

Line 40. Newsom plausibly suggests that the phrase “with the best portion of spirit” exhorts the audience to offer God a spiritual “portion” or “offering” (often a secondary sense of the word), as opposed to a material one (cf. Heb 13:15). A heavenly sacrificial cult figures in Songs XII and XIII (see the commentary to XII 4Q405 23i:5-6). For a similar use of the word “best,” normally translated “head” or “chief;” see Exod 30:23.

Line 41. This line has the only mention of pillars in the surviving text of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the immediate context seems to place these in the vicinity of the heavenly sanctuary. Two pillars stood in front of the vestibule of Solomon’s temple (1 Kgs 7:15-22; 2 Chron 3:15-17; cf. Ezek 40:49); presumably these are the cosmic equivalents, perhaps to be identified with the “pillars of heaven” of Job 26:11 (cf. 1 Enoch 18:3, 11). The pillars of smoke and fire that led the Israelites through the wilderness may also be behind the image (Exod 13:21-22; 4Q470 3:5; 4Q504 6:10). 3 Enoch 38:1 mentions “all the pillars of the firmaments and their capitals.”

The word “abode” appears only here and in 4Q405 81:2 in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Its root means “to be honored or princely” (cf. Gen 30:20). In the HB it is used of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:13 // 2 Chron 6:2), God’s abode in heaven (Isa 63:15; Hab 3:11), and perhaps the abode of the dead (Ps 49:15; the text is uncertain). In the QL it refers to God’s abode in heaven (1QS x:3; 1QM xii:1-2 // 4Q491 5-6:1; 1QH<sup>a</sup> xi:34). In Jewish esoteric literature Abode is the name of one of the seven firmaments (e.g., *Seder Rabba di Bereshit* §§40-41 [SH-L §§720-22]).

Line 42. The phrase “firmaments of purity” appears in XII 4Q405 23i:6-7. Compare “heavens of purity” in 4Q262 B:5; the description of the celestial pavement in Exod 24:10; the “firmament of terrible ice” in Ezek 1:22; and the discussion of this pavement in the commentary to XI 4Q405 19:5.

Line 43. Compare the “chief firmament on high” with the “first firmament” of seven in the HL (e.g., 3 Enoch 17:3) and in *Sepher HaRazim* I 1. In the HL the first firmament is the lowest, but in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* the chief firmament appears to be the topmost. The beams and walls of the earthly temple are mentioned in 2 Chron 3:6-7.

Line 45. The word pair “effulgence and adornment” reconstructed here is used in descriptions of the heavenly realm in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the HB, 4Q286 1ii:4, and often in the HL.

4Q405 6:9-11 (= 4Q403 1i:48-50)

*A fragment mentioning (angelic?) proclamation*

<sup>9</sup>[. . .].to God [. . .]. ends of <sup>10</sup>[. . .]. voice <sup>11</sup>[. . .]they shall proclaim

11Q17 i (= 4Q403 1i:48-50 + ?)

*A fragment referring to the architecture of the heavenly temple*

<sup>4</sup>[. . .].. ..[. . .] the light [. . .] <sup>5</sup>[. . . its] row[s<sup>a</sup>. . .] its [row]s, construct[ion . . .]  
<sup>6</sup>[. . .].. hol[y . . .] they [procl]aim psalms[. . .] <sup>7</sup>[. . . div]inities ...[. . .]to divini-  
ties of [. . .] <sup>8</sup>[. . .]and seven ..[. . .]secondary ones of [. . .] <sup>9</sup>[. . .]... [di]vinites  
[. . .]

#### Note

<sup>a</sup>The word “rows” (סדרות) in this line is used in the context of the construction of the earthly temple in 1 Kgs 6:9 (שדרת), although elsewhere in the HB the word means the ranks of an army (2 Kgs 11:8, 15; 2 Chron 23:14). In RH the word סדר means “row, order,” angelic “upper ranks,” “battle lines,” scripture reading “portion,” “order” of the Mishnah, and “colonnade” (Jastrow, 958b-59a). The last, however, is masculine, so its plural form would be different.

#### Commentary

Lines 7, 9. In the absence of any context, the word translated “divinities” three times in these lines could also be taken as a singular form and translated “God.”

4Q403 1ii:1-17 + 4Q404 6 (*ital.*)

*The actions and praises of the angels, spirits,  
and other beings in the celestial realms*

[from the midst of . . .] <sup>1</sup>perfect light,<sup>a</sup> colorful mos[t] holy spirit [. . . King of  
all . . .] <sup>2</sup>high places of knowledge and on His footstool [. . . of wonder . . .]  
<sup>3</sup>appearance of a glorious structure for the chiefs of the dominions, spi[rits]

f . . . ]<sup>4</sup>His glory. And in all their turnings<sup>b</sup> the gates of [. . . ]<sup>5</sup>the going of sprinklers of [glo]w[ing coals of fire<sup>c</sup> . . . ] to the chief(!)<sup>d</sup> of the divinities of . . . ]<sup>6</sup>from between them di[vin]ities run like the appearance of glowing coals of [fire . . . ]<sup>7</sup>walking all around. Most holy spirits [. . . ]<sup>8</sup>M[os]t holy [spirits], spirits of God, an ete[rnal] appearance ..[. . . ]<sup>9</sup>and spirits of God, shapes of flaming fire around [. . . ]<sup>10</sup>wondrous spirits and <sup>e</sup>the tabernacle of the exalted chief,<sup>e</sup> the glory of His kingdom, the inner chamber[. . . ]<sup>11</sup>and He sanctifies the even exalted holy (places) and the voice of blessing is from the chiefs of His inner chamber [. . . ]<sup>12</sup>and the voice of the blessing <<is heard>> is glorified in the hearing of the divinities and the councils<sup>f</sup> of [. . . ]<sup>13</sup>the blessing. And all the crafted furnishings of the inner cham[ber] hasten with psalms of wonder in the inner cham[ber . . . ]<sup>14</sup>of wonder, inner chamber to inner chamber with the sound of holy tumults. And all their crafted furnishings [. . . ]<sup>15</sup>and the chariots His inner chamber psalm together and their cherubim and th[eir] ophanim pass wondrously [. . . ]<sup>16</sup>chiefs of the divine structure. And they praise Him in the holy inner chamber. BLANK [. . . ]<sup>17</sup>BLANK [. . . ]

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>אורתום The simplest analysis of this word is to divide it into the word “light” (אור) plus the word “completeness, perfection” (תום), although some connection with the Urim and Thummim (האורים והתמים), the sacred lot kept in the high priest’s breastpiece (see the commentary to XIII 11Q17 ix:6), may well be implied. The word appears here and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> xii:26 and xxi:14, and it should probably be restored in 1QH<sup>a</sup> xii:6 and VII 4Q403 1i:45.

<sup>b</sup>מהפכיהם This noun, from the root הפך, “to turn, overturn,” is unattested in BH, but compare the Hitpael participle (המתהפכת) of the same root in Gen 3:24 with a similar meaning.

<sup>c</sup>זרקו [גה] [לני אש] The first word cannot be “lightnings of” (ברקי), but the reading given here fits the traces well and echoes Ezek 10:2. I interpret the word to be a Qal participle with a short spelling. This form appears twice in the HB (Lev 7:14; 2 Chron 30:16) and once in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 xxxiv:8), each time referring to priests carrying out sacrifices. Evidently angelic priests are pictured as sprinkling something (perhaps the glowing coals of Ezek 10:2) in the heavenly sanctuary. Another possibility is to translate the word as “darts,” a meaning not found in BH but used for זרק in 1QM vi:2, 3, 16; viii:11. However, the plural there takes the feminine form זרקות.

<sup>d</sup>Emending לרוש לודוש. The root דוש means “to crush,” and it is difficult to think of a way to make it fit this context.

<sup>e</sup>משכן רש רום This phrase is difficult but may have some interesting implications. A tabernacle is also mentioned in XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:7. The celestial tabernacle is mentioned in Heb 8:2, 5; 9:11; Rev 13:6; compare “the temple of the tent of witness in heaven” in Rev 15:5. The Hebrew word “head” (רוש) usually means an angelic “chief” in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (e.g., the “chief princes”), but it can also refer to the chiefmost of several objects, such as the “chief firmament on high” in VII

4Q403 1i:43. If the latter sense applies here, the meaning of the phrase would be “the exalted chief tabernacle.” But two indicators point in the direction of the first translation, referring to the tabernacle of an exalted chief angel, presumably the heavenly high priest Melchizedek.

First, although multiple sanctuaries, thrones, and chariots are mentioned repeatedly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, there is no reference to tabernacles in the plural (nor am I aware of a tradition of multiple heavenly tabernacles elsewhere). Second, there is a tradition of an angelic or divinized human high priest serving in the celestial tabernacle. This tabernacle is mentioned several times in the HL, almost always in association with the angelic high priest (the exception is a reference to the “tabernacle of the living creatures” in *Massekhet Hekhalot* §22.4). In 3 *Enoch* 15B:1 we are told that Metatron (the divinized Enoch) has “a great tabernacle of light on high,” and there are also several references to the “tabernacle of the Youth” (משכן הנוער) (*SH-L* §390; §399 // §476; §488; G9 6b:35-36; for the figure of the Youth, see the commentary to XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:6-14). According to the letter to the Hebrews, Christ also serves as high priest in the heavenly tabernacle.

<sup>f</sup>רמוסדוי Newsom notes that one could also read רמוסדוי, a Piel participle of the root יסד, “to found,” and take it as an angelic title, “founders of,” or the like.

## Commentary

Line 2. God’s footstool is mentioned in Isa 66:1; Ps 99:5; 132:7; Lam 2:1 (apparently referring to Zion); 1 Chron 28:2. Divine footstools (plural) seem to be mentioned in 4Q286 1ii:1 (cf. 2 *Enoch* 19:6?). The HL also refers to the divine footstool (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §153).

Line 3. The phrase “appearance of a glorious structure” alludes to Ezek 1:28 and also obliquely (as is typical of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*) to the divine glory.

Another possible translation of the last phrase in the line is “for the chiefs of spi[ritual] dominions.” But if the first reconstruction and translation are correct, the text may allude to the ancient idea that each nation had a chief angel assigned to it (cf. Deut 32:8-9 and Dan 10:13-14, 20). See also the commentary to II 4Q401 14i:6.

Line 4. The gates of the earthly temple are mentioned alongside the chariot in Ezek 10:19 (cf. 8:3-4) and those of Ezekiel’s imagined temple in Ezek 43:1-5.

Line 5. The Hebrew infinitive translated “the going of” also appears in Ezek 1:9, 12, 17, 20 (x2), 21, 24; 10:11 (x2), 16. The “chief of the divinities” may be the same figure as the “exalted chief” in line 10.

Line 6. Compare the “glowing coals of fire” to Ezek 1:13; 10:2. This phrase also appears in 4QSecond Ezekiel (4Q385 4:12); the HL associates “glowing coals of fire” with the heavenly throne room (e.g., *SH-L* §373).

Line 7. Echoes Ezek 1:13.

Line 9. Spirits and the divine realm are represented as fiery in nature in the Psalms (Ps 104:4), apocalyptic literature (1 *Enoch* 14:11; Dan 7:9-10; Rev 4:5; 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 22:6), the Phoenician tradition (Philo of Byblos, *Phoenician History* [*Praep. Evan.* 1.10.9]), and Ugaritic literature (Smith, "Biblical and Canaanite Notes," 586-87). For more fiery spirits, see Song XII 4Q405 20ii-21:10.

Line 11. One could possibly read "and [they] sanctify." The "seven exalted holy (places)" are presumably related to the "seven inner chambers of the priesthood[s]" (VII 4Q405 7:7); "the seven priesthoods of His interior" (VIII 4Q403 1ii:20 [cf. 22]); the "seven wondrous borders" (VIII 4Q403 1ii:21); the "seven holy councils" (VIII 4Q403 1ii:22); and the "seven most holy borders" (VIII 4Q403 1ii:27; 4Q405 44:1). The precise details and interrelationships in the cosmography are obscure.

Line 13. Compare the "crafted furnishings" to those in Exod 31:4 and the workmanship of the shields and weapons in 1QM v:6-11.

Line 15. Multiple celestial chariots are mentioned in the HB in Isa 66:15; perhaps Jer 4:13; Hab 3:8; Zech 6:1-3; Ps 68:18. In the QL they figure repeatedly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and also appear in 4Q286 1ii:2. In the HL a group of them is listed in 3 *Enoch* 24, and *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §554-55 describes vast numbers of chariots, more in each succeeding palace, which sing together like those in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Something of this sort may be implied in line 14 of this passage by the broken phrase "inner chamber to inner chamber with the sound of holy tumults," although this seems to refer to the resounding praise of the animate crafted furnishings of line 13. Chariots are also mentioned in *SH-L* §490; *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §585; *Massekhet Hekhalot* §12.2; 15.1; 17.1.

The cherubim are angelic beings above whom God is enthroned (see 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 22:11 // Ps 18:11; cf. 4Q204 1vii:1) and who guard the entrance to Eden (Gen 2:24). They are represented as architectural motifs in the construction of the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 25:18-22; 26:31-33) and the temple (e.g., 1 Kgs 6:24-29; 1 Chron 28:18; 2 Chron 3:7, 10-14; cf. 11Q19 vii:10-12). Cherubim are often associated with the heavenly throne room in Second Temple and parabiblical literature. In the QL cherubim also appear in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and in 4Q511 41:2.

The "living creatures" of Ezekiel 1 are identified with the cherubim in Ezekiel 10 but are not mentioned in the surviving text of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Nevertheless, the persistent association of cherubim in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* with motifs from Ezekiel 1 seems to imply that the author accepted this identification. Strangely, Isa 6:1-3, a centrally inspirational

passage for the HL, is never alluded to in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* either, which may imply that the author also took the cherubim and seraphim to be the same beings (cf. Second Ezekiel, 4Q385 4:6-7, which seems to describe the living creatures of Ezekiel 1 in terms reminiscent of the seraphim in Isa 6:2). The HL mentions the cherubim frequently, often in association with the ophanim, and always distinguishes them from the living creatures.

The word "ophannim" means "wheel" and is used of the divine chariot in Ezek 1:15-21; 3:13; 10:9-19, and 4Q385 4:10-11; and of wheels on the bronze stands in the temple, "like chariot-wheel workmanship," in 1 Kgs 7:30-33 (cf. 4Q365<sup>a</sup> 5i:4). In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* they are angelic beings (XI 4Q405 20ii-21-22:3; XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9), as sometimes in Second Temple and parabiblical literature (e.g., 1 *Enoch* 71:7; 2 *Enoch* 20:1; 29:3) and always in the HL.

4Q405 7 (= 4Q403 1ii:9-16)

*A fragment mentioning inner chambers of angelic priesthoods<sup>a</sup>*

1[. . .]...[. . .] 2[. . .] ho[ly] ...[. . .] 3[. . .]in seven ..[. . .].[ . . .] kingdom[. . .]  
4[. . .]chi[ef . . .] in the sta[tion]. [ . . . ] 5[. . .].[ . . .].[ . . .] 6[. . .]..  
around[. . .]...[. . .] 7[. . .]sev[en] inner chambers of the priesthoo[ds of . . .]  
8[. . .].. his [pr]iesthood and .[. . .] 9[. . .]...[. . .] 10[. . .].. work[s of . . .] 11[. . .]..  
..[. . .] 12[. . .]...[. . .]

Note

<sup>a</sup>Most of this fragment was found superimposed on 4Q405 6, so it is one column away from frag. 6 and should correspond approximately to 4Q403 1ii:9-16. Unfortunately the latter text is badly damaged, and there is no overlap between the two fragments. Still, the placing of frag. 7 in this vicinity is very probable.

Commentary

Line 8. Could "his [pr]iesthood" refer to the priesthood of Melchizedek? Compare Ps 110:4 and VIII 4Q403 1ii:21.

## Song VIII

(4Q403 1ii:18-48 + 4Q405 8-13 + 11Q17 ii;  
4Q405 64 + 67 + 11Q17 iii)

*Exhorts a second order of angels, who comprise seven priestly councils in seven territories, to praise God. Seven angels offer successive praises, each tongue louder than the previous one. After another series of seven psalms by (the same?) angels, the seven secondary princes each offer a blessing of seven words. This last section corresponds closely to the blessings of the seven chief princes in Song VI.*

4Q403 1ii:18-48 + 4Q405 8-11 + 11Q17 ii (ital.)

*Title and opening call to praise*

<sup>18</sup>For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the *eighth* Sabbath on the tw[enty]-third [of the second month. Psalm the God of all exalted heights all holy ones of] <sup>19</sup>eternity, second among the priests of the interior, the *second* council in the *wondrous dwelling*<sup>a</sup> among seven . . . among all who know] <sup>20</sup>[et]ernity.

*Invocation of angelic princes and priesthoods*

And exalt Him, O chiefs of princes with the portion of(!)<sup>b</sup> His wonders. Psalm [the God of gods, O seven priesthoods of His interior. . .] <sup>21</sup>exaltation, seven wondrous borders by the laws of His sanctuaries <<chiefs of princes of [a wondrous] prie[sthood]>><sup>c</sup> of Melchizedek<sup>d</sup> . . . sanctuaries of] <sup>22</sup>seven<sup>e</sup> prie[st-]hoods] in a wondrous sanctuary for seven holy councils [. . .] <sup>23</sup>the officer, the angels of the King in the wondrous dwellings and the knowledge of their understanding for seven[. . .] <sup>24</sup>chief [. . .] from the priest of the interior and the chiefs of the congregation of the King in the assembly of [. . .] <sup>25</sup>and exalted praises to the King of glory and greatness of [G]o[d . . .] <sup>26</sup>to the God of gods, the pure King and the contribution of their tongues ..[. . .] <sup>27</sup>seven mysteries of knowledge in the wondrous mystery of the seven [most] hol[y] borders [. . .]

*The ascending praises of the seven secondary princes*

[And the tongue of the first will become mighty sevenfold by means of the tongue of the one second to him; and the tongue of his second<sup>8</sup> will become mightier] <sup>28</sup>sevenfold than the one third [to him; and the ton[gue of the thi]rd will become] mightier sevenfo[ld than the one fourth to him; and the tongue of the fourth will become mighty sevenfold by means of the tongue of the one fifth to him; and the tongue of the fifth will become mighty sevenfold by means of the tongue of] <sup>29</sup>the one sixth to him; and the tong[ue of the sixth will become mighty sevenfold by means of the] to[n]gue of the seventh to him and by means of the tongue of the seventh will become mighty<sup>f</sup> . . . holiness of the sanctuary of . . .] <sup>30</sup>and according to the sevenfold w[ords of . . .] <sup>31</sup>with wondrous psalms, with [wo]ndrous wor[ds . . .] <sup>32</sup>wonder. BLANK

*A summary of the psalms of the seven secondary princes*

[Psalm of] blessing by [the tongue of the first . . .] <sup>33</sup>wonder and psalming to the Lord of all god[s of . . .] <sup>34</sup>the chief of His wonders for great psalming[. . .] <sup>35</sup>for the ones who enlighten knowledge among all gods of light[. . .] <sup>36</sup>praises [by] the tongue of the fourt[h . . .] <sup>37</sup>wonder. P[salm of thanksgiving by] the t[ongue of the fifth . . .] <sup>38</sup>thanks[givings . . .] <sup>39</sup>Ps[alm of . . .] <sup>40</sup>[. . .] <sup>41</sup>[. . .] <sup>42</sup>[. . .] <sup>43</sup>[. . .] <sup>44</sup>[. . .] <sup>45</sup>[. . .] dwellin[gs . . .] <sup>46</sup>[. . .] with se[ven . . .] <sup>47</sup>[. . .] . . .[. . .] <sup>48</sup>[. . .]..[. . .]

Notes

<sup>a</sup>במעון The reading is במעוני, "in wondrous dwellings," in 4Q405 8-9:3 and probably in 11Q17 ii:5.

<sup>b</sup>במנה As it stands the text says "with the portion." Perhaps emend to במנת, as in the translation.

<sup>c-c</sup> The surviving words are marked for deletion with supralinear dots in 4Q403 1i:21 but not in 4Q405 8-9:5. It cannot be determined how many if any words in the lacuna in 4Q403 were marked for deletion.

<sup>d</sup>למלך י צדק The surviving text is from 11Q17 ii:7. It is tempting to restore the name Melchizedek (cf. Ps 110:4; 4Q401 22:2-3), but other restorations are possible, for example, [למלך הכבוד], "of the King [of glory]," or [למלך וות], "of the king[dom of . . .]."

<sup>e</sup>The corresponding text of 4Q405 8-9:7 reads something different from "seven," but the word is badly damaged and cannot be deciphered.

<sup>f-f</sup>This passage is very difficult. I have taken לו, "to him," to indicate the order of the appearance of the various tongues with reference to the first (dative of respect); the preposition -ב, "by means of," to indicate means or instrument (this word cannot denote accompaniment); and the preposition מן, "than," to indicate comparison. The

result is not entirely consistent or satisfactory, but it appears at least to make sense grammatically.

[מ]שני<sup>1</sup> From the context one would expect “the second” (השני or המשנה).

### Commentary

Line 19. This line hints that Song VIII relates the various praises and blessings of the seven secondary princes, although the identity of the praising angels does not become explicit in the surviving fragments until we reach the blessings of the “wondrous secondary princes” in 4Q405 13.

Line 21. Presumably the “seven wondrous borders” are the same as the “seven [most] hol[y] borders” (line 27) and have some relationship with the “seven priesthoods of His interior” (line 20) and the “seven holy councils” (line 22), the “seven exalted holy (places)” (VII 4Q403 1ii:11), and are to be taken as a feature of the celestial cosmography. An angelic border is also mentioned in I 4Q400 1i:13, although any connection with this passage is less certain.

This line includes one of the three possible occurrences of the name Melchizedek in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (the other two are in 4Q401 11:3; 22:3). Unfortunately, all three are badly damaged and the readings are uncertain, but, nevertheless, a good case can be made that the celestial warrior-priest had a place in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. See the “Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition” at the end of this chapter.

Line 24. The phrase “from the priest of the interior” is found only here (although “priests of the interior” appears elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*; e.g., I 4Q400 1i:8), and it seems to single out a particular angelic priest. Given the context, it may be that we should tie the phrase to the possible reference to Melchizedek in line 21.

Line 27. The “mysteries of knowledge” are also mentioned in IQS iv:6; various permutations of the “wondrous mystery” (all in the plural) occur in II 4Q401 14ii:2; IQS ix:18; xi:5; IQH<sup>a</sup> v:8; ix:21; x:13; xii:27-28; xv:27; and xix:10.

Lines 27-29. Although the grammar is somewhat obscure, this passage appears to state that the praise of each successive secondary prince resounds seven times louder than that of his predecessor. The idea is similar to the description of the praise offered by the many myriad chariots in the seven heavenly palaces in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §§554-55 (see the commentary to VII 4Q403 1ii:15).

Line 32. The blank space in this line appears to block off a new, and unfortunately poorly preserved, section of the song (approximately lines 32b-48 + 4Q405 12, 64-67 + 11Q17 iii), which mentions a series of psalms recited by seven beings, again presumably the seven secondary chief princes.

Lines 37-38. The word translated “thanksgiving(s)” could also be translated “confession(s).”

### 4Q405 12 (= 4Q403 1ii:32-34?)

<sup>1</sup>[with the t]ongue [. . . the . . . of] <sup>2</sup>wonder [. . .] <sup>3</sup>and he makes great [. . .]  
<sup>4</sup>Psalms of [. . .] <sup>5</sup>[. . .][. . .]

### 11Q17 iii + 4Q405 64 + 67 (= 4Q403 1ii:40-44?)

<sup>3</sup>[. . . of His won]der, <sup>a</sup> melody of power to [. . .] <sup>4</sup>[. . .] His [won]ders to bless  
[. . . with seven m]elodies of won[der . . .] <sup>5</sup>[. . .] seven psalms of bl[essings . . .  
sev]en psa[lms of greatness] <sup>6</sup>[. . .] psalms of exal[tation . . . seven . . .] <sup>7</sup>[. . .] His  
[won]ders [. . .] <sup>8</sup>[. . .] seven by se[ven . . .] <sup>9</sup>[. . .] L]ord of a[l] g[ods . . .] <sup>10</sup>[. . .]  
the interior in a dwel[ling . . .] <sup>11</sup>[. . .] wonder to bless[. . .] <sup>12</sup>[. . . wo]nder [and]  
blessing to [. . .] <sup>13</sup>[. . .][. . .]

#### Note

אוי [פל] One could also read א' [פל], “[wond]ers of.”

### 4Q405 66

<sup>1</sup>[. . .] with seven[. . .] <sup>2</sup>[. . .] and they glorify [. . .] <sup>3</sup>[. . . sev]en eternal[. . .]  
<sup>4</sup>[. . .][. . .] . . . [ . . .]

### 4Q405 13<sup>a</sup>

*A fragment of the sevenfold blessings of the seven secondary princes*

<sup>1</sup>[. . .][. . .] [wondrous] <sup>2</sup>[words and he blesses] all the god[s who draw near to  
His faithful knowledge with seven wor]ds of goodness for His glorious mercies.  
BLANK

[The fif]th among the wondrous <sup>3</sup>[secondary] prin[ces] shall bless in the  
name of [His wonders all who know the mysteries of . . .] purity with seven  
words of exalted purity, [and] he blesses all who rush after <sup>4</sup>His faithful [favo]r

with seven [wondrous] wor[ds,] and he blesses all [who give thanks] to Him with seven words of His glorious effulgence.

The sixth among the wondrous secondary <sup>5</sup>[prin]ces shall bless in the name of mig[hty acts of gods all m]ighty ones of insight with eternal knowledge, with seven words of His wondrous mighty acts. <sup>6</sup>[And he bl]esses all whose way is sound [with seven words of . . . wonder as a continu]al sacrifice with all coming ages, and he blesses [al]l [who wait] for [Him] with se[ven] <sup>7</sup>[wondrous] [w]ord[s for a restorati]on of [His merciful acts of kindness . . .] [And the seventh among] the [wondrous] seco[ndary] princes [ . . .]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>This passage corresponds to VI 4Q403 1i:18-23, the blessings of the chief princes, which helps us restore the text of this fragment. See the commentary to the former passage for additional discussion of the readings and meaning of the passage.

## Commentary

Lines 2-3, 4-5, 7. The “wondrous secondary princes” may be compared to the “secondary priests” mentioned alongside the high priest in the HB (2 Kgs 23:4; 25:18 // Jer 52:24; cf. 1QM ii:1; 11Q19 xxxi:4-5) and to the chiefs and their seconds in the tribe of Gad (1 Chron 5:12) and among the levitical singers (1 Chron 15:18; 16:5) and the Levites (2 Chron 31:12).

Line 4. The restored phrase “who give thanks” could also be translated “who confess.”

4Q404 11<sup>a</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[ . . . ] with seven[ . . . ] <sup>2</sup>[ . . . ]. with sevenfold[ . . . ] <sup>3</sup>[ . . . ]. for glory [ . . . ] <sup>4</sup>[ . . . ]knowledge [ . . . ]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>This fragment has a few words that may have come from the praises and blessings in Song VIII.

## Song IX

(11Q17 iv + 4Q405 14-15i; 4Q405 17?)

*Describes the brickwork, vestibules, and entryways leading into the heavenly temple, which are carved with living divinities who offer praises.*

## 11Q17 iv

*The animate celestial architecture<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>3</sup>[ . . . ].[ . . . G]od of gods[ . . . ] <sup>4</sup>[ . . . ]bri[ck]work [ . . . ] vestibules of the ent[rances of . . . ] <sup>5</sup>[to] their glorious [br]icks [ . . . ]. bricks of [ . . . firma]ment <sup>6</sup>wondrous [appea]rances [ . . . ] of pur[ity . . . miss]ions <sup>7</sup>with the effulgence of pra[ises . . . ]in the lik[eness of . . . prai]ses. <sup>8</sup>Divinities [ . . . p]raises (4Q405 14-15i + 11Q17 iv) <sup>1</sup>. . . [sp]irit of glo[ry] . . . <sup>2</sup>. . . wondrous lik[en]ess of mos[t] holy spirit . . . [to]ngue of blessing and from the likeness of <sup>3</sup>. . . [a vo]ice of blessing to the King of exalters,<sup>b</sup> and their wondrous psalm is to the God of gods . . . their colorful . . . and they chant <sup>4</sup>. . . the vestibules of their entrances, spirits of the interior of the holy of holies in . . . eternal . . . <sup>5</sup>[and the like]ness of living divinities is carved on the vestibules of the entrances of the King, shapes of spirit of lights . . . [K]ing, shapes of glorious li[ght], spirits of <sup>6</sup>. . . [in] the midst of adorned spirits are wondrous colorful works, shapes of living divinities . . . [in the in]ner chambers of glory, the construction of <sup>7</sup>the [mo]st holy [sanctuary] in the inner chambers of the King, sha[pes of div]in[ities and from] the likeness of . . . most holy <sup>8</sup>. . . [li]ving [divinities] . . .

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>The beginning of Song IX is lost, but it may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence as follows:

[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the ninth Sabbath on the thirtieth of the second month. Psalm the God of . . .]

<sup>b</sup>מרוממים The translation interprets the form as a Polal participle. One could also take it as a Polal participle and translate “exalted ones.”

*Commentary to 4Q405 14-15 + 11Q17 iv*

Line 4. The "vestibule" was the entryway of the earthly temple (1 Kgs 6:3; 1 Chron 28:11; cf. Ezek 40:48). Perhaps the referent here is the multiple sanctuaries or temples mentioned elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Newsom notes the similarity to "the vestibule of the gate" in Ezekiel's imagined earthly temple (Ezek 40:7, 8, 9, 15; 44:3; 46:2, 8), pointing out that the "prince" is associated with this gate (Ezek 44:3; 46:8) (DJD 11: 332). A vestibule of the temple is also mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 iv:8).

The vestibule of the celestial temple is mentioned in *Sar Torah* §§297-98 in a vision of the "forms" of the temple granted to the men of the restoration before the Second Temple was built. In the *Hekhalot Zutarti* R. Akiva reports that, on his ascent to the heavenly temple, "I put more markings on the entrances of the firmament than on the entrances of my house" (§346); later he hears a heavenly voice proclaim in Aramaic, "Before YHWH made heaven and earth, He established an entrance (?) to the firmament by which to enter and to go out" (§348).

Line 5. Carvings (including of cherubim) were also part of the decoration of Solomon's earthly temple (1 Kgs 6:29, 35; 7:36; Ps 74:6; 2 Chron 3:7) and of Ezekiel's imagined temple (Ezek 41:17-20, 25). Newsom notes that Ps 24:7 inspired the notion of the animate temple praising God.

According to 3 *Enoch*, names of God and the letters of creation are incised with a pen of flame on the throne of glory (39:1; 41:1-3). In the *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the visage of Jacob is incised on the throne of glory, and God kneels over his throne and embraces and kisses this image three times a day at the time of prayer (§164). God also has inscribed the likenesses of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle (cf. Ezek 1:10) on his throne (*Hekhalot Rabbati* §273).

## 4Q405 17

*Celestial spirits and angels<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>[. . .][. . .] <sup>2</sup>[. . .] wonders [ ]...[ ]... <sup>3</sup>[. . .] their [. . .] spirits of knowledge and understanding, truth <sup>4</sup>[. . .] purity, angels of glory with might of <sup>5</sup>[. . .] wondrous acts, angels of ornamentation and spirits of <sup>6</sup>[. . .] in inner chambers of holiness, dwellings of <sup>7</sup>[. . .] works of <sup>8</sup>[. . .] glory <sup>9</sup>[. . .]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>Newsom (*Critical Edition*, 261-64) suggests that a column might have been lost

between 4Q405 15ii-16 and 19, but in DJD 11 she notes that overlaps with the new reconstruction of 11Q17 v-vi in DJD 23 show that there is no room for the postulated missing column, so frag. 19 must come from the column immediately following frags. 15ii-16. The placement of frag. 17 is not certain, but it may well belong to the same column as frags. 15ii-16, in which case it belongs at the end of Song IX or, just possibly, at the beginning of Song X. (Note that most of the first paragraph after the transcription of frag. 17 in DJD 11: 337 has inadvertently been taken from *Critical Edition*, p. 290, unrevised and should be corrected in light of the new reconstruction.)

*Commentary*

Line 4. Compare "angels of glory" with "angel of His glory" (4Q511 20i:2) and "angels of His glory" (4Q511 35:4; cf. *T. Levi* 18:5). "Angels of glory" are also mentioned in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §§564, 582.

## Song X

*(4Q405 15ii-16 + 11Q17 v)*

*Brings us to the rivers of fire, from which the curtain of the inner chamber of the King is visible. Other curtains and inner chambers are mentioned (perhaps belonging with the chariots and thrones referred to later?). The curtains seem to be embroidered with animate shapes who praise God.*

*4Q405 15ii-16 + 11Q17 v:1-6<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>fringe of an edge [. . .] <sup>2</sup>and <sup>b</sup>rivers of fire<sup>b</sup> [. . .][. . .]...[. . .][. . .] <sup>3</sup>appearances of flames of fire[. . .] or]namentation on the curtain of the inner chamber of the King ..[. . .] <sup>4</sup>in the inner chamber of His Presence the colorful [. . .] all incised ..[. . .] shapes of divin[it]ies, their works are <sup>5</sup>glorious from their two sides [. . .]curtains of the wondrous inner chambers and they bless [the God of all . . .] <sup>6</sup>their sides, they shall proclaim [. . .] of wonder inside the scorching heat,<sup>c</sup> the inner chamber [at the exit of the vestibules of . . .] <sup>7</sup>[. . .]forms of wonder [. . .] they [give tha]nks to the King of glo[ry] with a voice of chanting [. . .] <sup>8</sup>[. . .] God . . .[. . .].. all [. . .] (11Q17 v:6-10) <sup>6</sup>[. . .].. and forms [. . .] <sup>7</sup>[. . .]..[. . .] they shall proclaim [. . .] God of god[s. . .] <sup>8</sup>[. . .]eternal thrones [. . .] <sup>9</sup>[. . .] their [sh]apes, cherubi[m of . . .] <sup>10</sup>[. . .]foundations[. . .]

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>The beginning of Song X is lost, but it may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence as follows:

[For the Sage. The song of the holocaust offering of the tenth Sabbath on the seventh day of the third month. Psalm the God of . . .]

<sup>b-b</sup>The translation “and rivers of light” is also possible (vocalizing as אור rather than אור).

<sup>c</sup>I take this word to be the same as יקידה in RH (Jastrow, 591b), which fits the context in lines 2-3 better than “worthy place” (יקרה). The phrase “scorching fire” (אש וקדת) is common in the HL (e.g., 3 Enoch 15:1; 22:4; 26:12; 42:1, 6; 47:4).

## Commentary

Line 1. The meaning of the phrase “fringe of an edge” is unclear, but it is also found in 1QM v:5, 8, referring to ornamentation on a shield and a spear. The plural “fringes” appears in the HB in Deut 22:12 and 1 Kgs 7:17.

Line 2. The phrase “rivers of fire” is part of a long stream of tradition regarding such celestial rivers (Dan 7:10, 1 Enoch 14:19; 17:5; 71:6, etc.). In XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:10 “streams of fire” are mentioned (cf. 4Q204 1viii:1-2). A cosmic river of fire and rivers of fire appear frequently in the HL.

Line 3. The “curtain” (פרוכת) seems to be the heavenly counterpart of the curtain concealing the holy of holies in the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 26:31-33; 36:35; Lev 16:2, 12, 15; 4Q266 5ii:7; 4Q375 1ii:7; 11Q19 vii:13-14) and in Solomon’s temple (2 Chron 3:14). According to *b. Yoma* 72b, this curtain was woven to produce a different figure on each side. This idea may be reflected in the rest of this line and the first part of line 5 (Baumgarten, “The Qumran Sabbath Shirot,” 202). The curtain of the heavenly sanctuary is mentioned (and identified with the flesh of Jesus) in Heb 10:12. In Gnostic myth there is a veil separating the material world and the seven heavens from the higher heavens of the world above (*Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, 4 94:9-10; 95:21-22). That veil may be an echo of the celestial curtain in Jewish tradition.

According to *SH-L* §372, there is a curtain of fire in the heavenly sanctuary. In 3 Enoch 45 (cf. G11 2b:2-4), Metatron shows R. Ishmael the curtain (פרגוד) of the celestial holy of holies, on which are incised the acts of all generations, past, present, and future, until the eschaton. In his ascent to the heavenly temple, R. Akiva reached “the curtain” (פרגוד) after passing the “entrances of the firmament” (*Hekhalot Zutarti* §346 // §673).

Line 4. The door to the nave of the earthly temple was incised with drawings (1 Kgs 6:35).

Line 5. Perhaps the phrase “from their two sides” refers to the two sides of the curtain. Compare Exod 32:15; 1QM v:12; 11Q19 xxxvii:7 (reconstructed).

Line 7. The word translated “they [give tha]nks to” could also be translated “they [con]fess.”

Line 8. Given the broken context, the word translated “God” (restored from 11Q17 v:6) could also be translated “divinities.”

## Commentary to 11Q17 v:6-10

Line 8. An “eternal throne” of God is mentioned in *Massekhet Hekhalot* §4.11.

## Song XI

(4Q405 18 + 20i; 4Q405 19 + 11Q17 vi;  
4Q405 20ii-21-22:1-5 + 11Q17 vii:1-7)

*Describes the living spirits engraved in the floor of the inner chambers, which may be part of the nave of the heavenly temple. The throne room is visible: the throne is mentioned, along with the priests of the interior, a seat like God’s throne, multiple chariots with seats, and cherubim and ophannim.*

4Q405 18 + 20i

*Angelic actions and praise in the (or an) inner chamber<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>[. . .]spirits[. . .]righteousness <sup>2</sup>[. . .]to support holy ones. The inner chamber of [. . .] their [wond]ers <sup>3</sup>[. . .]holy ones with a spirit of quiet of divinit[ies . . .]their glory <sup>4</sup>[. . .]i[nn]e[r]c[h]a[m]ber, they hurry at the voice of the glor[y . . .] <sup>5</sup>[. . .]wondrous [ps]alms with a quiet vo[ice . . .] <sup>6</sup>[. . .].[. . .]... [ . . . ]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>The beginning of Song XI is lost, but it may be reconstructed with a high degree of confidence as follows:





on their heads the living creatures wear crowns made of luminaries (*SH-L* §184); and at the gate of the sixth palace the angel DWMY'L sits "on a bench of pure stone in which is the splendor of the luminaries of the firmament in the (passage on) the creation of the world" (*Hekhalot Rabbati* §233). According to *Massekhet Hekhalot* §10.4, countless luminaries are set in the gates of the palaces of the seventh firmament.

According to *Hekhalot Zutarti* §408, when the mystic arrives at the entry to the sixth celestial palace he finds that

The sixth palace appears as though a hundred thousand of thousands and thousands and myriads and myriads of waves of the sea splash onto him. But there is not really even one drop of water; rather it is the splendorous atmosphere of the pure alabaster stones that are paved in the palace, which is a splendor more fearsome than water. And do not the attendants stand opposite him? And if he says, "What is the nature of these waters?" at once they run after him and say to him, "Fool! From now on you shall not see a vision with your eyes!"

The angels then batter the hapless mystic with iron axes. David Halperin has pointed out that there is a persistent tradition of the floor of the heavenly palace being paved with ice (*1 Enoch* 14:10; *Rev* 4:6; 15:2; *Life of Adam and Eve* 29:2; *Ps.-Philo* 26:8), evidently based on a combined exegesis of *Exod* 15:8 and *Ezek* 1:22. He suggests that this ice is the waters of chaos that opposed God at creation and that lapped up to the throne of God until he froze them solid. Thus the angels in the *Hekhalot Zutarti* are alarmed by the mystic's mention of water because it seems to imply, so to speak, that the cosmic refrigeration system has broken down, and they punish him for his blasphemous misstatement (Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot*, 93-100, 231-38, 247-49). It may be that the "h[ol]y, wondrous plates" are related to this tradition. Compare the "most pure firmament" of the sanctuary in *VII 4Q403* 1i:42 and the "firmament(s) of wonder" in *XI 4Q405* 19:3 and *XII 11Q17* viii:5-6. According to *Massekhet Hekhalot* §9.1, the surface of the Arboth (seventh) firmament is made of precious stones and glowing coals.

Line 6. Bricks and brickwork are also mentioned in a fragmentary context in *IX 11Q17* iv:4-5. The inspiration for the brickwork seems to be *Exod* 24:10 (cf. *Ezek* 1:22; 10:1), the only place in the HB that mentions bricks in the heavenly realm. The brickwork in *Exod* 24:10 is under God's feet, which supports the other evidence that the floor of the nave of the temple is being described. A much more ancient antecedent to the tradition of brickwork in the celestial temple is found in the Ugaritic Baal cycle (thirteenth century BCE), which mentions "bricks" (*lbnt*)

among the construction materials for Baal's celestial temple (Smith, "Biblical and Canaanite Notes," 587).

Line 7. Angels of holiness are also mentioned elsewhere in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and often in the QL. The paradoxical idea of the quiet stillness of the heavenly liturgy alluded to in this line appears repeatedly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (*I 4Q400* 1ii:11; *XI 4Q405* 18 + 20i:3, 5; *XII 4Q405* 20ii-21-22:7, 8, 12, 13; *4Q401* 16:2) as well as in *Rev* 8:1. The phrase echoes the "light, quiet voice" of *1 Kgs* 19:12, but other biblical references to the silence of the temple are probably also behind the idea (*Hab* 2:20; *Zech* 2:17). According to *Aristeas* 92, 95, the priests in the earthly temple ministered in silence. Allusions to *1 Kgs* 19:12 in the context of the silence of the heavenly sanctuary also occur in the HL (e.g., *SH-L* §§187, 369; *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §§552-53). See also the commentary to *XII 4Q405* 20ii-21-22:6-14.

### 11Q17 vii:1-2

#### *The celestial chariotry and its entourage*

<sup>1</sup>[. . .][. . .] <sup>2</sup>[. . .]. His Presence[. . .]above the height of the throne [. . .] (*4Q405* 20ii-21-22:1-5 + *11Q17* vii:3-8) <sup>1</sup>[they do not delay when they stand . . . inne]r chambers of all priests of the interior [. . .] <sup>2</sup>by I[aw they are] steadfast to at[tend to . . .] a seat like the throne of His kingdom in [His inner chambers of glory. They do not sit . . .] <sup>3</sup>the chariots of His glory . . . holy cherubim, ophannim of light in the inn[er chamber . . . spirits of divinities . . . purity . . .] <sup>4</sup>holiness, workmanship of [its] corn[ers . . .] dominions of seats of glory of chariot[s . . . wings of knowledge . . . wondrous might,] <sup>5</sup>truth and etern[al] righteousness [. . .] the chariots of His glory when they go to [. . . they do not turn to any . . . they go straight to . . .]

#### *Commentary to 4Q405 20ii-21-22:1-5 + 11Q17 vii:3-8*

Line 1. The word "when they stand" also appears in *Ezek* 1:21.

Line 2. The phrase "the throne of His kingdom" is found in *Esther* 1:2; 5:1 (cf. *1 Chron* 28:5; *2 Chron* 7:18; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 73:1) and in *Massekhet Hekhalot* §6.1, and "a throne of an eternal kingdom" is mentioned in *4Q251* 2ii + 4:7. A single throne is also mentioned in *XI 11Q17* vii:2 and *XII 4Q405* 20ii-21-22:8 (for multiple thrones, see under *XII 4Q405* 23i:3).

God's throne is seen in visions in the HB in *1 Kgs* 22:19; *Isa* 6:1; *Ezek* 1:26;

10:1 and is mentioned frequently in other contexts (e.g., Isa 66:1; Dan 7:9). Elsewhere in the QL, mention of the divine throne survives in Enoch's visions in 4Q202 1iii:15 (1 *Enoch* 9:4) and 4Q204 1viii:27 (1 *Enoch* 18:8).

The phrasing here is suggestive: "a seat *like* the throne of His kingdom" implies the enthronement of another figure (perhaps Melchizedek? cf. Ps 110:1) or figures (such as the chief princes of Song VI; note the multiple seats associated with chariots in line 4). This seated being is contrasted with the other angels who do not sit, in accordance with the rabbinic tradition that angels are unable to sit down (e.g., *b. Hag.* 15a; *Gen. Rab.* 65.21). Inasmuch as multiple thrones and chariots are mentioned in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, perhaps the gist of the phrase "they do not sit" is that lesser angels do not sit down, with the implication that greater ones do.

Line 3. Given the rabbinic association of Ezekiel 1 and Ps 68:18 with the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai at the Festival of Weeks, it is interesting that Song XI, recited on the day before this festival, has a number of allusions to Ezekiel 1 and mentions heavenly chariots at least three times. "Holy cherubim" are mentioned in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §§593, 594. Compare the "ophannim of light" here to the "ophannim of light" (the Hebrew is slightly different) in *Hekhalot Zutarti* §411.

Line 4. The HB mentions angelic wings in Isa 6:2 (of the seraphim); Ezek 1:6, 8, 9, 11, 24-25; 3:13 (of the four living creatures); 10:5, 8, 12, 16, 19, 21; 11:22 (of the cherubim, identified in Ezekiel 10 with the living creatures); and Zech 5:9? (of two women in a vision), as well as the wings of the cherubim in the earthly sanctuary (Exod 25:20; 37:9; 1 Kgs 6:24, 27; 8:6-7; 2 Chron 3:11-13; 5:7-8). Winged angels also appear, for example, in Rev 4:8; 2 *Enoch* 3:1; 16:7; 19:6; 21:1; *Apoc. Elijah* 5:2; *T. Adam* 1:4, 10. The phrase "they go [st]raight" (11Q17 vii:7) echoes Ezek 1:7, 23.

Line 5. The Hebrew infinitive form translated "when they go" also appears in Ezek 1:9, 12, 17, 21, 24; 10:11. Note also the various other uses of the verbal root "to go" in Ezek 1:9-21 and 10:11-16.

## Song XII

(4Q405 20ii-21-22:6-14 + 11Q17 vii:7-14; 11Q17 viii; 4Q405 23i)

*After the call to praise, this song describes Sabbath worship in the heavenly tabernacle, drawing heavily on Ezekiel's merkavah vision. Various kinds of angels bless and move around the throne-chariot above the firmament of the cherubim and streams of fire. Other chariots and thrones are mentioned. Angelic troops array themselves and elements of the architecture of the temple are described, including the animate entrances and exits that bless and psalm all the angels who are sent out through them on missions.*

4Q405 20ii-21-22:6-14 + 11Q17 vii:7-14

*Title and opening call to praise*

<sup>6</sup>For the Sa[ge. The song of the holocaust offering of] the twelfth [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of the third month. Psalm the God of] <sup>7</sup>[won]drous [years] and exal[t] Him [ac]c[or]di[ng] to the glory in the tabernac[le of . . .]<sup>a</sup> knowledge.

*Angelic praise in the celestial throne room*

The [cheru]bim fall before Him<sup>b</sup> and they b[le]ss when they raise themselves. A voice of quiet of God <sup>8</sup>[is heard] and tumult of chanting; at the rising of their wings, a voice of [quie]t of God.<sup>c</sup> They are blessing a structure of a throne-chariot above the firmament of the cherubim <sup>9</sup>[and] they chant [the efulge]nce of the firmament of light <<from>> from beneath His glorious seat, and when the ophannim go, the angels of holiness return. They go out from(!) between<sup>d</sup> <sup>10</sup>His [w]heels of glory. Like the appearance of fire are most holy spirits all around, an appearance of streams of fire in a likeness of *hashmal*, and workmanship of <sup>11</sup>[br]ightness with colorful glory, wondrously dyed, purely(!)<sup>e</sup> salted. Spirits of living [di]vinities go about constantly with the glory of [the] chariots of <sup>12</sup>wonder, and a quiet voice of blessing is with the tumult of their going, and they psalm (with) holiness<sup>f</sup> in the returning of their ways; when they raise themselves they exalt wondrously. And when (they) settle<sup>g</sup> <sup>13</sup>they [sta]nd. A voice of joyous chanting grows silent and the qui[et of] a blessing of God is in all the camps of the divinities [and] a voice of prais[es] <sup>14</sup>[. . .] [ ] from be-

tween all their divisions on [their] side[s . . . and] all their mustered (troops) chant, ea[c]h in [his] stati[on].

## BOTTOM MARGIN?

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>במשכָּן] Perhaps restore ["the God of"] ([אלוהי]; cf. II 4Q400 2:8 and Rev 13:6) with Newsom, or ["all gods of"] ([כול אלי]; cf. VII 4Q403 1i:30-31), or ["those who draw near to"] ([קרובי]; cf. I 4Q400 1i:6).

<sup>b</sup>Taking לפניו as a shortened spelling of לפניו, "before Him." One could also read the word as לפני, "before," in which case the phrase should be translated "they fall before the cherubim." But see the commentary to line 7 below.

<sup>c</sup>Newsom ("Merkabah Exegesis") has shown that lines 7-8 rest on an exegesis of Ezek 3:12-13 with the help of 1 Kgs 19:12, using the argument from analogy (*gezerah shawah*) known from rabbinic exegesis. On the basis of the widely accepted postulate that Ezek 3:12 originally read "when the glory of YHWH rose from its place" (ברום כבוד יהוה ממקומו) instead of the benediction "Blessed be the glory of YHWH from His place" (ברוך כבוד יהוה ממקומו) in the MT, she proposes that these lines interpret both variants: the wings of the cherubim raise themselves (ברום; cf. Ezek 10:17), but they also produce a "voice" (קול) of blessing, the same sound as the "voice of a great earthquake" generated by the cherubic wings according to Ezek 3:12-13, but reinterpreted in the light of 1 Kgs 19:12, which replaces the theophanic earthquake with a "light, quiet voice."

One paragraph in the HL (*SH-L* §370) meditates on Ezek 3:12 in light of 1 Kgs 19:11, tying the earthquake in the former to the earthquake, wind, and fire in the latter and identifying the earthquake and wind with the sound of many waters mentioned in Ezek 1:24 (cf. Exod 15:10). It deduces that the living creatures fly because they are made of fire, which is lighter than wind. The fire is also associated with the fiery throne and river of fire in Dan 7:9-10. The conclusions differ from those of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, but the method of interpretation is similar.

<sup>d</sup>Emending ומבין ("and from between") to מבין, even though the former reading is found in both 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9 and 11Q17 vii:12. The word echoes the word מבינות, which in Ezek 10:2, 6 has the same meaning.

<sup>e</sup>Emending טוהר to טוהר with Newsom. For the phrase "purely salted," see the commentary to XI 4Q405 19:4.

<sup>f</sup>קודש An abstract noun used here adverbially, not "the Holy One," which would be the adjective קדוש.

<sup>g</sup>בשוכן Probably a Qal infinitive construct from a root meaning "to settle" or "to abide, dwell" (שכַּן), related to the word "tabernacle" (משכן). For the form compare *HDSS* 200.24; 311.15. This verb often has the technical meaning of God settling or dwelling in his sanctuary on earth (e.g., Exod 25:8; Deut 12:5). As Newsom notes, this word is clearly derived from Ps 68:19 (לשכן; cf. v. 17). Verses 17-20 also mention divine chariotry and the blessing of God, important themes in Song XII. The echo of Psalm 68 is further evidence of its early exegetical use in association with the Festival of Weeks.

## Commentary

Lines 6-14. The Sabbath on the twenty-first of the third month would be the one following the Festival of Weeks, which took place on the fifteenth. Like Song XI, this song shows a strong interest in scriptural themes associated with the Festival of Weeks in rabbinic tradition, including exegesis of Ezekiel 1 and Psalm 68 and mention of divine chariots.

Song XII (and to some degree Song XIII) have many parallels to the Hekhalot traditions about the Youth (הנער), the celestial high priest, which appear in various forms and contexts in *SH-L* §§384-99 and parallels. The term "Youth" itself may be a title for a priestly attendant (cf. Exod 33:11; 1 Sam 3:1). The cosmographic opening of this passage describes a field of stars and lighting (cf. 1 *Enoch* 14:11, 17) with doors of *hashmal* (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:10), and it also mentions seal rings bearing the faces of the four living creatures of Ezekiel 1. The bands of angels stand before the Youth, who prostrates himself before God. Blessings are offered to God, including the benediction in Ezek 3:12 (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:7-8), and the Youth goes beneath the throne of glory (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9) accompanied by a storm. The Youth is identified with Metatron and the prince of the Presence and is associated with twelve engraved stones "in the innermost chambers" reserved for Moses, which may have something to do with the high priestly breastpiece in the holy of holies (cf. XIII 11Q17 ix:6). One living creature descends upon the "tabernacle of the Youth" (cf. VII 4Q403 1ii:10; XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:7) and speaks in a "light, quiet voice" (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:7, 12) while the ophanim and angels are silent (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9) and other angels rush into the river of fire (cf. X 4Q405 15ii-16:2; XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:10). The Youth places "deafening fire" into the ears of the living creatures to protect them when he recites the divine name. We are told that in "the camps of the holy ones" (cf. XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:13) they call him Metatron, followed by a long string of magical nonsense words that are summarized as "his great name that was transmitted to Moses on Sinai," and from Moses to Joshua and the succession of elders and prophets down to Hillel, when it was lost until R. Abbahu came. (Note the allusion to the revelation at Sinai, a theme associated with the Festival of Weeks.) A quotation from Ps 68:18 supports the assertion that the Youth is prince over all the angelic princes and stands before "Him who is exalted over all gods above, on high." He goes beneath the throne of glory in a storm theophany, and we are told that his body is like the rainbow described in Ezek 1:27-29. For additional details, see Davila, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Merkavah Mysticism."

Gnostic myth presents a similar picture of the heavenly realm created by

the demiurge Yaldabaoth, a realm that contains multiple heavens, great glories, thrones, mansions, temples, chariots, virgin spirits, angelic armies, and attending angels (*Orig. World* NHC II, 5 102:11-24). In addition, his offspring, the repentant archon Sabaoth, is given control of the seventh heaven, in which he creates a mansion and before it a throne built on "a four-faced chariot called 'Cherubin'" or "Cherubim" in the form of Ezekiel's living creatures, and surrounds it with singing, ruling, and attending angels (*Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, 4 95:19-30; *Orig. World* NHC II, 5 104:31-105:12). Jesus Christ also sits on a throne in the eighth heaven, served and glorified by spirits and armies of angels (*Orig. World* NHC II, 5 105:26-106:11).

Line 7. The absolute use of the term "glory" for the divine presence is quite unusual. The "great glory" appears in heaven in *1 Enoch* 14:20; 102:3; *T. Levi* 3:4; *Ascen. Isa.* 9:37, but I am unaware of another text that refers without qualification to "the glory" for the divine presence. The normal corresponding term in the HB is "the glory of YHWH." For the association of the glory with the tabernacle, see *Exod* 40:35 and *Ps* 26:8. The glory of YHWH fills the temple in *1 Kgs* 8:10-11 // *2 Chron* 5:13-14; *Ezek* 43:4-5; 44:4; *2 Chron* 7:1. For a discussion of the history of the term "glory" in the biblical and postbiblical tradition, see Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology*.

The only other mention of a tabernacle preserved in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is the phrase "the tabernacle of the exalted chief" in VII 4Q403 1ii:10, which I have interpreted as a reference to the cult overseen by the angelic high priest, perhaps Melchizedek. That tabernacle may or may not be the same as this one; the nature of the latter is obscure because of the loss of the next word. See note a above for possible restorations. It may be either an angelic tabernacle, perhaps the same one as that mentioned in Song VII, or the tabernacle of God Himself in the celestial holy of holies. However, a separate heavenly tabernacle of God is not mentioned in the HL.

Compare the phrase "the [cheru]bim fall before Him" to *Rev* 4:10. As pointed out in note b, it is possible to translate "they fall before the cherubim," but it is extremely unusual for angels to accept the veneration of other angels in Second Temple Jewish literature. Note, however, that later on in the *Hekhalot Rabbati* the angel Anaphiel, who is one of the guardians of the seventh palace and who holds the seal-ring of heaven and earth, does receive veneration from other angels (§§241-42; cf. *3 Enoch* 18:18). For more on Anaphiel, see Dan, "Anaphiel, Metatron, and the Creator."

The phrase "a voice of quiet of God" (also line 8) echoes the description of the revelatory voice in *1 Kgs* 19:12.

Line 8. The beginning of the line is restored on the basis of *Ezek* 10:5. The phrase "at the rising of their wings" echoes *Ezek* 3:12 (see above). The HL refers

frequently to the wings of Ezekiel's living creatures (e.g., *3 Enoch* 21:1-3; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §97; *SH-L* §§189, 368, 370; *Ma'aseh Merkavah* §596) or the cherubim (note especially *3 Enoch* 22:13, which may also echo the variant in *Ezek* 3:13).

The phrase "a structure of a throne-chariot" does not occur in the HB. Ezekiel mentions the throne of God but does not use the word "chariot," although Ben Sira (*Sir* 49:8) ties Ezekiel's vision to the chariot, and Second Ezekiel (4Q385 4:6) refers to the chariot in the context of the vision in Ezekiel 1. The phrase "the structure of the chariot" is associated with the golden cherubim located in the holy of holies according to *1 Chron* 28:18. Compare also the reference to the "chariotry of God" in *Ps* 68:18 and to God making "the clouds His chariot" in *Ps* 104:3. The throne in *1 Enoch* 14:18 and *Dan* 7:9 is equipped with wheels, a feature that seems to presuppose the identification of the throne with the chariot. The throne-chariot is also mentioned in *3 Enoch* 46:2 and in the Gnostic treatises *Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, 4 95:19-30; *Orig. World* NHC II, 5 104:31-105:12.

Lines 8-9. The cosmography of this passage is difficult. It is unclear whether the "firmament of the cherubim" (cf. *Ezek* 10:1) is the same as the "firmament of light" (cf. *Exod* 24:10 and *Ezek* 1:22). The throne-chariot appears to be situated on the firmament of the cherubim (cf. *2 Apoc. Bar.* 59:3). Perhaps the name of this firmament implies that the cherubim dwell beneath the throne and on top of the firmament. The firmament of light may be the ceiling of the celestial throne room. The *Hekhalot Rabbati* places another firmament above the cherubim, ophanim, and living creatures (§100), and *1 Enoch* 14:17 associates the ceiling of the heavenly temple with stars and lightning.

Line 9. Apparently the cherubim sing praises from beneath the throne of God. In *Rev* 16:17-18; 19:5; 21:3 a voice from the throne is heard; in *Rev* 9:13-14 a voice speaks from the four horns of the golden altar; and in *Rev* 19:5 and 21:3 the throne of God itself appears to speak. These voices could also be those of the four living creatures (the equivalents of the cherubim in Revelation), who, according to *Rev* 4:6, are found both "in the midst of" and "surrounding" the throne (cf. *Hekhalot Rabbati* §§98, 173; *SH-L* §189; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 51:11; *Apoc. Abr.* 18, according to which they dwell under the throne). Compare also "His glorious seat" with "Your worthy seat" in 4Q286 1ii:1. The phrase "and when the ophanim go" echoes *Ezek* 1:17, 19.

Line 10. The word "wheels" (*galgalim*) is a different Hebrew word from "ophannim," but is identified with the latter in *Ezek* 10:2, 6, 13. It is not clear whether in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* *galgalim* are the same as ophanim. The former are mentioned frequently in the HL in association with the throne of glory (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* §§94, 154; G16 1b:3; *Massekhet*

*Hekhalot* §17.1) or the chariot (e.g., *3 Enoch* 15:1; 19:2-7; 41:2; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §160; *SH-L* §182; *Massekhet Hekhalot* §23.2). Sometimes they are identified with the ophanim (e.g., *SH-L* §373), but sometimes the two types of wheels are distinguished (e.g., *3 Enoch* 19:7; *SH-L* §182).

The phrase “like the appearance of fire” echoes Ezek 1:13, 27; 8:2. For “streams of fire,” see the commentary to X 4Q405 15ii-16:2.

The word *hashmal* appears in the HB only in the phrase “like *hashmal*” (which could be interpreted to mean “like the eye of *hashmal*”) and only in Ezek 1:4, 27, and 8:2. The phrasing here substitutes “in a likeness of” (cf. Ezek 8:2) for “like.” The *hashmal* is mentioned frequently in the HL, usually in the singular but sometimes in the plural. It seems to be regarded as a type of angelic being or material in the heavenly temple (e.g., *3 Enoch* 36:2; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §258; *Hekhalot Zutarti* §§407, 411; *Massekhet Hekhalot* §7.2-3). The phrase “a likeness of *hashmal*” occurs in *SH-L* §371 (see the commentary to line 11 below).

Lines 10-11. The phrase “workmanship of [br]ightness” evokes the use of the word “brightness” in Ezek 1:4, 13, 27, 28; 10:4. Compare the “brightness of the chariot” in Second Ezekiel (4Q385 4:6).

Line 11. In the HB the noun “dyed material” occurs only in Judg 5:30 (x2), where its plural form refers to clothing. In RH the root means “to dip, to dye” (cloth), and the noun means “dye, color, dyed material” (Jastrow, 1259a). This word also appears in XIII 11Q17 ix:5 and XIII 4Q405 23ii:8, 9; 4Q405 49:2. Except for the last passage, whose context is broken, the word always appears within a line or two of the phrase “purely salted.” In a description of the heavenly throne room in the HL with many similarities to the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, we read “Like the likeness of both of them, sapphire and chrysolite, is the likeness of the *hashmal*, like the appearance of the fire, yet not fire but rather like the likeness of flames of fire, something like mixed dyed materials” (*SH-L* §371). The Hebrew word “(they) go about” echoes the phrase “it (antecedent uncertain) was going about” in Ezek 1:13.

Line 12. The phrase “with the tumult of their going” echoes the use of the Hebrew infinitive of the verb “to go” in Ezek 1:9, 12, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24; 10:11, 16.

Line 13. Note the reference to a camp in Ezek 1:24, interpreted by the Tg. Ezek. as “the hosts of the angels on high.”

Line 14. The word “division” is used in Numbers 1-2, 10 to mean the banners or standards of the tribal camps, each tribe being led by a “prince.” In the *War Scroll* the word means something like “military unit,” perhaps because each unit would have had its own flag or standard (1QM iii:6; vi:1, 4, 5; viii:14; ix:4; cf. 4Q252 v:3). The *Temple Scroll* mentions “the princes of the divisions” (11Q19 xxi:5), evidently referring to the leaders of the Israelites in contrast to

the priests and Levites, and divisions are mentioned in lviii:3 as groupings in a census. The word is used of divisions of angels in *3 Enoch* 19:6; *Seder Rabba di Bereshit* §40 (*SH-L* §773); §43 (*SH-L* §776); *Massekhet Hekhalot* §15.4. The word “their mustered (troops),” from Num 2:4, is the same word used of angelic troops in the phrase “mustered armies of princes” in *Massekhet Hekhalot* §15.4.

### 11Q17 viii

#### *Wondrous firmaments and foundations*

2[. . .] wonder, knowledge, and understan[ding . . .]firmaments of wond[er]  
 3[. . .]. with light of lights, effulgence [. . .]every structure of spirits of wond[er]  
 4[. . .]divinities fearsome of strength, all [. . .] their [wond]ers of wonders with  
 the strength of the divinities of <sup>5</sup>[eter]nity and exalting the mighty acts of  
 Go[d . . .] from the four foundations of the firmament of <sup>6</sup>wonder, they  
 pro[cl]aim some of the voice of the oracle of God [. . .]wall,<sup>a</sup> blessing and  
 psalming the God of <sup>7</sup>gods, a tumu[lt . . .] heights[. . .]. the King of glory  
 [. . .]to foundations of wonder <sup>8</sup>for an oracle [. . .]divinities[. . .] and all their  
 supports<sup>b</sup> [. . .]holy of <sup>9</sup>holie[s . . .]. with the orac[le . . .] their [w]ings ..[. . .].  
 head[. . .] <sup>10</sup>and [they] call [. . .]stations[. . .]

#### Note

<sup>a</sup>קיר [One could also reconstruct “[val]uable” (קיר[?]). Compare Jer 31:20 for this form rather than the much more common form קר.

<sup>b</sup>אשיהם This word is not found in BH (although cf. אשיה, “buttress,” BDB, 78b), but it appears in RH (Jastrow, 35b) and QH (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> xi:13; xv:4) with the meaning “foundation.”

#### Commentary

Line 2. Multiple firmaments are mentioned in XII 4Q405 23i:6 (“firma[men]ts of purity”), <sup>7</sup> (“firmaments of His glory”); XIII 11Q17 x:5, 8 — damaged (“firmaments of . . .”); 4Q287 2:6 (“firmaments of holiness”); and 4Q169 1-2:2; VII 4Q405 6:6 // 4Q403 1i:45 — damaged (“firmaments of wonder?”). Multiple heavens also figure in 2 Cor 12:2; *2 Enoch*; *3 Apocalypse Baruch*; *Ascension of Isaiah*; *Testament of Levi*; *Ep. Apos.* 13; *Apoc. Paul* 21; *Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, 4 95:20; *Orig. World* NHC II, 5 102:1-2; 104:15-20, 30. The HL speaks

frequently of seven firmaments, but never with any of the modifiers found in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

Single firmaments are mentioned in VII 4Q403 1i:42 (“the most pure firmament”), 43 (“the chief firmament on high”); VII 4Q404 5:3 // 4Q403 1i:45; IX 11Q17 iv:4; XI 4Q405 19:3; XII 11Q17 viii:5-6 (“firmament of wonder”); XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:8 (“the firmament of the cherubim”), 9 (“the firmament of light”). The relationship between the various firmaments is far from clear. See the introduction and the commentary to the passages cited above.

Line 5. Newsom’s suggestion is plausible that the four foundations are to be associated with the four cherubim beneath the throne (*Critical Edition*, 368). Compare *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3-11. Heavenly foundations are mentioned in *3 Enoch* 22:2 and the “foundations of heaven and earth” in *Sar Panim* §629 (cf. *2 Sam* 22:8).

Line 6. The word translated “oracle” also appears in VII 4Q403 1i:41 but there with the meaning “that which lifts up” or the like. Here the alternative meaning “oracle, utterance,” seems more appropriate (see BDB, 672b). The word may be used in this sense in lines 8-9 and in XII 4Q405 23i:1, 5; 11Q17 x:6; 4Q405 81:3; 1Q27 1i:8; 4Q286 2:1, although the contexts are frequently broken.

#### 4Q405 23i

##### *Celestial thrones, offerings, and portals*

<sup>1</sup>[...] the[ir] oracles [...] <sup>2</sup>[...]when they stand[...]rest [...] <sup>3</sup>[...]«Your» the thrones of the glory of His kingdom and the whole assembly of the attendants of <sup>4</sup>[...] wonder, the divinities of [...] shall not be shaken forever <sup>5</sup>[...] to sustain them, oracles of the whole, for the divinities of His whole offering <sup>6</sup>[...] His whole offering. Divinit[ie]s psalm Him <sup>a</sup>when they [be]gin to stand, <sup>a</sup>and all the s[pirits of] the firma[men]ts of <sup>7</sup>purity rejoice in His glory, and a voice of blessing from all its districts is recounting the firmaments of His glory, and His gates are psalming <sup>8</sup>with a voice of chanting. At the entrances of the gods of knowledge in portals of glory and at all exits of angels of holiness to their realm, <sup>9</sup>the portals of His entrance and the gates of exit proclaim the glory of the King, blessing and psalming all spirits of <sup>10</sup>divinities in exiting and in entering by gat[e]s of holiness. And there is none among them who oversteps a law, nor against the words of <sup>11</sup>the King do they set themselves at all. They do not [ru]n from the way nor do they linger away from His border. They are not too exalted for His missions. <sup>12</sup>They [are] n[o]t abased, for He has mercy in the

realm of the fury of the annihil[ation of] His [wra]th. He does not judge <sup>b</sup>those brought back by His glorious anger. <sup>b</sup> <sup>13</sup>The fear of the King of divinities is fearsome over [a]ll divinities [...] for [a]ll His missions in His true measure. And they go <sup>14</sup>[...].

#### Notes

<sup>a-a</sup>בתחלת עומדם One could also read בתהלת עומדם, “[with the ps]alm of their station,” or בגבולת עומדם, “[in the bord]er of their station.”

<sup>b-b</sup>כבודו־אף כבודו־ב With Qimron, I interpret the first word as a Hophal participle of the root שׁוּב, “to return, turn back” (“Review Article,” 364). A Hophal or Hiphil participle of the root שׁוּב, “to dwell, abide,” is also possible but difficult to make sense of in this context.

#### Commentary

Line 2. The word “when they stand” echoes Ezek 1:21. The word translated “rest” could also be translated “Sabbath.”

Line 3. The phrase “the throne of glory” in Jer 17:21 (cf. Isa 22:23; Jer 14:21) is the closest biblical parallel to “the thrones of the glory of His kingdom” here and “the thrones of His glory” in XIII 11Q17 x:7. God’s throne of glory is found in *1 Enoch* 47:3; 60:2 and is mentioned frequently in the HL. For a throne of glory that seats someone other than God, see Matt 19:28; 25:31 (the Son of Man); *1 Enoch* 55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:29 (the Son of Man/Enoch); *T. Abr.* 8:5, short recension (Adam); 4Q161 8-10:20 (the Davidic messiah).

The origin of the idea of multiple thrones in heaven seems to be Dan 7:9 (“thrones were placed”) and Ps 110:1, which invites the king to sit at God’s right hand. The throne of the divine king is also mentioned in Ps 45:7 (EVV 45:6). These passages were interpreted in the NT to describe the heavenly enthronement of Jesus (Matt 19:28 [with thrones for the twelve apostles]; 25:31; 26:64 // Mark 14:62 // Luke 22:69; Col 3:1; Heb 1:3, 8; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; cf. *Sib. Or.* 2:241-44; *Apoc. Pet.* 6). In Rev 3:21; 7:17; 22:3 Jesus shares the throne with God. Other figures were also thought to sit on heavenly thrones: the Son of Man/Enoch (*1 Enoch* 45:3; 51:3); Adam (*T. Abr.* 11:4-10, long recension); Abel (*T. Abr.* 12:4; 13:2-3, long recension); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*T. Isaac* 2:7); Job (*T. Job* 33:3-7; 41:5); Moses (Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 68-81; Aristobulus [*Praep. Evan.* 12.13.5]); the twenty-four elders (Rev 4:4); unnamed (angelic or glorified human?) judges at the eschaton (Rev 20:4); angels (*Apoc. Zeph.* A [Clement, *Stromata*, 5.11.77]; *Ascen. Isa.* 7:14, 19, 24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35); and exalted human beings (4Q521 2ii + 4:7?; *1 Enoch* 108:12; *Apoc. Elijah* 1:8; 4:29; *Apoc. Paul*



29). In the Self-Glorification Hymn an unnamed human being is exalted to heaven and seated there on a "throne of power" in the assembly of the gods (4Q491<sup>c</sup> 1:5-6).

According to 3 *Enoch* 10 and 16, Enoch was enthroned in heaven at the time when he was transformed into the angel Metatron. After the heretic R. Elisha ben Avuyah saw him and deduced that there must be two powers in heaven, Metatron lost his throne and was forced to stand like the other angels. However, *Sepher HaRazim* indicates that enthronement of angels was accepted in some Jewish circles in late antiquity: the seven overseer angels of the first firmament (I 1-2), the angels who stand on the sixth step in the second firmament (II 93-94), the three officers of the third firmament (III 2-3), and the twelve "princes of glory" (V 4-5) all sit on their own thrones. Likewise, in *Massekhet Hekhalot* §§19, 29 seven angels are seated on seven thrones, while §6.1 refers to "thrones of kingdom." The early rabbinic response to heretics who believed there to be "two powers in heaven" has been ably analyzed by Alan Segal in *Two Powers in Heaven*.

There is also a class of angels called "thrones" (Col 1:16; 2 *Enoch* 20:1 [short recension]; *Apoc. Elijah* 1:11; *T. Abr.* 13:10 ms E; *T. Adam* 4:8; *Apos. Const.* 7.35.3; 8.12.8, 27), but *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* gives no indication that the thrones are animate.

Lines 5-6. In the HB the term translated here as "whole offering" seems to be a synonym for "holocaust offering," a sacrifice in which the complete carcass of the animal was consumed in flames (e.g., Lev 6:15, 16; 1 Sam 7:9; Ps 51:21). This word could also be read as "His crown" (cf. 1QS iv:7-8; 1QSb iv:2; 1QH<sup>a</sup> xvii:25). Angelic crowns appear in ancient apocalypses (Rev 4:4; *Apoc. Zeph.* A [Clement, *Stromata*, 5.11.77]; *T. Abr.* 13:13, short recension; *Zost.* NHC VIII, 1 58:13-24) and the HL (e.g., 3 *Enoch* 12:3; 18:3; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §190), but this interpretation does not make much sense in the present context.

It is striking that terms for material sacrifices are used as though these sacrifices were carried out in the heavenly sanctuary (cf. the commentary to XIII 11Q17 ix:3-4). Compare the sacrificial altar in Rev 6:9-10 (cf. 9:13; 14:18) and the incense in 5:8; 8:3-5; the bloodless propitiatory offerings mentioned in *T. Levi* 3:5-6; and the offering of Christ as a bloody sacrifice in the heavenly holy of holies in Heb 9:11-14. In *Seder Rabba di Bereshit* §39 we read, "And Michael the great prince stands in their midst at their head as high priest, clothed with high-priestly garments, and he offers a pure offering of fire on the altar, and he offers incense on the altar of incense, and he offers a continual sacrifice of flame on the altar." (I have translated the text of *SH-L* §772, but many variants are found in the various manuscripts and editions.) In the *Baraita di Ma'aseh Bereshit* (B 321-24) Michael offers a holocaust offering on the altar of holocaust.

Lines 6-10. Newsom has pointed out that these lines echo the language of Ezek 46:1-10, which describes the comings and goings of the prince and the people through the gates, entrances, and exits of Ezekiel's imagined temple and the offerings of the priest in this temple, including the Sabbath offerings. These echoes support the contention that Song XII describes the heavenly sacrificial cult ("He Has Established for Himself Priests," 112).

Lines 8-9. The word "portal" is used of the earthly temple in Ps 24:7, 9 and appears frequently in the HL for the gates to the seven celestial palaces, which are guarded by fearsome angels (e.g., 3 *Enoch* 18:3-4; *Hekhalot Rabbati* §§206-29).

Lines 10-11. Newsom notes that in BH the word translated "oversteps" means simply "to leap, leap over," but in RH it can mean to skip over a passage when reading the biblical text (Jastrow, 308b). A passage in the HL reports that any angels in the heavenly choir who sing off-key or out of tempo fall into the river of fire and are burned up. But the holy living creatures always keep perfect time (*SH-L* §§186-87).

Line 11. The Hebrew word "angel" means "messenger," and angels are frequently sent on missions to earth in biblical and parabiblical literature (e.g., Dan 9:20-27; 10-12; Luke 1:11-21, 26-38; Tob 12; 4 *Ezra* passim; *Jos. Asen.* 14-17; *Life of Adam and Eve* 25:2).

Line 12. Since the context deals with angels, it appears that the possibility of angelic repentance is entertained. Compare I 4Q400 1i:16 for a similar theme; see also the commentary to 4Q280 2:3-4.

### Song XIII

(11Q17 ix; 4Q405 23ii; 11Q17 x)

*This badly damaged song refers to heavenly sacrifices, the culmination of the Sabbath worship. Chief angels dressed in high-priestly vestments take up their positions. The last preserved bits recapitulate structural elements of the celestial temple.*





units<sup>f</sup> in all [. . .]. [ ] hol[iness . . .] knowledge of His understanding and in the insight of His [gl]ory ...[. . .]

## Notes

<sup>a</sup>קְדוּשָׁה This word seems to be the segholate abstract noun (קְדוּשָׁה or קְדוּשָׁה) rather than the adjectival form (קְדוּשָׁה, pl. קְדוּשִׁים, as in line 6), which would mean “holy ones.” Compare קְדוּשִׁים in I 4Q400 1i:14. The same noun form (קְדוּשָׁה) is found in 4Q401 16:5, but apparently with an adverbial function.

<sup>b</sup>Ophir (here plural, אֹפִירִים; usually singular, אֹפִיר) is the land known for its fine gold in the HB (e.g., 1 Kgs 9:28; Isa 13:12; Ps 45:10; Job 28:16; 1 Chron 29:4) and is used as a name for gold in Job 22:24; 4Q374 4:2?. “Stone of Ophir” (λίθω ἐκ Σουφίρ) may be mentioned in Tob 13:17. An angel is girded with “gold of Ophir” (reading כתם אופיר) in Daniel’s vision in Dan 10:5. The plural form in Hebrew is also found in the Self-Glorification Hymn in the phrase “I will not crown myself with gold, nor the gold of Ophir . . .” (. . . לֹא בָנוּ אֶתְיָ[ר] לִי וְכֹתֵם אֹפִירִים לֹא . . .) (1:11 and 4Q427 7i:12).

<sup>c</sup>מַאֲרֵי [אֹפִירִים] The subject of this Hiphil participle is not entirely clear. It could be the “workmanship of Ophir,” but the apparent plural form of “workmanship” is probably to be construed in the singular, as normally in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (cf. HDSS 100.34). Another possibility is that the subject is the spirits in line 9 (Fletcher-Louis, “Heavenly Ascent,” 392).

<sup>d</sup>מַמְלְכוֹת מַמְלְכוֹת The repetition of this word could be a dittography, but see VI 4Q403 1i:10 for a similar construction.

<sup>e</sup>בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂי כְבוֹדֵי The grammar of this phrase is difficult since the verb “to bless” (בָּרַךְ), when used with God as the direct object, rarely takes the preposition -ב as an adjectival modifier. When it does, the preposition is used in a temporal (e.g., Ps 63:5; 145:2) or locative sense (Ps 26:12; 68:27). I take it here in the common sense of presence in a group, although I cannot find a parallel for this use. A conceivable translation of the phrase is “and they bless the God of knowledge for all the works of His glory,” but the preposition עַל would fit this meaning better (Deut 8:10; although cf. Gen 48:20).

<sup>f</sup>מִסְרֹתָם This seems not to be used in the HB (but cf. מִסְרָת in Ezek 20:37?). However, it is found in IQM iii:3, 12, where it seems to mean military “units,” a meaning that fits the context here. It also occurs in IQS x:4; 4Q204 1i:19 (1 Enoch 2:1); 4Q209 28:2 (1 Enoch 82:10) with the sense of celestial “position” or “station.”

## Commentary

Lines 7, 10. The phrase “woven workmanship” is used of the high-priestly garments in the HB (Exod 28:32; 39:22, 27). Compare XIII 11Q17 ix:7. Fletcher-Louis plausibly suggests that the twelve engraved stones on the breastpiece are to be associated with the colorful spirits in this line and perhaps

with spirits of light in lines 8-10 (“Heavenly Ascent,” 391). Evidently the fabric and the stones of the heavenly breastpieces, like the temple architecture, are animate beings. According to Josephus (*Ant.* §3 214-18) and 4Q376 1ii:1-2, the earthly exemplars of these stones were known to shine with light.

Lines 8-10. Compare the description of the seven angels of the plagues in Rev 15:5-8, who come out of the heavenly “temple of the tent of testimony” (i.e., the tabernacle) wearing pure bright (white) linen and golden girdles. The Great Angel Eleleth has an appearance like fine gold and clothing like snow according to *Hyp. Arch.* NHC II, 4 93:14-15.

Line 9. “And the likeness of the spirit of glory” echoes the language of Ezek 1:28: “it is the appearance of the likeness of the glory of YHWH.” A similar expression, “in the likeness of [Your] glory,” seems to be used of the creation of Adam in 4Q504 8 recto 4.

## 11Q17 x

## Concluding praise of God and summary of the celestial architecture?

<sup>2</sup>[. . .]heights of [His] gl[ory] ..[. . .] His [gl]ory in [. . .] <sup>3</sup>His [rec]om[pe]nses with judgments[. . .]His mercies with the value of [. . .] His [te]stimonies <sup>4</sup>[and] all blessings of peace[ . . . the glo]ry of His works and with lig[ht . . .]... and with the adornment of <sup>5</sup>His praises in all the firma[m]ents of . . .] light and darkness and shapes of[. . .]the holiness of the King of <sup>6</sup>glory for all [His] works of truth [. . .]for <sup>a</sup>the angels of knowledge<sup>a</sup> with all ..[. . .].. oracles of holiness <sup>7</sup>for the thrones of His glory and for the footstool of [His] f[et] . . . the ch[ari]ots of His adornment and for the inner chambers of [His] ho[li]ness . . .].. and for the portals of the entrances of <sup>8</sup>[. . .] with all the exits of [. . .] of its construction and for all .[. . .]for the palaces of His glory, for the firmaments of <sup>9</sup>[. . .]for all ..[. . .]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>מַלְאכֵי הַדַּעְתָּה Compare the “angels of knowledge” (מַלְאכֵי מַדַּע) in *Sepher HaRazim* I 146.

## Unplaced Fragments

## 4Q401 11 (Song V?)

*The angelic priest Melchizedek?*

<sup>1</sup>[...]... <sup>a</sup>[pri]est of priest[s<sup>a</sup>...] <sup>2</sup>[...] <sup>b</sup>divinities of knowledge and pr[iests of b  
...] <sup>3</sup>[...] <sup>c</sup>Melchi]zedek, priest in the assemb[ly of God<sup>c</sup>...] <sup>d</sup>BLANK <sup>e</sup>BLANK<sup>d</sup>

## Notes

<sup>a-a1</sup> reconstruct [כור הֵן כוהני]ם]. Newsom reads the last letter of the first word as final *nun* in *Critical Edition*, 383, but as *waw* in DJD 11: 205. The photograph supports the first reading.

<sup>b-b1</sup> reconstruct [א]לוהי דעת וכ[והני].

<sup>c-c1</sup> [א]ל]ת אל] Reconstructing with Newsom on the basis of 11Q13 ii:10 (cf. 4Q491<sup>c</sup> 1:5; 4Q427 7i:14). The name is probable, given the singular "priest" in this line (elsewhere only in VIII 4Q403 1ii:24).

<sup>d-d</sup>This fragment ends with two unscripted ruled lines. Perhaps they indicate the end of a song.

## Commentary

Lines 1-3. Most if not all of the fragments of 4Q401 seem to come from Songs I-VI. The most likely context for frags. 11 and 22 is Song V, which describes an eschatological "war in heaven" (a phrase associated with the warrior angel Michael in Rev 12:7) in V 4Q402 10. I have argued the case for this placement, which remains speculative, in "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven," especially 262-64. The angel Melchizedek is discussed in detail in the "Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition" at the end of this chapter.

## 4Q401 22 (Song V?)

*Dedication of angelic priests*

<sup>1</sup>[...]holy ones of ..[...] <sup>2</sup>[...] they fill their hands[...] <sup>3</sup>[...] Mel]hize-  
dek<sup>a</sup>[...]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>[מל]כי צדק This restoration is reasonably likely, but others are possible.

## Commentary

Lines 2-3. The idiom "to fill the hands" refers to a ceremony of priestly installation (e.g., Exod 28:41; Lev 8:33; Judg 17:5, 12). In *T. Moses* 10:2 the warrior angel is consecrated by the filling of hands at the eschaton. A similar scenario may be involved here for Melchizedek and the angelic priests, in which case this fragment may belong in Song V before 4Q402 4.

## 4Q401 16 = 4Q402 9 (Songs III-V?)

*Angelic praise and human ignorance<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>[... God of god]s. [They] shall exalt <sup>2</sup>[... th]ey shall proclaim in silence  
<sup>3</sup>[...]holy ones of the interior <sup>4</sup>[... His glor]y. Who understands these things?  
<sup>5</sup>[...]. they praise Him in holiness <sup>6</sup>[...].[...] ]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>These fragments from 4Q401 and 4Q402 have overlapping texts, but there is nothing in either to indicate the exact placement of the passage. Most or all of the fragments of 4Q401 seem to come from Songs I-VI, and all of the fragments of 4Q402 seem to come from Songs III-V.

## Commentary

Line 4. The confession of ignorance is probably a rare aside by the human composer (cf. II 4Q400 2:6-8). Similar sentiments are expressed in the HB (e.g., Ps 19:13; 90:11; 106:2) and the QL (e.g., 1QS xi:22; 4Q381 31:5).

## 4Q401 23 (Songs I-VI?)

*An angelic prince<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>[...] prince of ho[liness ...] <sup>2</sup>[...] heights [...] <sup>3</sup>[...]eternal[...]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>The location of this fragment is unknown, but most or all other fragments from 4Q401 belong to Songs I-VI.

## Commentary

Line 1. This is the only place in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* where the term “prince” appears in the singular. (For this term, see the commentary to I 4Q400 1ii:14.) Perhaps this prince is to be associated with the heavenly high priest; see the “Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition” at the end of the chapter.

## 4Q405 46 (location unknown)

## Divinities of light

<sup>1</sup>[... ]glory<sup>a</sup>[ ] [. ] .[... ]<sup>2</sup>[... ]divinities of lights in every lo[t... ]<sup>3</sup>[... ]... from beneath His glory [ ] [. ] .[... ]

## Note

<sup>a</sup>כְּבוֹד Or possibly כְּבוֹת [מר]כְּבוֹת, “[cha]riots.”

## Commentary

Line 2. Compare the phrase “divinities of lights” to “gods of lights” in VIII 4Q403 1ii:35, although, given the broken context, one could also translate the first phrase “God of lights” (cf. 4Q503 13:1).

If the reading “lo[t]” (לוֹ[ל]) is correct, this is the only place this sectarian technical term appears in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. For its meaning, see the commentary to 4Q286 7ii:3.

Line 3. Compare XII 4Q405 20ii-21-22:9.

## Excursus on the Melchizedek Tradition

Melchizedek (מֶלְכִי צֶדֶק), the non-Israelite priest-king, appears in two places in the Hebrew Bible: Gen 14:18 and Ps 110:4. His name means something like “king of righteousness,” and later interpreters often refer to this meaning and develop it exegetically. In Genesis he is the king of Salem (Jerusalem?) and the priest of God Most High. Psalm 110 seems to hint that there was a priesthood of Melchizedek active in the Jerusalem temple and tied to the Davidic king.

Melchizedek is mentioned fairly frequently in Second Temple literature as a human royal figure (Josephus, *Ant.* 1 §180-81; 1QapGen xxii:13-17; Pseudo-Eupolemos [*Praep. Evan.* 9.17.6]; *Apos. Con.* 7.39.3; 8.5.3; 8.12.23) but also as a heavenly being. 11Q13 (11QMelchizedek) presents him as a warrior angel, a “god” (אֱלֹהִים; ii:10) who defeats the forces of evil at the eschaton. There is no mention of his human origin, and he is not explicitly a priest in the fragments we have, although the tantalizing assertion that the lot of Melchizedek is the Day of Atonement in the tenth Jubilee in which to atone for all the sons of God certainly hints at his function as celestial high priest, and the overall content of the surviving fragments echoes the ideas in Psalm 110, if not its language. In the Aramaic Visions of Amram (4Q544), Melchizedek’s name may also have appeared in a lacuna as one of the three names of the angel of light (see Milik, “4QVisions de ‘Amram,” esp. 85-86). Philo of Alexandria treats Melchizedek allegorically as a high priest representing Logos or Reason, a peaceable and righteous king who is contrasted with the tyrant Mind, the Ruler of War, which leads the organism into wickedness and excessive indulgence of the passions (*Leg. All.* III 79-82; cf. *Congr.* 99; *Abr.* 235). Philo seems to be at pains to distinguish Melchizedek from the warrior angel we find in 11Q13, but his association of him with the demiurgic and divine Logos may mean that Philo accepted Melchizedek’s divine status.

The Letter to the Hebrews is the only work in the NT that mentions Melchizedek directly (although Psalm 110 is the most frequently cited passage in early Christian literature). Its treatment of him is, however, enigmatic. The description in 7:1-3 includes puns on the names Salem and Melchizedek similar to those made by Josephus and Philo, but 7:3 goes far beyond what they say. Melchizedek “resembles the Son of God,” but it is unclear in what sense this statement is meant. Minimally, it seems that the writer is aware of a tradition that made Melchizedek an immortal and preexistent celestial high priest and is playing off it; it is difficult to read the passage as merely allegorical. Both v. 3 and v. 8 seem to assert that Melchizedek lives eternally as a priest. The point of the chapter, of course, is that Jesus is the true celestial high priest, which makes it difficult to understand just where the celestial Melchizedek might fit into the writer’s theology.

The Melchizedek legend continues to develop into late antiquity. The *Melchizedek Tractate* (NHC IX, 1), found in the Coptic Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi, presents him as a warrior angel and eschatological high priest, a portrayal similar to that of 11Q13 with one very significant difference: Melchizedek and Jesus Christ are identified — they are one and the same being. Birger Pearson, in his edition of this tractate, argues that the work is dependent on the epistle to the Hebrews and lists parallels between the two documents,

but these consist of single words or general ideas, not clear literary connections, and it seems more likely that Hebrews and NHC IX, 1 are drawing independently on Jewish traditions like those found at Qumran.

The *Second Book of Jeu* is another Coptic Gnostic text written roughly in late antiquity (but not part of the Nag Hammadi corpus). In chapters 45–46, Jesus prays to the Father for “Zorokothora Melchizedek” to “bring the water of the baptism of fire of the Virgin of Light” (presumably heavenly waters of baptism) to the disciples, and Melchizedek does so as a heavenly being with a priestly function.

Still another Coptic Gnostic text preserved outside Nag Hammadi, the *Pistis Sophia*, is a compendium of Gnostic traditions that can be divided into at least two separate works (Books 1–3 and Book 4). In both Melchizedek is a heavenly being whose job is to gather purified motes of light from the universe and deposit them in the Treasury of Light. In addition, in I 25–26; II 86; III 112, 128–29, 131; IV 139–40, Zorokothora Melchizedek has conflicts with the archons, who destroy as many souls as they can, and with the underworld goddess Hekate, who holds souls prisoner in her realm. In this compendium, all traces of the biblical Melchizedek and all eschatological elements have disappeared.

We find two versions of a strange story of Melchizedek in the Slavonic manuscripts of *2 Enoch* 71–72, a work that seems to have been translated from Greek and that contains at least some ancient traditions. Melchizedek is born posthumously of Sophanim, wife of the priest Nir, who had conceived him in her dotage without intercourse. The precocious infant looks like a three-year-old child and begins to speak immediately. He is made a priest by his family and is later taken to the Garden of Eden by the archangel Michael.

Two trajectories stand out in this long history of tradition: Melchizedek as the warrior angel and Melchizedek as the heavenly high priest. A case can be made that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* mention him in both capacities. If the three suggested restorations of his name are correct, he is called “priest in the assembl[ly of God]” in 4Q401 11; he is associated with a priestly investiture in 4Q401 22; and there is a reference to a “wondrous priesthood of Melch[izedek]” in VIII 4Q403 1ii:21 (supplemented by 4Q405 8-9:6 and 11Q17 ii:7). The first two passages may be associated with the eschatological war in heaven in Song V (see the commentary on these fragments). Moreover, a particular angel seems to be singled out in several other passages: the mention of the “tabernacle of the exalted chief” in VII 4Q403 ii:10 may imply that the heavenly high priest had his own tabernacle, like the Youth of the Hekhalot literature. This exalted chief may be the same figure as the “chief(!) of the divinities” mentioned just before in line 5, the “priest of the interior” in line 24 (Song

VIII), and the subject of the phrase “his priesthood” in VII 4Q405 7:8. It is possible that the “prince of ho[liness]” in 4Q401 23:1 is the same angel. The reference to “a seat like the throne of His kingdom in His inner chambers of glory” (XI 4Q405 20ii-21-22:2 + 11Q17 viii:4) also seems to imply the existence of a heavenly enthroned being other than God, someone contrasted with others who do not sit in heaven. This figure may be the same heavenly high priest.

The case is not conclusive since it is based on passages that are either damaged or difficult to interpret, but the cumulative force of the evidence makes it probable that the heavenly high priest Melchizedek played a role in the cosmology and perhaps the eschatology of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. For more on this figure, see the bibliography on Melchizedek in the introduction to this chapter.