

**TWO FIGURES IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS — MELCHIZEDEK IN
11QMELCHIZEDEK (11Q13) AND “SON OF GOD” IN THE “APOCRYPHON
OF DANIEL” (4Q246) — AS TWO ESCHATOLOGICAL SOTERIOLOGICAL
CONCEPTS**

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ABSTRACT. The article analyses and juxtaposes the images of the eschatological soteriological figures of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) and the “Son of God” in 4QApocryphon of Daniel (4Q246). Identifying the differences in the soteriological concepts reflected in 11Q13 and 4Q246, the author reaches the following main conclusions. God the Creator is transcendent to creation; Melchizedek is predominantly the spiritual head of the entire Universe (cf. also 4Q521, frag. 2, 2:1 of the “Messiah” of the Lord), who during the Eschaton will put an end to all the dark forces of creation led by Belial, atone for the sins of the worthy and retaliate against the sinful. As for the “Son of God” in 4Q246, his mission is mainly directed to earthly affairs, albeit on a global scale; he appears as a lay and military leader who comes at a critical moment to the aid of God’s people and is called to establish a just and righteous world order and in fact to become the sovereign of the united earthly kingdom. To a certain extent the image of the “Son of God” in 4Q246 may be compared with the personality of the eschatological “messenger who announces peace (שלום)” (Isa. 52:7), i.e. establishes socio-political welfare on earth (cf., e.g., 4Q246, frag. 2, 2:5–6), and who is identified in 11Q13 2:16, 18 with the figure of the “anointed”/“prince” mentioned in Dan. 9:25 (the lay Messiah). Melchizedek, on the other hand, appears in 11Q13 as a divine figure on a universal, not just global, scale—one could even say like a second “God” within the created universe. As for the “messenger of good who announces salvation, saying to Zion: your God reigns” (Isa. 52:7), referred to in 11Q13 2:18–24, this is probably the Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran community (the priestly Messiah).

KEYWORDS: 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), 4QApocryphon of Daniel (4Q246), eschatology, soteriology, messianism, prophetism, the Qumran Community, the Teacher of Righteousness.

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1. Concepts of the figure of Melchizedek as attested in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint

I

The Hebrew Bible mentions Melchizedek only twice, in *Gen.*, chap. 14 and *Ps.* 110, but his figure has occupied a prominent place in Jewish (probably since the time of King David of Israel¹) and Christian messianic-eschatological concepts. The name Melchizedek (מֶלְכִי צְדָקָה) literally means “king of righteousness (justice)”/“righteous king”² (or: “(my) king — (god) צְדָקָה, *Zedeq* [lit. ‘righteousness’]”); the name of the Canaanite deity probably worshipped by the pre-Israelite population of Jerusalem as the patron of that city).

Gen. 14:18–20 tells us how the forefather Abram (Abraham), who participated in the defeat of the coalition of kings led by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, was met by Melchizedek, “king of Shalem” (שָׁלֵם)³, *i.e.*, of Jerusalem⁴, and “a priest of God Most High (אֱלֹהֵי עֲלִיּוֹן)”⁵, “the Creator (Lord) of heaven and earth” (*Gen.* 14:18–20), who brought him bread and wine and blessed him and God Most High. In *Ps.* 76:3 Shalem is mentioned in parallelism with Zion:

In Shalem is His Tabernacle,
and His Dwelling place in Zion.

It has been suggested that Shalem is the name of a Canaanite deity, which was also the name of the city; the first part of the full name of the city, Jerusalem, comes from the West Semitic word *yrh*, meaning “foundation” or “cornerstone”⁶.

The significant religious-theological aspect of the story is that Abraham, addressing the LORD, calls him “God Most High, the Creator of heaven and earth” (*Gen.* 14:22). It may be assumed that here is an echo of the tradition according to which Melchizedek was regarded by the Hebrews, especially by the Judahites, as a priest of Jerusalem who served the LORD Himself. This would later play a prominent role in shaping religious ideology under David, who made Jerusalem the capital of the kingdom of Israel, as is evident from the text of *Ps.* 110, which we will examine below. Let us also note that since Chedorlaomer is depicted in *Gen.*, chap. 14 as suzerain of the Promised Land,

¹ Cf.: Tantlevskij 2020, 264–286.

² Cf., e.g.: Josephus Flavius, *Bellum Judaicum* (further: *BJ*), VI, 438; *Heb.* 7:2.

³ Lit.: “complete”, “whole”, “peaceful”, “friendly”.

⁴ Cf.: *Ps.* 76:3; also: 1Q *Genesis Apocryphon* ar 22:13 and 14; Josephus, *BJ*, VI, 438; Idem, *Historiae Antiquitatis Judaicae* (further: *Antt.*), I, 180; VI, 67.

⁵ Lit.: “God exalted”; originally, perhaps, the name of a Canaanite deity, father of Shamaim (שָׁמַיִם; lit. “heaven”), grandfather of El (אֵל; lit. “god”), and great-grandfather of Shalem (שָׁלֵם; see: n. 3). See, e.g.: Mazar 2009, 23, n. 47.

⁶ Cf.: Mazar 2009, 23.

Abraham's military triumph probably symbolizes the patriarch's gaining rights over the country.

On the other hand, the fact that Abraham gave Melchizedek "a tenth of everything" (*i.e.*, of the spoils) could have been interpreted as his recognition of the latter's priority⁷. It is indicative that the story in *Gen.*, chap. 14, which probably contains non-Israelite material in its origin (as evidenced by the content, the characters mentioned, the terminology and style of this chapter, etc.⁸), probably dating back to the 18th century B.C.E.

In the time of King David, from the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E., a new ideology emerges in Israel (probably under Canaanite influence), according to which the king is endowed to a certain extent with elements of holiness and can perform priestly functions. This ideology is expressed explicitly in *Ps.* 110:

¹ ... The utterance of the LORD (יהוה) to my lord (אדני 'ăḏōnî):

"Sit down⁹ at My right hand,
until I make your enemies
your footstool."

² The LORD (יהוה) will send out of Zion
the rod of your strength:

"Rule in the midst of your enemies;

³ honour with you¹⁰

in the day of your power,
in the splendours of holiness.

From the womb of the dawn,

<like> the dew, I have begotten you (יְלִדְתִּיךָ yəlīdītīkā)¹¹."

⁴ The LORD (יהוה) has sworn,
and will not repent:

"You (are) a Priest forever (כהן לעולם),
upon My word (על דברתי 'al dabbārtī¹²), (you are) Melchizedek".

⁵ My lord (אדני 'ăḏōnî; MT vocalization: 'Ăḏōnāy, the Lord. — *I. T.*) (is) at Your right hand:

⁷ Cf.: 1Q *Genesis Apocryphon* at 22:14–17.

⁸ Speiser 1963, 16, 99–109.

⁹ *Sc.* on the throne; cf., e.g.: *Pss.* 2:4; 9:8; 45:7; 61:8 ("May he abide (ישב; lit. 'sit'. — *I. T.*) forever before God!"); 102:13.

¹⁰ According to the Masoretic vocalization: "your people".

¹¹ Vocalization according to many Hebrew manuscripts and the Septuagint interpretation (ἐξέγεννησά σε); analogically: Origen (ὁ Ἐβραῖος), Syriac version; cf. also: *Pss.* 2:6–7(!), 2 and 12; 89:27–28. Standard Masoretic vocalization: yaldūtēkā.

¹² In connection with this hypothetical vocalization and interpretation let us note that in *Deut.* 33:3 the word דברת dabbārōt̄ (pl.; or sing.: dabbereṭ̄) is used to mean: "words (utterances)"/"word" of the LORD. Cf. also *Jer.* 5:13, where the term הדבר had-dibbēr (pl. in MHB.: דיברות dībbārōt̄) is used to mean "word" of the LORD (cf.: LXX ad loc.).

(NB: this vocalization of אֲדֹנָי comes from the indication in verse 1 that the “lord” (אֲדֹנָי *’ādōnī*, lit. “my lord”) of the Psalm’s author sits “*at the right hand*” of the LORD Himself¹³. — *I. T.*)

he will strike through kings in the day of his wrath;

⁶ he will judge among the heathen,

he will fill (the places) with the dead bodies,

he will shatter the heads (probably: “the chief men”. — *I. T.*) over many countries.

⁷ He will drink of the brook in the way:

therefore, he will lift up the head.

The phrase “you (are) a Priest forever, upon My word, (you are) Melchizedek,” attested in *Ps.* 110:4, probably reproduces an ancient Canaanite devotional formula referring to the king-priest of Jerusalem. The name “Melchizedek” here is more like a traditional title¹⁴ of the city’s lord; a variant form of this title was presumably “Adonizedek,” lit. “lord of righteousness” (cf.: *Josh.* 10:1, 3). In other words, it appears that “Melchizedek,” or a new Melchizedek, in *Ps.* 110, is *David himself* — the legitimate heir of the ancient kings of Jerusalem, claiming, like them, priestly functions.

Thus, proceeding from the texts of *Gen.* 14:18–20 and *Ps.* 110, the reader could assume that the priesthood of God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth, and royalty existed in Jerusalem originally. Melchizedek appears as a type of the eternal (and thus, in a certain sense, “returning”), righteous, God-begotten king-(high)priest — a prototype of David, or a new David — king-Davidite. It should be noted that *originally* the statement יָלִידְתִּיכָא (*yālīdītkā* “I have begotten you”) in *Ps.* 110:3, as in *Ps.* 2:7, could imply that God has given the king (high)priestly functions. The author of this Psalm expects his “lord,” David, to be the one who “will strike through kings,” “judge,” *i.e.* rule, “among the heathen,” “shatter the chief men over many countries,” and thus “he will lift up the head” (*Ps.* 110:5–7). Indeed, David eventually seems to have succeeded in creating a kind of (mini-)empire with Jerusalem as its capital¹⁵.

II

But the authorship of Psalm 110 was subsequently attributed to David himself (which gave rise to its heading “A Psalm of David” [*Ps.* 110:1a]). Accordingly, the figure of the “lord” mentioned in *Ps.* 110:1 and 5, “sitting at the right hand of the LORD,” was no longer identified with this ancient king of Israel¹⁶, but was interpreted — at least in certain circles — as the trans-

¹³ Cf. also, e.g.: *Ps.* 80:18.

¹⁴ Cf.: Mazar 2009, 31f.; Tantlevskij 2020, 256–260.

¹⁵ Tantlevskij 2020, 83–134, 264–295.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g.: *Matt.* 22:42–45, *Mk.* 12:35–37, *Lk.* 20:41–44; *Acts* 2:34–35; cf. also: *I Cor.* 15:24–26; *Heb.* 1:13.

centent soteriological Priest and King “begotten” by God, who will be sent to earth to save the world in critical days for the Jews. This idea may have been especially widespread in some Jewish pious circles as a reaction to the severe persecutions of the orthodox Jews by the Seleucid Hellenists and Judaeian Hellenizers in the mid 160s B.C.E. and the unprecedented desecration of the Jerusalem Temple with the connivance of the high priest-Hellenizer Menelaus (171–162). But this concept may have spread (emerged?) a little earlier as well, after Antiochus IV Epiphanes had deposed and probably organized killing of the pious high priest Onias III in 175 B.C.E. (cf.: *Dan.* 8:10–11, 9:26, 11:22), who opposed the Hellenization of Judaea (see: *2 Macc.*, chap. 3–4), and appointed his brother, the zealous Hellenizer Jason (175–171), to this position; the latter, among other things, established a polis called “Antioch” within Jerusalem (*2 Macc.* 4:9), which probably caused a real shock in Judaeian society¹⁷.

This tradition of understanding *Ps.* 110:4b seems to reflect the interpretation of this passage in the Septuagint:

σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ
 “You are a Priest forever in the manner¹⁸ of Melchizedek”.

That is, in this interpretation of the Septuagint and in the translations that followed it, the letter י (“yod”) in דברתי was considered to have been an ancient genitive ending added to the word דברת (*cstr.* of דברה, *dibrāh* or **dāḇārāh* [*fem.* of *dāḇār*]; presumptive meaning: “manner”/“order”/“pattern”, ect.) to soften the transition in the poetic text. This tradition of interpreting *Ps.* 110:4b appears to be reflected in the Masoretic vocalization of the phrase על דברתי as *ʿal dibḥarāṯī* as well¹⁹.

Let us also note that the Septuagint interprets the Hebrew verse of *Ps.* 110:5a — אדני על ימינך — in this way:

Κύριος ἐκ δεξιῶν σου
 The Lord (is) at your right hand.

Thus, the Septuagint perceives and interprets the Hebrew term אדני here as *ʾĀḏōnāy*, i.e. the Lord. This is how the Masoretes vocalized this term in *Ps.*

¹⁷ It is around this time that the “party” of the *Hasidim*, the “pious,” emerges in Judaea.

¹⁸ Or: “after the order/pattern of” (other possible interpretations of the phrase על דברתי: “by position/title of”; “because of”; “for the sake of”; “on account of”).

¹⁹ On the other hand, in the light of *Ps.* 110:4 one could conclude that the person designated in *Ps.* 110:1 as אדני *ʾāḏōnī* (here lit.: “my lord”) becomes a new Melchizedek. Or one could even, in fact, interpret this figure as an incarnate Melchizedek, at least symbolically. See further: Tantlevskij 2004.

110:5a²⁰. The secondary nature of this interpretation of אֲדֹנָי is revealed by the fact that in this case the king-priest finds himself on the *left side* of the Lord, contrary to the direct indication of *Ps.* 110:1 (“Sit down at My right hand...”), and also by the fact that this interpretation makes the description of the Lord’s actions in *Ps.* 110:5–7 too anthropomorphic (cf. especially *Ps.* 110:7: “He will drink of the brook in the way: therefore, he will lift up the head”).

2. Melchizedek in the Qumran Scrolls

Judging by the surviving Qumran fragments referring to Melchizedek, members of the Judaeen Qumran community (2nd century B.C.E. – 1st century C.E.) — apparently of the Essene trend²¹ — interpreted the passage of *Ps.* 110:4b as

“You (are) a Priest forever,
upon My word, (you are) Melchizedek.”

The Qumranites probably identified Melchizedek with אֲדֹנָי, *sc.* the lord, sitting at the right hand of YHWH, the LORD (*Ps.* 110:1, 5a), that is, according to their interpretation, ascended into heaven²².

In the Qumran manuscripts the figure of Melchizedek acquires the character of a transcendent soteriological figure of the eschatological period. In a highly fragmented copy of the Qumran work “Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, or the Angelic Liturgy” (*4Q401=4QShirShabb^b*), Melchizedek probably appears as the High Priest of the heavenly Temple (frag. 11, 3: “[Melchi]zedek, Priest (כֹּהֵן) in the Communi[ty of God (or: ‘gods’, *i.e.* the angels) . — *I. T.*)...”²³)

In the “Testament of ‘Amram” (*4Q544 = 4Q‘Amram^b ar*) it is he²⁴ who, in all probability, appears as the ruler of all that is bright (*i.e.*, the head of the sons of Light) and the antagonist of Melchiresha‘ (מֶלְכִי רֵשַׁע, *sc.* “king of

²⁰ In many Hebrew manuscripts the Tetragrammaton is written out here (cf. also the Targum: שְׂכִינְתָא דִּיהוָה).

²¹ See, e.g.: Tantlevskij, Svetlov 2014, 50–53; Idem 2016, 61–75; Idem, Gromova, Gromov 2021.

²² It is possible that a similar interpretation of *Ps.* 110:4b was held, perhaps, in the circles to which the teaching reflected in the Gnostic tractate “Melchizedek” (*Nag Hammadi*, IX, 1) goes back, as well as by members of the sect of Melchizedekians (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, Heresy LV).

²³ See, e.g.: Newsom 1985, 37, 133–134; DJD XI 1998, 205. C. A. Newsom (1985, 143f.) reconstructs the name “[Mel]chizedek” in *4Q401*, frag. 22, 3 as well.

²⁴ The name Melchizedek itself has not been preserved in the Qumran fragments of *4Q‘Amram* hitherto discovered.

wickedness”); the latter “rules over all darkness” and is probably identical with Belial²⁵ (2:10–11, 13–14).

In the second column of the Qumran text, conventionally called “Midrash Melchizedek” (11Q13 = 11QMelchizedek)²⁶, the following fragments on the figure of Melchizedek are preserved:

¹ [...] ... [...] ² [...] And as for what he said: “In [this] year of jubilee, [you shall return, each one, to his respective property” (*Lev. 25:13*), concerning it he said: “Th]is is ³ [the manner of the release:] every creditor shall release what he lent [to his neighbour. He shall not coerce his neighbour or his brother, for it has been proclaimed] a release ⁴ for G[od ([ל]א)” (*Deut. 15:2*). Its interpretation] for the last days (לאחרית הימים) refers to “the captives” (השבויים) (*Isa. 61:1*), who [...] and whose ⁵ teachers (מורימה) have been hidden and kept secret, and from the inheritance of Melchizedek (ומנהלת מלכי צדק) fo[r...] ... and they are the inheritance of Melchizedek, who ⁶ will make them return to themselves (ישיבמה אליהמה). And “liberty” will be “proclaimed” (*Isa. 61:1*)²⁷ for them²⁸ (וקרא להמה דרור), to free them from [the debt of] all their iniquities (עוונותיהמה). And this [wil]l [happen] ⁷ in the first week of the jubilee which follows the ni[ne] jubilees. And the D[ay of Aton]ement is the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee ⁸ in which atonement shall be made (לכפר בו) for all the sons of [Light and] for the men [of] the lot of Mel[chi]zedek (גורל מלכי צדק) [...]. ... over [the]m ... [...] accor[ding to] a[ll] their [wor]ks, for ⁹ it is the (appointed) time for the “year of grace” (*Isa. 61:2*) of Melchizedek (לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק), and of [his] arm[ies, the nation of the holy ones of God, of the rule of judgment, as is written ¹⁰ about him in the songs of David, who said: “*Ēlōhīm* (אלוהים) will [st]and in the assem[bly of God (אל),] in the midst of the gods (אלוהים) he judges” (*Ps. 82:1*). And about him he sai[d: «And] above [it,] ¹¹ to the heights, return: God (אל) will judge the peoples» (*Ps. 7:8-9*). As for what he sai[d: “How long will you] judge unjustly and show partia[lity] to the wicked? [*Se]lah*” (*Ps. 82:2*).¹² Its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot, wh[os]e [...] turn[ing aside] from the commandments of God (אל) to [commit evil.] ¹³ But, Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d’s] judgments ([ל]א משפטי א), [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irit]s of his lot.] ¹⁴ To his aid (shall come) all the gods (אלי) of [justice²⁹; and h]e is the one w[ho] [...] all the sons of God (אל), and ... [...] ¹⁵ This [...] is the day of [peace about whi]ch he said [...] through Isa[iah] the prophet, who said: [“How] beautiful ¹⁶ upon the mountains are the feet [of] the messen[ger who] announces peace, the mess[enger of good who announces salvati]on, [sa]ying to

²⁵ Cf.: frags. 2, 2–3; 11Q *Melch* 2:13–14; also: 4Q280, frag. 1 and 4Q286, frag. 7, col. 2.

²⁶ Some scholars date the manuscript palaeographically to 75–50 B.C.E. (See, e.g.: Milik 1972, 97; Puech 1987, 507f.; DJD XXIII 1998, 223). Cf.: Kobelski 1981, p. 3: the second half of the 1st century B.C.E. See further, e.g.: Kusio 2020, 108f.

²⁷ Cf. also: *Lev. 25:10*.

²⁸ *I.e.*, for “the captives”.

²⁹ Cf.: *Isa. 61:3*.

ing out of “Go[d’s] judgments” over the wicked, Belial and his spirits (2:11–14, 23, 25; cf. 2:9–11). This great act of the heavenly High Priest and *eo nomine* the Righteous King (*i.e.* the celestial Priestly and Lay Ruler) was expected to take place in the D[ay of Aton]ement — at “the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee” (2:7–11). How different from Melchizedek the Hasmonaeen rulers of Judaea — the “wicked” high priests³⁸ of Jerusalem Temple — seemed to the Qumranites!

The author of the *11QMelchizedek* appears to have interpreted the prophecy of *Isa. 52:7* as predicting the coming of *two* “messengers”: the “messenger who announces peace (welfare)” and the “messenger of good who announces salvation, saying to Zion: your God (אלוהים) reigns” — with the term אלוהים (lit. “God”) conceivably implicitly referring to Melchizedek, who exercises *divine* functions with respect to salvation and retribution. The “messenger who announces peace (שלום)”, *sc.* socio-political welfare, — called by the author of *11QMelch* the “anointed of the spirit”³⁹ and identified with the figure of the “anointed”/ “prince” mentioned in Daniel⁴⁰ 9:25 — is in all probability the eschatological lay Messiah (perhaps a Davidite). But the “messenger of good who announces salvation” is probably the Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran community (= the priestly Messiah; cf. below), whose appearance was also foretold, according to the Qumran teaching, in *Isa. 52:7* as well as in *Isa. 61:2*. It was the Teacher of Righteousness who became the primary “Instructor” (המשכיל)⁴¹ of the members of the congregation and their “messenger”⁴² at the dawn of Qumran, so it is not surprising that in interpreting these passages from Isaiah in relation to the Qumran leader it is said that he appeared “to instruct them (להשכילם) in all (appointed) times of the wo[rld ...] in truth ... has turned away from Belial and will re[turn ...] ...

³⁸ See, e.g.: Tantlevskij 1995.

³⁹ Cf. *Isa. 61:1a*: “The Spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me, because He has anointed me...” According to *Lk. 4:16–21*, Jesus quoted the words of *Isa. 61:1–2* in relation to himself. (Cf. also: *Lk. 6:20–21*.)

⁴⁰ Daniel (Heb. *dāniyyē’l*) was considered a prophet (הנביא) in Qumran (*4QFlor* 2:4–4a). The name of Daniel, a sage and righteous man of antiquity, is mentioned in *Ezek. 14:14, 20, 28:3* (Masoretic vocalization: *dāniē’l*), as well as in Ugaritic texts.

⁴¹ Cf., e.g., the *Thanksgiving Hymn of the Teacher IQH^a* 20:11–12: “And I, Instructor (משכיל), have known You, my God, through the spirit which You gave in me, and I have listened loyally to Your wonderful secret through Your Holy Spirit”. Cf. also, e.g.: *IQS* 3:13–4:26, 9:12–16, 21; *IQSb* 1:1, 3:22, 5:20, *4QSongs of the Sage*^{a-b} (4Q510–511), *IQM* 10:10, etc.

⁴² Cf., e.g., the *Thanksgiving Hymn of the Teacher IQH^a* 23(top):12–14: “You have opened... the sp[rin]g of Your truth to the creature whom You have supported with Your power, to [be,] according to Your truth, a messenger (מבשר) [...] of Your goodness (טובה), ‘to proclaim to the poor’ (לבשר עניים; *Isa. 61:1*) the abundance of Your compassion”. Cf. also, e.g.: *IQH^a* 12:5–6, 27–29.

in the judgment[s] of God (אל), as is written about him: [‘Saying to Zi]on: your God (אלוהיך) reigns’ (*Isa.* 52:7). [‘Zi]on’ i[s the congregation of all the sons of justice, those] who establish the covenant, those who avoid walking [on the pa]th of the people”⁴³ (2:20–24), *i.e.* the Qumran community. Since it is with the “messenger of good who announces salvation” that the prophecy of *Isa.* 61:2 correlates in *11QMelch*, it is highly probable that the prophecy of *Isa.* 61:1 about the messenger whom the Lord sent “to proclaim to captives liberty” also refers to the Teacher of Righteousness in this Qumran work: “And ‘liberty’ will be ‘proclaimed’ (*Isa.* 61:1) for them (*i.e.* ‘the captives’; *Isa.* 61:1, *11QMelch* 2:4. — *I. T.*), to free them from [the debt of] all their iniquities. And this [wil]l [happen] in the first week of the jubilee which follows the ni[ne] jubilees” (*11QMelch* 2:5–7). The Teacher of Righteousness (מורה (ה) צדק) was supposedly originally one of those “hidden” and “secret” “teachers” (מורים) (*11QMelch* 2:4–5) who were persecuted by the Hellenizers in *ca.* 175–164 B.C.E. and who are designated in *Dan.* 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10 as המשכלים, *i.e.* “the instructors (in wisdom)” (or: “the masters (in charge of teaching),” “the wise (teachers),” “sages”, etc.). Based on the data of some chronologies correlating with *Dan.* 9:24–27, which are attested in Josephus Flavius (*Antt.* XIII, 301; also: *Antt.* XII, 322; *BJ I*, 70)⁴⁴, it may be assumed that the “first week (heptad)”, *i.e.* seven years, of the “tenth jubilee” corresponds to the years of ruling of the Hasmonaean high priests Jonathan (152–142) and Simon (142–134) — when in all probability the Qumran community was founded. On the other hand, it seems that we cannot exclude the possibility that the “first week” of the “tenth jubilee” mentioned in *11QMelch* 2:7 corresponds to the period of *Intersacerdotium* in Judaea (*Antt.* XX, 237; *cf.*: XIII, 46) — 159–152 B.C.E. Let us note that at this time, as some scholars believe, the Teacher of Righteousness, a priest of the Zadokite lineage, may have been “a major priest in the Temple (perhaps serving during the Interregnum as the High Priest), and led a group of priests from the Temple to Qumran around 150 B.C.E.”⁴⁵

The following aspect attracts particular attention in the analysis of the *11QMelchizedek*. Judging from the context, a number of Biblical passages quoted in this work, in which God is the subject of action, are interpreted as referring to Melchizedek and correlate with his functions. It is noteworthy that the term אל 'Ēl correlates with God Himself in the interpreted Biblical

⁴³ Cf. the *Halakhic Letter*^d (4Q397 = 4QMMT^d), frags. 14–21, 7–8: “[... We have segregated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le... and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things.” Cf. also: *IQS* 5:1–2, 10–11; *CD-A* 6:14–15, 8:8, 16; *CD-B* 19:17, 29.

⁴⁴ Cf. also: Eusebius of Caesarea, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, VIII, 2, 87–88. See further, e.g.: Tantlevskij 1997, 329–339.

⁴⁵ Tantlevskij 1995, 15, n. 56. See in more detail, for example: Charlesworth (ed.) 1990, 76–89.

passages⁴⁶, and the term אֱלֹהִים *’Ēlôhîm* refers to Melchizedek⁴⁷, including, probably, the phrase “your God (אֱלֹהֶיךָ) reigns (*Isa.* 52:7).” This terminological differentiation, however, is not quite accentuated, so that the reader may relate the actions of אֵל to the mission of Melchizedek as well⁴⁸. The latter assumption is indirectly supported by the fact that in the quotations from *Deut.* 15:2 and *Ps.* 7:9, the Tetragrammaton is substituted for the term אֵל *’Ēl*. In any case such a substitution was probably intended to bring the “statuses” of the functions of אֵל *’Ēl* and אֱלֹהִים *’Ēlôhîm* closer together. As a parallel, let us note that the author of the Qumran “Messianic Apocalypse” (*4Q521*) predicting on the basis of a number of relevant Bible passages the soteriological mission of the eschatological “Messiah” (מְשִׁיחַ) — whom “[the heav]ens and the earth will listen to” (frag. 2, 2:1) and who, in particular, “will honour the pious upon the throne of an ‘eternal Kingdom’⁴⁹” (*ibid.*, 2:7), “make the dead live (מְתֵימ יַחִיָּה)”, and “proclaim (good) to the poor (עֲנוּיִם יִבְשֶׁר)” (*Isa.* 61:1)⁵⁰ (*ibid.*, 2:12), — refers specifically to the acts of אֲדֹנָי, the Lord, on earth: This gives an impression that here the Messiah is implicitly identified with אֲדֹנָי, the Lord, as far as His earthly eschatological soteriological mission is concerned.

In this connection let us also note the expression “the (appointed) time for the ‘year of grace’ (*Isa.* 61:2) of Melchizedek (לְשַׁנַּת הַרְצוֹן לְמַלְכֵי צְדָקָה)” (*11QMelch* 2:9), originating probably from the influence of *Isa.* 61:2: “To proclaim the year of grace (שְׁנַת הַרְצוֹן) of the LORD...” Along with the commonly used Qumran expression “the lot of God” (גּוּרְלֵ אֵל)⁵¹, the notion “the lot of Mel[chi]zedek (גּוּרְלֵ מֶלְכִי צְדָקָה)” appears in *11QMelch* 2:8. The expression “the inheritance of Melchizedek (נַחֲלַת מְלָכֵי צְדָקָה)” (*11QMelch* 2:5) perhaps in some way correlated by the Qumranites with the Biblical concepts of “the inheritance of the LORD” and the “inheritance of God”. Thus, in Qumran the figure of Melchizedek was deified and he himself was most probably regarded as the person who/through whom the certain functions of God in relation to the world — including the heavenly world He created — are realized.

3. The “Son of God” in the “Apocryphon of Daniel” (*4Q246*)

The work, conventionally referred to as the “Apocryphon of Daniel” (*4Q246*), or “Pseudo-Daniel” (*4QpsDan^d ar*)⁵², was probably composed out-

⁴⁶ Cf., e.g., the remark of the first publisher of the text: Woude 1965, 367f.

⁴⁷ With one exception, when this term correlates with the angels (2:10).

⁴⁸ Perhaps with the exception of *11QMelch* 2:10.

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g.: *Dan.* 7:14; see also the next paragraph.

⁵⁰ In *Isa.* 61:1: לְבַשׂר עֲנוּיִם

⁵¹ See, e.g.: *IQS* 2:2; *IQM* 13:5, 15:1, 17:7.

⁵² The surviving fragment is paleographically dated to the end of the first century B.C.E. (See, e.g.: Justnes 2009, 31; Segal 2014, 290; Kusio 2020, 101 and n. 359).

side the Qumran community, but the Qumranites undoubtedly regarded it as visionary, if not prophetic⁵³. This text, written in Aramaic, is essentially a kind of interpretation of Daniel⁵⁴ 7:13–14:

“¹³ I (*sc.* Daniel. — *I. T.*) saw in the night visions,
and, behold, (One) like a son of man (כבר אנוש) was coming
with the clouds of heaven,
and came to the Ancient of Days^{55, 56}
and they brought him near before Him.

¹⁴ And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom,
that all peoples, nations, and languages, should serve him (יפלחו):
his dominion (is) an everlasting dominion (שלטנה שלטן עלם), which shall not pass
away,
and his kingdom (that) which shall not be destroyed⁵⁷”.

The eschatological king of the world in the Aramaic text⁵⁸ of *Dan.* 7:13–14 is probably identical with the transcendent figure in the Hebrew portion of the Book of Daniel, called as “Man / One who looked like a son⁵⁹ of

Regarding the discussion of the time of origin of this text (a part of probably much extensive work) see, e.g.: Justnes 2009, 167–178.

⁵³ Cf.: n. 40.

⁵⁴ The Masoretic text of the Book of Daniel acquired its modern form by the end of 165 to early 164 B.C.E. in Judaea. See, e.g.: Hartman, Di Lella 1978, 14; cf.: Seow 2003, 7. It is accepted, however, that the verses of *Dan.* 12:11 and 12:12, as well as the prayer in *Dan.* 9:4–20 may have been added later (but probably no later than the spring of 163 B.C.E.; cf.: Seow 2003, 7–9).

⁵⁵ In *Dan.* 4:31 and 12:7, the Most High is named as “One Who lives forever”.

⁵⁶ While the original text of Daniel points to the likeness of a transcendent and pre-existent world king to man, the author of the so-called Old Greek translation of this work is apparently seeking to emphasize the *dual* nature of this figure in his interpretation of the passage *Dan.* 7:13:

...and behold, on the clouds of heaven,
as if (ὡς) a Son of man were coming,
and as if (ὡς) Ancient of Days were approaching...

On the reading “...and as if (ὡς) Ancient of Days were approaching” see, e.g.: Bruce 1977, 25; Lust 1978, 63; Bogaert 1984, 206. Cf., however: McLay 1994, 56f.; Reynolds 2008, 94–103. In Theodotion’s version: ἕως, here: “up to”.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Dan.* 4:31 of the kingdom of the Most High: “His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom (lasts) to all generations”; cf. also: *Dan.* 2:44.

⁵⁸ *Dan.* 2:4b–7:28 contains material in Aramaic; the rest of the book is in Hebrew.

⁵⁹ Var.: “sons”.

man⁶⁰” (*Dan.*, chaps. 10–12) and “One like a man in appearance” (*Dan.* 8:15–16)^{61 62}.

The following words in the “Apocryphon of Daniel” (4Q246) fragment are preserved (1:6–2:9):

1 ¹ “[up]on him rested;
he fell down before the throne
² [... k]ing [since?] forever;
Wrath is coming⁶³ and changed ³ [...]’ ... your (*sc.* Daniel. — *I. T.*) vision,
and all will come upon the world.
⁴ [... w]ars; trouble will come upon the earth ⁵ [...]
and great slaughter in the provinces.
⁶ ... king of Assyria [and E]gypt ⁷ [...]
and will be great (רב) over the earth [...
⁸ ...] they [will d]o,
and all will serve [him...
⁹ And he] will be called [... G]reat [God]⁶⁴ (⁶⁵אֵל רַבָּא)⁶⁶,
and he will be designated by His name (ובשמה יתכנה)⁶⁷;
² ¹ he will be called Son of God (ברה די אל)
and they will call him Son of the Most High (בר עליון)⁶⁸.

⁶⁰ Most manuscripts of the Masoretic text in *Dan.* 10:16.

⁶¹ In *Dan.* 10:5–6, 16, we possibly meet with an allusion to *Ezek.* 1:26–28, 8:2–3; cf. also: *Rev.*, chaps. 4–5.

⁶² The texts of *Dan.* 10:5 and 12:6–7 states that this Man “was clothed in (white) linen (*baddîm*)”. This image probably correlates with the angelic figure of “the man clothed in (white) linen (*hab-baddîm*)” in *Ezek.*, chaps. 9–10, who, at God’s command, acts as intercessor for people “who mourn” “for all abominations” and exacts vengeance on others. Note in this connection that, according to the priestly materials of the Pentateuch (*Ex.* 28:42, 39:28; *Lev.* 6:10, 16:4, 23, 32), the Israelite-Judahite high priest and priests wore white linen robes — “holy garments” (*Lev.* 16:32).

According to *Dan.* 10:5, the Man’s “waist was girded with (a belt of) pure gold of Uphaz”. According to *Ex.* 28:8, 39:5, the high priest’s ephod belt — which he wore during ceremonies over his chiton, and which was probably secured by a belt and two binding frames — was made of gold. It is possible that these details suggest that the kingly Man was also thought of by the writer of the Book of Daniel as the heavenly High Priest.

⁶³ On the translation see, e.g.: Ferda 2014, 152; Kusio 2020, 103.

⁶⁴ Cf., e.g.: *Ps.* 76:2.

⁶⁵ Cf. 4Q246 2:7: אֵל רַבָּא בְּאֵילָה. Cf. also: *Dan.* 2:45.

⁶⁶ The reconstruction “[... and he] will be called... [of G]reat [God]” seems to be less likely (cf. the next phrase).

⁶⁷ Cf.: 4QVisions of 'Amram^a ar (4Q543), frag. 3, 1; 4QVisions of 'Amram^c ar (4Q545), frag. 1, 1:17–18; 4Q374, frag. 2, 2:6.

⁶⁸ Cf. the text of Gabriel’s Annunciation as recorded in *Lk.* 1:32–35; also: *Mk.* 5:7 and *Lk.* 8:28; cf. further: the apocryphal *Protogospel of Jacob*, XI.

Like the comets (or: ‘sparks’. — *I. T.*)² of a vision,
 so will their kingdom (*sc.* the kingdom of the heathen enemies of Israel. — *I. T.*) be;
 they will rule (several) year[s] over³ the earth
 and trample upon everything;
 nation will crush another nation,
 and province (another) provin[ce] —
⁴ *vacat* until he arises with God⁶⁹ (or: ‘until the people of God arises’. — *I. T.*),
 and makes everyone rest from the sword.
⁵ His kingdom (will be) an eternal kingdom (מלכות עלם)
 and all his paths in righteousness (בקשט).
 He will jud[ge]⁶ the earth with righteousness (בקשט)⁷⁰,
 and all will make peace (שלם).
 The sword will cease in the earth,
⁷ and all the provinces (or: ‘nations’⁷¹. — *I. T.*) will worship him (יסגדון)⁷².
 The Great God (is/will be) in his strength⁷³ (אל רבא באילה)⁷⁴ —
⁸ He (Himself) will wage war for him (הוא יעבד לה קרב)⁷⁵.
 He will place the peoples in his hand,
 All of them⁹ He will cast before him.
 His dominion (will be) an everlasting dominion (שלטנה שלטן עלם).
 And all the abysses...⁷⁶.

The designation of the eschatological soteriological figure as the “Son of God” may go back to *Dan.* 3:25:

“Lo, I (Nebuchadnezzar) see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of God (בר עליון)”.

In *Dan.* 3:28 King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon refers to the “son of God” as “His messenger (‘angel’; מלאכה),” but the author of the “Apocryphon of

⁶⁹ In connection with this translation of the phrase cf.: *4Q246* 2:7–9; cf. also: *4QpIs^a* = *4Q161*, frags. 8–10, 3:18–22.

⁷⁰ Cf.: *Dan.* 7:9–12; *4Q Book of Giants^b* ar (= *4Q530*), frag. 2. Cf. also: *Joel* 4:12.

⁷¹ Kusio 2020, 103.

⁷² Cf.: *4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a)*, frag. 1, 2:7–8.

⁷³ Cf., e.g.: Knibb (1995, 176): “The great God will be his strength”; García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, 495): “The great God is his strength”; Kusio (2020, 103): “the Great God will be his [or: their] aid”.

⁷⁴ Cf.: *Ps.* 22:1–2, 20.

⁷⁵ Cf.: Kusio 2020, 103.

⁷⁶ For summaries of opinions concerning the identification of the figure of the “Son of God” see, e.g.: Justnes 2009, 29–178; Ferda 2014, 150–75; Segal 2014, 289–312; Kusio 2020, 101–108. The present author has suggested a possible identification of the “Son of God” in *4Q246* with Melchizedek (*redivivus*) (see, e.g.: Tantlevskij 2004, 36 f.).

Daniel” (4Q246) may well have identified this figure with the “Man / One like a son of man” of the Book of Daniel.

The phrase of 4Q246 1:9 “and he] will be called [... G]reat [God] (אל[ר בא]; reconstructed on the basis of 2:7: אל רבא. — *I. T.*), and he will be designated by *His name* (ובשמה יתכנה — italics are ours)” implies that the Messianic figure will be called “God” (אל)⁷⁷ or “the Lord” (אדני). Thus, in 4Q246 1:9–2:1 we meet with a parallelism: “he will be designated by the name of God—he will be called Son of God”⁷⁸.

The author of the “Apocryphon of Daniel”, unlike the author of the Book of Daniel, emphasizes that the eschatological King is rather an *earthly* person who has attained *divine* dignity and veneration — he will be “called,” that is, *recognized* as a “Son of God”^{79, 80}.

The phrase of the “Apocryphon of Daniel” 2:6 “and all the provinces will worship (יסגדון) him” implies that the “Son of God” will be the object of worship of all peoples of the earth. In this connection it seems plausible that it is the “Son of God” that the passage “[...] the king of Assyria (*sc.* Syria. — *I. T.*) [and E]gypt [...] he will be great over the earth [...] they will do, and all will serve [him...]” (4Q246 1:6–8) can have to do with. As a result of the victorious war, the kingly “Son of God” could become, according to the author of the “Apocryphon of Daniel”, the king of both Syria and Egypt. The kingdoms of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies coexisted at the end of the 4th – the first half of the 1st centuries B.C.E., but “the king of Assyria and Egypt” was not known to Hellenistic history. In 169–168 B.C.E., Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*i.e.* “manifested” [as a god]; cf., e.g.: *Dan.* 8:10–12⁸¹) almost conquered Egypt for a short time⁸², but eventually he failed (cf., e.g.: *Dan.*

⁷⁷ Cf., e.g., *Ex.* 22:27; *Is.* 9:5; *Pss.* 2:6–7, 45:7–8, 82:1, 6, 89:27–28, 110:3 about the ideal righteous King. (Cf. further, e.g.: 2 *Kgs.* 7:14–1 = 2 *Chr.* 17:13; the Qumran passages *IQSa* 2:11–12; *4QFlor* 1:9–13; *4Q369*; cf. also: *4Q534*, frag. 1, 1:10–11).

⁷⁸ As a parallel one can point out *Jn.* 20:28, where the resurrected Jesus is called ὁ κύριος, the Lord, and ὁ θεός, God, and *Jn.* 20:31, where he is designated ὁ Χριστός, the Christ, and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the Son of God (cf. also: *Jn.* 10:33–38).

⁷⁹ Cf., e.g.: *Wis. Sol.* 2:13, 18 (cf. also: verse 16), where the author speaks of a “righteous man” who calls himself a “son of the Lord,” a “son of God” (cf. also: 5:5).

⁸⁰ As a parallel development of the concept of the world’s King of the “human” origin one can point out, e.g., *Num.* 24:7 in the Septuagint version, as well as the passages of Philo’s treatises “On the Life of Moses”, I, 289, and “On Rewards and Punishments”, 93–97, 165. (Cf., e.g.: Borgen 1997, 271, 276; Hengel 2007, 51–56.)

⁸¹ Cf. also: *4Q248 Acts of a Greek King in Egypt and Jerusalem.*

⁸² If the formal acceptance of the title of Pharaoh by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Memphis took place in reality (according to: Porphyry apud Jerome, *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.21) [IV], 62–65; cf. e.g.: Lorein 2003, 152f.), it is unlikely that the

11:25–30); as to the real *Son of God* — from the “Apocryphon of Daniel”’s author point of view — he would subjugate both Syria and Egypt actually. Note in this connection that according to the Qumran “Scroll of War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness” (*IQM* 1:2, 4), military defeat of the hosts of the “Kittim of Assyria” (the Seleucid kingdom) and the “Kittim in Egypt” (probably the Ptolemaic Egypt), headed by their “kings” (מלכים)⁸³, was one of the very first aims of the light forces of Israel under the head of the Messiah-Prince (*IQM* 5:1)^{84, 85}.

4. Conclusion

Apart from the parallels in the images of the *divine* eschatological soteriological figures of Melchizedek in *11QMelch* and the “Son of God” in *4Q246*, there are also significant differences between them, central of which, judging from the extant fragments, are the following. God the Creator is transcendent to creation; Melchizedek is predominantly the *spiritual* head of *the entire universe*, who during the Eschaton will put an end to all the dark forces of creation led by Belial, atone for the sins of the worthy and retaliate against the sinful. (Cf. the image of the Lord’s “Messiah” in *4Q521*, frag. 2, 2:1, “whom [the heav]ens and the earth will listen to”, *i.e.* the whole universe.)

As for the “Son of God” in *4Q246*, his mission is mainly directed to *earthly* affairs, albeit on a global scale; he appears as a *lay* and *military* leader who comes at a critical moment to the aid of God’s people and is called to establish a just and righteous world order and in fact to become the ruler of the united earthly kingdom. (Cf., *e.g.*, *4Q246*, frag. 2, 2:5–6: “He will jud[ge] (here probably: ‘rule’, ‘govern’. — *I. T.*) the earth with righteousness (בְּקִשָּׁה) and all will make peace (שָׁלוֹם).”) To a certain extent the image of “Son of God” in *4Q246* may be compared with the personality of the eschatological “messenger who announces peace (שָׁלוֹם)” (*Isa.* 52:7), *i.e.* establishes socio-political welfare on earth, and who is identified in *11QMelch* 2:16, 18 with the figure of the “anointed”/ “prince” mentioned in *Dan.* 9:25. Melchizedek, on the other hand, appears in *11QMelch* as a divine figure on a universal, not just global, scale—one could even say, like a second “God” within the created universe.

news of this staged event was widely disseminated, much less was it perceived legally.

⁸³ See, *e.g.*: *IQM* 15:2; *4Q247* (= *4QApocWeeks?*), frag. 1, 6.

⁸⁴ Cf. also the texts *4Q285*, frags. 4–5, *4Q14*, frag. 1, and the Qumran Commentary on Isaiah *4QpIsa^a* (= *4Q161*).

⁸⁵ Many scholars, however, identify the “Kittim” of the Qumran manuscripts with the Romans. In our opinion, in different Qumran texts the name “Kittim” most likely refers to two different peoples — Macedonians/Greeks (in the earlier works) and Romans (in the later ones). (See, *e.g.*: Tantlevskij 1995, 19–21, n. 24.)

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