Contrary to many scholars who argue or assume that the mysterious figure Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek should be identified as an angel, perhaps as the angel Michael, this paper argues that he is a messianic figure perhaps even the Davidic Messiah. The angelic interpretation is problematic at several points, while the messianic interpretation coheres with Qumran's apparent expectation of a Messiah of Israel who would serve faithfully alongside an anointed priest. These two figures were perhaps thought of as counterparts to the "wicked king" (melki-resha) and the "wicked priest" (hak-kohen ha-rasha), arch enemies of the Qumran community.

Key Words: Melchizedek, Melki-Reša, messianism; Isa 52:7; 61:1–2

A manuscript found in Qumran Cave 11 in the year 1956, numbered 11Q13, and first published by A. S. van der Woude in 1965, contains several occurrences of the name Melchizedek, and so is named 11QMelchizedek, even though Melchizedek may or may not have been as central in the work as he seems to be in the preserved portion. The manuscript consists of thirteen badly mutilated fragments representing parts of a column of text (and a few words of perhaps two other columns) from a document of unknown length. So little of the text can be established that not only are many readings of words and lines in question, but even the relative placement of some fragments has yet to be agreed, thirty years after publication. Only so-called column two is well enough preserved to offer useful data, but

I am grateful to Professor Christopher Rowland for an invitation in 1995 to present my thoughts on the present subject to the New Testament Graduate Seminar in Oxford; and to Dr. William Horbury of Cambridge for several helpful comments and corrections to the paper.


enough can be read or guessed to assign the original composition of the work to around 120 BCE, tentatively on literary grounds. What exists of column two may be translated as follows.

1 [3.4cm] ° your God ° [8.5cm]
2 [2.6cm] And what he said, In [this] year of jubilee [7.4cm] °
3 [1.8cm] of the release: every creditor shall release what he has [lent] [6.8cm] the release
4 for God ° [0.7cm] for the last days: to the captives of whom [6.0cm] he bound
5 and from the inheritance of Melchizedek ° [2.7cm] and they [1cm] [Melchize]dek who
6 will return them and will proclaim liberty to them to relieve them from [1.1cm] all their iniquities and [1.1cm] ° [0.3cm] this matter
7 ° of the first jubilee after [1.5cm] jubilees. And the day of atonement is [1.6cm] of the tenth jubilee,
8 to atone on it for all the sons of [0.9cm] people of the lot of [Melchiz]edek [1.0cm]-s for [the]m ° [0.6cm] ° [1.3cm] of them. For
9 it is the time of the year of favor for Melchiz[edek] ° [1.4cm]
° holy ones of God for ° of judgment, as it is written about it/him in the songs of David, who said, God takes his place in the c[jouncil of God, a]mid the gods he holds judgment. And about it/him ° [0.6cm] Over it return on high. God judges the peoples. And what h[e said] [2.5cm] [you] judge unjustly and s[how] partiality to the wicked? [Se]lah,
10 its pesher pertains to Belial and to the s[pirit]s of his lot, wh[o] [2.8cm] when they turned [from] the statutes of God to ° [1.5cm]
11 And Melchizedek will carry out the ven[geance] of the judgments of God [5.0cm] [Be]llial and from the hand of all [1.7cm]
12 to his help all the gods [1.7cm] [h]e ° [4.9cm] [a]ll the sons of God, and he will [1.8cm]
13 This is the day of the [1.0cm] [ab]out which spoke [4.2cm] [Isa]iah the prophet, who said, [How b]eautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the herald who publishes peace, who he[ralds] [4.0cm] salva[ti]on, [s]aying to Zion, “[Reigns] your God.”
14 Its pesher: the mountains [are the] [1.7cm] [of] the prophets w[h]o [4.5cm] ° to all ° [2.0cm]

And the herald [is the an]ointed of the spirit [about whom Spoke Daniel] [7.5cm]
good, publishing [salvation], is the one about whom it is written [7.3cm]
to comfort [the] [2.8cm] to teach them all the times of the epochs [7.3cm]
in truth [13.0cm]
in the judgments of God, as it is written about him, [Saying to Zion] “Reigns your God.” [Zion is]
which was turned away from Belial and [7.8cm]
[3.2cm] o which was turned away from Belial and [7.8cm]
in the judgment[s of God], as it is written about him, [Saying to Zion], “Reigns your God.” [Zion is]
who establish the covenant, those who turn away [2.8cm] from walking [in the way] of the people. And your [God] is [7.3cm]
[4.2cm] who establish the covenant, those who turn away [2.8cm] from walking [in the way] of the people. And your [God] is
[4.3cm] [hand of Belial. And what he said, You shall send abroad the loud trumpet [1.5cm] 00 00 0
The best preserved portion of the document thus weaves around
someone named Melchizedek several themes of biblical eschatology,
including the liberation of Israel from captivity, their return to the
land, a final atonement for their sins, the judgment of their captors, a
proclamation of peace to Israel, and the inauguration of God's reign.

After careful analysis the editor concluded that the figure bearing the name Melchizedek was an exalted angel playing the role of
an eschatological redeemer and judge, known in other Qumran writings as the Prince of Light or the archangel Michael. Most scholars
since have followed this line, to the extent that it is now spreading in
the literature as the received view. A few, however, have judged
otherwise. The Melchizedek in question can be understood as a human messiah, not an angel. The aim of the present paper is to com-
mend the minority view, that is, the royal messianic identification of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek, showing that the exegetical con-
siderations which support this view seem weightier than those on
the other side. At least I want to call for a debate that does justice to
the issue.

For his identification of Melchizedek with Michael, the editor gave three reasons. None proves, on scrutiny, to be decisive for a choice between the alternatives. First, he believes the two quotations from biblical Psalms about God as judge (11QMelch 2:10–11, quoting Ps 82:1; Ps 7:7b–8a) have Melchizedek for their referent (תלוי, "about him," twice in line 10). Van der Woude infers that Melchizedek bears the title יeshaya and therefore ranks among the angels.7

Even granting the premise that 11QMelchizedek takes the "God" of the Psalm quotations to be Melchizedek, the conclusion would not follow. For in certain ceremonial contexts the human king of Israel too could be called "God" (Ps 45:7 MT; cf. Isa 9:5) by virtue of his official exaltation to share in unique prerogatives of Yahweh (Ps 110:1; 1 Chr 28:5; 29:23).

But whether the quotations are in fact meant to refer to Melchizedek is far from sure. Psalm 82 was sung in the temple as part of the regular, weekly liturgy during the second temple period (m. Ta-mid 7:4), and the supreme judge it mentions was generally understood to be God (John 10:34–35; Mek. Bahodeš 11:49–50 to Exod 20:24; b. Sanh. 6b, 7a). In 11QMelchizedek, a gap between the two main fragments (1 and 6), as well as holes in the latter, prevent our reading with confidence any of the significant words in line 8b, or the two words missing in the middle of line 9, so we just do not know who performs what actions in the preceding context. The dual יילא which introduces the two Psalm quotes (11QMelch 2:10) may hark back either to this unknown acting subject or subjects (whom the editor takes to be Melchizedek), or to the noun "time" (י י 11QMelch 2:9), or to a missing word such as "day" (י ם 8 1 11QMelch supplied conjecturally by carrying on the paraphrase of Isa 61:2 in line 9; see pp. 188–92 below).8 A choice for one of the latter options would yield in line 10, "... as is written about it" rather than "about him," in which case the Psalm quotes would refer to the time or day of divine intervention rather than to Melchizedek. In line 13 the phrase "judgments of God" seems to pick up the motif of God judging, which unites the two Psalm quotes in lines 10–11. As Carmignac pointed out long ago, the "God" of the quotations is most likely God himself.9 Surely that is

9. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melchisédeq," 365–67. In replying to Carmignac's arguments, M. Delcor was overly confident about the subject of the
reasonable in the absence of clear indications to the contrary. Indeed the idea that the author understood "God" in the Psalm quotes to refer to Melchizedek squares ill with line 13, which specifies Melchizedek as the agent of God, rather than as "God" in his own right.

The fact that the judge "returns" on high (line 11, quoting Ps 7:7) does not require the judge to be someone other than God, in view of OT theophany texts where God himself comes down to exact judgment (Ps 18:9; 50:2–3; 68:17–18; Isa 63:1–6; 64:1–2; Hab 3:3–15). Van der Woude's conjectural restoration at 11QMelch 2:24–25—"And Your [G]od is Melchizedek . . ."—is best taken up later, after studying the whole document.10

Second, according to van der Woude, Melchizedek has a position and functions parallel to those of Michael in other Qumran writings. Melchizedek, as the principal angel over the ד"כ kcal, stands in opposition to Belial, as does the Prince of Light (1QS 3:20, 24). Melchizedek also has a special relation to Israel as her protector, savior, and eschatological redeemer, as does Michael (Dan 12:1; 1QM 17:5–9).11 But all of this rests largely on van der Woude's questionable reading of lines 10–11. Moreover, the same position and functions are predicated of the messiah in some Jewish apocalyptic writings. The messiah too can judge angels and destroy Satan (T. Levi 18:12; T. Dan. 5:10–11; 1 Enoch 55:4; 61:8; 69:27–29; cf. Rev 19:19–20:3). That the messiah is a protector and savior of Israel in a wide spectrum of Jewish hopes needs no demonstration.

Finally, van der Woude highlights contemporary interest in the angelic high priesthood of Michael as a possible background to the figure of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek (3 Apoc. Bar. 11–12; Herm. Sim. 8.1–3; b. Hag. 12b; b. Zebah. 62a; b. Menah. 110a). He urges that there was speculation about the heavenly cult precisely at Qumran (4QShirShabb).12 True, but is speculation about the archangel Michael

actions in lines 8–9 ("Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," JSJ 2 [1971] 115–35 [esp. 134]).

10. For the arguments evaluated in this paragraph, see van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 368.

11. Ibid., 369–70.

12. Ibid., 370–72. The recent editor of 4QShirShabb, influenced by the consensus which sees an archangel in 11QMelchizedek, has hesitantly restored the name "Melchizedek" in lines 11 and 23 of 4Q401. See Carol A. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 133–34, 143–44. But 4Q401 is a short text which Newsom has reconstructed from some thirty-eight tiny fragments, and the ones she thinks might each contain a few letters of Melchizedek's name "occur in that part of the document which is the least well preserved" (p. 38). Newsom depends on the existing literature on 11QMelchizedek (pp. 37–38, 78 note 9) and actually cites that text in support of both her readings. There is little in either fragment of 4Q401 to warrant her restorations rather than others.
necessarily relevant to a document about someone named Melchizedek? It is illegitimate to presuppose what one hopes to prove, namely, that Melchizedek and Michael are to be identified. 11QMelchizedek has nothing about an angelic liturgy. The atonement spoken of in lines 6–8a is “for all the sons of […] and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek” (line 8). There is no reason to imagine the cult as taking place in heaven. Michael’s name is absent.

Qumran apart, there is no clear instance of an angel named Melchizedek anywhere in Jewish literature until the medieval period. By that time, sectors of Judaism had imbibed influences from Christian Gnosticism. Gnostic fancy, for its part, took off from a naïve reading of Heb 7:3 (“He is without father or mother or genealogy, and has neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God he continues a priest for ever”), and so was the first known movement in the history of biblical exegesis to hold that Melchizedek was a divine or angelic being.

The pre-Christian Jews of Qumran, on the other hand, had at their disposal, so far as we know, only the two references to Melchizedek in the Hebrew Bible: Gen 14:18–20, where Melchizedek appears as a Jebusite priest-king (cf. 1QapGen col. xxii), and Ps 110:4, where the warring Davidic king of Jerusalem claims the priesthood of his Jebusite forebear. These two passages contain sufficient material to suggest the essential contours of Melchizedek in our document. While Genesis 14 made Melchizedek a priest (11QMelch 2:6–8), Psalm 110—and it alone in the Bible—can account for his other role as international judge (esp. 11QMelch 2:13).

13. Though Milik and Puech agree in restoring [ן] in the first lacuna in line 8, yielding a reference to an atonement for all the “sons [of God],” i.e., angels (Milik, “Milki-Šedeq et Mîliki-Resaš,” 98, 104, 136 with note 58; Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de XIMelkisedeq,” 494–95), others suggest [ר] to fill up the space (van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt,” 364; Paul J. Kobelski, Melchizedek and Melchireša” [CBQMS 10; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981] 15), in which case the reference would be to an atonement for all the “sons [of light],” namely, the Qumran covenanters.

14. Van der Woude cites Yalkut Hadash f. 115, col. 3, num. 19. See also 3 Enoch 10:1; 48C:5.


Whatever parallels exist between Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek and Michael, then, also hold good for the messiah. To decide between the alternatives we must focus on other factors.

Another factor has entered the discussion through scholars who set 11QMelchizedek against a cluster of other Qumran fragments, two of which contain the name Melchiresha (4QAmram⁰⁴ [= 4Q544] frag. 2, line 3; 4QBerakot⁰⁶ [= 4Q280] line 2). These scholars assume that Melchiresha, the popular etymology of whose name ("king of evil") is the inverse of Melchizedek ("king of righteousness": cf. Philo Leg. Alleg 3.79; Heb 7:2), is the chief angelic watcher opposed to Michael, and that this implies the identity of Michael and Melchizedek.¹⁷

Making such big assumptions is problematic. While in 4QAmram⁰⁴ the head of the evil watchers and Melchiresha seem to be closely associated, it goes beyond the evidence to maintain that they are the same being. Between the broken answer to Amram’s query about the infernal watcher, “Who is he?” (frag. 2, middle of line 2) and the occurrence of the name Melchiresha (middle of line 3) there is space for about 46 characters.¹⁸ That is a good deal of space to fill up with sheer conjecture, in a six-line fragment riddled with lacunae and containing no biblical quotations for a modern editor to lean on. Dare we infer from the (probably) three names of the good archangel missing from yet another two-line fragment (frag. 3, line 2) that the satanic figure in frag. 2 has Melchiresha as one of three corresponding names?¹⁹

We are on securer ground in 4QBerakot⁰⁶, where Melchiresha is the object of a series of conventional curses. Yet precisely here he is a human being. Need Belial anticipate being separated “for evil from the midst of the sons of [light]”—who are usually the Qumran community (line 1)? Would Belial tremble at the hand of the avengers (line 3)? Would Belial call on God for compassion (line 3)? Whenever would there be a “Peace” for Belial in the mouths of those who “hold fast to the Father[s]” (line 4)? Does Belial have a “remnant” (line 5)? To these clauses there is no analogy in the actual curses of Belial (4QBerakot⁰⁶, frag. 7, ii 1–13). Paul J. Kobelski hazards a theory of re-duction to get around the evidence of 4QBerakot⁰⁶ for the humanity of Melchiresha, but if he is right, the redactor made a remarkably sloppy job of transferring the curses to Belial.²⁰

¹⁹. Kobelski, Melchizedek and Melchireša⁰⁴, 33.
²⁰. Ibid., 39–42.
If we accept the liturgical curses as they stand, Melchiresha appears to be the ringleader of the armies who gather against the Qumran community ("Cursed be those who practice their wicked designs and establish in their heart your (evil) devices, plotting against the Covenant of God": 4QBerakot 5–6). He is therefore the antagonist of the Israelite king who figures in the liturgical blessings (1QSb). These blessings, with the curses, may be genetically related to the blessings and curses in 1QS 2:2–18, and so form a group of related texts. The blessing of the "Prince of the Congregation" is a pastiche of phrases from classical messianic texts including Gen 49:9–10 and Isa 11:1–5. The opening sentence, "May the Lord raise you up to everlasting heights" (1QSb 5:23) is reminiscent of Ps 110:1. Could this have any bearing on the Melchizedek in our document?

To explain why Melchiresha's name appears so near a visionary representation of Belial in 4QAmramb, he could be identified with the human accomplice of Belial known from the War Rule. For the last of all battles, Michael and his angels will go forth against Belial and his minions (1QM 13:10–11; 17:5–6), coming to the aid of the sons of light on the one side and of the sons of darkness on the other. The terrestrial armies will each have a leader too. Michael will help the Israelite "Prince of the battle" (1QM 19:12), while Belial will aid "Gog and his assembly" (1QM 11:16), also called "the king of the Kittim" about whom the whole host of Belial will gather on that day (1QM 15:2–3). God "will raise up the princedom of Michael amid the gods, and the kingdom of Israel amid all flesh" (1QM 17:7–8). Assuming the king of the Kittim cooperates just as closely with Belial, it would not be surprising for his name to crop up in 4QAmramb in a description of Belial's identity.

In 1QM, the human double for Michael is the "scepter" that "shall rise out of Israel" (Num 24:17), who will come forth from the line of Israel's kings going right back to David who slew Goliath (1QM 11:2–7). In a closely related document about the eschatological war, the protagonist who goes into battle against the forces of the Kittim is a shoot from the stump of Jesse, the bud of David (4Q285 frag. 5, lines 2–3). The Isaiah commentary on Isa 11:1–3, which refers to the messiah as the Branch of David (4Q161, frags. 8–10, line 17), also mentions his victory over Magog (cf. Gog in 1QM 11:16). This may be the person who can boast, in another Qumran hymn, of
his exaltation to a “throne of strength in the congregation of gods” (4Q491, frag. 11, line 12). Morton Smith has recently poured acid on the earlier attribution of the speech in 4Q491, frag. 11 to Michael rather than to a human being. Again it smacks strongly of Ps 110:1 and may provide a context for 11QMelchizedek.

Far-reaching hypotheses about Melchiresha on the slim basis of 4QAmram and 4QBerakot should not blind us to a number of interesting word-plays that might shed a different light on the subject. If melki-reša is the “king of evil,” could he and the “wicked priest” (hak-kohen ha-rāša: 1QpHab 8:8) form some sort of a pair? Several Seleucid overlords forged a working relationship with Jonathan and Simon Maccabee while the memory of what Antiochus IV Epiphanes had done to the faithful stillsmarted. For that matter, could the eschatological priestly “teacher of righteousness” (yoreh has-sedeq: CD 6:11; cf. 7:18–19) and the coming “king of righteousness” (melki-sedeq) be their godly antipodes? In that case, would not melki-sedeq be the same as the Davidic “Messiah of Righteousness” (mēšīāh has-sedeq 4QPBless 3), alias the “Messiah of Holiness” (mēšīāh haq-qōdeš 1Q30, frag. 1, line 2)? It is hard to be sure. The puns are at least tantalizing.

Let us now turn to a fresh analysis of what 11QMelchizedek tells us about Melchizedek, taking care to cite only words and phrases that can be verified by cross-checking the editions against the published photographs.

11QMelchizedek belongs to the genre of eschatological midrashim typical of Qumran, as the double occurrence of the term pesher (11QMelch 2:12, 17) and the phrase “for the last days” (11QMelch 2:4) require. It is no commentary on a single passage, but a weft of four principal biblical texts that have thematic connections with one another—Lev 25:8–13; Isa 52:7; 61:1–2; and Dan 9:24–25—together with yet other, subsidiary texts.

To specify the biblical material used, according to the biblical order: 11QMelchizedek’s chronological scheme based on jubilees (line 7) presupposes the definition of a jubilee year in Lev 25:8, 10–12. The document quotes Lev 25:9 (sounding the trumpet on the day of

24. Note also similar phrases in 4Q427, line 7 (“as for me, my station is with the gods”), and in 4Q471b 6 4 (“who is like me among the gods?”).
27. Correctly observed in ibid., 357.
28. For a fuller discussion of the jubilee scheme in the setting of other contemporary documents, see Kobelski, Melchizedek and Melchireša, 49–51.
atonement in a jubilee year) beginning at line 25. Lev 25:10 contains the phrase proclaim liberty used in line 6. A broken quotation of Lev 25:13 begins in line 2, and links with the subsidiary text Deut 15:2, quoted in lines 3–4.

Isa 52:7 (How beautiful are the feet of the messenger . . .) may be the source of the only legible word in line 1, your God (cf. lines 23, 24). The full verse is quoted in lines 15–16 and forms the subject of an extended pesher in lines 17, 18, 19, 23, and 24.

Isa 61:1 (The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me . . .) echoes in the phrase [the an]ointed of the spirit in line 18. Isaiah’s to proclaim liberty to the captives supplies vocabulary for lines 4 (captives) and 6 (to proclaim liberty to them), overlapping at this point with Lev 25:10. From Isa 61:2 comes the phrase the year of favor for at line 9, and the word vengeance at line 13.

We may conjecture that the phrase and the day of vengeance from Isa 61:2 also stood in the lacuna in line 9. The phrase לילוה נופמ has the right number of characters to fill up the space, and fits the few traces of letters showing along the ragged edges of manuscript fragments 12 and 6 here. This restoration would yield for line 9 overall the reading זי יכלמל נוצרה תנשל צקה האוה [םקנ םוילו קד] תלשממל לא ישודק " ,טפשמ " For this is the appointed time for the year of favor for Melchiz[edek, and for the day of vengeance] of the holy ones of God for the kingdom (?) of justice, as it is written . . .” Instead of the original the

29. The reading of this difficult line, an improvement over van der Woude’s in the preliminary publication, was suggested in Yigael Yadin, “A Note on Melchizedek and Qumran,” IEJ 15 (1965) 152–54 (esp. 153). Fitzmyer highlighted the allusion to Isa 61:1 (“More Light on Melchizedek,” 253, 265).

30. É. Puech has most recently restored the breach in line 9 by putting in the phrase [ןידב םירהלו ] yielding: “For this is the appointed time for the year of favor for Melchiz[edek, and to exalt in judgment] the holy ones to the kingdom of justice, as it is written . . .” (“Notes sur le manuscrit de XIMelkisedeq,” 488). My proposal accepts Puech’s restoration of the word waw and the lamed. Only a trace of the next letter remains: Puech supposes it to be the left sprig of the horizontal crossbar of a he, sloping downward to the left, but it could just as well be the left leg of a yod. The next letter has too sharp a corner, I think, to be the round shoulder of a resh, as Puech suggests, and the tick which his transcription shows cannot be verified from the photograph in the original publication; the letter is more likely a waw with a hooked head. After the tear, only a small mark of the last letter in the missing phrase is extant. Puech takes it to be the slightly pointed head of a final nun; but his transcription shows it sloping in the wrong direction (downwards to the right rather than to the left as in the photograph), and in any case the stroke is too long to stand comparison with the final nuns in lines 7, 9, and 16. It looks more like the intersection of the tick or short stroke added to the crossbar, and the left downstroke, of a final mem, as comparison with that in line 24 indicates. When Emmanuel Tov examined the microfiche photograph with me in the spring of 1995 in Yarnton, he was dubious about identifying this mark at all; unfortunately the original photograph was misplaced and we could not consult it.
year of favor for Yahweh, the author has substituted "the year of favor for Melchizedek," making Melchizedek the beneficiary of Yahweh's year of favor; while he paraphrases the day of vengeance for our God as "the day of vengeance of the holy ones of God for the kingdom (?) of justice," making God's angels the executors of his vengeance, and those who form "the kingdom of justice" the beneficiaries, together with Melchizedek. Mention of the day of vengeance in line 9 would explain the connection of that line with lines 10–12, which go on to cite the subsidiary texts Ps 82:1–2 and 7:7b–8a, tied together by the Stichwort "to judge."

To comfort in line 20 comes from the end of Isa 61:2.

Dan 9:24 (seventy times seven years to atone for iniquity and to bring in the eschaton) informs the scheme according to which atonement will be made in the tenth jubilee (ten times forty-nine years) in lines 7–8. The "anointed of the spirit about whom spoke Daniel" (line 18)31 can only refer to "an anointed one, a prince" in Dan 9:25 (cf. "to anoint a most holy one": Dan 9:24).

Several thematic threads join these passages together. "Atonement" in the jubilee year links Lev 25:8–9 and Dan 9:24, when the latter passage is read against the grid of a system of eschatology based on jubilee periods. Lev 25:10 and Isa 61:1 share the phrase to proclaim liberty, and this ties in with the idea of the messenger in Isa 52:7. The לְבָנָה of Isa 52:7 echoes in the לְבָנָה of Isa 61:1. Isa 61:1 and Dan 9:25 both speak of God's anointed one.

In early Jewish exegesis beyond Qumran, three of the four principal texts in 11QMelchizedek ring of the messiah. The author of Luke–Acts applies Isa 52:7 to Jesus Christ at Acts 10:36. R. Jose the Galilean (ca. 110 CE) also thought the same biblical text pointed to the King Messiah, acting as God's herald (Perek Haš-Šalom 13 (59b); Pesiqa 51a, 20),32 and Lev. Rab. 9:9 reports "the rabbis" saying, "When the Messianic king is to come, he will commence with peace," quoting the same verse. Isa 61:1–2 forms the basis for a messianic claim on the lips of Jesus at Luke 4:18–19. In Lam. Rab. 3:9 the passage is one of three that the rabbis associated because all three mention the Holy Spirit "in connection with the redemption." And Dan 9:25–26, as the only passage in the OT that uses the title מְשִׁיחַ in an

31. The reading is not certain, for line 18 is broken, showing only a כ followed by a trace of a probable י. It was proposed in Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek," 265–66, and has been widely accepted.

32. For the references I am indebted to Fitzmyer ("Further Light on Melchizedek," 253), though he refers to Derek Eretz Zuta rather than Perek Haš-Šalom. I cannot find the quotation of R. Jose the Galilean in Derek Eretz Zuta.
eschatological context, was widely understood as a reference to the messiah.33

Prima facie, the selection of biblical texts that form the subject of the midrash in 11QMelchizedek inclines us toward a messianic reading of the document.

Qumran, as is well known, developed a distinctive form of Jewish messianism which expected two or three eschatological figures: perhaps a prophet, and certainly an anointed king and an anointed priest.34 In 11QMelchizedek there are two. This is clear in the pesher on Isa 52:7 in lines 17–25, where the individual elements of the verse are expounded consecutively, the “mountains” having to do with the prophets, and so forth. An introductory formula in each case quotes the part of the verse to be interpreted, followed by כליהו, then the identification (lines 18, 19, 23, 24; probably the plural כליהו stood in the lacuna in line 17). Curiously, the two occurrences of כליהו in Isa 52:7 are taken to denote two different heralds, rather than one, for each has its own כליהו-clause (lines 18, 19). The כליהו who brings good tidings, who publishes peace is said to be “the anointed of the spirit (Isa 61:1) about whom spoke Daniel (9:25) . . .” (line 18); while the כליהו who brings good tidings of good, who publishes salvation, who says to Ζion, “Your God reigns” is identified by quoting from Isa 61:2 (we can infer this from to comfort, line 20). The effect is to split not only Isa 52:7, but also Isa 61:1–2 between the two figures, a pattern of exegesis already familiar from the distribution of phrases in Num 24:17 to the two messiahs of Qumran at CD 7:18–21.

Since Dan 9:25 speaks of an anointed prince (נגיד), the identification in line 18 probably refers to the royal messiah, otherwise known at Qumran as the messiah of Israel. This impression grows stronger if we make the sober guess that the Qumran author understood all

33. That Dan 9:25–26 denotes the high priest Onias III (early decades of the second century BCE), as most critics now suppose, is possible but questionable in view of the fact that in v. 25 he bears the title הנגיד (“prince”), a title which in the Hebrew Bible more often than not designates a royal or a military leader (but note the few references of הנגיד to priests: Jer 20:1; 1 Chron 9:20; 2 Chron 31:12). In any case, Jews in the latter half of the Second-Temple period generally understood Dan 9:24–27 as a messianic prophecy (note esp. Josephus J.W. 6 §312; Ant. 10 §276; cf. b. Abod. Zar. 8b–9a; b. Nazir 32b). See also Roger T. Beckwith, “Daniel 9 and the Date of Messiah’s Coming in Essene, Hellenistic, Pharisaic, Zealot and Early Christian Computation,” RevQ 10 (1981) 521–42. Interpretations which saw the fulfillment of parts of Dan 9:24–27 in the Maccabean period (1 Enoch 89:68–90:27; LXX Dan 9:26–27; T. Levi 16–17; 1 Mac 1:54) actually reinforce the conclusion that the earliest Jewish exegeses of the passage were messianic in nature, for many Jews of that period thought the campaigns of the Hasmoneans would usher in the messianic age.

34. Scholarship on Qumran messianism is summarized in Schürer, History of the Jewish People, 2.550–54.
but the last clause in Isa 61:1–2 in reference to him (further considerations below will confirm it). The twin eschatological roles of the royal messiah will be to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor to the captives, and the day of God’s vengeance to their oppressors. He is expected to come as liberator and judge.

More space is devoted to the description of the second רשבם of Isa 52:7 (lines 18b to 23). At this point the preserved parts of the manuscript are spotty. Presumably line 19 had some form of Isa 61:2c–3, to comfort all who mourn, to grant those who mourn in Zion—, for line 20 digresses from the main pesher of Isa 52:7 into a secondary one of to comfort (Isa 61:2), before returning to the former verse at the end of line 23. To comfort means to teach (לִכְשָׁה לָלֶכֶת) eschatological mysteries (line 20). The teacher has a special relationship to Zion (line 23), interpreted in turn as the movement of which the Qumran community is a part (line 24). He is, therefore, the final Teacher of Righteousness (CD 6:10–11; 7:18–19), the messiah of Aaron.35

How does Melchizedek fit into these expectations? Let us list the things 11QMelchizedek definitely says about him, in the order of their appearance. The holy land is “the inheritance of Melchizedek” (line 5). In the last days Melchizedek will return dispersed Israel to the holy land (lines 5–6). Melchizedek will proclaim liberty to the captives (line 6 in the light of line 4). Melchizedek will “relieve them from... of all their iniquities” (line 6). Probably this means that Melchizedek is the one who will act on the last and greatest day of atonement to atone for Israel (lines 7–8). Israel belongs to “the lot of Melchizedek” (line 8). Melchizedek is a beneficiary of the year of favor (line 9). Melchizedek will be God’s agent to carry out God’s vengeance against Belial and the spirits of his lot (line 13). All the gods will come to Melchizedek’s help (line 14). Further comments are required on some of these points.

As for “the inheritance of Melchizedek” (line 5): in biblical usage, when הָלָךְ stands in a construct state expressing possession, the ruling noun is far more often human36 than it is divine.37 In the usage of Qumran, the ruling noun is invariably human (1QS 4:16, 24; 4Q171 3:1, 10; 11QT 62:13; 64:13). Likewise in the Bible a “lot” (line 8) usually falls to the man or Israelite tribe who inherits a plot of ground. So the phrase “the inheritance of Melchizedek” means that Melchizedek will inherit the promised land of Canaan, when he causes

35. For evidence that the eschatological High Priest is identical with the eschatological Teacher of Righteousness, see Collins, The Scepter and the Star, 114–15.
37. 1 Sam 26:19; 2 Sam 14:16; 20:19; 21:3.
the elect to return there, in perpetuity. This makes sense if Melchizedek is the king and benefactor of the whole people of Israel. One is reminded of the "district of Onias" around Leontopolis in Egypt at about the same time as our document was written. There are also messianic parallels. "Behold, O Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David. ... May he expel sinners from the inheritance. ... And he shall gather together a holy people ... And he shall divide them up by their tribes over the land ... And he shall be a righteous king, taught by God, over them" (Pss. Sol. 17:21, 23, 26, 28). "And on that day I will cause my Chosen One to dwell among them ... And I will transform the dry ground and make it a blessing, and I will cause my chosen ones to dwell upon it" (1 Enoch 45:4–5).

That Melchizedek will receive his inheritance on earth does not square well with what is said of Michael in the War Rule: God "will raise up the princedom of Michael amid the gods" (1Q17:7).

Melchizedek's proclamation of liberty (line 6) to the captives (line 4) shows him to be the preacher of Isa 61:1–2, who is further described as "the anointed of the spirit about whom spoke Daniel" in line 18. The reference to Dan 9:25 probably identifies Melchizedek as the royal messiah.39

There is a Qumran parallel for Melchizedek's priestly function of making atonement for Israel (lines 6–8) at CD 14:19: "... [the messiah]h of Aaron and Israel, and he will make atonement for their iniquity."40 In all likelihood the ascription of a sacerdotal role to the coming Davidic king at least partly explains the author's choice of the name "Melchizedek" to designate him in this work (cf. Ps 110:4).

Melchizedek's key role in bringing the year of favor and the day of vengeance of Isa 61:2 (lines 9, 13), connected in line 18 with the messianic passage Dan 9:25, removes from the realm of conjecture our guess that the Qumran author ascribed all but the last clause of Isa 61:1–2 to the royal messiah. If my proposed restoration for line 9 be


39. When van der Woude first laid out the angelic interpretation of Melchizedek in this document in 1965, he did not yet have the benefit of the improved readings of line 18 proposed by Yadin and Fitzmyer, clarifying the reference to Dan 9:25. It is frankly worrying to see how constructs can persist in scholarship despite progress in our appropriation of the facts on which they rest.

40. Moses provided an historic model for the expectation that the coming king would make atonement for Israel. In the Bible Moses generally serves as lawgiver, commander, and judge of the nation, thus fulfilling the functions of a king over against the priestly role of his brother Aaron. But 4Q504 1–2 II 9–10 states, "Moses atoned for their sin," probably with reference to Moses' intercession in the debacle of the golden calf (Exod 32:31–32).
accepted (*the year of favor for Melchizedek . . . the day of vengeance . . . for the kingdom of justice"), then Melchizedek will be seen, moreover, as instrumental in establishing the reign of justice.


The gods’ coming to Melchizedek’s aid (line 14) compares favorably with similar statements in other Qumran writings, which speak of angels helping the human community of the covenant. See 1QS 3:24–25; 1QM 12:8–9; 13:10; 17:6.41

In sum: many converging lines of evidence points to the conclusion that Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek is none other than Daniel’s *anointed one, a prince*, whom a later age would call King Messiah.

All of this makes it hard to accept the common restoration of Melchizedek’s name in the pesher of the last clause of Isa 52:7 in lines 24–25. Although it is a pure guess, most modern editors recommend it.42 Textual considerations are decidedly against it. The extended pesher in lines 17–25 interprets the two מִלְחַזְקֵדֶק of Isa 52:7 by referring, not to other figures, but to the same figures in other verses of Scripture (lines 18, 19). The pesher of *your God* in line 24, then, need not refer to some other being called God, but needs only to describe God in terms of some other Scripture about him. And the "he said (ךִּמְשָׁר)" that introduces a scriptural quotation in the next line presupposes mention of God himself in the lacuna of lines 24–25.

Would a messianic interpretation of 11QMelchizedek fit the historical realia of the Qumran community in about 120 BCE? There is evidence that the Hasmoneans from Simon (142–134 BCE) onwards used Ps 110:4 to legitimate their recent assumption of the high priesthood together with the military role they had inherited (1 Macc 14:41; As. Mos. 6:1; Josephus Ant. 16 §163; b. Roš Haš. 18b).43 Because of such changes in these several decades, the Essenes seem to have reversed diametrically their view of the Maccabean house, from regarding Judas Maccabeus as the harbinger of the messianic age (1 Enoch 90:9–16), to calling Jonathan or Simon the "Wicked Priest"

41. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melchisédeq," 366–67. This is a strong point in Carmignac’s argument for a human messiah in 11QMelchizedek, to which no other scholar has yet made a reply.

42. The three most recent editions of the text include the name [Melchizedek] in square brackets (Milik, ‘Melki-Šedeq et Melki-Reša’, 99; Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresha*, 6; Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de XIMelkisédeq,” 489).

in Qumran writings. In response to these their arch enemies, they might have insisted that it was only in the final jubilee that the Davidic ideal of Psalm 110 could truly be fulfilled, in partnership with their own Teacher of Righteousness.

In doing so, the Essenes were champions of the traditional Jewish exegesis of Psalm 110 with reference to David and his heirs. The Pharisees of the first century CE and the early Christians agreed in assuming that Psalm 110 was messianic (Mark 12:35–37), and the same view is found in Aboth de R. Nathan, chap. 34. As the Essenes and the Pharisaic-Rabbinic branches of Judaism were not in fruitful dialogue with one another after about 150 BCE, the fact that both groups could simply take for granted the royal understanding of Psalm 110 constitutes evidence that it was part of the common heritage of Jews in the last two centuries BCE, from probably much earlier. Indeed, for want of contrary evidence, it is reasonable to posit an unbroken tradition of interpretation of Psalm 110, from the court of the kingdom of Judah, through the priestly scribes who finally edited the Psalter and those who made the Septuagint translation of it (which preserves touches of the old royal ideology more faithfully than the MT does), to circles of priests and scribes late in the second temple period, and even on into the Talmudic/patristic period.44

This pre-Christian Jewish tradition notably left its mark on the messianology of another Jewish sect, the earliest Christian church.45

Dogmatism is excluded when we have to deal with incomplete and enigmatic ancient documents. That Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek is Michael will doubtless remain a possible interpretation. The state of preservation of the manuscript is not such as to yield clinching arguments. If this paper has shown that the messianic understanding of Melchizedek arises naturally from the text of 11QMelchizedek, and provides a comprehensive, coherent and cogent explanation of the details of the document in its historical setting, I will have achieved my goal.

44. Note, for example, the mention of Melchizedek along with Elijah, the Messiah, and the War Messiah, in Pesiq. Rab Kah. 5.9; Cant. Rab. 2.13.4.