

B.T., *Ned.* 32b). Apart from Targum *Neophyti* 1, the Targumim avoid speaking of Melchizedek's priesthood. Instead of calling him "priest," as *Genesis* 14.18 does, they use a verbal form of the word meaning "to minister" (Targum Onkelos, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan). The same tendency is seen in rabbinic texts. It was Melchizedek's mistake to bless Abraham before blessing God (*Gn.* 14.19–20). For this reason God took the priesthood from Melchizedek and gave it to Abraham (the difficult expression in *Ps.* 110.4 is understood as "because of the words of Melchizedek," i.e., because of his erroneous blessing, B.T., *Ned.* 32b; *Lv. Rab.* 25). These texts might reflect a reaction to Christian ideas of the superiority of Jesus' priesthood compared with that of Melchizedek, though already in *Jubilees* there seems to be an antipathy on the part of Levitical priestly circles to the idea of a Melchizedekian priesthood. Nevertheless, in *Pesiq.* 51a Melchizedek is seen positively, as an eschatological figure, one of the four craftsmen of *Zechariah* 2.3 (cf. Rashi, B.T., *Suk.* 52b).

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ANNETTE STEUDEL

MENAHÉM THE ESSENE. See *Essenes*.

MESSIAH OF AARON. See *Messiahs*.

MESSIAH OF ISRAEL. See *Messiahs*.

MESSIAHS. Some thirty texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls speak of anointed personages—the literal definition of messiah—and although only about half refer to what is probably the traditional, royal Messiah, most of the other texts refer to the prophets. A few refer to the priest, and one is in reference to Moses. The language is drawn from the Hebrew scriptures and is found in numerous writings and bodies of literature produced by Jews and Christians in late antiquity.

Derivation of the Term Messiah. The word *messiah* comes from the Greek *messias* (cf. *John* 1.41; 4.25), which itself is a transliteration of the Hebrew *mashiaḥ* (2 *Sm.* 22.51; 23.1), meaning one who is "anointed" (with oil). *Mashiaḥ* occurs some thirty-eight times in the Hebrew scriptures. The Greek equivalent is *christos* (cf. Septuagint, 2 *Sm.* 22.51; 23.1), which occurs some 529 times in the New Testament (about half in Paul; more than half if one includes the Pastorals). The nominal form is derived from the verbs *mashaḥ* (Hebrew) and *chriein* (Greek), which mean "to anoint" or "to smear (with oil)." When the nominal form is definite (Heb., *ham-mashiaḥ*; Aram., *mashiḥa*), it is usually translated "the Messiah." The Greek definite form, *ho christos*, is usually translated "the Christ."

Israel's tradition of anointing the priest is ancient (cf. *Ex.* 28.41; 30.30; 40.13–15; *Lv.* 16.32, *Nm.* 3.3). Of special interest is the anointing of the high priest (*Ex.* 40.13; *Lv.* 7.35), who in *Numbers* 35.25 is said to be "anointed with the holy oil." Ben Sira eulogizes Aaron, stating that "Moses ordained him, and anointed him with holy oil" (*Sir.* 45.15). Early rabbinic literature is keenly interested in the "anointed high priest" (cf. *Hor.* 2.1–3, 2.6–7; 3.1–2; 3.4; 3.6; *Zev.* 4.3; *Men.* 5.3; 5.5, 6.2; 6.4; *Me'il.* 2.9), much more than it is in the royal Messiah (cf. *Sot.* 9.15).

The kings of Judah and Israel were anointed, usually by prophets as well as by priests. Especially important is Samuel's anointing of Saul (*1 Sm.* 9.9; 9.16; 10.1; 15.1; 15.17) and David (*1 Sm.* 16.1–3; 16.12–13; 2 *Sm.* 12.7; cf. *Sir.* 46.13). Nathan the prophet and Zadok the priest anointed Solomon (*1 Kgs.* 1.34; cf. *1 Kgs.* 1.39; 1.45). Elijah was commanded to anoint Hazael to be king over Aram and Jehu to be king over Israel (*1 Kgs.* 19.15–16), though Elisha actually carries out the task (*2 Kgs.* 9.1–3, 9.6; 9.12; cf. *Sir.* 48.8). Even in the period of the judges we find the tradition of someone being anointed king

(*Jgs.* 9.8, 9.15). Frequently the anointed king is called "the Lord's anointed" (*1 Sm.* 16.6; 24.6; 24.10; 26.9; 26.11; 26.16; 26.23; *2 Sm.* 1.14, 1.16; 19.21; cf. *Ps.* 2.2; 18.50; 20.6; 28.8). The psalmist, on behalf of the anointed, sometimes appeals to God for help (*Ps.* 84.9; 89.38; 89.51; 132.10; 132.17).

Elijah anointed Elisha, his prophetic successor (*1 Kgs.* 19.15–16; cf. *2 Kgs.* 9.1–3, 9.6; 9.12, where Elisha in turn anoints Jehu king). The anointing of Elisha is the only instance of an anointed prophet. However, one should recall that the prophetic speaker in *Isaiah* 61 claims to have the spirit of the Lord and to have been "anointed" to preach (cf. *Tg. Is.* 61.1: "The prophet said: 'A spirit of prophecy before the Lord God is upon me'"). The association in a sermon attributed to Jesus (*Lk.* 4.18–27) of this passage from *Isaiah* with the ministries of Elijah and Elisha is probably not accidental but reflects the tradition of the anointed prophet.

Perhaps reflecting on Psalm 105.15 and *1 Chronicles* 16.22 ("Touch not my anointed ones, and do my prophets no harm!"), the Dead Sea Scrolls often refer to the prophets as "anointed ones" (cf. CD ii.12; v.21–vi.1 = 4Q267 2.6 = 6Q15 3.4; 1QM xi.7–8; 1Q30 1.2[?]; 4Q270 9.ii.13–14; 4Q287 10.13; 4Q521 8.9 [or anointed priests]). They are "anointed by the Holy Spirit, the seers of truth" (CD ii.12). These anointed prophets have spoken the words that the Qumran community in its own time has been able to interpret (cf. Peshar Habakkuk, 1QpHab vii.1–5). They spoke to an unbelieving and idolatrous Israel in times past (Damascus Document, CD v.21–vi.1), but they also spoke of the last days: "By the hand of your anointed ones, seers of things appointed, you have told us about the ti[m]es of the wars of your hands" (War Scroll, 1QM xi.7–8).

Messianic Interpretation and the Rise of Messianism. The Hebrew scriptures speak of anointed priests, kings, and prophets. But none of these anointed persons is to be understood as an eschatological figure of deliverance. Sometime in the third or second century BCE, *messiah* takes on this eschatological nuance. In reaction to the oppression of Greek and Roman rule, and in response to what was perceived as usurpation of the high priesthood on the part of the Hasmoneans and their successors, hopes for the appearance of a righteous king and/or priest began to be expressed. The later usurpation of Israel's throne by Herod and his successors only fueled these hopes. The literature of this time speaks of the appearance of worthy anointed persons through whom the restoration of Israel might take place. These hopes and predictions drew upon passages of scripture that spoke of anointed persons and upon passages that spoke in more indirect ways of individuals or symbols that lent themselves to eschatological or salvific interpretations.

Three passages played an important, generative role in the rise of messianism: *Genesis* 49.10, *Numbers* 24.17, and *Isaiah* 11.1–6. All these passages are interpreted in a messianic sense in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other early Jewish and Christian writings.

In the Commentary on *Genesis* A (4Q252 1.v.1–7). *Genesis* 49.10–11 is cited and is understood to refer to the "Branch of David." The passage also may be alluded to in Peshar *Isaiah*^a (4Q161 7–10.iii.25), again in a messianic sense. The messianic potential appears to have been enhanced in the Septuagint. All four Targums to the Pentateuch (Targum Onkelos, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Neophyti, and the Fragmentary Targum) render the *Genesis* passage in an explicitly messianic sense ("King Messiah" is mentioned in verses 10, 11, and 12). Jacob's blessing (*Gn.* 49.8–12) is referred to in the *Testament of Judah* 1.6 ("my father declared to me, 'You shall be king'") and in the *Testament of Judah* 22.3 seems to be understood in a messianic sense. The description of the warrior Messiah in *Revelation* 19.11–16 may have this passage, as well as *Isaiah* 11, as a source (compare *Rv.* 19.13 with *Gn.* 49.11); and it may be alluded to in *Hebrews* 7.14. Christian messianic interpretation of the passage becomes commonplace in the second century (cf. Justin Martyr, *1 Apologies* 32 and 54, *Dialogue with Trypho* 52 and 120; Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 1.5 and 1.6; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.10.2).

The interpretation of *Numbers* 24.17 is similar to that of *Genesis* 49.10. All four *targums* to the Pentateuch paraphrase the passage in explicitly messianic terms. The Hebrew text's "a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel" becomes in the Aramaic "a king shall arise out of Jacob and be anointed the Messiah out of Israel." Messianic interpretation of *Numbers* 24.17 is widely attested in traditions dating to the first century CE and earlier (*Testament of Judah* 24.1–6; CD vii.20; 1Q28b v.27–28; 1QM xi.4–9; 4Q175 1.9–13; possibly Philo, *De Vita Mosis* 1.52 secs. 290; *De praemiis et poenis*, 16 sec. 95; Orphica 31 [Aristobulus fragment 4.5]). It is probably to this passage that Josephus refers when he says that his countrymen were misled by an "ambiguous oracle" that promised that "one from their country would become ruler of the world" (*The Jewish War*, 6.312–313; cf. 3.400–402). The "star" that "stood over the city" of Jerusalem would have only fueled such speculation (*The Jewish War*, 6.289). At issue was not the messianic orientation of the oracle; rather, the question was to whom the oracle applied. Of course, Josephus here is being disingenuous. It is very probable that he too understood the passage in the way his contemporaries did. Instead, Josephus deliberately distanced himself from popular Jewish interpretation and applied the oracle to Vespasian his patron, "who was proclaimed emperor on

Jewish soil." Early Christians were also aware of the passage's messianic potential, as seen in the "star" of *Matthew* 2.2 and the Magi's assumption that it pointed to the birthplace of the "king of the Jews." The nickname of Shimm'on bar Kosiba', "Bar Kokhba" ("son of the star"), apparently was inspired by this passage. According to rabbinic tradition, this man claimed to be the Messiah, or at least was proclaimed as such by some of his followers (cf. J.T., *Ta'an.* 4.5/8; B.T., *San.* 93b; Justin Martyr, *1 Apologies* 31 and *Dialogue with Trypho* 106; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.9.2).

In the Hebrew text, the oracle of *Isaiah* 11.1-6 anticipates the coming forth of "a shoot from the stock of Jesse, even a branch shall grow out of his roots" (v. 1). The *Isaiah* Targum, which represents later interpretive tradition, renders the verse, "And a king shall come forth from the sons of Jesse, and the Messiah shall be exalted from the sons of his sons." Much earlier the Septuagint had enhanced the messianic potential of *Isaiah* 11.10: "And there shall be in that day the root of Jesse, even he who arises to rule over nations. . . ." Paul quotes this passage and applies it to Jesus (*Rom.* 15.12; cf. *Rv.* 5.5, 22.16; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 5.6). *Isaiah* 11 is taken in a messianic sense in Peshet *Isaiah*^a (4Q161 7-10.iii.22-29 and is echoed in a passage in the Rule of the Blessings (1Q28b v.21-26), which describes the blessing that is to be pronounced upon the Prince of the Congregation. In *4 Ezra* 13.2-10, *Isaiah* 11.4 is alluded to and applied to the man who "flew with the clouds of heaven" (cf. *Daniel* 7.13). Messianic interpretation of *Isaiah* 11 probably underlies the War Rule (4Q285 5.1-6) and *Testament of Levi* 18.7 as well. Early Christian writers were especially fond of *Isaiah* 11 (for v. 1, cf. *Mt.* 2.23; *Acts* 13.23; *Heb.* 7.14; *Rv.* 5.5, 22.16; Justin Martyr, *1 Apologies* 32, and *Dialogue with Trypho* 87; Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 1.7; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.9.3; *Sib. Or.* 6.8, 6.16, 7.38, 8.254; for v. 2, cf. *Eph.* 1.17; *1 Pet.*, 4.14; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.17.1; for v. 3, cf. *Jn.* 7.24; Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 1.7; for v. 4, cf. *Jn.* 7.24; *Eph.* 6.17; *2 Thes.* 2.8; *Rv.* 19.11; Clement of Alexandria, *Pedagogue* 1.7; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.33.1; for v. 5, cf. *Eph.* 6.14).

The data therefore suggest that the messianism of the Dead Sea Scrolls coheres with what can be ascertained from other Jewish sources from this period. The scrolls contain some distinctive ideas in certain details (such as the nature of the final war at the End of Days and the Messiah's role in it, or the Messiah's submission to the priests), but it would appear that in most of the major points Qumran messianism is not much different from that of other pious, hopeful Jews.

The "Anointed of Aaron and of Israel." One of the interesting features of Qumran messianism is the epithet

"anointed (ones) of Aaron and of Israel" (CD xii.23; xiv.19; xix.10-11; xx.1; 1QS ix.11). The coupling of the "anointed of Aaron and of Israel" reflects the frequent association of Aaron and Israel in the Pentateuch (cf. *Ex.* 16.9, 18.12, 34.30; *Lv.* 17.2, 21.24, 22.18; *Nm.* 13.26) as well as in liturgical expressions, such as "(God) will bless the house of Israel; he will bless the house of Aaron" (Ps. 115.12, cf. vv. 9-10; 135.19). The story of the simultaneous anointing of Solomon, the son of David, and of Zadok the high priest (*1 Chr.* 29.22), combined with Zechariah's vision of the two "sons of oil" (*Zec.* 4.14; cf. 4Q254 4.2), that is, the priest and the political ruler (cf. *Zec.* 3-4), probably informed the Damascus Document's expectation of the eventual appearance of the "anointed of Aaron and of Israel" (see also *1 Sm.* 2.35).

The epithet "anointed of Aaron" reflects passages that refer to the anointing of Aaron (*Ex.* 40.13; *Lv.* 7.35). To the passages from the better known scrolls one may now add the Apocryphon of Moses B^a (4Q375 1.i.9; "the anointed priest upon whose head the oil of anointing has been poured") and the Apocryphon of Moses B^b (4Q376 1.i.1; "the anointed priest"). Although these texts are fragmentary, they broaden the field of reference.

Many scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls are convinced that at Qumran the "anointed of Aaron," along with his priestly colleagues, would be equal to, if not superior to, the royal Messiah (but see Abegg [1995] for important caveats). Again, the history of Solomon, the son of David, may have been viewed as exemplary: "Let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet there anoint him (Solomon) king over Israel" (*1 Kgs.* 1.34; cf. vv. 39, 45). In the commentary on *Isaiah* 11, it is anticipated that the "Branch of David" will submit to the instruction of the priests (4Q161 7-10.iii.22-29). One is reminded also of the prominence of the high priest and his priestly colleagues in the War Scroll (1QM) in the direction of the holy war against the sons of darkness. This royal priestly cooperation is probably at work in the related War Rule (cf. 4Q285 5.1-6), where the "Branch of David" battles the Romans (the Kittim), and the priests take charge of the disposal of the slain to avoid the defilement of the land. [See Kittim.]

Qumran's epithet "anointed of Israel" derives from passages in the Hebrew scriptures that speak of figures being "anointed king over Israel" (as in *1 Kgs.* 1.34; *2 Sm.* 12.7). The description of David prefaced to his final words may be relevant: "Now these are the last words of David: The oracle of David, the son of Jesse, the oracle of the man who was raised on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, the sweet psalmist of Israel" (*2 Sm.* 23.1; cf. *Mk.* 15.32: "The anointed one, the king of Israel").

According to the Dead Sea Scrolls the "anointed of Israel" will engage in battle with the forces of darkness. Is-

rael's enemies "will be delivered up to the sword at the coming of the anointed of Aaron and of Israel" (CD xix.10–11). Indeed, the Davidic Branch "will kill him" (War Rule, 4Q285 5.4), by which we probably should understand that the Messiah was expected to kill the leader of the Romans (the *Kittim*), perhaps meaning the Roman emperor himself. The Messiah will also serve faithfully alongside the priests (1Q28a ii.20–21). The Messiah of the Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521), though perhaps a messianic figure of prophetic stripe, adds to our picture. According to this scroll (1.ii.1) "heaven and earth will obey his anointed" (cf. *Dt.* 32.1; *Is.* 1.2; *Ps.* 146.6). When this Messiah comes, God "will honor the pious upon the th[ro]ne of the eternal kingdom, setting prisoners free, opening the eyes of the blind, raising up those who are bo[w]ed down" (1.ii.7–8). At this time the Lord "will do glorious things that have not been done, just as he said. For he will heal the wounded, he will revive the dead, he will proclaim good news to the afflicted" (1.ii.11–12). The echoes of *Isaiah* 61.1–2 and 35.5–6 are interesting; especially noteworthy is the parallel between the scroll and a saying attributed to Jesus that echoes these passages in *Isaiah* and that also speaks of raising the dead (*Mt.* 11.4–5 = *Lk.* 7.22), an element not found in the passages from *Isaiah*. This is an important point of coherence between Jesus and the Messianic Apocalypse that must be explored.

The much debated "anointed of Aaron and of Israel" raises an important question: Do some of the Scrolls envision messianism as a diarchy? Many scholars think that they do. The idea of a priest and an anointed royal personage is found in *1 Samuel* 2.35: "And I will raise up for myself a faithful priest, who shall do according to what is in my heart and in my mind; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall go in and out before my anointed forever." The *targum* translates "sure house" as "lasting kingdom" and "anointed" as "Messiah." Part of the Hebrew expansion of *Sir.* 51.12 praises God who "makes the horn to sprout for the house of Israel" and who "elects the sons of Zadok to be priests" (cf. *Ps.* 132.16–17). As has already been mentioned, Qumran's "anointed of Aaron and of Israel" may reflect the diarchy of Zechariah. The alternating emphasis on descendants from the lines of Levi and Judah in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* may be open to the same explanation (on the ruler from Levi, see *Testament of Reuben* 6.11–12 and *Testament of Levi* 18.1–14; for the ruler from Judah, see *Testament of Judah* 24.5–6 and *Testament of Naphtali* 4.5).

There is nothing novel about Qumran's messianic diarchy; it has its roots in the Hebrew scriptures (especially in the Masoretic Text and the Targum of *Zechariah* 3.6–10, 6.9–15; cf. juxtaposition of Aaron/Israel, for example in

Ps. 115.9–10, 115.12, 118.3, 135.19) and is probably the presupposition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (cf. *Testament of Dan* 5.10: "And there shall arise for you the tribe of Judah and of Levi the Lord's salvation"; *Testament of Joseph* 19.11: "honor Levi and Judah, because from them shall arise the salvation of Israel"). It is not necessary to conclude, as did R. H. Charles long ago, that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* exhibit two competing messiahships—one priestly (of Levi), the other Davidic (of Judah). Rather, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* may reflect the understanding of the diarchy as it arose in the Second Temple period. Side by side a royal descendant of David and a Zadokite high priest would rule over restored Israel. It is possible that the emphasis on the two Messiahs, one of Aaron and one of Israel, may have originated as a corrective of the merger of the high priestly and royal offices during the Hasmonean period.

The reading and interpretation of the Rule of the Congregation (1Q28a ii.11–12) have been controversial. D. Barthélemy (1955, p. 110) originally read the text "[This is the sit]ting of the men of renown [called] to assembly for the council of the community when [God] will have be[got]ten [*yolid*] the Messiah among them." But he thought the text should be emended to read "when God will have brought [*yolikh*] the Messiah" (1955, p. 117). Other emendations have been proposed. Although it remains disputed, the original reading enjoys a measure of support from *Psalms* 2.2 and 2.7: "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and his Messiah. . . . He said to me: 'You are My son, today I have begotten you [*yelidtikha*].'" Given the language of *Psalms* 2.2 and 2.7, there is nothing unusual or unexpected in restoring the Rule of the Congregation (1Q28a ii.11–12) to read: "when God will have begotten the Messiah." This reading, however, does not necessarily imply that the author of the Rule of the Congregation expected the Messiah to experience an unusual or miraculous birth. (See, however, the objection to this reading by Puech [1994], who defends the reading "when God will reveal the Messiah.")

Related Messianic Epithets in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

There are several other names and epithets given to the royal Messiah, the "anointed of Israel." He is explicitly identified as the "Branch of David" (*tsemaḥ David*). The epithet "Branch of David" occurs five times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (sometimes reconstructed) and derives from prophetic language (4Q161 7–10.iii.22; 4Q174 1–3.i.11; 4Q252 1.v.3–4; 4Q285 5.3, 4). Jeremiah's promise, "I will raise up for David a branch of righteousness [*le-David tsemaḥ tsaddiq*]" (*Jer.* 23.5; cf. 33.15), appears to be the principal text. But Zechariah's semititular usage ("Behold, the man whose name is 'Branch' [*tsemaḥ shemo*]")

has probably made a contribution as well (*Zec.* 6.12; cf. 3.8; *Is.* 11.1). In Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252 1.v.3-4) the Branch is called the "Messiah of righteousness." In narrative (4Q458 2.ii.6) he is described as "one anointed with the oil of the kingdom" (cf. *1 Sm.* 10.1, 16.13; esp. *Ps.* 89.21 [English v.20]). According to Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q13) "the herald is the [one] anointed of the Spir[it], of whom Dan[iel spoke]" (ii.18). This passage alludes to *Daniel* 9, which originally may have spoken of an anointed priest. But in Melchizedek it refers to the herald of *Isaiah* 52.7, who may have been understood as an anointed prophet or as an anointed royal Messiah. The "herald" of Melchizedek may have something to do with the Messiah of the Messianic Apocalypse, who also proclaims good news (4Q521 1.ii.12).

The Messiah is also called the "prince." The "prince" [*nasi'*] of the (whole) congregation" occurs some ten times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD vii.19-20; 1Q28b v.20; 1QM v.1; 4Q161 2-6.ii.19; 4Q266 3.iv.9; 4Q285 4.2, 6; 5.4; 6.2; 4Q376 1.iii.1). All these occurrences are messianic. Four other references to *nasi'* probably refer to this personage: the isolated reading "to the prince" in the Apocryphon of Moses B^b (4Q376 1.iii.3; which probably refers to the *nasi'* mentioned in 1.iii.1); the "prince of the myriad" in the War Scroll (1QM iii.16), who is distinct from the tribal chieftains; and the fragmentary and partially superscripted twin references in the War Scroll^f (4Q496 10.3-4; cf. 1QM v.1). The messianic epithet "prince" is apparently derived from *Ezekiel*, which speaks of a coming prince (*nasi'*) who will shepherd Israel faithfully: "My servant David, a prince among them" (*Ezek.* 34.24); "My servant David shall be their prince forever" (*Ezek.* 37.25).

The "prince" is further identified as the "rod [that] is risen from Israel (*Nm.* 24.17). The rod is the prince of the whole congregation" (CD vii.19-20 [Damascus Document^a, 4Q266 3.iv.9; cf. Peshier *Isaiah*^a, 4Q161 2-6.ii.19). In War Rule (4Q285 5.4) the "prince of the congregation" is equated with the "Bran[ch of David]." Thus, we have at Qumran the messianic matrix Messiah = Prince = Branch of David.

The tradition of Israel's monarch as a divine son (*Ps.* 2.7; 2 *Sm.* 7.14) gave rise to a variety of "son" epithets. Within the Dead Sea Scrolls this language appears seven times, although it is unclear how many of them actually refer to a messianic figure. The epithets include "son" (*ben*; cf. 4Q174 1-3.i.11), "son of God" (*bereh di el*; cf. 4Q246 ii.1), "son of the Most High" (*bar 'elyon*; cf. 4Q246 ii.1), "firstborn son" (*ben bekhôr*; cf. 4Q369 1.ii.6), and "two sons of oil" (*shenei benei ha-yitshar*; cf. 4Q254 4.2). The common rabbinic epithet, "son of David," has not been found at Qumran. Only the reference in the Florile-

gium (4Q174) is indisputably messianic. In this passage, not only is the "son" of 2 *Samuel* 7.14 identified as the "Branch of David," but this figure is also understood to be the fulfillment of the prophecy of *Amos* 9.11 (cf. 4Q174 1-3.i.12), while the quotation and interpretation of *Psalms* 2.1-2, with which column i of the Aramaic Apocalypse concludes (lines 18-19), probably apply to him as well.

The references in (4Q246 i.9; ii.1) are much disputed. It has been proposed that the son of God figure is an angel or an evil person, perhaps even an antichrist figure, who blasphemously applies these epithets to himself. Others argue that this figure is the son of a Jewish king, but that the son of God language is not messianic. And, of course, it has been contended that this figure is indeed a messianic figure, as the parallels with *Luke* 1.32-35, 2 *Samuel* 7, and the Florilegium would seem to suggest.

The "firstborn son" in the Prayer of Enosh? (4Q369 1.ii.6) may be messianic, but the text is so fragmentary that it is difficult to gain a clear picture of the document's perspective. It may be looking to the past, or it may be looking to the future (in which case the figure is probably messianic). The reference to the "two sons of oil" in the Commentary on Genesis (4Q254 4.2) is drawn from *Zechariah* 4.14 and may be messianic, especially if fragment 4 has been placed in its proper sequence and if it does indeed preserve a portion of the commentary on *Genesis* 49.8-12 (Jacob's blessing of Judah).

There are other texts that from time to time have been regarded as having messianic significance, either by association with a messianic figure, such as "star," or by identification with certain personages thought to be messianic, such as the Teacher of Righteousness. For "seeker of the law" (*doresh ha-torah*) passages see the Damascus Document (CD and 4Q266-267), Florilegium (4Q174) and Catena^a (4Q177). For "teacher" (*moreh [ha]-tsedeq*) passages, see the Damascus Document (CD); Peshier *Habakkuk* (1QpHab); Peshier *Psalms*^a (4Q171); unidentified *peshier* (4Q172); Peshier *Psalms*^b (4Q173); the Damascus Document^b (4Q267); the Damascus Document (CD, *yoreh ha-tsedeq*); Peshier *Habakkuk* (*moreh ha-tsedeqah*); Peshier *Micah* (1Q14); Peshier *Isaiah* (4Q163); Noncanonical *Psalms* (4Q381). For "star" (*kokhav*) passages (all involving *Num.* 24.17) see the Damascus Document (CD, where "star" is read as the "seeker of the law"); War Scroll (1QM); Testimonia (4Q175). For "staff"/"leader"/"decree" (*mehoqeq*) passages, see the Damascus Document (CD, 4Q266-267, where "staff" is read as the "teacher of the Law"); Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252, where the "staff" is read as the "covenant of the kingdom"); Paraphrase of Kings et al. (4Q382); and Sapiential Work A^c (where reference is to the "degree" of God).

[See also Aaron; Aramaic Apocalypse; Elect of God; In-

terpreter of the Law; Levi; Prince of the Congregation; War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness; and Women.]

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