

# The Movement of Ezekiel’s “Living Beings” in 4Q405 *Shirot ‘Olat Hashabbat*. Part II: The Twelfth Song

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## Abstract

In this article descriptions of angelic movement in the Twelfth Song are compared to descriptions of such activity arising from the throne of God in Ezekiel’s vision in Ezekiel 1 and 10, and to that in the Seventh Song as contained in scroll 4Q403. The penultimate Twelfth Song of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice culminates in a more explicit description of angelic messenger activity and in other nuances. The Twelfth Song was intended to be read on the Sabbath immediately following Shavu’ot, when the traditional synagogue reading is Ezekiel 1 and Exodus 19–20. The possible significance for the author of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice of the connection between the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai and Ezekiel’s vision where *merkebah* thrones and seats appear in the plural form is considered in the conclusion.

**Keywords:** 4Q405 Song Twelve; Ezekiel; angelic movement; *merkebah*; Shavu’ot

## Introduction

The penultimate song of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the Twelfth Sabbath Song, is especially interesting. It describes the appearance and movement of the divine beings associated with the chariot throne in more detail than that in the Seventh Song, but the combination of this phenomenon with the fact that it was intended to be read on the Sabbath immediately following Shavu’ot calls for investigation in its own right. On the annual festival of Shavu’ot the revelation at Sinai (Ex 19–20) was traditionally read in the synagogue together with Ezekiel 1 (Halperin 1988, 58).<sup>1</sup> Thus the aim of this article

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1 The festival which commemorates the giving of the Law to Moses at Mount Sinai takes place seven weeks after Passover. In the Jewish tradition it is connected to the annual renewal of the covenant. In Christian tradition it is related to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4).

is to consider the significance of the combination in the Twelfth Song of explicit messenger activity arising from the throne of God with the festival of Shavu'ot.

## Methodology

In this article, the description of angelic messenger activity in Fragments 22 and 23i of 4Q405 is analysed and compared to the earliest biblical appearance of such an idea in Ezekiel 1 and 10, and to the comparable but less detailed description in the Seventh Song, 4Q403. The penultimate placement of this Song, with its combination of angelic messenger activity in the context of culminating concerns related to covenantal issues, is explored. The relationship of Ezekiel's description of the "living creatures" in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and that of the description of angelic activity in the Twelfth Sabbath Song is established by means of comparison of lexical and semantic similarities and differences. This is done against the background of earlier research on the complexities of underlying angelological content in Ezekiel 1 and 10 in which a close reading and comparison of relevant passages in the Septuagint and the relationship to other contemporary ancient near Eastern texts are used as the foundation for this analysis (Evans 2007, 262–269; 2012; 2014). The characteristic ambiguity of Jewish angelology is taken into consideration but is considered in depth in a forthcoming presentation.<sup>2</sup>

## The Twelfth Song 4Q405

The Twelfth Song starts in frg. 22, line 6 and ends in frg. 23i (Newsom 1998, 345–365).

### Fig. 22, lines 6–14 (Newsom 1998, 345–354)

Line 6 starts Song Twelve with the standard beginning of all the Songs: an instruction to praise God.<sup>3</sup> The rest of frg. 22 is largely a description of the activity of the living beings very similar but more specific than that in Ezekiel 1 and 10 and in the Seventh Song. The lines relevant to the argument of this article are presented below as Newsom published them, together with her translation (Newsom 1998, 347–355).

9b ובלכת האופנים ישובו מלאכי קודש יצא ומבין

“And when the wheels move, the holy angels return. They go out from between ...”

10 [ג]לגלי כבודו כמראי אש רוחות קודש קדשים סביב מראי שבולי  
אש בדמות חשמל ומעשי

2 For ambiguity of Jewish angelology, see Evans (2007, 97, 282).

3 For the Instr[uctor. Song of the sacrifice of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of the third month. Praise the God of ...

[6 למוכיל ויר ששלת עהועבת ותימ שורח בשורימ שחהר להשר הולוי  
הללש לחלשהי

“its glorious [h]ubs.<sup>4</sup> Like the appearance of fire (are) the most holy spirits round about, the appearance of streams of fire like *hashmal*. And there is a [ra]diant substance”

11 [נ] וגה ברוקמת כבוד צבעי פלא ממולח טוה רוחות [א] ל והים  
חיים מתהלכים תמיד עם כבוד מרכבות

“with glorious mingled colours, wondrously hued, brightly blended, the spirits of living [g]odlike beings which move continuously with the glory of [the] wondrous chariots.”

12. [ה] פלא וקול דממת ברכ בהמון לכתם והללו קודש בהשיב  
דרכיהם בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכן

“There is a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement a holy praise as they return on their paths. As they rise, they rise wondrously; and when they settle”<sup>5</sup>

### Lines 9b–10a

Newsom’s translation of 9b, “And when the wheels move, the holy angels return” (Newsom 1998, 349), obscures the parallelism between the *ophanim* and “holy angels” which actually indicates that the author of SOSS regarded the *ophanim* as equivalent to the “holy angels”. García Martínez (1994, 429) does not translate האופנים, thereby allowing for the concept that they are something more than straightforward wheels: “And when the *ofanim* move forward, the holy angels go back.” Interestingly, the word *ophanim* only occurs once in the Seventh Song, in the second last line, but in the Twelfth Song it occurs repeatedly.

Newsom’s translation also obscures the lexical connection of the words in line 9b, (יצא and ישוב) to their counterparts in Ezek 1:14: (וחחיות רצוא ושוב). The KJV translates this latter phrase as “and the living creatures ran and returned”, thereby indicating that the author of SOSS regarded both the wheels and the holy angels as Ezekiel’s “living creatures”, i.e., the “wheels” and “holy angels” ran and returned. Both Newsom and García Martínez interpret the action as being when the one group, “wheels”/*ofanim*, moves, the other, i.e., the “holy angels”, return: “And when the wheels/*ofanim* move forward, the holy angels return/go back.” Thus, according to Newsom and García Martínez, the meaning is slightly different to that in Ezek 1:14. According to them the movement also consists of a going out (יצא) and returning (ישוב) but appears to be

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4 Note Newsom’s translation of גלגלי, an Aramaic word for “wheels”, with “hubs”.

5 The occurrence of the root רום in line 12 is a clear indication that Ezekiel 10:17 (וברומם ירוממו אותם) “and when they mounted up, these mounted up with them” is the specific source for this construction (Newsom 1998, 353).

carried out by two different agents: *ofanim* and “holy angels”. Therefore, the question arises: where are the “holy angels”/*ofanim* returning/going back from?

The word **ושוב** in Ezekiel 1:14 confirms a turning movement, but this verse is not included in the reconstruction of the oldest versions of the Greek translation, although the existence of Ezek 1:14 is attested to at Qumran (in view of the fact that a damaged space where verses 14 and 15 would have been is indicated).<sup>6</sup> Lust (1999, 17) reports Jerome’s explanation of the reason for the absence of the telling verse, Ezek 1:14, in the OG: it contradicted the “do not turn” stress in the rest of the chapter. The word **יסב** in the same context in Ezekiel 1 and 10 is also attested to at Qumran in the form of **יסב לא** and **סבניב** (Ezek 10:11) appears in 4QEzek frg. 1 in lines 10 and 12 respectively (Sanderson 1997, 211). Herbert (1998, 22) indicates that 11QEzekiel frg. 1 has three lines from Ezek 1:8–10 as follows:

א רבעת	]	1
סבו בלכ תם	]	2
לא רב עת ם	]	3

### Line 10

The importance and significance of the word **סבו** is connected to the very next word, in line 10: **הגלגל**. This Aramaic word for wheel does not appear in Ezek 1 but appears in Ezek 10 together with the usual Hebrew word *ophanim*. Newsom’s translation of the first word in line 10 **הגלגל** as hubs, “They go out from between its glorious hubs”, again obscures the parallelism which indicates that these wheels, the *ophanim* **האופנים** and **הגלגל**, are actually equivalent to the “holy angels” of line 9b (Newsom 1998, 352). Newsom acknowledges the difficult transition between lines 9b and 10a, recognising that the paired verbs of line 9b, **ושוב** and **יצוא**, are drawn from a form of Ezek 1:14, like that underlying the LXX (Codex Alexandrinus **ετρεχον και ανεκαμπτου**; MT **ושוב** and **רצוא**) and suggests that the author may have known both textual traditions (Newsom (1998, 349, 352)).<sup>7</sup>

The puzzling translation by Newsom (1998, 352) of **לגלי** [ג] as “hubs” indicates that she is aware that the **לגלי** [ג] are not simply wheels but disregards the indication in Ezek 10:13 that the **לגלי** [ג] are alive. This implication is reinforced in the KJV

6 Sanderson (1997, 211) presents the following information about Ezekiel 1:14 at Qumran: 4Q74Ezekiel b Col IV Frgs. 5–6, lines 1 and 2 have a space (illegible due to damage) where Ezekiel 1:14 and 15 would have been, and continues on the next line with part of Ezek 1:16. Cf. the photo taken in November 2013, presented in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls digital library ([www.deadseascrolls.org.il](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il) and [www.orion-bibliography.huji.ac.il](http://www.orion-bibliography.huji.ac.il)). This verse is also attested in Origen’s 3rd C Hexaplaric Opus.

7 The word **ετρεχον** 3 pers. pl. imperf. of **τροχωω**. Cf. **τροχος** (wheel).

translation of Ezek 10:13 MT: **לֹא־וּפְנִים לָהֶם קוֹרָא הַגִּלְגַּל בְּאָזְנִי**: “As for the wheels, it was cried unto them in my hearing, O wheel.” Furthermore, the LXX leaves the *galgali* of Ezek 10:13 untranslated, thereby confirming the hint that they are not ordinary wheels. The LXX has **τοῖς δὲ τροχοῖς τούτοις ἐπεκλήθη Γελγὲλ ἀκούοντός μου**, but the NETS translation, “Now, as I was listening, the name *Gelgel* was assigned to these wheels,” obscures the implication that the wheels are alive. The NRSV version of Ezek 10:13 tries to overcome the complexity of the implication that the **הַגִּלְגַּל/Γελγὲλ** are alive by substituting “the wheelwork” in place of **הַגִּלְגַּל**. But here, in lines 9b and 10, the *ophanim* and *galgali* are active, responsive agents, an inseparable part of the living creatures of Ezek 1:14. What is being described in Ezekiel and here in frg. 22, lines 9–10 is the essence of angelic activity—angelic spirits moving out from the central throne or inner sanctuary of God, and returning. I suggest that here in Song Twelve the parallel terms “holy angels/wheels” (**הַאֲוֹפְנִים/מִלְאֲכֵי קוֹדֶשׁ**) indicate that the author of SOSS accepts the implication in Ezek 1:14 that the living beings are indeed turning, and does not adhere to the negation of turning in Ezek 1:7, 12, 17 and Ezek 10:11 (x2), 16.<sup>8</sup>

An invariable motif associated with an angelophany is fire or light.<sup>9</sup> As in the Seventh Song (4Q403 frg. 1ii line 6), line 10 confirms the association of angels with fire: “Like the appearance of fire (are) the most holy spirits” (**רֹחוֹת קוֹדֶשׁ קְדֻשִׁים**). The word **כְּבִיב** is used three times in Ezekiel 1 and three times in Ezekiel 10 in the negative form (**לֹא יִסְבִּי**) to stress that the living beings do not turn. However, in line 10 the word appears in a positive form as **כְּבִיב**, translated by Newsom as “roundabout”, but the root of the word means “turn, go in a circle”, which would make more sense if the *ophanim* are indeed the “most holy angels” forming “streams of fire” as they execute their turning movement. The association of angels with fire also appears in the Seventh Song 4Q403 frg. 1ii lines 6 and 9. Newsom (1998, 352) states that the image generated by lines 9b and 10 is that of “fiery angelic beings who habitually move back and forth with the movement of the *ophanim*” but having translated **גִּלְגַּלִּי** as “hubs” the connotation with the wheels themselves as angelic beings is not indicated in her translation.

Newsom (1998, 352) recognises that line 10 is an explication of Ezek 1:27a, “and I saw as the colour of amber (*hashmal*) as the appearance of fire round about within it” (KJV), but she suggests that “streams of fire” (**שְׂבוּלֵי אֵשׁ**) is derived from the imagery in 1 Enoch 14:19, and at Dan 7:9b–10, where the Aramaic term *galgali* is used for the wheels

8 The LXX has **οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον**.

9 Evans (2007, 266, 267). The beginning of the Tenth Song (Newsom 1998, 335) 4Q405 frg. 15ii–16, lines 2–3 also mentions “rivers of fire” and “the appearance of flames of fire”. In Dan 7:9b–10, the Aramaic term *galgali* is used for the wheels of the divine throne, also associated with streams of fire:

**כַּרְסִיָּה שְׂבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר גִּלְגַּלְוָהּ נֹר דְּלֵק: נַהַר דִּי־נֹר נִגְדַּ וְנִפְקַ מִן־קְדָמוּהָ**  
 “his throne was fiery flames, and its wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire issued and flowed out from his presence (NRSV).”

of the divine throne (Newsom 1998, 340). However, although she recognises “the streams of fire” as the visual appearance of the angelic spirits who move with the *ophanim*, going out and returning between the “hubs”, she does not recognise that the *galgali* themselves are angelic beings arising from the throne of God. Yet the movement of the fiery beings out from God’s throne would indeed, by implication, form the visual effect of “streams of fire”. I contend that line 10 confirms that the “hubs”/*galgali* are themselves the “angelic spirits” “running and returning” (Ezek 1:14) at high speed, thereby creating what Ezekiel describes as the appearance of streams of fire flowing out from the wheels.

The key words *galgali* and *hashmal*, with their angelological connotations, are a vital part of the vision, but these aspects are not brought out in Newsom’s translation. Interestingly, the word *galgali* only appears in Ezekiel 10: 2, 13, and the other major angelological word *hashmal* only appears in Ezekiel 1:4, 27.<sup>10</sup> The two words *galgali* and *hashmal* not only convey crucial angelological content, but also bear witness to the fact that the author of SOSS drew on both Ezekiel 1 and 10 for his description of the essence of angelic activity.

### Line 11

The movement of the angelic beings in line 11 is linked to the messenger role but this sense is not expressed in Newsom’s (1998, 353) translation. I maintain that there is clear confirmation in the Twelfth Song that, as in Ezek 1:14, there are angelic beings being sent out from the throne and returning to the deity on the throne. They are indeed moving constantly, but *purposefully*, at the command “of the King”.<sup>11</sup> Newsom’s comment that the “fiery angelic beings” move “habitually” does not convey the underlying purposefulness of their movement (Newsom 1998, 352). This description also appears in the Seventh Song 4Q403 frg. 1i line 35 but is more explicit here in line 11b of the Twelfth Song.

The participle **מתהלכים** refers back to Ezek 1:13 where the *hitpa’el* participle of **הלך** describes the “to and fro” (NRSV) movement of the fiery substance seen among the living beings (Fletcher-Louis 2002b, 349).<sup>12</sup> Compare 4Q403 frg. 1ii line 7 and Ezek 1:13, and **במשלחם** in 4Q403 frg. 1i line 6a, which Newsom translates as “in their undertakings”, implying purposeful movement. Davila (2000, 123, 124) notes that the root **שלח** means “to send”. My impression here is that there are messengers going from the deity on the throne, and they return to the deity. The turning movement would cause

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10 The KJV translation of *hashmal* as amber is significant because amber has the property of static electricity (Evans 2013, 170; 2014, 138).

11 The angelic activity of Ezekiel 1 and 10, and especially in Ezek 1:14, is present in a form in SOSS that is remarkably close to the angelic activity described in the *Chaldean Oracles*. The main difference is that, rather than the “King” metaphor, the *Chaldean Oracles* uses the “Father” metaphor.

12 This *hitpa’el* is also present in the Seventh Song.

the visual effect of a stream of fire. This sense is obscured in Newsom's translation in that she translates מתהלכים תמיד as "move continuously", thereby not conveying the purposeful quality of the "to and fro" movement.

### Line 12

My argument for a *purposeful* to and fro movement becomes even clearer in line 12:

12. [ה]פלא וקול דממת ברכ בהמון לכתם והללו קודש בהשיב  
דרכיהם בהרומם ירוממו פלא ובשוכן

"There is a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement a holy praise as they return on their paths ..."

The description of the "most holy spirits" (in line 10 in parallel with the *ophanim* and *galgali*) returning on their paths indicates that their movement involves not only returning, but also that their route of movement is specified. Even more confirmation of angelic messenger activity arising from the chariot throne is found in frg. 23i.

### 4Q405 Frg. 23i Lines 1–14 (Newsom 1998, 355–361)

The Twelfth Song continues and is concluded in frg. 23i. The first six lines are very fragmentary. Lines 8–11a are the focus of this section. Here a highly parallelistic section describes the entry of the "gods of knowledge" (אלי דעת) through the portals of glory, and the going out of the "holy angels" (מלאכי קודש) through the "gates of holiness" to their "dominions".

7b ומהללים שעריו

"And its gates praise"

8 בקול רנה במבואי אלי דעת בפתחי כבוד ובכול מוצאי מלאכי  
קודש לממשלתם

"with the sound of rejoicing. Whenever the gods of knowledge enter by the portals of glory, and whenever the holy angels go out to their dominion,"

9 פתחי מבואי ושערי מוצא משמיעים כבוד המלך מברכים ומהללים  
כול רוחות

"the portals of entrance and the gates of exit make known the glory of the King, blessing and praising all the spirits of"

10. אלוהים בצאת ובמבוא בשערי קודש

“God at (their) going out and at (their) coming in by the gates of holiness.”

The parallelism between the gates (שַׁעַר) and portals (פֶּתַח) is linked to the parallelism of that of the “holy angels” (מַלְאֲכֵי קֹדֶשׁ) and “gods of knowledge” (דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים). Odell (2009, 205–206) reads the parallelism more explicitly, suggesting that the openings (פֶּתַח) are linked to entering by the “gods of knowledge”, and the “gates of holiness” (שַׁעַר) to exiting by the “holy angels”. The gates are mentioned in Song 7 frg. 1ii line 4 but notably neither gates nor the specification of portals and gates linked to entering and exiting appear at all in Ezekiel 1 or 10.

## Discussion

Odell’s more specific distinction between angelic messengers who enter and depart through different structures is in harmony with the Seventh Song, which names a series of variously functioning divine beings. Just as the gates and portals in the Twelfth Song are conceived of as two distinct entities, so the “holy angels” and the “gods of knowledge” may be two distinct entities, respectively exiting at the gates and entering at the portals. That the gates and portals do not appear in Ezekiel 1 and 10 indicates that the author of SOSS built on and extended Ezekiel’s vision in his own context a few hundred years later; the author read angelic activity as more specific than the movement of the *ophanim* in Ezekiel 1. Boustani and Reed (2004, 204) observe: “The history of the class of angels called the *ophanim* [lit. the wheels] perhaps best exemplifies the process by which the mythological can become frozen in statuary and the reused in textual forms, ... whatever the precise relationship between these various texts, they undoubtedly represent the threads of literary material out of which the *Songs* are woven.”<sup>13</sup>

Interestingly, the angelic activity of Ezekiel 1 and 10, and especially in Ezek 1:14, is actually present in a form in SOSS that is remarkably close to the angelic activity described in the neo-Platonic *Chaldean Oracles*.<sup>14</sup> The divinatory connotations of

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13 For instance, wheels as astral symbols in Assyrian cylinder seals (Uehlinger and Trufaut 2001, 154, 155).

14 The *Chaldean Oracles* were written down in the late second century C.E. Neoplatonic context, but Lewy (1978, 14, n. 32, 162, 312) demonstrated that the system of intermediaries in the *Chaldean Oracles* is derived from the Jewish system of angelology, and that this fusion of Platonism with mysticism and magic probably has its roots in earlier centuries. Lewy (1978, 132–134) described the intermediaries (*Iynges*) as “fiery bodies, of the nature of lightning ... regarded as messengers of the gods ... who swiftly hasten forth from the Father and back towards Him ... leaping in tireless revolution into the worlds at the mighty command of the Father, as the thoughts of the Supreme Being: thinking through circular motion (frg. 78).” Thus, in the Chaldean system the *Iynges* function as mediators of messengers (Majercik 1989, 9). According to Lewy (1978, 132–133, 163) they are Plato’s good daemons who “interpret between gods and men, conveying and taking across to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods” (cf. Plato *Symp. Conviv.* 202 E). In frg. 87 the activities of the *Iynges* are described in terms of whirling or rushing



turning wheels were apparently no problem for the author of SOSS. The similarity here with Ezek 1:14 and with the Seventh Song is striking. I therefore would like to suggest that the author of SOSS derived the idea directly from Ezekiel, not necessarily from the book of Enoch, as Newsom suggests.<sup>15</sup> The allusion in line 11 to chariots in the plural (מרכבות) here is explained by Newsom (1998, 353) as a plural of majesty, but both Song Seven and Song Eleven refer to thrones and seats in the plural, and in these contexts the possibility of a plural of majesty is excluded. The implication of elevated figures who are also enthroned in the realm where God is on his throne raises the question of deification. Are these מרכבות intended for other divine figures conceived of in a hierarchy? There is no clear answer in the extant fragments of Song Twelve, or in Song Seven. The complexities and possible significance of this surprising appearance in SOSS will be considered in a forthcoming presentation.

## Conclusion

The Twelfth Song culminates in the intention that it was to be read seven weeks after *Shavuot*. The consequent implications can only be fully explored by taking all the Songs of SOSS into account, but at this stage I would like to suggest that, whereas in Exodus 19–20 and the celebration of Passover Moses is the mediator between the deity and the people, in Ezekiel 1 it is the four living creatures with their four faces and their wheels who fulfil that role. The author of SOSS has extended Ezekiel’s vision in terms of his current ancient Near Eastern context. He depicts all significant parts of what Ezekiel originally described in his vision when “the heavens opened”, as serving the enthroned “King”/deity, whether in praise or as messengers.

It was Ezekiel’s *merkebah* vision that provided the mythological metaphors for the SOSS description of angelic intermediation. The ethereal quality of the description of the animation in the praise activity and messenger activity is absolutely in line with the fluidity and ambiguity of Jewish angelology, which enabled the introduction of the surprising element of multiple thrones. The fluid boundary, or lack of boundary in SOSS

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movement. Majercik (1989, 175) understands the expression ἀχοιμήτω στροφάλιγγι to convey the image of the *Iynges* as moving out from and back towards the Father in a ceaseless, circular motion, and compares this to στροφάλου in frg. 206, which refers to Hecate’s “magic wheel”. It is not impossible that it may have been the conservative LXX translators who eliminated Ezekiel 1:14 because of the divinatory associations under the surface of the messenger activity described in Ezek 1:14. Such divinatory activity must have been present in oral tradition of the ancient Near East for many centuries. The later Pythagoreans and Platonists also identified the *Iynges* with Jewish and Persian angels.

15 Newsom (1998, 340) and Davidson (1992, 251 n.6) state that neither the אופנים nor the גלגלים were already a class of angels in Ezekiel 1 and 10 but only became described as such in the *Parables of Enoch* (1 *Enoch* 61.10; 71.7). However, by looking at the biblical texts with the “hermeneutics of suspicion”, I (Evans 2007, 8) perceive that, albeit under the surface, the animation of the throne structure itself as angelic activity is already present in Ezekiel 1, and more explicitly in Ezekiel 10.

between angels and divinised or sanctified humans, facilitated a new phase in the concern with “the possibility of the divine to be present on earth” (cf. Hundley 2013.) The idea in Exodus 19 and 20 of communication between God and Moses, who showed signs of deification as a result (Exod 34:29–35), was combined with Ezekiel’s description of how such communication could still take place during a time of exile. The Seventh and Twelfth Songs not only support the evidence of messenger activity in Ezekiel’s *merkebah* chapters indicated by the tortuous unravelling of the complexities of the Greek translation, but hint at the potential for some form of human deification.

Medieval confirmation that Ezekiel’s *merkebah* vision contained the original material for the author of SOSS to extend the ambiguous conception of deified “god-like beings” who effect angelic mediation between the throne of God and mankind is to be seen in the illuminations in the Lindisfarne Gospels (dated to circa 700 C.E.), where the four-faced living beings (lion, ox, eagle, and man) are identified with the four apostolic saints Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John.<sup>16</sup>

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16 See <https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/lindisfarne.html>.

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