

Expectations and the Expected One

4Q521 and the Light It Sheds on the New Testament

Met een samenvatting in het Nederlands

Doctoraalscriptie
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Preface

*respondi et dixi:
deprecor te, domine, ut mihi datus est sensus intellegendi?
non enim volui interrogare de superioribus viis, sed de his quae pertranseunt per nos cotidie.
(4 Ezra 4:22,23)*

The completion of a university study is a major station in someone's *Bildung*. For me, it is a good place to look back and to remember all those whom I owe so much. Goethe writes and I try to remember:

*Wen die Dankbarkeit geniert,
Der ist übel dran;
Denke, wer dich erst geführt,
Wer für dich getan!*

I say thanks to those who made contributions to this *doctoraalscriptie*:

Dr. L.T. Stuckenbruck,

who is the *tweede begeleider* for this *scriptie*,

who helped me to come to Durham,

who taught me to read the photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls, including 4Q521,

with him I honor all those who made an *Epiphany term* in Durham (in 1998) unforgettable, including Prof.dr. C.A. Evans, whose lecture in Durham, February 23, 1998 made me aware of the importance of 4Q521 for New Testament Studies;

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of whom the first offered me 'a cup of coffee' during which I was able to write down many pages of notes on 4Q521,

and of whom the latter suggested in a seminar that Matthew may have used Luke and explained to me later how this can be true for Mat 11:2-6 and Luke 7:18-23,

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New Testament;

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who convinced me of the importance of *Umweltstudien* for the New Testament,

whose productive and sound historical research remains a major example, even now I hope
to continue in Systematic Theology,

with him I honor all those at the Faculty of Theology in Utrecht.

When still at the *gymnasium*, I had the great opportunity to visit the Faculty of Theology at
Utrecht University with some friends for an ordinary day. Among other things, we attended a
seminar on 4 Ezra 4 by Prof.dr. P.W. van der Horst. There I learnt the words I appreciate now
as a motto for a study of theology, even if its way leads to such recondite regions as small
fragments of an unknown text, dating from centuries ago, found in a distant country.

Bodegraven, November 2000

Willem-Jan de Wit

Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....	6
1 General Introduction	7
2 Text and Interpretation of 4Q521.....	9
§2.1 Introduction	9
§2.2 Text and Commentary.....	19
Fragment 1 column ii.....	19
Fragment 2 column i and fragment 3.....	21
Fragment 2 column ii.....	22
I Some questions that bring to light the difficulties in lines 1+2	27
II 'Anointed ones' in the literature of the Second Temple period.....	27
III Interpretations of משיח in 2 ii 1	31
IV Our interpretation of 'his anointed one(s)' and lines 1+2.....	33
Fragment 2 column iii.....	44
Fragment 5.....	47
Fragment 6.....	51
Fragment 7.....	52
Fragment 8.....	55
Fragment 9.....	57
Fragment 10.....	58
Fragment 11	58
Fragments 12-16	59
§2.3 Title	60
3 4Q521 and the New Testament	61
§3.1 Introduction	61
§3.2 Psalm 146 and the New Testament.....	63
§3.3 Motifs in 4Q521 and the New Testament.....	66
§3.4 4Q521 and Mat 11:2-6, Luke 7:18-23	73
4 Conclusions	80
Appendix: 4Q521 2 ii as a Poem	81
Bibliography	82
Samenvatting in het Nederlands.....	91

Abbreviations

Modern works

Secondary literature is referred to in the footnotes with: #author(s)# (#year#) #page number(s)#. Dictionaries are referred to with: '#author or abbreviation# sv (*sub voce*) #entry#'. Full titles for all works can be found in the Bibliography.

Bible Editions and Translations

NA ²⁷	Aland, Kurt e.a. (edd.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993 ²⁷).
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version

Books of the Bible

Books of the Bible are abbreviated to the first three characters of their English title. Four letter titles are not abbreviated. Philemon is abbreviated to Phm. Thus the abbreviations are in order:

Gen, Exo, Lev, Num, Deu, Jos, Jud, Ruth, 1Sa, 2Sa, 1Ki, 2Ki, 1Ch, 2Ch, Ezra, Neh, Est, Job, Psa, Pro, Ecc, Son, Isa, Jer, Lam, Eze, Dan, Hos, Joel, Amos, Oba, Jona, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zep, Hag, Zec, Mal, Mat, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Rom, 1Co, 2Co, Gal, Eph, Phi, Col, 1Th, 2Th, 1Ti, 2Ti, Tit, Phm, Jam, 1Pe, 2Pe, 1Jo, 2Jo, 3Jo, Jude, Rev.

Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus

1En	1 Enoch = Ethiopic Henoch
2Ba	2 Baruch = Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
2Ma	2 Maccabees
4Ez	4 Ezra
Ant	The Jewish Antiquities (by Josephus)
Jub	Jubilees
PsS	Psalms of Solomon
Sir	Ecclesiasticus = Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach
Som	De somniis (by Philo)
TestLev	Testament of Levi

Abbreviations relating the Dead Sea Scrolls

DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum (in numbers of photos of the Scrolls)
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>

We use standard abbreviations for the DSS. E.g. 4Q### indicates that a Scroll stems from the fourth cave of Qumran. See García Martínez / Tigchelaar (1998) 1313-1360 for a full list. Within a Scroll, fragments and lines are indicated with Arabic figures, columns with Roman figures. Some examples:

4Q521 2 iii 4:	line 4 of column iii of fragment 2 of scroll 4Q521;
1QS ix 11:	line 11 of column ix of scroll 1QS;
4Q521 2 i:	column i of fragment 2 of 4Q521;
4Q521 7 6:	line 6 of fragment 7 of 4Q521.

General Introduction

1

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and the following years has drawn a lot of attention and not without reason. A textual corpus of some 2000 years old is not found every day. The special importance of the discovery, however, is that the scrolls contribute so much to our understanding of the Bible. Even after some fifty years, we cannot say that the scrolls have made their full contribution yet.¹

This is especially true for 4Q521, one of the scrolls scarcely known outside the official editorial board until the early nineties. This text contains such fascinating phrases as *[the hea]vens and the earth will listen to his anointed one (Messiah) and the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding*. Although many have noted the importance of 4Q521 for the interpretation of the New Testament and Jesus' messianity, nobody has written a full-scale study on '4Q521 and the New Testament' so far. While also this study does not claim comprehensiveness, it attempts to come a step further than previous research on the topic. 4Q521 sheds new light especially on the relation between Jesus' miracles and his messiahship.

2

For the study of the Scrolls themselves, it is not always advantageous that they contribute so much to our understanding of the Bible, the Holy Scriptures for many believers until now. Too easily, the Scrolls are used as a proof or disproof of biblical truth. Even when there is not such an apologetic concern, the non-biblical Scrolls are often seen as illustrations to the biblical texts only, not as texts with their own worth.²

At the same time, once we want to explain a biblical passage, it would be unwise to neglect the Scrolls. Moreover, as the Scrolls contribute to a better understanding of the Bible, knowledge of them can be helpful in questions concerning the truth of the Christian faith. As a student of theology, I see myself committed to seeking understanding of my faith (*fides quaerens intellectum*). With this work, I hope I contribute to a better understanding of the Christian claim that Jesus is the Messiah: what it originally meant and what sense it makes. Understanding is not reached by wishful interpretations of texts, but by careful listening, even if texts do not say what we would like them to say or force us to reformulate our questions.

¹ A good introduction to the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Qumran Community, the importance of the scrolls for both Old and New Testament studies and the history of research is offered by VanderKam (1994a). See also Lange / Lichtenberger (1997) 45-79 and Stegemann (1998).

3

To what extent does 4Q521 contribute to our understanding of Jesus' messiahship? That is our research question. In order to answer this question, we take the following steps:

- (a) We read and interpret 4Q521: chapter 2;
- (b) We interpret relevant New Testament passages in the light of 4Q521: chapter 3;
- (c) We draw our conclusions: chapter 4.

However, we can handle the subject in a broad way and in a narrow way. The narrow way means that we read 4Q521 with only one question in mind: what is said about the Messiah? And we compare 4Q521 with the New Testament only as far as Jesus' messiahship is concerned. The broad way means that we read 4Q521 with a much more open question in mind: what is said in this text? And we compare 4Q521 with the New Testament at all interesting points. Fortunately, this broad and this narrow way do not lead in opposite directions. In fact, the narrow way is the middle lane of the broad way. Therefore, we choose the broad way with confidence.

4

Unbiased language is a prerequisite for scholarly work. A short explanation for some choices:

- (a) We use *Early Judaism* and *Second Temple period* to refer to almost the same period in Jewish history. Both need not imply a value judgment.
- (b) We use both *Hebrew Bible* and *Old Testament*. *Hebrew Bible* always refers to the Old Testament without the apocrypha and without the variant readings of the Septuagint. *Old Testament* itself can include both, but not necessarily. In any case, *Old* in *Old Testament* does not mean *out-of-date* or *bad*.
- (c) We use BC and AD to separate dates more than 2000 years ago from dates less than 2000 years ago. In our opinion, the scholarly indications BCE and CE are inappropriate for several reasons: (a) claiming to use the 'common era' is paternalistic towards those who have a different era; (b) using the indication 'common era' is abusing the work of those who spent a lot of time on developing a *Christian* era; (c) as for our subject, in all probability, the author of 4Q521 would have felt more comfortable if he had known he lived in a certain year before the birth of the Messiah than if he had known he lived in a certain year before a so-called 'common era'. However, for clearness' sake, we do not use BC and AD in order to offend non-Christians!

² In this respect, e.g. the Naghammadi writings are better off as neo-Gnostics read them as texts with value for today independent of biblical or early (orthodox) Christian writings. See Molin (1994) for an attempt to present some of the DSS as spiritual poetry for a present-day public.

§2.1 Introduction

1

What is said in 4Q521? That is the underlying question throughout this chapter. Before we offer the text and a line-by-line-interpretation of 4Q521 – with special attention to the phrase *his anointed one* –, we present a short history of research on 4Q521, argue for a date of both the text and the scroll, and introduce the photographs, transcriptions, translations, notes and comments that follow. By way of conclusion, we seek for an adequate title for 4Q521.

2

The history of research on 4Q521 can be summarized in three phases:

1952-1991

August 1952, some Bedouins discovered a fourth cave with manuscripts in the surroundings of Khirbet Qumran. In September, archeologists further explored this cave (actually two caves, called 4a and 4b). Together, many thousands of fragments were found, belonging to almost six hundred manuscripts.¹

In 1953 and 1954, seven scholars were recruited as a publication team for cave 4. The lot given to Jean Starcky contained among others a group of eleven fragments. This group was initially referred to as Sy 37. Nowadays, it is numbered 4Q521 and about six more small fragments are reckoned to have belonged to this scroll.²

In the *Revue Biblique* of 1956, Starcky made the existence of the text public in the form of a short description: ‘Un beau texte mentionne le Messie, mais les bienfaits du salut eschatologique, évoqués d’après Isaïe 40 ss et Psaume 146, sont attribués directement à Adonāi.’³

In order to facilitate the work on the fragments, the publication team composed a concordance of all the words appearing in the fragments found in caves 2 to 10, which was completed

¹ See VanderKam (1994a) 10f, Stegemann (1998) 74f. Stegemann says 566 manuscripts have been found in cave 4, but it is not always certain whether fragments belonged together. See García Martínez / Tigchelaar (1998) 1314-1323 for a recent listing of the manuscripts.

² See Zimmermann (1998) 343, Vermes (1995) xvii, Puech (1992) 475f, (1998) 1. Puech speaks of 11 + 6 or 7 = 17 or 18 fragments, but describes only 16. Probably the fragment(s) not described do not contain anything of importance. As far as we can see, we may suppose that all fragments reckoned to 4Q521 actually belonged to the same scroll and that no more known fragments were part of it.

³ Starcky (1956) 66, quoted by Puech (1992) 475 and others.

around 1960 and printed in 1988. However, at least the printed edition (called the *Preliminary Concordance*) does not contain entries for 4Q521.⁴

In 1974, Starcky chose Émile Puech as a co-worker for 4Q521 and other texts. In 1978, Puech published a translation of some lines of 4Q521.⁵ In 1981, Starcky fully handed over the responsibility for 4Q521 to Puech.⁶ As a title for the scroll, they invented *Apocalypse Messianique* (Messianic Apocalypse).⁷

To sum up, we can say that until 1991 only Starcky and Puech made study of 4Q521 and that they published too little about it to draw wider attention to the text. Put differently, persons outside the official publication team did not have access to a scroll until it had been published and this meant for 4Q521 that 39 years after its discovery it was still inaccessible.⁸

1991-1998

November 1991 meant a major breakthrough. Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson published *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, containing 1,785 photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls. These photographs were official photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls, made available by the Huntington Library in San Marino, Florida only two months before.⁹ Thus, Plate 1551 in the *Facsimile Edition* is the official photograph PAM 43.604, showing fragments 1-11 of 4Q521.¹⁰

However, not only a plate but also a translation of 4Q521 became public in November 1991.¹¹ Eisenman translated, under the title ‘A Messianic Vision’, 4Q521 2 ii and iii in the *Biblical Archeology Review* and added the following description:

In this messianic vision we do not find the two-messiah material that has been widely publicized in already available Qumran materials. Instead, only a single Davidic-style messiah who rules heaven and earth seems to be referred to.

Here again we find references to the “poor”, but this time in the context of raising the dead and announcing glad tidings. Note the use of *Adonai* (Lord) throughout. Note also that, as in the Damascus Document, God will “visit” the earth, where he will join the “poor” and “those bent in dust.” There are strong parallels between this and the interpretation of the Messianic Prophecy in the War Scroll.

The connections to early Christianity seem obvious.¹²

There are now better reconstructions, translations and interpretations of 4Q521, but, in any case, Eisenman was the first to make the text available for a wide audience.

The year 1992 meant a further breakthrough: in various publications, Michael O. Wise offered his reading of 4Q521 and Puech published the *editio princeps*.¹³ There are rather a lot of

⁴ See Vermes (1995) xvii,x,xi, Zimmermann (1998) 343n86.

⁵ See Puech (1978) 38-40, referred to by García Martínez (1992) 147n24.

⁶ See Puech (1992) 475n1, (1998) xiii.

⁷ Puech (1998) xiv attributes the title to Starcky; Puech (1999) 551 calls it his own suggestion. See further §2.3.

⁸ See e.g. Vermes (1995) xx and VanderKam (1994a) 189, cf. 200.

⁹ See VanderKam (1994a) 195ff.

¹⁰ See Eisenman / Robinson (1991) plate 1551.

¹¹ Even some days earlier than the *Facsimile Edition*, see Wise / Tabor (1992) 60.

¹² Eisenman (1991) 65.

¹³ Wise / Tabor (1992), Tabor / Wise (1992), Eisenman / Wise (1992), Puech (1992).

differences in the reconstruction and interpretation between Wise (with his co-authors) and Puech. In 1993, Puech's dissertation on the resurrection belief of the Essenes appeared, containing a somewhat reworked version of the *editio princeps* of 4Q521.¹⁴

During the following years, translations in many languages appeared. Articles were written on 4Q521 itself and on its relevance for the interpretation of the New Testament. Most contributions were rather short; none exceeded 25 pages. We will discuss the various positions in the next chapters.

1998-present

1998 has brought a new impetus for research on 4Q521 and its importance for the interpretation of the New Testament. No less than three editions of the text appeared. Puech published 4Q521 in the official series for the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert*. The commercial edition of Johannes Zimmermann's doctoral thesis on the messianic texts from Qumran appeared, with 47 pages on 4Q521. The second volume of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar made 4Q521 permanently available for anyone able to read Hebrew and English.¹⁵

In sum, we are now in a very favorable situation to study 4Q521. More than ever before, we can build on mature scholarly work. However, on many points, consensus has not been reached so far. There is still a job to be done!

3

When was 4Q521 written? In the course of answering this question, we will discuss some other points that might be reckoned to the 'introductory questions' as well.

As 4Q521 lacks any clear reference to a historical situation, we cannot date it straightforwardly. Moreover, we probably have to distinguish between the copy of which fragments have been found and the autograph.¹⁶

We propose a date of the fragments on the following considerations:

(1) The fragments were found at Qumran, and there is a wide scholarly agreement that the Qumran scrolls are not later than the first century AD. Stegemann even argues that the scrolls were hidden in the caves the last days of June, AD 68, and thus, all were written before this date.¹⁷

(2) In his detailed paleographic analysis of 4Q521, Puech dates the handwriting between 100 and 80 BC.¹⁸

¹⁴ Puech (1993).

¹⁵ Puech (1998), Zimmermann (1998), García Martínez / Tigchelaar (1998).

¹⁶ As we lack a direct proof either that the fragments are parts of an autograph or parts of a copy, most prudently, we assume that 4Q521 is a copy. This assumption is supported by the errors and corrections such as in 8 10,11: these are more likely copying errors than errors of an author. Cf. Puech (1998) 36, Becker (1997) 92n92.

¹⁷ See VanderKam (1994a) esp. 15-23, Vermes (1995) xxiii-xxv, Stegemann (1998) 59-64.

¹⁸ See Puech (1998) 3ff. VanderKam (1994a) 16f provides a brief introduction to the paleographic method for dating the scrolls. The classical study, followed by Puech, is: Cross (1961). Vermes

(3) On the basis of AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry), an advanced method of radiocarbon ('carbon-14') dating¹⁹, a date between 93 BC and AD 80 was found for 4Q521.²⁰ However, a more recent interpretation of the AMS-measurements leads to a date between 39 BC and AD 66 (or: between 49 BC and AD 116).²¹

The tension between the paleographic and the AMS date can be explained in three ways: (a) If we allow a broader margin of error for each date, we can assume that 4Q521 was written in between, about 60 BC. However, we need to explain then for each date why it is so inaccurate. (b) 4Q521 was written about a century later than other manuscripts with a comparable handwriting. Because of parallelisms with the New Testament, this is very interesting. Yet, the critical question is: why ever would someone use a handwriting of a century ago? (c) The paleographic date is correct, the AMS one not. A possible reason is that the material from 4Q521 used for AMS was affected with castor oil (containing 20th century carbon-14!), with which letters were made better readable in the early years after the discovery of the scrolls.²² All in all, 4Q521 was probably (not: certainly) written in the first quarter of this first century BC.

However, when was the autograph written? A simple rule is that a text is older than texts that refer to it and younger than texts it refers to. Can we find a *terminus ante quem* on the basis of allusions to 4Q521 in other texts? Hippolytus of Rome (about 170-236) wrote in his *Refutation of all Heresies* 9.27: 'The doctrine of the resurrection has also derived support among them [i.e. the Essenes], for they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable.'²³ Did Hippolytus (or his sources) infer this from our text? We do not know²⁴, and even if it were certain, it would not change the *terminus ante quem* as based on the paleography of the

(1995) xxiv calls Cross' system 'rather too rigid, but useful [and] comprehensive'. Stegemann (1998) 9 informs: 'The margin of error in the dating (...) is usually twenty-five years in each direction.'

¹⁹ For a short introduction to the application of AMS on the DSS, see VanderKam (1994a) 17ff, for more details see Doudna (1998).

²⁰ See Puech (1998) 5.

²¹ See Doudna (1998) 460,462.

²² See Doudna (1998) 448-452,460f.

²³ Quoted by VanderKam (1994a) 79

²⁴ In fact, there are three questions: (a) Is 4Q521 an Essenic text? This we will discuss below. (b) Did the Essenes actually believe in the resurrection of the dead (body)? This is defended at length by Puech (1993), followed with some nuance by e.g. Sacchi (1995) 439-442, Maier (1997) 308-311, VanderKam (1995) 320ff, see also Stegemann (1998) 209f, but denied by Collins (1994b) 246-252, followed by Knibb (1999) 384. (c) Josephus denies that the Essenes believed in the resurrection of the body. If so, did Hippolytus know a source independent of Josephus (so Puech (1993) e.g. 760), did he use Josephus but confuse Essenes and Pharisees (cf. Collins (1994b) 252), or did he adapt Josephus for his own purposes (supposed by Mansfeld (1983) esp. 222)? See also Bergmeier (1993) 23: 'Hippolyts Essenerbericht in Ref. IX, 18,2b – 28,2 ist als Josephusbearbeitung wohl Textzeuge für bell. 2,119-161, aber keineswegs von Josephus unabhängiger Zeuge einer Quelle, die auch Josephus benutzt hätte' (italecs by B.).

fragments found in Qumran (about 75 BC). The same is true for Mat 11:5 / Luke 7:22 *the dead are raised (and) the poor are brought good news*, a possible allusion to 2 ii 12.²⁵

As for the *terminus post quem*, one can find many allusions to biblical texts in 4Q521.²⁶ Of course, not every similarity implies dependence, but Psa 146 is certainly quoted in 2 ii 8 *setting prisoners free, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the bent, and to the poor he will bring a good tiding* in 2 ii 12 is most probably a reference to Isa 61:1. The language of Psa 146 and the contents of Isa 61 suggest that both texts are postexilic.²⁷ If 2 iii 2 *the fathers come to the sons* alludes to Mal 3:24 (Eng. 4:6), a postexilic date is further reinforced.²⁸ Zimmermann argues: ‘Die Zitate und Anspielungen aus dem AT setzen (...) eine gewisse zeitliche Distanz zum Abschluß des Prophetenkanons und des Psalters voraus’ and thus concludes for a date after 200 BC.²⁹ However, in our opinion, a quotation from a text such as Isaiah or a Psalm need not imply that the canon of the Prophets or the Psalter was already finished. One may assume that the book Isaiah had an important status long before the whole canon of the Prophets was finalized. Moreover, we also know that the younger prophetic books sometimes allude to the older ones: this happened by definition before there was a canon of the Prophets.³⁰ If so, the quotations and allusions in 4Q521 allow a date in the fourth or the third century BC as well.

Can a more specific *terminus post quem* be found by other givens? Can we make plausible that the text is written by a member of the Qumran sect, and thus is not earlier than about the middle of the second century BC? ³¹ Puech refers among other things to the orthography, the absence of the *tetragrammaton*, the parallels with 1QH^a and other Qumran writings, and the expectation of two Messiahs.³² (a) However, to start with the last point, 4Q521 does not testify the expectation of two Messiahs, as we will demonstrate below in our comments on 2 ii 1+2; in fact, the Messianic expectations of our text are rather distinct and difficultly datable.³³ (b) Where Puech sees parallels with other Qumran writings, the language is very ‘biblical’

²⁵ See further §3.4 for the question in how far the allusion is likely.

²⁶ See our exegesis of the fragments, and the overview by Zimmermann (1998) 377f.

²⁷ For Psa 146, see Allen (1983) 302. For Isa 61, Watts (1987) 302 suggests a connection with Ezra’s ‘renewal of covenant and establishment of law in Jerusalem about 458 B.C.’, but this is not certain.

²⁸ Smith (1984) 298f dates Maleachi in the first half of the fifth century BC, but admits that some date it about 520 BC and others in the first half of the fourth century BC.

²⁹ Zimmermann (1998) 387.

³⁰ As for the Psalter, 11Q5 may indicate that the last two books of the Psalms were standardized much later than 200 BC (see VanderKam (1994a) 135-139): if Zimmermann kept to his principle, he should assume a date in the first century AD.

³¹ See VanderKam (1994) 104, etc.

³² See Puech (1998) 36ff. Cf. the section ‘Zur Unterscheidung von essenischen und nichtessenischen Texten’ in Zimmermann (1998) 18-21.

³³ Becker (1997) 92n94 states: ‘In gewisser Weise offen ist nach wie vor die Frage, ob und inwiefern es sich bei 4Q521 um einen Text der Qumrangemeinschaft handelt. Doch gerade das prophetische Gesalbtenverständnis ist kein schwaches Argument für eine Verbindung des Textes zu Qumran.’ However, we will not agree with Becker’s interpretation of משיח in 2 ii 1.

without specific ‘sectarian’ vocabulary.³⁴ Zimmermann sees parallels with the Psalms of Solomon, but these are dated later than the fragments of 4Q521³⁵. Instead of trying to find one date for all such texts, one had better assume that certain vocabulary was used during several centuries. (c) Certainly, whereas אֲדֹנָי occurs several times, the name יהוה is not used, but we would not say that it is ‘soigneusement évité (...) même dans les citations explicites du Ps 146:7-8’³⁶. More likely, the NAME is left out for stylistic reasons in the quotation from Psa 146 in 2 ii 8: this line would have become too long if יהוה were retained in each of the three clauses cited from Psalm 146 in this line. Moreover, a substitution of אֲדֹנָי for יהוה is not characteristic for Qumran writings: ‘Einzig in der messianischen Apokalypse 4Q521 läßt sich אֲדֹנָי als durchgehend gebrauchter Ersatz für das Tetragramm feststellen. Im Regelfall – aber nicht ausschließlich – wurde ansonsten אֱלֹהִים zur Bezeichnung Gottes verwendet.’³⁷ (d) The orthography of 4Q521 is a middle course between *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva*, not the *plena* orthography typical for Qumran.³⁸ The usage of ם in a final position (5 i 4, 6 5) and the sign in the right margin between 2 ii 3+4³⁹ possibly indicate that the copy was written by a Qumran scribe, but tell little about the origin and date of the autograph.⁴⁰

Puech also assumes that the text presupposes Dan 12 and therefore is not older than the middle of the second century BC.⁴¹ However, the statements on the raising of the dead (2 ii 12, 7 5,6), and even the reconstruction *he has opened [the graves]* in 7 8 need not depend on Dan 12.

To sum up, for the autograph of 4Q521, we suggest a date later than Isa 61 and Psa 146, but earlier than the date suggested by the paleography of the fragments, so between about the fourth century and the first quarter of the first century BC. The author certainly sympathized with the חַסִּידִים *pious* (2 ii 5), but this does not necessarily mean he⁴² was an Essene.⁴³ Where he lived, we do not know. The parallelism between 2 ii 12 and Mat 11:5 / Luk 7:22 may suggest that the text was wider known than in Qumran only. Puech proposes as author the

³⁴ Puech (1998) 36 himself states: ‘Certains contacts de vocabulaire, s’ils ne sont pas typiquement sectaires, rapprochent néanmoins ce manuscrit de 1QH^a.’ Devorah Dimant (quoted and followed by Schniedewind (1999) 525n8) includes 4Q521 on her list of nonsectarian works. Vermes (1992) 303f reports: ‘The general opinion of the seminar, expressed in particular by Michael Knibb and Hugh Williamson, was that this is a verse composition belonging to the poetry of the late biblical period. It contains nothing definitely sectarian.’ And Zimmermann (1998) 387 says: ‘Insgesamt jedoch weisen Sprache, Orthographie und Inhalt nichts auf, was die Annahme einer qumranischen Verfasserschaft notwendig machen würde.’

³⁵ Cf. Zimmermann (1998) 378f,388.

³⁶ Puech (1998) 36, cf. Puech (1997) 60n85.

³⁷ Rösel (2000) 217, cf. 214.

³⁸ See Puech (1998) 5f, Abegg (1998) 328ff.

³⁹ See the photograph below, §2.2, the section on Fragment 2 column 2.

⁴⁰ Cf. Puech (1998) 6f,36.

⁴¹ So Puech (1998) 37.

⁴² Or: she?

משכיל *Master* of the Qumran community in the second half of the second century BC.⁴⁴ In the light of the above, this is a (fascinating!) shot in the dark.

The results of this search for a date are a bit disappointing at first sight, but at least three important conclusions can be drawn: (1) Previous research into 4Q521 too easily excluded a date before the second half of the second century BC. (2) 4Q521 is best reckoned to the third of the three categories of literature found at Qumran: biblical, sectarian and intertestamental.⁴⁵ (3) משיח *Messiah* in 4Q521 2 ii 1 cannot (directly) refer to Jesus Christ, as the author lived too early to know him.

4

In §2.2, we offer for each fragment (and column) of 4Q521:

- a photo
- a transcription
- a translation
- notes on the transcription and the translation
- exegetical comments.

A word of introduction to each of them.

Photos. Anyone who does not want to be at the mercy of editors should consult the scrolls themselves or photographs of them. For 4Q521, especially the photos PAM 41.676 en 43.604 are relevant. They are well available on the CD-ROMs co-published by Oxford University Press and Brill.⁴⁶ This CD-ROM edition has many advantages over a printed one⁴⁷: the photos can be enlarged very easily (up to hundreds of percents) and the contrast can be changed. Even an untrained eye is able to see a lot in this way. Besides, one can copy (a part of) a photo very easily and use it in a word processor.⁴⁸ This has enabled us to start the presentation of each fragment with a photo.⁴⁹

Transcription. Despite the scribe's neat hand and despite modern computer technology, reading 4Q521 remains a hard job because of its fragmentary state: many words are missing, of many letters only remnants are left; the order of the fragments is uncertain, and how can we know whether two fragments belonged to the same column?

⁴³ According to Baumgartner (1994) 31, 4Q521 is certainly not Saddusaic, while he allows 'for the possibility that this text may come from a Pharisaic source which happened to be preserved in the Qumran library'.

⁴⁴ See Puech (1998) 38. For the משכיל, see 1QS 9 12-26.

⁴⁵ For these categories, see Fitzmyer (1998) 5f.

⁴⁶ Lim (1997).

⁴⁷ Such as the *Fascimile Edition* mentioned above in the section on the history of research.

⁴⁸ This is a real advantage over the microfiche edition published by Brill in 1993.

⁴⁹ See Puech (1998) plate I for a possible arrangement of the fragments, and page 2 and plates II,III for the original size of the fragments (as an indication, line 2 ii 5 is 78 mm in length).

Fortunately, we can profit a lot from the work of the experts who transcribed 4Q521 before us. (a) First of all, we should mention Puech. Nobody on earth is more acquainted with 4Q521 than he. In his 1998-*DJD*-volume already mentioned above, he has offered the world his most definite reading (and reconstruction) of the text.⁵⁰ In our judgment, Puech has correctly read every letter still recognizable. However, Puech has also tried to read letters actually no longer recognizable, has reconstructed lost letters, words and sentences, and has joined fragments that may belong together. Inevitably, this sometimes remains speculative. (b) On the other hand, Zimmermann has refrained from all speculative reconstructions.⁵¹ He could not take into account Puech's newest readings. (c) *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* by García Martínez and Tigchelaar is handy, but not precise enough for our purposes. The editors do not differentiate between certain, probable and possible readings, and they should not have omitted fragment 9, which possibly contains the word משיח *anointed one*.⁵² (d) Wise has transcribed various fragments independent of Puech's publications.⁵³ This gives his work a special value, although in the case of differences, Puech always turns out to have the better reading.⁵⁴

As all these editions have their own disadvantages, we offer our own transcription, which tends to be an intermediate between Puech and Zimmermann.

In the transcription, we have used the following signs:

- possible letter
- ◌̇ probable letter
- trace of a letter
- [] lacuna
- [lacuna from the beginning of the line
-] lacuna to the end of the line
- [~~AAA~~] reconstructed text
- {~~AAA~~} erased text

⁵⁰ As was to be expected, in many instances (but not always!), Puech (1998) just repeats Puech (1992) and the corresponding chapter in Puech (1993).

⁵¹ Following F.L. Horton, Zimmermann (1998) 21 opts for *more holes, more certainty*.

⁵² At some points, we prefer a reading differing from García Martínez / Tigchelaar (1998) 1044-1047. Besides, we have noted the following errata in their text and translation of 4Q521:

page 1044 2 II 8: '[... כ]פופים' should be '[פופים]', cf. the translation;

page 1044 2 II 13: '[...]ן' should be '[...]' or it should be indicated that this ן stems from fragment 4 (Puech combines fragments 2 ii and 4);

page 1045: '*Frag. 1 col. I*' should be '*Frag. 1 col. II*';

page 1045 2 II 13: 'and [...]' should be '[...]' or it should be indicated that 'and' stems from fragment 4 (Puech combines fragments 2 ii and 4);

page 1047 7+5 II 14: 'have meet' should be 'have met' (already corrected in the second edition).

⁵³ Wise / Tabor (1992), Tabor / Wise (1992), Eisenman / Wise (1992).

⁵⁴ See for a critical comparison of Eisenman / Wise (1992) with Puech (1992): García Martínez (1993b) 139ff.

Translation. Under consultation of several existing translations, we offer a fresh, rather literal rendering of 4Q521 in English. Square brackets again indicate lacunas in the original; other special signs are not used. Although this imposes a certain interpretation on the text, we translate indefinite expressions like עוֹרִים and עֲנִיִּים with an article: *the blind, the poor*. The translation of מְשִׁיחַ requires special attention.⁵⁵ We have opted for the neutral rendering *anointed one* in all three occurrences (2 ii 1, 8 9, 9 3), although in our exegesis of 2 ii 1, we will argue for the meaning *Messiah*.

Notes. Under the heading *notes*, following the translation, we explain some choices in the transcription and the translation, or mention alternatives. For the sake of brevity, we do not comment on every detail of the transcriptions and reconstructions; Puech and Zimmermann offer some more remarks. Words that have lost their context or even their ending often can be translated in many ways, but we see no use in mentioning all these options. In some cases, textual questions are discussed under the next heading, *exegesis*.

Exegesis. If one reads 4Q521 for the first time, one senses that it is an important text, but one is discouraged by many hardly understandable passages. The text seems to express some rather unique ideas, while at the same time, it is only understood if we hear the resonance of biblical vocabulary in it.

The fragmentary state of 4Q521 does not facilitate the exegesis. Of course, we can only interpret those parts of the original that have been preserved. However, even the exegesis of these fragments is difficult as we do not know much about their order and relationship. Did the scroll contain one discourse with a clear argument? Is it a collection of hymns with somewhat similar subjects? What was the original order of the fragments? In any case, we should be aware that the division in fragments has nothing to do with a well-thought-out division into chapters or pericopes. Zimmermann is probably right when he writes: 'Ein inhaltlicher Zusammenhang ist u.E. nicht zu erkennen; es bleibt offen, ob es sich um einen fortlaufenden Text oder um mehrere aufeinanderfolgende psalmenartige Kompositionen handelt. Was sich aufzeigen läßt, sind lediglich verwandte Motive bzw. Traditionen.'⁵⁶ With this in mind, as far as possible, we will strive for a coherent interpretation of 4Q521.

Solid exegetical work has already been done before us. With the exception of the smallest parts, Puech and Zimmermann have commented on all fragments. As for Puech, 'his annotations are exceptionally erudite. He draws parallels not only from the Bible, Pseudepigrapha and DSS, but also from rabbinic and patristic texts and Zoroastrian mythology.'⁵⁷ We regret, however, that in his *DJD*-volume, Puech does not fully take into account the amount of secondary literature on 4Q521 that has appeared since 1992. In this

⁵⁵ Cf. Maier (1996) 611f and the reaction by Zimmermann (1998) 15n72.

⁵⁶ Cf. Zimmermann (1998) 365.

⁵⁷ Collins (1999) 356.

respect, Zimmermann's work is more valuable.⁵⁸ In the English language, a commentary as detailed as Puech or Zimmermann has not been published so far.

Most of the secondary literature concentrates on the references to the anointed one and the resurrection, especially in the best-preserved passage, column 2 ii. Particularly influential have been the publications by John J. Collins, in which he has argued that the anointed one in 2 ii 1 is a prophetic Messiah.⁵⁹

Although we summarize various positions at some points, we do not intend to repeat all that has been said already. Without striving to have a 'new' interpretation of every detail, we try to offer some fresh insights, even if we can only argue that the interpretation by someone else is too contrived.

Sometimes, we refer to the New Testament for the similar usage of a word. Of course, we are well aware that the New Testament is younger, but its authors will not have invented new meanings for every word they use. Moreover, in view of chapter 3, we are mainly interested in how one would have understood 4Q521 in Jesus' days.

⁵⁸ Be aware of the following errates in Zimmermann's chapter on 4Q521 and on some other pages:

page 350 note 108: 'BERGMAIER' should be 'BERGMEIER';

page 355 צדיקים: '11QPs^a 19,10 (= syrPs 154, 22f)' should be: ?;

page 366 *Fragment 2, Spalte III, Übersetzung 3*: 'hast(?) in' should be 'hast(?), Herr, in';

page 374 *Der Text 10*: 'אכני' should be 'אדני';

page 374 *Übersetzung 8*: '[...] und' should be '[...] der Tempel und';

page 374 note 196: '1Sam 2,7' should be '1Sam 12,7';

page 375 *Anmerkungen a*): '4Q253' should be '4Q252';

page 375 note 199: '4Q270 9 ii 14' should be '4Q270 2 ii 14';

page 376 *Fragment 10, Übersetzung 4*: 'in eurer Mitte' should be 'in ihrer Mitte';

page 382 d): 'II 2+6' should be 'III 2+6';

page 447 7.3.1, 1., last sentence: 'Intepretationsansatz' should be 'Interpretationsansatz';

page 447 note 73: 'vgl. u. S. 379f' should be 'vgl. o. S. 379f'.

⁵⁹ Collins (1994a), (1995a) 117-122.

§2.2 Text and Commentary

Fragment 1 column ii



Figure 1. 4Q521 1 (detail of PAM 41.676; the detail left above belongs to fragment 7)

Transcription

]°°[1
ו]שמעת]ם 2
ופעלת] 3
ימה עברת]ם 4
וליראה א]ן 5
רבו צדיק]ים 6
וקימים] 7
ואהב]ן 8
]°° 9

Translation

2 and] you have heard[
3 and the work of[
4 in the west you have passed[
5 and to fear [
6 the righte[ous] have multiplied[
7 and those who stand up [
8 and (they) love[

Notes

For column i, see Puech.⁶⁰

2,4 Although the verbal forms can be singulars, they are most probable second person plurals.⁶¹ Second person plural forms are clearly attested in 2 ii 3,4 and 7 7. Second person singular forms refer to God: 2 i+3 9 and 2 iii 1 (though not in 6 6). Here the references are probable not to God.

3 **פּעלחן** can be a verbal form as well, but only the participle of **פּעל** has been attested so far in the Qumran writings.⁶²

4 A decision between **ימה** *in / to the west*⁶³ and **ומה** *and what / why* is difficult.

Exegesis

3 **פּעלח** *work*. Five of the fourteen occurrences of **פּעלח** in the Old Testament are in Isa 40-66, all with the more specific meaning *pay* or *recompense*, given by God. As there are many allusions to Isa 40-66 in 4Q521, we have reason to consider such an interpretation. Does God recompense those who have listened (line 2)?

7 **קימים** *those who stand up*. If this is a reference to the resurrection and if 4Q521 is one coherent text, then probably fragment 1 did not precede fragments 2 (2 ii 12: *the dead he will make alive*) and 7 (7 6: *he who gives lives to the dead of his people*).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Puech (1998) 7f.

⁶¹ See Puech (1998) 8.

⁶² See Puech (1998) 8.

⁶³ So Puech (1998) 7f.

⁶⁴ Cf. Puech (1998) 9.

Fragment 2 column i and fragment 3



Figure 2. 4Q521 2 i (detail of PAM 41.676)

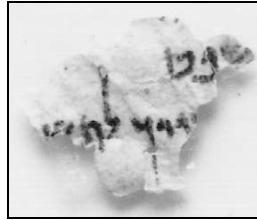


Figure 3. 4Q521 3 (detail of PAM 41.676)

Transcription

ויטב לנו	[ ]°[	7
נִשְׁפָּט	[	8
לְקוֹיךָ לְתַשׁוּעָה	[	9
	[	10
יָעֲלֶה	[°	11

Translation

7	]it will go well with us
8	]judgment
9	]who wait for you for salvation
10]
11	] he will go up

Notes

The combination of fragments 2 i and 3 is (though not fully certain) convincing.⁶⁵

7 Or: ויטב.

11 Or: *he will bring up* (Hiph'il).

⁶⁵ Zimmermann (1998) 365f follows Puech in this combination. See Puech (1998) plate II for a photo on which the fragments are combined.

Exegesis

9 קוּיךְ לַחֲשׂוּעָה *who wait for you for salvation*. For חֲשׂוּעָה see especially Psa 146:3 ‘Do not trust in princes, in mortal man, in whom there is no salvation.’ (NASB). Psa 146 plays an important role in the next column. See also Isa 46:13. 80% of the occurrences of the more frequent יִשׁוּעָה are in the Psalms and in Isaiah. A close parallel is Gen 49:18 ‘I wait (קוּיִתִּי) for your salvation, O LORD.’ (English from NRSV). Combinations of קוּדָה and יִשׁוּעָה are also found in Isa 25:9, 33:2 and 59:11.

Fragment 2 column ii

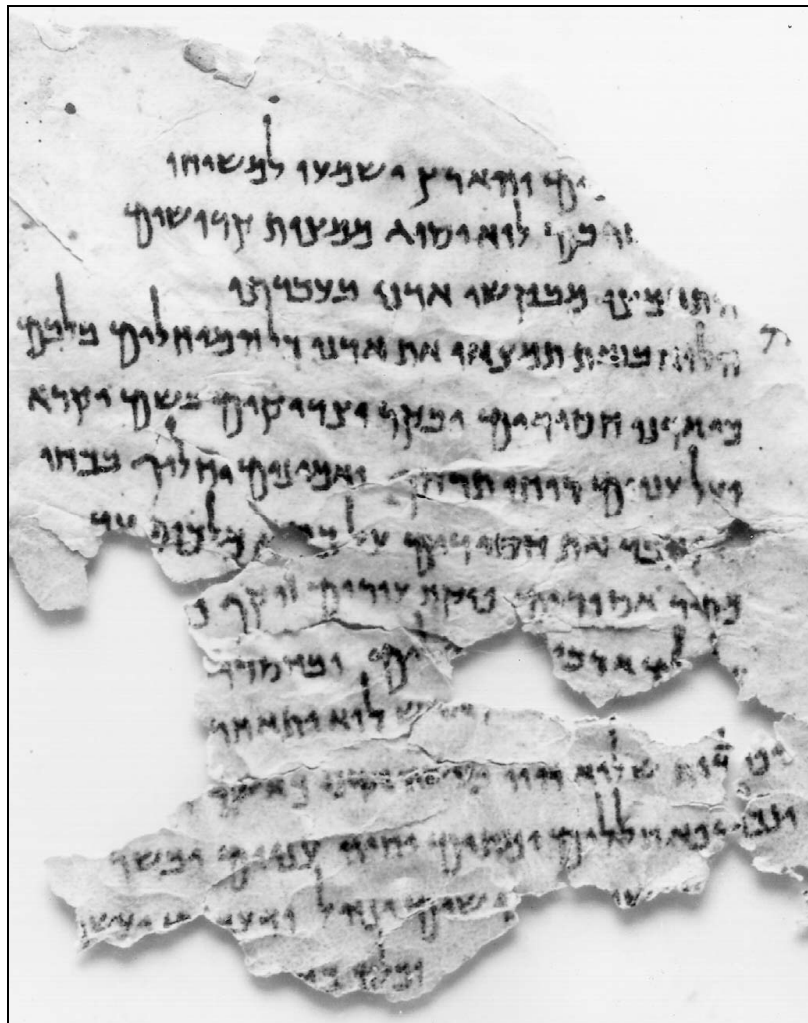


Figure 4. 4Q521 2 ii (detail of PAM 41.676)

Transcription

1 כי השמים והארץ ישמעו למשיחו
2 וכל אשר בם לוא יסוג ממצות קדושים
3 התאמצו מבקשי אדני בעבדתו *vacat*
4 הלוא בזאת תמצאו את אדני כל המיחלים בלבם
5 כי אדני חסידים יבקר וצדיקים בשם יקרא
6 ועל עניים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יחליף בכחו
7 כי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד
8 מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקף כפופים
9 ולעלם אדבק [במ]יחלים ובחסדו י
10 ופרני מעשה ה טוב לאיש לוא יתאחר
11 ונכרות שלוא היו יעשה אדני כאשר דןבר
12 כי ירפא חללים ומתים יחיה עניים יבשר
13 [] ש [] נתושים ינהל ורעבים יעשר
14 [] וכלם כן

Translation

1 for the heavens and the earth will listen to his anointed one
2 and all that is in them will not turn away from the commandments of the holy ones.
3 Strengthen yourselves, you who seek the Lord in his service! *vacat*
4 Will you not find the Lord in this, all those who wait in their heart?
5 For the Lord will oversee the pious and the righteous he will call by name
6 and upon the poor his spirit will hover and the faithful he will renew with his strength.
7 For he will honor the pious on the throne of eternal kingship,
8 by setting prisoners free, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the bent.
9 And forever I will cling [to those who] wait and in his loyalty [he will
10 And the fruit of a] good [work] will not be delayed for anybody.
11 And glorious things that did not exist, the Lord will do, as he has said:
12 For he will heal the badly wounded and the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will
bring a good tiding
13 [] the uprooted he will lead and the hungry he will enrich
14 [] and all [

Notes

1 כִּי fits the space available (2-3 characters), makes sense and is certain at the beginning of line 5. Instead of כִּי one could also think of a substantive in the *status constructus* (e.g. בְּנֵי *the sons of*). However, given the parallelism between the lines (verses) in this column, most naturally *the heavens and the earth* themselves are understood as the subject in verse 1 and *all that is in them* (i.e. in the heavens and the earth) as the subject in verse 2.⁶⁶ Bergmeier proposes לוֹ (א) *o that ...*⁶⁷, but then one would expect the negation אֵל instead of לוֹא in line 2. In the Qumran orthography, לְמַשִּׁיחוֹ can be a plural as well: *his anointed ones* (in Biblical Hebrew this would require the ending יוֹ-).⁶⁸ Nevertheless, a singular is more likely. See below, section IV of our exegesis of lines 1+2. The referent of the suffix probably stood in one of the last lines of the preceding column. This makes the reconstruction of a conjunction like כִּי even more plausible.

2 Based on Psa 146:6 (cf. the quotation from Psa 146:7,8 in line 8), Tabor and Wise have suggested בַּם אֲשֶׁר וְכָל הַיָּם *the sea and all that is in them* (too many characters, however) and בַּם הַיָּם דָּאֲשֶׁר בַּם *the sea and what is in them* as reconstructions for the beginning of this line. In this way, they have to assume a full stop after בַּם and to see the anointed one as the subject of לוֹא יִסְוֹג. This means that they unnecessarily abandon a ‘one line = one verse’ reading.⁶⁹ מִצְוֹת is probably a defectively written plural, as it is often in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁰

3-4 The sign in the right margin between lines 3 and 4 resembles an Aramaic *qoph* from the Persian time; it is not further attested in Qumran. According to Bergmeier, it may indicate that line 3 is the first of a new section. However, its place lower than line 3 and the *vacat* at the end of line 3 would suggest that line 4 is the beginning of a new section, but the contents make this less likely. Maybe we have to speculate the other way around: as the author did not need more words for line 3, an unintended *vacat* came into being, and therefore, he (or a copyist) placed a sign to indicate that this *vacat* was *not* intended as a section end.⁷¹

3 The exact meaning of הִתְאַמְצוּ is not clear because the Hitpa‘el of אָמַץ is not very frequent. Some possible interpretations are *be determined*⁷², *persist*⁷³, *exert yourselves*⁷⁴.

⁶⁶ Cf. Puech (1998) 12.

⁶⁷ See Bergmeier (1995) 39.

⁶⁸ See Zimmermann (1998) 385f. Abegg (1995) 142 suggests reading לְמַשִּׁיחֵי *the anointed of ...*. This proposal is cited without comment by Neirynek (1997) 55. However, we reject it, as the difference between ו and ך is too obvious in this line as to be ignored. Moreover, why would a following *nomen rectum* be written on the next line, while lines 4ff. are much longer? Finally, what reconstruction can be proposed for the beginning of line 2 that fits the space and makes sense in this line?

⁶⁹ Cf. Wise / Tabor (1992) 62, Tabor / Wise (1992) 150f, Puech (1998) 12 and Zimmermann (1998) 345.

⁷⁰ See Puech (1998) 12, Zimmermann (1998) 345. Duhaime (1995) 271 opts for a singular with a collective sense.

⁷¹ Cf. Puech (1998) 7, Bergmeier (1995) 40n10, Tov (1996) 53,72.

⁷² See Zimmermann (1998) 344f.

⁷³ KBL sv אָמַץ hitp; cf. HAL sv אָמַץ hitp: ‘sich stark erweisen’.

6 As is well known, עניים has a wider connotation than *poor*, including also *humble*.

The translation *will hover* for תרחף is proposed by Zimmermann.⁷⁵

7 Zimmermann places כִּי between square brackets⁷⁶; however, after enlargement of the photographs, remnants of letters are visible.

8 This line quotes Psa 146:7,8. The reconstruction כפופים is based on verse 8 (see also Psa 145:14) and therefore almost certain.

9-11 Tabor and Wise read and translate lines 9-11 as follows:

ל[עו]לם אדבֿק [בו ע]ל [מ]שלים ובחסדו [אבטח]

וטובו לעד משיחו] הקֿדש לוא יתאחר [לבוא]

ונכ>ב< דות שלוא היו מַעשה אדני כאשר י[בוא]

For[e]ver I will cleave [to him aga]inst the [po]werful, and [I will trust] in his loving kindness [and in his goodness forever. His] holy [Messiah] will not be slow [in coming.]

And as for the glorious things that are not the work of the Lord, when he (i.e., the Messiah) [come]s⁷⁷

This reading is fascinating in several respects: (a) the Messiah is mentioned once more, (b) the Messiah will do the 'glorious things' mentioned in line 12, including the raising of the dead, (c) the parallels with Mat 11:2-6 become very close: 'the works of the Messiah' in Mat 11:2 are explicitly predicted here, and John's question 'Are you he who is to come?' alludes to the promise concerning the coming of the Messiah in this line.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, this reading should be rejected. At several points, detailed analysis of the manuscript makes the readings by Tabor and Wise impossible: in line 9, the ש is more probably a ח; in its present state, this line ends probably with the remnants of a י (*he will ... or they will ...*) so the reconstruction [אבטח] is untenable; the second letter of line 10 is certainly not a ט but a פ; in line 11, the נ is more probably a י (with a dot⁷⁹ below it). Besides, as noted above (line 2), every line of this passage seems to consist of one verse; thus, a full stop halfway in line 10 is unlikely. Finally, על דבֿק ב על *cleave to somebody against somebody* (line 9) is not attested anywhere else.⁸⁰

9 Zimmermann does not find a convincing reconstruction for the letters between אדבֿק and לים.⁸¹ However, as Puech claims to be sure that the letter before לים is a ח, במיחלים *to those who hope* is a plausible option.⁸²

⁷⁴ DCH sv אמיץ Htp 1.

⁷⁵ German: *wird rüteln*. See Zimmermann (1998) 355f.

⁷⁶ See Zimmermann (1998) 344.

⁷⁷ Tabor / Wise (1992) 150f.

⁷⁸ For the actual relationship between 4Q521 and Mat 11:2-6, see §3.4.

⁷⁹ This dot could mean that the י should be skipped, but probably the dot is meaningless. See Puech (1998) 11 and Zimmermann (1998) 347.

⁸⁰ For these and more observations, see Puech (1998) 11,14ff, Zimmermann (1998) 346,360f and Becker (1997) 91 (with footnotes).

⁸¹ See Zimmermann (1998) 344ff, 360f.

10 The reconstruction of the first half of the line is not more than a possibility.⁸³

11 The supralinear ב is a correction by the copyist or someone else in antiquity who saw that this letter was missing.⁸⁴

12 The remnants of the initial letters allow reading כִּי; a word that we have seen for certain at the beginning of line 5 and that is plausible at the beginning of lines 1 and 7.⁸⁵

13ff 4Q521 4 contains the initial letters of three lines: וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ. Because Puech thinks that these have been the initials of lines 13-15 of the present column, he can read as the first words of line 13: [וַיְנַבְּ] וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ *the low he will fill* and he reconstructs line 14: [וַיְנַבְּ] וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ *and he reconstructs line 14: [וַיְנַבְּ] וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ*.

°[וַיְנַבְּ] וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ | וַיְנַבְּ *and the inst[ructed ones (?)] and all, like ho[ly ones (?)] they -*.⁸⁶ However, Puech does not provide arguments for the combination of the fragments.⁸⁷ In our opinion, even though the reconstruction is possible, it is not certain at all and therefore we do not follow it.⁸⁸

13 יַעֲשֶׂה is probably a Pi‘el (not further attested) or a Hiph‘il (defectively written), meaning *he will enrich*.⁸⁹

Exegesis

Fragment 2 ii confronts us with some difficult, but very interesting questions, namely: (a) Who is *his anointed one*? (b) Is the anointed one involved in the raising of the dead and the other ‘glorious things’? Furthermore, every line poses its own questions. The exegesis is facilitated a bit by the fact that many lines are almost fully preserved.

The text of 2 ii has the following structure:

- 1+2 Perspective on the universal obedience in the eschaton
- 3+4 Call to service and to wait – so, God can be found
- 5+6 God’s care and renewed action for the pious
- 7+8 Glorification and future salvation for the pious
- 9+10 *unclear*
- 11+12 Wonders not yet seen: resurrection and preaching
- 13+14 possible continuation (eschatological restitution of Israel?)⁹⁰

⁸² See Puech (1998) 10f, 14f. It should be noted that for line 9 Puech (1998) 10 has some more supralinear dots than Puech (1992) 485.

⁸³ Cf. Puech (1998) 11,15.

⁸⁴ Cf. Puech (1998) 11.

⁸⁵ See Puech (1998) 11 and Zimmermann (1998) 347. Tabor / Wise (1992) 150 offer an alternative: וַיְנַבְּ.

⁸⁶ See Puech (1998) 10f, cf. 18.

⁸⁷ Cf. Puech (1998) 2f,17n41.

⁸⁸ Neither does Zimmermann (1998) 344,364ff.

⁸⁹ Puech (1998) 11,17 argues for two possible translations of יַעֲשֶׂה: *enrichera* and *invitera au banquet* (cf. Luke 14:21ff). However, Zimmermann (1998) 347 rejects the second of these. Tabor / Wise (1992) 150 read יַעֲשֶׂה *he will do* (preceded by [ב]ם *he will lead the [Ho]ly Ones, he will shepherd [th]em.*).

כי השמים והארץ ישמעו למשיחו 1+2
וכל אשר בם לוא יסוג ממצות קדושים

*For the heavens and the earth will listen to his anointed one
and all that is in them will not turn away from the commandments of the holy ones.*

These are the best-studied lines of 4Q521. A diversity of interpretations has been offered, all with their own strong points and weaknesses. While taking into account the discussion so far, we will suggest our own understanding of this passage.

We proceed in the following way:

I We raise questions that bring to light the difficulties in this passage.

II We offer an overview of ‘anointed ones’ in the literature of the Second Temple period.

III We list the interpretations of משיחו *his anointed one(s)* so far.

IV We argue for our own interpretation of these lines.

I Some questions that bring to light the difficulties in lines 1+2

What is meant by *the heavens and the earth*? The whole cosmos? Persons?

When will they *listen*? Does *listen* mean *obey*? Is this an allusion to Isa 1:2?

Whose is *his anointed one*? What is the identity of this *anointed one*?

Is one, or are two or more *anointed one(s)* being spoken of here?

What is the relationship with the *anointed ones* in 8 9 (and maybe 9 3)?

Which commandments are meant by *the commandments of the holy ones*?

Who are the *holy ones*? Do they give or observe the *commandments*?

How do they relate to the *anointed one*?

Are these lines the end of a section? If not, what is the relationship with the following?

II ‘Anointed ones’ in the literature of the Second Temple period

Messianism in the Second Temple period is a much-studied subject.⁹¹ We first summarize three problems one meets in this field and then offer an overview of the ‘anointed ones’ and ‘Messiahs’.

The first problem is terminological. The word משיח (or: χριστός) does not always refer to a Messiah, but can also refer to anointed ones as for example the Old Testament prophets. On the other hand, different words may be used for figures that we would call Messiahs. A good definition of a Messiah is offered by Collins: ‘By “messiah” I mean an agent of God in the

⁹⁰ According to Zimmermann (1998) 347f.

⁹¹ The whole field has been covered by Collins (1995a). The most up-to-date and extensive analysis of messianism in the DSS is of course Zimmermann (1998); of lasting value is Van der Woude (1957). A full list of (probably) messianic passages in the DSS is provided by Abegg / Evans (1998) 191-203, see also Stuckenbruck (1996) 129-139. Abegg / Evans / Oegema (1998) 204-214 have offered an almost exhaustive ‘Bibliography of Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls’; we missed: Tantlevskij (1994) 189-280.

end-time, who is said somewhere in the literature to be anointed, but who is not necessarily called “messiah” in every passage.’⁹² In addition, Zimmermann remarks that ‘was in den Qumranschriften als ‚messianisch‘ zu bezeichnen ist, nicht vorweg definiert, sondern erst durch die Untersuchung ermittelt werden soll.’⁹³

Exactly for 4Q521, Zimmermann detects also a weakness in Collins’ definition:

Was bei einer derartigen Definition verloren geht, ist der Zusammenhang zwischen ‚historischen‘ und ‚eschatologischen‘ Gesalbten, die beide in den Quellen משיח genannt werden. D.h., die hier verwendete Terminologie stößt dort an ihre Grenze, wo nicht mit Sicherheit gesagt werden kann, ob es sich um einen ‚historischen‘ oder einen ‚eschatologischen‘ Gesalbten handelt, wie dies u.E. in 4Q521 2 II 1 der Fall ist[.]⁹⁴

For our overview below, this means that we should mention both ‘historical anointed ones’ and ‘Messiahs as defined by Collins’: in this way, we get a full list of possible referents for the משיח in our line. However, we can limit ‘historical anointed ones’ to ‘Old Testament anointed ones’. From the Old Testament till the turn of the era, there are no testimonies of messianic claimants.⁹⁵ For the first and the second century AD, we have some testimonies⁹⁶, but as these persons lived later than our scroll was written, the author of 4Q521 cannot have had them in mind.

The second problem concerns the sources. With the exception of the Dead Sea Scrolls, almost all sources with references to Messiahs in the Second Temple period have their specific problems: (a) the New Testament and other early Christian writings speak of (non-Christian) Jewish messianism from a Christian point of view; (b) Philo and Josephus contain few references to Messiahs, both write for an educated hellenistic public, and for Josephus, writing after the fall of Jerusalem, messianism has a bad connotation; (c) the rabbinic literature reflects the negative messianic experiences of the catastrophes in AD 70, 115-117 and 132-135, together with anti-Christian polemics; (d) the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are translated and adapted by Christians, whereas the *word* Messiah is found in PsS, 1En (Similitudes), 4Ez and 2Ba only.⁹⁷ In contrast, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain quite a lot of references to a משיח and are certainly not adapted to the views of later times. They are our major source for messianism in the Second Temple period.

⁹² Collins (1995b) 146. According to Charlesworth (1998) 8, commenting on Collins (1995a), Collins’ criterion is too wide: ‘Scholars (...) will not all agree that he has included only “messianic” passages.’ Maybe this is true for his actual selection of passages, but the criterion as such seems to us to be valid. For criticism on narrower criteria, see Zimmermann (1998) 16f.

⁹³ Zimmermann (1998) 17f.

⁹⁴ Zimmermann (1998) 17n84. As will become clear further on, we do not fully agree with Zimmermanns conclusions concerning 4Q521 2 ii 1+2.

⁹⁵ משיח in Dan 9:26 probably refers to a high-priest in the second century BC: Onias III. See Goldingay (1989) 262.

⁹⁶ See e.g. Collins (1995a) 194-204, Evans (1995) 53-81, Lichtenberger (1998) 18ff.

⁹⁷ See Zimmermann (1998) 9, Collins (1995a) 3f.

The third problem relates to the picture that emerges from a critical analysis of the sources. (1) Some have fitted all the data into one *doctrine* of the Messiah.⁹⁸ (2) Others see an *evolution* from one type of messianism to another.⁹⁹ (3) Again others hold a *pluralistic view* on the matter: in early Judaism, a rich but incoherent mixture of messianic expectations existed.¹⁰⁰ (4) Finally, a group of scholars sees in the rich mixture a limited number of *patterns* of messianic expectations that may have coexisted at one time in Judaism.¹⁰¹ In our opinion, this last picture is most convincing. It is worth adding that in pre-Christian times difference in messianic expectations does not seem to have functioned as a breaking point between groups. Maybe messianic expectations were not very vital for the average Jew.¹⁰²

Having faced these three questions, we are now ready to give an overview of anointed ones and Messiahs in the literature of the Second Temple period. They can be divided into four categories: royal, priestly, prophetic and heavenly.¹⁰³

1) *Royal*. Expectations of a royal Messiah are especially found in PsS 17 and 18 and in several Dead Sea Scrolls.

⁹⁸ Collins (1995a) 3,15n12 mentions Emil Schuerer (also still the revised edition of *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*) and G.F. Moore. For a doctrine of the Messiah limited to the DSS, Zimmermann (1998) 447 cites Frank Moore Cross: ‘There is a consistent doctrine of two messiahs, one of Aaron and one of Israel, throughout the Qumran literature’; Cross (1996) 2 limits this to ‘the sectarian Qumran literature’; *locus classicus* for this view is 1QS ix 11: ‘until the prophet comes, and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel’. Zimmermann (1998) 447(n73) is especially critical towards those who force texts into this pattern that clearly do not fit:

Ein Beispiel dafür ist die Interpretation von Puech zu 4Q521. Er interpretiert den Text von der Schablone der ‚Zwei-Messias-Erwartung‘ her und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß auch in diesem Text „le bimessianisme“ bezeugt sei (1993, 669 u. ö. (...)), während u.E. in 4Q521 weder eine königliche noch eine priesterliche, sondern aufgrund der Bezüge zu Jes 61 und von anderen Beobachtungen her in erster Linie eine *prophetische* Gestalt zu erkennen ist[.]

⁹⁹ For a critical assessment of this position, see Zimmermann (1998) 448-452.

¹⁰⁰ Exemplary is the position unanimously endorsed by the First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins, viz.: ‘that there was no single, discernible role description for a “Messiah” into which a historical figure like Jesus could be fit. Rather, each group which entertained a messianic hope interpreted “Messiah” in light of its historical experiences and reinterpreted Scripture accordingly.’ (Charlesworth (1992) xv.) See also the statements quoted by Zimmermann (1998) 448(n75).

¹⁰¹ So especially Collins (1995a), followed by Zimmermann (1998).

¹⁰² E.g. Charlesworth (1998) 5 asks ‘Did most Jews look for or yearn for the coming of the Messiah?’ and answers: ‘My answer to this question, based on the vast number of early Jewish texts, spanning from the years from 250 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., is probably “no”.’ On the other hand, Collins (1995a) 12 states: ‘If we may accept Ed Sanders’s notion of a common Judaism, in the sense of what was typical, though not necessarily normative, in the period 100BCE–100CE, the expectation of a Davidic Messiah was surely part of it.’

¹⁰³ So Collins (1995a), cf. the divisions by García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1993) 187-222 = García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1995) 159-189 = García Martínez (1993a) 171-208 and Zimmermann (1998). A differently structured overview of ‘Messianic Expectations and Messianic Figures in the Second Temple Period’, intended to show the diversity of expectations, is given by Lichtenberger (1998) 9-20. Schiffman (1992) 116-129 distinguishes between restorative messianism, looking forward to the reestablishment of the Davidic empire, and utopian messianism, expecting a perfect and ideal world that never was before.

The portrait of the ideal king that emerges from this corpus is sketchy but consistent. He is the scepter who will smite the nations, slay the wicked with the breath of his lips, and restore the Davidic dynasty. Hence his role in the eschatological war. He is also the messiah of righteousness, who will usher in an era of peace and justice. He is presumably a human figure, although he is endowed with the spirit of the Lord. He is expected to restore a dynasty rather than rule forever himself.¹⁰⁴

In the Old Testament, kings such as Saul, David and Solomon are reported to have been anointed; texts that could give rise to the expectation of a royal (Davidic) Messiah include: Isa 11:1-5, Num 24:17, Jer 23:5, 33:15, Gen 49:10, 2Sa 7:14, Amos 9:11.¹⁰⁵

2) *Priestly*. Whereas expectations of a royal Messiah are widely attested in the Second Temple period, fewer passages speak of a priestly Messiah. To his tasks are reckoned: blessing, making atonement and especially teaching. This instruction has divine authority and has probably the character of eschatological interpretation of the Torah.¹⁰⁶

The Old Testament laws speak several times of the anointment of the priests and especially the high priest (Lev 21:10).

3) *Prophetic*. With the exception of 1QS ix 11 (and perhaps 4Q521 8 9¹⁰⁷), the plural *anointed ones* always refers to prophets, more precisely, prophets of the past, the Old Testament (CD ii 12, 6 i, 1QM xi 7, etc.). An eschatological prophetic Messiah is probably found in 11QMelch; 1QS ix 11 also mentions an eschatological prophet, but does not call him Messiah.¹⁰⁸

In the Old Testament, prophets are called anointed ones in 1Ch 16:22 = Psa 105:15, Elijah is told to anoint Elisha to be a prophet in 1Ki 19:16, and the speaker in Isa 61:1 has been anointed by the LORD with his spirit.¹⁰⁹ The 'prophet like me' in Deu 18:15 and the 'return of Elijah' in Mal 3:23 (Eng. 4:5) may have given rise to the expectation of an eschatological prophetic Messiah.¹¹⁰

4) *Heavenly*. A heavenly Messiah is found in the Similitudes of 1En (the term *Messiah* in 48:10 and in 52:4) and in 4Ez 13 (the term esp. in 12:32). The Messiah has ruler characteristics. In 1En he is a transcendent figure of heavenly origin; the same is true for 4Ez, though here, he has also a Davidic ancestry.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Collins (1995a) 67.

¹⁰⁵ See Collins (1995a) passim. See also Roberts (1992) 39-51.

¹⁰⁶ See esp. Zimmermann (1998) 311.

¹⁰⁷ See our exegesis of fragment 8.

¹⁰⁸ See esp. Zimmermann (1998) 415ff. Abegg / Evans (1998) 191n2 include even 1QS ix 11 among the passages in which the *anointed ones* are prophets; this is nonsense and their reference to Collins (1995a) 118 is misleading, see his page 83. For the expectation of a prophetic Messiah in early Judaism, see also Labahn (2000) 103-106, as for the DSS he writes: 'Als wichtige Texte zur Vorstellung des Propheten als eine eschatologische/messianische Gestalt in Qumran sind zu nennen: 4Q 175 Test [Zitat von Dtn 18, 18f]; 4Q375 Frgm 1 I Z.1-3; 4Q 377 Frgm 2 II Z. 5 [מושה משיחון]; 11Q13 Melch II,18[?]; CD 7,18-21.'

¹⁰⁹ Grelot (1990) 414-431 claims that the speaker in Isa 61:1 is a high priest. Even if this is true for the original context, the speaker was considered to be a prophet in early Judaism; see Zimmermann (1998) 314n7.

¹¹⁰ See esp. Zimmermann (1998) 312ff.

¹¹¹ See García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1995) 173-177, García Martínez (1996) 18-30 and Collins (1995a) 154-194. Crucial for the interpretation of 1En is 1En 71:14; Collins (1995a) 177-182 suggests

As Old Testament backgrounds for a heavenly Messiah, 2Sa 7:14, Psa 2 and Dan 7 can be mentioned.

III Interpretations of משיח in 2 ii 1

We now return to 4Q521 and list the interpretations of משיח in line 2 ii 1 so far: see table 1. The table does not claim to be exhaustive and some authors may have preferred a more precise category for their specific position, but it probably contains all the major interpretations given so far.

Table 1. Interpretations of his anointed one(s) in 4Q521 2 ii 1

ONE ANOINTED ONE	
A Messiah:	(1) <i>An eschatological prophet:</i> Collins ¹¹² , Kreuzer ¹¹³ , Zimmermann? ¹¹⁴ (2) <i>An eschatological priest:</i> Puech? ¹¹⁵ (3) <i>An eschatological king:</i> García Martínez ¹¹⁶ , Price ¹¹⁷ , Puech?? ¹¹⁸ (4) <i>A supernatural, heavenly king:</i> Eisenman ¹¹⁹ (5) <i>Not further specified:</i> Betz / Riesner ¹²⁰ , Kvalbein ¹²¹ , Starcky ¹²²
Not a Messiah:	(6) <i>An eschatological prophet:</i> Bergmeier ¹²³
TWO ANOINTED ONES	
Messiahs:	(7) <i>A royal and a priestly Messiah:</i> Cook? ¹²⁴ , Van der Horst? ¹²⁵ , Puech ¹²⁶
Not Messiahs:	-
SEVERAL ANOINTED ONES	
Messiahs:	-
Not Messiahs:	(8) <i>Old Testament prophets:</i> Stegemann ¹²⁷ , Zimmermann? ¹²⁸ (9) <i>Not simply Old Testament prophets, not fully eschatological prophets:</i> Becker ¹²⁹ (10) <i>Eschatological priests:</i> Cook? ¹³⁰ , Niebuhr ¹³¹ (11) <i>Not further specified:</i> J. Maier ¹³²

that although Enoch (a human) is called ‘son of man’ in this passage, he is not identified with the heavenly ‘Son of Man’ of the previous chapters. A much disputed reference to a heavenly Messiah is the ‘Son of God’ in 4Q246; Zimmermann (1998) is probably correct when he discusses the text in his chapter on ‘Herrscherliche und ,königliche’ Gesalbtenvorstellungen’; see also Evans (1998) 141ff, cf. Van der Horst (2000) 37,40. Disputed is also the interpretation of 4Q491, which speaks of a heavenly enthronement. García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1995) 184ff and García Martínez (1996) 22ff see also in 11QMelch a heavenly Messiah, but this interpretation is rejected by Zimmermann (1998) 403.

¹¹² Collins (1995b) 163: ‘I suggest, then, that the messiah whom heaven and earth obey is an anointed eschatological prophet, either Elijah or a prophet like Elijah.’ Collins (1998) 115 adds:

The possibility that the word משיח should be read as a plural cannot be fully ruled out. Whereas the spirit of the God rests on a singular anointed one in Isaiah 61, in 4Q521 2 ii, vs. 6 it hovers over the poor. This verse raises the possibility that the anointed prophet of Isaiah 61 has been “democratized,” and that his functions are taken over by the community of the poor. In the absence of a clear parallel for a communitarian reading, however, the singular reading in vs. 1 remains more satisfactory.

Collins is followed by Bowley (1999) 370; Elgvin (1996) 158: ‘en salvet eskatologisk profet i Elijas billede’ (against Stegemann); Evans (1997) 97, (1999) 587; Fitzmyer (2000) 94; Neufeld (1997) 121,131; Taylor (1997) 284. Dexinger (1998) 88f too seems to agree with Collins.

¹¹³ Siegfried Kreuzer, referred to by Labahn (2000) 105.

¹¹⁴ Zimmermann (1998) 386 finds two acceptable interpretations: 'Beim derzeitigen Stand der Forschung halten wir sowohl eine Interpretation von לְמַשִּׁיחַ auf den eschatologischen Propheten als auch auf die atl. Propheten bzw. ihre Schriften für vertretbar'. Zimmermann's first suggestion is followed by Labahn (2000) 105.

¹¹⁵ See Puech (1999) 564, cf. (7) *A royal and a priestly Messiah*.

¹¹⁶ García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1995) 169: 'This could indicate that in our text the simple title «Messiah» was used as a reference to the «Davidic Messiah»'; but García Martínez (1996) 39n40 admits: 'The ambiguity of the fragmentary text cannot be resolved'. So also: Duhaime (1995) 274: 'La suggestion qu'il s'agisse d'un messie royal (angélique ?) dont les fidèles partageraient le pouvoir est assez vraisemblable, mais les autres possibilités évoquées ne peuvent pas être définitivement éliminées.'

¹¹⁷ While admitting that the Messiah in 4Q521 is a human, Price (1996) 308f claims this is one of the figures that 'laid the groundwork for a divine Messiah in Jewish-Christianity (...) with imagery that took a human character beyond the realm of humanity.'

¹¹⁸ See Puech (1992) 497 (but cf. (7) *A royal and a priestly Messiah!*), followed by Wright (1996) 531n188 (against Collins). See also VanderKam (1994b) 215 and Loader (1994) 70-72, quoted by Zimmermann (1998) 379n212.

¹¹⁹ See Eisenman / Wise (1992) 19-23, referring among others to the Son of man in Dan 7. Cf. Eisenman (1991) 65. They are followed by Golb (1995) 379. Wise / Tabor (1992) 60 say: 'Our text speaks not only of a single messianic figure (...), but it also describes him in extremely exalted terms, quite like the Christian view of Jesus as a cosmic agent', though Tabor / Wise (1992) esp. 151,158 use more modest language when speaking about the Messiah in 4Q521.

¹²⁰ In Molin (1994) 120, they say:

In der ersten, thematischen Zeile wird der Messias in die Mitte gestellt. Dabei erscheint endlich auch der Messias-Begriff, den man in den anderen Liedern vermißt: Auf „Seinen Gesalbten“ soll die Welt hören. Sein Wort soll die Geschiedenheit von Raum und Zeit, Himmel und Erde überwinden, hinüberführen zur alleinigen endzeitlichen Größe des 'Olam als Welt und als Ewigkeit.

However, they do not intend to say that the Messiah is a supernatural figure, a position held by Eisenman; see Betz / Riesner (1993) 111f. Note that Kvalbein (1998) 88n4 interprets Betz / Riesner as belonging to (3) *An eschatological king*. He does the same for Stuhlmacher, but Stuhlmacher (1999) e.g. 140 is not more specific than: 'Nach diesem Text werden in der messianischen Heilszeit Himmel und Erde nicht mehr von der Lehre des Messias weichen'.

¹²¹ See Kvalbein (1998) 87f,100ff; cf. Kvalbein (1997) 111,123. While not certain about the identity of the anointed one, he rejects in any case 'Collins's explanation of the Anointed one as the end-time prophet in the image of Elijah' and states: 'The fragment speaks about a messianic time of salvation.'

¹²² See Starcky (1956) 66. See also Charlesworth (1992) xvi, (1998a) 6; Head (1997) 156,183f; Van der Horst (1997) 179n883, cf. (7) *A royal and a priestly Messiah*; Knibb (1999) 389: 'it is not clear what role was attributed to the figure referred to as "his messiah" in 4Q521'; Maier (1999) 469: 'various miracles that God will work in the days of the Messiah'; Meadors (1995) 165, following the reconstruction and translation by Eisenman / Wise (1992) 21, whereas Meadors (1999) 258 quotes Collins' translation of 4Q521 2 ii 7-14 and seems to imply that line 1 speaks about 'the Messiah'; Olsson (1996) 130, following Eisenman and Wise, but cf. 137n28; Schiffman (1994) 348: 'the messiah has ultimate authority over the heavens and earth and calls upon those who seek God to observe the Torah even more vigilantly'; Vermes (1995) 244: 'The term 'Messiah', probably in the singular, is used without the addition of Aaron and Israel'.

¹²³ Bergmeier (1995) 44 thinks that '»der Gesalbte« von Z. 1 möglicherweise im Anschluß an Jes 61, 1 (...) als Prophetengestalt gesehen werden will'. In n42, he adds: 'Auf jeden Fall ist klar, daß nicht vom Messias die Rede sein kann. Andererseits besteht aber auch zur Gestalt des Elia erweisbare Beziehung nicht, gegen J.J. COLLINS'.

¹²⁴ See Cook (1994) 177n26, cited by Lee (199?).

IV Our interpretation of 'his anointed one(s)' and lines 1+2

Which of the eleven interpretations listed in the table is most convincing? That is: which interpretation of משיחו makes most sense in the context?

A lot depends on the conclusions one draws from the parallelism between lines 1 and 2:

וכל אשר במ || השמים והארץ
לוא יסוג מ- || ישמעו ל-
מצות קדושים || משיחו

The first pair sounds 'biblical', but in this form (*the heavens and the earth* as the subject of a first clause, and *and all that is in them* as the subject of a second clause) it is not attested in the Hebrew Bible.¹²⁵ Is this pair synthetic or synonymous? In other words, does the author want to distinguish between the heavens and the earth themselves on the one hand (line 1) and their 'inhabitants' on the other (line 2), or does he speak about the heavens and the earth in full both times, of course implying that actually those who dwell in heaven and on earth will listen and will not turn away? This second interpretation seems to be most natural. If so, the expression לוא אשר במ || וכל can be rendered *and they (will) not at all*.¹³⁴

¹²⁵ Van der Horst (1997) 179 comments that in 4Q521 Psalm 146 is interpreted messianically. He translates 'gezalfde', but adds in n883: 'Of: 'zijn Messias.' However, he continues then: 'Het is ook mogelijk hier een meervoud te lezen ('zijn messiassen'), hetgeen in overeenstemming zou zijn met de ook elders in de rollen van de Dode Zee voorkomende voorstelling van twee messiassen, die van Israel en die van Aäron (nl. een davidische en een priesterlijke messias).'

¹²⁶ Puech (1999) 563: 'it seems better to keep a plural reading in 2 ii 1 "his messiahs" which can include the high priest and the king (and by assimilation also the last prophet according to the list of the anointed eschatological figures in 1QS IX 11 or 4Q175)', cf. 564: 'But if we have to opt for a singular reading, then I will interpret *mšyhw* as "his (priest) messiah," interpreter of the Law.' Puech (1993) 634 still wrote: 'ce texte probablement au singulier ne permet pas à première vue de préciser s'il s'agit du messie d'Aaron ou plus probablement d'Israël, ou même des deux.'

¹²⁷ Stegemann (1998) 31: 'God's "Anointed Ones" are the biblical prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and so on), whose directives the addressees of the text are to follow.' Stegemann (p32) claims that Eisenman and Wise deceive their readers when they translate 'Messiah' instead of 'anointed ones' and have the heavens and earth obey the Messiah: 'But how should readers who know no Hebrew surmise that something has been conjured before their eyes that is simply nonexistent in reality?' However, the pot calls the kettle black: Stegemann does not tell his readers at all that the form משיחו can be a singular.

¹²⁸ See Zimmermann (1998) 386, cf. (1) *An eschatological prophet*.

¹²⁹ See Becker (1997) esp. 86.

¹³⁰ See Cook (1994) 177n26, cf. (7) *A royal and a priestly Messiah*.

¹³¹ See Niebuhr (1997) 638f, (1998) 154-160.

¹³² Maier (1996) 611f thinks a plural is most probable and rejects the translation 'Messiah(s)'. As for the identity of the anointed ones, Maier (1995) 683n651 remarks: 'Hier scheint ein Parallelismus mit "Heiligen" (Engeln?) im Sinne von hohen Amtsträgern vorzuliegen. Der Singular ist zudem unsicher, weil in Frg. 8 eindeutig ein Plural vorliegt, der sich außer auf gesalbte Amtsträger wie König und Hohepriester auch auf Propheten beziehen kann.' See also Neiryneck (1997) 55f, who questions the singular reading and lists arguments for the plural proposed by other scholars but does not firmly take a position, and Van der Woude (1998) 268 (though not explicitly opting for a plural): 'unwahrscheinlich, daß es sich um einen messianischen Text handelt.'

¹³³ The phrases are used as *objects* of two parallel clauses in 2Ma 7:28.

¹³⁴ Cf. HAL sv כל 11; the Hebrew construction makes the singular יסוג natural.

For the second pair, cf. Isa 50:4,5 **לֹא נִסְרַגְתִּי וְלִשְׁמֹעַ**.

The parallelism of the third pair can be interpreted in different ways. If one renders **קְרוֹשִׁים** with *the Most Holy*¹³⁵, one can see the parallelism between *his* and *the Most Holy*, referring both to God; however, the rendering seems us to be too contrived.¹³⁶ Secondly, *anointed ones* and *holy ones* can constitute a synonymous pair. Then, according to Niebuhr, they are best understood as priests (see position 10 in the table):

In 4Q521,2 II 1 scheint mir ein priesterliches Gesalbtenverständnis am wahrscheinlichsten. Demnach stehen die Gesalbten von Z. 1 im synonymen Parallelismus zu den Heiligen von Z. 2. Mit beiden Aussagen wird die gesamte Schöpfung der Autorität der Tora unterstellt, die in der Endzeit wie ursprünglich durch priesterliche Gestalten erteilt werden wird. Ein solches die Schöpfung umfassendes priesterlich-endzeitliches Toraverständnis läßt sich gut in frühjüdische Endzeiterwartungen einordnen.¹³⁷

This is an interesting interpretation, but it has some weaknesses. Why should the heavens listen to Torah teaching by the priests?¹³⁸ Besides, *commandments*, *anointed ones* and *holy ones* may be associated with priests, but should not necessarily. In fragment 8, **מְשִׁיחֶיהָ** *its anointed ones* may be priests (see our exegesis of 8 9), but we do not know the relationship between fragments 2 and 8. Moreover, the possessive suffix is different (*his* in 2 ii 1 and *its/her* in 8 9): it may still be true that the *anointed ones* are identical in both fragments, but we have no reason to presume it.

Becker argues as well for a synonymous parallelism between *anointed ones* and *holy ones*, but has both refer to prophets (position 9 in the table).¹³⁹ That the heavens listen to prophets, can easily be illustrated from the Old Testament: ‘Mose, der nach biblischen Verständnis auch Prophet ist, fordert in *Dtn* 32,1 Himmel und Erde auf, ihm zuzuhören, und in *Jes* 1,2 fordert der Prophet selbst Himmel und Erde auf, Jahwes Botschaft zu hören.’¹⁴⁰ However, some exegesis of *Deu* 32:1 and *Isa* 1:2 shows that in these passages, the heavens and the earth are called to listen as *witnesses*; the actual addressees are the people of Israel.¹⁴¹ Such an

¹³⁵ So Bergmeier (1995) 39n9, 44; for this interpretation, he refers to *Pro* 9:10, 30:3, *Wis* 10:10.

¹³⁶ See also the objections to Bergmeier by Becker (1997) 87n68.

¹³⁷ Niebuhr (1997) 639; Niebuhr (1998) 154-160 offers more details.

¹³⁸ Niebuhr (1997) 639n7 illustrates his statement ‘Ein solches die Schöpfung umfassendes priesterlich-endzeitlicher Toraverständnis läßt sich gut in frühjüdische Endzeiterwartungen einordnen’ with references to 4Q541 9 i 3-5, *TestLev* 4:2f, 14:3, 18:2-14, *Jub* 31:13-17, 32:1-15, but these passages do not tell that also the heavens do listen to the priests; maybe the *new priest* in *TestLev* 18 has the heavens among his audience, but this is not a common priest and the passage has probably undergone Christian influence (cf. Collins (1995a) 88f). In fact, Niebuhr (1998) 159f acknowledges the problem: ‘Können wir auch aus diesen Textzusammenhängen keine unmittelbaren Parallelen zu der Aussage über den Gehorsam von Himmel und Erde gegenüber der Priesterschaft beibringen, so scheinen sie doch von dort her am ehesten verständlich zu werden.’

¹³⁹ Becker (1997) 87f.

¹⁴⁰ Becker (1997) 84.

¹⁴¹ So e.g. Watts (1985) 15. Cf. *Deu* 4:26, 30:19, 31:28. Zimmermann (1998) 348, 381n222, 385 has overlooked that in *Deu* 32:1 and *Isa* 1:2 heaven and earth are called to listen as witnesses. Becker (1997) 84 esp. n57 has noticed some of the differences between the two biblical passages and 4Q521 2 ii 1, but now forces our lines to be understood in the light of these Bible texts.

interpretation is very unlikely for our lines. In the end, these passages are not very helpful for the interpretation of 4Q521.

Stegemann has argued for a synthetic parallelism between the *anointed ones* and the *holy ones*: the *anointed ones* are the biblical prophets (position 8 in the table), the *holy ones* are the angels through whom God revealed the Torah to Moses. Thus, '[t]he faithful are to serve with all their might the fulfillment of what is demanded in the Torah and the Prophets.'¹⁴² This summary statement is misleading: the order Prophets – Torah that Stegemann sees in lines 1+2 is tacitly reversed to fit the order of the Canon; *the heavens and the earth* are 'entmythologisiert' to *the faithful*, without any argumentation.¹⁴³

Against Niebuhr, Becker and Stegemann and all others arguing for a plural (so positions 7 till 11 in the table), we want to stress that, although משיחו can be a plural in Qumran orthography, ה- is normally used with singular nouns and י- with plural nouns in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Only if a singular does not make sense in its context, we are allowed to assume a plural.¹⁴⁴

If so, we should forgive Puech a slip of the pen, when he argues for two Messiahs, a royal and a priestly (position 7 in the table): (a) in this case, the plural cannot be assumed because of the parallelism with *the holy ones* (no doubt more than two); (b) neither can the plural be assumed because of *all its anointed ones* in 8 9 (*all* is more than two); (c) it remains difficult to determine whether the *anointed one* is a priest or a king or something else (see below), but the preserved text by no means allows us to discover two distinct messianic profiles. Thus, if nothing in the context points to a plural, why should we try to find it in a form that is most easily understood as a singular? Of course, Puech believes with regard to Qumran messianism: 'L'attente de deux messies semble avoir été une doctrine constante dans la communauté',¹⁴⁵ but Zimmermann rightly comments:

Unangemessen wird ein derartiger Interpretationsansatz dort, wo die ‚Zwei-Messias-Erwartung‘ ein festes Raster darstellt, in das die einzelnen Texte gezwängt werden, ob sie nun passen oder nicht. [n73] Ein Beispiel dafür ist die Interpretation von PUECH zu 4Q521. Er interpretiert den Text von der Schablone der ‚Zwei-Messias-Erwartung‘ her und kommt zu dem Ergebnis, daß auch in diesem Text „le bimessianisme“ bezeugt sei¹⁴⁶.

Having rejected all plural interpretations, we will now try to make sense of משיחו understood as a singular. We recall Collin's definition of a Messiah: 'By "messiah" I mean an agent of God in the end-time, who is said somewhere in the literature to be anointed, but who is not

¹⁴² Stegemann (1998) 31f.

¹⁴³ See also the criticism by Bergmeier (1995) 44n42 and Becker (1997) 82n49.

¹⁴⁴ Qimron (1986) 59(n62): 'The scribes, however, almost always succeeded in preserving the orthographic distinction. [n62] Exceptions are more frequently found in 1Qis^a than in any of the non-biblical Scrolls'. See also Zimmermann (1998) 385f.

Niebuhr (1998) 153 argues that in CD ii 12, vi 6 the plural conjecture is generally accepted and therefore should be accepted in 4Q521 too. However, in the passages in CD, the choice is between משיחו and משיחי, not between משיחו and משיחיו; besides, in these instances, the context seems to require the conjecture.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted by Zimmermann (1998) 447n72.

¹⁴⁶ Zimmermann (1998) 447(n73).

necessarily called “messiah” in every passage.’¹⁴⁷ Our משיח has all characteristics: he is exactly called an anointed one; as *his* anointed one, he is an agent of God; heavens and earth will listen to him in the end-time. Although the end of days is not mentioned *expressis verbis*, several expressions in 4Q521 are best understood as references to it: the full obedience to the commandments (line 2), the glorious things that did not exist but that the Lord will do (line 11), etc. In sum, *Messiah* is an appropriate rendering for משיח in line 1 (against position 6 in the table).

As for the point of parallelism in the pair משיחו || מצות קדושים, this is neither *his* || *the Most Holy* nor *the anointed ones* || *the holy ones* (as the authors cited above claimed), but *the Messiah* || *the commandments*, the first being specified by *his*, the second by *the holy ones*. In fact, this is the most natural interpretation of the parallel structure of the lines; moreover, both a *Messiah* and *commandments* can be seen as ‘authorities’.

However, both *his Messiah* and *the commandments of the holy ones* still deserve a more specific determination. As for the מצות קדושים, this expression has no parallels in the Old Testament, the Qumran writings and the New Testament. Zimmermann has discussed the phrase at length and summarizes:

‘Der Kontext läßt eine eindeutige Entscheidung nicht zu, gleichwohl ist u. E. die Interpretation auf die Sinaitora insgesamt am wahrscheinlichsten:

1. Da מצוה bzw. מצות ansonsten immer mit dem Urheber verbunden wird, ist dies auch hier anzunehmen.
2. Die überwiegende Verwendung von קדושים für Engel in Qumran legt einen entsprechenden Gebrauch in 4Q521 nahe.
3. Die Vorstellung, daß die Sinaitora von Engeln übermittelt wurde, ist im Frühjudentum mehrfach bezeugt.
4. Ähnlich wie in Ps 19 stellen Z. 1+2 in 4Q521 2 II wahrscheinlich die kosmische Harmonie im Eschaton dar: Die Welt ist in Ordnung, wenn alle die Gebote und Weisungen Gottes befolgen.’¹⁴⁸

This interpretation is not without problems.

Ad 1. It is true, very frequently, the *nomen rectum* accompanying מצות indicates the enactor of the commandment(s).¹⁴⁹ However, in most instances this enactor is God. In the few other occurrences, we have to consider case by case whether the *nomen rectum* expresses the enactor of the commandments or for example those who observe the commandments.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, קדושים is a plural. In the Hebrew Bible, only Isa 29:13 has a plural as *nomen rectum* for the commandments. It is easily conceivable that many commandments are enacted by one person and are meant for more than one person. So, for grammatical reasons only, we cannot conclude that *the holy ones* are those who have given the commandments.

Ad 2. It is not certain that 4Q521 has been written in Qumran (see above, §2.1), but Zimmermann has rightly argued that also in the Old Testament קדושים often refers to

¹⁴⁷ See above, section II.

¹⁴⁸ Zimmermann (1998) 351f.

¹⁴⁹ An exception is Neh 13:5 (cf. Williamson (1985) 379).

angels.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, God urges his people to be holy (ones) (Lev 11:44f). In the New Testament and in 1En, *holy ones* for humans is very frequent.¹⁵²

Ad 3. Although the tradition that the Torah was mediated by angels, is well attested (though not in the Dead Sea Scrolls)¹⁵³, we may wonder whether one would call the Torah the ‘commandments of the angels’ rather than ‘commandments of God / the Lord’.

Ad 4. The parallel between Psalm 19 and 4Q521 2 ii 1+2 is not as close as Zimmermann would like to have it. In Psalm 19, nature and law are in parallelism. It is not said that the heavens and the earth will listen or will obey the law or something similar.

In sum, Zimmermann’s interpretation is possible, but not very probable. Alternatively, the *holy ones* might be e.g. prophets or priests teaching the commandments, but then we need assume they have already been mentioned in the preceding column more explicitly.

Most likely, however, are the two following options: (a) the holy ones are the ‘disciples’ of the Messiah; the *commandments of the holy ones* are either the commandments taught by the disciples (subjective genitive) or the commandments to be observed by those who would like to be disciples (objective genitive). In the latter case, lines 1+2 state that all dwelling in heaven and on earth will listen to God’s Messiah and will observe God’s commandments and thus will be true disciples of the Messiah and can properly be called saints i.e. holy ones. The advantages of this interpretation may be evident: we need not suppose specific information in the lost lines of the preceding column, and similar ideas are at least attested in the New Testament. (b) The holy ones are those waiting for God and his Messiah; the *commandments of the holy ones* are God’s commandments, which are observed by the holy ones.¹⁵⁴ One day, all will keep to these commandments. In this interpretation, the transition to the next lines is flowing: the holy ones in line 2 are the same as those seeking the Lord and waiting in their hearts in lines 3+4.¹⁵⁵¹⁵⁶

Who is *his Messiah*? The text lacks any indication that the author has a contemporary in mind (e.g. the anointed high-priest) or that he sees himself as the (future) Messiah (the first person singular in line 9 is most likely the author, but not the Messiah). Rather, the author expects

¹⁵⁰ In combination with the opposite of commandments, viz. vows, an objective genitive is found in Psa 56:13 (Eng. 12): here, *your vows* does not mean *the vows by you* but *the vows to you* (cf. Tate (1990) 65,67).

¹⁵¹ Zimmermann (1998) 349 (n105).

¹⁵² Aune (1997) 359 offers a good overview of the usage of *holy ones* in the Old Testament, the intertestamental literature and the New Testament.

¹⁵³ Zimmermann (1998) 351 mentions Gal 3:19, Jub 1:27ff, Josephus Ant 15:136, Philo Som 1:140-144.

¹⁵⁴ In Rev 14:12, the holy ones are circumscribed as those who keep the commandments.

¹⁵⁵ See also Puech (1999) 555: “‘the holy ones’ and “‘those seeking the Lord’” (lines 2-3) are more parallel than opposed’.

¹⁵⁶ If someone is not satisfied even by one of these interpretations, we would suggest what García Martínez / Treballe Barrera (1993) 199n27 write: ‘¿O se trata simplemente de una calificación objetiva de estos preceptos como preceptos santos?’ (the German translation is quoted by Zimmermann (1998) 350 n111).

someone in the future to act as a Messiah. If so, does this Messiah fit one of the ‘messianic profiles’ existent in Second Temple Judaism (see above, section II)?

As both the heavens and the earth will listen to the Messiah, one may assume that he is a *heavenly* Messiah (position 4 in the table). However, the notion of a human Messiah is much more frequent, and the idea that the heavens listen to a human is conceivable.¹⁵⁷ So we reject the interpretation that he is a heavenly Messiah. Nevertheless, we do not play down the specific claim of our text that also the heavens (those dwelling in them) will listen to this Messiah.

If we can translate שֹׁבֵט in 2 iii 6 with *sceptre*, we have a good argument that the anointed one is a *royal* Messiah (position 3 in the table). However, we will argue that *tribe* is a better translation for שֹׁבֵט in the context of 2 iii. Other distinctive royal traits cannot be found in 4Q521.¹⁵⁸

For a *priestly* Messiah (position 2 in the table), one can bring forward the same arguments as Niebuhr did for his eschatological priests. Moreover, if Grelot is right and the anointed one in Isa 61:1 is a high priest, then the quotation from Isa 61:1 in 2 ii 12 may indicate that also our anointed one is a priestly figure.¹⁵⁹ Yet, none of the arguments for a priestly Messiah is conclusive.

In the Old Testament, listening often means: listening to the word of the Lord, spoken by the prophets.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, one may assume that the heavens and the earth in line 1 listen to a *prophetic* Messiah (position 1 in the table), an eschatological figure modeled on the anointed one in Isa 61, who is normally understood to be a prophet. Collins even suggests our anointed one is the new Elijah, as *the fathers come to the sons* (2 iii 2) alludes to Mal 3:24 (Eng. 4:6), the Old Testament passage speaking of the work of the returned Elijah. Moreover, the phrase *the dead he will make alive* (2 ii 12) may also allude to the ‘new Elijah’, because in Judaism he is associated with the resurrection of the dead (the Old Testament Elijah also raised a boy).¹⁶¹ However, in Mal 3:24, Elijah turns the hearts of the fathers to the sons, whereas in 2 iii 2, the fathers themselves come to the sons: our author seems not to be interested in the new Elijah at all.

To sum up, מְשִׁיחֹו *his anointed one*, refers to one anointed one, who can properly be called a Messiah, has prophetic traits and has both heaven and earth as his audience. He is either really a prophetic Messiah or a royal Messiah with prophetic function here, because a royal Messiah (Israel’s Messiah) was most widely expected in early Judaism.¹⁶² Our conclusions are based on the text as far as it is preserved and are shaped in discussion with most of the scholarly

¹⁵⁷ An intertestamental text mentioning a human with authority in/over heaven and earth is the *Exogoge of Ezekiel* (second century BC). See Van der Horst (1983) 21-29, (1984) 363-369.

¹⁵⁸ See Zimmermann (1998) 379f, who discusses and criticizes the argumentations offered by Puech, Loader, García Martínez and Duhaime.

¹⁵⁹ See Grelot (1990) 414-431 (cf. section II above), Puech (1998) 12n15.

¹⁶⁰ See Zimmermann (1998) 382. He refers especially to Deu 18:15-18 and Isa 1:2 (but cf. our discussion of this text above).

¹⁶¹ See Collins (1995a) 117-122.

literature on 4Q521. The final evidence for any interpretation of משיחו must come from an undamaged copy of our text, but that is still to be found.

התאמצו מבקשי אדני בעבדתו 3+4

הלוא בזאת תמצאו את אדני כל המיחלים בלבם

Strengthen yourselves, you who seek the Lord in his service!

Will you not find the Lord in this, all those who wait in their heart?

These lines are not parallel in the strict sense. Nevertheless they are connected in several ways: both contain a participle clause; both contain the name אדני *the Lord*; בזאת *in this* probably refers back to בעבדתו *in his service*¹⁶³; and the wordplay between the verbs אמצ and מצא may be intentional. As for contents, the lines are complementary: whereas line 3 urges to activity, line 4 expresses a more passive mood: waiting.¹⁶⁴ The language of these lines is partly derived from Psa 31:25 (Eng. 24).

אדני *the Lord* may be a conscious avoidance of יהוה: in the Hebrew Bible, אדני is never the object of בקש, whereas יהוה sometimes is (e.g. Psa 105:3, Isa 51:1).¹⁶⁵ 4Q521 always uses אדני, never the plene spelling אדוני; is there a specific reason for this?

בעבדתו *in his service* can be construed with התאמצו *strengthen yourselves* as well with מבקשי *who seek*, without a major difference in meaning. Instead of *in his service*, Tabor and Wise translate *in His mighty work*¹⁶⁶, but more probably work *for* God is intended (cf. Num 8:11, Jos 22:27, 2Ch 35:16): keeping the commandments mentioned in the previous line, or liturgical service that complements keeping the commandments. Thus, the author exhorts his readers to live already in the way that one day all dwelling in heaven and on earth will live.¹⁶⁷ בזאת *in this* is more conditional than temporal: the meaning is not that one will find (encounter) the Lord when serving him; but to those who serve the Lord, the Lord will reveal himself by his deeds as described in the next lines.

For the concept of finding the Lord in line 4, cf. e.g. Isa 55:6 and Sir 6:16.

For the concept of waiting for divine action, cf. Luk 2:25,38, 23:51¹⁶⁸. See also *who wait for you for salvation* (2 i+3 9); the verbs for waiting there (קוה) and here (יחל) stand in parallelism in Job 30:26, Psa 130:5, Isa 51:5, Mic 5:6.

בלבם *in their heart*. One might have expected a second person suffix, but the third person suffix agrees with the next lines.

¹⁶² Cf. Zimmermann (1998) 383.

¹⁶³ Nitzan (1998) 167n25, discussing 4Q302 2 ii 2, is of a different opinion: 'The word בזאת ("in this") or בזה which appears in Qumran writings 4Q521 2 ii+4 4 (...) and 4Q418 81 4 (...) refers to the data following in that context, similar to its use in many biblical verses (Gen. 34:15, 22, 42:15, Exod. 7:17, etc.).'

¹⁶⁴ See Zimmermann (1998) 353f.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Puech (1998) 12.

¹⁶⁶ In Isa 28:21, עבדה refers to work done by God; see Wise / Tabor (1992) 62.

¹⁶⁷ Zimmermann (1998) 352f. offers more details.

כי אדני חסידים יבקר וצדיקים בשם יקרא 5+6
ועל עניים רוחו תרחף ואמונים יחליף בכחו

*For the Lord will oversee the pious and the righteous he will call by name
and upon the poor his spirit will hover and the faithful he will renew with his strength.*

Whereas in lines 3+4 those waiting for the Lord were the subjects, from now on, **אדני** *the Lord* is the subject.

יבקר *will oversee* reflects Eze 34:11ff. In that passage, God promises to act like a good shepherd. **יקרא בשם** *he will call by name* possibly continues this metaphor (the Good Shepherd calls his sheep by name, Joh 10:3), but can also take up such a passage as Isa 43:1: ‘Do not fear, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are Mine’ (NASB).¹⁶⁹ **חסידים** *the pious*, **צדיקים**, *the righteous*, **עניים** *the poor* and **אמונים** *the faithful* are vocabulary from the Psalms and Wisdom literature. **חסידים** and **אמונים** are in parallelism in Psa 31:24 (Eng. 23). **חסידים** and **צדיקים** are never in parallelism in the Hebrew Bible, but **חסיד** and **צדיק** are – as divine attributes – in Psa 145:17.¹⁷⁰

יחליף בכחו *he will renew with his strength* alludes to Isa 40:31: **וְקִוּי יְהוָה יַחְלִיפוּ כַחַּת** *but they who wait for the LORD shall renew their strength* (RSV). Because this verse continues: *they shall mount up with wings like eagles*, the renewal of strength is probably imagery from the world of birds, as is **רוחו תרחף** *his spirit will hover*.¹⁷¹

כִּי יכבד את חסידים על כסא מלכות עד 7+8

מתיר אסורים פוקח עורים זוקף כפ[נ]ופים

*For he will honor the pious on the throne of eternal kingship,
by setting prisoners free, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the b[ent]*

Whereas lines 5+6 may contain a kind of realized eschatology, lines 7+8 speak about the future.¹⁷² **כי** *for* (if correct) does not introduce a motivation here, but an intensification.

Line 7 can mean: (a) ‘God will honor the pious by placing them upon a throne of eternal kingship’, (b) ‘God will honor the pious by placing them upon his own throne of eternal kingship’ or (c) ‘God, sitting on his throne of eternal kingship, will honor the pious’. The first translation makes sense of the fact that **כסא** is without article. However, Zimmermann objects: ‘Schließlich wäre bei einer Erhöhung der Glaubenden wohl kaum vom **עד כסא מלכות**, dem „Thron der ewigen Königsherrschaft“, der allein Gott zukommt, die Rede; die „Throne der Frommen“ sind gegenüber diesem untergeordnet.’¹⁷³ One may reply that the pious in Rev 20:4

¹⁶⁸ See Zimmermann (1998) 123f.

¹⁶⁹ See Puech (1998) 13 and Zimmermann (1998) 355.

¹⁷⁰ This verse is not noted by Zimmermann (1998) 355 (esp. n134), who mentions Psa 37:28+29 and Psa 145:10+146:8.

¹⁷¹ See Zimmermann (1998) 357, cf. Puech (1998) 13.

¹⁷² See Zimmermann (1998) 357f.

¹⁷³ Zimmermann (1998) 359.

receive thrones and reign with Christ for a thousand years, in Rev 22:5 even forever and ever. Nevertheless, as in our line only one throne is mentioned, a reference to God's own throne is more likely.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, Zimmermann argues for interpretation (c). Grammatically, this is not impossible, but (b) seems to us to be a more natural interpretation: God will place the pious on his throne. Not in the sense that he will leave his throne and offer it to the pious (as he does to Moses in the *Exagoge of Ezekiel*), but he will allow them to sit with him on his throne. In a Christianized form, this idea is found in Rev 3:21. It may have been developed from Psa 110:1. In any case, as is clear in the Book of Revelation, the conceptions implied in (a), (b) and (c) are not mutually exclusive.¹⁷⁵

Line 8 quotes three phrases from Psa 146:7f. Two questions can be raised: should we suppose God uses an agent (e.g. the Messiah from line 1) to work these deeds? Is the language of this line meant metaphorically or literally? We will address these issues in our discussion of line 12.

9+10 זל[ע]לם אדבך [במ]יחלים ובחסרו י'ן

ופר[ן]י מעש[ה] ה' טוֹב לְאִישׁ לֹא יתאחר

And for[e]ver I will cling [to those who] wait and in his loyalty [he will

And the fru[it of a] good [work] will not be delayed for anybody.

אדבך *I will cling.* Probably, the first person is the author, not someone else.

מיחלים *those who wait.* We saw this participle already in line 4.

טוב *the fruit of a good work.* This expression can be understood in two ways: (a) God's eschatological recompense for someone's good works will certainly and soon come;¹⁷⁶ (b) anyone waiting for God will live accordingly: he or she will not tarry in bearing fruit i.e. doing good works. This second interpretation (an explicative genitive) corresponds with the New Testament usage of *fruit*: fruit is an equivalent for good work or a result of it, rather than a recompense for it.¹⁷⁷ If so, יתאחר can mean *it will be slow* rather than *it will be delayed*.¹⁷⁸

As a result, the accent in lines 9+10 is not on God and his deeds, but on pious humans (including the author). The fragmentary state of the lines is not to be ignored, however.

11+12 ונכִּירוֹת שְׁלוֹא הָיוּ יַעֲשֶׂה אֲדֹנָי כְּאֲשֶׁר דָּבַר

כִּי יִרְפָּא חֲלָלִים וּמְתִים יַחִיהַ עֲנוּיִם יִבְשֶׁר

And glorious things that did not exist, the Lord will do, as he has said:

¹⁷⁴ But cf. 1En 108:12.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Zimmermann (1998) 358f, Puech (1998) 13f, Van der Horst (1983) 23, (1984) 363f, Hengel (1995) 204-212, Aune (1997) 261ff, (1998) 1084f.

¹⁷⁶ So Puech (1998) 15.

¹⁷⁷ See καρπός and καρποφορέω in a concordance of the New Testament.

¹⁷⁸ Zimmermann (1998) 346,361 also argues that the Hitpa'el of אחר has a reflexive rather than a passive meaning. He is, however, certainly wrong when he claims that the Hitpa'el is not further attested in Hebrew: DCH sv אחר htp refers to 1QS i 14, etc.

For he will heal the badly wounded and the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding

נְכַבְדוֹת *glorious things* probably reflects Psa 87:3¹⁷⁹; one may assume that especially the Lord's actions mentioned in the next line(s) are meant.

הָיָה *that did not exist*. In Isa 43:19, 48:6, etc., we find a comparable idea, namely that God will do new things. This is the opposite of the mood expressed in Ecc 1:9,10: there is nothing new under the sun.

כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר *as he has said*. This expression introduces the next line, and at the same time, it may be a very general reference to the prophecies of for instance Isaiah.

Like line 8, line 12 consists of three clauses. חַלְלִים יִרְפָּא *he will heal the badly wounded* is not attested in the Old Testament. מוֹתִים יִחְיֶה can mean *to the dying he will give life*. If so, both clauses speak about the healing of very ill people. However, the combination of חַלְלִים and מוֹתִים is found in Psa 88:6 (Eng. 5)¹⁸⁰, where both refer to people already dead. In fact, the allusion is especially to Isa 26:19: מוֹתֵיךָ יִחְיֶה *your dead will live*.¹⁸¹

The third clause, עֲנִיִּים יִבְשֶׁר *to the poor he will bring a good tiding* is a direct reference to Isa 61:1. However, in that passage, an anointed one is said to bring the good tiding. This raises the question whether God will do the deeds mentioned in line 12 through the agency of his Messiah (line 1). Although this point is disputed¹⁸² and we do not want to overinterpret the text, in our opinion, it is fully justified to see the agency of the Messiah in line 12. In fact, it would be certainly a misinterpretation of the text, if we would stress that God does *not* act through an agent. In the Old Testament, both prophecies and miracles are of course God's work, but prophecies are spoken by prophets and miracles are performed or initiated by a human or an angel. In line 1, we have found a Messiah with a prophetic role. Despite the sign in the margin between lines 3 and 4, we have not found a clear break in the text indicating that a new section has begun. In line 12, we have found an expression (*to the poor he will bring a good tiding*) that suggests the agency of a prophetic anointed one. It is but natural to suppose that God will do the deeds in line 12 through the agency of his Messiah. One warning should be made: column 2 ii is not a treatise on messianology, and line 12 does not intend to say that one should expect a miracle-working Messiah. In fact, it is not problematic at all to say that God will also do the deeds from Psa 146 in line 8 through the agency of his Messiah, if only one does not claim that the author intends to stress this agency of the Messiah. One objection may be raised: should we not, at least for line 8, leave open whom God will use as agents? This is not necessary: אֲסוּרִים, quoted from Psa 146:7 in line 8, is also found in Isa 61:1. As this passive Qal participle is not very frequent, the occurrence of references to both Psa 146:7f

¹⁷⁹ See Zimmermann (1998) 362.

¹⁸⁰ See Zimmermann (1998) 362f.

¹⁸¹ Further more or less parallel passages are offered by Puech (1998) 16.

¹⁸² See for the discussion e.g. Becker (1997) 90ff and Zimmermann (1998) 363f. In fact, we mainly agree with Collins (1994a) and (1995a) 118 at this point.

and Isa 61:1 within some lines can hardly be coincidental.¹⁸³ If we accept the agency of the Messiah in line 12 because of his occurrence in line 1 and the reference to Isa 61:1, we can do the same for line 8.

Are the glorious deeds, especially as mentioned in lines 8 and 12, miracles that God will do to certain persons or metaphors for the eschatological renewal of Israel? Kvalbein has defended the second option at length. He argues that the poor, the blind, the dead, etc., etc. in our text all refer to the same persons, not to distinct groups. Moreover, he claims: '*we have no evidence at all for the assumption that the Jews in the Hellenistic and Early Roman period expected healing miracles for individual Israelites in the time of salvation.*'¹⁸⁴ In our opinion, Kvalbein rightly warns us against a too literal interpretation of eschatological expectations. On the other hand, calling such expectations – in all their vividness – just metaphors can be a misinterpretation as well.¹⁸⁵ Any Jew in the Second Temple period knew God's great and miraculous deeds in the past, knew the laws in which God protects those in a weak social position, etc. From this background, expectations for specific groups and for Israel as a whole do not contradict each other. The question whether *the dead he will make alive* refers to a literal resurrection of dead people or to the renewal of Israel sounds very reasonable in our ears, but the early Jewish imagery seems to take a middle course. Even if we are not able to come to grips with it, the New Testament seems to confirm this middle course.¹⁸⁶

13+14]נְחֹשִׁים יִנְהַל וְרַעֲבִים יַעֲשֶׂה[]°ש° °[

]°[וְכֻלָּם כְּקָן]

] the uprooted he will lead and the hungry he will enrich

] and all [

Puech, after reconstructing a great deal, sees lines 13+14 as a direct continuation of line 12. In sum, these three lines mention eight 'glorious things', in four pairs of two.¹⁸⁷ Zimmermann objects that a direct continuation after *the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding* always would mean an anticlimax.¹⁸⁸ More likely, then, the author takes a next step in line 13 and describes the eschatological restitution of Israel.¹⁸⁹ In our opinion, the text is too fragmentary to draw conclusions.

¹⁸³ Cf. Tuckett (1997) 24n92.

¹⁸⁴ See Kvalbein (1997), (1998). Quotation from Kvalbein (1998) 100, italics by K.

¹⁸⁵ Zimmermann (1998) 364 is of the same opinion.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. chapter 3.

¹⁸⁷ See Puech (1998) 18.

¹⁸⁸ However, a not-climactic list is attested in e.g. Mat 10:8: 'Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons' (RSV).

¹⁸⁹ See Zimmermann (1998) 365.

Fragment 2 column iii

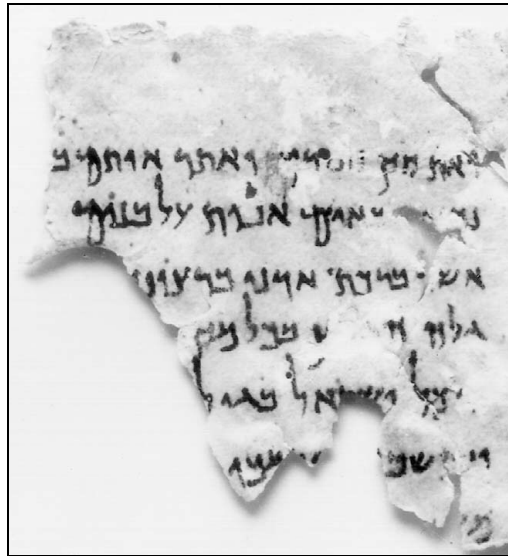


Figure 5. 4Q521 2 iii (detail of PAM 41.676)

Transcription

1 ואת חק חסד־יך ואתר אותם בן
2 נכוֹן בָּאִים אבות על בנים ׀
3 אשר ברכת אדני ברצונו
4 גלה ה[אר]ץ בכל מקום
5 כִּי כל ישראל בגילן
6 ואֲתָם שבט־יו ו[ו]יר־מוֹן
7 מוֹצֵן

Translation

1 and the prescription of your loyalty, and I will explore them [
2 it is certain: the fathers come to the sons[
3 which the blessing of the Lord in his favor[
4 the e[ar]th rejoices in every pla[ce
5 for all Israel in rejoicing[
6 and [its] tribe[s, and] they will lift up[

Notes

1 The plural חסדיך has been corrected to the singular חסדך.

3 Instead of the final ו a ך can be read (cf. the ך's on the photos of 3 9 and 6 6), which leads to the translation: *whom/which you have blessed, Lord, in your favor.*¹⁹⁰

4 גלה: in the light of גיל in the next line, a derivation from גיל is more probable than a derivation from גלה (→ *he has uncovered*).¹⁹¹

6 The reading of this line is far from certain. We follow Puech's newest reading. Zimmermann, following Puech's earlier reading, reads וֹאֲתָ שְׁבֹטָוּ וְיִסְמְכוּן and translates *and they will support his/her tribes.*¹⁹² However, because of the flaked surface, the כ is not as certain as it might seem to be at first sight; a נ is equally well possible.¹⁹³ The remnant after the כ is very small; nevertheless, it is more a trace of a ט than of any other letter that leads to an appropriate word. For the reconstruction of the gap in the middle of the line, see the exegesis below.

Exegesis

If this column was as wide as the preceding one, and if the lines were filled up to the left margin, then, as an indication, about 35% of the first line is lost and about 60% of the fifth. Especially the first and the last line of this fragment confront us with problems. The exact relationship between the lines is not clear. Nevertheless, the passage clearly speaks of a time of salvation and joy for Israel.

1 חסדך חק *the prescription of your loyalty*. The second person refers no doubt to God. The expression חסד חק is not found elsewhere, but cf. Psa 119:64,124. See also Mal 3:7,22 (Eng. 4:4), as Mal 3:24 (Eng. 4:6) is partly quoted in the next line.¹⁹⁴ In the light of these passages, the phrase may refer to a prescription for man, given by God as a sign of his loyalty.

אתר. In the Old Testament, the form אתר is only found in the Aramaic parts, as a noun, meaning *place*. However, the form can be derived from two verbs:

(1) נתר *to leap, to start up*, Hiph'il *cause to leap, set free*. Since in 2 ii 8 (quotation from Psa 146:7) the Hiph'il is used, it makes sense to see a Hiph'il of this verb here as well: *I will set free.*¹⁹⁵ However, this solution raises new questions: (a) In 2 ii 8, it is God who sets free. In our line, God is already present in the second person (suffix to חסד). So he will not be referred to with a first person one word later. (b) The object of אתר is אותם, but to whom does this refer back?

(2) תור *spy out, explore*, Hiph'il *cause to spy out.*¹⁹⁶ Maier has suggested reading a Hiph'il here: *ich will ausforschen.*¹⁹⁷ This solves the two problems mentioned before: (a) the first

¹⁹⁰ See Zimmermann (1998) 366.

¹⁹¹ See Zimmermann (1998) 367.

¹⁹² German: 'und sie werden [seine / ihre] Stäm[me](?) stützen(?) [...]'; Zimmermann (1998) 366. See also Puech (1992) 495.

¹⁹³ See Puech (1998) 18f.

¹⁹⁴ So also Puech (1998) 19.

¹⁹⁵ So Puech (1992) 495, (1998) 18, followed by others.

¹⁹⁶ KBL sv תור.

person can now simply be the author of the text, as in 2 ii 9. (b) אֹתָם can refer back to חֲסֹדֶךָ חֶק (and probably a parallel expression in the last line of the preceding column, now lost). However, the Hiph'il of חוֹר is very poorly attested: in Jud 1:23, it is used for the 'spying out' of Bethel by the house of Joseph; in Pro 12:26, it seems to make no sense in its context.¹⁹⁸ Jastrow does not mention the Hiph'il at all.¹⁹⁹ But why would we not assume a Qal (defectively written imperfect²⁰⁰)? In Num 13 and 14, the Qal is several times used with 'אָתָּה + object', and in Ecc 1:13, 2:3, 7:25, it has about the same meaning as we can assume here. In sum, for וְאֶתֵּר, an interpretation *and I will explore* is preferable to *and I will set free*, although the latter cannot be entirely ruled out. The exegetical consequences are rather far-reaching. Based on the derivation from נִתֵּר, Puech has suggested that the 'I' is 'the author of the text "in a sort of vision," perhaps the Teacher of Righteousness speaking as the new Elijah or new Moses. The messiah in 4Q521, then, is "clearly the kingly messiah, whom the prophet announces."²⁰¹ Compare John announcing Jesus in the New Testament.²⁰² However, according to Collins, the 'I' is God himself.

If we take God as the speaker in 4Q521 fragment 2 iii, then Elijah, or an Elijah-like figure, is the one predicted, not the one making the prediction. The passage concerns the return of Elijah, who will turn the hearts of children to their fathers, and by whose hand God will bring about the liberation.²⁰³

However, according to our interpretation of וְאֶתֵּר, in 2 iii (as in 2 ii) neither God nor Elijah, but simply a pious man is speaking. And we will see that he is not speaking about a Messiah (be it royal or Elijah-like) in the next lines.

2 בָּנִים עַל אֲבוֹתָם *the fathers come to the sons*. This passage alludes to Mal 3:24 (Eng. 4:6; see also Sir 48:10): 'And he will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the land with a curse.' (RSV) A major difference is evident as well: the actor ('he') in the Bible text is Elijah, in our text the fathers themselves are the subject. Clearly, the author is *not* interested in the *Helias redivivus* at this point.

3 בְּרַכַּת *the blessing of* (or: *you have blessed*; see notes above). The receivers of this blessing may be the fathers and the sons of the preceding line.

רְצוֹן *favor* may allude to Isa 61:1 לְיְהוָה שְׁנַת־רְצוֹן *the year of the LORD's favor*.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁷ See Maier (1995) 684, followed by Becker (1997) 89 and Zimmermann (1998) 366f. Deplorably, Puech (1998) does not discuss this suggestion at all.

¹⁹⁸ See Murphy (1998) 87f.

¹⁹⁹ See Jastrow sv חוֹר.

²⁰⁰ Cf. אָמַת in 2Sa 19:38 (Eng. 37) and probably אָרַץ Psa 18:30 (Eng. 29; see Craigie (1983) 170). Note that also אֶתֵּר as a Hiph'il of נִתֵּר is a defective form: normally, it would have been אֶתֵּיר; see Puech (1998) 6.

²⁰¹ Collins (1995a) 120; see Puech (1992) 497, (1998) 19f.

²⁰² See Puech (1998) 19.

²⁰³ Collins (1995a) 121.

²⁰⁴ See Zimmermann (1998) 368.

5 כל ישראל *all Israel*. The author does not express an eschatological hope for a remnant (שְׂאֵרֵיהֶם) only, but for all Israel. *Israel* is also found in fragment 15 3, cf. *his people* in 7 6 and *Jacob* in 8 7.

6 שבט] *tribe* or *scepter*. If the meaning *scepter* is intended here, it may refer to a royal Messiah (because of Gen 49:10 and Num 24:17).²⁰⁵ However, with *all Israel* in the preceding line, *tribes* seems to be the most plausible rendering. This interpretation is somewhat supported by Sir 48:10: ‘You who are ready at the appointed time, it is written, to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the heart of the father to the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob’ (RSV), as we found the ‘father to the son’-motive in line 2.²⁰⁶

A word on the reconstruction of the gap in the middle of the line: ואת שבט] [ירממו Puech reconstructs: [ו ו] and translates: *his (sceptre) and*.²⁰⁷ This reconstruction can also be translated as: *his/its (tribe) and*. The plural *tribes* can be reconstructed in three ways: (a) as we have seen in the discussion about 2 ii 1 (משיחו), it is not impossible that ו- indicates a plural with suffix in Qumran. So we can follow Puech’s reconstruction, but translate: *his/its (tribe)s and*. (b) We can reconstruct [ו י], which means *his/its (tribe)s and*; this probably still fits the gap. (c) [ו ים] does not fit²⁰⁸, but [ים] (*the*) (*tribe*)s (followed by an asyndeton) is possible. Of these three options, (b) is most likely.

Fragment 3 we have discussed above, in combination with 2 i.

Fragment 4. See notes on 2 ii 13ff above and further Puech, but note that we have not accepted the combination with fragment 2 ii.²⁰⁹

Fragment 5

Puech combines fragment 5 i with 6 and fragment 5 ii with 7.²¹⁰ This is possible, but it seems us to be more cautious to treat these fragments separately.²¹¹ For the sake of convenience, sake we have retained Puech’s line numbering for 5 ii.

²⁰⁵ See Puech (1998) 21 for further references.

²⁰⁶ See Collins (1994a) 103, Zimmermann (1998) 367,380.

²⁰⁷ See Puech (1998) 18f.

²⁰⁸ According to Puech (1998) 21.

²⁰⁹ See Puech (1998) 10f.

²¹⁰ See Puech (1998) 21f,23f, plates I,III, and García Martínez / Tigchelaar (1998) 1044-1047.

²¹¹ So also Zimmermann (1998) 370.

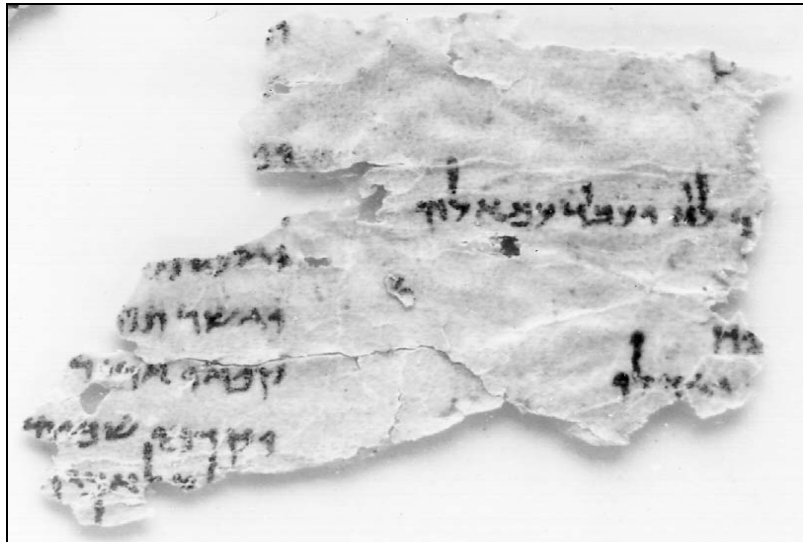


Figure 6. 4Q521 5 (detail of PAM 41.676)

Transcription

	i
ם[	1
[	2
[	3
ר[ל'א יעב'ר עמ אלה	4
[	5
וח[	6
יג'רלו °[	7

	ii
ו'ן °	7
ן °	8
זפן	9
ו	10
זג'ו ° ° ° ° °	11
וגשר תה'נום	12
קפאו ארו'נים	13
וקדמו שמים]	14
וכ'ל מלאכי'ם	15
ל[	16

Translation

i

4] he will not serve with those.

7] they will be great

ii

12 and the bridge of the aby[ss

13 the curs[ed] have coagulated [

14 and the heavens have gone in front [

15 and a]ll angels [

Notes

i

4 Note the use of נ in a final position.²¹²

ii

11 This line is very difficult to read.²¹³

12 The plural תהומוות is equally well possible.

Exegesis

i

4 יעבוד *he will serve*. Like עבדה in 2 ii 3, this word may refer to cultic activity. However, does the negation לוא indicate that someone was forbidden to serve with others? Or does it indicate that some did not want to serve with others – a split within a community? We cannot but pose questions.²¹⁴ In any case, whereas the dominant tone of 4Q521 is positive, 5 i 4, 5 ii 13 and 7 5 may imply that the author was well aware that not all are pious.

ii

12 גשר *bridge*. This word (that can also mean ‘ferry’²¹⁵) is not found in the Hebrew Bible or elsewhere in the Scrolls. Puech has made a very sophisticated attempt to make sense of the expression תהום גשר *bridge of the abyss* in combination with the following lines. He summarizes:

²¹² According to Emmanuel Tov, this is characteristic for texts written in the Qumranic system. However, Puech does not want to conclude on the basis of a נ in a final position, that 4Q521 is an essenic composition. See Puech (1998) 6,7n9.

²¹³ Puech (1992) 501f: וְגַל־אֵת־נֶן et il dévoilera (?) le ju[gement (?)/et il a roulé/réjouï le [il écartera le [???] ;

Puech (1993) 650f: wglmw (?) t°[ou wm[] et ont enveloppé [les] Ab[îmes (?)] ;

Puech (1998) 23f: וְגַל־אֵת־נֶן et le vallée de la mort dans[] ;

Zimmermann (1998) 370:]וְגַל־אֵת־נֶן wgl[...] ;

García Martínez/Tigheelaar (1998) 1046f: [...]...יגלם he reveals them [...].

²¹⁴ See Zimmermann (1998) 370f.

²¹⁵ Jastrow, sv גֶּשֶׁר.

in lines twelve following, the separation of the cursed and of the blessed is mentioned (compare Matthew 25:31-46). After crossing the bridge over the Abyss, the cursed ones will become rigid, falling down into Abaddon or freezing Hell while the blessed will be welcomed by the Heavens to live in the company of the angels (5 ii). This new and unique notion recalls the Bridge of the Sorter in Zoroastrianism and the conviction in the Essene compositions that at the time of the visitation, the just will stand before God in the company of angels in Paradise. This means also that the state of resurrection is not a pure return to life on earth but a transformation in glory for the living as well as for those who have risen from death to a new earth.²¹⁶

This interpretation is fascinating, but remains speculative: most words of lines 12-15 have been lost. Deriving the bridge from Zoroastrianism can only be done for want of something better.

Although we have not a more convincing interpretation, we can point to some details that one day may lead to a new understanding of the passage: (1) Is *גִּשְׁר* a writing error for e.g. *אֲשֶׁר*?²¹⁷ (2) Is *גִּשְׁר* a verb here, meaning *he has joined*?²¹⁸ (3) Did a second stem or proper name *גִּשְׁר* exist? (4) Has the bridge something to do with the waters mentioned in 4Q521 7 3?²¹⁹ (5) Is the passage about a (wonderful) crossing of a sea or a river? (a) In Exo 15:8, in Moses' song on the crossing of the sea, we read *תְּהַרְגוּת קִפְאוֹ תְּהַרְגוּת* *the deeps congealed*, words we find / can reconstruct in lines 12 and 13. (b) Josephus tells us:

Now while Joshua, the commander, was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto; and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that their enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for ferry-boats they had none, — God promised so to dispose of the river, that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters.²²⁰

After all, the context of our passage can be that there is *no* bridge; the *אֲרוּרִים* *the cursed* (line 13) can indicate enemies. (c) Josephus tells about the return of David over the Jordan after defeating Absalom:

And Shimei, the son of Gera, came with a thousand men, which he brought with him out of the tribe of Benjamin; and Ziba, the freed-man of Saul, with his sons, fifteen in number, and with his twenty servants. All these, as well as the tribe of Judah, laid a bridge [of boats] over the river, that the king, and those that were with him, might with ease pass over it.²²¹

Shimei had cursed (*קָלַל*; 2Sa 16:7) David and can therefore be considered as being cursed (*אֲרוּר*) himself (see Gen 12:3). To be clear, we do not suppose that one of these biblical stories is retold in 4Q521 5 ii, but maybe some elements of these stories (and their early Jewish interpretations) may have been used in our fragment.

Anyhow, although Puech's interpretation is speculative, until now we have not found a better coherent interpretation of lines 12-15.

²¹⁶ Puech (1999) 562. For a full argumentation, see Puech (1993) 687-692. See also Puech (1998) 2. García Martínez / Van der Woude (1994) 421 refer to the fact that the bridge over the Abyss came to play an important role in the tradition of the Islam.

²¹⁷ However, 4Q521 contains several corrections; why would this error not have been corrected? In any case, the scribe wrote the characters *גִּשְׁר*: at this point, the manuscript is not damaged.

²¹⁸ See Jastrow, sv *גִּשְׁר*.

²¹⁹ A suggestion by Zimmermann (1998) 374.

²²⁰ Ant 5.16 (5.1.3), Whiston's translation.

²²¹ Ant 7.264 (7.11.2), Whiston's translation.

Fragment 6

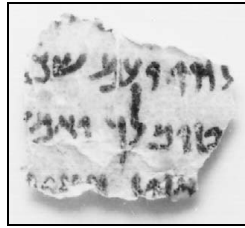


Figure 7. 4Q521 6 (detail of PAM 41.676)

Here again we have retained Puech's line numbering.

Transcription

]° °°[	4
עמ ר]עהו ועמ שזנר	5
]טוב לך ואמין]	6
]מזון אמון]ים	7

Translation

- 5 with his fr]iend and with [his] neighbor [
6]good for you and be strong[
7] food of the faithf[ul] [

Notes

5 As in 4Q521 5 i 4, the ם is used in a final position.

Exegesis

According to Puech, '[d]ans ces lignes semble être décrite la nouveauté du royaume messianique en rapport avec les merveilles annoncées, ou tout au moins avec la conversion proclamée par le Nouvel Élie'.²²²

Zimmermann comments:

Die Zeilen 3+4 könnten mit (eschatologischen?) Segnungen, evtl. auch mit der Fruchtbarkeit des Landes zusammenhängen: ‚Gutes‘, ‚Stärke‘, ‚Speise‘. Bei den אמונים (vgl. 2 II 6) könnte es sich wieder um die in 2 II 5ff genannte Personengruppen der Armen / Treuen / Gerechten handeln, die an den Segnungen der Heilszeit teilhaben werden.²²³

There is some similarity with Psa 128:1,2: When you shall eat of the fruit of your hands, you will be happy and it will be well with you (וְטוֹב לְךָ) (English from NASB).

²²² Puech (1998) 22.

²²³ Zimmermann (1998) 371.

Fragment 7



Figure 8. 4Q521 7 (detail of PAM 41.676)

Transcription

[ראו [א]ת כל אֵן]	1
הארץ וכל אשר בה יִמְנִיִם]	2
[וכל מקוה מים ונחלים <i>vacat</i>	3
ל] [העושים אנת] הטוב לפני אֵדְנִי	4
[א כאלה מקללנים] ולמות יהֵנו	5
[ם המזיחיה את מתי עמו <i>vacat</i>	6
[דה ונגידה לכם צִדְקֹת וְאֵדְנִי אֵשְׁרֵנו]	7
[ותה ופתחן]	8

Translation

1	[see all]
2	the ear]th and all that is in it seas]
3	] and every reservoir of water and torrents <i>vacat</i>
4	]who do the good before the Lor[d
5	] like these, the accurs[ed], and [they] will be for the death [
6	] he who gives life the dead of his people <i>vacat</i>
7	] and we will report you the righ[te]ous deeds of the Lord, who[
8	] and he has opened [

Notes

6 Bergmeier reads מוֹנִי instead of מוֹתִי and translates: ‘der am Leben erhält die Wankenden seines Volkes’; however, the manuscript does not allow this reading.²²⁴

Puech reconstructs יִקְיִם; we should translate then: *the life-giver will raise the dead of his people*.²²⁵

8 Puech and Zimmermann reconstruct וּפְתַחַן קְבֻרוֹת *and he has opened the graves*²²⁶, although Puech also suggests to add *the books of life* or something similar.²²⁷

Exegesis

Because of the contents and the *vacat* in lines 3 and 6, every line possibly contains a verse. Lines 2+3, 4+5 and 6+7 may form couplets, as we can see some parallelism:

2+3 seas || reservoirs of water, torrents

4+5 doers of the good || curse, death

6+7 resurrection || report of righteous deeds.

For the parallelism in 6+7, compare 2 ii 12: *the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding*.²²⁸

1 ראו. As the second person plural is used in line 7 (see also 6 6), we probably should translate an imperative *see!* or reconstruct ראו[ת] *you will see*.²²⁹

1-3 Puech reconstructs, following Psa 146:6 and similar passages:

ראו[א]ת כל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

אֲדֹנָי הָאָרֶץ וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר בָּהּ יָמִים וְכֹל

אֲשֶׁר בָּם וְכֹל מְקוֹה מַיִם וְנַחְלִים

]voyez tout ce [qu’a fait

le Seigneur, la terre et tout ce qu’elle contient, (les) mers[et tout ce qu’elles contiennent] et tout plan d’eaux et (les) torrents.²³⁰

However, the preserved words do not necessarily speak of God’s creative action. They can also imply a punishment as in Exo 7:19²³¹:

Then the LORD said to Moses, “Say to Aaron, ‘Take your staff and stretch out your hand over the waters of Egypt, over their rivers, over their streams, and over their pools, and over all their reservoirs of water, that they may become blood; and there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in *vessels of wood* and in *vessels of stone*.’” (NASB)

In Rev 16:2-4, the first three bowls of God’s wrath are poured out on *the earth*, on *the sea* and on *the rivers and the springs of water*. If lines 2+3 speak of judgment, this accords with lines

²²⁴ See Bergmeier (1995) 42n32, and the reactions by Puech (1998) 23n54 and especially Zimmermann (1998) 372.

²²⁵ See Puech (1998) 23,26.

²²⁶ See Puech (1998) 23, Zimmermann (1998) 371.

²²⁷ See Puech (1998) 27.

²²⁸ See Zimmermann (1998) 372, against Puech (1993) 652 and Puech (1998) 24.

²²⁹ See Puech (1998) 24.

²³⁰ Puech (1998) 23,24, see also his comments to lines 2 and 3.

²³¹ Aune (1998) 884, commenting on Rev 16:3b, refers to this passage.

4+5, which seem to say that the accursed receive capital punishment, in contrast to those who have done the good.²³²

On the other hand, Neh 9:6 favors Puech's interpretation, as this verse contains the word *מְחַיֶּה* *giving life*, also used in line 6:

And Ezra said: You are the LORD, you alone; you have made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all that is on it, the seas and all that is in them. To all of them you give life, and the host of heaven worships you. (NRSV)

5 *לְמוֹת יִהְיוּ* *they will be for the death*. Probably the definite death after the Last Judgment is meant.²³³

6 *הַמְחַיֶּה* *he who gives life* most probably refers to God.²³⁴ Of course, giving life can be understood as maintaining life or caring, but probably here the resurrection of all the dead of God's people at judgment's day is in view.²³⁵

7 *עַמּוֹ* *his people* no doubt refers to Israel, maybe restricted to the 'true', 'faithful' or 'righteous' Israel, but see *all Israel* in 2 iii 5.²³⁶

7 *and we will report you the righ[te]ous deeds of the Lord*. Who are the *we* and who are the *you* in this line? The *you* can simply refer to the readers. The *we* might be the *poor* (*עֲנִיִּים*) of 2 ii 12, who are not spoken to here, but do speak themselves about the Lord's salutary acts, either already benefited or expected.²³⁷

8 *וּפְתַחַן* *and he has opened*]. Thanks to the rodents²³⁸, it is hidden for us what has been opened.

²³² See Zimmermann (1998) 373.

²³³ Van der Horst (1997) 180n897:

Nl. bestemd voor de definitieve dood na het laatste oordeel. Of de auteur overigens dacht aan een algemene opstanding van alle doden of alleen aan die van de rechtvaardigen is niet uit te maken, hoewel het laatste iets waarschijnlijker lijkt. Op de achtergrond speelt hier ook de beroemde passage over de keuze tussen leven en dood in Deut. 30:12-20.

²³⁴ Puech (1998) 26 mentions many Old Testament, New Testament and Jewish parallels. Zimmermann (1998) 373f considers a reference to Elijah, but admits 'auch in diesem Fall wäre davon auszugehen, daß es letztlich Gott ist, der die Toten auferweckt.'

²³⁵ So also Puech (1998) 26, cf. Kvalbein (1998) 92.

²³⁶ Cf. the texts mentioned by Puech (1998) 26.

²³⁷ So Zimmermann (1998) 374.

²³⁸ See Puech (1998) 1.

Fragment 8

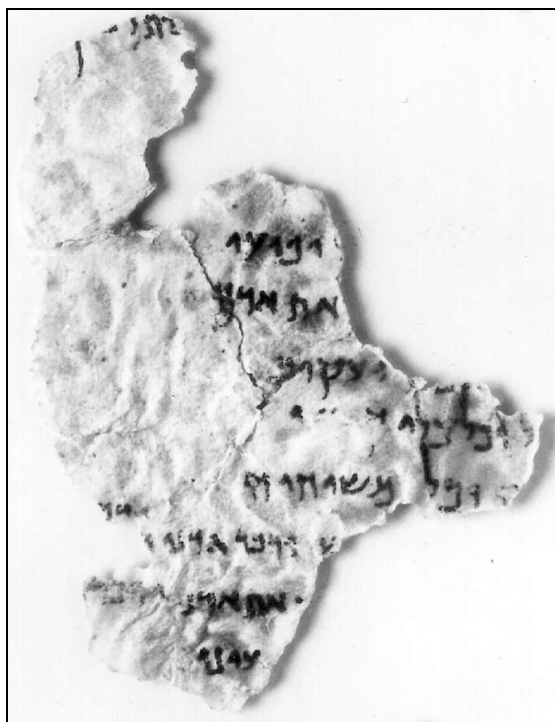


Figure 9. 4Q521 8 (detail of PAM 43.604)

Transcription

לְוֹתֵל בְּנִין]	1
[	2
[	3
[ ] [	4
° [יפיעו	5
[את אדם	6
°°°° [יעקוב	7
[ל וכל כלי קדשו	8
[ה וכל משיחיה	9
[ש ודבר אדני ה' רב רין]	10
° [את אדני {ידברו}	11
[עיני	12

Translation

1	]wall be[tw]een
5	] they will appear

6] Adam
 7] Jacob
 8] and all his holy vessels
 9] and all its anointed ones
 10] and the word of the Lord ^{[they] will spea[k]} and [
 11] the Lord
 12] eyes of

Notes

7 Puech's reconstruction ב[רכות יעקוב *Jacob's blessings* is interesting, but speculative (although the expression is attested in 4Q252 1 iv 3).²³⁹

8 Puech's reconstruction ל[היכ]ל *the temple* is worth consideration.²⁴⁰

10-11 ידברו was first omitted, then added at the wrong place (line 11), then wiped and added at the right place (line 10).

12 One can also read עינו.

Exegesis

9 משיחיה וכל *and all its anointed ones*.²⁴¹ As a clear context is lacking, the meaning of this expression remains uncertain. The plural *anointed ones* can refer to the 'messiahs of Aaron and Israel' (1QS ix 11), but *all* implies more than two persons. The plural is also attested in 4Q270 2 ii 14: משיחי רוח הקדש *the anointed of (with) the spirit of holiness*. This is interesting, as רוח is a feminine word, which may explain the feminine suffix (not found elsewhere in combination with משיח) in our line. Or is this ה not a suffix, but the article of the next word (now lost), for example הרוח *the spirit*?²⁴² The anointed of the spirit can refer to the Old Testament prophets, although ידברו in the next line seems to refer to the future. Priests (plural) are not called anointed ones anywhere else²⁴³, but this may be accidental. If priests are intended here, this corresponds with the *holy vessels* in the preceding line and with כהנה *priesthood* in fragment 11, a word that Puech reconstructs at the beginning of our line: כהנ[ה].²⁴⁴

In any case, there are no indications of a direct relationship between the anointed one in 2 ii 1 and the anointed ones here. To be prudent, we should not call them Messiahs in the technical sense.

²³⁹ See Puech (1998) 29.

²⁴⁰ Puech (1998) 28f.

²⁴¹ Cf. our extensive discussion of 2 ii 1+2 above. Here we discuss the most likely interpretations; more suggestions are mentioned by Zimmermann (1998) 375.

²⁴² See Zimmermann (1998) 375.

²⁴³ According to Zimmermann (1998) 375. In the Old Testament, the plural participle מְשִׁיחִים is used for priests in Num 3:3, cf. 2Ma 1:10.

²⁴⁴ See Puech (1998) 28ff.

Fragment 9



Figure 10. 4Q521 9 (detail of PAM 43.604)

Transcription

לוא תהייה	1
ים וב[ע]בד א	2
ה תעזוב ב[נ]ר משיח	3
הל[] רצ	4

Translation

- 1]you will not b[e
2 (the)]s and with the servant [
3] you will leave in the [ha]nd of anoin[ted

Notes

1,3 *you*. Or: *she*.

3 We cannot determine whether משיח (if correct) had a suffix and/or was a plural.

Exegesis

2 Puech reconstructs א[דני ובעבד and *with the servant of the Lord*.²⁴⁵ However, this is not *sans doute* as Puech claims, because עבד אדני is not attested in the Hebrew Bible; of course, we can assume a deliberate avoidance of יהוה. As for the identification of this servant, Puech remarks: ‘Le prophète Moïse est souvent désigné comme ‘serviteur de YHWH’, mais il pourrait s’agir d’un autre envoyé, le messie prêtre, roi.’²⁴⁶ If Moses is meant, the reconstruction א[להים עבד is worth consideration (although אלהים is not further attested in 4Q521); see Rev 15:3: Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. Dan 6:20, Acts 16:17, Tit 1:1, Rev 7:3).

3 *You will leave in the hand of anointed*. Zimmermann comments: ‘Es könnte sich um eine Bitte oder Klage an Gott (...) hinsichtlich „seines Gesalbten“ handeln (vgl. Ps 89, 39ff. 50ff.)’²⁴⁷ However, here, the anointed one will not be left, but something or somebody will be left in his hand or power.

²⁴⁵ Puech (1998) 30.

²⁴⁶ Puech (1998) 30.

²⁴⁷ Zimmermann (1998) 376.

Fragment 10

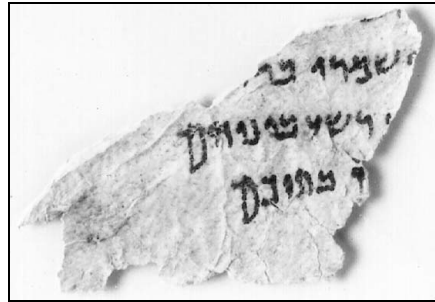


Figure 11. 4Q521 10 (detail of PAM 43.604)

Transcription

] שמר[</td <td>1</td>	1
שמרו ברִינת	2
רשע ביניהם	3
ה בתוכם	4

Translation

- 2]they will keep the coven[ant (of)
 3] wickedness among them
 4] in their midst

Exegesis

Line 3 probably contained a negation: among those who will keep the covenant, there will not be wickedness anymore. Puech toys with the idea that these lines were the end of the column immediately preceding the famous line 2 ii 1: *[for] heaven and earth will listen to his anointed one*. In any case, like the lines in 2 ii, lines 3+4 seem to have comprised two parallel verses.²⁴⁸

Fragment 11

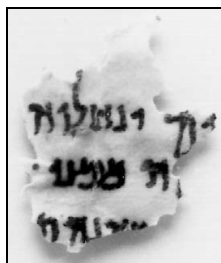


Figure 12. 4Q521 11 (detail of PAM 41.676)

²⁴⁸ Puech (1998) 31.

Transcription

]°[	1
]vacat[	2
]ים ינחלוה[	3
]קָה מִמֶּנּוּ °[	4
]כֹּהֵנָה ת[	5

Translation

3	(the)	]s will get possession of it[
4		] from him [
5		]priesthood [

Notes

3 Zimmermann reads ונחליה *its torrents*, but the letter left of the ל is a ו rather than a י.²⁴⁹

4 מִמֶּנּוּ also means: *from us*.

Exegesis

The ravages of time have gotten possession of the meaning of this text. We cannot take it from them. The priesthood may be forever (Num 25:13, Sir 45:24)²⁵⁰, but without context it is meaningless.

Fragments 12-16

For the very small fragments 12-16, noteworthy are only:²⁵¹

12 2 ומִן לְכוֹתָ] *and the ki]ngdom[*

14 2 לְרֵשָׁע] עֵין צַדִּיק] *between the righte]ous one and the wic[ked one*

15 3]יִשְׂרָאֵל[*I]srael[*

²⁴⁹ Zimmermann (1998) 374f. Puech (1998) 4 describes the differences between ו and י.

²⁵⁰ See Puech (1998) 32.

²⁵¹ See Puech (1998) 32-35, plate III.

§2.3 Title

Nothing that looks like a title has been preserved for 4Q521. When we propose a title now, this is not intended to conjecture the original superscription, but to offer an adequate phrase for summarizing the contents (as far as they are not lost).

Titles and designations that have been proposed include: *On Resurrection*²⁵², *The Resurrection Fragment*²⁵³, *Redemption and Resurrection*²⁵⁴, *Psalm on Resurrection*²⁵⁵, *An Eschatological Psalm*²⁵⁶, *The Anointed One and the Time of Salvation*²⁵⁷, *A Messianic Vision*²⁵⁸, *The Messiah of Heaven and Earth*²⁵⁹, *Messianic Apocalypse*²⁶⁰.

Titles like *On Resurrection* no doubt stress an important and striking theme in 4Q521. However, both in fragment 2 ii and in fragment 7, the resurrection is surrounded by other topics; 4Q521 is by no means 'a treatise on resurrection'. The designation *Psalm* is appropriate for column 2 ii: both vocabulary and parallelism do resemble the biblical psalms. However, other fragments do not show this poetic style; thus, *Psalm* is probably not applicable to 4Q521 as a whole. If we want to include the משיח mentioned in 2 ii 1 in the title, *Messiah* is preferable to the unspecific *anointed one*. *Messiah of Heaven and Earth*, however, implies too much that the Messiah is lord over heaven and earth, which is not intended in 2 ii 1. The designation *apocalypse*, advanced by Puech, has evoked a lot of criticism²⁶¹, but he answers:

the extant fragments have preserved some of the main topics of an apocalypse, at least that which concerns the history at present in preparation for the days of the messiah(s), the coming of the messianic kingdom and eschatological Judgment, salvation of the just, resurrection, transformation in the afterlife, but chastisement and destruction of the wicked, and an exhortation. Certainly there is no indication of a vision, of an otherworldly journey or of primordial events which would also characterize an apocalypse, but so little is preserved that the revelation of the works of God in the last days could support this designation.²⁶²

However, some of the apocalyptic characteristics found by Puech are based on possible but uncertain interpretations of fragments 5 and 7. We had better use the somewhat wider designation *eschatological*. A fitting title would be: *Expectations of God's Eschatological Works and His Messiah*. In short: *Great Expectations*.

²⁵² This was the first title to be proposed for 4Q521, see Wise / Tabor (1992) 60. Among others, it is used by Tabor / Wise (1992) 149 and Van der Horst (1997) 179.

²⁵³ According to Vermes (1995) 244, this is the common designation.

²⁵⁴ Wise / Abegg / Cook (1996) 420.

²⁵⁵ Proposed orally by John Strugnell, see Puech (1999) 552n17.

²⁵⁶ Niebuhr (1998) 151.

²⁵⁷ German: 'Der ,Gesalbte' und die Heilszeit'; title of Zimmerman's chapter on 4Q521.

²⁵⁸ Eisenman (1991) 65.

²⁵⁹ Eisenman / Wise (1992) 19.

²⁶⁰ Title proposed either by Starcky or by Puech, see Puech (1993) 1, (1998) xiv, (1999) 551.

²⁶¹ See e.g. Collins (1995a) 132n80, Becker (1997) 74,75, Aune (1999) 628.

²⁶² Puech (1999) 551.

§3.1 Introduction

1

What light does 4Q521 shed on the New Testament? We will answer this question by focusing on three topics, while admitting that more could be said. Since 4Q521 seems to attest that Psa 146 was understood messianically, we will explore in §3.2 whether such a messianic interpretation of the psalm may also underlie the New Testament; we will concentrate on Luke-Acts. In many cases, words and motifs in 4Q521 seem to resemble words and motifs in the New Testament. In §3.3, we will provide an extensive list of possible parallels, though also indicating which alleged parallels are not convincing. The most striking parallel (4Q521 2 ii 12 || Mat 11:5, Luke 7:22), we will discuss in detail in §3.4. Here we will also return to the initial question of this study: to what extent does 4Q521 contribute to our understanding of the Messiahship of Jesus? We hope this chapter will make clear how students of the New Testament can profit from 4Q521.

2

Parallelomaniacs see parallels, both in vocabulary and in motifs, between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament everywhere. Others consider the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament as such different corpora that searching for parallels or even antitheses is senseless.

We will steer the middle course. While 4Q521 was written more than a century before the New Testament, both belong to early Judaism (even if e.g. Luke were not a Jew) and both are especially interested in the Psalms and Isaiah.²⁶³ This legitimizes the search for parallels. Moreover, we have argued²⁶⁴ that (the autograph of) 4Q521 need not be a sectarian writing and thus the text may have been known also outside Qumran. It cannot be excluded beforehand that John the Baptist, Jesus or some of the authors of the New Testament knew the text, though we can neither presume it.

In fact, one should distinguish between parallels and parallels. Firstly, there are merely accidental parallels. Secondly, there are parallels because of a common background, but not because of dependence of one text on another. Thirdly, there are parallels that are so striking that dependence is to be assumed. This trichotomy can be refined much further, but suffices for our purposes. Because of the shared tradition, it is unlikely that parallels between 4Q521

²⁶³ Cf. Brooke (1997) esp. 266.

²⁶⁴ See §2.1, section 3.

and New Testament are mere accidents. Most of what we will discuss in §3.2 and §3.3, belongs to the second category. The value of noticing such parallels is that each of the individual passages is understood better and that it becomes clearer which motifs are unique for a certain text and which are not.

In §3.4, we will discuss a case in which the question of dependency is worth consideration, even if our conclusion will be prudent.

§3.2 Psalm 146 and the New Testament

1

4Q521 2 ii 1,8,12²⁶⁵ make evident that in the centuries around the turn of the era, a ‘messianic’ interpretation of Psa 146 existed: in the ‘messianic age’, God would act according to Psa 146. We may expect then that the authors of the Gospels saw the fulfilment of Psa 146 in Jesus’ deeds, or even that Jesus himself acted according to Psa 146.

To be sure, nowhere in the Gospels this Psalm is quoted. In the other books of the New Testament, only verse 6 (‘who made heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in them’) is cited twice: Acts 4:24, 14:15. For Psa 146, the NA²⁷ index of quotations and allusions mentions further only Acts 17:24, Rev 5:13, 10:6, all allusions to verse 6. Nevertheless, a much more positive result can be attained.

The Psalm reads:

- 1a Praise the LORD!
- 1b Praise the LORD, O my soul!
- 2a I will praise the LORD while I live;
- 2b I will sing praises to my God while I have my being.
- 3a Do not trust in princes,
- 3b In mortal man, in whom there is no salvation.
- 4a His spirit departs, he returns to the earth;
- 4b In that very day his thoughts perish.
- 5a How blessed is he whose help is the God of Jacob,
- 5b Whose hope is in the LORD his God;
- 6a Who made heaven and earth,
- 6b The sea and all that is in them;
- 6c Who keeps faith forever;
- 7a Who executes justice for the oppressed;
- 7b Who gives food to the hungry.
- 7c The LORD sets the prisoners free.
- 8a The LORD opens *the eyes of* the blind;
- 8b The LORD raises up those who are bowed down;
- 8c The LORD loves the righteous;
- 9a The LORD protects the strangers;
- 9b He supports the fatherless and the widow;
- 9c But He thwarts the way of the wicked.
- 10a The LORD will reign forever,
- 10b Thy God, O Zion, to all generations.
- 10c Praise the LORD! (NASB)

2

Many of the deeds ascribed to the LORD in the second half of the Psalm, God or Jesus does in the New Testament. Let us give some illustrations, taken from the Gospel of Luke and Acts.

²⁶⁵ Line 1 mentions the Messiah, line 8 quotes Psa 146:7f, line 12 convinces that a connection between the wondrous deeds and the Messiah can be seen; see especially our exegesis of 2 ii 12.

7b *Who gives food to the hungry.* This is exemplified by the feeding of the 5000 (Luke 9:10-17). The first Christians distributed food among their widows, etc. (cf. Acts 6:1).

7c *The LORD sets the prisoners free.* The apostles are freed from prison by an angel in Acts 5:19 and Peter in Acts 12:7-10. In Acts 16, Paul and Silas are freed by an earthquake and the consequent conversion of the jailor.

8a *The LORD opens the eyes of the blind.* An example is the blind man at Jericho, who is cured (Luke 18:35-43); see also Luke 7:21.

8b *The LORD raises up those who are bowed down.* An example is the woman who has been bent over for 18 years and is healed in the synagogue (Luke 13:11-13).²⁶⁶

9b *He supports the fatherless and the widow.* See the raising of the widows' son in Nain (Luke 7:11-16). From Luke 7:12,13,15 it is clear that Jesus does not help the young man (orphan) only, but the mother (widow) as well.²⁶⁷ Perhaps the infrequent Pilel עִוֵּר (aufhelfen, relieve²⁶⁸) in Psalm 146:9b could be understood in the sense of 'raising from the dead' (in contrast to Psa 146:4,9c).

The reaction to the wondrous deeds is often that the Lord is praised: Luke 7:16, 13:13, 18:43; exactly the poet's attitude in Psalm 146:1,2.

Many of the passages mentioned have messianic overtones: the feeding of the 5000 is told between Herod's question 'who is this man about whom I hear such things?' (Luke 9:9) and Peter's confession of Jesus as the Christ (Luke 9:20). The blind man at Jericho calls Jesus the Son of David (Luke 18:38,39). The healing of the blind in Luke 7:21 takes place in the context of Jesus' answer to the Baptist (see further §3.4). The raising of the widow's son in Nain leads to such remarks as 'A great prophet has arisen among us!' and 'God has visited His people!' (Luke 7:16 NASB).

3

The first three beatitudes in Luke are interesting for our subject as well. Luke 6:20b,21:

Blessed are you who are poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.

Blessed are you who hunger now, for you shall be satisfied.

Blessed are you who weep now, for you shall laugh. (NASB)

Psa 146 and Isa 61 together seem to constitute a background for these beatitudes:

- μακάριοι may reflect אֲשֶׁרִי (happy, blessed) in Psa 146:5;
- the πτωχοί may reflect the עֲנִיִּים (poor, afflicted) in Isa 61:1;
- the 'kingdom of God' may reflect Psa 146:10: 'the LORD will reign forever';
- the promise to the hungry may reflect Psa 146:7b: 'who gives food to the hungry';
- the κλαίοντες may reflect the אֲבֵלִים (mourning) in Isa 61:2.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Prof.dr. O. Betz drew my attention to this parallel between Psalm 146:8b and Luke 13:11-13. See also Tabor / Wise (1992) 162.

²⁶⁷ Of course, this passage in Luke is also a parallel to 1Ki 17:17-24.

²⁶⁸ KBL sv עוֹר.

²⁶⁹ See Tuckett (1997) 23-25.

Once one has seen that already the author of 4Q521 combined Psa 146 and Isa 61, it is the more plausible that these beatitudes indeed reflect a combination of the texts.

4

In the light of the foregoing observations, the quote from Psa 146:6 in Acts 4:24 maybe something more than a standard formula for addressing God. Acts 4:24-30 reads:

Sovereign Lord, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and everything in them, it is you who said by the Holy Spirit through our ancestor David, your servant:

Why did the Gentiles rage,
and the peoples imagine vain things?

The kings of the earth took their stand,
and the rulers have gathered together against the Lord and against his Messiah.

For in this city, in fact, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, gathered together against your holy servant Jesus, whom you anointed, to do whatever your hand and your plan had predestined to take place. And now, Lord, look at their threats, and grant to your servants to speak your word with all boldness, while you stretch out your hand to heal, and signs and wonders are performed through the name of your holy servant Jesus. (NRSV)

Reminding God that he is the Creator of all implies reminding him that he is the King of all (cf. Psa 146:10). With (the trial, death and resurrection of) Jesus the Messiah, Psa 2 has been fulfilled. The 'deeds' of the Lord, promised in the second half of Psa 146 and said to be fulfilled in the 'Messianic time' in 4Q521, are now done and to be done by the Lord through the name of his holy servant Jesus.

In sum, we do not want to overemphasize the role Psa 146 has played for Luke and Acts (and the other New Testament writings). Nevertheless, from 4Q521 we have inferred that a messianic interpretation of Psa 146 existed, and we have shown that this may well lie behind several passages from Luke and Acts, in any case more than NA²⁷ index of quotations and allusions mentions.

§3.3 Motifs in 4Q521 and the New Testament

The following is a list of motifs found both in 4Q521 and the New Testament. Parallels that depend on a doubtful interpretation of 4Q521 are preceded by a question mark. In all instances, one be referred to our notes and exegesis of the quoted passages from 4Q521. Despite its length, the list is not meant to be exhaustive.

The poor in spirit

Mat 11:5 *Blessed are the poor in spirit*

4Q521 2 ii 6 *upon the poor his spirit will hover*

Although 2 ii 6 speaks about the spirit of God, it makes sense to draw a parallel with Mat 11:5: 'Daß die Armen mit dem Geist Gottes begabt und nicht etwa mit materiellem Reichtum versehen werden, läßt darauf schließen, daß auch ihre Armut eine ‚geistliche‘ Armut ist, die durch Gottes Geist und sein neuschaffendes Handeln behoben wird.'²⁷⁰

The accursed and their punishment

Mat 25:41 *Then He will also say to those on His left,*

Depart from Me, accursed ones, into the eternal fire

which has been prepared for the devil and his angels (NASB)

4Q521 5 ii 12-13 *and the bridge of the aby[ss*

the curs[ed] have coagulated [

4Q521 7 5 *the accurs[ed], and [they] will be for the death [*

Both passages from 4Q521 seem to speak of a (final) punishment for the accursed, although the context is too fragmentary to be more precise. See also Gal 3:10, 2Pe 2:14.

? Opening of the grave(s)

Mat 28:1-10, Mark 16:1-8, Luke 24:1-12,22-24, John 20:1-13: Jesus' grave is open

Mat 27:52f: the graves of the saints are opened, when Jesus dies

John 5:28f: eschatological opening of the graves

John 11:38-44, 12:17: opening of Lazarus' grave

4Q521 7 6,8 *] he who gives life the dead of his people*

] and he has opened [the graves

The reconstruction *the graves* in line 8 fits the context, but we have refrained from any reconstruction at this point, as nothing can be proved.

Authority over heaven and earth

Mat 28:18 *All authority has been given to Me in heaven and on earth. (NASB)*

Eph 1:10 *the summing up of all things in Christ,*

²⁷⁰ Zimmermann (1998) 357.

- things in the heavens and things upon the earth. (NASB)
- Phi 2:10 *that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow,
in heaven and on earth and under the earth (RSV)*
- Col 1:16,20 *for in him all things were created, in heaven and on earth (RSV)
and through Him to reconcile all things to Himself,
having made peace through the blood of His cross;
through Him, I say, whether things on earth or things in heaven. (NASB)*
- Heb 1:10 *In the beginning, Lord, you founded the earth,
and the heavens are the work of your hands (NRSV)*
- Rev 5:13 *And every created thing which is in heaven and on the earth
and under the earth and on the sea, and all things in them,
I heard saying, To Him who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb,
be blessing and honor and glory and dominion forever and ever. (NASB)*
- 4Q521 2 ii 1 *For the hea]vens and the earth will listen to his anointed one*

The remarkable statement in 2 ii 1 that both heaven and earth will listen to the Messiah may have paved the way for the Christian claim that Jesus has meaning for and authority over both heaven and earth.

With some restraint, one may also draw a parallel between 2 ii 1 and the the question of the disciples after the stilling of the storm, Mat 8:27 (Mark 4:41, Luke 8:25): *What kind of a man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?* (NASB).²⁷¹

As an expression of eschatological hope, 2 ii 1(+2) can also be compared with the Lord's prayer (Mat 6:10): *Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.* (NRSV).

? The fathers to the children

- Luke 1:17 *and he will go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah,
to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children (RSV)*

4Q521 2 iii 2 *the fathers come to the sons*

Luke certainly alludes to Mal 3:24 (Eng. 4:6). For 4Q521, this is less certain, and in any case, Elijah is not mentioned.

Isa 61:1f

- Luke 4:18f *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives
and recovery of sight to the blind,
to let the oppressed go free,
to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. (NRSV)*
- Isa 61:1f *The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me,
because the LORD has anointed me;
he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed,
to bind up the brokenhearted,
to proclaim liberty to the captives,
and release to the prisoners;
to proclaim the year of the LORD's favor (RSV)*

²⁷¹ Cf. Wise / Tabor (1992) 61, Golb (1995) 379.

Niebuhr observes that in the Hebrew Bible, the accent in Isa 61:1f is on the *word*, spoken by the ‘herald of salvation’, whereas in Luke 4:18f the quotation from Isa 61:1f has a somewhat different shape, which pays more attention to the *deeds* of the herald. This corresponds with 4Q521, in which Isa 61:1 is quoted in an enumeration of eschatological deeds (2 ii 8,12f). Although we should not overemphasize the point, the early Jewish interpretation of Old Testament texts may explain how the early Christians understood certain Old Testament texts, which in turn may explain why quotations from the Old Testament were changed in a specific way in the New Testament.²⁷² Moreover, we have argued that 4Q521 2 ii may imply that the Messiah to whom heaven and earth will listen (line 1) is the one who, as an agent of God, will bring the good tidings to the poor (line 12). Should we read Luke 4:18f against this background?

Resurrection for those who have done the good

John 5:29 *those who did the good deeds to a resurrection of life,
those who committed the evil deeds to a resurrection of judgment.*
(NASB)

4Q521 7 4-6 *Jwho do the good before the Lor[d
J like these, the accurs[ed], and [they] will be for the death [
J he who gives life the dead of his people*

Although it is not certain that 4Q521 speaks about a resurrection of the body from the grave (John 5:28) and about a resurrection of the wicked, it seems to know a double outcome: those who do the good, the people of the Lord, will receive life, whereas the accursed will be punished with the death.

? The law given by angels

Acts 7:53 *you who received the law as ordained by angels* (NASB)
Gal 3:19 *Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions,
till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made;
and it was ordained by angels through an intermediary.* (RSV)

4Q521 2 ii 2 *the commandments of the holy ones*

According to Zimmermann and others, the holy ones in 2 ii 2 are the angels that have given the law, but we prefer to interpret this phrase in a different way.

? Peter’s speech in Cornelius’ house

Niebuhr claims:

‘Alle Bibelstellen, die in Apg 10,34-43 durchscheinen, stehen auch in 4Q521,2 II und 11QMelch im Hintergrund. (...) Das muß nicht bedeuten, daß die beiden hier herangezogenen frühjüdischen Texte traditionsgeschichtliche Vorstufen für die neutestamentlichen darstellen. Man könnte aber vielleicht sagen: In der Deutung des Christusgeschehen in Apg 10,34-43 werden zwei verschiedene frühjüdische Interpretationslinien biblischer Endzeiterwartungen zusammengeführt,

²⁷² See Niebuhr (1997) 641-645.

die Hoffnung auf Gottes eschatologische Heilstaten, die u.a. durch 4Q521,2 II repräsentiert wird, und die Erwartung eines endzeitlich-messianischen Richters, wie wir sie z.B. in 11QMelch finden. (...) Mit einem solchen Urteil würde erneut zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß die Aussagen der Schrift über ihre Rezeption im Frühjudentum Eingang in das neutestamentliche Christuszeugnis gefunden haben.²⁷³

The point is interesting, but speculative. Unfortunately, Niebuhr does not offer a more detailed argumentation.

He who gives life to the dead

Rom 4:17 *God, who gives life to the dead*

4Q521 7 6 *] he who gives life the dead of his people*

For such formel-like expression, see also Joh 5:21, 2Co 1:9, etc. and the second of the Eighteen Benedictions. Cf. 4Q521 2 ii 12. According to Zimmermann, in 7 6 'könnte der früheste Beleg einer geprägten Formulierung vorliegen, die von den ersten Christen zum Bekenntnis der Auferweckung Jesu von den Toten umgebildet wurde' (e.g. Rom 4:24).²⁷⁴

All Israel

Rom 11:26 *and thus all Israel will be saved* (NASB)

4Q521 2 iii 5 *for all Israel in rejoicing*

Although the context of 2 iii 5 is not fully certain, this line seems to express an eschatological hope for all Israel. This is remarkable: כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs 153 times in the Hebrew Bible, but always in a historical and not in an eschatological context. The Greek equivalent πᾶς Ἰσραήλ is found in the New Testament in Rom 11:26 only: in contrast to the Old Testament and in accordance with 4Q521, it is used in an eschatological context.

The fruit of a good work

Col 1:10 *so that you may walk in a manner worthy of the Lord,*

to please Him in all respects,

bearing fruit in every good work

and increasing in the knowledge of God. (NASB)

4Q521 2 ii 10 *And the fru[it of a] good [work] will not be delayed for anybody*

If the reading 2 ii 10 is correct and interpreted as 'nobody will tarry in bearing fruit, viz. doing good work', the parallel with Col 1:10 is convincing. See also *good fruit* in Mat 7:17,18, Jam 3:17 and other texts using fruit metaphors. Further, passages about (*good*) *work* can be mentioned.

? Scepter

Heb 1:8 *But of the Son he says,*

Your throne, O God, is forever and ever,

²⁷³ Niebuhr (1997) 645f.

²⁷⁴ Zimmermann (1998) 373.

and the righteous scepter is the scepter of your kingdom. (NRSV)

4Q521 2 iii 6 *[his] scepter*

The scepter in 2 iii 6 can be the scepter of a royal Messiah. However, we have preferred the other meaning of the Hebrew שֵׁבֶט and rendered *[his] tribe[s]*. If so, there is no parallel with Heb 1:8.

Waiting for salvation

Heb 9:28 *so Christ also, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time for salvation without reference to sin, to those who eagerly await Him. (NASB)*

4Q521 2 i+3 9 *who wait for you for salvation*

As a context is lacking for 2 i+3 9, it is difficult to go further than notice the parallel.²⁷⁵ For the notion of waiting, see also 4Q521 2 ii 4,9 and e.g. Luke 2:25,28, 23:51.²⁷⁶

? Apocalypticism

As Puech calls 4Q521 an apocalypse (see §2.3), it is worth comparing it with the Book of Revelation, but also with e.g. the ‘Synoptic Apocalypse’ in Mat 24 (and 25), Mark 13, Luke 21. However, the apocalyptic character of 4Q521 is a matter of dispute, and in any case the parallels with New Testament apocalypticism are not very striking.

Throne as sign of honor

Rev 3:21 *He who overcomes, I will grant to him to sit down with Me on My throne, as I also overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne. (NASB)*

4Q521 2 ii 7 *For he will honor the pious on the throne of eternal kingship.*

Although the interpretation of 2 ii 7 is not fully certain, it seems legitimate to see a parallel. Other relevant texts that speak about thrones are: Mat 19:28, 25:31, Luke 1:32f, 22:30, Acts 2:30, Heb 1:8, 8:1, 12:2, Rev 20:4 (cf. 22:5), Rev *passim* (God’ throne).

Earth, sea, rivers and springs of waters in a context of judgment

Rev 16:2-4 *And the first angel went and poured out his bowl into the earth; and it became a loathsome and malignant sore upon the men who had the mark of the beast and who worshiped his image.*

And the second angel poured out his bowl into the sea, and it became blood like that of a dead man; and every living thing in the sea died.

And the third angel poured out his bowl into the rivers and the springs of waters; and they became blood. (NASB)

4Q521 7 2+3 *the ear]th and all that is in it seas[*

²⁷⁵ The parallel is noted by Puech (1998) 10.

] and every reservoir of water and torrents

Although the motif of judgment is not explicit in 7 2+3, it seems to be implied in the following lines of that passage. See also Exo 7:19.

? Heavenly books that are opened

Rev 20:12 *And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne, and books were opened* (NASB)

4Q521 7 5-8 *] like these, the accurs[ed], and [they] will be for the death [] he who gives life the dead of his people] and we will report you the righ[te]ous deeds of the Lord whof] and he has opened [the books*

The reconstruction *the books* in line 8 fits the context, but we have refrained from any reconstruction at this point, as nothing can be proved.

? An opposition: salvation for the righteous or for the sinners

Mat 9:13 *I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners.* (NASB)

4Q521 2 ii 3,4 *For the Lord will oversee the pious and the righteous he will call by name and upon the poor his spirit will hover and the faithful he will renew with his strength.*

Kvalbein states:

In 4Q521 as in Mt. 11.5 par. the people who receive salvation are described as a people in need. They are *prisoners, blind, oppressed*, (l. 8), they are *badly wounded, dead, needy, exiled and hungry* (ll. 12-13). But in Qumran this is only the one side of the description of them. On the other side we find designations of them from their positive attributes. They are *seeking the Lord*, they *hope in their heart*, and they are described as *the devout* or *the pious*, as *the just* and as *the faithful* (ll. 3-7). In Jesus' answer to the Baptist, we find no designations of that kind. (...) Compared with the Old Testament and contemporary Judaism it is astonishing that we scarcely find words for 'devout' or 'pious' in the preaching of Jesus, and the positive designations for the people of God like 'just' and 'wise' are used almost exclusively in polemic expression where Jesus wants to include their opposites. (...) Jesus does not stress the positive attributes or the virtues of those who receive his message, but that they are helpless and dependent. By healing the blind, the lame and the lepers he could include people in his group who, according to the law and especially in Qumran, were excluded from cult and community. (...) his actions transcend the promises of salvation when he eats with notorious sinners and forgives their sins and when he heals the sick and suffering in his miracles. Such actions are at the same time offensive and do not fit into the expectations of his contemporaries.²⁷⁷

There is certainly some truth in this. One could even add that the expression *they will keep the covenant* in 4Q521 10 2 is not found in the New Testament. But Kvalbein cannot be denied some one-sidedness. In order to create the difference with Qumran and 4Q521, he gives a very one-sided portrayal of Jesus. The beautitudes in Mat 5 are about the *poor in spirit*, the *mourning*, the *gentle*, those *hungering and thirsting for righteousness*, the *merciful*, the *pure*

²⁷⁶ See Zimmermann 353n123.

²⁷⁷ Kvalbein (1998) 109f. Cf. Betz / Riesner (1993) 114f.

in heart, the peacemakers, those persecuted for the sake of righteousness. In Mat, Jesus uses the substantivated adjective *righteous one(s)* in a more or less neutral sense in 5:45, 13:17, 23:29 and in a positive sense in 10:41, 13:43,49, 25:37,46, but in a negative sense only in 9:13. Mat 5:20 is quite clear: *For I say to you, that unless your righteousness surpasses that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven* (NASB). In sum, the difference between 4Q521 and the Gospels is not that 4Q521 is two-sided and Jesus one-sided, but that Jesus stresses the extremes on both sides. Maybe Kvalbein has also overlooked that 4Q521 expresses a hope for *all Israel* (2 iii 5).

§3.4 4Q521 and Mat 11:2-6, Luke 7:18-23

1

In 1997, Craig Evans stated: ‘4Q521 significantly supports the traditional view that Jesus did indeed see himself as Israel’s Messiah.’²⁷⁸ The pericope Mat 11:2-6 || Luke 7:18-23 plays an important role in Evans’ argument for this interesting conclusion. The following is a synoptic presentation of the passage, with verbal agreements in bold italics, and followed by our own literal translation:²⁷⁹

Mat 11:2-6

2 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀκούσας
ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ
τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ
πέμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ
3 εἶπεν αὐτῷ,

*Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν,*

4 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,
Πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ
ἃ ἀκούετε καὶ βλέπετε·
5 τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν
καὶ χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν,
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται
καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν,
καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται
καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται·
6 καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν
ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

But John, hearing in prison
the works of the anointed one,
sending by his disciples,

Luk 7:18-23

18 Καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Ἰωάννῃ
οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ
περὶ πάντων τούτων.
καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος δύο τινὰς τῶν
μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης
19 ἐπέμψεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον λέγων,
Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν,
20 παραγινόμενοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν
οἱ ἄνδρες εἶπαν,
Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς ἀπέστειλεν ἡμᾶς
πρὸς σέ λέγων,
Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν,
21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς
ἀπὸ νόσων καὶ μαστίγων καὶ πνευμάτων
πονηρῶν καὶ τυφλοῖς πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο
βλέπειν.
22 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,
Πορευθέντες ἀπαγγείλατε Ἰωάννῃ
ἃ εἶδετε καὶ ἠκούσατε·
τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν,
χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν,
λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται
καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν,
νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται,
πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται·
23 καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν
ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

And his disciples told John
of all these things.
And John, calling to himself a certain two

²⁷⁸ Evans (1997) 97, cf. (1999a) 588.

²⁷⁹ For the Greek text, we follow NA²⁷. Note that one time Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν in Mat corresponds to two times Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν in Luke.

said to him:

Are you the coming one
or do/shall we expect another?

And Jesus, answering, said to them
Go and tell John
what you hear and see:
The blind see (again)
and *the lame walk,*
the lepers are cleansed
and *the deaf hear,*
and *the dead are raised*
and *the poor are brought a good tiding;*
and blessed is he
who is not offended in me.

of his disciples,
sent them to the lord, saying:
Are you the coming one
or do/shall we expect someone else?
And coming to him
the men said:
John the Baptist has sent us to you, saying:
Are you the coming one
or do/shall we expect someone else?
In that hour he cured many of diseases and
plagues and evil spirits, and to many blind
he gave sight.
And answering, he said to them:
Go and tell John
what you have seen and heard:
The blind see (again)
the lame walk,
the lepers are cleansed
and *the deaf hear,*
the dead are raised
the poor are brought a good tiding;
and blessed is he
who is not offended in me.

2

The most remarkable parallel between this passage and 4Q521 is found in Jesus' answer: *the dead are raised, (and) the poor are brought a good tiding*. This is very close to 4Q521 2 ii 12: *the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding*.

In 2 ii 12, God is the subject who works the wondrous deeds, but he does so through the agency of his Messiah.²⁸⁰ The same is true for the Gospel passage: the passive forms are no doubt *passiva divina*, so God is the logical subject, but at the same time it is obvious that Jesus refers to what he has done himself; Mat 11:2 says explicitly: *the works of the anointed one (Messiah)*²⁸¹. This relationship between God and Jesus is also clear in the preceding pericope in Luke, on the resurrection of the widow's son at Nain, as the people say there: *A great prophet has arisen among us!* and: *God has visited His people!* (NASB).

However, we should not say beforehand that Jesus' answer is a direct reference to 4Q521. First of all, Jesus refers to several passages in the book of Isaiah:

The blind see (again): see Isa 35:5, cf. 61:1 (LXX), Isa 29:18, Psa 146:8

The lame walk: see Isa 35:6, cf. Isa 29:18;

The lepers are cleansed: not in Isaiah, but see the cleansing of Naaman 2Ki 5:1-19;

²⁸⁰ See our *exegesis* of 2 ii 12.

²⁸¹ Bauer sv Χριστός 1 is probably right when he lists Mat 11:2 among the texts where the appellative *χριστός* begins already to function as a proper name. However, with the exception of Mat 1:1,18, *Χριστός* never fully has lost its appellative function ('the Messiah') in Mat.

The deaf hear: see Isa 35:5;

The dead are raised: see Isa 26:19, cf. 1Ki 17:17-24, 2Ki 4:18-37, Sir 48:5;

The poor are brought a good tiding: see Isa 61:1, cf. Isa 29:19.²⁸²

We may mention some more Old Testament notions. Although the disabled are protected in the Old Testament laws, they have also several disadvantages: the blind and lame are not allowed to offer the bread for God (Lev 21:18); the lepers are unclean (Lev 13:44f, cf. 2Ch 26:20f); the unclean are not allowed to travel on the holy way (Isa 35:8)²⁸³; the dead cannot praise the LORD (e.g. Psa 115:17), who touches a dead person becomes unclean (e.g. Num 19:16). Jesus' answer implies that all these barriers are solved now.

A reason why the last two clauses are combined can be the belief that God *raises the poor from the dust, He lifts the needy from the ash heap* (1Sa 2:8 NASB, Psa 113:7). Cf. 1Sa 2:6: *the LORD kills and makes alive*. The LXX has ὁ ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸν in Psa 112:7 for *he raises the poor from the dust*.

If one accepts the idea that many Jews in Jesus' days believed they were (in a certain sense) still in exile²⁸⁴, the references to Isa 35:5f mentioned above (Isa 35 is about the return of the ransomed to Zion) may indicate that Jesus' answer implies: the return from exile is coming now.²⁸⁵

All together, there are strikingly parallel motifs in 4Q521 2 ii and Mat 11:2-6 || Luke 7:18-23 (in addition to what is said above, the concept of waiting / expecting can be mentioned: 4Q521 2i+3 9, 2 ii 4,9, Mat 11:3, Luke 7:19,20), but in the light of the wealth of Old Testament backgrounds especially for Mat 11:5 || Luke 7:22, we should not claim that a direct reference to 4Q521 2 ii 12 is made.²⁸⁶

3

When we go from the Gospels to the historical Jesus, we are confronted with an important question. For the authors of the Gospels, Jesus' messiahship is beyond doubt. But Jesus himself, did he believe he was the Messiah and was he acknowledged as such already before his death?

For example, if one reads Mat 11:2-6 without the phrase *the works of the Messiah* in verse 2, does John's question then imply: are you the Messiah? And does Jesus' answer then mean: behold, I am the Messiah? In fact, scholars disagree on how to answer these questions. It is

²⁸² Cf. Becker (1997) 93n96, Davies / Allison (1991) 242f, Evans (1999a) 586f, Fitzmyer (1981) 668, Taylor (1997) 291, etc. Note that in Luk 4:25ff, Jesus himself refers to 'Elijah and the widow in Zarephath' and 'Elisha and the leper Naaman'.

²⁸³ J. Dupont (referred to by Neiryneck (1997) 48) considers the clause *the lepers are cleansed* in Jesus' answer as a reference to Isa 35:8, but we should not overlook the differences.

²⁸⁴ E.g. Evans (1999b) 76-91 has provided evidence for this view.

²⁸⁵ See Wright (1996) 243(n171). I leave unanswered the question whether Wright overemphasizes exile theology in Jesus and his contemporaries, although Evans (1999b) 100 claims Wright is correct.

²⁸⁶ So also Brooke (1998) 44f. The case for a direct reference to 4Q521 would be more convincing if we could assume that John the Baptist had read this text in the library of Qumran, but probably, he was never there. See e.g. Taylor (1997) esp. 48, Lange / Lichtenberger (1997) 74f.

here that we can recall Evans' statement: '4Q521 significantly supports the traditional view that Jesus did indeed see himself as Israel's Messiah.' If 4Q521 says *the dead he will make alive, to the poor he will bring a good tiding* in a messianic context, what else can be implied in Jesus' answer *the dead are raised, (and) the poor are brought a good tiding* than: I am the Messiah?

Before we can evaluate this point, however, we should face one other question. Has the core of Mat 11:2-6 || Luke 7:18-23 actually a *Sitz im Leben Jesu* or is it invented by the early Christians? We are inclined to accept the authenticity. Although we cannot give a full proof for it here, we do bring up two points: (1) we show that the shape of the passage in Q (the *Logienquelle*) is worth reconsideration, (2) we reply to some arguments against authenticity. As such, the first point does not prove authenticity. However, for several scholars the matter is now thus settled that our passage stems from a secondary stratum of Q. Our argument does not prove they are wrong, but may at least indicate a reason why we do not feel obliged to follow their conclusions.²⁸⁷

(1)

According to the two-sources-hypothesis, a passage found in Mat and Luke but not in Mark stems from the source Q. Where Mat and Luke differ in detail, we have to assume at least for one of both his own editorial work. This may well be the case for Mat 11:2-6 || Luke 7:18-23 too. However, Martin Hengel has suggested an interesting improvement for the two-sources-hypothesis, namely that Mat knew not only Q (conceived as one or more *Logienquellen*) and Mark, but also Luke.²⁸⁸ If so, the complex problem of the 'minor agreements'²⁸⁹ is solved. As for the passage under discussion, Hengel wrote us:

Mt [hat] in 11,2ff die Lk-Vorlage einfach gekürzt. Das tut er gern. Die Zahl 2 hat er weggelassen, weil er davon ausging, daß mehr Johannesjünger bei Jesus angefragt hatten. Dem entspricht, daß gegen die Mk-Vorlage Mt 14,11 die Jünger des Täufers Jesus vom Tode ihres Meisters berichten. Daß Mt 11,3 ein „heteros“ hat, könnte vielleicht eine sprachliche Verstärkung sein im Sinne eines „ganz anderen“ (...). Es ist natürlich auch bei diesem Text möglich, daß Mt sowohl die Lk-Vorlage wie seine Quelle kannte und dann eklektizistisch verfuhr.²⁹⁰

Although we cannot evaluate Hengel's theory in its entirety here, we can see whether we can explain all the differences between Mat 11:2-6 and Luke 7:18-23 on the assumption that Mat knew Luke.

The differences in the introductory verses can easily be explained. In the preceding passage, Luke has told that Jesus raised the widow's son, the first resurrection story in his gospel. He needed to tell this: otherwise, *the dead are raised* in verse 22 would not make sense. For Mat

²⁸⁷ Q-specialists who reckon Luke 7:22 || Mat 11:4-6 to a secondary stratum of Q include John Kloppenborg, Burton Mack and Leif Vaage; see Meadors (1999) esp. 275, who also brings in some arguments against their work.

²⁸⁸ We heard Prof. Dr. M. Hengel propose this in a seminar in Tübingen, May 28-29, 1999. See now also his *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (London: SCM, 2000), which we have not been able to consult yet.

²⁸⁹ As is well known, 'minor agreements' are small agreements between Matthew and Luke over against Mark in passages that are as such also found in Mark.

²⁹⁰ Letter dated November 19, 1999.

this was not necessary, as he had already told the resurrection of the daughter of one of the leaders (Mat 9:18-26). So he uses a more general expression for what John hears: *the works of the anointed one*. Whereas Luke uses *Lord* for Jesus in the introductory verses, Mat uses *anointed one (Christ)*. This is understandable: Mat uses Κύριος for Jesus almost only in vocatives; and he may have wished to give this passage clearly messianic overtones. Luke does not mention the prison here, as he had already mentioned in 3:20 that John was shut up in prison. Mat has to add the prison, as he had only told that John had been arrested (4:12), not that he was in prison.

Thanks to Mat's reformulation of the passage, the repetition of the Baptist's question became unnecessary. Luke uses ἄλλος in the question, whereas he more often uses ἕτερος; Mat uses ἕτερος in the question, whereas he more often uses ἄλλος. As Hengel suggested, Mat may have tried to give a specific meaning by using ἕτερος, although not *ganz anderer* but *irgendein anderer*.²⁹¹

Luke 7:21 is a bit awkward. This could be the reason why Mat did not use it. Moreover, he did not need it to introduce Jesus' answer: the first part of the verse is not directly related to Jesus' answer; the second part *to many blind he gave to see* was necessary for Luke as he had not told before that a blind one was given sight, but Mat had in 9:27-31.

Without this passage it is but normal that Mat changes the aorists εἶδετε and ἠκούσατε into the present forms ἀκούετε and βλέπετε; the order may have been changed to create a kind of chiasm with the following.²⁹²

Luke uses καί in the six clauses with wondrous deeds as follows: (A,B,C) καὶ (D,E,F). Mat has chosen a different pattern: (A καὶ B), (C καὶ D) καὶ (E καὶ F).²⁹³ This may be an adaptation to the two-part *what you hear and see*.

In short, the passage Mat 11:2-6 || Luke 7:18-23 does not falsify Hengel's hypothesis that Mat knew Luke: one can make sense of every departure from Luke by Mat. Of course, several differences between Mat and Luke can also be explained the other way round, namely that Mat has almost literally copied Q, whereas Luke has made a lot of adaptations, but there are some problems: Mat says that John sent disciples – why would Luke have added a number: two?²⁹⁴ Mat mentions John's question only once – without obvious reason Luke mentions it twice: most likely, the person who first wrote down our passage used the question twice, but Mat succeeded in quoting the question only once, making the passage less wordy. Mat uses καί in a sophisticated way in Jesus' answer – why would Luke not have followed him in this? All in all, even if Hengel's hypothesis turned out to be untenable after synoptic comparison of other passages, we can draw an interesting conclusion: what has been considered as Lukan

²⁹¹ So Bauer sv ἕτερος.

²⁹² Davies / Allison (1991) 242 even see ἀπαγγέιλαι as the first item of the first half of the chiasm and εὐαγγελίζονται as the last item of the second half.

²⁹³ See Davies / Allison (1991) 242(n29).

²⁹⁴ Mat contains 148 cardinals, Luke 147, so one cannot say that Luke has a special preference for numbers.

redaction in Luke's version of our pericope, may after all have belonged to Q (the source Luke used).²⁹⁵

(2)

We will now consider and reply some straightforward arguments against the authenticity of our passage (a) Jesus draws John's attention to the miracles he does, including raising the dead. If one presumes that miracles (such as are ascribed to Jesus) cannot be performed, one can object that this passage cannot be authentic. A possible reply is that Jesus referred to metaphorically disabled and dead people, which was only later understood as a reference to physically disabled and dead people. However, probably we should doubt the presumption itself. Although it may be difficult to explain how miracles can occur, we should not preclude that any miracle did occur. In questions of authenticity, every miracle story should be evaluated on its own merits.²⁹⁶ (b) Can John have sent messengers from prison with the question: *Are you the coming one or do / shall we expect someone else?* We need not doubt that John's disciples were permitted access to John in jail – according to the customs of that time, they may have come to provide him with food. Jesus was considered as a *Johannes redivivus* by some and thus John was executed before Jesus was known all over the country, but not necessarily before the beginning of Jesus' public.²⁹⁷ But can John have doubted that Jesus was the coming one, once he had already identified him as his major (Mat 3:14)? However, this seems to be more a question regarding the authenticity of Mat 3:14. In any case, why would the early Christians have invented that Jesus' precursor doubted his identity?²⁹⁸ (c) Can Jesus have answered John by using Old Testament phrases? The Jesus Seminar sees a major problem here, which we do not perceive.²⁹⁹

In sum, the assumption that the core of our pericope has a *Sitz im Leben Jesu* is justified.

4

What kind of person did John the Baptist mean with *the coming one* when he asked: *are you the coming one or do / shall we expect someone else?* God? The (Danielic) Son of Man? *Elias redivivus*? The Messiah?³⁰⁰ In any case, John refers back to what he announced earlier:

As for me, I baptize you with water; but One is coming who is mightier than I, and I am not fit to untie the thong of His sandals; He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire. And His winnowing fork is in His hand to thoroughly clear His threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into His barn; but He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire. (Luke 3:16f NASB, cf. Mat 3:11f, Mar 1:7f, Joh 1:26f)

²⁹⁵ Unless one sees such specific Lukan characteristics in it, that Luke's hand cannot be denied.

²⁹⁶ Although we know that this position concerning miracles is not universally accepted, it seems to us that it is methodologically sound. In any case, it is better than either a rigid exclusion of all miracles or a credulous acceptance of the authenticity of all miracle stories.

²⁹⁷ See Taylor (1997) 293f.

²⁹⁸ See e.g. Taylor (1997) 289, Keener (1999) 333f, Luz (1990) 165f, Fitzmyer (1981) 663f.

²⁹⁹ The opinion of the Jesus Seminar is quoted and rejected by Evans (1999) 585n30. See also Luz (1990) 165.

³⁰⁰ E.g. Fitzmyer (1981) 666f mentions these suggestions.

This description leaves open some ambiguity: is this a description of God or of an actor for God? The latter may be more likely, but the question remains: what kind of figure does such language refer to? It is not undoubtedly the description of a Messiah.³⁰¹

More important for us is what is implied in Jesus' answer. Above we raised the question: does Jesus' answer mean: 'Behold, I am the Messiah'? We answer now: this is not exactly what Jesus means here. First of all, Jesus draws the attention from himself, the question whether he is the coming one, to what is happening, to what one can see and hear. That is what matters. Things are really changing! The great expectations of the Scriptures are coming true now. Secondly, Jesus uses divine passives, in order to indicate that *God* is at work. Thirdly, John and his disciples know very well that in the Old Testament especially the prophets Elijah and Elisha did works such as Jesus does now. They know very well that the *anointed one* in the prophecies of Isaiah brings good tidings to the poor. Probably, they are not unaware of the tradition in which such wondrous deeds as Jesus does are associated with God's Messiah, to whom heaven and earth will listen.

Are you 'the coming one'? That question is not fully solved.

Shall we expect someone else? The answer is evident.

³⁰¹ E.g. Fitzmyer (1981) 666f, Luz (1990) 167, Davies / Allison (1991) 241 do not agree with each other at this point.

Although we have chosen the broad way with confidence in chapter 1 and have arrived at several interesting points along it (such as the date of 4Q521 and the messianic interpretation of Psalm 146 that may play a role in Luke-Acts, together with all kinds of details of 4Q521 and parallels with the New Testament), now, we concentrate entirely on the conclusion of the narrow way. We repeat our research question: *to what extent does 4Q521 contribute to our understanding of Jesus' messiahship?* At the end of this study, we can say that 4Q521 especially helps us to relate Jesus' miracles with his messiahship.³⁰² As is often noted, we have no testimonies that a miracle-working-Messiah was expected in early Judaism. In the Old Testament, especially in Isaiah, God was expected to do wondrous deeds in the future. Even when an anointed one is involved, in Isa 61:1, there is not an explicit role for a Messiah. In Mat 11:5 || Luke 7:22, Jesus relates his miracles with the expected deeds of God in Isaiah. The reference to Isa 61:1 as such may imply that Jesus understands himself as the anointed prophet of that text. In 4Q521, we find also the expectation that God will do wondrous deeds in the future. There is a clear reference to Isa 61:1, which makes it plausible that God will act through the agency of an anointed one. In fact, 4Q521 2 ii 1 speaks about God's anointed one to whom heaven and earth will listen; without hesitation, this anointed one can be called a Messiah, with a more or less prophetic function. If one reads Mat 11:5 || Luke 7:22 with 4Q521 at the back of mind and knows that Jesus has performed the miracles he mentions, one cannot avoid the conclusion that here God's Messiah is speaking. 4Q521 makes clear: Jesus cannot be called a Messiah because he was a miracle worker as such, but because he understood his miracles as God's work, as the fulfillment of the Old Testament expectations. 4Q521 sustains the assumption that Jesus was in the first place a *prophetic* Messiah (*prophetic* in word and deed, as e.g. Elijah and Elisha). At the same time, it may be one of the texts that makes the transition to a much more exalted interpretation of messiahship fluent. It takes some steps to come from *the heavens and the earth will listen to his anointed one* (4Q521 2 ii 1) to for example *all authority has been given to Me in heaven and on earth* (Mat 28:18 NASB), but the way is conceivable. If these conclusions are correct, any future study on Jesus' messianity should take 4Q521 into account.

³⁰² For this section, cf. Becker (1997) 92-96, Niebuhr (1997) 640f, Collins (1994) 106-112.

Apart from the light it sheds on the New Testament, 4Q521 2 ii has its own value as a poem. While we should not reckon it to top-class world literature, it is a fine example of the Hebrew poetry of its days. Jews, Christians and Muslims³⁰³ may appreciate it as a hymn that expresses some of their beliefs. The following paraphrase – still to be improved! – can be sung to the tune of Psalm 146 in the Genevan Psalter:³⁰⁴

1 Heaven, earth, yea, they will listen
to th' anointed of the Lord.
All that is in them will hasten
to keep to His holy word;
no one more will go astray,
from commandments far away.

2 Exert you yourselves who seek Him,
who in service seek the Lord.
Him, in this, you will be meeting,
you, who do wait in your heart,
you, whose hope is on your God,
finding Him will be your lot.

3 He will oversee the pious,
He will call them by their name,
He will hover on the righteous,
on the poor His spirit came.
With His strength He will renew
all the faithful, this He'll do.

4 Honor He gives to the pious
on the king's eternal throne.
And all those bowed down with anguish
He will straighten, pain has gone.
He sets mourning prisoners free,
makes the sightless eyes to see.

5 Glorious things not yet existing,
He, the Lord, has said to do:
badly wounded He gives healing,
a new life He offers too,
He will death allow no more,
preach the gospel to the poor.

The inclusion of a version of 4Q521 2 ii in Christian hymnals is worth consideration. The language is vivid. From a theological point of view, there need not be major objections to the contents of 4Q521 2 ii. Rather, the column can be hailed as a poem expressing expectations that are in essence fulfilled in Jesus Christ.

³⁰³ Al-Kadhi (199?) sees the Qur'an and the mission of Muhammed confirmed by the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although his article does not convince, it shows that the Dead Sea Scrolls can be received positively from a Muslim point of view.

³⁰⁴ Paraphrased are lines 2 ii 1-8,11+12. Strophe 4 is partly based on hymn 318:3 in the Psalter – Hymnal (1934-edition) of the Christian Reformed Church.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations used in the bibliography. For an explanation of the abbreviations used in the text and the footnotes, see the overview that precedes chapter 1; for the abbreviations of dictionaries, see below under *Dictionaries*.

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABRL	The Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archeology Review</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift (Neue Folge)</i>
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EBib (NS)	Études bibliques. Nouvelle série
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal for Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
LecDiv	Lectio Divina
<i>NedTTs</i>	<i>Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
NTOA	Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>

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- *Photos of the Dead Sea Scrolls*: Eisenman / Robinson (1991), Lim (ed.) (1997) (CD-ROM);
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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

1 Deze scriptie gaat over 4Q521 (één van de Dode Zee-rollen) en het licht dat deze tekst werpt op het Nieuwe Testament. De onderzoeksvraag luidt: *in hoeverre draagt 4Q521 bij aan ons verstaan van het Messiasschap van Jezus?* Overigens stellen we heel 4Q521 aan de orde, niet alleen de regels waarin het gaat over de Messias. Ook wijzen we op aantal interessante parallellen met het Nieuwe Testament die niet direct betrekking hebben op Jezus' Messiasschap. Aan het slot kunnen we echter wel een belangrijke conclusie trekken over *het verband tussen Jezus' wonderen en zijn Messiasschap*.

2.1 Hoofdstuk 2 is geheel gewijd aan 4Q521. In §2.1 schetsen we eerst de *geschiedenis van het onderzoek* naar deze tekst, in drie fasen. (a) Sinds de ontdekking in 1952 in grot 4 van Qumran was 4Q521 gedurende 39 jaar vrijwel alleen bekend bij de officiële uitgevers van de Dode Zee-rollen. (b) In 1991 werden foto's en een gedeeltelijke vertaling van 4Q521 gepubliceerd. Émile Puech, aangesteld als officiële uitgever van 4Q521, bracht in het volgende jaar een artikel uit waarin hij 16 fragmenten (vrijwel alles wat van de tekst is teruggevonden) uitvoerig besprak. Er kwam nu een stroom van publicaties over 4Q521 en het verband met het Nieuwe Testament op gang. (c) 1998 betekende een nieuwe mijlpaal. Puech leverde de officiële uitgave van 4Q521, in de serie *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*. De handelseditie van Johannes Zimmermanns proefschrift over de messiaanse teksten van Qumran kwam uit, met 47 pagina's over 4Q521. Florentino García Martínez en Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar maakten in hun tweede deel van *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 4Q521 voorgoed beschikbaar voor een ieder die Hebreeuws en Engels kan lezen. Ons onderzoek kan dus voortbouwen op een goede wetenschappelijke basis. Tegelijk blijkt dat op veel punten nog geen consensus is bereikt.

Wat betreft de *datering* van 4Q521: de fragmenten die gevonden zijn in Qumran dateren we met de gangbare opvatting in het eerste kwart van de eerste eeuw voor Christus. Het origineel kan echter al eerder geschreven zijn. Terwijl Puech en Zimmermann daarbij alleen denken aan de tweede eeuw, lijken er ons geen dwingende redenen te zijn die een eventuele datering in de derde of de vierde eeuw onmogelijk maken. Ook kan uit de inhoud van de tekst niet afgeleid worden dat de auteur een lid van de gemeenschap te Qumran (ontstaan in de tweede eeuw voor Christus) moet zijn geweest.

In §2.2 geven we voor elk fragment van enig belang een *foto*, een *transcriptie*, een *vertaling*, *noten* bij de transcriptie en de vertaling en een *exegese*. Bij de transcriptie gaan we min of meer een middenweg tussen Puech die heel veel reconstrueert en Zimmermann die soms te terughoudend is in zijn lezingen.

2.2 De belangrijkste passages van 4Q521 luiden in Nederlandse vertaling als volgt (lacunes en reconstructies van de tekst worden voorafgegaan door een recht-haakje-openen en/of gevolgd door een recht-haakje-sluiten):

Fragment 2 kolom ii

1 want de he]melen en de aarde zullen luisteren naar zijn gezalfde
2 en alles wat] in hen is, zal niet afwijken van de geboden van de heiligen.
3 Span uzelf in, u die de Heere zoekt in zijn dienst!
4 Zult u niet hierin de Heere vinden, allen die hopen in hun hart?
5 Want de Heere zal toezien op de vromen en de rechtvaardigen zal hij bij naam noemen
6 en op de armen zal zijn geest zweven en de getrouwen zal hij met zijn kracht vernieuwen.
7 Want hij zal de vromen eren op de troon van eeuwig koningschap,
8 door gevangen in vrijheid te stellen, blinden ziende te maken, de gebo[genen] op te richten.
9 En voor [al]tijd zal ik me houden [bij hen die] wachten en in zijn trouw zal hij [
10 En de vru[cht van een] goed [werk] zal bij niemand op zich laten wachten.
11 En glorierijke dingen die niet bestonden, zal de Heere doen, zoals hij heeft gez[egd]:
12 Want hij zal de dodelijk gewonden genezen en de doden zal hij levend maken, aan de armen
zal hij een goede tijding brengen
13] de ontheemden zal hij leiden en de hongereren zal hij rijk maken
14] en alle [

Fragment 2 kolom iii

1 en het voorschrift van uw trouw, en ik zal hen doorzoeken [
2 het is zeker: de vaders komen naar de zonen[
3 die de zegen van de Heere in zijn gunst[
4 de a[ar]de verheugd zich op elke plaa[ts
5 want geheel Israël in vreugde
6 en [haar] stamm[en, en] zij zullen opheffen[

Fragment 5 kolom ii

12 en de brug van de afg[rond
13 de vervloek[ten] zijn samengeklonterd
14 en de hemelen zijn voorop gegaan [
15 en a]lle engelen [

Fragment 7

1]zien alle[
2 de aar]de en alles wat er in is zeeën[
3] en elk waterreservoir en bergstromen
4] wie het goede doen voor de Hee[re
5] zoals deze, de vervloek[ten], en [zij] zullen voor de dood [
6] hij die leven geeft aan de doden van zijn volk
7] en wij zullen u vermelden de rech[tv]aardige daden van de Heere, die [
8] en hij heeft geopend [

Fragment 8

8] en al zijn heilige vaten
9] en al haar gezal[fden
10] en het woord van de Heere zullen [zij] spre[ken] en [

Fragment 9

3] u zult laten in de hand van de gezal[fde

Bij de exegese besteden we vooral veel aandacht aan de eerste regels van fragment 2 kolom ii. Wie is bedoeld met *zijn gezalfde* in regel 1? Het Hebreeuws laat eventueel ook een meervoud toe: *zijn gezalfd*. Kun je het woord *gezalfde* hier in de specifieke betekenis *Messias*

opvatten? In het vroege jodendom was er een bonte verzameling aan Messiaanse verwachtingen, die tot vier patronen te herleiden zijn: een koninklijke Messias, een priesterlijke Messias, een profetische Messias en een hemelse Messias. Welke functie heeft de Messias dan in deze regels?

In totaal zijn er maar liefst elf verschillende interpretaties gesuggereerd in de afgelopen jaren. Degenen die het meervoud ‘gezalfden’ voorstaan wijzen onder andere op de parallellie die zo met ‘heiligen’ in de tweede regel ontstaat. Of men de gezalfden nu echter opvat als priesters, als toekomstige profeten, als oudtestamentische profeten of als een priesterlijke en een koninklijke Messias, elke interpretatie roept zijn eigen vragen op. Bovendien sluit de Hebreeuwse vorm een meervoud weliswaar niet volledig uit, maar een enkelvoud ligt veel meer voor de hand. Wanneer je de parallellie ook niet zozeer tussen *gezalfde(n)* en *heiligen* als wel tussen *gezalfde* en *geboden* ziet, vormt het enkelvoud inhoudelijk geen enkel probleem.

Wanneer een Messias gedefinieerd wordt als ‘iemand die in de eindtijd namens God handelt, en van wie in ieder geval op sommige plaatsen gezegd wordt dat hij gezalfd is’, dan kan ook de *gezalfde* in regel 1 met recht een *Messias* genoemd worden. Hoewel de hemel en de aarde naar deze Messias zullen luisteren (er is een verschil met bijvoorbeeld Jesaja 1:2 waar hemel en aarde als getuige moeten toehoren als de profeet tot het volk spreekt), kan hij toch niet een *hemelse* Messias genoemd worden. *Priesterlijke* of *koninklijke* kenmerken zijn evenmin duidelijk aanwijsbaar. Waarschijnlijk gaat het om een **profetische Messias**, eventueel om een koninklijke Messias (die werd het meest verwacht) die hier profetische trekken vertoont. Zekerheid valt niet te bereiken, maar dit lijkt ons de meest waarschijnlijke interpretatie van de tekst voor zover ze bewaard is gebleven.

De *heiligen* in regel 2 zijn volgens Zimmermann *engelen*. Ons inziens kunnen het echter ook ‘discipelen’ van de Messias zijn, of degenen die God en zijn Messias verwachten. *De geboden van de heiligen* zijn dan de geboden die de heiligen onderhouden of eventueel ook onderwijzen. In de regels 3-6 worden veel uitdrukkingen uit de Psalmen (o.a. Psalm 31:24,25) en Jesaja 40-55 gebruikt. Regel 7 kan drie zaken betekenen: (a) God zal de vromen eren door hen op een troon van eeuwig koningschap te plaatsen, (b) God zal de vromen eren door hen op zijn eigen troon van eeuwig koningschap te plaatsen, (c) God, zittend op zijn troon van eeuwig koningschap, zal de vromen eren. De tweede interpretatie is de meest waarschijnlijke. Regel 8 citeert Psalm 146:7+8. *De vrucht van een goed werk* in regel 10 kan duiden op een beloning voor een goed werk, maar de betekenis kan ook zijn: *de vrucht, namelijk een goed werk*. Dit stemt in ieder geval meer overeen met het Nieuwtestamentisch gebruik van ‘vrucht’. In regel 12 wordt onder andere gezegd dat God de doden levend zal maken en aan de armen een goede tijding zal brengen. In Jesaja 61:1 wordt gezegd dat een *gezalfde* aan de armen een goede tijding zal brengen. Het ligt voor de hand om te veronderstellen dat regel 12 impliceert: God zal de goede tijding brengen door middel van zijn gezalfde. Ook bij de andere wonderdaden in regel 12 en in regel 8 kan dit geïmpliceerd zijn: God handelt op aarde door middel van zijn gezalfde. In tegenstelling tot wat sommigen beweren, is er geen breuk in de tekst te ontdekken tussen regel 2 en 3 of 3 en 4: het is dan alleszins aannemelijk dat de tekst

impliceert: *God zal de wonderdaden doen door middel van de Messias naar wie hemel en aarde zullen luisteren.*

Bij fragment 2 kolom iii speelt vooral de vraag of hier sprake is van de nieuwe Elia (regel 2) en/of een koninklijke Messias (regel 6). Waarschijnlijk is beide niet het geval: *de vaders komen naar de kinderen* kan verwijzen naar Maleachi 4:6: *Hij [de nieuwe Elia] zal het hart der vaders tot de kinderen wederbrengen*, maar dan heeft onze auteur de tekst zo veranderd dat Elia als onderwerp wegvalt. In regel 6 kan *scepter* i.p.v. *stammen* vertaald worden. *Scepter* kan inderdaad in verband met een koninklijke Messias gebruikt worden. Echter, gezien *geheel Israël* in de voorgaande regel, is de vertaling *stammen* het meest voor de hand liggend.

Puech duidt de brug over de afgrond in fragment 5 kolom ii met behulp van Zoroastrisch gedachtengoed: zowel vervloekten als rechtvaardigen gaan over de brug over de afgrond: de vervloekten vallen in de afgrond, de hel, terwijl de rechtvaardigen worden verwelkomd in de hemel. Puechs interpretatie is allesbehalve zeker, maar een betere is moeilijk te geven.

De context van de woorden *aar]de, zeeën, watervoorraad* en *bergstromen* in fragment 7 regel 2+3 is grotendeels verloren gegaan. Er kan gestaan hebben dat God deze dingen geschapen heeft, maar het is ook mogelijk dat God er een straf over uitoefent (vgl. Exodus 7:19, Openbaring 16:2-4). In regel 5+6 lijkt gezegd te worden dat de vervloekten de eeuwige dood ontvangen terwijl God de doden van zijn volk op zal wekken. Helaas is in regel 8 weggefallen wat er *geopend* is: men kan denken aan *de graven* of *de boeken* (namelijk bij het laatste oordeel), maar met zekerheid kan niets gezegd worden.

De *gezalfd*en in fragment 8 regel 9 zijn waarschijnlijk profeten of priesters. Een verband met de *gezalfd*e in 2 ii 1 is niet aantoonbaar. Over de *gezalfd*e(n) in fragment 9 regel 3 laat zich niets met waarschijnlijkheid zeggen.

2.3 In §2.3 gaan we kort in op de rijke variatie aan *titels* die zijn voorgesteld voor 4Q521. Het gangbaarst is de aanduiding die door Puech wordt voorgestaan: *Messiaanse apocalyps*, hoewel de vraag gesteld kan worden of 4Q521 echt een apocalyps is. Ons inziens wordt de inhoud van de tekst het best gevat met: *Verwachtingen van Gods eschatologische werken en zijn Messias*. Kort gezegd: *Grote verwachtingen*.

3.1 Hoofdstuk 3 biedt *een vergelijking van 4Q521 met het Nieuwe Testament*. In §3.1 maken we enkele methodische opmerkingen.

3.2 In §3.2 komt *Psalm 146* aan de orde. Hoewel deze psalm weinig geciteerd wordt in het Nieuwe Testament, lijkt een messiaanse interpretatie ervan, zoals we die kunnen afleiden uit 4Q521 fragment 2 kolom ii, op de achtergrond een rol te spelen, in ieder geval in Lukas en Handelingen: veel van de wonderdaden die God volgens Psalm 146:7-9 zal doen, vinden plaats in deze bijbelboeken, vaak in passages met duidelijk messiaanse ondertonen. De auteur van 4Q521 combineert Psalm 146 en Jesaja 61; de formulering van de eerste drie zaligsprekingen in Lukas 6:20,21 lijkt ook terug te gaan op een combinatie van deze

oudtestamentische teksten. In het gebed van de gelovigen om vrijmoedigheid (Hand 4:24-30) wordt in vers 24 Psalm 146:6 geciteerd, terwijl vers 30 een verwijzing kan zijn naar Gods wonderdaden in het vervolg van de psalm: deze moet God dan nu doen door de naam van zijn knecht Jezus, zijn Gezalfde (vers 26). Dit past goed bij wat we in 4Q521 2 ii vonden: God zal daden zoals genoemd in Psalm 146 doen, door middel van zijn Messias.

3.3 §3.3 gaat over een aantal *motieven en uitdrukkingen* die zowel in 4Q521 als in het Nieuwe Testament aan de orde komen. We bespreken o.a. ‘armen van geest’, ‘de vervloekten en hun bestraffing’, ‘autoriteit over hemel en aarde’, ‘Jesaja 61:1,2’, ‘opstanding van degenen die het goede gedaan hebben’, de formule ‘Die de doden levend maakt’, ‘de vrucht van een goed werk’, ‘wachten op heil’, ‘troon als teken van eer’ en ‘aarde, zee, rivieren en waterbronnen in een context van oordeel’. We weerleggen de visie dat het grote verschil tussen 4Q521 en Jezus is dat de tekst alleen heil voor rechtvaardigen kent, terwijl Jezus de zondaars opzoekt: ook Jezus spreekt positief over rechtvaardigen en roept op tot gerechtigheid, terwijl 4Q521 een hoop voor ‘geheel Israël’ kent.

3.4 §3.4 gaat over *de vraag van Johannes de Doper aan Jezus of Hij de komende is en Jezus’ antwoord* daarop:

De blinden worden ziende, en de kreupelen wandelen;
de melaatsen worden gereinigd, en de doven horen;
en de doden worden opgewekt, en aan de armen wordt een goede tijding gebracht
(Mattheüs 11:5, Lukas 7:22).

Het laatste gedeelte van dit antwoord komt sterk overeen met 4Q521 2 ii 12: *de doden zal hij levend maken, aan de armen zal hij een goede tijding brengen*. Zoals we zagen is ‘hij’ hier God, maar Deze handelt door middel van zijn Messias. Zo is het ook in Jezus’ antwoord. De lijdende vormen zijn *passiva divina*: bijvoorbeeld *de doden worden opgewekt* betekent *God wekt de doden op*; maar uit de verschillende opwekkingsverhalen in de evangeliën is wel duidelijk dat God dit door toedoen van Jezus doet. Eén en ander betekent nog niet dat Jezus in zijn antwoord aan Johannes een directe verwijzing naar 4Q521 maakt. Veeleer combineert hij Jesaja 26:19, 35:5,6 en 61:1.

Nu is het in de evangeliën wel duidelijk dat Jezus de Messias is. Een veelgestelde vraag is echter of Jezus zichzelf ook als Messias zag. Kan 4Q521 hier licht op werpen? Om deze vraag te beantwoorden moeten we eerst duidelijk hebben of de perikoop Mattheüs 11:2-6, Lukas 7:18-23 teruggaat op een situatie in het leven van Jezus of pas later bedacht is. Een bewijs leveren is moeilijk, maar er lijken geen onoverkomelijke bezwaren te bestaan tegen de historiciteit, terwijl andersom de vraag gesteld kan worden waarom christenen verzonnen zouden hebben dat Johannes de Doper, de voorloper, op een gegeven moment aan Jezus getwijfeld heeft. We gaan hierbij ook kort in op de hypothese van Martin Hengel dat de auteur van Mattheüs het evangelie van Lukas gekend heeft. Voor onze perikoop levert deze hypothese geen problemen op. Hoewel dit op zichzelf geen argument voor de historiciteit is, ondergraaft het wel bepaalde bezwaren die er tegen in worden gebracht.

Wat voor soort persoon bedoelde Johannes met ‘de komende’ in zijn vraag: *bent u de komende of moeten we op iemand anders wachten?* God? De ‘Zoon des mensen’ uit Daniël? Elia als hij terugkeert? De Messias? In ieder geval zal Johannes doelen op ‘degene die na mij komt, die machter is dan ik’ die hij in Mattheüs 3:11 en Lukas 3:16 aankondigde. Die uitdrukking op zich kan op God slaan of waarschijnlijker op iemand die namens Hem handelt, maar het is niet noodzakelijkerwijs een aanduiding voor de Messias.

Betekent Jezus’ antwoord aan Johannes wel: ‘Kijk, ik ben de Messias?’ Dit is niet precies wat Jezus hier bedoelt. In de eerste plaats leidt Jezus de aandacht van zichzelf af, van de vraag of hij de komende is, naar wat er gebeurt, naar wat je kunt zien en horen. Dat is van belang. Er gebeuren hier wonderen! De grote verwachtingen uit de Schriften worden nu vervuld. In de tweede plaats gebruikt Jezus lijdende vormen die aangeven dat *God* aan het werk is. In de derde plaats wisten Johannes en zijn discipelen zeer goed dat in het Oude Testament vooral de profeten Elia en Elisa zulke werken deden zoals Jezus nu doet. Zij wisten zeer wel dat de *gezalvde* in de profetieën van Jesaja een goede tijding aan de armen brengt. En ***waarschijnlijk waren Johannes en zijn discipelen niet onbekend met de traditie waarin zulke daden zoals Jezus doet, geassocieerd werden met Gods Messias, naar wie hemel en aarde zullen luisteren.***

Bent u ‘de komende’? Die vraag wordt niet helemaal opgelost.

Moeten we iemand anders verwachten? Het antwoord is duidelijk.

4 Hoofdstuk 4 bevat de conclusies. In het vroege jodendom was er geen verwachting van een Messias als wonderdoener. Dit plaatst ons voor de vraag wat Jezus’ wonderen met zijn Messias-zijn te maken hebben. Wanneer Mattheüs 11:5 en Lukas 7:22 tegen de achtergrond van 4Q521 worden gelezen, ligt de volgende oplossing voor de hand: ***Jezus kan niet Messias genoemd worden omdat hij een wonder-werker als zodanig was, maar wel omdat hij zijn wonderen verstond als Gods werk, als de vervulling van oudtestamentische verwachtingen.*** Immers, uit 4Q521 is de verwachting af te leiden dat God door middel van zijn Messias, naar wie hemel en aarde zullen luisteren, de beloofde heilsdaden uit het Oude Testament zal doen. 4Q521 steunt de veronderstelling dat Jezus in de eerste plaats een ***profetische Messias*** was (profetisch in woorden en daden, zoals bijvoorbeeld Elia en Elisa). Tegelijk kan 4Q521 hebben bijgedragen aan ***een vloeiende overgang naar een verheven-koninklijke interpretatie van Messiasschap.*** De zin *de hemelen en de aarde zullen naar zijn gezalvde luisteren* (4Q521 2 ii1) kan profetisch opgevat worden, maar baant ook de weg voor een verdergaande uitspraak als: *Mij is gegeven alle macht in hemel en op aarde* (Mat 28:18).

Wanneer deze conclusies juist zijn, dan dient elke toekomstige studie over Jezus Messiasschap rekening te houden met 4Q521.

De appendix biedt (een aanzet tot) *een berijming van 4Q521 2 ii 1-8,11-12* op de Geneefse melodie van Psalm 146. Een bewerking van 4Q521 2 ii verdient een plaats in Christelijke liedboeken: de taal is levendig, en grote theologische bezwaren zijn er niet tegen in te brengen. Integendeel, de kolom is een gedicht vol verwachtingen, die in hun essentie vervuld zijn in Jezus Christus.