ANGELIC INTERMEDIARIES:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REVELATORY TRADITION

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of St. Michael’s College and the Department of Biblical Studies of the Toronto School of Theology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Theology awarded by the University of St. Michael’s College.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the development of angelic mediation in Second Temple Judaism. Within this broader topic, I focus on a specific type or group of angelic beings who are given a variety of different names by scholars. They are often described using the following titles: an angelus interpres, an interpreting angel, a heavenly tour guide or an otherworldly mediator. What distinguishes these angels from previous angelic beings is that they engage in dialogue with a human as they mediate divine revelation. The first explicit mention of such an angel occurs in Zech 1:9 where he is identified as "the angel who spoke with me." Similar angelic beings also feature prominently in various Second Temple texts who assume the roles of interpreters, guides and/or intercessors. In each case, the angelic figure and the human are continually engaged in a dialogue featuring primarily a question-and-answer format. This thesis seeks to delineate the nature and function of these angelic figures and their use especially as they develop in the earliest texts of Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It concludes that one cannot speak of a homogenous tradition of angelic mediation but one which is continually adapting over time. Although broad lines of continuity are present between the three books, these angelic mediators are not stock characters that are identical in function. Instead I argue that each text brings its own adaptations and idiosyncrasies to these existing traditions generating new presentations of angelic mediation.
Acknowledgments

This project began in my first term at St. Michael’s College in a seminar led by Hindy Najman. I am deeply grateful for her guidance and recognition that my interest in Zechariah and angelic beings had potential for further research. I am also indebted to Professor Najman for introducing me to the world of Second Temple Judaism and the development of revelatory texts. I have learned much from her scholarship and feel privileged to have had her input on this thesis. Judith Newman was also instrumental in my growth as a scholar in Second Temple Studies. She introduced me to the richness of Qumran and liturgical practices both in the biblical tradition and elsewhere in the Second Temple Period. I am deeply appreciative of her mentorship not only of this thesis but in my academic career as a whole. I am also indebted to John McLaughlin who has helped guide me through my doctoral studies. It was in his seminar that I learned of the complexities of ancient Israelite religion. Although I work predominantly in later texts, his instruction on ancient divinities and especially the Ugaritic texts has followed me into this thesis. Finally, I would also like to acknowledge the debt I owe to him in developing me as a future teacher through both his example and active involvement in my academic career. Finally, I am also grateful for the work of the two additional members of the Supervisory committee: Michael Kolarcik and Loren Stuckenbruck. I am particularly indebted to Professor Stuckenbruck for his additional comments and guidance in editing the thesis.

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### Abbreviations

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<td>Forms of the Old Testament Literature</td>
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<td>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</td>
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INTRODUCTION

And we went the two of us alone together, forty days and forty nights. And I ate no bread and drank no water, because my food was to see the angel who was with me, and his discourse was my drink.

_Apocalypse of Abraham_ 12:1-2

The need for a mediator between heaven and earth is apparent throughout the literature of ancient Israel. A fascination with heavenly secrets and the mysteries of the cosmos saturate the religious texts of Second Temple Judaism. Privileged humans are given access to divine secrets but they require the assistance of a divine mediator to interpret or guide them along the way. The above quotation is taken from the _Apocalypse of Abraham_, a first or second century CE document, chronicling Abraham’s ascension to the seventh heaven accompanied by an angelic figure. Like many texts of the Second Temple period, the _Apocalypse of Abraham_ includes a dialogue between a human and an angel. Whether these angels’ chief duty is to interpret, guide or intercede for humanity, they continually act as companions to elect individuals who are privileged to receive divine revelations. This angelic being in the _Apocalypse of Abraham_ comes at the end of a long line of angelic mediators who populate the visionary material of early Judaism. These later texts rely on and reuse earlier traditions of angelic mediation found in the Hebrew Bible and in other Second Temple texts.

The variety of angels and their prominence in the literature speaks to a society deeply interested in cosmic events. This thesis explores the development of angelic mediation in Second Temple Judaism. Within this broader topic, I will focus on a specific type or group of angelic beings who are given a variety of different names by scholars. They are often described using the following titles: an _angelus interpres_, an interpreting angel, a heavenly tour guide or an
otherworldly mediator.¹ What distinguishes these angels from previous angelic beings is that they engage in dialogue with a human as they mediate divine revelation.² The first explicit mention of such an angel occurs in Zech 1:9 where he is identified as המלאךbudm של המלך “the angel who spoke with me.” Similar angelic beings also feature prominently in various Second Temple texts, who assume the roles of interpreters, guides and/or intercessors. In each case, the angelic figure and the human are continually engaged in a dialogue featuring primarily a question-and-answer format. Despite the growing interest in angelic figures in secondary literature, these angelic intermediaries have received little sustained attention. This thesis seeks to correct this gap by delineating the nature and function of these angelic figures and their use, especially as they develop in the earliest books of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It will also argue for the importance of these three works in the development of later angelic traditions of mediation, despite generic differences.³

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¹ These titles are unhelpful and lack clarity since they focus on only one aspect of the angel’s function. Angelic intermediaries not only interpret visions but also guide the seers, act as scribes, step in as intercessors for humanity and protect humans from harm. To focus simply on one function such as interpreter or guide, results in a one-dimensional view of these figures. I will adopt the term angelic intermediary or mediator throughout this thesis to reflect a more rounded view of their roles.

² In Ezek 40-48, a heavenly figure guides the prophet Ezekiel on a tour of the temple. This angelic figure is highly influential in 1 En. 1-36 which contains both an ascent to heaven and a guided tour of the cosmos. However, the dialogue between the angel and the seer is missing and is found first in Zech 1-8.

³ This thesis will focus primarily on the earliest traditions in the development of this angelic intermediary. Many later texts featuring angelic mediators adopt traditions first found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. These texts include the following: 1 En. 37-71, 72-82, 83-90, Jubilees, Tobit, 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Apocalypse of Abraham, 3 Baruch, Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Testament of Abraham, Testament of Levi and Testament of Job and some texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls (IQ Genesis Apocryphon, 4Q Visions of Amram, Vision of the New Jerusalem, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). Additionally, early Christian texts including Luke-Acts, Apocalypse of John, Shepherd of Hermas, Ascension of Isaiah, and Ladder of Jacob should also be included. At times throughout the thesis, attention may be drawn to some of these later texts where significant developments are found in relation to Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12.
History of Scholarship

The scholarship surrounding angels and their relationship to humanity has been the focus of many articles and monographs in recent years. Of particular importance for scholars is the relationship of angels and humans at Qumran, in other Second Temple literature, and in later


5. A significant portion of these texts are known by the label Pseudepigrapha. This thesis generally avoids this term as it has received much criticism from scholars. Although the authorship of these texts is unknown, the act of writing under the name of a legendary figure is not intended as a forgery but as a claim to authority. For a detailed survey of the modern views surrounding the Pseudepigrapha, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, “The Modern Invention of ‘Old Testament Pseudepigrapha’,” JTS 60 [2009]: 403–36). The following works examine angelic revelation in these Second Temple texts: David C. Carlson, “Vengeance and Angelic Mediation in Testament of Moses 9 and 10,” JBL 101 (1982): 85–95; Michael Mach, Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John (WUNT 70; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995); Peter R. Carrell, Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and Christology in the Apocalypse of John
hekhalot texts. Various angelic figures, such as the angel of the Lord, the šātān, the malʾākîm, the šērēpīm, and the kērubīm have all generated considerable interest. The ancient Near Eastern roots of these various angelic figures have also been subject to a large amount of scholarly attention. Although angels and their heavenly realm have long fascinated scholars, there remain


many questions as to their role and function. In his monograph, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him*, Saul Olyan notes that the use of the term angelology is problematic since it implies that a developed and uniform concept of angels existed in the Second Temple period.\(^9\) It is difficult to ascertain to what extent a developed angelology is present, since the purpose of surviving texts is not to recount the details of angelic beings but rather presume a familiarity with the workings of heaven and their inhabitants. While there may not be a uniform angelology, most texts attest to a similar view of cosmic realities while still demonstrating their own nuances. This is especially true of angelic intermediaries who are found throughout a large number of texts. They retain many comparable characteristics, like that of interpreter and guide, but can often appear in the roles of intercessor, scribe, protector and messenger. Although much research exists on angelic figures, scholars have largely ignored the role of angelic intermediaries. Few articles and monographs have explored these figures and often their roles and functions are taken for granted in the scholarly literature. The history of research on the figures of the angelic intermediaries is not linear but rather is a complex one involving an intersection of diverse fields of research. Three areas of research will be explored below including: angels as mediators, angels in later “apocalypses” and angels in dreams and visions.

I. Angels as Mediators of Divine Revelation

In his work distinguishing proponents of a “two powers in heaven” heresy, Alan F. Segal discusses the rising phenomenon of angelic mediators in Jewish sectarian texts.\(^{10}\) He argues that certain types of angelic mediation were considered unorthodox by later rabbinical communities if they were thought to violate the concept of monotheism.\(^{11}\) Segal recognizes the difficulty in identifying a uniform system of angelology as he finds “the characteristics and names of the

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mediator differ widely in each document, suggesting that no single consistent myth underlies the whole.”

He identifies several avenues of angelic mediation: the role of the principal angel or archangel (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jub. 35:12; 1 En. 20:5; 1 QM 17.7), as a heavenly scribe (1 En. 89:61; 90:14), a heavenly guide (1 En. 71:3; 2 En. 22; Apoc. Ab. 12; L.A.E. 25:20; Apoc. Mos. 37), as mediators of the Law (Jub. 1:27-3:7; Gal 3:19; Acts 7:38, 53; Heb 2:2); and as an intercessors for humans (1 En. 9:1-11; 40:6; 47:2bd; 89:76; 2 En. 33:10).

In addition, to these “angelic” mediators, Segal also adds divine attributes such as Logos and figures like “son of man” to a list of mediator figures. Segal is to be commended for his broad view on the role of angels as mediators. In addition, to the wide range of functions that Segal identifies in the Second Temple Period, I would also add that of angelic interpreter as found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. This angelic role to interpret not only visions but older scriptural traditions becomes an important function in later visionary works and will be a primary focus for this thesis.

The role of angelic beings receives prominent attention from Maxwell J. Davidson, who compares angels in the early Enochic material and sectarian writings from Qumran. He argues that the angelology of the Enochic and Qumran literature differ from one another, especially as it concerns angelic mediation. At Qumran, humans pray directly to God without the intercession of angels. In contrast, angels continually act as intercessors in the Enochic material, which he argues indicates that God was understood to be more remote than at Qumran. Davidson’s investigation is limited to the Enochic material and Qumran; however, his work lays a strong foundation for further studies of angelic roles in other texts. In fact, Davidson recognizes this limitation and in his conclusion states:

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15. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*.
16. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 311. The issue of God’s remoteness from humanity will be discussed in the third chapter.
…it would prove profitable to consider the angelology of the canonical book of Daniel in relation to those of the Enochic and other related books from the period of Second Temple Judaism. Such a study would throw light on the question of whether the angelology of Daniel is more akin to that of the rest of the OT, or whether it is more like that of the Enochic books studied here. A similar investigation could be undertaken in relation to the Qumran literature.17

Davidson’s call for a broader look at angelology in Second Temple texts is much needed, but I would argue that this should start with the book of Zechariah rather than Daniel. The angelic mediators in Zech 1-8 contain parallels to both 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, attesting to a growing but diverse angelic tradition of revelation.

An area of research that has received much attention regarding angelic mediation is the book of Jubilees.18 James VanderKam has explored the role of the Angel of the Presence who mediates between God and humanity by revealing divine knowledge.19 This angel, along with the “holy ones,” has various missions, both in heaven and on earth. Concerning their earthly duties, they are responsible for: (1) reporting to God the activities happening on earth and (2) interacting with humanity by teaching, explaining or giving instructions.20 The duties given to these angels are many but the most pertinent for this study is the mediation of angelic revelation. VanderKam argues that in Jubilees a division is made from between the flood when God spoke directly to

17. Davidson, Angels at Qumran, 323.
humanity and afterwards when humanity received revelation through dreams and visions provided by angels.\textsuperscript{21} Although VanderKam does not identify him as an interpreting angel (like that of Zech 1-8 or Dan 7-12), the Angel of the Presence adopts many of the same functions as he mediates divine revelation. It is not simply a dictation but throughout the narrative the angel also intersperses his own observations and interpretations of events. VanderKam’s goal is to articulate “what Jubilees says about the character and roles of this revealing angel of the presence and attempts to identify the sources on which the author drew in preparing his portrait of him.”\textsuperscript{22}

Although the Angel of the Presence differs somewhat from the angelic intermediaries of Zech 1-8, \textit{I En.} 1-36 or Dan 7-12, it shares a common tradition of angelic revelation. The angels in the book of \textit{Jubilees} are also the focus of study by Hindy Najman.\textsuperscript{23} She emphasizes the authority given through angelic mediation and argues that “Jubilees here conceives the authority of Mosaic Torah as deriving from its origin in an angelic intermediary, whose authority results in turn from his elevated status and from his acting on God’s command.”\textsuperscript{24} This angel, like the angelic figures in Zech 1-8, \textit{I En.} 1-36 and Dan 7-12, have as their primary duty the task of mediating divine revelation to a human. Although the angel of the presence is not usually labelled an \textit{angelus interpres} by scholars, he in fact does provide his own interpretation of the law.\textsuperscript{25} Thus \textit{Jubilees} gives us one set of traditions in which a prominent angel, the Angel of the Presence, is an interpreter of scripture and is given the mandate to dictate that revelation to humanity. Najman speaks of a “second temple tradition of angelic mediation.”\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence,” 380.
\item \textsuperscript{22} VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence,” 381.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Najman, “Angels at Sinai,” 316.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Najman, “Angels at Sinai,” 317.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Najman, “Angels at Sinai,” 324.
\end{itemize}
Although she is referring to the angelic mediation of the law at Sinai, her identification of a tradition of angelic mediation in this respect is indicative of a broader category of angelic revelation.

An important contribution to the roles of various angels is Carol Newsom’s work on the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. She enumerates the many descriptions of angels found in the text, including: holy ones, spirits, priests, ministers, princes, and chiefs among others. According to Newsom, the function of the angels is similar to that found in other Second Temple texts, especially with regards to their chief duty in offering praise. In addition to this function, Newsom also points to the main quality of angelic beings in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*:

Of all the qualities which are associated with angels in the Sabbath songs, however, knowledge is the most prominent. The angels are repeatedly designated as “angels of knowledge” (אלהי דעת), as “those who know” (ידעים), “those who establish knowledge” (מיסדי דעת), etc. In fact the superiority of the angelic praise arises precisely from their more exalted understanding of divine mysteries.

The angels in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* at first glance do not bear a striking resemblance to those found in our texts featuring a heavenly intermediary. There is no visionary sequence with a human seer and the dialogue component is obviously missing. However, Newsom points to a fundamental characteristic of angelic beings in Second Temple Judaism, that they are the bearers of divine mysteries. According to her, angelic beings not only announce hidden things (4Q401 14 ii 7) but are cast in the role of priests of the heavenly temple. Newsom draws a comparison to the angels of *Jubilees, Testament of Levi* and *1 Enoch* who share similar traditions, especially in *Jubilees* where angels mediate the Law (4Q400 1 i 17).

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31. Newsom, “‘He Has Established for Himself Priests’.”
broad lines of continuity among the various texts. Her survey is selective but begins to
demonstrate the similar lines of tradition surrounding angelic mediation in Second Temple
Judaism.

II. Angels & Apocalypses

A second area of research concerns the origin of these angelic figures and their reuse in
later works. The literature on Zech 1-8 demonstrates how difficult it has been to characterize
this text. Scholars have consistently noted the similarities between it and later apocalypses,
especially since the appearance of an angelic intermediary in a visionary cycle originates in Zech
1-8. For some Zech 1-8 is an apocalypse, for others it is “proto-apocalyptic” and yet for others it
is simply a post-exilic prophecy. In most cases, the attempts of scholars to classify this text has
not been satisfactory and the book continues to elude classification. The early trend was to
emphasize Zechariah’s place as an important transition between prophecy and apocalyptic
literature. Hartmut Gese went further by arguing that Zechariah was in fact not proto-
apocalyptic but was the oldest known apocalypse. Although Zechariah’s relationship to the

33. I use the term “apocalypse” throughout this thesis to refer to the standard set of texts
as outlined by many scholars following the definition and identification set in Semeia 14 (John
with caution because generic categories and labels can obscure other lines of traditions between
texts not included in the group. Studies on apocalypses and their genre are helpful but the focus
of this thesis remains on the role and function of angelic mediators regardless of standard
generic paradigms we have adopted in modern times.

34. It should be noted that the majority of scholars use the title of angelus interpres or
interpreting angel especially in relation to Zech 1-8. Although this terminology is problematic I
will use it when discussing the secondary literature.

100 (OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964); Samuel Amsler, “Zacharie et l’origine
de l’apocalyptique,” in Congress Volume Uppsala (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 227–31;
Robert G. North, “Prophecy to Apocalyptic Via Sechariah,” in Congress Volume: Uppsala,

36. Hartmut Gese, “Anfang und Ende der Apocalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch,”
ZTK 70 (1973): 20–49. He was not the first to advance this thesis as Ernst Sellin had already
argued that Zechariah’s visions should be placed at the birth of apocalypticism (Ernst Sellin,
Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil,
later apocalypses was recognized by these scholars, they did little work on the angelic intermediary besides noting its presence in Zech 1-8. This inability to characterize the visions of Zech 1-8 has created an artificial gap between it and other texts that have much in common relating to angelic mediation.

The late 1970’s marked an era that saw a flourishing of study on the nature and identification of apocalypses. Due to the formal similarities between Zech 1-8 and later apocalypses (mainly concerning the angelic mediator and the night visions), scholars have sought to define both its genre and level of influence. The important work of two scholars, Paul Hanson and John J. Collins, has received much attention and framed the way in which apocalypses are still viewed today. In his book, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, Hanson argues against viewing the visions of Zech 1-8 as an apocalypse. However, he does acknowledge the close similarities to other apocalypses: “Nor can it be disputed that he [Zechariah] utilized a genre which later was adopted by apocalyptic writers—the vision with the *angelus interpres* to communicate his message to the people.” Hanson elsewhere argues that Zechariah employs the forms of apocalyptic visions but only as “propaganda for the Zadokite temple program.” Hanson does not investigate the function of the angelic intermediary in apocalypses but simply adopts it as paradigmatic for the identification of them. In a similar manner, Collins also denies the place of Zech 1-8 as an apocalypse. However, rather than focusing on the sociological dimension, he

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volume 2 [Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901], 290).
39. Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 250..
40. Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 253..
instead argues that Zech 1-8 lacks the eschatology of an apocalypse.⁴² One of the biggest advances made at this time was the articulation of a definition of the genre apocalypse:

…a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁴³

One will note the central place accorded to an angelic figure or otherworldly being who mediates divine revelations to a human in this definition. In fact, Collins argues that all apocalypses contain the figure of an “otherworldly mediator and a human recipient -- it is never simply a direct oracular utterance by either heavenly being or human.”⁴⁴ Collins’ definition of an apocalypse has been widely influential but is not as helpful for books like Zech 1-8 which lie just outside the boundaries of the approved apocalypses.⁴⁵ The work done by Collins on defining apocalypses is especially relevant to this study as angelic mediation is identified as a central characteristic.

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⁴⁵. Collins’ recent work on the genre of apocalypse allows for the broader inclusion of periphery texts like that of Jubilees and possibly Joseph and Aseneth. He acknowledges that the inclusion of Jub. 23 alone as an apocalypse is not satisfactory and has revised it to include the entire book of Jubilees (Collins, “The Genre of Apocalypse Reconsidered” [paper presented at “Symposium on Forms of Ancient Jewish Literature in its Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Setting,” University of Manchester, January 29-21, 2009], 18). A recent volume of Dead Sea Discoveries explores newer models of genre analysis. Benjamin G. Wright III’s article is especially helpful as it considers alternative theories of genre analysis that would allow a broader inclusion of periphery texts (Benjamin G. Wright III, “Joining the Club: A Suggestion About Genre in Early Jewish Texts,” DSD 17 [2010]: 289–314). The volume also includes an article by Collins that features his reactions and thoughts on these latest developments in genre theory (John J. Collins, “Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” DSD 17 [2010]: 418–30). Collins makes the observation that, “The problem with delimiting genres is that no matter how we define them, they always have fuzzy edges, borderline cases, and related types. One type of literature inevitably shades off into, or overlaps with, others at some point” (Collins, “Epilogue,” 420–21).
Christopher Rowland has opted for a different approach in defining what he calls apocalypses as he focuses to a greater degree on the role of angelic beings and the heavenly sphere. In *The Open Heaven*, Rowland gives the following description of Jewish apocalyptic works, “It is concerned with knowledge of God and the secrets of the world above, revealed in a direct way by dreams, visions or angelic pronouncements.” Rowland has been criticized for overemphasizing the revelation of divine wisdom and neglecting the importance of eschatology in apocalypses. However, his definition offers a different perspective and illuminates the important area of divine revelation within Second Temple Judaism. Rowland devotes an entire chapter to the role of angels and notes the presence of angelic intermediaries who interpret the visions of the prophets. Like Hanson and Collins, he notes the presence of an angelic intermediary in Zech 1-8 but does not elaborate on it. He connects this figure to the angels in Dan 7-12, the archangel Uriel in 4 Ezra, Jaoel in *Apocalypse of Abraham* and Michael in *Testament of Abraham*. Rowland brings focus to the importance of angels as revealers of divine secrets and the centrality of revelation in Second Temple literature.

The figure of an angelic intermediary is widely recognized as an apocalyptic figure but its placement in Zech 1-8 is problematic for many scholars. E. J. C. Tigchelaar has examined the relationship between the angelic figures in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. Although he finds similarities, Tigchelaar concludes that the angel in Zech 1-8 retains more prophetic features than the angelic figures in the *Book of Watchers* and Dan 7-12. Thus, Tigchelaar draws a line between Zech 1-8 and the later books of 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 as he finds that the *angelus interpres* in Zech 1-8 is not necessarily an apocalyptic figure. In a later monograph, Tigchelaar

47. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, 89.
labels Zech 1-8 as proto-apocalyptic and contributes to the divide among Zech 1-8 and the later apocalypses.\[51\] Despite this, Tigchelaar’s work is important as he notes similarities between Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers. Regardless of apparent generic differences, he notes the many correspondences that exist between the two texts and Zechariah’s contribution to the development of apocalypses.

Two German monographs have recently focused directly on angelic intermediaries. The first, written by Hansgünter Reichelt, examines the angelus interpres within the book of Revelation. He questions the traditional definition of this angel and highlights the various roles associated with him, that of mediator and interpreter.\[52\] As one of the only studies specific to the angelus interpres, Reichelt’s work is helpful as he focuses not only on the figure of the angelus interpres but also attempts to define its function and role. However, for our purposes the usefulness of the study is limited as he deals mainly with the book of Revelation. The second work, written by Donata Dörfel, focuses on angels in apocalyptic literature, which is defined as the books of Ezekiel, Zech 1-8, Dan 7-12 and 1 En. 1-36.\[53\] This book focuses more generally on angelology rather than the figure of an angelic intermediary. Moreover, the focus for Dörfel is the emergence of monotheism rather than the relationship of the angelic intermediaries to apocalypses. These books present helpful overviews but their studies are limited in scope.

Although the focus of her book is not on angelic intermediaries, Janet E. Tollington spends most of a chapter discussing the use of this figure within the visions of Zech 1-8.\[54\] Her discussion is especially insightful as she is concerned with tracing the origins of the angelic figure. She not only argues against the view that the angelic intermediary is a completely new

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51. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic (OtSt 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996).
53. Dörfel, Engel in der apokalyptischen Literatur.
innovation of Zechariah’s,\textsuperscript{55} but also that Zech 1-8 is not dependent upon the texts of Ezek 8, 40-48. Tollington instead suggests that the antecedents are to be found in the Pentateuch, such as in the case of Jacob’s dream (Gen 31:10-13).\textsuperscript{56} Another area in which Tollington brings much needed clarity is the necessity for an interpreter within Zechariah’s visions. She argues that the angel functions as more than an interpreter since he also introduces new information into the visions that was not originally accessible to the prophet.\textsuperscript{57} This allows the introduction of more abstract concepts within the visionary cycles that requires the interpretation of the angel. Although Tollington does not examine the development of angelic intermediaries within later apocalypses, she does help to clarify the probable origins of this figure within the Pentateuchal material. That Zechariah found inspiration for his angelic intermediary within earlier material does not diminish the innovation of this figure but merely helps to supply much needed context.

The most recent study of the \textit{angelus interpres} appears in an article written by Karin Schöpflin entitled “God’s Interpreter.” She argues that the origin of the interpreting angel is to be found in Zech 1-8 rather than Ezek 40-48.\textsuperscript{58} This is an important observation because the copper figure of Ezek 40-48 is often seen as the precursor to Zechariah’s מלאך הדבר. Schöpflin argues that Ezek 40-48 may be dated to a later period and in fact might be dependent upon Zech 1-8.\textsuperscript{59} Moreover, she also considers the development of the \textit{angelus interpres} in Zech 1-8 that is defined more by function than Daniel’s more physical descriptions of Gabriel.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} In contrast to Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, \textit{Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary} (AB 25B; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 114.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Tollington, \textit{Tradition and Innovation}, 98 (contra Meyers and Meyers, \textit{Haggai}, Zechariah 1–8, 114). Her argument is persuasive as Genesis 31 also contains the formulae שא עיני וארא sindot "I lifted up my eyes and saw" and שא עיניך וראה makaf sindot "lift up your eyes, and see" which occurs throughout Zechariah 1-8 (Tollington, \textit{Tradition and Innovation}, 99).
\item \textsuperscript{57} Tollington, \textit{Tradition and Innovation}, 102–3.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Schöpflin, “The Interpreting Angel,” 198.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Schöpflin, “The Interpreting Angel,” 201.
\end{itemize}
The effort of these scholars has been to trace the origins of the angelic intermediary and its relationship to later apocalypses usually focusing on the function of the angel as interpreter. The contribution of Zechariah to the later development of angelic mediators is noted but there has been little sustained analysis of his angelic mediator. A chief reason is that Zechariah’s current status as belonging outside of the genre of apocalypse lends itself to a dismissal of its importance.

III. Angels in Visions and Dreams

The distinction between a dream and a vision is imperceptible at times. Zechariah’s night visions are rarely considered to be dreams, yet they hold much in common with the dream material of the Second Temple period. In their commentary to Zech 1-8, Carol and Eric Meyers state the following:

Zechariah’s visions exhibit these characteristics and so stand in the line of classical prophecy. Yet they take the prophetic vision in new directions, which can be evaluated both as the culmination of the visionary mode as it exists in the Hebrew Bible and also as the harbinger of the visionary cycles that characterize apocalyptic literature, particularly in its floruit of 200 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. Two features of Zechariah’s visions, which we shall discuss in full, emerge as determinative in this evaluation: the organization of the visions into a structured set so that there is meaning to each vision on its own and also as part of a larger whole; and the role of angelic beings in the auditory component of the prophet’s visionary experience.

Meyers and Meyers point to the important transitionary stage found in the development of

61. For a discussion on the ambiguity of these terms see: Ann Jeffers, Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria (Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 8; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1996), 125–28.
62. Zech 4:1 indicates that Zechariah is awakened by the angelic figure into a dream-like state to receive a vision, “He aroused me like a man that is awakened from his sleep.” The line between waking and sleeping in Zechariah is not clear but the visions of Zechariah are quite different from those of Amos and Jeremiah which imply receiving visions in a wakened state (S. Niditch, The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition [HSM 30 ; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983], 95).
63. Petersen uses the terms visions and dreams interchangeably in his commentary (David L. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 [OTL; London: SCM, 1984], 111, 139).
64. Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, liv.
angelic revelation in the visionary cycle of Zechariah. These night visions of Zechariah become an important influence in the development of this tradition of angelic mediation found in dreams and visions. The line between dream and vision and sleeping and waking is unclear, especially in Zech 1-8. According to Frances Flannery-Dailey, the ancients viewed these phenomena on a scale rather than as two diverging experiences.65 The classic work on dreams is Oppenheim’s, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the ancient Near East*.66 He outlines a set of features that define each of his dream types:

Such a configuration of admitted, preferred, and excluded forms of expression within the dream-experience produces necessarily a typology of dreams. Each such dream-type is characterized by specific features which determine not only the form in which a dream-experience is to be reported but exercise their influence also upon the very repertory of the dream for which they establish the rules for admission or rejection of specific contents.”67

Oppenheim identified three types of dreams: the “message” dream, the “symbolic” dream, and “mantic” dreams.68 While these distinctions between dream types have been criticized by others since there is cross-pollination between the various subsets, Oppenheim’s discussion of the elements of a symbolic dream vision remains the most influential. What is of particular interest is that this dream requires interpretation by an outside source who may either be a human or a deity. Oppenheim’s work has served as the basis for many of the following scholars who have explored the areas of visions and dreams.

68. Scholars have critiqued not only Oppenheim’s division of dream-types but also the rigid distinctions implied by these different categories. Jean-Marie Husser points out that dreams do not always accord to one dream-type but can comprise a number of features of each (Jean-Marie Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* [Biblical Seminar 63; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 24).
Susan Niditch’s *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition* is an important contribution not only to the role of the symbolic vision but also to Zechariah research. Unlike her predecessors, she argues that the symbolic visions in the Hebrew Bible demonstrate significant changes by the time of Zechariah while maintaining some core similarities. Of particular interest for this study is her focus on the question-and-answer format found not only in the visions of Zechariah but also in the rest of the symbolic visions she evaluates. Relying on Oppenheim’s work, she finds important similarities to the question-and-answer format both in dreams from the ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible. A key feature of Zech 1-8 is that the deity does not usually initiate the question but rather it is the prophet who first asks the question. Niditch argues that this development is reflective of a new time period when older forms of prophecy are waning and Zechariah is imagining a new form of revelation. According to her, the deity of Zech 1-8 is much more remote and distant: “The dream quality and night setting of the visions, the more complex and mysterious symbols, the presence of an intermediary interpreter, and most important the unknowing seer’s request for an interpretation point to the transcendence of God, his conceptual distance from man.”

Niditch’s study is an important development in the research on Zechariah’s transitional place not only in prophecy but also his use of angelic figures.

Also building upon Oppenheim’s work, Frances Flannery-Dailey examines dreams found in the texts of the Second Temple period. There are a few points of relevance for our investigation. First, Flannery-Dailey argues that a dream may be implied not only with the actual word “dream” but also using the terms “vision of the night” and “vision.” This allows for a

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72. Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*.
broadening of the category and provides some good models for the night visions of Zechariah. Secondly, she examines ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman dream experiences that contain some helpful points for examining the origins of our angelic figure.74 She also argues that treating heavenly ascents as a category in itself is limiting since it implies only one method for a dreamer to reach otherworldly regions.75 This is applied to Dan 7 but it is also relevant for Zech 1-8, which has numerous otherworldly scenes without an actual ascent narrative. This broadening of categories allows more comparisons to be drawn with texts like 1 En. 1-36, which has an explicit ascent narrative. Finally, she argues that angels are not normally messengers in biblical dreams, as this role is usually assumed by God. Thus, she recognizes that the angelic mediators in Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 who mediate revelation through dreams and visions are a new phenomenon.76 Flannery-Dailey’s discussions on dreams help to broaden various categories to include texts like Zech 1-8 that might be otherwise excluded from the discussion.

One specific type of dream or vision is the otherworldly journey or heavenly ascent, a prominent feature in many Second Temple texts. In recent years, scholars such as Martha Himmelfarb, Mary Dean-Otting and Leif Carlsson have explored various themes found in the ascent narratives.77 These scholars have treated the ascents to heaven as a subset of the apocalypse genre. Their work on angelic intermediaries has mainly focused on their roles as tour

74. The next chapter will examine ancient Near Eastern, Greek and biblical precedents of angelic mediators in detail.
75. Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests, 171.
76. Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests, 45.
guides. In her earlier work on the tours of hell, Martha Himmelfarb traced the motif of the angelic tour guide to Ezek 40-48. She notes that Ezekiel does not speak during this tour but argues for the origin of these tours in Ezekiel. Dean-Otting spends some time examining the function of what she calls the “Angel-guide” in 3 Baruch and 4 Ezra and also finds the origin of this angelic figure in Ezek 40-48. She identifies the role of the angel as both “a guide and an interpreter of revelations,” which is surprising as her label “Angel-guide” focuses solely on the guiding aspect of the angel. The tension between the angel as guide and interpreter is apparent in her treatment and she provides little clarity to the role and nature of the heavenly intermediary. Dean-Otting identifies the important aspect of the dialogue between angel and human but she follows Himmelfarb’s lead in looking to Ezekiel for the origins rather than Zech 1-8.

The above survey has demonstrated the various lines of research involved in tracing the angelic intermediaries in the secondary literature. The work of Davidson, VanderKam and Najman has demonstrated that an emerging tradition of angelic mediation through revelation existed in Second Temple Judaism. On the other hand, the work on Zechariah and later apocalypses has shown that scholars have found a division between the visions of Zechariah and those of apocalypses. Although many would see Zechariah’s angelic intermediary and visionary cycle as important influences, a division is detected between it and the later apocalypses. This divide has resulted in an artificial gap between a text like Zechariah and others that feature angelic intermediaries. A focus on a common angelic tradition of revelation has not been a chief

78. Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 57.
79. Dean-Otting, Heavenly Journeys, 115.
81. It is difficult to characterize the angelic beings who act as guides for the seer throughout his visions of the cosmos. They are not only responsible for conducting a tour of the cosmos but also must act as an interpreter and answer the questions of the seer. Thus, the distinction normally drawn between interpreting and guiding angels is misleading. The roles assigned to these angelic beings are not always clear cut and often a variety of roles are assumed by a single angel.
82. Dean-Otting, Heavenly Journeys, 273.
concern for scholars in this area. Concerning the work on dreams and visions, Niditch has demonstrated that Zechariah’s visions are seen as an important transition in the development of the symbolic vision. Niditch’s work especially looks at an emerging tradition of visionary material from the earlier works of Amos and Jeremiah to 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra. Along this trajectory, she argues that Zechariah holds a liminal position and reworks the traditional forms of prophecy to adapt to a new situation in the post-exilic context.

This review of scholarship has revealed several areas that require further study. First, an indepth examination of angelic intermediaries in visionary sequences is underrepresented in the research. The secondary literature commonly treats them as “stock characters” and makes little differentiation in their role as interpreter or tour guide. Even their generic titles of “angelus interpres” and “heavenly tour guide” demonstrates a lack of sustained analysis. These categories imply a sharper division between these roles when at times the otherworldly mediator encompasses both functions within the same text. Secondly, this study seeks to outline and clarify the various roles that angelic mediators assume. Although the focus on angels is heightened in Second Temple Judaism, angelic mediation is found not only in the earlier biblical material but also in the surrounding cultures. In order to understand the proliferation of angelic figures in Second Temple texts and their various roles, it is necessary to examine the earliest traditions in which these angelic mediators take shape. The texts of most importance for this dissertation will be Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It is not always possible to draw clear lines of continuity between each of these texts, however; in many ways they each represent an important line of tradition concerning the development of angelic mediators. 83

83. Every effort will be made to note the dating and provenance of the texts. Although a relationship between Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 is accepted by scholars, the same cannot be said for Dan 7-12 and the Book of Watchers. Despite the many similarities both literary and thematic, it is unclear how these texts are related or if they are drawing on a common background. The same is true for the relationship between Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36. Despite this, each of these texts plays an important role in the development of angelic intermediaries and should be studied together.
Terms to Define

I. Divine Mediator

In much of the literature from the Second Temple Period we find an increasing interest in divine mediation. Angelic beings are only one way that the gap between the heavenly and earthly realm could be bridged. Especially in the post-exilic period, the increasing presence of other mediator figures such as Logos, Sophia, elevated humans (Enoch, Moses), Messiah and Son of Man are found. These concepts are given a variety of different names as there is some dispute as to their nature and function as mediatorial figures. To Bousset, these were hypostases, a type of intermediary being similar to angels. Bauckham has argued against this view that Logos or Sophia should be equated either with angels or exalted humans. For example, Logos according to Bauckham is “a personification or hypostatization of an aspect of God” and thus does not have its own distinct identity. For those who hold this position, the concept of hypostases generally functions on a more literary level (ex. Prov 8). And yet even in Prov 8:30, Logos is presented as an entity separate from God, “then I was beside him, like a master worker; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing before him always.” This is also reflected in Philo’s portrayal of Logos (and


86. Richard Bauckham, God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 22; also Hurtado, One God, One Lord, 46.

87. Bauckham, God Crucified, 17.

88. I would also note that in its original composition, the personification of Wisdom may have been intended as purely literary but was not necessarily read this way by ancient writers and communities. Similarly, Wisdom of Solomon attributes the creation of the world and humanity in part to Logos, “O God of my ancestors and Lord of mercy, who have made all things by your word (en logō sou), and by your wisdom (tē sophia sou) have formed humankind to have dominion over the creatures you have made” (Wis 9:1-2). Schäfer adopts the language of “agent” in speaking of the role Logos and Sophia play both in Wisdom of Solomon and Philo
Sophia) as active entities. However, as Andrew Chester notes there are varying depictions in Philo concerning the nature and identity of Logos.\textsuperscript{89} In some cases, Logos is linked quite closely with God as part of his mind (“reason” in Opif. 16-25) or it is described as θεός (Somm. 1.62). And yet in others, a distinct identity or even an angelic one appears to be in mind.\textsuperscript{90} This seems the case in Her. 205-206:

And the Father who created the universe has given to his archangelic and most ancient Word a pre-eminent gift, to stand on the confines of both, and separated that which had been created from the Creator. And this same Word is continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race, which is exposed to affliction and misery; and is also the ambassador, sent by the Ruler of all, to the subject race. And the Word rejoices in the gift, and, exulting in it, announces it and boasts of it, saying, "And I stood in the midst, between the Lord and You;" neither being uncreate as God, nor yet created as you, but being in the midst between these two extremities, like a hostage, as it were, to both parties: a hostage to the Creator, as a pledge and security that the whole race would never fly off and revolt entirely, choosing disorder rather than order; and to the creature, to lead it to entertain a confident hope that the merciful God would not overlook his own work. For I will proclaim peaceful intelligence to the creation from him who has determined to destroy wars, namely God, who is ever the guardian of peace.

Logos is here pictured in terms of an intermediary between God and the world. Moreover, he is described as “archangelic” and also an “ambassador” highlighting again the separation between God and Logos. It appears that Philo’s treatment of Logos cannot necessarily be categorized systematically but like other modes of mediation in ancient Judaism it too blurs the boundaries between divine and angelic.\textsuperscript{91}

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90. Additionally, in Quaest. in Gen. 2.62, Philo refers to Logos as τον δευτερον θεον implying its independent nature. See also Conf. 146; Mut. 87; Cher. 35; Quaest. Exod. 2.13; etc.

91. Segal makes a relevant point concerning Philo’s use of Logos in relation to divine mediation, “Like them [Greek philosophers], he is reluctant to conceive of a pure, eternal God who participates directly in the affairs of the corruptible world. So he employs a system of mediation by which God is able to reach into the transient world, act in it, fill it, as well as transcend material existence, without implying a change in His essence” (Segal, Two Powers in Heaven, 164–65).
II. Divine/Angelic Beings

Of the many different types of divine mediators, this thesis will focus primarily on angelic intermediaries. The English term “angel” is commonly used in modern society without much reflection on what it implies about these heavenly beings. They are understood as subordinate beings that are in the service of a higher deity. The term “angel” is derived from the LXX translation αγγελος of the Hebrew מלאך. It would be more accurate to label these divine beings according to their Hebrew name מלאכים but this becomes problematic as there are a multiple terms for divine beings in the Hebrew Bible that differ according to form and function. These include among others the following: šāṭān, the malʿākîm, the šerāpîm, and the kērubîm. Thus, the term מלאכים is only one division of the beings that inhabit the heavenly realm. Of these different types of minor deities, I focus on the functions and roles accorded to מלאכים who engage in dialogue with a human in dreams and visions. I use the headings of “divine beings” throughout the first chapter dealing with the ancient Near Eastern, Greek and biblical background. This is intentionally done in recognition that biblical angelic beings should be understood as minor deities rather than distinct entities from the Hebrew God. The divine nature of angelic beings is reflected in the use of various terminology for them both in the biblical material and other Jewish literature.

93. Divine beings as a collective are also mentioned throughout the Hebrew Bible using a variety terms including: bēnē (ḥā) ēlōhîm, qēdōšîm and qāḥāl. See Hamori, *When Gods Were Men*, 104.
94. These divine beings are often but not always referred to as מלאכים.
95. In other words, as Gieschen writes, “Angelic forms and functions do not of necessity imply a nature that is less than divine” (Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 4). However, in the discussion regarding the biblical material, I use the more common term “angelic” as it conventional in the scholarship.
96. The term ēlōhîm is often translated as “God” but it can also be translated in the plural form “gods.” In some cases the plural is used for angelic beings (Ps 82:1). A familial relationship between God and the angelic beings is also implied with the term bēnē (ḥā) ēlōhîm “sons of god” (Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7).
In chapters two and three, I switch to use the term angelic to refer to most heavenly beings.\textsuperscript{97} Especially in the post-exilic period the term 
\textit{מלאך} denotes more than “messenger” and encompasses a variety of roles including interpreters, intercessors, scribes, priests, etc.\textsuperscript{98} It would be more accurate to use the terms “messenger deities” or “interpretive deities” or “guiding deities” but it is more common in scholarship to refer to them as angelic beings. This multifaceted role of angelic beings is especially pertinent in chapter one when I examine the multiple functions human messengers could play both in the ancient Near East and Israel. Their primary objective is to deliver a message but they also adopt the roles of interpreter, intercessor and escort among others to fulfill this duty.\textsuperscript{99} I apply the analogy of human messengers with their multiple functions to similar developments found among heavenly מלאכים. Thus, I treat the “messenger” function of the angelic figures as an over-arching role that encompasses a variety of other duties such as interpretation, intercession, guidance and teaching.

\textbf{II. Divine/Human}

The distinction between divine and human is not always as clear as one might expect especially in the Second Temple literature. In each of our texts, there are hints that humans could attain a more “angelic” nature. In Dan 12:2-3, the righteous are not only promised eternal life but that they will shine like the stars. In other words, they are identified with angelic beings who are elsewhere referred to as stars (Judg 5:20; Job 38:7).\textsuperscript{100} However, the degree to which one can speak of humans becoming “angelic” is difficult to ascertain especially since Dan 12:3 states that

\textsuperscript{97} I would still distinguish between other divine beings like \textit{seraphim}, \textit{cherubim} and the \textit{śātān} figure that have their own distinct terminology.
\textsuperscript{98} Gieschen, \textit{Angelomorphic Christology}, 51.
\textsuperscript{100} The \textit{Epistle of Enoch} also uses similar language, “but now you will shine like the luminaries of heaven; you will shine and appear, and the portals of heaven will be opened for you” (\textit{1 En.} 104:2). And later they are told they “will be the companions of the host of heaven” (\textit{1 En.} 104:6).
they will be “like” the stars and not that they “become” stars. No such statement is found in the *Book of Watchers*; however, the concept of an exalted human is prominent in *1 En. 12-16* as Enoch takes over roles once belonging to the fallen watchers as their intercessor. In the case of Zech 1-8, the investiture of the high priest by angelic beings sets up a precedent for later traditions in which investiture ceremonies result in an angelic status for a human (2 En. 22:8-10; T. Levi 8:14-15). Each of these texts, shows an awareness that the boundary between heaven and earth is somewhat permeable. Though they only hint at the possibility that humans could achieve a more exalted status among the angels, later books adopt these traditions to illustrate more explicitly the “divine” status of humans.

This awareness that humanity could attain more of a “divine status” is found especially in stories of exalted patriarchs. A variety of ancient patriarchs are featured in later literature as


102. As I will argue later in the thesis, the *Book of Watchers* does not present Enoch as “angelic” but later Enochic traditions (2 En. 22:8-10) build on these earlier traditions and describe Enoch’s transformation into an angelic being. Already in other earlier Enochic traditions, there are moments that describe human transformation though it is not clear how “angelic” they become (1 En. 39:14; 51:1-5; 62:15-16; 71:11; 104:1-2).

103. In Zech 3, it is not clear how much “access” Joshua is granted to the divine council. Vanderkam rightly points out that it might be more limited and indirect in that the high priest would still have access through the prophets who were the typical visitors to the divine council (James C. VanderKam, “Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3,” *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 560). I would also point out that the ambiguity in this passage may have contributed to later traditions in which privileged leaders are given access to the divine world.

reaching a “divine” status including Adam, Enoch, Abraham and Moses among others.\textsuperscript{105} These figures are not only taken up to heaven but typically undergo some sort of transformation.\textsuperscript{106} It is not always clear to what degree they become “divine,” “angelic” or “super-human.” The language used for such identification with angelic beings is somewhat ambiguous as in Sir 45:2 that states, “He made him [Moses] equal in glory to the holy ones.”\textsuperscript{107} This is likely an allusion to Exod 4:16 and 7:1 where Moses is called a “god” to both Aaron and Pharaoh.\textsuperscript{108} Other traditions such as Testament of Moses and Exagōgē of Ezekiel also attest to similar notions of exaltation or glorification of this patriarch. It is clear that these patriarchs act as mediators between the divine and human world but the degree to which they become “divine” is left unanswered. The concept of a divine man or theios aner was not unique to ancient Judaism but was also especially prominent in Greek literature.\textsuperscript{109} The idea of a theios aner or a “divine man” is also found in the writings of Philo especially regarding the figure of Moses. At various points, Philo alludes to Moses’ exalted nature but it is not clear if he implies divinization or an elevated status among humans.\textsuperscript{110} Louis H. Feldman argues that the term θειος as applied to humans in the Hellenistic


\textsuperscript{106} Both 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch describe the transformation of Enoch into an angelic being. In 2 En. 22:8-10, angelic beings remove his earthly garments, anoint him with oil and clothe him in glorious garments. Once clothed, the visionary states, “And I looked at myself, and I was like one of the glorious ones, and there was no apparent difference.” In 3 En. 4:2-3, when questioned concerning his identity, the angel Metatron states that he is “Enoch son of Jared” whom God took into heaven as a witness.

\textsuperscript{107} The fragmentary Hebrew Geniza texts appears to compare Moses with 'elōhim.

\textsuperscript{108} Hurtado, One God, One Lord, 56.


\textsuperscript{110} Mos. 2:2-7. Runia argues, “The fact, therefore, that Moses is given the same title as God is certainly a great honour, but it does not imply a kind of deification in which Moses
and Roman eras should be understood as “godlike” or “more than human” rather than a statement of divinity. While this is likely the case, there are a variety of passages where the discussion regarding a human’s nature is more ambiguous and the boundaries between “divine” and “human” beings is not drawn as sharply.

The same ambiguity concerning the identification of humans with angelic beings is also found in some of the Qumran scrolls. The group responsible for the Dead Sea Scrolls also wrestled with the notion of human transformation. It appears that they too were unsure as to the degree that one might become like the angels. Two main streams of traditions can be detected in the scrolls: (1) that humans could become angels and (2) that humans were exalted with the angels but not transformed. The text 1QSb 4.25 (Rule of the Blessings) states, “and you (shall be) as an Angel of the Presence in the dwelling of the holiness.” Charlesworth has argued that 1QSb denotes an “an elevation to angelic status” but not necessarily “transfiguration into an angel.” It is not clear if this transformation entails an actual change of identity or simply an elevation to become similar to angelic beings. A second text that appears to describe the transformation of a human to angelic status is 4Q491 fragment 11. This is one of the more explicit passages outlining a stream of tradition where humans could attain an angelic status. Although it is argued by some that this passage describes an archangel, it is more likely that a human is being referred to since they are only presently counted among the gods. The evidence for humans becoming angels in

comes to share in the same nature as God” (David T. Runia, “God and Man in Philo of Alexandria,” 60).


112. A particularly vivid example of this “sliding scale” of divine/human nature is illustrated in Ascension of Isaiah where the visionary’s appearance is transformed to resemble the divine beings he encounters on each successive level of heaven. This is juxtaposed by the later descent of Christ whose appearance becomes more and more human as he approaches earth.


the Dead Sea Scrolls is suggestive but is not a major focus for the community.

The more prominent stream of tradition is that humans received an exalted status among the angels without actually changing their identity as humans. Collins has argued, “One of the most distinctive features of the Qumran sect was the belief that the members of the community were ipso facto companions to the host of heaven and so living an angelic life, even on earth.”115 The Rule of the Community attests to this notion, “To those whom God has selected he has given them as an everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones. He unites their assembly to the sons of the heavens in order (to form) the council of the Community (1QS XI:7-8).” The community here is pictured as joining with the angelic assembly but it does not involve their transformation.116 Rowland aptly states that the earthly community is seen as “an extension of the heavenly world.”117 A well known text describing the close relationship between the earthly and heavenly communities is the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice that enabled worshipers a sense of “being present in the heavenly temple”.118 These worshipers retained their mortality but aspired to join in the angelic praise “…how shall we be considered [among] them?” (4Q400 2:5-7).119 The distinction between human and angel is maintained and despite the mystical quality of the language, there is no account of human transformation into angelic status.120 It becomes apparent that two different ideas are present not only in the Dead Sea Scrolls but elsewhere in early Judaism concerning the transformation of human beings. In some traditions, humans are described as undergoing a change in identity and becoming an

116. The Hodayot also show evidence of this tradition, “The depraved spirit you have purified from great offense so that he can take a place with the host of the holy ones, and can enter into communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven” (1QH XI:21-22). The purification of the community is a prerequisite for the members to gain a place among the angels.
117. Rowland, The Open Heaven, 118.
118. Newsom, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 59, 72?.
119. Newsom, “‘He Has Established for Himself Priests’,” 105.
120. Collins, Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 140.
angelic being. However, the majority view is that human communities could undergo a type of angelic transformation while on earth. As Charlesworth states, “the diverse traditions should not be forced into a coherent system.” It is apparent that questions surrounding the ability of humans to attain a more exalted status or to join with angelic praise were answered in a variety of ways during the Second Temple Period and beyond. Despite the lack of a unified system of thought regarding “exalted” humans, the frequency with which these questions were engaged demonstrates that these communities continued to look for ways to bridge the gap between heaven and earth.

Approach to Texts

This thesis investigates the portrayal of angelic mediation in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. These books come with complex traditions of compilation and do not all survive completely intact. In addition, the books of 1 En.1-36 and Dan 7-12 are part of a larger tradition of works associated with the figures of Enoch and Daniel respectively. Below I outline the major issues and approaches that will be adopted in this thesis.

I. Zechariah 1-8

The book of Zechariah is divided into two distinct sections: chapters 1-8 and 9-14. Zechariah 1-8 is believed to have originated with the prophet Zechariah (520 BCE) while chapters 9-14 are later additions written after the completion of the temple. They are

distinguished not only by different genres but also by a lack of structural similarities. As angelic mediators are not present in the later section (9-14), this thesis will only address the earlier chapters. Zechariah 1-8 is divided into three main sections by a series of date formulas (Zech 1:1-6, 1:7-6:15 and 7-8). It is apparent that the book has undergone quite a bit of editorial redaction beginning with the earlier night visions before the addition of the oracles and the prologue. The first section, a prologue (1:1-6), belongs most likely to the final form of the book which sets up the context of Israel’s sinfulness and return to faithfulness. The second section, a series of eight night visions (1:7-6:15), is the main focus for this thesis as it depicts the actions of angelic mediators as they reveal knowledge to a human prophet. Although the night visions are presented as occurring over the course of one night, scholars maintain that a more complicated process of compilation is at play and that these visions occurred over a longer time period. The fourth vision (Zech 3) is most likely a later addition to the visionary sequence as it differs both in structure and theme from the rest of the cycle. In addition, we can see the hand


125. These date formulae are considered an editorial addition to the text as it was compiled in its final form. For a detailed discussion of the structure of Zechariah, see Mike Butterworth, Structure and the Book of Zechariah (JSOTSup 130; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 62–69.

126. Scholars have proposed a variety of different models for the redaction and compilation of Zech 1-8. Beuken argued for one primary redaction tied to the Chronicler (W. A. M. Beuken, Haggai-Sacharja 1–8 [SSN 10; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967], 35, 184–216). Meyers and Meyers argue that the prophet Zechariah was likely responsible for editing the final form of both Haggai and Zechariah (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, xliv-xlviii). And Mason posits a Deuteronomic milieu rather than the Chronicler for the redaction of Zechariah (Rex Mason, “The Purpose of the Editorial ‘Framework’ in the Book of Haggai,” VT 27 [1977]: 413–21).


128. The first to propose this theory was A. Jepsen which has received widespread approval from scholars (A. Jepsen, “Kleine Beiträge zum Zwölfprophetenbuch 3/4 Sacharja,” ZAW 61 [1945–48]: 95–114). See Jeremias’ list of differences found in Zech 3 in contrast with the rest of the visions: Jeremias, Die Nachtgesichte Des Sacharja, 201–3. Both Petersen and Tollington argue that Zech 3 is original to the visionary sequence (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 112; Tollington, Tradition and Innovation, 34–35).
of the editor in the deliberate envelop structure of the first and last vision (Zech 1:7-17; 6:1-8) which both contain angelic figures and horses moving to and from the heavenly council. Finally, the third section is a collection of oracles (Zech 7-8) that reinstates Deuteronomistic ideals of social justice but also outlines a hopeful restoration for Jerusalem.\footnote{129}

Finally, the text of Zechariah is considered to be preserved in good condition in the MT.\footnote{130} According to Meyers and Meyers, there are only two places where the medieval \textit{qere} tradition is superior to that of the MT (1:16 and 4:2).\footnote{131} In addition, the well-known textual problem of the singular versus multiple crowns in 6:14 also necessitates a reading from the LXX and Peshitta. Furthermore, this thesis also compares some of the readings (Zech 1:8) with those of the LXX to gain an appreciation of the fluidity of traditions found in Zechariah. Lastly, the book of Zechariah is attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls but only a small fragment is preserved (Zech 1:1-4).\footnote{132}

\section*{II. \textit{1 Enoch} 1-36}

The document known as \textit{1 Enoch} has undergone a complex history of compilation and redaction.\footnote{133} In its earliest of forms it is found in Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic. It is only extant in Ethiopian but the manuscripts are very late with the earliest dating to the 15th cent BCE.\footnote{134} It is

\begin{itemize}
\item[129.] Oracles are also interspersed throughout the visions of Zech 1:7-6:15. See Albert Petitjean, \textit{Les oracles du Proto-Zacharie: un programme de restauration pour la communauté juive après l'exil} (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969); Tollington, \textit{Tradition and Innovation}, 37–47.
\item[130.] Meyers and Meyers, \textit{Haggai, Zechariah 1–8}, lxviii; Petersen, \textit{Haggai and Zechariah 1–8}, 125.
\item[131.] Meyers and Meyers, \textit{Haggai, Zechariah 1–8}, lxviii. Petersen also agrees that the MT text of Zechariah is “relatively free of textual problems” but does offer several different readings from the MT (Petersen, \textit{Haggai and Zechariah 1–8}, 125).
\item[132.] Tollington, \textit{Tradition and Innovation}, 11, fn. 1.
\item[133.] I will adopt Charlesworth’s terminology and use ‘\textit{1 Enoch}’ for \textit{Ethiopic Enoch} and ‘\textit{Aramaic Enoch}’ for the Qumran fragments (J.H. Charlesworth, “The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Paris and Tubingen on the Books of Enoch,” \textit{NTS} 25 [1979]: 315 n.2). For the Greek material, I will refer to the particular manuscript or fragment.
\item[134.] There are at least fifty manuscripts that are divided into two groups by scholars. The first group of early texts date from the 15th-18th century while the second group dates from the 17th-20th century. According to Knibb, the first group, while displaying a variety of
not clear when *1 Enoch* was translated from Greek into Ethiopic. An earlier form is preserved in some Greek manuscripts but only the *Book of Watchers* and part of the *Epistle of Enoch* are present. The main Greek translations are found in the Akhmim manuscript, the Chronography of Syncellus, the Chester Beatty-Michigan papyrus, and in a fragment from a Vatican codex. About one third of the book known from the Ethiopic is preserved in these Greek manuscripts. It was not until 1952 that earlier Aramaic fragments of the Enochic books were found at Qumran. These Aramaic fragments demonstrate variants to the Greek and Ethiopic traditions and show early evidence of how the books were collected. However, they survive only in fragments which necessitates relying on the Greek and Ethiopic versions as only a third of the text survives. The issue of which translation to use is difficult as the text is only fully preserved in the Ethiopic but earlier Aramaic fragments and Greek manuscripts contain different readings.


136. Milik also claimed that passages from the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of Dream Visions* are also found in fragments 3 and 1 of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2069 (J. T. Milik, “Fragments grecs du livre d’Henoch [p. Oxy. xvii 2069],” *Chronique d’Égypte* 46 [1971]: 321–43). Additionally, a Greek version of *1 En.* 89:42-49 was found in the margins of an eleventh century manuscript in the Vatican Library (*1 Enoch*, 13).


139. These include the following: 4Q201-4Q212. For a description of the individual manuscripts see Knibb, “The Book of Enoch or Books of Enoch?” 29–32.
Moreover, it is not only the matter of translation but the varying contexts which these translations are preserved that is important. Knibb notes that the Aramaic versions are the only ones which are exclusively Jewish while the Greek and Ethiopic have undergone Christian redaction. The relationship between these three traditions is not necessarily linear as the Ethiopic though a translation of a Greek version contains some key differences to the Aramaic versions. According to Knibb, the Ethiopic translation, “…represents rather a new edition of the text, a translation of a Greek texts - of which we have only partial knowledge - that dates back at the earliest to the first century CE.” Thus, each of these versions is important to consider as the traditions concerning Enoch were far from static.

The text known as 1 Enoch preserved in Ethiopic is divided into seven parts: the Book of Watchers (1-36), the Book of Parables (37-71), the Astronomical Book (72-82), the Book of Dream Visions (83-90), the Epistle of Enoch (91-105), the Birth of Noah (106-107) and the Eschatological Vision (108). Based on the evidence from Qumran, the earliest record of a

141. See Knibb, “The Book of Enoch or Books of Enoch?” 26). Black argues that the Ethiopic version is “a tertiary version, a translation of a Greek Vorlage, itself rendering an Aramaic and/or Hebrew Grundschrift” (Black, The Book of Enoch, 4). In contrast, E. Ullendorff argues that both an Aramaic and Greek version were available to the Ethiopic translators (E. Ullendorff, “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?” in Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Etiopici [Rome: Accademia Nazionale die Lincei, 1960], 259–67). This view is followed by Knibb as well (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 2.37).
143. For this thesis, I will use the translation from Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch. This translation attempts to use the oldest readings from the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic versions. However, this can be a subjective decision and Nickelsburg’s translation does not always reflect the best reading (Michael A. Knibb, “Interpreting the Book of Enoch: Reflections on a Recently Published Commentary,” JSJ 33 [2002]: 442–47). In light of these drawbacks, reference will be made to the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic variants where applicable.
144. The evolution of the corpus is complicated and occurred over a lengthy period of time. The oldest books, the Astronomical Book (4QEnas6) and the Book of Watchers date at least to the 3rd cent. BCE. Both the earliest forms of these books differ from what is found in later Aramaic copies (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91–108 [CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007], 8). The Epistle of Enoch was the next tradition to be added to the growing body of Enochic works in the pre-Maccabean period. It also had a longer history of compilation that is described in Stuckenbruck, 1 Enoch 91–108, 9–11. In the 2nd to 1st cent BCE further
collection of Enochic books is found in 4Q204 (4QEn\(^c\)). This contains fragments from the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Giants*, the *Book of Dream Visions* and the *Epistle of Enoch* which dates to the late 1st century BCE.\(^{145}\) Milik argued that based on 4Q203-4Q204 (to which he included the *Book of Giants* and the *Astronomical Book*) that date from 100 BCE, an Enochic Pentateuch existed at Qumran.\(^{146}\) This assertion has come under much critique as the Aramaic *Astronomical Book* was considered a separate document at Qumran.\(^{147}\) Nickelsburg has suggested that 4QEn\(^c\) read in light of the Enochic should be understood as a testament rather than a Pentateuch.\(^{148}\) His reconstruction would include the following: the *Book of Watchers* (1-36 + a fuller form of 81:1-4); a narrative of Enoch’s return to earth (similar to 81:5-82:3); the *Dream Visions* (83-85); a continuation of the narrative (91); the *Epistle of Enoch* (91-105); the birth of Noah (106-107).\(^{149}\) Nickelsburg’s argument has come under critique as well especially regarding the characterization of the Enochic books as a testament.\(^{150}\) The difficulty in defining this growing collection of Enochic traditions is that the traditions were neither static nor fixed at this time.

The document known as the *Book of Watchers* is not the product of one author but has undergone a series of redactions.\(^{151}\) As it now stands we can divide the document into five sections: The Prologue (1-5), The Fall of the Watchers (6-11), Enoch and the Watchers (12-16), additions including the *Book of Dreams* (83-84), the *Animal Apocalypse* (85-90), the *Birth of Noah* (106-107) were made. Moreover, the *Book of Giants* was also in circulation at this time though its relation to the rest of the Enochic books is unclear. Finally, both the *Eschatological Admonition* (108) and the *Book of Parables* were later additions and not attested among the Aramaic or Greek manuscripts.

\(^{149}\) Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 23.
\(^{151}\) As R.H. Charles has written, “This section is of composite structure and from many hands” (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* [London: Oxford, 1912], 1).
Enoch’s First Journey (17-19) and Enoch’s Second Journey (20-36). The earliest layer is believed to be the story the watchers in chapters 6-11. There is no mention of Enoch in this second section and it is thought to have originated as a story about Noah. Dimant also notes that unlike the other sections, it does not use the first but the third person. She proposes that 1 En. 6-11 “were taken from an ancient midrash on Gen vi 1-4.” The next layer in chapters 12-16 now turns to Enoch and his encounter with the fallen watchers. It is not clear if the author had chapters 6-11 in front of him or if it was originally an independent unit and only later attached to the story of the watchers. This section emphasizes Enoch’s role as intercessor to the fallen watchers and his ascent to the throne room of heaven. The following section (1 En. 17-19) introduces the travel journey of Enoch. There is some disagreement whether it constitutes an independent literary unit or if it belongs with chapters 12-16. However, chapters 17-19 and 20-36 introduce a new motif of angelic revelation through a cosmic journey with an interest in

152. The majority of scholars hold to a five-fold division of the Book of Watchers (Charles, The Book of Enoch, xlvii-xlvi; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 25; James C. VanderKam, Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition [CBQMS 16; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984], 110) but there are some alternative models. Milik divided it into three parts: 1 En. 1-5; 6-19; and 20-36 (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 25, 33–35) and Tigchelaar proposes a seven-fold division (Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 152–64).

153. Even with this earliest layer, scholars have proposed that it is also a collection of earlier traditions and stories (George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” JBL 96 [1977]: 384–86; Paul D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,” JBL 96 [1977]: 195–233). At least two strands are found in these stories: the watcher Shemihazah (all of chs. 6-11 except 7:1de; 8:1-3; 9:6, 8c; 10:4-10) and the watcher Asael.

154. VanderKam, Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition, 111.


156. Newsom argues that, “…there can be no doubt that the author of chaps. 12-16 had before him some form of chaps. 6-11 which he attempted to annex to Enochic traditions” (Carol A. Newsom, “The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,” CBQ 42 [1980]: 315). In contrast, Tigchelaar argues that chs. 6-11 were already an independent unit as well as some divergences in their treatment of the punishment of the watchers (Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 157).

157. Milik argues that 1 En. 6-19 is the oldest Enochic layer and that chapters 14-19 are a self-contained unit (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 25, 33–35).
cosmological sites and the places of the dead.\textsuperscript{158} Although chapters 17-19 are now included with chapters 12-16 as a concluding unit, they were likely originally independent.\textsuperscript{159} This first journey (17-19) should also be distinguished from Enoch’s second travel narrative in chapters 20-36.\textsuperscript{160} First, \textit{I En}. 19:3 ends with this concluding statement: “I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw.” Secondly, there are a number of duplications of Enoch’s journey first described in chapters 17-19.\textsuperscript{161} While many scholars argue that chapters 20-36 are dependent upon the first tour narrative in 17-19, Tigchelaar offers a compelling alternative. He argues that despite the similarities between the two journeys they are independently reworking an earlier tradition.\textsuperscript{162} Finally, the prologue of chapters 1-5 is considered the final layer as it is not present in all the Dead Sea Scrolls and serves as an introduction to chapters 6-36.\textsuperscript{163} It also differs from the rest of the chapters as it is a prophetic oracle about the judgement described in the rest of \textit{I En}. 6-36.\textsuperscript{164} This thesis will take these complex lines of tradition-history into consideration as it considers the primary texts in more depth.

\section*{III. Daniel 7-12}

As with the \textit{Book of Watchers}, there is much fluidity among the traditions associated with the figure of Daniel. As Nickelsburg notes, “The stories of Daniel and his friends were part of a

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{158} There are a variety of ways in which chapters 17-19 are joined by later editors to the material in chapters 6-16. See Newsom, “The Development of \textit{1 Enoch} 6–19,” 322–23.
\item \textsuperscript{159} Tigchelaar, \textit{Prophets of Old}, 157.
\item \textsuperscript{160} Kelley Coblentz Bautch, \textit{A Study of the Geography of \textit{1 Enoch} 17–19 “No One Has Seen What I Have Seen”} (JSJSup 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003), ?.
\item \textsuperscript{161} This will be addressed in further detail in chapter three of the thesis. For more information see Bautch, \textit{A Study of the Geography of \textit{1 Enoch} 17–19}, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{162} Tigchelaar, \textit{Prophets of Old}, 159. Tigchelaar does not discount the possibility that the author of 21-25 had chapters 17-19 but he considers more likely that they are independent traditions.
\item \textsuperscript{163} Hartman has argued for a series of parallels between chs. 1-5 and 6-36 (Lars Hartman, \textit{Asking for a Meaning: A Study of \textit{1 Enoch} 1–5} [ConBNT 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979], 139–41).
\item \textsuperscript{164} Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 132.
\end{enumerate}
living body of tradition." This thesis relies primarily on the version found in the BHS (1008-9 BCE) based on Leningrad Codex B 19A. However, this must be supplemented by other Daniel manuscripts and traditions that at times predate but also reuse Danielic traditions. First, earlier manuscripts of the book of Daniel have been found among the Dead Scrolls. It is clear that the book of Daniel was held in high esteem at Qumran as eight fragments were found. In addition, there are two pre-Danielic texts: 4QPrayer of Nabonidus (4Q242) and the Book of Giants (4QEnGiants). The Prayer of Nabonidus contains an earlier version of the tradition underlying Dan 4. The Book of Giants is more relevant for this thesis as it contains two dream visions by the giants ’Ohlyah and Hahyah (sons of Shemihazah). One of the giants records a vision of judgment that greatly resembles the throne room vision in Dan 7. Although at one point, the Book of Giants was thought to rely on Dan 7, it is more likely that the book of Daniel “has taken up a tradition that, at least in some details, has been more faithfully preserved in the Book of Giants.” The discoveries from Qumran reveal the fluid state of the book of Daniel and that the version preserved in the Masoretic text is only one tradition among many found in the Second Temple period. Secondly, there are also four Greek additions that are not found in the Hebrew

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167. The fragments date from the late second century BCE to the first century CE (Collins, *Daniel*, 2). They also attest to the Hebrew-Aramaic divisions found in the Masoretic tradition and all twelve chapter are present. In the case of the twelfth chapter, it is found in a quotation from 4QFlor (4Q174) col. 2, lines 3, 4a. For a listing of the variant readings in the scrolls see Collins, *Daniel*, 3.

168. Stuckenbruck argues that the Prayer of Nabonidus is not a “direct literary source” for Dan 4 but preserves evidence of an earlier version that Dan 4 adapts to suit an exilic setting (Stuckenbruck, “The Formation and Re-Formation of Daniel,” 106).

manuscripts: the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna and Bel and the Dragon.  

170 These passages were added after the composition of Dan 1-12 but likely within a century of its composition. These additions are especially pertinent to the court tales of Dan 1-6 as three of them are inserted within these earlier chapters.  

It is clear that a variety of communities found the traditions of Daniel to be authoritative and they in turn generated their own versions of the Danielic legends.

The visions of Dan 7-12 constitute part of the larger book of Daniel as is found in the Hebrew Bible. Chapters 1-6 are a series of court stories that feature Daniel as a dream interpreter set during the Babylonian Exile told in the third person. These court tales date to the Hellenistic period and are an older nucleus of folk tales.  

In contrast, chapters 7-12 are visions told in the first person but it is now angelic beings who act as interpreters rather than Daniel. It is not completely clear at which point the book was assembled as a unity. A variety of different models have been put forward by scholars. First, a developmental model advocated by Holscher proposed a first stage with the court tales (1-6), then supplemented by an Aramaic book (1-7) and


171. The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men are found after chapter three. In the Theodotion version, the story of Susanna is found before Dan 1 but in the Old Greek it is placed after Dan 12. Finally, Bel and the Dragon concludes the book of Daniel in both Theodotion and the Old Greek.

172. Traditionally, it was thought that Daniel was the author of the entire book. But even as early as the late third century CE, Porphyry advanced the theory that Dan 7-12 was the product of later community (Collins, *Daniel*, 25). And yet it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that a Maccabean dating for chapters 7-12 was widely accepted by scholarship. A small minority of scholars continue to argue that the entire book was written as a unity. Rowley is representative of this viewpoint (H. H. Rowley, “The Unity of the Book of Daniel,” *Hebrew Union College Anniversary Publication* 1 [1952]: 233–73).

173. Chapter seven does contain a third person introductory sentence before switching to the first person (Dan 7:1).

174. This is complicated by the presence of both Hebrew (Dan 1:1-2:4a; 8-12) and Aramaic (2:4b-7:28) that does not accord with the division of the book based on genre.
a final addition of the visions in the Maccabean era. More recently, A.S. van der Woude has suggested that an Aramaic book of Daniel (1-7) was edited in the Maccabean era with the addition of the Hebrew chapters 8-12. This was also accompanied by the translation of Dan 1:1-2:4a into Hebrew. Another possibility suggested by J. E. Miller is that the book of Daniel is the combination of an Aramaic book (2-7) and a Hebrew document (1, 8-12). In the end, it is not clear how the book of Daniel achieved its final form; however, it appears to be early as evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls indicates the bilingual character of the book was known.

The visions of Dan 7-12 are noted especially as an early example of a Jewish apocalypse. They are distinguished by the presence of a pseudonymous author, angelic revelation, ex eventu prophecy, judgment of the wicked and concerns with resurrection and the afterlife. Chapters 7-8 are closely related as they focus on the persecution of Antiochus IV though set in the reign of Belshazzar. Both are symbolic dream visions that require angelic interpretation. Moreover, the symbol of the little horn appears in both chapters (Dan 7:8; 8:9-12). Chapter nine differs somewhat in form as it is not a symbolic vision but a textual tradition that is interpreted by the angel. A lengthy prayer introduces the first half of the chapter (Dan 9:1-19); however, it is not clear if the prayer is original to the visions or a later addition. Finally chapters 10-12 do not contain symbolic visions but angelic revelation is featured. Collins argues that they build up to

177. The process of compilation becomes more complication as he posits that Dan 7:1-2a was added and that Dan 2 was an integration of similar materials in both documents (J. E. Miller, “The Redaction of Daniel,” *JSOT* 52 [1991]: 121).
179. Collins argues, “In view of these correspondences, it is best to conclude, that, although the prayer was not composed for the context, it was included purposefully by the author of Daniel 9 and was not a secondary addition (Collins, *Daniel*, 348). Others have argued that is a secondary addition: R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 226–27; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel* (Anchor Bible 23; New York: Garden City, 1978), 245–46.
the climactic moment in Dan 12:2-3 which outlines the resurrection of the wise.\textsuperscript{180} The epilogue in Dan 12:5-13 is considered a secondary addition as it lacks the customary date formula and refers to the “sealed words” (12:9) presupposing a passing of time after the initial command to seal the words (12:4).\textsuperscript{181}

**Structure of Dissertation**

The first chapter will explore the origins of divine mediators both in the ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible. The symbolic visions experienced by the visionaries have ancient roots at Ugarit, Mesopotamia, Persia and Greece. Although Zechariah’s night visions provide the first explicit articulation of an angelic intermediary within a visionary sequence, there are also many roots in the biblical texts. Many scholars look to Ezek 40-48 as Zechariah’s inspiration for this angelic figure; however, there are also important examples in the Pentateuch, Job and the Hebrew prophets.\textsuperscript{182}

The second chapter will outline the development of the prominent roles of angel as interpreter and guide in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It is in these texts that the standard dialogue between human and angel is developed. Despite their distance from one another, there are a surprising number of similarities as these texts participate in a discourse concerning the interaction between humans and angels. This chapter will note lines of continuity between the texts but will also demonstrate the varying portrayals of the angelic figure.

In the third chapter, I will focus on the location of angelic activity in relation to humans. In all three texts, angelic mediators either visit humans on earth or are given special duties to perform for humanity. Each contains a divine council or throne room scene in which the inner workings of the heavenly court are described (Zech 3; 1 En. 14:8-16:4; Dan 7:9-16). And in

\textsuperscript{180} Collins, *Daniel*, 32
\textsuperscript{181} Collins, *Daniel*, 371.
\textsuperscript{182} Many of the biblical texts contain examples of angelic mediation that occur outside of a visionary format. However, they remain important influences in the larger development of angelic dialogue with humans.
Zechariah and 1 Enoch, extra attention is devoted to describing or demonstrating angelic and human interactions in the heavenly regions apart from the divine council (Zech 1:7-11; 6:1-8; 1 En. 17-36). Finally, angelic activity on earth is an important element for all three texts (Zech 2:1-5; 1 En. 10:1-3; 26; Daniel 8, 10). The aim of this chapter is to trace the similarities and differences between these texts as it relates to angelic activity in various locations both earthly and heavenly.

The last chapter will summarize the findings and evaluate the evidence for an evolving tradition of angelic intermediation in Second Temple Judaism. I will also explore the causes for divergences or alternative traditions within angelic mediation. The implications for understanding the figure of an angelic intermediary in later works will also be part of this chapter.
CHAPTER 1

THE SEARCH FOR ORIGINS
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN, GREEK AND BIBLICAL TRADITIONS

In a dream, a night vision, when deep sleep falls on men,
While they slumber on their beds. Then He opens men’s understanding...

Job 33:15-16a

Introduction

The ancient world recounts many experiences with both the divine realm and its inhabitants. Encounters with deities usually occur within visions and dreams where a heavenly being communicates with the seer. At times, the human is taken away on a visionary tour of the heavenly realms. While each culture has its own unique emphases, a consistency in how humans interact with divine beings is found throughout the ancient world. These similarities extend to representations in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish texts where humans regularly meet divine beings in visions and dreams. In the books of Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 divine figures begin to emerge with some distinct functions and roles. They serve as intermediaries between the divine and earthly realms, usually in a visionary format, in order to interpret visions, guide the seer on heavenly tours or intercede for them. These roles appear to be an innovation and departure from early traditions; however, the origin of these figures can be found in both the wider ancient world and in the biblical material. This chapter will begin by examining the surrounding cultures’ material (including Ugaritic, Mesopotamian, Babylonian, Persian and Greek) before turning to the relevant biblical passages. The lines of traditions are not always straightforward and it is impossible to say with certainty where these divine intermediaries find their direct inspiration. Yet this brief survey will highlight key texts and issues that were

183. The level of dependence on ancient texts is not always clear as the existence of
current in the culture and no doubt part of the worldview of the communities’ behind Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12.

**Ancient Near East & Greece**

**I. Divine Messengers**

Dreams and visions were one of the main avenues in which ancient peoples experienced encounters with the divine realm. According to Robert Gnuse, “This was the realm of the gods or the dead, dreams were an attempt by someone or something to communicate to the dreamer, who then became an intermediary between two worlds.”

Scholars have generally divided dreams into three main types based upon Oppenheim’s model: message dreams, symbolic dreams and mantic dreams. The first two dream types are relevant for our study since they include the appearance of divine figures. This first section will briefly consider the role of divine beings as they appear in message dreams. The inspiration behind the description of heavenly beings is

parallels does not always imply a direct connection, whether literary or cultural. Similar phenomena can exist in isolation of each other or may be dependent on an external source. Thus, similarities between cultural representations of divine beings are noted but cautiously since the relationship between texts is not always known. See Samuel Sandmel, “Parallelogania,” *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13. For the similarities between Jewish apocalypticism and the ancient world, see John J. Collins, “Apocalypticism Against Its Hellenistic Environment,” in *Seers, Sybils & Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJ54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 59–74. Collins argues that developments in the Hellenistic world led to an emphasis of similar characteristics such as “periodization, expectation of the end of the world, afterlife, esoteric symbolism, dualism” (Collins, “Apocalypticism Against Its Hellenistic Environment,” 72).


185. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Robert Gnuse adopts a similar system but renames them “auditory message dreams”, “visual symbolic dreams” and “psychological status dreams” (Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports*, 43–46).

186. The focus of this thesis is not on the actual dreams but the interaction between the dreamer and the deity. However, it is important to note that similar structures of dreams are found throughout the ancient Near East. These include: a physical description of the deity, the act of awakening the dreamer and a dialogue between deity and dreamer. Gnuse observes that there is only an occasional response from the human as it is mainly the deity who speaks (Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports*, 42). This dialogue between dreamer and deity is an important feature that will be considered in the following analysis of dreams and visions in the ANE.
usually found in the everyday lives of human beings. Thus, it is important first to consider the role of human messengers in the ancient Near Eastern context and how it might relate to similar descriptions of heavenly messengers. Throughout the ancient world, human messengers were sent between representatives of various cultures to communicate messages and glean information. A common misunderstanding of ancient messengers is that they simply relayed a message word for word from one party to another. Their role was much more complex as, “The primary burden of the messenger in the ancient Near East was not the verbatim delivery of a memorized message but the diplomatically nuanced explication of the sender’s intent.”¹⁸⁷ Not only might the messenger be required to translate the message to the recipient but he could be interrogated in order to provide further clarity and information.¹⁸⁸ This leads to a second misunderstanding concerning the role of human messengers, namely, that they were simply responsible for relating a message from one party to another. The title of messenger should be seen as a more overarching title that encompasses a variety of other roles, including interpreter, escort and even mediator. Though the parallels are not perfect, these various functions assumed by human messengers are also reflected in many of the religious traditions surrounding heavenly beings both in the ancient world and in the biblical traditions. This chapter will first consider the roles of messenger, interpreter, guide and mediator in the ancient Near East before proceeding to the biblical evidence for similar traditions.

i. Mesopotamia

While symbolic dreams are particularly prominent in Mesopotamia, message dreams in which a deity appears to a human are less so.¹⁸⁹ One such message dream, The Dream of King Nabonidus (555-539 BCE), contains a dialogue between Nabonidus and the gods Marduk and

¹⁸⁹. Gnuse, Dreams and Dream Reports, 51.
Sin. Similar to other dreams, the deities appear to Nabonidus (and his mother) and request the building of a temple. The dialogue is limited but Nabonidus reports that the dream disturbed him and that he did not delay in building the temple. In many of these dreams, the deities are usually described as large in stature or superhuman in size. Thus, in the *Dream of Gudea*, the dream figure reaches from earth to heaven. A second type of dream that is found throughout the ancient world is called a *Wecktraum* where the dream figure wakens the dreamer from their sleep to impart a message. In the *Dream of the Priest of Ishtar*, the dreamer is awakened from sleep and the deity Ishtar “made him see a ‘nocturnal vision.’” Flannery-Dailey argues that the purpose of such a dream is mentally to prepare the human recipient for contact with the divine. It is unclear why there are so few message dreams recorded, but compared to other forms of divination, dream interpretation in general was held in much lower esteem in Mesopotamia.

**ii. West Semitic**

The discovery in 1929 of various tablets from the seaport city of Ugarit has provided the opportunity to study a set of traditions much closer geographically to Israel than Mesopotamia. Among the tablets, a hierarchy of gods and goddesses was discovered. Mark S. Smith has

190. The dialogue in this vision between dreamer and deity is not in a question and answer format that is featured in later Jewish texts containing angelic mediators.
194. Dreams as a conceivable way to access revelation were not considered as authoritative as other forms of divination including the examination of animal livers, astrology or the interpretation of natural phenomenon (e.g. the flight pattern of birds). Gnuse suggests that dreams “could not be controlled easily” unlike these other forms of divination (Gnuse, *Dreams and Dream Reports*, 35).
195. Dreams from Mari are also included in this group. Both professional and lay people were the recipient of dreams intended for the king. Similar to Mesopotamian dreams, symbolic dreams predominate in frequency. See William Moran, “New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy,” *Bib* 50 (1969): 15–56; Abraham Malamat, “Prophecy at Mari,” in “The Place is too small for us”: the Israelite Prophets in recent scholarship (ed. Robert P. Gordon; Sources for biblical and theological study 5; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 50–73.
advanced a familial model to describe the relationship between these deities.\(^{196}\) The high god El and his consort Asherah occupy the highest rung with their children (Baal, Anat, Mot, and Yamm) occupying the second tier. The third level is the most underdeveloped but appears to be the place of workmen deities who fashion weapons for the gods. The final tier is occupied by minor deities such as the messenger-gods and other menial labourers.\(^{197}\) These messenger deities at first appear to function similarly to angels in the Hebrew Bible and one would assume that parallels to our angelic mediators would be found here. However, while in the Hebrew Bible angelic beings communicate between God and humans, at Ugarit the messenger deities are only used to communicate between deities.\(^{198}\) Instead it is the first-and second-tier deities who communicate with humans through visions and dreams that are closer to our angelic mediators. An example is found in the story of Kirta, a man who has lost his family and appeals to the high god El for help. As Kirta lies on his bed weeping, El comes to him in a dream and they engage in a conversation:

Now in his dream, El comes down;  
The Father of Man, in his vision.  
Now El approaches, asking Kirta:  
“What ails Kirta, that he cries?  
That he weeps, the Pleasant, Lad of El?  
Is it kingship like his Father he wants?  
Or dominion like the Father of Man?  
...  
[What to me is silver, or even yellow gold.]  
Together with its land, and slaves forever mine?

\(^{196}\) Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel’s Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 54–61. Lowell Handy has presented an alternative model (with the same four tiers) but using the analogy of a bureaucracy (Handy, *Among the Host of Heaven*).

\(^{197}\) The last tier contains many different type of classifications including “female servant,” “messenger,” “servant,” and “gatekeeper” (Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, 57).


\(^{199}\) Unfortunately at this point seven lines are missing from the text. In the next line, Kirta picks up the conversation.
A triad of chariot horses
From the stable of a slavewoman’s son?
[Let] me procreate sons!
[Let] me procreate sons!1200

In this vision, it is the high god El himself who visits Kirta in a dream and grants him his wish rather than an intermediary deity or being.201

Throughout the Ugaritic texts it is only the first and second-tier deities who communicate with humanity while the messenger-gods are restricted to the heavenly sphere. A possible explanation for this phenomenon may relate to a reaction against second-tier deities during the late monarchy in Judah. Deities such as Baal and the בני אלהים are demoted or assimilated into the fourth tier and the Israeliite pantheon is truncated to contain only two tiers rather than the four that existed at Ugarit.202 Unlike the בני האלהים (Job 2:1), the god Baal is not retained as part of the divine council in Israel.203 However, I would argue that characteristics once assigned to these second-tier deities, such as interaction with humans in visions or intercession for humanity, is retained in the Israeliite pantheon.204 Thus, we find that in contrast to the Ugaritic materials,

201. Both Baal and Anat speak with humans directly in the Baal Cycle. This will be explored later in the discussion of angelic intercession.
203. Many of his characteristics are assimilated into the presentation of Yahweh as a storm god and warrior deity.
204. Smith also notes the transference of characteristics of second tier deities to the fourth tier, “As just noted, the conflation of the second and fourth levels led to an identification of second-level divinities as fourth-level angels. Additionally, in later apocalyptic literature these angels exercise the kind of great power and reflect the sort of high status formerly associated with the old second level. Some angels display such great power that they seem to be just below the level of the one God of the top level; they hardly seem to be menial fourth-level divinities. Instead, they sometimes manifest power that places them close to the heavenly throne, and they receive personal names to a degree not seen in earlier presentations of angels, perhaps also a sign of their exaltation” (Smith, *The Memoirs of God*, 117). Smith focuses on the exaltation of angelic beings in ancient Judaism and their relationship to God in the first level. I would also add that there is a transference of functions from the second level deities of Ugarit to angelic mediators found in Second Temple Judaism who assume roles as messengers of divine revelation and intercessors for humanity.
angelic messengers in the Hebrew Bible do communicate with humanity rather than solely with
divine beings.

***Persia***

The influence of Zoroastrianism upon Jewish texts is a matter of debate. James Barr
questions the degree of direct influence Persian religion had on the development of Jewish ideas.
Yet he does raise the important qualification that while Jews were not as interested in Persian
religion, the Greeks showed a strong interest and it is through exposure to Greek traditions that
Jews may have been exposed to Persian ideas.\(^{205}\) Thus, the transference of traditions is possible
due to the contact between Persian, Greek and Jewish communities in the Second Temple Period.
One such example occurs in the Greek historian Herodotus’ retelling of a message dream
received by the Persian king Xerxes. After meeting with his counsellors, Xerxes decides to
follow their advice and refrain from invading Athens. However, on two consecutive nights he
receives a visit from a tall and handsome figure in his dream who tells him not to abandon his
plan to attack the city or else he will suffer the consequences. Herodotus records Xerxes reaction:

> If it is a god that sends it, and it is entirely his pleasure that this expedition against Greece
should take place, then this same dream will hover about you too and will lay the same
charge on you as on me. And I think this would be most likely to happen if you would
take all this raiment of mine and put it on and sit upon my throne and then go to sleep in
my bed.\(^{206}\) (Hist. 7.15)

Xerxes is not sure as to the identity of the figure in his dream but clearly understands it is a
message from the divine realm. Additionally, there is no dialogue between the king and the
divine being, as Xerxes simply hears the message. It is unclear how authentic or representative
this dream is for understanding Persian ideas on divine messengers. In the end, it may tell us

\(^{205}\) James Barr, “The Question of Religious Influence: Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and

\(^{206}\) Translation by David Grene, *The History of Herodotus* (Chicago: The University of
more about Greek ideas on dreams as Herodotus’ bias in casting doubt on the veracity of dreams emerges throughout the narrative.

iv. Greece

Divine dream figures are found in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* has four dream reports, including the dreams of Agamemnon (2.1-41); of Rhesus (10.578-81); of Achilles (23.58-107); and of Priam (24.677-695). The *Odyssey* also has four dream reports: the dreams of Penelope (4.794-841; 19.535-81; 20.87-90); of Nausicaa (6.15-50); as well as the waking visionary experiences of Athena (15.1-56; 20.30-55). Jean-Marie Husser argues that all these dream experiences are initiated by the deities and that a dream figure appears in each to bring a message to the hearer. These dream figures range from liminal beings (the destructive Dream in *Il* 2.8; a phantom in *Od*. 4.795-6) to deceased humans familiar to the dreamer (Patroclus in *Il*. 23.65; ) to animals (an eagle in *Od*. 19.541-550) and finally to gods such as Hermes (*Il*. 24.679) or the goddess Athena (*Od*. 6:15-50; 15.1-56; 20:30-55). Although some deities appear to humans, an increasing number of liminal beings are created by the gods to communicate messages to humanity.

These liminal dream figures are known as *oneiroi*. Flannery-Dailey argues that the Greek *oneiros* influences the development of angelic dream interpreters in the Jewish texts. She describes this figure as “a liminal being, traversing the boundaries between the dream-world and waking-world, spirit and matter.” Homer is the first to use this dream figure, who often takes on the appearance of a human (*Od*. 4.795; *Od*. 6.19). Such is the case when the goddess Athena

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207. The Greco-Roman world contains numerous examples of dream reports. This chapter will focus on heavenly messengers in Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey* since they form some of the earliest traditions in subsequent Greco-Roman works.
makes a phantom in the likeness of Iphthime (daughter of Icarius) who appears to Penelope: “So into the chamber it passed by the thong of the bolt, and stood above her [Penelope] head, and spoke to her” (Od. 4.803-4). This figure is not necessarily corporeal but has the ability to appear before humans in dreams. The oneiros brings a message from the gods that Penelope should not weep or be in distress since her son is returning to her. A dialogue ensues between the two, in which Penelope asks for information concerning Odysseus but the phantom refuses to give her an answer. This dialogue is reminiscent of the question-and-answer motif that is found in Jewish symbolic visions as Penelope questions the phantom about the fate of her son. There are many similarities between the figure of the oneiros and later Jewish angelic mediators. In both cases intermediary beings are sent by a higher deity to deliver messages to human beings, and in both the Greek and biblical traditions, these beings engage in a dialogue with their human recipients. Flannery-Dailey argues that the figure of an oneiros is a departure from earlier ancient Near Eastern dreams where it is the god or goddess who appears to the dreamer to give a message.  

This corresponds to the shift she sees between the older biblical models of God appearing in dreams and the later Second Temple texts where it is an angel who appears as a messenger, guide and interpreter. The similar trajectory between the Greek and Jewish material concerning a shift from a deity to an intermediary appearing in dreams is compelling. However, in the Greek material the oneiros is solely a messenger and never takes over the function of a dream interpreter. A final similarity present between Greek and Jewish dreams is the active participation of the dreamer.

Summary

Message dreams in the ancient Near East and the classical world are very similar in

211. Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests, 65. The development of an intermediary dream figure is significant but other gods like Zeus, Apollo, Athena and Hermes continue to appear in dreams. Moreover, deceased individuals could also appear in dreams to deliver messages as in the case of Nestor’s visitation to Agamemnon (Iliad 2.1-84).

212. Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests, 65.
nature. Both Oppenheim and Flannery-Dailey have even noted the similarity of structure within each type of dream. These message dreams tend to be concise and while there is some dialogue it is never lengthy. The question-and-answer format found in our primary texts (Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12) is not present in the ancient Near Eastern material. In the earlier material from Mesopotamia and Ugarit, the messenger is normally a major god or goddess. Thus, it is the god El who appears to Kirta and not one of the lower ranked messenger deities. However, the adaptation of the Ugaritic pantheon to its Israelite milieu might account for some developments of angelic mediation. The demotion of second-tier deities to angelic messengers in the Hebrew Bible amalgamated certain features. Thus, unlike the fourth-tier messenger deities at Ugarit, the biblical angelic beings communicate regularly with humanity albeit not in dreams or visions until the later biblical materials. It is not until the Greco-Roman period where other intermediary figures like the oneiros begin to appear within dreams and visions. These dream figures also engage in more of a question-and-answer dialogue that is more akin to early Jewish dreams. Message dreams throughout the ancient world were quite constant in their structure but the adaptation of these dreams in Greek texts reflects similar developments in the early Jewish material.

II. Divine Interpreters

A new development in Zech 1-8 is the presence of a divine being who interprets the visions of the prophet. This angelic role is adopted and incorporated into many of the early Jewish texts that are known as apocalypses. It is unclear where this interpretive function arises from and whether it is influenced by other cultures. As noted previously, the role of the human messenger was multi-faceted and contains some compelling parallels to the conception of divine


214. Oppenheim notes one exception to this trend. In the dream of Nabonidus a deceased person appears to the king (Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams, 191).
beings in the ancient world. Human messengers not only delivered messages but were also responsible for ensuring that the recipient understood the correct meaning behind the communication. Thus, it was common for messengers to be interrogated once their message was presented. According to Meier, “The messenger is presented as a resource person to whom one may pose questions which a letter is unable to answer. He can be interrogated as to details omitted in a written document, or he may be the person to ask for clarification of nuances that might be suggested by the letter itself.” Meier points to both a biblical and ancient Near Eastern example of this phenomenon. In 2 Sam 11, David questions a messenger:

Why did you go so near the city to fight? Did you not know that they would shoot from the wall? Who killed Abimelech the son of Jerubbesheth? Did not a woman cast an upper millstone upon him from the wall, so that he died at Thebez? Why did you go so near the wall?” (2 Sam 11:20-21)

The duty of the messenger does not end with the recitation of the message but continues as he is subjected to a series of questions. A second example demonstrates that the sender did not always include sensitive information in the written document but entrusted his messenger to convey the details and answer any questions:

Let my lord interrogate (lištālšunūti) the men carrying this tablet (awīlī wābil ūppīya) who heard the word of PN’s messengers. Let them give to my lord the decision of the matter (ARM II 141.4-11).

The interrogation of the messenger expands their function as they take on the role of diplomat and must mediate between both parties. This lesser known role of messengers in the ancient world is instructive for understanding the role of divine messengers both in the ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible. Like the angelic mediators found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, these human messengers respond to the questions of their recipients and engage in a dialogue with them to ensure that an accurate understanding of the message is achieved. The parallel between both is not exact as human messengers are still relaying an oral or written message while

the angelic interpreters are elucidating a strange symbolic vision. However, this is one possible avenue that may have inspired the development of another function of heavenly messengers especially in early Jewish literature. The following section will examine possible examples from the ancient Near Eastern and classical world in which divine beings serve as interpreters of dreams and visions.

The second major type of dream identified by scholars is the symbolic dream. In these visions, dreamers witness fantastical scenes or places and require the services of an interpreter. Oppenheim describes them in the following ways, “In such dreams man meets a world whirling with strange objects and unprecedented activities and happenings, teeming with gods, demons, humans and beasts; a world which extends in sweep, variety and intricacy far beyond that to which the duller senses of man’s waking consciousness grant him access.”

He notes that symbolic dreams are in essence message dreams but they differ in that they require an interpreter to discern their full meaning. Unlike the Jewish dreams, divine beings in ancient Near Eastern texts do not usually appear to act as interpreters for the dreamers. Instead, this role falls to humans, some of whom specialize in dream interpretation.

i. Mesopotamia

There are several examples of symbolic dreams in Mesopotamian literature that are commonly seen as possible precursors to the biblical accounts. The first, the *Dream of Gudea,*
is a Sumerian text dating to 2500 BCE and preserved on three clay cylinders. It is one of the few texts in which a divine being interprets a symbolic dream. Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, receives a dream from the god Ningursu to rebuild his temple. Like the earlier message dreams, a winged dream figure appears to Gudea and is described as a being of surpassing size wearing a crown, which helps Gudea identify him as a god (Cyl. A IV:15). Other symbolic characters appear, such as a woman holding a stylus and a warrior with lapis lazuli in his hand who sets down the plan of the temple. Gudea is unable to make sense of these visions so he approaches the goddess Ninâ (or Gatumdug) in order to have his dream interpreted. Not only does the goddess interpret the dream but she proceeds to instruct him on how to rebuild the temple. Oppenheim points out that Gudea is told by the god Ningursu to seek out this particular goddess because she is known to provide such interpretations.223

The dream of Tammuz, a Sumerian text, is a second example where a deity interprets a symbolic dream. What sets this text apart from others is that the dreamer is not a human but the god Tammuz. His dream is composed of both symbolic and non-symbolic elements that predict his eventual death. In response to such a dream, the god calls upon his sister Geštinanna who he describes in the following way: “Bring my Geštinanna, bring my sister! Bring my scribe who understands tablets, bring my sister!”224 Tammuz reports his dream to her and hopes that she will interpret it favourably; however, Geštinanna responds negatively and states that the dream predicts her brother’s death. In both the dreams of Gudea and Tammuz, the dream interpreters are not only divine beings but female. These dreams interpreted by a deity are the exception since traditionally dream interpretation in Mesopotamia was undertaken by various specialized priests and was considered an inferior form of divination. Yet it demonstrates that, though unusual, dreams could be interpreted by a deity.

symbolic. However, in none of them does a deity interpret the dream, as the human dreamer upon waking would seek out a human versed in the art of dream interpretation.

223. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 211
ii. West Semitic

Brief mention should be made of the literary texts found in the West Semitic world, since they are much closer geographically to ancient Israel. While symbolic dreams are found, there is little evidence that deities played an interpretive role within these dreams. First, the Mari documents have long been thought to contain close parallels to the biblical material.225 Like other ancient cultures, Mari also had a professional class of dream interpreters, especially with respect to royal dreams. Visions and dreams were not as well respected as other types of divination and their messages had to be verified by a haruspex who might consult the flight of birds or the entrails of animals.226 Both message dreams and symbolic dreams are attested but while deities frequently appear in the dreams, there are no divine interpreters. Secondly, an inscription from Deir ‘Alla dating from 750-700 BCE includes both a message and symbolic dream. In this dream, the seer Balaam sees the assembly of the gods in heaven, who give him a message to relate. He also receives a symbolic dream depicting the heavens as closed, which he interprets as predicting disaster upon humanity. The Deir ‘Alla inscription has some striking parallels to the biblical material especially Num 22:9-20 where Balaam receives a message from God in the night. Moreover, Balaam of the Deir ‘Alla inscription, like Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, receives a visionary experience of a heavenly council, which becomes prominent in later Jewish works. Despite these similarities, the text lacks any reference to an angelic intermediary responsible for interpreting the symbolic vision. Finally, the Ugaritic material has only a few dream incidents, one of which is a symbolic dream found in the Baal Cycle. The high God El dreams of previously parched heavens raining oil and the once dry wadis running with honey (KTU 1.6.III.4-7). The descent of Baal to the underworld (like that of Tammuz) has resulted in the withering of the land. Thus, El’s dream symbolizes the imminent return of the god Baal and

226. Gnuse, Dreams and Dream Reports, 53.
the coming rain season. There is no interpreter for the text as the god El immediately knows the
meaning, which is reasonable since he is the chief deity of the pantheon. Although these texts that
feature a symbolic dream resemble those found in the Hebrew Bible, none of them exhibit signs
of a deity or a mediator who interprets the dream.

**iii. Persia**

It is impossible to know with certainty if material from Persian apocalypses predates the
Jewish material.²²⁷ An example of a symbolic vision is found in the Zand-ī Vohuman Yasn, a
later commentary on the Avesta, which contains a dialogue between Zarathustra and Ahura
Mazdā.²²⁸ Zarathustra asks for immortality but instead is given “omniscience.” The symbolic
vision consists of a tree with four branches each made with a different metal including gold,
silver, steel and mixed iron. Zarathustra asks for an interpretation and Ahura Mazdā answers that
the four branches represent four kingdoms. This symbolic vision is repeated again in the third
chapter in the context of a dream except there are now seven branches rather than four. Collins
notes that the *Zand-ī Vohuman Yasn* contains close similarities to Jewish apocalypses both in the
manner of revelation and its content.²²⁹ For our purposes, it is noteworthy that a dialogue

²²⁷. Both Collins and Anders Hultgård argue favourably for some measure of influence
upon Jewish apocalypses. But due to the incomplete nature of the Persian material, it is
impossible to know with any certainty the degree of influence (John J. Collins, “Persian
Apocalypse,” in Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Colloquium
[ed. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth; JSPSup 9; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic

²²⁸. The *Zand-ī Vohuman Yasn* (or the *Bahman Yasht*) is dated to the to the 9th or 10th
century CE but is thought to contain earlier traditions from the Avesta (John J. Collins, *Daniel
with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* [FOTL 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], 8;

²²⁹. These affinities include many characteristics identified by *Semeia* 14 as integral to
the identification of an apocalypse including: pseudonymity, dialogue between human and
deity, interpretation of a symbolic vision, *ex eventu* prophecy (four kingdoms), cosmic and
political upheaval, judgement of the wicked, and the transformation of the world (Collins,
“Persian Apocalypses,” 209). For a list of characteristics of a literary apocalypse, see Collins,
“Introduction: Towards a Morphology of a Genre”.
between a human and deity is featured in the context of interpreting a symbolic vision.\textsuperscript{230} It is
uncommon in ancient Near Eastern texts for a deity to interpret dreams and visions. The Persian
material stands out for this feature that greatly resembles what we find in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36
and Dan 7-12. However, a chief difference is that the Persian material features the interpretation
by the main deity Ahura Mazdā rather than one of the more subordinate deities.

\textit{iv. Greece}

Symbolic dreams are found throughout Greek literature (\textit{Od}. 19.534; Apollonius
Rhodius’ Circe 4.663-672 and Euphemus 4.1731-1745).\textsuperscript{231} The famous dream of Penelope in
which an eagle slays her twenty geese is typical of symbolic dreams (\textit{Od}. 19). Penelope does not
receive an interpretation from a divine figure but from her husband Odysseus who is disguised as
a stranger. These dreams are quite distinct from the later Jewish symbolic dreams in that a divine
figure is generally not present, as the focus remains on the symbolic scene presented to the
dreamer.\textsuperscript{232} Like other ancient cultures, the Greeks did not always draw a sharp distinction
between visions and dreams. The professional dream interpreter Artemidoros (2nd cent CE)
divided dreams into five categories, which included not only dreams (\textit{ονειρα}) but visions
(\textit{οραµα}).\textsuperscript{233} This type of distinction between types of dreams is even found in Homer as auditory
dreams (what Oppenheim would call message dreams) come from the “Gate of Ivory” while
symbolic visual dreams come from the “Gate of Horn” (\textit{Od}. 19.562-567). Dreams in the Greek
world carry on some general trends from the ancient Near East. Deities continue to appear to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{230} Hultgård argues that this question-and-answer format is an older Zoroastrian
tradition deriving from the Younger Avesta and not a late form influenced by Christian patristic
\item \textsuperscript{231} For a complete list of symbolic dreams see Gnuse, \textit{Dreams and Dream
Reports}, 110–11.
\item \textsuperscript{232} John Hanson, “Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early
Christianity,” in \textit{Religion} (ed. Hildebaard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase; ANRW II: Principat
23.2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 1412.
\item \textsuperscript{233} Gnuse, \textit{Dreams and Dream Reports}, 102.
\end{itemize}
humans to impart messages and commands within both message and symbolic dreams. However, their appearances are not as frequent and they often disguise themselves as humans or create liminal figures known as oneiroi who begin to take their place as dream messengers. While these figures resemble angelic beings that frequently appear in Jewish dreams and visions, they do not interpret symbolic dreams as is found in Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12. Similarly to the ancient Near Eastern cultures, the primary means for dream interpretation was from professional dream interpreters rather than divine beings.

Summary

In many ways the biblical and ancient Near Eastern accounts of dreams and visions bear many similarities. Both message dreams and symbolic dreams are found in most of the cultures. Deities frequently appear to humans in dreams either to warn them or to provide them with instructions. In some cases, the subject matter of these dreams can be quite similar: temple building, healing, visions of heavenly assemblies and birth announcements. Although these cultures also have symbolic dreams, it is the issue of interpretation that sets the later Jewish dreams apart. Few dreams from the ancient Near East and Greece feature divine interpreters who provide the meaning behind the dream. The normative route for obtaining an interpretation is from a professional dream interpreter rather than a deity. This is also the case in much of the biblical text, as demonstrated by the examples of Joseph and Daniel who take on a similar role. However, by the time of Zechariah it is an angel and not a human who is required to unveil the meaning behind the prophet’s visions. As will be explored later, the biblical tradition appears to have undergone a different development in that God first takes over some of the dream interpretation that is later appropriated by angelic figures.

III. Divine Guides

A third function of angelic mediators found especially in 1 En. 17-36, 72-82 and later Jewish works, is that of the angelic guide. These angels accompany the human participant on a journey through the heavens or other realms. As previously noted, the functions of human messengers in the ancient Near East bear some striking resemblance to the various features of angelic beings in Jewish texts. The role of a human messenger might involve a lengthy and at times dangerous journey to reach the intended recipient.\textsuperscript{235} In his monograph, Meier notes that messengers were often provided with a royal escort to guide them through unfamiliar territory. These guides or escorts not only protected the messenger but also helped them to find their destination and later their way home.\textsuperscript{236} In texts from Mari and Assyria, these escorts are also called messengers themselves and are responsible for relaying messages back to the king after they have served their duty as guides.\textsuperscript{237} Meier’s monograph is strictly concerned with human messengers and he rarely draws any comparison with the role of divine messengers.\textsuperscript{238} Yet as we have seen with the roles of messenger and interpreter, the functions of a human messenger

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{235} The Amarna letter from Babylon describes the dangers messengers faced:
  \begin{quote}
    As for Šalmu, my messenger whom I sent to you, twice his caravan was plundered. Biriyamaza plundered one, and Pamahu[], the šakin of your land, the land ki-is-ri, plundered his second caravan. [Resolve(?)] that case! . . . Let them pay back what he lost (EA 7.73-82). Translated by Meier, \textit{The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World}, 75.
  \end{quote}
  \item \textsuperscript{236} Meier, \textit{The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World}, 102.
  \item \textsuperscript{237} Meier, \textit{The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World}, 114–15.
  \item \textsuperscript{238} See Meier, \textit{The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World}, 9. He does address some similarities between human and divine messengers in his dictionary article, “Some features of human messenger activity are not duplicated in the divine realm. The provision of escorts for human messengers was a common courtesy, if not a necessity, for safe or trouble-free communication. Passports and the circumvention of bureaucratic hurdles were persistent features of human communication. Provision for lodging and meals along an extended route was a necessity. None of these aspects of human communication reappears in depictions of divine messenger activity” (Meier, “Angel,” 47.). As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, this assertion by Meier is problematic since there are many angelic beings who serve as escorts for human prophets or seers.
\end{itemize}
provides a possible backdrop for the formation of these angelic functions. Beyond the role of human messengers, other scholars have looked to ancient Near Eastern materials describing other heavenly journeys for the inspiration behind the Jewish texts. Scholars have examined both the Mesopotamian and Greek sources for traditions that informed the Jewish otherworldly journeys. Their primary interest has stemmed from discerning the origins of the geographical tour in 1 En. 17-19. There are many examples of ascents and descents throughout the ancient Near East; however, the combination of an otherworldly journey with the help of a deity or in the company of a deity is somewhat less prominent. Rarely have scholars examined the origins of angelic guides, as their focus has been on the sources for the ascents. Thus, the texts examined below will focus on the traditions that contain some type of guide or escort who either enables the human’s passage to the divine realm or acts as a guide.

i. Mesopotamia

Visions of otherworldly journeys are found throughout Mesopotamian literature. These include those in Descent of Innanna/Ishtar, Epic of Gilgamesh, Etana Epic, Adapa, and A Vision of the Netherworld. Scholars such as Pierre Grelot have long considered the similarities between the Epic of Gilgamesh and Enoch’s travels. In both texts, Gilgamesh and Enoch travel to places normally not accessible to humans that share some similar descriptions in terms of the geography of each realm. Nickelsburg has noted that 1 Enoch possibly “reflects some rough secondhand knowledge of the ideas in the Gilgamesh epic” but points out that the purpose of the

239. Carol Newsom also looks to human roles for the inspiration behind this figure. She argues that the guiding function of the angel is rooted in the concept of ancient Near Eastern diplomacy where monarchs would escort foreign dignitaries through their treasuries (Newsom, “The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19,” 323–28). This is a less convincing option for angelic guides since it is neither a journey nor does it involve the activity of messengers.


241. Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch ”.
individual journeys is very different and that *1 En.* 17-36 might have been influenced more by a text like Ezek 28 than the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* In addition, I would add that the *Epic of Gilgamesh* is missing the help of a divine guide which is so prominent in *1 En.* 17-36 and thus is not as helpful for determining the origins of the heavenly tour guide. However, a type of divine assistance is lent to the hero Enkidu earlier in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* when he is led to the underworld by a griffin (IV: 14-54). The identity of the griffin is not clear but it conducts Enkidu to the underworld. As in *1 En.* 14, the seer is not able to access the divine realm on his own power but is aided by other forces, in Enoch’s case it is the winds. Oppenheim is not sure how to label this vision, as it differs from his standard symbolic dream. He settles by labelling it a nightmare and a death-dream since Enkidu meets Ereshkigal, the Queen of the Netherworld, seated upon her throne. Like other seers in the Jewish texts, Enkidu on his return is able to relate to Gilgamesh all he has seen of this restricted world. This incident in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* brings us closer to the activity of heavenly guides but the griffin is simply the vehicle for bringing Enkidu to the underworld and does not serve as a guide or mediator.

**ii. Persia**

Many scholars have considered the influence of Persian traditions on Jewish ascents but their late dating complicates matters. The *Arda Viraf* has received a lot of attention for its similarities to Jewish otherworldly journeys. In this 9th century CE text, a priest named Viraf

drugs himself in order to release his spirit and undertakes a journey to heaven and hell.\textsuperscript{245} He identifies himself as a messenger and his purpose in going to the underworld is to bring back a message to his community (IV.5). Viraf is met by two angelic beings, Srôsh and Àtarô, who take him by the hand and lead him to the Chinvat bridge, the gateway between this world and the afterlife (IV.6-7). The priest begins his otherworldly journey in the company of angelic beings who serve as guides and interpreters for the sights he witnesses. Reminiscent of Enoch’s tour of the cosmos, a dialogue between human and angel is found:

> And I asked Srôsh the pious and Àtarô the angel, thus: “Which place is this? and which people are these?” Srôsh the pious, and Àtarô the angel, said thus: “This place is the star track; and those are the souls who, in the world, offered no prayers, and chanted no Gathas, and contracted no next-of-kin marriage; they have also exercised no sovereignty, nor rulership nor chieftainship. Through other good works they have become pious.” (\textit{Arda Viraf} VI.4-9).\textsuperscript{246}

As with later Jewish apocalypses, the dialogue is initiated by the human and not only by the angelic beings. These divine beings lead Viraf through the star track, the moon track and the sun track before he is brought directly to Ahura Mazda. In this heavenly throne room, Viraf encounters the principle deity Ahura Mazda surrounded by archangels and holy ones (XI.1-16). After receiving a message from the deity, Viraf is led by his guiding angels, Srôsh and Àtarô, to view the places of reward and punishment. The parallels to Jewish ascent texts are numerous especially with regard to the mediation of angelic beings both as interpreters and guides on Viraf’s heavenly journey. Unfortunately, it is impossible to note with any certainty whether Jewish apocalypses were dependent on Persian sources due to the late nature of these Zoroastrian

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\textsuperscript{245} It is difficult to decipher what parts of the \textit{Arda Viraf} might have been contemporaneous to our texts (Zechariah, \textit{1 Enoch} and Daniel). According to Collins, “...no early portions can be extracted with any confidence” (Collins, “Persian Apocalypses,” 213). Similarly, Himmelfarb dates the \textit{Arda Viraf} to the 9th or 10th century CE and dismisses claims that it influenced Jewish and Christian tours of heaven and hell (Himmelfarb, \textit{Tours of Hell}, 47–48).

texts.247

A second text, the Mēnōk-ī Xrat contains a description of the fates of the righteous and wicked souls after death.248 In this text a dialogue is presented between the “spirit of wisdom” and a wise man.249 This dialogue contains a question-and-answer motif initiated by the sage that is found elsewhere in Jewish works. The spirit of wisdom reveals that the deity Srôsh is one of three deities who guard the Činvat Bridge that leads to the underworld. Of the three deities, Srôsh is the only one who helps the souls of the righteous dead across the bridge (II.124). The deity Srôsh not only leads the righteous soul but answers his questions:

And when he walks onwards from there, a sweet-scented breeze comes then to meet him, which is more fragrant than all perfume. The soul of the righteous enquires of Srôsh thus: “What breeze is this, that never in the world so fragrant a breeze came into contact with me?” Then Srôsh, the righteous replies to that righteous soul thus: “This breeze is from heaven, which is so fragrant” (II.140-143).250

This text is not necessarily an otherworldly journey but recounts a common Zoroastrian belief that minor deities aided human souls to pass from the earthly to divine realm. Moreover, this is done in a question-and-answer format between a human and a “spirit of wisdom.” The Persian material provides interesting parallels to the forms adopted by Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 concerning the mediation of angelic beings especially through the use of dialogue.

247. Segal’s observation on this problem is helpful, “The problem of Persian influence is likely never to be satisfactorily resolved. Though the heavenly journey of the soul is a primary feature of later Persian literature, there is no way to verify how early these ideas became part of Persian religion. Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to establish Persian influence because the borrowers would be hardly aware of their dependence. Even had they been aware of their sources they were unlikely to have acknowledged them and thereby indicated any reliance on Persian ideas” (Segal, “Heavenly Ascent,” 1342).

248. This text dates to the 9th century CE but most likely contains older traditions.

249. The “spirit of wisdom” represents the wisdom of Ahura Mazda (LVII.4) and is considered superior to the archangels (I.53).

iii. Greece

Scholars have also looked to Greek traditions for the influence of otherworldly journeys. The level of understanding or exposure to pure Greek ideas should be qualified since Jewish culture was not necessarily influenced by Greek traditions per se but those of Hellenism, in which a large mix of ancient Near Eastern cultures were integrated into Greek culture. Thus, older understandings of otherworldly journeys found in the ancient Near East could be incorporated along with Greek ideas. Many of the otherworldly journeys found in Greek mythology are not ascents to heaven but descents to the underworld known as nekyia. Despite this difference, these otherworldly journeys are still helpful for the study of 1 Enoch since they involve traveling to a realm inaccessible to humans and because Enoch’s travels to the west (17:1-5) might represent the entrance to the realm of the dead.

One text that scholars point to as influential for the development of Jewish otherworldly journeys is Odysseus’ journey to Hades (Od. 11:565-627). This text is considered a nekyia since Odysseus summons the spirits of the dead for questioning. Like many of the Jewish tours, Odysseus sees a vision of a deity seated on a throne giving judgement to the dead (Od. 11:569-571). He also witnesses the punishments of such great figures as Orion, Tityos, Tantalus and Sisyphus (Od. 11.576-600). However, Odysseus’ experience of Hades is markedly different from Jewish tours of heaven and hell. First, he has no guide to escort him and to describe the strange happenings. One gains a sense of the basic geography of Hades but it lacks the sense of a tour.

252. Collins argues that the “matrix of the Jewish apocalypses is not one single tradition but the Hellenistic milieu, where motifs from various traditions circulated freely” (John J. Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature [Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 34).
254. Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination, 34; Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, 8–11; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 280.
Secondly, the standard dialogue found in the Jewish texts is missing since the text is only described from Odysseus’ viewpoint. Although many scholars have argued that 1 En. 17-19 is a nekyia or shares many similarities to the Greek traditions, the figure of a mediating divine being, which is so pivotal to 1 En. 17-36, cannot be accounted for. The origins of the heavenly tour guide are to be found elsewhere.

Another text that scholars propose contains closer parallels to the Jewish tours is Virgil’s Aeneid. Unlike Odysseus, Aeneas is provided a guide to the underworld in the form of a sybil. In a manner similar to the Jewish tours, Aeneas questions the sybil concerning his surroundings before they cross the river. She, like the Jewish angelic guides, answers him and describes the scene before him, in this case the identity of the river guide Charon (Aen. 6:317-336). Moreover, it is only through the intervention of the sybil that Aeneas is granted passage to the underworld (Aen. 6: 384-416). The sybil acts as a guide and companion to Aeneas as they travel first to Tartarus (Aen. 6.577-607) and later to the fields of Elysium (Aen. 6.608-28). Despite the similarities between the sybil and the angelic guides in the Jewish texts, the Aeneid’s influence on the earlier material is problematic since it is dated between 29-19 BCE. Although it may reflect or integrate older traditions, it proves to be less than useful for our earlier texts of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12.

A less-studied figure who functions both as a messenger and a guide is the god Hermes. He is known for his swiftness in flight aided by his immortal golden sandals as he travels “over the water or the limitless land, swift as the blasts of the wind” (Od. 5.44-46; Il.

255. Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 48.
256. Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination, 34; Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 49.
Like many other divine messengers, Hermes also takes on a myriad of roles and functions. He is foremost a messenger of Zeus and brings messages to humanity (Od. 1. 80-87; 5.29-32). Moreover, he was also seen as a protector of travelers and a guide to them on their journeys (Il. 24.169, 173, 333-338; Od. 5.29-147). One of his most famous roles is that of psychopompos, who guides the souls of the dead to the afterlife. His role is not to judge them but to provide a safe passage, thus making Hermes a bridge between two different realms. For example, he guides the spirits of suitors and the maids to the underworld:

…and Hermes, the deliverer, led them on along the dank ways. They went past the streams of Oceanus, past the White Rock; past the gates of the Sun also, and the district of dreams did they go. And at once they reached the asphodel meadow where the souls dwell, phantoms of those who are worn out. (Od. 24:10-14)

There are some differences between the Jewish angelic guides and Hermes, in that Hermes leads the spirits of dead men and women rather than a living seer. However, it demonstrates the idea that a divine being was required to escort humans as they crossed the boundary between the earthly and divine worlds. Finally, Plato considered Hermes to be not only a messenger but an interpreter, as he focused on Hermes role in translating the thoughts of the gods to humanity. This role as an interpreter has more to do with his ability to translate messages from one world to the next rather than symbolic dream images as in the Jewish texts. However, Hermes’ role as a guide between divine and human realms along with his ability to serve as a mediator between the gods and humanity correspond closely to notions of angelic mediation found in our texts.

Although she does not act as a guide within a dream or a vision, the goddess Athena plays a very similar role as she accompanies both Odysseus and his son Telemachus in the Odyssey.

259. Translation by Cook, The Odyssey, 256.
261. In addition to her role as protector and guide, Athena also takes on the role of an intercessor for humanity. This feature of the deity will be developed in the next section.
Athena’s role as a protective and guiding goddess has been compared to the role of Raphael in the book of Tobit.\textsuperscript{262} At the beginning of the \textit{Odyssey}, Athena requests Zeus’ permission to guide Telemachus to Sparta and Pylos so that he will hear that his father Odysseus is still alive (\textit{Od.} 1:93-95). Athena disguises herself as a stranger and meets Telemachus in Ithaca before helping him escape and guiding him on his journey (\textit{Od.} 2:402-434; 3:12-20). Later Athena guides Odysseus home disguised first as a young girl (\textit{Od.} 7:19-79) and then as a young man (\textit{Od.} 13 and 14). Athena’s role corresponds to that of the angel Raphael in Tobit who serves as a protector who guides Tobias through a series of dangerous perils. Her role as a guide is not exactly what one finds in the Jewish ascent texts since it is not in a visionary format but there are enough similarities to propose that traditions concerning the actions of the deities’ in Homer’s \textit{Odyssey} helped shape early Jewish views of angelic mediation.

\textit{Summary}

Attempting to discern the origins of angelic guides in Second Temple Jewish works is difficult since most attention has been placed on the otherworldly journeys rather than the angelic guides themselves. Strong similarities are found both in the Mesopotamian traditions where humans travel to the edges of the earth and in the Greek sources where humans descend to the underworld. The Persian texts provide the strongest parallel to angelic guides in the Jewish literature especially as the question-and-answer format is prominent. However, the late dating of the Persian texts makes it impossible to know whether these traditions predate the earliest Jewish otherworldly journeys. The Greek deities Hermes and Athena also provide compelling parallels to the functions of Jewish angelic guides despite the fact they do not always occur in a visionary format. It is impossible to draw any direct literary connection between the Mesopotamian and

Greek material to the Jewish tour guides; however, it is clear that strong similarities are present. It is most likely that the concept of Jewish cosmic tours and the accompanying guides are heirs to the rich traditions of the ancient world but are also greatly informed by their own biblical traditions.

IV. Divine Intercessors

Throughout the ancient Near East and Greece one finds many examples of divine beings who intercede on behalf of humans, usually to a higher deity. As noted above, the larger role of messengers in the ancient Near East can shed light on the various roles they played. Not only were human messengers responsible for carrying messages, interpreting meanings and acting as escorts, but they also served as mediators or intercessors in some capacities. According to Meier, the messenger “…was commissioned as a defendant of the one who sent him, empowered to argue, reason and answer questions on his sender’s behalf. The messenger was thus required to be a diplomat in often tense and unanticipated circumstances, representing his sender’s interests with tact, truth and firmness.”

Although this is not identical to the intercessory function of divine messengers in the ancient Near East, Greece and the Hebrew Bible, some helpful parallels are present. In each case the messenger plays an intermediary role between the one who sends him and the one who receives the message. It is not a verbatim delivery of the message but the messenger must present the message in such a way that it is favourably received. Various deities fulfill this function as they represent the interest of humans to a higher deity.

i. Mesopotamia

The gods and goddesses of Mesopotamia, like those of Ugarit and Israel, are pictured as part of a divine assembly. Divine intercession can be seen on both a national and personal level.

In the *Lament for Ur*, its patron goddess Ningal attempts to intercede and avert the destruction of the city. In the assembly of the gods she appeals to An and Enlil to stop the sacking of the city:

…the arms verily I stretched out, to Anu the water of my eye verily I poured; to Enlil I in person verily made supplication, ‘Let not my city be destroyed,’ verily I said unto them; ‘Let not Ur be destroyed,’ verily I said unto them; ‘Let not its people perish,’ verily I said unto them. Verily Anu changed not this work; verily Anu with its ‘It is good; so be it’ soothed not my heart.264

Her intercession is unsuccessful but the incident depicts the Mesopotamians’ understanding that their patron deity’s responsibility was to look after their welfare. Ningal represents their interests to the other gods as she mediates between both parties. On a more intimate level, the Mesopotamians also had a strong belief in the presence of a personal god who interceded in the assembly of the gods.265 Among these deities, the female goddess Lama usually adopted the role of intercessor and as a result was one of the more popular gods.266 Other deities such as *shedu*, *lamassu*, *ilu* and *ishtarri* could also assume roles as personal deities. They not only protected humanity from demons but also served as intercessors and guardians.267 In a stela found in Uruk dating to the end of the 14th or 13th century BCE, the goddess Lama is pictured with her hands raised as she intercedes to the goddess Inanna on behalf of the human author.268

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267. The phenomenon of a personal god is found throughout the ancient Near East but has a prominent place in Mesopotamian religion. An example is found on a cylinder of Gudea:

The god of Lugal-kur-dub went before him,
The god Gal-alim went (behind) him,
His (personal) god Nin-gis-zid-ra held him by the hand (“Gudea Cylinder A,” 18.14-17).
of the intercessory role of this goddess is found in an inscription:\textsuperscript{269} 

Lorsqela déese lama du tar-sir-sir fut introduite dans la parvis de la déese Bau, cette statue, auprès de l’oreille de ma dame il a placé, ma prière puisse-t-elle lui dire.] The goddess Lama was responsible for bringing the prayers of the people to their respective deities and representing their interests before the assembly of the gods. Again this type of intercession is pictured visually in a scene from the Ur-Nammu epic in which one goddess holds the hand of the human supplicant before a seated male deity while another goddess behind the human lifts her hands up in prayer.\textsuperscript{270} The intercession of personal deities is prominent throughout the Mesopotamian literature, which makes Israel’s lack of angelic intercessors even more surprising.

\textit{ii. Ugarit}

At Ugarit the god Baal acts as an intercessor for the father and son pair of Dan’el and Aqhat. In hopes of obtaining children, the human Dan’el makes a series of offerings to the gods and on the seventh day Baal intercedes for him (KTU 1.17.I.15-16, 23-26). In response, El blesses Dan’el with numerous offsprings, one of whom is named Aqhat (KTU 1.17.I.34-43). Although there is no dialogue between human and deity, the pattern of intercession is apparent as Baal serves as a mediator between humanity and the high god El. In a manner similar to Job, acts of divine intercession take on both a positive and negative aspect for the human recipients. Within the same cycle, the human Aqhat is awarded a magnificent bow by the workmen deities Kothar and Kasis (KTU 1.17.V.25-39); however, the goddess Anat becomes jealous and sets out to obtain the bow from Aqhat. A dialogue ensues between the goddess Anat and the human Aqhat as he refuses to relinquish his bow to the goddess (KTU 1.17.VI.13-41). In stark contrast to the beneficent actions of Baal earlier in the text, Anat then proceeds to denounce Aqhat to the

\textsuperscript{269} Le Maillot, \textit{Les anges sont-ils nés en Mésopotamie?} 109. 
\textsuperscript{270} Sceau-cylindre, époque d’Ur-Nammu, serpentine, H. 28 cm, Londres, British Museum, ANE 89126 (as shown in Le Maillot, \textit{Les anges sont-ils nés en Mésopotamie?} 107).
high god El. In response to Anat, the god El gives in and allows her to pursue Aqhat and his bow, ultimately killing him (KTU 1.18.IV.27-41). The Ugaritic material demonstrates the ability of lesser deities to intercede on behalf of humans to a higher deity with both positive and negative results.

iii. Persia

Zoroastrianism, like other religions in the ancient Near East, also had deities who interceded on behalf of humans. The most well-known is Sraosha, a messenger of Ahura Mazda, whose name means “Obedient” and was known as the “guardian or lord of prayer.”271 During the time of the Achaemenids (Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius the Great and Xerxes) Sraosha gained in importance within the Zoroastrian cult. Mary Boyce relates the growing influence of this lesser deity to the high praise he receives from Zoroaster, who calls him “greatest of all” (Y 33.5).272 His privileged position as the means through which humanity could reach the deity also contributed to his popularity. Although the level of influence is difficult to determine, the rise of such a deity at this time is certainly reflective of traditions found in the Jewish literature.

iv. Greece

As previously mentioned, the goddess Athena was also known as an intercessor between humans and the gods. Her popularity in Greece was due to her active role in the lives of mortals. In the Odyssey, Athena appeals to Zeus on behalf of Odysseus and states that her “heart is torn for wise Odysseus, hapless man” (Od. 1.48). She proceeds to remind Zeus of Odysseus’ faithfulness in offering sacrifices to him (Od. 1.59-62). After receiving a favourable response from Zeus, Athena offers him praise and then suggests that Zeus send the god Hermes to help bring Odysseus home (Od. 1.80-87). In this series of interactions, the goddess Athena adopts the

cause of Odysseus and intercedes on his behalf to ensure his welfare. Not only is Athena concerned with the welfare of Odysseus but she also takes an active role in protecting his son Telemachus. Her role as intercessor continues as she prays to the god Poseidon, first on behalf of Nestor and his men and secondly, to ensure a safe journey for her and Telemachus (Od. 3.51-62). As the Odyssey unfolds, the goddess not only adopts the role of intercessor but that of guide and messenger as well. Athena’s role in the Odyssey, not unlike the Jewish angelic mediators, is to serve as a bridge between heaven and earth.

Athena’s role as mediator can also assume a negative influence for humans. She can both aid and harm humanity. Clay argues that, “The Homeric hero is distinguished both by the signal favor he enjoys at the hands of the gods and by his vulnerability to their wrath.” Athena’s protection of Odysseus at times takes an ambiguous turn. After helping him reach his home of Ithaca, she cloaks the island in mist allowing Odysseus to think he is still not home yet. Athena then disguises herself as a beggar and tests Odysseus’ fortitude. A dialogue ensues between the goddess and mortal following a question-and-answer format in which both of them try to outwit the other. Athena states, “Indeed, you did not recognize Pallas Athena, daughter of Zeus, who always stands by you in all your toils and guards you, and who made you welcome among all the Phaeacians” (Od. 13.299-302). Despite this ambiguous incident, the goddess continues to act as Odysseus’ protector and guide. Unfortunately for Hector in the Iliad, the goddess Athena chooses to protect Achilles rather than him. It is through her intervention with Zeus that Hector ultimately meets his death at the hands of Achilles (Il. 22.218-232). Finally, Athena is directly involved in the death of the archer Pandaros as she causes a spear to slice off his tongue (Il. 5.291-93).

Overall, Athena protects humanity by intervening between them and Zeus. However, as noted with the Ugaritic material, this intervention can function both positively and negatively.  


274. Louden notes the similarities between the Ugaritic goddess Anat and Athena (Bruce Louden, *The Iliad: Structure, Myth, and Meaning* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins
Summary

The emergence of divine beings who pray on behalf of humans appears to be a late phenomenon in the Jewish texts. This role of deities, especially minor ones, is found throughout the major cultures of the ancient world. It is not clear if one tradition is more influential on the development of angelic mediators in the Second Temple period or if it is an amalgamation of influences. It appears to be a common tradition that certain deities could act as personal gods in order to represent the interests of humans in the divine council of the gods. It is curious that this phenomenon of angelic intercession for humans is a later phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible since it is so widely attested elsewhere. Despite the similarities in the Mesopotamian, Ugaritic and Persian material, the Greek representation of Athena as intercessor shows the highest level of correspondence to the biblical traditions of angelic mediation. She is not only portrayed as interceding through prayer between humanity and the gods but she assumes a plurality of roles including messenger, guide and intercessor.

Hebrew Bible

I. Divine Messengers

Angelic beings are known by a variety of names in the Hebrew Bible. However, one of the most frequently used terms is מלאך, “messenger.” While one might assume that the role of a messenger is quite simple, that of relaying a message from one party to another, messengers could assume a variety of functions. Carol Newsom points to this diversity of roles that angels performed, including announcing births (Gen 16:11-12; Gen 19:9-15; Judg 13:3-5), providing reassurances (Gen 31:11-13), commissioning (Exod 3:2; Judg 6:11-24), communicating messages from God to his prophets (2 Kgs 1:3, 15; 1 Kgs 13:18; Isa 6; Jer 23:18, 23), acting as protectors (Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 14:19-20; 23:20, 23; 1 Kgs 19:5-8; etc.), and serving as agents of
punishment (Gen 19; Num 22:33; 2 Sam 24). These angelic functions cover only the bare minimum of roles found in the Hebrew Bible and in later Second Temple texts their roles are further expanded. This dissertation is mainly concerned with the angelic functions of interpreter, guide and intercessor, which are found to differing degrees in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. Each of these functions fits under the larger rubric of angels as messengers. Despite the many references to angelic beings in the Hebrew Bible, there are only a few in which angelic beings appear to humans in dreams or visions. The widespread similarities in the ancient Near Eastern and Greek material suggests that the biblical writers were aware of the surrounding traditions concerning angelic mediation; however, it cannot account for all the developments that are found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. The following sections will explore the biblical texts that have led to innovations found regarding angelic mediation in the post-exilic context.

II. Divine Interpreters

As in the ancient Near East and Greece, dream interpretation played an important role in Israel. However, a professional class of dream interpreters is not known to have existed, as was the case throughout the ancient world. The Hebrew Bible does record many instances of dream interpretation; however, two prominent interpreters, Joseph and Daniel receive the most amount of attention. Unlike the ancient Near Eastern and Greek professionals, the dream interpreters of the Hebrew Bible did not rely on any known guidebooks for interpretation.


276. These include angels as intercessors (1 En. 100:5); as scribes (Dan 7:10; 1 En. 89:61-77); as teachers (Jub. 1:27-29); as revealers, guides and interpreters (Dan 7-12; 1 En. 17-36; Apoc. Ab. (10-18); 4 Ezra 3-14). For further examples see Newsom, “Angels,” 252.

277. For more detail on dreams and dream interpretation in Israel see: Jeffers, Magic and Divination; Husser, Dreams and Dream Narratives; Shaul Bar, A Letter That Has not Been Read: Dreams in the Hebrew Bible (trans. Lenn J. Schramm; HUCM 25; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2001); Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests.

278. This may be due in part from the negative evaluation sometimes given to dreams (Jer 23:25-32; 27:9; 29:8; Zech 10:2; Eccl. 5:2, 6; Sir. 31:1-8).
Instead, their interpretations rested on their communication with God, who provided them the proper knowledge to discern the meaning of the dreams. In Gen 40:8, the cupbearer and baker approach Joseph concerning their dreams, “And they said to him, ‘We had dreams, and there is no one to interpret them.’ So Joseph said to them, ‘Does not interpretation belong to God! Tell me [your dreams].’” Although human interpretation is permissible, it is always accomplished through the wisdom given by God. This contrasts with the dream experts of the ancient world who relied on set types of dream symbols for interpretation. Gnuse argues that the pattern of giving God alone credit moves interpreters like Joseph more into the realm of prophet than professional dream interpreter.279 Similar to what is found in the ancient Near East and Greece, there are two main forms of dreams in the Hebrew Bible: auditory message dreams and visual symbolic dreams. Under the message dreams, Gnuse includes the following: Gen 20:1-18, 18:10-22, 31:1-54, 46:1-7, Num 22:8-13, 19-21, I Kgs 3:5-15 and I Sam 3:1-21.280 He categorizes the following texts as symbolic dreams: Gen 37:5-11, 40:5-19, 41:1-36, Judg 7:13-15 and Dan 2:1-45, 4:4-27.281 The distinctions between these two types of dreams are a bit misleading, as some display mixed features and visions like those found in Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 are not included.282

Angelic interpretation of dreams and visions is not found explicitly until the time of Zechariah. There are many symbolic dreams found in the Hebrew Bible but none of them employ angelic interpreters. However, two texts normally categorized as message dreams give an intriguing glimpse of such an emerging tradition. The first is found in Gen 31:10-13 where the angel of the Lord appears to Jacob in a dream. There is debate whether or not this dream should

282. The ancient world did not necessarily see a distinction between dreams and visions. Although there are two separate words in Hebrew they are used together throughout the biblical texts (Gen 31:10; Isa 29:7; Isa 29:7; Job 20:8; 33:15). See Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 125–28.
be labelled a message or symbolic dream. In contrast to most message dreams, Jacob does dream of a particular scene or tableau in which he sees mating he-goats who are streaked, speckled and mottled. Like the later works of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, Jacob requires the interpretation or explanation of the angel to identify properly the meaning of this dream. Despite some similarities, many features found in our later texts are missing. First, there is a lack of dialogue between Jacob and the angel. There is some interaction between Jacob and the angel but it is limited to a simple acknowledgment of response from Jacob and does not resemble the question-and-answer format we find in a text like Zech 1-8. Secondly, Jacob does not ask for the interpretation but is given the message by the angel without any prompting. In this sense, the dream follows more closely the structure of a message dream rather than a symbolic one. However, the presence of an angelic being in a dream that helps the dreamer understand its contents may have helped shaped later traditions of angelic mediation.

The second text, Gen 28:10-22, which describes angelic beings ascending and descending to heaven, does not feature an angelic interpreter nor is there an explanation for the scene given. Instead God delivers a message to Jacob that he will make him prosperous and will protect him. In addition to the message given to Jacob, the patriarch also witnesses a visual scene of a ladder or stairway bridging heaven and earth. Although this is usually classified as a message dream and not a symbolic dream, it contains elements of both dream types. In addition, this text became the inspiration for the later Second Temple text known as the Ladder of Jacob, which expands upon the original by including a prayer and angelic revelation. Although the original story in

283. Bergman, "חלם", TDOT 4:429; Gnuse classifies it as a “message dream” (Gnuse, Dreams and Dream Reports, 71) but acknowledges that it contains both auditory and visual elements (Gnuse, Dreams and Dream Reports, 82).

Genesis lacked an angelic intermediary, this is supplied in the *Ladder of Jacob*. After Jacob awakens, he prays for angelic mediation and the angel Sariel comes to him. In this later text, the angel Sariel’s interpretive activity is described, “…hear my song with which I have sung you and grant me the request I ask of you, and tell me the interpretation of my dream, for you are a god who is mighty, powerful and glorious…” (*Lad. Jac.* 2:21-22). The earlier text of Gen 28 is mainly a message dream but later writers amplify the symbolic content and insert the figure of an interpreting angel. Though Gen 28 lacks an angelic interpreter, the later reworking of it in the *Ladder of Jacob* demonstrates how the earlier text of Genesis may have contributed to Zechariah’s conception of angelic mediation. The lines of tradition between dreams and visions are not as clearly defined as in the Second Temple Period where angelic activity increases in popularity.

While the above examples have dealt with message dreams, there are also symbolic visions and their interpretations that have influenced later Second Temple texts. Susan Niditch has argued that the symbolic visions in Jeremiah and Amos are predecessors to Zechariah’s visions and the activity of the angelic intermediary. Her thesis is that twelve symbolic visions found both in the biblical and later Second Temple material form part of a tradition.\(^{285}\) While other visions are important, such as Isa 6 and Ezek 1, she excludes these from direct participation in this tradition. Niditch identifies five elements in the symbolic visions of Amos and Jeremiah: (1) indication of a vision, (2) description of the vision, (3) deity questioning the seer “What do you see?”, (4) seer’s reply which repeats the original description, (5) and interpretation of the vision by God.\(^{286}\) This framework differs from the standard format of message dreams\(^{287}\) and

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287. Gnuse identifies the following structure for auditory message dreams: (1) theophany (2) recipient (3) dream reference (4) time (5) auditory message dream address formula (6) message (7) formal termination (8) subsequent fulfillment of message (Gnuse,
symbolic dreams as the seer is given a much more active role than in the standard dream reports. There are many similarities to the later visions of Zechariah in that a dialogue is found between the deity and seer and an interpretation is provided. Niditch notes that by the time of Zechariah the visions found in Amos and Jeremiah are expanded and some new elements are added.

Despite the similarities between the visions of Amos and Jeremiah and those of Zechariah, numerous developments should be noted. One of the most obvious changes is that an angel takes the place of God in the vision, both in the description and interpretation of it. It is unclear why later post-exilic texts see an increase in the activity of angelic beings especially in areas once reserved for God. Secondly, Niditch argues that the visions in Amos and Jeremiah take place in a waking state while in one of the visions Zechariah is awakened by an angel. Thus Zech 4:1 states “He aroused me like a man that is awakened from his sleep,” whereas the standard prophetic formulas “Thus the Lord showed me” or “The word of the Lord came to me” are used in Amos and Jeremiah. That Zechariah experiences his visions in dreams implies for Niditch a more liminal state that is connected to a third difference: that the symbolic objects in Zechariah are more mythological in nature. Amos and Jeremiah employ standard everyday objects such as a plumpline (Amos 7:7-9) and a boiling pot (Jer 1:13-19), whereas in Zechariah symbolic symbols such as lampstands and flying scrolls are used. The final important transition from Amos and Jeremiah to Zechariah is the increasing participation of the human in the visionary sequence. In Amos and Jeremiah, it is the deity who initiates the questions (Amos 7:8; Jer 1:9).

288. For symbolic dreams he provides this framework: (1) announcement of the dream (2) introductory formula (3) dream corpus including image and result (4) dream interpretation (Gnuse, Dreams and Dream Reports, 86).
289. Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 95. It should be noted that Zech 1:7 uses the formula “this word of the Lord came to the prophet Zechariah” before receiving the first vision. However, it is not a dominant formula as elsewhere in the prophetic corpus.
Jer 1:13) and the human responds accordingly. However, in Zechariah, it is usually the human who initiates the dialogue by asking the angel for an explanation of the symbolic vision.\footnote{There are a few exceptions where it is the angel who initiates the dialogue (Zech 4:1; 5:1). A change of pattern is found in Zech 4:1 when the angel asks Zechariah what he sees after being awakened. However, shortly after the seer resumes the normal pattern by asking the angel the meaning of the vision (Zech 4:4).}

Niditch’s work is valuable in tracing part of the tradition of angelic mediation through the various symbolic visions. The visions of Amos and Jeremiah provide compelling models for the later expansions and additions found in Zech 1-8.\footnote{Niditch’s work only accounts for one aspect of angelic mediation, that of interpretation. The angelic mediators in Zechariah, 1 Enoch and Daniel have multiple roles which stem from different traditions. To find the traditions that inform angels as guides and intercessors it is necessary to look at another set of traditions.}

Summary

Although the transition to angelic interpretation of dreams and visions occurs for the first time in Zech 1-8, earlier precedents are found throughout the Hebrew Bible. Traditions from both dreams and visionary material are instrumental in shaping the character of angelic interpretation of visions. The texts of Gen 28 and 31 demonstrate subtle signs that angels could appear in dreams where once this was the sole domain of God. The later reuse and expansion of Gen 28 in the Ladder of Jacob gives a tangible example that later Jewish writers looked to this text for inspiration for angelic activity. Finally, the visionary material of Amos and Jeremiah provides a framework to allow a more active role for the seer than is normally found in the dream material of the Hebrew Bible. This apparent amalgamation of traditions allows the writer of Zechariah to develop a series of visions in which the seer can participate and engage with an angelic interpreter.

III. Divine Guides

In recent years, the heavenly ascent texts or otherworldly journeys have been the subject
of much scholarly research. The main otherworldly journeys were written from 200 BCE to 200 CE and are usually considered a subset within the genre of apocalypse. The earliest ascent text is 1 En. 1-36, which dates to the 3rd century BCE. In these texts, an angelic being guides the prophet or seer through heaven or earth revealing various cosmological mysteries. The angelic guide is closely related to the angelic mediator found in Zech 1-6 and Dan 7-12 but there are some important distinctions. These guided tours through heavenly regions do require an explanation by the angel but it differs from the type of symbolic interpretation found in the visions of Zechariah and Daniel. However, they are alike in that the prophet and angelic guide engage in a similar type of dialogue. While the two forms are related they appear to stem from different traditions or at least adapt the traditions in different ways. Scholars have generally looked to Ezek 40-48 as the paradigm and inspiration but other biblical traditions have also played a role in shaping the development of these angelic mediators.

Ascents in the biblical narrative do not appear frequently, but three figures who disappear mysteriously give impetus to the later development of these ascents. The first is Enoch, who in Genesis is said to have walked with God, “…and he was not, for God took him” (Gen 5:24). Though there is no explicit description of an ascent, this puzzling verse is later amplified by works like Jubilees and 1 En. 14, which see here clear evidence for an ascent to heaven. The second figure is Moses, of whom is recorded, “but no one knows the place of his burial to this day” (Deut 34:6). This text along with Exod 24, where Moses ascends the mountain to receive the tablets, led to speculation that Moses also had ascended to heaven. This tradition of Moses’ ascension is amplified by later authors such as Philo (Mos. 1.158) and Josephus (Ant. 3.96;


4.326). The final figure, Elijah, is described as being lifted to heaven in a chariot (2 Kgs 2:1-15). Of the three figures, this is the only explicit description of a heavenly ascent. However, it is only briefly mentioned with very little embellishment, unlike the later descriptions of heavenly ascents like 1 En. 14. Dean-Otting describes these three incidents as “brief flirtations with the motif of heavenly ascent” and that the biblical writers were hesitant to embrace openly the tradition. Each of these incidents attests to the tradition of ascents within the biblical material but the introduction of an angelic guide does not occur until Ezekiel.

The first recorded ascent in 1 En. 14 clearly relies on earlier biblical material, especially that of Isa 6 and Ezek 1. Himmelfarb argues that Enoch’s vision of the throne of cherubim is indebted to Ezekiel’s vision of the chariot (Ezek 1, 8-11, 43) and to the growing understanding that God abides in the true temple in heaven. Moreover, the picture of tens of thousands of angels standing before the throne of God is related to Isaiah’s vision of the heavenly throne room (Isa 6). Other descriptions of Enoch’s ascension also draw on Ezekiel’s description of the throne room: Ezekiel’s prostration before the Glory of God (Ezek 1:28), the throne with wheels (Ezek 10:9-21), as well as the imagery of clouds, wind, fire, crystal, ice (Ezek 1:4-28; 10:1).

Many of these elements, such as the description of a chariot throne, become standard elements in the later revelatory texts. While these biblical texts are important in the development of the

296. Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 10.
297. This description of the “tens of thousands of angels” is also found in Dan 7 where it is described as “ten thousand times ten thousand stood attending him.” Possible connections between 1 En. 14 and Dan 7 will discussed in chs. two and three. Moreover, the Book of Giants also known from Qumran fragments contains a very similar description to what is found in Dan 7 and will be discussed in chapter three.
298. Ezekiel’s description of the throne room especially the רכבה is prominent in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Both 4Q385 and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice describe the heavenly temple using language reminiscent of Ezekiel’s description of the divine throne room (James M. Scott, “Throne-Chariot Mysticism in Qumran and in Paul,” in Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls [ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 103–4).
ascent narratives, they do not feature an angelic guide. Thus, another set of traditions lies behind the creation of this angelic figure.

Ezekiel 40-48 provides the most influential text for the development of this angelic escort. A guided tour is given by an otherworldly figure described by the following, “there was a man whose appearance was like bronze, and he had a linen cord in his hand and a measuring rod” (Ezek 40:3). Zimmerli identifies this figure primarily as the prophet’s guide and his actions take on a type of stereotyped formulae “and he led me” as well as “as he entered.” There have been attempts to argue that Ezekiel’s angelic guide is a precursor to Zechariah’s mediating angel, especially with regards to its interpreting function. Although these two roles are related, especially in the later material, there are some important differences between them. First, the angel and Ezekiel do not engage in a dialogue as they do in Zechariah. Instead, the angelic figure points out the various features of the temple while the prophet remains a passive observer. Secondly, these visions are not symbolic in nature and lack the interpretation found in Zech 1-8. Himmelfarb acknowledges that many elements found in the Book of Watchers cannot be attributed to Ezek 40-48. She also states that Zechariah’s questions to the angelic interpreter are “the best biblical parallels to the question-and-answer form of the Book of Watchers and many later tour apocalypses.”

Summary

The angelic guide of Ezek 40-48 is the most likely ancestor to the angelic tour guide. However, two other texts should be mentioned since they also feature guiding angels. Surprisingly, neither Himmelfarb nor Dean-Otting make mention of the Exodus angel who guides the Israelites through the wilderness (Exod 23:20-21; Num 20:15-16; Exod 14:19). There

300. Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 58.
301. Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 58.
are some significant differences between this angel and that of Ezek 40-48. There is neither a
dialogue between the angel and human, nor is the angel depicted as its own likeness apart from
assuming the form of a pillar of smoke and fire. Despite these differences, this set of traditions
depict an angelic being who is responsible for guiding and protecting the Israelites. A second text
that deserves mention is the book of Tobit. This folklike tale depicts the angel Raphael who in
disguise guides and protects Tobiah as he searches for a cure for his father. The angel Raphael
like other angelic figures in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7 also takes on numerous roles
throughout the narrative. He is primarily Tobiah’s guide but he also assumes the role of teacher
and healer. Using the question-and-answer format, the angel responds to the question of Tobiah
regarding the use of the fish they have just caught (Tob 6:6-7). Moreover, as in 1 En. 17-19,
20-36, the angel Raphael guides Tobit on a journey. This type of journey is not identical to
Enoch’s cosmic journey as it occurs solely on earth and the chief purpose is not to interpret
various sites. As noted previously, the actions of the angel Raphael are comparable to those of
the goddess Athena as she guides and protects Odysseus and his son Telemachus. Additionally,
there are several more points of contact between the two books regarding angelology as God’s
presence in heaven with angels is alluded to (1 En. 14:18-23; Tob 8:15; 11:14), seven angels
(including Raphael) act as intercessors (1 En. 9:1 [four angels]; Tob 3:16-17 [Raphael]; 12:12-
15) and Raphael is described as a healer (1 En. 10:7; Tob 3:17; 12:14). The dating of Tobit is

302. It is interesting to note that in Tobit, an angel reveals knowledge not only regarding
healing but also exorcising demons. In 1 En. 6-16, the fallen watchers are condemned for
teaching humans a similar type of secret knowledge. The angel Shemihazah in particular is
described as teaching “spells and the cutting of roots” (1 En. 8:3).

303. Tobit does not describe the heavenly throne as is found in 1 En. 14 and there is no
description of God being surrounded by angels. However, the praise of angels for God is
referred to twice (Tob 8:15; 11:14) and Tob 12:15 describes the seven holy angels who present
the prayers of the saints in the presence of God.

304. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Tobit and Enoch: Distant Cousins with a
Recognizable Resemblance,” in George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing
Dialogue of Learning, Volume One (ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck; JSJSup 80;
uncertain but Nickelsburg argues for the early 2nd century BCE.305 This would place it later than the journeys of Enoch (1 En. 17-19, 20-36) but the similarities between the two are intriguing and most likely demonstrate Tobit’s familiarity with these traditions of angelic mediation.306 Although these two texts, that of the Exodus angel and Tobit are not directly influential as Ezek 40-48, they both demonstrate a growing awareness of angels serving as guides.

IV. Divine Intercessors

The roles of angelic interpreters and guides are closely related but appear to rely on separate traditions. Both Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 have symbolic dreams and visions that require interpretation by an angel. In contrast, 1 En. 1-36 lacks such symbolic dreams but has an angelic guide who must explain the inner workings of the cosmos to the seer. One angelic role that Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 do have in common is that of angelic intercession on behalf of humans. This role is found throughout the ancient world and has roots in biblical traditions. While Dan 7-12 does not have an angel praying on behalf of a human, in chapter nine an angel responds to the prayer of Daniel (Dan 9:20-23). These acts of angelic intercession are an important link between our two earliest texts of Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, demonstrating a reliance on or knowledge of similar traditions. There are few explicit references to angelic prayer for humans in the Hebrew Bible but some texts indicate some knowledge that angelic mediators exist or should exist.307 In this section, when speaking of angelic intercession or mediation it goes beyond the angelic communication from God to human previously explored and is more concerned with angels

305. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 35.
306. Concerning the similarities between the two books, Nickelsburg states, “the two works reflect an older common stock of ideas, tradition and terminology, not simply to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures, which has developed in different directions in the respective texts” (Nickelsburg, “Tobit and Enoch,” 219).
307. Parker points to Job 5:1; 16:19-21; 33:3-24 and Zech 1:12 as evidence that angelic beings served as intercessors. Moreover, he also argues that inscriptions from Khirbet el-Qôm and Kuntillet Ajrud “disclose belief in a divine world in which the Asherah of the inscriptions and the ‘Holy ones,’ ‘witness,’ ‘envoy,’ and ‘intermediary’ of the literature would have played similar roles as intercessors with Yahweh” (Simon B. Parker, “Divine Intercession in Judah?” VT LVI [2006]: 91.
expressing human concerns to God. This idea of angels who are able to pray or intercede on behalf of humanity is commonly found in other Second Temple works\textsuperscript{308} and at Qumran the human priests are commonly identified with the angels who serve as priests in the heavenly temple.\textsuperscript{309} It is unclear where Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 find inspiration for this angelic activity since it is not present elsewhere explicitly in the Hebrew Bible. One exception to this claim is the book of Job, which features a debate concerning the possibility of angelic mediation but its influence on our texts is impossible to determine.

Discussion of angelic beings in Job normally centers around the first two chapters in which בני אלהים and שטן sindot ה are introduced as part of God’s divine council (Job 1:6; 2:1). The imagery of the divine council is found throughout the ancient Near East but important parallels are particularly apparent when considering the Ugaritic material.\textsuperscript{310} These angelic beings are part of the decision-making process concerning the lives of humans. In Job, the figure of שטן sindot ה takes on the role of prosecuting attorney who urges God to carry out a series of actions to test the loyalty of Job. The שטן sindot ה plays an important role in mediating between humanity and God, albeit a more negative one in the case of Job. In addition to these opening chapters, other references are found throughout Job that point to a growing awareness of the need for angelic mediation and intercession (Job 5:1; 9:33; 16:19-21; 33:23-24). The dating of the book of Job is notoriously difficult and cannot be assumed to have directly influenced Zech 1-8 or 1 En. 1-36.\textsuperscript{311} However,

\textsuperscript{308} Nickelsburg notes the following texts that contain a similar petition: Tob 3:16-17; 12:12-15; T. Mos. 10; T. Levi 3:5; 5:6; 3 Bar. 11-12 (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 209).

\textsuperscript{309} See Newsom, “‘He Has Established for Himself Priests’”; Chazon, “Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran”; Chazon, “Human and Angelic Prayer”.

\textsuperscript{310} Mark S. Smith and E. Theodore Mullen explore the similarities between the divine councils of the Ugaritic high god El and the Hebrew God (Mullen, The Divine Council; Mark S. Smith, The Early History of God).

\textsuperscript{311} Clines dates the book of Job anywhere from the 7th to the 2nd century BCE (David A. Clines, Job 1–20 [WBC 17; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989], Ivii); Pope argues that the date of Job is still an open question but posits as a best guess the 7th century BCE for the dialogue portions (Marvin H. Pope, Job [AB 15; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965], XL); Habel settles for a post-exilic date but admits that the universal themes found in Job make precise dating difficult (Norman C. Habel, The Book of Job [OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster
the growing awareness of angelic mediation throughout the book points to an emerging tradition that is also found in our other texts.

The four texts found in Job concerning mediation vary in their portrayal of angelic roles and there is much debate whether angelic beings are actually the focus of these passages. In the first text, Eliphaz challenges Job, “Call now! Is there anyone who will answer you? And to which of the Holy Ones will you turn?” (Job 5:1). Eliphaz, in an attempt to console Job rebukes him by stating that even the most righteous are still not blameless. Preceding his rebuke, Eliphaz mentions his own visionary experience (Job 4:12-16) in which he hears a divine voice. The identity of this figure is never fully disclosed and there is debate whether it is the voice of God or an angelic being. Eliphaz’ statement in 5:1 assuredly refers to angelic beings as the term “holy ones” is elsewhere used to describe them. The most intriguing part about this passage is that Eliphaz appears to reject the possibility that Job can turn to a heavenly mediator in his dispute with God. According to Eliphaz, angelic beings are not reliable and they are imperfect compared to God (Job 4:18). Despite Eliphaz’ dismissal of angels, his repeated mention of them testifies to an awareness of them and the possibility that some saw them as potential mediators.

The need for a mediator is raised again in Job 9:33, this time by Job himself who states, “No arbiter is between us to lay his hand upon us both.” This passage is found in the midst of Job’s impassioned plea of innocence and his desire for a fair trial. The term מוכיח, a participle of ויכח, is ambiguous at best. Anderson gives two different understandings of the term, “a mediator

Press, 1985], 42).

312. Clines argues that the figure is a theophanic appearance of God (Clines, Job 1–20, 131).

313. The term holy ones is used for angelic beings in Deut 33:33; Ps 89:6, 8; Zech 14:5; Dan 4:14; 8:13; Sir 42:17; 1 En. 1:9.

314. Pope argues that Eliphaz’ statement is a polemic against the Mesopotamian personal god who would mediate between humanity and the divine assembly. Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on this point nor does he provide any examples from the ancient Near East (Pope, Job, 41–42).
who settles the quarrel by reconciliation, a negotiator who brings two parties together."  

Although Job’s statement appears to deny the existence of such a mediator, it also demonstrates the desire that such a heavenly being existed who could serve as an arbitrator. Clines argues that the negative particle לא should be read as a wish particle ולא or לו. The exact identity of this mediator is not clear and scholarship is divided on this issue. Pope argues that Job is making a reference to a personal god (Mesopotamia) whose role it was to act as a mediator between humans and the high gods. Others like Clines argue that there is no mediator and that God is the only one to whom Job can attempt to bring his case. This text provides little illumination beyond the fact that Job desires a third party arbiter to represent him before God. It is unclear who he imagines this mediator to be, whether it is a divine being or a human being like Moses who took on this role repeatedly. Of all the passages, this is the most difficult text to understand but it at least demonstrates a need for a mediator in expressing human concerns to God.

The third passage is much more explicit and demonstrates that Job does in fact desire an angelic intercessor, especially since this figure is described as being in both heaven and on the heights:

Behold, in heaven is my witness; and my advocate is on the heights.
Behold, my interpreter is my friend; to God my eyes drip tears.
Let him mediate for a man with God (as) that of a son of man for his fellow.
(Job 16:19-21)

As with the other passages in Job, there remains disagreement whether these passages attest to the presence and existence of angelic intercession. Clines argues against both the possibility that the witness in heaven is God or an angelic being. That God is the witness is not a tenable

317. Unfortunately Pope does not go into more detail concerning this personal god (Pope, *Job*, 76).
conclusion considering the logic of the passage which states that this witness must mediate between humans and God. However, Clines’ assertion that there is no heavenly being to advocate for Job is forced and rests on his conclusions that Job 5:1 and 9:33 have already assumed an absence of a heavenly mediator. This does not allow for a development of thought in Job’s viewpoint and a progressive wish that an angelic being could and should mediate for him. Habel argues that this heavenly “witness” is a third party whose role it is to mediate between Job and God. As support for this viewpoint, he reasons that already in the book of Job a third party heavenly mediator is present, of the opening chapters. Although Job is unaware that a mediator has been present, it raises the irony of the situation since has been mediating not on behalf of Job but by raising questions of his faithfulness (Job 1:9-11; 2:4-5). Job’s call for a witness and an advocate derive from the legal setting. This heavenly mediator not only will testify to Job’s innocence but will serve as an impartial judge between Job and God.

The final passage from Job is the most explicit statement as it shows an increased awareness or need of angelic intercession, “If there is a messenger for him, a mediator, one of a thousand, to declare to humanity what is right for them. Then he is gracious to him, and says, ‘Deliver him from going down to a pit, I have obtained a ransom’” (Job 33:23-24). In this case the angelic mediator is called , which is translated in a variety of ways. The term can imply a mediator (Isa 43:27) or an interpreter of foreign language (Gen 42:23). Combined with the term , the best understanding is that of an angelic mediator or spokesperson. Ross sums up the role of the angelic mediator well, “The spokesman literally ‘interprets’ suffering into another language, and in so doing brings man back to his duty. Elihu clearly implies that man could neither understand his pain nor realize his duty until such an angel had taken this first

321. Parker argues “If some divine agents are presented as trying to turn Yahweh against people, it is likely that other might be seen as ready to intercede for them” (Parker, “Divine Intercession in Judah?” 83).
step.” Of all the texts in Job, this one most clearly demonstrates an awareness that angelic beings could mediate on behalf of humanity. These references in Job show divine intercession as an emerging tradition in Israel.

Another text in which an angel prays for humans is found in Tobit. Like the book of Job, Tobit is not likely a direct influence on Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 or Dan 7-12. Scholars have given a variety of dates for the work. By the time of Tobit’s writing, the existence of angelic prayer for humans is an accepted practice as Raphael states that he has interceded for both Tobiah and Sarah (Tob 12:12). Although this text is not necessarily a direct influence, it shares with both Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 a tradition of angelic intercession that later in Second Temple works becomes prominent but which is rarely found in the early biblical material. Nickelsburg and MacDonald have also noted that Tobit shares other similarities with the Odyssey and 1 Enoch. The parallels with the Odyssey are particularly interesting since we have already seen how Greek traditions may have helped to shape both the interpreting and guiding function of angelic mediators in Jewish works. The angelic prayer of Raphael is found in Tob 12:12 where the angel states, “Now when you and Sarah prayed, I brought the record of your prayer into the glorious presence of the Lord, so too whenever you buried the dead.” Unlike the book of Job, where angelic mediation is only hinted at, by the time of Tobit the concept is more fully developed along the lines of what one encounters in Zech 2:12 and 1 En. 9.

323. Carey A. Moore dates the book of Tobit between 250 and 175 BCE after the canonization of the Prophets (Carey A. Moore, Tobit [AB 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996], 40); Similarly Nickelsburg also argues for an early 2nd century BCE date (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 35).
Conclusion

Like other divine beings in the ancient world, biblical angels are depicted not only as messengers of God but as interpreters, tour guides and as intercessors who mediate between humanity and God. Drawing direct lines of continuity between the biblical texts and the ancient world is not possible but it is clear that the biblical traditions owe much to the surrounding cultures. Older Babylonian and Persian traditions are incorporated into the larger matrix of Hellenism, which might provide one avenue for the similarity of traditions that one finds both in the ancient world and in the Hebrew Bible. Despite the many similarities, angelic mediation in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish texts demonstrate some of their own particularities. The active role of humans in the visions as they interact with divine beings is prominent in both Zech 1-8, and 1 En. 1-36. This is usually accompanied by a dialogue consisting of a question-and-answer format in which the prophet or seer continually engages with the angelic mediator for more information. The role of an angelic interpreter is less well-known in the ancient Near Eastern material but is found frequently in early Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The functions of interpreter and guide are related but appear to rely on or emphasize different traditions. Nevertheless, the angels of 1 En. 1-36 strongly resemble the angelic mediators of Zech 1-8 as they both interpret visions and intercede for humanity. The next chapter will examine in detail the identity and function of angelic mediators in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It is not surprising that although they share some strong similarities, each text also demonstrates its own unique characterization of angelic mediators. This no doubt is influenced by the various traditions, both ancient Near Eastern and biblical, that have informed their presentation of angelic mediators.
CHAPTER 2
THE IDENTITY AND FUNCTION OF HEAVENLY BEINGS IN ZECH 1-8, THE BOOK OF WATCHERS AND DAN 7-12

And I said to the angel who led me, “What is this which I see, my lord?”
And he said to me, “I am not your lord but your companion.”

Ascending of Isaiah 8:4-5

Introduction

Angelic mediators do not exist in a vacuum. Both ancient Near Eastern, Greek and biblical traditions have influenced their portrayals in Second Temple texts. The angelic mediators in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 are indebted to these older models that have shaped and formed their own presentations of angelic beings. And yet their conception of angelic mediation does not remain static. In each of our three texts, angels move beyond the traditional role of messenger and are increasingly portrayed as mediators of revelatory knowledge. It is not simply a message to be announced but a process of angelic interpretation by which humans participate, whether through symbolic visions or cosmic journeys. This is reflective of the interest in attaining heavenly knowledge found throughout the Second Temple period. Angelic mediation is one vehicle among many for accessing divine revelation in the post-exilic era. The complex

325. This thesis focuses on angels as agents of revelation. However, it is important to note that they are not the sole means through which revelation is mediated in Second Temple Judaism. Loren Stuckenbruck raises this important point concerning the broader spectrum found in Judaism:

It is thus important to recognize from the outset that, despite the focus of the present discussion, a study of ‘angels’ should not be isolated within the broad spectrum of ideas regarding mediation in Jewish antiquity. Other categories of mediator figures with which divine activity was associated have been identified and discussed, categories that cannot be completely distinguished from either ‘angelic beings’ on the one hand or, in some cases, from one another, on the other hand (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “‘Angels’ and ‘God’: Exploring the Limits of Early Jewish Monotheism,” in Early Jewish and
web of access points between the heavenly and earthly sphere is indicative of the importance placed on the continued ability to experience God’s presence.\textsuperscript{326} Access to revelation could be achieved not only through angelic mediation but also through other mediator figures such as \textit{Logos}, \textit{Sophia}, patriarchal figures (Enoch, Jacob) or idealized personages (Messiah, Son of Man).\textsuperscript{327} Moreover, enlightenment could also come from the interpretation of religious texts, as Sirach demonstrates: “If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. The Lord will direct his counsel and knowledge, as he meditates on his mysteries” (Sir 39:6-7). Angelic mediators are part of this matrix of divine revelation in early Judaism. Their presentation as revealers of divine revelation should not be isolated from other methods that existed simultaneously.\textsuperscript{328} Even though a text such as Ben Sira does not emphasize angelic mediation, it is no less interested or invested in achieving access to divine knowledge.\textsuperscript{329}


326. The presence of angelic mediators is often seen as evidence of God’s distance and isolation from humanity. However, when angelic mediation is seen as one part of the larger spectrum of revelatory activity, it becomes apparent that there were many avenues open to the ancient community to initiate contact with the divine realm.

327. Stuckenbruck, “‘Angels’ and ‘God’,” 46.

328. The book of \textit{Jubilees} provides a helpful way of evaluating the complex interaction between the heavenly and earthly sphere. Najman has argued that there are four authority conferring strategies in \textit{Jubilees} which include the use of heavenly tablets, angelic mediation, Mosaic attribution and authentic interpretation (Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing”). She suggests that, “Jubilees is a particularly interesting case because it shows that even a single text could use several distinct strategies, thus enriching our sense of the possibilities available to Second Temple authors, and of the complex relationship between the authority of sacred writing and the authority of interpretation” (Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing,” 410). I would also suggest that in addition to providing authority, these authority conferring strategies also demonstrate the multiple ways in which the ancients sought to interact with the divine realm. Angelic mediation is only one of many different ways the heavenly sphere and divine knowledge could be accessed.

329. Concerning divine revelation in Ben Sira, Jassen observes the following, “The exact circumstances by which this receipt of revealed wisdom takes place are clearly different from classical revelatory models. At the same time, the experience here is still one of divine revelation to select individuals. It is the exact content and revelatory framework that has changed. Visions and oracles are not the media of transmission, but rather divinely revealed knowledge and wisdom” (Alex P. Jassen, \textit{Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in}...
Within this larger web of mediators in early Judaism, the chief focus of this chapter is to outline the identity and function of angelic mediators. Angelic roles undertake a noticeable shift from the pre-exilic to the post-exilic age. In the earlier texts, angelic beings routinely appear as part of the divine council (1 Kgs 22:19-22; Ps 29:1; 82:1; 89:6-7), the heavenly army (Deut 33:2; Josh 5:14; Ps 68:17-18) and as messengers (Gen 16:11-12; 31:11-13; Exod 3:2; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15). Following the exile, there is a marked difference in the depiction of these heavenly beings. They are given proper names such as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael or Uriel (Dan 9:21; 10:13; Tob 12:15; 1 En. 9:1; 21:10; etc.) and an angelic hierarchy emerges (Jub. 2:2; 1 En. 61:10; T. Levi 3:5-8; etc.). Despite the evolving nature of angelic beings in the post-exilic age, they retain much continuity with their earlier predecessors. Their function as messengers continues as they act as mediators between heaven and earth. However, they are imbued with more specialized roles as interpreters (Zec 1-8; Dan 7-12; 4 Ezra 3-14), intercessors (1 En. 100:5; 1QM 13:10; T. Jud. 3:10), guides (1 En. 17-36), teachers (Jos. Asen.14-15; Jub. 1:27-29; 10:10-14) and warriors (T. Naph. 8:6; 1 En. 56) among others. In particular, the angelic functions of interpreter and mediator coalesce in this period to represent the actions of a specific type of angelic figure. With the aftermath of the exile, a new type of angel appears on the scene, one who makes known the meaning of symbolic messages and dreams to a prophet or seer and mediates divine knowledge.

The origins stretch back into earlier texts but the full expression of such a figure is a post-

the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism [STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill], 311–12).

331. According to Newsom, the presentation of pre-exilic angelic beings is not concerned with recording individual characteristics of the messenger but solely the message they are responsible to impart (Newsom, “Angels,” 250).
332. See Olyan, A Thousand Thousands Served Him.
333. Many of these roles are not necessarily “new” as we have seen in the previous chapter that divine beings across the ANE also demonstrate similar specialized functions. Moreover, earlier biblical traditions provide inspiration for the later elaboration of these roles.
exilic innovation. This angelic being proves so popular that it becomes normative for many revelatory texts of Second Temple Judaism. In 2 Baruch (late 1st century CE), the angel Ramael is described as “the angel who is set over true visions” (2 Bar. 55:3) and who appears in response to Baruch’s plea for understanding:

But now, since you have asked the Most High to reveal to you the explanation of the vision which you have seen, I have been sent to say to you that the Mighty One has let you know the course of times, namely those which have passed and those which in his world will come to pass, from the beginning of his creation until the end, (the times) which are known by deceit and by truth (2 Bar. 56:1-2).

Where once earlier dream interpreters like Joseph and Daniel took central stage in the narratives, the focus now turns to these heavenly mediators. Angelic revelation can occur in a variety of texts representing many different types of genres. Zechariah 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 as a group are not commonly compared since they traditionally belong to different types of literature. Not only are they divided by the distinction between prophecy (Zechariah) and apocalypses (1 Enoch and Daniel) but also by the mode of revelation. Zechariah and Daniel receive revelation through symbolic visions while Enoch receives secret knowledge from an angelic guide while touring the cosmos. Despite these differences in form, the three texts are representative of an emerging trend of angelic revelation through mediation that emerges in the post-exilic period. This chapter and the following one will examine four features found in the texts of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 that are indicative of their common concern of angelic revelation. They

334. I have already argued that its earliest appearance is found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12.

335. This otherworldly mediator becomes a central feature for the identification of apocalypses as demonstrated by the oft quoted definition in Semeia 14, “Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world” (Collins, “Introduction: Towards a Morphology of a Genre,” 9).


337. Where applicable this thesis will also include evidence from 1 En. 72-82 which is dated earlier than the Book of Watchers and also contains a guided tour of the cosmos by the
consist of the following: an identification of the growing number of angelic mediators, their functions as interpreters and intercessors, the locus of such angelic activity and lastly the interaction between the human and divine worlds. A sustained or uniform angelology is not necessarily found in these texts; instead the beginnings of a transformation in the conception of mediated revelation through angelic beings emerges. The purpose of this chapter is two-fold: (1) to identify the variety of angelic figures found throughout our texts and (2) to examine their specialized functions as interpreters and intercessors. Lines of continuity among the texts will be noted as well as important innovations that are developed in later Second Temple works.

**Identification**

In each of the texts, the prophet or seer interacts with a number of different types of angelic figures. Some of the angels assume a lead role, which I have labelled a primary angel, whereas others take on secondary roles in relation to the visionary. In Zechariah, the primary angelic figure is הַמֶּלֶךְ הַדָּבָר יִמְר who accompanies the prophet on almost all his visions and acts as an interpreter. Daniel’s primary angel, Gabriel, operates similarly to Zechariah’s הַמֶּלֶךְ הַדָּבָר יִמְר and appears at various points to interpret Daniel’s symbolic dreams. The situation in 1 En. 17-36 is slightly different as the main angel, Uriel, serves as a guide through the heavenly and earthly regions. His main role is to interpret and help Enoch make sense of the strange sites he sees on his journey. These primary angels are known by specific names or titles and are found in the angel Uriel.

338. This section is devoted to identifying angelic beings who interact directly with the visionary rather than those who simply form part of the visions they experience. Thus, הַשְׂתָן of Zech 3 is omitted from this section.

339. The terminology of primary and secondary angels does not derive necessarily from their importance but to the amount of time that they spend in the company of the prophet.

340. The fourth vision, that of the divine council, deviates quite a bit from the other visions of Zechariah. The interpreting angel is no longer a central character but his presence is presumed from the introduction “he showed me” (Zech 3:1). However, it is the “angel of Yahweh” who takes central stage in this vision.

341. In the case of the Book of Watchers and Daniel, Gabriel and Uriel have proper names while Zechariah’s angel is missing such a proper name but is referred to as הַמֶּלֶךְ הַדָּבָר יִמְר.
majority of visions that the prophet or seer experiences. The secondary angelic beings in these
texts play a supporting role to the primary angel and interact with the prophet or seer only
occasionally. They may adopt a beneficent role like the good watchers in 1 En. 1 and 12 or a
more challenging role as with the actions of השם figure in Zech 3. It is possible that at times they
can also assume the traditional role of the primary angels in interpreting the visions of the
visionary.

I. Zechariah

i. Primary Angel: מלאך הדבר יהוה

The appearance of this angel occurs for the first time in the opening vision of Zechariah
(1:7-17). He is called by this title in many of the other visions, including the second vision (2:1-
4), third vision (2:5-9), the fifth vision (4:1-14), the seventh vision (5:5-11) and the eighth vision
(6:1-8). In the sixth vision (5:1-4), the angel’s normal title is missing but this is not surprising
since the narrative assumes his identity by referring to the angel in the third person (Zech 5:2, 3).
The fourth vision (3:1-10) also indicates the presence of this angel in the opening line “He
further showed me” but the angel in this vision takes a backseat to מלאך יהוה. This vision deviates
from the typical visionary pattern found throughout Zechariah and is believed to be a later
insertion into the visionary cycle.342

Typical of earlier representations of angelic figures, מלאך הדבר יהוה lacks any type of
physical description. Surprisingly, the author spends more time describing the colours of the
horses rather than the angelic beings. Instead, the author is only concerned to describe his actions
in relation to the visionary as he interprets or shows the prophet his visions. The main function of
continuously throughout the visions.

342. That the fourth vision differs significantly from the others in form and structure is
not surprisingly as many scholars have argued that it is a later addition to the visionary cycle.
For instance Meyers and Meyers do not include it in the cycle of visions (Meyers and Meyers,
Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, Ivi-Iviii, 213–17). I have chosen to include the vision as part of the
visionary cycle despite its possible later composition since its addition to the cycle represents an
ancient desire to read it within the night visions.
this angel is to elucidate the meaning of the prophet’s visions. Whereas the interpretation of visions was the domain of God and humans in the pre-exilic period, now in Zechariah, angelic beings take on this role. Like other angelic beings in the Second Temple Period, הנळארה ימער ב^י assumes more than the role of interpreter in the text. He potentially takes on the role of intercessor (Zech 1:12) and even commands the other angels to accomplish their duties (Zech 6:7). It is difficult to pinpoint the role of הנळארה ימער ב^י within the heavenly realm. Beginning in the post-exilic period, a hierarchy of angelic beings develops but הנळארה ימער ב^י is only pictured in relation to the prophet. In the book of Zechariah, it is not clear what role this angelic mediator might assume in the heavenly realm and if this is a function any angel could assume or if it is relegated to a specific type of angelic being.

ii. Secondary angels

There are three main secondary angels in Zechariah. In most of the visions, the identification of the individual angelic beings is relatively clear; however, this is not true of the opening vision. As is typical in the other visions, the prophet Zechariah directs his question to הנळארה ימער ב^י but it is “the man standing among the myrtles” who answers his question about the identity of the horses (Zech 1:10). It is common in each of our texts that secondary angels (Zech 2:5-6; archangels in 1 En. 22-32; Dan 7:10) can also interact and mediate revelation to the prophet, though this is not their main role. The angel is first described as “a man riding on a red horse” who was “standing among the myrtles” (Zech 1:8). He is later referred to as הנש הנטר נברדמס, “the man who was standing among the myrtles” (Zech 1:10). The designation of an angelic being is not uncommon in the Hebrew Bible. There is some


344. Examples include Judg 13:6; Ezek 9:2; Daniel 10:5. For further discussions see Hamori, When Gods Were Men.
debate whether this figure is to be identified with מלאך יוהְהוּ who also appears is this vision (Zech 1:11-12). Carrell argues that this potentially represents the melding of two traditions and that the same character is being portrayed since both figures are described as “being among the myrtles.”\(^{345}\)

The next angelic being, מלאך יוהְהוּ, plays a prominent recurring role in the Hebrew Bible. Scholars continue to debate the identity of this angel whose relationship to God remains ambiguous.\(^{346}\) Moreover, this angelic being, like המלאך הדבר י, is unnamed and most likely a title conceivably given to any angel fulfilling this office rather than one specific angelic figure.\(^{347}\) The lines dividing the angelic figure and God are blurry, as the identities of the angel and God are at times interchangeable.\(^{348}\) In addition, within the first of Zechariah’s visions, it is difficult to decipher the exact identity and function of מלאך יוהְהוּ. This angelic figure enters the scene and prays to God on behalf of humanity (Zech 1:12) but it is not to this angel that God responds but to ( המלאך הדבר בי; Zech 1:13). This has prompted speculation that מלאך יוהְהוּ and המלאך הדבר בי are in fact the same being. However, it is more likely that מלאך יוהְהוּ and המלאך הדבר בי are understood as separate angelic beings since המלאך הדבר בי is generally associated with the role of interpreter throughout the visions.\(^{349}\) This is further demonstrated by the appearance of מלאך יוהְהוּ in the fourth vision, who assumes leadership of the divine council. In this vision, המלאך הדבר י recedes from the scene as מאָלך יוהְהוּ takes a more central role. However, מלאך הדבר י remains the primary angel for the prophet Zechariah throughout the whole of his visions.

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The final angel, “a man holding a measuring rod”, is mentioned briefly in the third vision (Zech 2:1 Eng; 2:5-6 Heb). He also is not described as a מלאך “messenger” but as an איש “man” (Zech 2:1) and later as a נער “young man” (Zech 2:4). This figure is found only in this vision but he is noted, since Zechariah directs his question to him and receives an answer from him (Zech 2:2). Scholars have paid little attention to this angelic being besides noting his possible relation to other similar figures in Ezekiel and later in the Apocalypse of John.350 Meyers and Meyers make the observation that the use of the particle מה “where” in the vision draws the readers’ attention to the angel’s action of measuring rather than to his identity.351 Despite the obscurity of this angelic character, his actions are significant since they demonstrate that angels other than מלאך הדבר בי can serve as interpreting angels. Other secondary angelic figures in 1 En. 20-36 and Dan 7-12 will also take on the role of an interpreting angel temporarily, usually from the initiative of the prophet or seer.

II. 1 Enoch 1-36

i. Primary Angel: Uriel

As in Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12, a multiplicity of angelic beings are present throughout 1 En. 1-36. Proper names for angelic figures begin also to appear throughout the books of 1 Enoch, a hallmark feature of Second Temple literature.352 The etymology of Uriel remains disputed, depending on whether the name is derived from the Hebrew root for “light” or the Aramaic for...
“fire.” His role as one of the four archangels is found in some texts (3 Bar. 4:7; Sib. Or. 2:215) but he is also replaced by Phanuel (1 En. 37-71) or Sariel at times (1 En. 9:1). Chapters 6-11 of the Book of Watchers recount the sin of the fallen watchers and the commissioning of the good angels to judge the fallen watchers. It is not until later in the narrative that Enoch encounters the angel(s) who most closely resemble the angelic interpreters of Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12. Beginning in chapter 17, Enoch is led by an undisclosed number of angels on a guided tour of the cosmos. In chapter 19, Uriel the chief angel, speaks to Enoch and reveals the place of the fallen watchers, prompting a dialogue between angel and seer. Although Uriel is his chief angelic mediator (1 En. 21:5) and shows him the visions (1 En. 22:1), several other angels also act as interpreters for him. Each of these archangels takes turns interpreting the visions of Enoch but it is Uriel who serves as the interpreter for both the initial and final vision, establishing him as the primary angelic interpreter and guide (1 En. 21:1-10; 33:1-4).

ii. Secondary angels

a. Good Angels

The Book of Watchers uses the terms “watchers” and “holy ones” interchangeably for both the good and fallen angels. The term “watcher” occurs elsewhere in Second Temple texts and is thought to be derived from the Aramaic term צָרִיךְ “to be awake.” These beings are just one part of the large cast of angels found in 1 En. 1-36. The opening lines of the Book of Watchers introduce both his visionary experience and his angelic helpers, “Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God, who had the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, which


354. Uriel (21:1-10); Michael (22:3-14); Reuel (23:1-4); Michael (24:6-7); Sariel (27:2-5); Gabriel (32:6); Uriel (33:1-4).

355. Dan 4:10, 14, 20 (Eng. 4:13, 17, 23); Jub. 4:22; 7:21; T. Naph. 3:5; 1QapGen 2:1, 16.

356. G uses the word έγρηγορος (γρηγορεῖν “to watch”) and the Ethiopic teguh (cognate with the verb tagha “to watch over”). See Davidson, Angels at Qumran, 38.
he showed me. From the words of the watchers and the holy ones I heard everything; and as I heard everything from them, I also understood what I saw” (1 En. 1:2). As in Daniel, the terms “watcher” and “holy one” are used together, indicating that these are “good” angels. It is in the company of these beings that Enoch receives an understanding of everything he sees on the visionary journey. The term “watcher” presents some difficulties since it is used to describe both the good and the fallen angels. The watchers appear to belong to a different angelic class than the normal מלאך but they also can act as מלאכים and deliver messages. The function of these heavenly beings is derived from the term “to be awake” and thus they serve God continually either by offering their worship or service in the throne room. In addition, the archangels are also described as those “who watch” (1 En. 20:1). Their duties not only include watching over the cosmos but they are responsible for mediating revelation to Enoch as they guide him through his visionary journey. It is not clear if this capacity as guides and interpreters is also included as a typical function of the watchers or if this falls under the domain of the “holy ones.” The term “holy ones,” like מלאכים, appears to designate a more general term for angelic beings while the term “watchers” communicates their function specifically. In 1 En. 22:6 the angel Raphael is described as “the watcher and holy one who was with me,” leaving some question as to the precise functions of the “watchers” and “holy ones.”

357. In his dream Nebuchadnezzar sees “a watcher and a holy one come down from heaven” (Dan 4:10, 14, 20). Nickelsburg proposes that in 1 En. 1-36 the Greek and Aramaic both refer to heavenly beings as עירין but that the unfallen angelic beings were called עירין/שינים ניקלסברג, 1 Enoch, 140).

358. The term “watchers” is also used to indicate good angels: 1 En. 12:2, 3; Jub. 4:15. Elsewhere in the books of 1 Enoch good angels are described as those “who watch” or “do not sleep” (20:1; 39:12-13; 71:7). See John J. Collins, “Watcher, עוה,” in DDD (ed. Karel van der Toorn; Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 893).

360. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 140.
361. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 141. In 1 En. 15:4, in his rebuke of the fallen watchers, God refers to them as holy ones, “You were holy ones and spirits, living forever.”
b. Fallen Angels

A second set of angelic figures in 1 En. 1-36 (esp. 6-16) that interact with Enoch are the fallen angels, who are also known as the “watchers, children of heaven” (1 En. 6:2). 362 These angels are guilty of two different charges concerning their interactions with humanity. 363 First, the angels who follow Shemihazah improperly lust after women and have children with them, resulting in a race of giants that terrorize the earth (1 En. 7:1-5). One of the main charges against these watchers is their illicit revelation of knowledge to humanity, which included spells, sorcery, and astrological secrets. The second group of angels, under the leadership of Asael, are guilty of teaching forbidden knowledge of metallurgy, cosmetics and jewelry-making to humans (1 En. 8:1-2). The fallen watchers, like the good watchers, mediate knowledge to humans; however, their revelations are not considered legitimate and their actions are condemned by the archangels (1 En. 9:6), Enoch (1 En. 13:1-3) and God (1 En. 16:3-4). 364 The actions of the fallen watchers result in an inappropriate crossing of heavenly-earthly boundaries that has dire consequences for humanity. 365 Additionally, the reversal of roles is highlighted as these angels do not act as

362. These same angels are referred to throughout The Book of Watchers (see 1 En. 1:5; 10:7, 9, 15; 12:4; 13:10; 14:1, 3; 15:2, 9; 16:1, 2).

363. The presence of two different groups of rebellious watchers demonstrates two different strands of traditions that have been amalgamated. Nickelsburg argues that an original layer of angelic revelation by Shemihazah is expanded with the addition of material about Asael (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 171–72).

364. Nickelsburg translates 1 En. 16:3-4 in the following manner, “You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you, but a stolen mystery you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils upon the earth.” Instead of “stolen mystery” the Greek versions (Akhmim, Syncellus) have καὶ μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένον “and a mystery that was from God.” Nickelsburg argues that this is a corruption for μυστήριον ἐξουθενημένον “a despised or worthless mystery” as found in the Ethiopic (menuna meštira). See Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 269. In both cases, the rebuke of the fallen watchers is clear; however, as Knibb notes the variant has implications for the understanding of the origin of evil (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 102).

mediators for Enoch but ironically invert the normal order of angelic-human relations when they ask Enoch to petition for them (I En. 13:4-7).

**III. Daniel**

*i. Primary Angel: Gabriel*

As in the books of Zechariah and the *Book of Watchers*, angels abound in the visions of Daniel. The main angel who assumes the role of interpreter and mediator is Gabriel. 366 A major change that has occurred since the time of Zechariah is the use of proper names for angelic beings. 367 Gabriel appears by name in the second vision (Dan 8:15) and after Daniel’s prayer (Dan 9:20). 368 In each of these instances Gabriel comes as a messenger from God and reveals the meaning behind Daniel’s visions. Unlike the angels of Zechariah, in Dan 7-12 there is more of an attempt to provide a physical description of these angelic figures. Gabriel is described as “looking like a man” (Dan 8:15) and later he comes in flight to the prophet, implying he is a winged messenger (Dan 9:21). 369 As Daniel’s primary angelic mediator, he, like the angels of Zech 1-8 and I En. 17-36, reveals not only the hidden message of symbolic dreams but comes in answer to Daniel’s prayer (Dan 9:22-23). The figure of Gabriel resurfaces throughout the Second Temple Period and beyond. It is assumed that he continues to function as a revealing angel but this stems largely from his role in Dan 7-12 and to a lesser extent I En. 1-36. 370 Elsewhere he

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366. Like the books of Zechariah and I En. 20-36, there are other angels who take on the role of interpreter to the prophet. In Dan 7, the seer approaches an attendant for the interpretation of his vision. The identity and function of this figure will be discussed below.


368. It is possible that Gabriel makes an earlier appearance in the first vision when Daniel seeks an interpretation from an unknown angel who is simply described as “one of the attendants” (7:16).

369. Collins notes that the phrase מַעְפֶּה בִּיעֲפֶּה is unique and is the first time a divine messenger is described as flying. The earliest evidence of winged messengers is found in the I En. 61:1 (Collins, *Daniel*, 352).

370. John J. Collins, “Gabriel הָגָרְבָּא,” in *DDD* (ed. Karel van der Toorn; Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 339. Collins’ definition of a revealing angel is more broad than what I am defining as an intermediary or interpretive angel. One can say that Gabriel reveals knowledge to Zechariah and Mary in the New Testament but this is more the
takes on various roles, none of which can be described primarily as an interpreting angel. He is one of the four archangels in *1 En.* 1-36 who intercede on behalf of humanity to God after witnessing the destructive actions of the watchers’ offspring (*1 En.* 9:1). He is then commissioned to destroy the children of the watchers and to grant them no mercy (*1 En.* 10:9-10). Later in *1 En.* 20 he is one of the seven archangels and is described in the following way, “who is in charge of paradise and the serpents and the cherubim” (*1 En.* 20:7) who also briefly interprets one of Enoch’s visions (*1 En.* 32:5-6). He is also described in *2 En.* 21 as a glorious angel who carries Enoch through heaven to the face of God. He behaves more like an angelic guide but the text is lacking any angelic interpretation of the sights witnessed by the seer. In the New Testament he is the angel who comes to Zechariah and Mary announcing the birth of future children acting as a messenger (Luke 1:19, 26). He also has some military functions as part of the angelic host (*Dan* 10; *1QM* 9:14-16). Furthermore, in the Dead Sea Scrolls there are some references to Gabriel in the *War Scroll* (*1QM* 9:15-16), the *Book of Noah* (*1Q19*), the *Words of Michael* (*4Q529*) and one possible reference in *4Q285*. Although in the book of Daniel the angel Gabriel functions mainly as an interpreting angel, this appears to be one of the only places where he takes on this personae.372

function of a messenger rather than an interpreter.

371. In *1 En.* 54:6, the angels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel are all described as punishers of the rebel angels’ when Enoch inquires about a valley of burning fire.

372. The above mentioned *Words of Michael* (*4Q529*) may also represent an example of angelic interpretation. The vision opens with “the words of the book which Michael said to the angels.” It is possible that the first person discourse is not from the angel Michael but instead Enoch who receives a vision (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Pseudepigrapha and First Person Discourse in the Dead Sea Documents: From the Aramaic Texts to Writings of the YAHAD,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture* [ed. A. Roitman, L. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill], 319). Another possible exception is found in the *Hazon Gabriel* which may refer to the activity of Gabriel as an interpreting angel. However, the text is fragmentary and numerous reconstructions exist which make it difficult to discern the precise function of the angel Gabriel in the text. For more information see Kelly Coblentz Bautch, “Hosts, Holy Ones, and Words of Gabriel: The Angelology of Hazon Gabriel in the Context of Second Temple and Late Antique Literature,” in *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation* (ed. Matthias Henze; Early Judaism and Its Literature 29; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 131–52, esp. 134-39.
ii. Secondary Angels:

a. An attendant

The book of Daniel has several other references to angelic beings who also function as interpreting angels but remain anonymous. The first occurs in chapter seven when Daniel approaches “one of the attendants” for an interpretation of the vision of the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:16). The identity of this angelic being is left unanswered, though there is speculation that the angel Gabriel is being referred to. While it is entirely possible that Gabriel is in fact identified with the attendant, it seems more likely that Daniel approaches one of many heavenly attendants who surround the throne of God (Dan 7:10). In both cases the Aramaic root קומם is used to describe the multitude of angels attending (עיקומונם) (Dan 7:10) and the attendant (קאמיא) that Daniel approaches (Dan 7:16). Moreover, the lack of a proper name suggests that a minor angelic figure is also functioning as an interpreter in addition to Gabriel, who takes on the primary role later in Daniel. As noted concerning Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, this is not an uncommon feature of these texts where angelic functions are not fixed and a variety of angelic beings interact with the prophet or seer.

b. A man dressed in linen

The situation is more complicated in Dan 10 when he sees a man dressed in linen. This angelic being is also not identified by name but a lengthy description is provided:

On the twenty-fourth day of the first month, when I was on the bank of the great river (that is the Tigris), I looked up and saw a man dressed in linen, with a belt of fine gold from Uphaz around his waist. His body was like beryl, his face had the appearance of lightning, his eyes were like flaming torches, his arms and legs had the colour of burnished bronze, and the sound of his speech was like the noise of the multitude (Dan 10:4-6).

373. Collins raises this as a possibility (Collins, Daniel, 311).
As with the angel Gabriel, a description of the angel’s physical appearance is provided that relies heavily on the earlier visions of Ezekiel.\footnote{Ezekiel also has a figure dressed in linen (Ezek 9:2, 3, 11; 10:2, 6, 7) but there are also many parallels to Ezekiel’s description of the throne room and Daniel’s angel (see Collins, Daniel, 373).} The primary function of this angelic figure is to interpret the vision of Daniel, which has led to a tradition of identifying this angel with Gabriel. However, like the anonymous attendant of Dan 7, this angelic mediator need not be identified with Gabriel. The function of an angelic interpreter is not only the domain of a primary angel like Gabriel but is accessible to other lesser-known angelic beings. If this angel is not identified with Gabriel, the elaborate description and his lengthy discourse with Daniel (Dan 10-12) might be grounds for arguing that he is just as prominent as his “primary” angel Gabriel.

c. Miscellaneous angelic beings

A variety of other angelic beings are named in the visions of Daniel.\footnote{These include the thousands who serve the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:10); “one like a human being” (Dan 7:13-14); the holy ones (Dan 7:18, 21-22, 25, 27; 8:25); host of heaven (Dan 8:10-11); prince of the host (Dan 8:11); a holy one (Dan 8:13-14); Prince of princes (Dan 8:25); prince of the kingdom of Persia (Dan 10:13, 20); Michael (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1); prince of Greece (Dan 10:20).} Unlike other angels in the book of Daniel, the seer has no direct interaction with these beings except for witnessing their activity in his vision. Two interesting cases involving anonymous angels should be mentioned due to their similarity to the visions of Zechariah. First, Daniel overhears a conversation between two angelic beings who state, “How long will the vision concerning the regular burnt offering be desolate because of transgression, and the sanctuary be surrendered and host be trampled?” (Dan 8:13). The term \textit{שדדות קדוש} is used to describe these figures and is one instance in Daniel where “holy one” is most obviously speaking of an angelic rather than human being.\footnote{Readers of Zechariah may draw some comparisons with another overheard angelic conversation which also uses the expression \textit{שדדות קדוש} to speak of the continuation of suffering in Zechariah, 12:10.} The term \textit{שדדות קדוש} is used to describe these figures and is one instance in Daniel where “holy one” is most obviously speaking of an angelic rather than human being.\footnote{Readers of Zechariah may draw some comparisons with another overheard angelic conversation which also uses the expression \textit{שדדות קדוש} to speak of the continuation of suffering in Zechariah, 12:10.} The term \textit{שדדות קדוש} is used to describe these figures and is one instance in Daniel where “holy one” is most obviously speaking of an angelic rather than human being.\footnote{Readers of Zechariah may draw some comparisons with another overheard angelic conversation which also uses the expression \textit{שדדות קדוש} to speak of the continuation of suffering in Zechariah, 12:10.}

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\footnote{See Collins’ discussion of “holy ones” (Collins, Daniel, 313–17).}
the world (Zech 1:12).\textsuperscript{378} The final encounter Daniel has with angelic beings occurs in chapter twelve when he sees “the other two were standing, one on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank of the river. One said to the man clothed in linen, who was above the waters of the river, ‘How long until the end of these awful things?’” (Dan 12:5-6). It is not clear whether Daniel simply overhears the conversation between these angelic beings or if he participates in the scene and offers a reply in verse 8, “I heard but did not understand; so I said, ‘My lord, what shall be the outcome of these things?’”\textsuperscript{379} In both of the scenes, reminiscent of Zechariah’s visions, the seer overhears angelic conversations that lament the suffering of the world. It is clear that Daniel is familiar with Zechariah’s representation of angelic mediators but adapts it to his context and audience.

Summary

The above section has identified the plurality of angelic beings who undertake various aspects of mediation in Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. In each text, a primary angel is responsible for disclosing the mysteries of the prophet or seer’s visions. However, this function of revelation or interpretation is not solely the domain of the primary angels but can also be accomplished by other anonymous angels. Zechariah’s innovation of an angel who interprets visions (הַמַּלְאָכָּל הַדָּבָר בּ) is found in both I En. 17-36 and Dan 7-12. And yet the presentation of angelic mediation in the Book of Watchers and Dan 7-12 is not identical to what is first found in Zech 1-8. In I En. 17-36, the angels continue to interpret the visions of the seer but using the format of a cosmic journey. Moreover, although Uriel acts as a primary angel, there are many other angels who accompany Enoch on his tour and provide interpretation. As we will discuss shortly, the question-and-answer motif is retained in I En. 17-36, demonstrating probable

\textsuperscript{378} Collins, Daniel, 335.

\textsuperscript{379} Collins argues against the view that Daniel is the speaker in this scene and that it is only a conversation between angelic beings as was the case in Dan 8:13-14 (Collins, Daniel, 399).
reliance or knowledge of Zechariah’s visions. In Dan 7-12, the multiplicity of angelic mediators is retained, as a variety of primary and secondary beings mediate knowledge to the seer. Attention to the physical nature of these beings is quite different from what is found in Zech 1-8. However, at various instances Dan 7-12 shows knowledge of Zech 1-8 by reusing motifs of angelic interaction (Dan 8:13-14; 12:5). Thus, it is clear that angelic interpretation of visions is a common element in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. However, each text presents its own unique view of angelic and human interaction.

**Function**

Before the Babylonian exile, one of the prevalent functions of angelic beings in the Hebrew Bible was that of delivering messages from God to humanity. The ancestral narratives are especially full of references to messengers who communicate divine information and direct the actions of humans (Gen 16:7-12; 21:17-18; 22:15-18; 31:11-13). In this capacity, angelic beings serve as a bridge from heaven to earth and help humanity understand the will of God. However, in these episodes the focus remains on the angelic beings as vessels for imparting knowledge and revelation to human recipients. There is less of a focus on humans actively seeking and engaging with the angelic beings in acquiring divine knowledge and direction. This two-way act of angelic mediation is a post-exilic innovation as angels are now shown not only to bring knowledge from heaven to earth but to represent human interests to the heavenly realm. In the visions of Zechariah, the prophet begins to engage actively with the angelic beings through a continuous dialogue that features a question-and-answer format. Although angels serving as messengers is an old phenomenon in the earlier traditions of the Hebrew Bible, there are significant developments by the time of our three primary texts. Angelic beings are not only expected to deliver a message but must help their human recipients to understand its full meaning and implications. The following section will outline the prominent developments that arise in the post-exilic era as angelic beings take on the roles of interpreters and intercessors.
It remains unclear to what extent we can speak of angels with set or fixed functions in the Hebrew Bible. According to Saul Olyan, angels are not differentiated into any type of hierarchy or discernible function in the earlier traditions:

Yet with only a few exceptions the angels are unnamed and untitled, and generally their functions remain at best only vaguely articulated; there is little or no sense of an angelic hierarchy, and their main purpose is to praise God, and to serve him in the divine court and in the holy war.\(^{380}\)

Overall, this is an apt summary of the pre-exilic situation regarding angelic functions in the biblical text. Many descriptions of angelic beings depict them as part of a host without proper names or specific roles (Deut 4:19; 17:3; Judges 5:20; 1 Kgs 22:19; etc.). Yet even in the earlier texts, some angelic beings in the pre-exilic age do achieve a measure of differentiation from one another. The most recognized is the Angel of the Lord, who appears in a variety of texts and stands apart from the rest of the angelic host (Gen 16:7-12; 22:15-18; Exod 3:2; etc.). In the divine council text of 1 Kgs 22:21-23, a heavenly being known as a ‘lying spirit’ is commissioned to mislead the prophets. Moreover, certain angelic beings are recorded as taking part in God’s military endeavors, including "the captain of the Lord’s host" in Josh 5:13-15 and "the destroyer" in Exod 12:23. These heavenly agents are not assigned proper names but they are given specialized functions that differentiate them from the rest of the heavenly assembly of angels. Similarly, Zechariah’s ‘operates like these unnamed pre-exilic angelic beings. The prophet repeatedly identifies this angelic interpreter by a specific title that pertains to his function throughout the course of his visions (Zech 1:9, 13, 14, 19; 2:3; 4:1, 4, 5; 5:5, 10; 6:4). Although it becomes more common in the Second Temple Period that angels are referred to by proper names, the earlier tradition of referring to angelic beings by their function continues in this period.\(^{381}\) One such angelic being, Jubilees’ Angel of the Presence, acts


\(^{381}\) Angel of Peace (*1 En.* 40:8; *T. Dan* 6:5-6; *T. Ben* 6:1); Angel(s) of the Presence (*Jub.* 1:27, 29; 2:1, 18; 15:27; 31:14; *T. Levi* 3:4-8; *T. Jud.* 25:2; 1QSB 4:25-26); angels of the sanctification (*Jub.* 2:18).
very similarly to Zechariah’s מלאך הדבר. Known by a title rather than a proper name, this angelic being mediates divine knowledge to a human recipient and reinterprets the events of Israel’s past as he dictates the contents of the heavenly tablets to Moses. As with Zechariah’s מלאך הדבר, both angels are identified on account of their function rather than a proper name.382

I. Angelic Interpreters

A new role adopted by angelic figures in the post-exilic period is the interpretation of dreams and visions. Until this time, it was solely the responsibility of God to decode the visions of the prophets (Am 7:7-9; 8:1-3; Jer 1:11-12, 13-19; 24). Fishbane describes the evolution of this tradition of interpretation from God to angelic figures:

The pivotal position of a mediating interpreter is also to be found in connection with the mantology of visions --- although here a clear distinction can be observed between the pre-exilic and post-exilic data. In the former, as exemplified by shared patterns in the Books of Amos and Jeremiah, the prophet-receiver of the vision or imagery is directly informed of its meaning by the addressing divine voice. Here, then, the interpretation is immediate in the sense that the giver of the signs and omens is also their decoder; but it is also mediated, in so far as the receiver is not able to discern the plain sense of the imagery unaided. In the post-exilic period, by contrast, as exemplified by shared patterns in the books of Zechariah and Daniel, an angelus interpres communicates the meaning of the imagery to the visionary. Here, the giver of the omens is directly removed from their interpretation and decoding; and the receiver of the envisaged content does not turn to a human wise man, but is rather addressed by a divine messenger who unlocks the configurations.383

Fishbane accurately identifies the angelic interpreters of Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 as participating in “shared patterns” revolving around angelic revelation. From Zech 1-8 to a later apocalypse like 2 Baruch, angelic interpretation of dreams and visions becomes a central feature of Second Temple texts. This new avenue of revelation reflects a growing interest in presenting a legitimate

382. The title Angel of the Presence translates as “the angel of the face” and is derived from the fact that these angelic beings could enter into the presence of God (VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence,” 382).

and authoritative text. Thus, the visions of the human prophet or seer assume authority for the community as they are presented through the lens of angelic mediation.

Angelic roles and functions often reflect human institutions and social roles. The multifaceted duties of human messengers, especially in the pre-exilic period, provided many analogies for the development of angelic messengers whose activity encompassed more than simply delivering messages. Additionally, the earthly office of the prophet is in many ways analogous to that of divine messengers who act as mediators between the divine world and their human communities (Isa 6:8-13). In the post-exilic world, angels are increasingly associated with other human institutions such as the priesthood and scribal communities.

The advent of angelic mediators coincides both with the elevated status of priests and scribes in Jewish society and the increased depiction of angels as priests and scribes. The exact relationship between priests and scribes in the Second Temple period remains unclear; however, an overlap between their roles and communities is now largely assumed by scholars.

384. This is similar to the way in which Jubilees’ Angel of the Presence through the act of mediation provides an authoritative copy of the Law for the human scribe (Hindy Najman, Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism [JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 62).

385. See the discussion in chapter one that outlines the variety of roles assumed by messengers in the ancient world. These included more than simply relaying the message as messengers also acted as diplomats, interpreters, intercessors and guides.

386. The following scholars have explored the priestly and scribal imagery associated with angelic beings (David W. Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16,” HUCA 50 [1979]: 115–35; Newsom, “‘He Has Established for Himself Priests’”; Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven; Flannery-Dailey, Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests, 256–66; Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai Through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice”).

mediators in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 include both interpretation and intercession, which are also the duties primarily associated with priests and scribes. Intercession is typically understood as a priestly function while interpretation could be attributed to either group. The rise of scribal authority in the post-exilic age relates to the growing importance associated with the written text. Even in prophetic circles, there are signs that prophecy is increasingly associated with the written word. Like the messenger, the duties associated with scribes are not relegated simply to the reproduction of texts. As Goodman argues, “Perhaps the two roles of scribes, as writers and interpreters, were mutually reinforcing. An expert sofer who was trusted to produce valid manuscripts for worship might well also be a learned exegete of the biblical texts he assiduously copied.” As with the rise of scribes following the exile, an increasing number of angelic beings are associated not only with the act of writing but also to provide a correct interpretation for their human counterparts.

388. It should be noted that these functions of interpretation and intercession are also attributed to prophets who reinterpreted and reapplied older traditions to their own context. The work of Second Isaiah is indicative of the presence of prophecy as interpretation of older traditions. Moreover, prophets were always conceived of as mediators between God and humanity after the model of Moses who continually interceded for the Israelites. It is not a matter of priestly and scribal duties taking over the prophetic but a merging of these roles as they are appropriated by angelic mediators.


393. Angels become increasingly associated with the act of writing especially on heavenly tablets. References to heavenly tablets are found throughout *1 Enoch* (1 En. 81:2; 93:2; 98:6-8; 104:7-8; ). The existence of these heavenly tablets imply that they are written by angelic scribes but this is only made explicit in the following texts (1 En. 89:61-64, 68-71, 76-77; 90:14, 17; 104:1; 108:3, 15). For more examples see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 479–80.
The importance of writing is also accompanied by the need to achieve a correct interpretation. In Neh 8, the Torah is read aloud, demonstrating the importance of hearing the written word. However, even more illuminating is the presence of interpreters to give the proper explanation to the audience:

(5) Ezra opened the scroll in sight of all the people, for he was above all the people; and when he opened it, all the people stood up. (6) Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God, and all the people answered, “Amen, Amen,” while lifting up their hands. Then they bowed their heads and worshiped the Lord with their faces to the ground. (7) Jeshua, Bani, Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites explained the teaching to the people, while the people stood in their place. (8) They read from the scroll of the Teaching of God, translating and giving the sense; so they understood the reading. (Neh 8:5-8)

Najman argues that Ezra, pictured as both scribe and priest, is now described as the mediator of what was originally revealed to Moses. Yet the act of reading the scroll is not sufficient for the listeners as they also need to understand the content:

It is clear from the above passage that listening to the public reading of the Torah did not ensure public comprehension. In addition to a public reading, the people were provided with interpreters, *mebinim*, who must have translated Mosaic Torah into a language the people could understand. Perhaps, like later targumim, their translations also resolved difficulties of comprehension and interpretation, and perhaps they resolved these difficulties in ways that already had become traditional.

The task of these interpreters was most likely two-fold. First is to translate or interpret linguistic difficulties, especially with an audience more familiar with Aramaic than biblical Hebrew. Secondly, as Kugel points out, “…the need for interpretation went beyond merely linguistic difficulties; there were many things in biblical texts which, quite apart from such problems, required explanations.” Not only that but part of the effort towards restoring Israel after the return from exile was to reinterpret older traditions in light of their present situation. Clearly, the

interpretive impulse was entrenched in early Jewish society and was not only a concern for
textual professionals (scribes, priests, prophets) but also for the average person.

It is not surprising that a similar development is found in texts dealing with revelatory
matters where an interpretation of heavenly secrets is necessary. If the Torah needed proper
interpretation, how much more do strange visions and symbols require a legitimate and correct
interpretation? Kugel speaks of re-establishing the divine-human discourse that was present in
the pre-exilic era with the institutions of priest, king, sage and prophet. 398 The trauma of the exile
and the destruction of the temple not only called into question the presence of God in the affairs
of humanity but also the ability to understand the traditions of a pre-exilic Israel. 399 It was not
only the legal matters of Torah that needed explanation (and often expansion) but also prophecies
that were incomprehensible or unfulfilled in light of present circumstances. 400 A pre-exilic
precedent for attaining divine revelation was already in place with earlier traditions of Moses
seeking divine wisdom from God. Fishbane points out that earlier legal revelations that were
authoritative sometimes needed a further “revelation” for a new community. 401 The example he
provides of Num 27:1-5 is instructive as the daughters of Zelophehad ask Moses to retain their
father’s patrimony even though he died without male heirs. Moses seeks council from God who
replies in favour of the daughters’ request. But as Fishbane points out, despite its authoritative
source this revelation was further adapted to retain the inheritance of males rather than females
once its implications were realized by the community (Num 36:1-10). 402 This ability to obtain a
divine revelation is found again with the symbolic visions of Jeremiah and Amos (Amos 7:7-9;
8:1-3; Jer 1:11-12, 13-19; 24). Unlike Moses, these prophets do not request revelation but it is

400. See Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the
provided by God who interprets the symbolic meaning of their dreams. It is within this matrix that angelic interpreters make their appearance in the post-exilic period. In a situation where the reestablishment of ancient traditions is paramount and new applications of older models abound, there is an evident need for a legitimate and authorized interpretation. This angelic revelation should really be considered a “divine exegesis or revelation” as it follows closely the model set out with Moses or Jeremiah or Amos who obtain clarification or revelation from God. As we have seen, the interpretation of texts is found throughout all stratum of early Jewish society. In the wake of the exile, the religious specialists did not always write new texts but reinvigorated older texts to produce authoritative revelations. As Fishbane has said this “exegetical tradition extends the authority of older materials - be these laws, theological or narrative dicta, or prophecies.” And yet it also produces new revelations for their present community with the seal of divine approval.

The use of an angelic interpreter while innovative should not be held in isolation with other methods of interpretation and revelation in the Second Temple Period. As Kugel points out, the act of interpretation in the pre-exilic era was the province of many different specialists including priests, prophets, sages, teachers and even the ordinary person. Similarly, in the post-exilic era the desire for revelation is found across a wide spectrum of texts and genres. Ben Sira, a work with a notable absence of angelic figures, also participates in this desire for revelation:

(1) How different the one who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High! He seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies; (2) he preserves the sayings of the famous and penetrates the subtleties of parables; (3) he seeks out the hidden meanings of proverbs and is at home with the obscurities of parables. (4) He serves among the great and appears before rulers; he travels in foreign lands and learns what is good and evil in the human lot. (5) He sets his heart to rise early to seek the Lord who made him, and to petition the Most High; he opens his mouth in prayer and asks pardon for his sins. (6) If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. (Sir 39:1-6)

404. In her discussion of authority conferring strategies, Najman includes angelic revelation as one of four methods. See Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing”.
Although Ben Sira does not record the visitation of angelic mediators, he like Daniel receives revelations by meditating on ancient texts. Moreover, he describes requesting revelation and receiving a “spirit of understanding.” And perhaps most interesting is that “he will pour forth words of wisdom of his own.” Thus, like the texts featuring angelic mediators, other Second Temple texts like Ben Sira also feature the ability not only to receive divine revelation but also to generate new words of wisdom. There is no sense that one form of revelation was privileged over the other as both were considered divinely inspired with God as the source of all wisdom.

In our three texts, Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, one of the main methods for authorizing their message is the use of an angelic intermediary who provides a legitimate interpretation. The following section will outline the various portrayals of angelic interpreters in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. The figure of an angelus interpres in Second Temple literature is often treated as a stock character with little focus on the variety of roles assumed by these angelic beings. Yet in each of the above three texts, these angelic mediators operate in their own unique fashion as interpreters with their own emphases and purposes within a specific historical and social context. While Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 draw on similar traditions for their angelic interpreters, their depiction of their functions are by no means identical. The chief angelic interpreter of the Book of Watchers, the angel Uriel, participates in these shared patterns even further as he interprets the strange sights of Enoch’s cosmic journey.

406. Angelic revelation plays no part in Ben Sira but in 42:17 he mentions angelic beings albeit with a hint of criticism, “The Lord has not empowered even his holy ones to recount all his marvelous works, which the Lord the Almighty has established so that the universe may stand firm in his glory.” In contrast with the Book of Watchers, where the angels recount all the wonders of the cosmos to Enoch, here in Ben Sira the ability of the angels is more muted. This is perhaps due to Ben Sira’s desire to highlight God as the source of divine wisdom, “For the Most High knows all that may be known; he sees from of old the things that are to come. He discloses what has been and what is to be, and he reveals the traces of hidden things” (Ben Sira 39:18b-19).
i. Zechariah’s interpreter

Zechariah and his contemporaries find themselves in a unique situation within a restored Yehud struggling to restablish older pre-exilic traditions while adapting to a new climate under Persian control. Three date formulas (Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1) introduce each section of the first eight chapters which locates the visions during the years 520-518 BCE preceding the reconstruction of the temple. The transfer of power from Babylon to Persia occurred in 538 BCE but it was not until Darius’ accession in 522 BCE that a more stable political climate returned to the area. It appears that the province of Yehud was left in relative peace from Persia with their own governors and support to reestablish the temple. Concerning the climate of Yehud under Persian rule, John Kessler states, “The more likely loci of conflict would have been between members of the community over theological or economic issues, with other Yahwists or different geographical roots or political affiliations, or with competing economic and political interests in neighbouring provinces.” As we will see, this is also the case in Daniel and the Book of Watchers where it is not necessarily outside forces but inner-religious or political disputes that inform the visions. A primary emphasis found throughout the visions of Zechariah is a concern for the restoration of the nation of Israel. This includes peace from their enemies (1:7-17; 2:1-4), the return of God’s presence in Jerusalem (2:5-9), a renewed and cleansed priestly leadership


and a purification of the nation from idolatry (5:1-4; 5:5-11). In contrast to Haggai, Zechariah employs the medium of symbolic visions to communicate his view of Jerusalem’s restoration. The use of angelic beings, especially an angelic interpreter, instills a sense of authenticity and even authority for the prophet’s visions. It is not simply the visions of a human prophet, but visions interpreted and explained by one of God’s agents. The need for an authoritative interpreter may also stem from the increasing distrust of the prophetic office in the post-exilic period. A common debate in the modern period concerns the demise of prophetic authority following the exile and whether one can speak of the cessation of prophecy. It is clear that prophetic activity in the post-exilic period undergoes much transformation and must adapt to a changing Israelite hierarchy of leadership. The absence of a monarch and the growing importance of scribes and priests results in a very different power dynamic. If the authority of

410. At some early point, the visions of Zechariah also appear to argue for a shared diarchy between the high priest and a descendent of David (Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 118; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 373).

411. The visions not only present a program of restoration for the nation on an earthly level but also a restoration of the nation vis a vis the divine community. Thus, Israel’s relationship to the divine presence is addressed (Zech 2:5-9) but also a concern for angelic protection is paramount for the community (Zech 1:7-17; 3:1-10; 6:1-8).

412. This strategy is used in *Jubilees* when an angelic being dictates and thus authorizes *Jubilees*’ claims of authority. Najman states, “Acting on divine instruction, the angel insures the accuracy of the scribe’s copy, thus transmitting heavenly authority to the product of an otherwise fallible process of human writing” (Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing,” 63). Although Zechariah does not receive heavenly tablets that need authorization, he does receive visions that require a divine interpretation.

413. Although I have singled out prophets, I would add that the priesthood was also considered suspect in some circles. The prophet Malachi writing in the post-exilic period writes of improper sacrifices (Mal 1) and of a corrupt priesthood (Mal 2). Although we usually speak of God as being more distant in the post-exilic period, Kugel offers an important corrective as he notes, “And what became of Israel’s dialogue with its God? Apparently both halves of the divine-human discourse suffered” (Kugel, *Early Biblical Interpretation*, 16).


415. It should also be noted that increasingly prophets were also associated with the priestly class as is the case with Jeremiah (Jer 1:1) and Ezekiel (Ezek 1:3). The prophet Zechariah most likely was closely associated with the priestly community as his visions are deeply influenced by cultic concerns. The roles of priest, prophet and scribe are not always clearly defined in the Second Temple period leading to a similar ambiguity when such functions
the prophet could not be assumed as absolute as with the earlier classical prophets, the presence of an angelic being in the visions of a prophet would provide a much needed legitimacy in a post-exilic situation fraught with competing views.

Unlike Dan 7-12 and the Book of Watchers, the focus on writing and a scribal background is not as apparent in the visions of Zechariah. Yet similar to the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, a growing importance is attached to the written words of scripture. Inserted before the first vision is a short oracle that presents Zechariah as participating and drawing from the traditions of the earlier classical prophets by his reference to שנים הנביאים הראים "former prophets" (Zech 1:4; cf. 7:7). Michael Stead argues that this reference to the former prophets entails their written prophecies and not only oral traditions. These intertextual references are drawn from Jeremiah (seventy years; “branch”), Ezekiel (the measurement of the temple) and Isaiah (the gathering of the nations) among others. The prophecies of Zechariah participate both in the ancient traditions of Israelite prophecy and generate a new type of prophecy, especially through their reinterpretation. While Zechariah relies on older traditions, his use of an angelic mediator are applied to angelic beings.


417. Michael R. Stead, The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8 (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 506; New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 2. These written sources are not necessarily the same as what is now found in the MT.

418. Stead, The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8, 2. There are a variety ways in which scholars have defined the reuse of older traditions/texts in later biblical books. With reference to work in Zechariah, these include the following: “inner-biblical exegesis” (Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel), “inner-biblical allusion” (Risto Nurme, Prophets in Dialogue: Inner-Biblical Allusions in Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14 [Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1996]), and “contextual intertextuality” (Stead, The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8). Each of these approaches appears to convey various nuances of the way in which older traditions are reused in the book of Zech 1-8. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the terms inner-biblical exegesis or inner-biblical interpretation to describe the process by which older traditions are not only reused but reinterpreted in a new historical and literary context.

that interprets symbolic visions introduces a new type of prophetic material. Himmelfarb has described the book of Zechariah as an early example of prophecy as interpretation:

In the postexilic period there is a gradual movement away from prophecy and toward interpretation as a primary mode of religious authority. In Zechariah, a postexilic prophet, prophecy has become interpretation, visions to be deciphered. Later the symbolic vision with an angelic interpreter becomes one of the central forms of revelation in the apocalypses. Where the heroes of the Bible talked with God, the heroes of the apocalypses usually talk with angels.\(^{420}\)

Himmelfarb’s assessment that Zechariah’s access to revelation differs from earlier pre-exilic prophets like Jeremiah or Amos is accurate. However, she draws too sharp a dichotomy between the act of prophecy and interpretation as they are not mutually exclusive phenomena. Thus, interpretation does not replace prophecy but is in fact a revelatory activity in and of itself. This act of angelic interpretation takes on at least two different forms in our three texts. The first type, “revelatory exegesis,” as Jassen describes it is a form of revelation in which older authoritative texts are reinterpreted in light of one’s present circumstances.\(^{421}\) This can be accomplished either by pseudepigraphic writer, a figure like the Teacher of Righteousness or an angelic figure. As Jassen has stated, “For them, the ancient prophecies are the word of God embedded in written form. The process of reading, writing, and interpretation is thus a revelatory experience.”\(^{422}\) The classic example of this is found in Dan 9 with the reinterpretation of Jeremiah’s seventy year prophecy. However, an earlier type of such angelic interpretation is found in the first vision of Zechariah where an angelic being also makes reference to Jeremiah’s seventy year prophecy for the exile (Jer 25:11; cf. 29:10). Within the symbolic vision, Zechariah witnesses an angelic

\(^{420}\) Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 69.

\(^{421}\) Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 205–6. Fishbane discusses the same phenomenon as inner-biblical exegesis (Fishbane, “Revelation and Tradition,” 354–59).

\(^{422}\) Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 206.
mediator who laments the continued curse of seventy years under which Judah is still suffering (Zech 1:12). This reuse of older prophecies demonstrates Zechariah’s continued reliance on past traditions while carving out his own model of prophecy based on angelic revelation.

A second type of revelatory activity involving angelic interpretation is also found in each of our three texts that involves revealing divine knowledge to a human recipient. This differs from “revelatory exegesis” in that it is not an older tradition (oral or written) that is interpreted but some part of the divine or earthly world that is revealed by an angelic mediator. Jassen has labelled this “sapiential revelation” but discusses it only in relation to 1 Enoch and Daniel and not Zechariah.423 He defines it as the following, “In this model, the gap between the divine and human realms is bridged by the transmission of knowledge from God to certain humans.”424 The term sapiential implies a connection with wisdom traditions but in his discussions of 1 Enoch and Daniel, Jassen also connects “sapiential revelation” to earlier models of “prophetic revelation.”425 Although the visions of Zechariah are not typically included in such discussions, it is clear that they also impart divine knowledge to a human recipient that is otherwise inaccessible. A good example of this is found in Zech 5:1-4 where the angel explains the meaning of Zechariah’s strange vision of a scroll flying through the air between heaven and earth:426

(1) I looked up again, and I saw a flying scroll.427 (2) And he said to me, “What do you see?” And I replied, “I see a flying scroll, twenty cubits long and ten cubits wide.” (3) And he said to me, “That is the curse which goes out over the whole land. For all who steal for this reason have gone unpunished;428 and everyone who has sworn [falsely], for

423. This is not necessarily accompanied by angelic revelation. In the previous chapter, Jassen also discusses sapiential revelation with regards to three figures that receive divine knowledge: Moses in the Apocryphon of Joshua, David in the Psalms Scroll and Isaiah in Ben Sira (Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 241–57).
426. Other examples from Zechariah that are especially pertinent are the first and last visions (1:7-17; 6:1-8) where Zechariah’s visions of angelic patrols returning and leaving the divine realm are explained by הַמָּלֵךְ הָבָרָא.427 The normal word for scroll מָגְלָה is used here but the LXX has “sickle” instead.
427. For this phrase, the MT has וְעֵשׁוֹן מַשְׁפִּיחַ נַכֶּה, while the LXX has εκ τουτου εως θανατου εκδικηθεσεται. See Niditch’s discussion of the Greek translation which may preserve an
this reason has gone unpunished. (4) But I have sent it forth - declares the Lord of Hosts - and the curse will enter the house of the thief and the house of the one who swears falsely by My name, and it will lodge inside their houses and will consume them, even its wood and stones.” (Zec 5:1-4)

The scroll flies in the air between heaven and earth, emphasizing that this is no ordinary scroll but a divine text from God. The prophet is unable to understand the meaning of this vision and it is necessary for the angelic intermediary to provide him with an interpretation. The scroll is revealed to be a curse that symbolizes the covenantal standards to which the restored community is held accountable. The choice of using a written text rather than the normal oral communication of a prophet is significant. Kugel proposes that the exile established biblical texts as a primary means of mediating the divine word, a role previously occupied by the prophets. Thus, the scroll assumes the role of “actor” in Zechariah’s vision and it is through the words of the scroll that divine judgement is accomplished. The presence of the scroll in Zechariah’s vision testifies to the growing importance and independence of texts in the post-exilic situation. However, the text remains indecipherable without the help of the angelic mediator. Both text and angelic mediator are necessary to mediate the divine word to the prophet Zechariah.

The functions assigned to Zechariah’s rely heavily on previous symbolic visions where the chief interpreter is God (Amos 7:7-9; 8:1-3; Jer 1:11-12, 13-19; 24). Yet Zechariah goes beyond the parameters of these visions and establishes a new type of interpreter for the prophet. The first of his innovations is that the angelic intermediary is constantly present at the side of the prophet ready to offer an interpretation. In the previous visions of Jeremiah and Amos, God acts as interpreter but is not part of the visionary tableau. As with the visions of Zechariah (Zech 1:20; 3:1), God shows Jeremiah the vision of the good and bad figs but he does

original reading (Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 76).


430. Kugel, Early Biblical Interpretation, 19. Najman adds, “It is also worth noting that in Zech 5, the text is more than a witness testifying to a potent event. Rather, the text is itself the potent agent” (Najman, “Symbolic Significance,” 37).
not participate directly in the vision (Jer 24:1).\textsuperscript{431} In contrast, both the prophet and the angel interact with the figures in the visions of Zechariah. A second innovation by Zechariah concerns the use of dialogue between prophet and angel. In the earlier visions of Amos and Jeremiah, the prophet never initiates the dialogue, as it is always God who gives an explanation of the visions. Symbolic visions typically follow a standard format: 1). seeing an image; 2). a question concerning the identity of the image; 3). and an interpretation.\textsuperscript{432} The earlier prophets remain completely passive in their encounters with God as they simply respond to the initial question and never ask questions for further clarification. This also applies to Ezekiel’s angelic tour of the temple (Ezek 40-48) where the prophet is completely passive and receives revelation without active participation. Zechariah adopts the framework of these symbolic visions but begins to develop an extended dialogue between prophet and angel that becomes part of the process of revelation.

Moreover, the usual format of the symbolic vision consists of God asking the prophet what he sees (Am 7:7) but throughout Zechariah it is usually the prophet who initiates the dialogue by asking the angel a question (Zech 1:9; 2:2, 6; 6:4). A similar pattern is adopted in the Book of Watchers where the seer also initiates the dialogue by either asking his angelic guide questions or giving remarks concerning his visions (I En. 18:14; 21:4; 22:2; 23:3; 24:5; etc.). Zechariah’s innovations become a prime influence on later historical apocalypses and otherworldly journeys which also adopt this question-and-answer format between the angel and human.\textsuperscript{433} It is through the question-and-answer format that the meaning of the visions is

\textsuperscript{431} Throughout Zechariah’s visions, the angelic intermediary also draws attention to the visions by asking the prophet what he sees (Zech 4:2; 5:2; 5:5)

\textsuperscript{432} Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 2.

\textsuperscript{433} The tour of the temple in Ezek 40-48 contains many parallels to the later tour in I En. 1-36; however, the extended dialogue between angel and seer cannot be attributed to influence from Ezekiel but to Zechariah’s visions. Himmelfarb has argued, “Many of the angel’s interpretations are prompted by Zechariah’s questions, “What is this?” “What are those?,” the best biblical parallels to the question-and-answer form of the Book of the Watchers and many later tour apocalypses” (Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 58). A formal feature found throughout the otherworldly journeys is the use of demonstratives especially in the angelic
revealed both to Zechariah and his audience. Thus, the angel functions not only as an interpreter but enables the prophet to participate in the revelatory process. It is not sufficient simply to tell the prophet what he has witnessed but to ensure that he has understood it:

(1) The angel who talked with me returned and woke me as a man is wakened from sleep. And he said to me, “What do you see?” (2) And I answered, “I see a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it; and seven lamps on it with seven spouts belonging to each of the lamps which are on the top of it. (3) And two olive trees by it, one on the right of the bowl and one on its left.” (4) I answered and asked the angel who talked with me, “What are these things, my Lord?” (5) “Do you not know what those things are?” asked the angel who talked with me; and I said, “No, my lord.” (6) Then he answered and said to me…” Zech 4:1-6a

This vision begins with a question from the angelic intermediary but soon the order is reversed as the prophet takes the initiative in asking questions (Zech 4:4, 11). In this way the didactic nature of the angel’s role is apparent in Zechariah’s visions as the angel encourages the prophet to seek understanding by participating in an ongoing dialogue. Moreover, the angel assumes the role of a teacher by asking a rhetorical question of Zechariah, “Do you not know what those things are? (Zech 4:5)” Later apocalypses will not only adopt the question-and-answer format

explanation. In I En. 21 following a question from Enoch, Uriel answers, “These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled - the time of their sins” (I En. 21:6). Although this feature is found in Ezekiel, it is much more developed in Zechariah’s visions. For example, in the second vision the angel answers Zechariah’s question, “What are those?” using another demonstrative “Those are the horns that tossed Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem” (Zech 2:1 Eng; 1:19 Heb). For further information see Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 50–67.

434. The qērē reads in the first person (also in G) rather than the third person found in MT.

435. There are some issues with the way the lampstand, the lamps and spouts are described in this vision. For a detailed explanation see Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 229–34.

436. The MT has three references to the number seven in this phrase one of which is omitted in the LXX.

437. Both Niditch and Jeremias see the questioning of the prophet as an important transition in the visions of Zechariah that moves him away from the earlier visions of Amos and Jeremiah (Jeremias, Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja, 92, 228; Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 96). Later symbolic visions will adopt this format and according to Niditch, “…the seer’s question will come to replace the question of the divine being in later examples of the symbolic vision form” (Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 96).

438. The angel again asks a rhetorical question of Zechariah later in the vision (Zech 4:13). We also see a similar technique at work in I En. 21:5, 6 and 25:1 when the angel
of Zechariah’s visions but will make explicit the angel’s role as teacher.\(^{439}\)

**ii. Daniel’s interpreter**

Although the visions in Dan 7-12 are set during the reigns of Belshazzar, Darius and Cyrus, they are written pseudonymously in the reign of Antiochus VI.\(^{440}\) The epilogue of 12:5-13 places the visions before the rededication of the temple and before news of Epiphanes’ death in 164 BCE reached Judea.\(^{441}\) Despite the Babylonian setting of Susa (Dan 8:2), the visions are likely composed in Judea as they address the concerns of those experiencing persecution imposed by the Seleucids.\(^{442}\) Similarly to the visions of Zechariah, the author and community responsible for the book of Daniel also lived in a era when access to the temple is limited. This time the issue is not the rebuilding of a destroyed temple but the pollution of an existing temple by foreign powers. Unlike the court tales of Dan 1-6, the visions in 7-12 shift their focus from the diaspora to the persecution of Judea under Antiochus IV.\(^{443}\) In addition, like the visions of Zechariah, there are also issues surrounding the priestly leadership in Jerusalem.\(^{444}\) It is not surprising that counters the seer’s question with one of his one.

\(^{439}\) This is especially prominent in 4 Ezra where the angel Uriel is sent to help Ezra. In his initial statement, Uriel states, “I have been sent to show you three problems. If you can solve one of them for me, I will also show you the way you desire to see, and will teach you why the heart is evil” (4 Ezra 4:3-4). Uriel in this instance not only deciphers strange visions but engages in a lively debate with Ezra using a question and answer format.

\(^{440}\) The visions are thought to have been written between 167-163 BCE before the rededication of the temple (Hartman, *The Book of Daniel*, 46–54; Collins, *Daniel*, 61). The earlier court tales of Dan 1-6 reflect a different social setting of life in the diaspora and date to a pre-Maccabbean period. They show knowledge of Alexander’s conquest (Dan 2) but not Antiochus IV’s reign. See Robert R. Wilson, “From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Reflections on the Shape of Israelite Religion,” *Semeia* 21 (1981): 91–93.


\(^{443}\) The diaspora setting is maintained in Dan 8:2 but it is no longer the problems of living in diaspora that are the focus but the experience of persecuted *maškilîm*. See Collins, “Daniel and His Social World,” 137.

\(^{444}\) Following the ascension of Antiochus IV, a group of Hellenized Jews supported the rival claimant Jason as high priest even though his brother Onias III was the present high priest.\(^{126}\)
appeal to angelic authority is sought in an era when human leadership is in such a state of flux. Not only does Dan 11:22 allude to the murder of the High Priest Onias III by Antiochus IV (2 Macc 4:30-38; Dan 9:26) but this chapter also hints to divisions among the Jewish people (Dan 11:30, 32).445

It is not clear from which community the visions of Daniel are derived.446 There is evidence from Daniel itself that a close relationship existed between it and the group known as the maškîlim. In chapter one, Daniel himself is identified as a maškil (Dan 1:4) and they are mentioned again as resisting Antiochus (Dan 11:33, 35) and described as becoming like the stars implying a type of angelic identification (Dan 12:3). Little is known about these maškîlim but

priest. After purchasing the high priesthood from Antiochus, Jason installed numerous Greek institutions such as a gymnasium and an ephbeion. Another high priest named Menelaus was elected after offering Antiochus more money for the position causing Jason to flee (2 Macc 4:24). Unable to make his payments, Menelaus attempted to use the gold vessels of the temple as payment but this was condemned by Onias who was later murdered. Tensions rose between the Jewish factions as those opposed to Menelaus engaged in combat with Lysimachus the brother of Menelaus. In 170/169 following a false rumour of the death of Antiochus, Jason returned to Jerusalem and attacked it (2 Macc 5:25). Antiochus responded by attacking Jerusalem, killing most of the inhabitants and plundering the temple (1 Macc 1:29; 2 Macc 5:24-26). This was repeated again only two years later. It is apparent that the divisions among the priesthood contributed to the increasing hostility of Antiochus who prescribed numerous sanctions against traditional Jewish religion including circumcision, observing the Sabbath, the reading of Torah and who also dedicated the Jerusalem temple to Olympian Zeus (1 Macc 1:41-63; 2 Macc 5:6; 6:2, 6-11). See also James C. VanderKam, From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests After the Exile (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 137–226; Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature, 67–68. Josephus records a much different picture of the rivalries between the high priests depicting a more peaceful transfer of power from Onias III to Jason (Ant. 12:5). However, VanderKam argues that 1-2 Maccabees’ presentation is more likely than the conflicting report of Josephus (VanderKam, From Joshua to Caiaphas, 199–200).

445. Dan 11:32 demonstrates this juxtaposition between both groups, “He will seduce the violators of the covenant with flattery, but the people who know their God will stand firm and take action.” Collins argues that the verb חזק although used in a military sense elsewhere (1QM 10:6) does not imply military action in Daniel (Collins, Daniel, 385).

Collins argues against identifying them with the more well-known Hasidim (1-2 Macc).\textsuperscript{447} The Hasidim were known as militant supporters of Judas Maccabbee but in Daniel they are portrayed not as warriors but teachers. The \textit{maśkilîm} are described as “wise among the people” (Dan 11:33) and their duty is to “give understanding to many” (Dan 11:33) and are among those “who lead many to righteousness” (Dan 12:3). Little is known of the \textit{maśkilîm} and their place in Judean society.\textsuperscript{448} Some have argued that they occupied a peripheral place in society as an oppressed minority but it appears more likely that they were part of an elite scribal community.\textsuperscript{449} Those responsible for the production and editing of Dan 7-12 demonstrate awareness not only of contemporary Jewish politics but also Babylonian and Ugaritic mythology.\textsuperscript{450} Moreover, they present themselves as able interpreters of older Israelite traditions and even of older Danielic traditions.\textsuperscript{451} Scholars have argued that a priestly group is responsible for the book of Daniel but

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\textsuperscript{449} The association with apocalyptic groups as oppressed and disenfranchised conventicles is commonly applied to Dan 7-12 and Enochic traditions. For example Schmithal’s statement, “The apocalyptic groups…obviously led an existence as conventicles and, separated from the public religion, cultivated a sect-mentality” (Walter Schmithals, \textit{The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction and Interpretation} [John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon, 1975], 46). An opposite view is advocated by Stephen L. Cook who argues against solely identifying apocalyptic groups as oppressed. See Cook, \textit{Prophecy and Apocalypticism}, 35–52.
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\textsuperscript{451} See Stuckenbruck’s discussion of Daniel’s reuse and interpretation of the throne room vision tradition underlying the \textit{Book of Giants}: Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7,” in \textit{The Scrolls and Their Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After} (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 211–20. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.
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a scribal group is also very likely.\textsuperscript{452} Both groups would reflect the scholarly tenor of the book in which older prophecies are reinterpreted (Dan 9) and the act of understanding is highlighted repeatedly.

Although the visions of Zechariah and Daniel are written in two very different social settings, they both introduce an angelic mediator who interprets the meanings behind their visions. As noted above, both works were written in times of foreign dominance when Jewish leadership is undergoing significant changes or challenges. In Zechariah, the priestly leadership required a divine cleansing (Zech 3) and uncertainty remained over the restoration of leadership whether it would be a diarchy or solely controlled by the high priest (Zech 4:11-14; 6:9-14).\textsuperscript{453} Daniel’s community not only experienced an unstable religious and political leadership but were also living in a time of persecution. In both cases not only are there conflicts with foreign powers but more importantly these conditions produce inner-religious and political instability among their own communities. A need for access to a divine and authoritative interpreter of not only textual problems but also their own social situation is conceived of in the figure of an angelic interpreter and mediator. Daniel’s debt to Zechariah’s הָמהלךְ הָדָםוּן is presumed by scholars.\textsuperscript{454} The most prominent connection between the two texts is Daniel’s reuse and appropriation of an angelic figure who interprets the seer’s visions, which is first featured in Zechariah. The book of Daniel is not alone in adopting an angelic interpreter, as it becomes a central feature of later


\textsuperscript{453} I disagree with attempts to emend the plural “crowns” to a singular “crown” found in both the MT and LXX. The plural crowns does make for an awkward reading but appears more likely as originally two leaders, priestly and royal, were envisioned for the community. This text appears to have undergone redaction to make it more compatible with a single ruler rather than the originally proposed diarchy. See Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 349–55.

apocalypses. At first glance, the angelic interpreters of Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 appear to function identically in their respective texts as they provide the hidden meaning behind the seers’ symbolic visions. In other words, they both participate in what Niditch describes as, “Revelation comes via interpretation.” Several formal features link the two accounts with respect to both content and form. According to Niditch, “A tradition shared by Daniel 7 and the visions of Zechariah emerges immediately in the pattern of content: indication of the vision; description; request for interpretation; and interpretation.” With regards to formal elements, both Zechariah and Daniel introduce their visions and oracles using a series of dates (Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1; Dan 7:1; 8:1). Moreover, many of the visions are accompanied by the formulaic phrase (and related variants) “and I lifted my eyes and looked and behold” (Zech 2:1, 5; 5:1, 9; 6:1; Dan 8:3; 10:5). Finally, several visions in Daniel also allude to images and concerns first found in Zech 1-8. Overall the similarities between Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 are mainly restricted to the use of the symbolic vision rather than the actions of the angelic interpreters. It is

455. The following apocalypses feature an angelic interpreter: 1 Enoch; 4 Ezra; 2 Baruch; Apocalypse of Abraham; 2 Enoch; Testament of Levi 2-5; 3 Baruch; Testament of Abraham 10-15; Apocalypse of Zephaniah.


457. Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 184. Collins has identified a similar pattern or framework that is found in the visions of the later apocalypses consisting of the following features: “…indication of circumstances, description of the vision, a request for interpretation, an interpretation by an angel and finally some concluding material” (Collins, Daniel, 6).

458. The visions of 4 Ezra are also introduced with similar dates (4 Ezra 11:1; 13:1, 2).

459. Along with the phrase μετα των ειδον και ιδου, the formulaic phrases και ειδον and και ιδου (and its variants) are considered to be characteristic of apocalypses (Ralph J. Korner, “‘And I Saw...’ An Apocalyptic Literary Convention for Structural Identification in the Apocalypse,” NovT 42, no. 2 [2000]: 163; also R. H. Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John [ICC 42; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920], 106). Charles notes that many apocalypses contain the phrase μετα των και ειδον (Daniel, 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and T. Jos.) and και ειδον is found in Daniel, 1 Enoch, T. Jos. and T. Levi); however, he does not mention that it also occurs in Ezekiel and Zechariah.

460. Collins notes the similarities between Dan 8:13 where a human overhears an angelic conversation to a similar episode in Zech 2:7-8. Moreover, in both scenes angels instruct other angels to speak with the prophet or seer (Collins, Daniel, 335, 337). In the same chapter of Daniel, another example of borrowing is found with the angelic prayer “For how long...” which is found first in Zech 1:12. Although this is a common phrase in penitential literature, Zechariah is the first to place this phrase in the mouth of an angelic being.
with these angelic figures that the authors’ display their unique representations of angelic revelation.

Daniel’s depiction of the angelic interpreter, while influenced by Zechariah, is not a simple replication of Zechariah’s model. Though they share a similar function as interpreter to the prophet/seer, the angelic mediators’ interaction with the human visionaries is by no means identical. Instead, a focus on the angels’ actual function as interpreter moves to the forefront in Daniel’s visions. Collins’ has argued that Dan 1-6 and the later chapters 7-12 are connected by the use of the word pesher as the means through which revelation is mediated. He notes that the term pesher is used “…in Daniel 2 for the interpretation of a dream, in Daniel 5 with reference to the writing on the wall, and in Daniel 7 for the interpretation of a night-vision. In each case it refers to the deciphering of a mystery, whether dream, writing or eschatological vision.”

Despite a difference between the earlier material of Daniel and the later visions, a wise interpreter is needed to decipher the hidden meaning of divine revelation whether that interpreter was human or angelic. In Dan 7:16, the seer approaches an attendant to ask for the true meaning of his vision and receives an interpretation (Aram peshar). Although Zechariah’s הֶמֶלֶךְ הַמַּעֲשֶׂר is dubbed an “interpreting angel,” the term pesher is found only with relation to Daniel’s presentation of angelic revelation.

The activity of the angel as interpreter dominates the first three visions (Dan 7:16-28; 8:15-26; 9:20-27). A key moment where the actions of the angel are highlighted as interpreter is found in Dan 9. In this case, it is not only a vision that is explained by the angelic mediator but a past textual tradition that becomes relevant in Daniel’s own present reality. Although focus is

462. This study is concerned with the interpretation given to humans by angelic beings. However, divine revelation is mediated also by other means including those of a wise sage or teacher. Collins notes that the “Teacher of Righteousness” (1QpHab 7:4) at Qumran adopts a similar role as an interpreter of scripture. He is described as receiving special knowledge, “These things I have known because of Thine understanding, for Thou has uncovered my ear to marvellous Mysteries.” (1QH 1:21). See Collins, The Apocalyptic Vision, 78.
usually placed on the angelic revelation he receives about a “new” interpretation of Jeremiah’s seventy years, it is important to note that Daniel is participating in a common method of revelation in Second Temple Judaism. Like Ben Sira, he expects that revelation can come through studying the ancient prophecies and that they will enlighten his present situation (Sir 39:1-6). This new reading is provided by the angel Gabriel who comes at the end of Daniel’s prayer. The disconnect that Daniel and his community continue to feel that complete restoration is not yet accomplished is confirmed by the angel’s revelation that the exile did not end with the fall of Babylon but continues into their present day. Thus, they are living in the last “week” of judgment and they anticipate the end of exile in only a few years. Zechariah’s community also believed that the exile continued into their present time and that they were on the cusp of a new era when God’s presence would be restored in Israel both with the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the priesthood. However, Daniel’s visions present an alternative view as the exile is now prolonged hundreds of years past both Zechariah (Zech 1:12) and Chronicles (2 Chr 36:20-22) timelines. He rejects Zechariah’s (Zech 1:12) and the Chronicler’s (2 Chron 36:20-22) interpretation of Jeremiah’s 70 years that the exile had a definitive end point. Thus a new interpretation is required and one which comes from an authoritative source:

(20) While I was speaking, praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people

463. This type of revelatory practice is also found in several of the Pseudo-Daniel texts from Qumran (4Q243-245) which describe the seer’s use of a written work before receiving a revelation. Interestingly, these texts are missing an angelic mediator who can interpret these written works for the prophet. See Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 221–25.

464. It is not only past Israelite traditions such as Jeremiah’s prophecy that are reinterpreted but also ancient Near Eastern traditions. Such is the case in Dan 7 with the reuse of Ugaritic mythology (Collins, “Stirring up the Great Sea”). I would also extend this reuse of older material to traditions surrounding the interaction between deities and humans that were examined in the first chapter of this thesis.

465. For the Chronicler, the seventy years referred to time between the destruction of the temple in 586 BCE and the restoration by Cyrus (see also Ezra 1:1). For Zechariah, the exile continues into the time under Darius (519 BCE). See Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel, 481; Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor, Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible (VTSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2011).
Israel, and laying my supplication before the Lord my God on behalf of the holy mountain of my God - (21) while I was uttering my prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had previously seen in the vision, was sent forth in flight and reached me about the time of the evening offering. (22) He made me understand by speaking to me and saying, “Daniel, I have just come forth to give you understanding. (23) A word went forth as you began your plea, and I have come to tell it, for you are precious; so mark the word and understand the vision. (24) “Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city until the measure of transgression is filled and that of sin complete, until iniquity is expiated, and eternal righteousness ushered in; and prophetic vision ratified, and the Holy of Holies anointed. (25) You must know and understand: From the issuance of the word to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the [time of the] anointed leader is seven weeks... (Dan 9:20-25a)

It is significant that this new interpretation comes not from Daniel but from the angel Gabriel. Collins notes that the angel’s interpretation “departs from the plain sense of the text.” It is not an interpretation that would be available without access to heavenly knowledge through angelic revelation. Daniel not only appropriates Zechariah’s angelic mediator as an agent who presents a new interpretation of Jeremiah’s seventy years but also Zechariah’s view that the exile continues past a physical return to the land. Despite the reuse of these motifs, Daniel’s interpretation of Jeremiah’s seventy weeks is significantly different as the angel brings a whole new meaning to

466. Collins notes that the expression “the sin of my people” is unusual as typically in prayers Israel is referred to as “your people”. Thus, Daniel’s role as ambassador or representative of the people is especially highlighted (Collins, Daniel, 351).

467. There is debate about the meaning of מִשְׁפַּט בִּישָׁה. Charles argued that מִשְׁפַּט should be understood as a hophal participle of עָפֵר and thus would be translated “when I was worried” (Charles, The Book of Daniel, 235). However, the other ancient versions translate this with the sense of flight making this the first reference to angelic flight (Collins, Daniel, 352).

468. The verb נגָע is usually translated “to touch” as in Dan 8:18 and 10:16. But in the context of the angel’s flight it makes more sense to understand it as “to approach” or “reach” the seer. See Collins, Daniel, 351.

469. G and S have יבוא “he came”. MT has רָכֵב “instructed” which is also found in Θ and Vg.

470. G also includes “a command from the Lord” after “word”.

471. G omits “and understand the vision.”

472. G lacks the word “prophetic”.


474. The ongoing nature of exile is not unique to Zechariah but appears to be part of a larger tradition in the post-exilic period as both Ezra and Nehemiah share this view (Ezra 9:6-15; Neh 9:6-37).
In addition to the explicit depiction of angels’ as interpreters, the act of understanding the visionary material is also emphasized throughout the visions of Daniel (Dan 8:15-17, 27; 9:22-23; 12:11).

This is presumed in Zechariah by the presence of but is made explicit through Daniel by the repeated use of the root הָבַשׁ, especially in the second vision of Daniel:

(15) When I, Daniel had seen the vision, I sought to understand it. And there stood before me, one having the appearance of a man, (16) and I heard a human voice by the Ulai, calling, Gabriel, make this man understand the vision. (17) So he came near where I stood; and when he came, I became frightened and fell upon my face. But he said to me, “Understand, O mortal, that the vision is for the time of the end” (Dan 8:15-17).

The prophet is initially unable to understand the vision and he overhears a voice instructing the angel Gabriel to help him to understand it. The role of the angelic beings in Daniel not only includes that of interpreter but also instructor or teacher. This didactic role of the angel was first hinted at in Zechariah with the use of the question-and-answer format but becomes more

475. Jassen has labelled this “revelatory exegesis” (Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 238). Fishbane states the following: “Prophetic words are no longer predominantly living speech, but rather inscribed and inscrutable data whose true meanings are an esoteric mystery revealed by God to a special adept and his pious circle (cf. Dan 9:22-3, 10:14-21, 11:33-5, 12:9-13)” (Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel, 484). While I agree to an extent with Fishbane’s argument, I am hesitant to fully agree as this “mantological exegesis” is only one avenue that revelation could be accessed. As noted in both Zechariah and the Book of Watchers, divine knowledge about heavenly locales could also be given from an angelic mediator to a human recipient without recourse to studying past textual traditions. Granted these traditions like Enoch’s ascent to heaven (1 En. 14) are heavily dependent upon older prophecies such as Ezekiel’s opening visions (Ezek 1-2).

476. Collins notes that there is an analogy between the angels whose duty it is to bring understanding (Dan 9:22) and the mašḵîlim who give understanding to the many (11:33-34). See Collins, Daniel, 352.

477. G has “Olam”.

478. Collins notes that Daniel may be reusing a similar motif in Zech 2:8 where another angel instructs the other to speak to the human prophet/seer (Collins, Daniel, 337).

479. The only passage outside of Ezekiel where “son of man/mortal” is used to address a human. A similar use is also found in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 60:10). See Collins, Daniel, 337.

480. G has τοῦτο τὸ οραµα.

481. The identity of this voice remains unclear but is thought to be an angelic voice. Jerome identified the voice as belonging to the angel Michael (Collins, Daniel, 336).
prominent in Daniel’s visions. Despite the focus on the function of the angel to provide understanding to the seer (Dan 8:16, 17), the vision ends with the enigmatic sentence, “But I was appalled by the vision and did not understand it” (8:27).\footnote{482} Regardless of the divine mediation, the mysteries of this vision continue to escape Daniel’s understanding, something which is unheard of in the visions of Zechariah. The issue of understanding the visions and angelic revelation is not only relegated to Daniel but extends to the rest of his community, as “…none of the wicked will understand; but the wise will understand” (Dan 12:10).

Another major distinction between Zechariah’s angelic interpreter and those found in Daniel is the seer’s reaction to angelic mediation. First, the lively dialogue witnessed between prophet and angel in Zechariah is not present in Daniel.\footnote{483} Like Zechariah, Daniel initiates an interpretation from an angelic being, as is the case in the first vision where he approaches an attendant and asks him “the true meaning of all this” (Dan 7:16).\footnote{484} But after receiving a rather lengthy interpretation (Dan 7:16-27), Daniel does not ask further questions of the divine being despite confessing that he was alarmed by his thoughts and “kept the matter to myself” (Dan 7:28). Unlike Zechariah, who continually asks questions of his angelic companions, Daniel accepts the explanation without further comment. The behaviour of Daniel as a recipient of revelation rather than an active participant is much more reminiscent of the earlier visions of Ezek 40-48 where the prophet is silent as the angel narrates the sights of the temple tour. The passivity of Daniel is even more emphasized in his first interaction with Gabriel, who states “Behold I am going to inform you of what will happen at the final period of anger for [it refers]...\footnote{482} A similar situation occurs in Dan 12:8 when he overhears an angelic conversation which he does not understand. The word בינה is used here again to indicate Daniel’s inability to understand the angelic revelation.\footnote{483} Daniel’s lack of the question-and-answer format is a bit of an anomaly since it is featured in works like 1 En 17-36 and especially in 4 Ezra which relies on Daniel.\footnote{484} This may also be the case in Dan 8:15 which states that “Daniel was seeing the vision and trying to understand it” (ויהי יראתיו). It is not clear how Daniel sought interpretation and whether he requested divine assistance as he did in Dan 7:16. Immediately after Daniel’s attempt to understand the vision, an angelic interpreter appears before him (Dan 8:16-19).
to the time appointed for the end” (Dan 8:19). Daniel neither initiates the dialogue nor does he ask questions of the angel but is simply told the interpretation. This lack of interaction between prophet and angel in Daniel might account for Daniel’s repeated expressions of alarm and inability to understand the visions even after receiving angelic revelation (Dan 7:28; 8:27).

In one case, as noted above Daniel does assume more initiative by praying on behalf of his community for forgiveness (Dan 9:1-19). Moreover, it not only consists of the act of prayer but his reflection on the older prophecies of Jeremiah concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (Dan 9:2). He does not ask specifically for angelic aid, but the angel Gabriel is sent to him for the purpose of providing understanding (בינה) to Daniel (Dan 9:22-23). Again, there is no interaction between Daniel and the angel Gabriel as Daniel listens to the interpretation without further comment. This repeated pattern of Daniel’s passivity is broken temporarily in 10:12 when Daniel is revived by an angelic being who comes to bring him understanding (לובין). It appears that Daniel will continue his silence until the angelic being touches his lips:

When he was saying these things to me, I looked down and kept silent. Then the one who looked like a man 485 touched my lips, and I opened my mouth and spoke, saying to him who stood before me, “My Lord because of the vision, pains have come upon me and I have no strength. How can this servant of my lord speak with my lord? As for me, no strength remains and no spirit is left in me.” (Dan 10:15-17)

This short dialogue between Daniel and the angel centers around the seer’s own fear and inability to speak. It is not until the angelic being touches Daniel again that he requests from the angel a further revelation. However, in contrast to Zechariah, Daniel does not discuss the intricacies of the visions nor does he ask for clarification for what he has seen. In the visions of Daniel, the focus has shifted away from the relationship between the human and the angel to the lengthy description of the visions themselves.

A final distinction between Zechariah’s and Daniel’s angelic mediator concerns their varying portrayal of angelic companionship. In many of the later apocalypses, angelic mediators

485. The term דמויות is also found throughout Ezekiel (Ezek 1:5; 8:2; 10:1; etc.).
act as companions of the prophet or seer who remain with them for the duration of their visionary experience. This is also the case with זֶהֶלְאָה הָדָר בִּי of Zechariah’s vision who is always found at the side of the prophet ready to explain the visions. The situation in Daniel is remarkably different in that the angels do not function as a companion to the seer but are much more removed and must be summoned to interact with the human (Dan 7:16; 8:16; 9:23). Moreover, Daniel’s relationship and reaction to the heavenly interpreters is quite different from Zechariah, as he often is visibly shaken or scared by his encounters (Dan 7:28; 8:17). Daniel’s fearful reaction to the angel Gabriel is reminiscent of Ezekiel’s own reaction to his visions (Ezek 1:28b). The differences between Daniel and Zechariah’s characterization of the angelic intermediaries is potentially due to the greater influence of the earlier prophecies of Ezekiel on Daniel’s visions. The term “son of man” is applied to Daniel by the angel Gabriel, similarly to what is found earlier in Ezekiel (Ezek 2:1). In addition, the angel Gabriel also helps Daniel recover physically from his fear (Dan 8:18; Ezek 2:1-2). Finally, the description of the angel in Dan 10 also hearkens back to Ezekiel’s description of the throne room (Ezek 1-3). Schöpflin finds the following similarities:

First thing Daniel sees is a man standing there (10:5a). For the first time the outward appearance of an interpreting angel is now described (Dan 10:5b-6): He is clothed in linen (cf. Ezekiel 9:2)—a feature of a priestly person. He wears a belt of gold. In spite of the clothing Daniel can perceive the angel’s body which like beryl or turquoise (שִׂינַדְו, תָּרָה), his face is like lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, arms and feet like burnished copper or bronze (שִׂינַדְו, נְחַּשָּׁם), and the sound of his speech like the noise of a multitude.

Ezekiel’s vision of the throne room (Ezek 1) and his own description of an angelic being (Ezek 137)

486. A good example of this occurs in the Apocalypse of Abraham: “And we went the two of us alone together, forty days and forty nights. And I ate no bread and drank no water, because my food was to see the angel who was with me, and his discourse was my drink” (Apoc. Ab. 12:1-2). This is of course in the context of an angelic tour where one would expect the constant companionship of an angelic being. However, even 4 Ezra which is labelled a historical apocalypse like Dan 7-12, features the constant presence of the angel Uriel who interprets the visions of Ezra.

487. Schöpflin argues that Daniel’s interaction with Gabriel in chapter eight is an allusion to Ezek 1-3 (Schöpflin, “The Interpreting Angel,” 200).

8) appear to inspire Daniel’s depiction of angelic beings. This type of physical description of the angelic intermediaries is completely absent from Zechariah. It is clear that Daniel’s representation of the interpreting angel is indebted to Zechariah but his heavy reliance on Ezekiel produces an altered type of mediator.

iii. Enoch’s Interpreter

The social setting behind the Book of Watchers is not as clear as what we find in Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12. The fourth and third centuries BCE are not as well attested in the historical records. Without many historical documents that describe the situation in Jerusalem and its environs, scholars have tried to situate 1 En. 1-36 into the larger historical and political events of this period.489 Michael Stone describes the lack of information concerning this era:

The chief cultural and political event that had taken place in the interim was the conquest of the east by Alexander of Macedon and the concomitant advance of Hellenization. When the curtain lifts once more on Palestinian Judaism, it is more than a century after this event; the Judaism it uncovers differs greatly from that which preceded it. Quite new forms of religious writing had emerged and far-reaching changes in the religious structure of society had taken place, as well as innovations in the history of ideas that were to set patterns for the succeeding millenia.490 Elsewhere Stone has labelled this century the “‘dark ages’ of post-exilic Judaism.”491 The formation of the earliest Enochic literature would have likely occurred shortly after the conquest by Alexander (333-323 BCE) and the wars of his successors, the Diadochi (323-303 BCE).492

The area of Syria-Palestine was the site of various military campaigns owing to the presence of

492. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 1.
important trade routes linking Egypt and Mesopotamia. By 301 BCE, Palestine was under the control of Ptolemy and would remain so until 198 BCE. During this century of conquest and Hellenization, some new writings were produced by various Jewish communities including: the Astronomical Book, the Book of Watchers, and possibly Aramaic Levi Document, Qohelet and Tobit. Although the Book of Watchers is not the product of persecution like the visions of Dan 7-12, it too comes from a situation where foreign powers are in control. Nickelsburg argues that the wars between the Diadochi provide a likely setting for violent actions of the giants that bring bloodshed upon the earth (1 En. 7:3-6). I agree with Nickelsburg that the tumultuous events of the previous decades largely inform the backdrop of 1 En. 6-11 but in agreement with Annette Reed, I would argue that disputes among the religious elite play a much larger role.

Little is known about the group(s) responsible for the production and editing of the Book of Watchers. This is complicated by the fact that there are numerous authors and redactors associated with the various sections of the book. The oldest sections, the story of the fallen watchers in 6-11 and Enoch’s commissioning in 12-16, have generated much scholarly interest in its social origins. The descent of the watchers has been understood as a reference to the Diadochi

493. Nickelsburg reports that in the space of twenty-one years (323-302 BCE) Syria-Palestine changed hands seven times (Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature, 42).
494. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 170.
495. Reed, Fallen Angels, 59–60. In addition, there is less of a focus on anti-Hellenism than might be expected if these writers were reacting directly to the wars of the Diadochi. There is mention of the introduction of forbidden practices by the watchers such as sorcery, metallurgy and cosmetics (1 En. 7:1; 8:1-3). These are likely allusions to the incursion of Hellenistic practices and the authors/redactors critique of them. However, there is not a wholesale rejection of Hellenistic culture as many classical mythical Greek traditions are alluded to throughout the Book of Watchers. This is especially true of the tour journeys (1 En. 17-19; 20-36) that may use elements of the Greek nekyia (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 62; Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 287).
496. In trying to understand the social setting(s) of the Book of Watchers, I will limit my discussion to this book alone. Later works like Epistle of Enoch or the Animal Apocalypse might give clearer depictions of their social worlds, but it would be anachronistic to use them as evidence for understanding the context of the Book of Watchers. Reed criticizes Nickelsburg’s approach as an attempt to read the Book of Watchers as a “monolithic” whole and to conflate it with later Enochic traditions (Reed, Fallen Angels, 63–64).
and to the impurity of temple priests.\textsuperscript{497} The priestly allusions associated with the person of Enoch have also suggested a priestly social setting.\textsuperscript{498} In addition, the explicit identification of Enoch as a “scribe of righteousness” (\textit{1 En.} 15:1) and his association with writing (\textit{1 En.} 13:4-6) have also led scholars to argue for a scribal background.\textsuperscript{499} I am not convinced that we can definitely place Enoch as either a priest or a scribe as both contexts are found in \textit{1 En.} 6-16.\textsuperscript{500} Moreover, there are also many elements associated with prophecy especially with regards to Enoch’s commissioning in chapter 14.\textsuperscript{501} Furthermore, Annette Reed argues that the social context should not necessarily be viewed as one on the fringes of society. Unlike Nickelsburg and Hanson, she places the composition of both the \textit{Astronomical Book} and the \textit{Book of Watchers} in the scribal milieu of the Jerusalem temple.\textsuperscript{502} I would agree that this appears probable for the earlier chapters (\textit{1 En.} 6-11, 12-16) but not necessarily indicative of the later chapters or the document as a whole as it was later redacted. The above analysis have primarily used \textit{1 En.} 6-11 and 12-16 as their evidence for reconstructions of the social setting. The use of angelic interpreters is situated not in these chapters but in the accounts of Enoch’s journeys in chapters 17-19 and 20-36. Bautch argues that these chapters should be treated as an originally independent body of traditions that have their own unique social settings.\textsuperscript{503}

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\textsuperscript{498} These priestly allusions include Enoch depicted as an intercessor (\textit{1 En.} 13) and his procession through a temple-like structure to reach the divine throne room (\textit{1 En.} 14). This is thoroughly discussed by Himmelfarb (Himmelfarb, \textit{Ascent to Heaven}, 20–21).
\textsuperscript{499} Enoch is also associated with writing in the \textit{Epistle of Enoch} where he writes down his revelations for his son Methuselah (\textit{1 En.} 92:1). He is also called a “skilled scribe and wisest of men” (\textit{1 En.} 92:1). This tradition is only found in the Ethiopic tradition as the Aramaic manuscripts are too damaged at this point. For a detailed discussion see Schams, \textit{Jewish Scribes}, 95.
\textsuperscript{500} Bautch notes that a priestly and scribal context appears to be missing from the tour journeys of Enoch in chapters 17-19 and 20-36.
\textsuperscript{501} See Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 254–56.
\textsuperscript{502} Reed, \textit{Fallen Angels}, 69.
\textsuperscript{503} Bautch, \textit{A Study of the Geography of \textit{1 Enoch} 17–19}, 283.
\end{flushright}
described neither as a priest nor as a scribe. Although a scribal origin seems more likely due to the reuse of Mesopotamian and Greek mythology throughout the tour narratives. Instead he is cast as a visionary who is given a tour of the cosmos and eschatological locations. Bautch argues that due to the dominance of sites associated with northern Galilee that the social location of the author(s) of chapters 17-19 should be found there and not in Jerusalem. In the end, the issue of an original setting is difficult to pinpoint as the myth of the fallen watchers may have been reapplied by a variety of communities to different situations. Moreover, the many layers of redaction have obscured any obvious references to a specific historical crisis. At the very least, it is clear that these traditions emerged from a scribal community with links to both priestly and prophetic communities. Unlike later apocalypses like Daniel and the book of Revelation, it was not a crisis of persecution that led to the production of these Enochic works but they were still like Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 the products of a society under the control of foreign powers and involved in inner-religious disputes.

Enoch’s primary angelic interpreters, Uriel and his companions, demonstrate both continuities and departures from the angelic mediators in Zechariah and Daniel. Common to all three traditions is the portrayal of revelation as mediated through a heavenly being rather than directly to the prophet. However, in I En. 17-36 the medium of revelation is not a symbolic

504. See chapter one for a discussion of the ancient Near Eastern and Greek traditions.
507. I agree with Reed that at some point (perhaps in its earliest form) the Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Book could be products of a scribal milieu closely associated with the Jerusalem temple. But at some point it seems that the communities associated with these traditions became more attached to peripheral locations as places of revelation even though the temple remained a central location.
dream but a series of cosmic visions in which the seer is guided by angelic beings. For this reason, the apocalypses containing an otherworldly journey have generally been treated as their own subgenre by scholars. Collins notes that these two subgenres of apocalypses (“otherworldly journey” and “historical apocalypse”) rarely overlap. This may be true in the way the category of apocalypse is organized either by symbolic vision or cosmic journey but when it comes to angelic mediation there is much overlap between the two. This divide can result in an artificial division in the study of angelic mediation, as a sustained examination of the angelic tour guides is lacking. Despite the different modes of revelation (symbolic vision versus heavenly tour) the angelic beings in 1 En. 17-36 take on similar functions as interpreters and revealers of divine knowledge. Thus, their actions as interpreters of visions will be considered alongside those of Zechariah and Daniel.

Although angels are found throughout the Book of Watchers, angelic interpretation is mainly confined to the two separate journeys that Enoch undertakes (1 En. 17-19, 20-36). As noted in the introduction, these two tours are considered separate traditions that were later amalgamated. The duplication of locales along the journey have led scholars to argue that chapters 17-19 contain an earlier tradition that has been expanded. Dillmann pointed out the following duplications between chapters 17-19 and 20-36: the prison for the angels and seven stars (1 En. 18:11-16, 19; 21); the realm of the dead (1 En. 17:6; 1 En. 22); the place where lights are persecuted (1 En. 17:4; 1 En. 23); the mountains of precious stones and mountain of God (1

508. Collins, Daniel, 54; Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 60.
509. One notable exception is the Apocalypse of Abraham.
510. Many studies examine the heavenly journey but not the figure of the angelic guide (Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven; Carlsson, Round Trips to Heaven).
511. Himmelfarb also argues that angelic tour guide of 1 Enoch appears to rely on Zechariah’s angelic interpreter especially with regards to the question-and-answer format (Himmelfarb, Tours of Hell, 58).
512. It is noted in 1:2 that Enoch received revelation from angelic beings.
En. 18:6-9; 1 En. 24-25); the tour around the atmosphere (1 En. 18:1; 34-36). These two journeys are quite similar but there are some differences in their presentation of angelic mediation. The first journey is mainly a narration of Enoch’s tour of the cosmos with only one instance of angelic dialogue (18:12-16). In contrast, the second cosmic journey contains a constant commentary and dialogue between Enoch and his angelic mediators. Bautch notes that the singular instance of dialogue in the first journey between Uriel and Enoch concerns the prisons of the watchers and stars (1 En. 18:12-16). Her point being that the journeys of Enoch are not only concerned with geographical locales but also with places associated with judgment in the afterlife as is found in the Greek nekyia. As discussed in the previous chapter, the geographical features of the tours in 1 En. 17-36 owe a great debt to its ancient neighbours. However, as noted in the first chapter there are no angelic guides in the earliest accounts of Greek nekyia, such as Homer’s descent to Hades (Od. 11). This interpretative function that is found with regards to Enoch’s guides does not appear to have parallels with other ANE or the earliest Greco-Roman traditions. And yet, though this interpretive function is much more evident in the second journey (1 En. 20-36) even in the earlier journey (1 En. 17-19) it is still


514. In 1 En. 19:1-2 there is a short description by Uriel of the place of punishment for the watchers but there is no response or question of the seer. It should be noted that these verses (19:1-2) are transposed to be read after 1 En. 18:9b-11 which lacks an explanation (Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch Übersetzt und Erklärt*, 118; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 287; Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19*, 130–31). The Aramaic fragment (4QEn° 1 8:27-30) does show that 18:12 should follow 18:11 (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 200). However, Nickelsburg argues that chapter 21 demonstrates a rearrangement where each place of punishment has its own explanation. Thus, he argues that 1 En. 18:12-16 is a secondary addition (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 287).


516. Later Greek traditions do show evidence of guides that explain the sites of cosmic tours especially to the underworld. For more information see Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead*, 28–29.
The interpretative activity provided by Enoch’s angelic guides is not as clear-cut as in the visions of Zechariah and Daniel. It is common for scholars to treat the “interpreters” of Zechariah and Daniel as separate from the “guides” of Enoch. Although Jassen’s discussion of types of revelation is very helpful, he too downplays the interpretive impulse found amongst Enoch’s angelic guides, “The role of angelic intermediaries is different from Enoch. Daniel requires angelic assistance in order to understand the visions and dreams. For Enoch, angels are merely his guides on the otherworldly journeys.”

This implies that the angelic guides do no more than point out the various features of Enoch’s cosmic tour. This misunderstanding of the role of Enoch’s angelic guides no doubt is due to a long-standing tradition of relating them to Ezekiel’s angelic guide who leads the prophet on a tour without much interpretation of the features. Initially, these heavenly tour guides appear to have more in common with Ezekiel’s angelic copper figure who leads him on a tour of the temple (Ezek 40-48). This is best demonstrated by Himmelfarb:

On formal grounds, the best precedent to Enoch’s tour is Ezekiel’s tour of the eschatological temple and its environs, which concludes the book of Ezekiel (chs. 40-48), the only such tour in biblical literature. …This is not to deny the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that the tour in the Book of Watchers is influenced by other, non-Jewish, literature, such as the nekyia of the Odyssey, but rather to insist that the primary model was Ezekiel.

The formal elements of Enoch’s tour undoubtedly owe a great debt to Ezekiel’s tour of the temple. However, Enoch develops his figure of an angelic guide far beyond what is found in Ezek 40-48. In the first journey narrative (I En. 17-19) the angels function similarly to Ezekiel’s copper figure in that they take and lead the seer with a minimum of dialogue (I En. 17:1; 3; 4; 5).

517. The Astronomical Book (I En. 72-82) is considered to be earlier than The Book of Watchers. Uriel, his angelic guide simply shows him the various sites on his journey without any dialogue or interpretation. It is not until the very end of the journey that Uriel addresses Enoch (I En. 80:1-81:1) but at no point does Enoch engage in a dialogue as is found in the Book of Watchers. This is much closer to the type of angelic tour found in Ezek 40-48.

518. Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 274.

519. Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 73.
etc.). There is no interaction between the angels and Enoch until Uriel shows him the place of punishment for the fallen watchers (1 En. 19:1). Enoch does not respond until the next vision in which he sees seven stars and “inquires about them” (1 En. 18:14). This first stage of the journey follows the pattern set out in Ezek 40-48 in which the human is a passive observer and passenger.

In a manner more closely related to Zech 1-8, the second journey narrative (1 En. 20-36) depicts Enoch engaging in an active dialogue with his angelic guides. Beginning with the first vision, Enoch initiates the dialogue with the angel Uriel after seeing the place of punishment of the stars of heaven:

(1) I traveled to where it was chaotic. (2) And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place. (3) And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven, bound and thrown together, like great mountains, and burning in fire. (4) Then I said, “For what reason have they been bound, and for what reason have they been thrown here?” (5) Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, he said to me, “Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth? (6) These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled - the time of their sins.” (1 En. 21:1-5)

The question-and-answer format first formulated in Zech 1-8 takes a central role in the visions of Enoch.

520. Nickelsburg places 18:12-16 after 19:1-2 and argues that they are a secondary addition to the text (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 288).

521. Nickelsburg’s translation is a bit misleading as both the Greek and Ethiopic convey the sense of emptiness rather than chaos in this opening verse. Greek has “I went on to a formless void” and the Ethiopic “And I went round to a place where there was nothing made.”

522. Similarly both the Greek and Ethiopic versions have more the sense of a desert or a void. The Greek translation of Black has “place empty and terrible” and Knibb has the following, “but a desert place, prepared and terrible” (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 107).

523. The Ethiopic translation omits και ἐρημότροπος “and thrown” (Gr Pan). Knibb argues it should be read as a gloss influenced by verse 4 (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 107, fn. 21.3).

524. The Ethiopic translation reads, “For what sin have they been bound...” rather than “for what reason.” Additionally, the Greek translation also attests “iniquity” rather than “reason.”

It has become conventional to label the angels on Enoch’s journeys as “angelic guides” and yet their activity as such is suspect at times. On the first stop of their journey, the angel does not offer an explanation of the sites that Enoch sees, instead he responds to Enoch’s questions. In fact this is a recurring pattern through 1 En. 20-36 in which Enoch sees a site and then it is he who inquires about it.526 Even more telling is that in a few instances, the angelic mediators do not respond right away to Enoch’s request but instead counters with a question regarding Enoch’s purposes or intents. This is the case in the above text when Uriel states, “Enoch, why do you inquire and why are you eager for the truth?” (1 En. 21:5). And again in chapter 25, the angel Michael responds to Enoch, “Enoch, why do you inquire and why do you marvel about the fragrance of this tree, and why do you wish to learn the truth? (1 En. 25:1)527 While the angels are the ones who are physically conveying Enoch through these cosmic sites, they do not reveal anything unless prompted by Enoch.528

The transmission of knowledge, both legitimate and illicit, is a central concern of the Book of Watchers. The good angels transmit a proper understanding of the workings of both heaven and earth to Enoch (1 En. 17-36). He is taken to places normally not accessible to human beings and is given the responsibility of sharing that knowledge with others (1 En. 81:5-6). The question-and-answer format is one of the primary ways that the angelic mediators communicate revelation to Enoch and help him understand the strange sights he sees:

(1) Then I said, “Why is this land blessed and all filled with trees, but this valley is cursed?”529 (2) Then Sariel answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and

526. This stands out from Zechariah’s discourse with ויחָלְךְוָם הָעַלְוָה בֵּי who at times does initiate the dialogue (Zech 1:8-9, 18-19; 2:1-2; 6:1-4) but not always (Zech 4:1-2; 5:1-2). In each case, it is always Enoch who initiates the discussion with the angelic beings (1 Ên. 21:4, 8; 22:2, 6, 8; 23:3; 24:5; 27:1; 32:5). This is also quite different from the angelic discourse in the Astronomical Book in which Uriel appears to initiate the conversation (80:1; 81:1).

527. As noted earlier, a similar type of question from an angelic mediator is posed to the human seer following an initial question or observation in Zech 1-8.

528. This is quite different from the angelic visitations that Daniel receives in which an angel comes to give a word sometimes unbidden (8:15-27; 9:20-23; 10:10-14).

529. The Ethiopic reads “and of this accursed valley in the middle of them?” contains
said to me, “This cursed valley is for those who are cursed forever. Here will be gathered all the cursed, who utter with their mouth an improper word against the Lord and speak hard things against his glory. Here they will gathered, and here will be (their) habitation\textsuperscript{531} (3) at the last times, in the days of righteous judgment in the presence of the righteous for all time. Here the godless will bless the Lord of glory, the King of eternity. (4) In the days of their judgment they will bless in mercy in accordance with how he has apportioned them. (I En. 27:1-4)

This dialogue between Sariel and Enoch goes beyond simply pointing out the various geographical features of the cosmic tour. Enoch is not simply asking “what is this place?” but more importantly he inquires why there is such a contrast between the blessed land the cursed valley. The revelation given by the angel is not simply an identification of these sites but a deeper explanation of their purpose as places of judgment. The responsibility of the angelic mediator is to help Enoch understand what he is seeing and why it is significant. The act of understanding only comes through this angelic-human dialogue. Thus to simply label these angels as guides does not fully capture their role and function in these texts.

A similar type of angelic revelation is also recorded earlier in the Book of Watchers; however, it is an illicit transfer of knowledge from the fallen watchers to humanity (I En. 16:3-4). It is startling that the knowledge taught by the fallen watchers concerns not only skills like metallurgy (I En. 8:1) but also cosmological secrets like the movement of the sun, moon and stars (I En. 8:3). And yet these mysteries of the cosmos are the very things that Enoch is taught by his angelic mediators in chapters 17-36. Reed argues that this might point to information concerning the social setting of the authors of these different sections. In the earlier chapters of I En. 6-11 that do not actually mention Enoch, a negative stance toward cosmology suggests the

\textsuperscript{530} In this case Enoch sees the judgment of those who have spoken against God.

\textsuperscript{531} The Ethiopic has “their place of judgment” which Knibb argues is more appropriate for this context (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 116). The version Gr\textsuperscript{Pan} reads “will be (their) dwelling” which Knibb suggests that κητηριασμον is mistaken for κριτηρισμον. He also raises the possibility that this is a corruption in the Aramaic (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 115).
authors may have more in common with a text like Ben Sira that is dismissive of speculative wisdom.\textsuperscript{532} She suggests that the later chapters of 12-16 and 17-36 might reflect later groups’ adoption of \textit{1 En.} 6-11 that had more positive stances toward cosmological knowledge.\textsuperscript{533} While these observations are speculative, they account for the different views of angelic revelation that are found throughout the various sections of the \textit{Book of Watchers}. Moreover, this juxtaposition of illicit revelation versus sanctioned revelation not only highlights the differences between the fallen watchers and holy angels but also serves to highlight how privileged Enoch is to receive such revelation. This dichotomy between the two extremes of angelic revelation is a new feature of \textit{1 En.} 1-36 that is not present in either Zech 1-8 or Dan 7-12.

\textit{Summary}

Angelic interpreters are a new phenomenon in a post-exilic world, no doubt precipitated by the devastation of losing both temple and land. And yet, in contrast to those who might argue that the rise of angelic mediators signals a diminishment of God’s activity in the world, I argue the opposite.\textsuperscript{534} This rise of angelic mediators is indicative of the continuation of a divine-human discourse that existed before the exile. Kugel has argued that “God’s part in the divine-human discourse, it will be remembered, was not alone mediated by live human beings; it was also carried out by texts.”\textsuperscript{535} Even before the exile, written texts were part of the divine-human discourse.

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{532} Reed, “Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent,” 58. Argall does note, “The shared vocabulary [with \textit{1 En.} 92:1] is a preliminary indication that ben Sira had at least some appreciation for Enoch as a revealer figure, however heated his polemic against some purveyors of esoteric tradition” (Randal A. Argall, \textit{1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment} [Early Judaism and its Literature 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], 11).
\textsuperscript{533} Reed, “Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent,” 59. Newsom also argues that chapters 12-16 serve as transitional chapters that link a pre-existing set of traditions in chapters 17-19 to the older story of the fallen watchers in chapters 6-11. Thus, she states, “The immediate juxtaposition of Enoch’s cosmic journey in chaps. 17-19 makes his knowledge of the heavenly mysteries the counter-type to the mysteries known by the Watchers (Newsom, “The Development of \textit{1 Enoch} 6–19,” 322).
\textsuperscript{534} See Sommer, “Did Prophecy Cease?”
\textsuperscript{535} Kugel, \textit{Early Biblical Interpretation}, 17.
discourse as a means of revealing knowledge to humanity and many of these texts relied on other old traditions. Just as written texts could act as revelation both in the pre-exilic and post-exilic era, so too does angelic mediation. It is not a replacement of direct divine discourse as we continue to witness direct speech from God (1 En. 15:1-16:4) but an extension.

III. Angelic Intercession

A second function assumed by the angelic intermediaries of our texts is that of mediator, specifically intercessor. The ability to bridge the boundary between the divine and earthly realm has long roots in the Hebrew Bible especially in prophetic and priestly traditions. However, a tradition of angelic intercession on behalf of humans is not present in the pre-exilic literature. And yet as noted in the previous chapter, it is common elsewhere in the ancient world that minor deities could act as intercessors for humanity to a chief deity. It is not surprising that in the aftermath of the Babylonian exile a need for an exemplary intercessor becomes a priority. A common explanation for the rise of angelic mediation in the post-exilic period stems from a view of God as distant and inaccessible. While this claim is no doubt true, the situation in the post-exilic period is more complex as both aspects of the divine-human discourse are affected by the events of the exile. Nickelsburg offers a more nuanced reasoning for the apparent distance of God and the increased mediation of angelic beings:

From this complex of roles emerges a picture of God the heavenly King, who administers the world through an immense array of agents, whose roles and activities imitate a variety of models derived mainly from royal courts. In this picture God is infinitely majestic and separated from the human scene by layers of administrative agents. Yet, paradoxically, the bureaucracy is effective. There is order in the created world, human petitions get through to the King, and in good time the King responds favorably. Thus 1 Enoch’s massive and complicated world of divine beings is not symptomatic of a theology that simply depicts God as increasingly remote - as is sometimes claimed of apocalyptic literature.

537. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 44–45. Collins also argues that the depiction of God as more inaccessible reflects the changing political situation under the Persians and the Greeks where access to the king would only be possible through a complex system of intermediaries (John J. Collins, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years:*)
While the rise of angelic mediators can be linked to a rising bureaucracy where God controls the world through the actions of heavenly agents, it is also reflective of a void in the post-exilic situation concerning the restoration of leadership. Each of our texts describes their communities as recovering or suffering from some sort of disconnect. The audience of Zechariah lives under Persian rule and attempts to reestablish the traditional roles of priest, prophet and monarch. In Daniel, the situation is much the same as the community suffers again under the foreign rule of the Greeks but suffers under the persecution under Antiochus IV. Moreover, as noted previously the very office of the high priest was under continual threat as rival claimants strived to outbid one another for possession. In both of these communities, the normal means of attaining knowledge of the divine is in a state of flux. Hence the need for divine mediators who can provide a proper interpretation or present human petitions to God. The original social setting for the Book of Watchers is not as clear as Zechariah or Daniel.\textsuperscript{538} However, the communities responsible for these Enochic traditions also experienced the influence of Hellenization (both positively and negatively) and dealt with inner-religious and political disputes. Himmelfarb notes that the dichotomy between the fallen watchers and good angels in the Book of Watchers (esp. chapters 6-16) implies a milder critique of the priests than what is found in a later document like 2 Maccabbees.\textsuperscript{539} This accords with Reed’s position that the earlier layers of the Book of Watchers do not stem from a disenfranchised minority sect but a scribal group closely associated

\textit{A Comprehensive Assessment} [ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 133).

\textsuperscript{538} As noted above, there are varying interpretations of the social context of the Book of Watchers. Nickelsburg argues that “Whatever the empirical circumstances of their authors, these texts are driven by and oriented around an experience of conflict, alienation, and victimization” (Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 62). Reed disagrees with Nickelsburg’s view arguing that he treats the social context of \textit{1 Enoch} as a monolithic whole and does not distinguish between the varying social contexts of the earlier Book of Watchers (3rd century BCE) and the later Animal Apocalypse (2nd century BCE) (Reed, \textit{Fallen Angels}, 63). In addition, she posits the social context of the Book of Watchers not as a product of a disfranchised minority sect but as the result of the work of scribes associated with the Jerusalem cult (Reed, \textit{Fallen Angels}, 69).

\textsuperscript{539} Himmelfarb, \textit{Ascent to Heaven}, 22.
with the Jerusalem temple. Despite their varying social contexts, each of these writings all share some common features. First, that angelic mediation is a required element in understanding divine revelation and second, they each envision a world beyond their own where angelic beings act as their intercessors and advocates. This thesis understands intercession as more than simply the act of praying on behalf of another to include more broadly the action of representing another’s interest to a higher authority. The following section will outline two aspects of angelic mediation found in the text, that of angels as the petitioners and receivers of prayer, and their role as advocates for humans.

\textit{i. Angels & Prayer}

Prior to the exile, angels serve primarily as messengers who bring divine communication from God to humanity. Following the destruction of Jerusalem, a shift occurs in that angels now become a vehicle for humans to express their concerns to God. Angelic prayer for humanity becomes one of the normative functions for angels in the later Second Temple period. Such is the case in \textit{3 Baruch} where Michael, “…the commander [of the angels], comes down to receive the prayers of men” (3 Bar 11:4). In two of our texts, Zech 1-8 and the \textit{Book of Watchers}, this identification of angels with the activity of prayer is only in its infancy and as a result a variety of perspectives are evident.

\textit{a. Zechariah 1:12-14}

Zechariah’s visions are innovative not only in his use of an angelic interpreter but also because he makes use of a wide cast of angelic characters with a variety of functions. One of these angelic beings enters into a discourse with God on behalf of humanity:

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540. Reed, \textit{Fallen Angels}, 69.
541. As noted in the previous chapter, there is evidence for earlier traditions of angelic intercession in the book of Job but these appear to be only accepted by a minority of the community. These traditions only become part of mainstream Jewish thought in the Second Temple Period.
542. Tob 3:16-17; 12:12-15; \textit{I En.} 104:1; Rev 8:3-5; 3 Bar 11-12; \textit{T. Levi} 3:5-10.
Then the angel of the Lord answered and said, “O Lord of Hosts! How long will you withhold pardon from Jerusalem and the towns of Judah, which you have been indignant these seventy years?” The Lord replied with kind, comforting words to the angel who talked with me. (Zech 1:12-13)

The angel adopts the role of intermediary and intercessor as he laments the length of the exile. Unlike what is found in 1 En. 9:1-2, we do not hear the cries of the people in Zechariah visions. The angelic intercessor relies on the information gathered by the angelic spies who find the earth at rest, implying that Jerusalem is still suffering under foreign domination (Zech 1:11). This language of lament, "how long?" is typically found in the Psalms but also appears in some prophetic texts. Numerous parallels between this angelic lament and penitential prayers have been noted by scholars. One could argue that the angel takes over the intercessory function normally accorded to prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Such is the case with Moses, who seeks forgiveness for the Israelites (Exod 32:30-34), or Jeremiah, who is forbidden to intercede for the people (Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11-12). Yet intercession was not only the domain of prophets, as priests were called to intercede (Joel 2:17) and Nehemiah also prays for the people (Neh 1:4-11). It is not clear why the function of intercession is now given over to an angelic figure in Zechariah’s visions. One possibility is the current absence of a temple and the impurity of the priesthood (Zech 3) result in the need for an angelic intermediary who is guaranteed an audience with God.

b. 1 Enoch 9

The situation in the Book of Watchers resembles that of Zech 1-8, where angels take an active role in mediating between humanity and God. A variety of passages in the larger corpus of 1 Enoch speak positively of the role of angels as advocates and intercessors for humanity. The

543. Psa 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3.
544. Tollington notes the following examples: Jer 4:14, 21; 23:26; 31:22; 47:5; cf. 1 Kgs 18:21; Exod 10:3; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 16:1; Hos 8:5; Isa 6:11 (Tollington, Tradition and Innovation, 184).
545. These include 1 Enoch 9:1-11; 15:2; 40:6, 9; 47:1-2; 99:3; 104:1.
act of intercession not only involves relating the cries of humanity to heaven but also actively
interceding on behalf of humans. The later *Epistle of Enoch* continues this tradition of positive
angelic advocacy: “I swear to you that the angels in heaven make mention of you for good before
the glory of the Great One, and your names are written before the glory of the Great One…” (I
En. 104:1). In I En. 6-16, angelic intercession is considered to be a normal part of angelic duties
when God instructs Enoch, “Go and say to the watchers of heaven, who sent you to petition in
their behalf, ‘You should petition in behalf of humans, and not humans in behalf of you’” (I En.
15:2). This reference to the ironic reversal of roles between Enoch and the fallen watcher reveals
that already angelic intercession was an expected part of angelic mediation.

Angelic intercession in I En. 6-16 is also characterized by a concern for the vindication of
the righteous and is found in a judicial context. This is vividly portrayed in I En. 8:4-9:3 when
the four chief angels hear the suffering cry of humans:

(And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven. Then Michael and Sariel and Raphael and Gabriel looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed on the earth. All the earth was filled with godlessness and violence that had befallen it. And entering in, they said to one another, “The earth, devoid (of inhabitants), raises the voice of their cries to the gates of heaven. And now to us <us>, the holy ones of heaven, the souls of men make suit, saying, ‘Bring in our judgment to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the majesty, before the Lord of all lords in majesty.”

If we accept the shorter translation in I En. 8:4 that “the cry went up to heaven,” then we find
that the cry of humanity is not addressed specifically to God but more generally to heaven. As

547. Both Greek mss (Sync\(^1\) and Sync\(^2\)) have a fuller version, “...their voice went up to heaven: ‘Bring our cause before the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the Great One.’” The Aramaic fragment (4QEn\(^a\) 1 iv) as well as the Ethiopic texts and G have a shorter version, “their cry was going up to heaven.” Davidson argues that the fuller versions in Sync\(^1\) and Sync\(^2\) are expansions that link I En. 7:5-6 and 8:4a with the longer description in I En. 9:1 (Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 55). See also Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, II, 84; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 129.
548. The Aramaic fragments (4QEn\(^a+b\)) contain the name ישיא in I En. 9:1, 4. A Greek version (The Akhmim papyrus) has with instead.
549. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 55.
with the angel in Zechariah, the four angels assume the role of intercessors who bring the cries of humans to God. Both the angels of Zechariah and *1 En. 9* survey the conditions on earth before interceding for humanity (*Zech 1:11-12; 1 En. 9:1-3*). The angels in *1 En. 9* take on the function of priests as they “approach” God with their request (*1 En. 9:4*). Himmelfarb argues that *1 En.* 12-16 describes Enoch’s ascension using priestly language as heaven is depicted as a temple and the watchers as its priests.550 This imagery of heaven as a temple with angels serving as priests who offer up the prayers of humanity to God is a theme repeated in later works.551 In addition to this priestly depiction of heaven, another model of heaven as the divine throne room is also present. The angels not only present the cries of humanity to God but they do so using language borrowed from the legal context. As they hear the cries of humanity “the souls of men make suit, saying, ‘Bring in our judgment to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the majesty, before the Lord of all lords in majesty” (*1 En. 9:3*).552 This judicial context makes sense, considering that their commissions by God later in *1 En.* 10 revolve around bringing judgment against the fallen watchers. At the end of their prayer, the angels state that the humans’ groaning, “has ascended and is unable to go forth (εξελθειν) from before the wickedness that is being done upon the earth” (*1 En. 9:10*).553 Though this statement repeats the earlier cry of humanity in *1 En.*

551. The Book of Revelation also depicts angels as the vehicle for bringing human prayers to the throne of God. The angels here are described using priestly language (in a way that is more explicit than *1 En. 9*) as the imagery of the temple is invoked with the use of the censer, altar and incense:

> When the Lamb opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour. And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets were given to them. Another angel with a golden censer came and stood at the altar; he was given a great quantity of incense to offer with the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar that is before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, rose before God from the hand of the angel. Then the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar and threw it on the earth; and there were peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning, and an earthquake. (Rev 8:1-5)

552. A similar usage is found in *1 En. 7:6* with regards to the actions of the fallen watchers, “Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones.”

553. This translation is from Stuckenbruck who contra Charles and Nickelsburg does not emend ἐξελθεῖν “to go forth” (Aram لمس) to למס “to cease” (Stuckenbruck, *Angel...*
9:3 an additional detail is present concerning the inability of the groaning to move from heaven to earth. Stuckenbruck argues that, “Hence the intermediary role of these angels is closely associated with the transcendence of God who is not immediately accessible to the human petitions for help.” Elsewhere Davidson has argued that the Book of Watchers adopts a more distant view of God who is removed from humanity than the more direct contact found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is not clear why such a disconnect is still felt but the account in 1 En. 9 makes clear that this distance is not insurmountable as angelic beings are available to act as intercessors.

c. Daniel 9:20-23

Unlike Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers, the book of Daniel does not feature angelic intercessors. We do not witness angels praying on behalf of humanity or bringing the prayers of humans to the divine throne room. In Dan 9, where we might expect to find an angelic

Veneration and Christology, 174, fn 362). For a discussion regarding the emendation see R. H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2.193; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 205. Black also has a similar translation to Stuckenbruck, “their groaning has ascended, and they cannot escape the wrongs that are being done on the earth.” This reading is present in most of the manuscripts (G Sync. Eth. ἐξελθαντάν). See Black, The Book of Enoch, 30, 132.

554. Stuckenbruck, Angel Veneration and Christology, 174–75.
556. The following passage from Dan 12: may also allude to an angelic prayer but it is more likely that an angelic vow is featured:

Then I, Daniel, looked and saw two others standing, one on one bank of the river, the other on the other bank of the river. One said to the man clothed in linen, who was above the water of the river, “How long until the end of these awful things?” Then I heard the man dressed in linen, who was above the water of the river, swear by the Ever-living One as he lifted his right hand and his left hand to heaven: “For a time, times, and half a time; and when the breaking of the power of the holy people comes to an end, then shall all these things be fulfilled.”

Lifting two hands is generally a gesture of prayer (Collins, Daniel, 399). However, in this instance it is more likely that the angel is swearing an oath (see E.P. McGarry, “The Ambidextrous Angel [Daniel 12:7 and Deuteronomy 32:40]: Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Textual Criticism in Counterpoint,” JBL 124 [2005]: 211–28).
intercessor, there is only Daniel who prays directly to God. This chapter, consisting of a prayer of confession and an angelic interpretation, sits curiously between the visionary material of Dan 7-8 and 10-12. Collins notes that the confessional content of Daniel’s prayer is unexpected, as one might assume an apocalypse would contain a prayer for revelation.\textsuperscript{557} Even though Daniel does not ask for revelation, the angel Gabriel responds to his prayer as if he did by declaring that he has come to give him understanding (Dan 9:22-23).\textsuperscript{558} In a manner similar to 1 En. 9, where the four angels hear and respond to the cries of humanity, the angel Gabriel visits the Daniel after hearing his supplication to God.

While I was speaking, and was praying and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God on behalf of the holy mountain of my God - while I was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen before in a vision, came to me in swift flight at the time of the evening sacrifice. He made me understand by speaking with me and said to me, ‘Daniel, I have just come forth to give you wisdom and understanding. At the beginning of your supplications a word went forth, and I have come to tell it, for you are precious; so understand the word and consider the vision. (Dan 9:20-23)

The prayer of Dan 9 itself is an example of interpretive activity. Before beginning his prayer, Daniel “understood by the books the number of years that, according to the word of the Lord that had come to Jeremiah the prophet, were to be the term of Jerusalem’s desolation - seventy years” (Dan 9:2). Jeremiah’s older prophecy of seventy years continues to be an interpretive mystery not only for Daniel’s community but also for Zechariah. The angelic interpretation of Dan 9 is not the interpretation of a symbolic vision but of a textual tradition, as Daniel is said to be looking at Jeremiah’s prophecy. The angel Gabriel responds to the prayer of Daniel by bringing him the “proper” interpretation. In contrast, the angel of Zechariah did not provide an interpretation for

\textsuperscript{557} Collins, \textit{The Apocalyptic Imagination}, 108.

\textsuperscript{558} The verb \textit{שׁוֹרֵד} is used to denote Daniel’s petition of God. Collins notes that it can have the connotation of seeking revelation as in Amos 8:12 but in this context he argues that it is used to imply that Daniel is seeking God’s mercy (Collins, \textit{Daniel}, 349). In addition, the actions of Daniel assume a penitential attitude with sackcloth and ashes (Dan 9:3) is representative of a prayer of confession rather than revelation.
the 70-year prophecy of Jeremiah but used it as an opportunity to call attention to the suffering of the post-exilic community.

**ii. Angelic Advocacy**

Despite the prominence of such a tradition in the later texts, it only begins to develop in Zechariah, *I En.* 1-36 and Daniel. These texts resemble older models, especially the book of Job in which angelic intercession is set within a judicial context. Job not only has an angelic defender but also the accuser (*טִשְׁטָן*/*טִשְׁטָן*/*טִשְׁטָן*) who adopts the role of a prosecuting attorney by questioning Job’s faithfulness (Job 1:9-11). This dual angelic intercession, both positive and negative, is picked up in later texts as angels both good and bad intercede on behalf of humanity.

**a. Zechariah 3**

An example of positive and negative angelic intercession is preserved in this divine council scene as both the “angel of the Lord” and the *טִשְׁטָן* intercede on behalf of the high priest Joshua:

> And he showed me Joshua, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and the Accuser standing at his right to accuse him. But the Lord said to the Accuser, “The Lord will rebuke you, O Accuser and the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem will rebuke you! Is this not a brand plucked from the fire?” (Zech 3:1-2)

The intercessory actions of the two angels is not that of prayer but of determining the guilt of Joshua within the divine court of God. These angelic beings stand before God who arbitrates the proceedings of the court (Zech 3:2). The role of *טִשְׁטָן* in the Hebrew Bible is usually defined as a prosecuting attorney or an adversary. He often appears in a judicial setting in which he questions the decisions of the divine court as is the case in Job 1-2. The issue in Zech 3 is the innocence of Joshua the high priest and by extension the entire nation of Israel. Though I have described the intercessory actions of *טִשְׁטָן* as negative, a better description would be that they complicate the life of Joshua. The accusations brought to God by *טִשְׁטָן* are not denied and

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although is rebuked, the angel of the Lord intercedes on behalf of Joshua and instructs angelic beings to replace his filthy clothing with priestly robes. This act of investing Joshua with clean clothing is also a significant act of mediation as it also removes his guilt from him (Zech 3:4). This guilt that Joshua bears is not necessarily a result of his own actions but more likely the guilt of the nation resulting from their experience of exile. As the high priest he takes on their guilt but his unclean state is an obstacle for him to act as a mediator between the people and God. Thus, the angelic act of cleansing and investiture, itself an act of mediation, allows Joshua to resume his role as intercessor for the people.

b. 1 Enoch 13-14

Angelic intercession does not always benefit humanity, as demonstrated by the actions of the fallen watchers. The improper crossing of boundaries results in bloodshed and violence on earth, prompting humanity’s cry to heaven for vindication (1 En. 9:1-2). The positive contribution of angelic intercession is juxtaposed throughout the text with the actions of the fallen watchers, who have violated the normative role of mediator through their improper relationship with humanity. Their role as failed mediators is highlighted through two different accounts of their improper disclosure of knowledge to humans. First, Asael and his watchers are guilty of revealing sinful knowledge to humanity (1 En. 13:1-2). Secondly, the watchers are guilty of teaching secret knowledge to humans (1 En. 16:2-3). Annette Reed argues that a pattern emerges in these chapters where the descent of the watchers corresponds to the elevation of Enoch. Thus, as the watchers lose their ability to act as intercessors (due to their improper crossing of boundaries), Enoch is granted unparalleled access to heaven and the ability to intercede for angelic beings (1 En. 13:3-14:25). The depth of the watchers’ folly is not only that

560. Peterson points to Numb 18:1 in which Aaron and his sons share the iniquity of the people: “So Yahweh said to Aaron, ‘You and your sons and your fathers’ house with you shall bear iniquity in connection with the sanctuary’; and you and your sons shall bear iniquity in connection with your priesthood” (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 195).

561. Reed, Fallen Angels, 46.
they have lost the ability to intercede for themselves (1 En. 13:5) but that they must ask a human to act as their intercessor (1 En. 13:4). In contrast to the good watchers who hear the petitions of the people and act as their advocates (1 En. 9:3), the fallen watchers have lost their ability to carry out these tasks. Thus, in a description of God’s judgement against them, Enoch states, “Accordingly, you will not obtain your petition concerning them, not concerning yourselves. You will be petitioning and making supplication; …but you will not be speaking any word from the writing that I have written” (1 En. 14:7). The fallen watchers have lost one of the distinguishing characteristics of angelic beings, their ability to intercede on behalf of others. This is highlighted in chapter 14 when God refuses Enoch’s petition and states concerning the watchers, “You should petition in behalf of men, and not men in behalf of you” (1 En. 14:2). The judgement against the fallen watchers demonstrates how integral their role is as intercessors for humanity.


The examples from Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers have shown that angelic intercession could be both beneficial and problematic. Likewise, two texts from Daniel attest to a dualistic notion of angelic intercession in which different angelic beings find themselves in conflict with one another on behalf of human communities. First, in Dan 10, an angelic battle is envisioned in which angels, both good and bad, intercede by protecting their respective principalities:

Then he said, “Do you know why I have come to you? Now I will return to fight against the prince of Persia. When I go off, the prince of Greece will come in. But I will show you what is inscribed for you in the book of truth. There is none that prevails with me against them except your prince, Michael. (Dan 10:20-21)

This angelic discourse comes from an anonymous angelic mediator who is sent to help Daniel understand his vision (Dan 10:11-12). As is the case earlier in Dan 9, this angelic mediator reveals that he has come in response to Daniel’s prayer (Dan 10:12). The chief revelation of this angel follows in chapter eleven but twice he alludes to a conflict between himself and other
an angelic beings whom he refers to as princes (Dan 10:13, 20-21). One of these princes is Michael, who represents Israel while the opposing angels are from Persia and Greece. The term נַע (prince) to designate an angel is not unusual and is used elsewhere, especially at Qumran. This reflects an older idea that angels were placed in command of a specific geographical territory as evidenced in Deut 32:8: “When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of men, he fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God.” Here in Daniel, the military role of the angels is highlighted, as they serve to protect their principalities against opposing angelic forces.

A second example of angelic intercession is found in Dan 12:1 featuring the archangel Michael. Picking up on the earlier mention of Michael who protects the nation of Israel, the angel again reveals how he acts to defend his people:

Now at that time, the great prince, Michael, who stands beside your people, will appear. It will be a time of trouble, such as never occurred since the nation came into being. But at that time, your people will be rescued, all who are found inscribed in the book.

(Dan 12:1)

This scene not only adopts the martial imagery of Dan 10 but also uses judicial language to describe Michael’s advocacy for the nation. Nickelsburg argues that the verb נָע denotes a judicial setting in Dan 12, “The disputants in a lawsuit stand. Yahweh will stand to judge. In


563. For example “prince of lights” (1 QS 3:20; CD 5:18); “prince of the domination of wickedness” (1 QM 17:5-6). In the Rule of the Community, the “Prince of lights” is juxtaposed with the “Angel of darkness” (1QS 3:20-21). As in Daniel, this “Prince of lights” is a representative of the community (the sect members) and will assist them in a fight against the “Angel of Darkness.” Yadin argued that this “Prince of Lights” should be identified with Michael as elsewhere in 1QM 17:6-8 God sends Michael to aid Israel and in 1QM 13:10 “the Prince of light” is appointment to aid against the Belial, the angel of enmity (Y. Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness: Edited with Commentary and Introduction [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962], 235–36). See also Davidson, Angels at Qumran, 147–49.

564. In Deut 32:8 (LXX; 4QDeut) both read “sons of God” while the MT has “sons of Israel”.
Zech 3, the accusing angel stands, as he does in Jub. 48:9. In Jub. 18:9, the defending angel stands before God and before the accuser.”

In addition, Collins notes that a judicial setting for Michael’s role in Dan 12 “provides an attractive parallel to Daniel 7, where the climactic scene is also judicial and the motif of heavenly books is also found.”

Michael’s role in Dan 12 is not only that of a military warrior but also as an advocate in a judicial context. Daniel 7-12, like Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, features angelic intercessors who not only pray for humanity but act as their advocates.

**Conclusion**

This chapter began with the assertion that Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 are representative of an emerging tradition of angelic mediation in the post-exilic period. In these texts, angelic beings take on the roles of interpreters and intercessors as they bridge the divide between heaven and earth. As we have seen, angelic mediation is not a static enterprise but changes over time and across generic boundaries. Stuckenbruck raises an important cautionary note concerning the development of angelic mediation in Jewish works: “Among these texts the intermediary function of angels cannot be harmonized into one concept of angelic intercession.”

I have argued throughout this chapter that the depictions of angelic mediators is not static in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. We cannot speak of a stock character known as the *angelus interpres* who operates similarly in each of our texts. Instead, varying portrayals of angelic mediators begin to emerge that are related but by no means identical. In Zech 1-8, a


566. Collins, *Daniel*, 390

567. This dual role of angelic intercession and advocacy is found in the *T.Levi* 5:5-6, “the one who makes intercession for the nation of Israel, so that they might not be completely beaten.” Or in the *T. Dan* 6:2 “Draw near to God and to the angel who intercedes for you, because he is a mediator between God and humanity, and for the peace of Israel he will take his stand against the kingdom of the enemy.”

primary angelic interpreter is the focus while in 1 En 1-36 and Dan 7-12 this function belongs to a variety of angelic beings. Even more significant, the verbal interaction between the angelic mediator and seer in Dan 7-12 are quite different than the engaged dialogue found in Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 17-36. Although one might expect more similarities between Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 due to established literary connections, at times Enoch’s depiction of angelic mediation is much closer to Zech 1-8. What we find is the beginning of an angelic tradition of revelation that is multifaceted, allowing for a more complex depiction of angelic and human interaction. As our texts have demonstrated, angelic mediation takes a variety of forms but they each participate in a tradition that upholds angelic revelation as authoritative.
CHAPTER 3
HUMAN AND ANGELIC RELATIONS: LOCATION AND INTERACTION

The heavens belong to the Lord, but the earth he gave over to humans.

Psalm 115:16

Introduction

The division of the world into various spheres reserved for either the divine or human communities is common in the ancient world. The opening lines of Genesis record how God divides the heavens from the earth, the light from the dark and the day from the night (Gen 1:1-5). A separation of space is required to allow for the proper ordering of the divine and human communities. This phenomenon is not only present in the Hebrew Bible but elsewhere in the ancient world. According to James Romm, “Perhaps the most fundamental act by which the archaic Greeks defined their world was to give it boundaries, marking off a finite stretch of earth from the otherwise formless expanse surrounding it.”569 The Greeks, like their ancient Near Eastern neighbours, believed the world was divided into three parts: the heavens, the earth and the netherworld. The ancients’ view of geography, while inaccurate by our standards, speaks eloquently about their perception of their place in the world.570 Our three texts, Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, align with this view of the cosmos.571 Part one of the chapter examines the


570. Jon Levenson states, “The point is that we must not understand biblical geography as a statement of a scientific nature. Rather, to the unscientific mind of Israel (and to the precursors of Galileo as well), geography is simply a visible form of theology” (Jon D. Levenson, Sinai & Zion: An Entry Into the Jewish Bible [New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1987], 116).

571. Zechariah 1-8 and Dan 7-12 focus on the interaction between the heavenly and earthly realms. In contrast, 1 En. 17-36 does contain some descriptions of the realm of the dead. It is not pictured as part of the underworld but located at a mountain in the west beyond the edges of the earth (1 En. 22:1-13). Both Wright and Coblentz argue that this variation is also present in early Greek sources (Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 261; J.
developments of cosmic geography in Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. They exhibit similar ideas about the interaction between the heavenly and earthly realms especially in locations of cosmic significance. Their use of common mythic imagery drawn from the ancient Near East and Israelite religion is unique to each text and as a result their portrayal of angelic mediation is also distinctive. The second section looks specifically at two types of interaction: angelic/human and divine/angelic/human. Each type of interaction is understood to be mediated rather than direct revelation but I argue that there is no negative portrayal of angelic revelation in our texts. Instead, they go to great lengths to demonstrate the effectiveness of angels as mediators of heavenly knowledge.

Locus

Location plays a prominent role in the interaction between the divine and human communities. While there are set boundaries between the abodes of gods and humans, these divisions are not insurmountable. Divine beings regularly visit earth to either help or harm humanity. It is less common for humans to bridge the boundary separating earth from heaven but


a privileged few are granted access. In the ancient world, the cosmos is typically divided into three realms located along a vertical axis:

- heavens (שמים)
- earth (אדום)
- netherworld (שאול)

The heavens, equated with the sky, are the dwelling place of the deities, who control the natural phenomenon of rain, snow and storms. Humans are given the earth as their habitation for their natural lives. A belief that after death humans ascend to heaven is not present for the most part in the ancient world. Like other ancient cultures, the Israelites believed that both rich and poor, righteous and unrighteous would descend to the netherworld known as Sheol. Generally,

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573. A tradition of ascent is only hinted at within the pages of the Hebrew Bible. Enoch, Moses and Elijah are the only individuals with whom an ascent to heaven is inferred in the text (Dean-Otting, Heavenly Journeys, 9). Nonetheless, the ascent found in the Book of Watchers is the earliest known example of an ascent to heaven (see Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven). Later prophets like Isaiah and Ezekiel are also influential on the development of ascent texts (Himmelfarb, “From Prophecy to Apocalypse”).

574. As noted earlier, the netherworld is featured in 1 En. 17-36 but not in Zech 1-8 or Dan 7-12. However, a development in the understanding of life after death is found in the final chapter of Daniel. Instead of simply descending to Sheol, there is a hint that the righteous (described as stars) may rise and ascend to heaven (Dan 12:2-3). Segal notes that this is the first explicit reference to resurrection in the Hebrew Bible (Alan F. Segal, Life After Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West [New York: Doubleday, 2004], 262).

575. The ancient Egyptians are an exception to this general trend. See Wright, The Early History of Heaven, 16-24; Segal, Life After Death, 43-48.

576. In the Ugaritic The Epic of Aqhat, the hero Aqhat rejects the validity of the goddess Anat’s offer of immortality, “Maid, don’t beguile me: To a hero your guile is slime. In the end a man gets what? A man gets what as his fate? Glaze is poured on the head. Lye all over the skull. [ ] the death of all I shall die, I too shall die and be dead” (KTU 1.17.VI.34-38). Translation from Parker, Ugaritic Narrative Poetry, 61–62. Aqhat’s statement reflects the expectation that mortals do not have access to immortality no matter what their rank in life. See Segal, Life After Death, 111–13. This sentiment is also reflected in the book of Job, “Why did I not die at birth, expire as I came forth from the womb? Why were their knees to receive me, or breasts for me to suck? For now would I be lying in repose, asleep and at rest, with the world’s kings and counselors who rebuild ruins for themselves, or with nobles who possess gold and who fill their houses with silver. Or why was I not like a buried stillbirth, like babies who never see the light? There the wicked cease from troubling; there rest those whose strength is spent. Prisoners are wholly at ease; they do not hear the taskmaster’s voice. Small and great alike are there, and the slave is free of his master” (Job 3:11-19).
the boundaries between these realms were seen as fixed during one’s lifetime. Humanity could not ascend to heaven and a descent to Sheol was only possible in the afterlife. However, these fixed boundaries did not apply to the deities who could cross them both to aid and harm humanity.

In addition to this vertical understanding of the cosmos, there is also a horizontal conception of the world’s geography.

the ends of the earth

ends of the earth  the navel of the world  the ends of the earth

the ends of the earth

Many cultures envisioned the earth as a disc with mountains or pillars situated along the edges that held up the sky.\(^577\) In some texts a cosmic ocean encircled the earth as is the case in 1 En. 17:6.\(^578\) At the center of this disc one finds “the navel of the world.”\(^579\) Naturally each society assumed that its own city or temple constituted the center of the world.\(^580\) For the ancient

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577. John H. Walton, Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 2006), 166. Mesopotamian sources (The Babylonian Map of the World and The Enuma Elish) both attest to the presence of a cosmic ocean that surrounds the surface of the earth. In some texts, the edges of the earth are marked by mountains while in others the cosmic ocean is the last marker before heaven (Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, 325, 330). The earliest Greek cosmology (1200-700 BCE) also envisioned a flat earth surrounded by water that was supported by pillars and was located between the heavens and the underworld (Wright, The Early History of Heaven, 99).

578. The ancient cosmic ocean is featured in Egyptian, Babylonian and Greek texts (Wright, The Early History of Heaven, 13-14, 82, 99). This cosmic ocean, known as Okeanos, is especially prominent in Greek traditions which marks the furthest boundaries between this world and the otherworld.

579. See Mircea Eliade, Images and Symbols (Philip Mairet; New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961), 27–56. Clifford summarizes Eliade’s arguments in the following statement, “According to Mircea Eliade, the surrounding world was seen as a microcosm at the limits of which began the formless and chaotic. Every microcosm had a “center,” a place sacred above all, where the sacred manifests itself in its totality. In cultures which have a heaven, earth, and hell, the mountain “center” is the axis along which these three cosmic areas are connected and where communion between them becomes possible” (Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain, 6).

Israelites, Mount Zion or Jerusalem occupied this privileged position. Mountains reaching from the earth to the sky were well known as places of cosmic import both in Israel and elsewhere. Clifford lists five characteristics of the cosmic mountain in the ancient Near East: (1) as “the meeting place for the gods,” (2) as “the source of water and fertility,” (3) as “the battleground of conflicting natural forces,” (4) as “the meeting place between heaven and earth,” (5) as “the place where effective decisions are issued.” Clifford’s fourth feature of the cosmic mountain as a locus for interaction between the divine and earthly realms is particularly relevant to this study.

A second cosmic area that remains nebulous and difficult to categorize is the edges of the world. Some passages indicate that the boundaries of heaven are found at the farthest reaches of the earth (Gen 1:6-7; Deut 4:32; 30:4). These are liminal areas, as it is never certain where earth ends and where heaven begins. It is in these locations that another intersection between the divine and earthly worlds is possible. Although the cosmic mountain is typically found at the center of the nation, there are also peripheral mountains that acquire cosmic significance. Both Mount Sinai and Mount Hermon are known as special places of revelation and divine encounter that are located away from Jerusalem. Mountains in Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers play a similar role as they are the place from which angelic beings gain access to the earthly world and where divine/human interaction occurs. As we will see, especially in Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers, these boundary locations serve as meeting places or places of revelation between the divine and earthly realms.

581. Ezekiel testifies to the centrality of Jerusalem for ancient Israel: “Thus spoke the Lord YHWH: This is Jerusalem. In the midst of the nations I have set her, and all around her are countries” (Ezek 5:5). This theme is also found in Ezek 38:12; Sib. Or. 5.247-252; 1 En. 26:1-6; Jub. 8:12. See Levenson, Sinai & Zion, 111–20.

582. Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain, 3.

583. Wright, The Early History of Heaven, 55. This perspective is also shared in the Mesopotamian material (Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, 299).
I. The Earthly Realm

The earthly realm is the normal abode of humans but throughout our texts it also becomes a meeting place for angels and humans. Angelic beings regularly cross the boundary between earth and heaven. Frequently their presence on earth is beneficial as they serve as messengers, guides and teachers. However, there are instances where an angelic presence on earth has detrimental effects upon humanity and the earth. This negative aspect of angelic activity is more prominent in the Book of Watchers and Dan 7-12 than in Zech 1-8. The fluid boundary between heaven and earth presents both positive and negative results for humanity.

i. Zechariah

Throughout his visions, the prophet witnesses an intersection of the angelic and human communities. In the second vision (Zech 2:1-4), a cosmic perspective for the restoration of Jerusalem is introduced when Zechariah sees four horns that represent the nations receiving their punishment. There is debate whether the polemic of the passage is directed at the past destructive actions of Babylon or Yehud’s present antagonism under the rule of Persia. It is most likely that the author is using the example of Babylon’s past destruction by the Persians as a sign of hope that God will intervene in their present situation under foreign rule. Thus, Zechariah combines both earthly and cosmic concerns in his vision. The focus on earthly matters is

584. This has not always been the focus of scholarship, as the prophecies of Zechariah are often used to gain a greater understanding of the Persian period and the restoration of Israel following the return from exile. Edgar Conrad takes an extreme position and argues that there are no angelic beings in Zechariah but only prophets (Edgar W. Conrad, Zechariah [Readings, a New Biblical Commentary; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999]). Two scholars that have seriously taken note of the cosmic dimensions in Zechariah’s vision are the following: Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8; Michael H. Floyd, “Cosmos and History in Zechariah’s View of the Restoration (Zechariah 1:7–6:15),” in Problems in Biblical Theology. Essays in Honor of Rolf Knierim (ed. H. T. C. Sun and K. L. Eades; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 125–44.


emphasized even more in the next vision (Zech 2:5-9) when he witnesses a man about to measure Jerusalem:

(5) I lifted my eyes and saw, and behold a man and in his hand a measuring line. (6) “Where are you going?” I asked. “To measure Jerusalem,” he replied, “to see how long and wide it is to be.” (7) But the angel who talked with me came forward, and another angel came forward to meet him. (8) The he said to him, “Run to that young man and tell him: “Jerusalem shall be peopled as a city without walls, so many shall be the men and cattle it contains. (9) And I Myself - declares the Lord - will be a wall of fire all around it, and I will be a glory inside it.”

Earthly concerns of restoration take center stage again. However, it is not the temple that is featured but the city of Jerusalem. Again the divine and earthly spheres intersect, as it is not an ordinary man who is about to survey the city. As Petersen has stated, Zechariah’s visions, while earthly in their subject matter, are also cosmic in their scope as angelic beings are at work both interpreting the visions and measuring the city.

Moreover, the vision moves from earthly

587. Instead of the MT verb ה יצא the LXX has ειστηκει “to stand still, remain.” Niditch argues that the MT is a result of scribal error in looking ahead to the next phrase והלך gemachtן (Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 169).

588. Meyers and Meyers notes that the verb רוץ followed by a verb for speaking implies the activity of a messenger as in the case of 2 Sam 18:19-32 (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 152). They compare this activity of messengers with those of prophets as found in Jer 23:21 where the verbs “ran” and “prophesied” are linked. According to Meyers and Meyers, “That it is an angel and the prophet who is ordered to “run” and deliver the oracle reveals the functional equivalency between prophet and angelic beings, with the latter ultimately replacing the former as Yahweh’s emissaries in Jewish literature of the late postexilic period (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 153). Meyers and Meyers are correct to the equivalency between angelic and human roles as messengers but they overstate the evidence regarding the takeover of human roles by angels in Zechariah. In this vision, angels do act as messengers but the oracle is given to another angel and not to the human community. Moreover, earlier in the first vision, Zechariah is commissioned to proclaim the words of God to his community (Zech 1:14-17). Although the boundaries between heaven and earth are blurred in Zechariah’s visions, angels are used as instruments to aid a human prophet not to take over the role itself.

589. Although the restoration of the temple is not the focus of the third vision, it is found in the fifth and sixth visions. In the fifth vision, the prophet sees a lampstand surrounded by two olive trees (Zech 4:2-3). The lampstand as a prominent temple furnishing demonstrates the importance of the restoration of the temple for the post-exilic community. Moreover, the two olive trees according to the angelic mediator represent the anointed leaders of the community most likely the high priest Joshua and the governor Zerubbabel. See Baruch Halpern, “The Ritual Background of Zechariah’s Temple Song,” CBQ 40 (1978): 167–90.

concerns of rebuilding physical structures to envisioning the restoration of God’s presence again in Jerusalem. The work of the angelic surveyor is stopped by another angel who reveals that walls will not be needed in this Jerusalem since God’s restored presence in the city will act as a wall of fire around it (Zech 2:9). Not only does the prophet see the restoration of God’s presence in the city but also the return of many people so that it overflows with inhabitants (Zech 2:8). Thus, for Zechariah one cannot conceive of the restoration of Jerusalem without envisioning first the cosmic return of God’s presence to the city.

In addition to Jerusalem, a second city receives prominent attention in the seventh vision of Zechariah:

(5) Then the angel who talked with me came forward and said, “Lift your eyes up and look. “What is this that goes forth?” (6) I asked, “What is it?” And he said, “This is the ephah which approaches.” And he said, “This is their sin591 in all the land.” (7) And behold, a disk of lead was lifted, there was a woman sitting inside the ephah. (8) “That,” he said, “is Wickedness”; and pushed her down into the middle of tub and put the leaden weight into its mouth. (9) Then I lifted my eyes and looked. And behold two women came forth with the wind in their wings and their wings were like wings of a stork. And they lifted the ephah between earth and sky. (10) “Where are they taking the ephah?” I asked the angel who talked with me. (11) And he answered, “To build a house for it in the land of Shinar. It will be firmly set there upon its stand.”592 (Zech 5:5-11)

The prophet and the angel are located on earth and are directing their attention heavenward as they watch first the scroll flying through the sky (Zech 5:1-4) and secondly, the tub carried by stork-like creatures (Zech 5:5-11). The perspective of this vision emphasizes again the centrality of Jerusalem as the center of the world.593 The woman identified as “wickedness” can no longer remain in Jerusalem but is exiled to the land of Shinar away from the restored Jewish community. The negative imagery associated with the woman is not recalling Gen 3 but more...
likely identifying the woman with a goddess figurine.\textsuperscript{594} This is reinforced by the fact that a “house” or temple will be built for her in Babylon along with a cultic stand. This imagery of a deity leaving Jerusalem and heading towards Babylon aided by winged figures is reminiscent of Ezekiel’s chariot imagery of God departing the city (Ezek 10:18-20).\textsuperscript{595} Again this vision like that of Zech 2:5-9 emphasizes that a cosmic restoration is necessary for God’s presence to return to the city. Thus, the divine and earthly spheres intersect, as it takes the actions of the two stork-like women to carry away the ephah from Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{596}

\textit{ii. 1 Enoch 1-36}

Unlike Enoch and Daniel, the prophet Zechariah is never described as entering into a state of prophecy. His visionary experience is described as follows, “On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Darius - the month of Shebat - this word of the Lord came to the prophet Zechariah son of Berechiah son of Iddo: In the night, I had a vision” (Zech 1:7-8a). And later in Zech 4, the angelic interpreter wakes him “as a man is wakened from sleep,” indicating that the visions occurred at night and as part of a dream sequence (Zech 4:1). This is the full extent of the information given concerning Zechariah’s initial reception of revelation. However, the situation is somewhat different in both \textit{1 En}. 13 and Dan 8, as each present their seers receiving revelation while on the banks of a river. This resembles traditions from the earlier prophecies of Ezekiel, who experienced his visions while in exile by the Chebar Canal. He states

\begin{center}
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The identity of these winged female divine beings remains unclear. Meyers and Meyers debate whether these female divine beings are Yahwistic attendants since angelic beings are described solely as male (Meyers and Meyers, \textit{Haggai, Zechariah 1–8}, 306). But it is more likely that they are God’s attendants since they are doing his work by removing impurity from Jerusalem.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
\end{center}
that “…the heavens opened and I saw visions of God” (Ezek 1:1). Enoch, after receiving a petition from the watchers, records the following:

(7) And I went off and sat by the rivers of Dan in the land of Dan, which is south of Hermon, to the west. I recited (to God) the memorandum of their petition until I fell asleep. (8) And look, dreams came upon me, and visions fell upon me. And I saw visions of wrath, and there came a voice, saying, “Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them.” (I En. 13:7-8)

The location of Hermon is not unknown to ancient sources as a place of revelation. Even more pertinent is that Mount Hermon is identified as an access point between heaven and earth elsewhere in the Book of Watchers. It is the gateway through which the fallen watchers descend to earth (I En. 6:5). Moreover, references to Mount Hermon as a place of worship are also preserved in the Hebrew Bible in Judg 3:3 and Psalm 29. Although Enoch receives revelation in an earthly locale, it is a place of cosmic importance both for angelic and human communities. The longer Aramaic version (4QEn\textsuperscript{c} 4.3-4) contains this cosmic perspective as Enoch not only looks to the heavens but specifies that he sees “the gates of [heaven].” This reading reinforces the earlier identification of this location as an access point between the divine and human realm with the descent of the watchers at Mount Hermon.

The intersection between the divine and the earthly is a prominent theme throughout the Book of Watchers. This divine-human interaction can have negative effects as in the case of the fallen Watchers, but the text also demonstrates the positive interaction between angels and humans. Nickelsburg notes that the Book of Watchers is not only concerned with the vertical

597. The Aramaic (verse 8) has a longer reading “And behold, dreams came down upon me, and visions] fell upon me until [I lifted up] my eyelids to the gates of the palace [of Heaven […]]; and I saw a vision of the wrath of chastisement, [and a voice came and said: Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them” (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 195). Milik’s reconstruction “the palace of Heaven” is based partly on a similar construction in T. Levi. Gr\textsuperscript{Pam} also has “and I saw a vision of wrath” but Abb 55 Gr\textsuperscript{Pam} reads “visions” (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 94).


aspect of this dualism but also a horizontal one in that Enoch is brought on a tour over the face of the earth.\textsuperscript{600} As we will see below, defining the locales of this tour as either heavenly or earthly is problematic since many of these are more liminal in nature. Yet within this cosmic tour, like the book of Zechariah, the seer is given a glimpse of the city of Jerusalem:

\textit{(1) And from there I proceeded to the center of the earth, and I saw a blessed\textsuperscript{601} place where there were trees that had branches that abide and sprout. (2) And there was a holy mountain. From beneath the mountain water (came) from the east, and it flowed toward the south. (3) And I saw to the east another mountain higher than it, and between them a deep valley that had no breadth, and through it water was flowing beneath the mountain. (4) And to the west of this, another mountain lower than it and not rising very high, and a deep and dry valley beneath it, between them, and another deep and dry valley, at the apex of the three mountains. (5) And all the valleys were deep, of hard rock, and no tree was planted on them. (6) And I marveled at the mountain\textsuperscript{602}, and I marveled at the valley, I marveled exceedingly. (27:1) Then I said, “Why is this land blessed and filled with trees, but this valley is cursed?” (\textit{1 En.} 26:1-27:1)}

This chapter is considered the climax of Enoch’s tours due to the ascription of Jerusalem as “the center of the earth” and since it concludes a series of final judgment visions.\textsuperscript{603} Similarly to Zechariah’s vision of Jerusalem, Enoch’s own vision is not meant to correspond to the seer’s present reality. Instead the description of Jerusalem as “the blessed place functions as a foil to the cursed valley, which is the principal subject of the vision.”\textsuperscript{604} Again the cosmic and earthly intersect as the angel explains that the valley is a place of judgment:\textsuperscript{605}

\textit{(2) Then answered <Sariel>,\textsuperscript{606} one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me,}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{600} Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 40.
\item \textsuperscript{601} The Ethiopic and Gr\textsuperscript{Pan} read, “branches which remained (alive) and sprouted from a tree which had been cut down.” Knibb argues that the reference to the tree that is cut down is a gloss referring to the situation after 70 CE (Knibb, \textit{The Ethiopic Book of Enoch}, 114; see also Charles, \textit{The Book of Enoch}, 54–55).
\item \textsuperscript{602} The Aramaic reads \textit{מְמַהְת עֲלֵי} (Aram\textsuperscript{d} 1 XII 8).
\item \textsuperscript{603} Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 318.
\item \textsuperscript{604} Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch}, 318.
\item \textsuperscript{605} The cursed valley corresponds to the infamous Valley of Hinnom where a cult to Molech that sacrificed children was located (2 Kgs 23:10; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:6; Jer 7:31; 32:35). See John Day, \textit{Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the Old Testament} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
\item \textsuperscript{606} The Ethiopic reads Raphael rather than Uriel.
\end{enumerate}
“This cursed valley\textsuperscript{607} is for those who are cursed forever. Here will be gathered all the cursed,\textsuperscript{608} who utter with their mouth an improper word against the Lord and speak hard things against his glory. Here they will be gathered, and here will be their habitation (3) at the last times, in the days of righteous judgment in the presence of the righteous of all time. Here the godless\textsuperscript{609} will bless the Lord of glory, the King of eternity. (4) In all the days of their judgment they will bless in mercy in accordance with how he has apportioned them. (1 En. 27:2-4)

Although both the blessed place and the cursed valley relate to known earthly locales, they are cast in cosmic terms in Enoch’s visions.

\textit{iii. Daniel 10:2-7}

Unlike Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 20-36, the visions of Dan 7-12 do not mention Jerusalem. Since the book is set within the context of the Babylonian Exile, it is to be expected that foreign geographical locales are featured even though it is likely written in Judea. One city that is named is the fortified city of Susa (Dan 8:2). It is not clear if Daniel was actually physically present in Susa or whether he travels in spirit like his earlier predecessor Ezekiel (Ezek 1:12-15). The reference to Susa reinforces the Babylonian setting even though the book was written at a much later time.\textsuperscript{610} Daniel, like Enoch, also receives revelation by the banks of a river.\textsuperscript{611} Taking its cue

\textsuperscript{607}. The Ethiopic has “valley” but Gr\textsuperscript{Pan} reads instead “land.” Knibb proposes that Gr\textsuperscript{Pan} γη may be a transliteration of קְנָה (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 115). For Knibb, this further suggests that the Ethiopic is “directly dependent on a Semitic Vorlage” rather than solely on the Greek versions (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 115). Black disagrees and argues that the word קְנָה is not found in Aramaic. Instead he suggests that the Greek translation has abridged this portion of the text (Black, The Book of Enoch, 174).

\textsuperscript{608}. Ethiopic omits “the cursed.”

\textsuperscript{609}. The Ethiopic has mahāryān “merciful” instead of the Greek reading αὐσεβείς “godless.” Black argues that the Greek version is a scribal error and favours the Ethiopic reading (Black, The Book of Enoch, 174).

\textsuperscript{610}. Collins, Daniel, 329.

\textsuperscript{611}. Even more than in 1 Enoch, rivers as a place of revelation are featured numerous times (Dan 8:16; 10:4; 12:5). Holger Gzeller proposes that rivers become a preferred spot to receive revelation while in exile because foreign lands were deemed unclean (Holger Gzella, Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict: Studies in Verbal Syntax and Contextual Interpretation of Daniel [BibOr 47; Rome: Editrice pontifico istituto biblico, 2003], 74). Niditch notes that streams were considered as “good ‘boundary’ places where one might experience communication with divine beings” (Niditch, The Symbolic Vision, 223).
from the earlier prophecies of Ezekiel, the prophet Daniel receives his visions by the river or encounters heavenly beings by their banks:

(2) At that time, I, Daniel kept three full weeks of mourning. (3) I ate no pleasant bread, nor did any meat or wine enter my mouth. I did not anoint myself until the three weeks were over. (4) It was on the twenty-fourth day of the first month, when I was on the bank of the great river (that is the Tigris)\(^{612}\) (5) I lifted my eyes and saw a certain man dressed in linen,\(^{613}\) his loins girt in fine gold.\(^{614}\) (6) His body was like beryl, his face had the appearance of lightning, his eyes were like flaming torches, his arms and legs had the color of burnished bronze and the sound of his speech was like the noise of a multitude. (7) I, Daniel, alone saw the vision; the men who were with me did not see the vision, yet they were seized with a great trembling and fled into hiding.\(^{615}\) (Dan 10:2-7)

In contrast to Enoch, a more detailed description of Daniel’s preparation for revelation is recorded. These include references to mourning, abstaining from meat, wine, and anointing with oil (Dan 9:3-4; 10:2-3). Earlier in Dan 6:10, he is described as specifically praying towards Jerusalem. Levenson argues that Jerusalem continues to be the “conduit through which messages pass from earth to heaven, no matter where, in a geographical sense, they originated.”\(^{616}\) The visions of Daniel are not as focused on particular geographical locales as is the case with Zechariah and Enoch. However, he continually interacts with different angelic figures in earthly locations, from Gabriel who visits him as he studies and prays over the scriptures (Dan 9:20-27) to various unidentified angels whom he encounters by the banks of a river (Dan 10:4). Again the visions of Daniel, like Zechariah and the Book of Watchers, demonstrate how the angelic and human communities mingle and interact in earthly locales.

II. The Edges of the Earth

In each of our texts, a liminal cosmic location is presented as part of the visions that the

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612. The great river is usually the Euphrates (Gen 15:18; Josh 1:4) making it possible that this is a later gloss (Collins, Daniel, 373). The Syriac has “Euphrates.”

613. The Syriac has “garments of glory.”

614. The MT reads פז which may be a corruption of Ophir or an emendation to פז “fine gold” is also common. See Charles, The Book of Daniel, 258; Collins, Daniel, 373.

615. Theodotion and Syriac add “in fear” while MT and 4QDan agree with one another.

616. Levenson, Sinai & Zion, 125.
prophets and seers experience. In Zechariah, the first and final visions envelop the visionary
cycle in which the prophet, in the company of angelic beings, is located on the periphery between
heaven and earth (Zech 1, 6). Similarly, in 1 En. 17-36, the seer is led on a cosmic journey which
takes him to the very edges of the earth. The situation is different in Daniel, as the seer does not
see the edges of the earth but a cosmic sea from which beasts emerge (Dan 7). However, the
cosmic sea is usually located at the periphery of the world, as it encircles the earth in the ancient
world. The edges of the world occupy a liminal space that allows it to function as a place of
revelation and cosmic activity.

i. Zechariah 1:7-11; 6:1-8

In the visions of Zechariah, two episodes feature angelic activity in places that are hard to
categorize as either earthly or heavenly. It is not clear if they were meant to describe the same
location and yet the LXX reads them this way. In the first vision, the translators changed the term
“among the myrtles” to μεσον των δύο ὄρων “between the two mountains.”⁶¹⁷ There
are no mountains present in the first vision but in the last vision, four chariots are seen coming
between two mountains (Zech 6:1). Ancient writers emended the text so that in both visions
angels associated with horses would pass through mountains on their way to and from the council
of God. The cosmic nature of Zechariah’s visions is often overlooked in favour of focusing on
their contribution to the historical-political context of the Persian period. And yet the visions of
Zechariah are filled with angelic beings and cosmic references that make it very relevant to the
study of angelology in the Second Temple Period. Most notable about Zechariah’s visions is the
difficulty in pinpointing the exact location of angelic and human interaction. David Petersen
labels this quality of Zechariah’s visions as “inbetweeness” since the geographical location is
neither earthly nor heavenly.⁶¹⁸ The opening vision depicts the prophet who meets a man

⁶¹⁷. Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 66, fn 56.
⁶¹⁸. Petersen states, “This notion of “inbetweeness” also serves as an accurate indicator
for the content of Zechariah’s visions. In the first vision, we are conveyed to a geography that is
not really of this world and is not directly that of the divine dwelling. We are near the cosmic
standing among the myrtles:

(8) In the night, I had a vision. I saw a man, mounted on a bay horse, standing among the myrtles in the deep, and behind him were bay, sorrel, and white horses. (9) I asked, “What are those, my lord?” And the angel who talked with me answered, “I will let you know what they are.” (10) Then the man who was standing among the myrtles spoke up and said, “These were sent out by the Lord to roam the earth.” (11) And in fact, they reported to the angel of the Lord who was standing among the myrtles, “We have roamed the earth, and have found all the earth dwelling in tranquility.” (Zech 1:8-11)

It is not clear where this vision occurs and the reference to the man “standing among the myrtles in the deep” only adds to the confusion. The Hebrew term מַכָּלָה is translated usually as the “deep” or the “depths of the ocean.”619 It often has the connotation of the cosmic deep but can also simply refer to the depths of the sea.620 The association of מַכָּלָה with the ocean, especially one with cosmic connotations, is intriguing since the ancients understood that a great sea was located at the edges of the world. References to this cosmic sea are also found in 1 En. 17:5 and Dan 7:2.621

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619. Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 65. Tigchelaar also notes that it is often found in a parallel relationship with the following terms יָם “sea,” זָהָב “gold,” מַכָּלָה, מַכָּלָה “waves,” among others. See H. Fabry, “מַכָּלָה,” TDOT 8:516.

620. Petersen also adopts a more cosmic view of the term מַכָּלָה (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 139). He states, “The term mesulāh is regularly used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the ocean depth. There is no reason to think, however, that Zechariah envisions the horses hovering above the oceanic deep. Rather, this use of the term “deep” in all likelihood refers to one of the singular places at which the deep bubbles up at the surface of the earth. The notion is attested not only the biblical imagery, but elsewhere in the northwest Semitic ambit. So, for example, El, the cosmic God of the Canaanite pantheon, is remembered as living on a mountain, at the foot of which water is present” (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 139).

621. The term מַכָּלָה is notoriously difficult to translate. Another possibility suggested is that the term derives from sll “to become shady, dark, peaceful.” It appears that the LXX understood it this way as it interprets מַכָּלָה as sel “shadow” in Zech 1:8 (Fabry, TDOT 8:516). If we were to take this meaning of “darkness” or “shadow” a cosmic connotation is also possible. In Mesopotamian traditions, Gilgamesh must travel across a cosmic mountain Mount Mašu through a region of darkness and into a grove of trees and shrubs bearing gems. He then sails across the sea and crosses the waters of death before he reaches the home of Utanipitum (Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, 96–97). The next section will outline that similar themes are also present in 1 Enoch as he travels (west) towards the very edges of the world in the company of angelic beings.
The term Ñצילה only provides a hint of an ancient cosmology but what clearly sets out this location as otherworldly is the presence of the divine horse patrol that join Zechariah and his angelic companion. They have been sent out on a mission by God to roam the earth. The verb חלך in the Hithpael is used here and denotes the action of roaming throughout the whole earth. The same verb is found in Job 2:2 where the figure of the Satan is described as “walking up and down on it.” In Job, השטן presents himself to the divine council after roaming the earth. In a similar manner, the angelic patrols are on their way back to the divine council to report their findings to God that the whole earth is at peace. Before resuming their journey to the divine throne room, the angelic patrols stop to converse with the prophet and the angel. Its liminal nature suggests that it is to be located at the edges of the earth.

This liminal heavenly region (or one very similar to it) is revisited again in the final passage where angels and horses are found once more:

(1) And I raised my eyes and saw, and behold four chariots were coming out from between two mountains; the mountains were of copper. (2) The horses of the first chariot were bay, the horses of the second chariot were black; (3) the horses of the third chariot were white, and the horses of the fourth chariot were spotted - dappled. (4) And I said to the angel who talked with me: “What are those, my lord?” (5) The angel answered and said to me, “Those are the four winds of heaven coming out after presenting themselves to the Lord of all the earth. (6) The one with the black horses is going out to the region of the north; the white ones have gone out to what is to the west of them; the spotted ones have gone out to the region of the south; and the dappled ones have gone out…” (7) They were ready to start out and range the earth, and he gave them the order, “Start out and range the earth!” And they ranged the earth. (8) Then he shouted to me, and said to me, “Take good note! Those that went out to the region of the north have put my spirit 624 at rest in the region of the north. (Zech 6:1-8)

The angels are now mounted on chariots that are leaving heaven for a mission on earth. This last vision deliberately echoes the images of the first vision but this time the angels are moving from

623. The LXX has the longer angelic title ο αγγελος λαλων εν εµοι.
624. Some scholars translate רוח as “anger” or “wrath” (Peter. R. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C. [OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968], 183). This vision is not concerned with the punishment of the nations but demonstrates that the unrest found in the first vision (Zech 1:7-17) has been resolved with the coming of God’s spirit.
heaven to earth rather than returning to heaven as in the first vision. According to Meyers and Meyers, “As a whole, the thematic similarity of (Zech 6:1-8) the initial and final visions provides a literary framework, or inclusion, for the visionary sequence, which begins and ends with visions proclaiming the universality of divine presence.” It is not clear that this is the same group of angelic patrols found in the first vision, although in both visions the number four is used repeatedly (Zech 1:8; 6:2). In addition, both visions center around the activity of horses described by their colours even though the colours are not identical. Finally, the same verb חלך is used again here (Zech 6:7) to refer to the action of the chariots who patrol the earth. Thus, there is a deliberate attempt to connect the first and last vision suggesting a similar location.

Finally, the reference to the bronze mountains in the final vision indicates that we are not dealing with an earthly location but divine or cosmic mountains. The first vision lacks a reference to these mountains but it does clearly state that the patrols were originally “sent out by the Lord to roam the earth” (Zech 1:10). They now have finished their mission and are returning to the divine throne room. The first vision does not describe how the angelic patrol would access the heavenly regions but this is rectified in the last vision with the mention of the bronze mountains. These are no ordinary mountains, but describe the entrance to the location of God’s abode. Throughout both the biblical and ancient world, mountains are seen as a common meeting place for the divine and human worlds. It is at Mount Sinai that Moses receives the tablets and encounters God. Similarly, mountains such as Olympus play host to the gods of Greece while Zaphon was the home of the Ugaritic god Baal. The reference here in Zechariah to “bronze or copper mountains” most likely picks up on Canaanite imagery although Mesopotamian parallels are possible. Regardless of what specific mythic tradition is in mind, the reference to the

626. Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain, 3. It is surprising that Clifford makes no mention of these mountains of Zechariah.
627. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 268. Tigchelaar notes that the author might be using both Ugaritic and Mesopotamian common cultural stock images. As we have seen already, Gilgamesh crosses the Mašu (Twin) Mountains) from which the sun rises and sets (Gilgamesh IX ii 1-2; iv 40-41). And at Ugarit, the mountains Targhuzaz and Sharrumag stand
angels leaving the mountains helps to situate this vision at the ends of the earth.\textsuperscript{628} The text states that the chariots have just come from “presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth” (Zech 6:5). They have just left the divine throne room and are on their way to reach their earthly destinations symbolized by the four directional points. In the first vision, the divine patrol was returning to heaven from earth to report back to the divine council; here in the last vision, the chariots are now leaving the divine council in heaven to patrol the earth. The mountains are the access point that intersect heaven and earth. It is not clear if the angelic patrol passes between the mountains or descends the mountain as they travel from heaven to earth. However, Zechariah and his angel stand in view of these mountains where earth and heaven meet, demonstrating how close they are to the gateway to heaven. As we will see in the \textit{Book of Watchers}, mountains also figure as a conduit for the descent of angelic beings.

\textit{ii. 1 Enoch 21:1-6}

Of all our texts, the geography and cosmology of \textit{1 En}. 1-36 (esp. 17-36) have received the most attention.\textsuperscript{629} Bautch argues that the \textit{Book of Watchers} like other Second Temple texts, describes the world as composed of three different levels: heaven, the earth and the netherworld.\textsuperscript{630} And yet like Zech 1-8, a horizontal perspective is evident on Enoch’s cosmic tour at the edges of the earth (Tigchelaar, \textit{Prophets of Old}, 66). Meyers and Meyers argue for Babylonian influence since there are two mountains rather than a single mountain found in Canaanite mythology. Moreover, the reference to bronze mountains for them also alludes to the rising of Shamash between two mountains (Meyers and Meyers, \textit{Haggai, Zechariah 1–8}, 319).

\textsuperscript{628} The mountains of Ugarit and Mesopotamia often guard the entrance to the world of the dead. As Tigchelaar has noted Zechariah presents his own idiosyncracies while employing these common cultural traditions. Thus, for Zechariah these mountains are not the entrance to the underworld but “these cosmic locations are the passages between his own world and the supernatural world. His presence there allows him to observe which divine actions will affect the world” (Tigchelaar, \textit{Prophets of Old}, 66).


\textsuperscript{630} Bautch, \textit{A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19}, 259.
There is quite a bit of ambiguity concerning how one interprets the location of Enoch’s journey. It is not always clear whether the sites are either heavenly or earthly. Nickelsburg states, “Thus his movement is away from the world inhabited by humans and progressively into a realm characterized by great, fearful, and primordial spectacles.” That these places are hidden from the sight of humanity argues against seeing these places as primarily earthly. A solution to this problem lies in understanding the ordering of the cosmos in ancient times. A horizontal plane that includes not only the earth but boundary locations of cosmic import is common in the ancient world. There exist numerous locations in which heaven and earth could intersect. As we have already seen, the temple or capital city was often depicted as the center of the world and thus a common place where deities and humans could interact. However, as noted in Zech 1-8, another locale where revelation and interaction with the divine was possible are mountains located both in the center and on the periphery. Bautch states, “Enoch also presents a worldview in which God and other celestial or extraordinary beings (the watchers, Enoch) ascend and descend via mountains. With the exception of Zion, these mountains also appear on the periphery.” Whereas the cosmic connection of mountains was only hinted at in Zechariah’s visions, 1 En. 1-36 clearly demonstrates that mountains serve as a pivotal connecting point between heaven and earth.

A further complication regarding the presentation of geography in the Book of Watchers is that there are several different journeys that have been amalgamated. After his ascent to the throne room, Enoch finds himself in the company of the angel Uriel who leads him on his first journey (1 En. 17-19). Beginning in chapter 21, Enoch is led by a company of angelic beings on

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631. Clifford also notes this phenomenon and argues that although the center of Enoch’s universe is Jerusalem, he receives revelation at the more peripheral Mount Hermon (Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain, 182).
632. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 281.
633. Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 255
634. Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 43.
his second journey (I En. 21-36). In addition, it is not clear where Enoch’s journey begins after his visit to the heavenly throne room. Bautch argues that the narrative to this point has Enoch in heaven and thus it is likely that I En. 17:1 is to be understood as occurring in part of the heavens. However, she acknowledges that much redaction has occurred between chapters 16 and 17, which obscures the exact location of Enoch’s journey. And yet despite the lack of information concerning Enoch’s initial location, it is clear that Enoch is moving further into a realm that is uninhabited by humans and beyond their access. The text of I En. 17:1-3 describes Enoch’s journey in the company of angelic beings:

(1) And they took me (and) led (me) away to a certain place in which those who were there were like a flaming fire; and whenever they wished, they appeared as human beings.
(2) And they led me away to a dark place and to a mountain whose summit reached to heaven.
(3) And I saw the place of the luminaries and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunders, and to the depth of the ether, where the bow of fire and the arrows and their quivers (were) and the sword of fire and all the lightnings. (I En. 17:1-3)

Various attempts have been made to draw parallels with other ancient Near Eastern depictions of the cosmos. What is important for our purposes is the mention of a “mountain whose summit reached to heaven” (I En. 17:2). The notion that mountains served as connections between the

635. Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 42.
636. Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 43. See also Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 278.
637. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 281.
638. Ethiopic has a shorter version “And they took me.” Black argues that the fuller version in Greek is likely more original (Black, The Book of Enoch, 156).
639. Ethiopic has “place of storm” whereas GrPan reads “to a dark ζωφόδη place.”
640. Grelot attempted to compare Enoch’s journeys to those of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian traditions (Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch ”). Milik, using Aramaic fragments from Qumran also argued for dependence on Babylonian cosmic traditions (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 15–18, 33–41). On the other hand, VanderKam has argued against their evidence especially concerning the details of the journeys and the order of the parallels (VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World.”). Glasson argued that the Greek nekyia offer the best parallels to Enoch’s cosmic tour as those found in the Odyssey (Glasson, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, 8–11). However, it is most likely that Nickelsburg is correct in his observation that the geography of 1 Enoch is dependent upon an amalgamation of Mesopotamian and Greek traditions (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 280).
heavenly and earthly realm was well known in the ancient world. In Sargon’s inscriptions Mount Simirria is described as follows:

Mount Simirria, a mighty mountain peak, which spikes upward like the cutting-edge of a spear, on top of the mountain-range, the dwelling of Belet-ili, rears its head. Above it, its peak leans on the heavens, below, its roots reach into the netherworld.⁶⁴¹

Mountains in 1 En. 1-36 play a similar role as they connect heaven and earth. They are not only a place where cosmic phenomenon occurs but are also the gateway between heaven and earth. It is from Mount Hermon that the watchers are said to have descended to earth from its mountain peak (1 En. 6:5). While this detail is missing in Zech 1-8, both texts clearly identify mountains as a gateway between the heavenly and earthly realms.⁶⁴²

Enoch’s tour of the cosmos fits well with ancient notions of the cosmos. In a manner much more explicit than Zechariah, Enoch, like other ancient Near Eastern traditions, encounters “the great river and the great darkness,”⁶⁴³ which accord with the idea that the ends of the earth were encircled by a great cosmic ocean and region of darkness (1 En. 17:5-6).⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, like Zechariah, Enoch also sees a series of mountains but instead of being described as bronze or copper they are described in the language of precious gemstones. One mountain in particular stands out from the rest:

(8) And the middle one of them reached to heaven like the throne of God - of antimony; and the top of the throne was of lapis lazuli. (9) And I saw a burning fire. (10) And beyond these mountains is a place, the edge of the great earth; there the heavens come to an end.⁶⁴⁵ (11) And I saw a great chasm among the pillars of heavenly fire. And I saw in it pillars of fire descending; and they were immeasurable toward the depth and the height. (1 En. 18:8-11).

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⁶⁴¹ Horowitz, Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography, 98.
⁶⁴² Bautch also suggests that Enoch descends from heaven to earth from a mountain peak in 1 En. 17:2 (Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 44).
⁶⁴³ The Ethiopic omits a reference to the “great river” in verse six but does refer to the “great sea” in verse five. Bautch argues that the Ethiopic “ομίτατοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ μεγάλου through homoeoteleuton” (Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 84).
⁶⁴⁴ Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 83. The reference to “the great darkness” may be to Hades (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 283).
⁶⁴⁵ The Ethiopic version has “the waters will be gathered together” but Black argues that Eth I may contain traces of the original as “heavens” are found in place of “waters” (Black, The Book of Enoch, 160).
This mountain not only connects heaven and earth but it is located at the boundary of the earth (1 En. 18:10). The following verse describes this site as one with a deep chasm or pit and enormous pillar of fire. In the following verses there is no explanation for this extraordinary place as the narrative in 18:12 moves on to another location. Nickelsburg argues that 1 En. 18:11 has been displaced and emends the text so that 19:1-2 follow as an explanation. Therefore, the deep chasm of 18:11 would be the prison of the transgressing angels.

Finally, an emphasis found in 1 En. 17-36 and not in Zech 1-8 is mention of the underworld. Mountains in the ancient world connected not only the heavens and the earth but were also a gateway to the underworld. It is not clear whether Enoch visits the underworld but he views the punishment of the watchers in a locale that is described as neither heavenly nor earthly:

(1) I traveled to where it was chaotic. (2) And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place. (3) And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven, bound and cast in it together, like great mountains, and burning in the fire. (4) Then I said, “For what reason have they been bound, and for what reason have they been cast here?” (5) Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, and he said to me, “Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth? (6) These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled - the time of their sins. (1 En. 21:1-6)

This is seen as a doublet of the earlier chapters 18:10-19:2. Nickelsburg points out that the parallel to our passage is found in 18:12 where the location is described as “And beyond these mountains is a place, the edge of the great earth; there the heavens come to an end.” In this scene (also 18:12), the seven stars are cast into a prison of fire and in both instances (18:12 and

646. This imagery (of the great earth in verse 10) is also found in Greek mythology as Hesiod located Tartarus at “the ends of the huge earth” (πελώρης ἡγαίης). Moreover, 1 En. 18:11 describes γάσσα μέγα “great chasm” very similarly to Hesiod’s Tartarus as a γάσσα μέγα “great chasm” (Theog. 713-48). See Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 286–87; Bautch, A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19, 130–31.

647. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 287.

648. For textual notes on this passage see chapter two.

649. It is not clear if the author is dependant upon 1 En. 17-19 or if he is relying on a different version.

650. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 298.
21:3-6), the locations are described as a desert with little habitation. Enoch’s visions not only take him to the edges of the earth but unlike Zechariah he is given insight into the restoration of the divine world. The punishment of the “stars” demonstrates that order is restored both in heaven and on earth. However, like Zechariah the seer is accompanied by an angelic mediator who helps him make sense of what he experiences.

iii. Daniel 7

Unlike Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, the book of Daniel is not as concerned with describing geographic locales. Despite some differences to Zech 1-8 and the Book of Watchers, Daniel’s presentation of the ordering of the cosmos is compatible with these texts. According to Collins, “Daniel conceives this problem (rebellion of Antiochus Epiphanes) in cosmic, mythological terms, but the problem is manifested in various incidents in human history.” The locales of Daniel’s visions appear for the most part as earthly in their orientation, such as known geographical place names like Susa and a focus on earthly nations. It is not always clear if Daniel’s visions are in fact located on an earthly sphere. A curious mixture of earthly and cosmic elements are combined which gives the sense of an otherworldly nature. Niditch states, “The distance between the mundane world of the seer and the otherworldly setting into which he is drawn is underlined, as the symbolic vision form serves as a medium which joins divine and human realms.”

One of these locations that is featured in Dan 7 is the cosmic sea from which emerge strange beasts:

(2) In my vision at night, I saw the four winds of heaven stirring up the great sea. (3) Four mighty beasts different from each other emerged from the sea. (4) The first was like a lion but had eagles’ wings. As I looked on, its wings were plucked off, and it was lifted off the ground and set on its feet like a human being and given the heart of a human. (5) Then I saw a second, different beast, which was like a bear but raised on one side, and

653. This reading is attested in 4QDan and in G “in my vision during the night” but is not found in Theodotion.
654. Greek and Latin read as “attacking.”
with three ribs in its mouth among its teeth; it was told, ‘Arise, eat much meat!’ (6) After that, as I looked on, there was another one like a leopard, and it had on its back four wings like those of a bird; the beast had four heads, and dominion was given to it. (7) After that, as I looked on in the night vision, there was a fourth beast - fearsome, dreadful, and very powerful with great iron teeth - that ate and crushed, and trampled what remained with its feet. It was different from all the other beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. (Dan 7:2-7)

The only description we have of this sea is that it is the ימא רבא “great sea.” Although this term might be interpreted as the Mediterranean Sea, this is unlikely since three of the four kingdom associated with the beasts are not located near it.655 As we have seen, especially in 1 En. 17-36 and elsewhere in the ancient world, the earth was portrayed as a disc surrounded by a cosmic sea that constitutes the boundary of the known world. It is a place where humans rarely frequent and where cosmic activity occurs. In both Mesopotamian and Greek traditions, sea monsters were said to inhabit these waters and are pictured in chaotic terms that must be conquered for the proper ordering of the universe.656 This image of a chaotic sea is found in numerous places in the Hebrew Bible and is likely Ugaritic in origin.657 A secondary cosmic connotation is hinted at by the action of the four winds that stir up the sea (Dan 7:2). Four winds representing the cardinal points are also featured in the Enuma Elish when Marduk uses them to fight against Tiamat.658 It is not always clear which mythological traditions are being used as templates by Zechariah, Daniel and 1 En. 1-36. It is most likely that they are drawing on a variety of sources and

655. Collins, Daniel, 295. Additionally, Andrew Angel has pointed to the existence of the same term ימא רבא in the Qumran fragment 4Q541 7.3 that refers to the cosmic sea rather than the Mediterranean. He points out that the description in 4Q541 of this sea being silenced is a reference to the divine warrior that conquers the chaos waters that is found throughout the Hebrew Bible (Ps 65:8; 89:10). Moreover, the reference in this fragment to the books of wisdom being opened and the people’s inability to understand them suggest an apocalyptic setting as is found in Dan 7. Thus, the use of ימא רבא in 4Q541 7.3 provides an example comparable to Dan 7 where the cosmic sea is in mind rather than the Mediterranean Sea (Andrew Angel, “The Sea in 4Q541 7.3 and Daniel 7.2,” Vetus Testamentum 60 [2010]: 476–78).

658. Collins, Daniel, 294. Collins also notes that the four winds are also mentioned in Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; Zech 2:19; 6:5; 2 Esdr 13:5 and again in Dan 8:8 and 11:4.
reworking them to fit their own perspectives. Collins discusses the composite nature of myths, “Daniel 7 is not simply a reproduction of an older source, Canaanite or other. It is a new composition, which is not restricted to a single source for its imagery.”\textsuperscript{659}

\textbf{III. Throne Room Visions}

Each of our texts depict the innermost level of heaven in which a human is granted access to witness the divine proceedings. Zechariah 3 and Dan 7 are normally characterized as divine council texts where important decisions are made in heaven.\textsuperscript{660} A distinction that is often made between our three texts is that only the \textit{Book of Watchers} contains an ascent to heaven.\textsuperscript{661} While both Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 lack a description of an ascent to heaven, overemphasizing this distinction has led to an under appreciation of the similarities between these accounts. As we have seen, each book is interested in the intersection of heaven and earth. Zechariah 1-8, \textit{1 En. 1-36} and Dan 7-12 all feature the interaction of the angelic and human communities on earth, in liminal areas and now finally in the throne room of God. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, our texts display remarkable similarities both to one another and to other common ancient Near Eastern motifs. However, they also display their own unique perspectives on the relation of angelic, human and divine mediation.

\textit{i. Zechariah 3}

There has been some debate over the location of prophetic divine council visions. Are the prophets physically present in the throne room of God or are they only transported in a visionary format? Collins’ answer to this question is most helpful: “We might assume that the prophet who

\textsuperscript{659} Collins, \textit{Daniel}, 289.


\textsuperscript{661} An ascent to heaven is found only in \textit{1 En. 12-16} as the tour journeys of Enoch while cosmic are not located in heaven proper.
stands in the council of the Lord has been transported to heaven, but the ascent of the prophet is never the subject of description in the Hebrew Bible.”

For the prophet, the privilege to gain access to the divine council became a measure of their authenticity as a true prophet (Jer 22:18, 22). Zechariah’s throne room vision, like his other night visions, provides no description of his preparation to receive relation. The text simply states that he is shown the vision, most likely by an angelic figure:

(1) He then showed me Joshua, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and the Accuser standing at his right hand to accuse him. (2) And the (angel of the) Lord said to the Accuser “The Lord rebuke you, O Accuser; may the Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! For this is a brand plucked from the fire.” (3) Now Joshua was clothed in filthy garments as he stood before the angel. (4) And he said to the attendants, “Take the filthy garments off him!” And he said to him, “See, I have removed your guilt from you, and shall be clothed in robes.” (5) Then he gave the order, “Let a pure diadem be placed on his head.” And they placed the pure diadem on his head and clothed him in garments, as the angel of the Lord stood by.” (Zech 3:1-5)

Zechariah, like other prophets, is given the opportunity to stand in the divine court (1 Kgs 22; Isa 6). However, unlike earlier texts, there are some significant divergences. Zechariah’s vision lacks the customary description of God sitting on a throne surrounded by his attendants (Isa 6:1-3; 1 Kgs 22:19; Dan 7:9-10). Instead, the “angel of the Lord” takes center stage while other

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663. The chapter opens with ויראני “And he showed me…” (Zech 3:1). The subject of this verb is never clearly identified. Elsewhere both מלאך הדבר בי and God show the prophet a vision (Zechariah 1:9; 2:3). Meyers and Meyers argue against identifying the speaker with המלאך הדבר בי since he does not make an appearance anywhere else in the vision and the normal question-and-answer format attributed to him is missing (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 180). It is not clear if the speaker is המלאך הדבר בי or המלאך יהוה who assumes a central role in this vision.

664. Syriac has “angel of Yahweh” instead of “Yahweh” found in the MT. It makes more sense to read this as the “angel of the Lord” in light of the next verse speaking of God in the third person.

665. The subject is the angel of the previous verse.

666. Following the Vulgate, Syriac and LXX that read אמר “he said” rather than אמר “I said” in the MT.
Thus, Joshua is described as “standing before” the angel of the Lord (Zech 3:1) and is described as “standing at his right hand” (Zech 3:1). As noted above, Zechariah’s vision of the heavenly throne room bears some similarities to his predecessors. In this vision, Zechariah sees the host of heaven, composed of the angel of the Lord, a group of angels and thước. Like the prophet Isaiah (Isa 6:5-7), the vision of Zechariah depicts a human who is cleansed from sin. Moreover, this cleansing is accomplished by angelic figures, seraphs in Isaiah and angels in Zechariah. Unlike Isa 6, it is not the prophet who is cleansed but the high priest Joshua. The presence of Joshua, the high priest, is unexpected since this is the first time another human has been present in Zechariah’s visions and priests are not normally granted access to the divine council. It has been argued that the cleansing and commissioning of a priest in the divine council signals a takeover of traditional prophetic roles. However, there are some problems with this thesis. First, although Zechariah is not an active participant in the divine council, he is still given access to it and stands as a spectator. Therefore, he is not necessarily replaced by Joshua since Zechariah continues to retain his access to the heavenly realm. The term “spectator” may invoke a passive connotation but in fact, it fits with the nature of prophetic activity, as the prophet’s duty is to witness the actions of the divine council before communicating its decisions to his community. Other divine council texts like Isa 6:8 record the actual participation of the prophet in the council but Petersen makes a

667. In addition, this scene also differs from many of the other visions of Zechariah, in that the primary angel, , is not featured prominently. There is some debate whether or not he is even present. Again, it is the angel of the Lord who assumes the focus of attention as he interacts primarily with Zechariah.


669. There is also some debate as to how much access to the divine council Joshua is actually granted. It is most likely that Joshua’s rite of access more closely parallels that of the pre-exilic monarch who had access to the divine court through the prophetic office rather than a takeover of prophetic roles. Tollington takes a similar position and argues that Joshua is given an assurance that his intercessions for Israel will be brought directly to the divine council through the aid of prophets (Tollington, Tradition and Innovation, 160).
good distinction between the actions of Isaiah and Zechariah:

In Isa. 6, the importance of Isaiah’s appearance is clear: he becomes a viceroy of the council to the human community. In Zech. 3, however, there is nothing to be gained from having Zechariah issue the command concerning the reclothing of Joshua. Furthermore, given the logic of the visionary world, Zechariah has no authority to issue such a command in that setting. It is one thing to volunteer for duty as did Isaiah in Isa. 6; it is quite another to speak with the authority of the deity or his designated representative. We have no reason to think that Zechariah had such authority.\(^670\)

Isaiah’s participation in the divine council fits with his mission to communicate the decisions of the divine court to the earthly community. Although Zechariah does not speak in the divine council, he acts similarly to Isaiah as he becomes a mediator between the heavenly and earthly communities.\(^671\)

A final feature of Zechariah’s depiction of the divine council that sets it apart from his predecessors is the divine investiture of a human being by the angelic attendants. An earlier precedent is most likely traced to Isa 6 where the prophet confesses that: “Woe is me; I am lost! For I am a man of unclean lips and I live among a people of unclean lips; yet my own eyes have beheld the King Lord of Hosts” (Isa 6:5). In response, a seraph flies over to the prophet and touches his lips with a burning coal and declares that his guilt and sin are removed from him (Isa 6:6-7). In Zechariah’s vision, a similar removal of Joshua’s guilt is accomplished through the action of angelic attendants (Zech 3:3-5). And yet Zechariah’s cleansing of Joshua’s impurity goes a step further as he is clothed in new robes and a diadem (Zech 3:4-5). The exact nature of Joshua’s state of impurity is never clearly identified but the term 베גדים צואים implies an extreme state of uncleanness.\(^672\) It is likely that Joshua’s impurity is not necessarily due to his own actions but that he acts as a representative for the whole of Israel, especially the exilic community.\(^673\)

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671. Moreover, as we will see in Dan 7 the spectator function of the seer at the proceeding of the divine council continues in other Second Temple texts. Daniel like Zechariah sees the divine throne and its proceedings but does not actively participate in it.
672. Elsewhere נאixo refers to human excrement and vomit (Deut 23:12-14; Isa 28:8; Ezek 4:12).
This divine investiture becomes necessary because there is no temple for the high priest to receive purification and the actions of the divine beings are necessary to restore proper order in the earthly sphere.  

Joshua is transformed from a state of impurity to one in which he is granted access to the divine council and the right to stand among the other angelic beings. Zechariah’s inclusion of this type of transformative activity in the divine council is unique and sets up a precedent for the ability of humans to achieve a more “angelic” status.

**ii. 1 Enoch 14**

Before Enoch is led on his tour of the cosmos, he is first brought to the throne room of God. Unlike Zechariah and Daniel, whose description of their visit to the heavenly throne room lacks an account of an ascent, in *1 En.* 12-16 a lengthy description of his journey to heaven is found. He records that the winds lifted him up to heaven as he witnesses shooting stars and lightning flashes along the way (*1 En.* 14:8). Once there he enters a series of rooms built of hailstones but which are surrounded by fire (*1 En.* 14:9-10). The climax of his journey is the innermost room with flaming floors and a divine throne of ice surrounded by rivers of fire (*1 En.* 14:17-18). Nickelsburg states, “The author’s imagery stresses the otherness of this realm. Here fire and snow can coexist. Things are larger than life.” Moreover, Enoch’s reaction of fear to his surroundings (*1 En.* 14:13-14, 24) and inability to describe them (*1 En.* 14:16) also indicate that he is entering unfamiliar and otherworldly territory. Enoch’s progress from earth to the heavenly throne room has been likened to entering a temple. The language used to describe

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675. I am not arguing that Joshua becomes angelic but that Zechariah’s depiction of divine investiture sets up a precedent for later works that present the transformation of humans into divine beings (*T. Levi* 8:1-20; *2 En.* 9:17-19).


678. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 262–64. Himmelfarb argues that Enoch’s entry to heaven corresponds with entering the three rooms of a temple. In the Ethiopic version, there are only two rooms (*1 En.* 14:10-14, 15-17) and a wall (*1 En.* 14:9). However, she argues where the Ethiopic version only mentions a wall, the Greek text describes a building made of hail and fire
both the ascent and the appearance of the throne room owes a debt to both Ezek 1-2 and Isa 6.º

In contrast to Zechariah and other biblical divine council scenes, the description of the heavenly

throne room in 1 En. 14 is much lengthier and detailed:

(18) And I was looking and I saw a lofty throne;
and its appearance was like ice,
and its wheels were like the shining sun,º²
and its <guardians> were like cherubim,º³
(19) and from beneath the throne issued rivers of flaming fire.
And I was unable to see.
(20) The Great Glory sat upon it;
his raiment was like the appearance of the sun
and whiter than much snow.
(21) No angel could enter into this house and look at his face
because of the splendor and glory,
and no human could look at him.
(22) Flaming fire encircled him and a great fire stood by him,
and none of those about him approached him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,
but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed.º²

(Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 14).

679. Himmelfarb argues that in addition to the similarities to Ezek 1-2 and 8-11, the
portrayal of the divine attendants (the “ten thousand times ten thousand”) draws from earlier
scenes in Isa 6 and 1 Kgs 22:19-22 (Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 13).

680. The Greek (Akhmim) reads καὶ τρόχος ὡς ἡλίου λαμπόντος “and the wheel was
like the shining sun.” Both Milik and Nickelsburg argue that τρόχος should be emended to the
plural τρόχοι as found in Dan. 7:9 (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 199-200; Nickelsburg, 1
Enoch, 258). Knibb suggests that the Ethiopic is relying not on a Greek translation but is
“directly dependant on an Aramaic נקורב” (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 99).

681. The Akhmim papyrus reads καὶ ὁρος χερουβιν “and the boundaries (or mountains)
were cherubim” while the Ethiopic reads wagāla kirūbēn “and the voice of the cherubim.”
Knibb argues that the Greek ὁρος variant is “nonsense” and that “the sound of the cherubim”
refers to their praise of God (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 99). In contrast, Milik argues
that ὁρος should be understand as the “boundary stone, stele” relating to the sides of throne
carved as sphinxes (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 200). Black offers a list of possible ways the
Aramaic could be mistranslated by the Greek versions but also argues that corruption in the
Greek stage is preferable and offers the reading, “and (I saw) watchers, Cherubim” to accord
with a corruption in verse 11 (Black, The Book of Enoch, 149). Of these three options, I find
Black’s the least convincing of the translations. Both Knibb and Milik’s translations make
sense in the context but Knibb’s reading is also reminiscent of the throne vision in Ezekiel
where the sound of the cherubim wings is recorded (Ezek 1:24). Therefore, I would read the
verse as “the sound of the cherubim” (Knibb) rather than the “its <guardians> were like
cherubim” (Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 257).

682. In his translation of 1 En. 14, Nickelsburg combines two separate readings from the
Greek and Ethiopic mss. The Greek tradition has the second statement, “his every word was
deed” while the Ethiopic reads “but he needed no holy counsel.” The rationale behind joining
(23) And the holy ones of the watchers who approached him did not depart by night, nor did they leave him. 

Similar to other biblical divine council texts, the throne of God takes central stage in 1 En. 14. The multiple levels of the structure which Enoch must go through is a new feature. It is apparent that Enoch relies heavily on earlier portrayals of the divine council but his version displays its own variations.

Unlike Ezek 1-2, which avoids describing the actual appearance of the deity, in 1 En. 14, a more detailed description is provided. God is called the “great glory” and is dressed in white garments. He is pictured as unreachable not only due to the description of the fire that surrounds him but that his brilliance also prevents one from looking at his face (1 En. 14:19). Enoch is unable to enter the innermost chamber and collapses on its threshold (1 En. 14:13-14, 21). It is not only humans who are denied access but also angels (1 En. 14:21-22). This includes the “ten thousands times ten thousand” attendants who stand before God (1 En. 14:22). However, there appears to be one class of angels, the holy ones of the watchers, who are granted access to the chamber. They are described as approaching God and serving him day and night (1 En. 14:23). Enoch’s depiction of his visit to the divine council is reminiscent of Zechariah’s in that neither have their primary interpreting angel present to assist them. It is not until after Enoch interacts with God and the fallen watchers that he is led on his tour of the cosmos by Uriel and the archangels.


683. The Ethiopic simply reads “and the holy ones” while GrPan has “and the most holy angels.” Knibb notes that both the Ethiopic and the Greek are defective readings (Knibb, The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, 99). Black suggests that the original reading was likely “the watchers and the holy ones” (Black, The Book of Enoch, 151).

684. Both GrPan and the Ethiopian omit “nor by day.”
Like much of *1 En.* 1-36, there is an ironic reversal of roles between the human and angelic communities. It is made clear at numerous points that humans are not normally given access to the heavenly world and that Enoch’s access to the heavenly realm is singular (*1 En.* 12:1). We will examine shortly how Enoch has already adopted the traditional angelic roles of mediation with respect to the fallen watchers (*1 En.* 14:4-7). And in this chapter he is also granted the customary angelic privilege of being able to approach God in his throne room (*1 En.* 14:23). It is ironic that God’s judgment against the fallen watchers is that they are denied the right of ascending to heaven (*1 En.* 14:5) despite their heavenly nature while a human being is now accorded this privilege. Enoch takes on angelic roles both in his journey to heaven and his actions on behalf of the fallen watchers.

### iii. Daniel 7

Similarly to Zech 3 and *1 En.* 14-16, the book of Daniel also records a vision of the divine council. Collins makes a valid point that unlike in *1 En.* 14 where the throne room is clearly in heaven (as Enoch ascends there), here in Daniel the location is never fully defined. Yet because of the strong parallels both to *1 En.* 14 and also to the Ugaritic notion of a divine council, the location is presumed to be heavenly rather than earthly. As with *1 En.* 14, there is a strong reliance and reuse of imagery from Ezek 1. The description of the throne includes fire (Ezek 1:13, 27; Dan 7:10), wheels (Ezek 1:15-21; Dan 7:9) and “one like a human being” (Ezek 1:26; Dan 7:13). Additionally, both Ezekiel and Daniel’s visions begin with the movement of the

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685. The next section will discuss the *Book of Giants* and the varying portrayal of Enoch as an interpreter for the dreams of the giants.


687. For a detailed discussion of the religio-historical background see Collins, *Daniel*, 280–94.

wind (Ezek 1:4; Dan 7:2) and the appearance of four creatures/beasts (Ezek 1:5; Dan 7:3). As noted in I En. 14, the vision of Dan 7 evidences some important developments from what is found in Ezek 1. The opening scene of Daniel’s throne room vision pictures the deity enthroned and surrounded by divine beings:

(9) As I looked on,
    Thrones were set in place,
    And an Ancient of Days took his seat.
    His garment was white as snow,
    And the hair of his head was like lamb’s wool.
    His throne was tongues of flame;
    Its wheels were blazing fire.
(10) A river of fire streamed forth before him;
    Thousands of thousands served him;
    Myriads upon myriads attended him;
    The court sat and the books were opened. (Dan 7:9-10)

As noted in the previous chapter, the book of Ezekiel plays a pivotal role in the formation of Danielic traditions regarding not only angelic mediation but the depiction of the heavenly throne room. And yet as demonstrated earlier regarding the dialogue between human and angel found first in Zechariah 1-8, the traditions in Ezekiel cannot account for all the developments found in Dan 7-12.

Although Daniel’s vision follows a long tradition of biblical antecedents, some of the closest parallels are found in I En. 14. There are some startling similarities in language: God’s clothes are white as snow (Dan 7:9; I En. 14:20), the river of fire streaming before the throne (Dan 7:10; I En. 14:19), and the “thousands upon thousands” who stand before the throne (Dan 7:10; I En. 14:22 “ten thousand times ten thousand”). It is especially where the similarities

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689. Halperin notes that, “Ezekiel sees four hayyot. Daniel sees four hewan, an Aramaic word that is etymologically related to hayyot but, unlike its ambiguous Hebrew cognate, clearly means “beasts” (David Halperin, The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel’s Vision [TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr, 1988], 77).

690. The versions read “pure” which is also possible meaning from the Aramaic (Collins, Daniel, 275). A similar description is found in I En. 46:1, “One who had a head of days, and his head was white like wool.”

691. G: “the throne was like a moving flame of fire”. Collins suggests that it understands the word for wheels as “moving.” (Collins, Daniel, 275).
between 1 En. 14 and Dan 7 cannot be traced back to Ezekiel’s influence that argue for a close relationship between these two works. Although 1 En. 14 predates the book of Daniel, the relationship between the two books remains unclear. According to Collins, “If Dan 7:9-10 is cited from an older source, however, the direction of the influence cannot be established. We must be content to say that these texts are closely related.”

There has been much debate concerning the groups responsible for compiling the books of Enoch and Daniel. It is likely that two separate groups were responsible for collecting and passing on the collection of works associated with the legendary seers. A group known as the maškilîm are mentioned in Dan 11-12


694. Hengel argued that one group was responsible for the composition and preservation of the Enochic and Danielic traditions as well as the book of Jubilees. He coined this group the “assembly of the pious” or Hasidim and argued that they were the precursors to the Essenes (Qumran group) and the Pharisees (Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, 175–80). This view has been opposed by John Collins who argues for a multiplicity of apocalyptic groups (John J. Collins, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism,” in Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls [eds. E.G. Chazon and M.E. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 55–56). Boccaccini has proposed that the groups responsible for the Enochic and Danielic books belonged to two very different streams of Judaism: Enochic and Zadokite (G. Boccaccini, Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 81–86). However, evidence from the Pseudo-Danielic fragments found at Qumran demonstrate that a more complicated relationship existed between the books of Enoch and Daniel than what is proposed by Boccaccini. At various points, 4Q243-244 share commonalities with the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Apocalypse that are not found in Daniel itself (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception, vol. 2 [ed. J.J. Collins and P.W. Flint; VTSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2001], 374). Stuckenbruck argues that the fragments 4Q243-244 and 4Q245 demonstrate a time when “the tradition-historical boundaries between Danielic and Enochic literature from the second century BCE was more fluid” (Stuckenbruck, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions,” 377). I will shortly discuss the evidence from the Book of Giants that further supports some type of cross-fertilization between these traditions.

and are believed to be the group responsible for collecting the traditions of Daniel. In the earliest traditions of 1 En. 1-36, it is unclear who lies behind the composition and redaction. However, it is likely that a group with both scribal and priestly origins connected to the temple is responsible for the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers. And yet despite their distinctive groups, there is reason to believe some overlap might exist between the two groups responsible for the composition of the early Enochic traditions and Daniel. Not only are there literary similarities but both of their works were discovered in high quantities at Qumran. Collins has argued that we should avoid polarizing these groups, “To say that two groups were distinct is not to say that they were opposed to one another.”

A discussion concerning the relationship between 1 En. 14 and Dan 7 must also include the Book of Giants. It was once only known through Manichaean sources but was identified on a Forgotten Connection [ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 59–66) or close contact between the two traditions (Stuckenbruck, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions,” 385).

696. References to “the pious” in 1 En. 100:5; 102:4, 6; 103:3, 4, 9, 12; and 108:11 have led some to posit a connection between the Hasidim (1 Macc 2:42; 2 Macc 14:6) and the group(s) responsible for the books of Enoch. This connection is tenuous as it applies only to the later Enochic traditions.

697. Reed, Fallen Angels, 69.

699. Collins, “Response,” 65. Despite their similarities, Collins argues that the Enochic and Danielic materials betray a different attitude toward resisting Antiochus IV. This applies especially to the Animal Apocalypse that supports rebellion whereas Dan 7-12 appears to distance itself from armed combat. It is hard to even speak of these “groups” in absolute terms especially since the Enochic traditions span such a long period. Those initially responsible for the Astronomical Book and the Book of Watchers would not necessarily be the same as later members responsible for the production of Enochic traditions. Annette Yoshiko Reed comments on the complexity of describing such a “group”: “…these writings owe their present forms and their setting in 1 Enoch to the labors of a long series of authors, redactors, tradents, copyists, translators, and anthologists, such that the collection itself is an artifact of the continued cultivation of Enoch traditions in the second temple period and well beyond” (Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Interrogating ‘Enochic Judaism’,” in Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection [ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 339).
among the Dead Sea Scrolls by Josef Milik. He proposed that 4QGiants was written by the same scribe who wrote 4QEn and was also included in the same scroll. Thus, it is very likely that the Book of Giants is dependent upon the Book of Watchers as traditions only found in the latter are reused by the former. There are at least seven manuscripts that are assigned to the Book of Giants (4Q203; 4Q530, 531, 532; 1Q23; 2Q26; and 6Q8). Of these fragments, 4Q530 describes two dreams by the giants Hahyah and 'Ohyah that are interpreted by Enoch. In one of these dreams a throne room vision is presented:

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Be]hold, the ruler of the heavens descended to the earth,
and thrones were erected
and the Great Holy One sat d[own.
A hundred hu]ndreds (were) serving him;
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702. One of these traditions, that of humans crying out for help (1 En. 9:10) is reused but takes on a new life as now the giants realize they will share the fate of their victims crying for help (4Q530 6.1.4). Stuckenbruck argues that the words in 1.4 should be attributed to one of the giants and that “the giant apparently recognizes that his and his fellow giants’ imminent destruction is going to be the result of the petitionary prayers of their human victims” (Loren T. Stuckenbruck, The Book of Giants from Qumran [TSAJ 63; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1997], 136–37). It should also be noted that there are some important differences between the two books especially regarding their presentation of human and angelic roles. First, the focus in the Book of Giants is not on Enoch as a recipient of revelation but instead on the giants who receive dreams they do not understand (4Q530 col. ii). Secondly, Enoch is cast in the role of interpreter for the giants (4Q 530 col. ii) rather than in the Book of Watchers were he is the beneficiary of angelic interpretation. Finally, the giant Mahaway acts as a mediator between Enoch and the giants (4Q530 cols. ii-iii) which was a role previously accorded to Enoch in the Book of Watchers (1 En. 13:1-8). Interestingly enough, not only do the giants take over roles assigned to Enoch (in the Book of Watchers) but in turn Enoch assumes the role of interpreter associated with the angels (1 En. 17-36). Stuckenbruck argues that “Without the expansive traditions from the Book of Watchers (based on the biblical narrative in Gen. 6:1-4), the mythical context of the BG fragments would not be comprehensible” (Stuckenbruck, The Book of Giants, 27). Thus, we not only find an expansion of the Book of Watchers but a retelling of the story that now has shifted attention towards the giants rather than Enoch. Both Milik and García Martínez also argue that “the Book of Giants was dependent upon the Book of Watchers (Milik, The Books of Enoch, 57–58; Florentino García Martínez, “Book of Giants,” in Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran [STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992], 114).

703. Stuckenbruck also includes the following three manuscripts (4Q206 frags. 2-3; 4Q556; and 1Q24) as potential candidates for inclusion (Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany,” 212). For a discussion of the different fragments, see García Martínez, “Book of Giants,” 97–115.
Both the throne visions of Dan 7 and the *Book of Giants* demonstrate several similarities including: shared vocabulary, grammatical correspondences, sequence of phrases and finally a “common sequence for their parts.” In terms of vocabulary both passages contain the following words: throne, to sit, thousand, book, (before) and to arise. Additionally, they also share the same sequence of activity: (1) thrones are set up, (2) a deity is seated, (3) a multitude of heavenly beings serve him, (4) these beings stand before him, (5) books are opened. There is no doubt that some type of literary history is shared by these two books.

Before proceeding to a possible hypothesis regarding their relation, it is important to also consider some of the differences between both passages. First, the subject of the vision in Dan 7 is the “Ancient of Days” while in the *Book of Giants* it is “the Great Holy One.” Secondly, Dan 7 is pictured as a divine council text located in heaven but in the *Book of Giants* the vision states that “the ruler of the heavens descended to earth” (4Q530 ii.16b). Finally, the number of worshipers is different as Dan 7 has “a thousand thousands, myriad myriads” and the *Book of Giants* “a hundred hundreds, thousand, thousands.” There are a number of ways to evaluate the relationship between these two passages. The original view of Milik that the *Book of Giants* is dependent upon Dan 7 is not convincing since the latter appears to preserve a more developed vision. And yet the relationship between the two passages is more complex than to suppose the

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708. Stuckenbruck list several more important differences between the two passages (Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany,” 218).
709. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 305. See also Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany,” 219 for a discussion of Dan 7 as more developed than the *Book of Giants*. Recently, Stokes has argued that Daniel predates not only the *Book of Giants* but also possibly 1 En. 14 (Stokes, “The Throne Visions of Daniel 7,” 355). He bases his argument primarily on one difference between the two passages. In Dan 7, both the “Ancient of the Days” and the
Book of Giants simply predates Dan 7. Instead it is more likely that the two passages are dependant upon a shared tradition which they develop to suit their own needs.710

As we have seen with the various traditions of angelic mediation in our texts, the depictions of the divine council in Zech 3, 1 En. 14 and Dan 7 share many similarities but also attest to their own individual innovations. The above comparison with the Book of Giants also illuminates other sources of inspiration with which Daniel is indebted.711 Daniel 7 is not only a vision of the divine throne room but also a divine council scene since the court is in session (Dan 7:10). It follows the common biblical depiction of the divine council with the deity sitting on his throne surrounded by divine attendants.712 Unlike the visions of Enoch, Daniel remains a passive observer. He is described as הָנָה “looking on” to the scene before him (Dan 7:9, 11 (2), 13, 21) but does not participate in the actual proceedings of the court. As was the case with Zechariah and Enoch, he is lacking a primary angelic interpreter and must seek out the help of an attendant (Dan 7:16). In this way, Daniel receives more angelic assistance than either Zechariah or Enoch during his time in the divine council. Furthermore, like Enoch, he too has a reaction of fear and

court sit on the thrones to hear the judgment. However, in the Book of Giants, despite the presence of plural thrones only the “Great Holy One” sits for judgment leaving the rest of the attendants standing. Thus, Stokes states, “This discrepancy is best accounted for by supposing that the plurality of thrones is a remnant of an earlier version of the tradition in which the divine tribunal also sits” (Stokes, “The Throne Visions of Daniel 7,” 354). While Stokes’ observation is correct, it is entirely possible that the difference may derive from the Book of Giants reuse of throne room imagery in 1 En. 14. I have noted elsewhere that 1 En. 14 may be described more as a throne room vision rather than a divine council scene. There is no opening of the books present as we find in Dan 7 or the Book of Giants. Moreover, 1 En. 14 only describes the “Great Glory” as seated upon his throne (1 En. 14:20) and the angels are pictured as either “standing” or “approaching” him (1 En. 14:22-23). Thus, I would suggest that the relationship between these texts is more complex than supposing one or the other simply predates the other.

710. Stuckenbruck states, “The comparative analysis offered here does, however, make it likely that the Book of Giants preserves a theophanic tradition in a form which has been expanded in Daniel” (Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany,” 220).

711. In addition to traditions shared with the Book of Watchers, Dan 7 also draws upon ancient Near Eastern myths (esp. Ugaritic) in his depiction of the divine council and its proceedings.

712. Kee, “The Heavenly Council and Its Type-Scene,” 263. Other similar scenes are found in 1 Kgs 22:19 and Isa 6:1.
alarm to the scene he is witnessing (Dan 7:15). He first expresses fear after witnessing the initial vision and again at the conclusion of the vision he states, “I, Daniel, was very alarmed by thoughts, and my face darkened; and I could not put the matter out of my mind” (Dan 7:28). Unlike the high priest Joshua or Enoch, there is no noticeable change or transformation of Daniel as a result of his time in the divine court. He returns much the same as before his journey except he is now shaken and visibly upset by his experience.

**Interaction**

The direct and unmediated contact between God and humanity is generally upheld as superior and preferable to mediated revelation provided by angelic beings. Scholars have made the observation that following the exile, there is a rise of angelic mediators and a less pronounced presence of God in many Second Temple texts. Benjamin Sommer has asked the following question, “Did Jews in the Second Temple Period tend to accept the possibility that God still communicated with the Jewish people by speaking directly to certain individuals?”, to which he answers in the negative. Implicit in this question is also a negative evaluation of later forms of revelation that differ from the earlier pre-exilic models that feature direct mediation from God to prophet. Sommer argues that the “reuse and interpretation of older texts; pseudepigraphy; and various forms of contact with God” are “inferior” since they are mediated and indirect.

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713. This may stem in part from negative portrayals of angelic revelation found in the New Testament. In Gal 3:19 the Law is said to be mediated by angels which “…takes on a negative emphasis in Paul’s handling of it, where angelic escort implies mediation and mediation implies inferior revelation” (Bruce W. Longenecker, *The Triumph of Abraham’s God: The Transformation of Identity in Galatians* 7 [Nashville: Abingdon, 1998], 59). See also Najman, “Angels at Sinai,” 321). More explicit is the denigration of angels found in Heb 2:2-3 as the Law is portrayed as inferior to Christ. Najman states, “Here, the earlier interpretive tradition that the revelation at Sinai was angelically mediated is turned on its head: instead of providing the basis for the authority of the Law, angelic mediation shows the inferiority of the Law to an immediate revelation which provides a greater salvation” (Najman, “Angels at Sinai,” 322).


and inaccessible to humanity.\textsuperscript{716} According to this perspective, God is stationed in the heavenly realm surrounded by a large host of angelic beings who bridge the gap between heaven and earth.

This view of God’s removal from earthly society has been overemphasized, leading to a misunderstanding concerning the nature of angelic revelation. The idea that God is removed from humanity is not a new phenomenon and has older preexilic roots. That God lives in the heavens seated on a throne surrounded by his attendants is derived from older Ugaritic models and is found in many earlier biblical texts like Isa 6 and 2 Kgs 22. Moreover, the apparent remoteness of God fits well with ancient cosmologies, which as previously noted depict a tripartite universe consisting of the heavens, the earth and the underworld.\textsuperscript{717} Finally, it is important to note that a sense of the remoteness of God is felt throughout the history of ancient Israel. James Kugel has argued that the “divine-human discourse” in the preexilic period was not necessarily “direct and unmediated” for the average person.\textsuperscript{718} He states that, “God’s words and deeds were transmitted and interpreted by a variety of human beings.”\textsuperscript{719} Among these individuals he includes sages, elders, judges, priests, temple personnel and the prophet. His point is that revelation even in the preexilic period was mediated for the majority of recipients. Moreover, a variety of different types of revelation are also represented as legitimate in the earlier period, including divinatory practices, angelic revelation, symbolic visions, prophecy and theophanies. Similarly, the post-exilic period also conceives of revelation as a broad spectrum that comprises prophecy, angelic...

\textsuperscript{716} Sanders argues that this view stems ultimately from Weber’s understanding of God as inaccessible which was influential to Bousset and to his student Bultmann. Thus, this view of God’s remoteness has a longstanding tradition in New Testament studies. See the following for a discussion of this: E. P. Sanders, \textit{Paul and Palestinian Judaism} (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 39; Olyan, \textit{A Thousand Thousands Served Him}, 6, 8.

\textsuperscript{717} There are several different views of God’s presence in the various streams of the Hebrew Bible. He is shown living in the heavens (Isa 6:1; Ps 11:4; Isa 66:1), at Sinai (Deut 33:2; Ps 68:17), in the temple (1 Kgs 8:12-13; Ps 68:17-18; Ezek 43:7), and in Zion (Ps 74:2; Isa 8:18; Joel 3:17, 21).

\textsuperscript{718} Kugel, \textit{Early Biblical Interpretation}, 14.

\textsuperscript{719} Kugel, \textit{Early Biblical Interpretation}, 14.
revelations, heavenly journeys and dreams, among others.\textsuperscript{720}

The multiplicity of ways to access the divine found in the Second Temple Period demonstrates the persistence of revelation. Concerning the continuation of prophecy, Najman states:

But these claims - that prophecy ceases and that apocalyptic or wisdom literature emerge instead - simply do not resonate with the texts we have from late ancient Judaism. For the texts repeatedly make claims to be prophetic, and more broadly revelatory. Of course, throughout late ancient Judean traditions, claims of persistent revelation are made in many ways. But this reflects the variety we see in earlier Israelite and contemporaneous non-Israelite and non-Judean religious traditions. Angelic revelation and mediated intervention, human access to divine writings, symbolic prophecy, apocalyptic vision and inspired interpretation are all features of both exilic and postexilic prophecy. The texts do not reflect any linear development from one concept of the revelatory to another.\textsuperscript{721}

I would add that the texts also do not place a value on the type of revelation that is being invoked. Direct mediation from God is not presented as better or more superior to revelation from an angelic source or from heavenly writings. \textit{Jubilees} is a helpful text to consider alongside the developments in Zech 1-8, the \textit{Book of Watchers} and Dan 7-12 as it makes use of a variety of revelatory practices. Najman has labelled these “authority conferring strategies” which include the following: the use of heavenly tablets as a source of revelation, the dictation by the Angel of the Presence, the exemplary figure of Moses and the claim to the authority of the Torah.\textsuperscript{722}

Angelic speech is only one of many that is used to confer authority to the claims of \textit{Jubilees} to be

\textsuperscript{720} Revelation through angelic mediation is only one way in which divine knowledge was acquired in the post-exilic period. Ben Sira recounts the activity of the scribe who meditates on proverbs, parables and prophecies to receive knowledge from God, “How different the one who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High! He seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies; he preserves the sayings of the famous and penetrates the subtleties of parables; he seeks out the hidden meaning of proverbs and is at home with the obscurities of parables” (Sir 39:1-3). And later in verse 6, “If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth works of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. The Lord will direct his counsel and knowledge, as he meditates on his mysteries” (Sir 39:6-7). Although the scribe is not the recipient angelic mediation, he too receives access to divine knowledge but through the study of ancient words and prayer. Although this too is mediated revelation, it does not prevent the scribe from accessing wisdom and understanding that comes from God.

\textsuperscript{721} Najman, “Reconsidering Jubilees: Prophecy and Exemplarity,” 192.

\textsuperscript{722} Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing,” 388–409.
a revelatory text. Far from presenting angelic revelation to be inferior, *Jubilees* employs the Angel of the Presence as a valuable means of validating Moses’ transcription of the heavenly tablets.\(^{723}\) Angelic speech, among other strategies, becomes an important means not only to access divine revelation but to ensure its validity in Second Temple Judaism.\(^{724}\) In a similar manner Zech 1-8, *I En.* 1-36 and Dan 7-12 also make claims to be revelatory texts, whether through direct mediation with God or mediated revelation from angelic beings. The texts present both levels of interaction (divine-angelic-human and angelic-human) as valid and legitimate ways to access heavenly knowledge.

I. Angelic-human Interaction

It has been stated at various points throughout this thesis that the question-and-answer format found between Zechariah and his interpreting angel is an innovative feature. Angelic speech is not a new phenomenon, as angels throughout the course of the Hebrew Bible are depicted as messengers sent to discourse with chosen humans. In this section, two levels of interaction will be examined: first the relationship between the prophet/seer and the angelic mediators. Secondly, a larger cosmic relationship is found in all three of our texts between angelic troops sent on missions to aid and protect humanity. Generally this type of angelic intercession is presumed to go unnoticed by the general human population. The threat against humanity can either be earthly in nature or stem from a battle between cosmic forces.

723. Concerning the role of the Angel of the Presence, Najman states, “Thus, the Angel of the Presence plays a crucial role in the transmission of the Law according to *Jubilees.* We rely on the angel for accurate dictation and for checking the accuracy of Moses’ record. So, not only does *Jubilees* contain part of the oldest written, heavenly record of tablets, it also finds its way into earthly form by means of the Angel of the Presence. The authority of God’s messenger further bolsters *Jubilees*’ claim that the interpretive and legal traditions it preserves are indeed authentic and divinely authorized” (Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing,” 402).

724. See also Najman, “Angels at Sinai”; VanderKam, “The Angel of the Presence”; Orlov, “The Heavenly Counterpart.”
i. Zechariah

Most of the visions in Zechariah contain only dialogue between Zechariah and הָמַלְאָכָו הָדְרֵי. In contrast to other prophets, Zechariah contains few oracles from God. The typical discourse marker, נָאָם יְהוָה, found in prophetic material is not as prominent in Zechariah, since angelic discourse is the primary mode of speech. Zechariah receives revelation not only from הָמַלְאָכָו הָדְרֵי but also from various secondary angelic beings, including the angel of the Lord (3:1-10), the young man (2:6) and “the man standing among the myrtles” (1:10). However, the dialogues between הָמַלְאָכָו הָדְרֵי and the prophet are much more extended and constitute his primary means of achieving knowledge and insight. There is no sense in Zechariah’s visions that he is receiving a lesser form of revelation. Instead, angelic speech is a device used by the author to bring legitimacy and authority to his vision of restoration for his community. As previously noted, an innovative feature of Zechariah’s vision is the question-and-answer format. It not only sets up the prophet as an active participant in the interpretive process but allows for a fuller understanding of the symbolic visions as Zechariah is able to seek further clarification from the angel. Zechariah’s fifth vision is a good example of this angelic-human discourse:

(1) The angel who talked with me came back and woke me as a man is wakened from sleep. (2) He said to me (’,) יָאָמָר What do you see?’ And I said ,וַאֲמַר I see a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl above it, and seven are its lamps. And the lamps above it have seven spouts. (3) There are two olive trees by it, one on the right of the bowl and one on its left.” (4) Then I replied to the angel who talked with me, “What are these, my lord?” (5) And the angel who talked with me said, “Do you not know what these things are?” (6) And I said, “No, my lord.”

726. Reading with qere instead of the third person imperfect of the MT.
727. There is debate over the translation of the word מוצקות. Some translate it as “pipe” and others argue for meaning “a pinch.” This second meaning is more likely as it would pertain to the pinched rim of the lamp for the wick and oil (see Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 221). Archaeological finds have demonstrated similar types of lamps (R. North, “Zechariah’s Seven-Spout Lampstand,” Bib 51 [1970]: 183–206).
728. It is not clear what the preposition עליה implies about the location of the olive trees in relation to the lampstand. The most popular translation is “by it, beside it” and thus the trees would flank the lampstand. But Petersen also suggests that the trees flank the bowl rather then the lampstand itself and thus the preposition could mean instead “above it” (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 224).
Then he replied to me: (Zech 4:1-6a)

In most of Zechariah’s visions, the prophet initiates the questions after being shown the vision (1:9; 2:2, 4, 6; 4:4; 5:6, 10; 6:4). Only here in Zech 4:2 and later in 5:2 does the angel initiate the conversation by asking the prophet what he sees. Niditch argues that these visions where the angelic interpreter first asks a question form part of an earlier evolution of the symbolic vision.729

The angelic interpreter replaces the standard role of God in earlier symbolic visions where he asks questions of the prophet (Jer 24:1-10). She argues that in addition to the question-and-answer format, the act of the prophet initiating the question is a further innovation of Zechariah. She concludes these observations with the following statement:

> The interpretation of symbolic objects upon the request of the seer leads to a divine revelation. This mode of revelation says something not only about the changing nature of prophecy, but also about the relationship between God and man as perceived by the author of the vision. Communication with God is less direct and more difficult than in other prophet modes.730

There is no doubt that Zechariah’s question-and-answer format is a new feature in post-exilic prophecy, as well as the use of an angelic mediator as interpreter. However, there is no evidence in Zechariah that revelation is conceived as more difficult or that Zechariah’s visions are not as clearly revealed as his counterparts in Amos and Jeremiah. While Zechariah’s visions may remain difficult for modern interpreters to understand, there is no indication that angelic mediation was thought to be an inferior form of revelation in ancient Judaism. As I have argued elsewhere, the insertion of an angelic mediator allows the prophet to gain more information than the symbolic visions of Jeremiah and Amos. Though angelic interpretation may differ from earlier forms of revelation, it is presented in Zech 1-8 as a revelatory act and a means of bridging the gap between heaven and earth. This is demonstrated in the angel’s explanation to Zechariah’s question:

“Those are the seven eyes of the Lord, ranging over the whole earth.” (11) Then I replied, “And what are those two olive trees, one on the right and one of the left of the lampstand?” (12) And I asked him a second time, “What are the two branches of the olive trees that empty their gold through those two golden conduits?” (13) He asked me, “Don’t you know what they are?” And I replied, “No, my lord.” (14) Then he said, “These are the two sons of oil who attend the Lord of all the earth” (Zech 4:10-14)

After receiving a general answer from the angel about the vision, the prophet asks a follow up question about the meaning of the olive trees (verse 11). This multi-layered discussion between the angel and Zechariah demonstrates the highly valuable nature of angelic revelation as a legitimate way to access knowledge.

A secondary level of interaction found throughout the visions of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 1-12 involves the larger angelic and human communities. Most of this thesis has focused on


732. This verse is considered a secondary addition as it separates the question of verse eleven from the angel’s answer in verse thirteen (Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, 192; Rex Mason, The Books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi [CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 47–48; Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 234). Moreover, the question inserts new information regarding the two streams that were not part of the original vision and there is no answer given to the question (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 235).

733. The term שִׁנְדֹת is understood by most to mean “branches” but this is a unique meaning in Zechariah as it usually refers to the spikes of grain or ears of corn (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 255–56). Petersen argues against this meaning as olive branches have no resemblance to ears of corn (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 26; Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 26). There is also a second noun spelled identically meaning “flowing or deep liquid.” Thus, Petersen adopts the following translation, “What are the two streams of olive oil which empty out through the gold spouts upon them?” (Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 215, 235).

734. The word צנתרות is a hapax legomenon. Some argue that it is an alternative form of צנור “pipe” (Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 26).

735. The MT has בני היצרה “sons of oil” while the LXX and Syriac read “sons of fathers.” Meyers and Meyers reject interpretations that see these two figures as anointed especially since the typical word for oil שמן is not used (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 258; also Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 231). These two figures are likely Zerubbabel and Joshua who are envisioned as joint rulers (Zech 6:9-15). Tigchelaar makes an important point that the two leaders are envisioned in relation to the temple and not to restoring the “pre-exilic empire” (Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 46). Though the rule of the Persian empire lays in the background of Zech 1-8, it is the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple that is at the forefront for the community.
the relationship between the individual prophet or seer and his primary angelic companion. However, a number of secondary angelic beings intercede in the lives of humanity throughout the visions of Zechariah, Enoch and Daniel. This interaction is not always visible to the human community as it is typically portrayed as a larger cosmic battle between the forces of good and evil. The opening vision of Zechariah introduces an angelic patrol who describe their activity as follows, “We have roamed the earth, and have found all the earth dwelling in tranquility” (Zech 1:11). Their activity is not localized but is presented as cosmic in scope. First, the focus of angelic activity is not restricted to the city of Jerusalem or the Yehud province. Instead, the tone implies a more cosmic character, since the angels report that the whole earth is at rest.736 Secondly, the partiple נקטת, meaning “tranquility” or “peacefully,” implies that both the divine and earthly worlds are at rest, as there are no longer any battles or enemies for the divine agents to subdue or control.737 This imagery draws particularly from the image of the divine warrior and his angelic agents who protect the world.738 As Petersen points out, this peaceful state of the world is not welcome news since it implies a status quo for Israel, which remains under foreign rule.739 This prompts the cry of the angel to God lamenting the state of the world and calling on divine action (Zech 1:12).740 This theme is echoed again in the last vision when the prophet sees four chariots coming from the heavenly realm, whose mission is to “range the earth” (Zech 6:7). This activity by angelic forces is not necessarily visible to the human community but Zechariah’s visions demonstrate the active presence of angelic beings, and by extension God, in earthly affairs. Far from creating a picture of a distant God, Zechariah’s visions stress the intimacy

736. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 145.
737. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 146.
738. See Patrick D. Miller, The Divine Warrior in Early Israel (HSM 5 ; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). Miller does not examine the motif in Zechariah’s visions but the angelic patrol acts on behalf of God to ensure that the earth is at rest.
739. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 146.
740. This interaction between the angel, God and the prophet will be examined in the next section.
between the earthly and heavenly realms.  

**ii. 1 Enoch 1-36**

Enoch receives revelation from a variety of sources both divine and angelic. The book opens with the following summary of Enoch’s experience:  

(2) And he took up his discourse and said,  

“Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God,  

who had the vision of the Holy One and of heaven, which he showed me.

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741. Two additional episodes in Zechariah attest to the presence of angelic beings of God in the world. The first occurs in the second vision when the prophet sees four horns (Zech 2:1-4). This vision is notoriously difficult to translate. The horns are identified as the nations that have attacked Judah, Israel and Jerusalem. However, it is the identity of the four smiths that remains unclear. It is possible that the author is alluding to other nations like Persia who have destroyed nations like Babylon. But “these men” identified as “smiths” could also be divine agents sent to enact judgment upon the enemies of Israel (Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 166). Meyers and Meyers are ambiguous concerning the identity of the smiths. They state, “…they are divine agents carrying out God’s will. They can represent, in the past, Babylon or Persia, which each brought to an end an ancient imperial power. And they also represent an unspecified future divine action against a world power” (Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 139). It is not clear whether they view the smiths as earthly or divine agents. A second vision which features the intervention of God’s agents is found in Zech 5:5-11. The prophet sees two stork-like women who carry off the tub carrying a woman identified as “wickedness.” These divine intermediaries remove this impure vessel from Jerusalem and bring it to Babylon.

742. As noted in the introduction, chapters 1-5 are the last addition to the Book of Watchers. Due to the mention of angelic interpretation in verse two, it is most likely that chapters 1-5 were added after 1 En. 17-36 was composed since chapters 6-16 do not contain angelic guides or interpreters. Hartman argues for a series of parallels between chapters 1-5 and 6-36 (Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, 139–41).

743. Ethiopic reads “And Enoch answered and said.” Black argues that this is a “poor attempt” to translate αναβάλλω τὴν παραβολήν (Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 103).

744. Ethiopic reads “he saw a holy vision” whereas Gr has “he had a vision.”

745. The following is found in the Ethiopic, “and he saw a holy vision in the heavens which the angels showed to me.” The Gr also has “and of heaven” rather than “who is in heaven.” Black argues that the text “the Holy One who is in heaven” is preferable to “(the vision of) the Holy One and of heaven” (Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 104). The Aramaic (4QEn a 1 i) is translated by Milik, “the vision of the Holy One and of heaven was shown to me.” However, the text is corrupted and Milik is relying on the Greek translation which he argues is original (Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 142–43). If the Ethiopic preserves the more original meaning than only chapters 17-36 detailing the tour by the angels is likely the subject of Enoch’s revelations. However, if the Greek is more authentic then the both the throne room vision (ch.14) and the tours of the cosmos (17-36) are envisioned here.

746. The subject in the Greek translation appears to be God “he showed me” but the Ethiopic instead has the angels as the ones who show Enoch his visions.
From the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard everything; and as I heard everything from them, I also understood what I saw. Not for this generation do I expound, but concerning one that is distant I speak. (3) And concerning the chosen I speak now, and concerning them I take up my discourse (1 En. 1:2-3)

The Book of Watchers, more than Zech 1-8 or Dan 7-12, addresses the issue of legitimate revelation. Here in the opening verses of the book, Enoch establishes the authority and legitimacy of his revelations. Enoch receives proper revelation first from God, who opens his eyes (1 En. 1:2) and who speaks with him directly (1 En. 14:24-16:4). Secondly, he is taken on a cosmic tour by the archangels, who reveal to him the mysteries of the universe (1 En. 17-36). Enoch is privileged to receive knowledge that is not normally accessible to the average person. A juxtaposition is set up between the legitimate instruction provided by the good angels to Enoch and the improper instruction to humanity by the fallen watchers (1 En. 7:1; 8:1-4).

According to Reed, this mediation of knowledge by the fallen watchers inappropriately muddies the distinctions between the heavenly and earthly spheres:

According to 1 En. 16, the angelic transmission of heavenly knowledge to earthly humans can also be understood as a contamination of distinct categories within God’s orderly Creation. As inhabitants of heaven, the Watchers were privy to all the secrets of heaven; their revelation of this knowledge to the inhabitants of earth was categorically improper as well as morally destructive.

A development not found in Zech 1-8 but featured prominently in 1 En. 1-36 is the potentially

747. Nickelsburg’s translation is based on a reconstruction of the Aramaic. The Greek translation (Ahkmim) has, “He showed it to me, and the holy ones speaking holy things I heard; and when I heard everything from them, I understood as I looked.” In contrast, the Ethiopic has the simpler reading, “And I heard everything from them, and I understood what I saw.” It is difficult to decide between the various readings; however, the fragmentary state of the Aramaic makes it a more unreliable source in this instance to weigh more heavily in favour of the Greek translation as Nickelsburg has chosen in his translation.

748. If the Ethiopic preserves a more original reading (verse 2) then only the journeys of the angels (17-36) and not the throne room scene (14) are allude to here.

749. Davidson, Angels at Qumran, 59–60.

750. Reed, Fallen Angels, 46. Davidson expresses a similar sentiment about the fallen watchers, “Here, in the instruction strand, angels are in heaven and have access to heavenly secrets, but they introduce things to earth that properly belong only in heaven. In certain matters, the two realms should not mix” (Davidson, Angels at Qumran, 60).
dangerous nature of angelic revelation, especially for humanity. It can be positive, in allowing Enoch access to otherwise confidential and secret information, or it can result in an improper crossing of boundaries, as seen with the fallen watchers. A further contrast is set up when Enoch, a human, is allowed access to heavenly secrets when earlier the fallen watchers were condemned for teaching such secrets to humans. Davidson argues that the function of Enoch’s tour of the cosmos is designed to reassure the community that order is being restored after the chaos brought about by the fallen watchers. He argues:

In *1 Enoch* 17-36, deliverance is assured in the light of the revelation given to Enoch. Nothing is left to chance. The places for the incarceration and the judgment of the watchers are already allocated (*1 En.* 19:1; 27:1-2), and the dead are located in an orderly series of hollow places (*1 En.* 22:1-13), with a separate place designated for the righteous (*1 En.* 22:9b).

Enoch, through his tour of the cosmos, is reassured that all is well in the world and that God and his angels are fully in control. Both the heavenly and earthly realms are shown to be at rest.

As was the case with Zech 1-8, a secondary level of interaction is found between the angels and the larger earthly community. The angels Michael, Sariel (Uriel in Greek), Raphael and Gabriel look down from heaven to earth and see the chaos on earth (*1 En.* 9:1). In both Zech 1-8 and *1 En.* 1-36, angelic beings intercede on behalf of humanity concerning a perceived injustice on earth. Moreover, the four angels are sent on a mission to earth to bring about peace. Each of the four angels is given a task: Sariel is commissioned to teach Noah (*1 En.* 10:1-3); Raphael is sent to imprison Asael (*1 En.* 10:4-8); Gabriel is entrusted to destroy the giants (*1 En.* 10:9-10); and Michael is sent to imprison Shemihazah (*1 En.* 10:11-15) and to cleanse the earth (*1 En.* 10:16-22). At the end of their mission, God states, “Then I shall open the storehouses of blessing that are in heaven, and make them descend upon the earth, upon the works and the labor of the sons of men. And then truth and peace will be united together for all the days of eternity and for all generations of humanity” (*1 En.* 11:1-2). Although their missions are different, the

four chariots of Zechariah and the four archangels in 1 En. 9-11 are sent from heaven to earth to bring about peace for humanity.\(^{752}\) In Zechariah, the angelic patrol roam throughout the earth making sure that the earth is at rest. And in 1 En. 1-36, the crossing of boundaries between the divine and earthly communities by the fallen watchers can only be rectified by the actions of divine agents. Zechariah 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 both demonstrate a concern to restore the earthly world through the actions of heavenly beings.

**iii. Daniel**

Daniel, like Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, is filled with angelic mediators who impart knowledge and understanding. In comparison with the other two books, there is little direct interaction between Daniel and God. The emphasis in Daniel is fixed mainly on the interaction between the human and angelic communities. In Dan 8, Gabriel comes as the primary mediator but at the command of an anonymous angelic being:

\[(13) \text{Then I heard a holy being\(^{753}\) speaking, and another holy being said to whoever it was} \text{who was speaking, “For how long is the vision of the daily offering\(^{754}\) and the desolating transgression and his giving over\(^{755}\) of sanctuary and host to be trampled?”} (14) \text{He said to him,\(^{756}\) “For twenty-three hundred evenings and mornings; then the sanctuary shall be set right.”} (15) \text{While I, Daniel, was seeing the vision, and trying to understand it, there appeared before me one who looked like a man.} (16) \text{I heard a human voice from the middle of the Ulai\(^{758}\) calling out, “Gabriel, make that man understand the vision.”}\]

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\(^{752}\) Nickelsburg notes that the tradition of four archangels in 1 En. 9 draws from the four living creatures of Ezek 1-2 and the four angels on horseback in Zech 1 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 207). The number of angels is never specified in Zech 1 but most likely it was understood as four since the last vision includes four chariots (Zech 6:1).

\(^{753}\) The term שִׁשְׁדֹת קד ה here refers to an angelic being (Collins, *Daniel*, 335) and not to “an idealized saint” (André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* [trans. David Pellauer; Atlanta: John Knox, 1979], 163).

\(^{754}\) The Greek versions read η θυσια η άρρενσια “the sacrifice that has been taken away.” Collins argues these readings are influenced by verse 11 (Collins, *Daniel*, 14).

\(^{755}\) The Hebrew of this verse is difficult but is supported by 4QDan\(^b\). Collins suggests that instead of ותת וקד one should read ותת קד “his giving over the sanctuary” (Collins, *Daniel*, 336).

\(^{756}\) The MT reads ¿א “to me” rather than the Greek and Syriac that have רָאָא to him. The latter fits better with the context of the scene as Daniel at this point is still overhearing a conversation between two angelic beings.

\(^{757}\) The Greek and Latin versions have “cleansed” rather than “set right.”

\(^{758}\) The Greek has “Olam” instead.
came near to where I was standing, as he came I was terrified, and fell prostrate. He said to me, “Understand, son of man, that the vision refers to the time of the end.”

When he spoke with me, I was overcome by a deep sleep as I lay prostrate on the ground. Then he touched me and made me stand up, and said, “I am going to inform you of what will happen when wrath is at an end, for [it refers] to the time appointed for the end.

(Dan 8:13-19)

I have already noted that Daniel’s presentation of angelic mediators differs from that of Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36. Daniel’s role in the dialogue is more passive than Zechariah or Enoch. The question-and-answer format is not as fully developed and the angelic mediator is presented more as a messenger. Secondly, Daniel exhibits more difficulty understanding what he is seeing (Dan 7:16; 8:15; 12:8). Although the angel interprets the visions, the seer is still left at times uncertain as to its meaning. Moreover, Daniel reacts with much more fear and anxiety in his interactions with angelic beings and to his symbolic visions (Dan 7:15, 28; 8:27; 10:8, 11, 16). And yet, despite all these variations, Dan 8 especially displays some remarkable similarities to Zechariah’s visions. First, the presence of the phrase

how long

by an angelic being is reminiscent of the angel’s lament in Zech 1:12.

Secondly, Niditch notes that in verse 16 the unusual demonstrative hallāz is employed by an angelic being when referring to Daniel and is also found in Zech 2:8.

Finally, in verse 13 the seer witnesses and overhears an angelic conversation similarly to Zech 2:5-7. Concerning these similarities, Niditch states, “The author of Dan 8 (and none after him as far as we can tell) has adopted a few of these distinctive features found in Zechariah, thereby giving his vision additional credibility and pedigree. This self-conscious modeling of a vision on earlier works becomes more and more common in post-Biblical examples of the vision form.”

Generally, it appears that the differences between Dan 7-12 and

759. The Greek reads “for the hour of this time.”


761. Although Niditch argues that the demonstrative also refers to Zechariah in Zech 2:8 this suggestion is less certain. The identity of the official is ambiguous but most likely it refers to an angelic being rather than a human (Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision*, 232). See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 153–54). Collins also notices this similarity and argues that Dan 8 is influenced by Zechariah (Collins, *Daniel*, 337).

Zech 1-8 concern the presentation of the primary angel while their similarities center around the interaction of the secondary angels and the visionaries.

A second level of interaction between the angelic and human communities concerns the close relationship between the cosmic and earthly spheres. Daniel 7-12 reflects the common ancient Near Eastern understanding that the earthly community is a reflection of the heavenly realm. Angels in Dan 7-12 not only act as interpreters and teachers but they also adopt the role of protector and warrior. The visions of Daniel reflect the conflict and persecution suffered under Antiochus IV, which are described in the language of cosmic struggle. The first vision introduces the image of four beasts rising from the sea, recalling earlier chaos myths. After a lengthy description of the beasts only a short note summarizes the demise of the fourth, “I looked on. Then, because of the arrogant words that the horn spoke, the beast was killed as I looked on; its body was destroyed and it was consigned to the flames” (Dan 7:11). The text does not identify who is responsible for killing the beast but Collins suggests, “In the context it is reasonable to assume that the beast was slain by order of the court.” Thus, similarly to Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, a divine command has prompted a restoration of the earthly world by divine agents. A second example in which the earth and divine world are brought together in cosmic battle occurs in chapter 10. The angels Michael and Gabriel are described as taking part in a struggle against the Prince of Persia (Dan 10:13-14). Collins states:

The angelic patrons are conceived as distinct from their nations but inseparable from them. They represent a metaphysical dimension of the nations which is not fully actualized in any human king. They give imaginative expression to the author’s belief that each nation has a significance which goes beyond its manifest earthly reality. In this case, transcendent reality is represented by reference to celestial archetypes rather than to primordial paradigms.

Dan 10, like Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36, reveals that earthly struggles for power and dominance are

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764. The other three beasts are spared temporarily (Dan 7:12).
reflected in a larger cosmic world of battling angelic forces. A new detail added in Daniel is that certain angels identify themselves with a particular people or geographical territory. This is found elsewhere in Sir 17:17 and in 1 En. 89:59, but is missing from Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36.

Throughout Dan 7-12, interaction with the angelic community moves beyond the one-to-one interaction with Daniel and an interpreting angel. Daniel’s visions reveal that the angelic world is continually at work, whether in deliberating in the divine council (Dan 7) or fighting as patrons for earthly nations (Dan 10).

II. Divine-Angelic-Human Interaction

The above section has examined the specifics of angelic and human interaction in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. One could argue that this interaction is never independent of God since he is always depicted as the ultimate source of angelic authority and knowledge. However, the focus of our examination was restricted primarily to human and angelic interaction. In this section, the three-part relationship between God, angels and humans will be explored. Again, a helpful parallel to our texts is found in the book of Jubilees, in which both revelation by God and an angel are employed as a means of lending legitimacy to the work. Moses is first called up to the mountain by God to receive the tablets that God himself has written and to receive further instruction (Jub. 1:1, 4-6). Moses also receives instruction from the Angel of the Presence who is commanded by God to, “Write for Moses from the first creation until my sanctuary is built in their midst forever and ever” (Jub. 1:27). A final source of revelation are the heavenly tablets, which contain the history of Israel, the laws and the fates of humanity. Each of these sources of revelation serves to add legitimacy and authority to the book of Jubilees. They are each presented as divine sources of knowledge without any judgment attached to their efficacy. As Vanderkam states, “While the Lord is the ultimate source of the book, he did not reveal most of its contents

directly to Moses. Rather, he commanded that the disclosure take place through the agency of the angel of the presence.” In the following texts, angelic mediators serve as an important bridge between God and humanity. Rather than demonstrating the inferior nature of angelic mediation, Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 attest to a growing and diverse tradition of angelic mediation.

i. Zechariah 1

Although Zechariah is a postexilic prophet, the visions are sometimes judged as an inferior form of revelation since they are mediated through an angelic being. A comparison is often drawn between the symbolic visions of Amos and Jeremiah in which God directly interprets the visions for the prophets and Zechariah’s visions that are mediated by an angel. The substitution of an angel for God could be seen as a further distancing of God from humanity. However, this is not the message portrayed by Zechariah, as there is no negative judgment attached to the act of receiving angelic revelation. Instead, the use of angelic beings, especially an angelic interpreter, imparts a sense of authenticity and authority for the prophet’s visions. Zechariah, like his prophetic predecessors Amos and Jeremiah, receives visions but now an additional means to access heavenly secrets is provided. It is important to note that the prophet is given not only a personal interpreter but the opportunity to enter into dialogue with the angel through the use of a question-and-answer format. This differs considerably from preexilic

769. Sommer, “Did Prophecy Cease?” 42. Kingsbury implies a negative evaluation of Zechariah’s experience in the divine court when he omits it from the standard list of divine council texts in the Hebrew Bible (Kingsbury, “The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh,” 279). He states the following about the lack of direct contact between Zechariah and God, “The difference in the quality of the vision is that already by the time of Zechariah an intermediary is needed. The presence of an intermediary precludes the direct experience of the prophet in the council of Yahweh” (Kingsbury, “The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh,” 279, fn 1). For Kingsbury, the presence of an angelic mediator diminishes the quality of the prophet’s experience since it is now mediated versus unmediated revelation.
770. These visions include Am 7:7-9; 8:1-3; Jer 1:11-12, 13-19; 24. For more information on the development of the symbolic vision, see Niditch, The Symbolic Vision. Niditch for the most part interprets the angelic mediation in Zechariah as an innovative element and avoids any negative judgments.
symbolic visions since the dialogue is very limited, as God asks the prophet what he sees in the vision but there is neither room nor opportunity for the prophet to ask questions. While the prophet may not always receive direct communication from God (at least in the visionary cycle of Zechariah), this type of mediation, while different from preexilic forms, is never presented as inferior since the prophet, one could argue, is granted a greater access to understanding the visions than his preexilic counterparts. Moreover, it should be reiterated that angelic mediation was only one among many means that humanity had available to obtain divine revelation. Whether divine knowledge was attained by studying scriptures, receiving heavenly tablets or angelic mediation, it is clear that a variety of access points ensured the divine-human course could continue.

Angelic revelation is always portrayed as stemming from God and not from their own knowledge. An example of this three-part mediation between God-angel-human is found in the first vision of Zechariah (Zech 1:7-17). A pattern of dialogue emerges between deity, angel, prophet and the rest of the earthly community:

(12) Then the angel of the Lord exclaimed, “O Lord of Hosts! How long will you withhold pardon from Jerusalem and the towns of Judah, which you placed under a curse seventy years ago? (13) The Lord replied with kind, comforting words to the angel who talked with me. (14) Then the angel who talked with me said to me: “Proclaim! Thus said the Lord of Hosts: I am very jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion. (15) And I am very angry with those nations that are at ease; for I was only angry a little, but they overdid the punishment. (Zech 1:12-15)

As with Jubilees, angels are the vehicles through which God communicates to the prophet. In contrast to Jubilees, which contains both communication from God and angels, Zech 1-8 is mainly a series of angelic revelations. This is best illustrated through the following chart that demonstrates the highly structured nature of this discourse:

771. An example is found is Jer 1:11-12, 13-19. In both visions it is God who asks the prophet, “What do you see?” (Jer 1:11, 13). The prophet each time replies to this question with a short description of the vision whether it be an almond tree branch (Jer 1:11) or a steaming pot (Jer 1:13). But at no point does the prophet ask further questions of clarification.

In previous visions, we simply see the communication between angels and Zechariah; however, in this vision a perceptible structure of mediation unfolds. First, an angelic being, after witnessing the situation on earth, laments on behalf of humanity to God. As mentioned previously, Zechariah’s representation of an angel praying to God on behalf of humanity is a new feature within the Hebrew Bible. In response to the angel’s speech, the text states that “The Lord replied with kind, comforting words to the angel who talked with me” (Zech 1:13). The content of these kind and comforting words is never revealed but their favourable nature confirms that God responds positively to the angel’s intercession. The angel then assumes his normal role as mediator by announcing to the prophet a message from God (Zech 1:14-17). A final level of interaction is found in God’s command (through the angel) for the prophet to proclaim this message to his community (Zech 1:14, 17). Thus, Zechariah is brought into this divine-angelic conversation and commissioned to act as a messenger.

773. This is part of the structure noted by: Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 129.
774. The expression) how long” is commonly used in individual laments to God (Ps 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3). Meyers and Meyers note that this form is unusual among the prophets but is found in Isa 6:11 (Meyers and Meyers, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, 116).
775. Petersen, Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, 151.
776. Tigchelaar has noted, “In the ‘night visions’ the angel of Yahweh not only comments on the scenes Zechariah witnesses, but he also assumes the prophetic role. The word of Yahweh comes to the angel, not to Zechariah” (Tigchelaar, Prophets of Old, 250). Tigchelaar is correct to a certain extent as he is arguing that both in Zechariah and 1 En. 1-36 there is a blurring of boundaries between the roles of humans and angels. And yet, I would argue that the night visions of Zechariah do not necessarily see the demotion of the prophet in favour of the angel. Instead, we see the elevation of the prophet as participating in the divine-angelic conversation as he brings God’s words to his community.
The visions of *1 En.* 1-36 follow the trend found in Zechariah that angels are pictured as mediators between God and humanity, especially as the conveyors of human prayers to the divine throne room. This becomes a normative feature of Second Temple Judaism, as it is expected that angels are the means through which humanity’s cries are heard by God (*1 En.* 9:1-11; 89:76). In *1 En.* 9, a structure of divine-angelic-human communication similar to that of Zech 1 is apparent:

- human cries → four archangels (holy ones)
- four archangels → God
- God → four archangels
- archangels → [sent to earth]

Humans initiate dialogue with God by appealing to him for aid (*1 En.* 9:2-3). Their cry is heard by angels situated at the gates of heaven who intercede for them to God (*1 En.* 9:1-3). In response to the archangel’s intercession, God gives each of the angels a specific mission to restore order on earth (*1 En.* 10). This multi-layered interaction between the heavenly and earthly realms demonstrates the pivotal role of angelic mediators who serve as a bridge between God and humanity. The placement of this interaction between God and the angels is important to the overall narrative in *1 En.* 6-16. It establishes this divine-angelic-human interaction as normative and legitimate. In the previous chapters, *1 En.* 6-8, the sins of the fallen watchers are revealed and give an explanation for the ensuing chaos on earth. The reader is assured after reading *1 En.* 9 that angelic mediation continues to function, as there are angels who can still approach God with human petitions.

This normal procedure of divine-angelic-human communication is reversed during Enoch’s ascension, when he is asked to serve as an intercessor for the fallen watchers. The holy ones approach Enoch and state:
It is to Enoch, a human, that the holy ones engage to deliver a message from God to another set of angels, ones who have fallen out of favour. It is noteworthy that Enoch is asked to mediate between both classes of angels. The following structure demonstrates the complex lines of communication between human and divine counterparts:

1. Watchers (heavenly) → Enoch
2. Enoch → Asael and the fallen Watchers
3. Fallen watchers → Enoch
4. Enoch → God
5. God → Enoch
6. Enoch → Fallen watchers

Once Enoch announces the judgment of God upon the fallen angels, they in turn plead for Enoch to petition God on their behalf (I En. 13:4-7). This is a complete reversal of the normative sequence found in I En. 9. As Nickelsburg notes, the watchers’ request is full of irony, “They ask Enoch, a man, to perform an angelic duty that they themselves are ineligible to perform.” I would also add that this reversal of roles began not with a request by the fallen watchers but from the holy ones serving God, making it even more perplexing. It is curious that the holy ones would ask for help from a human being. Stéphane Duclos makes a good point concerning the need for Enoch to assume these mediatorial responsibilities:

…dans le Livre des Veilleurs, la chute des anges interdit durablement toute manifestation de Dieu dans le monde. L’élévation d’Hénoch aux cieux est la seule réponse possible à cette catastrophe primordiale. Le patriarche devient alors le nouveau médiateur entre ciel et terre.

777. Ethiopic reads “the holy eternal place” whereas GrPan has “the sanctuary of the eternal place.”
778. GrPan has “you” instead of “they” making this part of Enoch’s rebuke to the watchers. The Ethiopic has indirect speech throughout including verse five (Knibb, The Ethiopian Book of Enoch, 92).
779. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 237.
We have the opposite situation here in *I En. 6-16* than what is found in Zech 3. In Zechariah’s vision, the high priest must stand in the divine court to receive purification by divine beings for the restoration of earthly life. Yet in *I En. 6-16*, it is the impurity wrought by divine beings on earth that necessitates the ascension of a human to heaven who will act as intercessor between the angels and God.

A further juxtaposition is established between the earlier chapters 9 and 12, which features the work of intercessors both angelic and human. In chapter 9, the angels adopt their normal role as intercessors between humans and God. But in chapters 12-16, this role shifts from angelic beings to Enoch. It is he who is sent by the good angels to the watchers and in turn it is he who writes the petition of the watchers (*I En. 13:4-7*). Even though God notes the reversal of roles “You should petition in behalf of humans, and not humans in behalf of you” (*I En. 15:2b*), he does nothing to change it. Indeed, he too charges Enoch to act as one of his angels to go and speak to the watchers concerning their fate (*I En. 16:2-4*). Concerning Enoch’s mission to the fallen watchers, VanderKam states, “The picture here is remarkable: Enoch, a man, evokes fear and trembling from angels when he approaches - a reaction more appropriate for an appearance of a divine being.”

Not only is Enoch proven superior to the fallen watchers but he is allowed the freedom to ascend to heaven and to tour the cosmos, while they are relegated to a place of punishment. They are denied both the ability to ascend to heaven (*I En. 14:5*) and by extension, access to heavenly secrets. The contrast between the fallen angels and Enoch is apparent when only a few verses after stating the prohibition for the watchers to ascend to heaven, Enoch is taken up to the throne room of God (*I En. 14:8*). We can see how Enoch becomes more “angelic” as he first assumes the traditional role of intercessor and secondly is given many of the privileges of angelic beings.

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782. I am in no way arguing that Enoch actually becomes an angel in *The Book of Watchers* but that the portrayal of a human assuming angelic characteristics and duties paves for the way for later texts such as *2 Enoch* to describe humans achieving angelic status.
Daniel, like his counterparts Zechariah and Enoch, also conceives of revelation as deriving ultimately from God. A number of angelic mediators are interspersed throughout the visions of Daniel, with Gabriel acting as the primary mediator. Gabriel’s appearance in Dan 9 demonstrates how angelic revelation is perceived as a means of establishing a legitimate interpretation for the human community. In his penitential prayer, Daniel makes reference to Jeremiah’s seventy year prophecy and recontextualizes and applies it to his own situation. Later in Dan 9, the angel Gabriel visits and provides a different interpretation of Jeremiah’s prophecy, understanding that seventy years is really seventy weeks of years (490).783 This is an interpretation that is only possible to attain through the aid of a divine being.784 Alex Jassen calls this activity by the angel “revelatory exegesis.”785 Gabriel acts as both messenger and interpreter for Daniel:

(20) While I was speaking, praying and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and laying my supplication before the Lord my God on behalf of the holy mountain of my God— (21) while I was uttering my prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had previously seen in a vision, was sent forth in flight and reached me about the time of the evening offering. (22) He made me understand by speaking to me and saying, “Daniel, I have just come forth to give you understanding. (23) A word went forth as you began your plea, and I have come to tell it, for you are precious; so mark the word and understand the vision. (Dan 9:20-23)

Angelic revelation is presented in a positive light as it brings understanding to Daniel concerning an ancient prophecy that he is unable to comprehend fully on his own (Dan 8:15-16; 9:21-22; 222


785. Jassen, Mediating the Divine, 238.
10:14; 12:8). Moreover, even before Daniel is finished uttering his prayer to God (Dan 9:20-21), he receives an immediate response from the angel Gabriel, who states that he has been sent to provide understanding to Daniel.\(^7\) This angelic mediation is not depicted as inferior nor is God’s response to Daniel presented as distant or uninterested. The angel even makes a remark that Daniel is considered “precious” (9:23; cf. 10:11), implying his worth to God. Furthermore, Gabriel tells Daniel that he received his summons as Daniel began his plea and not after he had finished it. The lack of direct communication between God and Daniel is not an issue since he has a direct link to the divine world. As in Zech 1-8 and \(I En.\) 1-36, again in this scene we have a tripartite view of revelation:

- Daniel’s prayer → God
- God → Gabriel
- Gabriel → Daniel

The layers of interaction are not as clearly defined as in Zech 1-8 and \(I En.\) 1-36. First, Daniel is said to pray directly to God (Dan 9:3-4, 20). It is not clear if Daniel, like other Second Temple texts, understands angels as intercessors for the prayers of humans. There is no information on whether Daniel’s prayer is brought to God by angelic mediators as in \(I En.\) 9, but the text is clear that Gabriel is sent (presumably by God) in response to Daniel’s prayer after “a word went forth” (Dan 9:23). Daniel is only able to understand the prophecy of Jeremiah through the aid of an angelic being commissioned by God.\(^7\) Like Zech 1-8 and \(I En.\) 1-36, angelic revelation is portrayed as deriving its authority from God and thus serves as a legitimate way for humanity to gain a greater understanding of heavenly mysteries.

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\(^7\) Concerning the quick response of Gabriel, Collin’s states, “The revelation is a response not to the content of the prayer (which is not a request for illumination) but to the fact that Daniel prays. It is reasonable to infer that the course of events foretold by the angel was already determined before and independently of Daniel’s prayer (Collins, \(Daniel\), 352).

\(^7\) Jassen, \(Mediating the Divine\), 218.
Conclusion

This chapter has examined both the locations in the visions and type of divine/angelic/human interaction found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. First, an examination of the similarities and differences regarding their depictions of cosmic geography demonstrates an overwhelming familiarity and reuse of earlier ancient Near Eastern, Greek and biblical traditions. Like the rest of the ancient world, the visions of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, attest to a tripartite division of the world: the heavens, the earth and the underworld. It is the first two (the heavens and the earth) that are of the utmost importance for these books as each is engaging in a larger dialogue concerning the fluidity between the boundaries separating heaven and earth. Despite a sense of disconnect following the exile and a disappointment in the efforts towards restoration, each of these books shows that access to divine knowledge was still possible. In each of the locales (earthly, liminal areas, heavenly throne room) interaction between angelic beings and humans is shown as possible. The multiplicity of access points between heaven and earth is indicative of a more positive view towards revelation in this time period than is often understood by some scholars. Their representations of cosmic locations is by no means identical but the visions of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 demonstrate that early ideas of angelic mediation shared many views regarding the fluid boundaries between the divine and human worlds.

Secondly, the visions of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 attest to the evolving nature of revelation in the Second Temple Period. The increased presence of angels as interpreters and the active participation of visionaries find their beginnings in these texts. And yet, these texts do not perceive angelic revelation as either inferior or less effective than forms of communication with God in the pre-exilic era. The conclusion of the Book of Watchers best describes the positive evaluation the seers held toward angelic mediation:

And when I saw, I blessed - and I shall always bless - the Lord of glory, who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show his great deeds to his angels and to the spirits of human beings, so that they might see the work of his might and glorify the deeds of his
hands and bless him forever. (1 En. 36:4)

This is a fair representation of the tripartite communication between God-angel-human that is present in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. Divine knowledge, though transmitted by angelic beings, is always seen as stemming from God himself. Thus, it is continuously viewed as a legitimate way to access revelation. Moreover, each of the texts demonstrate the involvement of God and his angelic hosts in the affairs of the world. Angelic beings continue to cross the divide between heaven and earth but increasingly, select humans are allowed greater access to the heavenly world. A modern negative evaluation of angelic mediation stems from an overemphasis on the perceived distance of God from the affairs of the world. While a genuine sense of loss is perceived with the destruction of the temple, it should be noted that both in the pre-exilic and post-exilic world a certain sense of removal between heaven and earth is felt. Nickelsburg presents a helpful view of the increasing presence of angels following the exile:

Thus in 1 Enoch’s massive and complicated world of divine beings is not symptomatic of a theology that simply depicts God as increasingly remote - as sometimes claimed of apocalyptic literature. Rather, it maintains the accessibility of a God whose majesty and distance from humanity are, at least in part, functions of a changing worldview that recognizes increasingly the immensity of the cosmos.

I would add that this perspective is not isolated to 1 En. 1-36 but is shared by Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12. Angelic mediation is not a replacement of communication with God but rather an extension of that interaction. Instead of finding a negative portrayal of angelic mediation in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, the opposite is present: that angels serve as an effective and desirable means to access divine knowledge.

789. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch, 45.
790. With the obvious exception of the fallen watchers in 1 En. 1-36.
CONCLUSION

My heart is not fixed on earthly things because the earth and all that inhabit it are unstable. But my heart holds fast to the heaven, because there is no trouble in heaven.

Testament of Job 36:3

This thesis has sought to delineate the roles and functions of angelic mediators in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. The purpose behind such an investigation was to outline the variety of angelic mediators found in these revelatory works and thus to demonstrate the complexity of angelology in the Second Temple Period. The preceding study has looked beyond the standard terms of “angelus interpres” and “angelic guide” that are typically applied to angels in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. These terms imply that an angelus interpres is only responsible for the interpretation of visions while a guiding angel’s sole function is to escort a seer on a cosmic journey. As this study has shown, angels assume a variety of functions. Thus, the angels of Zech 1-8 and Dan 7-12 who are typically known as “interpreting angels” are also intercessors and advocates for humanity. Additionally, the angelic guides of 1 En. 1-36 not only guide the seer but interpret his visions and intercede for humanity. Thus, I have referred to the angels mainly as mediators or intermediaries to acknowledge the flexibility and fluidity of roles that they assume.

These angelic figures have received little sustained attention, as it is the visions and journeys in which they appear that have been the subject of much scholarly analysis. This study has mapped out the similarities and differences apparent in the angels of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. It has shown that one can speak of a common tradition of angelic mediation but not necessarily one that is uniform.791 This assertion stems from Daniel’s adoption and reuse of

791. I have argued against the view that Zechariah and Daniel’s portrayal of angels is identical. Although she does not compare Zechariah to 1 Enoch, Niditch’s work has argued for a development of the symbolic vision from Zechariah to Daniel. While this is apparent
an angelic mediator who interprets the visions of a seer. However, when comparing these three
texts, it is noticeable that Zechariah’s primary angel, המַלְאָךְ הָדְרַךְ, and Enoch’s angels (such as Uriel) have many similarities, especially with regards to the engaged discussion featuring a
question-and-answer format. Daniel 7-12 does not share this tradition but his angels, like those of
Zech 1-8 (and to a lesser extent 1 En. 1-36), serve to interpret symbolic visions. Thus, even
within these earlier texts a variety of forms of angelic mediation is present. This study has
acknowledged the varying portrayals of angelic mediation while drawing lines of continuity
between the texts. I have treated Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 as foundational to later
adaptations of angelic mediators because it is here that angelic beings occur for the first time in
dreams and visions as interpreters, guides and intercessors. They are important transitional texts
in the larger spectrum of angelic mediation in Second Temple Judaism. And yet they also
appropriate many of these traditions from the ancient Near East, Greece and the Hebrew Bible. I
have stressed throughout the study that angelic mediation is only one among many modes of
revelation in the Second Temple Period. The texts repeatedly emphasize the variety of ways that
ancient figures could attain revelation, whether through the use of angels, heavenly tablets,
exemplary figures like Moses or the reinterpretation of older scriptural texts. This variety of
modes of revelation extends to our study of angelic mediation. Above all, angelic mediation is
not a homogenous entity but a growing and changing phenomenon in Second Temple Judaism.

The first chapter explored possible avenues and sources that may have inspired Zech 1-8,
1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 presentation of angelic mediators. Depictions of interaction between
heavenly and earthly communities is widespread throughout the ancient world. I examined the
regarding the symbolic vision, it is not representative of a similar development of the actual role
and function of angelic mediators (Niditch, The Symbolic Vision). Additionally, I have also
argued against those who draw too large a distinction between Zechariah’s and Enoch’s angelic
beings. Tigchelaar has argued that Zechariah’s angel should not be considered an “apocalyptic”
angel like those found in Daniel and 1 Enoch. While he acknowledges the form in both texts is
similar, he argues that the content of their activities is quite different (Tigchelaar, “L’ange qui
parlait à Zacharie,” 358–59).
evidence for various functions of divine beings, including that of messenger, interpreter, guide and intercessor. The texts surveyed were chosen for their similarity to Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, especially if they involved interaction between a human and divine being in a visionary mode. While there are many examples of deities appearing as messengers in dreams, it is less common to find them interpreting symbolic visions. One also finds many examples of dialogue between deities and dreamers but it is only in the Greek material that something approaching the question-and-answer format is found. Moreover, the appearance of oneroi, liminal dream figures, corresponds with a shift in Jewish dreams that also feature a change from God to angelic beings as mediators. What sets the visions of Zech 1-8, I En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 apart from their ancient Near Eastern and Greek counterparts is the focus on angels as interpreters. While there are some limited examples of deities acting as interpreters, it is much more common that dreams were interpreted by a class of professional dream interpreters. The Persian material especially bears strong similarities to Jewish texts, as the main deity Ahura Mazda interprets a symbolic vision using a question-and-answer format. Though the similarities are intriguing, the ambiguity surrounding the dating of the Persian material makes it difficult to know with any certainty the level of influence upon the Jewish texts. Finally, the roles of guide and intercessor are also found throughout the ancient world, making it very likely that they were influential in forming early Jewish notions of angelic mediation.\footnote{792} Again it is the Persian and Greek materials that show some of the strongest correspondences to early Jewish mediators especially with regards to the use of dialogue between divine and earthly beings. The ancient Near Eastern and Greek backgrounds are helpful for illuminating how Jewish notions of angelic mediation both participate and deviate from this larger context. One can see strong continuities between the ancient world and Jewish depictions of angelic mediators; however, the prevalence of angelic interpreters and the question-and-answer format is not as prominent elsewhere in the

\footnote{792. This is quite likely since earlier Israelite traditions of angelic intercession are sparse.}
ancient world.

In addition to the ancient Near Eastern and Greek influences, a rich biblical tradition is found especially in Genesis, Exodus and Ezekiel, which has shaped later conceptions of angelic and human interaction. Scholars have noted the diversification of angelic beings following the exile. And yet, many early traditions can be traced to texts from Genesis and Exodus. A passage like Gen 28 is particular intriguing for this study, as the narrative in the Hebrew Bible does not contain an angelic mediator but a later text, the *Ladder of Jacob*, retells the same story and inserts an angelic being who interprets Jacob’s dream. Though the interpretive activity of angelic beings is an innovation of Zechariah, it was not conceived or developed in isolation from earlier Israelite traditions. Additionally, the representation of angelic figures in the book of Ezekiel has been extremely influential. More than any other text, the function of angels as guides and escorts is developed from Ezekiel’s copper figure in chapters 40-48. However, I have argued throughout this thesis that one cannot look to Ezekiel alone for the development of angelic guides. The dynamic dialogue featuring a question-and-answer format found in texts like *1 En*. 1-36 is missing from Ezekiel but is found in Zech 1-8. Finally, the book of Job is an important text to consider with regards to the development of angelic mediation as it demonstrates an awareness of angelic intercession. It is not always clear whether this angelic mediation was effective or desired, but cast in light of the opening chapters (Job 1-2) it testifies to a closer relationship between divine beings and humans than Job and friends are aware of. Determining the exact literary roots of angelic mediation was not the goal of the chapter but instead I have tried to situate angelic mediation within its ancient Near Eastern, Greek and Israelite context.

I not only considered religious and mythological texts describing the activities of divine beings but also the possible sociological roots that inform the development of their various functions. This is based on the notion that depictions of the heavenly realm are described using language reminiscent of earthly institutions. Thus, heaven is typically pictured as a temple or court with God acting as an earthly king seated on the throne surrounded by his attendants and
courtiers. In this analogy, angelic beings serve as the attendants and messengers of God who serve and do his bidding. Following this logic, it is reasonable to imagine that the functions of angelic beings are also derived from their earthly counterparts. I began by examining the role of the messenger in the ancient Near East as one who does more than simply convey a verbatim message from one party to another. A more accurate way to understand the role of ancient messengers was that of a diplomat or translator. It was their responsibility to ensure that the message was communicated effectively, whether it required translation to another language or to culturally specific terms. The roles assigned and associated with human messengers included that of interpreter, escort and intercessor, which are reflected in the functions of angelic beings throughout the Second Temple Period. The similarities between the function of messengers in the ancient world and angelic beings in Jewish texts suggests the need to adopt a more nuanced understanding of angels as messengers. It also helps explain the multiple roles assigned to angelic beings, especially in the Second Temple Period, who appear to deviate from our traditional understanding of a messenger.

After determining the roots of angelic mediation in the ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible, I proceeded in chapters two and three to examine four characteristics of angelic mediators: identity, function, locus and interaction. Each of these features are found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 to differing degrees. First, a prominent characteristic of Second Temple texts featuring angelic mediators is the multiplicity of divine beings. This is true of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, as various types of divine beings interact with the human recipient. The act of interpretation or providing divine knowledge not only comes from a well-known angel like Gabriel but also from lesser-known angelic beings. I have argued that each of our texts

793. Determining which comes first, the heavenly or earthly model is impossible to know. One could argue that earthly representations of a royal court are based on the heavenly model.

794. Not all functions assigned to angels are related to the roles of ancient messengers. Some roles like that of scribe or priest are reflective of the growing importance of human scribal and priestly communities.
differentiates between a primary angelic mediator and secondary divine beings who also interact with the prophet or seer. It is not that they necessarily function differently but that the primary angels are the constant companion who accompanies the human throughout his visions. These primary angels are typically given proper names or titles such as Zechariah’s מַעֲלֵךְ הָדְבֵּר בֵּי and Enoch’s Uriel.\textsuperscript{795} Their primary duty is to help the prophet or seer understand the visions that they are experiencing. After comparing the primary angels of Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, this study concluded that the terms \textit{angelus interpres} and angelic guide do not do justice to the portrayal of angelic beings. The role of these primary angelic mediators cannot be reduced to one function, as they can act as interpreters, intercessors and guides throughout a single text. In addition, a host of other angels are featured in these texts who are often underappreciated. It is important to recognize and appreciate the role that these secondary angels adopt in the texts as they play important supporting parts. Like the primary angels, these angelic beings also interact with the prophet or seer and can assume the role of interpreter, intercessor and advocate. Zechariah 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 all reflect the use of primary and secondary angels with a variety of roles.

The next characteristic I examined was the specific functions assigned to angelic beings. It is common to find angelic mediators treated as stock characters with little differentiation made with regard to their roles in the text. Thus מַעֲלֵךְ הָדְבֵּר בֵּי in Zech 1-8 and the angel Gabriel in Dan 7-12 are considered to fulfill the same role as interpreter. In contrast, the angel Uriel of 1 En. 1-36 (esp. 17-36) is regarded as functioning quite differently in his role as cosmic escort. And yet as I have argued, the angelic mediators of Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 at times have much more in common with each other than with the angelic mediators in Dan 7-12. I have noted that a chief difference between the role of angelic beings from the preexilic to the postexilic age is the

\textsuperscript{795} I noted that this trend is somewhat different in Daniel as the text is ambiguous concerning the identity of his angelic mediators. However, the angel Gabriel takes on a prominent role as interpreter in the seer’s visions.
relationship between angel and human. In the earlier biblical materials, angels come as messengers to humanity and the communication is largely one way to passive human recipients. This changes drastically in the post-exilic era as humans begin to interact with their angelic mediators by asking pointed and direct questions. Zechariah and Enoch are not content with the answers given to them but continually challenge their angelic companions to reveal more information about the visions they experience. In contrast, Daniel’s relationship with his angelic mediators is neither depicted as intimate nor as interactive as Zechariah and Enoch. First, he lacks the continuous presence of a primary angel like Uriel, and instead is visited by a number of angelic beings. Additionally, he is pictured more as a passive recipient than an active participant in the process of angelic revelation. Although initially he does approach an anonymous attendant for information regarding his vision (Dan 7:16), he does not further question the angel even though he remains unsettled by the revelations (Dan 7:28). This passivity is repeated throughout his encounters with the divine beings as he does not take up the question-and-answer format found so prominently in Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36. I argued that this noticeable difference between the angelic mediators of Zechariah and Daniel stems from Daniel’s greater reliance on Ezekiel. It is clear that Dan 7-12 relies on Zechariah’s use of angelic mediators in the context of symbolic visions but this is tempered by his use of angels found in Ezekiel.

By analyzing the role and function of angelic mediators rather than the medium of symbolic vision or cosmic journey, a closer relationship between Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 is apparent. Although one might characterize Uriel as a guide rather than interpreter, these functions share many similarities. It is normally argued that Uriel’s role as guide is derived from

796. This passivity is also characteristic of the relationship between God and prophet in the symbolic visions of Amos and Jeremiah. In these symbolic visions, God gives the interpretation of the visions but the prophet never asks for further clarification nor does he initiate the conversation. In both Zechariah and 1 Enoch, the humans are known to initiate the dialogue with their angelic companions and continually ask the angels questions to understand their visions more deeply.
Ezekiel’s copper figure in chapters 40-48.\textsuperscript{797} And yet there are some anomalies that point to another source of influence. These points of dissimilarity, the use of a question-and-answer format and the active role of the seer in this dialogue, are also characteristic of the visions of Zechariah. The relationship between the two texts is not clear but some have argued that \textit{I En.} 1-36 shows awareness of Zechariah’s visions.\textsuperscript{798} The goal of this thesis is not to demonstrate exact literary transmission but to establish an emerging tradition of angelic revelation found in Zech 1-8, \textit{I En.} 1-36 and Dan 7-12. They are by no means identical in their presentation of angelic mediation but broad lines of continuity can be traced between them. Finally, like other Second Temple texts, angelic mediators in Zech 1-8, \textit{I En.} 1-36 and Dan 7-12 are endowed with multiple functions and roles. In addition to their roles as interpreters and guides we also find that angels are depicted as intercessors and advocates for humanity. This leaves us with the picture of angels in the Second Temple period who cannot be easily characterized. Angelic revelation is multifaceted and continually evolves in relation to a communities’ own historical context. And yet Zech 1-8, \textit{I En.} 1-36 and Dan 7-12 leave no doubt that their communities view angelic revelation and mediation as an authentic means of attaining authoritative knowledge of the divine world.

Following this examination of the identity and function of angelic mediators, in chapter three I considered the location of revelation and the type of interaction. It is generally agreed that the place of angels is found in heaven while earth remains the abode of humanity. And yet early Jewish texts like their ancient Near Eastern and Greek counterparts envision a world where divine and human communities interact. It is more common in Jewish texts that angels cross the

\textsuperscript{797} Himmelfarb, \textit{Ascent to Heaven}, 73.

\textsuperscript{798} Himmelfarb does not discuss the influence of Zechariah upon \textit{I Enoch} but notes that it contains “the best biblical parallels to the question-and-answer form of the Book of Watchers and many later tour apocalypses (Himmelfarb, \textit{Tours of Hell}, 58). Nickelsburg points to the work of Marie-Theres Wacker who argues that Enoch’s journey narrative may have drawn inspiration from Zech 1-6 as both works organize their material around ring structures. Zechariah’s visions begin and end with horses while Enoch sees the places of the stars (Nickelsburg, \textit{I Enoch}, 292; Wacker, \textit{Weltordnung und Gericht}, 292–94).
boundary from heaven to earth but increasingly, privileged humans are granted access to the divine realm. Location plays a prominent role in our texts and shapes the manner in which angelic and human interaction is conceived. Three locations of interaction are found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12: the earth, liminal heavenly areas and the divine council. Each of our texts attests to a growing understanding that the boundaries between heaven and earth are not as fixed as generally perceived. Zechariah, Enoch and Daniel experience angelic visitations in places clearly identified as earthly regions. Enoch, especially, speaks of both the potentially positive and negative results of such a permeable boundary between heaven and earth with his focus on the actions of the fallen watchers. It is significant that each of these texts also identifies peripheral areas as important conduits between the divine and human realm. For Zechariah and Enoch, it is the cosmic mountain that serves as a gateway between the two worlds. Angels are pictured as descending from Mount Hermon (1 En. 6:5), and in Zechariah two copper mountains guard the entrance to heaven (Zech 6:1-8). Daniel is not as focused on geographical locales but still the cosmic sea is portrayed as a site of divine interaction (Dan 7:2-5). Although each text demonstrates its own peculiarities regarding cosmic geography, they each attest to a similar understanding of its importance with respect to interaction between angels and humans. For Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, the city of Jerusalem remains a central point of contact between the divine and human realms (Zech 2:5-9; 1 En. 26; Dan 6:10). However, they also each envision peripheral locations as important conduits between heaven and earth. Finally, human presence and participation in the divine council is highlighted by each of our texts. They each witness the proceedings of the heavenly council and the decisions made affecting the earthly community (Zech 3:1-5; 1 En. 14:8-23; Dan 7:9-10). This extended focus on the location of revelation between the earthly and heavenly communities can be seen as a deliberate effort to show that the divide between God and humanity is not insurmountable. Not only can angelic beings cross the divide from heaven to earth but certain elect individuals are also given access to the very throne room of heaven.
The final point of comparison between Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 was their presentation of interaction between the heavenly and earthly realm. A common misconception of angelic revelation is that it is considered inferior to revelation directly given by God to humans. Although some modern scholarship may view angelic revelation as more indirect and less preferable to direct contact with God, this opinion is not present in the ancient material. Instead angelic revelation is viewed as an important point of contact between the human and divine realm. I examined two different types of interaction: angelic-human and divine-angelic-human. The discourse between angel and human is a prominent feature of our three texts. Angelic revelation is regarded as a positive means of attaining a correct and legitimate interpretation. Both Zechariah and Enoch continually engage angelic beings in conversation by asking direct questions concerning their visions. On the other hand, Daniel is more reticent in his interactions with angelic mediators. He does not engage in questioning the angelic beings to the same degree as Zechariah and Enoch. However, at various points he is depicted as actively seeking out such revelation (Dan 7:16; 9:2-3). Angelic revelation for each text is never viewed as inferior but rather the opposite, as it helps the prophet or seer understand to a greater degree their visions. Finally, each of the texts are very clear in delineating that angelic revelation stems ultimately from God. Though revelation is mediated throughout the visions, each of the texts clearly outlines the direct link between God, angel and human. God is not a distant and inaccessible deity. Instead, for Zechariah, Enoch and Daniel, angelic mediation ensures they maintain a direct link to the heavenly realm.

799. Himmelfarb aptly addresses this issue, “Indeed once we have recognized how widely the problem of God’s distance was perceived in the Greco-Roman world, we realize that angels, like emanations, are not its cause but an attempt at a solution. The idea that the heavens are full of angels assures human beings of contact with the sphere of the divine, even if only its periphery” (Himmelfarb, Ascent to Heaven, 70).
Implications

I. Divine-Human Mediation

As noted at numerous points in the thesis, angelic mediation is only one of many ways that ancient communities sought to communicate with the divine world. Angelic mediation should be viewed within the larger matrix of divine mediation present in the Second Temple Period. These might include exalted patriarchs, divine attributes (Logos), or messianic and eschatological figures (David, Melchizedek). This diversity of avenues to access divine revelation should not come as a surprise as a similar system operated in the pre-exilic era. Divine knowledge was not only available through direct revelation from God but also through the aid of prophets, priests, kings, texts and rituals. Therefore, the ability to access divine revelation in the post-exilic era was not only available to those visited by angelic mediators but also by scribes like Ben Sira who meditated on the “wisdom of all the ancients” (Sir 39:1-6). Not only should angelic mediation be considered on par with other forms of mediation but the boundaries between it and other modes of revelation are not always clear. The precise definition of what constitutes an “angelic mediator” is somewhat ambiguous as other mediatorial figures such divine attributes and exalted patriarchs were also described as angelic at times. In addition, these modes of revelation could work together simultaneously as in the case of Enoch who not only receives divine knowledge from angelic revelation but also heavenly tablets (1 En. 93:2). These multiple avenues for bridging the gap between the heavenly and earthly realms demonstrates a continuation of the divine-human discourse. It might not be the same as what existed in the pre-exilic period but angelic mediation is one of many ways that this discourse was extended into the post-exilic era.

801. As noted elsewhere in the thesis, the book of Jubilees demonstrates how a variety of modes of revelation were available to the ancient communities including: heavenly tablets, angelic revelation, an exalted patriarch and reuse of older traditions. See Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing”.
II. Revelation as Interpretation

Following the exile, there is noticeable rise in the interpretation of older books or prophecies. The interpreters could be a leader of the community like Ezra (Neh 8) or an angelic being as found in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12. There is a sense in many scholarly arguments that the interpretation of older traditions to generate a new prophecy or vision is a step removed from the “authentic” revelation of the pre-exilic era. Kugel’s point that the divine-human discourse in the pre-exilic era was not only accomplished by select human leaders but also by texts is important to remember. He states, “Long before the Babylonian Exile, the word of God and his messengers had been committed to memory and to writing, and Israel had cherished these words; even in preexilic times, the record of ancient deeds and ancient legislation had constituted an important part of God’s “speech” to humans.”\(^{802}\) As noted earlier in the thesis, the process of interpreting the older laws in the Torah was already present in the preexilic age.\(^{803}\) These new interpretations were not seen as secondary but achieved the same level of authenticity.\(^{804}\) The interpretation of older traditions to produce new revelations is not denigrated but viewed as a revelatory act in itself. Thus, we should see angelic speech as simply another means of God’s discourse with humanity. Like other modes of mediation, angelic speech is one of many ways that ensured the divine-human discourse could continue.

III. Fluidity of Traditions

As noted throughout this thesis, the depiction of angelic mediation is not a static enterprise, Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 all demonstrate their own unique adaptations of earlier models. Moreover, their angelic mediators, while similar, are not completely identical.\(^{805}\)

\(^{804}\) See chapter two of the thesis (p. 89-95).
\(^{805}\) Collins states this similarly in a discussion of Dan 7, “We must bear in mind that whoever composed Dan 7 was a creative author, not merely a copyist of ancient sources. It
Understanding this diversity of angelic mediators is important as too often the continuities between Zechariah’s and the various angelic mediators found in Dan 7-12 are overstated. As we have seen, there are significant differences between the interaction of the human and angel in these two texts. Zechariah’s active participation in the visionary episodes contrasts sharply with Daniel’s passivity and lack of inquisitiveness. And yet perhaps surprisingly, one finds many similarities between Zechariah’s mediating angel and the actions of Uriel in 1 En. 17-36. One of the most distinguishing features found in Zech 1-8 and 1 En. 1-36 is the presence of a question-and-answer format allowing the prophet to participate in the revelatory process.806 As demonstrated by the angelic mediators in Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12, angelic roles are not necessarily neatly divided and much overlap is present.

Despite the variations regarding angelic mediation in these three texts, they are each concerned to reestablish and maintain the divine-human discourse. In contrast to earlier pre-exilic texts, angelic mediators in all three texts move beyond the traditional role of messenger and adopt more specialized roles as interpreters. Although there is much fluidity in their presentation of angelic mediators, Zech 1-8, 1 En. 1-36 and Dan 7-12 adopt angelic mediators as a means of ensuring legitimacy and authority for their visions. Though they each derive from different time periods and communities, there is a similar response to the social situation with which they are located. I have proposed throughout the thesis that the distance felt between the heavenly and earthly world in the wake of the exile required a renewal of the “divine-human discourse.”807

should be no surprise that his composition is a new entity, discontinuous in some respects with all its sources. What is significant is whether there are also aspects of the text that are rendered more intelligible when considered in the context of the proposed background” (Collins, Daniel, 282).

806. Angelic mediation in 1 En. 1-36 should also not be considered as a uniform system. As noted throughout the thesis, the angelic mediation found in chs. 6-16 and 17-36 is quite different. The question-and-answer format is found only in the journeys of Enoch (17-36) and although angelic mediators are found in the earlier sections (1 En. 9-11) of the Book of Watchers they take on different roles especially as intercessors and advocates. Even within the tour journeys of chs. 17-19 and 20-36 there are some important differences in the level of interaction between human and angel.

the pre-exilic period, this gap was mediated primarily by the prophet but also by priests and kings. Some have interpreted the rise of angelic mediators in the post-exilic period as a symptom of God’s remoteness from earthly concerns; however, each of these three books have also demonstrated an absence or instability of human leadership in their communities. Thus, the increased role of the angel as mediator may not be taking over so much a function once assigned to God but one usually assumed by human mediators. And yet these books do not dismiss human leaders as there continues to be a future for prophets like Zechariah, exalted intercessors like Enoch and a future resurrection for the righteous as described in Dan 12.

808. Kugel notes that the role of the prophet as the spokesperson for God is sometimes over emphasized as other mediatorial figures are also found in ancient Israel (Kugel, Early Biblical Interpretation, 15).
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