

The Old Testament in 11Q Melchizedek

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It is a great pleasure to dedicate the following translation of 11Q Melch to my friend and colleague, Theodor Gaster, whose index to biblical quotations and parallels in his *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* has been a boon to many students and scholars.¹ Gaster included in his list not only explicitly and clearly cited Old Testament passages in the Qumran documents, but also, from his intimate acquaintance with the whole corpus of MT and LXX, the allusions to, and extrapolations from, Old Testament passages of the sort I call warp woven with the sectarian woof to produce the very weftage of Qumran literature. It was in just such a manner that Jewish denominations of the period rang the changes, when needed, on the authority behind their several claims to be the true Israel. That authority was invariably and singularly the Old Testament, and textual weaving was one of the ways they had of contemporizing, as well as appealing to, that authority.

Since J. T. Milik has recently submitted articles to both the *Journal of Jewish Studies* and the *Revue Biblique* as *editiones principes* of manuscripts on Melchizedek, in both Aramaic and Hebrew, it may seem out of season to probe further at this point on the Cave 11 Melchizedek.² And yet there are a few observations which ought to be made independently, perhaps, of the Cave 4 material.

The bibliography on 11QMelch is not extensive considering the amount published in the early days of the Qumran discoveries; but quantity of comment, in this case, is no indication of importance of the manuscript.³ It is clearly one of the most important Qumran documents yet to appear on the subjects of angelology and Qumranian eschatology;⁴ it is important,

1 T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation*, 2nd Anchor ed. (New York, 1964), 412-20; cf. J. A. Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, 1967), 148, n. 5, for an earlier, similar tribute.

2 A. S. van der Woude, *Oudtestamentische Studien* (hereafter cited as OS) 14 (1965), 354-73, pls. 1 and 2. (For the Milik references, see n. 1 to the addendum below—Ed.)

3 Y. Yadin, *IEQ* 15 (1965), 152-54; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Annuaire du College de France* 66 (1966), 348-50; M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, *New Testament Studies* 12 (1966), 301-26; J. A. Fitzmyer, *JBL* 86 (1967), 25-41; M. P. Miller, *JBL* 88 (1969), 467-69; J. Carmignac, *RQ* 27 (1971), 343-78; D. F. Miner, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 2 (1971), 144-48.

4 Despite the otherwise probing study of Carmignac, *RQ* 27. Carmignac is right to raise the question of what is meant by eschatology at Qumran, but his efforts to read the 11QMelch references to Melchizedek in other than divine terms will soon be seen, when Milik's 4Q materials are published, as misguided. In those Melchizedek is clearly a heavenly redemption figure and Milkiresha, his antagonist.

too, for its implications for New Testament study.

11QMelch is also interesting in terms of the midrashic techniques it employs in weaving the Old Testament into its own fabric. Two of my students have already published on this aspect of the manuscript. Merrill Miller found *Stichwörter* from Isa. 61:1-2 throughout the document (lines 4, 9, 13, 18, 20), whereas others had seen the passage reflected only in line 4.⁵ 11QMelch is now a prime example of the midrashic technique of weaving found also in the New Testament,⁶ simply because it is clear, since Miller's work, that each scripture passage explicitly or clearly cited and interpreted, develops a theme based on Isa. 61:1-2a, the eschatological jubilee year acceptable to Yahweh. Daniel Miner, also in a seminar paper, has attempted to show that line 17 of 11QMelch constitutes a typically modified citation of Isa. 56:7 in support of (as *asmakta* to) Isa. 52:7 in the preceding lines 15 and 16.⁷

In addition, it is now clear that Isa. 8:11, which the author in excellent midrashic fashion wove into line 25, must be viewed as an important Old Testament text for the special self-understanding of the sect at Qumran. The phrase, "those who turn aside from walking in the way of the people," from Isa. 8:11, appears in 1QSa 1:2-3; CD 8:16; 19:29; 4QFlor 1:14, and now 11QMelch 25.⁸ In each of the five passages it is a question of a formula not derived from the MT Isaiah tradition but from that known to us in the LXX (*apeithousin tē poreia*, cf. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodorian, and Peshitta), and in 1QIs^a, where the reading is *ysyrny* (from *sûr*) instead of the MT *ysrny* (*yāsar*). Clearly the sect at Qumran understood themselves to be separatists, refusing to walk in the way of "the people." This self-understanding was central to their special vocation.⁹

The Old Testament passages cited or woven into the text is presented in italics with the reference in the margin. The brackets indicate lacunae; and the extraordinary capital letters signal dissociate or indeterminate readings on the leather.

11QMelch

apud A. S. van der Woude in OS 14 (1965), pls. 1 and 2

1. ...
2. [and wh] at he said, *In [this] year of ju[bilee each* Lev. 25:13
of you will return to his possession.]

5 Miller, *JBL* 88.

6 A prime example in the New Testament, of course, is the Passion Account, of which Ps. 22; Ps. 118; and Isa. 52-53 make up most of the warp. In a forthcoming study, I intend to show how Ps. 118 is woven into the fabric of Luke 19, the Entrance Narrative.

7 Miner, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 2.

8 Caution is advised in consulting J. Allegro's note to 4QFlor 1:14; most of the references there are wrong. CD 1:13; 2:6; 8:4; 1QS 9:20 and 10:21 all include phrases such as *sôrêrê dərək* which derive from other biblical expressions in Isa. 65:2; cf. Isa. 30:1 and Jer. 6:28.

9 11Q Ps. 154 (11QPs^a 18) should undoubtedly be seen as an early proto-Qumranian poem, even Hasidic, which was viewed by the sect as expressing in hymnody their understanding of their vocation; cf. Sanders, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (henceforth cited as *DJD*) (Oxford, 1965), 4:64-70 and idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 103-9.

3. [and what he said,] *Let every creditor [re] lease that which he lent [to his neighbor; he shall not exact it of his neighbor or his brother for he has proclaimed] God's release.* Deut. 15:2
4. [Its meaning for the en] d of days concerns *those taken captive* whom [he] *imprisoned* Isa. 61:1
5. ...MH. ...YH. ...and from the heritage of Melchizedeq K[]
...their BW. [Melchize]deq who
6. will restore them to them, and he will *proclaim liberty* to them to set them ? free [and to atone] for their iniquities Isa. 61:1;
and. ...[] this word. Lev. 25:10
7. In the year of the la[s] t jubilee he sai[d] S[] BLY[]
[] and [tha] t is the d[ay of Atone]ment []
the [t]enth [ju]bilee
8. to atone in it for all sons of [light and] men [of the l] or of
Mel[chi]zedeq[] M upon [th]em HT[] LG[]
[] WTMH for
9. that is the end-time, as *the year of favor of Melchize[deq]* L[] and the holy ones of God for a re[ig]n of judgment. As it is written Isa. 61:2
10. concerning him in the Songs of David, who said, *Elohim has [ta]ken his stand in the as[ssembly of El], in the midst of gods he gives judgment.* And about him he sa[id, A]bove them Ps. 82:1
11. *take your throne in the heights; let God judge the peoples.* And he s[aid, How Long] *shall you judge unjustly and li[ft up] the face of the wic[ke]d?* [Se]lab. Ps. 7:8-9
12. Its interpretation concerns Belial and the spir[it]s of his lot whi[ch] M in the boo[k of] ...WQY'L. []
13. And Melchizedeq shall exact *the ven[ge]ance of the jud[g]ments of God* [from the hand of Be]lial and from the hand of all [the spirits of] his [lot]. Isa. 61:2
14. And all the [heavenly] gods are for his help. [Th]is is wh[at he said, ...A]ll the sons of mi[gh]t ? and the P[]
15. this. This is the day of the[] ... about wh]ich he said [for the end of days through Isai]ah the prophet who sai[d, How] beautiful Isa. 52:7
16. *upon the mountains are the feet of the beral[d proclaiming peace; the herald of god, proclaiming salva]tion, and saying to Zion, Your God [is king]!*
17. Its interpretation: *the mountain, [of which he says,] I will bring them t[o my holy mountain, for my house will be called a house of pr]ayer for all [peoples.]* Isa. 56:7
18. And the herald i[s th]e [an]ointed of the spir[it] of whom Dan[iel] said [the herald of] Isa. 61:1
19. *good, proclaimin[g salvation.]* This is what is wr[itt]en Isa. 52:7

- about him, what [he said
20. *to conso[le*] L [will in] struct them about all Isa. 61:2
the periods of wra[th]
21. [] truth for []
22. []
23. [] H she turned from Belial and she []
24. [] through the judgment[s of] God, as it is
written concerning him, [*Saying to Zi] on, your elohim is* Isa. 52:7
king. Now Zion i[s]
25. [] the establisher[s of] the covenant are *those* Isa. 8:11
who turn away from walking [in the p]ath of the people. And
as for your elohim, he [is]
26. [] L[] D Belial, and what he said, *And you* Lev. 25:9
shall sound the horn [loud] in the [seventh] mo[nth]

Addendum

Since the above was submitted to the editor, the articles referred to by J. T. Milik have appeared. In them Milik has published several fragments from Qumran Cave 4 which considerably amplify the available Qumran literature about angels.¹ In them Milik finds not only confirmation of the view that Melchizedek at Qumran was a divine being,² he claims to have found Melchizedek's opposite number, Melchi- (or, as he prefers, Milki-) resha'.

In presenting his new material Milik undertakes an intensive review of 11QMelch and provides a fresh transcription of the text from a photograph provided him from the Palestine (Rockefeller) Archaeological Museum. Milik's reading of the main column of the document differs about forty percent from previous readings. Normally one grants to the original editor the benefit of the doubt in disputed readings since it was he who had access to the manuscript itself. But in this case Milik, a member of the Cave 4 team of scholars, claims to have been provided "an excellent photograph" from the museum for careful examination. One must assume that Milik's photograph is better than the plates provided by the original editor, which are all the rest of us have to work with: one can only hope that some day Milik's "excellent photograph" will be made available to all.

Milik's readings include a considerable amount of conjecture in filling in the lacunae of the manuscript. They will engender debate in the scholarly community in due course, in a number of areas. They stem largely from his thesis that 11QMelch, 4Q180 and 4Q181 are

1 J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Aram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972), 77-97; idem, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens (I)," *JJS* 23 (1972), 95-144. For further bibliography, see my revised "Palestinian Manuscripts 1947-1972," *JJS* 24 (1973), 74-83; the first edition of "Palestinian Manuscripts 1947-1967" appeared in *JBL* 86 (1967), 431-44.

2 Contra J. Carmignac, *RQ* 27 (1970), 343-78, esp. 369f.

but three copies of one work the title of which was "Peshet on the Periods."³ The interest here, however, is for the moment a limited one: namely, the biblical passages which the author of 11QMelch wove into his text.

Again, as above, biblical citations and allusions are in italics; lacunae are indicated by square brackets; and translational and clarifying phrases are put in parentheses.

11QMelch 3 II

apud J. T. Milik in *JJS* 23 (1972), 96-126, pls. 1 and 2

1. ...
2. [and wh] at he said, *In [this] year of Jubilee* Lev. 25:13
lee [each of you will return to his possession.
 That (has the same meaning as) what is written:
This is] Deut. 15:2
3. *[the ma]nner of [the Release]. Let every creditor re-*
lease that which he lent [to his neighbor; he shall
not exact it of his neighbor or his brother for]
Release [has been proclaimed]
4. *for Go[d. And (the Release) will be proclaimed in] the*
end of days concerning those taken captive, as [He Isa. 61:1
said: to proclaim Liberty to the captives. This
is its interpretation: (God) is going] to declare
5. *that they will become part of the sons of heaven and*
(that they will participate) in the heritage of
Milki-šedeq, f[or he is going to assign] them a pa[rt
in the portion of Mi]lki-šedeq who
6. *is going to make them enter into this [Lot] and pro-* Isa. 61:1;
claim Liberty for them while relieving them [of the Lev. 25:10
burden] of all their iniquities. And this event
[will take pl]ace
7. *in the first week (of years) of the jubilee following*
the ni[ne] jubilees. And the d[ay of aton]ement is Lev. 25:9
the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee
8. *when atonement will be effected for all the sons of*
[God and] for men of the lot of Mil[ki-]šedeq, [and] a
decree (will be issued) concerning them [to provi]de
re[com]pense for them. Indeed,
9. *it is the Period of the Year of Favor for Milki-šedeq* Isa. 61:2
[and he], by his force, will ju[dg]e the holy ones of
God by effecting (the sentences) of judgment. As it
is written
10. *concerning him in the Songs of David who said: God* Ps. 82:1
stands in the divine assembly, in the midst of
gods he will give judgment. And concerning him he
said: Above the congregation of the peoples Ps. 7:8-9

11. *in the heights, repent! God will judge the peoples.*
As for what he said: *How long will you judge unjustly and honor the face of the wicked? Selah.* Ps. 82:2
12. Its meaning concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot, who [have re]mained rebels, because they have turned away from the commandments of God [to act in an impious manner] .
13. And Milki-šedeq is going to execute *the vengeance of the judgments of God* [among men] and he will rescue [them from the hand] of Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irits of] his [lot] , Isa. 61:2
14. and all *the gods of [justice]* (will come) to his aid to contemplate the de[struction] of Belial; *for the heights* [are the sup]port of the sons of God; and he (Milki-šedeq) will mar[vellously] execute this Isa. 61:3
Ps. 7:8
15. [pla]n. It is the day of [peace about] which [God] said [in the words of Isa]iah, the prophet, who said: [How] beautiful Isa. 52:7
16. *upon the mountains are the feet of the heral[d who] proclaims peace, who b[er]alds good, who proclaims salvati] on, [who s]ays to Zion, your God [has become king!]*
17. This is its interpretation: *the mountains* [are] the prophet[s] , wh[ose words are the feet, which] they prophe[sied] to all [those who heed God] . Isa. 52:7
18. And *the herald* is the anointed of the spiri[t] , of [whom] Dan[iel] spoke: [Until (the event) of an Anointed One, of a Prince, seven weeks (will pass). And he who proclaims peace,] Isa. 61:1
Dan. 9:25
Isa. 52:7
19. *a good (man) who proclaim[s salvation]* , he it is who is in[scri]bed with the (Anointed One in the Book of Life), [about whom He said, To comfort all who mourn, to grant to all who mourn in Zion.] Isa. 61:2-3
20. *To comfo[rt] those [who mourn means]* : to instruct them in all the periods of the w[orld. . .] Isa. 61:2
21. in truth to m[ake. . .]
22. (23.) [. . .she (the congregation?) will rema] in apart from Belial and she [. . .]
23. (24.) . . .by the judgment[s] of God, as it is written about him: [He who says to Zi]on, your God has become king. Zion i[s] Isa. 52:7
24. (25.) [the congregation of all the sons of justice] , of those who firmly establish the covenant, of those who turn aside from walking [in the w]ay of the people. And your God that is Isa. 8:11

25. (26.) [Milki-šedeq who will sa]ve [them from] the hand
of Belial. As for what He said: *You shall [sound*
the horn] (loud in the land) in the [seventh] mo[nth]
—Col 3 line 1—*the tenth day of the month.* . . Lev. 25:9

If Milik is right in his arrangement of the “croquis” of 13 fragments belonging to 11Q-Melch, and in his conjectures otherwise, there are biblical allusions and citations in lines 7, 14, 17, 18 and 19 undetected heretofore.⁴ In line 7 Milik sees the phrase “the day of atonement” as a reference to Lev. 25:9, where it occurs in the context of the celebration of the fiftieth or jubilee year. This is but a further precision, if correct, of the observation made by others that 11QMelch is to some extent a pesher on Lev. 25:8-13.⁵

In line 14 Milik sees the phrase “the gods of justice” as an allusion to Isa. 61:3 and the phrase “the heights” an allusion to the same expression in Ps. 7:8 (*lammārôm*). Isa. 61:1 is already alluded to in lines 4 and 6, and 61:2 in lines 9 and 13 (though Milik fails to note those in lines 6 or 13).⁶ Line 14 is a focus of the differences between what Milik sees on his “excellent photograph” and what van der Woude saw on his and on the leather. Leaving aside some five letters or ink markings which they simply read differently, Milik supplies in line 14 eleven letters from line 3 of fragment 4. Milik claims to have been able to locate properly, in his 11QMelch 3 II (actually the only column of the manuscript really in question), two of the four fragments of leather (out of a total of 13) which van der Woude had apparently failed to locate.⁷ One can only be frustrated until Milik’s rearrangement is properly controlled on the leather under glass. The whole process raises questions. One must ask why there cannot be full collaboration and cooperation among the editors of Caves 4 and 11. What Milik does here with 11QMelch he does also, in this same article,

3 Milik, *JJS* 23, 95-144; cf. esp. 122 and note his reading *bēkôl qışšê bā’ôlām* in line 20 of 11Q-Melch. I had already suggested the necessary relationship between 4Q180 and 181, and 11QMelch, in *JBL* 88 (1969), 284-88; cf. especially my own readings of 4Q180 and 181 in n. 31 and 32; Milik was apparently unaware of this.

4 I expressly reserve judgment on whether Milik is right or not for the reasons cited below.

5 Actually the whole piece is an excellent example of what H. Stegmann calls “thematischer Midrasch,” which one encounters also in Tannaitic sources—a beautiful midrashic mix centering primarily on an idea (here the messianic divine figure Melchizedek) rather than primarily on a single scripture passage. Cf. Stegmann in *RQ* 23 (1967), 213-17. Milik suggests that Lev. 25:8-24 may have been the scriptural base of the three original columns. Just as strong an argument, however, has been made that Isa. 61:1-3 served that role: cf. M. P. Miller, *JBL* 88 (1969), 467-69, and Sanders *JBL* 88 (1969), 286, n. 29.

6 Cf. Miller’s article, cited above, which Milik overlooked.

7 Milik, *JJS* 23, 96-97. One sees all 13 (14?) fragments on pl. 1 in OS 14 (1965), 354-73. Milik admits that his arrangement will have to be verified at the museum. He accounts for the 13 fragments in this manner: 11QMelch 1 (frg. 11); 11QMelch 2 (frg. 5); and 11QMelch 3 I, II, III (frgs. 1-4, 6-10, 12-13). The only portion really under discussion is Milik’s 11QMelch 3 II, which van der Woude had signalled simply 11QMelch. All this will indeed have to be verified and should have been verified before publication.

with 4Q180 and 4Q181, published by J. M. Allegro. But van der Woude is not Allegro. Everyone who does any serious work on the scrolls knows that much of *DJD* 5 is in need of revision.⁸ And what Milik does with 4Q180 and 181 is clearly a marked advance on what had been done before.⁹ But in the case of 11QMelch there are unanswered questions. Why did John Strugnell supply Milik the "excellent photograph" and not van der Woude? Is it the same photograph van der Woude had? Was it simply poorly reproduced by the Dutch? How much do we owe now to Milik's unbounding genius (which no one denies) and how much to van der Woude's scrupulous scholarship and perspicacity (which are widely recognized)? Above all, why was there not collaboration between these two esteemed colleagues before publication of Milik's findings?

What Milik sees in line 14 is actually very gratifying from the standpoint of the limited interest of this study. Early in line 14 Milik reads *'ēlēy haššēdeq*, drawn from Isa. 61:3. Milik has absolutely no evidence from this reading but it makes a great deal of sense and is quite appealing.¹⁰ Also, his suggestion to supply from line 3 of fragment 4 a further reference to Ps. 7:8 (*ūmārôm*; cf. line 11) later in line 14 strikes one as precisely the midrashic style of our author.

For lines 17 to 19 there are no rearranged fragments to appeal to, though Milik fills in all the lacunae, most of which van der Woude leaves blank; this amounts to more than half of each line. In the three lines Milik sees two letters van der Woude did not see and reads four differently; the rest is conjecture. Unfortunately Milik overlooked the work of D. F. Miner on line 17 just as he overlooked that of M. Miller on the whole piece.¹¹ Both reconstructions of line 17, Miner's and Milik's, are attractive, each following the rules of Qumran midrashic method in certain particulars. Neither scholar refers, however, to the ancient midrashic conceit where "mountain" in scripture may refer to the messianic king,¹² which would be more appropriate here than what either suggests. In any case, the scripture refer-

8 It is necessary to use John Strugnell's review of *DJD* 5, in *RQ* 26 (1970), 163-276, as a sort of vade mecum. Even so, one must actually do his own work very nearly from scratch. One of the felicitous aspects of Luigi Moraldi's translation of the scrolls, *I Manoscritti di Qumran* (Torino, 1971), is that he includes all the significant material from *DJD* 5, but does so using Strugnell's review.

9 Milik, *JJS* 23, 109-26; pls. 18 and 27 in *DJD* 5.

10 Again, see Miller's thesis about the place of Isa. 61 in 11QMelch in *JBL* 88 (1969), 467-69.

11 Miner, *Jornal for the Study of Judaism* 2 (1971) 144-48. There is a printer's error in line 17 of Milik's transcription: a closing bracket should be supplied before the word *l'kôl*.

12 The well-known midrash which begins and ends with the citation from Ps. 121:1, "I lift up my eyes to the mountains. Whence will come my help?" and includes a beautiful midrashic mix of Zech. 4:7, 9 and 10; Isa. 52:13; Dan. 2:34-35, 7:13; 1 Chr. 3 and other passages including Isa. 61:1. But the whole pericope is about the messianic king as a topic and not about any one of the scripture passages basically. This is indicated by the fact that this one midrashic pericope is found (with varia lectionis, naturally) in eleven different ancient sources attached to different scripture passages: *Tanhuma* (Buber, ed.), toldot 20; *Tanhuma* (Poremba, 1970), toldot 14; *Aggadot Beresbit* (Buber, ed.), (Krakau, 1902), chapter 44; *Yalkut Mekiri* (Greenup, London, 1909), at Zech. 4:7; *Yalkut Mekiri* (Spira, Berlin, 1894), at Isa. 11:4; *Yalkut Shim'oni*, vol. 2 (Pardes, 1944), to Zech. 4:7; Ps. 121:1; and Isa. 52:13; *Yalkut Mekiri* (Buber, ed.), at Ps. 121:1; and in the *Pugionis Fidei* in four loci, pp. 389, 413-14, 428 and 637. I am grateful to my student, Merrill Miller, for ferreting out and verifying for me the above references.

ences in Milik's line 17 are still both to Isa. 52:7, continuing the specific *peshar* begun in line 16.

In line 18 Milik supplies what could be a very important link in the midrashic argument of the ancient author. Lines 13 through 20 exhibit a beautiful paradigm in the midrashic techniques known as *gezera shava* and *asmakta*. Throughout this section the ancient author plays with a hermeneutic mixture between Isa. 61:1-3 and Isa. 52:7, with, if Milik is correct, the word *mārôm* from Ps. 7:8 woven into line 14. It was obviously the burden of line 18 to identify the herald (cf. Isa. 61 and 52) with the messiah, as shown by Yadin's suggested reading, "anointed of the spirit," in line 18.¹³ Milik proposes filling in the lacunae of the end of line 18 with five words drawn and modified from Dan. 9:25. Their importance is that one of the words is "messiah," and others refer to the jubilee year. This is more than sufficient, midrashically, to forge the link between *m^ebass^er* and *māšī a^h* needed at this juncture of the argument, since Isa. 61:1 might have sufficed in this regard. The midrashic link between Isa. 52:7, Isa. 61:1 and Dan. 7:13 is known elsewhere.¹⁴

Finally, Milik's supplying further phrases from Isa. 61:2-3 in line 19 can only be welcomed as what was needed at that juncture to make sense of the citation of 61:2 at the beginning of line 20.

Taking Milik's work at face value for the time being (later debates about it should be rather stimulating) he has added two further scripture passages to the woven fabric of 11-QMelch: Isa. 61:3 and Dan. 9:25, in lines 14, 18 and 19. About Isa. 61:3 there can be little doubt from any standpoint—the need of a citation prior to line 20, the general context of the whole document, and, more importantly, the midrashic method of the author. About Dan. 9:25 there will be some question: only the uncertain reading of "Daniel" in line 18 indicates it surely. Midrashically it is not needed *de rigueur*, for the author already had his mix between Isa. 61:1 and 52:7. In Milik's favor is the tradition of linking these passages in Isaiah with material from Daniel, and the fact that a good midrashist did not hesitate to secure his main point by a kind of triangulation process if he could locate a third passage.

Milik, however, fails to note the following scriptural and midrashic points of reference: line 6 presents an exemplary case of allusion to two scripture passages by one modified biblical phrase, *qārā' lābēm d'erôr*. Midrashically it was this phrase which linked, indissolubly for our author, the two passages, Lev. 25:8-13 and Isa. 61:1-3. It was this phrase, which, found in both passages, permitted him to continue his exploitation of other phrases in the two passages, precisely as he continues to do throughout the rest of the document. That the phrase *qārā' d'erôr* was close to the phrase *qārā' š^emittāh* in Deut. 15:2 did not hurt his case in the least!

Milik also fails to note the allusion to Isa. 61:2 in the phrase "vengeance in the judgments of God" in line 13. It would have strengthened his own argument at that point.¹⁵

13 Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 15 (1965), 152-54.

14 See above, n. 12.

15 Again, cf. Miller, *JBL* 88.

Finally, Milik, like those before him who have worked on 11QMelch, fails to see the importance of Isa. 8:11 in line 24 (old line 25), or, for that matter, its place in the general history of the self-understanding of the Qumran sect. As lines 23-24 (formerly 24-25) apparently say, "Zion is. . .those who turn aside from walking in the way of the people." Here would have been an early and different sort of Zionism: Zion was a separatist movement which saw itself as the true Israel, even in Diaspora. It was an Israel within Israel: those who truly kept the covenant were those who had left Jerusalem and whose *balachab* was quite distinct from that of those who lived there.