FURTHER MESSIANIC REFERENCES IN QUMRAN LITERATURE

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As the work of piecing together the thousands of scroll fragments from Qumran's Fourth Cave (4Q) continues, more evidence is forthcoming on the messianic expectations of the Qumran Sect. The purpose of this article is to draw together the most important of these references so far available in a preliminary publication, so that scholars may have the opportunity to study this important material prior to its definitive publication in our final volumes.

The first is from a document to which I have given the provisional title of 4Q Patriarchal Blessings,1 and this fragment concerns the blessing of Jacob on Judah recorded in Gen 49 10. All the remains of this work have suffered badly from damp and warping, and in places present a black appearance which only infra-red photography can penetrate (Plate 1).

Document I

There shall not] cease a ruler from the tribe of Judah; when there shall be dominion for Israel there will not] be cut off a king (i.e., enthroned one) in it belonging to (the line of) David. For the ruler's staff is the royal mandate;

1 Referred to in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: I, Qumran Cave I (1955), p. 128, as a "commentaire de Gen 49."
3 In MT clearly = 'Scepter,' but parallelism of יָשָׁבֵי מַלֶּכֶת in 1. 3, implies the rendering above.
4 For יָשָׁב = 'throne-sitter, king,' cf. Amos 1 6, 8; Exod 15 14; also I Kings 8 26; Jer
Document 1
the families of Israel are the feet. Until the Messiah of Righteousness (Legitimate Messiah) shall come, the shoot of

David, for to him and to his seed has been given the royal mandate over his people for everlasting generations; which

has awaited [...] the Interpreter of (?)] the Law with the men of the Community, for [...] it is the Assembly of the men of

Remarks

The early date of the messianic interpretation of Gen 49:10 implied by our document is of particular interest. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Zech 9:9 depends on such an interpretation, and, as Mr. P. R. Weis has pointed out to me, the Sect’s pseudonym “Damascus” for the place of their exile probably owes as much to a messianic interpretation of Zech 9:1, “Damascus shall be his resting place,” as to Amos 5:27.

The similarity of our with the title (CDC vi.6) will not escape notice, and it is not altogether surprising that 14th century Karaism could use of both priestly and Davidic

Notes:
1 LXX: ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ (cf. Deut 28:87) and T*: מְלוֹן בֹּנְיוֹ, and cf. מְלוֹן in 1. 4 of this fragment.
2 Cf. 1QS 9.11; CDC xv.4. T*: רְכָּל מְלוֹן מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת, מְלַאכָּה מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת. For רְכָּל מְלוֹן מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת, מְלַאכָּה מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת, מְלַאכָּה מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת, מְלַאכָּה מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת.
3 Cf. T*: מְלוֹן מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת.
4 Cf. T*: מְלַאכָּה מְשִׁיחַ וְדַוִּיָּה וְיָם פָּלְדוֹת.
5 I suggest that [name] is to be reconstructed. Note 1. 2 of this fragment, and particularly the connection between the eschatological “Interpreter of the Law” and the historical “men of the Community.”
Messiah. In this series of messianic titles we can hardly omit the NT use of the name of the priest-king מַלְכִּים as the prototype of Jesus, who was also thought to combine both functions.

The intimate connection of the “Men of the Community” (1. 5) with this expectation of the “Shoot of David” has already been demonstrated by the messianic title in 1QS, נֵס נֵסָא,²⁶ and the future reference of the “Interpreter of the Law” (allowing my reconstruction in 1. 5) is confirmed by our next document, 4Q Florilegium. That this person also has a past reference in the history of the Sect is witnessed by CDC vi.7 (cf. vii.18), and he must surely be identified with the Sect’s founder, the Teacher of Righteousness.

**Document II**

The following extract comes from a work which I have provisionally entitled 4Q Florilegium. There is extant most of one column of 19 lines, made up of some 21 fragments of varying sizes, and it is mainly concerned with the re-establishment of the House of David in the last days. Here are four lines of particular messianic interest (Plate 1):

And the Lord [tell]is you that he will build a house for you, and I will set up your seed after you, and I will establish his royal throne for ever. I [will be] to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son. He is the Shoot of David, who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law, who

[... ] in Zion(?) in the last days; as it is written, And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen. That is the tabernacle of

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²² Cf. *Quimron Cave I*, p. 128; and cf. vii.20 in CDC vii.20 of נֵס נֵסָא of Num 24.17.
²³-²⁴ II Sam 7.11.
²⁵ MT יִשָּׂעְי, but cf. רַבָּי יִשָּׂעְי of vs. 13, and LXX οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεται αὐτῷ.
²⁶-²⁷ MT יִשָּׂעְי, but cf. vs. 13 and I Kings 9.5.
²⁸-²⁹ Restored as vs. 13.
²⁰ Cf. vs. 14; Heb 1.5.
David which is fallen and after-wards he will arise to save Israel.

Remarks

The most striking feature of the whole document is the identification of one of the Messiahs with the "Interpreter of the Law," previously referred to in CDC as a leading figure in the founding of the Sect (vi.7; vii.18). It can, furthermore, hardly be doubted that we must identify these two messianic figures mentioned here with the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel referred to elsewhere in Qumran literature.

A further point of interest in this extract is the reference of God's promise in II Sam 7 11. to the Qumran Davidic Messiah, as in the NT it is to Jesus. This implication of "sonship" of the Messiah has obvious NT parallels, and has, perhaps, to be connected with the עליה of 1QSa.

Document III

This comprises a collection of fragments coming from a commentary on Isaiah, called provisionally 4QpIsa (Plates 2 & 3). They begin with a citation of 10 22, and traces of vs. 24, 25 (possibly 26), and 27 are visible. Before the commencement of vs. 28 we have the following:

Fragment A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>լեն ռերիս</th>
<th>հեքիտ</th>
<th>հատուկ վրձի ռուկ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[մե]</td>
<td>ռեհար</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that the Targum gives this verse a messianic import (分析师 for MT [טש]), and the reconstruction of נַשְׁנָה וּרְאֵה in the second line is to be compared with this phrase in 1QSb 5.20 and elsewhere.

In the line above, it seems difficult to account for מְרָבָּר as a pašer on MT, and there may be support here for the commonly accepted practice of reading the last part of vs. 27 with the first of vs. 28, with יִלּו concealing a verb חָלֵintendo (despite 1QIsa*). We may thus surmise that whatever our commentator read in מְרָבָּר, he could interpret it as מְרָבָּר מַעֵן סֶם (cf. 1QM 1.3).

* Unless the repetition is merely tautologous, one might suppose that the commentator is making play on the participle of MT, giving it perhaps the nuance of a
The document then cites vss. 29-32, with comments:

...] He has come to Aiath; he has passed over [...]

...] the crossing; at Geba, they have lodged for the night [...]

...] thy voice, O daughter of Gallim; pay heed [...]

...] Madmenah; the inhabitants of Gebim flee for refuge. Still [...]

...] his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.

...] decree at the end of days, to come [...]

...] when he goes up from the Plain of Acco to fight against [...]

...] and there is none like him, and in all [...]

...] and as far as the boundary of Jerusalem. [...]

The top fragment of col. 2 has the remains of a pešer on 10 33a (Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, shall lop the boughs with terror), giving the word “[K]ittim” in one line, and “all the Gentiles” in the next. Then vs. 33b is stated, probably followed by a short comment, and vs. 34. On this verse there appears to have been a general pešer, relating the events to “the war of the Kittim.”
Fragment B:

... in all [...] 1 ובכלל
... the Kittim, who [...] 2 כוחות שבר
... all the Gentiles and [...] 3 גלגל התמות עבודה
... and the great in height will be hewn down [and the lofty will be brought low] 4 וירט קוסם גוריס מותבטיים ישכון
... and shall be cut down the thickets of [the forest with an ax] 5 לא תפקימו.Tree רועש בכרות
... for the war of the Kittim [...] 6 זא נשחת בחראינו
... the Kittim, who shall be given [...] 7 מתאיסים אשך יהנה

The next fragment must have come from a position very close to the preceding (Frag. B), but no direct join is possible.

Fragment C:

And shall be cut down the thickets of the forest] with an ax, and Lebanon with [its] majestic ones [...] 1 ותפומנס תבכתי הוא נברחל כלמת בן-
2 בסדרותיו 350
... Israel and the humble ones of [...] 3 גזון ישראל מפר食べ
... and they will be dismayed, and will melt the heart of [...] 4 איזירימ ותמות תוספ ל
... they are the warriors of the Kittim [...] 5 יהמה יבורי חפשים
... the forest with an ax; that [...] 6 גזר בברחל מלאם
... and Lebanon with [...] 7 אמל Lebanon בסדרו

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by the hand of his great one(s) [. . . ]

Jerusalem, when he fled from the presence of . . .

And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of] Jesse and a branch from his roots will spring forth, and there will] rest upon him

the spirit of Yahweh, the spirit of wisdom] and understanding, the spirit of counsel [and might] the spirit of knowledge

and the fear of Yahweh, and his delight shall be in the fear of] Yahweh [and not] according to the seeing [of his eyes

shall he judge and not according to the hearing of his ears shall he decide] but he shall judge [with righteousness the poor and decide

This document then goes on to chapter 11, and after quoting the remainder of the first five verses (presumably), continues with the pešer.

Fragment D:

Its interpretation concerns the Shoot of] David, who will arise at the end of days

. . .] and God will uphold him with [ . . . the Law . . .

[ ... the Law . . .]
... the crown of glory, a holy crown, and garments of variegated stuff...

... in his hand, and over all the Gentiles he shall rule, and Magog...

... all the peoples his sword shall judge. And when it says, "Not according to the seeing of his eyes shall he judge] nor according to the hearing of his ears shall he decide; its interpretation is...

... as they teach him, so shall he judge, and according to their asseveration...

... shall go forth one of the priests of repute, and in his hand garment[s of...

Remarks

It appears from Fragment A that we have a reference to the geographic location of the Messiah's point of departure on his triumphal march to Jerusalem. I had previously reconstructed עכו, known from other documents as being of particular interest to the Qumran Sect (biblical עכו), but a fragment identified after this paper went to press fills out the lacuna as above. We must therefore think of the Messiah landing at Acco (Ptolemais) as the nearest port of entry to the NT battlefield of Armageddon (Rev 16 16; cf. הנע רשא in Zech 12 11).6a

The "War of the Kittim" finds, of course, greater elaboration in 1QM, and seems to have been regarded as a necessary preliminary to the final judgment and the institution of the Kingdom.

We have seen the purely executive role of the Davidic Prince already

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6a Cf. I Sam 2 8; Isa 22 21; Jer 14 21, 17 12.
6b Cf. Exod 29 6, 39 30; Lev 8 8, of the priest's apparel.
outlined in 1QSa, and here it seems to imply that even his exacting standards of judgment are learned at the feet of his priestly tutors, and it is apparently at their hands that he receives his crown and royal robes. Perhaps additional fragments may yet tell us more of what seems to be a most interesting and detailed coronation ceremony based on Psalm 45.

**Document IV**

This text is already well known by repute; its provisional title is 4Q Testimonia (Plate 4). The scribe is the one who wrote 1QS and other 4Q documents, and the present work is characterized by carelessness and a rather strange orthography. The fragment here reproduced appears to be almost complete, missing only the lower right-hand corner, but it is clearly not part of a scroll, for there is none of the close stitching at the left-hand side one associates with a scroll page. The fine skin, however, is not inscribed on the reverse.

And (Yahweh) spoke to Moses, saying, You (?) have heard the sound of the words of this people who have spoken to you. They have spoken well everything which they have said. If only this were their own determination: to fear me and to keep all of my commandments, through all the years, so that it might be well with them, and with their sons forever.

48 The four dots for the Tetragrammaton as in 1. 19 and elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls; the introduction has been changed from MT (כומע יטפשת יאלו) for the purposes of the Testimonia selection.
49 MT ימש.
50 The lamedh has been written over two letters, probably הַש and הַש, the scribe presumably having started to write שַם.
A prophet I will raise up for them from the midst of their brothers, like you, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will say to them everything which I command him. If there is a man who does not listen to my words, which the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself shall seek satisfaction from him.

And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;

5 A prophet I will raise up for them from the midst of their brothers, like you, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will say to them everything which I command him. If there is a man who does not listen to my words, which the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself shall seek satisfaction from him.

6 And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;

7 A prophet I will raise up for them from the midst of their brothers, like you, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he will say to them everything which I command him. If there is a man who does not listen to my words, which the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself shall seek satisfaction from him.

8 And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;

9 And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;

10 And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;

11 And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;
I watch him, but not near. A star shall march forth from Jacob, and a scepter will rise from Israel; and he will crush the heads of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Sheth.

And of Levi he said, Give to Levi thy Thummim, and thy Urim to thy loyal bond-man, whom thou didst test at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah; who said to his father, "Know you; and his brother(s) he did not acknowledge, and his son(s) he did not recognize. For he kept thy word, and thy covenant he guarded; and he made thy judgments clear to Jacob, thy Torah to Israel. They place incense before thee, and whole burnt offering upon thine altar.

**MT opt.**

**n** The final letter was written over another, and then repeated above the line.

**<MT.**

**m** MT ws.

**k** Cf. Deut 33 8-11.

**kk** >MT, but LXX has Δόθε Δεσπόλ. שורִיך

**k** So Samaritan; MT ויהוה.

**a** The word אֵל has been partly erased, as well as the first word in the next line.

**b** The first yodh seems to have been written over a previous שִׁפֹּקָה. MT לא וַיֹּאמֶר, Sam. לא וַיָּשָׁא. For the suffix of 4Q, cf. LXX ὅπερ ἐδόθη σε. The final ι (or i) seems to be a dittograph inspired by the in of וַיֹּאמֶר directly above.

**c** MT וָיֶסֹר, cf. LXX ἐφόλαξεν.
Bless (Yahweh), his might, and the work of his hands accept. Smash the loins of his adversaries and those who hate him, that they may never stand.

At the time when Joshua finished praising and giving thanks with his praises,

Then he said, Cursed be the man who builds this city; with his firstborn shall he lay its foundation, and with his last-born shall he set up its gates. And, behold, a man accursed, the devil’s own (lit. (the one of Belial),

shall arise, to be a fowl [er’s snare] to his people, and destruction to all his neighbors. And he shall arise

...so] that the two of them may be instruments of violence. And they shall return and build (i. e., build again) the

...and will] establish for it a wall and towers, to provide a refuge of wickedness

...in Israel, and a horrible thing in Ephraim, and in Judah

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9 Cf. n. 48.
10 A taw at the end of the word has been blacked out.
11 MT וַיַּרְאֵם. 12 MT וַיִּשְׁמַעְתָּם. 13 MT וַיַּכְפִּירוּ. 14 MT וַיִּהְיֶה מָשְׂכִים. 15 MT וַיִּרְבּוּ עָלָיו. 16 MT וַיִּשְׁלַח עָלָיו מְזוֹד. 17 MT וַיִּשְׁלַח עָלָיו מְזוֹד. 18 MT וַיִּשְׁלַח עָלָיו מְזוֹד. 19 MT וַיִּשְׁלַח עָלָיו מְזוֹד. 20 MT וַיַּרְאֵם אֵשֶׁר יָשָׂה לְחָלָל לְהוֹדָדוֹת נְתָנְתָיוֹת. 21 MT וַיִּסָּפְרוּ אֲשֶׁר יָבֹנָה ַּח. 22 MT וַיְהִי הָתוֹמֶה בְּבֵכְרוֹר. 23 MT וַיִּסָּפְרוּ אֲשֶׁר יָבֹנָה ַח. 24 MT וַיִּכְפַּר אֶת הַשָּׂרָה לְדָגְדֵּה אֲשֶׁר יָבֹנָה. 25 MT וַיְהִי הָתוֹמֶה בְּבֵכְרוֹר. 26 MT וַיְהִי הָתוֹמֶה בְּבֵכְרוֹר. 27 MT וַיְהִי הָתוֹמֶה בְּבֵכְרוֹר.
There can be little doubt that we have in this document a group of testimonia of the type long ago proposed by Burkitt, Rendel Harris, and others to have existed in the early Church. Our collection has the added interest of including two testimonies used by the early Christians of Jesus. Furthermore, the first testimony quoted has a particular importance in that it demonstrates the type of composite quotation well represented in the NT. The context of Deut 5:28-29 in Scripture leaves no doubt that it is Moses who is to serve as the intermediary between God and Israel, but in our collection the promise of Deut 18:18 has been joined to it (note the absence of the marginal dividing mark) in such a way as to make the wish of the people refer to the coming Prophet.

The last testimony quoted in 4Q seems, at first glance, to be decidedly out of place. It has no apparent messianic import and is not entirely scriptural. However, light has been forthcoming on the latter problem in the discovery among 4Q fragments of the same passage, as part of a document to which Mr. John Strugnell, in whose section of work it falls, has given the provisional title of 4Q Psalms of Joshua. It seems to have been an apocryphal work current at Qumran, and that it should have been quoted in our Testimonia alongside biblical texts will occasion

\[\text{For } נשת נמחת במרת } \text{in 4Q Pss of Joshua.}\]

\[\text{This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the whole testimonies problem of the early Church, but this document will certainly revive interest in the question. One recalls the words of Burkitt: "We must look . . . to a collection of Testimonia as the immediate source of our Evangelist's [Matthew] quotations. The collection must have been made from the Hebrew, but the names of the several prophets or psalmists do not seem to have been attached to the quotations, nor were the words always cited with scrupulous accuracy" (The Gospel History and its Transmission [1906], pp. 126 f.). The significance of the Septuagintal tendency of the text tradition}\]
no surprise in view of the use by NT writers of extra-canonical works like Enoch.\textsuperscript{108}

Somewhat more problematical is the connection between the last testimony and the previous three. These seem to refer clearly to the prophetic, kingly and priestly functions of the Messiah(s), whereas the last is concerned with the activities of "a man accursed." However, I think that the real point of contact among all four is not to be found in the personalities involved so much as in the import of the final words of each. These foretell destruction on those who do not listen to the divinely inspired words of the Prophet (implicitly in Deuteronomy, explicitly in Acts 3:23), the enemies of the Star and Scepter, and the opponents of the Levitical priesthood, and lastly, the city which had been rebuilt under a curse, and whose walls would be covered with blood in the last days. Thus the whole collection is not so much "messianic" as eschatological.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{108} The whole of the testimony seems to be phrased in metrical form: note the parallelism of אָֽיִּ֣י הָאָ֖וֶּרֶבֶּהָיִ֑ם אֶ֖צְאְלָ֖ת הָאָ֖וֶּרֶבֶּהָיִ֑ם נַ֧תָּחֵֽלָּ֜וּ with עֶֽזְתָּבֵ֧שׁ הָאָ֨וֶּרֶבֶ֝הָיִ֣ם, וְהָאָֽוֶּרֶבֶּהָיִ֑ם נַ֧תָּחֵֽלָּ֜וּ.

\textsuperscript{109} There remains the question of the historical situation underlying the last testimony. By following the LXX tradition of the text, where the explanatory note נַ֥תָּחֵֽלָּּוּ is not represented, the text has been made to refer to Jerusalem (II. 29, 30). If the "man accursed" is the Wicked Priest, and our identification of this person with Janneus is correct, then the two sons may be Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, and it will be remembered that Caesar gave permission to this latter king in 47 B. C. to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Cf. Josephus, \textit{Ant.} XIV.viii.5; XIV.ix.1; XIV.x.5; XIV.v.2; \textit{BJ} I.x.3. In \textit{1QpHab} 10.9 ff., the rebuilding of the wall is referred to the "Preacher of Lies" himself. But it must be confessed that the broken nature of the text and the characteristic obscurity of its personalities and events make these references at best only of confirmatory value for the reconstruction of the Sect's history.