Visions of War and Tales of Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The War Scroll and Related Literature

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As far as I know, there are no exact parallels in the Jewish Literature of the Second Temple period to the compositions dealing with the final eschatological war and the subsequent peace that we find in the War Scroll from Qumran Cave 1 and the related compositions we find in other caves.¹ Of course, the general idea of an eschatological war and the peace that follows the victory of the forces of good against the forces of evil after the final battle we find in the apocalyptic literature (both Jewish and Christian) can only be understood as a development of some ideas already present in Hebrew Bible and common with the culture of the Ancient Orient.² The myth of the war of the goods and the battle against the monsters of the primitive chaos is transparent behind the terse Old Testament texts. The Old Testament God, as other Oriental Gods, is a warrior God (Exod 15:3), and we find even a reference to “Book of the Battles of YHWH” in Num 21:14. This book has not been preserved, and we do not know what was it about, not what influence may have had in later developments. What we do know is that the experience of the warrior God which battle for his people and free it form the attacks of the Pharaoh and from other enemies, is deeply entrenched in the memory of Israel, and that this memory will generate the hoop expressed in the voice of the Prophets that in the future God also will act decisively in favor of his people against its enemies.³ This intervention, called the “day of YHWH” (Amos 8:8-10; Sof 1:14-15), is first expected on a future more or less far away. Already in Ezekiel (chapter 38-39) this intervention is projected to the final era, and it is seen as a liberation of the eschatological enemies. Later on, the book


² See, for example, Sa-Moon Kang, Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East (BZAW 177; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989) and Eckart Otto, Krieg und Frieden in de Hebäischen Bibel und in Alten Orient (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999).

of Daniel (12:1) will add to this battle on which the “warrior God” will battle against the enemies of his people the parallel intervention of the angelic host, creating on this way the frame on which will develop the representations of the final battle we find in the later apocalyptic literature.4 On this literature, the climax of history is seen as a battle between the forces of good and the forces of evil, both earthly and heavenly, which will be followed by an era of peace among the peoples.5

On this paper, I will first present the main document found at Qumran which deal expressly with this final battle, the Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness (1QM), and, more summarily, other compositions related to this document. I will conclude presenting some of the different manuscripts which talk about the peace which will follow this battle.

1. The War Scroll (1QMilḥama)

This, relatively well preserved manuscript, is part of the lot of four bought by Sukenik for the Hebrew University, and was rapidly published.6 It is formed by five sheets, with a total length of almost three meters, with the remains of 18 columns, and the remains of a sixth fragmentary sheet, with column 19, and the two fragments found during the excavation of the cave and published as 1Q33.7 The lower part of all the columns is lost, as well as the end of the composition which was in the exterior part of the scroll when last rolled. The writing is from the second half of the first century BCE.8 The manuscript has been intensively studied.9

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7 D. Barthélemy – J.T. Milik, Qumran Cave 1 (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 135-136, pl. XXXI.
8 For a summary of the different dates proposed, see B. Schultz, Conquering the World: The War scroll (1QM) Reconsidered (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 31 n. 70 and his “Table 4” on p. 32.
9 The manuscript has been studied intensively. Among the most relevant commentaries, we can single: J. Carmignac, La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils des Ténèbres : Texte restauré, traduit et commenté (Paris : Letouzey & Ané, 1958) ; J.P.M. van der Ploeg, Le rouleau de la Guerre traduit et annoté (STDJ 2 ; Leiden : Brill, 1959) ; Y. Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness (Oxford : OUP, 1962) ; B. Jongeling, Le rouleau de la guerre des manuscrits de Qumrân (SNN 4 ; Assen : Van Gorcum, 1962) ; P.R. Davies, 1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran : Its Structure and History (BibOr 32; Roma: PIB, 1977); G. Ibbà, Il ‘Rotolo della Guerra’ : Edizione critica (Torino, Zamorani, 1998); J. Duhaime, The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts (Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls; London – New York: T &
The contents of the 19 columns can be thus described:\textsuperscript{10}

\textbf{a)} Column 1 and part of column 2 give us a summary of the development of the war which end with the victory of the forces of good and the restoration of the cult in the Temple of Jerusalem.

\textbf{b)} From line 16 of the second column to the end of column 9, the composition contains the organization and the tactical norms used in the holy war, which are called “rules” (סְרֶךְ, reconstructed on 2:16) used to conduct the war (the trumpets of muster, of alarm, of ambush, of pursuit, of slain, or of retreat) and the inscriptions of each trumpet (2:16-3:11); - rules of the banners (סְרֶךְ אותִות, 3:13) with their inscriptions (3:13-5:2); - rules of the formation of the different combat units (5:3), their arms, and their tactical movements (5:3-7:7); a long section describes the way the priests and the levites direct the war with different sound of trumpets (7:9-9:9), and a shorter section gives the rules to modify the fighting battalions (9:10-18).

\textbf{c)} From the beginning of column 10 to the end of column 14, the manuscript contains the prayers and hymns that should be recited during the war: in the camp of the army (10:1-11:12; 11:13-12:5; 12:7-16), during the battle (12:17-13:3; 13:4-6; 13:7-16), and after the victory (14:2-15).

\textbf{d)} From column 15 on, we find a new sections, with a new introductions, which describes in detail the war against the Kittim: the exhortations of the High Priest (יהוה בְּרֵאשִׁים, 15:4) and of the priest appointed for this task (יהוה בְּרֵאשִׁים, 15:7) before the first battle (15:4-16:1), followed by the first battle (16:3-9); the appeal to the reserve units when the army of Belial seems to have the upper hand (16:11-14), the exhortation of the High Priest (16:15-17:3; 17:4-9), the use of reserve troops (17:10-17), and the final battle, when the army of Belial is defeated (18:1-8), the prayer after the victory (18:10-19:8), and the celebration the morning after the victory (19:9-).

\textsuperscript{10}T Clark, 2004). The latest study I am aware is the already quoted monograph by B. Schultz, \textit{Conquering the World}. My division of the text takes into account both the material indications of the manuscript (empty spaces, either of half a line or of a full line, to indicate paragraphs or major sense divisions) following the analysis of E. Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert} (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 143-149, as well as the headings included in the text itself. Schultz, \textit{Conquering the World}, 83-85, gives a useful summary of the outlines of the Scroll by the most important commentators, Yadin, Carmignac, van der Ploeg and Duhaime.
From this short summary of the contents is clear that the War Scroll is a complex composition which incorporates elements of different origin:

(1) The first element is a development of the ideas of the book of Daniel about a final conflagration in the eschatological period which ends with the divine victory against the forces of evil.\(^{11}\) This element is present on the column 1 and on columns 15-19. On these columns the perspective is the final battle with seven phases which concludes with the final victory of God. We can read the first column where this battle of seven phases is summarized: 12

1. For the In[structor: The Rule of] the War. The first attack by the sons of light will be launched against the lot of the sons of darkness, against the army of Belial, against the band of Edom and of Moab and of the sons of Ammon
2. and […] Philistia,\(^{13}\) and against the bands of the Kittim of Ashur,\(^{14}\) who are being helped by the violators of the covenant.\(^{15}\) The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah and the sons of Benjamin,\(^{16}\) the exiled of the desert, will wage war against them.
3. […] against all their bands, when the exiled sons of light return from the desert of the nations\(^{17}\) to camp in the desert of Jerusalem.\(^{18}\) And after the war, they shall go up from there
4. … [\text{\ldots}] of the Kittim in Egypt. And in his time, he will go out with great rage to wage war against the kings of the North, and his anger wants to exterminate and cut off the horn of


\(^{12}\) Transcription of the Hebrew text and English translation from DSSSE 1:112—113.

\(^{13}\) There have been many proposals as to the biblical origins of the list of the enemies; for a summary, see Jongeling, Le rouleau de la Guerre, 48-50. But the lacuna at the beginning makes impossible all certainty. The influence, one way or another, of Dan 11, Isa 14 and Ps 83 seems assured.

\(^{14}\) This expression has originated heated discussions, because both in the Jewish Bible and in the rest of literature of the Second Temple, the Kittim are always associated with the Mediterranean world (Cyprus, Macedonia, Greece or Rome). Here (and in 1:6) are clearly related to Ashur (Assyria). On this expression, see B. Schultz, “The Kittim of Assyria,” RevQ 23/89 (2007): 63-77, and most recently Conquering the World, 127-168.

\(^{15}\) The expression “violators of the covenant” \(אָרָשְׁפִי בַּרְיָה\) appears in the Bible only in Dan 11:32, and in the Qumran collection is attested only here and in 4Q387 frag. 3:6. The expression is different from the one used more frequently and with a similar meaning, \(לְאַרְשַׁפְי הַבַּרְיָה\) (1QpHab II:6, 4Q171 1-2 ii 13, 4Q171 3-4 iii 12).

\(^{16}\) This is the most logical understanding of the syntax of the sentence. The mentioning of the three tribes in the same order, as an entity, occurs only here and in 4Q372. H. Eshel, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State (SDSSSR; Grand Rapids-Jerusalem: Eerdmans-Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008), 169 and note 23, proposes to understand the sentence differently, linking the three tribes to the violators of the covenant, and considers the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin as the enemies of the sons of light; “these being helped by those who violate the covenant, (from) the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin.” But see the discussion of his arguments by Schultz, Conquering the World, 103-123. For Schultz, the three tribes designate not only the sectarians, but all the Jews living in Judea which have not aligned themselves with the invading King of the Kittim: “While this included the sectarians, it was not limited to them only” (123).

\(^{17}\) The expression is inspired by Ezek 25:35, where it refers to Babylon, and it is used with a clear eschatological meaning in 4Q161 frag. 5-6:2.

\(^{18}\) The expression is unattested elsewhere, which renders of al localization impossible. Yadin, The Scroll of War, suggested that it was inspired by Isa 52:9.
5 I[srael]. And this is a time of salvation for the nation of God and a period of rule for all the men of his lot, and of everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial. There will be
6 great panic among the sons of Japhet, Ashur shall fall and there will be no help for him, the rule of the Kittim will come to an end, wickedness having been defeated, with no remnant remaining, and there will be no escape
7 for any of the sons of darkness. Blank
8 And [the sons of jus]tice shall shine to all the edges of the earth, they shall go on shining, up to the end of all the periods of darkness; and in the time of God, his exalted greatness will shine for all the eternal times,
9 for peace and blessing, glory and joy, and length of days for all the sons of light. And on the day on which the Kittim fall, there will be a battle, and savage destruction before the God of
10 Israel, for this will be the day determined by him since ancient times for the war of extermination against the sons of darkness. On this (day), the assembly of the gods and the congregation of men shall confront each other for great destruction.
11 The sons of light and the lot of darkness shall battle together for God’s might, between the roar of a huge multitude and the shout of gods and of men, on the day of the calamity. It will be a time of
12 suffering for all the nation redeemed by God. Of all their sufferings, none will be like this, hastening till eternal redemption is fulfilled. And on the day of their war against the Kittim,
13 [the]y shall go out [to] destruction. In the war, the sons of light will be the strongest during three lots, in order to strike down wickedness; and in three (others), the army of Belial will gird themselves in order to force the lot of [light] to retreat.
14 There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God’s might will strengthen the heart of the sons of light. And in the seventh lot, God’s great hand will subdue
15 [Belial, and all] the angels of his dominion and all the men of [his lot.] Blank.

Although the text alludes several times to a “one day” scenario (the first attack 1:1, this is a time 1:5, this is the day 1:10, on this (day) 1:10, on the day 1:11.12), putting this column clearly within the perspective of the “day of YHWH” or the “day of the end,” the war imagined on this part of the composition follows clearly a scheme of seven alternating phases or rounds (called “lots” גורלות). On three of these rounds the sons of light will have the better part, while on other three are the sons of darkness the ones who will have the lead and the sons of light will retreat (1:13); on the seven and final round (1:14) God himself will have the total victory. On this war the opponents parties are on the one hand “the sons of light” and “the assembly of the gods and the congregation of men,” and on the other hand the “sons of darkness” and “the army of Belial.” But, while the demonic forces are clearly under the control of chief figure, Belial, the angelic forces do not appear to have here a supreme
commander, such as the Prince of Light that we will find on column 13:10, or the archangel Michael which will appear on column 17:6.7. The decisive agent of the final victory is God himself, it is “God’s great hand (which) will subdue Belial, and all the angels of his dominion and all the men of his lot” (1:14-15). This element, as well as the structure of the battle on seven rounds, allows us to consider this composition as originally different form the description of the final battle we find on the columns 2-14.

(2) The second element modifies the scheme of seven alternating phases in order to adapt it to the 40 years of the Exodus, transforming on this way the eschatological war on a progressive battle against all the enemies of Israel (each one of the nations enumerated in Gen 10) which takes 40 years, and ends with a final confrontation with the main adversary. We can read the summary of column 2.

During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown, those called at the assembly, and all the chiefs of the fathers of the congregation, shall choose for themselves men of war for all the countries of the nations; from all the tribes of Israel they shall equip for themselves intrepid men, in order to go out on campaign according to the directives of war, year after year. However, during the years of release they shall not equip themselves in order to go out on campaign, for it is a sabbath of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service, the war will be prepared during six years; and all the congregation together will prepare it. And the war of the divisions (will take place) during the remaining twenty-nine years. During the first year they shall wage war against Aram-Naharaim; during the second, against the sons of Lud; during the third they shall wage war against the remnant of the sons of Aram, against Uz and Hul, Togar and Mesha, who are beyond the Euphrates; during the fourth and fifth, they shall wage war against the sons of Arpachsad;


24 DSSSE 1:114—117
25 In the same line (2:6), a year of remission has been mentioned (משה ינש התשומת), which allows to assume that the redactor has understood the war described on column I as a six years affair followed by a sabbatical year. Within a 40 years scheme, only 33 years available for war are left after the first sabbatical year. Note the different wording here “33 years of war” (שה מלחמה) and in 2:9 “35 years of service” (שה עבודה).
26 The expression לחוף את השם סמלimageUrl=http://www.akevv.org/qumran/st/1qsa/1qsa1/1qsa1.26.jpg&size=small&alt=&type=image&crop=0&pad=0&ratio=1.17857142857&scale=1 (the name is not without a certain ambiguity because of the use of Barchon לוחות and בחר; but the meaning seems to be that they choose the men of war to fight “all the countries of the nations,” which will be specified later on in the same column. If the author would have intended the use of mercenary armies, would have used בחרה בחרה + בחרה.
27 This is also a clear difference with column I where only three tribes are participating.
28 The expression used, נאום ויקירה, is the same used on 1QSa 1:26 in singular, הנאה ויקירה, where one of the functions of the whole assembly is to issue the “convocation of war.” The same meaning could also be given here, is spite of the plural form used.
29 Obviously, the sum of the 29 years of effective war and the six years of preparation.
30 The precise meaning of the root עיר in the context of war is disputed, see the detailed discussion in Jongeling, Le rouleau de la Guerre, 91-93, and in Schultz, Conquering the World, 173-174.
12 during the sixth and seventh they shall wage war against all the sons of Assyria and Persia, and the eastern nations up to the great desert; during the eighth year they shall wage war against the sons of Elam; during the ninth they shall wage war against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah; and during the following ten years the war will be divided against all the sons of Ham,

14 according to [their] clans, in their dwellings; and during the remaining ten years the war will be divided against all [the sons of Japhet], in their dwellings. Blank

Many details of the chronology (and of the Geography) of this war against all the enemies of Israel are uncertain (and I think they will remain so). Nevertheless, the transformation of the scheme of alternate victories in a continuous and linear progression which will end destroying all the enemies, seems clear. This progressive victory is only interrupted by the rest of the sabbatical years (as it is said on 2: 8-9). In the view of the final redactor of the document, the seven alternate years of battle of column 1 have been apparently transformed on the seven first years of this final war of 33 years, although the arithmetic seems somehow truncated, since he talks after of 35 years, six of which are jubilee years. One of the ways to understand the arithmetics of the redactor is to assume that he has transformed the seven year of the war of the column 1 on the first sabbatical year. The 40 years include, obviously, 5 sabbatical years (one every seven), which left him 35 useful years to conduct the war. The redactor has divided this period in two (2:9-10): six years of preparation followed by 29 years of battle, on which each one of them one of the classical enemies of Israel will be deal with (9 years against the rest of the sons of Shem, the next ten years against the sons of Cham, and the last ten years against the sons of Japhet). Be as it may, what is clear is that this final battle is progressively extending and the battlefield ends covering the whole world, affecting to all the peoples named in the division of the earth between the sons of Noah in the well know “table of the nations” of the book of Genesis.32

(3) The third element used by the redactor which gave to the composition the form it has in the manuscript from Cave 1, is a collection of prayers for the time of war, clearly inspired in

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31 Only the first nine years, corresponding to the sons of Shem, are specified; the fighting against the sons of Ham and Japhet are given as round units of ten years.

the biblical text, but which apparently has an autonomous existence as a collection. 1QM 15:4-6 says it explicitly.\textsuperscript{33}

4 The High Priest will take up position, and his brothers the [priests] and the levites and all the men of the array with him,\textsuperscript{34} and he will say in their hearing
5 the prayer for the time of war, [as it is written in the “Book of the Rule of his time,”\textsuperscript{35} with all the words of their thanksgivings.\textsuperscript{36} And he will array there
6 all the lines, as is written in the “Book of War.”\textsuperscript{37}

This poems, inspired in the biblical texts not only in their contents but also in their form, are one of the most characteristics elements of the War Scroll, and is on this poems where the author express his understanding of the final war. I quote, as an example, part of the poem of column 11 where the poet recalls the mighty acts of God in favor of his people during famous battles: David against Goliath, battles against the Philistine or the liberation from Egypt, but where he also announces the future liberation, interpreting eschatologically both Numbers 24:17-19 and Isaiah 31:8, two key texts already present on column 1.\textsuperscript{38}

1 For the battle is yours!\textsuperscript{39} With the might of your hand their corpses have been torn to pieces with no-one to bury them. Goliath from Gath, gallant giant,
2 you delivered into the hands of David, your servant, for he trusted in your powerful name and not in sword or spear. For the battle is yours!
3 The Philistines you humiliated many times for your holy name. By the hand of our kings, besides, you saved us many times
4 thanks to your mercy, and not by our own deeds by which we did wrong, nor by our sinful actions. For the battle is yours! And it is from you that power comes,
5 and not from our own being. It is not our might nor the power of our own hands which performs these marvels, except by your great strength and by your mighty deeds. Thus you taught
6 us from ancient times, saying: Num 24:17-19 “A star will depart from Jacob, a sceptre will be raised in Israel. It will smash the temples of Moab, it will destroy all the sons of Seth.
7 It will come down from Jacob, it will exterminate the remnant of the city, the enemy will be its possession, and Israel will perform feats;”\textsuperscript{40} By the hand of your anointed ones,\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{33} DSSSE 1: 136-137.
\textsuperscript{34} The expression used is הַצַּלָּת הַמַּעֲשֵׂי הַיָּמִים (‘et expo]sera la règle de son temps.”)
\textsuperscript{35} The First word is incomplete, but the reconstruction of the line 4 seems assured; however, some of the commentators, like Jongeling, Le rouleau de la Guerre, 328, interpret “and not as a name but as a verbal form: “[et expo]sera la règle de son temps.”
\textsuperscript{36} The prayer (תפלה מועד המלחמה) recited by the High Priest express “all the words of their thanksgiving” (‘כיל דברם (םי התפלה מועד המלחמה), where the plural suffix clearly refers to the participants in the battle, as the suffix “in their hearing” (םי התפלה מועד המלחמה) of line 4 does.
\textsuperscript{37} This is the reconstruction of Yadin, followed in the DSSSE 1, but while the presence of the “Book of the Rule of his time” is practically certain, the “Book of the War” is completely reconstructed and thus highly uncertain.
\textsuperscript{38} DSSSE 1:130-131. Duhaime, The War Texts, 104-113, offers a detailed commentary of this prayer.
\textsuperscript{39} This cry is repeated to mark different stanzas (11:1. 2. 4) and on lines 4-5 it serves to express the basic opposition “the war is yours and not ours” (רומאין בלע).\textsuperscript{40}
\textsuperscript{40} The quote of Balaam’s oracle (Num 24:17-19) presents several differences with the MT, most notably the inversions of verses 18 and 19, the change of Edom (אדום) for the generic “enemy” (איים) and the omission of several words of verse 18. Indeed, it is Shem Shelach that will perform the final promised victory. Num 24:17 is also quoted on CD 7:19, but the interpretation given there is quite different, since is applied to two expected figures: the “star” is the “Interpreter of the Law” and the
8 seers of decrees, you taught us the ti[mes of] the wars of your hands, to {fight}/to be glorious/ over our enemies, to fell the hordes of Belial, the seven
9 peoples of futility,22 by the hand of the poor, those you saved,43 [with stren]ght and success towards wonderful power, so that a melting heart became a door to hope. You shall treat them like Pharaoh, 10 like the officers of his chariots in the Red Sea. The stricken of spirit you shall set aflame, like a torch of fire in straw, devouring wickedness, without ceasing until, 11 the sin has been consumed. From of old [you] foretold [us the appoin]ted time of the power of your hand against the Kittim saying: Isa 31:8 “Ashur will fall by the sword of not a man, the sword of 12 not a human being will devour it.”44 Blank

(4) The forth element is a series of descriptions of the military operations which are supposed to take place during the war. These military operations are, in part, inspired in the biblical descriptions of the holy war,45 but they are also based upon the Hellenistic and Roman military manuals.46 I quote, as an example, a fragment of the description of the armament47 from column 5. This section describes the “fighting battalions”48 and is followed by a description of the light infantry (5:16-6:6) and of the cavalry (6:18-18).49

3 Rule of the formation of fighting battalions. When their army is complete, to fill a front line,50 the line will be formed of one thousand men, with seven forward 4 formations51 per line, each formation in its order, each man being behind the other. 52 And all shall be armed with bronze shields, polished like

“sceptre” to “the prince of the whole congregation” which is the one which “when he rises ‘he will destroy all the sons of Seth’”.
41 שמשה, here a designation of the Prophets, as the following expression (יהיה תורה תורה) makes clear.
42 The reference to the “seven peoples” is based on several biblical texts (like Deut 7:1, Jos 3:10 or 24:11) which enumerates the seven peoples which inhabit Canaan and will be destroyed. The expression “peoples of futility” (מים בבל) is part of the preferred vocabulary of the Scroll, it appears on 4:12; 6:6; 9:9 and 11:9.
43 The wars of God’s hands will be carried out by the hand of “the poor.” The name seems to be used as a self designation of the group on 1QpHab (12:3.6.10), and particularly on 4Q171 2:9 and 3:10 which use the expression “congregation of the poor” (ảפûת אליאוים אִישׁ מַעַלְתָּה). The expression here used, ἀπεξῆς εὐγενείας, seem to be related to the one used on 1:12:8:2:12 “the nation redeemed by God.” In any case the enemies of all the countries will be delivered into the hands of the poor (1Q 11:13), because God’s mighty hand is with them (1Q 13:14).
44 On the importance of this quote, see 1QM:3 and 6 and notes 13 and 20 above.
45 In particular Numbers and Ezekiel. See for the details the commentaries by Yadin and Carmignac.
47 For Yadin, the military equipment, together with the organization and strategy, provides the proof that the composition should be dated in the Roman period after 63 BCE. For R. Gmirkin, “The War Scroll and Roman Weaponry Reconsidered,” DSD 3 (1996): 89-129 the arguments of Yadin are not convincing: the weaponry, organization and tactics of IQM are inspired by the Roman army, but the army of the second century BCE.
48 The word used is הבלי, “sceptre”. Yadin identify the degel with the Roman cohors. Our translation, with the modern word “battalion,” follows Dupont-Sommer and van der Ploeg.
49 DSSSE 1:120-123.
50 Here called מַסִּים, but later מָּסַיִם.
51 Each battalion is formed by seven lines of 1.000 soldiers, each one called here מַסִּים, מָּסַי.
52 Although the vocabulary is inconsistent (we find on 5:16 the use of מַסִּים to designate apparently what on 5:3 is called מָּסַי), the army seems to be organized in units of 1.000 soldiers, similar to the Roman legion or the Greek phalanx, seven of which form a battalion. On column 9:3-4 we have more precision as to the total of the army: 28.000 soldiers and 6.000 horsemen.
5 And the shield will be surrounded by a plaited border and will have a pattern engraved, a work of art in gold, silver and copper blended together, 
6 and precious stones, many-hued decorations, work of a skilful craftsman. Height of the shield: two and a half cubits; and its width, one and a half cubits.\(^{53}\) And in their hand, a spear 
7 and a sword.\(^{54}\) Length of the spear: seven cubits, including the haft, and the tip of half a cubit. In the haft there will be three rings cut, with an border 
8 plaited in gold, silver and bronze intermixed, like a work of art and an engraved pattern. On both parts of the ring, the pattern will be surrounded 
9 with precious stones, many-hued decorations, work of a skilful craftsman, and an ear of wheat. And the haft will be engraved between the rings in the style of 
10 an artistic column. The point will be of shining white iron, work of a skilful craftsman, and will have an ear of wheat, of pure gold, in the centre of the point pointing towards 
11 the tip. The swords shall be of purified iron, refined in a crucible and whitened like a mirror, work of a skilful craftsman; and it will have shapes of an ear of wheat, 
12 of pure gold, encrusted in it on both sides. And it will have two straight channels right to the tip, two on each side. Length of the sword: one cubit 
13 and a half. And its width: four fingers. The scabbard will be four thumbs; it will have four palms up to 
14 the other (will be) five palms. The hilt of the sword will be of select horn, craftwork, with a pattern in 

many colours: gold, silver and precious stones.

I do not think it is necessary to continue with more quotes from this strange composition. 
With the elements already quoted it is possible to have a reasonable idea of this surprising 
document, of its general tenor, and of the different elements there collected. It is important to 
underline that, in spite of its clearly composite character, the composition has an strong inner 
logic and emanates a powerful rhetoric and a clear message: we, the good ones, the elect, the 
members of the new covenant, the sons of light, in spite of all difficulties will overcome all 
our enemies and will destroy the forces of evil, the wicked, the sons of darkness. The 
perspective of the composition is deeply dualistic and deterministic,\(^{55}\) and in this optic the 
final war is something unavoidable and necessary, it is simply the result of the presence of 
evil on the world and of the covenant to which only the sons of light belong.

\(^{53}\) For a detailed discussion of the type of shield, see Yadin, The Scroll of the War, 107-114, who is inclined to identify this shield with the Roman scutum, or van den Ploeg, Le Rouleau de la Guerre, 91 who thinks more of the ornamental shields in bronze mentioned on 1 Kings 14:27. According to Gmirkin, “The War Scroll and Roman Weaponry Reconsidered,” 118-119 the dimensions of this shield correspond exactly to the dimension of the legionary shield described by Polybius. 
\(^{54}\) Both arms are described, like the shield, in great detail, particularly their ornamentation. Both the spear (יָד) and the sword (גרון) are words used in Biblical Hebrew, but the translation usually given for גרון in the classical Dictionaries is that of “dart, javelin” (BD, 475), “Wurfspeiss” (KB, 2:450), and the word is translated in many different ways by the LXX in all the Biblical occurrences (see list in Jongelin, Le rouleau de la guerre, 156). The description which follows left no doubt that it should be understood as a sword, and Yadin has proved that this double edged sword correspond in form and dimensions to the gladius or “Spanish sword” used by the Roman legions. And this is the meaning given now in the more modern dictionaries (KB, 2:450; Clines, IV, 391, which distinguish the Biblical גרון and the Qumran גרון). 
The War Scroll can be read (and has been read) in many different ways. As an apocalyptic revelation of the development of the eschatological war;\(^{56}\) as a military manual to became ready for this final battle;\(^{57}\) as an tentative answer to the when, against who, and how to conduct the final battle which was expected soon to happen;\(^{58}\) as a ritual\(^ {59}\) or liturgy\(^ {60}\) of the holy war, oriented more to the celebration that to the preparation of the war, as a Serek\(^ {61}\) or as a collection of serakim.\(^ {62}\) But I think that no-one of these interpretations exhausts the richness of the text in the way it has reached us, and that the best way to read the War Scroll is to integrate all this different readings. The manuscript presents in a dramatic way the final conflict between the forces of good and of evil as a liturgy on which the trumpets have the same effect of the spears and of the swords, and on which the prayers of the priests are as essential as the movements of the troops, and where the revelation of the angelic participation and final result of the divine victory are as essential as the prescriptions of the ritual purity of the participants and of the tactics that should be used for defeating the enemy. In this perspective, the finality of the War Scroll seems to be, more that to prepare the war or to give guidelines on how to conduct it, to keep alive the hoop with the assurance that at the end, and thanks to the divine intervention, the sons of light will certainly prevail. For the members of the group who redacted and preserved the manuscript, the men for whom the circling of the priests with the trumpets around Jericho was part of their memory, as it was part of their memories the many battles of Israel history: against Gog, against the “Prince of Persia,” against the “King of Greece,” or against all the nations which should come together in the valley of Josaphat to be judged on the “day of the Lord,” the War Scroll was certainly the most apt way to strength the hoop on the final triumph and victory against the evil forces. This hoop is expressed on column 12\(^ {63}\) with these words:\(^ {64}\)


\(^{58}\) Yadin, The Scroll of the War.

\(^{59}\) Batsch, La guerre et les rites de guerre.


\(^{61}\) J. Duhaime, The War Texts, 53-54.


\(^{63}\) Which overlaps with the preserved text of column 19:1-8 and has been preserved with some variants on 4Q492 frag. 1:1-8

\(^{64}\) DSSSE 1:132-133.
7 You, God, are awe[some] in the splendour of your majesty, and the congregation of your holy ones is amongst us for everlasting assistance. We will [treat] kings with contempt, with jeers and mockery the heroes, for the Lord is holy and the King of glory is with us, the nation of his holy ones are [our] heroes, and the army of his angels is enlisted with us; the war hero is in our congregation; the army of his spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are like clouds and fogs of dew that cover the earth.

10 like torrential rain that sheds justice on all its sprouts. Get up, Hero, take your prisoners, Man of Glory.

11 collect your spoil, Performer of Valiance! Place your hand on the neck of your enemies and your foot on the piles of slain! Strike the peoples, your foes, and may your sword consume guilty flesh! Fill your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing: may herds of flocks be in your fields, silver, gold, and precious stones in your gates. Rejoice, Zion, passionately! Shine with jubilation, Jerusalem! Exult, all the cities of Judah! Open your gate[s] continuously so that the wealth of nations can be brought to you. Their kings shall wait on you, all your oppressors lie prone before you, the dust of your feet they shall lick. Daughter[s] of my nation, shout with jubilant voice! Adorn yourselves with splendid finery! Rule over the kings[doms of...]

This hoop was not fulfilled on 68, when the Romans (the Kittim of the War Scroll) destroyed the Khirbet. We will thus not know if the Qumran people understood this historical moment as one of the phases of the final war, or if they attempted to put in practice the complex ritual of movements and trumpets described in such detail in the War Scroll. But we can be readily certain that, just in the same way that listening to the “sound of silence” of the angelic...
praises could stimulate the participation of the community separated from the Temple in the angelic liturgy, the vision of the final victory against the “sons of Darkness” on which the angelic host fight together with the “sons of Light” under the leadership of the Messiah, should have worked as a potent stimulant for the community which believed that it was already living in the “last times.”

2. Other compositions related to the War Scroll.

As noted at the beginning, the War Scroll is not the only composition found in the Caves that deals with the eschatological war. The total number of manuscripts which deal with the eschatological war is at least ten. Of these, several manuscripts from Cave 4 are considered to be copies of the same composition (though not always with exactly the same text) we know from the War Scroll from Cave 1. 4Q491, 4Q492, 4Q494 and 4Q495 are generally though to be copies of a recension of the War Scroll identical or similar to the one represented by 1QM. Other manuscripts from Cave 4, while certainly deal with the eschatological war and are related to 1QM, represent another recension of the same composition (or possibly of different compositions related to the topic): that is the case of 4Q471, 4Q493 and 4Q496. All these manuscript are called Serek ha-Milḥamah (“Rule of the War”). Two other manuscripts, one from Cave 4 (4Q285) and the other from Cave 11 (11Q14) are considered to be or part of the lost end of the War Scroll, or remainders of another composition on the same topic, and they are know by the name Sefer ha-Milḥamah (“Book

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77 As it is said in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The expression דממת שקט אלהים מברכים קול appears on 4Q405 19-9.
78 Edited by M. Baillet, Qumran cave 4.III (4Q482-4Q520) (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 12-49, 53-56, pl. V-VIII.
80 Edited by M. Baillet, Qumran cave 4.III (4Q482-4Q520) (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 49-52, 56-72, pl. VIII, X.XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII.
82 Edited by F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, A.S. van der Woude, Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31 (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 223-251, pl. XXVIII.
84 Alexander, “The Evil Empire,” 29: “I am now convinced that, although both clearly belong to the eschatological cycle. 1QM and 4Q285 are two quite distinct documents. I would now reject Milik’s suggestion that 4Q285 represents the lost ending of 1QM.” Schultz, Conquering the World, 353.
of the War”). In the edition of 11Q14 on DJD XXIII we have described these manuscripts and their relationship to the War Scroll on this way: 85

The manuscript, now named 11QSefer ha-Milḥamah, was provisionally called 11QBerakhot on the basis of the contents of the two largest fragments, before its relation to 4QSefer ha-Milḥamah (4Q285) was known. The last columns (frag. 1 i–ii) describe the end of the eschatological war (the killing of the leader of the Kittim) and a benediction over the eschatological community of Israel. Both columns overlap with fragments of 4Q285, a copy of the same work. 86

The other fragments of 4Q285 clearly exhibit some kind of relation o the War Scroll, and it is not impossible that they belong to the end which was not preserved in 1QM. However the relation between the manuscripts which are termed as different versions of the War Scroll has not yet been clarified. It is not certain which manuscripts offer different editions of the same text, and which are separate compositions on the same topic.

One difference between 4Q285 and the War Scroll is the identity of the main figure; in the latter text, it is the High Priest, whereas 4Q285 highlights the role of the נשיא העדה “the Prince of the Congregation.”

As it is well known, “the Prince of the Congregation.” is one of the designations of the Davidic Messiah, or the Messiah of Israel, a clearly messianic title in the Dead Sea Scrolls. 87

According to the Sefer ha-Milḥamah, this Davidic Messiah will have an active role in the final victory. 88

This element was not prominent in the Serek ha-Milḥamah texts, although the title appears on 5:1 where his name is written on his shield, and on 11:6-7 where the quote of Num 24:17-19 is applied to him. 89

On the Serek ha-Milḥamah texts the main protagonist is the High Priest, a figure also present on 4Q285, at least according to our reconstruction of frag. 7:4-5, while in the Sefer ha-Milḥamah the main character is clearly the “Prince of the Congregation.” The very active participation of this messianic figure in the eschatological war attested by the Sefer Milḥamah is a very important element, since, as we will see, the eschatological peace is clearly placed on the time of the Messiah on other texts.

The fragments in question from 4Q285 (fragment 4, and fragment 7 which overlaps with 11Q14) read: 90

Frag. 4

1. [ ] wickedness will be smitten91[ ]

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85 DJD XXIII, 243-244.
89 See above and note 38.
90 Translation from DJD XXXVI, 236 and 239 (italics added to mark the quotations).
91 The expression is also used on 1QM 1:13.
2. [the Prince of the Congregation and all Israel ]
3. [as is written] in the book of Ezekiel the Prophet.92 ‘I will strike your bow from your left hand’
4. [and will make your arrows drop from your right hand.] On the mountains of Israel you shall fall, you and all your hordes’ (Ezek 39:3 ]
5. [the king of the] Kittim [ ]
6. [the Prince of the Congregation] will pursue them] towards the [Great] Sea93[ ]
7. [and] they [shall flee] from before Israel. At that time[ ]
8. [and] he shall make a stand against them, and they shall be stirred up (?94 against them[ ]
9. [and] they shall return to the dry land. At th[at] time[ ]
10. [and they shall bring him95 before the Prince of the Congregation ]

Frag. 7

1. [As it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet;96 ‘Cut down shall be]
2. [the thickets of the forest with an axe, and Lebanon by a majestic one shall fall. And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, ]
3. [and out of his roots a sapling will grow.’ (Isa 10:34-11:1 )] the Branch of David,97 and they will enter into judgement with
4. [and the Prince of the Congregation, the Branch of David,98 shall put him to death99]
5. [by stroke(?)]s and wounds(?).100 And a priest [of renown(?)] will command
6. [the slain of the Kittim101[ ] ]

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92 The presence of the quotation from Ezekiel at this point and the interpretation of the defeat of Gog as applied to the final defeat of the Kittim was first suggested by B. Nitzan, “Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (1QBer; 4Q285),” RevQ 16/61 (1993): 77-90, p.88.
93 Although the text is fragmentary, it conveys the idea of a pursuit toward the sea of an enemy which try to escape. The preserved text of line 9 implies that a battle on the sea has taken place and the army of Israel return to dry land. For Schultz, Conquering the World, 353, this persecution is one of the reasons not to accept the suggestion that the Sefer Milhamah was part of the Serek Milhamah, where the priests are commanded not to pursue the enemy (1QM 9:7-8).
94 The word used is חללי כתיים, but as the editors signal (DJD XXXVI, 237, and was already suggested by Nitzan, 88), the word is a mistake for חללי כתיים, a word used in 1QM 9:10 for drawing the troops in a battle formation. The meaning thus should be “they shall deploy against them”
95 Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript it is impossible to be certain of the referent of the masculine singular suffix of מecsאניך, but as the editors say “is probably the captured leader of the Kittim who will be taken as a prisoner to the victorious Prince of the Congregation” (DJD XXXVI, 239).
96 The same text of Isaiah is deal with in 4Q161 ii-iii (4Q161a*) where is interpreted in a similar way; we find there the Prince of the Congregation (4Q161 ii 15), the Kittim (4Q161 iii 3.5.7.8), the Branch of David (4Q161 iii 18) who will destroy his enemy (sing.) (4Q161 iii 19), all this in “the last days” (4Q161 ii 22, iii,18).
97 Thus מecsאניך is one of the designations of the royal Messiah in 4Q252 v 3-4, where Gen 40:10 is applied to him “until the messiah of righteousness comes, the Branch of David,” and in 4Q174 I 10-13, where the oracle of 2 Sam 7:12-14 is also applied to him: “This (refers to the) Brach of David, who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law who [will rise up] in Zi(on in) the last days.”
98 The apposition of the two titles show clearly that both refer to the same figure.
100 As the editors indicate (DJD XXXVI, 240-241) the word מecsאניך is unattested elsewhere and its derivation is uncertain. Their preferred proposal assumes a word derived from the root מכס "to wound, pierce,” but they consider also possible to derive the word from the root מלך "to dance” in reference to the celebration of Israel of the victory against the Kittim, as was proposed by Abegg, “Messianic Hope,” 90-91.
101 The expression חללי כתיים appears twice on 1QM 16:8 and 19:13.
On these two fragments the activity of the Messianic Prince of the Congregation is decisive conducting the army and participating in the different phases of the war, in the pursuit, the capture, the judgment and the execution of the leader of the Kittim. It is interesting to note that, while the text of the Serek ha Milḥamah is constructed on the basis of biblical language and allusions to biblical texts, there are not many quotations introduced as such, except in the prayers of columns 10 and 11, where we find five direct quotations. On these two fragments of 4Q285, on the contrary, the quotations of Ezekiel and Isaiah serve to structure the narrative. The prayer of frag. 8, better preserved on 11Q14, is composed as a combination of allusions to biblical texts, centered on Deut 11:13-15 and Num 6:24-25, but without explicit quotations at all. This blessing, pronounced by an individual, probably the High Priest mentioned on fragment 1(according to the parallel of 4Q285), after the final victory, presents this victory and the new settlement in the land, as the fulfillment of the promises of the covenant in the eschaton.

11Q14 1 ii 2-15

2. [ ] [ ] and he shall bless them in the name of [the God of] Israel, blessed be you.
3. [Israel, and he shall begin to speak[ and say ] Israel, blessed be you.
4. in the name of God Most High [ ] and blessed be [his] holy name.
5. for ever and ever; and blessed be [ ] his [ ] and blessed be all.
6. his holy angels. 05 וע[כ] וע[כ]
7. God Most High will bless you and shine his face upon you, and he will open for you his rich storehouse in the heavens, to send down upon your land showers of blessing, dew and rain, the early rain and the latter rain in its season, and to give you fruit,
8. produce, grain, wine and oil in abundance; and the land will produce for you delicious fruit,
9. so that you will eat and grow fat. vac And none will miscarry in your land,
10. and none be sick, no blight and mildew will be seen in its grain;
11. [and there will be no stroke or stumbling at all in your congregation, and wild animals will be absent from the land; and there will be no plague in your land, for God is with you and his holy angels]
12. [ar[e [standing] in your congregation] and his holy name is invoked over you.

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103 Note the verbs in singular on lines 2 (ברכם “he shall bless them”) and 3 (ענה “he shall answer,” which apparently is part of the standard formula והנה ואמר. This formula is applied to the High Priest on 1QM 16:15 DJD XXIII, 248.
104 The blessing of the angels seems logical after the blessing of God, as it is done on 1QM 13:2-3 where the blessing of God is followed by the blessing “of those who serve him righteously,” apparently referring also to the angels. This is particularly so, in view of the reference to the presence of God and of his angels in the conclusion of the blessing. But the expression כולם מלאכי חוכמו לברך and his holy angels is unattested in other documents. The closest parallels I know are on 4Q418 81+81a 1:1 and on 4Q405 23 i 9 where “all the spirits of God” are the object of “blessing and praising”כולם הרוחים (חוכמו לברך) מברכים ומללים.
106 Cfr. 1QM 7:6 and 1Q8a 2:8-9
There are two series of blessings after the *vacat*. The first one (lines 7-10) details how God will assure the fertility and abundance of the land, using a mosaic of words from Deut 28:12, 11:14 and Ezek 34:26. The second one (lines 10-14) details how God will prevent all the catastrophes that may occur in the land, using also phrases from Exod 26:23, Lev 26:6 and Ezek 34:25. The lines 14-15 can be considered as the conclusion of the blessings, and give the assurance that they will be fulfilled: the presence in the victorious army of God and his angels and (referring to Deut 28:10) the holy name of God invoked in the blessing. This blessing gives us a glimpse of how they envisioned the peace after the final battle and leads us to our final point.

3. *The Peace after the Battle*.

Although the *War Scroll*, as all the other manuscripts which deal with the eschatological battle, is more detailed when talking about the final war than when talking of the peace that will follow, we do find some indications of how they imagined this peace. In general, this vision follows the template of the Hebrew Bible: the salvation of the people of Israel within this world, liberated of all the enemies, governed by a rightful descendent of David, perfectly observing the Law, with a purified cult in the Temple, leaving a perfect life without any iniquity. It is true that in the post-exilic period there were some prophetic voices announcing something different (like Isaiah 65:17: “For behold! I am creating a new heaven and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered, they shall never come to mind”). But even in Daniel, where the belief in the afterlife of the righteous is already present, the eschatological peace is seen basically as a prolongation of the human history, a transformed history, but within the earthly horizon, with the dominion of Israel over the nations and with the reconstruction of the Temple. This is the perspective of the *War Scroll* and other Qumran texts. The final peace, although resulting from the intervention of angelic host and the Davidic Messiah, is always a peace within the horizon of this world and within the human history.\(^{108}\) The kingdom of the Messiah is an earthly kingdom. In the already quoted text from the first column of the *War Scroll* is expressly said (1:8-9):

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And the sons of justice shall shine to all the edges of the earth, they shall go on shining, up to the end of all the periods of darkness; and in the time of God, his exalted greatness will shine for all the eternal times, for peace and blessing, glory and joy, and length of days for all the sons of light.

A Qumranic commentary on Genesis (4Q252) tell us that this eschatological peace is clearly situated in the time of the Messiah:

*I [...] Gen 49:10. The sceptre shall not depart from the tribe of Judah. While Israel has the dominion there will not be cut off one who occupies the throne for David (Jer 33:17). For ‘the staff’ is the covenant of royalty; [and the thousands of Israel are ‘the standards.’] Blank Until the messiah of righteousness comes, the branch 4 of David. For to him and to his descendants has been given the covenant of the kingship of his people for everlasting generations, which 5 he observed […] the Law with the men of the Community* (4Q251 5:1-5).

This eschatological peace is the fulfillment of the blessing of Judah. After the victory, God will restore the Davidic monarchy and the Messiah, heir to the throne of David, will exercise the kingship over the people in a new situation where all Israel will observe “the Law with the men of the Community.”

Another Aramaic text (4Q246), clearly influenced by Daniel, give us more details of this eschatological peace (although without naming de protagonist “Messiah”):

*I He will be called the Son of God, and they will call him the son of the Most High. Like the sparks that you saw, so will their kingdom be; they will rule several years over the earth, and crush everything; a people will crush another people and a province another province. 4 Blank Until the people of God*
arises and makes everyone rest from the sword.\textsuperscript{118} Blank 5 His kingdom will be an eternal kingdom, and all his paths in truth. He will judge the earth in truth, and all will make peace. The sword will cease from the earth, and all the provinces will pay him homage. The great God is his strength. He will wage war for him; he will place the peoples in his hand and cast them all away before him. His rule will be an eternal rule, and all the abysses (4Q246 2:1-9).\textsuperscript{119}

The preserved text of the first column tells us that someone (a seer?) falls in front of the throne of a king and addresses him. He describes the evils to come, among which the reference to Assyria and Egypt plays an important role. Even more important is the apparition in the second column, here quoted, of a mysterious person to whom will be given the titles of “son of God” and “son of the Most High,” and whom “all will serve.” His apparition will be followed by troubles, but these will be transient like a spark and will only last “until the people of God arises and makes everyone rest from the sword.” The scenario is quite similar to the one described in the War Scroll, and the period of wars will be followed by the peace brought forth by the protagonist of the text and by the fighting of the people of God. He will conquer all kings with the strength of God, will end war, and will establish an eternal kingdom in which all will make peace, and in which justice will rule eternally.

This protagonist is described with the features of Daniel’s “Son of Man,” from whom come the expressions “his kingdom will be an eternal kingdom” (Dan 3:33 and 7:27) and “his rule will an eternal rule” (Dan 7:14), which our author applies to the mysterious protagonist of his tale, whom he considers without any doubt to be an individual. This person is presented as judge of the whole world and his rule extends to the whole globe. His action will end the period of previous crisis and he will bring in the situation of eschatological peace, which allows us to understand the exalted titles of “son of God” and “son of the Most High” applied to him, and which places him (without using the term of “messiah”) in the category of a royal Messiah,\textsuperscript{120} or in the category of what I called “heavenly Messiah.”\textsuperscript{121} The texts breaks at the end of the second column. We do not have thus many more details of the period of peace which will follow his intervention.

\textsuperscript{118} As the editor indicates (DJD XXII,174-175) it is also possible to read the verbs as כי ייש יכין ויהיו, translating “jusqu’à ce qu’il relève le people de Dieu et qu’il fasse tout reposer de la glaive.”

\textsuperscript{119} DSSSE 1: 494-495.

\textsuperscript{120} The majority of the commentators, among them Collins, The Septer and the Star, 154-172, F.M. Cross, “Notes on the Doctrine of the Two Messiahs at Qumran and the Extracannional Daniel Apocalypse (4Q246), in Current Research and Technological Developments, 1-13, Zimmermann, Messianische Texte aus Qumran (WUNT 104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 128-169, Xeravits, King, Priest, Prophet, 209-210, and now Puech, Eretz Israel, 149.

A somehow more detailed glimpse of the dreams of peace after the eschatological war is provided by the well known Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521), where we do have a sort of description of some of the works of the Messiah. And with this quote I end:

I [For the heavens and the earth will listen to his anointed one, 2] [and all that are in them shall not turn away from the precepts of the holy ones.] 3. Strengthen yourselves, you who are seeking the Lord, in his service. Blank. 4 Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their heart? 5 For the Lord will consider the pious and, call the righteous by name and, he will renew the faithful with his strength. 7 For he will honour the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, 8 freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted (Ps 146:7-8). 9 And for [everyone who] hope and, in his mercy […] 10 and the fruit of […]… not be delayed. 11 And the Lord will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as he said, for he will heal the badly wounded, and will make the death live, he will proclaims good news to the poor (Isa 61:1). (4Q521 2 ii 1-12)

The text describes the wonderful work that God will do in the time of the Messiah. Although the wording of these actions is taken from the biblical text (particularly the Psalms and Isaiah) the author has added two fundamental elements: that they will happen at the time of the Messiah, and that the resurrection of the faithful will be one of the acts of God.

This element (the resurrection as one of the glorious acts that the Lord will perform during the messianic age) is particularly notable because the precision “he will make the death alive,” is absent from the text of Isaiah quoted with a formal introduction. Apparently restricted to the just, and connected with the announcement of good news to the poor, resurrection here is one of various elements that characterize the kingdom of God at the end of time. The perspective is purely inner-worldly and is interwoven with references from Isaiah and from the Psalms. This text is full of interesting elements that we cannot comment on here

122 Published by E. Puech, Qumrân Grotte 4. XVIII: Textes hêbreux (DJD XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1-38, pls. I-III.
123房间里, which, as the editor signals, can be interpreted as a singular or as a plural, see E. Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism,” in D.W. Parry – E. Ulrich (eds.), The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 545-565, pp. 554-555. But the interpretation a single Messiah is generally accepted, although the interpreters are divided as to the character of this Messiah: a Royal, Priestly or Prophetic Messiah. See for a summary of the opinions, Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 379-382.
124 ענוים, can also be interpreted as singular or plural written defectively, not uncommon in Qumran orthography. The expression is unique.
125 The two terms used are צדיקים (here and on line 8) and חסידים. Without trying to identify the people thus designated with the members of the Qumran community, it is clear that the text address only the faithful, called on the next lineعزית.
126 The word עזריא is used here.
127 Expression taken from Ps 145:13. On 4Q491 11 i 11-12, the expressions “throne” and “eternal kingdom” are joined to the “council of the poor” (Council of the poor), a designation that is applied by some scholars to the Messiah, but that refers clearly to God.
128 These marvelous acts will be done by the Lord (כון), a designation that is applied by the Talmud to the Messiah, but that refers clearly to God.
(from the spirit that *hover* over the poor, and the close parallel to Matt 11:3–5, where also the resurrection is added to the biblical quote and is connected to the announcement of good news to the poor), but it serves perfectly to illustrate the use of the resurrection as one of the essential elements of the Messianic age which function is to allow the just to share in the peace of the Messianic age.