

FURTHER MESSIANIC REFERENCES IN QUMRAN LITERATURE

J. M. ALLEGRO

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

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 1 לא יסור שליטי משבטי יהודה בדיות
the tribe of Judah; when there לישראל ממשל
shall be dominion for Israel

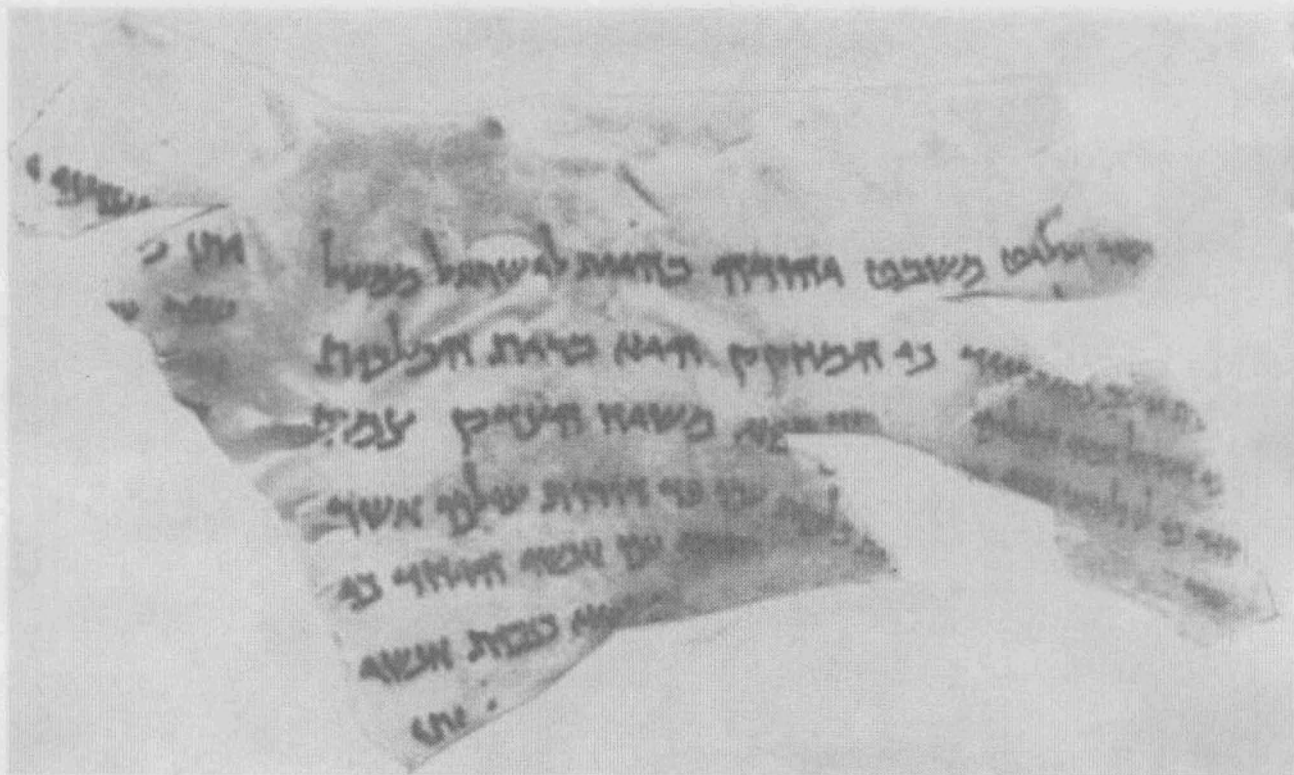
there will not] be cut off a king 2 לוא יזכרת יושבי בראי לדוד כי המחקקי
(i. e., enthroned one) in it היא ברית המלכות
belonging to (the line of) David.
For the ruler's staff is the royal
mandate;

¹ Referred to in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: I, Qumran Cave I* (1955), p. 128, as a "commentaire de Gen 49."

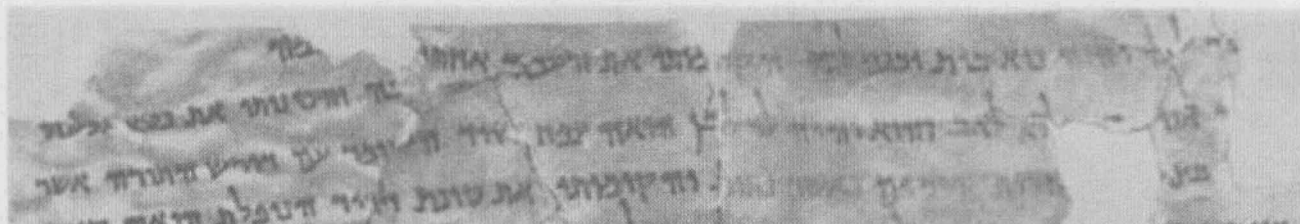
² Cf. Targ. Onk. עביר עולטן.

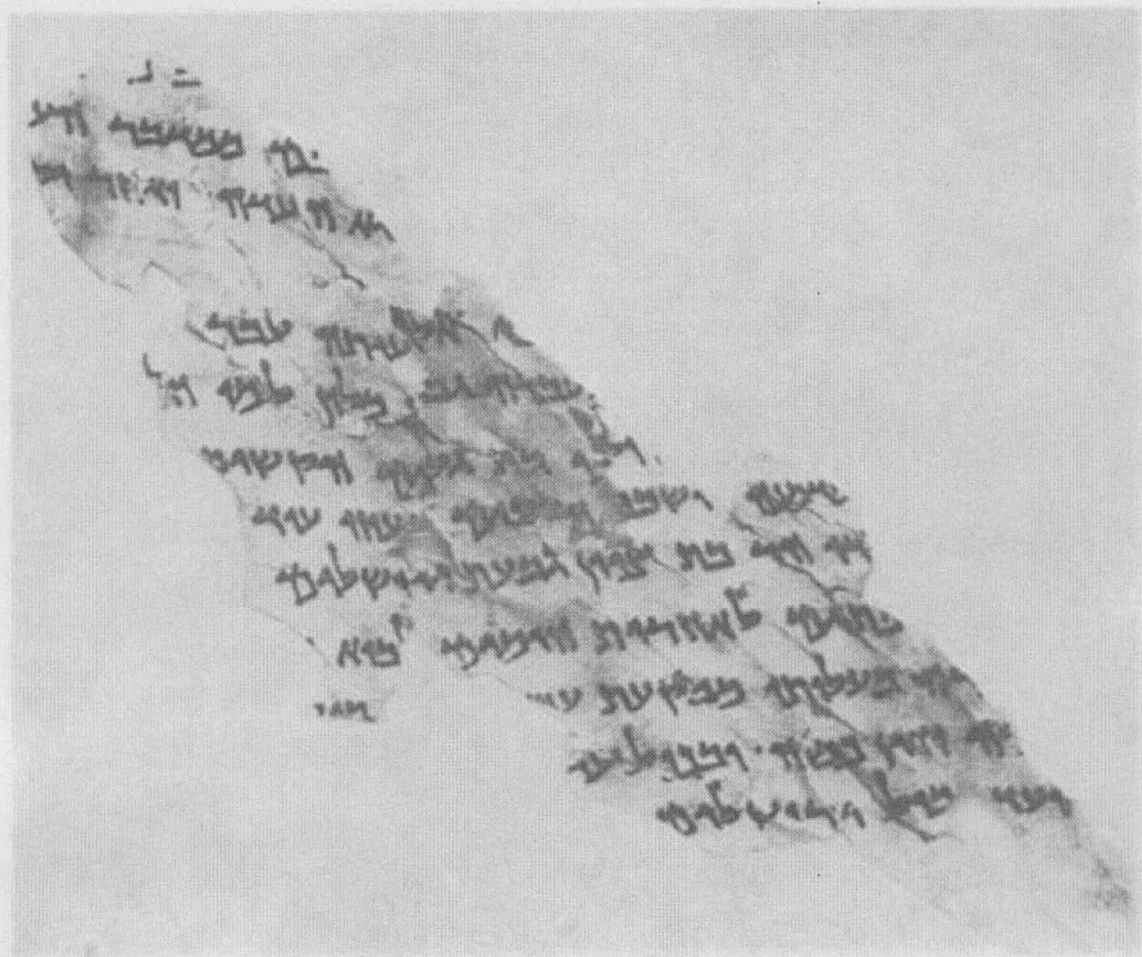
³ In MT clearly = 'Scepter,' but parallelism of אל פי ישראל in l. 3, implies the rendering above.

⁴ For יושב = 'throne-sitter, king,' cf. Amos 1 5, 8; Exod 15 14; also I Kings 8 26; Jer



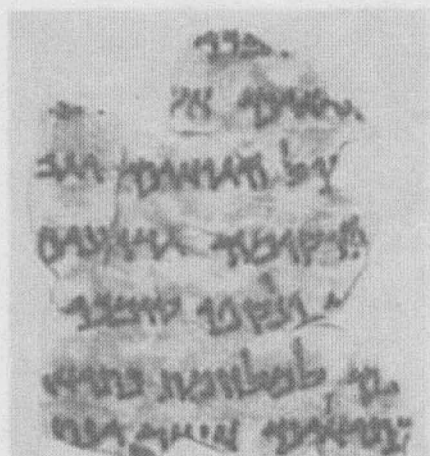
DOCUMENT I

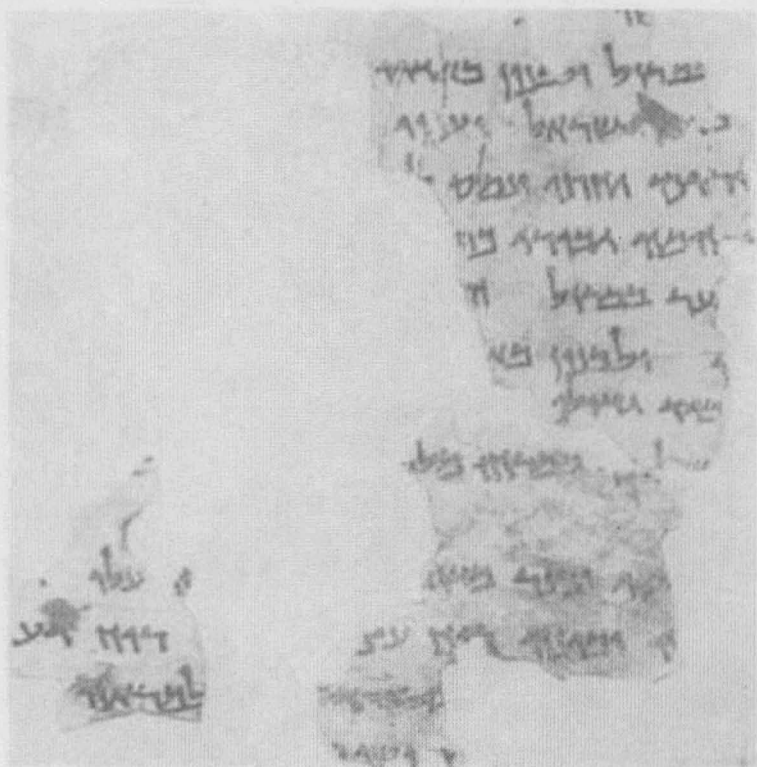




DOCUMENT III

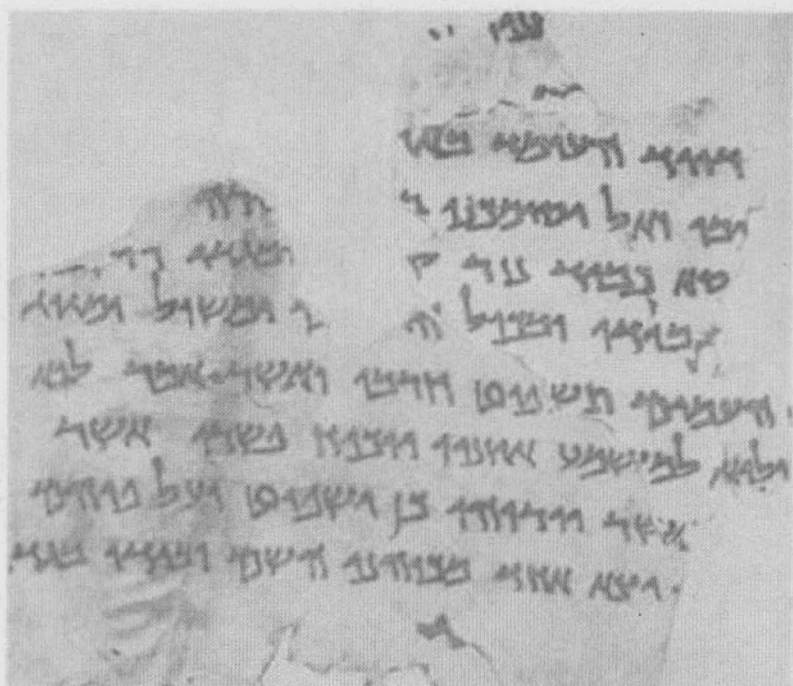
Fragment A





DOCUMENT III

Fragment C



the families of Israel are the *feet*. 3 אֵלֶּפֶי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה הָרְגָלִים יַעֲד בָּרָא
Until the Messiah of Righteous- מִשִּׁיחַ הַצְדִּיק יָצֵחַ
ness (Legitimate Messiah) shall
come, the shoot of

David, for to him and to his seed 4 זריד כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית מלכות
has been given the royal man- עמו יעד דורות עולם אשר
date over his people for ever-
lasting generations; which

has awaited [... the Interpreter 5 וְהַתּוֹרֵה עִם
of (?)] the Law with the men of אֲנָשֵׁי הַיִּחוּדִיו כִּי
the Community, for

[הִיא מִכְנֻסַת אֲנָשִׁים 6 it is the Assembly of the men
of

7 זכות

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,¹³ 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,"¹⁴ as to Amos 5 27.

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

¹ LXX: ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ (cf. Deut 28 57) and T¹: כְּבִי בְנוּי, and cf. לִדְרוֹ in l. 4 of this fragment.

מלכא משיחא; Jon-ד. עד רייתי משיחא רדיליה היא מלכותא; יד. CDC xv.4; 1QS 9.11; Cf. 23.
 For 4Q, against MT עד כי יבוא, cf. Ezek 21 32. ועיר בנהי

→ Cf. T^o: אדם ער.

שמר הן זו שמרתן ¹⁰

נחמ I suggest that הַחֲרֻחַ [חרש] is to be reconstructed. Note l. 2 of this fragment, and particularly נחמ דוד העמוד עם דודס החרוה of the next fragment. If my reconstruction is correct this would seem to underline the connection between the eschatological "Interpreter of the Law" and the historical "men of the Community."

Messiahs.¹⁵ In this series of messianic titles we can hardly omit the NT use of the name of the priest-king מלכיצדק as the prototype of Jesus, who was also thought to combine both functions.

The intimate connection of the "Men of the Community" (l. 5) with this expectation of the "Shoot of David" has already been demonstrated by the messianic title in 1QSa, נשיא העדה,¹⁶ and the future reference of the "Interpreter of the Law" (allowing my reconstruction in l. 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):

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><i>And] the Lord [tel]s 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</i></p> | <p>1</p> | <p>וְיִזְכֹּר לְכֹהֵן יְהוָה כִּי אֵלֶּה יְבִנֶה¹⁷
לְכֹה וְהַקִּימוֹתַי אֶת זֶרְעֲכֶם אַחֲרֵיכֶם
וְהַכִּינוֹתַי אֶת יִסְכֵּא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ¹⁸</p> |
| <p><i>for eve]r. 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 Inter-
preter of the Law, who</i></p> | <p>2</p> | <p>עַד שְׁלֹמֹה¹⁹ אָבִי [אֶהְיֶה] לְרֹאשׁ²⁰ לְאֵב
הוּא יִהְיֶה לִי לְבֵן הוּא הָרֹאשׁ²¹ צִמְחָה
דְּרִידִי²² הַעוֹמֵד עִם דּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה
אֲשֶׁר</p> |
| <p><i>...] in Zi[on(?) in the l]ast days;
as it is writen, And I will raise
up the tabernacle of David that is
fallen. That is the tabernacle of</i></p> | <p>3</p> | <p>בְּצִיּוֹן²³ בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים
כְּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב הַקִּימוֹתַי²⁴ אֶת סוּכָה
דְּרִיד הַנוֹפֶלֶת הִיא סוּכָה</p> |

¹⁵ Cf. N. Wieder, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, VI (1955), 21.

¹⁶ Cf. *Qumran Cave I*, p. 128; and נשיא כל העדה in CDC vii.20 of the שבט of Num 24 17.

¹⁷⁻¹⁸ II Sam 7 11f.

¹⁹ MT יקשה, but cf. יבנה ביה of vs. 13, and LXX οἱ οὐρανοὶ οὐ καταδομήσεαι αὐτῷ.

²⁰⁻²¹ MT אה ממלכתו, but cf. vs. 13 and I Kings 9 3.

²²⁻²³ Restored as vs. 13.

²⁴ Cf. vs. 14; Heb 1 3.

David which is falle]n and after]- 4 דויד הנפול[נתי וא]חר יעמוד וילחושיע
wards he will arise to save את ישראל:
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 11f. 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 יוליד of 1QSa.²⁶

DOCUMENT III

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

Fragment A:

1	לכם ממדבר הע[מים]
2	נש[א] העדה ואחר יט[א]

It is interesting to note that the Targum gives this verse a messianic import (משיחא for MT שמן), and the reconstruction of נשא העדה 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 ממדבר as a *pešer* 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 עלל concealing a verb עלה (despite 1QIsa^a). We may thus surmise that whatever our commentator read in ממני שמן, he could interpret it as ממדבר הע[מים] (cf. 1QM 1.3).

²⁶ 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. 28–32, with comments:

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| ...] | <i>He has come to Aiath; he has passed over</i> [...] | 3 | [א אליו עיתה עבר] |
| ...] | <i>the crossing; at Geba, they have lodged for the night</i> [...] | 4 | [מעברה גבע מלך למוי חלנ] |
| ...] | <i>thy voice, O daughter of Gallim; pay heed</i> [...] | 5 | [קולכי בת גלים הקשיב] |
| ...] | <i>Madmenah; the inhabitants of Gebim flee for refuge. Still</i> [...] | 6 | [מדמנה ישבי הגבים העזו עוד] |
| ...] | <i>his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.</i> | 7 | [ידו הר בחי ציון גבעת ירושלים] |
| ...] | <i>decree at the end of days, to come</i> [...] | 8 | [פתגם לאחרית הימים לבוא] |
| ...] | <i>when he goes up from the Plain of Acco to fight against</i> [...] | 9 | [וזה בעלותו מבקעת עכו
ללחם] |
| ...] | <i>and there is none like him, and in all</i> [...] | 10 | [וזה ואין כמוהו וכול ע] |
| ...] | <i>and as far as the boundary of Jerusalem.</i> [...] | 11 | [ועד גבול ירושלים] |

The top fragment of col. 2 has the remains of a *peser* 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 *peser*, relating the events to "the war of the Kittim[m]."

³⁰ MT קל.

³¹ MT עית.

³² MT לנו.

Fragment B:

...] in all [...	1	בכולן
...] the Kittim, who [...	2	כתיאים אשר
...] all the Gentiles and [...	3	כול הגוים וגבן
...and the great] in height will be hewn down [and the lofty will be brought low	4	ורמ"ן הקומה גדועים ונהגבוהים ישפלו
...] and shall be cut down the thickets of [the forest with an ax	5	ור' ונקטוני סובכיה והיער בברזל
...] for the war of the Kittim [...	6	אם למלחמת כתיאיןם
...] the Kittim, who shall be given [...	7	כתיאים אשר ינתןם

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

Fragment C:

	1	ותן
And shall be cut down the thickets of the forest] with an ax, and Lebanon with [its] majestic ones [...	2	וניקפו סובכי היער] בברזל ולבנון באדירין] יו"ט
...] Israel and the humble ones of [...	3	כין] ישראל ועננין
...] and they will be dismayed, and will melt the he[art of ...	4	אדיריים וחתו ונמס לו]
...] they are the warriors of the Ki[ttim ...	5	להמה גבורי כתיאים
...] the forest with an ax; that [...]	6	יער בברזל ותא
...] and Lebanon with [...	7	אם ולבנון באדיריו

- ...] by the hand of his great one(s) [. . .] 8 [כיד גדולו]
- ...] Jerusalem, when he fled from the pres[ence of . . .] 9 ירושלים בברחו מלפני
- 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* 10 ויצא חסד מגזע] ישי ונצר משור]שיו
יפריח ונחה עליו
- the spirit of Yahweh, the spirit of wisdom] and understanding, the spirit of counsel [and might] the spirit of knowle[dge* 11 רוח יהוה רוח חכמה וכינה רוח עצנה
וגבורה] רוח דענת
- and the fear of Yahweh, and his delight shall be in the fear of] Yahweh [and not] according to the seeing [of his eyes* 12 ויראת יהוה והריחו ביראת] יהוה
ולזאת] למראה] עיניו
- 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* 13 ישפוט ולזאת למשמע אחניו יוכיח
ושפט] בצדק דלים והוכיח

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

Fragment D:

- Its interpretation concerns the Shoot of] David, who will arise at the en[d of days] 1 פשרו על צמח] דוד העומד
באחזרית הימים
- ...] and God will uphold him with [. . . the L]aw . . . 2 [יבן ואל יסומכנו בו
חורה

- ...th]rone of glory, a h[oly] 3 כסא כבוד⁴¹ נזר ק[ודש]⁴²
crown, and garments of varie- ובגדי רוקמנות⁴³
gat[ed stuff] . . .
- ...] in his hand, and over all the 4 [כידו וככול הגמלים
[Gentile]s he shall rule, and משול ומנוג
Magog [. . .
- ... al] the peoples his sword 5 כחל העמים תשפוט חרבו
shall judge. And when it says, ואשר אמר לוא]
"Not
- according to the seeing of his eyes 6 למראה עיניו ישפוט* ולוא למשמע אזניו
shall he judge] nor according to יוכיח פשרו אשר]
the hearing of his ears shall he
decide; its interpretation is [. . .
- ... a]s they teach him, so shall he 7 כאשר ידחזק⁴⁴ כן ישפוט
judge, and according to their ועל פיהם]
asseveration [. . .
- ...] shall go forth one of the priests 8 יצא אחד מכותני השם⁴⁵
of repute, and in his hand וכידו בגד⁴⁶
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 עכור to עכן, known from other documents as being of particular interest to the Qumran Sect (biblical עכר עכר, *עקע*), 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 18; cf. בקעת מרון in Zech 12 11).^{46a}

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

⁴¹ Cf. I Sam 2 8; Isa 22 23; Jer 14 21, 17 12.

⁴² Cf. Exod 29 8, 39 20; 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*

1 וַיִּדְבֹר : : : אֵל מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר
שְׁמַעְתָּ אֶת קוֹל דְּבַרִּי

*this people who have spoken to you.
They have spoken well everything
which they have said.*

2 הֵעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ אֵלַיכֶם הִסִּיכּוּ
כֹל אֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ

*If only this were their own determi-
nation: to fear me and to keep
all of*

3 מִי יִתְקַן וַיְהִי לִבָּם¹⁰ לֶחֶם לִירְאָתִי
אוֹתִי וּלְשִׁמּוֹר אֶת כֹּל

*my commandments, through all
the years, so that it might be well
with them, and with their sons
forever.*

4 מִצְוֹתַי כֹּל הַיּוֹמִים לְמַעַן יִסְבּוּ¹¹
לָהֶם וּלְבָנֵיהֶם לְעוֹלָם

¹⁰ Cf. Deut 5 28-29.

¹¹ The four dots for the Tetragrammaton as in 1. 19 and elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls; the introduction has been changed from MT (וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי) for the purposes of the Testimonia selection.

¹² MT שְׁמַעְתָּ.

¹³ The *lamedh* has been written over two letters, probably *sw* and *sw*, the scribe presumably having started to write *sw*.

- A prophet I will raise up for them from the midst of their brothers, like you, and I will put my words* 5 **יגבי אקים לאהמה מקרבי אחיהמה כמוכהי ונתתי דברי**
- in his mouth, and he will say to them everything which I command him. If there is a man* 6 **בפיהו ידבר אליהמה את כל אשר אצוו והיה איש**
- who does not listen to my words, which the prophet shall speak in my name, I myself* 7 **אשר לוא ישמע אלי דברי אשר ידבר הנביא בשמי אנכי**
- shall seek satisfaction from him.* 8 **אדרוש מעמו**
- And he uttered his message and said, Oracle of Balaam, son of Beor, and oracle of the man* 9 **וישא משלו ויאמר באומי בלעם בנבעודי וגאם הנבר**
- whose eye is clear; oracle of one who hears the sayings of El, and knows the knowledge of Elyon; who* 10 **שהתמי העין נחאמי שומע אמרי אל ידע דעת עלין אשרי**
- observes the vision of Shaddai, with eye skinned and uncovered. I see him, but not now;* 11 **מחזה שדי יחזה נוסל וגלוי עיןי אראנו ולוא עתהאי**

⁵⁷ Cf. Deut 18 18-19, and Acts 3 22 f. Note spelling of נבי here and in l. 7.

⁵⁸ MT להם.

⁵⁹ Written over מחוך.

⁶⁰ MT אחיהם.

⁶¹ MT כבוד.

⁶² MT בפהו.

⁶³ MT ודבר.

⁶⁴ MT אליהם.

⁶⁵ 'Aleph has been written heavily over a previous letter, possibly 'ayin. Cf. 1QIsa^a 53 1.

⁶⁶ > MT, but cf. LXX and Acts 3 23.

⁶⁷ Cf. Num 24 15-17; Rev 22 18; CDC vii.19 ff.; 1QM xi.6. In ישא the 'aleph has been written over a hē.

⁶⁸ The 'aleph has been written over a hē.

⁶⁹ MT בנו בער.

⁷⁰ MT שם. hut חי LXX δ αλφωωω δ αωωω.

- I watch him, but not near. A star shall march forth from Jacob, and a scepter will rise from Israel; and he will crush* 12 *אשורנו ולא קרוב דרך כוכב מיעקב יקום¹⁶ שבת מישראל ומחזי¹⁷*
- the heads of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Sheth.* 13 *סאתי מואב וקרקר אתי¹⁸ כול בני שית¹⁹*
- And of Levi he said, Give to Levi thy Thummim, and thy Urim to thy loyal bond-man, whom* 14 *טוללוי אמר וזהבו ללוי²⁰ חמץ ואורדי²¹ לאיש חסידך אשר*
- thou didst test at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah; who said to his father, //* 15 *נסיתו במסה ותרבהוני על מי מריבה²² אמר לאביו //*
- // and to his mother, I do (not) know you; and his brother(s) he did not acknowledge, and his son(s) he did not* 16 *// / ולאמו ליד²³ תיכהוני ואת אחיו / / / לא הכיר ואת בנו לא*
- recognize. For he kept thy word, and thy covenant he guarded; and he made thy judgments clear to Jacob,* 17 *ידע כי שמרי²⁴ אמרתכה ובריתך ינצרי²⁵ ויאירי²⁶ משפטך ליעקוב*
- thy Torah to Israel. They place incense before thee, and whole burnt offering upon thine altar.* 18 *תורתכה²⁷ לישראל יש מוי²⁸ קטורה באפך וכל לוי על מזבחך*

¹⁶ MT וקם.

¹⁷ The final letter was written over another, and then repeated above the line.

¹⁸ <MT.

¹⁹ MT שו.

²⁰ Cf. Deut 33 8-11.

²¹ >MT, but LXX has Δόρε Δεσφ.

²² MT ואורדיך

²³ So Samaritan; MT הריבהו.

²⁴ The word ולא has been partly erased, as well as the first word in the next line.

²⁵ The first *godh* seems to have been written over a previous *'aleph*. MT דאיתיו, Sam. לא ראתי. For the suffix of 4Q, cf. LXX οὐκ ἐβρακά σε. The final ו (or י) seems to be a dittograph inspired by the ו of ותרבהו directly above.

²⁶ MT שמו, cf. LXX ἐφύλαξεν.

...and they] shall cause pollu- tion in the land, and great contempt among the sons of	28	וְעָשׂוּ חֲנוּפָה בָּאָרֶץ וְהָזְוָה גְּדוּלָה בְּבָנֵי
...blood like water on the rampart of the daughter of Zion, and in the boundary of	29	דָּם כַּמַּיִם עַל חֹל בֵּית צִיּוֹן וּבְחֻק
Jerusalem.	30	יְרוּשָׁלַם

REMARKS

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.¹⁰⁷

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

¹⁰⁶ For נָמַח as in 4Q Pss of Joshua.

¹⁰⁷ 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.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.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ The whole of the testimony seems to be phrased in metrical form: note the parallelism of $\text{מִן הַיָּמִים לְעוֹלָם}$ with $\text{וְהָיָה לְכֹל שָׂבוּי}$, and $\text{וְהָיָה חֹמֶת בְּמִצְרָיִם}$ with $\text{חֹמֶת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם}$.

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 מִן הַיָּמִים 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, *Ant.* XIV.viii.5; XIV.ix.1; XIV.x.5; XIV.v.2; *BJ* I.x.3. In 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.