

Note: This Work has been made available by the authority of the copyright owner solely for the purpose of private study and research and may not be copied or reproduced except as permitted by the copyright laws of Canada without the written authority from the copyright owner.

Accepted Manuscript (AM) Citation: Reynolds, Benjamin E. " The Otherworldly Mediators in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: A Comparison with Angelic Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses and in Daniel, Ezekiel and Zechariah." In *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, Volume 164, edited by Matthias Henze, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M Zurawski, 1-16.

This is a pre-copyrighted, author-produced version of the book chapter accepted for publication in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, Volume 164, edited by Matthias Henze, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M Zurawski, 175–194. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Version of Record (VOR) Citation: Reynolds, Benjamin E. " The Otherworldly Mediators in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: A Comparison with Angelic Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses and in Daniel, Ezekiel and Zechariah." In *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, Volume 164, edited by Matthias Henze, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M Zurawski, 175–194. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

The Otherworldly Mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*: A Comparison with Angelic Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses and in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah

Benjamin E. Reynolds
Tyndale University College
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

The otherworldly mediators that are found in the Jewish apocalypses act as supporting characters within the narratives, guiding human seers on tours of heaven, interpreting visions, and answering the questions of bewildered visionaries. They typically shine light on the shadowy mysteries of the heavens yet are not in the spotlight themselves. The figures of Uriel in *4 Ezra* and Ramiel in *2 Baruch* are no exceptions. However, a brief perusal of these two apocalypses reveals that Uriel and Ramiel function in a manner different from otherworldly mediators found in ascent apocalypses such as the Book of Watchers, 2 Enoch, and the Apocalypse of Abraham. In *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, the lack of heavenly journey by the human recipient alters the way in which the otherworldly mediators are portrayed and function.¹

This contrast between the otherworldly mediators in ascent apocalypses and in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* raises the question why this difference exists. In her essay on the angelology of the Testament of Abraham, Anitra Bingham Kolenkow states: "*4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* use Danielic angelology."² Although she does not explain this comment any further, it seems that what she is drawing attention to is the role of the angels in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* as interpreters of visions and dreams, similar to the portrayal of the angelic figures in Daniel. Kolenkow's brief assessment may be correct, but further investigation will hopefully clarify the meaning and significance of this relationship with Daniel as well as offer some possible insight as to why this is the case.

This essay will focus on the depiction of the otherworldly mediators Uriel and Ramiel rather than on *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*'s "angelologies,"³ or their overall depiction of angels. First, an examination will be made of the otherworldly

¹ The terms "otherworldly mediator" and "human recipient" are used with regard to the SBL Genres Project definition of "apocalypse" (see John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979), 1-20 (9-10); *idem*, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 4-5.

² Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, "The Angelology of the Testament of Abraham," in George W.E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (ed.), *Studies in the Testament of Abraham*, SBLSCS 6 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 153-62 (156).

³ Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*, TSAJ 36 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993), 1 n.1, notes the "problematic" nature of the term "angelology."

mediators in two ascent apocalypses, the Book of Watchers and the Apocalypse of Abraham. Then I will discuss Uriel in *4 Ezra* and Ramiel in *2 Baruch*. This will be followed by a comparison of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*'s angelic mediators with those in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah.

Otherworldly Mediators in Ascent Apocalypses

The Archangels in the Book of Watchers

By way of comparison, a brief look at the archangels who guide Enoch through the heavenly world may help in framing this discussion. In *1 Enoch* 14, Enoch ascends to heaven and sees the heavenly temple and throne room of the great glory. In chs. 17–19 he is led on a tour of heaven, apparently by the seven archangels who are named in 20:1–8: Uriel, Raphael, Reuel, Michael, Sariel, Gabriel, and Remiel.⁴ Through the ensuing chapters, Enoch sees aspects of the heavenly things over which each of the archangels has authority. Enoch asks questions about what he sees and is answered by each of the archangels in turn, except for Remiel.⁵ These archangels, four of whom were given specific tasks by God with regard to punishing the watchers (chs. 9–10), serve as Enoch's guides through the heavenly world. They answer his questions and give explanations about what he sees. Uriel even writes down some of the information for Enoch (33:3–4).

Enoch does not have contact with the archangels until he has ascended to heaven. They guide him through heaven and provide explanations of what he sees on his journey. The focus of the apocalypse is on what Enoch sees and not on him or the mediators explaining it. The otherworldly mediation takes place in heaven with the human recipient having ascended to heaven. There Enoch sees the heavenly things and the mediators primarily serve as guides and interpreters of what he sees. There is little description of the archangels other than to name them and to speak of what they have authority over. As with all otherworldly mediators, the focus is away from themselves but on the content of the heavenly revelation being mediated.

⁴ It is worth noting that the first and last of the angels listed are the respective angels of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. However, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, "Putting Angels in the Their Place: Developments in Second Temple Angelology," in Károly Dániel Dobos and Miklós Koszeghy (eds), *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Fröhlich* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009) 174–188, argues it is only the four archangels (chs. 9–10) who actually lead Enoch through the heavens. She draws attention to the "fluidity" of the names and order of the archangels (177).

⁵ *1 Enoch* 20:8 and thus the name Ramiel is missing in the Ethiopic. See George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 294.

Jaol in the Apocalypse of Abraham

Another example of an otherworldly mediator in an ascent apocalypse is the angel Jaol in the Apocalypse of Abraham. This ascent apocalypse may serve as an even more helpful comparison than the Book of Watchers, since the Apocalypse of Abraham is closer in date to *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* and like them it also addresses the destruction of the second temple in relation to the sin of the Jewish people (27:3-7).⁶

The Apocalypse of Abraham begins with a comic look at the futility of idolatry, Abraham's rejection of idolatry, and his search for the God of gods (chs. 1-8). In ch. 9, Abraham hears the voice of God who tells him to gather animals for sacrifice (cf. Gen 15). When Abraham is frightened because there is no body connected to the voice, God sends the angel Jaol, who comes to Abraham and takes him to Horeb for the sacrifice. Jaol shows Abraham the animals for the sacrifice at the top of the mountain (Gen 22; Apoc. Ab. 12:4-6). It is Jaol the otherworldly mediator who tells Abraham to slaughter the animals and cut them in half (12:8-10).⁷ Interestingly, Abraham gives the turtledove and the pigeon to Jaol and the divided animals to other angels who appear. Following the sacrifice, Jaol escorts Abraham to heaven on the wings of the turtledove and the pigeon (15:2-4). There the otherworldly mediator is his guide into the presence of the Eternal One, where he instructs Abraham to sing the song he has taught him (17:5-21). From this point on in the apocalypse, the angelic mediator Jaol disappears (cf. 11:5), and it is God who shows Abraham a "picture" which includes aspects of judgment, the sin of Adam and Eve, and the destruction of the temple.

Although the otherworldly mediator does not continue to serve as Abraham's guide after he is introduced to God, Jaol is described in such a way that has suggested to some that he is divine. At Jaol's initial appearance, Abraham says that the angel sent to him has the appearance of a man (10:4), but Jaol is also described as having a body like sapphire, a face like chrysolite, and hair white as snow (11:2). These features reflect descriptions of God in Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7.⁸ The name of the angel adds to the appearance of the divine since the name comes from YHWH El, and Jaol states that the name is "a power through the medium of the ineffable name in me" (10:8).⁹ Further, Jaol gives a long list of his responsibilities. He restrains the threats of the living creatures, teaches the song, is appointed to hold the Leviathans, and is ordered to loosen Hades. Strikingly, it is Jaol who ordered the destruction of Abraham's father's house (11:12; cf. 8:5-6). For an otherworldly mediator in an ascent apocalypse, it

⁶ R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," *OTP* 1.683.

⁷ In Gen 15:9-10, God speaks directly to Abram about how to carry out the sacrifice.

⁸ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 61-62. She also notes the priestly nature of the features in 11:3.

⁹ See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 228.

is intriguing that Jaobel does not guide Abraham throughout the apocalypse, yet he is so closely associated with God in name, appearance, and in some actions.¹⁰ He seems to be an elevated angelic figure in that he has God's name, acts and speaks where God speaks in Genesis 15, but even Jaobel bows before God and worships him (17:2).

Summary

Both of the otherworldly mediators in the Book of Watchers and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* serve as guides for the human recipients on their ascents to heaven (also *T. Levi* 2–5 and *T. Ab.* 10–14). They give explanations of what is seen and answer the questions asked of them. The heavenly mediators are angels who stand before God and function as his agents in communication with humanity. A general description of the angelic mediator is usually given, but in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* Jaobel's physical appearance is described as is his name (also *Apoc. Zeph.* 6; *T. Ab.* 2:13). The focus of all apocalypses is not on the angelic figures and the heavenly mysteries that are being revealed. However, in the ascent apocalypses there is typically a brief interaction if any between the human recipient and God (esp. *T. Ab.*; Book of Watchers), although the *Apocalypse of Abraham* indicates that this is not always the case.

4 Ezra and 2 Baruch's Otherworldly Mediators

Although *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* are both apocalypses, they are classified as historical apocalypses more specifically because the revelation they impart has to do with future events and not with otherworldly journeys.¹¹ In all apocalypses the function of the otherworldly mediator is to reveal heavenly mysteries. The nature of historical apocalypses appears to determine the way in which this revelation takes place and the location where it takes place. Neither *4 Ezra* nor *2 Baruch* contain heavenly tours, and thus, although the mediators still act as interpreting angels, they reveal mysteries on earth rather than in heaven.

Uriel in 4 Ezra

In the opening section of *4 Ezra*, Ezra is concerned with the destruction of Jerusalem and struggles with the difficulty of why the wicked prosper while the righteous suffer.¹² Specifically, Ezra asks God why he has allowed his people to suffer at the hands of the Babylonians whose sin is obvious. In response, the angel Uriel¹³ is sent to answer Ezra's concerns (4:1). Uriel's coming is "abrupt,"

¹⁰ Collins notes that the association of Jaobel with YHWH is similar to Metatron in *3 Enoch* (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 228).

¹¹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 6–7.

¹² See Tom W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, JSPSup 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 66–67.

¹³ Uriel is often included as one of four archangels (1 *En.* 9:1), although the manuscript tradition is not consistent. The Book of Watchers also includes Uriel among the seven archangels where he is

and no physical description of him is given, only that he was sent and his name is Uriel.¹⁴ Ezra falls to his face as is typical with angelic appearances, but his reaction is not in response to Uriel's arrival or physical appearance. Rather, Ezra falls prostrate in response to Uriel's questions that highlight his own ignorance (4:10-12). Similarly, Ezra faints on two other occasions after he awakes or his vision ends (5:14; 10:30). The emphasis in all of these instances of Ezra fainting or falling prostrate is never on the figure of Uriel, but on what Ezra has seen or heard.

Following Uriel's appearance to Ezra in 4:1, the angelic mediator does not remain with Ezra for the entire apocalypse as often takes place with otherworldly mediators in ascent apocalypses. Uriel, on the other hand, departs and returns to him a number of times (5:19, 5:31; 7:1; 10:28-29; 12:10, 39; 13:20b). Throughout the apocalypse there is little detail given concerning Uriel's coming and going. His arrival focuses more on his role as a speaking mediator with phrases such as the following: "the angel who had come to me was sent to me and said..." (4:1; 5:31; 7:1; 10:29-30; cf. 5:31).¹⁵ The departures of Uriel are even more concisely stated or more often they are not even mentioned (5:19; 12:39; cf. 6:33-34; 9:23-25; 10:58). In fact, the arrival of Uriel is not explicitly stated in 12:10 and 13:20b-21. Both texts begin with either "He said to me" or "He answered me and said" before Uriel begins interpreting the respective visions.¹⁶ Uriel's primary function is to respond to Ezra's prayers and questions and to answer and interpret visions. The angelic arrivals and departures function as important transitions in the apocalyptic narrative.

Throughout *4 Ezra* there are certain instances where it is difficult to discern whether Uriel or the Lord responds to Ezra's questions. This is especially the case when Ezra directs his questions to "the sovereign Lord" or "the Most High" (5:38; 7:17, 45; 12:7-9; 13:14; cf. 8:63). Some of the responses to Ezra's statements to the Lord include first person phrases such as "my judgment" (5:42), "I planned these things" (6:6), "I made the world" (7:1, 11), "my benefits," "my law" (9:10-11), and "my son" (13:32, 37).¹⁷ However, there are other occasions where the speaker either Uriel or the Lord refers to "the Most High" in the third person (7:19; 13:29, 44, 47) or speaks as the angel in the first person with phrases such as "Therefore he sent me to show you all these things" (6:33). Despite this inconsistency, it seems that Uriel is most likely the one speaking to Ezra

in charge of the world and Tartarus (*1 En.* 20:1-8). In the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En.* 72-82), Uriel is called the leader of the heavenly luminaries. See Coblenz Baultch, "Putting Angels in their Place," 177-185.

¹⁴ Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 82.

¹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all citations from B.M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *OTP* vol. 1.

¹⁶ See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 360, 365-66, 400. Regarding 12:10, Stone states: "Note that in [12:10] there is not explicit mention of the appearance of the angel. He is simply assumed to come in answer to the prayer" (365-66).

¹⁷ Also 5:45, 56 and 6:11 where Ezra speaks of "your creation" and of himself as "your servant."

throughout the narrative; however, it is the Lord who speaks through Uriel. Ezra appears to petition the Lord, and the Lord responds through Uriel who serves as the Lord's agent and mouthpiece.¹⁸ The only clear exception to this is when God speaks directly to Ezra from the bush in the final vision (14:1-36). In this instance, Uriel is no longer present to mediate between God and the human recipient of the apocalyptic vision.

In *4 Ezra*, the revelation of the heavenly mysteries takes place on earth through the visions that Ezra receives and the interpretations given by Uriel. There is clearly no focus on the heavenly realm or Uriel's place there. Heavenly speculation seems to be rejected (4:8).¹⁹ The Lord's throne cannot be measured or comprehended (8:20-21). The lack of apparent interest in Uriel's movement back and forth between heaven and earth (cf. *T. Ab. A* 2:1; 4:5; 10:1; *2 En.* 3) and any sort of physical depiction of Uriel (cf. *Apoc. Ab.* 10-11; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6-7) implies a downplaying of a fantastic portrayal of the otherworldly mediator in *4 Ezra* in contrast to those figures found in ascent apocalypses. The human recipient of the revelation is essentially in direct contact with God, albeit through a mediator (cf. *4 Ezra* 14).²⁰ In other words, Ezra asks questions of God and they are answered through the angel. The focus of *4 Ezra* is on earth in the events that will take place in the future and how the righteous and the wicked will fare, specifically with regard to what will happen to Jerusalem and God's people (*4 Ezra* 3:28-36).

Ramiel in 2 Baruch

For a Jewish apocalypse, the otherworldly mediator in *2 Baruch* plays a surprisingly minor role in the narrative. Ramiel is absent from most of the apocalypse, only appearing in 55:3. Similar to *4 Ezra*, there is no physical description of Ramiel, and Baruch does not fall on his face in awe and fear at the appearance of the angel (cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:4-14). Ramiel is declared by Baruch to be the angel over true visions, and he is sent to interpret Baruch's cloud vision (ch. 53), of which Ramiel provides a lengthy interpretation (55:4-74:4).²¹ Once the interpretation is completed, Ramiel disappears from the narrative without even mention of his departure.

¹⁸ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 199; see B.M. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," in *OTP*, 551 fn. p. Cf. Jacob M. Myers, *1 & 2 Esdras* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 252, also 201, who understands both God and Uriel to speak to Ezra – "apocalyptic is fond of shifting between intermediary and the Lord himself."

¹⁹ Christopher Rowland and Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, CRINT 12 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 126.

²⁰ In the Book of Watchers, Enoch does have an audience with God in which he is spoken to by God (chs. 14-16); however, throughout the visionary tour in the rest of the Book of Watchers, the angelic mediators appear to speak on their own with regard to their area of responsibility.

²¹ In other Jewish texts where Ramiel is mentioned this role over visions is not part of his description. He is one of the seven archangels in 1 Enoch 20:1-8, where he is in charge of those who rise. See also *4 Ezra* 4:36; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6-7; *Sib. Or.* 2. 215-17 and the discussion in George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 338-39.

Apart from Ramiel's interpretation of the cloud vision, Baruch speaks to God without an otherworldly mediator. This relationship is reminiscent of the OT prophets and is highlighted by the opening line of *2 Baruch*: "the word of the Lord was upon Baruch, the son of Neriah" (1:1).²² Following this opening statement, a dialogue commences between Baruch and the Lord concerning the coming destruction of Jerusalem (chs. 1–5). After Baruch's lament in front of the doors of the temple and his second seven day fast, Baruch hears a voice "from on high"²³ (13:1). As the voice speaks, it is clear that the Lord is again speaking with Baruch. This time their discourse focuses on the reasons why Zion suffers even though there are some who are righteous (13:1–20:6; esp. 14:5–9; 15:5–8). However, in both dialogues, it is noteworthy that God speaks directly to Baruch and not through an angelic mediator.

Following these dialogues Baruch has three visionary experiences (22:1–30:5; 36–40; 53–74). Each vision is preceded by a prayer of Baruch (21; 35; 48), but it is remarkable that only the final experience is interpreted by Ramiel, while the Lord speaks directly to Baruch in the preceding two visionary experiences. In the first, the heavens open and Baruch says that he saw, but there is no mention of exactly what Baruch sees (22:1). However, he hears a voice from on high which is the voice of God (cf. 8:1; 13:1; 23:1; 24:3). The dialogue with God contains information about the days to come when the books will be opened (24:1), about great torments (25:4), the divisions of time into twelve parts (27:1–15; cf. 54–70), and the coming of the Anointed One (29–30). What is of interest for this discussion is that here Baruch speaks directly with God without a mediator figure. The same thing occurs following Baruch's vision in which he sees a forest, a fountain, a cedar, and a vine. Baruch's request for an interpretation of the vision is again answered directly by God without an otherworldly mediator (39–40).

However, by contrast, the vision of the black and bright waters is interpreted not by God directly, but Ramiel the angel over true visions is sent to explain the vision.²⁴ Ramiel states that he is the one speaking to Baruch: "And then the Mighty One commanded Ramail, his angel, who speaks with you" (63:6), yet Ramiel speaks of himself here in the third person. As with Uriel in *4 Ezra*, Ramiel uses a first person phrase that appears to be spoken by the Lord: "my Servant, the Messiah." The implication of these phrases is that Ramiel's words are the words of God (70:9; cf. *4 Ezra* 7:28).

²² See Zech 1:1; 8:1; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; etc. The similarity with other prophetic books implies the prophetic role of Baruch, even though in the book of Jeremiah he acts as a scribe (Jer 36:32). See Balázs Tamási, "Baruch as a Prophet in *2 Baruch*," [in this volume\(?\)](#).

²³ Daniel M. Gurtner, *Second Baruch: A Critical Edition of the Syriac Text, with Greek and Latin Fragments, English Translation, Introduction, and Concordances*, JCTS 5 (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009) 45. Translations from Gurtner unless otherwise noted.

²⁴ Interestingly, Ramiel states that he is the angel who destroyed the Assyrians during Hezekiah's reign (63:6–7). In *2 Kgs* 19:35, the destroying angel described as the angel of the Lord.

Ramiel does not function in the way otherworldly mediators typically function in Jewish apocalypses. He takes on a minor role in the interpretation of only one vision, and there is no physical description of the angel or depiction of his coming. The human recipient receives the revelation on earth and is in direct contact with God for the majority of the apocalypse. As the *angelus interpretes* Ramiel interprets very little and is not even present for most of the apocalypse. The lack of an otherworldly tour appears to factor into the reasons for a less than extraordinary otherworldly mediator.

Summary

The similarities between the portrayal of Uriel and Ramiel should be apparent. Both are sent to earth to give explanations of heavenly things to human recipients. Both Ezra and Baruch request an explanation from God, and an angel is sent. However, God speaks directly with Baruch, and with regard to Baruch's visionary experiences, he answers Baruch on two occasions out of three before Ramiel is sent. In *4 Ezra*, Uriel functions as God's agent in his communication with Ezra, except in *4 Ezra* 14 where the Lord speaks to Ezra from the bush. Neither angel is given a physical description nor are the angels' arrivals before the seer depicted. The heavenly things that they relate are historical in nature and have little if anything to do with the aspects of heaven or hell (in contrast to the ascent apocalypses).²⁵ Their concern is with the plight of the righteous, the flourishing of the wicked (*4 Ezra* 3; *2 Bar.* 21), and the restoration of Jerusalem (*4 Ezra* 3:27; 10:38-59; *2 Bar.* 35:1-4; cf. 3:5-7; 4:1).

The portrayals of the otherworldly mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* seem to fit the perspective of the two apocalypses as being written by prophets (*4 Ezra* 12:42; *2 Bar.* 1:1) and as being concerned with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple and an exiled people.²⁶ But where does such a perspective on angelic mediators derive from if the otherworldly elements found in other Jewish apocalypses such as the ascent apocalypses highlighted above are absent and possibly even rejected?

"Danielic" or "Prophetic" Otherworldly Mediators?

Daniel

The portrayal of angelic mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* may have a closer connection with angelic figures in the OT prophetic literature than with the angels in ascent apocalypses. In this respect, Kolenkow's claim that *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* have a "Danielic angelology" is at least partially correct. Both *4 Ezra* and *2*

²⁵ These characteristics may also fit the depiction of the angel of the presence in Jubilees. See James C. VanderKam, "The Angel of the Presence in the Book of Jubilees," *DSD* 7 (2000): 378-93.

²⁶ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 295, states that Ramiel in *2 Baruch* "is given much more to the prophetic model of dialog with God."

Baruch have obvious connections with Daniel, primarily Daniel 7–12. Both repeat the four empire imagery of Daniel 7 (2 Bar. 39–40; 4 *Ezra* 11–12), and 4 *Ezra* 12:11 specifically refers to the prophet Daniel and the vision of Daniel 7. Numerous other parallels can be noted. For example, Daniel becomes distraught and unwell following the visions and their interpretations (7:28; 8:27; 10:8). Similarly, Ezra is troubled and faints after his first vision (4 *Ezra* 5:14; also 6:35–37), and Baruch becomes weak after praying (2 Bar. 21:26; 48:25) and awakes from his final vision in fear (53:12).²⁷ Each of the three apocalyptic texts Daniel, 4 *Ezra*, and 2 *Baruch* is purportedly written by a prophet, set during the Babylonian exile, and is concerned with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (Dan 9:12, 16–18, 24–27; 2 Bar. 32:2–4; 4 *Ezra* 10:38–59), the judgment of the wicked, and the restoration of God’s people.

Another similarity between all three apocalypses may be noted in the function of the prayers of the seers. Each seer prays for God’s mercy on his people because of the suffering they endure as a result of the destruction of Jerusalem.²⁸ Further links between Daniel, 4 *Ezra*, and 2 *Baruch* may be seen in the mention of seventy weeks and weeks of seven weeks (Dan 9:24; 2 Bar. 28:2²⁹; cf. Zech 1:12’s seventy years) and weeping and fasting (Dan 10:2–3; 4 *Ezra* 5:13, 20; 6:35; 2 Bar. 9:1; 12:5; 20:5–6; 21:1; 47:2).³⁰ With these parallel themes, it should be unsurprising that these apocalypses share similarities in their portrayals of the otherworldly mediators that they depict.

In Daniel, the otherworldly mediators act as interpreters of Daniel’s visions and dreams (7:16–18; 8:15–26; 10:5–6, 16–18). Like Ezra and Baruch, Daniel is not taken to heaven, but he has visions of heavenly things (Dan 7:9–14) and of events that will take place in the future (Dan 8; 10–12). In 7:16, Daniel approaches one of those standing before the Ancient of Days (7:10), and this otherworldly figure interprets Daniel’s visionary dream of the four beasts and the one like a son of man. Similarly to the depictions of Uriel and Ramiel in 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, no description is given of the mediator figure apart from the description of the figure as one standing before the Ancient of Days.

Yet unlike 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch*, Daniel does make references to the physical appearance of the otherworldly mediator in chapters 8 and 10. In Dan 8:15, the figure who appears to Daniel is said to be “like the appearance of a human” (cf. 10:16, 18) and is named as the angel Gabriel (8:16; also 9:21). The description of the otherworldly mediator in Dan 10:5–6, however, is much more

²⁷ Gabrielle Boccaccini, “Who’s Afraid of Enochic Judaism? A Reading of 4 Ezra in Light of 1 Enoch and Paul,” in this volume (?). Boccaccini refers to 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch* as having a literary model akin to Daniel in the cycles of weeping and fasting.

²⁸ It is worth noting that only Daniel explicitly confesses the sins of the people (Daniel 9; cf. 4 *Ezra* 8:26–36).

²⁹ R.H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896; repr. Elibron Classics; Adamant Media, 2004), 50, states: “I cannot interpret this verse.”

³⁰ See John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 372.

dramatic by comparison. Here, the otherworldly mediator is described in a manner reminiscent of the figure(s) in Ezek 1 and 8:2–4³¹ – dressed in linen, with a gold belt, eyes like flaming torches, arms and legs as burnished bronze, and a voice like the sound of a multitude. Although the appearance of the figure in Dan 10:5–6 is referred to as a vision (10:7, 8),³² this figure, who is most likely Gabriel again,³³ acts as revealer of heavenly mysteries through to Dan 12:4.

The primary role of the otherworldly figure in Dan 8–12 is to interpret Daniel’s visionary dreams and to reveal heavenly things in response to Daniel’s prayers and mourning. In Dan 8:19–26, Gabriel interprets Daniel’s vision concerning the ram and the goat (8:2–14), and he returns in 9:21 to offer insight and understanding regarding Daniel’s prayer (9:22–27; cf. 9:3–19). In Dan 10:12, Gabriel seems to respond to Daniel’s fasting and three weeks of mourning (10:2–3), and he continues with an explanation of future events (10:20–12:4). The role of the otherworldly mediators in Dan 7 and 8–12 are thus similar to the portrayal of Uriel and Ramiel in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, especially in comparison with the otherworldly mediators in the ascent apocalypses, but before characterizing the “angelologies” of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* as “Danielic,” a survey of the otherworldly mediators in Ezekiel and Zechariah is warranted.

The Mediator(s) in Ezekiel

Daniel is not the only book of the Hebrew Bible to have portrayals of otherworldly mediators comparable with Uriel and Ramiel in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. The book of Ezekiel shares some of these similarities as well as some more general features and themes. For instance, Ezekiel is referred to as a priest (1:3), but he functions as a prophet in that he is called by the Lord to prophesy to Israel (2:3–5; 3:4; 6:2; 34:2; 37:4) and he is recognized as a prophet (3:5; 33:33). Ezekiel has visions (1:1; 40:2) in which he often states “I looked and behold” in a manner not unlike Daniel and Ezra.³⁴ His first vision begins with the opening of heaven (1:1; also 2 Bar 22:1), and as with *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and Daniel, Ezekiel’s visions take place in connection with the Jerusalem temple and the exile of Judah (Ezek 8–10; 40–48). Like Daniel, Ezra, and Baruch, the prophet Ezekiel remains on earth during his visions, even though he does travel by the wind or Spirit³⁵ to Jerusalem from the banks of the river Chebar and then returns (8:3; 11:24; cf. 2 Bar 6:3).

As in the texts explored previously, the otherworldly mediators in Ezekiel function as interpreters of Ezekiel’s visions (chs. 8–11; 40–48). The figure who

³¹ Christopher Rowland, *Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 98–101.

³² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 295.

³³ Collins, *Daniel*, 373.

³⁴ See Ezek 1:4; 8:2; 10:1, 9; Dan 7:6; *4 Ezra* 11:2; 13:2; cf. Zech 1:8, 18; 2:5 [2:1]; etc.

³⁵ Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24; 25–48* (NICOT; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997, 1998), 1.280, says that this is the “divine Spirit.”

first appears to Ezekiel is described as having the appearance of a human being, but below his waist was fire and above it was something like gleaming metal (8:2). Following the description, the figure takes Ezekiel by a lock of the hair and then the Spirit lifts him between heaven and earth and takes him in visions to Jerusalem (8:3). Then, in 8:5–6, this figure speaks to Ezekiel and says, “O mortal, lift up your eyes now in the direction of the north...do you see what they are doing, the great abominations that the house of Israel are committing here, to drive me far from my sanctuary?” (NRSV).³⁶ The first person pronouns “me” and “my sanctuary” imply that either the Lord is speaking or that the Lord speaks through an angelic mediator.³⁷

We have noted that angelic mediators, such as Uriel in *4 Ezra*, can speak for God, but what is striking about the mediator in Ezekiel 8:2 is that this figure not only speaks the words of God but is also described with physical features that appear similar to the description of the glory of the Lord on the chariot-throne in 1:26–27 (cf. Dan 10:5–6).³⁸ Together, this similar description and the first person speech in 8:5–6 suggest that the otherworldly figure in Ezekiel 8 is actually the Lord himself rather than a separate angelic figure,³⁹ yet the Lord acts as a mediatorial figure and speaks directly to Ezekiel.⁴⁰ In this respect, this figure is not helpful for comparison with the angelic mediators in the *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

However, in chapter 40:2, Ezekiel has another vision in which he is again brought by God to Israel.⁴¹ He sees a man whose appearance is like bronze, which indicates the figure’s otherworldly nature and his similarities with the creatures around the chariot-throne (1:7).⁴² This angelic figure has a linen cord and a measuring reed in his hand, and he functions as a mediator in two specific ways. First, the otherworldly mediator leads Ezekiel around the temple as a tour guide and shows Ezekiel various aspects of the temple. Second, the figure measures the temple, an action which is his chief activity. Throughout his tour, Ezekiel is primarily spoken to by God. God is in fact the main speaker

³⁶ Note that the NRSV translates **וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים** at the beginning of 8:5 as “Then God said to me...”, taking the position that this figure is the Lord.

³⁷ See also 9:8–10.

³⁸ Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Hermeneia; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1979, 1982), 1.236. However, even though Zimmerli says that the description “appears compellingly to lead to” YHWH as the mediator in 8:2, he thinks that the figure is a “heavenly messenger.”

³⁹ Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 96–97. Rowland refers to this mediator figure as “intimately linked with the glory of God” and acting “as a quasi-angelic mediator.” He also notes that the targum of Ezekiel equates the figures in Ezekiel 1 and 8 by stating in both passages that the figure cannot be looked upon. See also Block, *Ezekiel*, 1.279–280.

⁴⁰ By comparison, even though the otherworldly mediator Jaol has the name of YHWH, he is obviously distinct from the Lord (*Apoc. Ab.* 10:3; 17:2).

⁴¹ In Ezekiel 9, the man wearing linen and carrying a writing case does not serve as an otherworldly mediator. The figure is most likely an angel, but he acts to mark out those who are not idolatrous and not to interpret or mediate for Ezekiel. Block, *Ezekiel*, 1.304–305.

⁴² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2.348.

throughout 40–48 (43:6–27; 44:5–46:18; 47:13–48:35). That the Lord himself is speaking and not the angelic figure is obvious because Ezekiel hears a voice coming out from the temple (43:6).⁴³ By contrast, the angelic figure speaks to Ezekiel as he shows Ezekiel around the temple, but only on a few occasions (40:45–46; 41:4; 42:13; 46:20, 23; 47:6, 8–12). The figure’s principal role is as Ezekiel’s tour guide around the temple, while the Lord explains to Ezekiel what he sees and what is measured.⁴⁴ Regarding the flow of water from the door of the temple, however, it is the angelic mediator who interprets its meaning for Ezekiel (47:1–12).

Thus, in Ezekiel 40–48, the otherworldly mediator has a brief physical description and yet is not named. The figure acts as a tour guide for the seer around the temple, but it is the Lord who speaks directly to Ezekiel throughout the tour, while the angelic figure only speaks to Ezekiel on a few occasions. The interpretation of visions is not the primary role of the angelic figure, since it is God who does the majority of interpretation. The angel serves mainly to guide, measure, and highlight certain aspects of the vision. There are obvious parallels with the otherworldly mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, which suggests that those angelic figures are not solely “Danielic.”

Zechariah's Angelic Mediators

As in Daniel and Ezekiel, an examination of the otherworldly mediators in Zechariah 1–6 also reflects similarities with *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*’s portrayals of Uriel and Ramiel. However, the myriad of angels in Zechariah causes some lack of clarity concerning whether or not certain angels should be considered part of the vision, as the mediator, or whether there is overlap between the visionary angels and the otherworldly mediator.

For instance, in his first vision (Zech 1:8–17), Zechariah sees a man on a red horse among the myrtle trees, and the man is accompanied by three other horses that are red, sorrel, and white. Zechariah asks about the vision that he sees, and a figure Zechariah calls “the angel who talked with me” (הַמַּלְאָךְ הַדַּבֵּר בִּי) answers his question by saying that he will show Zechariah what he sees (1:9). Then the man on the horse, who is called the angel of the Lord (1:11), explains who the horses are (1:10). The confusion between the angelic interpreter and the angel of the Lord occurs when in 1:12 the angel of the Lord laments “How long...?” In response, the Lord is said to give gracious and comforting words to the angel who spoke with Zechariah and not to the angel of the Lord (1:13; cf. 1:14).

⁴³ Note also the numerous times throughout these passages that it is Adonai YHWH who speaks: 43:18, 19, 27; 44:2, 5, 6, 9, 12, 15, 27; 45:9, 15, 18; 46:1, 16; 47:13, 23; 48:29.

⁴⁴ Karin Schöpflin, “God’s Interpreter: The Interpreting Angel in Post-Exilic Prophetic visions of the Old Testament,” in Freidrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpflin (eds.), *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings – Origins, Development and Reception*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2007 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007) 189–203 (197).

Is the angelic interpreter also the angel of the Lord? If so, the angel who talks with Zechariah serves as the interpreting angel of the vision, yet this figure is also the angel of the Lord, who is part of the vision as the man on the red horse among the myrtle trees.⁴⁵ If not and the Lord responds to the question of the angel of the Lord by giving an answer to the angelic interpreter, there is one angel who speaks with Zechariah as the angelic mediator and another angel who is the angel of the Lord and functions as a visionary character.⁴⁶ The latter option seems to make more sense of the passage as it stands. It also highlights the way in which the otherworldly mediator serves primarily as interpreter of the vision and as mouthpiece of the Lord (1:14).⁴⁷ The arrival and appearance of the figure is of little or of no concern for the revealing of Zechariah's visions.⁴⁸

Zechariah has six other visions.⁴⁹ On two occasions he is asked by the angel who talked with him: "What do you see?" (4:2; 5:2). Zechariah often asks the angelic interpreter questions such as "What are these?" or "What is it?"⁵⁰ The response to his inquisitiveness is usually given by the interpreting angel. Although in 2:5-6 [2:1-2],⁵¹ in response to Zechariah's question "Where are you going?" the man who has the measuring line tells Zechariah that he is going to measure Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 40-42; 47:1-12). More interestingly, in 2:3-4 [1:20-21], the Lord shows Zechariah four craftsmen and then interprets their significance, which highlights a similarity with God's interpretation of Baruch's visions (2 Bar. 23-30; 39-40).

The angelic interpreter in Zechariah is presented with little if any physical description (cf. Zech 1:8, 11),⁵² and like Uriel in 4 *Ezra*, he appears abruptly.⁵³ Similar to Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Baruch, Zechariah remains on earth while the angels explain his various visions, visions which are called visions of the night (Zech 1:8; cf. Dan 7:2; 4 *Ezra* 13:1; 2 Bar. 36:1). In addition, Zechariah often introduces these visions with the phrase "I lifted my eyes and saw" (1:18; 2:5 [2:1]; 5:1, 9; 6:1). This same expression is spoken by Ezra before his vision of the

⁴⁵ Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (Anchor Bible 25B; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987) 110, 129-130; Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 200. Martin Hallaschka, "Zechariah's Angels: Their Role in the Night Visions and in the Redaction History of Zech 1,7-6,8," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 24.1 (2010) 13-27, explains this confusing passage by arguing that the angel who speaks with Zechariah is a later redactional insertion.

⁴⁶ David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984) 143-144, 151.

⁴⁷ See Schöpflin, "God's Interpreter," 195.

⁴⁸ See Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 1-8*, 110.

⁴⁹ 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch* can be divided into seven sections. Some of these sections are clearly visions, while others are not. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 205, 213.

⁵⁰ 1:9; 2:1 [1:18]; 4:4, 11, 12; 5:6; 6:4. Zechariah also asks a directional question twice (2:5 [2:1]; 5:10).

⁵¹ Note that the verse numbers in the Hebrew differ from the English translation. The English versification is given in the brackets.

⁵² See Kevin P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship Between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*, AGJU 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 59-60.

⁵³ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 82.

woman (4 *Ezra* 9:38) and by Daniel regarding his vision of the figure clothed in linen (Dan 10:5; cf. Ezek 8:5).⁵⁴ Similar to Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Baruch, Zechariah's prophecy is set in the context of the Babylonian exile (1:1, 7, 12), and the content and concern of his visions and prophetic oracles involve the restoration of Jerusalem and especially the temple (1:12, 16–17; 4:9–10a; 8:2–3),⁵⁵ the redemption of God's people (2:6–12 [MT 2:10–16]; 8:7–8; 9:14–17), and the destruction of the wicked (6:5–11; 9:1–8). In fact, both Zechariah and Ezekiel have visions about the temple being measured (Zech 2:6 [2:2]; Ezek 40–43; 47). Further, Zech 1:12 asks the classic question: How long will the righteous suffer while the wicked apparently prosper? (1:12), which is a question similar to that found in Dan 12:6; 4 *Ezra* 6:59; 2 *Bar.* 21:20–21 (cf. Rev 6:10; *Apoc. Ab.* 28:2). The otherworldly mediator in Zechariah has less of the fantastic about him and serves primarily as an interpreter of visions, which is similar to the mediator in Ezekiel, Gabriel in Daniel, Ramiel in 2 *Baruch*, and Uriel in 4 *Ezra*.

Summary

The angelic mediator figures who appear in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah have a number of similar features. On the whole, little if any description is given of these figures, with Dan 10:5–6 being the significant exception. The otherworldly mediator in Dan 7 is merely said to be one of the ones standing before the Ancient of Days. Ezekiel's measuring figure is described as a human with the appearance of bronze (40:3). In Zechariah, no physical appearance is given for the angel who talks with Zechariah. The major role of each of these figures is the interpretation of visions. The figure in Ezekiel with the instruments of measurement primarily functions as a guide, but he does on occasion interpret aspects of what he is measuring (40:42; 42:13–14; esp. 47:6–12). Each of the prophets is able to speak directly with God or on occasion the word of the Lord comes directly to them. For example, in response to his vision in Dan 8, Daniel prays to God (Dan 9). Daniel's prayer is answered by the angel Gabriel. God speaks directly to Ezekiel throughout most of his tour of the temple (43–48). Zechariah also receives the word of the Lord (1:2–6), the angel speaks the words of the Lord to Zechariah (2:4–13 [2:8–17]), and God interprets one vision (2:3–4 [1:20–21]). These texts and their otherworldly mediators share much in common with Uriel in 4 *Ezra* and Ramiel in 2 *Baruch*.

Conclusion

4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch* are Jewish apocalypses and thus their depictions of otherworldly mediators may be generally described like those found in other Jewish apocalypses, as interpreters of heavenly revelation. However, there are

⁵⁴ Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 313, says that this phrase is a Hebraism.

⁵⁵ However, see David L. Petersen, "Zechariah's Visions: A Theological Perspective," *Vetus Testamentum* 34.2 (1984) 195–206, who argues that Zechariah is not concerned with the temple cult.

interesting differences between the portrayals of Uriel and Ramiel in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* and the otherworldly mediators in the ascent apocalypses, such as the Book of Watchers and the Apocalypse of Abraham. In *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, the human recipients do not ascend to heaven; therefore, the mediators come to earth and the heavenly mysteries are revealed on earth. In fact, *4 Ezra* claims that ascent to heaven is impossible for humans until after death (8:19). Although this lack of ascent may make God appear distant and unreachable, God is accessible through direct communication, as seen in *4 Ezra* 14 and especially throughout *2 Baruch*.⁵⁶ Both Baruch and Ezra address themselves directly to God. Even in *4 Ezra* where Uriel seems to act as God's mouthpiece, Ezra addresses himself directly to God. This direct communication between the seer and the Lord is not unlike the relationships between God and the prophets in the OT canonical texts.

Otherworldly mediators are obviously part of the worldview of the authors of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, but there is little in the depiction of these figures that cannot be found in the canonical prophets such as Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. Like the angelic mediators in these three texts, *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* present a portrait of otherworldly mediators that is less fantastic. There is little if any emphasis placed on the physical appearance of Uriel and Ramiel in contrast to the characteristic description of angels in ascent apocalypses.⁵⁷ As in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, the otherworldly mediators Uriel and Ramiel primarily function as interpreters of dreams and visions and not as tour guides of the heavens.⁵⁸ They remain in the background, speak directly for God, and are not themselves glorious figures. There is no mistaken worship offered to these figures by Ezra and Baruch.⁵⁹

This depiction of Uriel and Ramiel in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* is less likely to have resulted from an unambiguously Danielic influence. Not least because there are obviously other comparisons between the five texts, including their exilic settings, concern for the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple, the redemption of God's people, and the judgment of the wicked. Further, *2 Baruch* 1:1 opens in a manner similar to Zechariah 1:1, Ezekiel 1:3, and other OT prophet books – "the

⁵⁶ See Harold B. Kuhn, "The Angelology of the Non-Canonical Jewish Apocalypses," *JBL* 67 (1948): 217–32 (here 228–229). Schöpflin, "God's Interpreter," 201, describes the existence of the interpreting angel in post-exilic literature as "indicative of a theological tendency to increase God's transcendent nature." While the prophetic books and some apocalypses move in this direction, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* seem to represent a movement in the opposite direction. These apocalypses present a portrait of the otherworldly mediators that does not seem to go beyond the depiction of angelic mediators in Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. God remains transcendent, but God also speaks directly to human beings.

⁵⁷ Cf. Jael (*Apoc. Ab.* 10:4–5, 8–14), Michael (*T. Ab.* A 2:4), the angel in *Testament of Levi* (5:6), Eremiel (*Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11–15), and Metatron (*3 En.* 12).

⁵⁸ Cf. the man in Ezekiel 40–48 is a tour guide through the temple. See Schöpflin, "God's Interpreter," 197.

⁵⁹ See *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:14; *T. Ab.* A 3:6.

word of the Lord was upon Baruch, the son of Neriah."⁶⁰ Likewise, *4 Ezra* claims to be written by the prophet Ezra (*4 Ezra* 12:42).⁶¹ Therefore, it should not be surprising that the portrayals of otherworldly mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* should appear more similar to those found in the canonical prophets than with those in ascent apocalypses. This suggests that the portrayals of otherworldly mediators in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* may not be so much "Danielic" as they are "Prophetic." In other words their otherworldly mediators function similarly to those described in the literature of the OT prophets and not only like those in Daniel.

The significance of the contrast between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*'s portrayal of the otherworldly mediators and those in the ascent apocalypses cannot be explored more fully here. However, it may be conjectured that *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*'s "Prophetic" depictions of the otherworldly mediators may reflect evidence that within certain Jewish apocalyptic groups there was a backlash against the sort of angelic and heavenly speculation found in ascent apocalypses following the destruction of the temple in 70 CE.⁶²

⁶⁰ See Zech 1:1; 8:1; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; etc.

⁶¹ Stone, *4 Ezra*, 55, notes that the reference to "thirty years" at the beginning of *4 Ezra* "is a borrowing from Ezekiel 1:1."

⁶² Cf. the *Apocalypse of Abraham* which is also a post-70 CE apocalypse as are *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, yet it is an ascent apocalypse with an exalted angelic mediator. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 232.