

this regard, Part II examines the roles of Melchizedek and Melchireša^c and situates them in the developing tradition of opposing angels.

The tradition of opposing angels originates in the OT background of the Satan-figure who acts as judicial prosecutor and the advocate-angel who pleads the cause of the righteous. This OT background, however, is not sufficient to explain the roles of these opposing angels in the QL as leaders of the kingdoms of light and darkness. Part II also examines the hypothesis that the development in the roles of the two opposing angels from their earlier position as prosecutor angel (Satan) and advocate angel (or heavenly witness) to their position in the QL as the leaders of the "sons of light" and "sons of darkness" is owing to the influence of Iranian religious thought on the beliefs of the community that settled at Qumran. In this discussion, I investigate certain Zoroastrian religious concepts that were well known before the second century B.C. and that closely parallel the Essene belief in the spirit-leaders of the worlds of light and darkness.

Part III discusses the influence of the heavenly Melchizedek on the Johannine concept of the Paraclete, on the comparison between Christ and Melchizedek in the NT letter to the Hebrews, and on the NT Son of Man traditions. Earlier studies had hinted at the importance of the "Spirit of Truth" in the *Testament of Judah* 20:1-5 as part of the background for the Paraclete-concept in John. The QL presents ideas about the "holy spirit" and the "spirit of truth" that corroborate these earlier suggestions and considerably advance the discussion of the background of the Johannine Paraclete figure. The Melchizedek scroll from Cave 11 is examined in the context of such discussions.

The relationship between the Melchizedek figure of 11QMelch and the speculation about him in Hebrews 7 is discussed. The description of Melchizedek in Hebrews goes considerably beyond the OT presentation by ascribing eternal life to him (Heb 7:3; 7:8). The possibility is explored here that this development in the Melchizedek figure is due to extrabiblical traditions such as those in 11QMelch about a heavenly Melchizedek.

Finally, the contribution of 11QMelch to the background of the NT title "Son of Man" is examined. The identification of the "one like a son of man" in Dan 7:9-24 as a collective symbol for faithful Israel is becoming increasingly questioned, and a growing tradition of scholarship favors the viewpoint that this figure represents the angel Michael. The identification of the heavenly Melchizedek with the angel Michael raises the possibility that elements of a developing "son of man" concept lie behind the description of Melchizedek in 11QMelch and that 11QMelch with its presentation of Melchizedek as the heavenly leader of the forces of light in the final judgment has influenced the NT description of Jesus as the Son of Man.

CHAPTER 1

11QMELCH

The Hebrew Melchizedek scroll was found among the manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 in 1956 and was first published by A. S. van der Woude in 1965.¹ Nine of the document's fourteen fragments² were arranged successfully by the editor into a text that testifies to an original scroll of at least three columns. The nine positioned fragments form a large portion of one column, very probably several words from a preceding column, and the beginnings of about seventeen lines of another.

Van der Woude suggested the first half of the first century A.D. as the date of the ms.³ While the script of 11QMelch reveals characteristics of a well-developed Herodian hand such as the sharply hooked *lamed* and the closed *samek*, the irregularity of letter size (e.g., the small ^c*ayin* with the right leg extending only slightly below the left leg), the older forms of several letters (e.g., the large figure-three shaped *kaphs*), and the absence of serifs argue for a somewhat earlier date. The second half of the first century B.C. (ca. 50-25) is likely.⁴

The text is structurally related to the non-continuous or thematic pesharim from Qumran.⁵ It is not a line-by-line commentary on a continuous biblical text in the manner of the classical commentaries from the Qumran caves. Rather, 11QMelch brings together and interprets in the light of the community's eschatological outlook several OT passages dealing with the jubilee year, the day of expiation, and judgment. Quotations

¹"Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *כרל* 1940-1965 (OTS 14; Leiden: Brill, 1965) 354-73. A later reworking of the text is found in the article by M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1965-66) 301-26. The siglum for the scroll is 11QMelch.

²The original editor numbered 13 frgs. (see van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," pl. 1, opposite p. 356). There is a fourteenth frg. in the photograph, to the left of frg. 13. No letters on it can be read with certainty.

³"Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 356-57.

⁴J. T. Milik ("Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša^c dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 [1972] 97) was inclined to date this manuscript to the mid-first century B.C. In the light of the well-defined Herodian characteristics of certain letters, it is unlikely that Milik's further comment that the manuscript may be as early as 75-50 B.C. is correct. Hence my preference for the third quarter of the first century B.C.

⁵Examples of thematic pesharim from Qumran include 4QFlor, 4QCatena^a, 4QCatena^b. For the distinction between the classical (continuous) pesharim and thematic (non-continuous) pesharim, see H. Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke von 4 Q p Psalm 37," *RevQ* 6 (1967-69) 213-17; see also J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédeq," *RevQ* 7 (1969-71) 360-62; M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979) 2-3.

from and allusions to Leviticus 25 are particularly important to the structure and content of 11QMelch.⁶ The interpretation of the biblical passages focuses on the eschatological figure Melchizedek, who is presented as a heavenly redeemer who secures liberty for those held captive by the power of Belial and who exacts the judgments of God against Belial and the evil spirits allied with him. Standing at the head of the good angels, the heavenly leader Melchizedek leads the forces of good against the forces of evil at the end of days.

Further studies of 11QMelch have brought to light features of it that go beyond the interpretation of the original editor.⁷ While the generally poor state of preservation of the text precludes any definitive interpretation, the extant fragments still provide a comprehensive new understanding of the Melchizedek figure in pre-Christian Judaism. The study of J. T. Milik is the most important secondary edition of 11QMelch, since many of his readings vary considerably from those offered by van der Woude in the *editio princeps*. Milik's re-examination of 11QMelch is based on "une excellente photographie, PAM 43.979."⁸ I have obtained copies of photograph PAM 43.979 from the Israeli Department of Antiquities and Museums and have compared them with Milik's transcription of the text. While photograph 43.979 does provide at times a sharper delineation of the writing of the text, it is not as significant an improvement over van der Woude's reproductions on plates 1 and 2 as Milik's transcription of the text indicates. Some of Milik's readings are the result of his own insight rather than of the clarity of the photograph.

In addition to the fragments that van der Woude was able to place, Milik suggested locating fragment 4 between fragments 1 and 6 on lines 12-14, and fragment 13 between fragments 12 and 6 on lines 8-10. I accept Milik's placing of fragment 13, but I do not agree with his placing of fragment 4. The readings and restorations that his placement of fragment 4 necessitates are in every case problematical. In the commentary below on column 2, lines 12-14, I explain my reasons for rejecting his position on

⁶J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (SBLSPS 5; Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974) 251; see also J. T. Milik, "*Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c*," 100, and J. A. Sanders, "The Old Testament in 11QMelchizedek," *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 373-82.

⁷Since the publication of the *editio princeps*, several important studies on the text have been made: Y. Yadin, "A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran," *IEJ* 15 (1965) 152-54; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek," 245-67; J. D. Amoussine, "Novyj eskatologičeskij tekst iz Kumrana," *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 3 (1967) 45-62; J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisèdeq," 343-78; J. T. Milik, "*Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c*," 95-144; J. A. Sanders, "The Old Testament in 11 QMelchizedek," 373-82; F. L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976).

⁸Milik, "*Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c*," 96.

fragment 4. I do not consider fragments 4, 5, 11, and 14 to be parts of the main column of this text.

The following reading and translation of the text are based both on the text reproduction presented by van der Woude and on photograph 43.979.

In the transcription of the text, column 1 refers to the column that precedes the main portion of 11QMelch. Only one interlinear and marginal addition to the text of this column along the right hand margin of fragment 1 is extant. Column 2 is the main portion of 11QMelch and is composed of fragments 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13. From column 3, only the beginnings of lines, visible on fragments 2 and 7, are extant. Dots above letters indicate questionable readings, while dots on the line indicate illegible traces of letters.

In the translation, biblical quotations are set off by quotation marks and biblical allusions are underlined, and references to these are given in the right hand margin.

11QMelch: Text

Column 1, Line 11

11 אשר אמר עליו מושה כיא [יובל הוא] ה קודש [תהיה לכמה]

Column 2, Lines 1-25

1	[] שך מ []
2	[] אשר אמר בשנת היובל [הזאת תשובו איש אל אחוזתו ועליו אמר וזה]
3	[ד] כר [השמטה] שמוט כול בעל משה יד אשר ישה [ברעהו לוא יגוש את רעהו ואת אחיו כיא קרא] שמטה
4	לאנל פשרו לאחרית הימים על השבויים אשר [היו מתאבלים כול יומי ממשלת בליעל] אשר
5	הכריתמה מן בני השמנים ומנחלת מלכי צדק כן [והמה בנני גורל מלכי צדק אשר
6	ישיבמה אליהמה וקרא להמה דרור לעזוב להמה [משא] כול עוונותיהמה וכן יהיה הדבר הזה
7	כשבוץ היובל הראישון אחז חשנעת ה יובלים וינום הכפ[ורים הווא] סוף היוכל העשירי
8	לכפר בו על כול בני [אור ו] אנשין גורל מלכין צדקן [] פת.ום עלניהמה התן [] ל [] ותמה כיא
9	הואה הקץ לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק [] בזהזקו ירנים קדושי אל למפעלן ת משפט כאשר כתוב
10	עליו בשירי דויד אשר אמר אלוהים [נ] צב בעדת [אל] בקורב אלוהים ישפוט ועליו אמר [אר] עליה

11 למרום שובה אל ידין עמים ואשר אנמר עד מתי תשפוטו עוול
 12 ופני רשעים תשנאו סלה
 13 פשרו על בליעל ועל רוחי גורלו אשנר
 14 בסורמ]ה מחוקי אל ל[הרשיע
 15 ומלכי צדק יקום נקמ]ת משפטי א[ל ויעזור לכול בני אור מיד
 16 בליעל ומיד כול רוחי גורלו
 17 ובעזרו כול אלי מרומים ה]ואה א[
 18 בני אל והפ[
 19 הזואת הואה יום ה]ישועה א[שר אמר א[ל עליו ביד ישע]יה הנביא
 20 אשר אמר [מה] נאוו
 21 על הרים רגלי מבשנר מ]שמיע שלום מב]שר טוב משמיע ישוע]ה
 22 אומר לציון [מלך] אלוהיך
 23 פשרו ההרני]ם [דבר]י הנביאי]ם [המה א]שר
 24 [נב]און לכול [אבילי ציון]
 25 והמבשר הו]נאה מ]שיח הרוח]ת אשר אמר דנ]אל עליו עד משיח
 26 נגיד שבועים שבעה ומבשר]
 27 טוב משמינע ישועה] הואה הכ]תו]כ עליו אשר אמר
 28 [לנחם]ם [אנבילי ציון] לנה]שכילמה בכול קצי הענולם
 29 [כאמת ל.
 30 [ה.
 31 [ה.
 32 [ה.
 33 [ה.
 34 [ה.
 35 [ה.
 36 [ה.
 37 [ה.
 38 [ה.
 39 [ה.
 40 [ה.
 41 [ה.
 42 [ה.
 43 [ה.
 44 [ה.
 45 [ה.
 46 [ה.
 47 [ה.
 48 [ה.
 49 [ה.
 50 [ה.
 51 [ה.
 52 [ה.
 53 [ה.
 54 [ה.
 55 [ה.
 56 [ה.
 57 [ה.
 58 [ה.
 59 [ה.
 60 [ה.
 61 [ה.
 62 [ה.
 63 [ה.
 64 [ה.
 65 [ה.
 66 [ה.
 67 [ה.
 68 [ה.
 69 [ה.
 70 [ה.
 71 [ה.
 72 [ה.
 73 [ה.
 74 [ה.
 75 [ה.
 76 [ה.
 77 [ה.
 78 [ה.
 79 [ה.
 80 [ה.
 81 [ה.
 82 [ה.
 83 [ה.
 84 [ה.
 85 [ה.
 86 [ה.
 87 [ה.
 88 [ה.
 89 [ה.
 90 [ה.
 91 [ה.
 92 [ה.
 93 [ה.
 94 [ה.
 95 [ה.
 96 [ה.
 97 [ה.
 98 [ה.
 99 [ה.
 100 [ה.
 101 [ה.
 102 [ה.
 103 [ה.
 104 [ה.
 105 [ה.
 106 [ה.
 107 [ה.
 108 [ה.
 109 [ה.
 110 [ה.
 111 [ה.
 112 [ה.
 113 [ה.
 114 [ה.
 115 [ה.
 116 [ה.
 117 [ה.
 118 [ה.
 119 [ה.
 120 [ה.
 121 [ה.
 122 [ה.
 123 [ה.
 124 [ה.
 125 [ה.
 126 [ה.
 127 [ה.
 128 [ה.
 129 [ה.
 130 [ה.
 131 [ה.
 132 [ה.
 133 [ה.
 134 [ה.
 135 [ה.
 136 [ה.
 137 [ה.
 138 [ה.
 139 [ה.
 140 [ה.
 141 [ה.
 142 [ה.
 143 [ה.
 144 [ה.
 145 [ה.
 146 [ה.
 147 [ה.
 148 [ה.
 149 [ה.
 150 [ה.
 151 [ה.
 152 [ה.
 153 [ה.
 154 [ה.
 155 [ה.
 156 [ה.
 157 [ה.
 158 [ה.
 159 [ה.
 160 [ה.
 161 [ה.
 162 [ה.
 163 [ה.
 164 [ה.
 165 [ה.
 166 [ה.
 167 [ה.
 168 [ה.
 169 [ה.
 170 [ה.
 171 [ה.
 172 [ה.
 173 [ה.
 174 [ה.
 175 [ה.
 176 [ה.
 177 [ה.
 178 [ה.
 179 [ה.
 180 [ה.
 181 [ה.
 182 [ה.
 183 [ה.
 184 [ה.
 185 [ה.
 186 [ה.
 187 [ה.
 188 [ה.
 189 [ה.
 190 [ה.
 191 [ה.
 192 [ה.
 193 [ה.
 194 [ה.
 195 [ה.
 196 [ה.
 197 [ה.
 198 [ה.
 199 [ה.
 200 [ה.
 201 [ה.
 202 [ה.
 203 [ה.
 204 [ה.
 205 [ה.
 206 [ה.
 207 [ה.
 208 [ה.
 209 [ה.
 210 [ה.
 211 [ה.
 212 [ה.
 213 [ה.
 214 [ה.
 215 [ה.
 216 [ה.
 217 [ה.
 218 [ה.
 219 [ה.
 220 [ה.
 221 [ה.
 222 [ה.
 223 [ה.
 224 [ה.
 225 [ה.
 226 [ה.
 227 [ה.
 228 [ה.
 229 [ה.
 230 [ה.
 231 [ה.
 232 [ה.
 233 [ה.
 234 [ה.
 235 [ה.
 236 [ה.
 237 [ה.
 238 [ה.
 239 [ה.
 240 [ה.
 241 [ה.
 242 [ה.
 243 [ה.
 244 [ה.
 245 [ה.
 246 [ה.
 247 [ה.
 248 [ה.
 249 [ה.
 250 [ה.
 251 [ה.
 252 [ה.
 253 [ה.
 254 [ה.
 255 [ה.
 256 [ה.
 257 [ה.
 258 [ה.
 259 [ה.
 260 [ה.
 261 [ה.
 262 [ה.
 263 [ה.
 264 [ה.
 265 [ה.
 266 [ה.
 267 [ה.
 268 [ה.
 269 [ה.
 270 [ה.
 271 [ה.
 272 [ה.
 273 [ה.
 274 [ה.
 275 [ה.
 276 [ה.
 277 [ה.
 278 [ה.
 279 [ה.
 280 [ה.
 281 [ה.
 282 [ה.
 283 [ה.
 284 [ה.
 285 [ה.
 286 [ה.
 287 [ה.
 288 [ה.
 289 [ה.
 290 [ה.
 291 [ה.
 292 [ה.
 293 [ה.
 294 [ה.
 295 [ה.
 296 [ה.
 297 [ה.
 298 [ה.
 299 [ה.
 300 [ה.
 301 [ה.
 302 [ה.
 303 [ה.
 304 [ה.
 305 [ה.
 306 [ה.
 307 [ה.
 308 [ה.
 309 [ה.
 310 [ה.
 311 [ה.
 312 [ה.
 313 [ה.
 314 [ה.
 315 [ה.
 316 [ה.
 317 [ה.
 318 [ה.
 319 [ה.
 320 [ה.
 321 [ה.
 322 [ה.
 323 [ה.
 324 [ה.
 325 [ה.
 326 [ה.
 327 [ה.
 328 [ה.
 329 [ה.
 330 [ה.
 331 [ה.
 332 [ה.
 333 [ה.
 334 [ה.
 335 [ה.
 336 [ה.
 337 [ה.
 338 [ה.
 339 [ה.
 340 [ה.
 341 [ה.
 342 [ה.
 343 [ה.
 344 [ה.
 345 [ה.
 346 [ה.
 347 [ה.
 348 [ה.
 349 [ה.
 350 [ה.
 351 [ה.
 352 [ה.
 353 [ה.
 354 [ה.
 355 [ה.
 356 [ה.
 357 [ה.
 358 [ה.
 359 [ה.
 360 [ה.
 361 [ה.
 362 [ה.
 363 [ה.
 364 [ה.
 365 [ה.
 366 [ה.
 367 [ה.
 368 [ה.
 369 [ה.
 370 [ה.
 371 [ה.
 372 [ה.
 373 [ה.
 374 [ה.
 375 [ה.
 376 [ה.
 377 [ה.
 378 [ה.
 379 [ה.
 380 [ה.
 381 [ה.
 382 [ה.
 383 [ה.
 384 [ה.
 385 [ה.
 386 [ה.
 387 [ה.
 388 [ה.
 389 [ה.
 390 [ה.
 391 [ה.
 392 [ה.
 393 [ה.
 394 [ה.
 395 [ה.
 396 [ה.
 397 [ה.
 398 [ה.
 399 [ה.
 400 [ה.
 401 [ה.
 402 [ה.
 403 [ה.
 404 [ה.
 405 [ה.
 406 [ה.
 407 [ה.
 408 [ה.
 409 [ה.
 410 [ה.
 411 [ה.
 412 [ה.
 413 [ה.
 414 [ה.
 415 [ה.
 416 [ה.
 417 [ה.
 418 [ה.
 419 [ה.
 420 [ה.
 421 [ה.
 422 [ה.
 423 [ה.
 424 [ה.
 425 [ה.
 426 [ה.
 427 [ה.
 428 [ה.
 429 [ה.
 430 [ה.
 431 [ה.
 432 [ה.
 433 [ה.
 434 [ה.
 435 [ה.
 436 [ה.
 437 [ה.
 438 [ה.
 439 [ה.
 440 [ה.
 441 [ה.
 442 [ה.
 443 [ה.
 444 [ה.
 445 [ה.
 446 [ה.
 447 [ה.
 448 [ה.
 449 [ה.
 450 [ה.
 451 [ה.
 452 [ה.
 453 [ה.
 454 [ה.
 455 [ה.
 456 [ה.
 457 [ה.
 458 [ה.
 459 [ה.
 460 [ה.
 461 [ה.
 462 [ה.
 463 [ה.
 464 [ה.
 465 [ה.
 466 [ה.
 467 [ה.
 468 [ה.
 469 [ה.
 470 [ה.
 471 [ה.
 472 [ה.
 473 [ה.
 474 [ה.
 475 [ה.
 476 [ה.
 477 [ה.
 478 [ה.
 479 [ה.
 480 [ה.
 481 [ה.
 482 [ה.
 483 [ה.
 484 [ה.
 485 [ה.
 486 [ה.
 487 [ה.
 488 [ה.
 489 [ה.
 490 [ה.
 491 [ה.
 492 [ה.
 493 [ה.
 494 [ה.
 495 [ה.
 496 [ה.
 497 [ה.
 498 [ה.
 499 [ה.
 500 [ה.
 501 [ה.
 502 [ה.
 503 [ה.
 504 [ה.
 505 [ה.
 506 [ה.
 507 [ה.
 508 [ה.
 509 [ה.
 510 [ה.
 511 [ה.
 512 [ה.
 513 [ה.
 514 [ה.
 515 [ה.
 516 [ה.
 517 [ה.
 518 [ה.
 519 [ה.
 520 [ה.
 521 [ה.
 522 [ה.
 523 [ה.
 524 [ה.
 525 [ה.
 526 [ה.
 527 [ה.
 528 [ה.
 529 [ה.
 530 [ה.
 531 [ה.
 532 [ה.
 533 [ה.
 534 [ה.
 535 [ה.
 536 [ה.
 537 [ה.
 538 [ה.
 539 [ה.
 540 [ה.
 541 [ה.
 542 [ה.
 543 [ה.
 544 [ה.
 545 [ה.
 546 [ה.
 547 [ה.
 548 [ה.
 549 [ה.
 550 [ה.
 551 [ה.
 552 [ה.
 553 [ה.
 554 [ה.
 555 [ה.
 556 [ה.
 557 [ה.
 558 [ה.
 559 [ה.
 560 [ה.
 561 [ה.
 562 [ה.
 563 [ה.
 564 [ה.
 565 [ה.
 566 [ה.
 567 [ה.
 568 [ה.
 569 [ה.
 570 [ה.
 571 [ה.
 572 [ה.
 573 [ה.
 574 [ה.
 575 [ה.
 576 [ה.
 577 [ה.
 578 [ה.
 579 [ה.
 580 [ה.
 581 [ה.
 582 [ה.
 583 [ה.
 584 [ה.
 585 [ה.
 586 [ה.
 587 [ה.
 588 [ה.
 589 [ה.
 590 [ה.
 591 [ה.
 592 [ה.
 593 [ה.
 594 [ה.
 595 [ה.
 596 [ה.
 597 [ה.
 598 [ה.
 599 [ה.
 600 [ה.
 601 [ה.
 602 [ה.
 603 [ה.
 604 [ה.
 605 [ה.
 606 [ה.
 607 [ה.
 608 [ה.
 609 [ה.
 610 [ה.
 611 [ה.
 612 [ה.
 613 [ה.
 614 [ה.
 615 [ה.
 616 [ה.
 617 [ה.
 618 [ה.
 619 [ה.
 620 [ה.
 621 [ה.
 622 [ה.
 623 [ה.
 624 [ה.
 625 [ה.
 626 [ה.
 627 [ה.
 628 [ה.
 629 [ה.
 630 [ה.
 631 [ה.
 632 [ה.
 633 [ה.
 634 [ה.
 635 [ה.
 636 [ה.
 637 [ה.
 638 [ה.
 639 [ה.
 640 [ה.
 641 [ה.
 642 [ה.
 643 [ה.
 644 [ה.
 645 [ה.
 646 [ה.
 647 [ה.
 648 [ה.
 649 [ה.
 650 [ה.
 651 [ה.
 652 [ה.
 653 [ה.
 654 [ה.
 655 [ה.
 656 [ה.
 657 [ה.
 658 [ה.
 659 [ה.
 660 [ה.
 661 [ה.
 662 [ה.
 663 [ה.
 664 [ה.
 665 [ה.
 666 [ה.
 667 [ה.
 668 [ה.
 669 [ה.
 670 [ה.
 671 [ה.
 672 [ה.
 673 [ה.
 674 [ה.
 675 [ה.
 676 [ה.
 677 [ה.
 678 [ה.
 679 [ה.
 680 [ה.
 681 [ה.
 682 [ה.
 683 [ה.
 684 [ה.
 685 [ה.
 686 [ה.
 687 [ה.
 688 [ה.
 689 [ה.
 690 [ה.
 691 [ה.
 692 [ה.
 693 [ה.
 694 [ה.
 695 [ה.
 696 [ה.
 697 [ה.
 698 [ה.
 699 [ה.
 700 [ה.
 701 [ה.
 702 [ה.
 703 [ה.
 704 [ה.
 705 [ה.
 706 [ה.
 707 [ה.
 708 [ה.
 709 [ה.
 710 [ה.
 711 [ה.
 712 [ה.
 713 [ה.
 714 [ה.
 715 [ה.
 716 [ה.
 717 [ה.
 718 [ה.
 719 [ה.
 720 [ה.
 721 [ה.
 722 [ה.
 723 [ה.
 724 [ה.
 725 [ה.
 726 [ה.
 727 [ה.
 728 [ה.
 729 [ה.
 730 [ה.
 731 [ה.
 732 [ה.
 733 [ה.
 734 [ה.
 735 [ה.
 736 [ה.
 737 [ה.
 738 [ה.
 739 [ה.
 740 [ה.
 741 [ה.
 742 [ה.
 743 [ה.
 744 [ה.
 745 [ה.
 746 [ה.
 747 [ה.
 748 [ה.
 749 [ה.
 750 [ה.
 751 [ה.
 752 [ה.
 753 [ה.
 754 [ה.
 755 [ה.
 756 [ה.
 757 [ה.
 758 [ה.
 759 [ה.
 760 [ה.
 761 [ה.
 762 [ה.
 763 [ה.
 764 [ה.
 765 [ה.
 766 [ה.
 767 [ה.
 768 [ה.
 769 [ה.
 770 [ה.
 771 [ה.
 772 [ה.
 773 [ה.
 774 [ה.
 775 [ה.
 776 [ה.
 777 [ה.
 778 [ה.
 779 [ה.
 780 [ה.
 781 [ה.
 782 [ה.
 783 [ה.
 784 [ה.
 785 [ה.
 786 [ה.
 787 [ה.
 788 [ה.
 789 [ה.
 790 [ה.
 791 [ה.
 792 [ה.
 793 [ה.
 794 [ה.
 795 [ה.
 796 [ה.
 797 [ה.
 798 [ה.
 799 [ה.
 800 [ה.
 801 [ה.
 802 [ה.
 803 [ה.
 804 [ה.
 805 [ה.
 806 [ה.
 807 [ה.
 808 [ה.
 809 [ה.
 810 [ה.
 811 [ה.
 812 [ה.
 813 [ה.
 814 [ה.
 815 [ה.
 816 [ה.
 817 [ה.
 818 [ה.
 819 [ה.
 820 [ה.
 821 [ה.
 822 [ה.
 823 [ה.
 824 [ה.
 825 [ה.
 826 [ה.
 827 [ה.
 828 [ה.
 829 [ה.
 830 [ה.
 831 [ה.
 832 [ה.
 833 [ה.
 834 [ה.
 835 [ה.
 836 [ה.
 837 [ה.
 838 [ה.
 839 [ה.
 840 [ה.
 841 [ה.
 842 [ה.
 843 [ה.
 844 [ה.
 845 [ה.
 846 [ה.
 847 [ה.
 848 [ה.
 849 [ה.
 850 [ה.
 851 [ה.
 852 [ה.
 853 [ה.
 854 [ה.
 855 [ה.
 856 [ה.
 857 [ה.
 858 [ה.
 859 [ה.
 860 [ה.
 861 [ה.
 862 [ה.
 863 [ה.
 864 [ה.
 865 [ה.
 866 [ה.
 867 [ה.
 868 [ה.
 869 [ה.
 870 [ה.
 871 [ה.
 872 [ה.
 873 [ה.
 874 [ה.
 875 [ה.
 876 [ה.
 877 [ה.
 878 [ה.
 879 [ה.
 880 [ה.
 881 [ה.
 882 [ה.
 883 [ה.
 884 [ה.
 885 [ה.
 886 [ה.
 887 [ה.
 888 [ה.
 889 [ה.
 890 [ה.
 891 [ה.
 892 [ה.
 893 [ה.
 894 [ה.
 895 [ה.
 896 [ה.
 897 [ה.
 898 [ה.
 899 [ה.
 900 [ה.
 901 [ה.
 902 [ה.
 903 [ה.
 904 [ה.
 905 [ה.
 906 [ה.
 907 [ה.
 908 [ה.
 909 [ה.
 910 [ה.
 911 [ה.
 912 [ה.
 913 [ה.
 914 [ה.
 915 [ה.
 916 [ה.
 917 [ה.
 918 [ה.
 919 [ה.
 920 [ה.
 921 [ה.
 922 [ה.
 923 [ה.
 924 [ה.
 925 [ה.
 926 [ה.
 927 [ה.
 928 [ה.
 929 [ה.
 930 [ה.
 931 [ה.
 932 [ה.
 933 [ה.
 934 [ה.
 935 [ה.
 936 [ה.
 937 [ה.
 938 [ה.
 939 [ה.
 940 [ה.
 941 [ה.
 942 [ה.
 943 [ה.
 944 [ה.
 945 [ה.
 946 [ה.
 947 [ה.
 948 [ה.
 949 [ה.
 950 [ה.
 951 [ה.
 952 [ה.
 953 [ה.
 954 [ה.
 955 [ה.
 956 [ה.
 957 [ה.
 958 [ה.
 959 [ה.
 960 [ה.
 961 [ה.
 962 [ה.
 963 [ה.
 964 [ה.
 965 [ה.
 966 [ה.
 967 [ה.
 968 [ה.
 969 [ה.
 970 [ה.
 971 [ה.
 972 [ה.
 973 [ה.
 974 [ה.
 975 [ה.
 976 [ה.
 977 [ה.
 978 [ה.
 979 [ה.
 980 [ה.
 981 [ה.
 982 [ה.
 983 [ה.
 984 [ה.
 985 [ה.
 986 [ה.
 987 [ה.
 988 [ה.
 989 [ה.
 990 [ה.
 991 [ה.
 992 [ה.
 993 [ה.
 994 [ה.
 995 [ה.
 996 [ה.
 997 [ה.
 998 [ה.
 999 [ה.
 1000 [ה.
 1001 [ה.
 1002 [ה.
 1003 [ה.
 1004 [ה.
 1005 [ה.
 1006 [ה.
 1007 [ה.
 1008 [ה.
 1009 [ה.
 1010 [ה.
 1011 [ה.
 1012 [ה.
 1013 [ה.
 1014 [ה.
 1015 [ה.
 1016 [ה.
 1017 [ה.
 1018 [ה.
 1019 [ה.
 1020 [ה.
 1021 [ה.
 1022 [ה.
 1023 [ה.
 1024 [ה.
 1025 [ה.
 1026 [ה.
 1027 [ה.
 1028 [ה.
 1029 [ה.
 1030 [ה.
 1031 [ה.
 1032 [ה.
 1033 [ה.
 1034 [ה.
 1035 [ה.
 1036 [ה.
 1037 [ה.
 1038 [ה.
 1039 [ה.
 1040 [ה.
 1041 [ה.
 1042 [ה.
 1043 [ה.
 1044 [ה.
 1045 [ה.
 1046 [ה.
 1047 [ה.
 1048 [ה.
 1049 [ה.
 1050 [ה.
 1051 [ה.
 1052 [ה.
 1053 [ה.
 1054 [ה.
 1055 [ה.
 1056 [ה.
 1057 [ה.
 1058 [ה.
 1059 [ה.
 1060 [ה.
 1061 [ה.
 1062 [ה.
 1063 [ה.
 1064 [ה.
 1065 [ה.
 1066 [ה.
 1067 [ה.
 1068 [ה.
 1069 [ה.
 1070 [ה.
 1071 [ה.
 1072 [ה.
 1073 [ה.
 1074 [ה.
 1075 [ה.
 1076 [ה.
 1077 [ה.
 1078 [ה.
 1079 [ה.
 1080 [ה.
 1081 [ה.
 1082 [ה.
 1083 [ה.
 1084 [ה.
 1085 [ה.
 1086 [ה.
 1087 [ה.
 1088 [ה.
 1089 [ה.
 1090 [ה.
 1091 [ה.
 1092 [ה.
 1093 [ה.
 1094 [ה.
 1095 [ה.
 1096 [ה.
 1097 [ה.
 1098 [

4. [The interpretation of it for the e]nd of days concerns the captives who [were in mourning all the days of the dominion of Belial] who Isa 61:1
5. cut them off from the sons of heav[e]n, and from the inheritance of Melchizedek k[] but they are the chil[dren of the lot of Melchiz]edek who
6. will restore them, and proclaim liberty to them, relieving them [of the burden] of all their iniquities. And [thus will] this event [happe]n Lev 25:10; Isa 61:1
7. in the first week of the jubilee (that occurs) after [the n]ine jubilees. Now the D[ay of Expi]ation i[s the en]d of the tenth [ju]bilee, Lev 25:9
8. when expiation (will be made) for all the sons of [light and] for the m[e]n of the lot of Mel[chi]zedek [] *pt*... *wm* about who[m] *ht*[] / [] them. Indeed,
9. it is the time for Melchiz[edek]'s year of favor, [] Isa 61:2
in his strength he will raise up the holy ones of El for deeds of judgment, as it has been written
10. concerning him in the songs of David, as it says: "Elohim [st]ands in the assembly [of El,] in the midst of Elohim he judges." And concerning it, he sa[id,] "Above it, Ps 82:1
11. to the heights, return! El judges the nations." And as Ps 7:8-9
for what he sa[id,] "How long will you] judge (favorably) the unjust one and b[e] partial to the wicked. Ps 82:2
[Se]lah,"
12. the interpretation of it concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot wh[o] *m* in their turning away from the commandments of El to [act wickedly.]
13. And Melchizedek will exact the ven[geance] of E[l's] judgments [and he will protect all the sons of light from the power] of Belial and from the power of all [the spirits of] his [lot.] Isa 61:2
14. And all the Elim [of the heights] (will be) his helpers. H[e] ²[] all the sons of El and *hp*[] *h*
15. ... this... This is the day [of salvation] about w]hich Isa 49:8
[God] spoke [through the mouth of Isa]iah the prophet who said, ["How] beautiful Isa 52:7
16. on (the) mountains are the feet of the heral[d who pro]claims peace, the her[ald of good who proclaims salva]tion, saying to Zion, 'Your God [is king.]'
17. The interpretation of it: The mount[ai]ns are [the words]

- of the prophet[s], those w[ho] proph[esied] to all [the mourners of Zion.] Isa 61:3
18. And the herald i[s the one an]ointed of the spir[it about] whom Dan[iel] said: ["Until an anointed, a prince, (there will be) seven weeks." And as for the herald] Dan 9:25
19. of good who proclai[ms salvation,] he is the one about whom it is w[ritte]n, when [it says, ...]
20. to comfo[rt the] m[ourners of Zion] to [in]struct them in all the ages of the wo[rld] Isa 61:2-3
21. in truth / [] *h* []
22. [] *h* (she) turned away from Belial and (she) [Melchi]zedek []
23. [] with the judgment[s] of El, as it has been written about him, ["Saying to Zi]on, 'Your God is king.' " Isa 52:7
Z[i]on i[s]
24. [the community of] the establisher[s] of the covenant, those who turn aside from walking [in the w]ay of the people. But "Your G[o]d" is
25. [Melchizedek who will res]c[ue them from] the hand of Belial. And as for what he has said, "You will blow the [signal-ho]rn in the [seventh] m[onth,] Lev 25:9

Column 3, Lines 2-19

2. And know *db*[
3. El will ... [
4. and a multitude [
5. ... / . [
6. The la[w] . [
7. Belial will be consumed by fire [
8. *bmz*[] *b*. [
9. the wrath of Judah [
10. a heap of stones (?) and a corpse (?) by the power and / [
11. [
12. [] *m* [
13. *h*[
14. *h*[
15. *bs*[
16. two hundred[
17. the week[
18.] *lqw*. [
19.] . . [

Frag. 4

1.]...[]m[
2.]and h[e] ygw[
3.]Belial will rebel[

Frag. 5

1.]s. [
2.]....[
3.]y.[
4. y]ears. The interpre[tation of it
5.] bmh [

Frag. 11

2.]mh hy[
3.] the wall of Jer[usale[m
4.] at the appointed times of [
5.] s h.[
6.] m. And a[s for what he said
7.] the end of the j[ubilee
8.] Jeru[salem
9.] undisturbed . [
10.] b...[
11.]rb[

11QMelch: Commentary

Column 1, Marginal and Interlinear Addition on Fragment 1

11. ²šr ²mr ^clyw mwšh ky² [ywbl hw²]h qwdš [thyh lkmh]: “. . . about which Moses spoke: ‘Indeed, it is a jubilee. It will be holy for you.’” Between lines 11 and 12 along the right hand margin of the main col. begins the continuation of an interlinear addition from the previous col. Compare 1QIsa^a 32:14 (=Isa 38:21-22) and 1QIsa^a 33:7 (=Isa 40:7-8) for a similar type of marginal addition. Van der Woude read *bmwšh ky²*. The strokes, however, that he took to be a *beth* are actually a *yod* and *waw* written horizontally. The reading and restoration used here were suggested by J. T. Milik. The traces along lines 18-20 fit with his proposed restoration of Lev 25:12, which coheres well with the text in the following col.

Column 2

2-3. *bšnt hywbl [hzw²t]*: “In this year of the jubilee.” The quotations in this line are restored from the MT of Lev 25:13 and Deut 15:2, but with

the full orthography frequently used in QL. The restored introductory formula *w^clyw ²mr*, joining the two quotations, is based on 11QMelch 2:10 where the same words connect two quotations. Just as *w^clyw ²mr* in 11QMelch 2:10 makes the second quotation (Ps 7:8-9) refer to the first (Ps 82:1), so the restored formula here in line 2 makes the quotation of Deut 15:2 refer to the preceding citation of Lev 25:13. The author has thus related the Sabbatical year of release (Deuteronomy 15) to the jubilee year of which Leviticus 25 speaks.

3. [*d*]br [*hšmth*]: “The manner of the release.” Milik’s reading of *dbr* at the beginning of the line is very probably correct. The minute traces of letters along the upper right edge of frg. 1 could be those of *beth* and *resh*, in which case Deut 15:2 would be quoted in its entirety. Apart from the typical Qumran orthographic differences, the only disagreements with the MT are *yd* for *ydw* of the MT and probably the substitution of *l²* for *lyhwh* of the MT at the beginning of line 4.

3-4. [*ky² qr²*] *šmth l²[l]*: “For God’s release has been proclaimed.” Literally, “one has proclaimed a release for God.” While it is theoretically and syntactically possible for the subject of *qr²* to be *kwl b^cl mš²*, the clause expresses a more general statement concerning the year of release. I understand the subject of *qr²* to be an indefinite personal subject (GKC §144d), which could well be a circumlocution for a passive construction just as the 3rd pers. pl. active verbal form occurs for the passive (GKC §144f, g); hence, my translation: “for God’s release has been proclaimed.”

4. *l²[l]*: “God’s (release).” The first word of the line continues the citation of Deut 15:2 with *l²* for *lyhwh*. Though a substitution for *lyhwh* does not occur universally (cf. 1QIsa^a 49:26 [=Isa 61:1]—*rwh lyhwh*), there are numerous examples in QL of the replacement of the tetragrammaton by *l²* (e.g., 1Q22 3:6), by the pronoun *hw²h²* (e.g., 1QS 8:13), or by four dots (e.g., 1QIsa^a 33:7 [=Isa 40:7]). It is occasionally written in paleo-Hebrew characters (1QpHab 6:14; 10:7; 10:14), and also occurs written in red ink in an unpublished 11Q fragment.⁹ On the use of *l-* to express a genitive relationship as in *šmth l²*, see GKC §129a-e.

[*pšrw l²hryt hymym*]: “The interpretation of it for the end of days.” Compare 4QpIsa^c 4-7 ii 14; 23 ii 10; 1QpHab 2:5; 4QpIsa^b 2:1. Although *pšrw* followed by *l²hryt hymym* does not occur elsewhere in QL, the instances of the equivalent expression *pšr hdb^r* with *l²hryt hymym* are numerous.¹⁰ Milik’s comment that *pšrw* followed by *l²hryt* “n’est guère

⁹J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (BibOr 18A; 2nd ed.; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971) 179. See also, J. A. Fitzmyer, “Der semitische Hintergrund des neutestamentlichen Kyriostitels,” *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Neutestamentliche Festschrift für Hans Conzelmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. G. Strecker; Tübingen: Mohr, 1975) 267-98, esp. 296-97.

¹⁰M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 239-44.

plausible ici syntactiquement" is mistaken, and his suggestion of *wṭqr*² rather than *pšrw* does not take into account the fact that *pšrw* . . . ^cl . . . ²šr is a stereotyped formula in the pesharim.

^cl *hšbwyym*: "Concerns the captives." The interpretation of the verses cited from Lev 25:13 and Deut 15:2 contains an allusion to Isa 61:1, *lqrw*² *lšbwyym drwr* "to proclaim liberty to captives." In line 6, there is a further allusion to this same text of Isaiah: *wqr*² *lhmh drwr*, "and proclaim liberty to them." While never explicitly introduced with one of the usual formulas nor ever followed by an interpretation, allusions to and phrases from Isaiah 61 occur frequently in 11QM^{elch} (see 2:4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 19, 20) as part of the interpretive comments on the Torah (Lev 25:13; Deut 15:2), the Prophets (Isa 52:7), and the Writings (Ps 82:1-2; 7:8-9).¹¹

²šr [*hyw mt*² *blym kw l ywmy mmšlt bly*^cl]: "Who were in mourning all the days of the dominion of Belial." This is my conjecture about the meaning of the text in the light of 4QCatena^a 1-4:8; 1QS 2:19; and the frequent occurrence of *mmšlt bly*^cl in QL (e.g., 1QS 1:18; 1:23; 2:19; 1QM 14:9; 4QCatena^a 1-4:8). Furthermore, in the light of the quotations about the year of jubilee and the year of release, the captivity from which the subjects are being released and the situation from which they are returning must have been mentioned in the text. The time of Belial's dominion is treated more fully in 11QM^{elch} 2:11-14. J. T. Milik has suggested restoring the regular introductory formula ²šr ²mr and the citation of a portion of Isa 61:1 (²šr ²[*mr lqrw*² *lšbwyym drwr* . . . , "comme Il dit: 'Pour proclamer aux captifs la liberté'"), but this is most unlikely. The restoration of *pšrw* earlier in line 4 before [*l*²]*hrt hymym* echoes the recurring formula in the Qumran pesharim *pšrw* . . . ^cl . . . ²šr . . . (e.g., 1QpHab 2:12; 3:4; 4:5; 4QpNah 3-4 i 5; ii 4-5, 8), where the ²šr is always the relative sign introducing a clause that explains or further defines the object of ^cl.

²šr: "Who." The final word of line 4 has been read by van der Woude as ²sr and by Milik as *y*²*mwr*, but there are problems with both of these readings. Although a form of ²sr (*l*²*swrym*) occurs in Isa 61:1, the final word here cannot be ²sr, since the strokes before the final *resh* are not those of a *samek*. Milik's reading is also problematical, because the letters preceding the *resh* cannot be read with certainty as *mem* and *waw*. What Milik refers to as the lower oblique bar of a *mem* is almost horizontal and touches the supposed *waw* too high to be a *mem*. Moreover, the form of the verb (*y*²*mwr*) that he posits is unusual; the usual Qumran form is *yw*²*mr*, as in 4QFlor 1:6; 4Q159 2-4:8; 4Q177 14:1. The visible strokes preceding the *resh* may be part of a *shin*. The top of the initial left downstroke matches well with other *shins* in the text. The fact that the rest of the left downstroke appears to be more vertical and that the middle stroke looks almost horizontal can be explained by the fold in the skin

¹¹M. P. Miller, "The Function of Isa 61, 1-2 in 11QM^{elch}," *JBL* 88 (1969) 67-69.

below the two letters, which has caused a slight clockwise shift in their position. What Milik claimed to be the right head of a *mem* to the right of the tear after the ²aleph is more probably the top right side of the *shin*. I read, then, ²šr.

5. *hkrytmh*: "(Who) cut them off." The reading is tentative. It is based on the faint traces at the beginning of the line and on the sense required by the words that follow: *mn bny hšmym wmnhlt mlky sdq*, "from the sons of heaven and from the inheritance of Melchizedek." The 3rd pers. pronominal sf. *-mh* is clear, and the preceding letter may be a *taw*. The meaning required seems to be "to separate," "to cut off," and so I suggest the root *krr*, which occurs with *mn* in 1QS 2:16 and CD 20:26 (cf. 1 Kgs 14:10; Isa 14:22; Jer 47:4).

mn bny hšm[*y*]*m*: "From the sons of heaven." This is Milik's reading and it is almost certainly correct. The expression *bny hšmym* (cf. 1QS 4:22; 11:8; 1QH 3:22; 1QapGen 2:5; 2:16; 5:4) is a reference to angels, which are designated in this text also as *qdwšy* ²l (2:9); ²lwhym (2:10); ²ly (*mrwym*) (2:14); *bny* ²l (2:14).¹²

wmnhlt mlky sdq: "And from the inheritance of Melchizedek." Van der Woude, followed by Fitzmyer and Milik, read *mnhlt*. Carmignac, on the other hand, suggested either *wmntlb*, "et une portion du coeur" (two words written together), or *wmntl*^c, a niqtal part., meaning "et plus que celui qui est vêtu de pourpre."¹³ He preferred the latter reading, *wmntl*^c, but the letter that he read as an ^cayin is larger than the other ^cayins in this text. The letter that is here read as *heth* cannot be a *taw*. The dark line near the base of the left leg that Carmignac mistook as the left foot of a *taw* actually extends toward the angle formed by the right leg and the horizontal stroke. The reading of the original editor *wmnhlt* should be maintained.

whmh bn[*y gwrl mlky s*]*dq* ²šr: "But they are the children of the lot of Melchizedek who. . . ." The restoration of the expression *bn*[*y gwrl mlky s*]*dq* is my conjecture based on similar expressions in line 8. Considering the role that Melchizedek plays in this text as the agent of judgment and salvation, his name should be restored here. Earlier in the line, and elsewhere in the text, his name is written as two words.

6. *yšybmh* ²lyh²*mh*: "(Who) will restore them"; literally, "(who) will bring them back to them." The pronominal sf. *-mh* added to the hiophil form of *šwb* probably refers to *hšbwyym* (2:4), the captives; the sf. with the preposition ²l could be a reference to the *bny hšmym* and the *nhlt mlky sdq*. The occurrence of *yšybmh* supports a restoration such as *hkrytmh* in the preceding line, because it suggests that something has been previously mentioned from which the captives had been separated and to which they

¹²In 1QS 11:8, *bny hšmym* occurs parallel to *qdwšy* and in 1 Enoch 6:2, the "sons of heaven" are identified with the angels. See also Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 84.

¹³"Le document sur Melkisédeq," 347.

were again going to be restored. The use of *šwb*, moreover, is an allusion to the way in which the return mentioned in 11QMelch 2:2 (Lev 25:13, *tšwbw* ²yš ²l ²hwztw, "each of you will return to his property") is going to be effected. If one of the antecedents of ²lyhmh is *nḥlt mlky šdq*, then this prepositional phrase would be an additional reference to Lev 25:13 (²l ²hwztw, "to his possession").

wqr² lhmh drwr: "And proclaim liberty to them." In this reference to Isa 61:1 van der Woude had read *dr*, but Milik's reading of *drwr*, the form of the MT, is correct. A fold in the skin or shrinking at this point has obscured the right stroke of the *resh*, and what appears to be the right downstroke of the *resh* is actually the vertical stroke of the *waw*. The top of this stroke rises higher than that of other *reshes* in the text. The *mem* in line 5 directly above is similarly cut off on the right side.

l^czwb lhmh [mš²] kwl^c wwnwtyhmh: "Relieving them of the burden of all their iniquities." The phrase is a difficult one. My translation of ^czb reflects the meaning "to help to unload," "to relieve an animal broken down under its load."¹⁴ Milik's restoration of *mš²* before *kwl^c wwnwtyhmh* is very suitable.¹⁵ The whole phrase appears to be a reference to the way in which the stipulation of Deut 15:2 will be carried out at the end of days.

w[kn yhy]h hdbz hzh: "And thus will this event happen." Before *hdbz hzh* something longer than Milik's suggestion of *w[y^cš]h* is needed.

7. *bšbw^c hywbl hr²yšwn² hr tš^ct h]ywblym*: "In the first week of the jubilee (that occurs) after the nine jubilees." The traces of four or five letters at the beginning of the line fit better with Milik's suggestion of *bšbw^c* than with van der Woude's *bšnt*, which is too short. If the final letter of the word were *taw*, I should expect the left foot to be lower. The reading *bšbw^c*, moreover, fits the context better than *bšnt*, because it reflects the terminology of the chronological systems of Dan 9:24-27; *T. Levi* 16:1-18:14, and *1 Enoch* 93:1-10; 91:12-17, which calculate historical periods in terms of either seventy weeks (of years) or of ten weeks. In *T. Levi* 17, seven jubilees that are evidently divided into weeks of years are mentioned. More important for the understanding of the chronological system employed in 11QMelch are the unpublished 4Q'Pseudo-Ezekiel' MSS that divide world history into ten jubilee periods; each jubilee period is subdivided into weeks of years, as the author of 11QMelch has done.¹⁶

¹⁴M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi, Midrashic Literature and Targumim* (New York: Pardes, 1950) 1060.

¹⁵Milik, ("Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c," 103) cites the use of *hms²* in conjunction with ^czb in Neh 5:10 (*n^czbh-nh² t² hms² hzh*) and the conjunction of *nš²* and ^cwn in QL (e.g., IQS 5:14; 6:1) and the OT (e.g., Exod 28:43; Lev 5:17).

¹⁶For a good discussion of the various chronological systems and the relation between them, see *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (ed. J. T. Milik with the collaboration of M. Black; Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 248-57, 264-69. The 4Q "Pseudo-Ezekiel" manuscripts are as yet unpublished. J. Strugnell is to be the editor.

After *hywbl*, van der Woude had read *h²h[r]wn*. The reading, however, should undoubtedly be *hr²yšwn*. A *resh* is clearly visible before the ²aleph, and after the ²aleph, a *yod*. The first week of the tenth jubilee is the time when the release from bondage and the restoration to the heritage of Melchizedek will be accomplished.

wy[wm hkp]wrym h[w²]h s[wp hyw]bl h^cšyry: "Now the Day of Expiation is the end of the tenth jubilee." The concept of "expiation" was of great importance to the members of the Qumran community. It also seems to be of importance to this author, who quotes Lev 25:9 in 11QMelch 2:25. The mention of the Day of Expiation in Lev 25:9, from a chapter that is frequently cited in 11QMelch, makes its restoration here probable. I have chosen to translate *ywm hkpwrym* as "Day of Expiation" rather than the more common "Day of Atonement" because "expiation" more accurately reflects the meaning of the Yom Kippur ceremony of Leviticus 16 and bears a cultic and liturgical connotation that "atonement" does not have.¹⁷

Milik notes that the expression *s[wp hyw]bl*, which he restores here, also occurs in frg. 11, line 7 *swp hy[wb]*.

The tenth jubilee, *hyw]bl h^cšyry*, is the same jubilee that earlier in this line is designated *hywbl . . . hr tš^ct hywblym*, "the jubilee after nine jubilees." The tenth jubilee is in addition a reference to the final period marking the end of the 70 weeks of years (see Dan 9:24; *T. Levi* 16:1, 17:1; Jer 25:11; 29:10).

8. *lkpr bw^c l kwl bny [w²]*: "When expiation will be made for all the sons of light"; literally, "to expiate on it for all the sons of light." In the translation, the prepositional phrase *bw*, "on it," which refers to the Day of Expiation in the previous line, has been rendered by the temporal adverb "when."

The restoration of [²w] follows the suggestion of the original editor. Milik prefers *bny* [²l] and cites the occurrence of the expression *bny² l* in line 14 in support of his opinion. The expression *bny² wr* occurs frequently in IQS and IQM referring to members of the Qumran community. While *bny² l* is uncommon in QL, it does appear in the form *wbbny² lym* in IQH frg. 2, line 3 and probably refers to angelic beings.¹⁸ In this line, however, the *bny* are not angels but humans. As this text indicates, expiation is to be made for all who have been released from bondage and restored to the heritage of Melchizedek. There is no indication that angels are included in this group; hence my restoration, *bny² wr*.

¹⁷See J. A. Fitzmyer, "Reconciliation in Pauline Theology," *No Famine in the Land: Studies in Honor of John L. McKenzie* (ed. J. W. Flanagan and A. W. Robinson; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975) 155-77, esp. 158, 162 and n. 31.

¹⁸See J. T. Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c," 136 n. 58. Many angelic titles compounded with ²lym are listed by J. Strugnell in "An Angelic Liturgy at Qumran—4QSerek Širôt 'Ōlat Haššabbat," *Congress Volume* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960) 318-45, esp. 331.

To the break in the text after *šdq* and before the first *mem* on line 4 of frg. 6, Milik joins the first line of frg. 13. He reads [w]p^tgm in this first line of frg. 13 and translates the resulting restored phrase [w]p^tgm ^cly[hm]h h[gmw]ly[m l^cš]wimh as “et un Décret (sera issu) à leur sujet (à savoir) pour pourvoir à leur égard aux récompenses.” The first line of frg. 13 is very damaged, but *pt* does seem to fit the traces. The reading *ptgm* is questionable, however, because it is based on the contention that there is a small piece of parchment separating *pt* from *gm* along the left side of frg. 13 that does not belong there. But this cannot be established from the photographs, and I have not followed Milik in his restoration of the line at this point.

9. *hw²h hqš lšnt hršwn lmlky š[d]q*: “It is the time for Melchizedek’s year of favor.” The line alludes directly to Isa 61:2 (*lqr² šnt ršwn lyhw^h*) with the name of Melchizedek substituted for Yahweh. In the *editio princeps* van der Woude read *hw²h hqq šnt hršwn*, “Er hat festgelegt das Jahr des Wohlgefallens.” In his later publication, however, he followed Yadin’s reading *hqš lšnt*, which is certainly correct.¹⁹

[]b^hzqw yr[y]m qd^wšy ²l lmp^cl[w]t mšpt: “[] in his strength he will raise up the holy ones of El for deeds of judgment.” The reading *b^hzqw yr[y]m* is from the second line of frg. 13. Milik had read [whw]²h b^hzqw yd[y]n qd^wšy ²l, “[et celui-ci, par sa force, ju[ge]ra les saints de Dieu.” There is not enough space, however, after *lmlky š[d]q* of frg. 1 and before *b^hzqw* of frg. 13 to allow for [whw]²h, as Milik suggests. At the most, about three letters could fit the space before *b^hzqw*. Furthermore, the *nun* of yd[y]n that Milik reads on frg. 6 is more likely a final *mem*. I follow him in reading *b^hzqw*, but I read the traces of letters that follow as yr[y]m rather than as yd[y]n. Moreover, Milik’s reading contradicts the required sense of the text. It is not the qd^wšy ²l whom Melchizedek judges; rather it is the peoples (^cmym, 2:11), and it is Belial and the spirits of his lot upon whom an unfavorable sentence is passed (2:11-14).

lmp^cl[w]t mšpt: “For deeds of judgment.” This is the reading of Milik; van der Woude read lmm[š]lt mšpt, “zur Herrschaft des Gerichtes.” The traces of the third letter fit in more accurately with a *pe* than with a *mem*. If a *šin* were the next letter, I should expect to see more of it below the hole; the smaller ^cayin of this text, however, fits the traces well.

The judgment pronounced by Melchizedek is developed further by citations from Psalms 82 and 7 and by an allusion to Isa 61:2 (see 11QM^c 2:13).

10. bšyry dwyd: “In the songs of David.” In 11QPs^a 27:4-6 there is a distinction made between two types of Davidic compositions: wyk^twb thlym šlwšt ²lpym wšš m²wt wšyr lšwrr lpny hmzbb^h ^cl ^cwlt htmyd lkw^l

¹⁹Y. Yadin, “A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran,” 154; see also van der Woude, “11QM^c Melchizedek and the New Testament,” 302.

ywm wywm lkwl ymy hšnh ²rb^ch wššym wšlwš m²wt, “and he wrote 3600 psalms and songs to sing before the altar over the whole burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364.” Lines 6-10 enumerate the number of songs (*šyr*) written by David for different occasions and line 10 lists the total as 4050 (wyhy hkwl ²rb^ct ²lpym whmšym). Whatever may have been the exact distinction between *thlym* and *šyrym*, if any, 11QM^c 2:10 includes two of the later canonical psalms (Psalms 82 and 7) under the heading *šyrym*.

b^cdt: “In the assembly.” The *daleth* and *waw* visible on the last line of frg. 13 are the basis for Milik’s proposal to place frg. 13 along the left edge of frg. 12 with the last line of 13 completing the last line of 12 (b^cdt). It is for this reason that I also follow him in his placement of frg. 13.

^clyh: “Above it.” With Milik and van der Woude I read the last word of line 10 as ^clyh. This is also the reading expected in this quotation from Ps 7:8-9. If this reading is correct, the extreme slant of the *he* to the left is unusual. The lower right stroke of the *yod* is also visible at the bottom tip of the *lamed*.

11. lmrwm šwbh: “To the heights return.” There is a problem in this line associated with the verbal form *šwbh* (“return” from the root *šwb*) of the MT. In its original context, it is very possible that the form *šybh* (“preside”) from the root *yšb* (“sit”) was intended.²⁰ The script of 11QM^c regularly distinguishes the *waw* from the more wedge-shaped *yod*, and *šwbh* is definitely to be read here. Since this is the case, the verb *šwb*, though singular in the Psalm quotation, must be addressed to the captives who will return to the heritage of Melchizedek (perhaps symbolized by *lmrwm*) as a consequence of El’s judgment.

[^cd mty t]špw^tw ^cwwl: “How long will you judge (favorably) the unjust one.” The context of this quotation and the parallelism of tšpw^tw ^cwwl and pny rš^cym tš²w indicate that the judgment that had formerly been given had been favorable to the unjust one. As line 13 indicates, however, this judgment is now to be reversed.

I have translated the first part of Ps 82:2, “How long will you judge (favorably) the unjust one.” The Masoretes have vocalized ^cwl as ^cāwel, a qatl noun form meaning “injustice.” It should perhaps be vocalized as ^cawwāl, a noun of the qattal type indicating the agent, “the one who acts unjustly,” which better serves the parallelism of the psalm. In the MT, this vocalization of ^cwl occurs in Job 18:21; 27:7; 29:17, and has been conjectured in Ps 12:8.

12. pšrw ^cl bly^cl w^cl rw^hy gwrlw ²š[r]: “The interpretation of it concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot who. . . .” Belial and the spirits of

²⁰For a different interpretation of *šwbh*, see M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1-50* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966) 44, who argues that *šwb* may be a by-form of *yšb* meaning “to sit.”

his lot are evidently understood by the author to be the heavenly beings in the divine court who have fostered wickedness and perversity on the earth; they are the ones who have allowed the "unjust one" and "the wicked" to flourish. Now they are to receive their judgment. It is also possible, however, that the author envisioned Belial to be the "unjust one" and the spirits of his lot to be "the wicked" who are mentioned in Ps 82:2. But I think this interpretation is less likely in view of the super-human status of Belial and the spirits of his lot. They should probably be equated with the heavenly beings in the divine court.

To the break in the text after ³š[r of frg. 1, Milik joins the first line of frg. 4. The only clear letter on frg. 4 is *mem*, which Milik reads as part of *mmrym* (frgs. 4 and 6). This reading is doubtful; the space between the final *mem* and the preceding letter-trace is too large to permit a *yod* to be read.

bsw[rm]h mhwqy ³l: "In their turning away from the commandments of El." Van der Woude read ³•wqy³l. Carmignac suggested *mšwqy*³l, which he thought might be the name of an angel such as those found in the first and third books of Enoch.²¹ What he read as a *shin*, however, could well be the left leg of a *heth*. Milik's reading *mhwqy* ³l is decidedly better. The lack of space between *mhwqy* and ³l is not uncommon in this text. Compare the lack of space between words in ³l *hšbwyyim* (2:4), ³l *kwl* (2:8), *lmp^clwt mšpt* (2:9). For the use of *mhwqy* with *swr*, see IQS 1:15 (*wlw³ lswr mhwqy* ³mtw, "and not depart from his true commandments").

The *lamed* at the end of the line on frg. 6 could be the beginning of an infinitival phrase such as *l[hršy^c]* (IQS 5:7; IQM 13:11), *l[^cswt rš^c(h)]* (Milik's reading), or *l[^cswt kwl r^c]* (IQS 1:7), or it could be a nominal phrase such as *l[hwqy hwšk]* (IQM 13:12).

13. *wmlky šdq yqwm nq[m]t mšpty* ³l: "And Melchizedek will exact the vengeance of El's judgments." Through a further allusion to Isa 61:2, the text describes Melchizedek as the agent of divine judgment on the day of vengeance. The idea of vengeance is emphasized by the use of the cognates *yqwm* and *nq[m]t*. The thought expressed here in line 13 and in the following line is paralleled in 1 *Enoch* 62:11-13:

And he will deliver them to the angels for punishment, to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed his children and his elect. And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for his elect. They shall rejoice over them, because the wrath of the Lord of spirits rests upon them, and his sword is drunk with their blood. And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall from then on never see the face of sinners and unrighteous.

[*wy^czwr lkwl bny* ³wr *myd*] *bly^cl*: "And he will protect all the sons of light from the power of Belial." This restoration is the suggestion of F. du

²¹"Le document sur Melkisédeq," 354.

Toit Laubscher.²² The expression occurs in 4QCatena^a 12-13 i 7 with the subject *ml³k* ³mtw ("his angel of truth"). Compare the use of ^czr in IQS 3:24; IQM 13:10; and especially IQH 2:34-35 where *myd* is also used with ^czr. The possibility that ^czr should be restored here is further supported by *wb^czrw* in the following line. The translation of ^czr as "protect" is based on the original meaning of the word, "withhold" (see KB, p. 695). Compare 11QMELCH 2:25 [*yšy*]l[*mh m*]yd *bly^cl*, "he will rescue them from the power of Belial."

At the break in the text of frg. 1 after *mšpty* ³l, Milik continues on with frg. 4 and reads: ³l *b³dm*] *whw³[h] ygwr[*mh myd*] bly^cl*, "de Dieu parmi les hommes et il va les arracher de la main de Belial." If his placement of frg. 4 were to be followed, one would have to account for the problematical reading *ygwr[*mh myd*] bly^cl*. The verb that Milik suggests, *grr*, is inappropriate to the context. As it is used in the MT (Prov 21:7 and Hab 1:15), it has the connotation of a violent act that does not accord with Melchizedek's relationship to those whom he is rescuing from Belial.

14. *wb^czrw kwl* ³ly [*mrwym*]: "And all the Elim of the heights (will be) his helpers"; literally, "and for his help are all the Elim of the heights." In the *editio princeps*, van der Woude had restored ³ly [*wlwym*], "ewigen Engel," but in his later publication he preferred ³ly [*mrwym*].²³ The expression is similar to ³lwhy *mrwym*, which Strugnell claims to have found in 4QŠirŠab 37-40.²⁴ Milik restored *hšdq* after ³ly basing his choice on the occurrence of the expression in Isa 61:3. His restoration, however, does not take into consideration the fact that ³ly is a secondary reading in Isa 61:3. The better reading, which also occurs in 1QIsa^a is ³yly *hšdq* ("trees of righteousness").

h]w³h ³l: "This. . . ." The broken context makes any restoration tentative. Van der Woude suggested the reading *h]w³h* ³[šr ³mr, "das ist, was Er sagt." Milik, however, using frg. 4 preferred *lm]r³h* ³[bdwn] *bly^cl* *wmrwm* [*hw³h kl*] *kwl bny* ³l, "pour contempler la destruction de Belial; car 'les Hauteurs' sont le soutien des fils de Dieu." One of Milik's main arguments for placing the third line of frg. 4 after line 14 of frg. 1 is his reading of *wmrwm* here from the citation of Psalm 7 in line 11. The reading, however, is not clear. The first letter after *bly^cl* (line 3, frg. 4) could be a *yod*. Reading the last letter of the word following *bly^cl* as a final *mem* is questionable. Between this letter and the preceding, the space is too large for a *waw*. There is a slight trace of a stroke to the left of the top of this letter, and it might be read as a *daleth* or *resh*. What Milik has read as *wmrwm*, then, could possibly be a form of *mrr* or *mrd*. In disagreeing with

²²"God's Angel of Truth and Melchizedek, A Note on 11QMELCH 13b," *JSJ* 3 (1972) 46-51.

²³"11QMELCHizedek and the New Testament," 302.

²⁴"The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran," 331-32. It is particularly appropriate here because of the use of *mrwm* in the quotation from Psalm 7.

Milik's reading of *wmrwm* and his placement of frg. 4, I avoid the forced and improbable interpretation of *mrwm* as *klkwl bny* ^l, "le soutien des fils de Dieu."

In the lacuna at the end of the line, a fem. sing. noun is required by the demonstrative adjective at the beginning of the following line (*whp* [. . .] *h/hzw* ^t).

15. *hw* ^h *ywm* *h* [*yšw* ^c *h*]: "This is the day of salvation." The restoration of *h* [*yšw* ^c *h*] is based on the expression *ywm yšw* ^c *h*, which in Isa 49:8 occurs parallel to ^c *t ršwn*, "the time of favor"; compare 11QM^{elch} 2:9. The context of *ywm yšw* ^c *h* and ^c *t ršwn* in Isa 49:8 indicates that the time of captivity is over and salvation is at hand. In 11QM^{elch}, both these ideas are thematic. The restoration of *ywm yšw* ^c *h* is particularly appropriate here in view of *mšmy* ^c *yšw* ^c *h*, which is restored from Isa 52:7 in the following line, and in view of the context in which *ywm yšw* ^c *h* occurs in Isa 49:8-9 with reference to the freeing of the captive prisoners (see 11QM^{elch} 2:4-6).

^l *šr* ^{mr} [^l *lyw* *byd* *yš* ^c] *yh hnby* ²: "About which God spoke through the mouth of Isaiah the prophet." An introductory formula such as this must be restored before the quotation from Isaiah (compare CD 6:13; 8:9; 19:11-12; 4:13-14; 1QM 10:6).

15-16. [*mh*] *n* ^{ww} ^c *l hrym*. . . : "How beautiful upon the mountains." etc. The text of the quotation is the same as the MT with *plena scriptio*, except for the absence of the definite sign *he* with *hrym*. In the interpretation that follows in line 17, however, the form *hhrym* appears; so the omission may be a scribal error. Compare the inversion of *mbšr* and *mšmy* ^c found in 1QIsa^a 43:22 (=Isa 52:7).

17. *pšrw hhr* [*y*] *m* [*dbry*] *hnby* ² *y* [*m*] *hnh* ² [*šr*]: "The interpretation of it: The mountains are the words of the prophets, those who. . . ." Van der Woude, followed by Fitzmyer, read *tby* ² *w* [*ty*] *hnh*, "ihren Ertrag." The better reading is *hnby* ² *ym hnh*, which fits the context well. Milik restored *hnh* before *hnby* ² *ym*; the result was the rather awkward construction: *hhrym hnh hnby* ² *ym hnh* ² *šr*, "les Montagnes sont les prophètes, ceux dont. . . ." A noun such as *dbry* in construct with *hnby* ² *ym* would be more likely. Prophetic utterances are frequently referred to as *dbry hnby* ² *ym* in QL (see 1QpHab 2:9; 7:5; CD 7:10).

Milik continued his restoration with *hnh* ² *šr dbryhnh hrglym* ² *šr nb* ² *w*, "ceux dont les paroles sont les 'Pieds,' (les paroles) qu'ils ont prophétisés. . . ." The phrase sounds rather implausible and is out of character with other Qumran interpretations. Its awkwardness is revealed by Milik's need to supply "les paroles" as the subject of *nb* ² *w*. There is no evidence in the text that the word *rgly* from Isa 52:7 is interpreted.

nb [² *w*] *lkwl* [² *byly sywn*]: "(They) prophesied to all the mourners of Zion." Van der Woude read *tp* [] *lkwl* [. Some form of *nb* ² should probably be restored to fit the traces of the first word of the last line on frg. 6.

This is suggested by *hnby* ² *ym* earlier in the line. After *lkwl* I should expect those to whom the prophetic oracle is addressed to be named, such as ² *byly sywn* (Isa 61:3).

18. *whmbšr hw* [² *h m*] *šyh hrw* [*h*]: "And the herald is the one anointed of the spirit." Van der Woude had originally read *hm* *šyh hrw* [*h*]. Yadin subsequently altered the reading to *m* *šwh hrw* [*h*].²⁵ His suggestion was adopted in part by van der Woude as the better reading and the one that found support in Isa 61:1. He read *mšyh hrwh* for Yadin's *mšwh hrwh*.²⁶ The *yod* and *waw* are usually distinguished in this text, and the size and angle of the stroke after the *shin* argue for the reading of a *yod*. Compare also CD 2:12 *byd mšyhy rwh qwdšw*. This interpretation would also be a further allusion to Isa 61:1: *rwh* ² *deny yhw* ^c *ly y* ^c *n mšh yhw* ² *ty lbšr* ^c *nwym šlhny*, "The spirit of the Lord Yahweh is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted."

² *šr* ² *mr dn* [*y* ^l *lyw* ^c *d mšyh ngyd šbw* ^c *ym šb* ^c *h*]: "About whom Daniel said, 'Until an anointed, a prince, (there will be) seven weeks.'" The suggestion to read *dn* [*y* ^l] and to restore Dan 9:25 is Fitzmyer's who was followed by Milik.²⁷ Van der Woude had only ² *šr* ² *mr d* []. The *nun* of *dn* [*y* ^l] is fairly certain. The citation of Dan 9:25 fits well into the context of 11QM^{elch}, and the chronological reference in the quotation is not unrelated to the chronological framework of this text.

[*wmbšr*]: ". . . and as for the herald." The first words of line 19 indicate that *mbšr* should be restored at the end of line 18. Milik restored *mšmy* ^c *šlwm* in line 18 before *twb mšmy* [^c *yšw* ^c *h*] in line 19: "Et celui qui se fait annoncer la paix, un (homme) bon qui se fait annoncer le salut." His reading and translation do violence to the natural interpretation of Isa 52:7 by making *twb* into a personal subject for the participle *mšmy* ^c. In Isaiah, *twb* is the object of the herald's proclamation and there is no reason to believe that it should be otherwise here. Moreover, I should expect *twb* to have the definite form if it were to be interpreted as Milik suggests.

19. *hw* ^h *hk* [*tw*] *b* ^c *lyw* ² *šr* [² *mr*]: "He is the one about whom it is written, when it says. . . ." Instead of *hktwb*, I should have expected *hw* ^h ² *šr ktwb* (cf. 4QFlor 1:16; CD 1:13). Though no exact parallels exist for this formula, one need not follow Milik's translation: "c'est celui qui est inscrit avec l' (Oint dans le Livre de vie)." The *h*- before *ktwb* could be owing to a scribal dittography.²⁸ If it is not a dittography, it may be

²⁵ "A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran," 153.

²⁶ "11QM^{elch} Melchizedek and the New Testament," 301-2; see also J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek," 248, 265-66.

²⁷ "Further Light on Melchizedek," 265-66. Milik, "Milki-šedeq et Milki-reša^c," 107.

²⁸ There is a good possibility that the document 11QM^{elch} is not an autograph but is a copy of part of a larger work concerned with the interpretation of the ages of the world. See below, pp. 50-51. If this is the case, the *h*- before *ktwb* could well be a scribal dittography.

understood as the definite article with the participle used as the equivalent of a relative clause as in biblical Hebrew (GKC §138 i, k). Furthermore, there is no basis in the text for Milik's translation of ^clyw by "avec l'(Oint)." It is doubtful that the antecedent of the pronominal suffix is anything other than *mbšr twb mšmy^c yšw^ch*.

After ²šr a scriptural quotation preceded by ²mr would be expected. Milik has suggested the restoration of Isa 61:2-3: *lnhm kwl ²blym lšwm l²blym šywn*, "Pour consoler tous les affligés, pour s'imposer aux affligés de Sion." I hesitate to follow Milik, however, because it seems that 11QMelch never introduces citations of Isaiah 61 by elaborate introductory formulas, but rather alludes to this portion of Isaiah in interpreting other scriptural quotations. See the commentary above on line 4.

20. *lnh[m] ²[byly šywn] l[h]škylmh bkwl qsy h^cwlm*: "To comfort the mourners of Zion, to instruct them in all the ages of the world." The restoration of ²[byly šywn] is my conjecture based on Isa 61:2-3. These words could possibly form the interpretation of a scriptural quotation cited in the previous line. The full writing ²byly is used in the restoration as it occurs in 1QIsa^a. Milik's suggestion *lnh[m] h²[²blym pšrw] l[h]škylmh*, "Pour consoler les affligés s'interprète: pour les instruire . . ." presupposes the restoration of Isa 61:2-3 in the previous line and appears to be slightly too long for the lacuna.

I read with Milik *qsy h^cwlm*; van der Woude had *qsy hrwn*, "alle Zeiten des Zornes." The letter following *qsy* is certainly a *he*. The horizontal stroke extends beyond the left leg. This would not be the case for a *heth*.

22. *mlky] šdq*: "Melchizedek." On frg. 8, there are traces of a *qoph* preceded possibly by a *daleth*. Below and slightly to the right of this is a trace of a horizontal line which may be the lower horizontal stroke of a *šade*. The name *mlky šdq* should probably be restored. Perhaps *mlky šdq* is also the antecedent of ^clyw in the following line. Note that my lines 22-25 equal van der Woude's 23-26.²⁹

24. [*yhd . . .*] *mqym[y] hbryt*: "The community of . . . , the establishers of the covenant." This line continues the interpretation of *šywn* from the preceding line. While the lacuna prevents the exact identification of Zion, a word such as (*h*)*yhd* should be restored (cf. *hmtndbym byhd lhqym ²t brytw*, "those who have pledged themselves in the community to establish his covenant" in IQS 5:21-22; see also IQSb 5:21).

The expression *mqymy hbryt* is not attested elsewhere. It is evidently derived from the various forms of *lhqm hbryt* that are found in QL (see IQS 5:22; 8:10; IQSb 5:23; IQM 13:7; CD 3:13; 4:9).

²⁹See J. T. Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša^c," 96, for a discussion of the extra line that van der Woude places between frg. 1 and frg. 3, thus making each column 26 lines.

25. [*mlky šdq ²šr ysy*]/[*mh m*]yd bly^cl: "Melchizedek who will rescue them from the power of Belial." This is Milik's restoration at the beginning of the line. Line 10 in which Melchizedek is explicitly referred to as ²lwhym supports this interpretation.

wh^cbrtmh šw[pr: "You will blow the signal horn. . . ." Lev 25:9 is cited here with the plural *h^cbrtmh* for *h^cbri* of the MT. The LXX version also has the pl. *diaggeleite*.

Column 3

Several words from the beginning of lines in Col. 3 are visible on frgs. 2 and 7. Many of the readings are uncertain and problematical because of the poor state of preservation.

9. ²t *hwm yhw dh*: "The wrath (lit., heat) of Judah." Either a medial *mem* has been used here for a final *mem* in *hwm* ("the wrath of Judah"), or the sing. (*t*) or pl. (*wt*) construct ending has been mistakenly omitted ("the wall[s] of Judah").

Fragments 4, 5, 11

The relative positions of frgs. 4, 5, and 11 have not been determined. They are probably not part of the main col. (col. 2) of 11QMelch.

Fragment 4

See col. 2, lines 12-14.

Fragment 5

4. I read and restore with Milik *š[nym pš[rw*, a possible reference to an interpretation of Lev 25:8.

Fragment 11

2. Restore Milik's *hwmt yr[wšlym*, "the wall of Jerusalem."

3. If the reading *bmw^cdy* is correct, the top of the *yod* is touching the upper left stroke of the *daleth*.

7. *swp hy[wbl*: Compare 11QMelch 2:7, *s[wp hyw]bl*.