

The Vision of the Man from the Sea (4 Ezra 13): Its Place in Apocalyptic Tradition and Rhetorical Purpose

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1. Introduction

This paper argues that Ezra's vision of the 'Man from the Sea' (or the Man Vision below; 4 Ezra 13) is Ezra's creative adoption of the Danielic 'Son of Man' tradition and, also, that this vision is intended to produce a synergetic effect with the Eagle Vision (4 Ezra 11) on the readership, functioning as mythological confirmation of the future realization of God's eschatological triumph over the evil cosmic forces.¹⁾ The

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1) The Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra) is a pseudepigraphical book attributed to Ezra, a venerated biblical figure. Such attribution was a common literary practice in antiquity to claim authority for later works. 4 Ezra was authored initially in Hebrew or Aramaic, but only later translations, such as Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic texts, remain to a modern readership. It is an apocryphal work that most scholars agreed to be composed in ca 100 CE. The authorial intention of the apocalyptic corpus was to deal with the crisis after the fall of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 CE. For more introductory information on 4 Ezra, see the following. Michael Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 1-10; Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-25. For a recent discussion on the authorial intention, refer to Lydia Gore-Jones,

mythological background of the two visions traces back to the Canaanite Baal mythology. Those given visions stand in the same line of the Danielic Son of Man tradition. They adopt Daniel 7 but develops and emphasizes a specific aspect of it. The Danielic tradition allows such developments because it abounds with creative mythological ambiguity. The Eagle Vision and the Man Vision add a new motif to their Danielic source, a messianic hope for the future. The messiah's forensic and militant aspects are intended to cooperate to assure the actualization of God's justice. Another intriguing development is Ezra's concept of the messiah that both divine and human features are given to the messiah.²⁾ This new development is relevant to the historical situation that the author experienced. The messiah's supra-human qualities are articulated in mythological terms and reinforce the traditional messianic hope in the author's historical circumstances.

2. Mythological Background and Literary Dependence of 4 Ezra 13

2.1. Babylonian Background vs. Canaanite Background

2.1.1. The Vision of the Nether World & Daniel 7

"The Unity and Coherence of 4 Ezra: Crisis, Response, and Authorial Intention," *JSJ* 47 (2016), 212-235.

2) This study focuses upon 4 Ezra. The possible fruitful discussions on 2 Baruch, which shows close relations to our text in terms of symbolism and eschatological world view, are beyond the range of this article, and it could be a topic of another study in the future. For insightful discussions on 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, see the following: Matthias Henze, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: Literary Composition and Oral Performance in First-Century Apocalyptic Literature," *JBL* 131 (2012), 181-200; Gabriele Boccaccini and Jason M. Zurawski, eds, *Interpreting 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch: International Studies* (New York: T&T Clark, 2014).

Through his scholarly enterprise, Helge S. Kvanvig criticizes the theory of a Canaanite background for Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 13 to argue that “the Vision of the Nether World,” a Babylonian myth, is the prototype of both Daniel 7³⁾ and 4 Ezra 13.⁴⁾ In the second part of his monograph, he pays much attention to the comparative discussion of Daniel’s vision and the Babylonian myths, although briefly discussing the Man Vision’s relationship to Daniel 7. According to Kvanvig’s research, Daniel 7 and the Babylonian vision have commonalities in content and form. Both are dream visions. This commonality of the genre, in his view, provides a significant point of connection and supports the dependence of Daniel 7 upon the Babylonian visionary account. The author also presents motifs that allegedly run parallel between the Akkadian vision and Daniel 7 and show Daniel’s dependency. First, the Akkadian man and Daniel saw in their revelations mythological figures which are hybrid in form. Kvanvig suggests an analogy between the four beasts (Daniel 7) and the fifteen gods (the Akkadian vision) because they are all hybrid forms. Second, the man in the Akkadian vision has features of the Anzu-bird, a mythological storm-bird. Kvanvig relates this Anzu-bird motif to the man-like figure flying with clouds. The Anzu-bird personifies the thunderclouds and embodies the four winds. Third, the judgment motif is conspicuous in both visions. Fourth, the motif of the ideal ruler (referred to as a man, *isten etlu*) connects the Danielic and the Akkadian

3) Scholarly arguments show that the background of Daniel 7 traces back to the Babylonian mythology. However, Kvanvig’s suggestion is unique in that a specific text is pointed out as the background of Daniel 7. For the scholarly opinion for the Babylonian background, refer to Arthur J. Ferch, “Daniel 7 and Ugarit: A Reconsideration,” *JBL* 99 (1980), 75-86.

4) Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 345-555.

vision. Fifth, God is enthroned to give judgment and accompanied by heavenly figures and fire. We find a similar scene in the Akkadian vision. Kvanvig argues for the dependence of Daniel 7 on “the Vision of the Nether World” with these points of comparison.

However, Kvanvig’s argument is found untenable.⁵⁾ First of all, the genre of each vision is different. The Akkadian vision is a “message dream,” whereas its counterpart is a symbolic dream. The necessity of interpretation helps to distinguish these two visions.⁶⁾

Second, each point of comparison is seriously weakened when we examine it under the surface. In both visions, those hybrid mythological figures perform different roles. In Daniel’s vision, the hybrid beasts are God’s enemies, whereas those in the Akkadian one are gods of the nether world who are not opposed to any other parties. The Anzu-bird analogy lacks a significant element, i.e., the clouds. The Son of Man and Ezra’s Man from the Sea fly with the clouds of heaven, while the Akkadian vision does not have any mention of it. The judgments in both visions are not analogous, either. In Daniel 7, one of the beasts from the sea is judged and slain, whereas, in the Akkadian counterpart, the visionary himself is judged but not slain. The offenses by the beast from the sea and the seer seem different. The enthronement of God and the attendance by the heavenly figures and fire are common features in Near Eastern mythology. Concerning the ideal king, although the Son of Man is an ideal ruler receiving everlasting dominion, he is not a historical figure like the man in nether world vision. The expression *isten etlu* is found in several Akkadian dream accounts, but each occasion features

5) John J. Collins, “The Son of Man in First-Century Judaism,” *NTS* 38 (1992), 448-466.

6) John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 284.

a different role of “one man.”⁷⁾

Third, we also need to examine the place of each vision. In Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 13, the stage of action is not the nether world. Those beasts and the man arise from the sea, and the events are in the above world. The Vision of the Nether World has an entirely different stage, nevertheless. The visionary’s ascent is the end of the dream; the ascent of the beasts and the man marks the beginning of each vision.

Fourth, the function of each vision is very different. On the one hand, both Daniel’s and Ezra’s visions serve to provide reassurance and consolation in the difficult time because they envision the ultimate triumph of God over evil. On the other hand, the Akkadian dream report functions to encourage the personal piety of the visionary (and, presumably, of its readers) toward the gods of the nether world. The visionary’s decision to “do the deeds [which Nergal] commands” shows that the vision’s emphasis is upon personal piety, not the clash of two spiritual spheres. This difference in function pertains to “the pattern of relationship.”⁸⁾ Seemingly similar elements draw an entirely different picture in each visionary account. We should compare the patterns of those visions, not just individual elements.

2.1.2. The Ugaritic Mythology & Daniel 7

The mythic cycle of Baal tells a story of combat between Baal and Yamm.⁹⁾ The main storyline is that Yamm demands

7) Collins, *Daniel*, .285.

8) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 3rd ed., (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), Kindle edition, 158.

9) CTA 1-6, KTU 1.1-6, and James B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 129-142. *ANET* will be employed below for Pritchard’s book.

Baal through his divine messengers sent to the assembly of gods gathered in the tabernacle of El at the cosmic mountain. El complies with the demand and is willing to hand Baal over to Yamm. Baal, the Rider of Clouds, rises in anger and, later, engages in a battle against Yamm. Quoth Kothar wa-Khasis, a craftsman who makes two clubs for Baal, predicts Baal's victory, saying, "Truly I say to you, O Prince Ba'al, I repeat [to you], O Rider of the Clouds: Behold your enemy, Ba'al, behold your enemy, you will smite, behold, you will smite your foe. You will take your everlasting kingdom, your dominion forever and ever."¹⁰ With those two clubs named Yagrush (Chaser) and Ayamur (Driver) by the craftsman, Baal attacks and kills his enemy, Yaam.¹¹ Then, the kingship of Baal is declared: "Yamm is indeed dead! / Ba'al shall be king."¹²

We find analogous points between the mythic cycle of Baal and Daniel 7. First, Baal is referred to as "the Rider of Clouds." The cloud motif is absent in the Vision of the Nether World but common in both Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 13. The Son of Man and the Man from the Sea fly with "the clouds of heaven."¹³ Second, in the mythic cycle of Baal, El is portrayed to be old: "Art great indeed, O El, and wise, / Thy beard's gray hair instructs thee."¹⁴ This imagery of an old deity is found again in Daniel 7: "and the hair of his [i.e., God's] head like pure wool." The

10) CTA 2.4; *ANET* also provides a similar reading with slightly different in wording. See *ANET*, 130-131.

11) *ANET*, 131.

12) Mark S. Smith, "Interpreting the Baal Cycle," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 18 (1986), 323. We also find phrases signifying Baal's kingship in many places in *ANET*, such as, "Thy decree is: our King's Puissant Baal, / Our ruler, second to none." Refer to the poems collected in *ANET*.

13) Dan. 7:13 reads, "onelikeahumanbeingcame with the clouds of heaven" [italics added]. The human-like figure's coming is understood to fly in the context. He approaches to the throne of God which is apparently in heaven.

14) *ANET*, 133.

presentation of God to be of old age is found only in Daniel 7:9 throughout the Old Testament.¹⁵⁾ Third, Baal and the Son of Man¹⁶⁾ receive an everlasting dominion. Baal's eternal kingdom is predicted by Kotar wa-Khasis,¹⁷⁾ whereas the Danielic man receives an everlasting dominion.

In addition to these isolated analogy points, we should consider the underlying structure of the Canaanite Baal myths and the Daniel 7. We can find a similar pattern of relationship between them. Baal's triumphs over Yamm and the concomitant exaltation of Baal show a pattern similar enough to be a background of the Son of Man's exaltation over the sea monsters. Both riders of the clouds receive everlasting kingdoms. The Baal-like figure in Daniel 7 is not engaged in combat with the monsters, and his militant role is replaced with the forensic one of the Danielic rider of the clouds. A significant allusion between Daniel 7 and the Canaanite myths is the evocation of the mood and attitude related to Yamm and the sea monsters' rebellion against God. Daniel draws a dreadful picture of cosmic conflict with "traditional imagery"¹⁸⁾ and concludes the ultimate triumph of God and the exaltation of the cloud rider.

Moreover, the relationship between God and the Son of Man also has an analogy between El and Baal. The Danielic cloud rider seems to have divine status because the surroundings of clouds usually indicate divine status in ancient Israel.¹⁹⁾ Just

15) Collins indicates the same point in his commentary. Collins, *Daniel*, 290.

16) Cf. Daewoong Kim, "The Identity of One like a Son of Man in Daniel 7:13," *The Bible & Theology* 90 (2019), 1-27 [written in Korean]. He suggests that the Danielic man signifies both a messianic figure and the chosen of God. For a useful survey of various interpretations on the Son of Man in Daniel, see the following: K. N. Jung, "The Son of Man in Daniel 7," *The Bible & Theology* 2 (1984), 77-90 [written in Korean].

17) It is reasonable to assume that Baal gains his kingdom after his defeat of Yamm.

18) John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Genre and Mythic Allusions in Daniel," *JSOT* 21 (1981), 90.

as Baal is subordinate to El in the Canaanite mythology, the Son of Man is subordinate to the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7. The Baal myths enable the reader of Daniel 7 to understand the Danielic vision by providing an “allusive context of the imagery.”²⁰⁾ In other words, the author of Daniel borrows isolated motifs and the pattern of relationship of those motifs from Canaanite mythology.

2.2. Daniel 7 as Literary Source of 4 Ezra 13

Helge Kvanvig acknowledges the resemblances between Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 13. He maintains, nevertheless, that 4 Ezra 13 is independent of Daniel 7, although it shares the same tradition of the Akkadian mythology. Trying to trace the background of 4 Ezra 13 back to the Vision of the Nether World, our author argues for the discontinuity between the Danielic vision and Ezra’s vision. To refute Kvanvig’s argument, I will show that 4 Ezra 13 has the Canaanite Baal myths as its traditional imagery, and Ezra’s literary source is Daniel 7.

2.2.1. The Canaanite Baal Mythology & the Vision of Man from the Sea

Peter Hayman provides a table to compare the sequence of events in 4 Ezra 13:1-13a with the mythic cycle of Baal (KTU.1.1-6) and suggests that the overall pattern of the Baal cycle is reproduced in the Man Vision in 4 Ezra 13.²¹⁾ His

19) Collins, *Daniel*, 290; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1992ed., s.v., “Son of Man.”

20) Collins, “Apocalyptic Genre,” 91.

21) A. Peter Hayman, “The ‘Man from the Sea’ in 4 Ezra 13,” *JJS* 49 (1998), 11-12.

comparison clearly shows the resemblance in a pattern. First, in Baal's conflict with Yam, Baal is the rider on the clouds and needs the assistance of Kothar and Hasis to get out from under the throne of Prince Yam. In 4 Ezra 13, the Man from the Sea flies with the clouds of heaven and also needs help from the 'wind/spirit' (of God) to get out of the sea. Second, Baal's palace is built on Mt. Sapunu, identified as Zaphon,²²⁾ whereas, in 4 Ezra 13:6-7, Mt. Zion is constructed. Third, KTU 1.5-6 tells of Mot's challenge to Baal's kingship and defeat while the last battle before Mt. Zion is envisioned in 4 Ezra 13. Fourth, the Messianic banquet is held, and order is re-established in KTU 1.6. vi 42-52. In 4 Ezra 13:12-13, on the other hand, the peaceable multitude draws near to Mt Zion. This comparison indicates that the Man from the Sea is like Baal, who rises in the conflict with Yamm to sit on Mt. Sapunu, is challenged by Mot, fights him, and confirms his kingship. This similarity in the pattern shows that the background of 4 Ezra 13 is from the Canaanite Baal mythology.

The overall pattern of the Vision of the Nether World is very different from 4 Ezra. As discussed above, we find discontinuities between the two visions. Each vision has a different place for its events. The Babylonian dream report has no conflict between two opposite powers and encourages personal piety, whereas 4 Ezra 13 envisions a militant conflict between the man and the "innumerable multitude of people" and the triumph of the man.²³⁾

2.2.2. The Son of Man & the Man from the Sea

The similarity in pattern does not mean that 4 Ezra 13

22) Zaphon is Zion in Ps.48:3.

23) See above for the discussion on Kvanvig's presentation of similar motifs between the Babylonian vision and Daniel 7.

is directly dependent upon the Canaanite Baal mythology. 4 Ezra 13 employs the traditional imagery of the mythic cycle of Baal, but its literary source is Daniel 7.²⁴⁾ Kvanvig's suggestion that 4 Ezra 13 is independent of Daniel 7 does not deny resemblances between the two, sharing the same traditional imagery. I have shown that 4 Ezra 13 and Daniel 7 have common traditional imagery of the Canaanite Baal myths. Now, I suggest that 4 Ezra 13 employs the Canaanite mythic imagery through Daniel 7, its literary source.

The main problem concerning the relationship of Daniel 7 and 4 Ezra 13 is that if the latter depends upon the former as its literary source, it is hard to explain why it is the man who comes from the sea in 4 Ezra 13. In contrast, in Daniel's vision, it is the beasts that come out of the sea.²⁵⁾ Kvanvig contends that the sea in 4 Ezra 13 has the same meaning as that in Daniel 7.²⁶⁾ He also equates this sea with the Akkadian Apsu, i.e., the subterranean water, to insist that such negative imagery of the sea cannot be consistent with the role and status of the man in 4 Ezra 13. Kvanvig entertains this difficulty and attempts to solve this problem by suggesting that the author of 4 Ezra did not utilize Daniel 7 in its present form.²⁷⁾ To support this suggestion, he also indicates that our Ezra text does not have the motif of holy one and the entrance of the Son

24) John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 175.

25) Beale provides a brief but informative introduction to the history of scholarship on this problem. He states that scholars have proposed explanations that 4 Ezra 13 is a combination of Daniel 7 and some other apocalyptic material which is rarely identified. He suggests that the Man from the Sea flying with the clouds is a combination of Daniel 7:2-3 and 7:13. Gregory K. Beale, "The Problem of the Man from the Sea in IV Ezra 13 and its Relation to the Messianic Concept in John's Apocalypse," *NovT* 25 (1983), 182-188.

26) Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalypse*, 531.

27) Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalypse*, 521-524.

of Man to the Ancient of Days. These differences, nevertheless, can be explained. The composer of 4 Ezra does not just reproduce his source. His creativity could cause such differences. For instance, Ezra presents a new interpretation of the sea, i.e., the mysterious origin of the man, through the mouth of the *angelus interpres* (13:52). The absence of the throne, the holy ones, and the man's approach to the throne cannot be decisive to deny that Daniel 7 is a literary source of 4 Ezra 13.

Literary dependence of the Man Vision upon Daniel 7 is supported because we find many allusions and adoptions from Daniel, not just Daniel 7, in 4 Ezra. For instance, Ezra's statement that a wind arose from the sea and stirred the waves (13:2) is reminiscent of Daniel 7:2: "I saw in my vision by night, and behold, the four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea." Also, the very expression "one like" in 4 Ezra 13:3 is reminiscent of Daniel.²⁸ Besides, the mountain (13:6) is reminiscent of Daniel 2:34 and 2:45. In these Danielic verses, a stone is cut out "without hands" and becomes a great mountain. The stone's redemptive function in Daniel is connected to the role of the mountain in 4 Ezra 13. The man wages war on the mountain against the "innumerable multitude of people" and wins an eschatological victory. Also, the composer explicitly associates the Eagle Vision with Daniel 7 (cf. 11:39, 12:11, for detail, see below). Finally, 4 Ezra 11 employs Daniel's four-kingdom system and expands and expounds the fourth kingdom in Daniel 7:7-8.

2.2.3. The Son of Man & the Eagle Vision

It is more convincing that Daniel 7 is a significant literary

28) "Again the one who looked like a man [בְּמִרְאָה אָדָם] touched me and gave me strength." Cf. "בְּבֵר אֱנִשׁ" in Daniel 7:13. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 384.

source for 4 Ezra if we see how the Eagle Vision utilizes Daniel 7. 4 Ezra 11:1 is reminiscent of the introduction to Daniel's dream in Daniel 7. Both Ezra and Daniel have dreams at night and give accounts of them. In Daniel's dream, four monsters arise from the sea. The first beast looks like a lion with an eagle's wings. The second one has a shape of a bear, and the third one is like a leopard. Unlike the others, the fourth beast's appearance is not mentioned. It is also different from those three in that it is strong, exceedingly dreadful, and terrifying (cf. 7:7). This beast has ten horns, among which a little one makes room for itself and plucks three other horns. This little horn has eyes like the human ones and a mouth speaking arrogantly (7:8). The fourth one is interpreted in the latter part of the chapter as a kingdom that is different from all the others; the beast "shall devour the whole earth, and trample it down, and break it to pieces" (7:23). In the same interpretation, those ten horns refer to ten kings of the kingdom. Like the little horn, one king, who is different from the others, shall pull down three other kings and speak words against the Most High. He shall also wear out the holy ones of the Most High (7:25).

This description of the fourth beast is employed and utilized as a literary source in the Eagle Vision (cf. 11:39).²⁹⁾ The eagle is identified as the fourth beast in Daniel's vision: "The eagle that you saw coming up from the sea is the fourth kingdom that appeared in a vision to your brother Daniel" (12:11). The monster eagle reigns over the earth and its inhabitants. It subjugates all things under heaven (cf. Daniel 7:23). Body parts of the eagle refer to kings just as the ten horns do. The struggle between the little horn and the rest is expanded in the Eagle Vision. It serves as a literary motif for the eschatological symbol-

29) 4 Ezra 11:39 reads, "Are you not the one that remains of the four beasts that I had made to reign in my world, so that the end of my times might come through them?"

ization of the history of the Roman Empire.³⁰⁾ The author envisions the future demise of the empire and the vindication of God's chosen people.³¹⁾ In addition, the little horn's arrogance provides a motif to the sea monster's pride and insolence (4 Ezra 12:43). In both visions, the motif of judgment is conspicuous. The lion announces God's decision on the eagle, and the eagle is burned away. In Daniel's vision, "the court shall sit in judgment, and his dominion shall be taken away, to be consumed and totally destroyed" (7:26). This comparison of the Eagle Vision and Daniel 7 shows that 4 Ezra does not just utilize isolated motifs but also shares a relationship with Daniel 7. This comparative discussion of Daniel 7 and the Eagle vision indicates that Daniel 7 is employed by the author of 4 Ezra as a significant literary source.

3. Ezra's Creative Adoptions of the 'Son of Man' Vision in Daniel 7: the Vision of the Man from the Sea and the Eagle Vision

This section will discuss how the 'Son of Man' vision is adopted and creatively interpreted in the Eagle and Man Vision.³²⁾ It will

30) Geert Hallböck, "The Fall of Zion and the Revelation of the Law: An Interpretation of 4 Ezra," *SJOT* 6 (1992), 270-271.

31) Lester L. Grabbe, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch in Social and Historical Perspective," Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds., *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 224-235.

32) Knibb has suggested that the fifth and the sixth visions of Ezra have definite affinities with the Pesharim. Michael Knibb, "Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 Ezra," *JSJ* 13 (1982), 56-74. This suggestion strengthens the point that the Eagle Vision and the Man Vision are Ezra's interpretive work of Daniel 7. My point in this section is that these visions are not just Ezra's interpretive work but also are designed to be read cooperatively.

suggest that the militant imagery of the man is the result of the writer's creative interpretation of the motif of fire and burning in Daniel 7. The warlike aspect of the messiah³³⁾ is designed to be read with the lion's legal activity: Ezra's adoption of the judgment motif in Daniel 7. Those two visions of Ezra, as read together, are intended to assure the eschatological triumph of God over the evil forces.

3.1. The Son of Man Vision: Indictment & Punishment

3.1.1. God's Judgment on the Beasts

In Daniel 7, four sea monsters arise from the sea. After their appearance (7:2-8), Daniel saw an Ancient of Days and the heavenly court. The Ancient One³⁴⁾ is portrayed as wearing white clothing and having white hair. This white figure is contrasted with the fiery color; "his throne was fiery flames, and its wheels were burning fire" (7:9). This fiery throne issues a stream of fire that flows out from before the Ancient One. Then, the horn of a monster utters arrogant words. This beast is put to death. Its body is destroyed and given to be burned with fire. The rest of the monsters are deprived of their dominion, but their lives are prolonged for a certain period. After this, Daniel saw "one like a human being coming with the clouds of heaven" (7.13). The human-like figure is presented before the Ancient of Days and receives an everlasting dominion. Daniel receives the interpretation of this vision from one of the attendants in the heavenly court. The angelic figure tells Daniel that there

33) Cf. Dong-Su Seo, "Die Zwei-Messiaslehre in Judentum und das Neue Testament," *Korean New Testament Studies* 19 (2012), 1209-1243 [written in Korean].

34) "The Ancient One" is suggested by the New Revised Standard Version.

will be judgment for the holy ones of the Most High, and they will gain possession of the kingdom. The interpreter also says of the fourth beast, “Then the court shall sit in judgment, and his [i.e., the fourth beast’s] dominion shall be taken away, to be consumed and totally destroyed” (7:26).

In this vision, the judgment motif is conspicuous along with the theme of the everlasting kingdom given to the Son of Man. The heavenly court shall sit in judgment (7:26). The four beasts will be indicted and judged. One of them is slain, and its body is destroyed and burned because of its arrogant words, presumably, to the Ancient One. The rest will be deprived of their dominion. Their lives are prolonged only for a limited time. In the later part of the chapter, the judgment upon the fourth kingdom, i.e., the fourth beast, is announced to Daniel. Daniel 7 focuses on the end of the evil dominion and the bestowal of the everlasting supremacy upon the holy ones (7:22). The judgment upon those kingdoms destroys those hostile kingdoms and gives eternal power to the holy ones.

3.1.2. The Destruction of the Beasts

A strong motif of destruction accompanies the judgment upon the beasts. The existent kingdoms should be liquidated so that a righteous dominion could be forever. Therefore, destruction is inevitable. This destruction is articulated in mythic language, in which vivid imagery of fire is inseparably associated with divine punishment. In the scene of the heavenly court, the throne of the Ancient One is fiery flames itself. A stream of fire flows from this fiery throne. It is the means to execute the beast uttering the arrogant words before the deity on the throne. The beast is slain, and its body is burned with the stream of fire. Although fire is not mentioned in the fourth kingdom’s destructions (7:26), we can rightly assume that the fiery stream

destroys that kingdom if we read the whole chapter. The execution of the arrogant beast (v. 11) is a part of spectacle visual drama. The Ancient of Days and the attendants in the heavenly court, the fiery throne, the fiery stream, and the burning of the beast make a strong visual effect on the readership. The angel's interpretation is an oral transmission of information that has no such spectacle visuality. In v. 26, the fourth kingdom is predicted to be consumed and destroyed. This kingdom seems to be burned as well. The burning with the fiery stream likely results in being consumed and destructed. We can explain the absence of fire imagery in the interpretation this way. In Daniel 7, divine fire is Daniel's mythic imagery of divine punishment for whatever is against the Ancient of Days.

3.2. The Messiah as Judge

3.2.1. The Eagle Vision

4 Ezra 11 and 12 contain Ezra's fifth vision, the Vision of the Eagle. The main character in the vision is the lion from the forest. He is God's messenger to accuse the eagle. Ezra saw an eagle with twelve feathered wings and three heads rising from the sea in his dream. Like the fourth beast in Daniel 7, this winged monster in 4 Ezra 11 subjugates the whole world: "I [i.e., Ezra] saw it [i.e., the beast] spread its wings over the whole earth" (11:2; cf. 11:39 and Daniel 7:23). This eagle is accused of unjustly oppressing the whole earth (cf. 12:3) by the lion on behalf of the Most High. The beast's insolence and pride have come up to the Most High, also referred to as the Most Mighty. After the indictment, the lion announces the appearance of the eagle: "Therefore you, eagle, will surely disappear, your

most evil little wings, your malicious heads, your most evil talons, and your whole worthless body” (11:45). Historically, the lion’s accusation and judgment is understood to envisage the Roman Empire’s removal. Such vision has its roots in the hope of a Davidic messiah.³⁵⁾ The composer of Ezra, nevertheless, does not write the vision merely for his historical situation. Ezra’s fifth vision also emphasizes God’s eschatological judgment through the lion, God’s deputy, whose role is an accuser-judge. The lion has another role, that is, a destroyer. The disappearance and the burning of the eagle show the lion’s function as a destroyer. The forensic role of God’s deputy involves punishment, although the former is more prominent. Daniel’s imagery of fire and the motif of divine punishment are reflected in the Eagle Vision.

3.2.2. The Vision of Man from the Sea

We find a forensic activity of the Man in the angelic interpreter’s explanation of the vision. Whereas the vision itself tells a militant aspect of the Man, this aspect is interpreted in legal terms by the angelus interpre. When all the nations stand and make war against one another, “my Son” will be revealed.³⁶⁾

35) The image of the lion is well attested in the biblical tradition as symbol of Israel’s royal line. Judah is depicted as a “lion’s whelp” from whom the scepter shall not depart (Gen. 49:8-10). The lion image is found in the iconography of Solomon’s throne (1 Kgs. 10:18-20). It also occurs in Micah’s portrait of the future ideal ruler from Bethlehem (Mic. 5:1-9). We find other instances in Hosea’s admonishing of judgment which is to fall on the royal house (Hos. 5:14) and in Ezekiel’s lament over the captivity of Judah (Ezek. 19). Howard Clark Kee, “The Man’ in Fourth Ezra: Growth of a Tradition,” *SBLSP* 117 (1981), 202.

36) posed that the reading should be “servant.” The Latin and the Syriac texts, nevertheless, refer to the Messiah as “my son.” According to John J. Collins,

Those nations will hear his voice and stop the warfare that they have against each other. Then, an innumerable multitude of people will be gathered together and will attempt to conquer the messiah. The messiah, nevertheless, shall stand on the top of Mount Zion. “My Son” will “reprove the assembled nations for their ungodliness . . . and will reproach them to their face with their evil thoughts . . . and will destroy them without effort by means of the law” (13:37-8). “Reprove” and “reproach” show the messiah’s forensic activity. The indictment upon the nations is for their ungodliness and evil thoughts. Their punishment is their destruction through law (13:38). The forensic aspect in the Man Vision is less conspicuous than in the Eagle Vision but is treated similarly. There is rebuke, perhaps sentencing, and destruction by the messiah’s righteous pronouncement.³⁷⁾ This legal activity can be compared to 12:32. The denunciation for the ungodliness (12:32) and the reproof and the reproach (13:37,38) are in all essentials identical. This activity confirms most conclusively the man’s function as a judge.³⁸⁾

The legal activity of the lion and the Man from the Sea

both son and servant could be derived from the Greek word παῖς, and this Greek vocabulary word could reflect Hebrew “son” rather than “servant.” The motif of the assault on Mt. Zion is reminiscent of Ps. 2. In this poem, God tells the anointed king “You are my son, this day I have begotten you.” Moreover, in Wis 2:13, the righteous man refers himself as παῖς θεοῦ and, in 2:16, boasts that God is his father. Considering these attestations, we safely conclude that the Messiah is referred as “son” rather than “servant.” Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 315-315.

37) Michael E. Stone, “The Question of the Messiah in 4 Ezra,” Jacob Neusner, ed., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 214; idem, “The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,” Jacob Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 296.

38) Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (Tubingen: J.C.B Mohr, 1986), 131.

reflects the judgment motif in Daniel 7. We have already seen that Daniel 7 is utilized as a literary source in Ezra's fifth and sixth visions. Ezra's concern for the accusation of evil is associated with the judgment of the beasts in Daniel's vision. Of course, the danger of reductionism should be admonished here. The writer of 4 Ezra must have employed various other traditions available for him. This section is an attempt to show that 4 Ezra adopted and creatively developed Daniel 7.

3.3. The Messiah as Militant Punisher

3.3.1. The Eagle Vision

The Eagle Vision does not show a strong motif of militant punisher; the forensic activity is dominant there. We still observe, nonetheless, a motif of punishment, which is very implicit. The lion announces the indictment to the winged beast and predicts its disappearance (11:45). Each body part of the beast disappears, and, last of all, the whole body is burned away; "the whole body of the eagle was burned" (12:3). The indictment upon the eagle includes the punishment, that is, the actualization of the charge. This burning motif is reminiscent of Daniel 7, in which the divine fire consumes the beast uttering the arrogant words and, presumably, the other beasts. In the Eagle Vision, the messiah's role is both to accuse and destroy.³⁹⁾ The accusation part is highly emphasized in the vision, whereas the punishment does not have explicit militant imagery. Nevertheless, the burning motif may be regarded as militant because it can make a horrible scene, and the severity of the punishment can be high. We can understand that the author intends to hint at the militant

39) Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 310-311.

aspect of the messiah's role and the sentence for the eagle and expand it in a later part of his text, the Man Vision (see below).

3.3.2. The Vision of Man from the Sea

In the Vision of the Man from the Sea, the prominent feature of the messianic figure is warriorlike. In comparison with the Eagle Vision, the Man Vision is entirely colored with the militant imagery of the messianic figure. The judicial action, prominent in the fifth vision, is wholly lost in the sixth vision and only introduced in its interpretation by the angelic interpreter. In the Man Vision, Ezra saw “something like the figure of a man come up out of the heart of the sea.” This man-like figure is portrayed as a divine warrior; “wherever he turned his face to look, everything under his gaze trembled, and whenever his voice issued from his mouth, all who heard his voice melted as wax melts when it feels the fire” (13:4).⁴⁰⁾ The melting of enemies is one of the significant characteristics of God as the divine warrior in the Old Testament (e.g., Ps. 97:5 and Mic. 1:4).⁴¹⁾ In addition, the clouds of glory are the sign of the divine presence and power in Torah (Exod. 13:21; 14:19; 16:10; 24:18; Num. 12:5; Deut. 31:15) as well as in the prophets (Isa. 4:5; Ezek. 1:28). The panoramic vision and its incredible effects (13:3) are reminiscent of the theophany of Ezekiel 1:4-14. The power of his voice (13:4) echoes Isa. 11:4 and Job 4:9.

The Man Vision is a creative development of Daniel 7. 4

40) Here, we find a clear parallel between the descriptions of God's power in 8:23 and the effect of the appearance of the man.

41) Ps. 97:5 reads, “The mountains melt like wax before the Lord, before the Lord of all the earth. A similar motif is also found in Mic. 1:4: “Then the mountains will melt under him and the valleys will burst open, like wax near the fire, like waters poured down a steep place.” Cf. Jdt 16:15 and 1En.1:6.

Ezra 13 utilizes the strong motif of divine fire and the burning of the beasts for the militant role of the Man from the Sea. The divine warrior in 4 Ezra 13 wages war against the “innumerable multitude of people” (v. 11) who dared to fight against him even though they are filled with fear. Standing on a great mountain,⁴²⁾ the man sees the onrush of the approaching multitude and sends out “something like a stream of fire” and “a flaming breath” from his mouth and “a storm of sparks” from his tongue (13:10).⁴³⁾ These three are mingled together, fall upon the multitude and burn up all of them. Only the dust of ashes and the smell of smoke remain. In this vision, the man’s only role is to fight and punish the wicked multitude. This militant activity seems to expand and develop the punishment utilizing fire in Daniel 7.⁴⁴⁾ The solemn weapon of the man is fire from his mouth. The sparks from his tongue seem to be a modification of the fire from the mouth. In Daniel 7, the punishment for the beasts is to burn them away. Although in Daniel 7, the fiery weapon is used by the Ancient One, we can conclude that 4 Ezra’s author could be creative enough to make a new vision out of his resource of traditional imagery.⁴⁵⁾

42) The battle between the Man and the multitude has its roots in the Old Testament (e.g., Deut. 28:49; Joel 2:1-10; Ps. 2:1-2; and Zech. 14:2). The eschatological battle referred to the “War of Gog and Magog” plays the strongest influence upon the 4 Ezra 13. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 385.

43) Cf. Isa. 11:4: “but with the righteousness he shall judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth; he shall strike the earth *with the rod of his mouth*, and with *the breath of his lips* he shall kill the wicked” [italics added].

44) In the biblical tradition fire is God’s chief instrument of destruction of his enemies (e.g., Ps. 97:3, 18:9; cf. 1 Kgs. 19:12; 2 Sam. 22:9). The writer most probably knew such usage of fire by God. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 383.

45) The three sorts of fiery weapon used by the Man can serve as an example of the author’s creativity as adopting Daniel 7.

4. The Messianic Kingdom and the Vision of Man from the Sea

4.1. Ezra's Inquiry of Theodicy & Ezra's Odyssey

4.1.1. Ezra's *Sitz im Leben* & the Issue of Theodicy

We find some indicators of the historical situations of 4 Ezra. First, the repeated mention of the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of non-Jewish powers (cf. 3:27, 10:21-23) places 4 Ezra after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Second, 4 Ezra is quoted by Clement of Alexandria in *Stromateis*. It enables us to put 4 Ezra before the end of the second century CE. Third, the details of the twelve kings are an unmistakable reference to the Twelve Caesars. The three heads represent the Flavian emperors, with Vespasian as the middle one flanked by his two sons Titus and Domitian. 4 Ezra 12:17 seems to reflect the rumor that Domitian murdered his brother. Then, the two last weak wings should be Nerva (96-98 CE) and Trajan (98-117 CE). Since Trajan was just a weak and insignificant emperor in the vision, we may conclude that 4 Ezra was written shortly after assuming power, i.e., approximately 100 CE.⁴⁶⁾ In his pseudographic persona, the author can relate past events as if they could be the future. Therefore, the details of the twelve kings can be in the past or the author's present time. 4 Ezra's composition is likely near the end of the first century CE or the beginning of the next century.

The writer of 4 Ezra does not stick to his present historical

46) Another interpretation was suggested that the second king who holds sway longer than the others refers to the long reign of Augustus. The three heads of the eagle seem to refer to the triumvirate out of which Julius Caesar's principate which implies that the struggles with which the empire began will mark its demise. Kee, "'The Man' in the Fourth Ezra," 199-200.

situation; he concerns himself with the fate of Israel, though. Ezra raises a strong issue of justice. Israel's sin is not greater than the Gentiles. That is to say, Babylon is not more righteous than Israel; "Does Babylon really act any better than Zion?" (3:31).⁴⁷⁾ Then, the visionary moves beyond this specific historical situation to the general question of God's justice.⁴⁸⁾ Humans have evil inclination from the beginning: "Yet you [i.e., God] did not take away their evil heart from them, so that your law might produce fruit in them. For the first Adam, burdened with an evil heart, transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him" (3:20). This verse raises a question of God's justice toward humanity at large.

4.1.2. The Journey of Ezra's Soul

4 Ezra's originality lies in its skeptical character, Ezra the visionary.⁴⁹⁾ Concerned about the fall of Jerusalem and the evil nature of humanity, he raises the question of theodicy like Job. The Dialogue section contains Ezra's questions about God's justice. This conversation between the visionary and the *angelus interpres* continues to the vision section, confirming the eschatological triumph over the evil force. This process looks like the odyssey of Ezra's soul from skeptic to believer.⁵⁰⁾ The first three dialogues present a static conflict between Ezra and the angel and a dynamic conversation and dispute. Through this dialogical

47) Cf. 4 Ezra 3:35-6: "When have the inhabitants of the earth not sinned in your sight? Or what nation has kept your commandments so well? You may indeed find individuals who have kept your commandments, but nations you will not find."

48) Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 306-307

49) Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 304.

50) Michael Stone, *ABC*, s.v., "Second Book of Esdras"; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 303-306.

course, Ezra comes to accept, at least partially, the ideas propagated by the angel. The series of questions by the visionary has a cathartic effect on him. He fully expresses the fears and frustrations caused by the catastrophe of 70 CE. The angels' replies also have a psychological impact. The angel avoids being engaged in a rational dispute. His answers are intended to calm fears and build up trust. These repeated reassurances gradually achieve the psychological purpose. Our visionary, however, does not fully accept the angel's position even after the third vision. The fourth vision, the vision of a Weeping Woman, serves as a turning point of Ezra's internal odyssey. Ezra functions as a comforter and persuader to the weeping woman in that vision. Trying to persuade the woman, he realizes that we must allow ourselves to be persuaded (10:20).⁵¹⁾ Besides, the experience of the heavenly Jerusalem gives him the new perception that relieves his agonizing. Ezra's realization of the necessity of being persuaded and the experience of the heavenly Jerusalem put him on a new level of spirituality. Then, the Eagle Vision and the Man Vision are given to the visionary to confirm the eschatological victory and realization of God's justice.⁵²⁾ These two apocalyptic revelations culminate in a movement that begins with Ezra's question of theodicy in chapter 3.⁵³⁾ After these visions, Ezra assumes a full prophetic position, indeed to the role of Moses, the receiver of the law.⁵⁴⁾ The level of the recipient is consistent with that of revelation.⁵⁵⁾ The transcending of doubts transcends the problems raised by the destruction and the seem-

51) Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 320-321.

52) Stone, "Reactions to the Destruction," 204. Cf. A. Peter Hayman, "The Problem of Pseudonymity in the Ezra Apocalypse," *JSJ* 6 (1975), 55-56.

53) Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 304-306. Cf. Bruce W. Longenecker, "Locating 4 Ezra: A Consideration of its Social Setting and Functions," *JSJ* 28 (1997), 271-293.

54) Stone, "Second Book of Esdras."

55) Hallbäck, "The Fall of Zion," 277-278.

ingly unjust world and the acceptance of divine governance of the world and the determined history.

4.2. The Judgments & the Messianic Period

4.2.1. The Messianic Judgment and the Judgment by God

Divine judgment is the primary concern of the two apocalyptic revelations in chapters 11 and 13. In Ezra's odyssey, those visions mark a significant phase between the vision of the Weeping Woman and Ezra's performance of the Moses-like function. Ezra's spiritual upgrade is an abrupt movement through those visions. It is possible because of the visualization of the eschatological judgment. Both the lion and the man serve as God's deputy for the final triumph over the evil forces.

Ezra's vision shows two different judgments: one by the messianic figure and the other by God. Between those two judgments, there will be a peaceful period directed by the messiah. In the interpretation of the Eagle Vision, the angels distinguish the judgment by the messiah from "the end," i.e., "the day of judgment" (12:33-34) and tell of the messianic period when the messiah makes the saved people joyful. These three phases have already been revealed to Ezra: "For my son the messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him, and those who remain shall rejoice four hundred years. After those years my son the messiah shall die, and all who draw human breath. Then the world shall be turned back to primeval silence for seven days The Most High shall be revealed on the seat of judgment" (7:28-33). The activities of the lion and the man are intended to complete the messianic judgment and open the messianic period.

4.2.2. The Messianic Period

The time between the messiah's revelation and God's judgment can be referred to as the messianic period. In this time, the messiah will direct (13:26) and make the remnant joyful (12:34; 7:28). This period is not eternal but temporal because its duration is limited to four hundred years. Besides, the messiah himself has limited longevity (7:29) despite the divine traits attributed to him. Although the messiah's kingship is not explicitly mentioned, it seems to be a kingdom of the messiah. We can understand the messiah's⁵⁶⁾ direction of the remnant in 13:26 that he will play the role of some ruling, which is different from the traditional understanding of reigning over them. The "survivors" and the "wonders" in chap. 13 belong to the cycle of ideas associated with the messianic kingdom.⁵⁷⁾ The destruction of the eagle and the wicked multitude means the passing of the Roman Empire and the vindication of Israel.⁵⁸⁾ However, the messianic period cannot be the final resolution of Ezra's problems because of its temporality. The significance of the period is that it marks the end of the evil kingdom and leads to the day of judgment.

We see a combination of restorative and utopian messianism in the messianic period.⁵⁹⁾ Many features of the Davidic messiah

56) We can rightly identify the "one like a man" in the Man Vision as the Messiah.

57) Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah," 311.

58) Stone, "The Question of the Messiah," 215. For a brief discussion of imperial power and apocalyptic literature, refer to John Kampen, "Diversity, Resistance, and Survival in Second Temple Judaism: Jewish Identity Under Greco-Roman Rule and Its Implications for the Korean Peninsula," *Canon&Culture* 14 (2020), 181-209.

59) For these two sorts of messianism, refer to Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Concept of the Messiah in Second Temple and Rabbinic Literature," *Review & Expositor* 84 (1987), 238-241. For a Korean article surveying Jewish literature in Second Temple Judaism, see the following: Deahoon Kang, "Jewish Messianism in Second

attributed to the Messiah in 4 Ezra show the remaining hope for the restoration of Israel. The messianic kingdom, however, is not of the Davidic one. It gains a cosmological aspect. The messianic triumph is not over the Gentiles but the evil realm and its members. The peaceful multitude the messiah brings is merely a part of the Israelites; they are “the nine tribes that were taken away from their land into exile in the days of King Hosea” (13:40).

4.3. Mythological Confirmation of the Messianic Triumph

4.3.1. Clash between God and the Evil

In 4 Ezra 13, we observe that the Son of Man figure in Daniel 7 and the New Testament shows the continuation of an ancient Israelites picturing YHWH, the divine warrior.⁶⁰⁾ In that chapter, we also find the long mythical tradition that reveals the deep underlying structure of the Jewish religion inherited ultimately from the Canaanite religion. Throughout this line of tradition, we see conflicts between opposing cosmic powers, such as the battle between Baal and Yam, Baal and Mot, the sea beasts and the Ancient of Days, the evil eagle and the lion, and the wicked multitude and man-like figure. The opposite powers coexist in the present time of the author. This coexistence cannot be forever, however. One must be defeated in the conflict. Therefore, this conflict serves to determine who the winner is. The Israelites believed that the forces of chaos had not been defeated at the time of creation; they had come back and ruined

Temple Judaism,” *Korea Evangelical New Testament Studies* 14 (2015), 311-340 [written in Korean].

60) Hayman, “The ‘Man from the Sea’,” 15-16.

God's world. The battle would have to be fought again, but this time with a definitive result.⁶¹⁾ In 4 Ezra 13, the final victory belongs to the Man and ultimately God.

4.3.2. The Man from the Sea vs. the Beast from the Sea

In the eschatological battle in 4 Ezra 13, we find a surprise that is not easily explained away. Enuma Elish, Daniel 7, Rev. 13:1, Ezekiel 32:2, and Job 38:8 tell us of their eschatological monsters who rise out of the sea. In 4 Ezra 13, however, it is the hero who comes out of the sea. Considering the association of the sea with the evil force, the man's rising out of the sea in 4 Ezra 13 is more perplexing. Ezra's man-like figure also flies with the clouds of heaven. In the biblical tradition, not only the Son of Man in Daniel 7 but also YHWH himself is portrayed as the "rider on the clouds."⁶²⁾ 4 Ezra 13:4 is drawn from the traditional imagery used to present the theophany of YHWH in the Old Testament (e.g., Ps. 68:2, 97:5, 104:32; Micah 1:4).⁶³⁾ The combination of the man's rising from the sea and flying with the clouds of heaven requires an explanation.

How can we understand that the man rises from the sea? The text itself provides an answer. In the interpretation section, the writer explains the meaning of the sea through the mouth of the *angelus interpretes* that the man's coming from the sea means the mysterious origin of the man (13:52). This answer reflects the notion of the messiah's hiddenness and appearing at the end of time (7:28; 12:32; 13:26).

We can find another hidden answer in Ezra's "polemical irony" caused by a creative adoption of the beasts' coming out

61) Hayman, "The 'Man from the Sea'," 13.

62) Ps. 104:3 and Isa. 19:1. Refer to Ps. 18:6-11 and 68:4 in which God is portrayed to ride in heaven.

63) Hayman, "The 'Man from the Sea'," 6-7.

of the Sea in Daniel 7. This “polemical irony” is the author’s literary design intended against the cosmic evil forces.⁶⁴ The four beasts in Daniel 7 rising from the sea are the enemies to the Ancient of Days. They are judged and destroyed by the enthroned deity. The same structure is found in the Eagle Vision. The winged monster rising from the sea subjects “all things under heaven” to itself, judges the earth without truth, and oppresses the meek and injures the peaceable (11:41). This monster is judged and destroyed, however. In the Man Vision, the messianic punisher rises from the sea. God will use the same way in which the enemy will attempt to subdue God to subdue this enemy in the end. This polemical irony is intended to assure the triumph of the man. This intention becomes more vivid when we compare the similarity of 4 Ezra 11:1-5 with 13:1-3. These introductory verses in each vision share the following: (1) similar terminology, (2) a coming up out of the sea, (3) stormy winds, (4) clouds, and (5) flying.⁶⁵ This similar picture indicates that the substitution of the man in chap. 13 for the eagle cannot be accidental. The Eagle Vision and the Man Vision have a synergetic effect. As read together, they form polemical irony and reinforce the eschatological triumph of God over the cosmic evil forces.

4.3.3. The Messiah: divine or human?

The Messiah in 4 Ezra has traits that are traditionally attrib-

64) Beale presents an example of such polemical irony in that YHWH is predicated with the mythological language used in the mythic cycle of Baal. This ironical polemic is intended to demonstrate that only YHWH truly possesses such attributes. Beale, “The Problem of the Man,” 185-186.

65) The comparison of the two visions is provided by Beal in his article. Beal, “The Problem of the Man,” 186.

uted to YHWH. YHWH is portrayed as a divine warrior. He is preexistent and revealed at the end of time. The man, nevertheless, remains human; he has limited longevity. Then, how can we understand this combination of the divine and the human traits in the figure of the man?

We see a confluence of traditions that we initially separated: the Davidic messiah and the Danielic Son of Man.⁶⁶⁾ The legal activity of the Son of Man is undoubtedly a royal function, but the Son of Man shows no aspect of the militant royal messiah. The Son of Man cannot be considered to be messianic. He does not appear on the earth, and he is not presented as fulfilling messianic prophecies. The everlasting dominion bestowed upon the Son of Man is not an earthly kingdom. The restoration of the Davidic dynasty is not envisioned in Daniel's vision. 4 Ezra 13 is an instance of combining these distinctive traditions. The man in 4 Ezra 13 functions as the Davidic messiah.⁶⁷⁾ His militant role is reminiscent of the features of the royal messiah; he defeats the wicked multitude and restores Israel on Mt. Zion. In 12:32, the messiah is explicitly identified as the one "whom the Most High has kept until the end of days, who will arise from the posterity of David." The author modifies the traditional notion of the Davidic messiah.⁶⁸⁾ He mystifies the origin of the man. Moreover, the messiah in 4 Ezra is preexistent and will be revealed at the end of time. This transcendental, supra-natural origin suggests the influence of Daniel 7 upon 4 Ezra.

66) John J. Collins, "Jesus and the Messiahs of Israel," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel Zum 70. Geburtstag*, Band III (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 292-295.

67) Cf. Peter Schäfer, *Two Gods in Heaven: Jewish Concepts of God in Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 54-58. He states, "the divine sonship, which was originally reserved for the Davidic king, was transferred in the Fourth Book of Ezra to the Messiah" (57).

68) Collins, "Jesus and the Messiahs of Israel," 293.

This confluence of the separate traditions tells us of the change of the messianic hope. The hope for the traditional royal messiah was losing its appeal in the historical situation of the first century CE. The heavenly character of the royal messiah was stressed in texts of the first century CE. This change was more outstanding after the failure of the first revolt against the Roman Empire and the fall of the Second Temple.⁶⁹⁾ This historical situation seems to indicate an inevitable disillusionment with human royal messiahs. This disillusionment was not complete, nonetheless, because we see various messianic movements and revolts led by many royal pretenders.⁷⁰⁾ At the same time, the hope for a heavenly redeemer is seen in apocalyptic literature, among which 4 Ezra 13 is placed. Accordingly, the humanity and the Davidic genealogy of the messiah were compromised but not entirely abandoned. The Davidic messiah and the heavenly messiah like the 'Son of Man' are not exclusive to each other but can be combined.⁷¹⁾ 4 Ezra 13 shows an obvious example of such a combination. The messiah in 4 Ezra is still human, but the divine traits attributed to him show the direction of the change. The messianic kingdom comes to have a transcendental dimension.⁷²⁾ This transcendental dimension functions to give even stronger reassurance of the eschatological triumph and restoration of God's justice. Earthly events are inseparably associated with cosmic events.

69) Esler suggests that 4 Ezra was composed to deal with the first audience's dissonance between God's selection and their defeat by Rome. Philip F. Esler, "The Social Function of 4 *Ezra*," *JSNT* 53 (1994), 99-123, esp. 109-123.

70) Richard A. Horsley, *Bandits Prophets & Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 88-127.

71) Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 189.

72) In this sense, Uriel shows "a sharp disjunction between this world and the world to come." John J. Collins, "The Idea of Election in 4 Ezra," *JSQ* 16 (2009), 90.

5. Conclusion

This study suggested that the vision of the Man from the Sea (4 Ezra 13) is Ezra's creative adoption of the Danielic Son of Man tradition to produce a synergetic effect with the Eagle Vision (4 Ezra 11) on the readership and that the vision functions as mythological confirmation of the future realization of the messianic hope, God's justice. The Man Vision utilizes the traditional imagery and shares the relationship pattern of the traditional motifs with Daniel 7 and the Canaanite Baal myths. It is intended to be read together with the Eagle Vision, another adoption of Daniel 7 to form polemical irony against the cosmic evil forces. The Man Vision develops the motif of divine punishment by divine fire, whereas the Eagle Vision entertains the legal aspect of divine judgment. Both visions have a synergetic effect. They assure the actualization of the eschatological triumph over the evil forces. Besides, the divine and the human features are given to the messiah. The supra-natural aspect articulated in a mythological language reinforces the visionary's trust in God's governance and the determined history.

<주요어>

에즈라4서, 바다에서 올라온 사람 환상, 독수리 환상, 다니엘 사람의 아들, 묵시문학, 메시아 사상

<Key Words>

4 Ezra, the Vision of the Man from the Sea, the Eagle Vision, Daniel, Son of Man, Apocalyptic literature, messianism

* Received August 8, 2021, Revised September 9, 2021, Accepted October 11, 2021

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<Abstract>

The Vision of the Man from the Sea (4 Ezra 13):
Its Place in Apocalyptic Tradition and Rhetorical Purpose

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Ezra's vision of the 'Man from the Sea' (or the Man Vision) utilizes the traditional imagery and shares the relationship pattern of the traditional motifs with Daniel 7 and the Canaanite Baal myths. When read together with the Eagle Vision, another adoption of Daniel 7, those two visions form polemical irony against the cosmic evil forces. The given visions add a new motif to their Danielic sources, i.e., a messianic hope for the future. The Man Vision develops the motif of divine punishment by divine fire, whereas the Eagle Vision entertains the legal aspect of divine judgment. The Danielic tradition allows such diverse developments because it abounds with creative mythological ambiguity. Both forensic and militant aspects of the messiah in Ezra's visions are intended to cooperate and convince the fulfillment of God's justice. Those two visions have a synergetic effect of assuring the realization of the eschatological victory over evil. We observe another intriguing development in Ezra's concept of the messiah. The apocalypticist gives both divine and human features to the messiah. This new development is relevant to the historical situation that the apocalyptic author experienced. The messiah's supra-human features are articulated in mythological terms and reinforce the visionary's trust in God's governance and the determined future history.

<초록>

제4에즈라서 13장의 ‘바다에서 올라온 사람’ 환상

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본 연구는 에즈라4서 13장이 보여주는 ‘바다에서 올라온 사람’ 환상을 문학적, 역사적 관점에서 고찰한다. 에즈라의 환상은 가나안의 바알 신화와 다니엘 7장에서 발견되는 전통적인 심상과 모티프들을 창조적으로 차용하여 독특한 메시아론을 제시한다. 다니엘 7장의 목시문학 전통은 13장의 ‘사람 환상’ 외에도 11장의 ‘독수리 환상’에서도 차용되는데, ‘사람 환상’과 ‘독수리 환상’은 함께 우주론적 악의 힘에 대항하는 논쟁적인 아이러니를 형성하는 문학적 기능을 보여준다. 이들 환상은 다니엘의 자료에 미래를 위한 메시아적 희망이라는 새로운 모티프를 더한다. ‘사람 환상’은 하나님의 불을 통한 심판이라는 주제를 발전시키고, ‘독수리 환상’은 하나님의 심판의 법적인 측면을 드러낸다. 이는 다니엘이 지닌 풍성한 신화적 유산을 에즈라4서의 저작 목적에 따라 창조적으로 변용한 결과이다. 에즈라의 두 환상이 보여주는 법정적인 측면과 전투적인 측면은 함께 작용하여 하나님의 정의가 실현될 것임을 독자에게 확신시킨다. 또한, 에즈라의 메시아 개념은 신적인 특성과 인간적 특성의 혼재라는 또 다른 독특한 관점을 보여준다. 이러한 관점은 에즈라가 발전시킨 메시아론의 중요한 측면이다. 에즈라는 자신이 경험한 역사적 상황에 대한 신학적 응답으로서 자신의 메시아 사상을 발전시켰다. 메시아가 지닌 초인간적인 특질은 신화적인 언어로 분명하게 표현되었으며 하나님의 통치와 그에 따라 이미 결정된 미래 역사에 대한 선지자 에즈라의 신뢰를 강화한다. 본 연구가 다루는 에즈라의 환상들은 종말에 관한 기대와 함께 메시아를 통한 이스라엘의 신원을 기다린다.