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“One Like a Son of Man” in the Book of Daniel and “Son of Man” in Pseudo-Daniel from Qumran (4Q246=4Q psDan^d) in the Context of the Struggle of the Jews Against the Hellenists”

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Abstract. The article deals with soteriological concepts that emerged and evolved in Jewish pious circles during the “Hellenistic crisis” beginning from the second half of the 170s B.C.E. Five main responses to the Hellenistic challenge then crystallized in Jewish society: submission to the Hellenists and active Hellenization; martyrdom for the faith; escapism as well as flight from Judaea; armed struggle; and expectation of supernatural deliverance through a transcendent divine Savior. The focus of the author of this article is a study of the latter aspect, with an emphasis on the interpretation of the figure of “One like a son of man” (*Dan.* 7:13–14) and his “correlates” in the Book of Daniel, as well as the character who appears under the title “Son of God” in the text of Pseudo-Daniel (4Q246=4QpsDan^d ar) from Qumran. In searching for a possible biblical prototype of these characters, the author of this article stops at the figure of the “Lord” from Psalm 110:1, 5, while offering his own interpretation of Psalm 110.

The author tries to reveal peculiarities of interpretation of this Psalm in the Book of Daniel, in Pseudo-Daniel, and in the Qumran Midrash of Melchizedek (11Q13) in a soteriological and apocalyptic context. Particular attention is given to examining the evolution of views on the figure of Melchizedek, as he is positioned in Psalm 110, at various historical periods of antiquity. The author also attempts to identify the reflection of Judaeon soteriological and eschatological concepts relevant to the theme of the article in selected works of the New Testament.

Keywords: Jewish Anti-Hellenism, soteriology, “One like a son of man” in Daniel, “Son of God” in 4Q246=4Q psDan^d ar, Psalm 110, Melchizedek, the Qumran Midrash Melchizedek (11Q13).

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Research area: religious studies, philosophy, theology, ancient history.

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‘Подобный сыну человеческому’ в Книге Даниила и ‘Сын Божий’ в Псевдо-Данииле (4Q246=4Q psDan^d ar) из Кумрана в контексте борьбы иудеев против эллинистов

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Аннотация. Анализируются сотериологические концепции, возникшие и эволюционировавшие в иудейских правоверных кругах в период «эллинистического кризиса» начиная со второй половины 170-х гг. до н.э. В иудейском обществе выкристаллизовалось тогда пять основных ответов на эллинистический вызов: подчинение эллинизаторам и активная эллинизация; мученическая смерть за веру; эскапизм, а также бегство из страны; вооруженная борьба; ожидание сверхъестественного избавления благодаря трансцендентному божественному Спасителю. В центре внимания автора статьи оказывается исследование последнего аспекта с акцентом на интерпретацию фигуры «Подобного сыну человеческому» (Дан. 7:13–14) и его «коррелятов» в Книге Даниила, а также персонажа, фигурирующего под обозначением «Сын Божий» в тексте Псевдо-Даниила (4Q246=4QpsDan^d ar) из Кумрана. В поисках возможного библейского прототипа данных персонажей автор статьи останавливается на фигуре «Господина» из Пс. 110[109]:1, 5, предлагая при этом собственную интерпретацию Псалма 110[109]. Выявляются особенности истолкования данного Псалма в сотериолого-апокалиптическом контексте в Книге Даниила, в Псевдо-Данииле и кумранском Мидраше Мелхиседека (11Q13). Отдельное внимание уделяется рассмотрению эволюции воззрений на фигуру Мелхиседека, как он позиционируется в Псалме 110[109], в различные исторические периоды древности. Автор также пытается выявить рефлексию иудейских сотериологических и эсхатологических концепций, релевантных теме статьи, в отдельных произведениях Нового Завета.

Ключевые слова: Иудейский антиэллинизм, сотериология, «Подобный сыну человеческому» в Книге Даниила, «Сын Божий» в 4Q246=4Q psDan^d ar, Псалом 110, Мелхиседек, кумранский Мидраш Мелхиседека (11Q13).

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Statement of the problem: The Masoretic text of the Book of Daniel (Heb. *dāniyyē'l*¹) acquired its modern form by the end of 165 to early 164 B.C.E. in Judaea². By this time, the Temple in Jerusalem had undergone a monstrous desecration, worship was discontinued, and the severe religious persecution of the faithful Jews by the Hellenists and Hellenizers, inspired by the Seleucid state, – an event unprecedented in the ancient world before! – had reached its climax. Part of Jewish society succumbed to Hellenization, some chose martyrdom for their faith (also a phenomenon unprecedented before), some fled Judaea (*1 Macc.* 2:44; *2 Macc.* 6:8; cf.: Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities*, XII, 278)³. Among the rigorists, however, two concepts of struggle against the Hellenizers matured: armed revolt (which later turned into the first religious war in history, the Maccabean War) and expectation of supernatural help from a transcendent divine Savior who would crush the persecutors and their yoke. Toward the end of the “axial epoch,” which was connected in many respects “with the emergence, conceptualization and institutionalization of notions of the fundamental conflict between the transcendent order and the orders of this world,”⁴ there was in Jewish society a particularly acute need not only to identify and recognize this conflict conceptually, but also to try to *overcome* it – first in an ideal form, in “transcendental visions”⁵.

Discussion; the author’s proposals: The ideology of heavenly deliverance and the establishment of universal justice found its most vivid expression precisely in the Book of Daniel, which subsequently had a fundamental

influence on the formation of both Jewish and early Christian messianic-eschatological and soteriological conceptions. The passage in the Aramaic portion of the Book of Daniel⁶, as witnessed in 7:13–14, was of particular importance in this process:

¹³ I (sc. Daniel. – *I. T.*) saw in the night visions,
and, behold, (One) like a son of man (*kbr 'nš*) was coming
with the clouds of heaven,
and came to the Ancient of Days⁷,
and they brought him near before Him.

¹⁴ And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom,
that all peoples, nations, and languages,
should serve him (*yplhwn*):
his dominion (is) an everlasting dominion (*šltnh šltn 'lm*), which shall not pass away,
and his kingdom (that) which shall not be destroyed⁸”.

The eschatological king of the world in the Aramaic text of *Dan.* 7:13–14 is probably identical with the transcendent figure in the Hebrew portion of the Book of Daniel, called as: “Man / One who looked like a son⁹ of man¹⁰” (*Dan.*, chaps. 10–12) and “One like a man in appearance” (*Dan.* 8:15–16)¹¹. This figure, being the *world* Ruler, is thought of by the writer of the Book of Daniel as superior to Michael, the Prince of Israel (cf., e.g., *Dan.* 10:13, 10:21–11:1, 12:1). In particular, when “One like a son of man” is at war with the heavenly patrons of “Persia” and “Greece,” Michael, “one of the first Princes,” acts as his helper. In *Dan.* 8:15–16, someone “Like a man in appearance” commands one of the higher angels, Gabriel. Let us mention in this connection that the author of *Rev.* 1:13–16 obviously identified the person of “One like a son

¹ Daniel was considered a prophet (hnb'y) in Qumran (4QFlor frag. 1, 2:3–4a; cf.: 11QMelch 2:17–18). The name of Daniel (Masoretic vocalization: *dāniē'l*), a sage and righteous man of antiquity, is mentioned in Ezek. 14:14, 20, 28:3, as well as in Ugaritic texts.

² See, e.g.: Hartman, Di Lella, 1978: 14; cf.: Seow, 2003: 7. It is accepted, however, that the verses of *Dan.* 12:11 and 12:12, as well as the prayer in *Dan.* 9:4–20 may have been added later (but probably no later than the spring of 163 B.C.E.; cf.: Seow, *ibid.*: 7–9).

³ Cf., e.g.: Bickerman, 1937: 121; Abel, 1961: 363 f.; Mørholm, 1966: 147, n. 41.

⁴ Eisenstadt, 1992: 42.

⁵ Cf.: Tantlevskij, Svetlov, 2020: 162 ff.

⁶ *Dan.* 2:4b–7:28 contains material in Aramaic; the rest of the book is in Hebrew.

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

⁸ Cf. *Dan.* 4:31 of the kingdom of the Most High: “His dominion is an everlasting dominion, and His kingdom (lasts) to all generations”; cf. also: *Dan.* 2:44.

⁹ Var.: “sons”.

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

¹¹ In *Dan.* 10:5–6, 16, we possibly meet with an allusion to Ezek. 1:26–28, 8:2–3; cf. also: *Rev.*, chaps. 4–5.

of man" (*Dan.* 7:13) with the "Man / One who looked like a man" in *Dan.*, chaps. 10–12 (cf. especially: *Dan.* 10:5–6).

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

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

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

...and behold, on the clouds of heaven,
as if (ὥς) a Son of man were coming,
and as if (ὥς)¹² Ancient of Days were ap-
proaching...

It can be assumed that it is this Greek interpretation of *Dan.* 7:13 is taken into account in the New Testament texts of *Jn.* 14:9–11, as well as *Rev.* 1:13–14, 3:21 of Jesus Christ as One like a son of man¹³.

The divine character of the heavenly messianic figure of "One like a son of man" in

¹² On this reading see, e.g.: Bruce, 1977: 25; Lust, 1978: 63; Bogaert, 1984: 206. Cf., however: McLay, 1994: 56 f.; Reynolds, 2008, 94–103.

In Theodotus's version: ἕως, here: "up to".

¹³ Cf., e.g.: Ezek. 1:26–27, 8:2; cf. also: Ezekiel the Tragedian (Egypt; late 3rd century B.C.E. to the first half of the 2nd century B.C.E.), 'Exagōgē', 68–82.

Dan. 7:13–14 is reinterpreted in the Aramaic fragment found in Qumran, conventionally referred to as Apocryphon of Daniel, *olim* Pseudo-Daniel (*4Q246 = 4QpsDan^d ar*)¹⁴. The following words in the Pseudo-Daniel (*4Qps-Dan^d ar*) fragment are preserved:

I¹ "...[up]on him rested;
he fell down before the throne
2 [... k]ing [since?] forever;
Wrath is coming¹⁵ and changed³ [...] ...
your (sc. Daniel. – *I. T.*) vision,
and all will come upon the world.
4 [...] w]ars; trouble will come upon the
earth⁵ [...] ...
and great slaughter in the provinces.
6 ... king of Assyria [and E]gypt⁷ [...] ...
and will be great (*rb*) over the earth [...
8 [...] they [will d]o,
and all will serve [him...
9 And he] will be called [...] G]reat [God]¹⁶
([*l r*]b¹⁷)¹⁸,
and he will be designated by His name
(*ytknh wšmh*)¹⁹;
II¹ he will be called Son of God (*brh dy 'l*)
and they will call him Son of the Most High
(*br 'lywn*)²⁰.
Like the comets (or: 'sparks'. – *I. T.*)² of a
vision,
so will their kingdom (sc. the kingdom of
the heathen enemies of Israel. – *I. T.*) be;
they will rule (several) year[s] over³ the
earth
and trample upon everything;
nation will crush another nation,
and province (another) provin[ce] –

¹⁴ The surviving fragment is paleographically dated to the end of the first century B.C.E. (See, e.g.: Justnes 2009, 31; Segal 2014, 290; Kusio 2020, 101 and n. 359 [a bibliography of the question can be found here]). Regarding the discussion of the time of origin of this text (a part of probably much extensive work) see, e.g.: Justnes 167–178.

¹⁵ On the translation see, e.g.: Ferda 2014, 152; Kusio 2020, 103.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g.: Ps. 76:2.

¹⁷ Cf. 4Q246 2:7: 'l rb' b'y]lh. Cf. also: Dan. 2:45.

¹⁸ The reconstruction "[... and he] will be called... [of G]reat [God]" seems to be less likely (cf. the next phrase).

¹⁹ Cf. 4Q 543 (4Q Visions of 'Amram' ar), frag. 3, 1; 4Q 545 (4Q Visions of 'Amram' ar), frag. 1, 1:17–18; 4Q 374, frag. 2, 2:6.

²⁰ Cf. the text of Gabriel's Annunciation as recorded in Lk. 1:32–35; also: Mk. 5:7 and Lk. 8:28; cf. further: the apocryphal Protogospel of Jacob, XI.

⁴ *vacat* until he arises with God²¹ (or: 'until the people of God arises'. – *I. T.*),

and makes everyone rest from the sword.

⁵ His kingdom (will be) an eternal kingdom (*mlkwt 'lm*)

and all his paths in righteousness (*bqšt*).

He will jud[ge] ⁶ the earth with righteousness (*bqšt*),

and all will make peace.

The sword will cease in the earth,

⁷ and all the provinces (or: 'nations'²². – *I. T.*) will worship him²³.

The Great God (is/will be) in his strength²⁴ (*'lrb' b'yhlh*²⁵) –

⁸ He (Himself) will wage war for him (*hw' y'bd lh qrb*)²⁶.

He will place the peoples in his hand,

All of them ⁹ He will cast before him.

His dominion (will be) an everlasting dominion (*šltnh šltn 'lm*).

And all the abysses...²⁷.

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

²¹ In connection with this translation of the phrase cf.: 4Q246 2:7–9; cf. also: 4QIs^a = 4Q161, frags. 8–10, 3:18–22.

²² Kusio, 2020: 103.

²³ Cf.: 4Q215a (4QTime of Righteousness), frag. 1, 2:7–8.

²⁴ Cf., e.g.: Knibb (1995: 176): "The great God will be his strength"; García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999: 495): "The great God is his strength"; Kusio (2020: 103): "the Great God will be his [or: their] aid".

²⁵ Cf.: Ps. 22:1–2, 20.

²⁶ Cf.: Kusio, 2020: 103.

²⁷ J.A. Fitzmyer (1974: 382–401; 1979: 102–107; 1980: 14–15; 1992: 167–168; 1993: 153–174) identified the "Son of God" mentioned in 4QpsDan^d ar with a "Davidic heir"; some other scholars also interpret this text as referring to a messianic Davidic figure (see, e.g.: Collins, 1993: 65–82, and his later works on the subject; Evans, 1995: 190 f.; Knibb, 1995: 177; cf.: Puech, 1992: 130). F. García Martínez considered the "Son of God" in 4QpsDan^d ar an angelic, heavenly figure (1992: 173, 178–179; 1993: 191). I.R. Tantlevskij has suggested a possible identification of the "Son of God" in 4QpsDan^d ar with Melchizedek (*redivivus*) (1998: 43–58; 2000: 76 f.; 2004, 36 f.). J.T. Milik proposed that the character envisioned in 4QpsDan^d ar is Alexander Epiphanes, also called Alexander Balas, whose self-designation "Son of God" was considered to be blasphemous. (1992: 383; cf.: Puech, 1992: 127–130). D. Flusser identified this image with Antichrist (cf.: *Dan. 11:36*) (1980: 31–37; repr.: 2009: 207–213). For summaries of opinions on this issue and bibliography of the question see, e.g.: Justnes, 2009: 29–178; *Ferda*, 2014: 150–75; Segal, 2014: 289–312; Kusio, 2020: 101–108.

"Lo, I (Nebuchadnezzar) see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of God (*br 'lhyn*)".

In *Dan. 3:28* King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon refers to the "son of God" as "His messenger (angel; *ml'kh*)," but the author of Pseudo-Daniel (4QpsDan^d ar) may well have identified this figure with the "Man / One like a son of man" of the Book of Daniel.

The phrase of 4QpsDan^d ar 1:9 "[and he] will be called [... G]reat [God] (*'l r'b*); reconstructed on the basis of 2:7: *'lrb*'. – *I. T.*), and he will be designated by His name (*ytknh wšmsh*. – italics ours)" implies that the Messianic figure will be called "God" (*'l*; cf., e.g., *Ex. 22:27*; *Is. 9:5*; *Pss. 2:6–7, 45:7–8, 82:1, 6, 89:27–28, 110[109]:3* about the ideal righteous King²⁸) or "the Lord" (*'dny*). In connection with the latter assumption, let us note that the author of the Qumran "Messianic Apocalypse" (4Q521) written in Hebrew, predicting on the basis of a number of relevant Bible passages the soteriological mission of the eschatological Messiah – to whom "the heaven and earth will listen" and who will sit on "the throne of the eternal Kingdom" – refers specifically to the acts of *'dny*, the Lord, on earth: This gives an impression that here the Messiah is implicitly identified with *'dny*, the Lord, as far as His earthly eschatological mission is concerned.

Thus, in 4QpsDan^d ar 1:9–2:1 we meet with a parallelism: "he will be designated by the name of God – he will be called Son of God". As a parallel one can point out *Jn. 20:28*, where the resurrected Jesus is called *ὁ κύριος*, the Lord, and *ὁ θεός*, God, and *Jn. 20:31*, where he is designated *ὁ Χριστός*, the Christ, and *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, the Son of God (cf. also: *Jn. 10:33–38*).

The author of Pseudo-Daniel, unlike the author of the Book of Daniel, emphasizes that the eschatological King is rather an *earthly* person who has attained a *heavenly*, even *divine*, dignity and veneration – he will be "called,"

²⁸ Cf. also, e.g.: 2 *Sam. 7:14* = 1 *Chr. 17:13*; the Qumran passages 1QSa 2:11–12; 4QFlor 1:9–13; 4Q369; cf. also: 4Q534, frag. 1, 1:10–11.

that is, *recognized* as a "Son of God"²⁹. If the author of Pseudo-Daniel had meant an angel or, even more so, an archangel (as some scholars believe), he would hardly have emphasized that the central character of the work would be *recognized* as the "son of God" – for this designation (as well as the terms "god"/"gods", 'l'lym, 'l'hym) is one of the common names of angels in the Bible and later Jewish literature, including Qumran manuscripts. As to the Qumranites, they even believed that "holy angels" periodically visited their community (cf., e.g. *IQ28a [IQRule of the Congregation]* 2:8–9; *11Q14 [11QBook of the War]*, frag. 1, 2:14–15)³⁰.

The phrase of *4QpsDan^d ar 2:6* "and all the provinces will worship (ysgdwn) him" implies that the "Son of God" will be the object of worship of all peoples of the earth. In this connection it seems plausible that it is the "Son of God" that the passage "[...] the king of Assyria (sc. Syria.– *I. T.*) [and E]gypt [...] he will be great over the earth [...] they will do, and all will serve [him...]" (*4QpsDan^d ar 1:6–8*) can have to do with³¹. As a result of the victorious war, the kingly "Son of God" could become, according to the author of Pseudo-Daniel (*4QpsDan^d ar*), the king of both Syria and Egypt. The kingdoms of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies coexisted at the end of the 4th – the first half of the 1st centuries B.C.E., but "the king of Assyria and Egypt" was not known to Hellenistic history. In 169–168 B.C.E., Antiochus IV Epiphanes (i.e. "manifest" [as a god]; cf., e.g.: *Dan.* 8:10–12; cf. also: *4Q248 Acts of*

a Greek King in Egypt and Jerusalem) almost conquered Egypt for a short time³², but eventually he failed (cf., e.g.: *Dan.* 11:25–30); as to the real *Son of God* – from the Pseudo-Daniel author's point of view – he would subjugate both Syria and Egypt actually.

Like Melchizedek in the Qumran Midrash Melchizedek (11Q13 = *11QMelch*), the "Son of God" in Pseudo-Daniel apocalypse was regarded as the eschatological Judge (*4QpsDan^d ar 2:5*)³³.

In our search for a possible biblical prototype of the figure of "One like a son of man" (as well as "Son of God" in *4QpsDan^d ar*), we can, it would seem, turn, first of all, to Psalm 110³⁴, that is a kind of enthronement oracle, probably composed for King David by the Prophet Nathan³⁵ or one of the court poets³⁶. This psalm reflects a new ideology that emerged in Israel under King David at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. (probably under Canaanite influence), according to which the king was in some way endowed with elements of holiness and could perform priestly functions. David zealously exercised priestly functions, resembling in this respect the ancient ruler of Jerusalem, Melchizedek (lit. "King of righteousness"³⁷), "king of Shalem", i.e. Jerusalem (see: *Ps.* 76:3)³⁸, and "priest of the Most High God" (*Gen.* 14:18–20). Our translation and interpretation of Psalm 110 reads as follows:

¹ A Psalm of David.

The utterance of the LORD (YHWH) to my lord (*ʾăḏōnî*):

²⁹ Cf., e. g. *Wis. Sol.* 2:13, 18 (cf.: verse 16), where the author speaks of a "righteous man" who calls himself a "son of the Lord," a "son of God" (cf. also: 5:5).

³⁰ As a parallel development of the concept of the world's King of the "human" origin one can point out, e.g., *Num.* 24:7 in the Septuagint version, as well as the passages of Philo's treatises "On the Life of Moses", I, 289, and "On Rewards and Punishments", 93–97, 165. (Cf., e.g.: Borgen, 1997: 271, 276; Hengel, 2007: 51–56; Svetlov, 2020: 65–74.)

³¹ Note in this connection that according to the Qumran Scroll of War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness (1QM, col. 1), military defeat of the hosts of the "Kittians of Assyria" (the Seleucid kingdom) and the "Kittians in Egypt" (probably, the Ptolemaic Egypt), headed by their kings (see, e.g.: 1QM 15:2; 4Q247 (= 4QApocWeeks?), frag. 1, 6), was one of the very first aims of the light forces of Israel under the head of the Messiah-Prince (1QM 5:1; cf. also the texts 4Q285, frags. 4–5, 4Q14, frag.1, and the Qumran Commentary on Isaiah 4QpIs^a (= 4Q161)).

³² If the formal acceptance of the title of Pharaoh by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Memphis took place in reality (according to: Porphyry apud Jerome, *De Antichristo in Daniele* (11.21) [IV], 62–65; cf., e.g.: Lorein, 2003: 152 f.), it is unlikely that the news of this staged event was widely disseminated, much less was it perceived legally.

³³ Cf.: *Dan.* 7:9–12; 4Q Book of Giants^b ar (= 4Q530), frag. 2. Cf. also: Joel 4:12.

³⁴ See, e.g.: Tantlevskij 2000, 71–99; Tantlevskij 2004, 9–37, 52–56.

³⁵ See, e.g.: Bentzen 1933, 173–176; see also: Bowker 1967, 31–41.

³⁶ O. Eissfeldt (1964, 138–139, 279, 993) regarded Psalm 110 as one of the king's cult songs. (Cf., on the other hand, e.g.: Dahood 1970, 112 f.; McNamara 2000, 17.)

³⁷ Cf.: Josephus Flavius, *Jewish War*, VI, 438; *Heb.* 7:2.

³⁸ See also: 1QGenApoc 22:13; Josephus Flavius, *Jewish War*, VI, 438; *Jewish Antiquities*, I, 180; *Against Apion*, I, 174.

"Sit down³⁹ at My right hand,
until I make your enemies
your footstool."

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

"Rule in the midst of your enemies;

³ honour with you⁴⁰

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

From the womb of the dawn,

<like> the dew, I have begotten you
(*yālīdītkā*)⁴¹."

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

"You (are) a Priest forever,

upon My word (*'al dabbārtī*)⁴², (you are)
Melchizedek"⁴³.

⁵ My lord (*'āḏōnī*)⁴⁴ (is) at Your right hand
(NB: this vocalization of *'dny* comes from
the indication in verse 1 that the "lord"
(*'āḏōnī*, lit. "my lord") of the Psalm's au-
thor sits "at the right hand" of YHWH, the
LORD, Himself. – *I. T.*):

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

⁶ he will judge among the heathen,
he will fill (the places) with the dead bodies,
he will shatter the heads (probably: "the
chief men". – *I. T.*) over many countries.

⁷ He will drink of the brook in the way:
therefore, he will lift up the head.

The phrase "you (are) a Priest forever,
upon My word, (you are) Melchizedek," at-
tested in Psalm 110:4, probably reproduces
an ancient Canaanite devotional formula re-

ferring to the king-priest of Jerusalem. The
"Melchizedek" here is more of a traditional
*title*⁴⁵ for the ruler of the city (a variant form
of this title was probably "Adonizedek," lit.
"Lord of righteousness"; cf.: *Josh.* 10:1, 3). In
other words, it appears that "Melchizedek,"
or a new "Melchizedek," in this Psalm, *is*
David himself – the legitimate heir of the an-
cient kings of Jerusalem, claiming, like them,
priestly functions.

Thus, from the texts of *Gen.* 14:18–20
and *Ps.* 110 the reader could assume that the
priesthood of God Almighty, Creator of heav-
en and earth, and royalty existed in Jerusalem
originally. Melchizedek appears as a type of
the eternal (and thus, in a certain sense, "re-
turning"), righteous, God-begotten king-(high)
priest – a prototype of David (or of a new Da-
vid – king-Davidite). The statement *yālīdītkā*
("I have begotten you") in 110:3, as in *Ps.* 2:7,
could *originally* imply that God has given the
king (high)priestly functions.

The authorship of Psalm 110 was subse-
quently attributed to David himself, and, ac-
cordingly, the "lord" (mentioned in *Ps.* 110:1
and 5), "sitting at the right hand of the LORD,"
was no longer identified with this ancient Is-
raelite king himself⁴⁶, but was interpreted – at
least in certain circles – as personality of the
"begotten" King and Priest of God, who will be
sent to earth to save the world in critical days
for the Jews. Hence the Septuagint interpreta-
tion of Psalm 110:4b:

σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν
Μελχισεδεκ

"You are a Priest forever in the manner⁴⁷ of
Melchizedek".

That is, in this interpretation of the Septu-
agint and in the translations that followed it, the
letter *y* ("yod") in the Hebrew phrase *'l dbrty*
was considered to have been an ancient geni-
tive ending to soften the transition in the poetic
text. Let us also note that the Septuagint inter-
prets the Hebrew verse of Psalm 110:5a – *'dny*
'lymynk – in this way:

³⁹ Cf.: Mazar, 2009: 31 f.; Tantlevskij, 2020: 256–260.

⁴⁰ Cf., e.g.: Matt. 22:42–45, Mk. 12:35–37, Lk. 20:41–44; Acts
2:34–35; cf. also: 1 Cor. 15:24–26; Heb. 1:13.

⁴¹ Or: "after the order/pattern"; "by position/title, etc."; "be-
cause of".

³⁹ Sc. on the throne; cf., e.g.: Ps. 2:4; 9:8; 45:7; 61:8 ("May he
abide (*yšb*; lit. 'sit'. – *I. T.*) forever before God!"); 102:13.

⁴⁰ According to the Masoretic vocalization: "your people".

⁴¹ Vocalization according to many Hebrew manuscripts and
the Septuagint interpretation (ἐξέγγεννησά σε); analogically:
Origen (ὁ Ἐβραῖος), Syriac version; cf. also: Ps. 2:6–7(!),
2 and 12; 89[88]:27–28. Standard Masoretic vocalization:
yaldūtēkā.

⁴² In connection with this hypothetical vocalization and in-
terpretation note that in Deut. 33:3 the word *dabbērōt* (pl.; or
sing.: *dabberet*) is used to mean: "words (utterances)" / "word"
of the LORD. Cf. also Jer. 5:13, where the term *had-dibbēr*
(pl.: *dibbērōt*) is used to mean "word" of the LORD (cf.: LXX
ad loc.).

⁴³ On the Septuagint interpretation see below.

⁴⁴ The Masoretic vocalization here: *'Āḏōnāy*, the Lord. On the
Septuagint interpretation see below.

Κύριος ἐκ δεξιῶν σου...

The Lord (is) at your right hand...

Thus, this Old Greek translation vocalized and interpreted the Hebrew term *'dny* found here as *'Ādōnāy*, the Lord (as the Masoretes also did).

The author of *Dan.* 7:13–14 may well have correlated the transcendent and pre-existent "One like a son of man" he describes with the "lord," "sitting at the right hand of the LORD" (*Ps.* 110:1, 5), to whom King David once addressed. The verses of *Ps.* 110:1, 5 and *Dan.* 7:13–14 are also interpreted in the Gospels as referring to a *single* soteriological figure (see, e.g.: *Matt.* 26:63–64; *Mk.* 14:61–62; *Lk.* 22:69; cf. also: *Lk.* 21:27; *Acts* 2:31–36; *1 Thess.* 4:16–17; *Rev.* 1:13–16).

On the other hand, in the light of *Ps.* 110:4 one could conclude that the person designated in *Ps.* 110:1 as *'ādōnī* (here lit.: "my lord") becomes a new Melchizedek. Or one could even, in fact, interpret this figure as an incarnate Melchizedek, at least symbolically.

Conclusion: At a time of complete destruction of the religious life of the faithful Jews and the loss of even the appearance of their social and political autonomy during the "Hellenistic crisis" in Judaea, the figure of a transcendent, pre-existent divine "lord" in *Ps.* 110 – the king-savior and heavenly high priest – was an ideal prototype for the soteriological image of "One like a son of man" and his "hypostases" in the Book of Daniel, as well as probably for the "Son of God" in Pseudo-Daniel (which has reached us in a very fragmentary form). The members of the Judaean Qumran community (2nd century B.C.E.– 1st century C.E.) – apparently of the Essene trend⁴⁸ – saw Melchizedek as the "lord" of Psalm 110: in the Qumran Midrash Melchizedek (*11Q13*), Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (*4Q401=4Q ShirShabb^b*, frag. 11, 3)⁴⁹, and Testament of 'Amram (*4Q544 = 4Q'Amram^b ar*) he appears as the *divine*⁵⁰ head of all

light forces, including the powers of heaven, and the high priest of the heavenly Temple, who in the "last days" will return "the captives... whose teachers have been hidden and kept secret... they are the inherita[nce of Melchize-]dek, who will make them return. And liberty will be proclaimed for them, to free them from [the debt of] all their iniquities". Melchizedek will make atonement⁵¹ "for all the sons of [light and] for the men [of] the lot of Mel[chi]zedek [...], accor[ding to] a[ll] their [wor]ks, for it is the time for the "year of grace" of Melchizedek, and of [his] arm[ies, the nat]ion of the holy ones of God, of the rule of judgment... Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d's] judgments⁵², [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irits of his lot.] To his aid (shall come) all "the gods of [righteousness]; and h[e] is the one w[ho ...] all the sons of God, and ... [...] This [...] is the day of [peace...]⁵³", and all the wicked will be punished. The highly fragmented text of *11QMelch* 2:15–20 makes it impossible to say with certainty whether the "messianic" passage from the Book of Daniel, to which the author of the Qumran work refers (*Dan.* 9:25?), applies to Melchizedek or to another soteriological figure (e.g., to the Teacher of Righteousness of the Qumran Community?).

Thus, it seems that the images of "One like a son of man" in the Book of Daniel, "Son of Man" in Pseudo-Daniel, as well as the representation of Melchizedek in Qumran scrolls ultimately go back to radical interpretations of Psalm 110, which arose in some Jewish pious circles (probably beginning from *ca.* 174⁵⁴ B.C.E.) as a reaction to the severe persecutions of orthodox Jews by the Seleucid Hellenists and Judaean Hellenizers.

⁵¹ Cf., e.g.: 4Q541, frag. 9, 1:2–3.

⁵² Cf., e.g., the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk (*1QpHab*) 4:16–5:6.

⁵³ *11QMelch* 2: 4–9, 13–15 (quoted from: García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 1999: 1207–1209).

⁵⁴ According to J. Starcky (1963: 482), the "party" of the Hasidim (*ḥsydym/ḥsydy'*, the "pious") was constituted in 174 B.C.E. due to the severe shock caused in Jewish society by Antiochus IV Epiphane's renaming of Jerusalem to Antioch.

⁴⁸ See, e.g. Tantlevskij, Svetlov, 2014: 50–53; Tantlevskij, Gromova, Gromov, 2021.

⁴⁹ Cf. also: *11Q17 = 11ShirShabb*, frag. 2, 7 and *4Q 401 = 4Q ShShabb^b* frag. 22, 3.

⁵⁰ Cf.: Tantlevskij, 2004: 23–26.

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