

THE CONCEPT OF "MESSIAH" IN THE
QUMRAN LITERATURE

in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for

Dead Sea Discoveries

Dr. Harvey Finley

Paul Lorenzen
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Definition of the term Messiah. 1

 A. Meaning of term generally.

 B. Meaning of term for Qumran Literature.

II. Who is the "person" of the Messiah in Qumran Lit? . 2

 A. The occurrences of the term משיח. 3

 B. The number of Messiahs. 3

 C. The identification of the Messiah(s). 7

 D. Evolutionary Hypothesis. 10

III. What is the mission of the Messiah(s) in the
 Qumran Literature? 12

Conclusions. 15

Appendix: Passages containing the term Messiah
 in the Qumran Literature. 17

The task of trying to comprehend the concept of "messiah" as seen in the literature of the Qumran community is no easy task. It has been researched by many qualified scholars over a period of twenty-five years and still there is no uniform conclusion which is acceptable to all. In any attempt to understand this concept, it is necessary first to come to an understanding of what the definition of the term משיח means generally and, more importantly, how it shall be limited in the investigation of the Qumran literature.

I. DEFINITION

The term משיח derives from the verb משח, which means 1. to spread a liquid over; 2. to anoint (cult objects); 3. to anoint a person (to be king, priest, or prophet).¹ Thus, משיח means one who has been anointed.² When considering the sectarian usage found in the Qumran documents however, one must attempt to limit this usage somewhat. F. F. Bruce reminds us that ". . . anyone who is so designated holds his office [of messiah] 'by divine right' or 'by the grace of God.' Thus even a pagan monarch like Cyrus could be addressed as the 'Messiah' of the God of Israel (Isa. 45:1). . ."³

The post-exilic Judaism and Christian church used the term with a strong eschatological significance. Their messiah or messiahs are "eschatological figures who are the means whereby God delivers His

people from their foes and establishes the divine kingdom on earth."⁴
The messiah was to usher in the "messianic age."

For use with the Qumran literature, the definition offered by Raymond E. Brown seems quite adequate and will be used in this paper as authoratative:

7, Perhaps the most practical definition here would be: the agent sent in the final period by God to overcome the forces of evil and establish God's kingdom (leaving aside the question of whether this kingdom will be on earth or in the world to come). Even with this definition we must be acutely aware . . . that this term has been freighted with two thousand years of Christian theology--theology that should not be read into the thought of the pre-Christian sect at hand.⁵

Any investigation into the use of the term משיח in the literature of Qumran will show one that it is used in the more general sense of someone given a "special unction" (I Q M 11:8).⁶ It is the eschatological character in the use of the word which the above definition gives attention to, and thus this is the concept this paper will attempt to investigate.

Two questions will be posed and an attempt will be made to answer them as well as the present state of scholarship allows: 1. Who is the "Person" of the messiah in the Qumran literature? and 2. What is the "Mission" of the messiah in the Qumran literature?

II. WHO IS THE "PERSON" OF THE MESSIAH IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE?

It is impossible to give one simple answer to this question. The diversity of conclusions and the number of conflicting investigations is phenomenal. Some scholars have said that there are as many as three

messiahs in the literature. Others have said that there is not even one "messiah," properly understood, in the literature. Then, who that messiah is, if there be one, is another question. This is one of the most contested topics in the research on the Dead Sea literature.

A. THE OCCURANCES OF THE TERM משיח

The word משיח does not occur with great frequency in the literature. This author was able to find only twelve occurances of the term.⁷ These twelve occurances are listed in the appendix to this paper. The term is found in the singular form ten of these twelve times and in the plural the remaining two times. The two plural occurances are in the War Scroll and in the Manual of Discipline, both works being relatively late in the history of the community. An interesting item to note is that six times in the Damascus Document the term is found in the singular in the phrase "messiah of Aaron and Israel." This phrase and its meaning have caused a great deal of controversy, as will be seen later. The messianic concept is found in other passages (according to some interpreters) where the term משיח does not actually occur (cf. I Q H 3:3-18), but primarily, the "concept" of messiah, along with the actual term, is found in the contexts given in the appendix.

B. THE NUMBER OF MESSIAHS

As was stated above, there have been various numbers suggested for the number of messiahs expected by the Qumran community. Each of these

positions will be listed below.

NO MESSIAH

There has been at least one scholar who has states emphatically that he sees no distinct "messiah" in the literature. Dr. LaSor will be allowed to speak for himself.

. . . it is my opinion, on the basis of materials now available that the word messiah in the Qumran writings, partakes more of the nature of a common noun ("anointed one"). There is no clear evidence that any specific personage was known as "the Messiah."⁸

Again he clarifies himself in this statement:

To use the adjective anointed (mašiah) of the forerunner (or forerunners) would not cause any more difficulty than does the use of the term for Cyrus (Isa. 45:1). But to use the proper noun, the Anointed, or its Hebrew or Aramaic original, the Messiah, for the forerunner, when it is usually reserved for the great apocalyptic figure himself, is to introduce unnecessary confusion.⁹

No distinct personage known as The Messiah is seen in the literature by Dr. LaSor, then. Other scholars mention or hint at this conclusion but none come out as strongly for this position as does Dr. LaSor.

ONE MESSIAH

The position that there is only one messiah in the literature has been more popular than the above position but it still has not held the majority of the views. This position says that the phrase "messiah of Aaron and Israel" means the messiah, one person, shall be either descended from both or shall represent both aspects: the priestly and

the lay aspects of the community. H. H. Rowley, in 1952, stated:

The sect itself therefore represents Israel and Aaron, and the title of the Messiah has reference to the character of the sect, and not his personal descent. The Messiah who shall arise from Aaron and Israel is thus the Messiah who shall arise from the sect.¹⁰

In 1953, A. J. B. Higgins stated that the prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel were to be taken as all designating the same individual, combining the function of prophet, priest, and king.¹¹ This position was taken soon after the discovery of the Dead Sea literature and has not been stated strongly in recent years. The most widely advocated view in recent years has been the position that there were to be two messiahs.

TWO MESSIAHS

The messiah of Aaron and the messiah of Israel, according to this position, are each separate individuals who will arise in the end time. As F. F. Bruce points out, "this expression [Messiah of Aaron and Israel] in itself could denote either one Messiah or two, but . . . it probably denotes two--the priestly and lay Messiahs."¹²

Ringgren states this view clearly when he says:

When God one day renews the covenant with his people, two anointed ones shall arise, one high priest and one king; and of these the high priest has the higher rank. Whether one here understands the word "messiah" in the sense familiar to Christians, is of little consequence. The messianism at Qumran is apparently of a different kind, but for the Qumran congregation only this type of "messianism" was known.¹³

These two messiahs were to represent the king and the priest; the

messiah of Aaron representing the priesthood and the messiah of Israel representing the people. The traditional position that the messiah would arise out of Judah is explained by saying that "'Israel' is used in a comprehensive sense for the whole people, and the 'messiah of Israel' means the lay Messiah, so to speak, while the 'Messiah of Aaron' is the priestly Messiah."¹⁴

These two messiahs were expected to come from the Qumran community and to begin their leadership there¹⁵ and, since the community was ruled by the priestly caste, "sons of Sadoq," it naturally gave the place of prominence to the priestly messiah.¹⁶

THREE MESSIAHS

This position does not, properly speaking, claim that there are three "messiahs" proper, but rather that there are three personages which are expected by the community. The two messiahs are expected as mentioned in the previous position, but in addition to these two persons, a third person in the form of a "prophet" is expected to appear. Indeed, this prophet is expected to precede the messiahs and prepare the way for them (similar to the role of John the Baptist in the New Testament). Pfeiffer, whose position is that there are two messiahs proper states:

The Qumran Serek speaks of three eschatological figures: a prophet, Messiah of Aaron, and Messiah of Israel. It is conceivable that the group at one time looked for but one Messianic figure, as indicated in the Damascus Documents, but by the time the Serek was composed a plurality existed, there is no clear relationship between the Teacher of Righteousness and these eschatological personages, although

there is evidence of an eschatological Teacher of Righteousness.¹⁷

In dealing with the Manual of Discipline, 9:11 (the occurrence of the plural form of משיח), Milik states that "However this belief developed later, it is clear that the copyist of this document thought of three persons; grammatically this is the only possible interpretation. . . . the Essenes supported their own belief in three messianic persons."¹⁸

C. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE MESSIAH(S)

In the attempt to decide how many messiahs are to be found in the Qumran literature, it is necessary to have an understanding of several of the personalities described in the literature and their relationship to the expected messiah(s).

TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The apparent founder of the sect, the Teacher of Righteousness, has been an important personality in this topic. Some have said that the Teacher of Righteousness was definitely an individual person who led a group of followers into the wilderness in the beginning of the sect's history. Others have stated that the Teacher of Righteousness was merely a title designating the present leader of the sect, whoever he may be. Probably the best solution to this problem is a combination of both: The Teacher of Righteousness was, in the beginning, a definite person of great talent, well thought of by his followers; after the death of this person, his successor was given the title "Teacher of

Righteousness" and this title was passed on from leader to leader. Always, though, the original Teacher of Righteousness must have been remembered and revered in the minds and writings of the community.

Was the Teacher of Righteousness considered the messiah? Competent scholars have answered this question both positively and negatively. Raymond Brown states that ". . . if the Teacher was a definite historical figure, on present evidence at least, there is no proof that he was to return as one of the messiahs."¹⁹ Milik thinks that, though the Teacher was not considered the messiah, ". . . his activity meant that the messianic epoch could not be long delayed. . . . in any case the Teacher played the part of a forerunner, 'to make ready for the Lord a people prepared,' rather than the part of a Messiah."²⁰

Although not stating definitely that the Teacher of Righteousness was understood as the messiah, Mansoor states that "If the Teacher of Righteousness was expected to come again, it would be as one of the two or three Messiahs and not as the Messiah."²¹ He goes on to state that rather than the return of the Teacher of Righteousness as the second coming of a Messiah, "The Qumran sect was looking for the first coming of a Messiah with the advent of the New Age," thus ruling out the Teacher as "messiah."²²

Schechter and Dupont-Sommer both state rather emphatically that the Teacher was considered as the messiah, though he was put in this position by his followers following his death.²³ Schechter states:

When the Teacher of Righteousness was converted into a Messiah, the two attributes previously distinct, the Anointed of Levi and the Anointed of Juda, were transferred to him in one and the same person. At least for

a time, the Anointed of Juda disappears, and his royal prerogatives are transferred not without some violence, to the anointed of Levi, who thus becomes both King and Priest at the same time.²⁴

Again he states:

The Only Teacher, or Teacher of Righteousness, is identical with mashiah, or the Anointed One from Aaron and Israel, whose advent is expected by the sect, through whom He makes them know his Holy Spirit. . . . What must be especially noted is that the Messiah of the sect is a priest, a descendant of Aaron and Israel.²⁵

THE PROPHET

The prophet in the literature was never thought of as a messiah nor equal with the messiah(s). He was viewed as an eschatological figure which would "Prepare the way of the Lord."

Whether the Qumran prophet is to precede the messiahs or to be their contemporary is not clear. The fact that he is not mentioned at the messianic banquet and does not receive a special benediction seems to point to the former possibility.²⁶

This author knows of no scholar who would equate the prophet in the literature with the messiah, though he does play an important part in the "eschatological trio."

MESSIAH OF AARON

There is no doubt that there is a Messiah of Aaron. The question is whether he is one person or several persons who have received an "unction" or anointing.²⁷ It is almost universally accepted that the title "messiah of Aaron" refers to a messianic personality in the eschatological sense of the term. Usually, he is identified as an individual separate from the "messiah of Israel." He also is considered

the prominent individual in the "dynamic duo."²⁸

There is also a reference in the literature to a "Searcher of the Torah" who would come in the last days. This, it has been proposed, is the messiah of Aaron also.²⁹

MESSIAH OF ISRAEL

The messiah of Israel, if considered separate from the messiah of Aaron, is the messiah representing the "laity" aspect of the community. In the literature, when the "Prince of the Congregation" (I Q Sb v.20 ff.) is mentioned it is referring to the messiah of Israel.³⁰ He is also referred to as the "shoot from the stump of Jesse:"

. . . a fragmentary commentary on Isaiah from Cave 4 in which the prophecy of a 'shoot from the stump of Jesse' in Isa. 11:1 ff. is interpreted of the 'shoot of David who is to arise in the latter days.' This is, of course, the Messiah of David's line, whose world-wide dominion is foretold.³¹

The Messiah of Israel is the "political messiah" which was probably the more prominent in the beginning, but, as the priestly caste of the community exerted more influence, the priestly messiah was elevated to a position of importance more than this "lay messiah."

D. THE EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

The diversity of the conclusions concerning the person of the messiah in the Qumran literature has been a perplexing problem. Most, if not all, of the views presented have some basis in the documents from the community. Most of the views have some evidence which contradicts it. The answer to the problem seems to be in what might be called "an

evolutionary hypothesis."

Within the community itself there seems to have been a diversity of understanding concerning the messiah, as Morton Smith has stated:

What faces us, therefore, is an unreconciled diversity within single groups, of opinions which are nevertheless considered important, at least by many members of the groups concerned. Recognition of this diversity raises very far-reaching problems as to the organization of these groups and the significance of their ceremonies.³²

John F. Priest also expresses this same concept of the diversity and change within the community itself and in its views:

We may conclude, therefore, that in part at least, the community's organization and Messianic expectations reflect their self-understanding of the nature of their community and that a development in that self-understanding is to be seen on the one hand by the change in organization, that is the assumption by the mebaqqer of power originally shared with the paqid, and on the other hand by the coalescence of the Messianic expectations into a single figure.³³

It is interesting to note that there has also been an evolutionary process in the understanding of the community by the scholars working in the literature. The views concerning the messiah which were stated during the early days of research (esp. the view of one messiah and that the Teacher was that messiah) have not been accepted as widely by later researchers. The view that the community conceived of two messiahs, one from Aaron and one from Israel, has been the predominant view in the later publications.

There seems to be, in the literature of Qumran itself, an evolutionary process which resulted in a changing of the messianic concept within the community, thus explaining the divergence in the literature.

Milik sees this evolutionary development of the concept of Messiah

also. The priestly person and work being prominent first, and the kingly and royal function and person developing later. This took place through the different stages of Qumran occupation. Although the priestly function and person always maintained the most important position, the royal messiah held a stronger position at the end of Essene occupation than it did in the earlier stages.³⁴

The evolutionary view of Milik can be seen in the following statement:

Its messianic beliefs also had of necessity to evolve. In this initial phase [Phase I] they were predominantly priestly in character. The dominant eschatological role was attributed to the Priestly Messiah who was to found the New Jerusalem and the Heavenly Temple. For these enthusiasts for theocracy the role ascribed to the Son of David was doubtless a secondary one, if he had any part to play at all.³⁵

The messianic concept most prominent in the community was, then, the concept of two messiahs, one priestly and one kingly, the priestly messiah holding the most important position in the eyes of the Qumran community.

III. WHAT IS THE MISSION OF THE MESSIAH(S) IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE?

Assuming the accuracy of the conclusions of the previous section, the next task is to define the mission or work of the two messiah figures which are present in the Qumran literature.

THE MISSION OF BOTH

There is one aspect of the mission of the messiahs of Qumran which, accepting that there is a "messiah" in the eschatological sense, is

indisputable. "It is quite clear that their advent brings with it the final period for the history of the world and of the sect. In fact their coming is the terminus ad quem of the sect's historical reckoning. . ."³⁶ The arrival of the messiah on the scene at Qumran would initiate the final period of not only the sect's existence but initiate the culmination of history.

Another function which the messiahs perform in common is to preside at the eschatological banquet. There the two messiahs are both present. The banquet "is presided over by hakkohen, 'the Priest' par excellence (I Q 28^b 11.19) and the Messiah of Israel (Ibid., 14, 20)."³⁷ The part of the messiah of Israel is no equal in the banquet though, for he seems to always take second place to the High Priest.³⁸

THE MISSION OF THE MESSIAH OF ISRAEL

The role of the messiah of Israel is primarily civil and political. He is not even given a noticable place in the War scroll.³⁹ The title "prince of the congregation" is generally accepted as referring to the messiah of Israel. "This prince is the messianic king. . . . His activity is purely political."⁴⁰ As Brown states:

The Prince of the Congregation (5, 21-28) is seen as elevated to eternal heights, established like a scepter over the nations, with his rule fortified by God's holy name. He renews the alliance of the community, restores the kingdom of his people forever, and gives justice to the humble and poor.⁴¹

THE MISSION OF THE MESSIAH OF AARON

Although the messiah of Aaron is the leader in the eschatological banquet in conjunction with the messiah of Israel, there are at least two functions which he, apparently, performs alone.

This messiah is probably the "Ideal interpreter of the Law" which the community expected to come in the end times. ". . . the sectarians came to expect an ideal interpreter of the law to arise in the last days along with the David Messiah. This ideal interpreter may be the other messiah. . ."42

The second function which this messiah, apparently, is to perform is the direction of the War between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. He directs the battles, as High Priest, from the rear of the action. As Ringgren says, "It should be noted that he does not directly take part in the battle; he is too holy for this."43

Concerning the messiah of Aaron it is interesting to note that:

Nothing of that which has been learned about the priestly messiah is in any way sensational. He is simply the high priest of the last days and he exercises all the priestly functions of such a figure. But as priest he has precedence over the king, his "co-messiah."44

Pierre Benoit does a fine job of summation when he states:

In fact, these two messiahs did not have an important place in the preoccupations of the sect. They appear mostly in the eschatological community, where they preside over the banquet (I Q Sa 2:11-22) and where they perform their traditional duties, one that of sacrifice and worship (I Q Sb 1:21-5: 19?) and the other that of government and justice (I Q Sb 5:20-29). Their role in the eschatological conflict is very obscure. Even if we identify them with the 'chief priest', head chaplain of the forces, (cf. I Q M 2:1 ff.) and with 'the prince of the whole congregation' (I Q M 5:1),

they only participate with the other members in the common victory, which is won by all the sons of light, their angelic partners, and, above all, the All-Holy God, the King of Glory, Mighty in War (I Q M 12:7-9) who is present in the midst of his people, and conducts the battle.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

From the brief investigation of the concept of messiah in the Qumran literature, a few tentative conclusions may be offered.

1. In the Qumran literature there is an expectation of two messiahs, a messiah from Aaron and a messiah from Israel. The Messiah from Aaron is to come from the priestly caste and is to represent them. The Messiah from Israel is to come from the laity and is to represent them. Both messiahs are to appear simultaneously at the end time and are to initiate the eschatological events which would be the doom of the "sons of darkness."

2. If two messiahs were expected, as is assumed above, they each had certain functions to perform.

3. The Teacher of Righteousness, if connected with the messiahs at all, must be seen as a prophetic figure whose function was to "Prepare the way of the Lord."

4. The concept of messiah in the community was not a static one. It was constantly being affected by environment, group attitude, etc. It could conceivably have existed in all four of the above mentioned views (1, 2, 3, or no messiah) at a given time in the existence of the community. The literature reflects this changing attitude of the groups within the community. During most of the evolutionary process,

the priestly messiah was dominant (perhaps because of the power of the priests in the community).

The conclusion of Raymond Brown seems appropriate:

To sum up our paper, the part of Qumran messianism on which we have the most information--the coming of the prophet and the two messiahs--fills out very well the hitherto sketchy picture of inter-testamental messianic expectations. It develops trends nascent in earlier pseudépigrapha; and it makes some of the questions addressed to Christ, and, in particular, the apologetic of Heb. far more intelligible. Also the intensity of Qumran's messianic hopes and its elaborate schemes for the final period fit into the steady stream of Jewish apocalyptic that culminates in the Johannine Ap.⁴⁶

A P P E N D I X

PASSAGES CONTAINING
THE TERM MESSIAH
IN THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

PASSAGES CONTAINING
THE TERM MESSIAH
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In the passages arranged below, an attempt has been made to gather every occurrence of the term משיח and make it available in its context for the convenience of the reader. As far as this author is aware, every occurrence of the term משיח in the Qumran Literature is listed. The immediate context is also shown in Hebrew so that one may see the grammatical and syntactical position of the pertinent terms.

1. The Damascus Document 2:12

And in all of them He raised for Himself men called by name, in order to leave a remnant to the earth and to fill the face of the world with their children. And through His Anointed He made them know His Holy Spirit, and he is true, and the explanation of their names, and them He hated He made go astray.

ויודיעם ביד משיחו רוח קדשו

2. The Damascus Document 6:1

And at the end of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the bound and led astray Israel. And the land became desolate because they have spoken rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses and also against His holy Anointed one, and they

prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from after God.

כי דברו סרה על מצות אל
ביר משה וגם במשיחו הקודש

3. The Damascus Document 7:21 [Fragment B - lines 10-11]

These shall escape at the end of the visitation, and they that remain will be delivered to the sword, when there will come the Anointed from Aaron and Israel.

כבוא משיח אהרן וישראל

4. The Damascus Document 20:1 [Fragment B only]

So are all the men who entered in to the New Covenant in the land of Damascus but they turned and committed treason and turned away from the spring of living waters. "They shall not be counted in the assembly of people, and in its writing they shall not be written." From the day when there was gathered in the only teacher until there will arise the Anointed from Aaron and from Israel.

עד עמוד משיח מאהרן ומישראל

5. The Damascus Document 13:21

Thus far the order of the meeting of the camps for the whole [epoch of wickedness, and they that will not hold fast to the]se will not be fit to dwell in the land [when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel comes in the end of days. . . .]

כבוא משיח אהרן וישראל באחרית הימים

6. The Damascus Document 12:23

And this is the order of the meeting of the camps. They that walk in these during the epoch of wickedness until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron and Israel, shall be groups of ten men as the minimum, by thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens.

עד עמוד משוח אהרן וישראל (sic.)

7. The Manual of Discipline 9:11

The sons of Aaron alone shall have control over judgment and property. . . . They must not in any way leave the council of Torah-study, in order to walk entirely in the stubbornness of their heart. They shall be judged by the first regulations in which in the beginning the men of the community were instructed, until the coming of a prophet and the Messiahs from Aaron and Israel.

עד ברא ניא ומשיחי אהרון וישראל כ (sic.)

8. I Q 28a 2:12, 14, 20

This is the session of the men of the name,
the called ones of the Assembly
to the Council of the Community:

2:12 If God shall cause him to bear the messiah with them (?)

אם יוליד [אל] [את] [המשיח] אתם

they shall enter,
the chief priest,
all of the Council of Israel,
and all of the fathers of the Sons of Aaron,

the priests,
 the called ones of the Assembly,
 the men of the name,
 and they shall sit before him,
 each according to his importance [literally, glory],
 2:14 and after(wards) shall sit the messiah of Israel,
 ואחר י [שב מש] יח ישראל
 and shall sit before him
 the heads of the thousands of Israel,
 each according to his importance
 as his standing in their camps
 and as their journeyings,
 and all the chiefs of the fathers of the congregation
 with the wise men of the Congregation of holiness
 shall sit before them,
 each according to his importance;
 and if to the table of a Community they shall assemble,
 or to drink the new wine,
 and the arrangement of the common table
 and the pouring of the new wine,
 let not a man stretch forth his hand
 in taking possession of the bread and the new wine before the priest,
 for he shall bless the first of the bread and the new wine,
 he shall stretch forth his hand on the bread for the presence (?),

2:20 and after(wards) shall stretch forth the messiah of Israel

his 1. ואח[ר יש]לח משיח ישראל ידיו

his hand on the bread, in] thirds with all

and afterwards they shall blesse (i.e.) teach

all the Congregation of the Community, remaining quarter

each according to his importance, according to

and this statute

they shall do for every arrangement

when they shall assemble

up to ten men.

[ה]

[מ]שיח הקודש

[כ] שלושיה את כול

[ס] פרים חומשים

9. D S W [The War Scroll] ויגיד על (?) דכ"ח:11

By thy anointed ones, seers of testimonies, thou hast made known to us the ordering of the battles of thy hands, to fight [interlinear

correction: to get glory] against our enemies, to make the troops of Belial fall, seven nations of vanity, by the poor whom thou hast redeemed with strength and with peace, for marvelous power, and a melted heart, one was compared with the corresponding Hebrew (with the exception of for a door of hope.

#9) and given preference on that basis. The following sources are [The author was unable to find a copy of the Hebrew text of this passage.]

10. I Q 30 (1) Conter, S., Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. I, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, (KTAV Publishing House, Inc.) 1970, p. 65.

1. ...le Me]ssie saint
2. Ibid., p. 69. [...en] troisième (place) tous les [
3. Ibid., p. 72. ...li]vres du Pentateuque /
4. Ibid., p. 75. du Psautier...et le reste sur /
5. a quatre...et leurs commentaires selon...

(?)

1. the holy Messiah
2. in] thirds with all
3. b]ooks of the Pentateuch
4. and of the Psalter before the remaining quarter
5. and their commentaries according to

]ה[

מ]שיח הקודש]
 ב]שלישית את כול]
 ס]פרים חומשים]
 ו]יותר על ארבעת]
 ו]פשריהם לפי]

The above translations were chosen from the available published translations for their clarity and accuracy to the Hebrew text. Each one was compared with the corresponding Hebrew (with the exception of #9) and given preference on that basis. The following sources are recognized for the translations.

1. Schechter, S., Documents of Jewish Sectaries, Vol. I, Fragments of a Zadokite Work, (KTAV Publishing House, Inc.) 1970, p. 65.
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Ibid., p. 72.
4. Ibid., p. 75.

5. Rabin, Chaim, The Zadokite Documents, (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 1958, p. 66.
6. Ibid., Pp. 62-3.
7. Wernberg-Møller, P., The Manual of Discipline, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company) 1957, p. 35.
8. LaSor, William Sanford, Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls, (Chicago: Moody Press) 1956, Pp. 157-9.
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⁶Bruce. p. 83.

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³⁸Brown. p. 63.

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⁴⁰Ringgren. p. 180-2.

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⁴³Ringgren. p. 179.

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