
4	1	forbidden	Refrain from beginning this
	12	good, God willing	Upon completing [this matter] good and benefit will be [your] lot
	20	good, God willing	Under [a certain] condition, this is good, without it, it is incorrect
	27	good	You will not achieve what you wish
	38	forbidden	The beginning of this matter is bad and pernicious
	53	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	66	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	79	good, God willing	Good, but look to another matter
	92	forbidden	Do not count on finishing this matter
	102	good, God willing	This will cause you to escape danger
	114	good, God willing	Without [observing certain] conditions it is not suitable, only with them is it suitable
128	good, God willing	This is most preferable	

Continuation of Table 1

4	141	forbidden	Refrain from trickery and cunning
	155	forbidden	Because this [matter] will end badly and you will not achieve what you wish, give it up
	171	strictly forbidden	—
5	3	strictly forbidden	Because it will have a bad end
	10	strictly forbidden	Because it will have a bad end
	18	strictly forbidden	The result of this matter is vile and pernicious
	32	forbidden	Because it will have a bad end
	42	forbidden	The beginning of this matter is vile
	51	strictly forbidden	Because it will have a bad end
	64	forbidden	This matter is extremely foul
	76	good	This matter is good, although you will not achieve what you wish
	90	forbidden	Keep away from this matter
	104	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
114	good, God willing	You will not achieve your desire and your goal	
6	9	forbidden	In accordance with an established tendency, the completion of this matter is inexpedient
	28	forbidden	Keep away from this so that you incur no harm
	45	forbidden	Keep away from this matter, for it will end poorly
	60	good, God willing	This matter speaks of power and force
	74	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	91	forbidden	It is not suitable to undertake this
	102	do this and do not be afraid, for it is good	Do this and do not forsake it
	118	under [certain] conditions, God willing, it is good	Begin this matter only [if you observe a certain] condition
	131	forbidden	Refrain from this matter because of a bad end
	143	good	The beginning of this matter will not encounter difficulties, although you will not achieve what you desire
152	good, but under [certain] conditions	The beginning of this matter without [fulfilling certain] conditions is not suitable	
7	1—2	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	23	forbidden	The beginning of this matter will serve as the cause for remorse
	38	forbidden	The beginning of this matter will serve as the cause for remorse and difficulty
	52	good, God willing	Very good and worthy, but you will not achieve your goal and desire
	68	good, God willing	Very good, undertake this and do not forsake it, although the goal and the desire will not be achieved
	82	forbidden	The goal will never be achieved, it will bring nothing but unease
	96	forbidden	You goal and desire will not be achieved
	122—123	good, God willing	It is very good and worthy, and contains good for this life and the next
	138	good, God willing	Undertake it, in this is success and salvation
	150	forbidden	The beginning of this matter will bring remorse and regret
	160	good, but selectively	You will achieve the goal and desire only by dividing the matter
	171	good, God willing	Undertake it, for in it is complete power and strength
188	forbidden	Because of the impossibility of achieving the goal	
8	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	17	good, God willing	Undertake it, in it is victory and a good end
	34	forbidden	Because of a bad end refrain

Continuation of Table 1

8	46	good, God willing	Fulfil it and do not forsake it
	62	good, God willing	Undertake it, you will not encounter difficulties and anxieties
9	1	good, God willing	Undertake the matter that you have set as your goal
	14	good, God willing	Fulfil and do not forsake it, as in it is victory and gifts
	27	the choice is yours	The achievement of the goal and the opposite are equal. You are free to achieve it or not.
	37	strictly forbidden	---
	48	forbidden	The desire and goal will not be achieved
	56	forbidden	Its being and essence are bad
	73	good, God willing	Fulfil this and do not forsake it
	87	forbidden	To begin this matter is vile because of its bad end
	100	good, God willing	In it is virtue, salvation, and the achievement of your desire
	112	good, God willing	In this matter is good news and the achievement of what you wish
	123	good, God willing	Fulfil this and do not forsake it, for it comes along with victory and the achievement of the goal
10	7	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
	21	forbidden	You will not achieve what you wish, the opposite will come to pass
	34	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	53	good, God willing	Do this and do not forsake it, for you will achieve your goal
	71	good, God willing	Although this matter is good, you will not achieve your desire and your goal
	89	good, God willing	What you wish will be fulfilled with delay in several days
	107	the choice is yours	This is someone else's matter. He is free to undertake it or not
11	13	forbidden	The beginning of this matter is accompanied by a loss
	29	good, God willing	In it is victory and suitability; but you will never achieve your desire and goal
	46	forbidden	It is of a bad essence; you will not achieve the goal
	63	good, God willing	Do this and do not forsake it, although it is painful, and you will not achieve your desire
	82	forbidden	The beginning of this will cause unhappiness and stark difficulties
	98	forbidden	The beginning of this will cause unhappiness and stark difficulties
	118	forbidden	According to what is generally accepted, the beginning of this matter is unsuitable
12	15	forbidden	It is very bad to begin this because of [its] bad end
	31	good, God willing	With the help of cunning, the desire and goal will be achieved
	44	forbidden	Know that you will not be able to obtain this and will not achieve what you desire, leave this
	64	under [certain] conditions, God willing, it is good	Suitable, but with [certain] conditions, although the achievement of what you desire is difficult, its completion presents no difficulties
	80	forbidden	Upon achieving what you wish, you will be disappointed
	96	good, God willing	In this matter, the resolution [of difficulties] follows difficulties
13	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	14	good, God willing	Do this and undertake nothing else
	27	forbidden	The beginning of this matter is entirely unsuitable
	42	forbidden	What you wish will not come to pass, possibly, you will achieve the opposite
14	11	better to turn away from this	It is suitable, victorious, and will not call to account [despite losses], but the desire and goal will not be accomplished without anxiety
	25	good, God willing	In this is good and joy
	42	forbidden	Not a suitable time, better to leave it
15	16	good, God willing	Undertake your matter, for it is fitting and good

Continuation of Table 1

15	52	good, God willing	Undertake this, you will achieve your wish and goal
	91	strictly forbidden	—
16	15	good, God willing	In this is guidance, strength, and hardihood
	35	strictly forbidden	—
	55	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
	73	strictly forbidden	In this is delusion and a bad end
	88	strictly forbidden	In this is a dreadful outcome and extreme difficulties
	103	forbidden	Requires thought, you will not achieve what you desire
	119	better to avoid	Unsuitable, only under [certain] conditions
17	8	forbidden	If you carry this out or intend to carry this out, you will cross the bounds of what is acceptable
	52	forbidden	The time is wrong for achieving your goal and desire
	70	good, God willing	In this is good and daily bread / the journey is full of grace
	93	forbidden	You will never achieve your goal and desire
18	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	18	forbidden	The outer side of this is good, but the inner is ugly and terrible
	29	good, God willing	Undertake it, for [this matter] is the best, and you have already undertaken it, do not forsake it. Pay not attention to what is not approved
	46	good, God willing	The goal is in essence good, but there is a better alternative, and [you] should decide
	62	good, God willing	Your desire and goal will not be achieved without some measure of less, damage, and privation
	84	good, God willing	Undertake it, for in it is strength and power
	110	good, God willing	Undertake it, in it is freedom from reproach, and your desire will be received without insistence
19	26	good, God willing	Undertake your matter, in it is happiness and gifts
	52	good, God willing	Undertake your matter, it will grant a high place to the person from whom you want to [obtain] what you desire
	77	strictly forbidden	—
20	13	good, God willing	Very noble, but to undertake it is impossible
	52	forbidden	You will never achieve your desire and your goal
	77	good, God willing	Undertake this matter, for you are protected from danger
	98	good, God willing	Undertake this and never turn from this matter to another
	126	forbidden	Your desire and goal will never be fulfilled
21	12	forbidden	This matter is the cause of terrible difficulties and flight along a long path
	36	forbidden	Your desire will not be fulfilled, endeavour though you may
	59	good, God willing	Very good, but a source of temptation. The possessor of this will perish and will not remain unharmed
	82	good, God willing	Your desire and goal will be fulfilled entirely
	102	strictly forbidden	—
22	6	good, God willing	Undertake this and do not forsake it, the beginning of this is like the Resurrection of the Dead
	24	good, God willing	Undertake this, for in it is indescribable good
	38	good, God willing	Undertake this matter, in it is salvation from danger
	56	forbidden	Your desire and goal are not part of your obligations
	73	forbidden	Do not undertake this, it is a great delusion, it has no benefit and the goal is unknown
23	18	good, God willing	Undertake this, it has aspects of virtue and welfare
	43	forbidden	The time is not right for this
	75	forbidden	Do not undertake this, for you will achieve the opposite of what you desire
	105	forbidden	Do not undertake this because of its bad end

Continuation of Table 1

24	11	good, God willing	Undertake this, despite the fact that the beginning is not good, the end is good
	28	good, but under [certain] conditions	Do not undertake this matter without the permission of a person of good taste. If he gives his permission, undertake it
	37	forbidden	Endeavour [to complete] what you have in mind
	54	good, God willing	Undertake it and do not forsake it, although only a part of what you desire will be fulfilled
	62	good, God willing	Do not undertake this matter without the permission of a person with good taste. If he approves, undertake it, if not, leave it. If you find no one, [and the matter] appeals to you, undertake it.
25	12	strictly forbidden	—
	33	good	For you victory over the other, although you will not achieve what you desire... [your] desire will not be fulfilled
	56	good, God willing	Undertake this, in it is good, but a part or all of what you desire will not come about
26	1—2	good, God willing	God will aid you in this, it is good and blessed
	40	forbidden	You will not achieve anything except the opposite of what you desire
	84	good, God willing	Undertake this, you will achieve your desire and your goal
	137	strictly forbidden	because of the foulness of the matter
	184	strictly forbidden	—
27	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	23	good, God willing	Undertake this, your goal and desire will be fulfilled in time
	44	good, God willing	Undertake this, in it is peace and prosperity in this world and the next
	64	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and goal
	89	good, God willing	Undertake this, you will see good, although there is no hope of eliminating danger
28	14	good, God willing	Undertake this, the time is ripe for it
	29	good, God willing	Undertake this, the time is ripe for it
	44	forbidden	—
	60	—	Your matter is, in essence, good. But others are better
	78	forbidden	Undertaking this is extremely foul
29	7	good, God willing	Undertake it, your goal will be accomplished beyond your desires
	24	forbidden	Your desire and goal will only be achieved with difficulties and tribulations
	39	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end and difficulties
	54	categorically forbidden	—
30	6	good, God willing	Undertake it, your goal and desire will be fulfilled
	25	good, God willing	Undertake this, you will achieve your desire and your goal
	42	categorically forbidden	Because of a bad end
31	1—2	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	20	good, God willing	There will be no obstacles in carrying this out, but your desire and your goal will never be accomplished
32	1—2	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	21	forbidden	Refrain from achieving this goal because of a bad end
33	7	good, God willing	Undertake it, for it is very noble, but your desire and goal will not come to pass completely
	23	good, God willing	This matter is good, but it entails perishing on the way to good
	36	forbidden	Stick with what you intended [to do] and do not change the circumstances
	51	good, God willing	You have the freedom of choice either in all or a part of what you possess
	63	forbidden	Your desire and goal will never be achieved
34	8	strictly forbidden	—

Continuation of Table 1

34	23	good, God willing	Your desire and goal will be accomplished only [under certain] conditions
	41	forbidden	Give up your desire and your aim
35	4	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	19—20	forbidden	This matter utterly lacks justice and impartiality
	39	good, God willing	Extremely virtuous, but you will not achieve what you wish
36	13	good, God willing	Undertake this, for you there are no excuses, but you will not achieve your desire and your goal
	42	good, God willing	Undertake it, in it is strength and great benefit
	74	forbidden	Stay away from this because of its bad end and uselessness
37	31	strictly forbidden	—
	83	good, God willing	Undertake it, this is extremely good
	134—135	good, God willing	Upon completing this, peace and salvation [await you]
38	4	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	28	forbidden	Refrain from this, for the opposite of it is just and impartial
	63	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
39	6	good, God willing	Your matter is very good
	22	good, God willing	Carry it out, in it is the limit of good and contentment
	42	forbidden	The result of this matter is destruction and the demise of what you want
	57	forbidden	Refrain from this, for it is bad and forbidden
	75	good, God willing	Your matter is very good
40	18	good, God willing	Carry out and do not forsake this, although the goal will still not be achieved
	34	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	50	good, God willing	Carry it out and your goal will be achieved
	67	good, God willing	This is extremely good and strong, but it seems that your desire and goal will not be achieved
41	1—2	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	21	strictly forbidden	You will not achieve your goal because of a bad end
	39	good, God willing	Extremely good and strong, although you will not achieve your goal and desire
42	1—3	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	16	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
	23	good, God willing	Extremely good and strong, but the desire and goal are in different hands (not under your control). If they want, it will come about, and if not, it will not.
	52	good, God willing	You will accomplish your goal and all that is useful and beneficial in it
43	24	forbidden	You will never achieve your desire and your goal
	49	forbidden	This matter is poor. If you achieve your desire and your aim, the opposite of this will take place
	76	forbidden	—
44	20	good, God willing	This matter is extremely difficult, taking into account that he will not achieve what he wishes, but begins [this matter] and undertakes a journey, although he will not achieve what he wishes
45	1—2	good, God willing	Very good
	23	strictly forbidden	—
46	5	strictly forbidden	—
	20	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
47	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
	19	do this and do not forsake it	Undertake and do not forsake this
48	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed

Continuation of Table 1

48	16	good, God willing	Undertake and do not forsake this, although you will not achieve what you wish
	29	good, God willing	This matter is very noble, you will achieve your desire and your goal
49	12	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
50	16	good, God willing	This matter is extremely good and strong
51	7—8	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your goal
	51	strictly forbidden	—
52	32	forbidden	Extremely flippant [condemnation] and reprehensible [recompense]
53	26	good, God willing	The goal will only be accomplished [under certain] conditions
54	5	good, God willing	This goal is extremely strong, but you will not achieve what you wish
	45	forbidden	The outcome of this matter is defeat and flight
55	39	forbidden	—
56	17	good, God willing	It is very noble because it has a good end, you will achieve what you wish
	77—78	good, God willing	The matter is extremely strong and unshakeable, taking into account what worthy and virtuous people enjoy
57	11	good, God willing	It will accomplish what is wished beyond expectation
	25	good, God willing	Undertake and do not forsake this, a part of your desire and goal will be fulfilled
58	7	good, God willing	This matter is extremely strong and unshakeable
	21	good, God willing	Do it, in this is victory and the achievement of what you wish
59	10	good, God willing	This is a very noble matter and you will comprehend your goal
60	1	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
	11	good, God willing	What you wish is linked with [a certain] condition, do it as you wish
62	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
63	5	forbidden	You will not achieve your desire and your wish
64	10	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
65	6	do this [thing] and do not forsake it	Do this and do not forsake it
66	8	good, God willing	Do this and do not forsake it, you will achieve what you wish
67	12	good, God willing	It is very noble because of its good beginning
68	13	strictly forbidden	—
69	1—3	forbidden	You will only achieve the opposite of what you wish
	50—51	forbidden	It is extremely sad and leads to remorse
71	1	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
72	1	good, God willing	Do this and do not forsake it, you will achieve your goal
73	1—2	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
74	9	strictly forbidden	—
75	1—2	strictly forbidden	There is fear, trepidation, and peril in this
76	11	good, God willing	It is good to do this and you will achieve your goal
77	15	strictly forbidden	—
78	28	strictly forbidden	Accompanied by the impossibility of achieving the goal
79	39	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
81	8	forbidden	This matter results in tremendous difficulties
83	11	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
84	23	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
87	1	good, God willing	Do this and do not refrain
89	13	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
91	10	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
95	1—2	strictly forbidden	Because of a bad end
98	8	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed
103	1—3	good, God willing	God will grant aid in this matter, it is good and blessed

Table 2*

Nos.	Divination outcomes	Number of occurrences	
1	ان شا الله خوب است	good, God willing	142
2	نهی	forbidden	98
3	خوب است اما با شرط	good, under a [certain] condition	1
4	نهی شدید	strictly forbidden	41
5	خوب است	good	4
6	انجام بده و نترس که خوب است	undertake this [matter] and do not be afraid, for [it] is good	1
7	با شرایطی ان شا الله خوب است	under [certain] conditions, God willing, it is good	2
8	خوب است اما با شروطی	good, under [certain] conditions	2
9	خوب است اما با جدا کردن	good, but selectively	1
10	اختیار با توست	the choice is yours	2
11	ترک ان بهتر است	better to refrain from this	1
12	ترک کردن بهتر است	better not to do	1
13	نهی موکد	categorically forbidden	2
14	انجامش بده و ترکش مکن	undertake this [matter] and do not forsake it	2

Notes

1. For example, on fol. 01b of manuscript A 976 we find dated and recorded the main events in the life of the owner's family. See also E. A. Rezvan, "Qur'ānic manuscripts as birth, death, land and library register", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VIII/3 (2002), pp. 17—25. Copies and editions of the Old and New Testament were used in similar fashion.

2. A similar practice of "burying icons" has been attested in Balkan monasteries. In Russia, old icons were floated down the river.

3. V. Badzh (W. Budge), *Amulety i suveriya* (Amulets and Superstitions), trans. from English into Russian (Moscow, 2001), p. 65.

4. B. A. Donaldson, *The Wild Rue* (London, 1938), p. 131.

5. We are indebted to Prof. O. F. Akimushkin for localizing the manuscript in question.

6. The reference is apparently to Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, 'Alī, the fourth "Rightly-guided" caliph (d. 40/661).

7. As a parallel to our manuscript, one notes the copy from the famed Hyderabad collection dated to the first third of the eighteenth century. See M. Ashraf, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library* (Hyderabad, 1962), No. 163, pp. 116—7.

8. *Istikhāra* is possible with the most varied instruments of divination (for example, rosary beads, rings, writing on paper, etc.).

9. Cf. divination on the verses of Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ (*fāl-i Ḥāfiẓ*), 'Umar Khayyām, Sa'dī. In Russia, divination was practiced on the text of Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin". Dozens of websites exist in the Russian-language internet for divination on the verses of Eastern poets. See e.g. <http://www.glagol.ru/hafes>, <http://www.sufism.ru/hafiz/>, <http://www.sufism.ru/rumi/cgi-bin/gadanie.html>, <http://www.geocities.com/CapeCanaveral/Hall/1436/gadanie0.htm>, etc. Surprisingly, we found no sites for divination using Pushkin's poem.

10. Cf., for example, the medieval Christian *Sortes Sanctorum* or *Sortes Apostolorum* — special texts of the Bible with brief commentaries on Biblical stories in the margins (*perfectum opus, gloria magna*, etc.). See J. R. Harris, "The 'Sortes Sanctorum' in the St. Germain Codex", *American Journal of Philology*, 9 (1888), pp. 58-63.

11. This form of divination was covered in special *Fāl-nāma* textbooks (*dīwāns* used for rhapsodomancy usually bear the same name), which often presented extremely complicated methods of divination. The most popular of them was ascribed to the *imām* Ja'far al-Šādiq (80—148/699/700—765). The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains an entire series of *Fāl-nāma* textbooks: B 349, B 361, B 844, B 1957, B 2062, B 2211, B 4474, C 462, C 1404, C 1555.

12. *Fa'* could also be applied to a wide variety of instruments of divination (for example, hands, or peas).

13. T. Fahd, "Ḳur'a", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* CD-ROM edn. v. 1.0.

14. Translation by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall.

15. Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

17. (۱۳۸۱) مالف غلامرضا نوعی (تهران، ۱۳۸۱) Cf. the manuscript *Qur'at al-imām Ja'far ibn Abī Tālib* or *Ja'farīyya* (MS. Aya Sofya 1999), fols. 2—18b. See Fahd, *op. cit.*

18. According to a footnote, the original of this manuscript is unknown. The manuscript itself is held in the private collection of the Bahraini scholar *shaykh* Aḥmad 'Aṣṣūr, who recommended the manuscript for the guide, noting that each divination he had performed with the manuscript had proved accurate.

19. See *Table 1*.

* According to the guide, there are 14 possible outcomes of divination. Practically, however, they are of two types: "good" and "bad". *Table 2* presents all varieties found in the book.

20. For more on the Sunni version of *istikhāra*, see the book by the *imām-khaṭīb* of the Moscow Memorial Mosque on Poklonnaya Mount, the al-Azhar graduate Sh. Aliautdinov, *Put' k vere i sovershenstvu* (Path to Faith and Perfection) (Moscow, 2001), pp. 195—7. The book is available on the site www.umma.ru.

21. E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), p. 413.

22. In Islam, oneiromancy is justified by the text of the Qur'ān, where the theme of dreams occurs several times. See, for example, 8:43 (where a dream sent down by God helps to achieve victory in the Battle of Badr), 12:43 (interpretation of Pharaoh's dream by Yūsuf), 30:22 (dream as a sign of God), 37:101, 105 (dream-reader Ibrāhīm), 48:27 (Muḥammad's dream, sent down by God, comes true), etc.

23. Cited from Sh. Aliautdinov, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

24. For example, people came from all over the Maghrib to *shaykh* al-Sanūsī (838/9—895/1435/6—1490), famed for his ability to interpret such dreams (both his own and those of others). This strengthened his reputation as an authority both on religion and the mystical arts. See H. Bencheneb, "Al-Sanūsī", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* CD-ROM edn. v. 1.0.

25. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe, études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 363—7.

26. See, for example, http://www.albalagh.net/qa/istikharah_marriage.shtml where the *mullā* Taqī 'Uthmānī carefully analyses the story of a man who received a propitious pre-wedding *istikhāra* only to see two marriages turn out unsuccessfully.

27. For example, a certain Āyatallāh Shafī'ī from Qum offers to deliver a detailed *istikhāra* quickly by e-mail: <http://www.geocities.com/shjnaqvi/istikhara.htm>.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Marginal divination notes. Manuscript A 1638 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 152b—153a, 6.7×11.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Fol. 312b of the same manuscript with an Arabic-Persian inscription containing an injunction.

Fig. 3. A page from the "most complete and detailed" guide to *istikhāra* (Tehran, 2000).

T. A. Pang, N. G. Pchelin

THE QING IMPERIAL CREDENTIALS IN THE ST. PETERSBURG COLLECTIONS

Until recently the history of the Qing dynasty in China (1644—1911) has been studied by traditional sinology mostly on the basis of the Chinese language documents. Only by the end of the twentieth century the Manchu studies had raised the interest to the Manchu language materials of the Qing period [1]. It is well known that the Manchu language continued to be one of the official languages of the multinational Chinese state (along with Chinese and Mongolian), and in some cases was the only language of communication of Lifanyuan (the Board of Colonial affairs), mainly on relations with Russia and Mongolia. As a matter of fact, till the very end of the Qing dynasty all imperial official papers sent abroad were issued both in Manchu and Chinese. To show this we are going to introduce several Manchu-Chinese documents that are supposed to be the latest documents of this kind which were sent to Europe in 1908, that is three years before the Manchu dynasty was overthrown. These are imperial credentials that were sent to all countries to announce the ascending the throne of the young emperor Aisin-gioro Pu Yi and the beginning of the new Xuantong reign (22 January 1909 — 17 February 1912). When Pu Yi (b. 7 February 1906) was chosen by the empress-dowager Cixi (1835—1908) as a successor of the late emperor Zai Tian (1871—1908; reigned under the title Guangxu 1875—1909) [2], he was only two years old, or three *sui* according to the Chinese way of age counting. His father, the second prince Chun, served as regent, sharing power with the senior widow, who became Empress Dowager Longyu (1868—1913) after Cixi's death [3]. This short reign lasted only three years; Pu Yi's father and his foster mother had agreed for him to abdicate in favour of the republican government, which took place on 12 February 1912, thus putting an end to the rule of the Qing dynasty.

According to the established tradition, the reign period started on the first day of the coming lunar year, and the documents issued by a new emperor in the previous lunar year were usually registered by the reign period of the previous emperor. Therefore, officially the Xuantong period began on 22 January 1909, and the previous Guangxu period was considered to end on 21 January 1909. In the autobiography of Aisin-gioro Pu Yi, titled "From Emperor to Citizen", we read that he entered the Forbidden City on 13 November 1908, two days before Cixi died, and "on 2 December the 'Great Ceremony of Enthronement' took place" [4], from which day he became an emperor of China,

although all imperial documents were still dated by the Guangxu period till 21 January 1909.

Naturally, the succession to the throne had to be announced to all states and empires that had diplomatic relations with the Qing dynasty. Special envoys were sent everywhere, delivering to foreign courts imperial credentials with the expressions of hopes to maintain further good relations. We may only suppose that these credentials are kept in the archives of different Ministries of Foreign affairs or special closed collections, since the information on these documents is rather scarce in literature. In any case, they are not mentioned in the catalogues of any European or Chinese Manchu collections. The only reference we have is a publication of the envelope of such a credential with the abstracts of the Manchu and Chinese texts in the Taiwanese journal *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art* and a brief note by Zhuang Jifa: "*Guoshu — Qingting zhi Faguo guoshu*" ("the Qing court credential sent to France") [5]. This makes us assume that the credential itself is kept in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. In 1996, the Peoples Republic of China issued a stamp showing the envelope of the credential to Belgium and the beginning of the Chinese text. But the texts of such documents were never published or studied. In this connection, the Manchu collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies proves to be a unique source. In the process of compiling the "Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Issue 2", one of the authors of the present article was lucky to find three such credentials [6]. All the three are the documents that were sent to Russia by the Qing court and were composed on behalf of the young emperor Pu Yi. The documents are in Manchu (from left to right) and Chinese (from right to left), with the date in-between the texts bearing the red imperial seal over it (see *fig. 1*). The red square seal has the bilingual legend *Huangdi zhi bao // Han-i boobai* ("The treasure of the emperor"). The texts (6 lines per page; 20.8×22.0 cm) are written in black ink inside a printed red frame with the design of dragons playing with a pearl. The documents have an accordion binding with two hard covers on both sides (34.5×22.0 cm). The covers are bound in yellow silk with exquisite embroidery showing a dragon among the clouds, done in multicoloured satin-stitch technique (see the front cover of the present issue).

Each credential is kept in a *tao* (see the back cover of the present issue), which is fastened with two ivory buckles. In the centre of the front cover is the frame with the bilingual title *Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bihe* and *Da Qing guo guoshu* ("The Credential of the Great Qing Empire") woven in black thread. Over and around the frame are three embroidered five-fingered dragons in the clouds: one at the top, two others — on both sides of the frame; they are shown playing with a pearl. At the bottom of the cover are embroidered water-waves with a *ru-yi* sceptre of ancient form, which is rising from the midst of the waters. The clouds and the upper part of the waves are in satin-stitch. The bodies of the dragons, the pearls, the lower part of waves, inside and outside the frames, as well as contours of all images, are executed in fastening technique, using white and yellow metal threads, with which a design is made; they are fixed in pairs to the silk base with silk threads (green, red and white). All three credentials from the Institute collection bear the same date — *Badarangga doro-i gūsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun* and *Da*

Qing Guanxu sanshisi nian shiyi yue ershijiu ri, that is, 29th day, 11th moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro // Guanxu* (29 December 1908).

Recently another, the fourth credential, was discovered in the depository of the Hermitage Museum (Oriental Department). It has the same artistic characteristics, but the document is kept in hard card box bound in faded pink silk. The box is fastened with ivory buckles. According to the inventories, the document was acquired by the Hermitage in 1937 from unknown source. In comparison with the Institute credentials, this one is of earlier time; it is dated *Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gūsin ilaci aniya omšon biyai ice // Da Qing Guanxu sanshisan nian shiyi yue chu yi ri*, that is the 1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of *Badarangga doro // Guanxu* (5 December 1907).

Below we give the Chinese and Manchu texts of the Institute and Hermitage documents with their English translation. Text H 18 is a credential announcing the ascendance of the new Manchu emperor.

DOCUMENT H 18

Chinese text

大清國圖書

大清國
大皇帝敬致書於
大俄國
大皇帝陛下朕以冲齡
踐昨寶壽誕膺
天命祇承夙夜乾惕惟
恪遵成憲孜孜求
治親仁善鄰以期
於與國共臻輯睦
貴國與中國通好有
年邇來邦交尤篤
茲朕當繼統之始
尤宜修書布告虔
達摺忱
大皇帝宣化綏猷令名
久著自必篤念舊
好表示同情從此
疆址延廣四方和
會兩國臣民亦莫
不登康樂而享又
安不禁有厚望焉
大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bihe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hūwangdi gingguleme / bihe arafi / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hūwangdi de benebuhe bi se / ajigan soorin de tefi gurun-i boobai be ambarame alime / abkai hesebun be gingguleme alifi. erde / yamji geleme olhome damu toktoho kooli be / gingguleme dahame. sithūme sithūme dasan be / baime gosin de gajime adaki de sain / obume ereni gurun-i emgi uhei hūwalyasun / hūwangga de isibure be ererengge bi // wesihun gurun jai dulimbai gurun sain-i guculehe aniya goidaha ere udu aniya gurun de guculehengge ele haji. te bi jing doro be sirara tuktan erinde giyan-i bihe arafi selgiyeme yabubume gingguleme unenggi yargiyan be hafuci acambi. //

amba hūwangdi de wen be selgiyeme bodogon be toktoho sain gebu goidame iletulehe be dahame urunakū fe sain be hing seme gūtime. uhei gūnin be alime gaim. ereci hūhuri fengšen golmin goidame. duin ergi acame isabume. juwe // gurun-i amban irgese inu nelhe sebjen be / bahafi taifin elhe be alirakūngge akū yargiyan-i hing seme erehunjere babi. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gūsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

Having respectfully written this letter, the Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire orders to send it to the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I, the Emperor, [who] ascended the throne in my young age, inherited the dynastic treasures (i.e. symbols of power — *T. P.*) and respectfully took the Mandate of Heaven.

From Manchu

Having respectfully written this letter, the Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire ordered to deliver it to the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I ascended the throne in my young age. It is with great respect that I received the state treasures and the Mandate of Heaven, [and from] morning till evening, with fear [inside

From morning till evening, with fear inside [me], I incessantly think of following [all] the established laws in every detail. With all what is in my powers [I] try to rule benevolently and, as [if I were] a relative [of You] to strengthen good neighbouring relations, in a hope to attain peace and harmony between our states.

For long there have been amiable relations [between] Your state and China. Since recently these relations have become [even] closer, and I, the Emperor, hope that this [will last long]. That is the reason why I, the Emperor, issued an order to compile this letter to express my sincere feelings [towards Your state] (lit. "the letter which will read and explain my sincerity" — *T. P.*).

You, the Great Emperor, is a source of good intentions which give rise to changes and realisation of state plans. Your fame and reputation have been known for long. This makes me remember [Your] old good [towards our country] and express my understanding [of this fact].

Let in the future happiness and prosperity reach four corners [of the world]! Let [all] ordinary people and dignitaries of our countries have health and joy! Let everybody enjoy peace and tranquillity! I sincerely place all my hopes on this.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

me], respectfully follow the established order and constantly think with benevolence of governing [the state] and acting in [the spirit of] a good neighbourliness [towards You]. In this way I hope to establish friendship and harmony between [our] states. [Your] esteemed Empire and the Middle Empire have good friendly relations for already a long period. During the last years friendship between our states became especially warm. Now, at the beginning of my rule, I write this so that the truth and facts should be announced and known everywhere.

You, the Great Emperor, is he who disseminates [the principles] of De and Wen and determine strategies. Since [Your] good reputation is universally known, [I] sincerely think about the old good [relations between our states] and make them [integral] part of [my] thoughts. From now on, let [Your] fortune and prosperity be long and reach the four corners [of the world]! Let people and state officials of both states be healthy and joyful, and let there will be no one without peace and tranquillity! This is really [my] sincere and true hope.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

DOCUMENT H 19

Chinese text

大清國國書

大清國
大皇帝敬問
大俄國
大皇帝好朕維政典以治
當為大興理財乃經
國之要務
先皇帝以
貴國講求財政考鏡是
資特遣尚書銜奉天
巡撫唐紹儀恭賀國
書前赴
貴國考察財政茲朕續
承大統遵守成規允
宜加備國書命該大
臣廣往一併呈遞該
大臣才識明通究心
財政尚望
大皇帝推誠優待俾得從
咨研究取益宏多實
切厚誼
大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hūwangdi gingguleme / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hūwangdi de sain be fonjiki. / bi gūnici dasan kooli oci bayan de / isibure be amba hešen obume ulin be / ichiyaci. uthai gurun be dasara oyonggo baita / nenehe hūwangdi / wesihun gurun de ulin-i dasan be / giyangname haiji. kincime baicame akdaci ojoro / jakade. cohotoi aliha amban-i jergi Fung tiyan-i giyarime dasara amban Tang Soo-i be // takūrafi. gingguleme gurun-i baita be benebufi neneme / wesihun gurun de genefi ulin-i dasan be / kincime baicahabi. te bi amba doro be / sirame alihi toktoho kooli be dahame / tuwakiyaha be dahame giyan-i neneme gurun-i / bithe be belhefi. harangga amban be / benebufi sasa alibuha harangga amban erdemu / sarasu getuken hafu. mujilen de ulin-i dasan be sibkime hono / amba hūwangdi unenggi be anafi dabali / tuwara be ereme ereni elhe nuhan-i sibkime fuhašame. tusa be baharange umesi // labdu oho be dahame yargiyari-jiramilara gūnin be baimbi. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gūsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of Russian Empire.

From Manchu

The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about the good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I, the Emperor, govern the affairs of property following only administrative laws, and solve [questions concerning] property on the basis of "great ropes" (i. e. great principles — *T. P.*), which [I] consider to be the most important thing in governing the state.

Earlier the emperor sent the governor of Fengtian [province], Tang Shaoyi, in the rank of the Board's president, to deliver [You] respectfully the state document. He came to Your state in order to study [Your methods] of governing property affairs. Now I have ascended the throne (lit. "great tradition" — *T. P.*) and respectfully follow the established rules. In addition, I have composed the state letter and ordered this dignitary to deliver it together [with the other documents]. This dignitary is a talented, clever, wise, [and] bright [man] experienced in property affairs.

[I] sincerely hope that the Great Emperor will be open [to Our request] and will take care to comprehend [the essence of] it, and from this he will obtain great profit. [Now I] respectfully express my firm friendship.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

My opinion is that, what concerns the state rule, it is most important in governing the state to bring about the main principle of obtaining richness and of [duly] administering property.

The previous Emperor asked to explain how property in [Your] respected Empire is governed. To carry out thorough investigations [in this field] the governor of Fung-tian [province], Tang Šoo-i, in the rank of the Board's president, was specially sent to deliver respectfully the [Emperor's] questions. He reached [Your] esteemed state and carefully examined [the question] of governing property.

Now I succeeded the great government, and, in full accordance with the established law, and following [all] observations, [I] prepared the state document similar to that in the past. [I also] send the above-mentioned dignitary with the order to deliver [it] together [with the other documents]. The [above-]mentioned dignitary will examine, as far as his knowledge and clear, comprehensive mind permits him, how property is governed [in Your state]. [You] the Great Emperor, relying on truth and waiting for [the results of] the investigation, which will be done thoroughly and with no hurry, will obtain great benefit. I hope [on this] with really generous mind.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

DOCUMENT H 20

Chinese text

大清國國書

大清國
大皇帝敬問
大俄國
大皇帝好中國興
貴國通好有年使命往還向
稱親密茲朕仰承
天命寅紹是基特命駐紮
貴國使臣薩蔭圖呈遞國書
以表朕委任之意該大臣
忠誠允達學識宏通辦理
交涉事件悉臻允洽尚望
大皇帝照舊接待俾盡厥職克
令兩國邦交益敷親睦是
所厚望
大清光緒三十四年十一月二十九日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i gurun-i bithe.

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hūwangdi gingguleme / amba Oros gurun-i / amba hūwangdi de sain be fonjiki. dulimbai / gurun jai wesihun gurun sain-i guculehe aniya goidaha. takūraha elcin genere jidere de aifini haji / jiramin seci ombi. te bi hargašame / abka hesebun be alfi amba doro be / gingguleme siraha cohortoi / wesihun gurun de tebuneh takūraha amban / Sainu be gurun-i bithe be alibufi // bi afaha tušan-i gūnin be iletulebuhe / harangga amban tondo unenggi akdun sijirhūn / tacin sarasu amba hafu ishunde tabušara / baita hacin be icihiyahangge gemu lak seme / acanara de isibuha. hono / amba hūwangdi de da an-i obume tuwame ereni terei tušan be akūmbure be erehe / bime juwe gurun ishunde guculehengge ele / haji hūwalyasun be jiramilame muterengge. erebe hing seme erehunhengge inu. //

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gūsin duici aniya omšon biyai orin uyun.

Translation

From Chinese

The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of the Russian Empire.

It is already several years that China and [Your] esteemed state are in friendly relations [with each other], which has a result of mutual warmth and closeness.

Having received the Mandate of Heaven and respectfully inherited the throne (lit. "great foundation" — *T. P.*),

From Manchu

The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about a good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

For many years the Middle Empire had good and friendly relations with [Your] esteemed Empire. For a long time, after we had exchanged [our] envoys, [these relations] could be called warm and amiable.

Now, with [my eyes turned towards the heavens], I have

I, the Emperor, issued a special decree to send to Your state our dignitary, Sa Yintu, to deliver the official letter with the expressions of my official intentions. The [above-]mentioned dignitary is a devoted and sincere man. He is clever and wise. [He] possesses an extensive knowledge and great experience in solving difficult questions. I am in a hope that You, the Emperor, will receive [Our envoy] in due way, and let him fulfil his duties in order the relations between our countries become closer and more friendly. I place all my hopes on this.

29th day, 11 moon, 34th year of the Guanxu reign of the Great Qing.

received the Mandate of Heaven and respectfully inherited the state governing. I specially ordered the dignitary Sainu, the envoy sent to Your esteemed Empire, to deliver the state document [to You] and to bring to Your notice [Our] thoughts about the duties which have been bestowed upon me. The [above-]mentioned dignitary is an honest, reliable, capable and wise [man], who will resolve [our] mutual misunderstandings in order to reach agreements in right time.

[I] still [hope] that, [true to our] old accordance, the Great Emperor will assist [this dignitary] with doing his best to fulfil his duty. Let mutual friendly relations between the two Empires become even warmer and more harmonious! This is what I truly hope for.

29th day, 11 the moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

HERMITAGE DOCUMENT LT 1749

Chinese text

大清國
大皇帝敬聞
大俄國
大皇帝好朕眷念友邦夙敦睦誼
前者特簡胡推德為駐紮
貴國欽差大臣接任以來極承
推誠相信俾盡厥職現屆期滿
召令回國特諭呈遞國書用
昭鄭重邦交之意并祝
福履綏和
國運昌盛
大清光緒三十三年十一月初一日

Manchu text

Amba Daicing gurun-i / amba hūwangdi gingguleme / Amba Oros gurun-i / amba hūwangdi de sain be fonjiki. bi guculere / gurun be jirame gūnime. daci / hūwaliyasun hūwangga be jiramilambihe. ongolo cohotoi // Hū Wei De be sonjoji / wesihun gurun de tebunefi hesei takūraha / amban tucibuḟi. tušan be alire ci / ebsi. umesi / uneggi be anafi ishunde akdlulame. terei / tušan be akūmbuha. ne aniya jalufi // elbifi gurun de maribuḟi. cohotoi imbe / gurun-i biḟhe be alibuḟi. guculere gurun be / ujen obure gūnin be iletulehe bime. geli / hūteri fenksen acame alire / gurun-i forgon yendeme muktendere be jalbarireo.

Amba Daicing gurun-i Badarangga doro-i gūsin ilaci aniya omšon biyai ice.//

Translation

From Chinese

The Great Emperor of the Great Qing Empire respectfully asks about the health of the Great Emperor of the Russian Empire.

I, the Emperor, incessantly care about [Your] friendly state and from morning [till evening] send [my] benevolence and friendliness [to You]. Earlier the envoy Hu Weide was sent to Your country. From the very moment the [above-]mentioned dignitary was appointed by us [to carry out this mission] and started his service, he considered his duty to establish sincerity and mutual confidence [between our countries].

Now, when the period of his mission is over, [I] order him to return home. He was ordered, in particular, to deliver the official letter with the exposition of [Our] thoughts as well as [the statement] of the importance of the relations [between our countries].

[I] also pray for happiness, peace and prosperity of [Your] state.

1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of the Guanxu period of the Great Qing.

From Manchu

The Great Emperor of the Great Daicing Empire respectfully inquires about good health of the Great Emperor of the Great Russian Empire.

I sincerely think about the friendly state with which harmony and friendship have been strengthening from the very beginning. Earlier Hu Wei De was chosen by [Our] order and appointed on mission to Your esteemed country. Till now he carried out his duty with great honesty, doing his best in strengthening mutual [relations]. I order him to return to [his] homeland when this year expires. I order him, in particular, to deliver the state document [to You], where I expose my important thoughts to the friendly state. Moreover, I pray that the period of [Your] state will be flourishing and raising, and full of fortune and prosperity.

1st day, 11th moon, 33d year of *Badarangga doro* of the Great Daicing Empire.

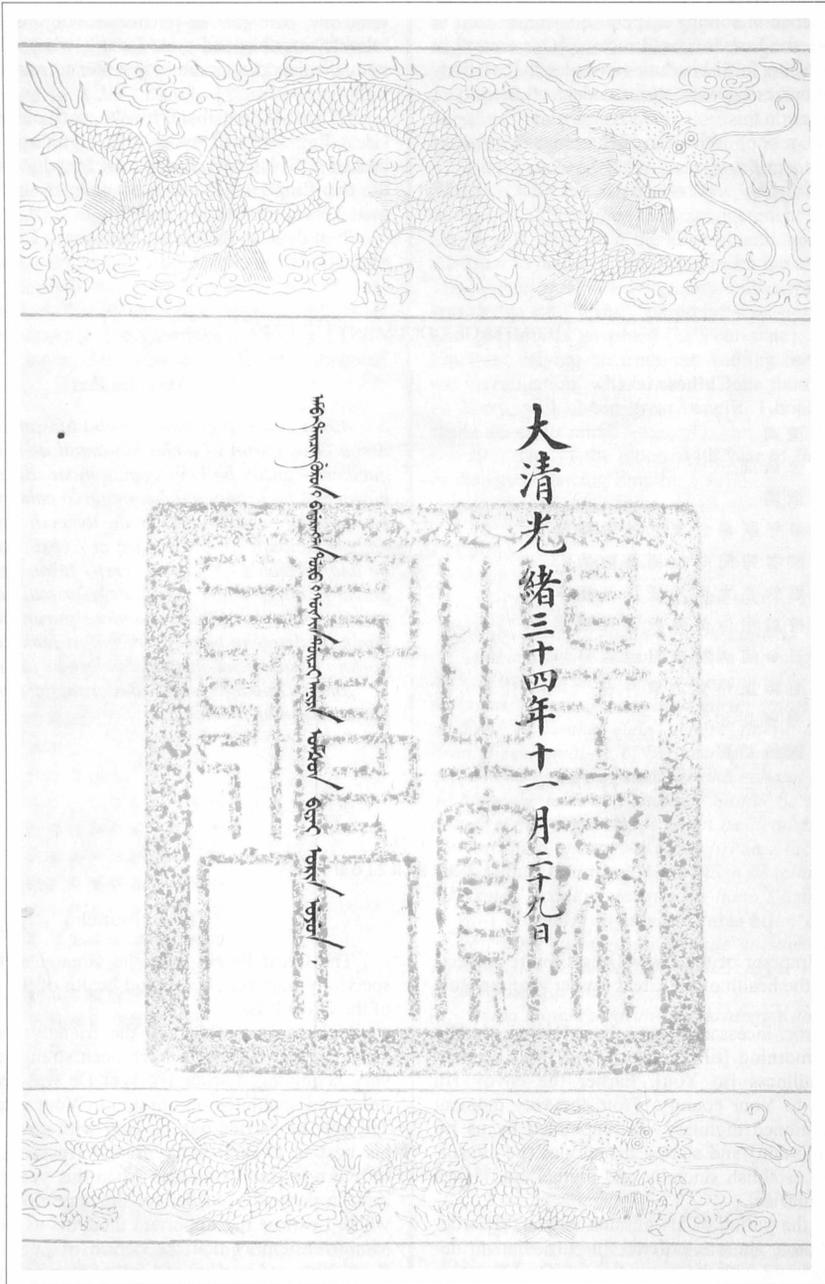


Fig. 1

* * *

It is noticeable that the Manchu and Chinese versions of the four documents slightly differ, so that some places in the Manchu texts can be understood only with the aid of their Chinese parallels. This especially concerns political formulas, typical of the Chinese documents. For example, in document H 19 the Manchu term *amba doro* (“the great rite, doctrine”) is a word-to-word translation of the Chinese *da gang* 大綱 (“the general principles”, lit. “big robes”), which means “the imperial throne”, and is rightly used in

Manchu with the word *alimbi* (“to ascend”). Further, the Manchu dictionaries do not give the expression *ulin-i dasan* (where *ulin* means “wealth, property” and *dasan* — “rule, government”). Here, also, it is a word-to-word translation of the Chinese *licai* 理財 (“to direct finance”). But such observations resulted from the documents' reading need special investigation in a separate article, while the authors' task was only to introduce these unique documents into scholarly circulation.

Notes

1. G. Sary, “Man'chzhurovedenie nakanune tret'ego tysyacheletii” (“Manchu studies on the eve of the third millennium”), *Nasledie mongoloveda O. M. Kovalevskogo i sovremennost'* (Kazan, 2002), pp. 74—9.
2. A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, reprint edn. (Taipei, 1991), i, p. 733.
3. E. S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors. A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, 1998), p. 136.
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Illustrations

Front cover:

Embroidery design of a dragon. The Qing imperial credentials of the Emperor Xuantong to the Russian Tsar Nicolas II, accordion binding cover. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 34.5×22.0 cm.

Back cover:

Embroidery design on a *tao*. Same credentials, 34.5×22.0 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. Manchu-Chinese date “29th day, 11th moon, 34th year of *Badarangga doro // Guanxu*” (= 29 December 1908) and the red imperial seal in credentials H 18, H 19, H 20.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

I. R. Tantlevskij

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 (יהוה) 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 (כהן 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 (πρῶτος) to become the priest of God, the first (πρῶτος) 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 Edem 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 prefigured 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 (ἀφομοιωμένος 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, the *Logos* 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 (ἀρχὼν δικαιοσύνης) ordained in heaven by God for this very purpose, a spiritual being and (*varia lectio*): the Son of God (πνευματικὸς 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 Μελχισηδέκ), or “Melchizedek was God” (θεὸς ἦν ὁ Μελχισηδέκ), implying that those sectarians identified Melchizedek with the “Word” (ὁ λόγος in *John* 1:1) and even “God” (θεὸς 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 πόρνῆς, 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. Ḥana bar-Bizna, citing Tannai R. Simcon Ḥasida (the Pious), interprets the allegory of the “four craftsmen

(חרשימ) 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 ארדי in *Ps.* 110:1 was interpreted with respect to Abraham. The *Aboth deRabbi 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=4QShir:Shabb^b), Melchizedek possibly appears as the High Priest in the heavenly Temple — frg. 11, 3: “[Melchi]zedeck, Priest (כהן) in the Commun[ity of God (or ‘gods’, i. e. the angels) ...]” [46]; cf. also 11Q17=11Shir:Shabb, column 2, line 7: [ראשי נשיאי כהנות פלא למלכי צדק] [47]. In the *Visions of Amram* (4Q544=4QAmram^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 4QAmram^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]lot of [Melchi]zedeck” (2:7—8) and to carry out the “Judgement of Go[d]” (משפטי א[ל]י) 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 salvation; that [sa]ith 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 Spirit” ([52] *משׁיח הרוח) [53], 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 (ˆ) above the letter (מ) indicates its probable reading, while the sign (ˆ) above the letter (שׁ) see below) — its possible reading.

the meek (לבשר ענוים); 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 משיח-מבשר of *11 Melch* can be identified with Melchizedek himself. The identification seems to be confirmed by line 23 of *11Q Melchizedek*, column 2: [...]במשפט[ו] אל כאשר כחוב עליו [אומר לצי[ו]ן מלך אלהיך ("... 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]" (משפטי א[ל]) (ל[ו]), then the one "that [saith unto Zi]on [57], Thy God reigneth!" (*sc.* the מבשר) 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 מבשר משיח-מבשר 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 (אלוהים) stand[eth] in the congreg[ation] of God (אל); He judgeth among the gods (אלוהים)" (*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 (אל) 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 אל 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]" (הקץ שנת הרצון למלכי צ[דק]) (*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..." (לקרא שנת רצון ליהוה). (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 [I]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 (אל, אלוהים). 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 משיח and אל 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 (עולם ועד) (אלוהים), is for ever and ever (עולם ועד) the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness (צדק), and hatest wickedness (רשע); therefore thy God (אלהיך) hath anointed thee (משחך), god (אלהים), 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" (אל גבור) 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 (הפקודה) of the earth by God (אל) 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" (משיח (מ)אהרון (מ)ישראל) [66], i.e. the Messiah, combining functions of the priestly and lay Anointed Ones, like Melchizedek. The Messiah "will atone for the sin (יכפר עון)" (*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 Judeans (*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 (לכפר) for (the sins) of all the sons of [Light and] the me[n] of the [I]ot of [Melchi]zedek (2:7–8) and will carry out the Judgement of Go[d] (משפטי א[ל]) over the wicked (2:13–14, 23; cf. 2:9–11). In this connection also significant is the text *4Q 541*, frg. 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 (על כול בני דורה) (ויכפר) 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 (שמש עולם) will shine...". The *Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk* (*1Q pHab 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. *1Q pHab 10:3–5, 12–13; 13:3–4; 4Q pPs37 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 heav]ens and the earth will listen to His Messiah (משיח), [and all] that 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[w]ed 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 [dec]ds be delayed. And the Lord (אדני) will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as He sa[ajd], [for] He will heal the badly wounded (הללים) 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 needy, lead the exiled, and enrich the hungry [77], and the wise[...], and them all like the sai[n]ts[...].” 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 raise] (יקים) the dead of His people (מתי עמר)”.

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 וזקף כפופים, “freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, raising [them that are] bo[w]ed down” (line 8), is a citation of the *Psalms* 146: 7b–8a–b — יהוה מתיר אסורים יהוה פוקח עורים יהוה זקף 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 אלוהים, אל, the Messiah of the *Messianic Apocalypse* acts to some extent in the capacity of אדני. The main function of אל-אלוהים (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 κυριος (*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 κυριος, Lord of *Ps.* 110:1 and χριστος after resurrection. Here, the terms κυριος, Lord and χριστος, 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 אַדְרִי in the *Messianic Apocalypse* (4Q 521) with אַדְרִי 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, אַדְרִי 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 (גָּבַר) over the earth [...] they [will d]o, and all will serve [him... And he] will be called [...] (of / like) G[reat] [God] (אֱלֹהֵי גֹבַר), and he will be designated by His name (וּבְשֵׁם יִתְכַנֶּה) [87]. He will be called Son of God (בְּרֵי אֱלֹהִים), and they will call him Son of the Most High (בְּרֵי 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[ry], 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 (בְּקִשְׁרוֹת) [89]. He will jud[ge] the earth with righteousness (בְּקִשְׁט) 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 שְׁלֹטֵן 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. Garcia 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] (אֱלֹהֵי גֹבַר) [95], and he will be designated by His name (וּבְשֵׁם יִתְכַנֶּה)" 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 (אֱלֹהֵי גֹבַר בְּאֵלֵהוּ)" (2:7) [97]. Such a wordy "parallelism" as אֱלֹהֵי — 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 אֵלֵי [100]. "My Power" instead of אֱלֹהֵי, "My God" (as in Ps. 22:2) [101], especially in light of verse 20 of the same *Psalms*: "But be not Thou far from me, O Lord: O my Power (אֵלֵהוּ), haste thee to help me" [102]. (The word אֵלֵהוּ is a derivative from אֵל) [103].

The phrase "and all the provinces will worship (יִסְגְּרוּן) 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 אֱנוֹשׁ) 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 שְׁלֹטֵן 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* 1, 289: "There shall come forth from you one day a man (ἀνθρώπος) 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 (ἀνθρώπος) 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 ἀνθρώπινην 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", שַׁמְקָן] [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) (חֹזֵן; 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 (רוי כול חייה) [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 (בחר אלה) [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* (אבדי) and his ancestors (אבות) 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*¹ 2:5—6 — "His kingdom (will be) an eternal kingdom (מלכות עלם) and all his paths in righteousness (בקשט) 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*¹ 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 1). 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; (רדי לא מתברן; probably until the time, "when the Books of wisdom (ספרי חכמת) 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 (ויכפר על כול בני דררה) 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 (שמש עולמה) 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 (לכפר) 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” (משיח (מ)אהרון ו(מ)ישראל) — i.e. the Messiah (obviously non-Davidic [133]) combining functions of the priestly and the lay Anointed Ones, — “will atone for the sin” (יכפר עון) [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 καινόν) 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 διαδοχῆ) 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 (ומשפטיכה הטובים ברתחה לו) [...] in eternal light (באור עולמים). And Thou hast made him the First-born Son (בן בכור) [140] to Thee [...] like him for a prince and ruler (כמוהו לשר ומושל) 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...] (והורא נתן לו חוקים צדיקים כאב לבנו) [...]”. 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 (בכור), 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 (ברדתו) (ומלאך שלומכה בעדתו)” (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 ειρήνης) 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 (מלאך שלום) 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; *IEn.* 9:40, 20:5, 54:6; *Test. Moses* 10:2; cf. also *Rev.* 12:7—9) [146]. The designation שלום מלאך, 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 (ומשפטיה 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] cr[own 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 אלה).

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 (πρώτος) to become the priest of God, the first (πρώτος) to build the sanctuary (τὸ ἱερόν), 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 (יְלִדְתִּי). 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 עוז 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 no]ne can compare [to] my glory (ל'כבודי) [ל'א דומי]'. And none has been risen (to the heavens — *I. T.*) without me (זולתי); besides me, apart from me — *I. T.*) [153], and none can oppose me. I sit (ישבתי) on [high], exalted in hea[ven], and none [sur]round (me) [154]. I am reckoned among the gods (אלים) and established in the holy congregation. [My] desi[re] 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 (מעון הקודש) [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 (ומיא בכבודי ידמה ליה) 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 (הוריה) compares [to m]y [teaching] [156]. Who can attack me (i.e. polemic against me — *I. T.*), when I open my mouth? And who can endure the flow of my speech? And who can challenge me and be like me at my judgement (במשפט) [None compares to me, for [my] statio[n] is with gods (אלים), [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 (צדיקים), with God [...] in the Holy Abode, hymn H[im]... [...] Pr]oclaim with expressions of gladness, [burst forth in] eternal joy without cea[sing...] in order to raise the horn of [His] Mess[iah] ([157] [משׁיח])... 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', fig. 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; *מי כמוני באלים*)?" (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? (*מי כמכה באלים יהוה*)", 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 (ידמה) unto the Lord?" (89:7) [161]; "My God, what god is like (דמי) 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 אלים ("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', fig. 1, ll. 15—16 (a fragment of the so-called *song of the righteous*): "... in order to raise the horn of [His] Mess[iah] (משׁיח) ... and to proclaim his mighty hand..."; 4Q 427 (*Thanksgiving Hymns*), fig. 7, 1:12: "Not by pure gold I crow[n] myself (אכהׁנר)..." [167]) [168]. In the mention of the kings of old (מלכי קדם) 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 (כסאי) above the stars of God (כוכבי אל) 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*; צפון — *I. T.*). I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High (אדמה לעליון)". 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 (אל), I sit in the seat of God (אלהים), in the midst of the seas"; "Thou art 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 (מעון הקודש) (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 (במשפט)", 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' — 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].

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

Speaking of possible biblical parallels to the hymnic fragment from the text 4Q 491' 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 (אלהים), is for ever and ever (עולם ועד); the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou lovest righteousness (צדק), and hatest wickedness (רשע); therefore thy God (אלהיך) hath anointed thee (משחך), god (אלהים), with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"; *Ps.* 89:37—38: "His (sc. King David — *I. T.*) thy 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 *1 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* (*1 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.) Ἐξάγωγῆ (*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 ἀνῆρ — *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 Ἐξάγωγῆ 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 (ἀγίων), 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* (*1QH^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 (שחַת; i.e. Sheol — *I. T.*), and from Abaddon of Sheol Thou hast lifted me up (העליתני) 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 (קדושים; i.e. the heavenly dwellers — *I. T.*), and that it may enter into community with the congregation of the sons of heaven (בני שמים). 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 (והוריה לוא תרמה בהוריתי) *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* (*1QH^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 *Hodayot* — *Thanksgiving Hymns* (this redaction 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 *fleshy, 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 1) [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 1).

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 (בִּי; or ‘in me’ — *I. T.*) and revealeth Thyself in me [210] (or ‘to me’ — *I. T.*) with Thy Power (והופע לי בכוחה) [211] as perfect Light... Through me (בִּי) 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 (עמדִי) 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 (בשר) [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 (בִּי; 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 (והופעתִי) 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” (כליל כבוד) and “everlasting might” (גבורה עולם).

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 Melchiresha’s antipode in the text 4Q 544=4Q *Visions of Amram*^b ar, frg. 3. l. 2 could be: מלכי צדק, i.e. *Righteous King*, or *King of Righteousness*; כהן צדק (Righteous Priest, or *Priest of Righteousness*) [215]; and צדק (216) מורה־י (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, אלים, “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 (הַמְשַׁכְּלִים) will shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those who lead many to the righteousness (מְצַדִּיקֵי הַרְבִּים), like the stars (כְּכּוֹכְבִים) for ever and ever”). In the light of these texts, and especially the hymnic fragment of *4Q 491* 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. *marzeah*; Ugaritic *marzahu* or *marzihu*) [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 אַסְיָא *‘āsāyā* (“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 Ἐσούτοι (Essenes).

The Israelite-Judahite cult of the dead, and especially the concept of the רַפְאִים (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 — רַפְאִים — 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'im* 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 (רָשָׁה) 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 אַלִּים *resp.* אַלֹּהִים, 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 אַלִּים (“gods”, “divine ones”). Biblical narratives and prohibitions [232] show that, according to some people's beliefs, the dead, called אַלִּים, were regarded as possessing extraordinary knowledge and, thus, were designated as *yiddē'ōnim* (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 arš*; or “Rephaites of the land, country”) and the “son(s) of the Rephaites” (*bn rp'im*) in some Ugaritic texts [235]. These arc likely to have been called the “gods of the earth” (*'ilm arš*) [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'im*.

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 *marzihu* (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 θίασος (*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 πεπονημένοι) [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*, fig. 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 אלהים). 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 irremediable 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-gnostic* 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 ܐܫܝܓܘܝܐ / *‘āsayyā* (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 θεραπεύειαν παθῶν)” (*War*, II, § 136) [261], some scholars have supposed that the members of the sect were considered to be physicians and that their classical designation Ἐσσαῖοι / Ἐσσηνοί (meaningless in Greek) is none other than a transliteration of Aramaic ܐܫܝܓܘܝܐ / *‘āsayyā* / *‘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 Šadoqiden", *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* (ἐξεγέννησά σε). Cf. the *Peshitta ad loc.* Cf. also *Ps.* 2:7: "Thou art My son (בן); this day have I begotten thee (בָּרַכְתִּי)". (The Masoretic vocalization.)

9. *LXX*: "Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ".

10. Originally בָּרַכְתִּי 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. Meshcherskii, "Sledy pamiatnikov Kumrana v staroslavianskoj i drevnerusskoj literature" ("Traces of Qumran monuments in Old Slavonic and Old Russian literature"), *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury Akademii nauk SSSR*, 19 (1963), pp. 130—47; *idem*, "K voprosu ob istorii teksta slavianskoj knigi Enocha" ("Concerning the history of the text of the Slavonic Book of Enoch"), *Vizantijskij vremennik*, 24 (1964), pp. 91—108; *idem*, "K voprosu ob istochnikh slavianskoj knigi Enocha" ("Concerning the problem of the sources of the Slavonic Book of Enoch"), *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta narodov Azii*, 86 (1965), pp. 72—8; *idem*, "Les apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament dans la littérature slave ancienne", *Bulletin d'Études Karaïtes*, 2 (1989), pp. 47—64; I. D. Amusin, "Uchitel' pravdennosti kumranskoj obshchiny" ("The Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran community"), *Ezhegodnik muzeia istorii religii i ateizma*, 7 (1963), pp. 253—77; *idem*, "Novyj eschatologičeskij tekst iz Kumrana (11Q Melchizedek)" ("A new eschatological text from Qumran (11Q Melchizedek)"), *Vestnik drevnej 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 *Maḥanayim*, 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"), *Novyj sbornik statej po slavianovedeniju*, 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

1997); I. R. Tantlevskiĭ (Tantlevskij), “Melchizedek” (“Melchizedek”), in *Metafizicheskie issledovaniia*. Fasc. 8: Religii (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 43–58; *idem*, *Knigi Enocha* (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 Tigheleaar 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. Tigheleaar 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’ 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[ll]ed ...] 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, “Milki-Šedeq et Milki-Reša”, p. 97; Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrit de 11Q Melchisédeq”, 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*), 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. Tantlevskiĭ, “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^c), frg. 2, 2:14.

54. See e.g. Fitzmyer, “Further light on Melchizedek”, p. 40; Milik, “Milki-Šedeq et Milki-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 Melchisédeq”, 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-מבשר in 11Q Melch 2:18–20 with the Teacher of Righteousness (e.g. Milik, “Milki-Šedeq et Milki-Reša”, p. 126; see also Puech, “Notes sur les manuscrit de 11Q Melchisédeq”, 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 אַלְמִיּוֹת and אֱלֹהִים (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. *IQ S* 2:2; *IQ 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, “Milki-Šedeq et Milki-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 *IQ M* 9:14–16, Michael is only one of the four Archangels (see also 4Q En^a ar 1 iv 6–11 (*I 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, *IQ 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^c], frg. 7, 2:13; CD-A 7:9, 7:21–8:3, CD-B 19:6, 11–13, 15. Cf. also 4Q Sapiential Work A¹ [=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. *IQ 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^a), frg. 1, 3 and *Micah* (IQ pMi), frgs. 8–10, 7(?) (cf. 4Q 374, frg. 2, 2:5). On the details of the interpretation of the term בְּחִירֵי in the Dead Sea scrolls, see e.g. I. R. Tantlevskiĭ, *The History and Ideology of the Qumran Community*, pp. 252–60, and section V of the present article. Some scholars interpret the term בְּחִירֵי in *IQ pHab* 5:4 as the “elect ones of God” (cf. *IQ 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 נוח) [...] 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 writte]n 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 (שמיא שלטן) 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 (עלם 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 (עלם שלטן עלם) ..."]; cf. also 4Q 521, frgs. 2 II+4, 1: "[... the hea]vens 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 Μετατρον (מטיטרון); "(the one occupying the throne) beside the Throne (of God)" [*Greek*] in 3 (*Hebrew*) *Enoch*. Here, Μετατρον 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 Μετατρον'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. Tantlevskii, "Messiansko-ėskhatologicheskie 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. fig. 9, 3: "...] משיח בן יר משיתח[...]

72. Cf. *Matthew* 19:28: "And Jesus said unto them: Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration (τῆ 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"; *I 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 (ἀθανασία)".

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 fig. 1 ii 5 (?); frgs. 2 ii+4, 3–5, 11; fig. 2 iii, 3; frgs. 5 i+6, 4 (?); frgs. 7 i–8+5 ii 7–16, 4, 7; fig. 8, 10–11; fig. 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 (ἔτι τοῦ χριστοῦ κυρίου) and in verse 7 (ὑπὸ ράβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ κυρίου). See also *Lam.* 4:20 (LXX). In the *Psalms of Solomon* 18:5 χριστοῦ 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 édn. (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*, fig. 2, the antagonist of Melkiesha', most probably Melchizedek, is addressed to as מרשי. Cf. e.g. *Dan.* 10:16–17, 19 (see also section IV).

87. Cf. 4Q 543 (4Q *Visions of 'Amram' ar*), frg. 3, 1; 4Q 545 (4Q *Visions of 'Amram' ar*), frg. 1, 1: 17—18: “[...] you will be אַל, and angel of God (אַל מַלְאָךְ) you will be call[ed ...]”. 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*“ (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* (1QM, 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. 1QM 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 (1QM 5:1). Cf. also the text 4Q 285, frgs. 4—5, connected with the *War Scroll*, and the Qumran *Commentary on Isaiah* (4Q *pls*“=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), p. 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: אַל רַבַּא בְּאַיְלָהּ.

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 pscudepigrapha 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 (אֵיִלָּהּ): LXX: τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως).

103. Let us mention that in Rabbinic literature, the term נְבוֹרָה — 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*“ (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 Zedeq was the name of the old Canaan deity. (Cf. the name of the Canaanite king of Jerusalem ‘Adonizedek [lit. “my king is righteousness (or Zedeq)”), 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, “Zedeq (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.

mountain of Zion'. I (*sc.* David — *I. T.*) will declare the decree of the Lord: He hath said unto me: 'Thou art My son (בני); cf. *Ps.* 2: 12 and 2 — *I. T.*); this day have I begotten thee (יילדתך)" 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 (יילדתך)". (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 4*Q 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. 4*Q 521* (*Messianic Apocalypse*), frg. 2 II+4, 6; cf. also 4*Q B*^h 10: 13: "...ונחן על משיחו רוח קודש...".

121. Cf. e.g. *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran 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. 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 présséniens 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 1i 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. 4*Q 540*, 5.

128. This composition was described by J. Starcky ("Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân", p. 492) as *Aaronic text*: 4*Q AhA* bis [= 4*Q 540*] and 4*Q AhA* [= 4*Q 541*]. É. Puech (e.g. his *Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4Q TestLévi^c (?) et 4Q Aja*, ed. J. Trebelle 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*: 4*Q TLevi^a* ar? [= 4*Q 540*] and 4*Q TLevi^d* ar? [= 4*Q 541*]. (Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2, pp. 1078—81; 4*Q 540* (4*Q Apocryphon of Levi^a* ar), 4*Q 541* (4*Q Apocryphon of Levi^b* ar).) However, in the fragments of 4*Q 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 4*Q 541*, frg. 24, col. 2. Cf. e.g. *Isa.* 53.

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

131. 11*Q 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 4*Q 390* (*Pseudo-Moses Apocalypse^c*), 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 Judean 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; 4*Q 417*, frg. 2, 1: 15—17; 2 *Enoch* 33: 10; Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 67—71. The Gnostic sect of the Sethians 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 לְשֵׁר וּמִשָּׁל כְּכֹל חֵבֶל אֶרֶץ־הַ (italics ours — *I. T.*) and *Ps.* 110:2 about David, or Davidic heir, as the global Ruler.

151. Tantlevskii, "Messiansko-ėskhatologicheskie 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 Qumrān. 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 Qumrān*, 65–68 (1997), pp. 175–203; M. Wise, "מִי כְמוֹנֵי בְּאֵלִים", 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. Garcia 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, Garcia 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, Hagigah*, 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 ([...] הָרָר הָרָר הָרָר ...)".

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. Hagigah*, 15a; cf. *B. Sanhedrin*, 38a, 67b). Cf. further 3 (*Hebrew*) *Enoch* 10:1: "He (God) made me (i.e. Meṭatron) 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 *IQ M* 12: 2; *IQ 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-ėskhatologičeskije 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 (!), 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 (שׂר הפנים; lit. “the Prince of the Face (of God)”).

179. Concerning this fragment in connection with 4Q 491^a, 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 Judaeic 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. 4Q 246 (= 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* 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^a* (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 Gorfā, 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, *IQ M* 11: 6 ff., *CD* 7: 18–20, *Test. Levi* 18: 3, *Test. Judah* 24: 1; cf. *IQ Sb* 5: 27. In *Rev.* 22: 16, the allegory of the star (probably from *Num.* 24: 17) is applied to Jesus. In *J. Ta'aniit*, 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 (Dōstān; 3rd–2nd century B.C.E.), with the “star out of Jacob”, sc. the Messiah.

188. Cf. the Qumran *Thanksgiving Hymn IQ 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” (= *IQ H^a* 10—18, new numbering). See also the next note.

194. In *IQ H^a* 10[= 2]:13, the author calls himself מליץ דעה (“Relaying Knowledge”). Cf. also *IQ H^a* 23[=18]:11. In the Qumran Commentary on *Psalms* 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 (= *IQ H^a* 15[=7]:36): “...I taught (הוריתי) during the (period of) sinful unfaithfulness...”, i. e. the author is a teacher.

195. See further e. g. *IQ pHab* 2:2—3, 7:4—5.

196. Cf. further e. g. *IQ 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. *IQ 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 (ידיד המלך) and a companion of the s[aints] (i. e. angels — I. T.) ...” (*4Q 431*[= *4Q 471b*] 1:16; *4Q 427*, frg. 7, l. 11). It is not impossible that the designation “friend of the King” (ידיד המלך) 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 Judaean 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, l. 12: “Not by pure gold I crow[n] myself (לִי אֶכְתֹּרֶיךָ) ...”. (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 ידדיה *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 הייחיד, “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. *IQ 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 García Martínez F. and Tighecliar 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. *IQ H^a* 23[=18]:14; *4Q 428*, frg. 9, 4; *4Q 432*, frg. 3, 4. Cf. further *11Q Melch* 2:9—11, 13—19; *IQ 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 Shīr-Shabb^b* (*Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*) 11:3 (“...[Melch]izedek, the Priest (כוהן) in the communit[y] of God...”); *4Q345=4Q ‘Amram’ 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: הַצַּדִּיק הַיְהוָה. Cf. also *4Q 544=4Q Visions of ‘Amram’ 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-Shahrastāni (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 Ossaeon 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, *Obshechina terapevtov. (Iz istorii essejskogo obshchestvenno-religioznogo dvizhenia 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. Sanmartín, *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 istoriia" ("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, *Beattific 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, "Osce 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 אַנְרִישֵׁי הַשֵּׁם, "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 (קְרִיאֵי הַשֵּׁם), 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 *IQM* 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; פְּלִאִי — *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 Essene 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 Jessacans (= Essenes; περὶ Ἰεσσαίων)” — 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 Ἰεσσαῖοι 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. *IQH^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* (מַרְפֵּא) for those who turn from transgression” and *4Q 491^a*, 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 *IQS* 4:6—7, where the Sage (מַשְׁכִּיל) affirms that “the reward of all who walk in this Spirit (*sc.* the Spirit of Truth — *I. T.*) is healing (מַרְפֵּא) and abundance peace with length of days”. Cf. also *IQH^a* 17[=9]: 24—25; *CD* 8: 1—5.

A WORD ABOUT BHĀMAHA

Bhāmaha is the earliest known author of a work on the theory of the literary art in ancient India, the fact which virtually almost all scholars of ancient Indian poetics accept. But that is all we can say with certainty about Bhāmaha, his life and work. And in this respect he is not an exception in Indian culture. Ancient India left us no manuscripts, historical chronicles, or biographical works. In his well-known book *Indiia v drevnosti* ("India in Antiquity"), the Academician G. M. Bongard-Levin particularly notes this phenomenon with a remark that it still requires explanation in the context of the historical and cultural processes that took place in ancient India [1]. Each Indologist dealing with ancient India cannot help putting the question of why India failed to produce a historical and biographical narrative. What were the reasons of this phenomenon? I allow myself to present here some observations on this question.

I think that an answer can only be obtained if the broader context of the emergence of authored texts, both literary and scholarly, is considered. This process begins with the overcoming of myth and the beginning of its critical treatment. In order to go beyond myth, beyond Homer and Vyāsa, one must break free of its total influence, of endless imitation, of endless variations on myth retelling. Everywhere this retelling was an indispensable and necessary stage to serve as a teaching model. To create a new text that differs from the traditional one, one must master the techniques of creating a traditional text. This is only natural. Thus appeared Herodotus and others. Nor should one forget that the ancients viewed the historical text as a sort of a literary one, which explains the stylistic nature of ancient historical writing.

But still the question remains: what prevented the Indians from producing their own Herodotus? It seems that three significant circumstances interfered: the idea of a karmic wheel of being; the idea of *kalpas* as a series of emergences and destructions of the world; and the "weight" of the *Mahābhārata*'s authority as a body of traditional learning seen by the ancient Indians as perfect in structure and form. Actually, the Indians failed to overcome its immense influence.

Historical narrative as literary text, as an imitation of the *Mahābhārata* and even the *Rāmāyaṇa*, represents itself as the *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Harshacharita*, and other texts. But the Indians took their first step toward History in the classical *purāṇas* patterned along the lines of the *Mahābhārata*. A special genealogical section appeared there, being a natural initial step on the path to a historical text. Time was

needed for the second step, this time to overcome the "weight" of the *purāṇas*' authority. Of course, long-standing social and political stability was also needed, for only in conditions of such stability can culture exist and develop in all its facets. The last *purāṇas* are not far chronologically from the first Muslim invasions, which provoked the harsh, implacable conservative reaction of traditional circles eager to defend all that was theirs and traditional. As paradoxical as this may seem, India did not have enough historical time for natural and peaceful development to create its own historical text.

So we know nothing of Bhāmaha, or Kalidāsa, for example, except their names. Not even are we sure that the word "Bhāmaha" is not a pseudonym. True, Ju. M. Alikhanova and I. D. Serebriakov write that Bhāmaha was a Kashmirian and belonged to the Kashmir school of poetics [2]. Nevertheless, we do not know when Bhāmaha was born and to what family; when and who his teacher(s) were; how he arrived at his theory of the literary art and when he wrote his only known work on the theory of the literary text, the *Kāvyaśāstra*, whose title up to now was usually given in a transliteration. Scholars sometimes try to translate it, usually like the compound word *taṭpuruṣa* ("Adornment of Poetry", or "Poetic Adornments") [3], but this translation only makes sense if *kāvya* is "poetry" and *alaṅkāra* is "adornment". This only holds if *Kāvyaśāstra* is, in Sanskrit linguistic terminology, a compound word of the type *taṭpuruṣa*. However, the question is open to discussion. Originally *kāvya* designated a special text, literary or scholarly, that differed from the profane and required mastery in the telling. In the words of Bhāmaha himself:

"vr̥tta-deva-ādi-carita-śamsi cotpādyavastu ca | kalāśāstra-āśrayam ceti taturdhā bhidyate punaḥ ||"

"[*kāvya* can be] divided into four types: tales of the deeds of the gods, etc., about [true] events; about imagined events; treatises on the arts and scholarly works" (I, 17)[4].

From this follows that *kāvya* is both a literary and a scholarly text. Later, in the context of Bhāmaha's work, *kāvya* came to mean "literary art, literary text".

As for the word *alaṅkāra*, it is usually given in dictionaries and translations to mean "adornment". But Bhāmaha's *alaṅkāra* is not "adornment" but "artfully done", "something skillful" (*alaṅ + kṛ* "to do well, artfully, skillfully"), a literary utterance, or *alaṅkārah vākyaḥ*, or, as Bhāmaha

prefers to phrase, — *alankāra uktiḥ*. His third and fourth chapters deal with *guṇa* (“true”) and *doṣa* (“false”) *alankāras* or *uktis*. (Interestingly, F. I. Stcherbatsky mentioned in passing with his usual acumen that *alankāra* is a figure of poetic speech [5].)

The word *kāvyaalankāra* can be read not only as a compound word of the type *tatpuruṣa*, but also as a compound attributive (*bahuvrihi*) that requires a determinate. The determinate, omitted on the “title” page of the manuscript, first published by the Indian scholar K. P. Trivedi in 1909, was apparently the word *grantha*, or “book”. The manuscript Trivedi published was written in southern India in southern Indian writing. It is rather late and reached us in a single copy. The title of Bhāmaha’s work can be translated as “A Book on Skillful Expression in the Literary Art”, which adequately conveys the title’s meaning.

It is appropriate to note here that the determinate is frequently omitted in the *sāstras* in the phrase *bahuvrihi* + noun. With the frequent omission of the determinate, there arises a tendency to interpret the compound word *bahuvrihi* as a noun. This is what occurred, in my view, with the word *alankāra*.

The main object of Bhāmaha’s study is the same as in the entire Indian poetological tradition — the isolated literary utterance, which is only natural for that stage of development of authorial texts to which Bhāmaha belonged, since if the plot of the authorial work is set by tradition and imposed by theory, the author’s opportunities for invention at this stage are limited. It is only the isolated utterance that he has for variation and creativity [6]. He does not have to think about composition, or what he will say. All of this he will take from the oral folk tradition, primarily the *Mahābhārata*, that treasure-trove of stories and ideas. When he speaks about what the Master of literary art should know, Bhāmaha stresses that he should know the tales and narratives of the *Mahābhārata* through and through (1, 9).

In essence, virtually all of the Indian poetological tradition deals with the individual utterance. Far too few took heed of F. I. Stcherbatsky’s fruitful observation that the sentence in ancient India was studied not by linguists, but by *alankārikas*.

Beginning with Bhāmaha, the theoreticians of literature explored the possibilities of the literary art utterance, considering it from various angles. After research on the metaphoric nature of the literary utterance (Bhāmaha and a number of later theoreticians), they turned their attention to its role in evoking certain feelings and emotions (the teaching of *rāsa*). Later, beginning with Ānandavardhāna, they tried to reveal the expressive possibilities hidden behind the explicit text. Indian literary theoreticians squeezed nearly all they could out of the isolated literary utterance. Unfortunately, they stopped short of problems of composition and its constitutive role in the literary text, problems of plot construction, etc. This seems to have been connected with foreign invasions, the rule of Muslims and other conquerors, and, practically, with the end of the creative period in the history of Indian literary theory. But even what they accomplished is more than enough for India to take pride in its contribution to the study of literary culture.

Bhāmaha’s work consists of six chapters. The first two deal with general theoretical reflections on the literary arts, their Masters, the nature of the artistic gift, the important role of metaphor in the utterance, the relationship between knowledge and talent, their role in literary creativity, etc. It

is striking that Bhāmaha, despite the distance between his time and ours, valued so highly the literary text and literary creativity, equating the talented Master of literary art to the gods. Also striking is his ability to hear and rage at ungifted utterances which infuriated him. In his words, the text without talent is somewhat of a crime.

Chapters three and four enumerate and evaluate true and false literary utterances. There is no doubt that this division of literary utterances into true and false was suggested to Bhāmaha by ancient Indian logicians. It was specialists on logic, according to Nyāya, who divided utterances (*vākya*) into true and false. (Bhāmaha was a great connoisseur of Nyāya.)

Chapter five juxtaposes two types of utterances — the literary and the logical [7]. Chapter six is linked with the grammar of Sanskrit and such names as Pāṇini and Patañjali. Bhāmaha emphasizes that writer need to know the language in which they write, the issue that has hardly lost its relevance. This is a structure of Bhāmaha’s work.

One might ask whether Bhāmaha’s work is a study or a textbook. S. K. De, when speaking about ancient Indian poetics before Ānandavardhāna, remarks: “Like Grammar, Poetics started as an empirical and normative study...”; “...more or less mechanical study... oldest available manuals like those of Bhāmaha” [8]. This view was shared by many who wrote on the history of Indian poetics. It seems that scholars, including S. K. De, unconsciously compared Bhāmaha with, say, Aristotle in his “Poetics”. It should be noted, however, that “Poetics” is not the title given to the work by Aristotle himself. The title of the work, which, unfortunately, has only come down to us in part, was added by his first publishers. As a matter of fact, his so-called “Poetics” has little to do with poetics. What Aristotle writes about in this work is related rather to scholarly aesthetics and its historical beginnings, or so it seems to me. Classicists may curse at this, or they may not. The poetics must be mainly found in his “Rhetorics”.

Unfortunately, S. K. De’s view lacks historical approach. In fact, Bhāmaha’s work is neither a textbook nor a normative text. It is a true study. One need not dwell on the first two chapters, which form a striking study. Chapters three and four are a fruitful attempt to identify and describe the turns of phrase and literary utterances characteristic of the literary text. It seems that such an approach, for all its historical specifics, would make sense to specialists on machine translation.

Bhāmaha described literary utterances with a term that he was the first to introduce — *vakrokti* (descriptive, or figurative utterances). According to Bhāmaha, each literary utterance must contain an image. The term *vakrokti* should be left in the original like other terms, for it is richer in content than a literal translation of the words it comprises. Nonetheless, leaving aside Bhāmaha’s reflections on the specific structure of the literary utterance and his distinction between the literary utterance and the syllogistic or profane utterance, many Indologists have tried to grasp the meaning of the term *vakrokti* through its literal translation — “bent speech” [9]. However, this literal translation hinders more than it helps. The word *ukti* in the context of Bhāmaha’s work means not “speech” but “utterance”. And *vakra* (lit. “bent”) can only be properly understood in the context of Bhāmaha’s contraposition of the literary and syllogistic utterance. Thus, *vakra* here means indirect, descriptive, not

direct, linear, or syllogistic. In chapter two, Bhāmaha explains the meaning of the term *vakrokti*, saying that it is derived from *atiśayokti* (2, 81). In his article on Bhāmaha, K. P. Trivedi gives the following interpretation of the word *atiśayokti*: “‘*lokāntīkrāntagocarāḥ vacaḥ*’, ‘an unusual utterance that goes beyond the bounds of ordinary things, a non-profane utterance’” [10]. I wholly agree with this interpretation which is historically justified and appropriate both to the context of Bhāmaha's work and his reflections on the essence of the literary utterance. For the authors who came after Bhāmaha, however, the term *atiśayokti* designated one of the *alankāras* — exaggeration.

Bhāmaha is especially impressive in chapter five. Here for the first time we encounter, for all its naïveté, an attempt to juxtapose the syllogistic and literary utterance, an attempt to follow the logicians' example and describe the literary utterance and its structure. This is undoubtedly an original study without peer in the poetological tradition. It bears witness to the serious, profound scholarly reflection that did not make its way to the page. One is tempted to ask what moved Bhāmaha to create such a study. It seems that his work was preceded by thoughts on the text in general and its various types — the scholarly text, scholarly thought, the literary text and literary thought, how these two differ from profane texts that require no art and from what Bhāmaha called *vārtā* (ordinary text and speech). Bhāmaha's thoughts, which we reconstruct when necessary from the gist of chapter five, remain relevant to this day. It is appropriate to recall the USSR Academy of Sciences Scholarly Council on World Culture headed by the late Academician B. B. Piotrovsky. Head of the Council's Composite Commission was Prof. B. S. Meilakh. In the 1970s, his Commission conducted a series of all-Union scholarly symposia on the relationship between scholarly and literary thought and the connection between scholarly and literary texts. The sessions drew the participation of scholars from the natural sciences and the humanities: physiologists, cyberneticists, mathematicians, philosophers, literary theorists, linguists, etc. The results of each symposium were published as a collection of articles. In 1971, drawing on these collections, Prof. Meilakh published a monograph called “On the Border Between Science and Art”, and, in 1980, he edited the collection “The Psychology of Artistic Creativity”. Still it remains striking that 15 centuries before the Commission took shape, the outstanding ancient Indian thinker Bhāmaha posed the question in chapter five of his work. In general, his significance as a scholar is underappreciated. The figure of Daṇḍin, for example, is taken more seriously, although it was Bhāmaha who set out in his work all the questions that would later form the core of the Indian poetological tradition [11]. Although Bhāmaha cites his several predecessors, whose works have not come down to us, he has every right to be considered the founder of ancient Indian poetics.

Bhāmaha seems to have been a modest man. He is unlikely to have described himself using the phrases that we are so bold as to apply to him. He begins chapter five humbly, disingenuously announcing to the reader that in this chapter he intends to show writers, Masters of the literary art, how to avoid simple logical errors in their work. His observations had apparently led to realize that these Masters at best had more talent than knowledge or education. (This tradition stretches up through our time.) Yet he had no intention of teaching anyone anything. He

was simply unable to being his study of the two types of utterances without some sort of cover. Nor was he sure that his colleagues and contemporaries would understand him and appreciate him (V.69). In fact, Daṇḍin, a seventh-century author if the chronology is to be believed, asked angrily in his *Kāvyaadarṣa*, clearly aiming at Bhāmaha: “Why deal with the syllogism in a study of the *alankāra*?” [12]. Bhāmaha's modesty makes sense: he was far ahead of his time.

Bhāmaha's work reveals the author's encyclopaedic education. He knew philosophy, linguistics, semantics, lexicography, treatises on the arts (there are 64 of them), logic (both orthodox and Buddhist), debates in scholarly circles, the epic, medicine, and much else that made up learning in ancient India. As is known, in the Indian educational system at that time knowledge was conveyed directly from teacher to pupil and had to be mastered orally. We learn all of this about him not from his own admissions, nor from those of others, but from what we can deduce from his work if we give it our due attention.

I think that the preceding is sufficient to refute any attempt to deride Bhāmaha's work as mechanistic, normative, or a textbook. We repeat that in all his *kārikās* he acts as an original researcher who poses fruitful questions, often a more important function in scholarship than discovering the answer to a question.

What of didactics, then? We should recall that Bhāmaha lived and worked in an age when scholarship was taking shape in ancient India, at an age when the conceptual language of scholarship was emerging even as he contributed to it. If we approach the problem historically, the didacticism of the ancient scholarly works will not surprise us. It was inevitable in antiquity. What is surprising are the discoveries that occurred in India in all realms of human knowledge — mathematics, astronomy, linguistics, medicine, politics, economics, etc.

It seems to me that within Indo-European culture, classical and ancient Indian culture existed and functioned through the principle of complementarity. If classical culture abounds in historians, then ancient Indian culture astounds with an abundance of religious-philosophical, ethical, and psychological works.

As was said above, the dates of Bhāmaha's life remain disputed: the question is not one of years, but rather of establishing a more or less certain century. In the absence of additional sources, one can only try to find a hold in Bhāmaha's own work. Since Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who is with relative certainty dated to the seventh century, examine similar problems, one can conduct a purely scholastic discussion over who lived earlier or later. But Daṇḍin's remark about the futility of examining syllogisms in poetics is undoubtedly addressed to Bhāmaha, since there is no other text to which it could apply. This clearly removes any doubts over who came first. There can be only one answer: it was Bhāmaha who lived earlier. Two quotations from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin seem to prove that. Bhāmaha says:

“*atha pratijñā-hetv-ādi-hīnam duṣṭam ca varnyate
samāśena yathā-nyāyam tan-mātra-artha pratīṭyate.
prāyeṇa dur-bodhatayā śāstrād bhihyaty-amedhasaḥ
tad-upacchandānāyaīṣa hetu-nyāya-lavoccaḥ.
svādu-kāvya-rationmiśram śāstram apyupayujjate
prathama-ālīḍha-madhavaḥ pibanti kaṭu bheṣajam*”.

"Later in according with [the teaching of] Nyāya, of whom [we speak here] briefly, only to introduce his subject, there are described [such] errors [of syllogism] as the false thesis, false logical reason, etc.

The *sāstras* usually inspire fear in unknowing [people] because of their complexity. This is a small excerpt from [the teaching of] Nyāya [intended] to 'reconcile' [them with the *sāstras*]. [They] can 'get a taste' of the *sāstra* if they mix it with a drink of sweet *kāvya*. But [they] will drink bitter medicine if they first lick honey" (V, 1—3).

Daṇḍin's statement runs as follows:

"*pratijñā-hetu-dṛṣṭānta-hānir doṣo na vety asau vicārah karkaṣaḥ prāyas tena ālīdhena kiṃ phalam*".

"As concerns the thesis, logical reason, and 'example' in [a syllogism], [for *kāvya* it is all the same] [if they are formulated] correctly or incorrectly.

What, after all, is the point of 'licking' a crude syllogism" (D. III, 127).

There is only one way to determine the dates of Bhāmaha's life more exactly. One must look at whom he knows of the people who worked before him or during his time and whom he does not know among those who came later. The scholar in the first half of the first millennium in India faced stiffer standards than we do today. It was a time of encyclopaedic knowledge. A scholar of the time was required to know all the accomplishments of scholarship. Bhāmaha was, as we have noted above, familiar with all the scholarly disciplines that were developing at his time. The accepted dating suggests that he could not have failed to know, for example, the famed Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti (7th century A. D.). However, Bhāmaha does not know him. It was G. Jacobi who was the first to suggest that Bhāmaha cites Dharmakīrti in chapter five, which served him as the basis for dating Bhāmaha to the seventh century. In his "History of Sanskrit Poetics" and many subsequent works [13], S. K. De repeats the idea in his "History of Sanskrit Poetics" and many subsequent works. We have examined Jacobi's arguments, compared the texts of Dharmakīrti that he indicates with Bhāmaha's text, and concluded without doubt that Bhāmaha did not cite Dharmakīrti.

For this reason, we repeat that the most fruitful approach to dating Bhāmaha is to try to establish the group of scholars and scholarly texts that he knew. This method was pursued by J. Tucci, A. K. Worder, Iu. M. Alikhanova, and your humble servant.

J. Tucci's remarks can be summarized as follows [14]:

1) Bhāmaha defines direct appreciation according to Vāsubandhu and Dignāga. The first is responsible for the definition *pratyakṣam tato'rthāt*; the second for *pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham*.

2) The definition *kalpanā* (= *nāmajatyādiyojanā*) cited by Bhāmaha belongs to Dignāga. Dharmakīrti defines this term differently.

3) Bhāmaha cites two definitions of the term *anumāna*: a) *trirūpāllingato jñānam*; b) *tadvido nāntariyārthadarśanam*. While the first definition goes back to Dignāga, the second belongs to Vāsubandhu.

4) Bhāmaha defines the first member of the syllogism according to Vāsubandhu, citing the indisputable difference between *pakṣa* (= *sādhyā*) and *pakṣa* (= *pratijñā*). This dis-

inction shows that Bhāmaha must have known Asaṅga's and Vāsubandhu's views on *sādhyā* and *sādhana*.

5) Bhāmaha enumerates six types of erroneous thesis, Dignāga five, Śaṅkarasvāmin nine, Dharmakīrti four. Four of Dignāga's types are reflected in Bhāmaha's classification.

6) The teaching of the three qualities of logical reason — *trayirūpyahetu* — goes back to Vāsubandhu. The definition of the negative example in the sumption is given by Bhāmaha in expressions that are found only in the *Tarka-sāstra*.

7) Bhāmaha gives two definitions of *dṛṣṭānta*. One goes back to Vāsubandhu; the other virtually identical to Dignāga.

A. K. Worder adds a significant observation:

8) Bhāmaha describes a three-member syllogism, following Vāsubandhu, not Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, whose *sādhana* consists of two members — *hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta* [15].

We can add nine other observations to the preceding:

9) Bhāmaha does not use the terms *svārthānumāna* and *parārthānumāna*, which are typical of Dharmakīrti. Significantly, the terms do not occur in Dignāga's early text *Nyāyamukha*, although it has been established that they were introduced by Dignāga.

10) Bhāmaha does not use the terms *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* (typical of Dharmakīrti) to designate individual and general objects of knowledge, although it has been established that they were introduced by Dignāga.

11) Bhāmaha describes three qualities of *hetu* in expressions not found in texts by Dignāga, Śaṅkarasvāmin, and Dharmakīrti. Bhāmaha does not use the term *pakṣadharmatā*.

12) Bhāmaha's brief remarks on Nyāya's main theses in chapter five shows that Nyāya for Bhāmaha is closely connected with *vāda*, the teaching of the art of argument, and with *vādavidhī*, while Dignāga, Śaṅkarasvāmin, and especially Dharmakīrti demonstrate the significant development of Nyāya away from *vivāda* toward logic.

13) Bhāmaha's definition of *dūṣaṇa* shows that Bhāmaha on this issue followed not Dharmakīrti, but earlier sources.

14) Bhāmaha defines *jāti* — false refutation — not according to Dharmakīrti, but according to earlier sources.

15) Bhāmaha considers it necessary to cite two definitions each time Dignāga's definitions differ from Vāsubandhu's in meaning or expression. He does not cite definitions that belong to other, later authors. One can conclude from this that when he cites a single definition, it is Vāsubandhu's.

16) The bulk of definitions Bhāmaha cites belong to Vāsubandhu. He treats Dignāga's definitions as an addition and an adjustment to Vāsubandhu.

17) Bhāmaha uses phraseology that reflects an earlier stage in the development of the *yogācāra*'s logic, the stage of Vāsubandhu and the early Dignāga [16].

It would seem that the preceding is sufficient to state with confidence that Bhāmaha should be dated to the fourth — fifth century A.D. There is no basis for any other dating. There is only the habit of repeating what was once said by an authoritative scholar.

In trying to describe Bhāmaha, we have here focused on the larger picture. Yet his work contains many things that are worthy of attention in speaking and writing of

Bhāmaha. I hope that I have succeeded here in demonstrating the stature of this outstanding scholar.

Notes

1. G. M. Bongard-Levin, G. F. Il'in, *Indiia v drevnosti* (India in Antiquity) (St. Petersburg, 2001), p. 8. See also V. I. Rudoĭ, E. A. Ostrovskaiia, *Uchenie ob istoricheskom vremeni i obshchestve v klassicheskoi indiiskoi filosofii* (The Theory of Historical Time and Society in Classical Indian Philosophy) (Moscow, 2002), p. 22.

2. Ananadavardhana, *Dhvan'ialoka*, trans. from Sanskrit into Russian by Ju. M. Alikhanova (Moscow, 1974), p. 26. See also I. D. Serebriakov, *Pamiatniki kashmirskoi sanskritoiazychnoi literaturnoi obshchnosti* (Texts of the Kashmirian Sanskrit-language Literary Community) (Moscow, 1982), p. 49.

3. See e. g., Ananadavardhana, *Dhvan'ialoka*, p. 26.

4. Bhāmaha, *Kāvyaśāhikāra*, ed. K. P. Trivedi (Bombay, 1909).

5. F. I. Shcherbatskoĭ (Stcherbatsky), "Teoriia poëzii v Indii" ("The theory of poetry in India"), in *Izbrannye trudy russkikh indologov-filologov*, comp. by I. D. Serebriakov (Moscow, 1962), p. 286.

6. P. A. Grintser, *Tema i ee variatsii v sanskritskoi poëtike* (The Themes and its Variations in Sanskrit Poetics) (Moscow, 1994).

7. E. N. Tëmkin (Tyomkin), *Mirovozzrenie Bkhamakhi* (Bhāmaha's World-View) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 6—7.

8. S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Calcutta 1960), i, p. 13. *Idem*, *Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aesthetics* (Oxford—Bombay, 1963), p. 2.

9. P. A. Grintser, *Osnovnye kategorii klassicheskoi indiiskoi poëtiki* (Basic Categories of Classical Indian ^{Поэтика} ~~Poetics~~) (Moscow, 1987), p. 16.

10. K. P. Trivedi, "Some notes on Bhāmaha", *Commemorative Essays Presented to R. G. Bhandarkar* (Poona, 1917), p. 407.

11. Ananadavardhana, *Dhvan'ialoka*, p. 26.

12. Daṇḍin, *Kāvyaadarṣa*, translation, commentaries and introduction by P. A. Grintser (Moscow, 1996).

13. De, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

14. G. Tucci, "Bhāmaha and Dignāga", *Indian Antiquary* (July, 1930), pp. 142—7.

15. A. K. Warder, "The date of Bhāmaha", *Journal of Oriental Research*, 26 (1956—57), pp. 93—106.

16. Tëmkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—2.

LIBRARIES AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

Towards an exchange network of Arabic authority records Round Table (part I)

In May 2002, MELCOM International, the European association of Middle East Librarians held its 24th annual meeting in Paris. The growing interest witnessed during the St. Petersburg conference in 2001 was confirmed in Paris thanks to an impressive amount of participants joining the Petit Auditorium of Bibliothèque nationale de France from over fifteen countries. The programme announced some thirty speakers covering areas ranging from digital libraries and automation in multiscrypt environment to manuscript studies and collection building of multimedia documents (for details please see <http://www.uni-bamberg.de/unibib/melcom/paris.html>).

As the convener of the Conference, I sincerely found each and every contribution equally enriching me. However, in terms of future projects involving almost all the community of the Middle East librarians, the "Round Table on Arabic authority records" will certainly have more impact than all the other presentations.

Bearing in mind the importance of the topic, we decided to devote a whole afternoon to it. However this was not enough: the speakers had just time to deliver their survey and experience while the attendees were eager to know more and offer their point of view. We soon discovered that the circumference of the table had to be increased by spreading the debate and the exchange of information beyond the Paris conference. The contributions of varying lengths and depths, are thus posted on the Website mentioned above and published herebelow.

Since almost all the speakers gave their talks in French, we decided to stick to the original version. This is true except for two colleagues: Martha S. Plettner and Manal Amin, both from Egypt. As far as Ms Plettner is concerned, the full paper in English will be published in the next issue of ICBC* and can be found on the website of MELCOM International while the organizer of the Round Table, Ms Annick Bernard, has translated the content into French for us. On the other hand, Ms Amin's brief presentation was a series of screens commented orally that are not reproduced on paper here. Nevertheless, Annick Bernard shares with us her notes, so to speak. We do invite the interested reader, however, to consult the electronic version which includes all the screens and exemples projected during the conference.

The contents, as well as the Round Table organizer's full report and the introductory remarks of the moderator, have been translated into English for the comfort of those who master this language better than French.

We thank Ms Annick Bernard's original idea and efforts that made this project come true and express our gratitude to *Manuscripta Orientalia* for the platform it offers to the topic of Arabic authority records. Last but not least, as the saying goes, we hope to mark a milestone of many others to follow in what we expect will be a federating debate toward a network of exchange.

Sara Yontan Musnik,

Local organizer,
Melcom International Paris Conference,
Bibliothèque nationale de France

* *International Cataloguing and Bibliographic Control*, ISSN 1001-8829, Vol. 31, No.°2, April—June 2003.

PROPOS LIMINAIRES OPENING REMARKS

Ces débats ont tenté de faire avancer la réflexion et surtout d'ouvrir des perspectives de coopération autour d'un domaine passionnant et épineux, celui des vedettes d'autorités auteurs et titres arabes.

Nous disposions de peu de temps, et avons été frustrés par cette contrainte. Il nous a d'ailleurs paru nécessaire de prolonger nos travaux, d'une part par la constitution d'un groupe de discussion et de travail, d'autre part par la reprise de ces travaux lors du prochain congrès du MELCOM International, qui se tiendra du 26 au 28 mai 2003 à Beyrouth.

Deux ou trois choses devaient être dites pour cerner le champ du débat.

D'abord, nous parlons bien des "autorités auteurs et titres arabes", il ne s'agit d'évoquer, en principe, ni les vedettes matière, ni les autorités relevant d'une autre aire culturelle.

Et pourtant, des différentes difficultés que nous avons tous rencontrées ou au moins pressenties quand nous avons réfléchi à ce problème de la création, de la maintenance et d'un partage des fichiers d'autorité arabes, certaines sont spécifiques à l'aire que nous étudions, la grande majorité sont pourtant communes à toutes les entreprises de ce genre. Je voudrais en établir un bref inventaire, sans prétention d'exhaustivité:

- définition du champ du travail;
- choix du support;
- choix du ou des alphabets utilisés;
- choix et application des normes, de translittération, de catalogage, de codage des caractères, des données et métadonnées;
- choix et nombre des éléments retenus pour la vedette, des éléments rejetés, de leur structure, des formes de renvoi;
- recensement et choix des outils disponibles;
- niveau de contrôle des catalogues par un, ou plusieurs, fichiers d'autorité;
- attribution des compétences et des responsabilités;
- difficultés à s'entendre sur tous ces choix, parfois dans le cadre d'un même établissement, a fortiori entre établissements différents, entre pays différents;
- difficulté à faire reconnaître l'existence même et la spécificité du problème par les différentes tutelles,

Our discussions tried to move forward and to open perspectives of cooperation on this fascinating and thorny subject of Arabic title and author authority headings, records and files.

We had very few time to spend on it, and were frustrated because of this restraint. We felt it necessary to prolong our work in two directions: first, to set up a discussion group and, second, to resume our work in the next conference of MELCOM International, which is to be held in Beirut on 26—28 May 2003.

One or two things had to be said, though, to clarify the aims of this Round Table.

First of all, we are dealing with "Arabic author and title authority headings", which means we are leaving out Subject headings, as well as headings related to other cultural areas.

However, of the various difficulties we all have met some day or another, or at least imagined when thinking over this problem of creating, maintaining and sharing authority files, some are specific to the area we are working on, while most are common to any similar enterprise. I would like to give a short survey here without pretending to be exhaustive:

- defining a scope of work;
- choosing a medium;
- choosing one, two, or more scripts;
- choosing and applying standards and rules for transliteration, cataloguing, character encoding, data and metadata;
- choosing the right parts of the names and titles, and the right number of them, and their order, and the parts to be rejected;
- listing and choosing available tools;
- defining levels of control for the catalogues by one or more authority files;
- assigning competences and responsibilities;
- difficulties in finding an agreement on all these points, either inside a single library or between several institutions, or better still across countries;
- difficulties in struggling to have the issue recognized as such, and as a specific one, by supervising institutions, for as you know Arabic headings are

car les autorités arabes sont une goutte dans l'océan des autorités à gérer;

- difficulté à appréhender le problème dans son ensemble, avec ses tenants et aboutissants, et à définir les moyens intellectuels et matériels pour un travail efficace et surtout utile.

Nous pourrions sans doute en trouver d'autres, et il est clair que nous n'avons eu ni le temps ni les moyens de faire le tour de la question. Néanmoins tous ces aspects du problème, ou au moins une bonne part d'entre eux ont été évoqués à partir d'interventions, certaines très brèves, d'autres plus étoffées, qui ont servi de support à un débat.

Après une mise au point effectuée par Marcelle Beaudiquez sur les principes généraux à préconiser pour l'échange des autorités, nous avons abordé successivement:

- des réalisations existantes, utilisant pour la plupart les caractères originaux, effectués par des institutions diverses dans des contextes divers;
- puis des projets et travaux en cours.

Dans les limites du temps disponible, l'assistance était appelée, après chaque série d'interventions programmées, à intervenir à son tour pour ajouter à notre connaissance des réalisations et projets en cours, puis pour débattre des démarches exposées.

Dans la dernière partie de nos travaux, nous avons tenté d'ébaucher une démarche commune dans un cadre à définir, afin d'avancer dans la voie de cette coopération qui paraît en effet indispensable, l'intérêt suscité par l'annonce de cette Table Ronde en est un signe.

a drop in an ocean of headings in non-Arabic speaking environments;

- difficulty of seizing the topic in its whole, with its ins and outs, and of defining the right intellectual and material means of an efficient work, worse, of a useful one.

More can be said, but we clearly lacked time and means to make a complete survey of the question. Nevertheless, all these aspects of it, or at least most of them, were evoked in the different talks, some shorter than others, and we used them as a support for a debate.

After a clarification by Marcelle Beaudiquez about principles to be promoted for the exchange of authority records, we successively tackled:

- existing realizations and experiences, most of them using original characters, carried out by various institutions in various contexts;
- projects and work in progress.

The audience was requested to intervene after each sequence of papers, to add to our knowledge of related works and projects, and to discuss the displayed approaches.

During the last part of this session, we tried to sketch out a collective action in a frame still to be outlined, towards a cooperation which actually seems indispensable, as the interest aroused by this Round Table makes it clear.

ÉCHANGE ET RÉUTILISATION DES FICHIERS D'AUTORITÉ: QUELS PRINCIPES PROMOUVOIR? *

Quels principes promouvoir pour que les fichiers d'autorité facilitent la création des vedettes ainsi que l'utilisation des catalogues, et soient un FACTEUR DE COOPERATION?

Dans plusieurs pays, des bibliothèques ont entrepris un travail de fond sur les auteurs arabes ou de langue arabe et ont constitué des fichiers qui atteignent déjà un volume significatif. Dans plusieurs cas, l'accent est mis sur les auteurs nationaux ou régionaux.

Pour prendre l'exemple des bibliothèques françaises qui ont des collections en langue arabe, mais la charge est la même partout, les recherches nécessaires à l'identification des auteurs sont extrêmement coûteuses, en particulier si l'on tient compte de l'abondance des autres tâches et de la rareté des ressources humaines spécialisées.

Éviter la redondance des efforts devient une priorité. Les moyens techniques aujourd'hui disponibles (outils web) semblent rendre possible le partage sans imposer les mêmes contraintes qu'auparavant.

Grâce à l'adoption des ISBD et des formats MARC, de plus en plus répandus à l'échelon international, tout organisme documentaire est à même d'intégrer, pour ainsi dire sans les modifier, des données bibliographiques provenant de sources extérieures. Ce consensus n'existe pas sur la forme et la structure des vedettes auteurs, et le contrôle des points d'accès auteurs au catalogue ne peut être fait que localement.

Si les tentatives de normalisation internationale des points d'accès auteurs n'ont pas rencontré le succès escompté, cela tient au fait que les notices bibliographiques recensent des données fixes et objectives (titre, adresse, collation, etc.), élaborées à partir d'une source unique (le document lui-même). Il n'en va pas de même pour les vedettes auteurs, qui représentent des entités ayant parfois une existence bibliographique très agitée: changement de nom ou de titre, utilisation simultanée de plusieurs noms ou de plusieurs titres, noms ou titres en plusieurs langues, voire en plusieurs écritures.

1. Définitions

Il importe de bien distinguer trois notions qui sont trop souvent encore l'objet de confusions ou d'amalgames fâcheux: *vedette d'autorité*, *notice d'autorité*, *fichier d'autorité*.

1.1. Vedette d'autorité.

La vedette d'autorité est le point d'accès principal à la notice bibliographique, à laquelle elle est liée et dont elle est indissociable. Son libellé est conventionnel en ce sens qu'il est construit selon des règles ou conventions.

Ex. De vedette: Jean Dupond = 10 personnes.

Et non pas *J. Dupond* qui correspond peut-être à 20 personnes

1.2. Notice d'autorité.

La notice d'autorité rassemble autour de la vedette d'autorité un ensemble d'éléments informatifs qui distinguent cette vedette de ses homonymes et la rendent autonome par rapport aux notices bibliographiques auxquelles elle se réfère. Par les notes qu'elle contient, la notice d'autorité identifie de façon précise la vedette

d'autorité, justifie le choix de la forme retenue et permet une utilisation pertinente de celle-ci. La notice d'autorité constitue une source d'information par elle-même.

Pour reprendre l'exemple précédent, complété, Jean Dupond (1892—1947, médecin).

Se différencie de J. Dupond, *et de* Jean Dupond (1942—>, écrivain).

Exemple de notice d'autorité [1]

Mezinski, Pierre Auteur de livres pour la jeunesse avec Corinne Arbore; tous deux signent du pseudonyme "Marie et Joseph" leur romans pour adultes < Mezinsky, Pierre << Marie et Joseph Sources: Le jardin des gâteaux / Corinne Arbore et Pierre Mezinski, 1990. — La corde / Pierre Mezinsky, 1993. Sources: SN: voyage au bout de la Noire: additif 1982—1985 / C. Mespède, J. J. Schléret, 1985: Marie et Joseph. — L'Année du polar 1987: Marie et Joseph. Bibliothèque nationale; AFNOR, 1993-07-13

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Les **données d'autorité** sont les données contenues dans les notices d'autorité: la vedette d'autorité, mais aussi, par exemple, les dates biographiques d'une personne, l'adresse d'une collectivité, la langue du texte original pour un titre uniforme textuel, le champ d'application pour une vedette matière. Ce sont des données qui font autorité, qui sont censées être fiables, et qu'on utilise en tout ou partie, pour assurer la cohérence des points d'accès au catalogue.

1.3. Fichier d'autorité.

Le fichier d'autorité, outil de gestion du catalogue, rassemble les notices d'autorité et gère les liens entre

2. Utilité et caractéristiques des fichiers d'autorité

Quand il s'agit d'assurer la cohérence d'un catalogue, aucune pratique n'est meilleure qu'une autre: le contrôle des points d'accès auteurs ne peut s'effectuer que localement pour permettre à ce catalogue de remplir ses missions.

Economique mais peu satisfaisante, la solution consistant à élaborer le catalogue en juxtaposant des notices bibliographiques laisse aux utilisateurs le soin de reconstituer les liens intellectuels entre les documents.

Une autre voie, plus professionnelle, permet à la fois de maîtriser les coûts du catalogage, d'éviter la duplication des efforts, de prendre en compte les informations disponibles et d'utiliser les meilleures compétences, c'est le recours aux fichiers d'autorité.

Contrôler les données d'autorité, ou contrôler les autorités, c'est veiller à la cohérence des points d'accès dans un catalogue donné, en reportant à bon escient, dans les zones vedettes des notices bibliographiques, les données d'autorité recensées dans un fichier d'autorité. Cela pour que, au sein de ce même catalogue, toutes les œuvres d'un même auteur, toutes les éditions d'une œuvre classique anonyme, tous les documents sur un même sujet, soient accessibles à partir de la même forme du nom de l'auteur, du titre uniforme textuel, du même mot matière, respectivement.

2.1. Les fichiers d'autorité utiles à qui ?

Pour l'utilisateur, qu'il soit un bibliothécaire cherchant à établir une vedette, un lecteur rebondissant sur les liens de la notice bibliographique, un gestionnaire de catalogue collectif, Le fichier d'autorité est à la fois:

- une aide au *catalogueur* qui travaille dans le catalogue local, par le gain de temps et le contrôle de cohérence;
- une aide au *lecteur*, par l'enrichissement du contexte bibliographique;
- une garantie de cohérence dans les *catalogues collectifs*.

3. Qui est responsable de la création des fichiers d'autorité ?

3.1. Le fichier d'autorité national des auteurs.

La responsabilité de l'Agence bibliographique nationale d'un pays pour recenser ses auteurs nationaux est inscrite dès 1979 dans les principes du Contrôle bibliographique universel (CBU) énoncés par l'IFLA et constamment réaffirmés [2].

L'agence bibliographique nationale d'un pays est le plus souvent la bibliothèque nationale. Ses principales mis-

elles. Par ses liens avec le fichier bibliographique, il permet que toute modification ou ajout aux notices d'autorité se reporte automatiquement dans les notices bibliographiques liées.

Un *fichier d'autorité* a un contenu beaucoup plus riche qu'une simple *liste de vedettes* qui se borne à recenser les formes retenues, rejetées et associées.

Grâce aux *notes* qui assurent une identification précise des vedettes d'autorité, les fichiers d'autorité permettent l'utilisation pertinente de ces vedettes dans les fichiers bibliographiques.

Le créateur de notices qui alimente un fichier d'autorité normalisé voit sa production rendue exportable sur support et exploitable à distance.

Le fichier d'autorité facilite le catalogage et la recherche grâce à des accès normalisés: ceux-ci peuvent avoir été injectés (ou chargés), ou copiés, à partir de réservoirs fiables, ou créés de toutes pièces selon des principes scientifiques et des choix techniques.

2.2. Caractéristiques des fichiers d'autorité.

Avant de pouvoir utiliser un fichier d'autorité, il faut qu'il ait été créé, soit de toutes pièces, soit en utilisant des réservoirs pré-existants.

Si on décide de créer un fichier d'autorité, il faut qu'il ait au moins les caractéristiques énoncées ci-après pour pouvoir remplir sa fonction auprès de tous les utilisateurs potentiels, internes et externes.

- Un fichier d'autorité doit être accessible et facile d'accès:
 - en ligne par le web ou sur support (cédérom...).
- Il doit avoir une structure compréhensible:
 - les données doivent être structurées pour les rendre faciles à comprendre et à réutiliser;
 - les types de notices d'autorité qu'il contient doivent être clairement indiqués.

Les premiers fichiers d'autorité n'étaient pas accessibles:

— soit ils étaient manuels: fichier des collectivités de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1953—1983 (250 000 notices); fichier des noms de la Library of Congress jusqu'en 1977 (3 millions de notices et renvois);

— soit ils étaient limités à la gestion interne du catalogue informatisé: ainsi, il a fallu attendre 5 ans avant que le fichier d'autorité de la Bibliothèque nationale de France soit rendu visible, d'abord sur microfiches, puis sur cédérom.

sions sont la collecte du dépôt légal, la production de la bibliographie nationale, l'élaboration et la diffusion du fichier national des auteurs.

Qu'est-ce qui fixe le caractère "national" du fichier d'autorité des auteurs dans le contexte du CBU ?

Le lieu de naissance, le lieu de résidence, la langue d'écriture ?

Comment lever l'ambiguïté ?

Dans le contexte du CBU, l'agence bibliographique nationale établit le fichier d'autorité national

— soit pour les auteurs natifs du pays, c'est-à-dire ceux dont la nationalité est attestée;

— soit pour les besoins de l'ensemble des notices bibliographiques des documents du dépôt légal, c'est-à-dire pour tout ce qui provient des éditeurs soumis au dépôt légal dans le pays. Par exemple, pour les auteurs de toutes nationalités édités en France et les auteurs traduits pour ces auteurs, l'Agence peut alors s'inspirer d'un fichier pré-existant.

Il faut s'attendre à des doutes et des difficultés dans 20% des cas peut-être, mais pour le reste la bibliothèque s'appuie sur ce qui est publié, attesté par des sources écrites.

3.2. Autres acteurs.

Les grands catalogues collectifs nationaux [3] et internationaux [4] gèrent des fichiers d'autorité; certaines bibliothèques disposent de systèmes intégrés de gestion de bibliothèque capables de gérer des fichiers d'autorité. Dans ces deux cas, il s'agit le plus souvent de réutilisation de notices d'autorité plutôt que de création. De même, une bibliothèque nationale, qui produit le fichier d'autorité national, réutilise pour son propre catalogue les notices d'autorité d'auteurs étrangers.

Pour différentes raisons, des établissements spécialisés se trouvent parfois dans la nécessité de construire eux-mêmes leurs propres fichiers d'autorité, par exemple, pour traiter les auteurs des articles dépouillés dans leur catalogue, ou encore parce que leurs spécificités, comme l'introduction des caractères non latins dans les notices d'autorité, ne sont pas encore couvertes par les grands réservoirs. L'Institut du monde arabe, dont les bases de données ne sont pas actuellement structurées en MARC et dont la bibliothèque couvre une production provenant de tous les pays arabes, a constitué depuis une huitaine d'années un fichier d'autorité de près de 10 000 auteurs traités dans les deux alphabets.

3.3. A quoi sert la notion de nationalité ?

Un "fichier national" selon le CBU est toujours un fichier mixte, élaboré par création et récupération puisque dans tous les cas, l'Agence fait œuvre utile pour les pays qui n'ont pas encore de fichier d'autorité, mais qui ont des auteurs traduits à l'étranger.

La nationalité est une aide au catalogueur pour structurer le nom de l'entité:

○ pour une personne: la nationalité aide à structurer le nom, car dans les bibliothèques, on privilégie une forme

du nom [5]. Un des principes établis par la *Conférence internationale sur les principes de catalogage* (1961) est le suivant:

"When the name of a personal author consists of several words, the choice of entry-word is determined as far as possible by agreed usage in the country of which the author is a citizen, or, if this is not possible, by agreed usage in the language which he generally uses".

Ce principe a donné lieu à l'établissement d'un ouvrage de référence publié par l'IFLA pour la première fois en 1963 et régulièrement mis à jour:

Names of persons: national usages for entry in catalogues / IFLA UBCIM. — 4th rev. And enlarged ed. — München: K. G. Saur, 1996 (UBCIM Publications, New Series; 16) [6].

Où on lit dans l'introduction:

"Retenir les 2 éléments qui servent au choix de la structure d'un nom:

Le pays dont la personne est citoyenne

La langue dans laquelle elle s'exprime majoritairement"

○ pour une collectivité: la nationalité permet d'établir la langue de la forme du nom;

○ pour une oeuvre: la nationalité d'une œuvre ayant un auteur n'a pas d'intérêt. Pour les œuvres anonymes, c'est plutôt la langue ou l'aire culturelle concernée qui est utilisée pour l'identification [7]. Les listes IFLA d'œuvres classiques anonymes sont classées par langue du texte.

Aux vicissitudes propres à chaque auteur ou à chaque œuvre classique s'ajoutent des conventions inhérentes à chaque aire culturelle.

Chacun s'approprie une partie du patrimoine culturel international, et l'utilisateur d'un catalogue de bibliothèque est plus soucieux de trouver Christophe Colomb à "Colomb, Christophe" s'il est francophone, à "Columbus, Christopher" s'il est anglophone, ou à "Colón, Cristobal" s'il est de langue espagnole, plutôt que de se demander si, étant d'origine génoise, Christophe Colomb ne devrait pas être catalogué à "Colombo, Cristoforo".

Chaque pays a ses propres traditions pour désigner les individus, et la structure des noms de personnes est calquée sur leur nationalité. Ainsi avons-nous "Von Kurowsky, Agnes" pour une Américaine, mais "Schiller, Friedrich von" pour un Allemand, ou "Van der Meersch, Maxence" pour un Français, mais "Eeden, Frederik van" pour un Hollandais.

C'est le rôle du fichier d'autorité de rassembler toutes ces formes dans la notice d'autorité.

4. Apports des travaux internationaux

4.1. Ouvrages de référence publiés par l'IFLA.

Plusieurs instruments de travail ont été réalisés par l'IFLA à partir de 1963:

○ *Names of persons: national usages for entry in catalogues / IFLA UBCIM. — 4th rev. And enlarged ed. — München: K. G. Saur, 1996 (UBCIM Publications, New Series; 16).*

ISBN 3-598-11342-0.

Voir également les autres manuels pour la structuration des vedettes: classiques anonymes (1964); vedettes de collectivités (1980); vedettes liturgiques (2ème édition, 1981; traduit en français et mise à jour en 2001, ce manuel est disponible sur www.bnf.fr, rubrique Information pour les professionnels).

○ *Guidelines for authority records and references, GARR. — 2nd ed. / revised by the IFLA Working group on*

GARE revision. — München: K. G. Saur, 2001. — (*UBCIM Publications, New Series; 23*).

ISBN 3-598-11504-0.

Publié pour la première fois en 1984, sous le titre *Guidelines for authority and reference entries (GARE)*, l'ouvrage établit des règles d'affichage qui fixent l'ordre des éléments sans reposer sur l'encodage des données: avec l'informatisation, on a déterminé comment les éléments devaient être affichés, avant même de définir quels étaient les éléments obligatoires [8].

4.2. Les travaux internationaux récents.

Les travaux entrepris voici quarante ans se sont poursuivis: ils ont permis d'identifier les obstacles aux échanges et de trouver des solutions pour les surmonter.

○ AUTHOR, projet européen

Mené de 1995 à 1998, son ambition était de rendre accessibles en une seule recherche des fichiers d'autorité nationaux de pays européens, gérés dans des formats différents: UNIMARC, INTERMARC, UKMARC et PORMARC. Il s'est appuyé pour cela sur le protocole Z39.50 qui permet à des systèmes hétérogènes de communiquer entre eux. Ce protocole est aujourd'hui décliné dans une formule adaptée, le Profil de Bath ou *Bath Profile*, soutenu par les bibliothèques nationales européennes et adopté par plusieurs réseaux de bibliothèques [9].

AUTHOR a mis en évidence les difficultés liées aux différences dans les pratiques de catalogage, difficultés qui tiennent la plupart du temps à des différences d'usage culturelles.

La solution technique retenue — une base centralisée — est lourde, la langue de catalogage contraint à intervenir sur les notices récupérées: de fait, on veut regarder les notices créées par d'autres plutôt que les échanger.

Rapport final du projet AUTHOR:

<http://www.bl.uk/gabriel/cobra/author.pdf>.

Pour surmonter les obstacles rencontrés, on recherchera désormais une meilleure conceptualisation, plus transverse: c'est l'objet du groupe de travail FRANAR du programme UBCIM de l'IFLA, et du groupe d'experts français de l'afnor sur les métadonnées d'autorité.

○ FRANAR Spécifications fonctionnelles et numérotation des notices d'autorité [Functional requirements and numbering of authority records]

Lancé en 1999 par l'IFLA, le groupe de travail FRANAR a pour objet de *modéliser les données d'autorité des bibliothèques*. De même que les *Spécifications fonctionnelles des notices bibliographiques*, ou FRBR [Functional requirements for bibliographic records] [10], le modèle, qui repose sur le concept *Entité / Relations*, établit les relations entre les entités réelles et les entités bibliographiques. Après une version de travail fin 2001, le modèle devrait être validé courant 2003. Le groupe a aussi dans ses

attributions d'étudier la faisabilité d'un numéro d'identification des vedettes d'autorité [11]. Il entretient des relations avec le monde des archives et avec le groupe de travail du projet européen interparty (cf. Infra).

○ AFNOR CG46 [12]: Groupe Métadonnées d'autorité

Créé en 2000, ce groupe d'experts Métadonnées d'autorité de la Commission de normalisation Modélisation, production et accès aux documents CG46/CN357/GE4 de l'afnor a pour objectifs de définir les *fonctions des métadonnées d'autorité* gérant les points d'accès aux bases bibliographiques élaborées par les bibliothèques, les centres de documentation, les musées et les centres d'archives pour tous types d'autorités, de documents, de supports et d'utilisateurs; de proposer une *modélisation des métadonnées d'autorité* dans le cadre d'une base bibliographique, en articulation avec les modélisations en cours sur les données bibliographiques et sur les métadonnées de conservation.

Il travaille en collaboration avec le groupe de travail international FRANAR afin de veiller ainsi à l'adéquation des solutions proposées aux besoins de la communauté internationale.

Cf. <http://www.bnf.fr>, rubrique *Informations pour les professionnels*, Sous-rubrique Normes et formats.

○ LEAF: projet européen

Lancé en 2001 pour durer jusqu'en 2003, ce projet a pour objet *d'élaborer de façon automatique, à partir des requêtes des utilisateurs, un fichier d'autorité de noms de personnes et de collectivités, commun au patrimoine culturel de l'Europe. Plusieurs Bibliothèques nationales y participent.*

LEAF, Linking and exploring authority files: <http://www.leaf-eu.org>. [13]

Une définition type de document, "*Report on a Recommended Name DTD (15-12-2001)*", est disponible en ligne: http://www.crxnet.com/leaf/docs/RND_uob01_1.pdf.

○ **A partir de 2002**, de nouveaux projets incluent d'autres utilisateurs potentiels, les gestionnaires de droits: Indecs; Interparty.

INDECS est une initiative des détenteurs de droits pour la création de métadonnées permettant de gérer les droits: <http://www.indecs.org>.

INTERPARTY, financé principalement par l'Union européenne, a pour objectif de déterminer, pour les besoins du commerce électronique, les moyens d'assurer la compatibilité des identifiants des ayants-droit (les "parties"). Le projet associe des bibliothèques nationales, des représentants des éditeurs, l'IFLA et OCLC. Voir: <http://www.cditeur.org>.

5. Les points d'appui

5.1 Méthode.

Pour constituer un fichier d'autorité, il faut déterminer la méthode que l'on va suivre:

○ création complète originale: c'est notamment le rôle des agences bibliographiques nationales pour leurs auteurs nationaux tel qu'évoqué au § 3.1.

○ “récupération” à partir de réservoirs accessibles et fiables:

— soit par chargement sur les systèmes locaux (si le format et la langue de catalogage sont compatibles);
soit par copie ou re-saisie des informations.

On a vu à propos du fichier d'autorité national qu'il y a souvent combinaison des deux méthodes.

Si la récupération de notices bibliographiques est largement répandue, l'offre actuelle en matière de notices d'autorité normalisées est encore trop limitée. La Bibliothèque nationale de France [14] et la Library of Congress [15] offrent l'accès gratuit en ligne à leurs fichiers d'autorité. L'accès aux fichiers d'autorité des grands réservoirs bibliographiques américains OCLC [16] et RLG [17] est réservé à leurs utilisateurs sous contrat. En France, le Système universitaire de documentation (SUDOC) [18], géré par l'Agence bibliographique de l'enseignement supérieur (ABES), réserve aux bibliothèques membres de son réseau l'accès à ses fichiers d'autorité.

To facilitate international sharing of authority data, we propose that each National Bibliographic Agency (NBA) makes its authority files available over the Internet within two or three years, using the IFLA home page to register current information about what is available and what restrictions are in force.

5.2. Instruments.

○ Structuration des vedettes

Documents de l'IFLA: on trouvera sous:
<http://www.ifla.org/VI/3/nd1/publist.htm> et
<http://www.ifla.org/V/saur.htm> la liste des publications du programme fondamental UBCIM de l'IFLA.

En langue française, la rubrique *Outils bibliographiques des pages Informations pour les professionnels* du site www.bnf.fr propose, sous le titre *Notices d'autorité Auteurs et Titres* une présentation, générale et particulière à chaque type d'autorité, avec des exemples.

Auteurs Noms de personne

Names of persons: national usages for entry in catalogues / IFLA UBCIM.

Voir la référence complète donnée au § 3.3.

Collectivités

Structures of Corporate Name Headings — Final Report — November 2000

Final report of the Working Group on the Revision of FSCH

(IFLA Section on Cataloguing). Compiled and introduced by Ton Heijligers.

IFLA UBCIM, 2001.

En ligne sur IFLANET:

<http://www.ifla.org/VII/s13/scatn/final2000.htm>.

Ce rapport est une révision de FSCH = *Form and Structure of Corporate Headings*, recommandations sur les vedettes de collectivité publiées par l'IFLA en 1980.

Classiques anonymes

Pour le choix des vedettes-titres uniformes les instruments de travail normatifs publiés par l'IFLA constituent les premiers documents de référence [19]:

— *Liste internationale des vedettes titres uniformes pour les classiques anonymes*, 1964 (épuisé);

— *Anonymous classics: a list of uniform headings for European literatures*, 1978 (nouvelle édition revue et augmentée à paraître);

— *List of uniform titles for liturgical works of the Latin rites of the Catholic Church / recommended by the Working Group on Uniform headings for liturgical works*. — 2nd ed. Revised. — London: IFLA International Office for UBC, 1981.

ISBN 0-903043-35-1.

Version en ligne mise à jour:

<http://www.ifla.org/VI/3/pubs/unititles.html>

Traduction française en ligne:

[Http://www.bnf.fr/pages/infopro/outibib/fa-atu.htm](http://www.bnf.fr/pages/infopro/outibib/fa-atu.htm)

Liste des titres uniformes pour les livres liturgiques des rites latins de l'Eglise catholique: recommandations du Groupe de travail sur les vedettes titres uniformes pour les livres liturgiques. — Trad. Française et mise à jour de la 2^{ème} édition anglaise. — Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001.

○ Format

Les différents formats de la famille MARC ont été utilisés pour structurer des fichiers d'autorité: MARC national; MARC21 anglophone [20]. L'IFLA, dans son programme fondamental UBCIM, produit les formats UNIMARC, avec les guides d'utilisation et les manuels associés [21]. La 2^{ème} édition anglaise du format UNIMARC Autorités a été publiée en 2001. La traduction française est en cours et paraîtra en 2003 chez Saur.

La révision du format tient compte des travaux internationaux sur l'échange de données d'autorité, en particulier le rapport IFLA *Mandatory Data Elements of Internationally Shared Resource Authority Records [Eléments de données obligatoires pour l'échange international des notices d'autorité]*.

○ Règles d'affichage: GARE / GARR

Guidelines for authority records and references

Voir la référence complète donnée en 4.1.

○ Interrogation d'autres fichiers: protocole Z 39.50 (Profil de Bath)

La norme Z39.50 (ANSI / NISO Z39.50), adoptée par l'ISO en 1995 (ISO 23950) [22], est un protocole de communication permettant la recherche d'information dans des bases de données distantes, sans que l'on ait à connaître la syntaxe de recherche propre aux bases interrogées. Elle s'applique particulièrement aux catalogues des bibliothèques, aux bases documentaires et aux applications multimédias [23].

Le *Profil de Bath*, du nom de la ville anglaise, est un profil international élaboré pour favoriser l'interopérabilité des systèmes en déterminant des options communes dans l'application de la norme et en précisant son interprétation. Il est appelé à se substituer aux divers profils et interprétations pas toujours compatibles jusqu'alors utilisés [24]. La version 2, en cours de validation, inclut l'extension du profil aux notices d'autorité afin de permettre la copie ou le déchargement de notices d'autorité établies par d'autres bibliothèques [25].

○ *Accessibilité*: recourir aux solutions Web pour que d'autres bibliothèques puissent utiliser ces fichiers d'autorité.

6. Problématique des catalogues en plusieurs écritures

Tout ce qui a été dit précédemment vaut pour toutes les écritures et tous les catalogues mono-écritures. Les catalogues multi-écritures ont des aspects spécifiques.

Création et gestion de fichiers d'autorité

Des choix structurels sont à opérer au préalable:

— *vedette*: doit-elle être en caractères originaux et/ou en translittération?

— *index*

Veut-on un index en caractères non latins et un index en caractères latins?

Ou un index unique pour caractères non latins et caractères latins?

Implémentation d'UNICODE

(<http://www.unicode.org>): en mode UTF 8, on a 256 caractères, ce qui oblige à dupliquer les bases de données dans le système de gestion de bibliothèque (une base par jeu de caractères); avec UTF16, on atteint 65 000 caractères.

Réutilisation de réservoirs internationaux

Si les réservoirs internationaux OCLC et RLG ont une couverture réellement mondiale, ils ont été conçus à

l'origine pour le monde anglo-saxon, dont ils ont adopté les standards et les règles en vigueur pour le catalogue.

La réutilisation par d'autres pays des notices qu'ils contiennent soulève une double série de problèmes.

○ Problèmes liés à la diversité des formats: format MARC 21, commun au monde anglophone et au-delà; multiples formats MARC nationaux en Europe; format UNIMARC de l'IFLA, format d'échange utilisé également pour le catalogue. Les passerelles entre formats existent mais la concordance n'est jamais absolue, ce qui peut entraîner l'appauvrissement ou la structuration inadéquate de l'information [26]. En attendant l'adoption universelle d'unicode, les jeux de caractères doivent être transcodés. Si le comité responsable de l'évolution du format MARC 21 a prévu la possibilité d'utiliser l'alphabet original dans les notices d'autorité, l'*Anglo-American Authority File* [27], auquel collaborent les bibliothèques participant aux réservoirs OCLC et RLG, n'utilise pour le moment que la translittération.

○ Problèmes des règles nationales de catalogage, qui influencent directement la façon de structurer l'information. La translittération des caractères non latins s'effectue selon des systèmes différents.

7. Conclusion

Les fichiers d'autorité sont indispensables à la cohérence du catalogue et à sa qualité. Ils le sont d'autant plus aujourd'hui que le public qui consulte en ligne les catalogues des bibliothèques ne peut faire appel sur le champ au personnel de la bibliothèque pour le guider dans ses recherches.

La coopération internationale est recommandée pour une répartition de la tâche de création des notices d'autorité. C'est ce à quoi tendent tous les travaux menés dans ce domaine depuis plus de dix ans.

Le rapport du groupe de travail IFLA UBCIM sur la notice d'autorité minimale et le numéro d'identification des notices d'autorité, *Mandatory Data Elements for Shared Authority Records* [28], a recommandé en 1998 que, dans un délai de deux ou trois ans, chaque agence bibliographique nationale diffuse sur Internet ses fichiers d'autorité. Nous avons vu plus haut que deux grandes bibliothèques ont donné l'exemple. Pour réduire le coût du catalogue et favoriser la réutilisation des notices, il est nécessaire que beaucoup d'autres fassent de même dans les années qui viennent.

Notes

1. Outre les formes retenues en vedette et les formes rejetées ou associées, les notices d'autorité contiennent des notes permettant d'identifier les entités faisant l'objet des notices d'autorité, et de justifier les formes retenues, d'expliquer les relations entre celles-ci et les formes rejetées et associées et d'indiquer les sources consultées.

< Signifie "employé pour" (en anglais "used for"): la forme qui suit est une forme rejetée, variante de la vedette d'autorité, ou forme retenue. Correspond aux renvois "voir" des fichiers traditionnels.

<< Signifie "voir aussi" (en anglais "see also"): la forme qui suit est une forme associée.

2. *Agence bibliographique nationale et bibliographie nationale: principes directeurs* / établis par le Bureau international de l'IFLA pour l'UBC. — Paris: UNESCO; 1986 (PGI-79/WS/18). L'édition anglaise: *Guidelines for the National Bibliographic Agency and the National Bibliography* a été publiée par l'IFLA en 1979. Ces principes ont été réaffirmés et complétés lors de la *Conférence internationale sur les services bibliographiques nationaux* (ICNBS) qui s'est tenue en 1998 à Copenhague.

3. Le *Servizio bibliografico nazionale* (SBN) italien géré par l'Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche (ICCU) a le projet de réaliser et de diffuser un fichier d'autorité. En France, le catalogue du *Système universitaire de documentation* (SUDOC) est contrôlé par un fichier d'autorité, partagé par les membres de son réseau, s'appuyant sur les fichiers d'autorité de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.

4. C'est le cas des réservoirs OCLC et RLG dont il sera question plus loin.

5. *Dans les musées et les archives, on ne privilégie pas une forme du nom; en France, le Ministère de la Justice gère ses fichiers de personnes de façon phonétique; chez les gestionnaires de droits, c'est le pays d'édition qui est déterminant.*

6. L'UBCIM, *Universal Bibliographic Control and International MARC Core Activity*, est un programme permanent de l'IFLA.

7. *Pour les hymnes nationaux, c'est bien la nationalité! Pour un périodique, pourtant anonyme en général, c'est le pays de publication, déterminé par le siège de la collectivité qui l'édite.*

8. *Guidelines for authority records and references*, GARR est disponible en ligne sur IFLANET (format PDF): <http://www.ifla.org/VII/s13/garr/garr.pdf>.

9. Le protocole Z39.50 est utilisé également dans d'autres domaines, ainsi les musées au sein du consortium CIMI.

10. *Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records. Final Report*. Edited by the IFLA Study Group on the Functional Requirements for Bibliographic Records. Approved by the Standing Committee of the IFLA Section on Cataloguing. — München: Saur, 1998. viii, 136 p. — (UBCIM Publications — New Series; 19). En ligne sur IFLANET: <http://www.ifl.org/VII/s13/frbr.pdf>.

11. *Numéro international normalisé de la notice d'autorité* ou ISADN [International Standard Authority Data Number].

12. La Commission générale Information et documentation, ou CG 46, de l'AFNOR a le même champ de compétence que l'ISO TC [Technical Committee] 46, d'où son numéro.

13. LEAF est une extension de MALVINE, projet consacré aux manuscrits et correspondances d'auteurs modernes européens.

14. Bibliothèque nationale de France <http://www.bnf.fr>. Les fichiers d'autorité de BN-OPALE PLUS sont (en 2002) accessibles en consultation seulement aux pages *Informations pour les professionnels* du site, rubrique *Outils bibliographiques*. Le téléchargement gratuit des notices d'autorité en format UNIMARC sera disponible courant 2003.

15. Fichiers d'autorité de la Library of Congress: <http://authorities.loc.gov/>. Outre la consultation, les notices peuvent être téléchargées gratuitement en format MARC 21.

16. OCLC: <http://www.oclc.org/europe/oclc>.

17. RLG, Research Library Group: <http://www.rlg.org>.

18. Catalogue SUDOC: <http://www.sudoc-abetes.fr>.

19. Le travail en cours dans la section de catalogage de l'IFLA doit aboutir à une publication en 4 parties: 1. List of Uniform Headings for European Literatures; 2. Amérique latine; 3. Afrique; 4. Asie.

20. MARC21 résulte de la fusion des formats USMARC, UKMARC et CANMARC. La version anglaise de MARC21 est publiée par la Library of Congress et la Bibliothèque Nationale du Canada, qui assure aussi la traduction française officielle. La Bibliothèque nationale suisse a entrepris la traduction en allemand.

21. Loin de chercher à donner une liste de complète des formats, nous citerons seulement:

— *UNIMARC: an introduction*. En ligne sur IFLANET: <http://www.ifla.org/VI/3/p1996-1/unimarc.htm>.

— *UNIMARC Manual-Authorities format*. — 2nd revised enlarged edition. — München: K. G. Saur, 2001. ISBN 3-598-11503-2.

La traduction française qui paraîtra en 2003 chez Saur tiendra compte des dernières mises à jour. Elle sera également disponible sur le site <http://www.bnf.fr>.

— *UNIMARC Manual-Authorities format 2001 (Concise version)*: cette version "abrégée" (= sans les commentaires) est en ligne sur IFLANET <http://www.ifla.org/VI/3/p2001/guideindex.htm>.

22. ISO 23950 *Information Retrieval (Z39.50): Application Service Definition and Protocol Specification*.

23. La version 3, 1995 et la révision en cours (Z39.50-2002) sont disponibles sur le site de la Library of Congress, agence de maintenance du protocole Z39.50: <http://lcweb.loc.gov/z3950/agency/>.

24. *The Bath Profile: an international Z39.50 specification for library applications and resource discovery*, version 1.1 enregistrée par l'ISO en juin 2000, est disponible sur le site <http://www.ukoln.ac.uk/interop-focus/bath/1.1/>.

25. Le projet de version 2 (état avril 2002) est consultable sur le site de la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, agence de maintenance du Profil de Bath <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/bath/bp-release2-1stdraft.htm>.

26. Voir à ce sujet plusieurs articles sur la conversion de format à format parus dans *International Cataloguing and Bibliographic Control*, vol. 31, n°3, July/September 2002. Ce constat s'applique plus particulièrement à la conversion des notices bibliographiques.

27. L'*Anglo-American Authority File (AAAF)* résulte de la fusion des fichiers d'autorité américain, *US Name Authority File (USNAF)*, et britannique, *British Library Name Authority File (BLNAF)*.

28. *Mandatory data elements for shared authority records: report of the IFLA UBCIM Working Group on Minimal Level Authority Records and ISADN*. — 1998.

En ligne sur IFLANET (format PDF): <http://www.ifla.org/VI/3/p1996-2/mlar.htm>.

Nadine Boddart

CLASSIQUES ANONYMES DE LA LITTÉRATURE ARABE

Ce n'est pas en tant que spécialiste de littérature arabe que nous intervenons à cette table ronde, mais en tant que gestionnaire de notices d'autorité de titres uniformes à la Bibliothèque nationale de France pilotant un projet de la Section de catalogage de la Fédération internationale des associations de bibliothécaires et d'institutions (IFLA).

Il n'existe, à ce jour, aucun instrument de travail international, destiné aux professionnels des bibliothèques, sur les œuvres anonymes de la littérature arabe ancienne — que dans notre jargon professionnel nous appelons "classiques anonymes" — qui permettrait de choisir un titre uniforme à valeur internationale, de repérer les variantes de titre sans effectuer de longues recherches, d'élaborer la notice d'autorité identifiant l'œuvre de façon sûre. En effet, la littérature en langue arabe — pas plus d'ailleurs que les littératures chinoise et japonaise — ne figure dans le document de l'IFLA publié en 1964 et intitulé *Liste des vedettes uniformes pour les classiques anonymes = International list of uniform headings for anonymous classics*, faute de bibliothèques ayant, à l'époque, accepté de prendre en charge le recensement d'œuvres telles que *Sīrat 'Antar*, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, *Sīrat Baybars*, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, etc.

Jusqu'à présent, les bibliothèques qui normalisent les points d'accès des notices bibliographiques de leur catalogue grâce à des titres uniformes (gérés ou non par l'intermédiaire de notices d'autorité), établissent ces derniers en fonction de critères qui peuvent diverger selon les établissements, les pays et les ouvrages de référence privilégiés comme sources.

Dans le cadre du projet d'une nouvelle édition des listes de classiques anonymes, la Section de catalogage de

l'IFLA a décidé de travailler par grandes aires culturelles, de déployer le travail en plusieurs volets successifs afin d'arriver à couvrir le plus grand nombre possible de littératures, de rassembler en un sous-ensemble les littératures arabo-persanes et turco-mongoles.

Un certain nombre de partenaires sont nécessaires pour mener à bien un projet de cette nature. La Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie a accepté de prendre en charge l'établissement d'une première liste d'œuvres, de proposer des titres uniformes qui feraient autorité à l'échelon international (titre arabe retenu comme vedette, accompagné de sa translittération en caractères latins selon la norme ISO 233), de recenser des variantes de titres des différentes éditions et éventuellement des manuscrits. Cette proposition de collaboration a été présentée au Comité permanent de la Section de catalogage de l'IFLA à Boston le 24 août 2001. Lorsque cette phase du travail sera terminée, les bibliothèques nationales des pays de l'aire culturelle concernée seront sollicitées pour relire ce premier état de la liste, faire part de leurs remarques et corrections, et ajouter éventuellement des œuvres plus locales mais très populaires qui mériteraient de faire partie de ce recensement du fait du nombre important d'éditions. Les bibliothèques spécialisées en littérature arabe pourront, sur la base du volontariat, participer à cette deuxième phase du travail.

Nous espérons que, grâce à la collaboration d'un certain nombre d'entre nous, ce projet pourra être mené à terme dans des délais raisonnables et qu'ainsi un instrument de travail faisant actuellement cruellement défaut sera accessible à toute la profession via INTERNET.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma. Catalogue.* Ed. Benjamin Richler. Palaeographical and codicological descriptions by Malachi Beit-Arié. Jerusalem: 2001, XXX, 574 pp. — The Hebrew University of Jerusalem / The Jewish National and University Library.**

I dare to break an usual practice of starting a review. I must admit that I received this marvellous catalogue for review half a year ago, read through it quickly, and assessed its unquestionable virtues. However, something prevented me from writing this review immediately. I was unable to figure it out. Was it a long-term personal acquaintance with the authors or the deep professional and human respect I have for them? I felt it was something else. It appeared to me that I failed to grasp something essential in this work, something worth more than the professional description of this or that manuscript. Now I realize the matter. I sensed that because of varying historical circumstances we are at different chronological stages of development in the same discipline. I write these lines in a country where, for many reasons, unique collections of Hebrew manuscripts are concentrated, but their study is still at their naissance, with information available on the level of inventories and card catalogues of the nineteenth century (or later copies of them)¹. Yet I hold in my hands a modern version of the catalogue to one of the most famed and best studied collections of Hebrew manuscripts — the collection

of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma. In other words, I unconsciously assumed on the basis of Russian collections that the basic function of a printed catalogue was to introduce into scholarly circulation this or that body of unknown, or virtually unknown, manuscripts (for specialists to correct and amend later, so long as the catalogue itself exists). The authors of the work under review long ago overcame this understanding of the goals and tasks of cataloguing. The aim of their work is to introduce into scholarly circulation the most accurate possible multifaceted information (obtained through modern methods and techniques for processing manuscripts) about manuscripts already known to specialists.

The collection of Hebrew manuscripts at the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma consists of the private collection of the Christian Blicicist and bibliophile Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi (1742—1831), which was obtained for the library of Maria Luisa of Austria, Duchess of Parma, in 1816. It included 1,432 manuscripts and some 160 manuscripts that entered the collection from other sources². The collection reflects, in the main, the European (primarily Italian) book tradition. The chronological scope of the material runs from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. The earliest indirectly dated manuscript is from ca. 1072/73 (Catalogue No. 710); the earliest dated manuscript 1240 (No. 281), and the latest 1786 (No. 1406). As one might expect, the largest section, about one third of the collection, is the Bible. A full sense of the collection's thematic composition and the

¹ Not one of the three well-known collections of Hebrew manuscripts has even a primitive print catalogue. I refer here to the following collections: (1) collection of the Russian State Library in Moscow. It was formed in the early 1920s, mainly on the basis of the famed book collection of the Günzburg family. It is known by the hand-circulated (literally) catalogue by Senior Sachs *aeu eano* and inventories "for internal use" that are given to readers in the absence of a catalogue; (2) the collections of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg. The famed first and second collections of A. Firkovich and the collection of Archimandrite Antonin entered the library in the second half of the nineteenth century (respectively, in 1862—63, 1876, and after 1894). They are known thanks to a short card catalogue, inventories, and numerous publications. Individual sections of the catalogue have print catalogues (which reflect less than 15 per cent of the collection): A. Harkavy, H. Strack, *Katalog der Hebraischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg*, erster und zweiter Theil (St. Petersburg—Leipzig, 1875) (Katalog der Hebraischen und Samaritanischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg. Band 1); V. Lebedev, *Arabskie sochinenia v evrejskoj grafike* (Arabic Works in Hebrew Script), manuscript catalogue (Leningrad, 1987); P. Fenton, *A Handlist of Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in Leningrad* (Jerusalem, 1991); (3) the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It consists of the collections of L. Friedland (acquired in 1892) and D. Chwolson (acquired in 1910) and manuscripts acquired in the late 1920s—1930s from the Crimea. It is known thanks to inventories, a card catalogue, and two typewritten copies of descriptions by I. Ginzburg (completed in the late 1930s) and K. Starkova and A. Gazov-Ginzberg (completed in the 1960s). The first (already outdated, unfortunately) is being prepared for publication.

² The history of the collection's creation is described in some detail in Guiliano Tamani's *The History of the Collection*, pp. XIX—XXVII; one can also recommend the entry in B. Richler's *Guide to Hebrew Manuscripts Collections* (Jerusalem, 1994). See *ibid.*, pp. 149—51.

quantitative breakdown of its sections is provided by the material's arrangement in the Catalogue: Bible and Biblical exegesis (Nos. 1—693), Midrash (Nos. 694—709), Talmud (Nos. 710—754), Halakhah (Nos. 755—888), Liturgy (Nos. 889—1137), Kabbalah (Nos. 1138—1227), Philosophy (Nos. 1228—1363), Ethical Literature (Nos. 1364—1382), Homilies (Nos. 1383—1390), Polemics (Nos. 1391—1410), Poetry (Nos. 1411—1421), Philology (Nos. 1422—1462), Science (Nos. 1463—1497), Medicine (Nos. 1498—1539), Varia (Nos. 1540—1591).

The name of the Biblioteca Palatina collection's former owner is familiar to all specialists on the Hebrew manuscript and early-print tradition, as he was not merely an outstanding bibliophile and book connoisseur, but the author of a number of catalogues that undoubtedly influenced the development of Hebrew bibliographies. As primarily an incunabula specialist who focuses on Judaica, I am mainly familiar with De Rossi's work on the history of Jewish book-printing. I mean his relatively early works *De hebraice typographiae origine ac primitiis seu antiquis ac rarissimis hebraicorum librorum editionibus seculi XV disquisitio historico-critica...* and *De typographia hebraeo-ferrariensi commentarius historicum quo ferrarienses judaerum editiones hebraicae, hispanicae, lusitanae recensentur et illustrantur* (1776 and 1780 respectively), as well as his basic catalogue of his own collection of incunabula — *Annales hebraeo-typographici sec. XV...* (Parmae, 1795; reprint. Amsterdam, 1969). In 1803, De Rossi published his major work (on bibliographies, in any case) — a three-volume catalogue of his own manuscript collection *Mss. codices Hebraici Biblioth. ... accurate ab eodem descripti et illustrati* (1,377 Hebrew manuscripts and several dozen “*mss. codicum aliarum linguarum*”, vol. III, pp. 160—200). Each description in De Rossi's catalogue included a general summary of the contents of this or that codex and certain bibliographic and codicological information (for example, folio dimensions, written material, Latin translation of various parts of the colophon, etc.). Like De Rossi's other catalogues, it was in Latin and met the standards for orientalist catalogues of the time³. In the 200 years that have passed since its publication, both the language and standards of scholarship have changed, of course.

The description of the Parma collection under review here meets all modern standards. In a sense, it even sets them. For me, the most significant, qualitative distinction of this catalogue is that it is a collective endeavour. More accurately, it is the work of two teams — the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) and Hebrew Paleography Project (HPP). The IMHM used microfilms from Jerusalem to draw up a bibliographic description that was then edited by Institute Director B. Richler. The computer database Sfar-data (at the HPP) was used to correct the localization and dating of manuscripts in the *sine anno, sine loco* category. Additionally, each manuscript was

checked *de visu* by HPP Director Prof. Beit-Arye and his colleagues. This undoubtedly improved the accuracy of the descriptions and allowed the authors to introduce additional palaeographic elements.

Each description in the catalogue contains the following elements: author's name, title of the work (both in the language of the manuscript and in English transcription), content summary, quantitative characteristics (number of folios, manuscript dimensions), description of material (paper or parchment), location and chronological period of creation, description of handwriting, scribe's (scribes') name(s), person who commissioned the manuscript, information on its further history (notes by owners and censors), and, where necessary, a bibliography. During the first stage of work on the catalogue, the authors no doubt faced the issue of a system for descriptions and the selection of maximally representative information.

In principle, the information listed above is sufficient to obtain an accurate and multi-layered sense of each manuscript. Still, I would like make a few purely methodological additions and express several wishes for the future. First, in my view, any catalogue contains, first and foremost, a description of concrete manuscripts held in a certain library. Information about its production should follow immediately after the brief description of the work. I feel that the following order of description is preferable: author's name, title of work, place copied, copyist's name, time of copying. Second, it seems to me that a catalogue of this level (and one executed by a team of authors) should have an expanded field (at least for pre-sixteenth-century manuscripts) that includes the following: in-folio and in-quarto dimensions⁴, description of quire structure, more detail on materials (parchment thickness and processing, type of paper and, where possible, more information on water-marks⁵), lining and decoration (including descriptions of drawings and paints), general description of the manuscript's and binding's physical condition⁶. Third, I would imagine that any bibliographic citations of the scholarly use or reproduction of a manuscript should be separated from the basic description and included in the Notes section. For example, a description of a famous manuscript of the Mishnah (De Rossi 138, Catalogue No. 710) suddenly confronts readers with references to works by J. N. Epstein, N. G. Haneman, Y. Z. Feintuch, etc. It seems to me that such information overloads the bibliographic description and breaks up its flow.

My remarks, of course, are likely those of a perfectionist. In no way do they diminish the importance of the catalogue, the professionalism of its authors, or the significance of their work for the subsequent study of Parma's marvelous collection.

Finally, I would like to close this short review with a request that the authors of the catalogue turn their attention to Russian book collections. The titanic task of microfilming them (for which the bulk of the credit goes to the

³ Although De Rossi did not indicate the number of folios in the manuscript he described, which is rather strange, even for his day.

⁴ The folio dimensions in the catalogue in millimetres are not a replacement for proportional folio dimensions and do not, of course, tell us how the quires are formed. I note once again that in the De Rossi catalogue, the folio dimensions are given proportionally. One would also like more detail on the dimensions — are these average parameters or the dimensions of a concrete, representative folios (if so, which one?). And what are the dimensions of the text field and their ratio to the upper and lower margins?

⁵ Only in some instances are there references to C. Briquet's album *Les Filigranes*. No more information is given.

⁶ For example, I am quite interested in bindings, and the catalogue contains no information about them. Bindings contemporary to the manuscripts may have survived; alternately, they are in standard “Parma” bindings like the M. Friedland manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

authors of the catalogue at hand) was completed several years ago. The time has come to use the time-tested method of collective work demonstrated in the present catalogue. One could probably begin with the collection of Baron Günzburg (see n. 1), held in the Russian State Library in Moscow. It is comparable to the Parma collec-

tion in size and significance⁷. To return to the catalogue under review, information it provides is exceptionally valuable for all those studying Hebrew manuscripts, which makes it possible to open up new fields of enquiry.

S. Iakerson



⁷ The Günzburg family's collection of Hebrew manuscripts contains approximately 1,900 items. After the death of its last owner (and main compiler), David Goratsievich Günzburg (1857—1910), the library was acquired in 1917 by the Russian Zionist movement for the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Fast-moving historical events prevented the library's departure for Palestine, however. The library was nationalized and transferred to the collection of the Romyantsev Museum (today's Russian State Library).

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