PART TWO

BALAAM IN ANCIENT JUDAISM

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BALAAM IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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According to Martin Abegg's *Concordance*, Balaam appears once in the non-biblical Qumran scrolls in Hebrew, in *4Q175* 1:9,[1] and another time in an Aramaic text,[2] in 4Q339, on a list of the false prophets who arose in Israel, among whom 'Balaam, son of Beor, the old man from Bethel' is the first.[3] However, if we look a little further than this meagre attestation, we may find that the use of the Balaam story at Qumran may help us develop our understanding of the biblical narrative, which is our central concern here.

When one looks at the basis of the narrative development, two different stories seem to be told in Numbers 22–24. In the one account, Balaam is considered in a rather positive light; his conduct is seen as blameless. He is not an Israelite of course but a kind of magician to whom 'the money of divination' must be paid (Num 22:7). However, he does obey YHWH's orders and prophesizes what God commands him to. In the other account, following rabbinic tradition, Balaam has a thoroughly negative image: for example, he commits sodomy with his ass, loses his share in the world-to-come and harmful snakes arise from his rotten bones. Indeed, other biblical texts have been highly influential in the development of this negative image, such as Num 31:15–16 where Moses recalls the counsel attributed to Balaam, 'Let the women do the work and Israelites will be defeated'. In fact this negative image is very old since, according to Gilles Dorival in his commentary on Numbers in *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the 'demonisation' of Balaam is already evident in the Greek translation of Numbers 22–24: 'La LXX de Nb est plus défavorable à Balaam que le TM: s'il est un inspiré, il n'est pas un prophète du Seigneur'.[4]

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[1] M.G. Abegg, Jr., J.E. Bowley & E.M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, Vol. 1: *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*, Leiden 2003, 147.

[2] Abegg, Bowley & Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Volume One*, 800.

[3] M. Broshi & A. Yardeni, *Qumran Cave 4. XIV Parabiblical Texts. Part 2* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert XIX), Oxford 1995, 77–9, Plate XI.

[4] G. Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 4), Paris 1994, 414.

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Where in this development can we locate an image of Balaam that can be drawn from the Qumran scrolls? In order to find out, in this short note I will first explore the biblical texts of Numbers 22–24 found at Qumran in order to see if the development found in the LXX is already present. Secondly, I will touch on the well known messianic interpretation of the fourth oracle, i.e. Num 24:17, found in different non-biblical texts from Qumran. This Qumran interpretation of the Balaam oracle has been so thoroughly studied that nothing new should be expected from my exposition. Nonetheless this interpretation is so important that in one way or another it should be included in our discussion.

1. *Numbers 22–24 at Qumran*

The three chapters of Numbers we are dealing with have been partially preserved in two manuscripts from Cave 4: *4Q23* (*4QLev-Num*^{a}),[5] which has preserved remains of Num 22:5–6, 22–24, and 4Q27 (*4QNum*^{b}),[6] which contains fragments of Num 22:5–21, 31–34, 37–38, 41; 23:1–4, 6, 13–15, 21–22, 27–30 and 24:1–10. *4QNum*^{b} is a particularly interesting manuscript. Its textual affiliation is not easy to ascribe. In general, it seems closer to the Samaritan Pentateuch than to the LXX or the MT. It has nevertheless a series of interesting variants. Here are some examples although the readings are not always absolutely certain.

With regard to Num 22:6, both 4Q23 and 4Q27 read ממני with the first person suffix, and not the plural of the LXX ἡμεῖς.[7] In contrast, with regard to Num 22:11, 4Q27 has the same plus מן ארץ (= ἐκ τῆς γῆς) of LXX.[8]

With regard to Num 22:13, Dorival interprets the variant of the Greek as τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν, whereas the MT reads אדצכם, as a theological variant made by the translator: 'La substitution de "votre seigneur" à "votre terre" est sans doute volontaire; il s'agit d'éviter que la terre qui doit revenir à Israël soit définie—même par Balaam—comme la

[5] Edited by Eugene Ulrich in: E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert XII), Oxford 1994, 153–76, Plates XXIII–XXX (= DJD XII).

[6] Edited by Nathan Jastram in DJD XII, 205–67, Plates XXXVIII–XLIX.

[7] DJD XII, 171 and 230.

[8] DJD XII, 231. Although only the final letter has been preserved, space requirements make the reading assured.

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proprieté des Moabites'.[9] Dorival also thinks it is unlikely that the LXX could depend on a Hebrew model: 'Il est difficile de croire que la LXX dépende d'un modèle qui, au lieu de ארצכם, offrait אדוניכמה'.[10] 4Q27 is difficult to decipher, but the most probable reading is the one by the editor:[11] אדוניכמה, a reading confirmed by the addition of עליו in the verse, which clearly refers to Balak as 'their Lord'.

With regard to Num 22:18, even if only the *lamed* has been preserved,[12] it seems clear that 4Q27 has the addition of בלבי which corresponds to the LXX addition of ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου. Commentators on the LXX usually explain the Greek addition as intended to harmonize with Num 24:13, although there it is translated by παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ, but now we have a Hebrew manuscript containing the same addition in Num 22:18.

With regard to Num 22:19, 4Q27 apparently contains a repetition of the expression used in Num 22:8 'and the princes of Moab stayed with Balaam' though only the word שרי has been preserved.[13] Although this concrete addition is not found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, it corresponds to one of the characteristics of this textual family: importing parallels from other parts of the Biblical texts.

With regard to Num 23:3, 4Q27 also has a lengthy addition, this time corresponding to the addition present in the LXX.[14] And at the end of the verse the MT reads only: וילך שפי, but the LXX has: καὶ παρέστη Βαλακ ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ Βαλααμ ἐπορεύθη ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπορεύθη εὐθεῖαν ('And Balak stood by his offering, and Balaam went off to ask God and went straight away'). 4Q27 has preserved a text that corresponds to the first part of the LXX addition: ו]ילך ויתיצב בלק על ע[ו]לתו ובלעם 'and went and stood by his holocaust, and Balaam…' Based on the available space in the manuscript, the editors assume that the entire addition is present. Whereas the MT describes only the intention of Balaam to go, our text also describes the fulfilment of this intention.

With regard to Num 23:4 in 4Q27, as in the Samaritan Pentateuch, it is not God himself who meets Balaam but his angel: מלאך אלוהים,[15]

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[9] Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 105.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] DJD XII, 231.
[12] *Ibid*. Only the top of the letter is visible, the rest has peeled off.
[13] *Ibid*. The word is completely preserved in frag. 21.
[14] DJD XII, 234.
[15] Partially reconstructed, only *mem* and *lamed* have been preserved, cf. DJD XII, 234.

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and consequently the editors have reconstructed the 'angel' as the one who speaks to Balaam in Num 23:5.

With regard to Num 24:1, Jastram inserts the half verse found on 23:23 because of the space requirements of the reconstructed manuscript:[16] הנח[שים ביעקוב ונקסמים בישראל ('to look for the omens in Jacob and presages in Israel'). The variant cannot be proved, of course, but it would fit with the tendency of the manuscript to insert elements from other sections of the biblical text, as the Samaritan Pentateuch characteristically does, and is required by the המדבר פניו which appears in the next line.[17]

With regard to Num 24:6, it can be proved that our manuscript has נטה ('pitched') as in the Samaritan text, instead of the נטע נטע ('planted') of the MT, assuring us that this metaphor was used by the LXX, that of the tent pitched or set up by the Lord (σκηναί, ἃς ἔπηξεν), and not of the aloe planted as in the MT.[18]

The last variant I want to note is on Num 24:9. I do not mean the simple exchange of שרע for כער for all other major witnesses, because this is evidently a simple error by the copyist who has interchanged *'ayin* and *resh*, but the unique רבץ ('stretches out') for the MT שכב ('lies down') or the Greek ἀνεπαύσατο ('takes a rest'), because the same Hebrew verb is used in Gen 49:9 in the blessing of Judah by Jacob. In fact, with the use of this verb (the rest of the verse has not been preserved), our manuscript brings this verse of Numbers in line with the verse of Genesis, where we can read that Judah 'crouches, stretches out like a lion and like a lioness—who dares rouse him?' (כרע שכב כאר[י וכלביא מי יקימנו). This bringing in line with Gen 49:9 indicates, in my opinion, the secondary nature of this variant, but at the same time it introduces into the Balaam story the echoes of the blessing of Judah, which, we are going to see, plays an important role in the Qumran exegesis of Num 24:17.

To conclude this brief overview of the preserved variants in the Qumran manuscripts, we cannot say that the progressive 'demonisation' of Balaam that Dorival sees in the Greek translation is already evident in our manuscripts. In spite of the shared variants, here the image of Balaam is closer to the positive representation found in the MT.

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[16] DJD XII, 236.

[17] *Ibidem.*

[18] The word is preserved in its integrity; the following יהוה has been inserted between the lines, see frag. 28.

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Unfortunately no remnants of the fourth oracle have been preserved. There is thus no way of finding out if some variants of the LXX and other textual families are attested to in the biblical copies of Numbers present at Qumran. We must go directly to the non-biblical texts that quote or interpret the oracle, particularly Num 24:15–17, which deals with the sceptre and star prophecy.

2. *The Sceptre and Star Prophecy*

The longest of the three quotations of the fourth Balaam oracle in the sectarian texts from Qumran is found in *4Q175*,[19] the so-called *Testimonia*, a unique sheet with four quotations on messianic figures, separated by *vacat*. This note does not give an explicit interpretation of the texts but the selection made indicates that these texts, independently of their original meaning, have been interpreted as messianic.[20]

The first text (lines 1–8) is taken from Exod 20:18 as found in the Samaritan version, a combination of Deut 5:28–29 and Deut 18:18–19 of the MT announcing the coming of a prophet like Moses, the eschatological prophet. The third text (lines 14–20) is taken from Deut 33:8–11 and is applied to the priestly messiah, as specified by the added introduction 'And about Levi he says'. The fourth text (lines 21–30) is taken from a composition found at Qumran preserved on two manuscripts (*4Q378–379*) and published under the title *4QApocryphon of Joshua*,[21] in which the reference to Josh 6:26 makes clear that the negative figure depicted there is the eschatological opponent of the messiahs: 'an accursed man, a man of Belial'. The second text (lines 9–13) comes from the fourth oracle of Balaam and is the one that interests us here. It is taken from Num 24:15–17 and, apart from the different orthography of many words, contains only a few differences from the MT or the Samaritan version. It reads בנבעור attached, but without the problematic *waw* of the MT. It introduces אשר after 'who knows the

[19] Edited by J.M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert V), Oxford 1968, 57–60, Plate XXI.

[20] The messianic interpretation of the passage is generally acknowledged. The only exception is the article by J. Lübbe, "A Reinterpretation of 4QTestimonia," *Revue de Qumran* 46/12 (1986) 187–197. For a synthetic treatment of the text, see J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran* (WUNT 2. Reihe 104), Tübingen 1998, 428–36.

[21] Edited by Carol Newsom in G. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XXII), Oxford 1996, 237–88, Plates XVII–XXV.

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knowledge of the Most High' that is not in the MT at that point, but which is present in the verse of Num 24:3, which Num 24:15 simply repeats. The second time it uses the singular עין instead of the plural, perhaps to harmonize the expression with the previous singular also present in the MT. Perhaps the most interesting variant is the change in the form of the verb וקם of the MT for ויקום, not only because of the change of the temporal aspect, but because it has been inserted above the line, which gives me the impression that it represents the thinking of the copyist.[22] The meaning of the quote is totally clear: for the collector of this series of quotes, the coming of a future royal messiah is announced in Balaam's oracle. It is equally clear that the two words employed in the biblical text, 'the star' and the 'sceptre', כוכב מיעקוב and שבט מישראל, are applied to a single anticipated figure, the one who will 'crush the temples of Moab and cut to pieces all the sons of Seth', a descendent of David who will rule as a victorious king in the eschatological era. In view of the age of the manuscript, I think we can consider this quote to be one of the older, if not the oldest, messianic interpretation of the biblical text, an interpretation that, since it appears in other contributions, will have great success in both Judaism and Christianity.[23]

The second quotation of Balaam's oracle at Qumran, taken from Num 24:17–19, is found in one of the battle hymns of *1QM* XI:6–7,[24] where the quote is introduced as: כאשר הגדתה לנו מאז לאמור 'Thus you taught us from ancient times saying'. The first part of the quote (Num 24:17) is practically identical to the MT, with the omission of only the *waw* before קם; but in the quote of verses 18 and 19, though easily recognizable, the order of the stychoi is different from all other versions. Elsewhere, we have translated the passage like this:[25]

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[22] The copyist of *4Q174* is the same one who penned *1QS*, a fact that has led Xeravits to speculate that the copyist could have been the compiler of the *Testimonia*: 'We may further note that the theological view to which the *Testimonia* seems to testify—the eschatological activity of three different protagonists—has only one other occurrence in the Qumran Library: 1QS IX 11, a passage written by the same scribe. This fact hypothetically allows us to suppose that the *Testimonia* could even have been compiled by this scribe, seeking to collect biblical paasages supporting this theological concept'. See G.G. Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet. Positive Eschatological Protagonist of the Qumran Library* (STDJ 47) Leiden 2003, 58.

[23] See the contributions by Beyerle, Houtman & Sysling, and Leemans, this volume.

[24] Edited by E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem 1955, Plates 16–34.

[25] F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, Leiden 1994, 104.

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> 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. It will come down from Jacob, it will exterminate the remnant of the city,[26] the enemy will be its possession,[27] and Israel will perform feats.[28]

Here we cannot deal with the textual form of the quotation.[29] What it is interesting for our purpose is the meaning attributed to the quotation by the context in which it is placed, since it shows us how the text of Numbers was interpreted and to whom it was applied. The quote concludes the battle hymn to which previous liberations from enemies in the history of Israel were achieved by royal human agents with the help of God's might (Goliath is given unto David's hands in line 2, Israel is saved by the hands of the kings in line 3). Each victory is concluded with the cry כיא אם לכה המלחמה ('For the battle is yours!'), addressed to God. The Balaam oracle is adduced at the end, as a guarantee that the same will happen in the future final battle. The context does not specify if the כוכב מיעקוב and שבט מישראל are understood as one or two different figures, but the form of the final part of the quotation makes clear that the referent is only one, the royal messiah who will lead the people in the final battle. In this second quote we thus find the same messianic interpretation of the oracle that we found in the first quote.

The third perhaps most interesting and more often studied quotation of the same oracle is present in the first copy of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah[30] (*CD* VII:14–21; also partially preserved in *4Q266* 3 iii 17–25 and *4Q269* 5),[31] in the section known as the 'Amos-Numbers Midrash' (*CD* VII:9–VIII:2). The passage is particularly

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[26] This is Num 24:19 in the MT.

[27] This is a summary of the two first stychoi of Num 24:18, but eliminates the concrete references to Adom and Sheir.

[28] This is the conclusion of Num 24:18.

[29] Jean Carmignac, who had written two long articles on the quotations of the Old Testament in *1QM* ('Les citations de l'Ancient Testament dans "La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres" ', *Revue Biblique* 63 [1956] 234–60, 375–90), concludes in his translation of *1QM* that Num 24 :17–19 is quoted in a 'difficilement intelligible' form. See J. Carmignac – P. Gilbert, *Les Textes de Qumran traduits et annotés I* (Autour de la Bible), Paris 1961, 109. For a synthetic presentation of the differences see A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 3), Assen 1957, 119.

[30] Edited by S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectarians*, vol 1: *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge 1910 (reprinted New York 1970).

[31] The Qumran copies of the document were edited by J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert XVIII), Oxford 1996, 23–93, Plates I–XVII and 123–139, Plates XXIII–XXV.

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complex because the second copy of the Genizah text (pages XIX–XX) has preserved a rather different text, in which the quotations from Amos and Numbers are replaced by quotations from Zech 13:7 and Ezek 9:4 (XIX:5–14). Both passages are certainly related and Chaim Rabin has edited an eclectic text relegating to an appendix editions of both texts as found in the two manuscripts.[32] The narrative frame is identical before and after the quotations, and both passages deal with future punishments for the unfaithful and rewards for the faithful. But the core part is different. In MS A the reasoning is explained by using a quotation from Isa 7:17 followed by Amos 5:26–27 and a subsidiary quotation from Amos 9:11; the quotation from Num 24:17 is split in two parts and applied to two different figures. In MS B the reasoning is explained using Zach 13:7 with a subsidiary quotation from Zach 11:11 and a quotation from Ezek 9:4. There have been many attempts to sort out the relationship between both passages.[33] Some scholars, starting with the groundbreaking work of J. Murphy-O'Connor,[34] modified later by Philip Davies[35] and further developed by George Brooke[36] and by Michael Knibb,[37] have tried to explain the differences between both texts on the basis of redactional arguments. Some consider MS A the more original version, while others consider MS B as the more original. Other scholars, like S. White,[38] consider both texts original and explain the differences simply by text-critical methods, errors and omissions in both manuscripts, originated by double haplography. Both versions repeat identical or nearly identical phrases at certain places, for example: 'and all who despise', 'so as it is written', 'were given up to the sword', 'shall be delivered to the sword', 'these escaped at the age of the visitation'. Like other scholars, G. Xeravits combines both

[32] C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, Oxford 1958², 28–36 and 78–80.

[33] The latest attempt known to me is by G. Xeravits, in his article 'Précisions sur le texte original et le concept messianique de CD 7:13–8:1 et 19:5–14', *Revue de Qumran* 73 (1999) 47–59, and in his previously quoted book, *King, Priest, Prophet*, 38–47.

[34] J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'The Original Texts of CD 7:9–8:2=19:5–14', *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971) 379–386.

[35] P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the Damascus Document* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 25), Sheffield 1983, 143–72.

[36] G. Brooke, 'The Amos-Numbers Midrash (CD 7,13b–8,1a) and Messianic Expectations', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (1980) 397–404.

[37] M.A. Knibb, 'The Interpretation of Damascus Document VII,9b–VIII,2a and XIX,5b–14', *Revue de Qumran* 57–58/15 (1991) 243–51.

[38] S.A. White, 'A Comparison of the "A" and "B" Manuscripts of the Damascus Document', *Revue de Qumran* 48/12 (1987) 537–53.

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approaches (textual and redactional) in order to establish the relationship between the two parallel texts.[39] All these efforts have greatly contributed to our understanding of the two midrashim, and the work will certainly continue in the future.[40] But I doubt that with the available evidence we will ever be able to solve the problem satisfactorily. The fragments from cave 4 contain remnants of the Amos-Numbers midrash, but no trace of the Zachariah-Ezekiel midrash. Yet these remains are so fragmentary that no conclusion can be drawn from the absence. For our purpose, however, the matter is relatively unimportant, even if both texts contain somewhat different messianic ideas, since only MS A quotes Num 24:17.

In the translation of the Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, the text of *CD* VII:9–VIII:1 reads as follows:[41]

> 9 But (for) all those who despise: when God visits the earth in order to empty over them the punishment of the wicked, 10 when there comes the word which is written in the words of Isaiah, son of Amoz, the prophet, 11 who said: *Isa 7:17* 'There shall come upon you, upon your people and upon your father's house, days such as 12 have <not> come since Ephraim departed from Judah'. When the two houses of Israel separated, 13 Ephraim detached itself from Judah, and all the renegades were delivered up to the sword; but those who remained steadfast 14 escaped to the land of the north. *Blank* As he said: *Am 5:26–27* 'I will deport the Sikkut or your King 15 and the Kiyyun of your images away from my tent to Damascus' *Blank* The books of the law are the Sukkat 16 of the King, as he said: *Am 9:11* 'I will lift up the fallen Sukkat of David' *Blank* The King 17 is the assembly; and the Kiyyune of the images <and the Kiyyun of the images> are the books of the prophets, 18 whose words Israel despised. *Blank* And the star is the Interpreter of the law, 19 who will come to Damascus, as is written: *Num 24:17* 'A star moves out of Jacob, and a sceptre arises 20 out of Israel'. The sceptre is the prince of the whole congregation and when he rises 'he will destroy 21 all the sons of Seth' *Blank* These escaped at the time of the first visitation, while the renegades were delivered up to the sword.

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[39] See the works quoted in note 33.

[40] See now S. Hultgren, 'A New Literary Analysis of CD XIX–XX, Part I: CD XIX:1–32a (with CD VII:4b–VIII:18b). The Midrashim and the "Princes of Judah"', *Revue de Qumran* 84/21 (2004) 549–78; S. Hultgren, 'A New Literary Analysis of CD XIX–XX, Part II: CD XIX:32b–XX:34. The Punctuation of CD XIX:33b–XX:1a and the Identity of the "New Covenant"', *Revue de Qumran* 85/22 (2005) 7–32.

[41] F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Leiden 2000, 561.

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Since I have previously commented on this text when dealing with the messianic expectations at Qumran,[42] here I will concentrate only on the elements directly concerned with the use of Balaam's oracle. The quotation from Num 24:17, here split in two, is introduced as justification of the previous explanation of the first quotation from Amos 5:26–27. In the text of Amos, the author chooses four words: סכות, המלך, כיון and כוכב, and provides each one with an explanation, justified in two cases by secondary quotations. Though the Amos text as quoted differs in some instances from the MT, I think that the omission of the fourth element (כוכב; 'the star') in the quotation is accidental and probably due to the mediaeval copyist, because without it the introduction of the topic would not have been motivated (the MT reads: כוכב אלוהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם: 'the star of your God that you made for yourselves'). The qumranic midrash, after having identified the 'sukkat' with the books of the law, using a quotation from Amos 9:11 to prove the point, and after having equated the 'King' with the assembly and the 'Kiyyune' with the words of the prophets, goes on to identify the 'star' with the Interpreter of the Law, an identification confirmed by the quotation of the first part of Num 24:17. This quotation, with its mention of שבט ('sceptre') besides 'star', provokes a new identification, that of the 'sceptre' with the 'prince of the whole congregation' (נחיא כל העדה) whose arrival will cause the destruction of all the sons of Seth.

Here it is clear that Balaam's oracle is applied to two clearly distinct figures: the 'star' which is identified with the 'Interpreter of the Law' (והכוכב הוא דורש התורה), and the 'sceptre', which is equated with the 'prince of the whole congregation' (השבט הוא נחיא כל העדה). This dual application clearly distinguishes this use from the other two quotations, which apply the text to a single messianic figure.

As is well known, the problem with identifying the figure designated here as דורש התורה is the value that needs to be given to the participial form used in our text, i.e., הבא, which may refer to a figure of the past or to a figure of the future (as in our translation). In the first case, this figure would refer to the original 'Interpreter of the Law' as in *CD* IV:7, where the same expression is applied to the founder of the group, also called the 'Teacher of Righteousness'. In the second case, this figure

[42] F. García Martínez, 'Messianic Hope in the Qumran Writings', in: F. García Martínez & J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Leiden 1995, 182–4.

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(whether or not a Teacher *redivivus*) would refer to an eschatological figure, which would carry messianic connotations. Since I am on record as a defender of this second position,[43] I will not rehearse the arguments again here. Suffice to say that the quotations from either Amos 9:11 or Num 24:17 are used consistently in a eschatological sense in the Qumran writings. We have previously mentioned the use of Num 24:17 in 4Q175 and in *1QM*. Amos 9:11 is also used in a clearly eschatological context in 4Q174, known as the *Florilegium*.[44] In this text, which Steudel has proved was most probably part of an eschatological midrash,[45] we read in a comment on 2 Sam 7:12–14 (*4Q174* 1 i 11–12): 'This (refers) to the "branch of David" who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law who will rise in Zion in the last days, as it is written: "I will rise up the hut of David which has fallen".' Here this precise text סוכת דויד is not identified with 'the books of the law' (as in *CD*), but with צמח דויד, the 'branch of David', which is one of the titles of the royal messiah at Qumran (see also 4Q161 and 4Q252). And, more important, the דורש התורה will arise in Zion together with this messianic figure in the last days. Thus both figures should be in the same category: both are 'messianic' and both are expected באחרית הימים. The quotation of Num 24:17 is thus used in *CD* to express the anticipation of two eschatological figures.

The second of these figures, the 'sceptre', is identified with the 'prince of the whole congregation' (נשיא כל העד), a well-known qumranic designation for the royal messiah (see 4Q285 where he is identified with the צמח דיויד, 4Q161 or even *1QM*), to whom the blessing of *1QSb* V:20–29 is dedicated: למשכיל לברך את נשיא העדה.

By splitting the quotation in two and applying it to two different messianic figures, the interpretation given in the *Damascus Document* shows us that the same text could be used for different purposes. Its messianic value was not reduced to introduce the classic expectation of a Royal Messiah (as in *4QTestimonia*), but could also be put to the service of the different messianic conceptions developed within the community.

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[43] F. García Martínez, 'Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts', in: D.W. Parry & S.D. Ricks, *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 20), Leiden 1996, 14–40.

[44] Edited by J.M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert V), Oxford 1968, 53–57, Plates XIX–XX.

[45] A. Steudel, *Der Midrash zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QmidrEschat^{a,b})* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 13), Leiden 1994.

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The quotation of Balaam's oracle in *CD* is clearly different from the two we have analyzed, where the oracle is applied not to one messiah but two eschatological figures. However, the basic trust that God has spoken through Balaam, and that his words apply to the final salvation of Israel via (a) messianic figure(s), remains constant.

At the beginning of this note I stated that of the two references to Balaam in the non-biblical scrolls from Qumran (in 4Q339), one makes him the first villain on a list of 'false prophets who arose in Israel'. This text is thus witness to the progressive 'demonisation' stated earlier in the LXX. Despite this, the prophecy of 'Baalam, son of Beor, the old man from Bethel', as 4Q339 calls him, was not only accepted but used repeatedly in sectarian writings to express the diverse messianic expectations of the group.

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